

Mandated Landscape

British Imperial Rule in Palestine, 1929–1948



Roza I.M. El-Eini

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1929–1948

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otherwise, without the prior written permission of the publisher of this book.*

To my parents, Mr and Mrs Ishaq M.I. and Odette El-Eini

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Note on Spelling of Names

Place-names are given according to the British spelling found on the 'Palestine Map, Compiled, Drawn and Printed under the Directions of F.J. Salmon, Commissioner for Lands & Surveys, Palestine 1937, 1:500,000'. If the name of a place did not appear on this map (as, in fact, several Arab villages and Jewish settlements do not), then the *Palestine Index to Villages and Settlements* produced by the Mandate Government (in 1947?) was used. The publication by A.Y. Goor, Acting Conservator of Forests, *List of Forest Reserves by Categories, 31.12.46* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1947) was used for the names of Forest Reserves. In these publications, different forms of the Arabic definite article (*al*) in a place-name (for instance, Adh, Al, An, Ar, As, At, Es, esh, Et) are also sometimes included, for example, Ar Ramle. A name could therefore be found in both forms, such as At Tàyiba and Tàyiba. Terms and individuals' names mainly follow the original spelling in the documents and publications where they are mentioned.

Currency and Measures

CURRENCY

One Palestine Pound (£P) was, in 1927, worth one English Pound (£), being equivalent to 1,000 Palestinian mils, or one Egyptian Pound (£E).

MEASURES

A Turkish dunam was equivalent to 919.3 square metres. On 15 February 1928, the British abolished the Ottoman dunam, introducing the metric dunam in its stead, which measured 1,000 square metres (1/4 acre; 1 km = 0.62 miles). In effect, a dunam in Palestine could vary from 900 to 1,000 square metres (sq m). One feddan also varied in size, being 100–250 metric dunams.

The metric dunam value is used in the study, unless otherwise stated.

Source: Kenneth W. Stein, *The Land Question in Palestine, 1917–1939* (Chapel Hill, NC/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1984), p. xxi.

Abbreviations

AEC	Arab Executive Committee
AHC	Arab Higher Committee (<i>also known as</i> the Higher Arab Committee)
<i>AR</i>	<i>Annual Report</i>
CDF	Colonial Development Fund
CD&W	Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1945
CID	Criminal Investigation Department, Palestine Government
CO	Colonial Office
CS	Chief Secretary
CSO	Chief Secretary's Office
CZA	Central Zionist Archives
FO	Foreign Office
GPO	Government Press Office
HC	High Commissioner
HMG	His Majesty's Government
ISA	Israel State Archives
IWM	Imperial War Museum
JNF	Jewish National Fund (or <i>Keren Kayemet Le-Israel</i> [KKL])
L of N	League of Nations
MEC	Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford University
MRU	Malaria Research Unit
OAG	Officer Administering the Government
OETA	Occupied Enemy Territory Administration
PalGovPubns	Palestine Government Publications
PEC	Palestine Electric Corporation
PICA	Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association
PIO	Public Information Office, Palestine Government
PLDC	Palestine Land Development Company
PMC	Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations
PRO	Public Record Office, The National Archives
PWD	Public Works Department, Palestine Government

RAF	Royal Air Force
RHL	Manuscript Collections, Rhodes House Library, Oxford University
SMC	Supreme Muslim Council
TPA	Town Planning Adviser
UN	United Nations
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East
UNSCOP	United Nations Special Committee on Palestine
WO	War Office
WZO	World Zionist Organization

Glossary

<i>Aghnam</i>	Animal Tax
<i>Aliyah</i>	Hebrew for 'ascent' (literally); Jewish immigration to Palestine
<i>Beer</i>	Hebrew for well; also denotes Jewish village
<i>Berseem</i>	Arabic for clover
<i>Bir</i>	Arabic for well; also denotes Arab village
<i>Durra</i>	Arabic for millet
<i>Effendi</i>	Notable, landowner with significant holdings, many also being politically influential
<i>Eretz Israel</i>	'The Land of Israel'
<i>Fellah</i>	Arab peasant farmer (pl. <i>fellaheen</i>)
<i>Gbaffir</i>	Guard
<i>Haganah</i>	Underground organisation for Jewish self-defence in Palestine
<i>Histadrut</i>	General Federation of Workers in the Land of Israel
<i>Ifraz</i>	Partition of <i>musha</i> ' land shares
<i>Jiftlik</i>	Other term for <i>mudawwara</i> lands
<i>Kafir</i>	Arabic for village; denotes Arab village
<i>Kersenneh</i>	Arabic for vetch (<i>also kirsanna</i>)
<i>Kfar</i>	Hebrew for village; denotes Jewish village (<i>also</i> Kefar)
<i>Kibbutz</i>	Jewish collective agricultural settlement, where everything is collectively owned and the profits shared
<i>Kushan</i>	Title deed
<i>Mafruz</i>	Parcelled land (<i>see Ifraz</i>)
<i>Mahlul</i>	<i>Miri</i> lands left uncultivated
<i>Mastabeh</i>	Front part of an Arab peasant's house where the family lives; it is raised and with a balustrade
<i>Matruka</i>	(=Withdrawn) Land left for public use, either for general use (for example, highways), or for special use (for example, common pastures, threshing floors)
<i>Mejelle</i>	Ottoman Civil Code (containing the Common Law); compiled by a Commission appointed by the Sultan in 1869. Intended as a statement of Islamic Law on matters with which it deals

<i>Mewat</i>	(=Dead) Land held by the State that cannot be or is not cultivated; wasteland
<i>Midan</i>	Public space
<i>Miri</i>	Land where the owner held the usufruct but not the title, regarded as State Land
<i>Moshav</i>	Jewish settlements with features of both co-operative and private enterprise
<i>Mudawwara</i>	Privately held lands that were then taken over by the Sultan (<i>also jiftlik</i>)
<i>Mufti</i>	A Muslim juriconsul who issues authoritative opinions
<i>Mukhtar</i>	Village headman
<i>Mulk</i>	Freehold land
<i>Multazim</i>	Tax farmer
<i>Musha'</i>	Land-use or holding by which a group of people (usually a village) held shares or parcels that were periodically redistributed
<i>Mutassarriflik</i>	A district in the Ottoman Empire
<i>Rawieh</i>	Lower part of a room at the back of an Arab peasant's house, reserved for animals
<i>Sanjaq</i>	A district in the Ottoman Empire
<i>Shari'ah</i>	Canonical law of Islam
<i>Sheikh</i>	Elder, chief of a village or tribe
<i>Sundug</i>	(Arab) National Fund
<i>al-Ummah</i>	
<i>Taboon</i>	Common bakery, or oven
<i>Tabu</i>	Title; or Ottoman Land Register (term also used by the British)
<i>Tanzimat</i>	Reformed institutions and reforms of the Ottoman Empire from 1839
<i>Vilayet</i>	An Ottoman administrative area, a province, usually made up of several <i>sanjaqs</i>
<i>Waqf</i>	(=Dedicated) Usually <i>mulk</i> (or originally <i>miri</i>) modified by dedication. Recognised by Islamic Law as the power of a landowner to dedicate the land for a religious purpose. The property then becomes categorised as an unalienable endowment
<i>Yishuv</i>	The Jewish community in Palestine

Source: Compiled, with further references to Frederic M. Goadby and Moses J. Doukhan, *The Land Law of Palestine* (Tel-Aviv: no publisher stated, 1935), pp. 1–16; Stein, *Land Question*, pp. 281–2; and Cecil Roth and Geoffrey Wigoder (eds-in-chief), *The New Standard Jewish Encyclopedia*, revd edn (Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1975).

Foreword

At the end of the First World War and on the break-up of the Ottoman Empire, the region of Syria–Lebanon fell into the French orbit, while Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq (Mesopotamia) fell into that of the British. These regions, however, did not become colonies but, as with the former German colonies in Africa, were designated Mandated territories instead. Unlike colonies, Mandated territories could aim at full independence, and the League of Nations was responsible for safeguarding their administration.

In this massive study on the impact of British imperial rule on the landscape of Mandated Palestine, Dr Roza I.M. El-Eini concentrates on town and rural planning, agriculture, forestry, land and partition, taking the Shephelah (the Lowlands) as a case study. During their more than 30 years in the country (1917–48), the British were obligated to establish a government which was to ensure the terms of the League of Nations, rather than their own strategic interests.

Dr El-Eini asks to what extent the British in Palestine attended to the local population's lot during the years 1929–48. In addition to examining aspects of the British Administration that were unique to the Mandated territory, there are frequent references made to the rulers' experience gained from their empire. British policies and planning are analysed, especially as regards the implementation of plans. This is done for each chapter individually. The book's table of contents reveals the extent to which the Mandatory Government involved itself in the administration of Palestine – not always to the country's detriment.

Having published several of Dr El-Eini's works in *Middle Eastern Studies*, I have already been aware of her meticulous scholarship, an awareness greatly reinforced by going through this volume, and looking at its maps and other illustrations, as well as its extensive bibliography. The book is to be highly recommended to all those interested in the region, whether students, scholars or lay readers.

Sylvia Kedourie
London

Preface

This book cuts a longitudinal section through time to analyse the impact of British imperial rule on the landscape of Mandate Palestine during the years 1929–48, the last two decades of Britain’s control of the territory. Contrasts are made between the features common to the British Empire, such as development activities and legislative measures, and those unique to Palestine, notably those underwritten by London’s strategic interests in the territory, the Mandatory Government’s dual obligations to the Arabs and the Jews, and the Arab–Jewish conflict.

The aim of this work is to analyse *British* thinking, planning and plan implementation; also giving an indication of the integral role that Mandate Palestine had in the British Empire. There is no doubting the galvanising impact that the 31 years of British rule had on the landscape of Palestine, following on 401 years of Ottoman governance in the country. This impact is examined within the framework of policy formation, planning and plan implementation, and is structured by the periodisation of international and local events, such as the Arab Rebellion of 1936–39 and the Second World War. The focus of this study is on the ruler and the ruler’s ideology and attitude towards the Mandated territory. Once Palestine was under the control of the Colonial Office, it became privy to the large and complex interchange of ideas and technology, gained automatic access to specialised research and development committees and institutes, and was included in trans-Empire plans and operations. An analysis is made of a wide range of aspects and issues concerning the workings of the Mandatory Administration, from the highest levels of the formation of policy and legislation in London, to policy implementation by the ‘man on the spot’.

Much of the research on Mandate Palestine has been on the political and social aspects and, later, on economic policy. More systematic research was therefore needed to develop an understanding of the impact of British imperial rule on Mandate Palestine itself – on the macro, meso and micro levels – drawing on theories on imperial landscapes and technological transfer, and periodisation. Since each chapter below covers a different aspect, this also required reading specific to the subject at hand, for instance, on town planning and its history; and the

partition plans and their history in the British Empire.

By analysing the original British documentation on Mandate Palestine, a comprehensive view was gained; this assisted in the understanding of how the British conceived that Palestine ‘should be’. The rulers’ preconceptions and conceptions of the ‘Holy Land’ and of Palestine as a strategic base were further influenced by their general policy of treating the country as a crown colony.

In all of this, the Mandatory Government had its own internally built duality, made visible by its obligation to represent the State’s concerns for Palestine (for example, over the struggle to establish claims to State Domain), and to ensure British interests (exemplified by its open support for imperial strategic needs). This interplay and the frequently dissonant interests added a further perspective to British rule in Palestine and had a far-reaching impact on the country’s landscape. Legislation came to play an increasingly important role in Palestine, as the Mandatory sought to legitimise its development decisions, testing them in the courts if need be – as seen by the formidable body of laws which it formulated at every stage and the very active law courts, both now significant legacies of Britain’s presence in the country.

The chapters in this study concentrate on how British thinking on Palestine, and British experience in the Empire were expressed in the Mandatory’s attempts to alter the country’s landscape, all the while upholding His Majesty’s Government’s interests. This was to be achieved through:

- urban and rural planning;
- upgrading farming practices and introducing intensive agriculture;
- afforesting the countryside (thus also aiming to supply basic timber needs);
- intervening in the Arab–Jewish land conflict via legislation determining the geography of land sales; land development; and ultimate settlement patterns;
- its partition plans for the country, which were an attempt to resolve the bitter inter-communal dispute between the Arabs and the Jews.

A field case study on the Lowlands (the Shephelah) makes up the final chapter.

The main sources for this book have been the Mandatory Government’s original correspondence (from the levels of the High Commissioner’s and Chief Secretary’s Office, to those of Departments and Sub-Districts, and individual Government employees) held at the

Israel State Archives, Jerusalem; and the papers (Colonial Office, Foreign Office, War Office, Crown Agents, Prime Minister, Maps, and other) at the Public Record Office at Kew. Research was also conducted at the Bodleian Library, and on the Manuscript Collections at Rhodes House and the Private Papers at the Middle East Centre at St Antony's College, as well as at the Oxford Forestry Institute, all at Oxford University. Other sources referred to included material held in London at: London University's Institute of Advanced Legal Studies, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, School of Oriental and African Studies, Senate House and Institute of Commonwealth Studies; also the Imperial War Museum, and the Royal Institute of British Architects. In Jerusalem, material was consulted at: the Central Zionist Archives; the Hebrew University's Jewish National and University Library, the Maps Department of the Bloomfield Library, and the Aerial Photographic Archive; as well as the Jewish National Fund Archives; and the Israel Bar Association Library; and the Ansari Public Library and International Palestinian Research Centre. In addition, various privately held documents were examined, and interviews were carried out.

Field and archival research was conducted for the case study chapter on the Shephelah region.

Introduction

But is it so clear that Government has done nothing?¹

Britain ruled Palestine for over 30 years between 1917 and 1948: first as a Military (December 1917–June 1920), then as a Civilian (July 1920–September 1923) and, finally, as a Mandate Administration (declared on 29 September 1923, and lasting to the end of 14 May 1948). During the Mandate period, it established a government system aimed at safeguarding its own strategic interests and satisfying the League of Nations criteria laid down in the *Mandate for Palestine*, in addition to meeting Arab and Jewish demands. It is because of the British imperial power's central role in Palestine and its Mandate obligations that ideological, cultural, and geographical theories, together with empire theories in historical, landscape and political geography, as well as social theories, will be used in this study. Also applied are theories on policy-making, planning and plan implementation and on periodisation, as these provide the structure for the study. Following Alan R.H. Baker's discussion on ideological landscapes, a holistic and broad-based theoretical approach will be used so that both the general and specific may be analysed within the context and framework of world, empire and local events.² It is the *British* ruler and the *ruler's* ideology and attitude that are to be the focus here in order to analyse the impact of the British on Palestine's landscape. In this way, Palestine is slotted back into place as an integral part of the British Empire, rather than being left in solitary orbit, its history an appendage to the grinding Arab–Israeli conflict. An introduction to the theory relevant to each specialised subject will be given in each chapter. This study covers the years from 1929 to the end of the Mandate in 1948.³

THEORETICAL BASIS IN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY

Ideological Landscapes

Going beyond the cultural aspect that so characterised historical geography studies, Baker argued for the recognition of the role of ideology

in landscapes. Human ‘actions’ and the ‘actual’ (material) alone are insufficient indicators to understanding landscapes: the ‘attitude’ and ‘ideal’ of those concerned must be accounted for as ultimately colouring actions.⁴ Since the 1970s, historical geographers have gravitated away from Carl O. Sauer’s Berkeley school of geographers – denounced by some critics as the ‘geography of artifacts’⁵ (or what James S. Duncan called ‘object fetishism’⁶) – and began to search for different ways to analyse landscapes other than by ‘reading them’.⁷ Marxist ideological geography partly paved the way,⁸ as did Leonard Guelke with his ‘idealist approach’, though it gave little margin to historians.⁹ Georges Duby’s interpretation of ‘ideology’ as a system of representations with its own logic, ideas and myths,¹⁰ and the *Oxford Dictionary*’s definition of the term as the ‘system of ideas at the basis of an economic or political theory’ will be used here, permitting a holistic approach.¹¹

Humans interact with their landscape in a variety of ways. For example, as Donald W. Meinig has shown, when driven by its own ideology, an imperial power can mobilise different forces to impose its presence on the landscape (see below).¹² Religious and utopian beliefs may cause people to relocate, resulting in landscape changes, connecting in many cultures to the relationship between land, God and man – a matter at the heart of Jewish claims to ‘Eretz Israel’ (‘the Land of Israel’),¹³ producing a landscape with a ‘geographical personality’.¹⁴ Order is imposed and authority asserted in an attempt at ‘totalisation’,¹⁵ with landscapes constantly in flux.

‘Time’, ‘space’, ‘place’, ‘period’, and ‘society’ have a combined role in this landscape ‘process’ – as Eric Hirsch termed it – a reminder of Derek J. Gregory’s oft-quoted phrase, ‘all geography *is* historical geography’.¹⁶ Sociologist Anthony Giddens’ inclusive structuration theory makes time–space indispensable to studying changing structures (and actions) in social life;¹⁷ whilst Barbara Bender ‘contextualizes’ landscapes, with society operating within specific temporal and spatial conditions.¹⁸ John A. Hannigan’s social constructionist perspective of environmental sociology is also relevant here as an aid to understanding the interaction between society and its environment and the issues arising from it.¹⁹ David Harvey stresses the material and cultural elements of creating places in space, giving a Marxist historical materialist interpretation of land use.²⁰ Landscape is not inert.²¹ ‘There is no “absolute” landscape’,²² so that ideology has a continuous role in landscape. Hence its significance in this study.

Cultural Geography

Culture is important in landscape studies, expressing thoughts, tastes and customs; particularly in empires, with the foreign rulers exporting their own cultures and adapting from the vernacular. As Meinig argued, icons and symbols of the imperialists' presence become features and marks of their stay.²³ In *The City as Text*, Duncan cast aside the socially disengaged 'readings' of rural landscape characteristic of Sauer, where human-constructed culture, social processes and the influence of power are suppressed in analysis.²⁴ Denis Cosgrove's earlier emphasis on the role of human actions in cultural landscapes,²⁵ with its symbolic and iconographic aspects,²⁶ was considered inadequate since it denied process in landscape.²⁷ New research by John Urry has shown the fused relationship between culture and landscape, as places are 'consumed by' or 'consume' society, being restructured to suit the identity allotted them (historic site, etc.).²⁸ Baker noted that the plurality of society and cultures (class, gender, age, ethnicity, religion, politics, locality) reflect back onto the landscape, giving spaces 'distinctive identities'.²⁹ Cultural geography theories are therefore indispensable here.

Geography and Empire

A.J. Christopher observed that no school of British colonial geography exists, as with the French.³⁰ Carville Earle, for example, wrote of Britain's historical geographers' 'neglect of the imperial legacy'.³¹ And historian John M. MacKenzie, as editor of several of the varied *Studies in Imperialism* – covering issues ranging from nature to the police and imperialism – noted the 'Little Englanders' domination of his subject.³² Post-colonial guilt made the British Empire 'unfashionable'.³³ Only one conference, held in 1994, has been devoted to geography and empire.³⁴

As Neil Smith and Anne Godlewska have shown, interdisciplinary theories are well suited to imperial geography. Vincent Berdoulay's 'contextual theories' help in understanding the new empire contexts;³⁵ whilst the 'critical geography' of the 1990s led to the implementation of a variety of social theories and the intense questioning of post-structuralist and post-modernist theories, the Frankfurt school, and post-colonial theory.³⁶ To Marxism, feminism, economics, history, and Edward Said's 'Orientalism' in the field of imperial studies have now been added works on literature, social theories, culture, medicine, psychology, environmentalism, and religion.³⁷ Imperial studies continued in political geography – with its emphasis on state,

government and politics – though research was focused on nationalism, ideology, power and boundaries.³⁸

In colonial discourse theories – reinforcing Said's arguments for an 'Orientalist' approach to analysing empires from the standpoint of the ruled – there have been the influential theories of the *Subaltern Studies*, an amalgamation of history and anthropology which revises India's historiography and uses dichotomies, such as coloniser/colonised, Western/non-Western.³⁹ However, the *Subaltern Studies* have been criticised for being too limiting and divisional, with not much middle ground.⁴⁰ Said's *Orientalism* has also been criticised for overstating the case against the West's colonial past.⁴¹ Yet, other historians, such as A. Adu Boahen writing on Africa, have sought to address the highly sensitive issue of 'the colonial balance sheet in the political, social and economic fields'. In so doing, Adu Boahen rejected what he considered to be the 'rather extreme position' of those exemplified by Guianese historian and activist, Walter Rodney, and Ugandan historian, T.B. Kabwegyere, who 'maintained that colonialism made no positive impact on Africa'. Instead, Adu Boahen demonstrates what can be described as colonialism's 'mixed' impact on his continent, thereby broadening the debate.⁴²

Colonial Landscapes

Meinig's geographical analysis of imperial expansion, Christopher's classified types of colonial landscapes, Daniel R. Headrick's theories in technological transfer and an understanding of the term 'development' as used by the British colonialists, are all relevant here.

Meinig's analysis of an empire's geographical spread within the framework of five common human aspects remains an important guide to examining how imperial authority and order may be imposed and expressed in the landscape politically, sociologically, culturally, economically and psychologically.⁴³ Geographically these aspects are indicated as: the spatial systems that bind the two areas of conqueror and conquered; the locational distribution or areal patterns diagnostic of the imperial presence and impact; the man-land relationships caused by the imperial intrusion and disturbance of older ecological, tenurial and resource patterns; the social ecologies of the intimate areal and environmental relationships between two peoples brought together by imperialism; and the cultural landscapes with their symbolic imperial content.⁴⁴ The ruled are perpetually reminded of the ruler.

In his thematic analysis, Christopher seeks to assort and investigate both patterns and anomalies in the British Empire, broaching such

subjects as: the link with the metropolis, power bases, cities, rural land division and imperial landscape characteristics. But there were no cast iron rules for imperial patterns. The great movement of people, the struggle of Church *versus* State, strategic and mercantile interests, and expectations, all played their part. Significantly, and unlike the French Empire, 'decentralization with a strong element of self-government and indirect rule', based on Britain's legal system, was a major feature of the British Empire.⁴⁵ The Colonial Office 'supervise[d] world-empires from a single building',⁴⁶ controlling the colonies by degrees,⁴⁷ as the implementation of London's colonial policies became distorted by the colonial officials' perceptions.

In the case of Australia, the 'impress of Central Authority' had its origins in the London Cabinet, and its reciprocal influence on the Secretary of State and office staff. In turn, these were also susceptible to influence from other London Government departments, parliamentary pressure, select committees, pressure groups, and colonial land and emigration commissioners. But, Sydney also had a governor, an executive council and a legislative council, all interacting at the top of the ruling structure: these were influenced by the Colonial Secretary who took note of the Treasury, Land Board, commissioners, police, magistrates, the Surveyor-General (and staff), surveyors, and the Department of Roads and Bridges. A complex system of command emerges which shows that no single authority or individual was immune to influence from some quarter, both in London and Sydney.⁴⁸

The information traffic of the imperial archives is witness to colonial activities;⁴⁹ though scholars, such as Roger Owen, have questioned the data contained therein 'as an essential tool of modern government'.⁵⁰ Were any of these patterns of British rule and impact discernible in Palestine?

Applying themes familiar to studies on the Industrial Revolution, Headrick showed how empires facilitated the transfer of ideas and technology by highlighting the colonialists' role, not only as administrators, but also in working to 'increase production', and attempting to lower costs by applying industrial and scientific methods.⁵¹

There are many theories on technological transfer, which are discussed later on in the chapter on Agriculture. Headrick distinguishes two features in technological transfer: that equipment and methods are relocated with informed experts who could use the equipment; and that knowledge, skills and attitudes towards devices or processes are diffused from one society to another. Furthermore, technological flow depends on contacts, decisions and reactions from within the society concerned. Technological transfer may be resisted or supported by culture, politics,

society, individuals, governments or even conflict; governments operate as agents of technological transfer, for example, by manipulating tariffs.⁵² Scientific institutes are also agents, serving colonial settlers to improve crops and agricultural techniques.⁵³ The Empire acted as a network of transfer, making Headrick's theories applicable to the following study.

DEVELOPMENT

Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain's (1895–1903) support for the 'new imperialism' of the late nineteenth century (and the need to rethink the British Empire along these lines) continued into the twentieth century.⁵⁴ 'Development' meant State intervention, with influencing Fabian concepts biased towards agrarian issues.⁵⁵ By the 1920s, 'moral' and 'educational' progress was being encouraged in the Empire, whilst the latter's 'abounding wealth' was to be exploited for the 'world's good',⁵⁶ so that Britain would not be viewed as the sole, cynical benefactor, developing her colonies as a market for her surplus.⁵⁷ The Empire also meant power and prestige in Europe.⁵⁸ The policy set by the British Plenipotentiary in Egypt, Lord Cromer, stood the tests of Empire: the Government gave 'security' to the economy by ensuring law and order, interfering only in public works, and encouraging private enterprise.⁵⁹ Colonial budgets were to be balanced, with the British tax-payer making no contribution except towards defence.⁶⁰ Colonial Development and Welfare Acts were passed (1929, 1940, 1945, 1949, 1950), and Colonial Office directives were sent out for Empire-wide development (for example, in agriculture), with conferences and imperial scientific institutes facilitating trans-Empire technology and information transfers.⁶¹

'Development' was (and still is) generally defined as a rise in average living standards, with increased materialism, more social, cultural, educational and health opportunities, and a greater per capita production, indicating economic growth. Structural changes should occur, with industrial and occupational diversification for local colonial inhabitants, and a buoyant domestic market and increased agricultural production, followed by higher productivity in the manufacturing and services sectors, the mechanisation of traditional handicrafts, and the establishment of conditions of mass consumption, with an infrastructure for domestic distribution.⁶²

According to Marxist theory, following on the Industrial Revolution, capitalist conquests may have had a progressive though brutal role in initiating capitalist industrialisation: the differences in preceding modes

(and by extension, the geography) of production (pre-industrial, pre-colonial) led to the slow penetration of capitalism into Asia, enabling eventual European domination.⁶³ Hegel considered world history as a development process, a progression towards the better.⁶⁴ Discussions on 'modernisation' and 'progress' echo Hegel: these are seen as the change from traditional and communal (*gemeinschaft*), to rational, complex, businesslike (*gesellschaft*) social and economic settings. The process requires transmission, adaptation, and the transfer of modern ideas and technologies from the 'developed' to the 'less developed' world.⁶⁵ These commonly used interpretations of development have, however, been forcefully criticised by Debra Straussfogel as being too Eurocentric; also, by Arturo Escobar in his anti-development and post-structuralist study.⁶⁶

With its antecedents in nineteenth-century evangelism's sense of mission, and Fabian socialist ideas, the ruler's attitude towards and psychology as regards, the ruled increasingly became one of dedication and paternalism.⁶⁷ This was aptly expressed in Rudyard Kipling's poem calling on the Americans to take up the 'White Man's Burden',⁶⁸ 'to teach the ignorant, childlike natives how to live and labour productively'.⁶⁹ Still, with the Colonial Office operating like a large international labour exchange, for many, working for the colonial administration was just a job.

POLICY FORMATION, PLANNING AND PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

Policy formation, planning and plan implementation were the keys to British rule in Palestine, and are important in understanding 'attitudes and actions' and the landscape. Theories developed in government studies are thereby applicable and are discussed below.

Problem Definition and Policy Formation

Problem definition is integral to policy formation and planning. John W. Kingdon defined problems as compelling circumstances leading to calls for government action: public awareness of the problem is then crystallised by individual or group activity.⁷⁰ Hannigan, applying social constructionist theory, claims that problems are 'constructed' by people and do not just arise;⁷¹ whilst David A. Rochefort and Roger W. Cobb argued that how problems are defined also determines policy. Participation in problem solving may be restricted by narrowly defining a problem, or heightened by linking up major themes, such as justice.⁷² Time, place and context must also be considered. According

to social constructionist theories, political and cultural leaders may be seen to impose their ideological and, in consequence, their institutional⁷³ hegemony over the next phases – policy formation and planning – as pressure groups and society fight for their own interest values.⁷⁴

Mark Turner and David Hulme identified ten ways to define ‘policy’, that is, as:

- a label for a field of activity (for example, broad statements on government economic policy);
- an expression of general purpose or desired state of affairs (for example, to promote democratisation through decentralisation);
- specific proposals (for example, to provide free primary education);
- government decisions (for example, those announced by a president);
- formal authorisation (for example, Acts of Parliament).
- In addition, policy could be defined as a programme (for example, land reform);
- as output (for example, area of land redistributed);
- outcome (for example, agricultural output);
- a theory or model (for example, increased incentives to manufacturers will lead to higher industrial output);
- and, finally, as a process (long term, starting with issues, moving through to objective-setting, decision-making, implementation and evaluation),⁷⁵ this latter point gives policy an historical dimension.⁷⁶

Theories on policy-making have shifted from the nineteenth-century liberal views of Jeremy Bentham – which accentuated group interaction and gave the State a passive role – to more recent holistic interpretations that include individuals, ideas and their originators, and state–society interaction. Stephen Brooks underlined the ‘fragmented process’ of policy formation, cautioning against macro-level theories like Marxism where generalisations dim the ‘nuanced reality of policy-making’, allowing ‘fluidity’ in analysis.⁷⁷ However, the choate nature of macro theories – also applied here – has led to their revival, with Quentin Skinner writing of the ‘grand theory’s’ return,⁷⁸ accommodating Robin G. Collingwood’s philosophising in which universal concepts (such as ‘utility’, ‘right’ and ‘duty’) are considered present in each and every action.⁷⁹ Macro-level analyses permit a general view prior to examining sub-structures and details, which is why they are used here.

Policy-making also involves reality and value judgements,⁸⁰ and so is not only aimed at ‘goal-setting’ – hence the ‘departmental philosophies’ of the metropolitan government’s Treasury, for example.⁸¹ Policy-makers

use lesson-drawing and ideas as ‘tools’. Thus, officials learn from their own and other people’s experiences, routines and set guidelines. Structural changes may cause policy-makers to search for lessons across time and territorial boundaries, which could also result in policy-formation that becomes internationally common.⁸²

Emery Roe noted the use by policy-makers of ‘narrative policy analysis’ – stories used to describe and examine policy issues. Assumptions and decision-making are founded on narratives, often becoming a force of their own, resisting change, even in the face of contradicting empirical data. Only counter-narratives that ‘re-write’ the dominant policy narrative, rather than empirical data which may produce more uncertainty and the entrenchment of positions, can be presented against narratives.⁸³ It may be shown that the British Empire’s governmental system was not immune to such analysis.

Planning and Plan Implementation

Planning also depends on the individuals involved (notably, politicians and professionals), policy, and different governmental and non-governmental interests. Edward J. Blakely delineated six phases in development planning processes relevant here: data gathering and analysis; selecting a development strategy; selecting projects; building action plans; specifying project details; and overall plan preparation and implementation.⁸⁴ Government departments and institutions are the agencies for planning and plan implementation. The policy formation process makes neutral and objective planning realistically impossible as mediation and decision-making conflict.⁸⁵ Even civil servants – collectively an enduring factor which remains as governments change – are not unalterable in their views and approaches to policy.⁸⁶ As Rochefort and Cobb assert, policy-making is multi-disciplinary with many factors in play:⁸⁷ politics, history, geography, tradition, culture, religion, economics, psychology and environment, among others.

Combining many of the models constructed to analyse policy processes and plan implementation, and focusing on society and government, Turner and Hulme marked out various levels of involvement, which are applicable to this study because of their universal aspects. Turner and Hulme began with the individual – a planner’s commitment is usually ‘rooted’ in his or her personal value system⁸⁸ – and the different influencing factors, notably at the stage of plan implementation, the main policy process phase, when resources are scarce ‘... and any policy model must incorporate this reality’.⁸⁹ As with every stage from problem definition to planning, implementation

is complex and demanding, so it must be monitored.⁹⁰ There may be ministerial changes, budget cuts, political upheavals, or any other sudden drawbacks. Hence, plan implementation can immediately highlight fault-lines in policy formation and planning, and even produce new problems, leading to modifications in plans, further protests, and yet more data collecting and analyses.⁹¹

PERIODISATION

Periodicity can cover an ‘age’, such as imperialism, or parts of a century.⁹² Political and historical geography recognise periods and cycles, ‘clarifying distinctive historical periods’ characterised by changes or patterns.⁹³ Two basic cycles have been outlined: hegemonic, and Kondratieff economic cycles. Hegemonic cycles last about a century and usually centre on the hegemonic State which becomes, as Peter J. Taylor noted, ‘pre-eminently powerful economically, politically and culturally’. The Kondratieff cycle lasts about 50 years, with growth followed by stagnation, and is better understood in the context of hegemonic cycles.⁹⁴ Immanuel Wallerstein and Taylor support the world-systems theory, in contrast to the 1980s empirical history theories that focused specifically on events and episodes.⁹⁵ French post-structuralist Michel Foucault, however, prefers to highlight discontinuities and breaks in history, producing an ‘archaeology of knowledge’.⁹⁶

For this study, Wallerstein’s approach will be used, since it allows for the realisation of patterns, breaks in patterns, and new patterns – however set, temporary or unique they may be perceived to be. This book deals with the last two decades of the Mandate period of 1929–48. The general periodisation followed is: 1929–36, a time of high Jewish immigration into Palestine and economic prosperity; and 1936–39 and the Arab Revolt, when significant disruptions occurred in daily life and the Mandatory Government’s works. This is followed by 1939–45 and the Second World War, which saw Palestine’s economic recovery and the war-years boom, tempered by certain wartime shortages; and 1945–48 and the end of the Mandate, when political uncertainty and strife led to the stunting of wartime and post-war reconstruction plans.

STUDIES ON MANDATE PALESTINE

A growing interest in the historical geography of British rule in Mandate Palestine, with less attention being paid to the nineteenth

century is perceptible – especially among Israelis.⁹⁷ Among the Palestinians, research has increasingly concentrated on chronicling Arab life and property ownership during the Mandate, and is led by the Institute for Palestine Studies and Birzeit University.⁹⁸ Along with research by historians, economic historians and sociologists on Mandate Palestine, this interest in the British period is reflected in such journals as *Cathedra*, the *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *Middle Eastern Studies*, *Ofakim*, and the *Journal of Historical Geography*, and in collections of works such as those published in the book, *The Land that Became Israel*.⁹⁹

There is a vast literature on Mandate Palestine, and only a few of the main writers on the subject are mentioned below. Further specialist reviews of authors on the Mandate are given for each chapter. The reader is also referred to the Bibliography. In historical geography, Gideon Biger produced a general description of Mandate Palestine from 1917 to 1929. Certain subjects, however, have received particular attention, exemplified by Jacob Reuveny's book on the Mandate Administration.¹⁰⁰ Roza I.M. El-Eini has written both on the economic history and the historical geography of British agricultural policy in Palestine.¹⁰¹ Moshe Brawer and, in history, Walid Khalidi, have written on Arab villages.¹⁰² Ghazi Falah has examined Bedouin settlements.¹⁰³ Michael J. Cohen, Yehoshua Porath, Nathaniel Katzburg, Shmuel Dothan, Elhanan Oren, Itzhak Galnoor, Yossi Katz and Shalom Reichman have discussed the historical aspects of partition.¹⁰⁴ Meir Garon, El-Eini, J.V. Thirgood,¹⁰⁵ Shaul Ephraim Cohen, and Biger and Nili Lipshitz have researched aspects of forestry.¹⁰⁶ Dov Gavish has written a study on land surveying, and on aerial photographs;¹⁰⁷ and, David Grossman and Ruth Kark have discussed land and settlement.¹⁰⁸ Significant studies on the land issue during the Mandate period have also been undertaken by Sami Hadawi, Kenneth W. Stein, Arieh Avneri and Anita Shapira;¹⁰⁹ and Itzhak Reiter has examined the *Waqf* (Muslim religious endowment).¹¹⁰

Roberto Bachi, Gad G. Gilbar, Edward Hagopian and A.B. Zahlan, Usiel O. Schmelz, Joseph Vashitz, and Mahmud Yazbak, have written on demography and migration during the Mandate.¹¹¹ There are several works on transport, notably by Reichman.¹¹² Also, a number of studies on urban development and town planning have been carried out: by Joseph Fruchtman, Yonathan Fein, Aharon R. Fuchs, and Benjamin Hyman, among others;¹¹³ and on architecture, by Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky.¹¹⁴ There are, in addition, many specific studies relevant to the Mandate's historical geography, such as those by Malik Hussein Salalhah on Beit Jann (in the Galilee), and Vivienne Silver-Brody's work on Zvi Orushkes' (Oron) photography.¹¹⁵

In other disciplines, Mandate Palestine has been of enduring interest for economists, economic historians, historians, researchers in Jewish Studies and sociologists, among others. Significant works on the economic history of the Mandate have been written by: Nachum T. Gross, Jacob Metzger, Barbara J. Smith, El-Eini, and Ian William Gaskin.¹¹⁶ Rashid Khalidi has examined the ‘construction’ of Palestinian identity, also covering the Mandate period; and Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal have researched the sociology of Palestinian Arabs. ‘Abd al-Qadir Yasin has looked at the Arab struggle in Palestine during the Mandate; Muhammad M. Muslih has traced the roots of Palestinian nationalism; and Issa Khalaf has discussed what he termed ‘social disintegration’ in the context of Arab politics in Mandate Palestine.¹¹⁷ Historians in Middle Eastern studies and Jewish history, as well as sociologists, have been involved in a lengthy and, at times, acrimonious debate further developed in the 1980s (with its roots in previous writings, notably by Uri Avnery and Simha Flapan) by Benny Morris, Ilan Pappé and Avi Shlaim – labelled ‘new historians’. These historians question Israeli historiography, claiming that it is biased and that it conceals a policy to advance Zionist interests at any price.¹¹⁸ Nur Masalha and Beshara B. Doumani have also written on this, highlighting the absence of studies on Palestinians.¹¹⁹ Morris’ and Pappé’s discussions have been strongly criticised by Efraim Karsh and Yoav Gelber, who attack the very methodology they use and, in particular, claim that their interpretation of the documents is erroneous.¹²⁰ The debate belatedly drew in historical geographers, though even then resulting in very short studies. Much has been published on both sides of the debate, and research regularly refers to it;¹²¹ this latter point is also true of geography.¹²²

However, in historical geography studies, British rule still only serves as a backdrop; see, for instance, Yossi Ben-Artzi’s ‘Pioneer Jewish settlement’.¹²³ This is also sometimes true in other disciplines, such as in Barbara McKean Parmenter’s work on Palestinian literature, *Giving Voices to Stones*.¹²⁴

BRITISH RULE IN PALESTINE

Historical Background

When General Sir Edmund Allenby marched into Jerusalem on 11 December 1917, the British certainly had not entered a *terra incognita*. Nineteenth-century travellers, consuls and members of the London-

based Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), and the First World War Egyptian Expeditionary Force produced a large body of information and maps on the Holy Land.¹²⁵ Palestine, with its potential as a key Mediterranean naval base, its geographical position east of the Suez Canal, and its inherent religious value as the Holy Land, formed a land-bridge for Britain in the Middle East, as her rule spread from Egypt, across to Trans-Jordan, and on to the oil-rich region of the Persian Gulf.¹²⁶ The route to British India was also secured. Hence, it was primarily as a strategic point that Britain was to signify Palestine, and it was the country's strategic import that was to be the driving force behind British rule there. But in the new post-First World War political climate Britain could not claim Palestine, her last imperial acquisition, as a colony. Following American President T. Woodrow Wilson's (1913–21) belief in self-determination, embodied in his Fourteen Points set down in January 1918, and the establishment of the League of Nations in 1920, Britain was instead granted a Mandate for Palestine on 25 April 1920 at the San Remo Conference. In initiating the Mandates system, the League of Nations saw a means by which to deal with the ceded territories of the defeated Central Powers after the First World War. Of the 'A' Mandated territories – previously of the Ottoman Empire, and considered to be more advanced administratively than the former German overseas possessions in Africa and Oceania, making up 'B' and 'C' Mandates – the British got Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq. No defined period of time was stated for the duration of the Mandates. Palestine had been under a British Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA) since its conquest, and was made a Civil Administration on 1 July 1920 under the first High Commissioner (who was also given the rank of Commander-in-Chief), Sir Herbert Louis Samuel (1920–25). On 24 July 1922, the Mandate was approved by the League of Nations, and, excluding Trans-Jordan (1922), came into operation on 29 September 1923 with the official ending of the war with Turkey by the Treaty of Lausanne.

In 1910, 'Palestine' was defined in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as 'a geographical name of rather loose application'. As Bernard Lewis indicated, during the Middle Ages, Christian writers usually referred to the 'Holy Land' or 'Judaea'. The Roman name, Palestine, was 'widely adopted in the Christian world' after entering into common European usage following the Renaissance and the revived interest in classical antiquity. Palestine was administratively divided under the Ottomans (see below). The process of boundary formation for Mandate Palestine in the south was largely based on British and Ottoman interests during the nineteenth century; and in the north, on British and French interests,

after France was allocated in 1919 the Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon. Hence, the British Mandate was instrumental in defining Palestine, and in placing it on the World map.¹²⁷

Ultimately bound by Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations in which the ‘well-being and development of such peoples [under Mandate rule] form a sacred trust of civilization’, and the terms of the *Mandate for Palestine*, the British Government was committed to administering the territory on behalf of the inhabitants to ensure the formation of ‘self-governing institutions’¹²⁸ (see, Appendix 1). This was to be done with a view to eventual self-rule. The British were therefore given a double trust, a ‘dual Mandate’: on behalf of Palestine’s inhabitants, and on behalf of the ‘International Society’. Incorporated into the Preamble and Article 2 of the *Mandate for Palestine* – whose vocabulary, such as the words ‘the Mandatory’ and ‘the Administration’, came into common usage as references to the British Government in Palestine – was the Balfour Declaration. Originally published on 2 November 1917 as a letter from the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Arthur James Balfour, to Lord Rothschild, it stated that His Majesty’s Government (HMG):

view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people ... it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine ...¹²⁹

Britain thus also had a ‘dual obligation’ – as it came to be known – towards the Arabs and the Jews, enhancing Palestine’s uniqueness within the British Empire. Though ruled from the Colonial Office, much like any of HMG’s crown colonies, Palestine was now a Mandated territory, and Britain was answerable to the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) of the League of Nations in Geneva and later to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, which replaced the League of Nations after the Second World War. The local population, therefore, had an address to which to post their complaints. With limited natural resources (mainly potash), and the Mandate terms, Palestine was not set to attract British White settler communities, or any notable number of fortune-seekers – both so common to the rest of the British Empire.¹³⁰

The British were quite critical of Ottoman rule in Palestine.¹³¹ But their evaluation seems truer of the situation they found in the wake of the retreating Ottoman Army, than of the actual Ottoman legacy after 401 years of rule. As studies by Moshe Ma’oz, Kark, and L. Carl Brown

show, the Ottomans established health, education, security, transport, taxation, land registration and administrative systems.¹³² One of the Ottomans' most lasting legacies was the legal code of the European-influenced *Tanzimat* reforms. These were introduced in the Ottoman Empire, which included Palestine, from 1839 onwards. The *Tanzimat* affected every aspect of life: agriculture, forestry, governance, industry, land, law, taxation and trade.¹³³ In Palestine, the significance of the *Tanzimat* reforms – which often had only a patchy impact – was that they lay the groundwork for British rule, and formed the core of Mandatory law.¹³⁴

Palestine's only minerals of economic value were Dead Sea deposits, and its economy was traditionally based on agriculture.¹³⁵ The British described the soils as 'much-denuded',¹³⁶ and 'made worse during the First World War' by the Ottoman Army as it withdrew, destroying large areas of tree-barrier to meet its fuel needs.¹³⁷ Whilst this description gives an idea of the state of the countryside, the extent of the damage caused by the Ottomans is questioned by scholars, as will be discussed in the chapter on Forestry. Palestine's varied climate and soils, which ranges from desert to hill country, marshland, coastal plain and oasis, allowed for the production of different kinds of crops.¹³⁸ Of the 26.3 million metric dunams making up Palestine (this book refers to *metric* dunams), the British in 1930 officially considered only less than a third of it cultivable – a contentious point, since this partly determined the number of Jews permitted to immigrate to the country.¹³⁹

Palestine's Population

In 1917, Palestine's population was characterised by high birth and death rates, the latter being due to recurring epidemics of smallpox, malaria, typhus and cholera.¹⁴⁰ In 1922, in the first British *Census*,¹⁴¹ the Arabs (denoted in the *Census* as 'Muslims, Christians, Druze and Others') numbered 679,800 (or 89.1 per cent of the total population), and the Jews, 83,800 (or 11 per cent).¹⁴² By 1931, and the second and last full *Census*,¹⁴³ the numbers were 858,700 (83.1 per cent), and 174,600 (16.9 per cent), respectively (for 1946, see Table 1).¹⁴⁴ About 90 per cent of Jewish immigration originated from Europe.¹⁴⁵ Under the British, improved Government- and Jewish-run health services, particularly, for example, focusing on the control of malaria¹⁴⁶ – led to a fall in mortality rates.¹⁴⁷

Throughout the period of 1926–47, the total fertility rate of the Muslims remained the highest in Palestine, steadily rising from 6.37 in 1926/7 to 7.14 in 1934/6, and 9.42 per cent in 1943/5. In the same

Table 1. Population of Palestine by Religion, 1922–46^a

Year	Total	Jews	Muslims	Christians	Druze and Others
Absolute Numbers (Thousands)					
1922	763.6	83.8	600.7	71.5	7.6
1931	1,033.3	174.6	759.7	88.9	10.1
1946	1,895.0	593.8	1,141.5	144.5	15.2
Per Cent					
1922	100.0	11.0	78.7	9.4	1.0
1931	100.0	16.9	73.5	8.6	1.0
1946	100.0	31.3	60.2	7.6	0.8
Relative Growth (1922 = 100)					
1931	135.0	208.0	126.0	124.0	133.0
1946	248.0	709.0	190.0	202.0	200.0

^a Official data as somewhat amended by Roberto Bachi, *The Population of Israel* (Jerusalem: Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University/Demographic Center, Prime Minister's Office, 1977). Any differences in summation (of percentages, for example) are due to rounding off of figures by Schmelz and Bachi.

Source: Usiel O. Schmelz, *Modern Jerusalem's Demographic Evolution, Jewish Population Studies*, 20 (Jerusalem: Avraham Harman Institute of Contemporary Jewry, The Hebrew University/Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1987), p. 24.

years, the Jews registered fertility rates of 3.86, 2.67 and 3.35 per cent, respectively; whilst the Christians retained steady rates of 4.29 in 1931/3 (the earliest noted) and 4.37 per cent in 1943/5.¹⁴⁸

In a study of the percentage distribution of deaths by age, Bachi found that during 1930–42, the Muslims had the highest rates among 0–4-year-olds (67 per cent, falling to 60 per cent); and for those aged 60 and over (10.5 per cent, rising to 17.8 per cent). The age groups between 5 and 59 registered steady rates of 5–6.2 per cent. This contrasted with the Jews (the 0–4 age group rate fell from 34.7 to 19.9 per cent, though the rate for persons aged 60 and over rose from 35.1 to 49.7 per cent; while those in between these age groups registered from 3.3 to the highest at 13.5 per cent for 45–59-year-olds). The Christians also had a high infant mortality rate (falling from 49.6 to 35.2 per cent during 1930–42), and high death rates among those 60 years and over (28.1, rising to 39.8 per cent). The age groups in between registered rates of 2.9 (5–14-year-olds) to 9.2 per cent (45–59-year-olds).¹⁴⁹

Population studies of birth and death rates during 1923–42 indicate higher levels among the Muslims.¹⁵⁰ Crude birth rates for the latter ranged from 51.7 (per 1,000 population) in 1923/4 to 47.3 per cent in 1940–42. Jewish and Christian birth rates also fell from 37.3 to 23.3

per cent, and from 37.9 to 29.3, respectively. The overall crude birth rate therefore fell during the Mandate period from 48.1 in 1923/4, to 38 per cent in 1940–42.

Crude death rates for 1923–42 fell among the Muslims from 23.1 (per 1,000 population) in 1923/4 to 22 in 1940–42. For the Jews and Christians, their lower rates of 13.7 and 16.2 in 1923/4 fell to 7.9 and 11.8, respectively. Palestine's total death rate, therefore, dropped during the Mandate from 25.1 in 1923/4 to 16.8 in 1940–2.¹⁵¹ The figures for the crude rate of natural increase are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2. Crude Rate of Natural Increase per 1,000 Population, 1923–47

Year	Jews	Muslims	Christians	Total
1923–24	23.6	23.1	21.7	23.0
1925–29	21.6	23.8	19.8	23.0
1930–34	21.2	24.9	20.9	23.8
1935–39	19.0	29.0	21.3	25.4
1940–44 ^a	17.4	25.3	17.5	21.1
1945–47	22.7	— [Statistics not available] —		

^a For Muslims, Christians and total population, 1940–42.

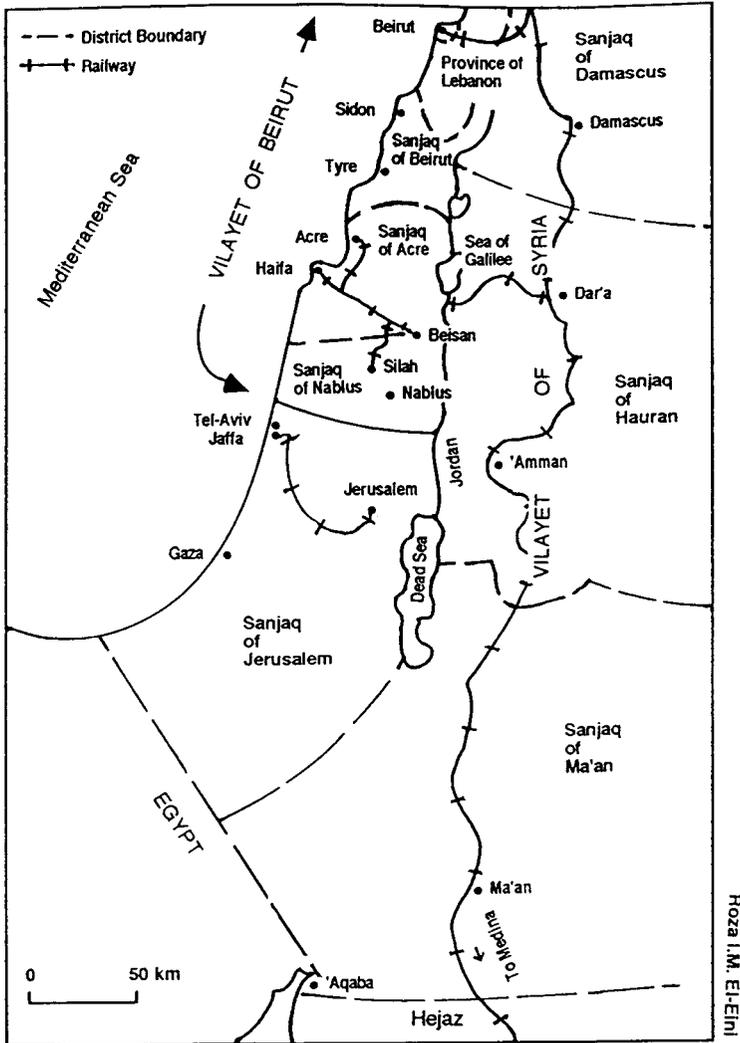
Source: Bachi, *Population of Israel*, p. 244.

Policy Formation, Planning and Plan Implementation in Mandate Palestine

The British ran Palestine along the lines of the Cromerian system of having colonies maintain balanced budgets (see, Appendix 2), London mainly contributing towards defence.¹⁵²

Ottoman Palestine was administratively divided so that the *Sanjaqs* (Districts) of Acre and Nablus as part of the *Vilayet* (Province) of Beirut, looked to the north for their governance and economy; whilst the *Mutassariflik* (also District) of Jerusalem – including the area south of Beersheba – was a separate district, directly controlled by the Porte in Constantinople.¹⁵³ In contrast, the Mandatory Government established a single centralised administrative system,¹⁵⁴ giving Palestine international borders, with districts and sub-districts, and making Jerusalem its capital (see Map 1 and Appendix 3).¹⁵⁵ There were also municipal, local and village councils. This subject is further discussed in the chapter on the Urban and Rural Landscapes.

After a short period under Foreign Office control, responsibility for Palestine was transferred to the Colonial Office in 1922, which – along with the Treasury – sought to put British interests first. Few



Map 1. Ottoman Palestine, 1914.

decisions could be taken without prior knowledge and approval of the metropolis, thereby ensuring a seemingly tight rein on the Mandatory Administration. Local decisions had regularly to be referred to Jerusalem first, which in turn often communicated them on to London for approbation. In this way, a clear chain of command could sometimes be traced all the way from the Prime Minister's Office in London, to the lowest level of administrator in Palestine, with the Treasury often having a special say. Hence the applicability of policy formation and planning theories discussed above.

However, other elements influenced the policy and planning processes: Colonial Office and Treasury policies; Mandate obligations; the Palestine Orders in Council (outlining the form of governance through the Executive, departments, legislation, British Statutes, the Judiciary, and the validation of Ordinances, and made by the Sovereign on the advice of the Privy Council in London). There was also international pressure from official organisations (especially from the PMC); the Palestine Executive Council; the Mandate Government's departments, district and sub-district commissioners, deputies, assistants and officers; different individuals, with their own political leanings and interests (from the Prime Minister to the local official); and Arab and Jewish pressure; as well as other factors, such as the environment, history, economics, and sociology (Figure 1). The Administration, which employed both Arabs and Jews, grew from 21 departments in 1924, to 45 in 1947. In addition, were the many commissions, committees and councils, each made separate demands.¹⁵⁶

Initially, the Administration employed former officers from the First World War 'who happened to be kicking around the Middle East at the time'. Later in the 1920s, more specialists and trained people were posted to Palestine, many having had years of experience in the colonies; so that by the 1940s, the 'majority ... were "hand-picked" [*sic*] flyers from elsewhere'.¹⁵⁷ Occasionally, graduates fresh from Oxbridge would be recruited. When visited by one such official, a distinguished Arab sheikh of the Beisan Valley exclaimed: '*Wallab!* [By God!] What are they bringing us? A *wulaid* [little child]?!'¹⁵⁸ Still, the Palestine Service came to be regarded as a '*corps d'élite*'.¹⁵⁹ Many in it brought with them preconceived ideas of the Holy Land, a form of biblical romanticism absorbed from such words as those of Claude R. Conder, member of the late nineteenth-century Palestine Exploration Society (Palestine Exploration Fund – PEF) survey team:

Here then in the wild desert valley, beneath the red precipices ... we may picture the dark figure of the Baptist in his robe of camel hair ... preaching ...¹⁶⁰

Carrying with them the 'White man's burden', which influenced their decisions,¹⁶¹ the British often exhibited a strong condescending streak¹⁶² towards the 'local stuff', that is, those they ruled.

'Standing Orders' dictated official procedure and behaviour. The staff were:

... requested to deal with the public amiably and respectfully, but

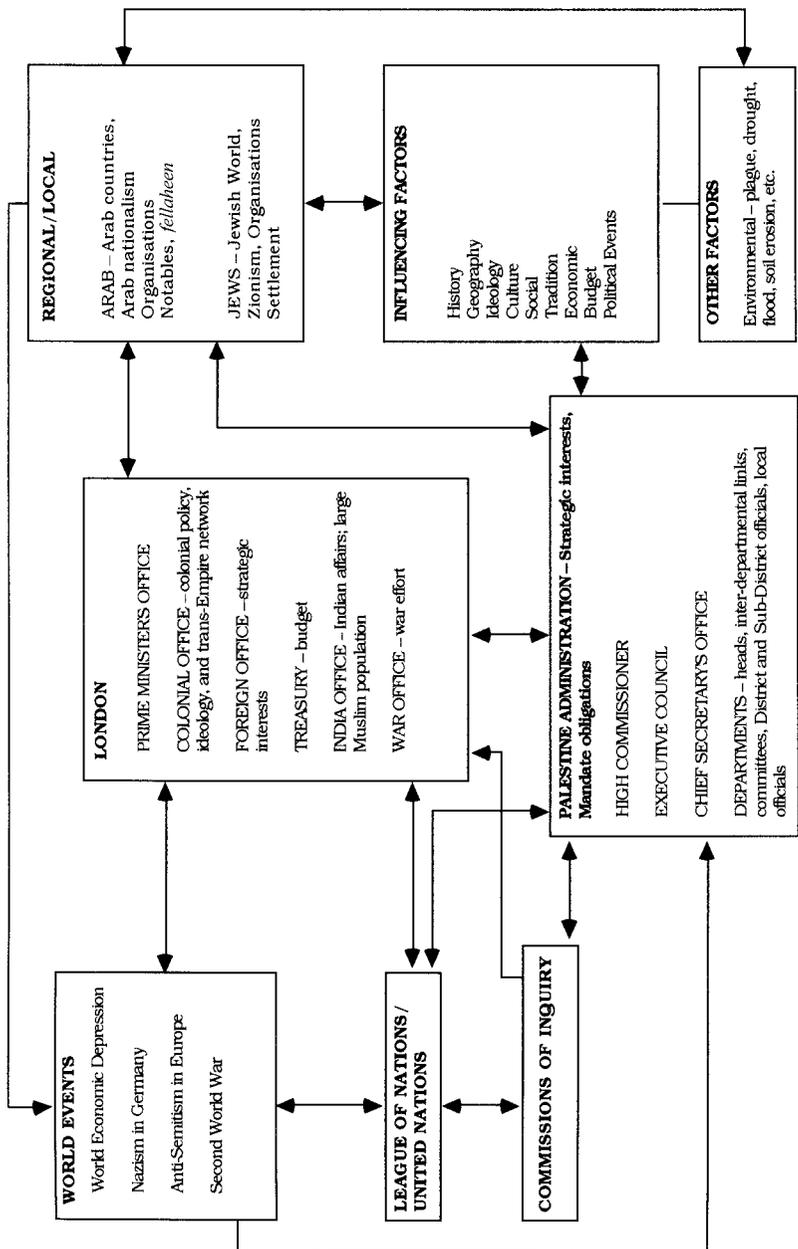


Figure 1. Mandate Palestine: Policy Formation, Planning and Plan Implementation.
Source: Compiled.

should insist at the same time, on the honour and prestige of the office and not allow any interference while executing their duties.

The staff were ‘to obey strictly’ the orders of senior staff, ‘without questioning his instructions’. Furthermore, they were ‘to obey orders in the first place, and to make enquiries or explanations afterwards’.¹⁶³ The correspondence is occasionally potholed with reproofs to juniors for straying from their duties or querying orders, producing undercurrents that tugged at the direction of command. One senior Assistant Secretary in the Chief Secretariat, Sidney Moody, operated by his own self-styled motto: ‘Never allow a particular instance to develop into a general principle’.¹⁶⁴ Financial matters were always one of the main concerns, and ‘official receipts had to be given for every payment made by members of the public’. Leaving the population with no doubt as to who governed, the flag was ‘to fly throughout the day and throughout the week, and should not be taken down before sun-set’.¹⁶⁵ In these orders lay the true metal of British rule in Palestine and the Empire.

The Mandate Years

In the first decade or so of their rule, the British established the working machinery of the Mandatory Administration, and consolidated their authority by entrenching military centres (such as that at Lydda), beginning to build a major naval base at Haifa, and policing the countryside and borders. At the same time, departmental activities were initiated in agriculture, forestry, communications, education, finance, health, industry, land registration, tax, trade and town planning.¹⁶⁶ Many of the Administration’s activities were concentrated on the Arabs – continuing the Ottoman Government system of contacts with the wealthier land-owning notables and village representatives, the *mukhtars*¹⁶⁷ – since the British regarded the Jews as independent, highly motivated, well funded and organised (as Hagit Lavsky has shown); although the Jews also suffered from severe hardships, the effects of which are often underestimated or overlooked in the literature on Palestine.¹⁶⁸ It is essential to emphasise the variances between the already established Arab community in Palestine and the comparative difficulties entailed in bringing changes to it, and the country’s evolving and mainly immigrant Jewish community, with its different historical and ideological background, and its constant changes which made it relatively more receptive to and indeed dependent on its organisations. These differences between the two communities were to influence British attitudes and planning in Palestine. There was a whole variety of specialist Jewish

organisations and branch organisations, that ranged from the cultural and political to the economic and scientific, both inside and outside Palestine. By 1937, the Palestine Royal Commission, which investigated the 1936 disturbances, was to label the *Yishuv* (the Jewish community in the country) ‘an *imperium in imperio*’;¹⁶⁹ its activities otherwise described by Sami Hadawi as ‘interference in the administration’.¹⁷⁰

By contrast – and although the Palestinian journalist, Nasser Eddin Nashashibi, went as far as titling a chapter in one of his books, ‘The Absence of Arab Institutional Development, 1922–39’ – Arab institutional organisation was not lacking during the Mandate. However, several organisations were only in their incipient stages. And, Walid Khalidi remarked, the Arab leadership in Palestine had no institutional links with neighbouring Arab capitals, which ‘themselves were struggling under various forms of British tutelage’.¹⁷¹ There were banking, commercial, co-operative, educational and other Palestinian Arab organisations; however, many struggled to function, especially the co-operative societies, and lacked enough consistent support to have an impact beyond certain limited interest groups and those that could afford credit loans.¹⁷² There was certainly no real equivalent to the Jewish Agency which represented the *Yishuv*, with its specialist departments. No Arab organisation, for instance, existed in Palestine that could equal the Jewish Agency’s Institute for Economic Research which collated statistics and produced detailed studies and economic forecasts even the Mandatory Government’s Office and Department of Statistics drew on. There was no official Arab structure to sustain Arab farmers in the manner that the Agency did Jewish farmers. This was an important difference as it concentrated the Mandatory Government’s attention on the Arab sector, but not to the exclusion of the Jews, who readily used Government facilities, in many instances duplicating them. All of which helps to explain British development attitudes and to deflect certain Zionist accusations of an inherent ‘pro-Arab bias’ in the Mandatory’s development works. This discussion is further detailed in the chapter on Agriculture.

Several Arab organisations already functioned in Ottoman times, such as the *Waqf*, dealing with religious endowments, the Muslim *Shari‘ah* (Canonical law of Islam) religious Courts, and Christian religious schools (for example, that at Beit Jamal). The Arabs rejected a British proposal made in 1923 for an Arab Agency, which was to be a counterpart to the planned Jewish Agency.¹⁷³ Important political organisations were, however, set up during the Mandate period. The most notable were the Arab Executive Committee (AEC), jointly founded by Christians and Muslims in 1920; the autonomous Supreme

Muslim Council (SMC), founded in 1922; and the Arab Higher Committee (AHC), representing the main Arab political parties and founded in 1936. The AEC's fragility and its constant undermining by the SMC – led by its powerful and controversial President, the Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husseini – resulted in its eventual demise in 1935. Although the Arabs refused to have official representation to the Government, the AEC had acted as a representative, and maintained contact with the Mandatory. In 1937, as the Arab Revolt intensified, the SMC lost its support from the British, and the AHC was banned: both occurrences taking place because of these organisations' persistently hostile stance and activities against Arab political opponents, the Jews and the Mandatory. It was not until November 1945 that the second Arab Higher Committee was formed.¹⁷⁴ Rashid Khalidi commented that the Arabs in Palestine thereby:

entered World War II in effect headless – without any semblance of a unified leadership. In that condition they were to face their most fateful challenge in 1947–49. The crippling defeat they were to suffer in 1936–39 was among the main reasons they failed to overcome it.¹⁷⁵

The Arab organisations discussed above were either too unstable or too politically radicalised to accommodate such comprehensive programmes of economic, educational, scientific and funding activities as the ones which the Jewish Agency was engaged in, whilst in addition it also ran a strong Political Department and handled campaigns, crises and rivals to its dominant position. There was a paucity of publications by the AHC, and of the material it did put out, much of it consisted of political pamphlets and booklets. Many of the difficulties that surfaced in Arab political activities during the Mandate were often also reflected in the more political aspects of the organisation and running of Arab trade unions – which did start gaining strength in the 1940s – such as the *Jam'iyyat al-'Ummal al-'Arabiyya al-Filastiniyya* (the Palestinian Arab Workers' Society).

For their part, and despite serious political divisions within the *Yishuv*, the Jewish Agency and other Jewish organisations and individuals continued actively planning the comprehensive development of the Jewish community in Palestine, producing reams of printed matter, which appeared in Hebrew, English and Arabic, on subjects that included advanced agricultural research and economic analyses. Many of those involved were highly educated, experienced and even internationally established experts and professionals in their fields (for

instance, Dr Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency, had been a lecturer in Biological Chemistry at Manchester University and in 1916 was appointed Director of the British Admiralty Chemical Laboratories; and Dr Arthur Ruppin, an economist and sociologist, who headed the Zionist Executive's Colonisation Department, and went on to teach Sociology at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem).¹⁷⁶ The Arab leadership in Palestine often failed to harness the knowledge and skills of its own highly educated, intellectual, professional and moneyed classes in the same structured and effective manner as that of the Jewish leadership in its determination to build up the *Yishuv* on a broad base.

Also fundamental to understanding the institutional weaknesses of the Arab community in Mandate Palestine, therefore, was the narrow political focus and openly fractious and at times self-defeating nature of the main Arab organisations that operated in the period under the British, serving to help explain why an Arab Agency was not established.

Still, a number of Arab chambers of commerce were set up in several towns, notably Jaffa, Haifa and Jerusalem, and the Arab Committee of Citrus Fruits Industry was influential in the country's main economic sector of citrus production and marketing, and Arab trade unions were also formed, reflecting economic, political and social changes, both within the country and the Arab community.¹⁷⁷ But these could not detract from the realities that any restructuring of the Arab economy in Palestine meant dealing with existing conditions. When the Arab Bank Limited was opened in 1930, for instance, it faced many financial difficulties, as much of the Arab population frequently lacked the collateral to qualify for loans and had little knowledge of banking practices. The creation of an Arab National Fund, *Sunduq al-Ummah*, by the AEC in 1931 and other attempts to safeguard Arab lands from sales to the Jews met with little success or any substantive support from Arab landowners, who were themselves integral in sustaining the land market. Significantly for British development activities in agriculture in Palestine, the *fellahéen* (peasants) had heavy debts and their agricultural system was mainly traditional and extensive, based largely on unirrigated, dry farming.¹⁷⁸

Throughout their history, the Jews had maintained a presence in Eretz Israel, the name by which they referred to the Holy Land, the Land of the Bible, and came to lay claim to it at the end of the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries through the Zionist movement.¹⁷⁹ The main organisations relevant to this study were newly established in the late Ottoman period and during the Mandate years: the umbrella Zionist Organization (set up in 1897); the Jewish Agency (1928,

formally established in 1929, and successor to the expanded Zionist Executive, set up in 1920), mentioned in Article 4 of the Mandate as the representative of the *Yishuv*,¹⁸⁰ the *Va'ad Leumi* or National Council (1920), which debated and also represented Jewish affairs; the *Histadrut* or General Federation of Workers in the Land of Israel (1920), which dealt with labour and immigrant settlement matters;¹⁸¹ the Jewish National Fund (JNF or *Keren Kayemet Le-Israel* [KKL], 1901), which bought land for Jewish settlement; the Palestine Foundation Fund (*Keren Hayesod*, 1920); and the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association (PICA, 1924), which purchased land for the JNF and private citizens.¹⁸² Co-operatives and banks were established, also scientific research centres at Rehovot and the Hebrew University, among other places, in Palestine. Although many agricultural settlements were in debt, being new they were often sufficiently flexible to adopt – and adapt to – modern intensive farming based on irrigation.¹⁸³ The Jews claimed they should receive a larger proportion of the Palestine budget due to their being taxed relatively more per capita (in the 1920s, for example, they were taxed three times as high as the Arabs; however, the latter contributed 60 per cent of the revenue).¹⁸⁴ Gross and Metzger have indeed argued that, any ‘bias’ was cancelled out overall.¹⁸⁵

The year 1929 was a watershed for Palestine as widespread rioting broke out. The Arabs demanded more protection from Jewish land buyers because of fears generated by increasing land sales and Jewish immigration (Appendices 4 and 5).¹⁸⁶ For their part, the Jews admonished the British for their *laissez-faire* economic policy, wanting the Government to be more active, especially in its support of the Jewish National Home.¹⁸⁷ The Shaw Commission, called to investigate the ‘disturbances’, was also critical of the Mandatory Government,¹⁸⁸ as too was the Permanent Mandates Commission.¹⁸⁹

The British were caused to review their policy in Palestine, as wide-ranging and detailed reports were commissioned: on the economic conditions of the agriculturalists, by the Johnson–Crosbie Committee;¹⁹⁰ on immigration, land settlement and development, by Sir John Hope-Simpson;¹⁹¹ on the introduction of a system of co-operation, by C.F. Strickland;¹⁹² and on the settlement of landless Arabs, by Lewis French.¹⁹³ In addition, numerous reports on agriculture, forestry, land, urbanisation, and communications were ceaselessly filed, many with copies sent on to London.

As a result, the British drew up a more active policy for Palestine, laid down in the *White Paper* of 1930, also known as the *Passfield White Paper*,¹⁹⁴ by which development was to be encouraged through intensive land use and increased agricultural production; and by which

Jewish immigration was to be limited by the criteria of the country's 'economic absorptive capacity' to take in new arrivals, as stated in the *Churchill White Paper* of 1922.¹⁹⁵ A Development Department was also to be established. However, the Jews roundly condemned the British for the *White Paper*, accusing them of threatening the 'crystallisation' of the Jewish National Home and Dr Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency, resigned his position over this issue. This led to Prime Minister J. Ramsay MacDonald backtracking on the *White Paper* policy in what the Arabs called the 'Black Letter' of 13 February 1931 to Weizmann.¹⁹⁶

The Mandatary then set about implementing its development policy, notably in agriculture. It also persisted in its policy to control Jewish land purchases by honing relevant ordinances dating back to 1920 and applying the limiting factors of the 'lot viable', the minimum area of land deemed necessary for an average *fellah* (peasant) family to subsist on, and therefore to be retained in case of sale.¹⁹⁷

However, HMG's fulfilment of its dual obligation to the Arabs and the Jews was again questioned when Jewish immigration began increasing exponentially due to virulent anti-Semitism in Central and Eastern Europe and to the rise to power of Adolf Hitler and Nazism (Appendix 5). During the 1930s, the Jews began making plans for the eventuality of a Jewish State, and put up stockade-and-tower settlements overnight that were located more for their strategic value than for their agricultural potential.¹⁹⁸ The Arab nationalist Strike and Rebellion broke out in 1936, lasting to 1939, during which – and for the first time – the Arabs specifically attacked British rule in Palestine.¹⁹⁹ Much of the Mandatory Governments' work was undone, as large swathes of the country became no-go areas, with many officials being killed, and agricultural and forestry stations being destroyed.²⁰⁰ The British had to open up new roads and bypasses to maintain their control over Palestine,²⁰¹ and even carried out aerial bombardments.²⁰²

In 1936, a Royal Commission chaired by Earl Peel investigated events in Palestine, gathering large amounts of information. Their recommendations were wide-ranging, covering agriculture, forestry, land, immigration, commerce and other matters. Most significantly, the seemingly irreconcilable differences between the Arabs and the Jews resulted in the Peel Commission recommending the partition of Palestine. An Arab and a Jewish State were to be established, with the British retaining areas of strategic and religious importance, hence putting the issue of partition on the agenda for the first time.²⁰³ A technical commission led by Sir John A. Woodhead then looked into the question of partition, and in 1938 published its findings that partition

would produce two economically unviable states, necessitating population transfers.²⁰⁴ All attempts at negotiations between the Arabs and the Jews failed so that, on 17 May 1939, the British published yet another *White Paper* outlining their reviewed policy. Ever wary of the approaching war in Europe, the British feared antagonising their Muslim subjects across the Empire, and decided on the further restriction of Jewish immigration and land buys.²⁰⁵ In 1940, new Land Transfers Regulations were published for this purpose, delineating land transfer areas.²⁰⁶ A gathering Jewish revolt, which initially broke out in 1938, continued with varying strength till the end of the Mandate. In these years, illegal immigration was stepped up.²⁰⁷

During the Second World War, Palestine became an important military centre for the British war effort in the Middle East; as soldiers were billeted in the country, food production increased, and the economy boomed.²⁰⁸ At the end of the War, the Arab–Jewish conflict intensified, and the United States, now affirmed in its role as a world power, and with the British Empire on the decline, became involved in the question of Palestine.²⁰⁹ In 1946, a joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry, set up to investigate the ‘*Problems of European Jewry and Palestine*’, concluded with the recommendations that a bi-national state should be established, and that 100,000 Jews be permitted into Palestine immediately. That same year saw the bombing by the Jewish underground group, the *Irgun Zvei Leumi* (IZL, or National Military Organization), of the King David Hotel which housed the office of the Mandatory Administration’s Chief Secretary.²¹⁰

International public indignation grew after the Second World War when scenes were reported of the pathetic remnants of European Jewry being shunted about Displaced Persons’ camps and run down on the high seas off the Palestine coast.²¹¹ This was coupled with daily losses of British soldiers in Palestine and home demands that the troops be returned. In 1947, the United Nations, replacing the League of Nations, sent out a Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP)²¹² which, after further reporting, recommended partition. On 29 November 1947, the UN General Assembly voted for the partition of Palestine, a decision that the Arabs categorically rejected. Fighting immediately broke out between the Arabs and the Jews; and as 14 May 1948 drew to a close, the British evacuated Palestine.

Periodisation in Mandate Palestine’s History

Arguing for the analysis of ‘overlapping phases’ in studies on Mandate Palestine, Yechiam Weitz stated that most periodisation in research on

Palestine is contextual and relates to specific issues – for instance, the studies by Reichman on Jewish settlement and by Gross on economics and the *Yishuv* – and lack an overview.²¹³ Political historians, such as Joseph Heller, are also accused of dealing ‘off-handedly’ with periodisation.²¹⁴ But perhaps Weitz is being too critical, as analyses of overlapping phases are discernible in these studies, allowing for nuances. Also, Tarif Khalidi has argued for a non-Western periodisation in studies on the end of Ottoman Palestine and Palestine under the Mandate.²¹⁵

A broad periodisation is used in the present study; hence, issues and events (macro, meso, micro) during Mandate rule may be focused on within overarching Empire and world developments. This historical-based periodisation is thus characterised:

- 1929–36: the Shaw Commission, coinciding with the World Economic Depression, Arab discontent at rising Jewish immigration and land buys, and British reports and development policy.
- 1936–39: the Arab Rebellion.
- 1939–45: the Second World War.
- 1945–48: the post-war years of reconstruction, British imperial decline, intensification of the Arab–Jewish conflict and anti-British activities, partition, and the end of the Mandate.

AIM OF THE BOOK

It is within the historical context discussed above that this study is to be presented. The aim of this book is to analyse and understand British thinking in framing problems, policy formation, planning and plan implementation, concentrating on the years 1929–48 (and the end of the Mandate). An examination will be made of the imperial British ideologies expressed in Palestine, the London and Mandate Governments’ perceptions of the country – cutting across political, economic, cultural and other spheres – and how this influenced their activities there. The relative roles of top-level politicians and the ‘man on the spot’ are also given for a perspective on the workings of the Mandate Administration. The importance of contacts and experience gained from the British Empire is also investigated, and through this, the significance of technological transfer and the exchange of ideas.

The primary sources for this book are the British London and Mandatory Governments’ documents held at the Public Record Office (PRO) at Kew and the Israel State Archives (ISA) in Jerusalem; these are extremely important as the only consistent and original correspondence

and information on British policy formation, planning, and plan implementation. In addition, a number of other archives and Papers were used. Unfortunately, original Arab documentation was often difficult to locate or missing.²¹⁶ The research was carried out within the context of chapters on Town Planning and the Urban and Rural Landscapes; Agriculture; Forestry; Land; the Partition Plans; and a case study on the Shephelah (the Lowlands), an area chosen for detailed research because of its geo-strategic significance to the British. In this way, a greater understanding may be gained of the impact of British imperial rule on the landscape of Palestine during 1929–48: a Mandated landscape.

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Town Planning and the Urban and Rural Landscapes

Let old Jerusalem stand firm, and new Jerusalem grow in grace!¹

INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The debate on colonial discourse and post-colonial theory further evolved from that of the 1970s, when ‘Third World’ writers began to ‘write back’. An important part of the post-colonial debate concerned the colonial urban landscape and its legacy. Hence, Jane M. Jacobs’ ‘geographies of imperialism’ highlighted that in Perth, Australia’s indigenous Aborigines saw their sacred Goonininup grounds given only a symbolic space. But how true is Zygmunt Bauman’s claim that ‘urban planning became the vehicle’ for the ‘perfect world that would know no misfits ... [with] no unattended sites left to chance’?² Odile Goerg and Chantal Chanson-Jabeur examined different criteria for urbanism in its colonial context, questioning the use of ‘models’; whilst Christelle Robin saw at least three factors in the many ‘models’ of the ‘*ville européenne*’ urban morphologies that were supposedly transferred to the colonies: history, geography, culture. These combined to form a singularly colonial urban landscape.³

Writing on the colonial impact on urban centres, Anthony D. King took his cue partly from Janet Abu-Lughod’s commentary on the ‘transplant’ of the ‘modern city’, which produced a ‘dual city’ as a colonial legacy: ‘physically juxtaposed but architecturally and socially distinct’. King teased out the indicators that show that colonial urban centres do not readily fall into categories – conceptualising, for example, the role of cross-cultural phenomena, socio-spatial structure and analyses of policy, planning and resource distribution, as well as economic, social and urban form. Just as technological changes affected city forms, so too did they ‘revolutionise’ the ‘social and political structure’ of society. The main colonial function of an urban centre

(administrative and so on) influenced both the centre itself and its rural surrounds.⁴ King goes a step further, and discusses the impact of regional planning and its significance in the export and transmission of colonial technology and capitalism in the formation and application of ‘dependency’ theories on urbanism and empire. He argues that the city can have a major role as the ‘spearhead of economic, political and cultural penetration’, changing the colonised society or territory.⁵

Robert J. Ross and Gerard J. Telkamp maintained that cities were ‘necessary evils’ to colonists as administrative and commercial centres;⁶ and A.J. Christopher emphasised the role of capitals and the hierarchy of power bases, which could distort a country’s economy, producing new trading and communications tangents.⁷ Tourism was also a by-product of the empires. A particularly potent force in colonial cities was urban planning, which in its crudest form produced racially segregated landscapes such as those in Singapore and South Africa, also expressed in the relative availability of services to the rulers and the ruled.⁸

Town planning in the British Empire originated with British statutory planning – beginning in England with the Housing and Town Planning Act of 1909⁹ – and the evolving municipality system.¹⁰ Such planning became increasingly complex, encompassing garden cities, design, housing, and regional and national planning; much of which was developed in the inter-war period. Nathaniel Lichfield noted how ‘land-use and development planning evolved’, requiring ‘specific intervention’, and eventually leading to planned Government intervention.¹¹ The Town Planning Institute and the Royal Institute of British Architects lent further weight to town planning and its export to the Empire.

Precursors to town planning in British Mandated Palestine were present in the Ottoman Laws of 1877 and 1891, though these were largely limited to building and street construction.¹² Until 1921, there was no Town Planning Law in the country: ‘Town Planning, good, bad or indifferent did, however, take place before the [British] Occupation’. Under the 1877 Ottoman Law, municipalities were given certain powers regarding building construction and the widening and ‘arrangement of streets’. The 1891 Ottoman Law concerned the construction and alignment of streets, and provided for land in Municipal Areas to be taken over for new streets or to widen existing streets.¹³

The British enacted Palestine’s first Town Planning Ordinance in 1921, basing it on the English Town Planning Act of 1909. This was twice amended in 1922 and 1929, with a new Ordinance being passed in 1936 (amended in 1936, 1938, 1939 and 1941), and a further 65 sets of by-laws and five sets of rules.¹⁴ The general history of the Ordinances is discussed by M.D. Gouldman, as well as Joseph Fruchtman,

who argued that British town planning in Palestine was an instrument of 'social control'.¹⁵ The Ordinances' history will not therefore be analysed. Several studies chart aspects of British town planning in Palestine: such as those by Benjamin Hyman on town planners during 1917–36; Fuchs on Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Chief Architect in the Mandatory's Public Works Department (1923–37); and those on Haifa, by Gilbert Herbert and Silvina Sosnovsky;¹⁶ while Kark and Michal Oren-Nordheim, for example, look at some of the British colonial aspects of planning in Jerusalem.¹⁷

Other works are about the land, morphology and society in, and transformation of, Arab villages: see, for example, works by David H.K. Amiran, Y. Bar-Gal and A. Soffer, Moshe Brawer, David Grossman, Sami Hadawi,¹⁸ Ylana N. Miller, Susan Slymovics, and Ori Stendel.¹⁹ Many studies by Palestinians comment on and record Arab property in towns and villages during the Mandate: such as those by Salman Abu-Sitta, Aziz Dweik, Walid Khalidi, Izzat Tannous, Salim Tamari, and John Tleel;²⁰ also studies by institutes: notably Birzeit University's *Destroyed Village Series*, the Institute of Jerusalem Studies, and Bethlehem's Badil Resource Center for Palestinian Residency and Refugee Rights. Furthermore, there are studies on particular towns and villages: for example, by 'Abdullah Asad 'Udi on Al Kababir, and Malik Hussein Salalhah on Beit Jann (in the Galilee).²¹

The period 1936–48 is, therefore, the main subject here, with the focus on town and regional planning, plan implementation, village development, city primacy, and post-war housing, and not on the town plans themselves. The aim is to examine the fundamental ideas and concepts behind British town planning in Palestine, and behind aspects of the urban and rural landscapes connected to British operations. Consequently, King's more broad-ranging and analytical theories referred to above, on changes caused by colonial rule, are more notably used here.

TOWN PLANNING AND THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

Henry Kendall and Town Planning Policy

The abolition of the Central Town Planning Commission in 1936 in favour of District and Local Commissions, and the history of the 1936 Town Planning Ordinance, are well documented by Fruchtman.²² Palestine experienced 'rapid urban development' due to increased Jewish immigration after the Nazi rise to power in Germany in 1933 (see, Appendix 5). In 1936, Henry Kendall was therefore appointed as

Palestine's first full-time Town Planning Adviser, replacing Clifford Holliday, who had been Adviser since 1922.²³

Kendall remained Palestine's Town Planning Adviser to the end of the Mandate, while also encouraging and being involved with town planning in Cyprus and Malta. From the outset, he strove to frame town planning within its proper technical context, insisted on defining such planning terms as 'amenities' ('clear air to breathe ... the sight of beautiful things ...'), and instigated the Town Planning Adviser's *Annual Reports* in 1936.²⁴ He lectured architects on their 'responsibility to posterity', even calling on Henry W. Longfellow: 'Ah to build, to build./That is the noblest art of all arts'.²⁵ Kendall sent the District Commissioners a memorandum on planning objectives concerning zoning, public services, and other related matters, as expressed in the Town Planning Ordinance of 1936 (see, Table 3). In fact, by 1936, town planning was already well established in Palestine, with the number of Planning Areas (excluding Regional Areas) rising from ten in 1930, to 31 in 1939, and 40 in 1948 (see, Table 4 and Map 2). The Ordinance aimed to bring the whole country under statutory planning through decentralisation. It was intended to give greater District and local involvement in planning, through the elimination of the Central Town Planning Commission, hence the multiplication of town-planning activities after its enactment (see, Table 5).²⁶

Table 3. Matters to Be Dealt with in a Town Planning Scheme, According to the Town Planning Ordinance, 1936

Outline Scheme: Section 12

1. Every Local Commission shall submit to the District Commission, within such time as may be prescribed by the District Commission, an outline town planning scheme in respect of all lands within a town planning area, with the general object of securing proper conditions of health, sanitation and communication, and amenity and convenience in connection with the laying out and use of the land.
2. Without prejudice to the powers of the Local Commission under this Ordinance, every scheme to which this section applies shall make provision for all or any of the following matters, as may be prescribed by the District Commission:
 - a. construction of new roads and streets, and the construction, diversion, widening, alteration and stopping up of existing roads, main roads, streets and communications;
 - b. the establishment of building lines and set-backs;
 - c. drainage, including sewerage;

continued

Table 3 cont.

-
- d. water supply;
 - e. the limitation of zones within which special trades and industries may or may not be carried on, or which are reserved exclusively for residential or other purposes;
 - f. the imposition of conditions and restrictions in regard to the open space to be maintained about buildings and the particular height and character of buildings to be allowed in specified areas;
 - g. the demarcation of public and private open spaces and nature reserves;
 - h. the reservation of land as sites for aerodromes;
 - i. the reservation of land for burial grounds.

Town Planning Detailed Scheme: Section 14

- 2. A town planning scheme prepared or adopted under this section shall deal with the matters prescribed in section 1 of this Ordinance, and in addition shall, if it is intended to make provisions therefor, deal with all or any of the following matters:
 - a. the plotting out of land as building areas and sites;
 - b. the allotment of land for public purposes of all kinds including roads, open spaces, gardens, schools, places of religious worship, recreation grounds, car-parks, aerodromes, markets, slaughterhouses and cemeteries;
 - c. dedication of roads or open spaces to the public;
 - d. the prohibition, regulation and control of the deposit or disposal of waste materials and refuse;
 - e. lighting;
 - f. the determination of the situation of buildings designed for specific use, and the demarcation of areas subject to restrictive conditions;
 - g. the preservation of objects of archaeological interest or beauty, and the buildings or places used for religious purposes or cemeteries, or regarded with religious veneration;
 - h. the abolition or reconstruction of overcrowded and congested areas;
 - i. the control of the size, height, design and external appearance of buildings;
 - j. the preservation of trees;
 - k. the reconstruction of plots by the alteration of their boundaries or by combining, with the consent of the owners, two or more original plots held in separate ownership in common;
 - l. the allocation of plots to any owner dispossessed of land in furtherance of the scheme;
 - m. the special powers to be vested in the Local Commission or other responsible authority for the purpose of carrying out the general objects of the scheme;
 - n. any special conditions for the exercise of such powers as regards notice or otherwise;
 - o. the cost of the scheme and any provision with regard to the recovery of betterment tax on property of which the value will be increased by the execution of the scheme.
-

Source: From, Draft Town Planning Ordinance, 1936, High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope to Colonial Secretary J.H. Thomas, Enclosure III, Despatch, 28 May 1936: PRO/CO733/302/75291.

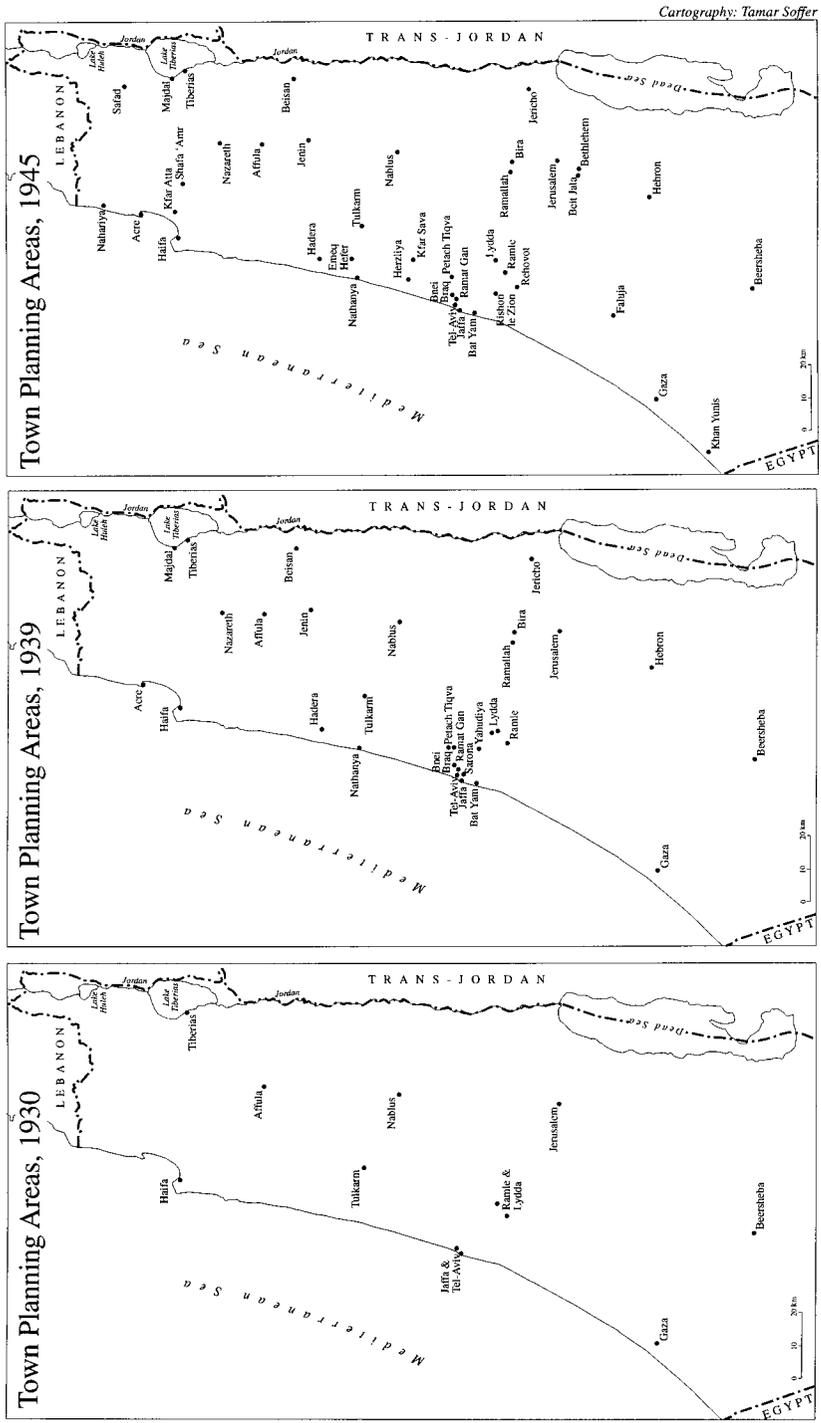
Table 4. Planning Commissions of Each Type, 1946

District	Municipal Area	Local Council Area	Regional Area	Total
Gaza	4	1	1	6
Lydda	5	7	1	13
Jerusalem	5	2	1	8
Haifa	2	2	1	5
Samaria	3	2	1	6
Galilee	5	2	1	8
Totals	24	16	6	46

Source: Palestine Government, *A Survey of Palestine: Prepared in December 1945 and January 1946 for the Information of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry* (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1946; henceforth, *A Survey of Palestine*), p. 784.

Policy formation in town planning differed to an extent from that in other spheres such as agriculture, since it was demonstratively shaped by developments in town planning in Britain, which were then adapted to Palestine's economic, political and social conditions. It was essentially embedded in the 1936 Town Planning Ordinance – Kendall commenting that 'Town Planning in its preliminary aspects very often becomes a matter of law' – and skewed by the Mandatory Government's attitude towards Jerusalem and the 'Holy Land'. And, as the following study shows, there was a history of this mixed approach by the British in Palestine. Kendall stressed Palestine's 'aesthetic importance' and 'ancient monuments'. He repeatedly admonished 'selfish' landlords and cited the lack of 'civic pride' as the cause for the absence of open spaces in urban areas. Educating the public about planning was thus a recurrent theme in Kendall's policy, and his *Annual Reports* were criticised within the Chief Secretariat for being 'a treatise' on town planning instead of a 'record of work done'.²⁷ Palestine's Building and Town Planning laws were among its most complex, referring to the 'external appearance of buildings', parcellation, and even the exact placement of pipes. The Mandatory thus also influenced the country's interior and hidden landscapes, passing Yi-Fu Tuan's 'strange and wonderful', where power touches the individual's world.²⁸ The public was supposed to be conversant in these laws.²⁹

Writing when Palestine's building boom of 1929–36 was slowing down because of the outbreak of the 1936–39 Arab Revolt, Kendall aimed at avoiding the kind of re-planning and re-building that resulted from Europe's rapid industrialisation. He emphasised previous 'correct' zoning policy, based on building and town-planning principles, to stabilise property prices and regulate building heights and density and



Cartography: Tamar Soffer

Map 2. Town Planning Areas, 1930, 1939 and 1945.
 Source: Central Town Planning Commission, *The Town Planning Handbook of Palestine, 1930* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1930), p. 97; Town Planning Adviser, *Annual Report, 1939* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1940), p. 21; and (Draft) Town and Country Planning and Building Ordinance, 1945, Second Schedule (Section 8 (3)), p. 52; PRO/CO733/458/75291.

Table 5. Town Planning Activities, 1921–39

Particulars	Years																		
	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
1. Number of meetings held by the Central Town Planning Commission ^a	9	8	5	4	4	6	4	7	8	11	13	12	10	11	13	6	-	-	-
2. Number of items discussed	46	55	42	46	38	25	30	53	57	143	131	130	78	345	295	191	449	671	667
3. Town Planning Schemes discussed and areas declared (Jerusalem, Haifa, Jaffa, Tel-Aviv and other towns)	4	4	2	7	5	4	7	8	23	16	30	48	47	161	224	168	126	113	100
4. General matters including by-laws, etc.	42	51	40	39	33	21	23	45	34	129	101	82	31	184	71	22 ^b	8 ^b	8 ^b	7 ^b

^a The Commission was abolished in 1936.

^b Only the figures for by-laws and amendments to by-laws are available for these years.

Note: Figures after 1939 were not available (a general Report for 1940–47, mentioned in Government Town Planner to Chief Secretary, 23 February 1948: ISA/CSO2/Z/TP/5/48/564, could not be located).

Sources: Compiled from Town Planning Adviser, *Annual Report, 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1939*.

their impact on health. Kendall also advocated 'maximum' space availability for recreation grounds, and warned against overcrowding in flats, which were fast becoming important in housing, reflecting European trends. He 'strongly discouraged' the construction of flats in rural districts. Kendall stressed open spaces, zoning, sanitation, parcellation, elevation controls and controls on non-conforming use of buildings.³⁰

There was a measurable decrease in construction activities after 1936, first due to the Arab Revolt and then to wartime Government restrictions on private building through the Defence (Control of Engineering, Building and Hardware Material) Order of 1942, enacted to save on supplies for the Military (see Appendices 6, 7 and 8). Production by Palestine's one cement factory (Jewish-owned Neshet in Haifa) was increased to compensate for falling imports. However, scarcities remained in timber, iron and other materials that were brought in from abroad, causing severe housing shortages. There is no evidence that Kendall implemented his wartime policy to modify plans for civilian defence against aerial bombardment by avoiding the formation of large population or industrial concentrations and development.³¹ Instead, Kendall continued with planning conceptions such as the 'Grouping of Neighbourhood Units', in his 1944 Jerusalem Outline Scheme, characteristic of planning in the 1940s.³² He wrote that planning in Palestine was 'more "protective" than "constructive"'. Fruchtman consistently criticised planning policy for being 'socially controlling', with little 'positive planning', such as providing housing for the poor.³³ But, in so doing, Fruchtman does not put planning into Palestine's historical context, which shows that the country was 'well abreast of the legislation, machinery and practice in Great Britain, indicating both initiatory and regulatory elements'.³⁴

Kendall's town-planning policy was influenced by various factors, including his close association with the Soil Conservation Board, the Departments of Antiquities, Health, Public Works and Surveys, and the Municipal Engineers and Designs Committees in the larger towns. Despite decentralisation, Kendall still played a key role in assisting weaker municipalities and local authorities, often re-drafting schemes. The Town Planning Office had variously been under the wing of, for example, the Health Department (1934–36), and the Attorney-General's Office (to 1945), becoming independent on 1 April 1945, when it finally attained the status of a 'department'. The lack of town-planning knowledge – combined with linguistic, organisational and political problems – constantly disrupted the smooth functioning of Town Planning Commissions, which also resented the District Commissions' overall powers. This situation remained unchanged to the end of the Mandate.³⁵

Zoning

A noteworthy element of British town planning – zoning – featured strikingly in Palestine’s town plans (see, Map 3). Zoning tables with schedules were prepared for each town plan, detailing permissible land use, density (including, for instance, building height), and the space around buildings.³⁶ Zoning laws were first introduced into Palestine in 1922.³⁷ Hundreds of applications and appeals were made as a result, showing the influence of zoning.³⁸ The Jews expressed much interest in town planning, being themselves innovators in this discipline in Palestine. They arranged for leading European planners to visit Palestine, and constructed the world’s largest concentration of International Style buildings in Tel-Aviv, which are studied by architects and designers to this day. The Jews also kept themselves informed about planning and on town conditions across Palestine, and made their own plans for housing and urban development. They therefore made many applications for building permits.³⁹ They were also involved in large-scale land development, such as the works by Haifa Bay Development Company, and maintained close links with the Local Town Planning Commission.⁴⁰

‘Ideals’ were established by the British planners: for example, industrial zones were to have a strip of land between them and residential areas for ‘convenience and safety, recreation and amenity’. Zoning and road alignments were included in Outline Schemes, and the Local Town Planning Commission sometimes co-ordinated zoning with the Senior Medical Officer to ensure that health regulations were followed. The Jerusalem District Commission was renowned for being strict on zoning, architectural design and land use; and regularly upheld the Local Commission’s recommendations.

It was often difficult to impose zoning regulations. In 1935, for example, 350 industries in Jerusalem that used power-driven machinery were scattered throughout the Commercial Zone and other zones due to inadequate access to the Industrial Zone. The Director of Medical Services, George W. Heron, emphasised the need to increase accessibility to remote industrial areas to preserve the amenities and health of the city and to facilitate the Health authorities’ control over factories.⁴¹

Many industries were also located in unsuitable buildings adapted for the purpose, due to the lack of alternative accommodation. Heron feared that the situation in Jerusalem, for example, was ‘thwarting’ the Town Planning Scheme and the Trades and Industries Ordinance of 1927, which was aimed at regulating factories. Local Commissions were

forced to have, for instance, 5HP-plus engine ice-plants transferred from the Residential to the Commercial Zone. Distressed by this situation, the Arabs requested an additional Industrial Zone on the Nablus Road because the planned Industrial Zones were too distant for them and they feared stoppages caused by disturbances during the Arab Revolt. The industrialists found it difficult to extend their workshops, which were surrounded by buildings, but they were rebuffed for aesthetic reasons, since Nablus Road ‘constituted one of the [city’s] finest accesses’.⁴² However, merchants along Jerusalem’s Mamilla Road, backed by the Arab Chamber of Commerce, were more resistant to the zoning-off of traffic from their street, which would have reduced trade. Their petitions forced a change in the town plan, and the area was ‘re-zoned’ to permit vehicles.⁴³ Palestine’s urban centres also had to accommodate new trades, leading to revisions in zoning. Geographical delimitations on the landscape thus gradually impinged on such established and traditional land uses as threshing floors in built-up areas.

The Control of ‘Unsightly Buildings’

The problem of ‘unsightly buildings’ seemed ‘theoretical’, centring on the definition of ‘unsightliness’; this focused on buildings being constructed to the permitted height (which could be different to the height of those around them). Such buildings could not be justifiably disallowed for aesthetic reasons. The 1936 Town Planning Ordinance only empowered District Commissions to limit building heights, not to control the ‘rate of vertical construction’, in order ‘to prevent the erection of tall buildings on plots adjacent to, or near empty plots or plots upon which there are buildings of one or two storeys’.⁴⁴

At a 1944 District Commissioners’ Conference, it was agreed that people could not be compelled to complete buildings. Unsightly isolated buildings came within the same unclear aspects of the law.⁴⁵ Some officials critical of buildings jutting into the skyline fixated on the ‘notorious David Building’ in modern Jerusalem’s King George V Avenue, ‘disfiguring’ the city, though they conceded that ‘its unsightliness is primarily due to’ its isolation. In Haifa, the maximum height of buildings was restricted until the remaining area was developed; and building completion was encouraged.⁴⁶ Jerusalem could only invoke Part F of its Outline Town Planning Scheme (Modified), 1943, giving Town Planning Authorities powers to control building design in ‘appearance’, ‘materials’, and ‘construction’.⁴⁷ Large parts of Jerusalem remained ‘only half developed’ with accompanying ‘rubbish heaps’, whilst the city grew on the outskirts. An Aesthetics Board similar to

Malta's was proposed to monitor such problems, although some outline schemes for the larger towns specified Designs Committees to deal with matters concerning design and the external appearance of buildings. However, as Kendall argued, 'taste' eluded definition; the authorities could, at most, only aim to eliminate the 'obviously blatant and vulgar in the external appearance of buildings' (Plate 1).⁴⁸

The Mandatory tried implementing its policy of 'maintaining the stone character of buildings in rocky areas', mainly through town planning by-laws. Emphasis was given to having a single material for external elevations, leaving the building in harmony with its surroundings. For example, Kendall argued for the use of locally available black basalt in Tiberias New Town in the Galilee. Hence, the compulsory use of stones from a town's surroundings was not unique to Jerusalem as is commonly thought, but was applied to all of Palestine as a general policy, with specifications mentioned in certain local by-laws. Kendall also wanted to encourage traditional stonemasons and building in stone. After a case against the Jerusalem District Commission in 1939 – in which an (unspecified) Detailed Town Plan left the issue of usage of stone in building undecided (as the model by-laws permitted the use of concrete, stone and brick) – the Commission made it 'obligatory' for building in the Jerusalem Town Planning Area to be carried out in stone; thus giving the city its most characteristic facade.⁴⁹

The Impact of Sanitation and Health Facilities on the Urban Landscape

'The close relationship between public health and planning has been often stressed', Kendall wrote in 1948.⁵⁰ Sanitation was a central element in town planning and provisions for this were included in the Town Planning Ordinances, and Municipal Area by-laws. Though partly controlled by zoning regulations, and tied into the Public Works Department, sanitation and health matters were mainly the responsibility of the Health Department due to its commitment to disease prevention (see, Appendix 9). Certified sanitary surveyors co-ordinated with city engineers in the large municipalities of Haifa, Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv; although the important towns of Jaffa and Nablus still had no surveyors in 1945.⁵¹ In that year, also, only Haifa had a Trades and Industries Senior Inspector. In addition, a Public Health Development Programme was recommended by the post-war Reconstruction Commissioner, George H. Heron, himself originally the Director of the Health Department. Heron proposed that the posts of Sanitary Surveyor and Trades and Industries Senior Inspector should be combined in the smaller municipalities, such as Gaza and Jenin.⁵²



(a) 'View of an area illustrating devastating effect of a high ugly building on the skyline with adjoining areas undeveloped'.



(b) 'Suggested improvement of area shown' [in (a)].

Plate 1. Kendall's Planned Skyline. Source: Kendall, Jerusalem City Plan, Pls 176-7. Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Post-war planning, begun in Britain during the Second World War, was copied across the Empire.⁵³ Palestine's *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner* of 1945 detailed the post-war programme, following on the *Report of the Committee on Development and Welfare Services, 1940*, in recommending financing from HMG's Colonial Development Fund (CDF).⁵⁴ The Arabs welcomed the programme, but the Jews boycotted it for political reasons.

In the Reconstruction Commissioner's 'Scheme of Urban Development', three projects were listed for application for grants-in-aid, and for grants from the CDF: water supplies, main drainage, and the

preservation of national monuments and religious shrines. The water supplies of Ramle, Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Nazareth, Ramallah, Al Bira, 'Anabta and Qalqilya (the latter two in the Tulkarm Sub-District) were marked for urgent CDF assistance. Main drainage schemes were recommended under municipal programmes for Ramallah and Al Bira, Ramle, Lydda, Bethlehem, Beit Jala, Beisan, Nazareth, Hebron, Jenin and Tulkarm. These schemes were partly funded under the Municipal Corporations (Sewerage, Drainage and Water) Ordinance, 1934. Bethlehem's Church of Nativity and its surroundings topped the list in the programme proposed for preserving national monuments and religious shrines; it was followed by Hebron's sites, Lydda's Church guarding the Tomb of St George, the Patron Saint of England (a possible specific British interest?), and Nazareth. These schemes involved significant sanitation works, the clearing of dilapidated buildings and dirty open spaces, and the provision of public conveniences.⁵⁵

But progress in sanitation was slow. In 1930, for example, Haifa's sewage disposal problems delayed the building of the new harbour; whilst Tel-Aviv's lack of a sewerage system made the situation 'one of extreme urgency'. No modern sewerage system was built during the first decade of the Mandate. In 1926–30, the Mandatory had determined to extend, upgrade, complete or install modern sewerage, water supply and drainage provisions in the main urban centres of Jerusalem, Jaffa, Tel-Aviv and Haifa, in addition to minor schemes, for example, for Hebron and Tiberias. In 1932, with growing concerns about the effects on health of periodic droughts, the contamination of cisterns, and inadequate and outdated drainage and sewerage systems in Palestine's towns and villages, a Public Works Department advertisement was issued for a Civil Engineer for Sewerage and Water Schemes. The engineer was to be a Member or Associate Member of the Institute of Civil Engineers (London). In later years, trainee civil engineers in Palestine were also instructed in the construction of modern sewerage systems. The results were checked, as by 1945, some projects were more advanced than others, due mainly to municipal budgetary shortages.⁵⁶ There were other associated problems, however. The Health Department branch in Safad, for instance, hardly functioned in 1933 (see Appendix 10).⁵⁷ Sixty-five deserted properties were listed as being in 'poor sanitary condition'.⁵⁸ Scavenging contractors failed in their duty.⁵⁹ Sanitation problems remained and, prior to the Mandatory Administration's departure, having achieved mixed results, the Government could only express concern about the maintenance of town sanitation in Palestine.⁶⁰

Surveying and Boundaries in Town Planning

The lack of adequate surveys – especially in hilly areas such as Hebron, where there was poor contour and topographical information – caused major delays in town planning.⁶¹ There were many outstanding boundary disputes, such as that between Beit Jala and Bethlehem (resolved in 1942), and survey sheets were outdated, as exemplified by Ramallah's in the 1930s.⁶² By 1947, the Urban Property Tax was levied on 40 towns and large villages, which had been divided up into blocks, and urban assessment plans were compiled from the Department of Surveys' large-scale town surveys. However, despite 'rapid urban development', necessitating 'frequent' map revisions, town-planning needs came second to the settlement of land titles (Land Settlement) and military works. Only in 1946 was a comprehensive programme for town survey revisions begun. By then, 38 towns and villages were covered by reduced plans of 1:2,500 and 1:5,000, which were convenient for town planning, and 12 towns had been surveyed for contours.⁶³

Building development in Safad – discussed here as an example for this section of the chapter – in the Galilee Hills in the 1930s had compelled the Surveys Department to produce smaller scale maps of 1:5,000.⁶⁴ In 1944, Safad in fact still required adequate block plans and boundary descriptions, making the Safad (Variation of Municipality Area) Order of 1944, seem vague. That year, Galilee District Commissioner, James H.H. Pollock, singled out Safad for having 'been grossly neglected' in town planning. The Safad boundary under the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934 was 'faulty', and attempts to describe the boundary in 1935 resulted in this curious Schedule: '[the boundary] continuing along the hedge of the orchard up to the big pile of stones situated at the Northern side of the threshing floor ...', and so on for three pages.⁶⁵ In a related problem faced by planners, it was noted that Safad's area under the Municipal Corporations Ordinance was larger than the Urban Area and had to be changed to conform with the latter, thus easing town planning and the enforcement of the Urban Property Tax. As defined by the Ordinance, Safad contained 'vast land properties' unlikely to be developed soon; whilst, as an Urban Area, it was smaller than those areas which received municipal services and had sections 'ripe for development'.⁶⁶ In 1944, the Urban Area was redrawn to agree with the new Municipal boundary. Then, with the Reconstruction Plans in hand, Safad was quickly surveyed, and on 18 October 1945 finally declared a Town Planning Area.⁶⁷

In October 1947, an Outline Town Planning Scheme for Safad was declared. This included a Nature Reserve, being land preserved in its

natural state, which often incorporated a Closed Forest – showing their increased allotment within Palestine's town planning; there was also a Light Industrial Zone (containing, for example, tobacco factories), and space for monasteries and convents, reflecting Safad's religious provenance.⁶⁸

New Gaza: An Example of a Town Planning Development Scheme

New Gaza is a good example of an inter-departmental Town Planning development scheme that shows zoning, and is discussed in the chapter on Forestry because the Town Plan was affected by the issue of Forestry.

Preservation as a Function of Town Planning

Preservation featured large in Palestine's town planning, being especially evident in the Mandatory Government's policy towards Jerusalem's Old City. However, preservation works were also instigated in other towns, such as Acre, Haifa at 'Atiqa (Haifa's ancient port area), and Hebron, and in particular sites, like Safad's Crusader Castle⁶⁹ and the Sea of Galilee.⁷⁰ In addition, planners sought to preserve landscapes, for example, that of Mount Carmel. Rules in the Bethlehem Outline Town Planning Scheme of 1944 took account of the town's salience, controlling building design and external appearances, especially in the Old Town, where oriels were to be 'stone-filled', and buildings were given stone facades.⁷¹ An Archaeological Advisory Board also helped to identify and plan preservation works, and approval was sought all the way from the Colonial Office for certain schemes in Jerusalem for areas which were as cherished as they were meaningful. For example, planning for the preservation of Jerusalem's Old City was accentuated from the beginning of British rule because of its status as a Holy Place. William H. McLean, who prepared British Jerusalem's first plan, claimed that his 1918 Scheme for the city remained the basis for Jerusalem city planning – even for the 1944 Outline Town Planning Scheme. However, the 1944 scheme was more sophisticated and had been influenced by Clifford Holliday's (Adviser to the Town Planning Commission to June 1935⁷²) and Patrick Abercrombie's (a foremost leader in Regional and Town Planning⁷³) Greater London Plan of 1944.⁷⁴ Ring roads were also introduced, and there were schemes for the Mount of Olives 'Nature Reserve', where building was 'severely' restricted, and for the Tombs of the Judges Area, and the Damascus Gate (Map 4).⁷⁵

The Walls of Jerusalem's Old City were declared an Historical Site in 1922, and were included in the 1929 Schedule of Historical Sites and



Map 4. Ring Road, Jerusalem 1944 Scheme.
Source: Kendall, *Jerusalem City Plan*, opp. p. 20.
Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Squatter lands and refuse dumps were to be converted into playgrounds and public gardens, and structural work was to be carried out. The Department of Antiquities was charged with the renovation of the Walls, and the Colonial Office quickly approved the scheme. By maintaining the religious *status quo* and carrying out preservation works, the British could claim they had succeeded in keeping the Old City's mediaeval character. However, it is uncertain if the new buildings in the outer belt were 'in harmony' with the Old City due to rapid construction, and the Government's inability to purchase land required for protective purposes, due to lack of funds.⁷⁸

Clearance began at the Old City's Damascus Gate (Bab al 'Amud), the Moat Area and their surroundings, showing the impact of the inner protective town planning zone laid down by McLean's 1918 Scheme. About 91 metres were levelled in front of the Walls, clearing the Moat.⁷⁹

Kendall incorporated into his 'super-plan for Jerusalem' – part of his 'Jerusalem City Plan, 1948' – a plan for the Damascus Gate taken from the 1929 City Gates Scheme. A triple-arched Roman Gateway beneath the Damascus Gate was discovered by the British and formed part of the plan, including a stepped approach leading to a piazza linking the Old City to the New City. This plan became the blueprint for the final development of the site after the Mandate ended.⁸⁰ The Mandatory's halting pace in the execution of preservation works, however, prompted the 1940 Committee on Development to write that Palestine's monuments were not being conserved; many of the monuments were in principal towns and in current use.⁸¹ Funding shortages were the real limiting factor. Still, McLean concluded that protective zoning and control measures for the Old City were 'well in advance of anything attempted in practice elsewhere'.⁸²

Symbols of British Rule in the Urban Landscape

Symbols of British rule were etched into the urban landscape: illustrations of Meinig's analysis of imperial landscapes. The High Commissioner's Residence, Government House – built during 1929–33 in Jerusalem's East Talpiot overlooking the Old City – symbolised the seat of power (Plate 2).

The 25 imperial War Cemeteries in Palestine were distinctive and manifest links with the Empire, with their meticulous lawns, straight rows of '2 ft 8 in.' (80 cm)-high headstones, and the Cross of Sacrifice and Stone of Remembrance. The largest cemeteries were at Deir al Balah, Gaza, Beersheba, Ramle, Jerusalem, and Haifa.⁸³ The most impressive was Jerusalem's War Cemetery, a monument to the British



(a) High Commissioner's Residence, Jerusalem. *Source:* N.d.: ISA/PIO/Tray3022/382.



(b) Postboxes on the Jaffa Road, Jerusalem. *Source:* Roza I.M. El-Eini, 1999.

Plate 2. Marks of Imperial Rule on the Urban Landscape.

fallen (though containing enemy graves), built after the First World War.⁸⁴ An appeal for £20,000 was launched in May 1937 to preserve 20 dunams in front of the cemetery, and High Commissioner General Sir Arthur G. Wauchope (1931–38) had it surrounded by ‘open fields’.⁸⁵

Symbols of daily life under British rule also marked the urban landscape: for example, Jerusalem’s Allenby Barracks, pillboxes, officers’ clubs, police stations, the Palestine Police Depot Training School in the capital (today housing the UNRWA headquarters), the block Tegart Forts, prisons, postboxes, post offices and street names (for example, King George V Avenue, Jerusalem; and Keith–Roach Avenue, Haifa). There was also the unseen landscape of underground trunk-line cables and pipes; and of the seen landscape of traffic controls, barriers, car parks, bridges, tunnels, rail tracks, agricultural and quarantine stations, incinerators and slaughterhouses, and a variety of Government buildings (Plate 2 and Appendix 12). ‘Tegart Forts’ were built across Palestine as part of the 1938 plan to re-house the Police in suitable and secure buildings. They were called after Sir Charles Tegart who headed the scheme (see, Appendix 13),⁸⁶ which followed the outbreak of the Arab Revolt and the resultant shift away from policing by the population’s consent, as the Police became more military, and reliant on the British rather than local inhabitants.⁸⁷ The forts had varied functions, incorporating for instance district offices and law courts, as well as housing the Police. In 1935, plans were made for Jubilee Parks in the four main towns, commemorating King George V’s Silver Jubilee. However, funding difficulties meant such schemes were left to private enterprise, as instanced by the planting of Nathanya’s King George VI Park.⁸⁸ The vast British-built port of Haifa – opened in 1933, the largest naval base in the Mediterranean, with an oil refinery and terminal – was powerfully symbolic of Mandatory rule. Also in Haifa, was Palestine Railways’ centre.⁸⁹ Hence, Meinig’s symbols of imperial rule were well illustrated throughout Palestine.

The Financing and Implementation of Town Plans and Urban Needs

The combination of budget shortages and public insecurity since the Occupation, left the Government living ‘from hand to mouth’, with ‘practically no buildings of its own’. Its Secretariat, High Court, departments, prisons and hospitals were ‘housed in haphazard fashion in hotels, monasteries, residential buildings and flats’. In 1931, High Commissioner Lieutenant-General Sir John R. Chancellor (1928–31) appointed a committee to review Government accommodation.⁹⁰ This had little success as only sporadic attempts at improvements, such as

planning Court accommodation, were made. In 1945, the Government still paid £P99,698 in rentals though, as with the Tegart Scheme, it funded defence and police buildings when necessary.⁹¹ The Reconstruction Commissioner therefore prepared a 'Priority List of Government Constructions'. The Mandatory had used up its surplus budget during the Arab Revolt (see, Appendix 2), and in the post-war years; it could only look to long-term loans under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945, and then principally for agricultural or social development. HMG was only willing to provide grants to economically solvent governments, and Palestine's situation was uncertain. First mooted in 1940 by the Committee on Development, a solution was proposed for improvement trusts similar to Calcutta's for urban development and slum clearance, at no cost to the Government or municipality. However, no evidence of such trusts being established in Palestine was found.⁹²

Funding was a major problem in the implementation of town planning. Despite increased building activity after the War with the release of building materials, revenue figures continued to drop; hence for the Haifa District, £P81,814 was outstanding for February 1947, compared with £P102,658 for February 1948.⁹³ Municipalities had difficulties in finding new revenue sources. In 1945, for example, whilst Safad tried to raise more taxes from such items as Street Construction By-Law fees and porters' brass number plates, it met with mixed results.⁹⁴

Municipalities had no surplus funds for reconstruction and development works and depended on Government grants-in-aid to augment revenue (see, Table 6). Only the larger municipalities had accountants and experienced city engineers. Plan implementation was further hampered by 'young inexperienced engineers ... unable to work out the technical and financial problems', such as those associated with water supply or drainage schemes. This difficulty was magnified by the Public Works Department's own staff shortages.⁹⁵ These obstacles were apparent in the smaller municipalities and councils, which often presented unsuitable projects because they lacked accurate estimates and 'competent engineers'. In Safad, for example, the Medical Officer and the Municipality regularly quarrelled due to the latter's 'incomprehensive' plans.⁹⁶ In fact, planning seems to have been in some disarray because of locally prevailing conditions. The Reconstruction Commissioner could not even be supplied with the necessary basic data, making his projects inconsistent (see, Table 7). This led him to predict that without re-organisation, progress in the smaller municipalities and local councils would be 'difficult'.⁹⁷ Besides which, on-going financial problems weakened plan implementation.

Table 6. Sample Years of Revenue (From All Sources) and Expenditure of Municipal Corporations, 1940-44

Municipality	1940		1941		1942		1943		1944	
	Revenue (£P)	Expenditure (£P)	Revenue (£P)	Expenditure (£P)	Revenue (£P)	Expenditure (£P)	Revenue (£P)	Expenditure (£P)	Revenue (£P)	Expenditure (£P)
Gaza District										
Beersheba	4,199	2,749	6,136	5,724	5,178	3,323	8,824	6,094	8,321	7,370
Gaza	21,686	21,255	15,171	15,383	19,645	18,070	24,559	22,673	36,027	27,665
Khan Yunis	2,462	1,424	6,189	7,452	3,182	4,602	4,863	3,420	7,739	4,490
Majdal	3,783	2,725	5,581	9,384	5,774	3,870	9,669	7,661	11,550	11,350
Lydda District										
Jaffa	67,636	54,245	84,670	75,892	111,126	90,967	119,340	99,995	210,639	93,585
Lydda	6,031	4,774	9,361	6,049	11,273	7,095	19,128	15,796	25,332	12,451
Ramle	7,540	5,800	7,974	6,317	7,399	7,116	11,379	10,883	25,170	13,808
Tel-Aviv	670,699	615,165	667,828	659,882	810,316	779,589	959,524	1,012,943	1,268,338	1,255,660
Petach Tiqva	24,924	6,018	32,005	31,933	39,073	39,463	51,178	51,583	78,275	79,315
Jerusalem District										
Bethlehem	3,035	2,962	3,618	3,245	3,636	2,108	2,416	2,668	4,519	3,100
Beit Jala	1,041	773	2,048	1,403	1,228	818	1,304	809	2,564	2,282
Jerusalem	149,797	132,726	198,047	171,940	209,820	196,395	338,082	345,360	474,355	391,973
Hebron	3,559	3,196	8,721	7,939	12,606	12,606	10,488	10,522	14,220	16,410
Ramallah	7,314	7,314	6,957	7,368	3,290	4,261	3,383	2,900	5,034	4,550
Haifa District										
Haifa	133,575	127,980	144,113	154,131	197,999	188,317	232,760	241,959	352,862	328,576
Shafa 'Amr	1,910	1,608	1,912	1,597	2,774	2,725	2,488	2,301	2,607	2,279
Samaria District										
Jenin	3,644	2,099	4,472	3,767	3,152	2,320	3,733	3,000	9,263	6,790
Nablus	14,369	11,491	15,135	10,931	14,548	17,223	18,308	15,661	26,805	20,080
Tulkarm	9,526	7,562	9,944	9,567	8,530	6,861	9,003	8,970	13,500	13,000
Galilee and Acre District										
Acre	11,328	6,668	6,046	5,525	6,249	7,483	9,750	10,555	15,153	12,078
Beisan	2,684	2,906	4,042	2,837	3,360	2,742	6,822	4,763	9,506	8,076
Nazareth	8,639	5,774	8,803	19,840	22,136	17,975	17,340	19,044	18,047	17,473
Safad	3,526	3,247	4,680	3,122	3,993	4,527	4,830	4,569	6,580	5,102
Tiberias	12,440	9,331	15,027	12,790	15,144	15,308	14,267	16,321	16,856	17,011

Source: Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944-45*, No. 15 of 1946 (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1946), p. 84.

Table 7. Classification of Municipal Development Expenditure [for the *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*], 1945

-
1. Water Supply
 2. Sewerage and Drainage
 3. Roads and Streets, including Pavements, Bridges, Tunnels and Parks
 4. Public Buildings, sub-divided as follows:
 - a. Administrative Buildings, including Town Halls and Municipal Offices, Workshops, Stairs, Garages and Fire Stations
 - b. Health Service Buildings, including Hospitals, Clinics, Dispensaries, etc.
 - c. Sanitation Service Buildings, including:
 - i. Public Conveniences
 - ii. Abattoirs and Slaughter Houses, Animal Hospitals, etc.
 - iii. Baths and Wash-houses
 - iv. Refuse Disposal
 - v. Markets
 - vi. Bus Terminals
 - d. Education and Social Service Buildings, including: Kindergartens and Crèches, Schools, Community Centres, including Public Libraries, Bathing Pools, etc.
 5. Housing Schemes, including land required for sites
 6. Parks and Recreation Grounds, including Gardens and Orphanages
 7. Land acquisition for public purposes
 8. Land Reclamation, including Foreshore Improvements
 9. Vehicles, plant and equipment
 10. Contributions to Improvement Trusts
 11. Electric Light and Power Distribution System
-

Source: Hand-written note, n.s., found inside *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner, May 1945*, For Official Use Only, No. 1 of 1945 (Palestine: Palestine Government, May 1945; henceforth, *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner, May 1945*), opp. p. 80: ISA/PalGovPubns/03/7/106/4456.

Municipalities also had serious difficulties in paying the ‘large sums’ awarded by the Courts to compensate landlords under the Land (Acquisition for Public Purposes) Ordinance No. 24 of 1943. Sometimes no definite building licence regulations existed, hampering licence fee collection and cutting into revenues. This was all quite apart from the Arab–Jewish discord resonant in Local Building Commissions and Municipal Councils, which became particularly bitter in Jerusalem.⁹⁸ Mayors were often very politicised and deeply entangled in local communal affairs. For example, during the 1930s, Ramle’s Mayor, Sheikh Mustafa al-Khairi, belonged to the National Defence Party (led by the Nashashibis, one of Palestine’s prominent Arab families). In Jerusalem, Dr Hussein al-Khalidi, who was originally at the Department of Health and became Mayor of the capital city in 1934, was supported by the influential and forceful Muslim religious and jurisconsult Mufti of Jerusalem (the Government regarded him as head

of the Muslim community in Palestine, calling him the ‘Grand Mufti’), Hajj Amin al-Husseini, who was not averse to intrigue and was antagonistic to the Nashashibis. So politically active did al-Khalidi become, especially during the Arab Revolt, that the British, in 1937, saw fit to deport him to the Seychelles.⁹⁹ Several references may be found in Arab sources to municipal elections, reflecting the importance of the municipality and its power structure;¹⁰⁰ this brought issues from the highest level of politics into the daily running of towns.

In the case of Jerusalem, so disruptive had political rivalries, factional interests and infighting become, that in 1945, it necessitated the abolishment of the Municipal Council and its replacement by a Municipal Commission appointed by the High Commissioner to ensure the running of the capital.¹⁰¹ On 11 July 1945, the conflicts within the municipality, most notably between the Arabs and the Jews, had paralysed the city’s administration, so that the Government provisionally gave over its administration to five British officials. Palestine’s Chief Justice, Sir William Fitzgerald, was simultaneously asked to inquire into the difficulties and the future municipal governance of the city. He concluded that the application to Jerusalem of the 1934 Municipal Corporations Ordinance – ‘an adaptation of English local government law’ – had ‘failed’ for this city, ‘steeped in tradition and riddled with claims of privilege’. ‘... almost every Arab’, Muslim and Christian, who came before Fitzgerald’s Commission of Inquiry argued that the Jews should have accepted ‘Moslem jurisdiction’. But the Jews, who refused to testify to the Commission, responded that they made up the majority of the city’s (meaning Old and New Jerusalem) population. Fitzgerald acknowledged this when he quoted the most recent official figures: of a total of 151,000 citizens, there were 92,000 Jews, 32,000 Muslims and 27,000 Christians. Hence the ‘break down’ in the municipality and the Chief Justice’s summation that ‘there is no possibility of the Arabs and the Jews co-operating to make the Municipal Corporation Ordinance of 1934 effective in Jerusalem’. To Fitzgerald’s conclusion could have been added a reminder of the violent riots which broke out in 1929 over communal rights at the Western Wall in the Old City.

Fitzgerald’s proposal resembled that presented by the 1937 Peel Commission in its Partition Plan for Palestine. It was also similar to Wauchope’s proposals (see the chapter on Partition). Fitzgerald suggested that there be two boroughs with clear boundaries, one Jewish for its mainly Jewish population, and the other Arab, with a mainly Arab population. An Administrative Council was to overlook the whole of the city’s operation. This plan was rejected by the Palestine Government which was considering overhauling local government, as had been

recommended by the Royal Commission in 1937.¹⁰² Produced at a time when the country's future was being thrashed out in London, it could only be declined as HMG wanted to maintain its command of Jerusalem.

Suspicion of British aims in town planning was increasingly voiced towards the close of the Mandate years. In one instance in 1946, the Board of Directors of the Arab National Fund, based in Jerusalem, protested 'the oppressive policy' of the Town Planning Commissions '... which discloses an attitude of open discrimination in favour of the Jews at the expense of the Arabs by annexing Arab agricultural lands to Jewish Municipal or Local Council Areas'.

This was causing steep price rises in land and compelling the 'Arab owners to sell them at any price', as a 'step towards their eventual eviction and making the land purely Jewish'. This way, 'thousands [of dunams] of Arab agricultural land' was attached to Tel-Aviv in the Jaffa Sub-District, 'to Nathanya in Tulkarm Sub-District, and to other Jewish Settlements'. The Jews were resorting to the Planning Commissions to realise their 'insatiable ambitions', and had 'saved' over two million pounds. The Arab National Fund then demanded that an investigation be made into the activities of the Town Planning Commissions.¹⁰³

This was in fact another form of expressing the main fear the Arabs had, that they were losing their lands to the Jews, and that the British Administration was somehow implicated in the whole process. The complaint drew a stiff reply from the Assistant District Commissioner, who stated that the Nathanya Town Planning Commission had almost no jurisdiction over Arab lands, except for 300 dunams, and that land values had soared, especially around Nathanya's Town Planning boundaries. As for the Regional Town Planning Commission, it only had jurisdiction over the Jewish areas of the Samaria District, and not within the Municipal or Local Council boundaries. Furthermore, the Commission had two Arab members who were invariably urgently summoned by the Tulkarm District Officer, in addition to being sent the normal invitations that went out to all Commission members to attend meetings affecting Arab interests. The Fund's letter was thus dismissed.¹⁰⁴ It did, however, serve as a reminder of the underlying acrimony that existed on many of the Commissions and held up their operations.

In 1944, Local Government in Palestine was structured thus:

- 24 Municipal Corporations (with a population of about 43 per cent) were under the Municipal Corporations Ordinance of 1934;
- 39 Local Councils (with a population of about seven per cent) were under the Local Councils Ordinance, 1941;

- and Village Councils (representing a population of about 50 per cent in approximately 1,000 villages, though not all with Councils), under the Village Administration Ordinance, 1944.¹⁰⁵

These systems were to encourage local representation.¹⁰⁶ The power of local authorities cannot be underestimated, despite their funding problems and lack of town planning experience. They and the British administrators, for instance, were reluctant to prosecute or execute judgements when in their favour for fear of causing hardship or having to house persons made homeless if demolition orders were carried out.

In Jerusalem in 1943, for example, there were 101 building and town planning contraventions. Of these, 51 owners were given demolition orders, resulting in the actual demolition of 27 structures (13 others gained permits, and 11 were still pending). A further 25 demolition orders were issued to the Local Building and Town Planning Commission itself, of which only 5 were carried out (20 were still pending). But the actual number of prosecutions was more than 101, as the same contravention was in many cases prosecuted more than once for the non-compliance of the first order.¹⁰⁷

Lists may be found of the schedules of contraventions and the reasons for the non-demolition of structures. Case after case was given the classification of, 'Deferred as would mean evicting tenant'. This applied to the opening of dwellings in basements; or the construction of rooms on a roof; or the building of partitions and installation of wash basins: all of them without permits. Hence, stairs and passages, garages, two-storey buildings, shop storerooms, kitchens, ground floors that exceeded the terrain's legal perimeters, outbuildings and boundary walls were all condemned for contravening the regulations. All sections of Jerusalem and its surroundings – Arab and Jewish – were affected by such breaches: Jaffa Road, Rehavia, the Greek Colony, Qatamon, Beit Safafa, Wadi al Joz, Ras al 'Amud (Mount of Olives) and 'Isawiya. The Local Commission was evidently disinclined to carry out the demolition orders, preferring to have permanent structures built instead, or let the owner carry out the order.¹⁰⁸

Sometimes, a lack of municipal funds prevented demolition orders from being executed, even for dangerous buildings. The Government also failed to make comprehensive provisions for permit fees to build in non-conforming use under the proposed 1945 Town Planning Bill (which was not passed).¹⁰⁹

Apart from consolidating the existing 'scattered legislation', the Town and Country Planning Bill of 1947 was aimed primarily at

introducing planning rates, since the collection of the Betterment Tax (1936; levelled on property whose value had increased due to town planning operations) 'remained a dead letter'. This was because it was found 'practically impossible' to keep to the prescribed two-year time limit given to a Local Commission to assess a Betterment Tax. Local authorities therefore found they could not raise the funds to pay for town planning improvements. The Bill was meant to impose both a general planning rate on all landowners in a planning area, and a specific one on owners who benefited from particular planning schemes.¹¹⁰

Municipalities were thus faced with many financial impediments. They received no long-term Government loans as local authorities did in the UK: Jerusalem, for example (its status as capital and Holy City notwithstanding), tried for 20 years to obtain such a loan, but with no success – mainly because the city's Corporation simply did not earn sufficient revenues to service such loans.¹¹¹ Since municipal rates did not usually cover municipality expenses, most towns became dependent on central Government grants-in-aid for capital expenditures, as they lacked reserve funds. Municipal estimates for grants-in-aid were expected to be calculated regardless of the possibility of obtaining them, and local authorities were supposed to aim for a surplus to be set aside for reserves at no less than ten per cent of expenditure. Government aid was further depended on during the boom years of 1932/3 to 1936, when applications for grants were made to keep pace with the fast development. District Commissioners met annually with the Palestine Treasurer to decide on grants based on the requests by municipal mayors. However, the Commissioners were forever having to slash requests to the 'bare minimum' (see, Appendix 14).¹¹² Not all municipalities received grants automatically, as instanced by Gaza in 1934–35.¹¹³ After the outbreak of the Arab Revolt, on 18 April 1936, councils were even more hard pressed for funds, and some of the grants were instead used to finance unemployment relief works – such as road building in Beisan – that were part of long-postponed urban development schemes.¹¹⁴ Due to falling revenues during the Revolt, and on the Colonial Secretary's instructions, the Government retrenched, so that where work was locally ascertained to be beneficial, expenditure was to be borne largely by the relevant municipality. Staff redundancies did little to improve budgets.¹¹⁵

There was some rivalry, too, between the administrative Districts. Kenneth W. Blackburne, the Galilee's Assistant District Commissioner, for example, jealously complained that Nazareth and Tiberias had greater claims to assistance than did Tulkarm and Jenin, if only because

of their population sizes (see, Appendix 14, also Appendix 15, for comparative figures between the Districts). The discrepancies may have been based on the status of the different municipalities' finances, rather than any overall national regional plan. Appendix 15 illustrates the cut-backs instigated by the Mandatory following the revenue losses that occurred during the Arab Revolt; it also reflects the new policy of reducing the funding of extraordinary works services.¹¹⁶ However, the actual activities of the Town Planning Office were reported to have been 'comparatively little affected' by the Arab Revolt, and Kendall 'never failed to get about as in normal times'.¹¹⁷ This contrasted with staff from other Departments, notably Agriculture and Forestry, who in several cases paid with their lives.

Conclusion

There were thus problems associated both with town planning and with its implementation, rooted in the seeming novelty of town planning in Palestine and its growing role. The impact of British regulatory aspects of town planning was clearly felt by local inhabitants. Musa al-Alami (or Alami) – who had served as the Mandatory's Acting Solicitor-General, and was therefore well versed in Law – remarked, for example, that during Ottoman rule, building a house was a 'highly individual and rather haphazard affair, for there were no architects or engineers, and also no town-planners or municipal regulations to limit ingenuity'.¹¹⁸ By 1937, Gaza's Mayor was asking for British support 'in his efforts to improve the amenities of the Town'.¹¹⁹ Town planning had thereby become more defined and purposeful in Palestine since its inception in the country in Ottoman times.

However, the lack of experienced planners and staff on the Planning Commissions, and sectoral and funding difficulties that the Government could not fully cope with, weakened the implementation of town plans. But planning was firmly present, and builders did apply in large numbers for permits. The existence of local participation in planning through the commissions undermines Fruchtman's argument that the Mandatory Government's town planning was 'socially controlling'. A subtler analysis of the role of town planning in Palestine is required, especially when an overview is made of the application of the Mandate, and the prevailing circumstances. Town planning proved to be more an 'agent' in the urban landscape, and actually increased civilian participation through referrals to the authorities and the Courts in their questioning of different schemes and by-laws.

REGIONAL PLANNING, VILLAGE DEVELOPMENT AND THE RURAL LANDSCAPE

The necessity for Regional Planning became increasingly obvious with the difficulty associated with controlling places outside of the urban Town Planning Areas, especially, for example, as parcellation in outlying areas was 'breaking every known principal [*sic*] of reasonable town planning'. Begun in the 1920s in Britain, Regional Planning was finally introduced into Palestine in 1938. Regional Plans would cover the whole administrative District, excluding Municipal and Town Planning Areas. The Regional Commissions set up were legally Local Commissions, with permanent official and unofficial members, selected according to the part of the District in which a plan was being appraised. Applying Section 11 of the Town Planning (Amendment) Ordinance of 1938, the policy for Regional Planning Areas determined a 'loose control' over buildings in agricultural districts and total control over buildings in 'areas adjoining urban centres or along arterial roads'. This 'loose control' was criticised for being a 'second best solution' to Britain's Town and Country Planning Act of 1932, on which it was based.¹²⁰

As in Britain, Regional Planning was in 'essence' 'centralized control', dealing with 'broad principles of road alignments and junctions, the prevention of ribbon development', and directing development, whilst averting 'the spoliation of the country-side by unsightly hoardings', and so on. With Regional Planning, all of Palestine was brought under the Town Planning Ordinance of 1936. There were six Regional Planning Areas, defined by the respective boundaries of the Districts of Jerusalem, Lydda, Haifa, Samaria, Galilee and Gaza (see, Map 6).¹²¹

Regional Planning as a Tool in Shaping the Countryside

Because of the characteristics of Regional Planning, which covered large and varied rural areas and conditions, 'numerous consultations' with the Departments of Forests, Antiquities and Public Works would be held during the preparation of Regional Plans. In the Haifa Regional Plan, for instance, areas for afforestation and Antiquity Sites were set aside. Also, general Village and Settlements (Regional Area) Building By-Laws, such as Haifa's in 1941, were enacted to cover places not found in Town Planning Schemes or not subject to Local Commission by-laws.¹²²

The role of the Department of Antiquities in town planning in general was made certain through the terms of the *Mandate for Palestine*, which devoted the whole of Article 21, with its eight sub-sections, to the

control of antiquities and Antiquity Sites in the country. This verified the British fascination for Palestine as the Holy Land, and continued in the tradition of nineteenth-century explorers to the region. The Mandatory Government was to 'secure the enactment within 12 months' from the date of the signing of the Mandate in 1922 to 'ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities'.¹²³ The Department of Antiquities was placed at the north-east corner of Jerusalem's Old City, not far from Herod's Gate. All this, along with the role of the British School of Archaeology in the capital, opened in 1920, as well as sundry archaeological concerns by the many religious establishments in Palestine, gave those interested in the country's antiquities a particular niche.

Only certain exemplary aspects of Regional Planning are broached here, as Avraham Lapidot and Fruchtman have already written on this subject. In contrast with Lapidot, who argued that there was an overall sense of regional and national planning, Fruchtman claimed that 'planning was largely locally oriented, with almost no regional or national conceptions'.¹²⁴ It must be noted here that key files referred to in this argumentation are unfortunately missing, so that only an impression may be gained from District files and other sources. While certain hints of 'national planning' were found, they neither proved nor disproved the case for the existence of a national plan for Palestine.

The Public Works Department in particular supported national planning, bringing in local and regional schemes, transport, industry and agriculture, as these were interdependent. Indeed, this call for co-ordinated national planning followed Britain's own example, based on the Minister of Works and Planning Act of 1942.¹²⁵ It also indicated that Palestine most probably lacked national planning. The Reconstruction Commissioner's *Report* of 1945 seems to be the closest that Palestine came to national planning, and resembles more individual plans thematically strung together than co-ordinated planning.

In 1939, Kendall tried to centralise Regional Planning as applying the 1936 Town Planning Ordinance to Regional Planning proved cumbersome. But the District Commissioners opposed any dissolution of their powers in Regional Planning, although Kendall himself was a member of all six District Planning Commissions and collaborated well with the District Commissioners. A form of central authority in Regional Planning could thereby be said to have been in existence, though it is uncertain if this amounted to 'national planning' in its real sense, as opposed to 'advisory planning', which seems a more apt description. In any case, the Regional Commissions met irregularly and in 1946, Kendall reported that only two were 'functioning

effectively'.¹²⁶ An emphasis on conforming Regional Schemes is clearly discernible, however. Thus, in 1946, the Galilee Regional Scheme was redrafted by the Law Officers to accord with Gaza's.¹²⁷

Regional Planning was propelled in some cases by the confusion that the declaration of small planning areas around growing towns had engendered: for example, for the neighbourhoods between Sarona and Petach Tiqva in the Southern District. Kendall instead preferred, and expected work to be 'concentrated around the most urbanised localities'. The main advantage of Regional and District Area Schemes (excluding municipalities) was to be that they fell directly under the 1936 and (Amended) 1938 Town Planning Ordinances, so that building along arterial roads and zoning could be controlled.¹²⁸

The regional schemes usually included roads and building lines, and zones for development, agriculture and beaches, nature reserves (with Government forests also marked out), and State Domain. Nature reserves were especially prominent in Regional Planning, taking up large spaces. The schemes generally aimed at controlling zoning and keeping density and building heights low in order to maintain the rural character of the designated 'Regions' (see, Table 8). The external design and appearance of buildings were to be controlled, and buildings and objects of architectural, historical, or 'other' interest, 'and places of natural interest or beauty', were to be preserved, with the possibility of using a Designs Committee when necessary. Provisions special to a region were also covered by the regulations, such as those inserted into the Galilee Regional Scheme for the 'control of the shores of the Sea of Galilee', the urgency of which was a key reason for the scheme's implementation.¹²⁹ The Arabs especially protested against the Rutenberg hydroelectric power scheme, which they feared would affect the lake's water level and their economy; but they were unable to have it cancelled.¹³⁰

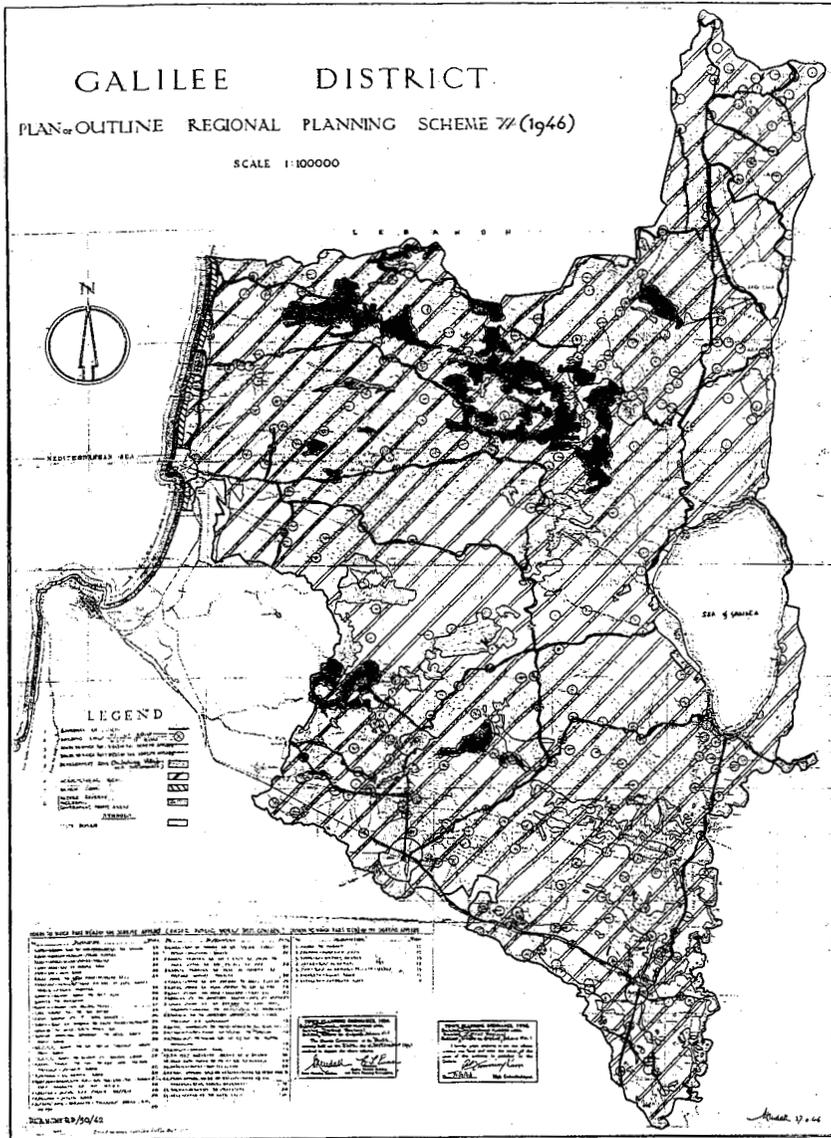
It was Regional Planning and planning outside the main centres that were hit hardest by the Arab Revolt because of difficulties of access. During the Second World War, it was again problematic to control building in rural areas in accordance with the Notice by the Controller of Heavy Industries, and the Director of War Production in Connection with Defence (Amendment) Regulations No. 9 of 1942, which required permits for building, alterations and repairs. Because of the potential impact of the notice on the Arab villages, Kendall sought a compromise with the Controller of Heavy Industries to allow building from locally obtainable materials. The procedure to get a permit, however, was still too involved.¹³¹

Regional Planning also affected arrangements for the use of water. For example, Robert F. Jardine, the Land Settlement and Water

Table 8. Galilee Regional Scheme, 1946: Zoning – Schedule of Uses

Zone	Uses
III. Development Zone (including villages and settlements)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Dwelling houses 2. Garages or private cars 3. Recreation grounds 4. Private clubs 5. Public buildings 6. Hotels 7. Shops with the Health Authority's consent 8. Other buildings approved by the District Commission
II. Agricultural Zone	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Farming, gardening, nurseries and green houses 2. Industries with the District Commission's approval 3. Recreation buildings 4. Stables and cattlesheds 5. Poultry houses 6. Dwelling houses 7. Shelters for watchmen 8. Buildings and installations required for the supply of water and electricity including power houses 9. Buildings forming part of a properly controlled development scheme and subject to any conditions approved by the District Commission from time to time
III. Beach Zone	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bathing establishments 2. Buildings for recreation and pleasure, with the specific approval of the District Commission 3. Other buildings approved by the District Commission in detailed schemes
IV. Nature Reserves (including Government Forest areas)	<p>If the specific approval of the District Commission is obtained:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Domestic buildings required by the owner for his own use 2. Buildings incidental to the agricultural, horticultural or sylvan use of the land 3. Buildings incidental to the use of the land for recreation or pleasure: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provided that no building shall be erected in this zone without the specific approval of the Conservator of Forests Nothing herein shall prejudice, or be incompatible with, the provisions of the Forests Ordinance, the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941, or any other Ordinance applicable to land in this zone

Source: Schedule: Galilee District Regional Outline Planning Scheme, 1946, Part VI: Zoning, Schedule of Uses, enclosed in: ISA/Gp22/SD/1/2/9/A/3507.



Map 7. Galilee District Outline Regional Planning Scheme, 1946.

Source: Town Planning Adviser, 27 June 1946: ISA/CS02/Z/TP/1/46/564.

Commissioner, angrily criticised the Galilee Regional Planning Commission for not consulting his office about water resources, irrigation, drainage, flood prevention and soil erosion when preparing its Outline Planning Scheme of 1946 (see, Map 7). Also, under Part IV (A)(i)(a) of the Regional Scheme, the Director of the Public Works

Department was entitled to have any wadi, or drain or channel, cleared if he adjudged it was contributing to flooding of certain roads. But Jardine still wanted to ensure he was consulted, as he had 'recently caught the largest municipality ... obstructing the principal drainage channel' in Palestine.¹³²

Local Building and Town Planning Commissions could also use a Regional Plan to constrain development, thus shaping the landscape. In Haifa, for instance, a ten-kilometre belt around the Haifa Town Planning Area was approved, in which – apart from existing villages and settlements – only agriculture and afforestation was permissible, therefore limiting the nearby Balad esh Sheikh development zone, which was eating into the forests of the area. Mount Carmel, south of the town planning boundary was also set aside as a forest 'lung' for Haifa. In the agricultural zone, plots could not be any smaller than five dunams, and buildings could occupy no more than five per cent of the area of a plot. All village plans were also restricted to within the 'circled' village areas on Regional Plans, thus preventing their urbanisation until existing towns were developed.¹³³

Implementing Regional Planning, however, was demanding. Building controls were hindered by a shortage of inspectors and trained staff, probably explaining the 'loose' policy for Regional Planning.¹³⁴ Plans afoot to expand the staff were curtailed by the Second World War, delaying building controls in the Hebron Region, for example, by at least a year.¹³⁵ Regional Planning made some tentative steps during the Mandate, leaving a legacy of blueprints.

Arterial Roads and 'Ribbon Development'

The restriction of 'ribbon development' along arterial roads became associated with Regional Planning in Palestine, and Kendall sought its early control because it had become a 'bugbear' for planners in England, leading to the UK's enactment of the Restriction of Ribbon Development Act in 1937. Palestine's road network grew during the 1930s, linking up new settlements (see, Appendix 16). Reichman identified two main stages in road building in the Mandate period. The first stage, 1921–38, was based on local decision-making and was financed by local public and private elements; whilst the second stage, 1939–47, was largely influenced by factors external to Palestine, and routes were not determined by local roads. During the Arab Revolt, new roads were built to serve public security. By 1948, a 'fairly dense, although not evenly distributed road network', existed, 'while the rate of regional development was not constant'. However, road expansion was not

accompanied by a development in rail (Appendix 17), where concerns about economic returns as competition with road transport increased, and about maintenance, became the main focus. Indeed, Reichman noted that during 1939–47, the railways served mainly the British Army, with only an additional link being built in 1941–43 between Haifa, Ras an Naqura, Beirut and Tripoli, connecting Europe and Egypt by standard gauge by way of the Levant coast.¹³⁶

In the 1941 Town Planning (Amendment) Ordinance, responsibility for roads in Outline Regional Areas was transferred to the Public Works Department, thereby making provisions for roads both in Outline and Detailed Schemes. The Village Roads and Works Ordinance of 1926, was operative in villages, with the inhabitants being responsible for financing and carrying out certain schemes.¹³⁷

Kendall wanted to contain ‘ribbon development’ along arterial roads, railways and rivers and approaches to major towns, as it obstructed communications and was difficult to control and provide with municipal services. He called for early action through the declaration of Regional Areas, and by-laws under the Town Planning Ordinance, and also for the control of advertisements. Kendall aimed at increasing the construction of pavements and ‘tree-lined boulevard[s]’, though he admitted the difficulty of protecting these outside of towns.¹³⁸

Prior budgetary commitments in road-building sometimes automatically blocked off the possibility of ribbon development, without the interference of town planning bodies. This was instanced by the request of the *mukhtars* and 22 elders from the villages in the area from Taiyiba (Ramallah Sub-district) to Jericho. They asked that the old Roman road be reconstructed to facilitate traffic with Jericho and Trans-Jordan, affecting 20,000 people in the region, and cutting the journey by 40 kilometres.¹³⁹ Heavy commitments to re-building roads elsewhere in Palestine, however, meant that this request had to be turned down.¹⁴⁰

Although progress was recorded, as in Safad, the control of arterial roads was complicated by uncertainties about whether the Public Works Department or Local Planning Commission (that is, the municipality) was responsible for controlling the width and alignment for those parts of the arterial roads that lay between the municipal and the town planning boundaries. The Municipal Engineers preferred that one authority controlled all road construction within a Town Planning Area. The matter was further ‘confused’ by conflicting financial responsibilities allocated under both the Town Planning Ordinance, and the Width and Alignment of Roads Ordinance of 1926. Agreement was finally reached in 1941 that the costs of, and works on, arterial

roads be borne by the authority requiring the changes.¹⁴¹ However, implementing planned controls of encroachments on roads and open spaces was still fettered since village surveys were incomplete and village plans could not be prepared.¹⁴²

Village Development

So neglected was village development in Palestine that it required a general Colonial Secretary Directive to heighten the issue. In 1945, the Reconstruction Commissioner plainly admitted that ‘very little’ had been done for the Arab villages in 24 years or so of British [Mandatory] rule. Many ‘Minor Village Works’ were executed prior to 1945, but they were truly ‘minor’, including such activities as clearing roads.¹⁴³ Applications under Regional Planning were made mainly by Jewish organisations pressing settlement schemes and building proposals. A major part of Regional Planning was therefore concerned with formal Arab Village Development, as the Jews were reckoned to be well organised and funded, and having access to designers, planners and building associations. Moshe Brawer studied the morphological changes in Palestinian villages caused by village growth.¹⁴⁴ This section therefore focuses on Arab village development by the *British*, especially the Post-War Reconstruction Commissioner’s plans, which have not been researched and are an inseparable part of Palestine’s town planning history.

Village Development Planning

Despite 44–50 per cent of Palestine’s population being rural based in 1944 (living in about 1,000 villages), consistent data on this sector was lacking. Village Notebooks, that were introduced in the mid-1930s for Village Headmen to record information on agriculture, public works and other related matters, were irregularly kept, and the *Village Statistics* begun in 1938 gave no information on society. In 1944, the British instigated a ‘Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in [five unnamed] Arab Villages’, to discover population density averages and information on building material.¹⁴⁵ Palestine’s villages had only received the Mandatory’s infrequent attention before the Second World War – through the installation of a small number of schools, infant welfare clinics and ophthalmic and general centres, and latrines; with villages closer to urban centres sometimes receiving more services due to their easier accessibility. However, even villages in the proximity of towns, such as Silwan near Jerusalem, had poor facilities;¹⁴⁶ this

was despite the 'abnormal conditions' resulting from high wartime employment and agricultural prices.¹⁴⁷ Also, the Arab-run Organisation for the Revival of the Arab Village was in its nascent stages and had little impact.¹⁴⁸ Improvements to Arab villages were therefore given 'high priority' among the post-war reconstruction schemes, and the 1944 Survey of Social and Economic Conditions showed the extent of the problems faced (see, Appendix 18).¹⁴⁹

In a comprehensive scheme of 'Village Planning and Development' under the aegis of the 'Improvement of the Standard of Living of the Poor', the Reconstruction Commissioner in 1945 called for the preparation of Village Plans for selected villages. Villages were to be opened up by paved pathways; each having a *midan* (public space) outside the village, and a mosque, a medical clinic (or infant welfare centre), a school with an agricultural garden, and a building area 'for simple model houses'. Village latrines were also to be installed, tree-planting promoted, and improvements made to approach roads and water supplies (providing tap water). Common bakeries and ovens (*taboons*), stables and cattlesheds were included in the planning. The works would be covered by a Government grant, supplemented by the villagers' contributions under the Village Roads and Works Ordinance. Without explaining why, the Commissioner preferred that villages with *musha'* lands close to the centre be selected first; this may have been because some communal co-operation might have been ensured as *musha'* was communally controlled.

These proposals would have dislocated the villages' focus of activities to the outskirts, centred on the *midan* – emphasising the development of village peripheries – and introduced more greenery, different housing models, and possibly different land patterns. This would anyway have coincided with rural population growth that was producing an outward momentum in the shape of village settlement. The model houses were to follow traditional Arab village styles (for example, incorporating domed roofs¹⁵⁰), and were designed to improve sanitation. The scheme was to be gradually implemented, and Kendall and an engineer were to give technical advice, with an augmented town planning staff supported by CDF funding. At first, schemes for ten selected villages in each District were to be prepared.¹⁵¹ Kendall wanted to ensure the 'preservation of their [village] character' through the use of local materials and by-pass arterial roads.¹⁵² The implementation of the Reconstruction Commissioner's plan, however, was complicated by prevailing conditions, analysed below.

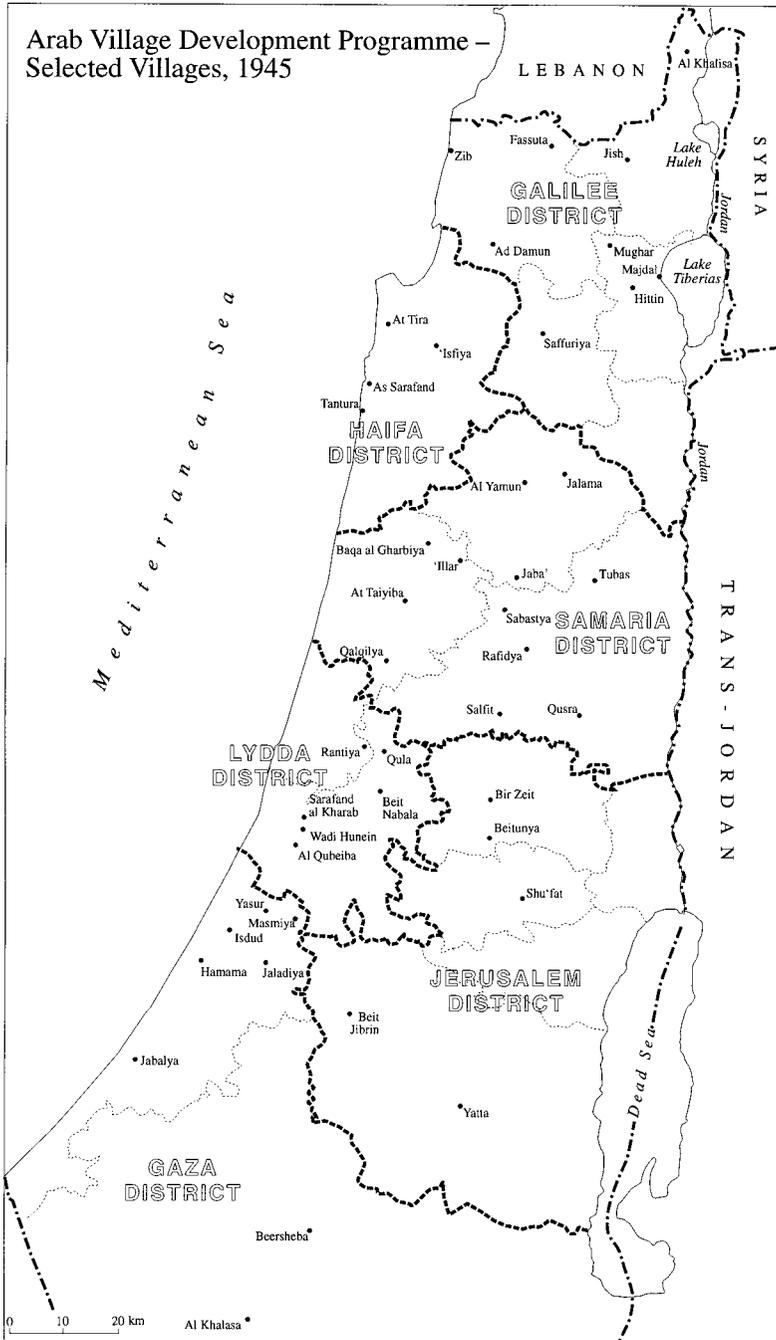
The Implementation of the Village Development Plans

The British first deliberated on comprehensive village development in 1944, and a few villages were surveyed with a view to drawing up a 'long-term programme'. In the following year (1945), due to the lack of fundamental cartographic information essential to development, a scheme for the 'rapid surveys of village built-on and adjoining areas' was prepared. Of the country's approximately 1,000 villages, only 40 had town sheets or taxation plans. The Jewish colonies comprised about 100 built-on areas with registered block plans. It was intended that by 1946–47, 100 surveys a year should be completed, based on a list of prioritised villages made by the District Commissioners.¹⁵³

The CDF-funded scheme was connected to those for infant welfare centres and clinics, water supply improvements and the provision of latrines (see, Map 8). Preliminary work was to be done on the following four villages (although they did not even have permanent formal village councils at that point): Baqa al Gharbiya and 'Illar (in the Tulkarm Sub-District), Jalama (Jenin Sub-District), and Salfit (Nablus Sub-District). Kendall later highlighted Salfit as a case example.¹⁵⁴

However, due to the previously inconsistent Minor Village Works programme, plan implementation was staggered. The lack of suitable buildings, for instance, meant that local councils were themselves having to lease rooms (for example, at Bassa in the Acre Sub-District). It was necessary, therefore, to construct new buildings, markets and hostels. Even then, building often went unsupervised with disastrous results, as schools were known to collapse during inspection. The Public Works Department's demands in 1947 that it be 'all in' on construction were muted by the (by now) familiar-sounding excuses of funding and staff shortages as the Mandate ended.

In addition, the Town Planning Ordinance was unhelpful in ensuring the removal of obstructions in public ways, Section 380(a) of the Criminal Code Ordinance of 1936 being more suited to dealing with the situation. Streets were regularly found blocked by stones collected for building 'in the dim future', as were staircases, stables, animal food stores, chicken houses, and the common *taboons*, the public 'bludgeoned into silence' by village notables. The Public Health Ordinance of 1940, had to be invoked by Local Sanitary Authorities to order the clearance of unhealthy buildings 'used as latrines and as repositories of rubbish'. But this law was limited in its application to ruins. The District Commissioners therefore resolved that the proposed Town Planning Ordinance of 1945, should include provisions for the enforced removal



Map 8. Arab Village Development Programme – Selected Villages, 1945.
 Source: Reconstruction Commissioner, 19 June 1945: ISA/Gp12/23/9/4142.

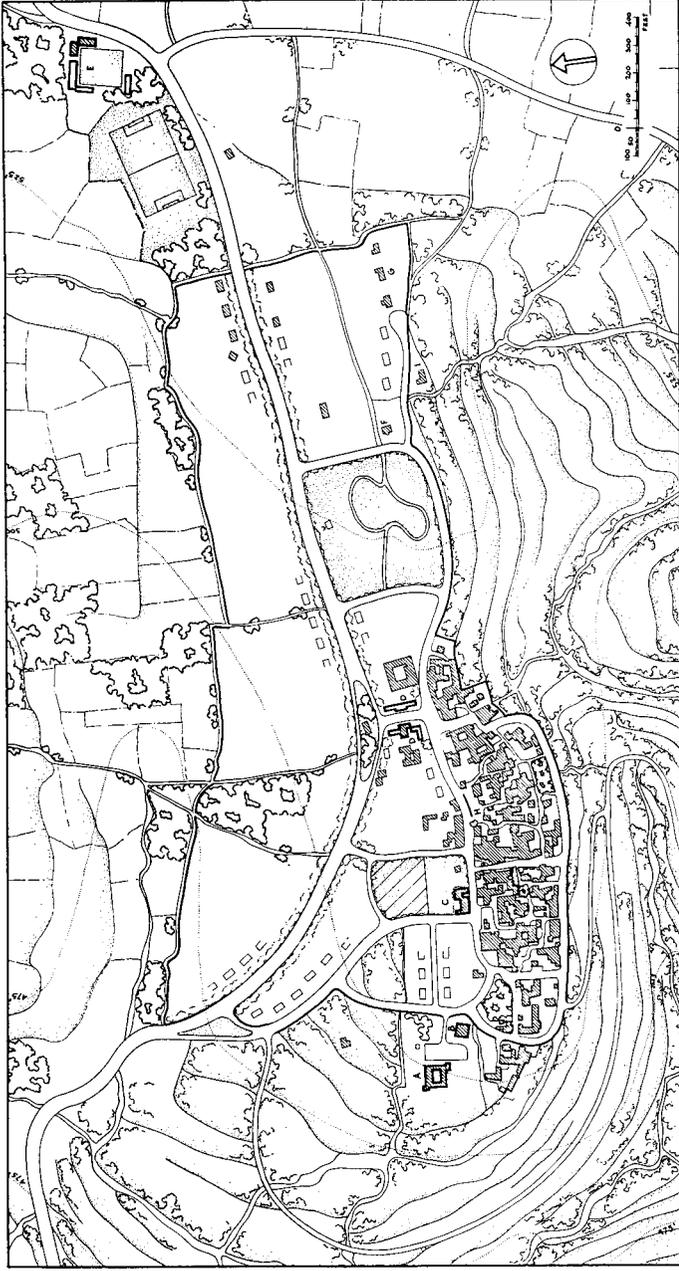
of ruined houses and dilapidated walls in rural areas – but, as previously mentioned, this Bill was not passed.¹⁵⁵

By May 1947, the implementation of the Regional and Village Plan was being severely curtailed as the Town Planning Office's budget was not increased. Building control in Arab villages under the Village Scheme was adversely affected by staff shortages, so Palestine was divided into Class A and Class B categories for plan implementation. Building controls were only to be 'attempted' in Class A villages, chosen for their being easily accessible. Staff dealing with the less reachable Class B villages were given no travel aid, and building warrants were not to be issued. As the Office became further debilitated by budget cuts due to the Mandate's uncertain future, it was decided that only one village in each Sub-District in Category A should be selected since only 12 Village Schemes could be prepared.¹⁵⁶

In the Samarian District village of Salfit, picked by Kendall to exemplify the kind of development work he wanted done and thought possible, plans were implemented with some success. Based on a completed survey and 'simple' town plan, footways and the central square were paved, new sub-offices, schools and a clinic were constructed, and the water supply improved, gaining the villagers' approval (see, Map 9).¹⁵⁷ Many minor works were also carried out in other villages. However, the retrenchment of plan implementation meant that accessible villages were once again the focus, effectively leaving the rest to continue fending for themselves.

Sanitation and Health Facilities: Indicators of Change in the Village Landscape

Sanitation and health facilities were closely associated in town planning. The Arabs themselves also tried to ensure Government health facilities to villages, making requests to the Mandatory for these.¹⁵⁸ During the 1930s, a pilot town planning scheme to promote 'village welfare' was inaugurated by the Senior Medical Officer in Yazur Village, Lydda District; this was described as 'town planning applied on a small scale to villages' (see the chapter on the Shephelah). He urged that planned road-building to 'open up the country' be re-evaluated in light of the 'miserable hovels in which the wretched rural inhabitants' lived.¹⁵⁹ Most *fellah* houses were divided into two. The family lived in the *mastabeh*, which made up three-quarters of the house and was raised and with a balustrade. The animals were stabled in the lower section, the *rawieh* (part of a room reserved for animals).¹⁶⁰ The pilot scheme was intended to quite literally open up the villages. This was to be achieved



- MAJOR THROUGH-TRAFFIC ROAD
- LOCAL THROUGH-TRAFFIC ROAD
- LOCAL ROAD
- FOOTPATH
- BOUNDARY OF RESIDENTIAL ZONES
- OLD TOWN ZONE
- PUBLIC BUILDINGS
- VILLAGE PARKLAND
- CEMETERIES
- AGRICULTURAL LAND AROUND RESIDENTIAL ZONES
- CONTOUR LINES AT 80' INTERVAL
- BUILT-UP AREA
- LEFT WHITE
- EXISTING TREES
- A POLICE BUILDING
- B. DISTRICT OFFICES
- C. MOSQUE
- D. SHOPS
- E. BOYS SCHOOL
- F. GIRLS SCHOOL
- G. TEACHERS' HOUSES
- H. MARKET SQUARE AND BUS CENTRE
- I. CLINIC

Map 9. Salbit Village Development Plan.

Source: Henry Kendall, *Village Development in Palestine during the British Mandate* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1949), Plans and Illustrations between pp. 24-5.

Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

by constructing main streets, clearing spaces, having inhabitants build 'hygienic houses outside the congested' village area, and in some places infant welfare centres. The British claimed the experiment was the 'envy' of the countryside, when the Arab Revolt broke out, bringing the work to a halt. Impressed by the results, however, the Committee on Development then proposed in 1940 that four villages a year in different parts of Palestine enter the scheme to 'spread the underlying idea'.

That year, a countrywide development plan for Health services and sanitation was prepared, also targeting villages. But the large numbers of villages militated against the plan's implementation and widespread extension of services; it was therefore planned to subsidise 30 rural clinics 'to introduce the country doctor to Palestine'. In a previous drive begun in 1934 to improve village sanitation, village latrines were provided – the Health Department installing 25,000 in 1934/5, against a nominal sum from the villagers. However, funding was almost stopped by budget cuts following the outbreak of the Arab Revolt. In 1940, therefore, a programme was proposed to install 9,000 latrines a year. Such works were also co-ordinated with the Education Department, which taught hygiene and cleanliness, affecting the landscape through the planned clearance of manure dumps in streets, and the introduction of refuse and soakage pits. Stagnant pools were filled, drained or oiled, and cisterns closed or oiled. But Sanitary Inspectors were poorly trained and could only visit villages irregularly due to budget constraints.¹⁶¹

At the instigation of the Senior Medical Officers of the Haifa and Galilee Districts, a related proposal was made in June 1946, which gained official approval and funding. Senior pupils were to be trained in village hygiene during their summer holidays, with the aim of helping prevent epidemics and increasing 'the knowledge and practice of simple hygiene methods in villages'. It was looked on as 'a necessary step towards the much needed enlightenment of the rural population in matters affecting their health'. The pupils were then expected to teach their friends what they had learnt during the two-week course.¹⁶²

Of the 34 infant welfare centres in existence in 1940, 17 were located in villages; these proved the most 'popular' of the Mandatory Government's services. The paucity of 'Village Centres' led the Committee on Development to recommend that the focus of the works be on the villages, and propose 60 more centres with financial help from the CDF.¹⁶³ Plans were made in 1945 for the villagers to erect 60 clinics (mainly in Arab areas) over a ten-year period, to be made of masonry in keeping with 'village type construction'.¹⁶⁴ The following

year, Dr Tawfiq Canaan, President of the Palestine Arab Medical Association, complained that the Government had not done its full duty towards the Arabs, and specifically highlighted existing hygienic and sanitary conditions. Improvements were slow, although there were more hospitals; circulating clinics; housing facilities for the mentally ill; anti-malarial, tuberculosis, typhoid and rabies works; and public laboratories. The rural areas, Canaan reiterated, were still poorly serviced.¹⁶⁵

Finance problems and competition for scarce funds immediately arose when the British came to implement their 1945 plan to increase the number of rural clinics. Jaffa urgently required new clinics and medical training facilities for its large hinterland. The plan was revised down to 24 (in all, 86 for the whole country, including urban centres), six being built each year for a period of four years, with at least two in each District (see Appendix 19).¹⁶⁶ Building was not even expected to begin before 1948, funding problems being already very apparent in 1947, with Palestine's reserves tied down to prior commitments and deficits. On 24 September 1947, the plan was scuttled, and two days later, on 26 September, HMG renounced the Mandate.¹⁶⁷ A project that potentially could have transformed villages, 'opening up' the countryside, was therefore not realised.

Conclusion

Village development operated on two levels. First, through on-going Minor Village Works programmes, including sanitation and roads, although these lacked systematic implementation and were concentrated on accessibility, especially during the Arab Revolt when it was dangerous for Government personnel to visit many of the villages. The situation eased somewhat during the War, and the country was further 'opened up' due to large-scale military operations and the accompanying road-building. On the second level was the Village Development Scheme, which was short-lived and subject to injurious budget cuts, and hence affected few villages; the scattered Village Works had but little impact on the landscape.

THE MANDATORY GOVERNMENT'S IMPACT ON CITY PRIMACY

Many studies deal with city primacy in Palestine, such as Gad G. Gilbar's on Arab demography and Mahmud Yazbak's on Haifa.¹⁶⁸ More specifically, a numerical survey of city primacy in Mandate Palestine and Israel has been carried out by D.H.K. Amiran and A. Shahar, and

in Kark's work on Palestine's coastal towns during the preceding Ottoman years of 1800–1914.¹⁶⁹ However, the aim here is to analyse the functional, rather than the numerical, basis of the importance of Palestine's urban centres due to the influence of British rule, and the impact this had on the landscape.

A short survey of the ranking of towns by their population size shows that, in 1922, Jerusalem was the largest town with 62,578 inhabitants. This was followed by Tel-Aviv and Jaffa (combined) with 47,709; Haifa, with 24,634, and Gaza with 17,480. Other towns ranked in the top 13 were Hebron, Nablus, Safad, Lydda, Nazareth, Ramle, Tiberias, Bethlehem and finally, Acre. In 1931, Tel-Aviv–Jaffa led with 101,840, with Jerusalem now in second place with 90,503 inhabitants. In 1944, the most populated towns were still ranked in the order of 1931, but with the populations of Tel-Aviv–Jaffa, Jerusalem and Haifa having tellingly grown to 260,000, 157,080, and 128,000, respectively. This indicated their role as population influx centres.¹⁷⁰

With the recovery and boom in Palestine's economy after 1929 – which was especially due to increased Jewish immigration – rural to urban migration accelerated.¹⁷¹ The Christian population was predominantly urban. The Coastal Plain, where economic development was mainly concentrated, attracted Jewish immigrants and rural Muslims from the agriculturally impoverished Central Range. Eric Mills, the Superintendent of the Census, correlated Palestine's increased population growth with the 'effects of the British administration', and the impact of immigration that it facilitated. The Jews increased from 16.9 per cent of Palestine's population in 1931, to 31.3 per cent in 1946 (Table 1).¹⁷²

The Impact of Administration and Health Provisions

The examination of the functional primacy that British rule lent to urban centres further tests theories on colonised cities as conduits of change.¹⁷³ Jerusalem had already been given prominence by the Ottomans as an Independent *Mutassariflik* (District). The British also stamped it as a place apart by making it Palestine's capital, valued mainly for its religious rather than economic role, the Mandatory Government actually discouraging industrialisation here.¹⁷⁴ The city's primacy as capital was emphasised by the High Commissioner's Residence, the Government departmental headquarters, the Jerusalem District Commissioner's Office, the Central Prison, and its prodigious military component.

As previously remarked, so paramount was Jerusalem to the British, that they took control of its Municipal Council when its active

politicisation threatened the city's functioning and replaced it with a Government-appointed Commission. They also attempted to hold on to Jerusalem as a vestige of British power in the Middle East if Palestine were to be partitioned. Although Jerusalem shifted from first position in 1922 to second after Tel-Aviv in 1931 in population size, and was somewhat cramped in its industrial development because of British policy of limiting the city's industrialisation, its importance as the administrative and political capital assured its rank as a leading urban centre.

Jerusalem attracted those seeking employment from its encircling villages, noticeably impacting on their economies.¹⁷⁵ The city became crowded during the Second World War with people wanting work or compulsorily employed through the Defence (War Service Occupations) Regulations of 1942. In January–March 1943, for example, the Jerusalem Municipality employed 886 in the war services. This compared with Haifa's 1,219, and Tel-Aviv–Jaffa's 4,118, and reflected the concentration of military forces around the latter, further confirming Tel-Aviv–Jaffa as the prime city conurbation.¹⁷⁶ Beit Hanina, Lifta, Malha, Deir Yasin, 'Eizariya, Silwan and 'Ein Karim around Jerusalem became 'suburban villages', exporting labour to it, and servicing and supplying it (for instance, through quarrying in Lifta, and increased market gardening).¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, as the national and district administrative and Government centre, many visitors apart from tourists and pilgrims stayed for varying periods. The Jews also came to Jerusalem for employment in government and military service, though in the main, a significant reason for their migration to Jerusalem was employment in small-scale commerce. This produced a building and housing momentum that often resulted in the contravention of town planning regulations due to the speed at which buildings were put up to meet accommodation needs, especially during the 1930s.¹⁷⁸

District and sub-district centres were also affected by their administrative functions. Before 1938, Palestine's Northern, Jerusalem and Southern Districts, with their centres at Haifa, Jerusalem and Jaffa, respectively, reflected an 'over-centralization' of bureaucracy, the Mandatory's Secretariat rarely visiting outside of Jerusalem. This caused major delays in the administration and running of the Districts, as exemplified in road construction, which progressed at an erratic pace.¹⁷⁹ In 1938, therefore, the Districts were divided into six, easing the administrative burden and becoming more representative. The Districts of Galilee, Haifa, Samaria, Jerusalem, Lydda, and Gaza were established, centred at Nazareth, Haifa, Nablus, Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Gaza, respectively. The District Commissioners were the 'insurance' against any politically sensitive town plan, and the Chief Secretary

insisted on their being consulted. The Sub-District headquarters remained the same, but Nazareth, Nablus and Gaza were now given the bigger role of District headquarters (see, Appendix 3). This effectively brought the country's administrative sub-divisions under closer control, also increasing the Mandatory's access and services to them.¹⁸⁰

Government hospitals, clinics and laboratories also weighted certain towns. Government hospital bed strength rose from 14 per cent in 1925, to 25 per cent in 1940, and 33 per cent in 1944. The majority of patients were Arabs since the Jews had their own health provisions. In 1945, there were Government hospitals in Jerusalem, Haifa, Nablus, Jaffa, Bnei Braq and Safad, and out-patient clinics in 21 towns and some villages. There were also specialised health facilities, such as the 18 infant welfare centres, and Jerusalem's Princess Mary Maternity Centre.¹⁸¹ These serviced people from the surrounding areas, giving a different measure for city primacy that was not wholly definable by population size (Plate 3). Post-war planning for the reorganisation of the Health Department was set back, however, by financial difficulties following the deterioration of security as the Arab-Jewish conflict intensified towards the Mandate's end. The Arab community remained most in need of Government health facilities: in 1945, the British estimated that the Muslims had an infant mortality rate of 136 per 1,000, compared to the Jews with 68 per 1,000. A 'kind of government [health] standard' existed: one higher than the Ottoman period but lower than the Jewish sector's, which apparently had 'too many doctors'.¹⁸²

The British had a major impact on Haifa. The deep-water port completed in 1933, undoubtedly changed Haifa as an employment focus, as too did the Palestine Railways' central workshops and its rail development, serving Hajj pilgrims and reaching to Baghdad. In addition, there were the oil terminal and the refineries, giving it Palestine's largest concentration of heavy industries. The Customs Department and a major animal quarantine station were also located here, making the British instrumental in determining Haifa as a centre of heavy industry and trading, as a naval and embarkation port, and as a regional capital with a highly politicised labour force.¹⁸³ It attracted labour mainly from the Galilee and Central Hills, but also from further afield, notably from Syria. Lists of squatters on State Domain, in the adjacent village of Balad esh Sheikh, show that most came from Haifa's environs, Nablus, Jenin and Nazareth. As a result of the doubling of Haifa's population in the 1930s, 'Tin-Towns' [shanties], such as Ard al Raml sprang up and there were periodic outbreaks of plague which reflected the dire sanitary conditions that emerged.¹⁸⁴ The port and the

industrial expansion also forced the displacement of a large locus of fishermen's huts.¹⁸⁵

The Impact of the Military Presence

A subject little researched is that of the impact that the large military presence in Palestine had on the landscape, as exemplified by Haifa. As troops had already been increased during the Arab Revolt, the reinforcements during the war that immediately followed caused much concern to Haifa's Town Planning Commission. Army camps were bringing about 'very serious interference with civilian development', and the Commission feared they would 'become permanent' and 'ruin' plans for the town's 'orderly development'. This led to a 'deadlock' over Haifa's 'important' areas as 'harmony' had to be sought between the Army and Haifa's urban needs to remedy the 'chaotic state of affairs'. The town's 'best man-power and resources' were used for the war effort, at times to the civilians' detriment. The Army occupied lands and buildings across Haifa and mounted major anti-aircraft and coastal defences. But at the end of the War, contrary to the Town Planning Commission's expectations, the Army held on to its positions and even 'considerably increased' its presence in Haifa. New sites in the 'best part' of the town were taken over for camps, as trees were felled that had been planted with great effort. Furthermore, homes were requisitioned, thus worsening the acute housing shortage.¹⁸⁶

Building was hampered as landlords feared the Army would take over their property, and the military sat on areas ripe for development. The famed Foreshore Development Scheme which was to give residents access to the sea, with beaches and cafes, thus also encouraging tourism, 'threatened to remain stillborn', since the Army planned its own permanent camp on the site. Heavy military traffic, barbed wire, closed roads, camps 'straddling roads', and occupied afforested areas came to characterise Haifa. Whilst civilians accepted the Military, mainly because of the associated lucrative trade and jobs, they strongly resented the resulting inconveniences.

The maintenance of a large-scale military presence and repairs system was only one outcome of Palestine's regional prominence as a major centre for the Second World War in the Middle East. There were also numerous POW 'cages' – or large camps surrounded by barbed wire – some originally set up in the Arab Rebellion.¹⁸⁷ Palestine's new War Department helped effectuate many more camps across the countryside than already existed, as well as depots and other military installations; and, as in Haifa, camps were actually erected across the country's main

roads, violating town planning principles and resulting in “Ribbon Development” of the worst type’. By 1945, the Army was planning to turn many of its camps into permanent structures, raising the spectre of uncontrolled construction from Masmiya (in the Gaza Sub-District) to Gaza, with some camps – for example, Jerusalem’s Allenby Barracks – also being expanded.¹⁸⁸ Many Arabs complained of the Army’s continued occupation of buildings and tried to have them evicted.¹⁸⁹ In this way, Jerusalem, Haifa, Lydda, Ramle and Gaza maintained a high profile in the military ranking of towns, with Jerusalem becoming a popular centre in the Middle East for British soldiers on leave. Troops would even be taken on arranged tours of the capital’s Old City: when the South African Native Troops visited, their guide saw to it ‘that they are not overcharged’.¹⁹⁰ During June 1940 alone, 27,000 soldiers were stationed in Palestine, in contrast to the 36,000 in neighbouring Egypt, all under the command of Sir Archibald Wavell.¹⁹¹ Foreign troops were also sent to Palestine, such as the Polish Brigade stationed in 1941 in the Galilee after the cessation of hostilities in Syria.¹⁹² Wherever possible, buildings would be commandeered, and the small, old fort at Tulkarm was turned into the Household Cavalry’s headquarters.¹⁹³

The lack of collaboration between Town Planning Authorities and the Army had a long history in Palestine, worsened by security and budget problems during the Arab Revolt. When the Planning Commissions tried dealing with the problem after the War, they also faced two other major factors. The Jewish underground organisation’s (the *IZL*) bombing of the King David Hotel on 22 July 1946, which housed the Chief Secretariat, made it difficult for the latter to cope with the on-going issue of the town planners and the Military. Also, the whole matter was bound up with the much larger policy issue of Palestine’s future, which was increasingly uncertain. The Military therefore, had a very significant influence on city primacy as an employment and trade source and, to the consternation of the town planners, had an ever-increasing impact on the landscape from 1936 onwards – from the outbreak of the Arab Revolt, followed by the War and civil strife, to the Mandate’s end.

Conclusion

Population changes, indicating city primacy and its impact on the landscape, paralleled changes in the urban centres’ relative functions. The War, for example, made Haifa and Jerusalem even more conspicuous militarily, bolstering their importance as determined by other functions, and attracting more activities such as health centres, with

repercussions on labour mobility. Whilst Jerusalem was the capital and main administrative centre, it bowed to Jaffa and Tel-Aviv economically. Through their different functions and impact on their hinterlands, Palestine's urban centres were also conduits for ideas, change, and the Mandatory Government's expansion of power.

SLUM CLEARANCE AND POST-WAR HOUSING AND RECONSTRUCTION

Rapid development in Palestine led to overcrowding and the growth of slums due to poor planning. By 1945, the four largest towns of Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, Haifa and Jaffa had a combined population of 520,000 (according to the Reconstruction Commissioner's conservative estimate), with the remaining municipalities totalling 784,000, or almost half of Palestine's inhabitants.¹⁹⁴ During the War, workers attracted by employment opportunities in the urban centres caused further over-crowding in these urban centres, swelling the slum areas – made worse by wartime restrictions on building materials and the subsequent decline in construction, accompanied by high rents. The Arab Chamber of Commerce maintained contacts throughout with the Government and the Military about problems in the building industry, and the Arab Association of Building Materials (Supplies), established in 1937, in particular tried solving difficulties arising from wartime shortages of materials, though with limited success. Arabs in the building trade also maintained close contact with the British Administration during the War, supplying them with locally produced materials and information about the availability of builders and electricians, and other related matters.¹⁹⁵ The Jews were very active in this field and had numerous building organisations – several of which were connected to labour associations and co-operatives – that also tried to meet housing demands.¹⁹⁶

Slum Clearance

So bad had the slums situation become in Palestine, that the Director of the Labour Department (set up in 1942), wanted the problem addressed immediately on building materials becoming available again after the War. Every region suffered from slum conditions, but the British were particularly anxious about the Arab areas because they lacked organised housing companies that were on any scale comparable to those of the Jews. Gaza's District Commissioner, E. Ballard, wanted the 'slum mind

... abolished'. Wartime overcrowding exacerbated an already inflamed situation. In the 1930s, the Hebron Municipal Council tried encouraging movement out of the 'crowded and unhygienic' Old City to the town's periphery.¹⁹⁷ Jerusalem's Old City, whose walls were 'masked by shacks and mean buildings', had slums that were a 'standing disgrace'. There were many instances of public open spaces outside the city being built upon, 'directly contributing to overcrowding, creating slums'.¹⁹⁸

The Samaria District Town Planning Commission tried controlling haphazard building and slum formation on town peripheries, and prioritised land parcellation for development outside the urban areas in its Regional Outline Scheme. However, Planning Commissions were held up by the Land Transfer (Amendment) Ordinance of 1939, which required that an undefined 'subsistence area' be kept by a cultivator in a land sale. Parcellation by-laws were thus circumvented, and lands were parcelled into sizes less than the 'minimum in any *approved* town planning scheme'.¹⁹⁹ Kendall endeavoured to change the law to conform with the Town Planning Ordinance, which controlled parcellation in a Town Planning Area (as with Malaya's Sanitary Board Area), but to no avail. Parcellation controls were included in the Town Planning Bill of 1945; however, it was not passed.²⁰⁰ Conditions remained the same until the British left Palestine in 1948.

Ballard argued that it was the Government's function to give financial assistance and expropriate vacant lands and congested slum areas ensuring proper building and re-housing, as this was 'intimately' linked with health. In drafting the Public Health Ordinance of 1940, care was taken to secure Urban Sanitary Areas and slum clearance by landlords. 'The abolition and reconstruction' of congested areas was also included in the 1936 Town Planning Ordinance. Slum clearance was a complicated and costly task, and the suggestion of clearing whole areas for development through improvement trusts could not, for example, be carried out in Jerusalem's Old City because of its compact structure (Plate 4). Instead, insanitary cellars used for accommodation were either to be improved or closed. Since it was deduced to be 'extremely unlikely' that any clearance scheme would yield financial returns, a free grant was proposed. The major obstacles then were finances and urban morphology. The 1940 Committee on Development wanted to stop the 'undesirable drift towards the towns', which worsened and even created slum conditions, and proposed the revival of 'home and village industries', such as weaving.²⁰¹ But wartime employment drives further stimulated rural-urban migration, forestalling town planning attempts at slum clearance, as happened with the implementation of the 'Lands East of Tel-Aviv Plan', initiated in 1939.²⁰²



Plate 3. Health: Government Hospital, Jaffa.

Source: N.d.: ISA/PIO/Tray3024/606.



Plate 4. Shanty Town in the Old City, Jerusalem, 1938.

Source: Government Press Office, Jerusalem: GPO/142799-30.

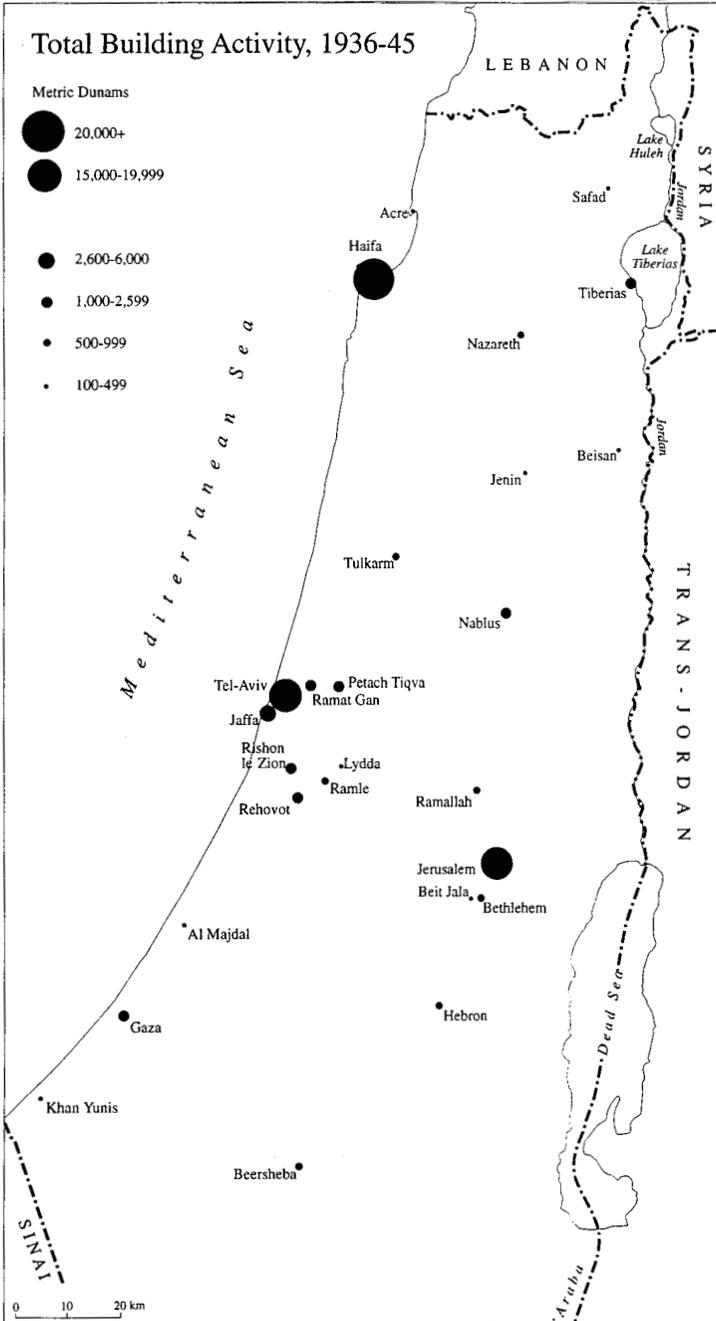
Despite the urgency of the slum situation – exacerbated by recurring outbreaks of disease – and the Reconstruction Commissioner's comments,²⁰³ post-war policy determined that new housing was more essential, leaving slum clearance to a later undefined and unrealised stage.²⁰⁴

Post-War Housing and Reconstruction

The Mandatory's housing policy was mainly to initiate development schemes, such as that for New Gaza. The Government itself provided no actual housing: a remaining feature of post-war planning. Building activity had been focused on the three main centres of Haifa, Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem (see, Map 10). By 1940, an acute housing shortage had arisen, brought on by the population's natural increase, immigration, repercussions from the Arab Revolt, and wartime building restrictions, together with industrialisation 'telescoped into one-tenth of the time' taken for the West's Industrial Revolution. This compounded the problems of slums and congestion. Yet, the Committee on Development refused to recommend that the CDF issue a debenture to Jewish and the (non-existent) Arab housing societies, arguing that they had other sources for capital, for example, the banks. It feared that aiding co-operative housing societies would mean aiding individual builders, making it impossible to refuse financial assistance to municipal housing schemes. The Reconstruction Commissioner simply recommended nine Jewish Local Councils out of a total of 14 for loans, the criterion being their capacity to repay loans.²⁰⁵

Housing Shortages

During the War, the housing situation was worsened by the usurpation of residences for wartime and internal security needs; this was followed after the War by influxes of refugees. Account also had to be taken of housing for the 100,000 Jewish Displaced Persons (DPs) from Europe's concentration camps, whom the 1946 Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry was thinking of settling in Palestine. Excluding this factor, 1946 estimates meant that space was needed for 62,165 urban and 10,730 rural room units for the Jews. The Arab urban population required 35,000 urban units, and a large rural counterpart of 128,000.²⁰⁶ Supply of residential buildings could not meet demand, and was distributed to reflect the communities' geography. In Jerusalem's urban area, 60 per cent of the buildings were constructed by the Jews, compared with only 40 per cent by the Arabs. For Jaffa, a mainly Arab town, the respective



Map 10. Total Building Activity, 1936-45.

Source: Compiled from *A Survey of Palestine*, p. 791.

figures were 20 per cent and 80 per cent; whilst Haifa's and Tiberias' were each 70 and 30 per cent; and Safad was divided equally at 50 per cent construction by the Arabs and 50 per cent by the Jews.²⁰⁷

In 1944, a Central Housing Advisory Committee, similar to Scotland's, was appointed by C. Wilson Brown, Controller of Heavy Industries, with respective Sub-Committees on Arabs and Jews. Another Sub-Committee on Legislation looked into the private sector's Building Problems and Renting; and a fourth, on Types of Buildings. The latter was chaired by Kendall, who was to be the adviser on building standards when intensive construction was resumed for cheap housing. The Jewish Sub-Committee (as it was called) found that even townships were congested (Nathanya leading with a 5.43 average density per room). The summary of the Arab Sub-Committee's findings was based on the Mandatory Government's ideal of an average of two persons per room, and indicated that 40 per cent of the Arab area's rural population lived in conditions of 'severe overcrowding' with four or more persons per room (Appendix 20).²⁰⁸ The Committee's disturbing results led to the formulation of the Government Emergency Building Scheme.

The Emergency Building Scheme, 1945

The Emergency Building Scheme (also known as the EBS), 1945, was nervously put together during 1944, in stark contrast with the more quiescent attitude of the 1940 Committee on Development on the matter of housing. Palestine's housing problems were emphasised by the first Reconstruction Commissioner, Sir Douglas G. Harris, in 1943. This was given further impetus by (Eliezer) Siegfried Hoofien, Managing Director of the powerful Jewish-owned General Mortgage Bank of Palestine, Ltd, who wrote an influential note on 'Post-War Popular Housing' outlining the housing problem, especially in the Jewish sector and in Tel-Aviv. It was he who emphasised housing rather than re-housing or slum clearance, and called for the availability of cheap money for popular schemes based on housing associations. He referred to England's Housing Act of 1936, which gave local authorities a greater role, and pointed out Palestine's capital shortages in the financial sector.²⁰⁹ Hoofien's note set off intense discussions in the Administration, with some of his statistical thinking filtering through to post-war reconstruction planning.²¹⁰ The District Commissioners urged direct Government control of building construction because of the politicised nature of Jewish town planning and the Arab Councillors' contrasting lack of planning experience. The Reconstruction Commissioner

specified that post-war construction not be left to the initiative of building societies, warning of the UK's 'disastrous experience'.²¹¹

Palestine's post-war housing planning essentially revolved around finance. In 1944, the country's estimated deficit was £P4.5 million, hence the Treasury insistence on privately funded housing, with public bodies only undertaking planning and land acquisition. A Government Land Bank was even contemplated to purchase land whilst it was still available. But some officials questioned the Mandatory's ability to see housing schemes through, pointing to the failures in the New Gaza Scheme, Haifa, and the politically sensitive Jaffa Scheme. Maurice C. Bennett, Director of Land Settlement, added that the Jews held large areas of undeveloped land, such as those around Tel-Aviv and Affula. Though there was Arab land available, the Arabs lacked capital, a problem that had obstructed the implementation of the New Gaza Scheme, and, the Land (Acquisition for Public Purposes) Ordinance blocked the formation of improvement trusts that required funding.²¹² Also, the Arabs did not have the safety-net of co-operative housing associations, such as Shikun of the Jewish *Histadrut*. The Jews researched their urban and rural living standards, and closely monitored their own housing needs and prepared detailed plans.²¹³

The Arab Sub-Committee focused mainly on Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa (followed by undefined 'other urban centres' and 'Rural'), whilst the Jewish Committee reported on Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv and Haifa (then undefined 'other urban centres' and 'Rural'). For the Jews, with refugee immigrants arriving daily, the situation was particularly critical in Haifa and Tel-Aviv, as well as in many of their settlements. Despite the shortage of material, however, there was construction in a 'considerable number of Jewish rural settlements'.²¹⁴ And though production by the Jewish-owned Nesher cement factory was regulated by the Government, more than some of the output found its way to the black market.²¹⁵ The Controller of Heavy Industries 'adopted the policy of releasing as much cement as possible', which in 1944 became more widely available, and made 'desperate efforts to obtain timber' to permit some building. Near 'many' Arab towns, 'great numbers' of houses were built from local stone, though roofless and windowless, in anticipation of the release of fittings and iron. From 1942 onwards, 'intermediate measures' were taken, releasing materials for building (for example, for 3,000 rooms a month, 125 factories, and 200 rooms in agricultural buildings).

As Reconstruction Commissioner, Heron outlined a housing programme dependent almost entirely on private construction, for example, those by Shikun and the newly formed Arab Riad Company. The Municipalities of Haifa, Tel-Aviv, Jerusalem, Jaffa and Nablus were

prioritised for funding, either by loans or improvement trusts. Housing shortages were also registered in the smaller townships and settlements, as in Acre.

But the potent element of unemployment after the demobilisation of approximately 100,000 persons employed in the war effort complicated housing plans. Professor R. Peers, formerly Labour Adviser to the Minister Resident in Cairo, wrote a secret report on 'Labour and Employment in the Middle East'. He advocated the advance provision of materials to generate a civilian economy spearheaded by the building industry, thus providing 'considerable employment'. The Colonial Office also seized on High Commissioner Sir Harold A. MacMichael's (1938–44) proposed scheme to alleviate housing shortages by reviving the building industry. Whilst 'strongly endorsing the scheme', it emphasised that there was to be no Government subsidy 'either directly or through municipalities', leaving the British to be seen to be doing something 'constructive'.²¹⁶

At least 125,000 rooms were required, and an additional 44,000 for slum clearance; but the immediate Emergency Building Scheme, 1945, was to start with 27,000 rooms, setting aside slum clearance till later. Additionally, ex-servicemen required housing, especially in Haifa and Tel-Aviv, and the Resettlement Advisory Committee speculated on providing evacuated military buildings and hostels for this. Again, the Mandatory was only willing to provide loans for the 750 dwellings needed for ex-servicemen mainly in Tel-Aviv (£P450,000), 450 for Haifa (£P320,000), and 400 for other Local Authorities (£P120,000). In November 1944, the Joint Planning Committee in Washington, DC, which controlled wartime building materials, agreed to the Emergency Building Scheme of 1945, and authorised orders for the early release of supplies. The Scheme was expected to employ around 20,000. The re-settlement of ex-service personnel was to be facilitated by Employment Exchanges, and Resettlement Advice Offices were opened in Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv.²¹⁷

Information was gathered on pre-fabricated housing, costs and examples of housing schemes elsewhere, notably the Scottish Housing Associations. The 'Fundamentals for a Government Housing Policy' were outlined as being to use housing to improve the individual's life: 'the small house is the first step in the emancipation of the small man', it was declared. A new Government 'Assisted Housing Programme', and ensuring low land and money costs, were to be coupled with good engineering and administration. Disposal through hire purchase was the aim, except for those municipalities wanting to aid persons living below the poverty line. Finally, Government was to

encourage public housing co-operatives by providing cheap money alone. 'Assisted Housing' was also to extend to municipalities, though their being new to such a scheme meant they would be tightly controlled. It was emphasised, however, that housing was not to be carried out through improvement trusts. Trusts were aimed at specific projects, while housing depended upon the life of a mortgage loan, preferably designed to develop with the growth in housing enterprises.

It was also stressed that a high degree of standards be maintained. No funding was to be arranged for Municipal Housing without an approved scheme, and it was to be limited to 'Assisted Housing for the Low Income Group Above the Poverty Line'. By 19 October 1945, schemes were being prepared for Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, and smaller municipalities, such as Gaza and Petach Tiqva. The Government's role, it was finally decided, would be focused only on floating bond issues and guaranteeing them, and (mainly) guiding and controlling the municipalities in preparing and executing their schemes. London gave much support to post-war reconstruction, approving a free grant for architectural staff engaged in development schemes for the £P1,000,000 allocated to Palestine under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1945 (CD&W). The year 1945/6 proved the 'peak year in the blue-printing and final planning of major development schemes'.²¹⁸ Municipality Assisted Housing Schemes, however, had to overcome the backlog of housing demands – with demand growing further through demobilisation, natural increase and immigration – whilst providing for the implementation of town plans, for example, ensuring zoning. In the private sector, the worsening political situation and increasingly open hostility towards British rule was manifesting itself in the Jewish boycott of CDF bond issues, that were also earmarked for Jewish housing schemes.

Plans for permanent housing and a post-war garrison were suspended in February 1947 in favour of scale 'C' tent camps with solid flooring, huts for ancillary buildings, and 'trussed steel' structures for married quarters. Any building deemed 'unnecessary' was discouraged. Once more in Palestine, then, the Military (numbering about 80,000) was to impose its presence on the landscape, as the political situation deteriorated.²¹⁹

Factors in Implementing the Emergency Building Scheme, 1945

Any building scheme, however, was also subject to land, labour and material costs, the latter two being dealt with here as examples. Labour and material costs were high due to wartime conditions and the cost of

living. The building and construction sector of the economy became the biggest employer during the war, accounting for 61,500 of the 305,250 labour force in 1942 (manufacturing was second, employing 52,000), much of the building being for the war effort. Between 1939 and 1942, however, wages increased by an average of 42 per cent in the building trade, compared to the highest, agriculture, which increased by 248 per cent. Also, from 2 May 1945, employers were legally compelled to pay an extra 8 per cent for 'social purposes', and 3 per cent for the sick-fund. By November 1945, the combined increase made up 9.2 per cent of total building costs. Such considerations were paramount for the building and construction sector, and were only partially helped by wartime vocational training for fitters, welders, and others.²²⁰ With the participation of the Arab Chamber of Commerce, a committee was even called in 1946 to inquire into high building costs in Arab areas, though the Chamber was apparently unable to compete successfully with post-war market forces and does not appear to have had any influence on pricing.²²¹

Supplies remained unpredictable and expensive, with imported Canadian wood being unsatisfactory for building requirements. Some forms of steel were available, such as 1/8-inch thick steel sheets, but others were difficult to obtain, whilst blasting materials were restricted for security reasons. Some locally manufactured materials became increasingly available after 1944, like bricks and cement. British concern about housing in Palestine led them to apply 'outside the usual procedure' for permits to import controlled building materials, competing with the colonies.²²²

Conclusion

Though recognised as important, slum clearance was postponed to an undetermined date, with post-war reconstruction concentrating on housing. The housing shortage precipitated a race against time after the War, as demobilisation combined with the population's natural increase and the arrival of Jewish refugees. However, HMG only offered loans and technical management, leaving implementation to the private sector, especially housing associations, while assisting in the early release of materials. The obvious paucity of Arab housing associations compared to the Jewish sector placed the former at an immediate disadvantage in the 1945 Emergency Building Scheme, resulting in a spatial imbalance in housing provisions, with hardly any impact on Arab rural housing, although this area was judged as being the most in need.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

King's theories on colonial cities as an instrument of change were applied above. The analysis showed Kendall's stress on town planning principles and on the Mandatory Government's policy of preserving historical sites and directing new development. In awe of the Holy Land, and without producing a segregated '*ville européenne*', British town planning in Palestine often highlighted indigenous culture, rather than marginalised it (as in Australia). British officials sometimes infiltrated local neighbourhoods, taking up residence in different parts of the towns as well as villages, at times enhancing existing cross-cultural environments, such as that of the German Colony in Jerusalem.²²³ The problems in plan implementation due to staff and funding shortages, and the Courts' often poor understanding of the functions of town planning, negate Bauman's and Fruchtman's claims of town planners having all-controlling powers. Town planning was deeply rooted in British urban history and aimed at the statutory control of urbanism to ensure sanitation, low density building and zoning with pleasant amenities.²²⁴ This latter point has been illustrated, for example, by the difficulties experienced in imposing zoning controls, and containing rapid building during increased Jewish immigration in the 1930s.

Slow progress was made in providing health facilities and Government offices were inadequate. Preservation works were a major feature, exemplified by Kendall's blueprint for Jerusalem's Old City. Aesthetic standards were set, the most famous being for Jerusalem's building facades, applicable in policy to all of Palestine. British rule was symbolised in the grand design of the High Commissioner's Residence and in postboxes and traffic lights, 'but through the din come the more pleasing notes of goat and camel bells'.²²⁵ Regional planning for rural areas introduced in 1938 brought the whole of Palestine nominally under town planning controls. Regional planning, as with planning for towns, reflected local needs, for instance through agricultural zoning, and plans were prepared in close association with other departments, such as the Department of Antiquities. The Mandatory Government's influence on the evolution of a differential city primacy, indicating varied functions and not just population sizes, encouraged hinterlands to develop a dependency on their cities and whole regions interacted with key towns.

However, the severe budget and staff shortages caused the curtailment of the Mandatory's first systematic Arab Village Development Plan, which had only a small impact through health and sanitation provisions. HMG also refused to fund much-needed post-war housing.

Politicised planning commissions were further obstacles to smooth planning. The Arabs were less active in town planning than the Jews, who brought over their own architects and planners from Europe and presented most of the non-Government plans for approval. British influence on the Arabs is identifiable in such organisations as the Arab Association for the Renovation of Towns in Palestine, set up in 1944, and the growing involvement of Arabs in the town planning process through town planning requests.²²⁶ This was in addition to their participation on planning commissions. In contrast, the British acknowledged independent Jewish interests in town planning. The Mandatory's town planning and urban and rural works had a mixed impact on Palestine's landscape, therefore, being both regulatory and initiatory, and leaving marks definable in Meinig's analysis of imperial landscapes. The cities, differentiated in colonial function, became instruments of change – showing the relevance of King's theories here – giving prominence to town planning, so that Kendall could comment that citizens became 'aware' of the merits of 'planning principles'.²²⁷

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23. Colonial Secretary Malcolm J. MacDonald (1935, and 1938–40), 28 August 1935: PRO/CO733/278/75155.
24. Kendall sent information on Palestine to Austen St. Barbe Harrison, Town Planning Consultant, Malta, (formerly Chief Architect, Palestine, 1923–37): Kendall to Harrison, 31 December 1943: ISA/CSO2/Z/2/44/561. Town Planning Adviser, *Annual Report, 1937* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1938; henceforth, TPA, *AR*), p. 4.
25. TPA, *AR, 1938*, p. 4.

26. Kendall, Town Planning Adviser, Memorandum, 14 December 1937: ISA/Gp27/G/457/2/2633.
27. Kendall, TPA, *AR*, 1937, p. 17; William H. McLean, Jerusalem's first planner (1918), 'The Preservation of Jerusalem: The Old City and the New': Letter to the Editor, *Glasgow Herald* (17 August 1938). Minute by CS [?], 24 April 1940: ISA/CSO2/Z/13/40/536.
28. Yi-Fu Tuan, *Passing Strange and Wonderful: Aesthetics, Nature and Culture* (Washington, DC: Island Press/Shearwater Books, 1993), pp. 5–19.
29. For example, the Notice for the Hebron Outline Scheme was not posted in the Municipal Offices for the required period (Section 16, Town Planning (Amendment) Ordinance, 1929), causing delays. Extract from the Minutes of the 83rd Meeting of the District Building and Town Planning Commission, Jerusalem, 13 May 1943: ISA/Gp23/H/D/1912. Kendall, Memorandum. Submitted by the Town Planning Adviser, 14 December 1937: ISA/Gp27/G.457/2/2633, circulated by Kendall.
30. For example, *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, For Official Use Only, No. 1 of 1945 (Palestine: Palestine Government, May 1945), p. 74; and Minute by W.M.G. [?], 4 December 1947: ISA/CSO2/Z/TP/31/47/564. Also, TPA, *AR*, 1938, pp. 3 and 5.
31. TPA, *AR*, 1939, pp. 1–3. In January 1942, Britain considered a scorched earth policy for the Colonies, and the 'total' destruction of selected sites (naval, transport, etc.): Telegram, secret, 29 January 1942: PRO/CO733/CO968/82/7. High Commissioner Sir Harold A. MacMichael (1938–44), agreed to a scheme with Pinchas Rutenberg, owner of the Palestine Electric Corporation, to destroy certain of his plants: MacMichael to Colonial Secretary, Telegram, most secret, 5 November 1942: *ibid.*
32. Kendall, *Jerusalem City Plan*, p. 39.
33. Fruchtman, 'Statutory Planning', pp. 11–156, especially pp. 107–8 and 123. Indeed, the full title of his thesis is, 'Statutory Planning as a Form of Social Control: The Evolution of Town Planning Law in Mandatory Palestine and Israel, 1917–1980s'.
34. McLean, Book Review, 'Jerusalem under British Mandate 1918–1948. Preservation of the Old City and Planning the New', n.d., enclosure in: PRO/CO733/495/2/76510.
35. For example, Extract from Minutes of 101st Meeting of the District Building and Town Planning Commission, Jerusalem District, 16 November 1944: ISA/Gp23/TP1/1906. The Department of Health's involvement in town planning pre-dated 1934: see its *Annual Report, 1930*, (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1930; henceforth, *AR*), pp. 72–3, where town planning had its own section, focused on sanitation matters. Also, Kendall, *Jerusalem City Plan*, p. 122.
36. For example, Schedule of Proposed Amendments in the Zoning Regulations and Building By-Laws as Affecting the Jerusalem Outline Town Planning Scheme and Sections 4 and 6 of the Building By-Laws, in Minutes of the Extraordinary Meeting of the District Building and Town Planning Commission, Jerusalem District, Jerusalem, 26 February 1937: ISA/Gp23/CR/2/4162.
37. S. Shapiro, 'Planning Jerusalem: The First Generation, 1917–1968', in David H.K. Amiran, Arie Shachar and Israel Kimhi (eds), *Urban Geography of Jerusalem: A Companion Volume to the Atlas of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1973), p. 143.
38. See the two-volume files: Construction of Shops (Zoning Use): ISA/Gp23/CR/3/1904.
39. City Building: CZA/S25/7238; and, for example, Notes on the Development of Haifa, n.s., August 1938: CZA/S25/7244.
40. Haifa Bay Development Company: CZA/J104; Herbert and Sosnovsky, *Baubaus on the Carmel*, pp. 163–5.
41. Minute, Meeting of Local Commission, 15 October 1935: ISA/Gp23/18/240/4161.

42. Jamil Wahbeh and Others to Mayor of Jerusalem, translation, n.d. [1935?]: *ibid.* The workshops seem to have been in the Suleiman Road area, the address heading Wahbeh's letter.
43. Arab Chamber of Commerce Papers, Mamilla Road, July–October 1937: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/598.
44. CS to All District Commissioners, 13 January 1944: and Extract of Minutes of Sixth Meeting of the District Commissioners' Conference, Gaza, 28 January 1944: ISA/CSO2/Z/1/44/561. Also Section 14(2)(i) of the Town Planning Ordinance, 1936: R. Newton, Acting District Commissioner, Jerusalem, to CS, 31 December 1943: *ibid.* The 1938 Amendment also concerned building appearance and use: Fruchtman, 'Statutory Planning', p. 140 and p. 472, f. 59, re Draft Town Planning (Amendment) Ordinance, 1937, *Official Gazette*, No. 719, p. 867; and R. Windham, Legal Draftsman: PRO/CO733/338/75891.
45. CS to All District Commissioners, 13 January 1944: and Extract of Minutes of Sixth Meeting of the District Commissioners' Conference, Gaza, 28 January 1944: ISA/CSO2/Z/1/44/561.
46. Minutes, Haifa Commission, 7 May 1946: ISA/Gp23/TP/8/1906. Newton to CS, 14 December 1944: ISA/Gp23/TP/8/1906, noted 'we all dislike' the David Building. Also Newton to CS, 31 December 1943: *ibid.*
47. Minute by Newton to CS, 14 December 1944: *ibid.*
48. Jerusalem Mayor, 28 October 1942: ISA/Gp23/TP/1/2/1906.
49. TPA, *AR*, 1939, p. 6.
50. Kendall, *Jerusalem City Plan*, p. xi.
51. For example, the Safad Municipal Area (Construction of Sewers and Drains) By-Laws, 1945: ISA/Gp27/S.188/2681. Sanitary Surveyors required a certificate from the Royal Sanitary Institute: *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, pp. 36–7.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
53. On Colonial development planning during and after the Second World War, see, Havinden and Meredith, *Colonialism and Development*, pp. 206–34. Also, M. El Khaldi (Mustapha Bey el Khalidi), Mayor of Jerusalem, to District Commissioner, 19 January 1943: ISA/CSO2/F/79/42/139.
54. *Report of the Committee on Development and Welfare Services 1940*, For Official Use Only (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1940; henceforth, *Report of the Committee on Development*, 1940), p. 1.
55. *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, pp. 179–81. Jerusalem's water supply was among the most developed in Palestine: Mrs Hind J. Nasser, a school pupil in Jerusalem in the last years of the Mandate, Law and Liaison Consultant, UNRWA, interview, Jerusalem, 19 November 1999.
56. See, file, Vacancy–Civil Engineer for Sewerage and Water Schemes–Public Works Department: PRO/CO733/242/12/17444. Also, *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, pp. 33–49. And Mr Alexander Cohen, Civil Engineer (also during the Mandate), interview, Bnei Braq, 5 November 1999.
57. District Officer, District Offices, Safad, to Edwin Samuel, Assistant District Commissioner, Galilee, 11 June 1933: ISA/Gp27/S.128/2680; and H. Bergman, District Officer, to Mayor of Safad, and Medical Officer, Safad, 12 September 1933: *ibid.*
58. Acting Medical Officer, District Health Office, Safad, to Assistant District Commissioner, Galilee, 11 June 1933: *ibid.* One Muhiddin Hasan Humaideh complained of 'W.C. Stores of the town' being placed on his land and near houses, causing many hygiene problems: Humaideh, Safad, to District Commissioner, 28 April 1944: *ibid.*
59. A person littering streets with masonry and rubbish was liable to prosecution under Article 254 of the Ottoman Penal Code: K.W. Blackburne, Assistant District Commissioner, Galilee Division, to District Officer, Safad, 20 September 1935: *ibid.*

60. Minute by [?], 4 December 1947: ISA/CSO2/Z/TP/31/47/564; and TPA, *AR*, 1938, pp. 3, 5.
61. For example, TPA, *AR*, 1936, pp. 9–10; and *ibid.*, 1937, p. 16. Beit Jala and Bethlehem were still not declared Town Planning Areas in 1941 as they had no survey plans: District Commissioner, Jerusalem District, to CS, 11 January 1941: ISA/CSO2/Z/TP/3/41/563. Beit Jala's Outline Town Planning Scheme was finally approved in 1948: Cunningham, 16 January 1948: ISA/CSO2/Z/TP/20/42/563; and Notice of Bethlehem's was published in *Official Gazette*, 5 February 1948, enclosure in: ISA/CSO2/Z/TP/3/41/563.
62. Jerusalem District Commissioner, 17 December 1942: *ibid.*
63. Department of Surveys, *Report for the Years 1940–1946* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, March 1948), p. 8. The Urban Property Tax Ordinance was first passed in 1928.
64. Minutes of the First Meeting of the Galilee and Acre District Building and Town Planning Commission, District Commissioner's Office, Nazareth, 16 February 1938: ISA/Gp23/TP/10/1906. At the end of 1939, all of the Safad Sub-District still had no Town Planning Schemes: Assistant District Commissioner, Safad Division, to District Commissioner, Galilee District, 16 November 1939: ISA/Gp27/G.457/3/2633.
65. Max Nurock for Acting CS, 10 January 1936: ISA/CSO2/G/129/33/205. Re Safad: G.S. Salmon for District Commissioner, Northern District, Haifa, to CS, 25 March 1935: *ibid.*
66. Report of the Commission Appointed to Vary the Municipal Area of Safad, 26 October 1943: ISA/Gp27/S.483/2684.
67. Safad Town Planning Area, *Official Gazette*, 18 October 1945, No. 1446.
68. *Official Gazette*, October 1947; Haifa Regional Planning Area, 7 January 1942: ISA/Gp23/TP/8/1906.
69. Safad's Old Town was subject to the Safad Outline Town Planning Scheme: Minute, *Official Gazette* by a special correspondent, n.s., 30 October 1947: ISA/CSO2/Z/23/45/561. See Jonathan Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Atlas of the Crusades* (London: Times Books, 1991), pp. 43, 53, 57 and 107. The earthquake of 1837 largely destroyed the castle: Municipality of Safed, Department of Tourism, *Safed: Tourist Map* (Safed: Department of Tourism, n.d. [1995?]); also, Nathan Schur, *History of Safad*, (Jerusalem: Dvir Co./Am Oved Publishers, 1983), p. 24 [Hebrew].
70. Sea of Galilee (Preservation) Detailed Town Planning Scheme deposited, 1948: Fortnightly Report of the period ended 29 February 1948, by C. Evans, District Commissioner, Galilee District, to CS, secret: PRO/CO537/3853/75156/119; and file, Ordinance, Sea of Galilee Ordinance, 1946: ISA/Gp3/AG19/368/729. Records of the Sea's levels were published in the Public Works Department (or PWD) *Reports*. Also, Bat Galim, Haifa, Lease of Foreshore: ISA/Gp3/AG12/34/707; Scheme No. 60 of the Tel-Aviv Seashore Improvement Scheme, *Official Gazette*, 22 June 1939, No. 897; and Sea Coast Protection Legislation: ISA/Gp12/19/17/4139.
71. Bethlehem Outline Scheme, [1945]: ISA/CSO2/Z/TP/3/41/563.
72. Herbert and Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel*, p. 123, and f. 40 on p. 123. Re the Mount of Olives, see: PRO/CO733/386/75844.
73. On Abercombe's work in Haifa and his collaboration there with Holliday on the Emek Zebulun Development Scheme, see Herbert and Sosnovsky, *Bauhaus on the Carmel*, pp. 187–99.
74. McLean, Jerusalem Town Planning Scheme, 29 March 1945: PRO/CO733/467/76094.
75. McLean, 24 June 1938: PRO/CO733/377/75325.
76. About the *Waqf*, see, Reiter, *Islamic Endowments*. Relations with religious foundations were sensitive, and the British were dealing with a complaint by the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem about the Jerusalem Outline Town Planning Scheme

- (Modification), 1943, Minute by [?], Colonial Office (henceforth, CO), [10 January 1945?]: PRO/CO733/467/76094. The Town Planning Bill, 1945, was to do away with Section 16(2) provision of the Town Planning Ordinance, 1936, obligating Local Commissions to give religious bodies special notice of the deposit of a town planning scheme if their property were affected: Extract of Minutes of 97th Meeting of Local Building and Town Planning Commission, Jerusalem, 13 July 1944: ISA/Gp23/TP/1/1906.
77. HC to Colonial Secretary Oliver F.G. Stanley (1942–45), 13 January 1944: PRO/CO733/467/76094.
 78. McLean to E.B. Boyd, 14 January 1944: PRO/CO733/467/76094; also ‘Spoiling the Holy City’, McLean to Editor of *The Times*, 4 March 1937, enclosure: PRO/CO733/339/75325.
 79. High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope to Colonial Secretary William G.A. Ormsby-Gore (1936–38), 12 June 1937: PRO/CO733/339/75325.
 80. Kendall, *Jerusalem City Plan*, pp. 11 and 14.
 81. *Report of the Committee on Development, 1940*, p. 129. The HC alerted the Colonial Secretary to Mandate Article 21 about protecting antiquities, and proposed a ‘technical office’ to conserve historic monuments, HC to Colonial Secretary, Despatch, [?] May 1928, and HC to Colonial Secretary, Despatch, 15 November 1928: PRO/CO733/377/75325.
 82. L. Mayler, CO, Minutes, 29 July 1929: PRO/CO733/168/67126; and McLean, Book Review, ‘Jerusalem’: PRO/CO733/495/2/76510.
 83. Nurit Kliot, ‘Remaining Imperial Landscapes: Symbols of Britain and the British Commonwealth in Eretz-Israel’, *Ariel*, 100 (1994), pp. 113–22. See file: Street Names, Jerusalem By-Laws: ISA/CSO2/G/22/38. (Edward) Keith-Roach was the Northern District Commissioner (1931–37): see, Re-Alignment of Keith-Roach Avenue, *Official Gazette*, 18 May 1939, No. 888.
 84. Meinig, ‘Imperial Expansion’, pp. 71–8; Ron Fuchs, ‘History of the Planning of British Cemeteries in Eretz-Israel’, *Cathedra*, 79 (1996), pp. 114–39 [Hebrew].
 85. Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, 12 June 1937: PRO/CO733/339/75325.
 86. Ofer Manor, ‘Survey of Police Buildings and Evaluation for their Conservation’ (Survey for The Council for the Preservation of Buildings and Historic Sites, Mique Israel, 1997), p. 9 [Hebrew]. Also, Charles Smith, ‘Communal Conflict and Insurrection in Palestine, 1936–48’, in David M. Anderson and David Killingray (eds), *Policing and Decolonisation: Politics, Nationalism and the Police, 1917–65* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 62–83.
 87. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
 88. Oved Ben-Ami, Chairman, Nathanya Council, 2 August 1945: ISA/CSO2/A/47/45.
 89. Herbert and Sosnovsky, *Baubaus on the Carmel*, pp. 48–53.
 90. Report of the Committee, Cabinet Committee on Palestine, P.(M)(44)14, top secret, 16 October 1944: PRO/PREM/4/52/1, quoting *Report of the Committee on Development, 1940*, pp. 124 and 142–3. HC to Colonial Secretary Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister (1931–35), 4 December 1931: PRO/CO733/212/97023.
 91. For example, out of a total Government Expenditure under Main Heads in 1944–45, of £P18,196,594, Police and Prisons expenses were £P3,232,903, and Defence was £P8,093,903: Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944–45*, No. 15 of 1946 (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1946), p. 81. File: Siting Board: Police and Government Accommodation, Safad: ISA/Gp27/S.416/2683; and Tegart Scheme: Safad Police Buildings: ISA/Gp27/G.448/2/3/2632. Also, Fruchtman, ‘Statutory Planning’, p. 107.
 92. *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, pp. 5, 13–15 and 76; and *Report of the Committee on Development, 1940*, pp. 93–5. Kendall to Newton, 18 August 1943: ISA/Gp23/TP/1/2/1906. On Improvement Trusts, see, A.E.S. Alcock and H. Richards, *How to Plan your Village: Handbook for Villages in Tropical Countries*

- (London: Longman, Green, 1953); and G.A. Atkinson, 'British Architects in the Tropics', *Architectural Association Journal*, 69 (1953), pp. 7–21.
93. Safad Municipal Estimates – 1946/47, Revenue: ISA/Gp27/S.246/46-47/2682; and Report 16–29 February 1948, to CS, secret, 5 March 1948: PRO/CO537/3853/75156/119.
 94. Safad Assistant District Commissioner, 21 May 1945: ISA/Gp27/S.188/2681.
 95. *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, p. 71. For example, Safad lacked a 'competent engineer', District Commissioner, Galilee District, to CS, 18 May 1945: ISA/Gp27/S.246/45-46/2682.
 96. Dr E. Sukkarieh, Medical Officer, Safad, 16 November 1933: ISA/Gp27/S.164/2681.
 97. *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, pp. 71–160.
 98. Dr Hussein Fahr al-Khalidi Papers, 1934–36, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3496.
 99. Dr Hussein Fahr al-Khalidi Papers, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3134, 647 and 670; and Nashashibi, *Jerusalem's Other Voice*, pp. 137–40; Porath, *Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918–1929*, p. 307.
 100. For example, Jaffa Municipal Elections: Arab Higher Committee Papers, 1947, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/P/990/40/012391.
 101. Mr Jacob Marash, former Municipal employee, Jerusalem Municipality (1937–48), interview, Jerusalem, 17 October 1999; also Gideon Biger, *Urban Planning and Enforcement of Building Codes: Jerusalem under the British Mandate and Today, Research Paper*, 1 (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, 1981), p. 31 [Hebrew].
 102. *Report by Sir William Fitzgerald on the Local Administration of Jerusalem*, 28 August 1945, No. 14 of 1946 (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 28 August 1946). Also Bernard Wasserstein, *Divided City: The Struggle for the Holy City* (London: Profile Books, 2001), pp. 120–3. Wasserstein refers to *The Times*, 13 July 1945. Also, *Shaw Report*, pp. 27–68.
 103. Ahmad Hilmi, Chairman, Board of Directors, Arab National Fund, to HC, 5 October 1946: ISA/Gp112/NAT/1059/2721.
 104. M. Clemens, Assistant District Commissioner, Nathanya, to District Commissioner, Samaria District, 14 November 1946: *ibid*.
 105. Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract, 1944–45*, pp. 13–14; and [?], CO Minute, 6 October 1944: PRO/CO733/458/75252. There were problems sometimes in establishing local councils, for example, in 1937, Petach Tiqva had both a municipality and a local council due to its large farming area, Officer Administering the Government (henceforth, OAG) to Colonial Secretary, Saving, priority, 6 October 1947: PRO/CO733/495/3/76514/1.
 106. Miller, *Rural Palestine*, pp. 145–8, re Bailey *Report* on Village Administration, 21 October 1941, advocating legislative support of councils of elders.
 107. M. El Khaldi, Chairman, Local Building and Town Planning Commission, Municipal Corporation of Jerusalem, to Chairman, District Building and Town Planning Commission, Jerusalem, 1 August 1944: ISA/Gp23/TP/1/3/1906.
 108. Acting Mayor of Jerusalem to Chairman, District Building and Town Planning Commission, Jerusalem, enclosure, 16 December 1944: *ibid*.
 109. Henry E. Baker, Legal Draftsman, to Chairman, Jerusalem District Building and Town Planning Commission, 23 May 1945: ISA/CSO2/Z/14/45/561; also sought under Section 11(c) of the 1936 Town Planning Ordinance: *ibid*.
 110. Kendall, *Jerusalem City Plan*, p. 51; Town and Country Planning and Building Ordinance, 1947, Bill: PRO/CO733/458/75291.
 111. El Khaldi, Mayor of Jerusalem, 19 January 1943: ISA/CSO2/F/79/42/139.
 112. This seems to support the Reconstruction Commissioner's comment about planning problems in local authorities. Blackburne to District Commissioner, Northern District, 18 October 1935: ISA/Gp27/G.189/2624.

113. W.J. Johnson, Treasurer, to CS, 14 December 1934: ISA/CSO2/G/175/34/208.
114. Keith-Roach to Treasurer, 24 October 1935: ISA/Gp27/G.189/2624.
115. For example, Acting District Commissioner, Galilee District, to Treasurer, 23 November 1937: ISA/Gp27/G.189/1/2624.
116. Robert Scott for CS, to All District Commissioners, 31 December 1938: *ibid.*
117. Minute to Mr Thompson by [?], 9 April 1940: ISA/CSO2/Z/13/40/536.
118. Geoffrey Furlonge, *Palestine is My Country: The Story of Musa Alami* (London: John Murray, 1969), p. 11.
119. G. Salmon, Gaza Settlement Officer, 9 July 1937: ISA/Gp22/GP/3/4/3483.
120. Extract from Minutes of 18th Meeting of the S.D.T.P.C. [Southern District Town Planning Commission], 4 March 1938: ISA/Gp23/TP/14/1907.
121. Minute to CS by Attorney-General, 29 November 1939: ISA/CSO2/ZTP/45/39/563.
122. Minutes of 49th Meeting, Haifa District Town Planning Commission, 1 July 1941: ISA/Gp23/TP/8/1906.
123. Article 21, *Mandate for Palestine*.
124. Avraham Lapidot, *Regional Master-Plans during the Mandate Period: An Examination of Physical, Statutory and Planning Activities in Palestine* (Jerusalem: Planning Division, Minister of Interior, January 1977) [Hebrew]; Fruchtman, 'Statutory Planning', pp. 126, 136–50.
125. Acting Director, Public Works Department, 18 January 1943: ISA/CSO2/F/79/42/139.
126. Kendall, Amendments Proposed, 22 March 1946: ISA/Gp23/TP/1/1906.
127. Minute by Personal Secretary to HC, 19 October 1946: ISA/CSO2/Z/TP/1/46/564.
128. Kendall to Secretary, District Planning Commission, Jerusalem, 5 May 1938: ISA/Gp23/TP/14/1907.
129. Schedule: Galilee District Regional Outline Planning Scheme, 1946, Part VI, enclosure in: ISA/Gp22/SD/1/2/9/A/3507.
130. Safeguarding Sea of Galilee Shores, 1936–46: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3289.
131. Minutes of 60th Meeting, Haifa District Town Planning Commission, 1 September 1942: ISA/Gp23/8/1906.
132. Galilee District Regional Outline Scheme, 1946: ISA/CSO2/Z/TP/1/46/564.
133. For example, Haifa District Outline Regional Town Planning Scheme, *Official Gazette*, 20 February 1941, No. 1097; and Resolutions, Haifa District Commission, 7 January 1942: ISA/Gp23/TP/8/1906.
134. Mr Alexander Cohen, interview, Bnei Braq, 5 November 1999. Also, Extract from Minutes, S.D.T.P.C., 4 March 1938: ISA/Gp23/TP/14/1907.
135. Kendall to Assistant District Commissioner, Hebron, 5 March 1942: ISA/Gp23/H/D/1912.
136. TPA, *AR, 1937*, p. 3. About transport, see Reichman, 'Land Transportation in Palestine', and p. 67 for the quotations. About road-building during the Arab Revolt, see file, Village and Secondary Roads: Matters of Policy Administration, etc.: ISA/CSO2/Gp12/9/4/1/4097. Also see, Sir Felix J.C. Pole, *Report on Proposed Railway Improvements in Palestine* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, February 1935).
137. Based on Ottoman legislation, Miller, *Rural Palestine*, p. 73.
138. TPA, *AR, 1938*, pp. 3–4; on amenity planting, see ch. 3, 'Forestry' in this book.
139. Mukhtars and 22 Elders [from villages of Taiyiba to Jericho], to OAG, 6 September 1935: ISA/CSO2/W/88/34/486.
140. J.V. Shaw for Acting CS, to District Commissioner, Jerusalem District, 11 October 1935: *ibid.*
141. V.N. Levi for CS, to Director of Public Works Department, 26 March 1941: ISA/Gp23/TP/18/1907.
142. Assistant District Commissioner, Hebron, to District Commissioner, Jerusalem District, 5 August 1947: ISA/Gp23/TP/1/1906.

143. Henry Kendall, *Village Development in Palestine during the British Mandate* (London: Crown Agents for the Colonies, 1949), p. 5; Minor Village Works, 1933–34: ISA/Gp12/23/9/4142.
144. Brawer, 'Arab Rural Settlement', pp. 167–80.
145. Department of Statistics, 'Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in Arab Villages, 1944', *General Monthly Bulletin of Current Statistics*, 10, 7 (1945), pp. 426–47; 10, 8 (1945), pp. 509–17; 10, 9 (1945), pp. 559–67; and 10, 10 (1945), Part VIII (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1945).
146. Mr Mousa Younis El Hussein, formerly of the Jerusalem District Food Control (1941–46) and Chief Secretary's Office (henceforth, CSO) Personnel (1946–48), interview, Jerusalem, 6 December 1999.
147. Arab Office (London), *The Future of Palestine* (Geneva: Typ. Imprimerie Centrale, August 1947), p. 151.
148. Organisation for the Revival of the Arab Village: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/1551.
149. Department of Surveys, *Report for the Years 1940–1946*, p. 6.
150. See, especially, T. Canaan, *The Palestinian Arab House: Its Architecture and Folklore* (Jerusalem: Syrian Orphanage Press, 1933).
151. *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, p. 176; and Roger Owen, 'The Metamorphosis of Cairo's Midan al-Tahrir as Public Space: 1870–1970', *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, 4, 1/2 (1997/98), pp. 138–63.
152. H.C. Briggs, Chairman, Board of Scientific and Industrial Research, to CS, 18 April 1947: ISA/CSO2/ZTP/1/47/564.
153. Director of Surveys to Director of Public Works Department, 24 December 1946: ISA/Gp12/23/9/4142.
154. Kendall, *Village Development*.
155. District Commissioners' Conference, Jerusalem, 23 March 1945: ISA/Gp23/1/1/1906.
156. Only a list for Lydda District was found: see the chapter on the Shephelah. Acting Town Planning Adviser to All District Commissioners, 20 May 1947: ISA/Gp24/S/1810/1769.
157. Kendall, *Village Development*, pp. 5–6.
158. The Reverend Bayouk Bayouk (Retired), Emmanuel Anglican Episcopal Church, Ramle (1965–92), interview, Ramle, 4 November 1999.
159. Application, Colonial Development Fund, n.s., n.d. [1945?]: ISA/Gp12/1/13/4090.
160. Canaan, *The Palestinian Arab House*, pp. 59, 102, 104.
161. Application, Colonial Development Fund, n.s., n.d. [1945?]: ISA/Gp12/1/13/4090.
162. Assistant Director, Medical Services, to CS, 4 June 1946, and Ruhi Abdullhadi for CS to Director of Medical Services, 20 June 1946: ISA/CSO2/M/29/46/326.
163. *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, p. 176; and *Report of the Committee on Development*, 1940, p. 68.
164. Minute to A.(R.) [?], n.s., 30 October (1945): ISA/Gp12/1/13/4090.
165. Statement by Dr T. Canaan, President of the Palestine Arab Medical Association, Public Hearings before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Jerusalem, 21 March 1946: George Antonius Papers, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/2606/376.
166. H.C.H. Jones, Acting Director, Public Works Department, 20 April 1947: ISA/Gp12/1/13/4090.
167. M.H. Dorman, CSO, to J. Gutch, CO, 24 November 1947: PRO/CO733/491/4/76221/7.
168. Gilbar, 'Demographic Development of the Palestinian Arabs', pp. 43–56; Mahmud Yazbak, *Haifa in the Late Ottoman Period, 1864–1914: A Muslim Town in Transition* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1998).
169. D.H.K. Amiran and A. Shahar, 'The Towns of Israel: The Principles of their Urban Geography', *Geographical Review*, 51 (1961), pp. 348–69; and Ruth Kark, 'The Rise and Decline of Coastal Towns in Palestine', in Gad G. Gilbar (ed.),

- Ottoman Palestine, 1800–1914: Studies in Economic and Social History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), pp. 69–89
170. Amiran and Shahar, 'Towns of Israel', p. 358.
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Agriculture

The action taken by the Palestine Government to bring about improvement of the land and in methods of agriculture and generally to increase its yield is of very wide scope and includes both long and short term measures, direct and indirect.¹

INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Colonial agrarian history is entwined with development and technical transfer theories. Nineteenth-century Europe's industrialisation stimulated debate on socio-economic change, development and modernisation, led by Karl Marx (1818–83), Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), and Max Weber (1864–1920) – which was influenced by Darwinian ideas on social evolution from a 'primitive past'. Modernity and development – or Westernisation – would through 'diffusion', displace 'traditional values', causing spatial change.² James Midgley emphasises colonial development's 'duality' 'simultaneously exploiting and modernising', in Britain crystallising into the 1929 Colonial Development Act.³ 'Development economics' was partly rooted in colonialism, with its export-orientated 'racial capitalism', and links with technology.⁴

Frédérique Apffel Marglin and Stephen A. Marglin recognised the power of 'dominating knowledge' in technological transfer, which imposed new values;⁵ the colonised slowly 'surrender' their culture to technology.⁶ But the transfer process is 'complicated'. Klaus North devised a 'framework for technology transfer' which had three aspects to it, each connected to the other: the transfer process (creation, diffusion, acquisition and adoption); the transfer actors (know-how suppliers, know-how brokers, and know-how recipients [first tier, second tier, etc.]); and the transfer environment (supply-side and receiving-side environments, influenced by policies and regulations, the speed of technology change, the demand/supply conditions of technology, etc.).⁷ The historiography of resistance to new technology, 'Luddism', illustrates how 'technophobia' and 'neophobia' (fear of the new), are common human characteristics, and not confined to the colonised 'backward'

people unable to appreciate imported ideas to improve their lot.⁸ Japan went from being an importer to being an exporter of technology.

Transdomestication (the transfer and domestication of seed and stock) has played a major role in agrarian history. Scientific research became closely associated with colonial plantation settlements, and through it specialised institutes were inaugurated, such as the Imperial Institute. The Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew were implemental in developing higher yielding seeds for the British Empire. Controversially, Lucile H. Brockway refuted the claim that imported botanical innovations were lucrative for the colonised.⁹ Stock improvement paralleled the Microbiological Revolution after the 1860s and the evolution of the Veterinary Sciences and Services, adding plant and animal disease control to colonial activities.¹⁰ ‘Harmful technology’ was introduced,¹¹ ‘dis-orientating agriculture’,¹² causing ‘ecological shock’.¹³ Indigenous ‘ignorance’ was identified as the reason for poverty, and ‘populist, anti-money-lender and pro-farmer’ literature was produced to induce agriculturists out of their condition.¹⁴ With imperial revenues largely based on agriculture, improving local farming in their Empire was particularly significant to the British.

Towards the end of the Empire, the British became more aware of the dangers in over-specialisation of crops and realised the necessity to balance commercial with food crops. They valued local production methods; and recent research has increasingly exonerated indigenous agriculture from causing environmental destruction. Colonial policies caused agrarian change and the expansion of agricultural land on a sufficiently large scale as to make organised nationalism more virulent. Colonial administrators often overlooked the intricate aspects of decision-making by the indigenous farmers. However, colonial agricultural work cannot solely be depicted as a self-seeking act to raise revenues. Some British Agricultural Officers were ‘supported by a vision’ of ‘bringing hope ... to underprivileged peoples’.¹⁵

Writings on the Middle East also question colonial attitudes. Halim Barakat and Janet Abu-Lughod reject the notion that only a ‘special kind’ of person – or ‘Western’ – can adapt to technological change; whilst Nasrine Adibe refers to a period when ‘scientific research and invention flourished among Arab scholars’.¹⁶ Complex Customary Laws evolved for water rights, many based on the *Shari’ah* canonical code, and Egypt had a rich history of hydraulic works.¹⁷

Nineteenth-century Palestinian farmers successfully responded to rising European demands for cereals and cotton by increasing the cultivated area. Improved rural security in the late Ottoman and much of the British periods led to the habitation of *khirbas* (ruined satellite

settlements), and a sedentary lifestyle. Ottoman agricultural reforms within the *Tanzimat*, however, had little impact on Palestine due to weak administration.¹⁸ Agricultural technologies introduced by the Europeans and Jews mainly influenced the Arabs in the citrus sector. Beshara B. Doumani showed that manufacturing restructuring occurred alongside increased agricultural output.¹⁹ The Zionist movement especially emphasised agricultural innovation, developing its own research and training centres.²⁰ Issa Mustafa Alami argued that by facilitating Jewish land purchases, the Mandatory Government actually helped to change Palestine's agrarian regime.²¹ The complexity of crop-sharing in Arab agriculture was examined by Ya'akov Firestone and Salim Tamari, whilst Isaac Arnon and Michael Raviv researched the reasons for the limited impact of British Government works on the *fellabeen*.²² The following analysis focuses on British works. Studies on Mandatory agricultural policy have been carried out by El-Eini and Gaskin.²³ Other related research was done by Alexander Schölch, and Salim Tamari and Rita Giacaman.²⁴ El-Eini and Charles S. Kamen wrote on British activities to upgrade agriculture.²⁵

The Mandatory Government's agricultural planning and works to improve farming by technological transfer, demonstration, extension, research and irrigation and the impact of the War years are analysed in this chapter.

British Agricultural Policy and the Agricultural Department

The British were obligated under League of Nations Article 22 and Mandate Articles 2, 6 and 11 to develop Palestine, ensuring the close settlement of the Jews on the land. The Jews wanted Government development policy to support the intensification of Arab agriculture, thereby releasing land for their settlement. They also argued that Jewish settlement influenced Arab agricultural development.²⁶ Having followed an economic policy of *laissez-faire* in Palestine, HMG was jolted into one of active development after the 1929 disturbances. The official reports that followed were especially critical of the Mandatory Government, remarkably on the subject of the *fellab*, whose average annual income was £P25–30, whose average annual debt was £P27, and whose average interest payments to moneylenders were at least 30 per cent.²⁷

The Mandatory saw the Jews as having their own resources, though using Government facilities. As Hagit Lavsky showed, the Jews were independently funded through their own associations.²⁸ The Jewish Agency's Agricultural Department had demonstration works and an experimental station at Rehovot. The Hebrew University also carried

out advanced research.²⁹ This contrasted with the paucity and, in many cases, lack of similar Arab institutions.³⁰ The Arabs set up agricultural organisations during the Mandate, for example, for citrus products, as well as the Association of Seed Merchants,³¹ but these were often quite incomparable to their very developed Jewish counterparts.³² Recent technology was easier to introduce into the new Jewish intensive farming sector than into the old extensive Arab one. The Jews also regularly discussed agricultural topics with Government officials, helped shape their own long-term plans, and indicated the importance they attached to British development policy.³³ The *Peel Report* of 1937 called the *fellabeen's* reluctance to change cultivation methods a 'negation of progress',³⁴ and Rashid Khalidi remarked on some officials' condescending attitude towards the peasantry.³⁵ The Mandatory concentrated on the Arab sector, adopting an active development policy in 1930 based on improving soil fertility, land use, marketing and fisheries, controlling plant diseases and pests, and promoting agricultural education. El-Eini and Gaskin have written on agricultural policy, so it is not discussed here.³⁶

Palestine had no conspicuous mineral deposits, apart from Dead Sea potash and bromine. Its economy was based on agriculture. In 1930, 54 per cent of the population was engaged in farming and pasturage, and only 14 per cent in industry. Ninety-three per cent of the agriculturists were Arabs, and five per cent Jews (see, Table 9). The figures for those defined as 'partly agriculturists' was probably higher since the agricultural sector dominated Palestine's economy, employing many seasonal workers.

Table 9. Population of Palestine Engaged in Agriculture

	Palestine	Arabs (Muslims, Christians and Others)	Jews
Total population	969,268	794,658	174,610
Total earners	280,938	214,255	66,683
Total, agriculture as main occupation	134,691	122,285	12,306
Total as partly agriculturists	4,541	4,181	360

Source: Roza I.M. El-Eini, 'The Implementation of British Agricultural Policy in Palestine in the 1930s', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32, 4 (1996), p. 211.

Forty-five per cent of the farmers cultivated cereals (wheat, barley); five per cent produced special crops (for example, vegetables), three per cent were in animal husbandry and forestry; and 0.1 per cent grew citrus. Eighty-one per cent of the cultivated land was arable, 14.6 per

cent orchard, 2.1 per cent forests, 1.2 per cent pasture, and 1.1 per cent productive wasteland. Agricultural produce made up 90 per cent of exports, 74 per cent being citrus.³⁷ The Mandatory used Table 10 as its main guide for agricultural planning.

The Government's Agricultural Department was large and composite. It included specialist sections under the titles of Agriculture, Horticulture, Entomology, Veterinary Services, Sericulture, Education, Forests and Fisheries.³⁸ It worked closely with the public through the General Agricultural Council, chaired by the Director of the Department of Agriculture, with members including agricultural and trade representatives. The department implemented a programme for improved seed, introducing high-value crops, upgrading animal stock, and pest and disease control through demonstration and extension work. It also helped market produce through the Empire Marketing Board. The citrus industry is only discussed here in the context of disease control as it has already been researched.³⁹

TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSFER

Case examples are presented below to analyse the range of the Mandatory Government's works in technological transfer, encouraging new and cash crops, plant and animal stock upgrading, and instigating disease controls.

Cash Crops

No single cash crop typified Palestine, as with sisal in Tanganyika. There were no 'White settler' communities. The Zionists had no 'mother country'. London investors did not hold stocks in Palestinian agriculture. On founding the Agricultural Service in 1920, the British started encouraging cash crops, and the following exemplify the general and specific problems that they encountered.

Tobacco

Tobacco was a major cash crop in the British Empire.⁴⁰ In 1921, the British abolished the Tobacco Régie monopoly which restricted tobacco growing and sales in the Ottoman Empire, with only a few Arab villages in the north of Palestine cultivating it. The British conjectured that tobacco would bring agricultural wealth and benefit revenues. In 1925, the Tobacco Ordinance was passed, transferring the

Table 10. Summary of Land, Water and Cultivation: Table Regularly Used in British Planning

Region	Chief Crops	Soil	Average Range of Rainfall (mm)	Source of Irrigation Water	Land Cultivated and Irrigated (Approx.) (Dunams)	Land Cultivated without Irrigation (Approx.) (Dunams)	Total Land now Cultivated with/without Irrigation (Dunams)	Cultivable Land (Approx.) (Dunams)
Coastal Plains	Citrus and deciduous fruit trees; bananas, wheat, barley, legumes, vegetables, potatoes; fodder crops, <i>durra</i> ; water melons	Sandy loams, sand dunes, and patches of heavy soils	200–500 between Gaza and Majdal 500–600 between Jaffa and Haifa 600–700 between Haifa and Acre	Wells at 10–25 m depth; in the foothills from wells up to 200 m	335,000	1,915,000	2,250,000	2,770,000
Inland Plains	Wheat, barley, and legumes; <i>durra</i> , sesame, maize, potatoes and fodder crops; bananas and some citrus	Mainly heavy clay interspersed with patches of soil	500–600 Esdraelon 500–800 Huleh 400–500 Jezreel 500–600 Upper Bira 600–700 Battauf 500–600 'Arraba 400–600 Samur	Small quantity of irrigation water from wells and springs; in the Huleh, water from springs is abundant	70,000	730,000	800,000	975,000
Jordan (excluding Huleh Plain)	Wheat, barley, legumes, vegetables and potatoes; fodder crops; bananas, some citrus	Alluvial clay loam and Lisan marls	100 at Dead Sea, increasing to 500 at Lake Tiberias	South of Samakh, pumping from Yarmuk and Jordan; springs in Beisan, Jericho and Wadi Fari'a areas	85,000	215,000	300,000	505,000
The Hills	Wheat, barley, legumes; some <i>durra</i> and sesame; vegetables, potatoes; olives, figs, and deciduous fruits	Mainly clay loam with many stones; many rock outcrops	500–800 on western slopes; 200–800 on eastern slopes; increase with altitude	Very little irrigation water from wells and springs; shallow wells yielding small amounts of water for domestic	10,000	1,500,000(?) (Very sparsely cultivated)	1,500,000(?) (Very sparsely cultivated)	2,500,000–3,500,000 (Can be only sparsely cultivated)
Beersheba Sub-District (with the Negev)	Barley, wheat, <i>durra</i> and melons	Deep loess soil; calcareous clay loams	25–200	Practically no irrigation water	–	1,400,000 (Very sparsely cultivated)	1,400,000 (Very sparsely cultivated)	Several millions(?)

Note: *Durra* = Arabic for millet.
Source: *A Survey of Palestine*, p. 422.

tax incidence to the manufacturer in order to force companies to improve cultivation and production. This led to monopolies, as cultivators became dependent on the British American Tobacco Company, which controlled tobacco manufacturing across the Empire and came to dominate Palestine's tobacco trade. The company intimidated growers, placing them in its debt through seasonal advances. 'Modernization' and upgrading stock were therefore not the only criteria for the Mandatory's agricultural officials to weigh up.⁴¹ More tobacco was grown than could be sold, and the quality was inferior to competing Balkan tobaccos. Legislation in 1934, therefore, restricted licences for growers 'cultivating under unfavourable conditions'.

The Tobacco (Amendment) Ordinance of 1938, was specifically enacted to control 'wide fluctuations' in annual plantings (for example, 22,000 dunams in 1935, and 60,000 in 1937, mostly in the traditional tobacco region of the Galilee). The Agricultural Department wanted to improve the '*baladi*' (that is, local) tobacco and the 'primitive' curing methods to ensure exports. Turkey strictly controlled its quality tobacco seed exports, however, and attempts to grow Southern Rhodesia Virginia seeds failed.⁴² Despite the difficult conditions, more villages converted to tobacco. In 1945, for example, four villages in the Acre Sub-District abandoned their profitable livelihood in pasturage for tobacco, borrowing heavily in the process. The tobacco companies reduced their prices soon after, causing the villagers' debts to worsen. In desperation, the villagers turned to the Government, which had to intervene to save the situation.⁴³

Conditions continued to worsen for tobacco growers, prompting an inquiry in 1946. A committee was formed to 'ensure' preference was given to applications for licences from growers who proved interested in upgrading the quality of their crop. A reduction in the permissible area under tobacco cultivation in the Northern District was imposed, decreasing from 21,000 dunams in 1945 to 18,000 in 1946 (Appendix 21), although this little affected the number of growers (Appendix 22). The area under tobacco cultivation (Turkish and Arabic tobacco, tombac and heishah) during 1943–46 changed as follows: in 1943, 27,726 dunams were planted; in 1944, 28,199; 1945, 17,845; and in 1946, 17,800.⁴⁴ A Tobacco Officer, Sadiq Husseini, was also finally appointed in April 1946 in order to advise farmers.⁴⁵

In 1947, the emphasis shifted to instigating a development programme to produce export quality tobacco rather than alleviate the planters' plight. Cultivation once again had to be 'drastically curtailed', this time from 18,000 dunams previously set in 1946 to 9,000 in 1947, thereby increasing customs duty without discouraging imports.⁴⁶

For years, the Arab leadership had maintained a hostile stance towards Government economic policy: it believed that the Mandatory was not interested in the farmers' indebtedness and was creating helpful conditions for the Jews to buy land and evict tenants.⁴⁷ The year 1947 saw a deterioration in conditions for tobacco production, leading to a belligerent Arab tobacco growers' meeting at Acre on 11 April, attended by 500 farmers. Its leader, Muhamed Nimr Hawari, angrily accused the British of having a policy of deliberately keeping growers in 'dire poverty' so as to force them to sell their lands to the Jews – the ultimate attack on the Mandate Government. Tobacco co-operatives were started across the Galilee District, for example, at Tarshiha. The Agricultural Tobacco Marketing Co-operative Societies' Conference supported a resolution to set up a Tobacco Board to include cultivators and Government and tobacco company representatives, with the aim of improving quality and prices;⁴⁸ but the area under tobacco remained too large for the market to carry.⁴⁹ Uncertain as to how to proceed in this acute situation of 1947, the Government increased the quota area to 13,000 dunams for 1948, but to little effect.⁵⁰

Dates

The Agricultural Department primarily encouraged date cultivation as an import substitution (Appendix 23). Imports in dates tripled in 1927–32, making it 'worthwhile to develop a plantation industry'. Date cultivation was practiced at Deir al Balah, Jericho, Beisan and Tiberias (work was often co-ordinated between the last two towns), Jaffa, Haifa and Acre. Plantations were very small, with Jericho, for example, growing 50 palms.⁵¹

Palestine faced the major difficulties of propagating dates from offshoots and obtaining offshoots of the top commercial varieties. Experiments were initiated at Jericho and Beisan, and date trials were prioritised at Farwaneh Horticultural Station (that is to say, Farwana, south of Beisan). Director of Agriculture, M. T. Dawe, wanted to introduce the 'best kinds' of fresh dates, which were known to be grown in Egypt and the Sinai (and imported from there), and the quality dried dates from Iraq (also imported by Palestine). Eight thousand of the fresh date-palm varieties and 50,000 of the dry date varieties were required. Eight areas were chosen for gainful date cultivation, with fresh dates planted in the Coastal Plain south of Jaffa, the Beersheba Sub-District, Beisan, Tiberias and Jericho; and dried dates planted in Jericho and the Jordan Valley, Beisan and Tiberias. Cultivation was to be extended to areas lying waste or producing irregular crops, notably in

the Beersheba Sub-District and along the banks of the Jordan River. Trial plots were planned, and staff were also to learn the latest propagation techniques being developed in the USA.⁵²

But the Palestine Government's Agricultural Department soon ran into trouble when it expressed an interest in import substitution, although it had previously been sold offshoots from Egypt and Iraq. Egypt, Iraq, Algeria, Tunisia, the Hejaz and the Yemen banned the export of offshoots, leaving only Persia and the USA open.⁵³ The Jewish Agency had been active since 1922 in importing offshoots, so the Government's Agricultural Department found itself forced to purchase offshoots from the Jewish Kinneret Settlements by the Sea of Galilee in the full knowledge that some had probably been smuggled, but choosing not to 'question too closely their origin'.⁵⁴ Jericho's Horticultural Station had in the meanwhile collected a variety of stock before the closures (Appendix 24).

However, survival rates of offshoots were low because of the lack of know-how; for example, in 1934, only three of the original 100 offshoots brought over from Muscat (as legislation preventing exports from Iraq had already been enforced) and planted out at the Jericho Horticultural Station survived (Appendix 25). Propagation of offshoots remained the major obstacle. 'Many growers' were 'awaiting with impatience' the results of Government propagation experiments before attempting extensive date cultivation.⁵⁵ By the Mandate's end, more demands were being made in Tiberias, Beisan, Jericho and Gaza for offshoots, but there was no evidence that date cultivation increased demonstrably due to Government works.

Linseed

Between 1922 and 1933, a bid was made to develop linseed cultivation. This was done especially to replace water melons as a main cash crop after their important market in Egypt was ruined by the imposition of heavy duties in 1930. The Mandatory conducted 'extensive experiments' in linseed cultivation to supply oil for locally manufactured paint. The Agricultural Department sold or distributed seeds gratis, prepared from five years of selection work, and also gave advice on planting.⁵⁶ In 1932/3, for example, Government agricultural stations issued selected linseed gratis in the following quantities and regions: 78 kg in Jaffa; 135 kg in Jerusalem; 100 kg in Gaza; 370 kg in Beisan; and 60 kg in Acre. A large amount of seed was, however, sold in the Acre region, totalling 787 kg.⁵⁷

Though only 'a few farmers' took up linseed cultivation, both Arabs and Jews co-operated with the Department, several initiating contacts.

Yields were sufficient for sales and further planting (Appendix 26). No linseed was recorded as having been grown during 1928–31 in the Southern District except in villages where departmental seeds were issued.⁵⁸

In December 1931, at the growers' and millers' request, the Government reached an agreement with the Shemen (paint manufacturing) Company at Haifa to promote linseed cultivation among the Arabs, whereby the company advanced seeds on loan to be repaid from the crop, following London prices.⁵⁹ However, the area cultivated fell from 11,182 dunams in 1930/1, to 400 in 1933, due to the unsteady market. The Shemen Factory undermined linseed production as it monopolised paint manufacturing and manipulated the price of the crop, keeping it low. Without tariff protection, the farmers felt they had no alternative but to revert to growing cereals. An attempt in 1945 to revive production for post-war demands for paint failed, and the area under linseed was officially reported as none.⁶⁰

Potatoes

One of the Palestine Government's more notable success stories in agriculture was potato production. A case study is presented in the chapter on the Shephelah.

Horticulture

The Horticultural Service began operations in October 1929 and was part of the Department of Agriculture. It was extended to meet increased demands for deciduous fruits, until the 1936–39 Arab Revolt when it had to curtail activities. Ten new horticultural stations were created, geographically located to support regional specialities, demonstrate planting and cultivation techniques, and experiment on and introduce new and hardier varieties (see, Table 11 and Map 11). F. A. Stockdale, Adviser to the Colonial Office, insisted on the importance of 'stimulating planting by Arab growers', and recommended the extension of grape and olive cultivation.⁶¹ Some of the Service's officers took courses in California, which offered the newest horticultural technology. The Service also participated in Palestine's summer Fruit Shows and the Levant Fair, for example, those of 1932. The Horticultural Service's nurseries were small (for instance, at Farwaneh, where the nursery constituted part of the 90-dunam horticultural station). Due to the Revolt, in 1938, limits were imposed on horticultural works, so that, for instance, only 200 budded fruit trees and 500 grafted vines per person were permitted for distribution.⁶²

Table 11. Government Horticultural Stations

Name	Established	Geographical Specialisation	Activities
Acre	1933	Plains To serve Acre area Sandy loam soils	1932-33: Central Government Nursery established for citrus and vine (American and French stock) Deciduous fruits and berries: Apple (21 varieties); pear (10); quince (4); plum (26); loquat (10); apricot; walnut and pecan (14); avocado, persimmon, olive, carob, Australian nuts; raspberry, gooseberry; blackberry; dewberry; currants; strawberry; lichee; avocado; carob; cantaloupe; olive
Beisan	1920s (1934: transfer to Farwaneh)	Jordan Valley below sea level Beisan area (irrigated) Lime and alkaline soils	Economic plantation of trees. Date, citrus, banana and early table-grape varieties; other sub-tropical trees; Pawpaw; <i>Annona</i> ; pomegranate; loquat; avocado 1934: High lime and alkaline soils resulted in transference to Farwaneh Station, 4-5 kilometres away
'Ein 'Arrub	1935	Hill Country Loamy soils	To demonstrate deciduous fruit and vine culture in area where 'only primitive methods are practised' Much terracing because of hilly location Nursery: For plant distribution to public Experimental planting of: Apple (4 varieties); pear (8); quinces (22); cherry (27); apricot (3); peach (8); and nectarine (2); and <i>Capnodis</i> spp.-resistant bitter almond
Farradiya	1932	Hill Country To serve mountainous region of Acre and Safad Good, deep, heavy, loamy soils	1933: Nursery and orchard established Fruit trees: Apricot (4 varieties); peach and nectarine (17); plum (12, mostly Japanese budded on almond); olive (7); apple (22); pear (11); quince (5); also, almond; walnut; pistachio; pecan; and vines (25 of table-grape) 1933-34: Nursery stock of 23,285
Farwaneh	1934	Jordan Valley below sea level Heavy loam soils	Dates, early varieties of table-grape, citrus, banana, olive (mainly pickling); and other sub-tropical fruit: Pomegranate; pawpaw; avocado; <i>Annona</i> ; granadillas Nursery
Jericho	1920s	Jordan Valley below sea level Sub-tropical conditions of Jericho Silty loam soils	Growth, development, irrigation, insect pests and fungus diseases of banana, date, citrus, pawpaw, avocado, mango; other sub-tropical fruit (for example, <i>Zizyphus jujube</i> from the USA; <i>Annona</i> ; pomegranate; loquat), vine, guava, <i>Carrisa</i> 1933: Nursery established mainly for pawpaw, pomegranate, <i>Annona</i> , loquat

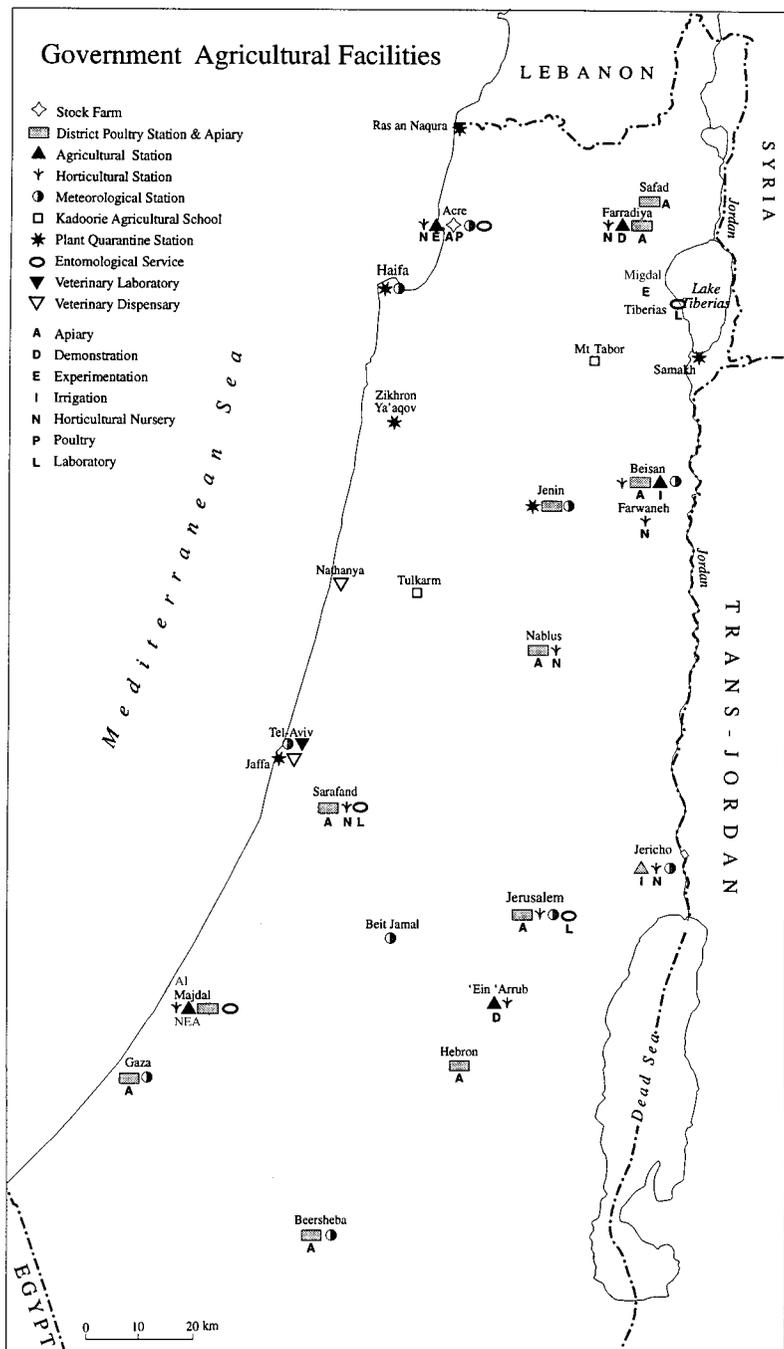
continued

Table 11 cont.

Name	Established	Geographical Specialisation	Activities
Jerusalem	1920s (1930 as a Horticultural Station)	Hill Country Soils not defined	Olive, fig, berries (mainly strawberry, raspberry, gooseberry, currant, and Himalaya-berry), peach (4 varieties), nectarine (4), and plum (1) from the USA Agriculture Department's Introduction Bureau. Also: Pistachio (Palestine and Syria); mulberry (USA); hazelnut (Spain); strawberry (11); table-grape (15) Seeds of local wild varieties collected and tried 1932: Nursery and propagation centre planned for annual distribution of over 10,000 grafted trees, budded fruit trees and olive suckers Vegetative propagation of apricot, peach and almond planned 1933: Investigation into <i>Capnodis</i> spp. beetle by Entomological Service
Majdal	1933	Plains Gaza Sub-District Dry land and irrigated Some sub-tropical Heavy soils	Nursery for fruit trees and vineyard kept; and small orchard Dry land: Apple (11 varieties); pear (7); quince (4); plum (12); almond (8) Irrigated: Mango (South Africa); persimmon; loquat; guava; Australian nuts; pecan Other: Hayani date; table-grape (15); olive; citrus
Nablus	1933	Hill Country 5 kilometres from Nablus Deep, rich, clayish loam soils	Centre to study the culture of olives (oil and pickling), walnuts, pecans and other nuts Nursery for almond, apricot, peach, cherry, walnut and pear seeds; 15,000 fruit tree stock French stock: Myrobolan [<i>Prunus</i>]; mahaleb (cherry); <i>Pyrus communis</i> ; <i>Malus communis</i> ; <i>Doucin</i> ; <i>Cydonia vulgaris</i> ; peach and apricot Other foreign stock: Olive (21 varieties from Algiers, USA, Spain, France and Italy); walnut; pecan and pistachio (37 varieties) Local stock: Khashabi apple; olive; Karassia; Swedah and jujube
Sarafand	1933	Plains Citrus demonstration Main citrus belt area conditions Sandy and varied soils	Nursery stocks for budding and distribution: Karassia; Swedah; Khashabi apple; quince; pear; imported <i>Doucin</i> Seed beds for varieties of: Walnut; almond; persimmon; pecan; loquat; <i>Zizyphus</i> ; <i>Tamarindus indica</i> ; sweet lime; sour orange; and rough lemon

Note: Original names and spellings of plants are used here, as appeared in the Agricultural Department's *Annual Reports*.

Source: Compiled from the Horticultural Service, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report 1927-30, 1931 and 1932, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1940, and 1940-41* (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1931, 1933 (?), 1934, 1935, 1936, 1938, 1940 and 1941).



Map 11. Government Agricultural Facilities.
Source: Compiled.

About 40 per cent of the Service-grown fruit trees and grafted vines were distributed to Jewish growers, Government departments and institutions, leaving an average of only 2,500 grafted vines (or 12 planted dunams), and 2,500 fruit trees (45 dunams) for the Arabs. In 1944, it was decided to select one or two villages in each sub-district for plant allocation. Growers had to show ‘capability and interest’ in horticulture, and those in the Hill areas had to indicate the measures they had taken to prevent soil erosion. They also had to show that their choices of trees were locally suitable. Budded olive trees were strictly confined to areas which particularly required the development of olives.⁶³ To meet increased demands caused by a general shortage of stock and cultivators’ interest resulting from high war-time prices, the Nursery Extension Scheme (or Programme) for 1945–49 was prepared as shown in Table 12, aimed at ‘making all villages self-supporting in fruit trees’.

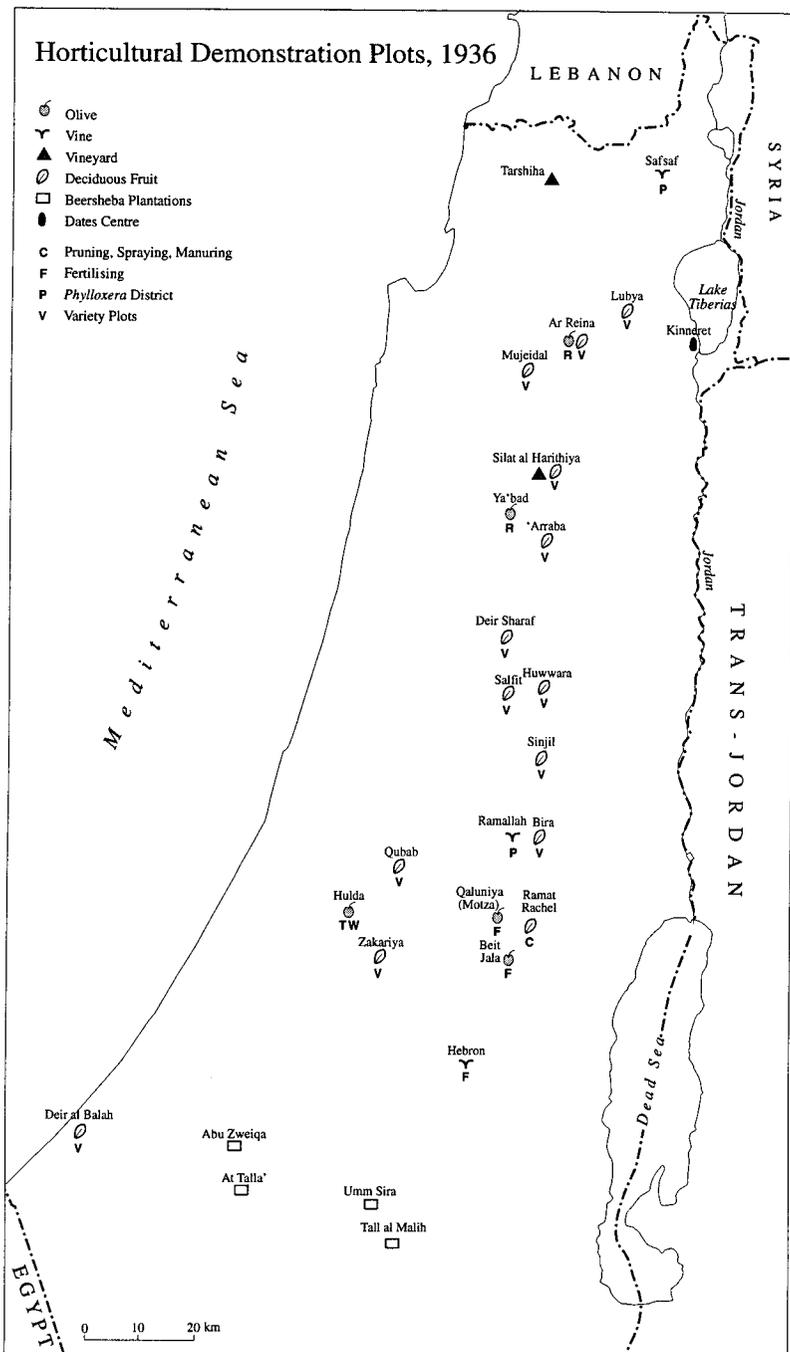
Table 12. Nursery Extension Scheme, 1945–49

	No./Year in 1944 Budget	Proposed Production/Year	Approx. No. Planted/Dunam
Budded olive trees	10,000	50,000	15
Grafted vines	20,000	50,000	200
Different [budded] fruit trees	20,000	50,000	60

Source: F.R. Mason, Director, Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, to Galilee District Commissioner, 28 October 1944: ISA/Gp7/H/61/2/3/8/672.

A variety of olive and fruit trees were to be grown, including subtropicals and citrus, and the ‘economic aspect’ rather than soil erosion prevention work was stressed in order to ensure production. Agricultural Director F.R. Mason preferred “‘area” development’, over encouraging isolated terracing. This way, he concluded, co-operation between growers and the protection of trees and crops would be ensured. Suitable trees were to be allocated once “‘area” soil erosion measures’ were taken. Olive trees raised under Farawaneh’s ‘forcing’ conditions of heat and irrigation were planted in compatible areas, such as the Huleh, which furthermore had an olive shortage.

Mason also tried complementing the Arab Hill farmers’ knowledge of propagation of their region’s principal trees of olives, grapes and figs with the nurseries’ work. The Government’s nurseries were in fact material in supplying *Phylloxera*-resistant vines grafted onto American stock for distribution to areas affected by the disease (for example, in Ramallah; see, Map 12). In addition, Mason concentrated on making



Map 12. Horticultural Demonstration Plots, 1936.

Source: Compiled from Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Annual Report, 1936*, pp. 198-9.

nurseries the ‘nucleus’ for budwoods for the Hills. However, he avoided encouraging the expansion of fruit areas due to the continued menace of the *Capnodis* spp. beetle and Mediterranean Fruit Fly. Apple and pear production was also hampered by disease, requiring expensive pest controls.⁶⁴ By concentrating on a few villages in the scheme, it was hoped that the small nursery stock available would have some impact on those areas requiring horticultural development. Hebron was therefore chosen over Jerusalem. But Hebron’s Assistant District Commissioner criticised the Village Scheme, ineffectively arguing that it supplied only 15 per cent of his sub-district’s needs.⁶⁵ As Table 13 shows, distribution was consistent with policy: only chosen areas received stock. Statistics were only found for the Samaria District and are given as an example here (see, Table 14). Mason proposed a ‘wait-and-see’ policy towards the gradual Nursery Extension Scheme to ensure that increases made in 1944–45 as part of the overall extension programme were absorbed by growers. Due to anticipated competition from cheaper vegetable oils, one of the Government’s ultimate aims also became to improve olive oil production techniques rather than the expansion of plantation areas. The Arabs were especially anxious about

Table 13. Budded Olive Trees and Grafted Vines Distributed in Selected Sub-Districts, 1945

Budded Olive Trees	No.
Gaza Sub-District	1,500
Beersheba Sub-District	500 ^a
Hebron Sub-District	1,500–2,000
Beisan Sub-District	1,000–1,500
Haifa/Nazareth Sub-Districts	1,000
Jewish Growers	1,000
Departments and Institutions	500–1,000
Total	7,000–8,500
Grafted Vines	No.
Ramallah Sub-District	10,000
Safad Sub-District (not for neighbouring Acre)	10,000
Beisan Sub-District	1,000
Jewish Growers	20,000
Departments and Institutions	4,000
Total	45,000

^a Probably free distribution.

Source: A.C. Shill, Chief Horticultural Officer, to C.T. Evans, District Commissioner, Galilee District, (?) October 1945: ISA/Gp7/H/61/2/3/8/672.

Table 14. Horticultural Planting Scheme: Selected Samaria District Villages, 1945

Jenin Sub-District	Nablus Sub-District	Tulkarm Sub-District
'Arraba: (no. of growers not stated; surplus given to unnamed villages)	Sabastya: (no. of growers not stated)	Qalqilya: 2-3 growers
550 vines	45 apples	100 apples and pears
50 apples and pears	45 plums	50 <i>Annona</i>
120 pomegranates	40 quinces	50 loquats
100 <i>Annona</i>	120 pomegranates	50 various
50 various	70 walnuts	Kfar Sava: 1 grower
	270 figs	50 apples and pears
	70 pears	25 <i>Annona</i>
		25 loquats
		25 various

Source: Enclosed with A.C. Shill, for Director of Agriculture and Fisheries, to District Commissioner, Samaria District, Nablus, 8 January 1945: ISA/Gp7/H/61/2/3/8/672.

bettering the production of olive oil and the quality of soap because of their substantial soap industry, which was based on olive oil and was facing strong competition from Egypt.⁶⁶

In 1946, Mason decided to support the establishment of local Arab-owned commercial nurseries, leaving his department to concentrate on its long-term policy of experimental work to improve plants. Although the Nursery Extension Scheme began succeeding (see, Table 15) by November 1947, Government operations were being wound down due to Palestine's deteriorating security.⁶⁷

Improving Animal Stock

The Government also endeavoured to improve animal stock. Acre Station was central to the Administration's activities in upgrading stock, and included a Poultry and Beekeeping Section (with ducks, turkeys and a rabbitry) (Plate 5).

Upgrading Village Livestock

The Acre Stud Farm was the Government's single supplier of stud animals, and it maintained a variety of stock for cross-breeding and service (see, Table 16). It co-operated closely with the General Agricultural Council's Committee on Animal Husbandry, and the Jewish Cattle and Sheep Breeders' Association. The dairy industry is not discussed below because it was mainly Jewish-run. The Jewish and German settlements independently imported Damascus, Dutch Friesian

Table 15. Increased Production at the Horticultural Station Nurseries Resulting from the Nursery Extension Programme, 1945-49

Listings		Crops									
a. Detailed Listings:											
Station	Olive	Vine	Citrus	Apple	Pear	Apricot	Peach	Plum	Fig		
Acre	10,000	60,500	1,875	2,577	10	241	175	2,404	1,122		
Farradiya	700	-	-	32	70	-	-	-	-		
Farwaneh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	450		
Jericho	4,000	-	-	800	760	160	-	4,800	280		
Majdal	2,560	-	-	1,315	568	-	245	1,204	165		
Nablus	10	-	796	-	-	-	-	-	85		
Sarafand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Total	17,270	60,500	2,671	4,724	1,408	401	420	8,408	2,102		
b. General Listings:											
Station	Olive	Vines	Citrus	Fruits and Nuts	Guava	Loquat	Pawpaw	Persimmon	Pomegranate		
Acre	10,000	60,500	1,875	9,585	753	350	-	-	1,316		
Farradiya	700	-	-	102	-	-	-	-	-		
Farwaneh	-	-	-	1,150	-	-	-	-	-		
Jericho	4,000	-	-	3,265	-	-	980	-	2,235		
Majdal	2,560	-	-	7,900	-	-	-	-	300		
Nablus	10	-	-	3,497	-	-	-	-	242		
Sarafand	-	-	796	358	-	107	-	109	-		
Total	17,270	60,500	2,671	25,857	753	457	980	109	4,093		

Source: A. Goor, Acting Chief Horticultural Officer, to Director of Agriculture and Fisheries, confidential, 5 February 1948: ISA/Gp7/H/61/2/3/8/672.

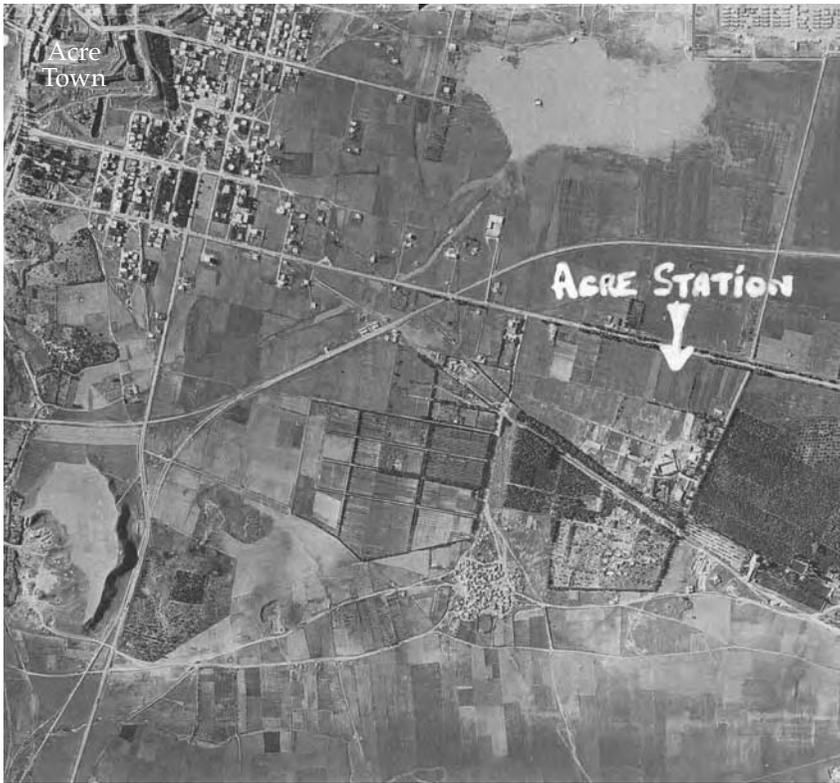


Plate 5. Acre Agricultural and Horticultural Station and Stud Farm: The Largest in Palestine.
 Source: Secret, 4 January 1945: RAF/PS11/6069, Aerial Photographic Archive, Department of Geography, The Hebrew University.

and Devon bulls and grew fodder on their intensive dairy-based farms.⁶⁸ In contrast, most *fellabeen* let their animals breed freely and feed off poor pastures, leading to 'severe starvation'. Stockdale had in 1935 warned of the need to improve fodder for Arab stock rather than rely on cross-breeding for upgrading since this anyway required improved feeding.⁶⁹ Acre attempted through selective breeding with imported pure-bred and exotic types to better native animals, valued for their resilience to local disease. In fact, the Veterinary Service, headed by Chief Veterinary Officer G.B. Simmins, deeply disagreed with Mason, the Agricultural Director, saying his policy of using imported animals for breeding had brought on 'disastrous results' for underrating indigenous stock. Angered by Simmins' comments and convinced that stock-breeding was an integral part of farming, Mason successfully lobbied the Chief Secretariat to retain Animal Husbandry

Table 16. Stud Sires Maintained at Acre Stock Farm, 1936

Kind	Breed	No.
Bulls	Lebanese	8
	Kerry	2
	Boaz	2
Stallions	Arab	4
	West Highland Pony	1
Jackasses	Cyprian	2
	Damascus	2
Rams	Awassi	27
	Karakul	10
Billy-goats	Mamber	42
	Damascus	15
Boars	Large White	2
	Middle White	1

Source: Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Annual Report, 1936*, p. 33.

at the Department of Agriculture when the Veterinary Department was at last formed in 1947, leaving the latter to deal with Health. Having shed the Forest Service in 1936, the Department of Agriculture was now also free of the Veterinary Service.

All three Services, along with Fisheries had been thrown together into a single department in 1920 as a temporary economic measure. On two occasions, in 1930 and again in 1932–33, calls were made for separate departments to be established for each speciality: Agriculture, Forests, and Veterinary. In 1932–33, provision was actually made in the Draft Government Budget Estimates for a Department of Animal Health. The problem of incorporating multiple specialist functions within Agricultural Departments was not uncommon in the British Empire. In India, for example, it was recognised that the Agricultural Department's incorporation of the Veterinary Service had 'undoubtedly' been 'detrimental to cattle improvement'. Disease was still 'the major issue' for animal welfare in Palestine. This point was used by Mason to support his case successfully for an independent Veterinary Department, reiterating the Colonial Advisory Council's recommendation that there be independent an Veterinary Service when disease was a prevalent factor in a territory. It was within this context that the heated and competitive correspondence arose involving Mason and the Chief Veterinary Officer over the establishment of a Veterinary Department and the division of responsibilities of animal husbandry and animal health between the Agricultural and the Veterinary Service. The Secretary of State approved the creation of a Veterinary Service Department on

9 September 1946. Its responsibilities included the Veterinary Stations and Laboratories, Veterinary Service to village livestock, the control of animal diseases, the use of a Grant-in-Aid to the People's Dispensary for Sick Animals of the Poor, and Scholarships.⁷⁰

Government-run breeding programmes probably had little impact on Palestine, considering the country's large number of livestock (see the section on Animal Enumeration in chapter 3). For instance, in 1932/3, only 25 Lebanese bulls could be loaned out to selected villages. The Government's own number of livestock was limited by funding. The two main schemes fostered were for the castration of village scrub bulls, and a Government Premium Bull Scheme begun in 1934. The latter aimed at encouraging Arab villagers to retain their best bulls for breeding, eliminating scrubs; a difficult task since the better stock was sold for slaughter. The Government paid owners £P6 on condition that their best bulls were used free of charge for breeding in their village. In 1935, 73 premium bulls were distributed to 46 villages. Demand among *fellabeen* also steadily increased for Acre's 40 Lebanese (Beyrouth) bulls.⁷¹

To control breeding in villages, a programme of sterilising inferior and scrub males was also begun, overcoming initial protests as 'villagers themselves' asked Veterinary Officers for help to improve their stock (Table 17). In 1935/6, over 3,000 animals were sterilised. Castration, culling, sire breeding and selling selected breeding stock was practised for cattle, sheep, goats, mules, horses and swine, maintaining the policy of 'gradually upgrading local stock'.⁷² But these activities made little impression, as no striking impact was recorded as late as 1946.

Beekeeping

Acre's Apiary kept three pure-bred bees: the Italian, Carniolian (Austria) and Palestinian, along with two half-bred, Italian-Palestinian and Carniolian-Palestinian. Assistance was given to 'beginners' interested in beekeeping by securing them modern hives, and swarms on movable frames were prepared for distribution. In 1932, 115 swarms were distributed, along with an equivalent number of control-mated queens. Beekeeping was a particularly successful story for the Government, as interest rapidly increased.

Extension work proved inadequate though. Whilst visits by the Poultry and Beekeeping Instructor were usually deemed 'profitable' for the modern farmers, the 'primitive' keepers required more regular and practical instructions. There was only one Assistant Instructor, and he was mainly occupied with controlling disease in bees. On his appointment

Table 17. Castration of Village Stock, 1935–36

Veterinary District	Bulls	Calves	Sheep and Lambs		Horses	Donkeys	Other	TOTAL
			Goats	Kids				
Jerusalem	560	–	5	79	4	280	53	981
Jaffa	72	20	–	71	9	105	–	277
Nablus	89	30	65	320	10	45	24	583
Haifa	33	–	–	–	11	216	35	295
Tiberias	117	62	13	63	108	221	17	601
Safad	126	9	24	60	29	3	21	272
TOTAL	997	121	107	593	171	870	150	3,009
1933/34	513	190	332	214	65	97	46	1,457
1934/35	774	137	108	176	205	628	88	2,116
1935/36	997	121	107	593	171	870	150	3,009

Source: Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Annual Report, 1936*, p. 90.

in 1931, the Assistant Instructor made an inspection of hives, discovering 4,353 of 10,863 to be empty, the bees having been decimated by disease (mainly American Foul Brood, often necessitating the hive's destruction) or by hornets. In 1932, a campaign was mounted against hornets and Cyano-gas was distributed to beekeepers, resulting in the destruction of 'thousands' of nests.⁷³ Such operations were sustained by the enforcement of the Bee Protection Ordinance, 1928, which obligated beekeepers to report on infected bees and arrange for their destruction.

Beekeeping developed its own momentum, producing strong links between keepers and the Administration. Palestine's large citrus belt and demand for quality honey boosted interest. In 1933, the Government instigated a Bee Hive Loans Scheme at five per cent interest as part of its policy to encourage modern beekeeping in the Arab villages though it was open to Jews as well. The District Commissioners themselves controlled the allocation of hives, indicating their premium. Only three to five hives could be allotted to an individual, with communal groups receiving a maximum of 25. This especially impacted on the Arabs, as it was aimed at replacing their traditional earthenware hives with modern movable frame cone types. In 1933, over 300 of the latter were specifically given out to owners of traditional hives. Duty-free sugar was also sold at cost price to registered beekeepers.⁷⁴

The industry underwent a manifest expansion in the 1930s, influenced by the Mandatory's encouragement through its Apiaries (Appendix 27),

aimed at serving the *fellabeen* and Bedouin, and chosen for their easy access (Map 11). Also, Bee Instructors found less neglect of hives. No information has been traced on beekeeping schemes for the Bedouins. By 1936, three years after starting its programme to modernise beehives, the Government distributed 2,100 hives. 'Thousands' of new beehives were annually being populated, and Stockdale commented on the improved quality of honey.⁷⁵ The transfer of responsibility for Poultry and Beekeeping from the Veterinary Services to the Agriculture Service in 1940 delayed the Government's programme to organise more activities in Arab villages as staff had to be especially trained.

Wartime timber (in general and for hives) and sugar shortages hindered the continued development of beekeeping, already slowed down by the destruction of agricultural stations during the Arab Revolt. The scarcity and high price of hives during the War meant many applications for hives were rejected, especially when applicants lacked expertise, effectively cutting off beginners. Kibbutz Sha'ar ha-Negev's request, for example, was turned down as the settlement had no expert beekeeper. Demand for swarms remained significant throughout the War though, often causing seasonal shortages.⁷⁶ After the War, activities mainly focused on rehabilitating beekeeping.

Poultry

The Administration claimed that 99 per cent of Palestine's modern poultry farms were stocked by Acre, which ran programmes for 'modern' and 'primitive' poultry systems. Chicks and imported, acclimatised and cross-bred pedigrees, such as the English White Leghorn, were sold or given gratis to Arab and Jewish farmers, on condition that local cockerels be destroyed, and Model Poultry Farm Stations were commenced across Palestine to upgrade *fellah*-owned poultry (Map 11). To meet rising demands for poultry and eggs, increased imports in both commodities were made from unknown origins, causing a degradation of the local stock. Whilst Jewish farmers developed large modern poultry farms supported by the Jewish Agency and its Rehovot Research Station and the co-operative sales outlet of Tnuva, poultry-keeping among Arabs was confined to women and lacked systematic housing or feeding provisions.⁷⁷ Poor care dissipated the Agricultural Department's work. Moreover, pedigree Rhode Island Red, Sussex and Australop cockerels were distributed to only few villages, and many stations were destroyed during the Arab Revolt. In 1938, higher customs were placed on eggs, reducing imports, but affecting little change.⁷⁸

Two years later, in 1940, a Village Scheme to promote poultry-keeping in Arab villages was instigated. Two Government hatcheries, at Acre (serving the North) and Jerusalem (serving the South), were to supply 400,000 day-old chicks per season at cost price to overcome the shortage of Arab-owned broody hens. Twenty-five demonstration units were set up at selected village schools for the younger generation, since propaganda had failed to sway male prejudices against poultry-keeping. Only between four and six accessible 'advanced villages' in each sub-district were to be chosen for the scheme. Chicks were also sold to Jews, though in much smaller numbers.⁷⁹

In 1943, the anticipated demand from Arabs for chicks from Government hatcheries was estimated at 636,000. The highest number of requests was from the Galilee District, for 186,000 chicks; followed by Lydda District for 140,000; Gaza for 120,000; Haifa for 100,000; and finally by the Jerusalem District, for 90,000.⁸⁰ This did not necessarily mean, however, that poultry-keeping was more important in the Galilee than in Jerusalem, or that Galilee farmers were desirous of expanding this sector of their economy, since no statistics were found on regional differences in poultry-farming in Palestine.

The Jewish demand for Government hatchery chicks in the same year numbered 15,000 for both the Galilee and Lydda Districts, 10,000 for Haifa District and 5,000 for the Jerusalem District. Not surprisingly, there was no demand in Gaza with its Arab population.⁸¹ This perhaps shows the very low number of Jewish inhabitants in the region, although pointed efforts were being made to settle the Negev (or Negeb; see the section on Irrigation for further details).

Ironically, by 1945, the scheme led to the spread of fowl plague (avian influenza) as the eggs, imported from uncontrolled sources via contractors, infected good village stock; this forced a revision in policy. Increased food production for the War pressured the Government Hatcheries into unknowingly distributing diseased chicks, bringing Palestine to the brink of an epidemic. Such practices by 'mammoth hatcheries' were outlawed in Britain in 1937, and contravened Palestine's own Animal Diseases Ordinance. Despite local opposition and encouraging results (the programme yielded 70 per cent good chicks per 100 eggs), the Acre and Jerusalem Hatcheries were closed down, putting an end to the scheme.⁸² The Chief Veterinary Officer rejected proposals to revive the District Poultry Stations reporting that they would perpetuate the spread of disease. Instead, a Village Incubators Scheme, based at school gardens to teach Arab children to be 'incubator-minded', was begun in 1947. This had had only a small impact by the time the Mandate ended.⁸³

The Control of Plant and Animal Pests and Diseases

Improved communications and imported breeding stock and staples aggravated the spread of indigenous and exotic pests and diseases. The Agricultural Department's main services in pest and disease control were the Plants Protection Service, Entomological, Mycological and Veterinary Services. Indeed, under Article 20 of the *Mandate for Palestine*, the Administration was to co-operate in any 'common policy adopted by the League of Nations' to prevent and combat disease, 'including diseases of plants and animals' (see Appendix 1).

Plant Pests and Diseases

The Entomological Service consistently ranked high in the Agricultural Department's expenses, with a mass of legislation enacted under the Plant Protection Ordinances of 1924 and 1935.⁸⁴ It co-operated with the Mycological Service, opening five advisory centres, serving Palestine's four climatic zones (Map 11). Entomology Officers toured the districts monthly, and a policy was set to encourage the *fellabeen* to take preventive measures against cereal and fruit pests and diseases, whilst farmers growing remunerative fruit and vegetables paid for pest controls. A comprehensive survey of cereal diseases was begun in 1937, and contacts were also maintained with the Imperial Mycological Institute in Britain.⁸⁵

Campaigns against Locusts

Large locust invasions occurred in Palestine in 1928, 1929 and 1930, also threatening later years, severely straining the Agricultural Department's resources. The 'black carpet' of 1915 was etched in Palestine's memory, and Ottoman control measures had failed to have an impact.

During 1928–30, most of the Agricultural Department's work was suspended for five months each year to hold back swarms stretching 40 kilometres. The Government spent a spiralling £P27,127 in 1930 on the campaigns, compared with £P5,697 in 1928, from departmental budgets of £P103,860 and £P70,378, respectively.⁸⁶ The Locusts' Destruction Ordinance was enacted in 1932, superseding the Ottoman Code Regulations, and Local Commissions effectuated under the Ordinance were empowered to call up labour reinforcements, enter lands, and obligate the reporting of locust sightings. In 1931, a Locust Committee was formed to co-ordinate activities, dividing Palestine

into four campaign 'Areas': Jerusalem–Hebron, Beersheba, Jaffa–Ramle–Majdal–Gaza, and the North. Locust campaigns were given top priority, and Chief Secretariat directives forced the release of staff from their normal duties to fight swarms. False alarms were often set off though, and circulars were sent out specifying differences between storks, dragon flies and locusts, Sudan's Desert Locust being the real danger. Telegrams from the Sudan were always acted upon immediately, as in 1937, when swarms were reported in the Tokar Delta. The Government's policy was changed in the 1944 campaign, to stop the labour-intensive and ineffective ploughing of egg-infested fields and the use of Zinc Sheet traps. Poison bait was increasingly applied, and bait factories were strategically located (for example, in Tiberias in 1945).⁸⁷ Aeroplane dusting was also introduced.

In 1942, Colonial Secretary Oliver F.G. Stanley (1942–45) personally headed an Inter-Departmental Committee on Locust Control, which included representatives from the War Office, to mount an attack rather than operate a defense against locust invasions, in order to secure wartime food supplies.⁸⁸ Prior to the War, the International Locust Bureau in Damascus was the focus of regional co-operation in locust information. Palestine was central to the wartime campaign, and in 1942 and 1943, expeditions were made to Arabia to strike at the locusts' 'source'.⁸⁹ The locust campaigns were successful in Palestine, including the epic 51-day battle waged in 1947.

Campaigns against Field Mice

Just as the 1930 spring locust campaign ended in June, so the Agricultural Department began organising an autumn campaign against field mice throughout Palestine, in all occupying its staff fully for 19 months, suspending most other activities. During 1930, 65 per cent of the crops from Haifa to Tiberias were destroyed by mice. The 'Zelio' method of putting down poisoned grain, and 'Hora' gassing machines were used, and official orders were issued under the Plant Protection Ordinance, 1924, to infested villages imposing control measures. The plague was brought to a halt in April 1931; estimated kills of 75–90 per cent were recorded. Jackals and snakes were, however, also poisoned through their rodent prey. Total costs were calculated at £P6,000, with 350 villages – almost a million dunams – being treated, and 9,000 Arabs and Jews participating as voluntary labour.⁹⁰ Zelio supplies were low when in 1932 another plague broke out, *mukhtars* of infested villages asking 'for help and more help'.⁹¹ In Al Qubeiba in the Ramle Sub-District, villagers desperately poured water into nest-holes. The

campaign covered 1,300,000 dunams, affecting 302 villages across Palestine, and involving District Officers, Village Committees and the Forest Service. The plague was finally ended in the winter of 1932–33.

Villagers began expecting Government help. In 1935, the *fellabeen* expressed ‘great astonishment’ at the Administration for not mounting a campaign when field mice once again became noticeable, as policy had been set not to issue Zelio grain gratis unless there was a plague.⁹² Plagues of field mice remained part of Palestine’s landscape, though now more controllable through British-imported technology and sponsored research.

Control of Ed-Dudeh (‘The Worm’)

Ed-Dudeh (Arabic for ‘The Worm’, *Syringopais temperatella* (L.), the wheat leaf miner), was a recurring problem for Palestine’s agriculture.⁹³ In 1931–33, it periodically destroyed large areas of cereals, especially in the south where drought had already weakened the plants. In 1933, the Ramallah, Jerusalem, Nablus and Jenin Sub-Districts totalled 40,000 dunams attacked by *Ed-Dudeh*, with complete crop failures in a further 8,000 dunams. In 1935–36, attacks were recorded throughout Palestine; and in 1937, a ‘bumper’ crop was halved by the pest, being one of the severest and most widespread occurrences.⁹⁴

Following the 1935 attacks, and wary of enacting regulations under the Plant Protection Ordinance constraining farmers already ‘overburdened with debts’ to take measures, the Government adopted a preventive policy encouraging different crops and rotations, and deep summer ploughing. Forty-six demonstration plots in the areas most vulnerable to *Ed-Dudeh* were created to illustrate the productive impact of three different crop rotations, including summer crops. A ‘simple worded pamphlet’ was also distributed to villagers. But Agricultural Inspectors encountered much resistance. Cultivators expressed their real worry that, if crop rotations were not synchronised with their neighbours’, livestock would graze on their harvests. In 1945, the Plant Protection (Control of Pests) Rules were finally passed, specifically forbidding the planting of winter cereals for a maximum of three years on land heavily infested with *Ed-Dudeh*.

In a final propaganda effort in 1947, meetings were held with *mukhtars* and Village Committees, and ‘with some difficulty’, undertakings were signed to establish the proposed rotations and inform neighbouring villages.⁹⁵

The Use of Fungicides, Herbicides and Insecticides

Though Agricultural and Horticultural Stations and Palestine's Board for Scientific and Industrial Research conducted trials in applying fungicides, herbicides and insecticides, their use was not always supported within the Administration. In some cases express permission for their application was first required. This was to ensure that they were suitable for Palestine since many were developed abroad. Controls were also instigated to avert the indiscriminate application of fungicides, herbicides and insecticides that could cause poisoning and the destruction of crops.⁹⁶

Chemicals tested and approved in Palestine were however permitted. When a shortage arose of proprietary Bordeaux, a vine and fruit tree fungicide, Plant Officers were especially trained to prepare it for those farmers permitted to use it.⁹⁷

Pests and Diseases in Horticulture

The Entomological Service worked against several horticultural pests and diseases, notably scale, *Capnodis* spp. and the Mediterranean Fruit Fly. Scale is discussed below because of its effect on citrus, Palestine's major export.

Scale Insect Pests and the Impact of Fumigation on Citrus

Black scale insect pests menaced Palestine's major export of citrus, and were fought by fumigation during 1927–30. In 1930–31, the Government formulated a policy making fumigation 'a routine operation of orchard cultivation' obligating growers to cleanse infected groves. By then, red scale was also a threat. Field laboratories were set up at Acre Station and Migdal by the Sea of Galilee. The impact of fumigation became apparent, as 1,200 dunams of Jaffa groves showed a 44 per cent reduction in infected trees. A Quarantine Line was stipulated with stations within Palestine at Zikhron Ya'aqov, Ras an Naqura and Samakh (Map 11).⁹⁸ In 1931, co-operation among growers to form private fumigation gangs was encouraged, thus releasing the Entomological Service and tax-payers from the responsibility and litigation for recovering costs. Additional policy developed in 1932 proved exceptionally unpopular as it determined that even whole groves had to be destroyed and replanted. This resulted in 'considerable opposition', almost to the point of rioting. Fumigation against red scale eventually became widespread by 1934–35, the number of privately

fumigated trees eventually overtaking those fumigated by Government employees.

In 1931, for example, there were no recorded privately fumigated trees; this compared with the Government's 41,756. The following year, 21,858 trees were privately fumigated against the Government's 92,131. In 1935, though, the situation was completely changed, with as many as 205,896 trees being fumigated by private growers, whilst 135,016 were Government-fumigated. The latter figure still indicated the Government's assertive participation in fumigation works.⁹⁹

Attention in 1936 shifted to the Mediterranean Fruit Fly (*Ceratitidis capitata*), as scale was brought under control, and fumigation plans became preventive.¹⁰⁰ By 1938, both fruit fly and scale were having little impact on the citrus industry (each causing only five per cent rejections in export fruit).¹⁰¹ The Government therefore set a policy and implemented it in the teeth of opposition, making growers take direct responsibility for the control of disease in what was essentially regarded as a successful capitalist sector of the rural economy, both Arab and Jewish.

Animal Diseases

The Veterinary Services' main function was to prevent the introduction of epizootic diseases, control endemic contagious diseases, improve animal hygiene and ensure the supply of healthy meat. Many laws were enacted, the most prominent being the Diseases of Animals Ordinances of 1926 and 1945. Rules under the latter regulated vaccines and prescribed measures to suppress diseases. A Veterinary Laboratory carried out experiments and made diagnoses, prepared vaccines and sera and collaborated with field staff.¹⁰² The Service, however, was hindered by the lack of timely and adequate reports on the outbreaks of disease, although the Jews co-operated closely with the Service, and instated the 'Hahaklaith' [Agricultural] Mutual Cattle Insurance Society, which had its own veterinary surgeons. They also generally administered prophylactic vaccines to their livestock regularly.¹⁰³

Government Veterinary staff toured villages and markets, and oversaw vaccination and the disinfection of livestock premises under the Trades and Industries Ordinance, 1927. Furthermore, District Veterinary Officers prepared 'Monthly Reports', registering the occurrence of disease and the availability and quality of pasturage, and the increased use of Animal Dispensaries (Map 11), which were becoming more obvious. Stables were licensed to ensure upkeep.¹⁰⁴ The Service also introduced the practice of testing animals before they were

purchased, setting new standards in the livestock market. Additionally, Veterinary Officers investigated veterinary-related offences, including those under the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Ordinance, 1919, (one of the first laws enacted by the British in Palestine). Many incidences of donkeys being stabbed were recorded in the Agricultural Department's *Annual Reports*. Also, animals often had to be put down by Officers because they were considered unfit for work under the Ordinance (for example, in 1934, 134 were judged unfit for work and 106 of them had to be destroyed; in 1936, 86 animals were seized, 66 for destruction). Towards the Mandate's end, this issue still caused the British sufficient concern to have the prevention of cruelty to animals listed seventh when Mason made his recommendations in 1945 to establish a new Division of Animal Health and Industry, leading up to the formation of the Veterinary Department. The prevention of cruelty to animals was also included in these recommendations as part of the application to Palestine of the Empire-wide Colonial Advisory Council's Report on matters which incorporated animal welfare.¹⁰⁵

Just by the town of Ramle, the highly specialised No. 1 Veterinary Hospital in the Middle East was opened to treat horses and mules used by the Army.¹⁰⁶ The Agricultural Department also maintained links with the International Veterinary Office, and the International Office of Epizootics in Paris, thereby ensuring that ideas and techniques were updated.¹⁰⁷

The Palestine Government's Veterinary Services dealt with an array of diseases, such as foot-and-mouth, tick fevers, bovine contagious abortion, dourine, anthrax, mange, parasitic gastroenteritis, scab, fowl plague and rabies. Certain case studies are presented below.

Tick Fevers and Dipping

Tick-borne diseases caused serious losses, emaciating indigenous livestock and measurably reducing milk production among upgraded cows. During the periods of 'semi-starvation' brought on by the lack of pasturage in drought years, such as 1931–34, tick-transmitted diseases like anaplasmosis and piroplasmosis increased already high death rates. Dipping was the only means of destroying the ticks, and the Veterinary Services tried encouraging stock-owners to practice regular animal dipping to destroy ticks, initially installing baths and providing dipping powder. Demonstrations of the method were given in villages using portable zinc baths (for example, in 17 villages in 1934, dipping 25,000 animals), resulting in marked improvements in milk

yields.¹⁰⁸ Jewish stock-owners organised the construction of permanent concrete baths using loans from the Central Bank of Cooperative Institutions and the Government. The latter granted conditional loans through agreements with *mukhtars* to build permanent baths in Arab villages and ensure animals were dipped for a fee.¹⁰⁹

But, in all, there were too few dipping baths in the Arab villages to have an effect. For instance, there were only 40 in 1936 (21 for cattle and 19 for sheep). Also, Arab stock-owners tended to avoid dipping their animals, fearing they would be head-counted for taxation.¹¹⁰ In 1937, Rules under the Animal Diseases Ordinance were made prescribing regular dipping in declared infected areas. A scheme for installing baths in places where stock-owners often applied to have their animals dipped was postponed in 1938, however, because of the Arab Rebellion, and grants for baths were finally abolished due to the related financial crisis.¹¹¹

The African Horse Sickness Epidemic

African horse sickness occurred in East, Central and South Africa, causing high mortality among equines. However, the disease was not established as an enzootic in Palestine. The 1944 epidemic in Palestine was believed to have originated from Africa and spread northwards along the damp citrus belt, waning in the drier regions, and threatening the country's economic life which depended on equines.

Due to the rapid spread of the disease, vaccines from Kenya and South Africa could not be obtained in time, so that orders were given to destroy infected animals. On 7 September 1944, a Standstill Order was issued, and the Prohibition of Movement of Horses, Mules and Donkeys Rules, 1944, under the Animal Diseases Ordinance were quickly passed. These orders prohibited the movement of equines between towns and villages, thereby confining them to their stables from sunset to sunrise, to avoid the night-flying vector-bearing gnat (genus *Culicoides* spp.). The British immediately applied their knowledge of the disease gained from Africa, advising that smoke fires be lit in stables at night to avert the gnat.

Controlling the disease was given top priority, and extra forces were mobilised. Meetings were held with village *mukhtars* and townspeople to disseminate information. Announcements were also made on the radio, though the Veterinary Services acknowledged their limited impact. Heavy and exemplary penalties were imposed on offenders. The sale of equines was forbidden, and Schedules of Closed Areas under the Rules were gradually applied to much of Palestine as the disease

advanced, necessitating their constant renewal. Rumours of the vaccine causing further sickness had to be quashed, and the panic washing of equines with poisonous cattle dips had to be stopped. The British thus confronted ignorance of the disease and the difficulty of communicating information, whilst campaigning against it. During the 1944 epizootic of African horse sickness, 656 (or 60 per cent) horses, 166 (43 per cent) mules, and 14 donkeys died from the disease. A further 443 (40 per cent) horses, 227 (57 per cent) mules, and 8 donkeys were destroyed. A free re-vaccination programme was begun in June 1945. The Standstill Order finally succeeded that year in stemming the disease, as too did the vaccines.¹¹²

Fowl Plague (Avian Influenza)

Disease was ‘the greatest hindrance’ to the poultry industry, causing mortality in 10–48 per cent of animals kept in intensive and semi-intensive systems, without there even being an epidemic.¹¹³ Fowl plague (avian influenza) occurred whilst the Veterinary Services was combatting African horse sickness; this influenza was endemic in Palestine. It became prevalent in 1941 in the Tulkarm, Jaffa and Ramle Sub-Districts, which were declared infected areas, and spread because outbreaks went unreported, requiring a campaign to gain the *mukhtars*’ co-operation.

Throughout 1941–44, Palestine was subject to periodic Standstill Orders under the Animal Diseases Ordinance, prohibiting the import, movement and sale of poultry. Concerned about the reduction in poultry supplies during the War, the British raced to stop the slaughtering of fowl by owners who were fearful of losing their stocks through the disease. Smuggling strained operations as increased patrols were organised, and the movement of poultry from the Nablus Sub-District was forbidden,¹¹⁴ spatially tying Palestine up into knots of closed areas. This situation continued into 1946 when fowl plague was brought under control.

Animal Quarantine and Slaughterhouse Controls

The Animal Quarantine Rules, 1931, promulgated under the Animal Diseases Ordinance, 1926, reinforced the Animals (Export and Import) Ordinance of 1920. In 1934, for example, an embargo was imposed on the import of Polish cattle because they were infected with bovine contagious pleuro-pneumonia.¹¹⁵ Quarantine stations were strategically placed along the borders (Map 13), but had little effect since the

frontiers were passable and fordable by livestock, particularly in the dry season. Government abattoirs were also used as points for disease control, dictated by the Slaughter House Rules, 1927, under the Animal Diseases Ordinance. In 1944, there were about 20 Local Authority abattoirs.¹¹⁶ For sanitation reasons many were situated on the outskirts of towns, such as that at Safad;¹¹⁷ but a large number were left unsanitary due to poor tax inspection regimes, though fees were collected.¹¹⁸ Therefore, despite their solid legislation, the British failed in gaining real control over livestock movement and had very limited success in improving abattoir conditions.

Conclusion

The Mandatory Government's programmes to upgrade stock and control disease had a varied impact on the landscape through technological transfer. Responses to the programmes differed, reflecting subtleties within the technological transfer process, which sometimes also made the British reluctant to introduce measures. This is evidenced in their policy of differentiating between preventive action for the poorer *fellabeen*, and their insistence that wealthier cultivators pay their way. The Government was often the facilitator – a role not to be underestimated – exemplified by its first introducing the extensive fumigation of citrus groves, then by its having growers take responsibility for this. Some ideas were quickly taken up, such as that to expand the area under tobacco, indicating that the *fellabeen* were not impervious to change, as some reports seemed to suggest. But change meant risk, so, for example, avoiding taxation outweighed the perceived benefits of dipping livestock. Wealthier Arab farmers and Jewish settlements backed by the Jewish Agency and other organisations could attempt change and often did, being at the forefront of agricultural innovation in Palestine. The British brought changes, though they were mainly initiatory because of shortages in funding, staff and time, and local conditions.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION, DEMONSTRATION, EXTENSION AND RESEARCH

The British instituted an agricultural-education system in Palestine previously advanced in the rest of their Empire (Appendix 28),¹¹⁹ complemented by demonstration, extension and research works. School gardens and demonstration plots showed the advantages of improved

techniques in cultivation, better quality seeds, crop rotation, fertilisers, irrigation, soil conservation, forestry, poultry keeping and beekeeping, and feeding and managing livestock. Department officers toured villages, giving advice, distributing quality seeds and seedlings, fruit trees, budwood, and pedigree poultry, either gratis or for minimal sums. This was supplemented by leaflets, lectures, broadcasts, night schools, touring libraries and films; and structured by a formidable body of agricultural legislation. Although education, extension and research work were focused on the Arab sector, as the Jews had their own independent institutions, funding and extension activities, Jewish farmers clearly benefited from the Government's facilities.¹²⁰ The Jews also co-operated in research with the Mandatory's Agricultural Department.

Agricultural Education

Both the *Hope-Simpson Report* of 1930 and the *Peel Report* of 1937 criticised the Palestine Administration for not providing sufficient schooling, fundamental to improving the *fellah's* condition and agricultural development.¹²¹ For their part, the Arabs contrasted their 'Zeal for Education' with the 'Government's Lackadaisical Attitude'.¹²²

The Mandatory began a system of 'school gardens' attached to village schools. The gardens were used to give instruction on improved agricultural methods. The number of gardens increased during the last two decades of British rule in Palestine. In 1928/9, there were 259 Arab village schools with over 50 gardens; in 1938/9, there were 328 schools and 226 gardens; and in 1945/6, there were 432 schools with 242 gardens.¹²³ The Government did not include in its data figures for Jewish school gardens, which in 1934/5, for example, numbered 100. Most Jewish rural schools had gardens, which were mainly confined to vegetable cultivation. They also had agricultural-educational and training centres.¹²⁴ The schools only served 13 per cent of the Arab rural children, compared to an almost 100 per cent rate for the Jews. The gardens were between one and five dunams or more in size, and were also found in private schools, such as the Salesian Agricultural School at Beit Jamal (Jimal) in the Jerusalem Sub-District.¹²⁵

An agriculturally trained Supervisor of School Gardens based at the Acre Government Station was in charge of the gardens, enabling the dissemination of the station's research information. The Supervisor circulated instructions to village teachers and arranged for 'on the spot' model lessons, and lectures at teachers' conferences. Following a 1932 Committee of Inquiry into Education, the Education and Agricultural Departments decided on closer co-operation, giving the former a more

active role in agricultural education. Agricultural Inspectors were to visit village schools and co-ordinate with Education Inspectors of School Gardens.¹²⁶ The London Treasury, after initially rejecting a planned programme for the expansion of village schools as a 'waste of money', giving poor results,¹²⁷ decided to permit controlled consolidation instead. Seasonal study programmes and visits to Agricultural Stations were arranged for village teachers. Agricultural Inspectors supported by the Education Department were also urged to give the gardens 'a great deal of attention'.

Only in the third out of four years (average) of learning did any of the 'agricultural bias' aimed for in village education become noticeable, pupils receiving agricultural lessons in 4 of the 39 class hours. The 'elements of plant and animal life were taught', followed by practical work in the gardens, where they existed.¹²⁸ A special syllabus was prepared to achieve permanent literacy in the 'maximum' time permissible by village 'social conditions', especially as most pupils also worked, helping out on family plots or farms, or doing other tasks. The lower levels of school classes were given communal plots to promote co-operation; whilst the higher levels were allotted individual plots for independent learning.¹²⁹ A notable amount of experimentation was done at school gardens, with results being sent to agricultural stations. Imported and improved wheat, barley, maize and other cereals were cultivated, and pupils trained in budding and grafting techniques were also taught the advantages of applying organic and chemical fertilisers. Poultry were kept, housed on improved lines, beekeeping was advanced, and instruction was given on irrigation, pest control and soil conservation. Varied implements were used, such as the native and steel ploughs, harrows and cultivators; and different seeds distributed by the Agricultural Department were grown, for example, spinach, lettuce and cabbage. Tree nurseries were also maintained.¹³⁰

The sections on plants and pest control were similar to those in demonstration plots used to instruct adults. Adults also expressed an interest in the gardens, sometimes providing the land. Officials carefully matched school garden activities with their location. In the mountain areas, for example, terracing, afforestation and growing rainwater dependent fruit trees were sanctioned. The highest number of gardens was in the Acre area, in close proximity to Acre Station (see, Map 14). Pupils were encouraged by the Agricultural Department to sell their output, teaching marketing, and to increase the availability of improved produce.

A leading critic of the Mandatory's agricultural education was Abdul Latif Tibawi, who worked in the Education Service. He doubted that

'sons of farmers', accustomed early in life to agricultural work would gain much from it. Classrooms were overcrowded, he argued, packing in 40–60 pupils of different ages. The 'impression that such an education would leave on a limited number' of 9–11 year-old boys could not be so 'profound' as to result in improved farming, he wrote.¹³¹ At the 1937 Peel Commission hearings, one Arab witness disputed the 'agricultural bias' in rural education, saying it was 'hardly' recognisable.¹³² Administration officials themselves criticised school teachers for lacking the agricultural education to give instruction in farming. There were not enough trained agricultural teachers supervising the gardens (for example, of the 248 school gardens in 1946, only 107 were supervised). Also, the small Education budget eventually affected agricultural education through a cutback in activities.¹³³ The 1936–39 Arab Revolt caused the closure of many of the village schools and gardens, as pupils followed orders from the Arab leadership and stayed away. During the Second World War, the school gardens were finally reopened after more than three years of disruptions.

Teachers 'with the right training and personality' employed school gardens 'with considerable effect'.¹³⁴ Agricultural Inspectors also had a key role and were instructed to explain operations to teachers, who were in turn to communicate them to the pupils and cultivators. Dura School in the Hebron Sub-District was especially successful, with the teacher instructing both parents and pupils in grafting and pruning, and pupils successfully taking up beekeeping (see, Plate 6).¹³⁵

In addition, it is difficult to ignore the picket and stone fences, the neat rows of vegetables, cereals and vetches planted out, and the small nurseries for fruit trees and forestry, and mulberry for the newly introduced sericulture; and the apiaries and poultry houses that increasingly marked the landscape of Mandate Palestine. The pupils became the conductors of knowledge they received, though it may have caused socio-cultural disruptions: the son telling the father in a very patriarchal society.

Agricultural Schools and Training

Palestine had six privately-run Jewish and three Arab–Catholic agricultural schools in 1937. Only in the 1930s did the Government open its own agricultural schools, and that was due to a bequest by Sir Ellis Kadoorie, a philanthropic Jew from Shanghai. One was situated at Tulkarm for Arabs (1931), and the other at Mount Tabor for the Jews (1934). The Government contributed financially by providing the schools with grants. That at Tabor was independently run by the Jews

who brought in their own instructors, the Government even sometimes seeking their advice. Tabor is therefore not discussed here.¹³⁶ The Arabs initially established the Tulkarm School during the First World War. The British chose it for an agricultural school because of its location, serving the mainly Arab Sub-Districts of Tulkarm, Jenin and Nablus (Plate 7).

Tulkarm's two-year courses included instruction in the theory and practice of crop rotation, animal husbandry, canning and packaging, co-operatives and marketing, and maintaining a farm (including live-stock). The school only accepted students from a farming background, so that they could return to their villages and help improve the *fellah's* agriculture; Tulkarm was considered unsuitable – though no reason was stated – for the Beersheba Bedouins, who specifically put in a request for agricultural education.¹³⁷ The school also had a Teachers' Training Centre. Tulkarm probably had little impact on Arab agriculture as many of its graduates preferred working for the Administration.¹³⁸ Also, it was closed during the Revolt and until 1941 because soldiers were billeted there. A similar centre was opened for girls near Ramallah. Still, Tibawi commented on the school gardens acquiring a 'good name', thanks to Tulkarm's graduate teachers.¹³⁹ The British also supported Arabs being educated abroad, especially in the USA which offered studies in irrigation agriculture.¹⁴⁰

Demonstration and Extension Work

As the British invested in the future through school gardens, so they dealt with the present by trying to improve Palestine's agriculture through demonstration and extension work. Such work originated with the agricultural departments and research stations opened across the British Empire in 1900–14; commerce, administration and science linking up to improve agricultural production.¹⁴¹ Agricultural Stations were laid out in different parts of Palestine and chosen to 'embrace' different climatic conditions, serving specialised purposes (Table 18). As part of their 1930 agricultural development policy, the British also set up many demonstration plots in villages to teach improved farming, which were mainly aimed at the Arabs. Plots averaging 75 dunams belonging to farmers willing to participate in order to gain better yields were used to demonstrate techniques to villages in the area. Records were kept of seed distribution, production, methods and yield. Like the school-garden pupils, the *fellabeen* were encouraged to plant vegetables for their remunerative value, especially during the Second World War. School gardens were also used as demonstration plots for



Plate 6. Boys Training in School Fruit Garden, Dura.

Source: Department of Education, *Annual Report, 1927 to 1930* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1937), p. 105.



Plate 7. Kadoorie Agricultural School, Tulkarm.

Source: Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Annual Report, 1927-1930*, p. III.

farmers. In 1936, there were about 2,000 such plots in Palestine.¹⁴² Demonstration plots specifically for horticulture were located mainly in the Hill Country to encourage fruit-growing using new varieties and different techniques, and disease control (Map 12).

Table 18. Government Agricultural Stations

Name	Established	Geographical Specialisation	Activities
Acre	1921	Light sandy soils, typical of Northern Coastal Belt	Mainly experimentation for dry area arable farming and natural pasture. Grain and forage crops. Acclimatisation of imported seeds. Improved seed production. Vegetables. Wheat, barley, oats, hay, vetch, legumes. Seed grader and cleaner available for farmers' use. Demonstration
Beisan	1925	Heavy alluvial soil under irrigation Jordan Valley conditions	Mainly irrigation and experimentation farming. Cereals, vegetables, grasses and leguminous forage crops. Staple crops and new introductions. Improved seed production. Wheat, barley, oats, beans, linseed, peas, lentils, vetch, <i>berseem</i> (Arabic for clover), maize, sesame, hay, Jerusalem Artichoke. Experimentation on water duty. Acclimatisation of imported seed varieties. Crop rotations. Seed grader and cleaner available for farmers' use. Demonstration
'Ein 'Arrub	1936	Red loamy soils, stony Judean Hills	Mainly demonstration. Improved vegetable seedlings and seeds. Grass seed production. True to type seed. Cereal and leguminous crops. 'Simple' rotation system. Terracing. Vetch (or <i>kersemeb</i> , Arabic for vetch), <i>berseem</i> , lentils, forage, hay. Demonstration farm for area of agriculture 'primitive in the extreme', and as centre for distribution of selected and acclimatised seed
Farradiya	1932	Safad Hills	Established by High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope from his private funds. Mainly demonstration. Especially to provide selected seeds. Not experimental. Cereals, leguminous crops. Crop trials, especially for growing and distributing selected seed suited for hill country of Acre and Safad. Varietal work. Acclimatisation of imported seed. Three-course rotation of cereals, legumes and summer crops. Wheat, barley, oats, <i>kersemeb</i> , <i>berseem</i> , beans, lentils, chick-peas, sesame, maize, millet. Grasses. Linseed. Seed grader and cleaner available for farmers' use
Jericho	1933	Jordan Valley below sea level Sub-tropical conditions of Jericho Silty loam soils	Mainly canalised irrigation and experimentation. Especially vegetables. Seedling production centre. Cropping plans. Rotation systems. Improved vegetable varieties, especially potatoes and tomatoes. Grasses, forage and forage shrubs. Some cereal. Application of fertilisers and manures. Acclimatisation of imported seed. Varietal trials under 'local cultural methods'. Cabbage, cauliflower, lettuce, peas, asparagus, soya beans, radishes, onions, beans and cucurbitaceous vegetables. Lucerne and <i>berseem</i> . Seed grader and cleaner for farmers' use. Demonstration
Majdal	1932	Southern Palestine Plains Semi-arid	Some experimentation. Mainly centre to produce for distribution bulk grain seed and seedlings under dry farming conditions suited to area for distribution and demonstration of cereals. Production of drought-resistant cereal types for extensive farming common to area. Acclimatisation of imported seed. Vegetable experimentation. Wheat, barley, cereal varieties, leguminous crops. Demonstration

Source: Compiled from Agricultural Service, Department of Agriculture, *Annual Reports, 1927-30, 1931 and 1932, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1938, 1940 and 1940-41.*

In agriculture, there were demonstrations in crop rotation, irrigation, new crops (for example, linseed), graded seeds, using fertilisers, tilling methods and pest control. Trials for seeds developed locally or abroad were first carried out at agricultural and horticultural stations, which kept contacts with similar stations in the British Empire, as hybrids and information were exchanged. Correspondence was also maintained with British imperial institutions, such as the Imperial Bureau of Pasture Research. Additionally, seed farms, village nurseries and vegetable plots, and District Poultry Stations and Apiaries were operated (Tables 11 and 18, and Map 11). Sheep-dipping demonstrations were organised and free vaccines administered to show animal disease control; livestock improvement was also stressed. Demonstrations in improved poultry farming were given at poultry stations, and four Poultry and Beekeeping Officers specialised in advising farmers on the care and improvement of poultry and bees. Seed loans and wartime bulk seed production were used as opportunities to upgrade crops by distributing better seeds.¹⁴³

Extension work was commonly carried out by Agricultural Officers touring the countryside. With the development of the Palestine Broadcasting Service in 1936, talks on farming were also presented in Arabic and Hebrew.¹⁴⁴ The Service had a 'single medium-wave transmitter at Ramallah', and during 1936–45, was part of the Department of Posts and Telegraphs. The programme director was in the earlier years seconded from the British Broadcasting Corporation in London, so that the Service 'was very much a BBC creation, as in other British overseas dependencies'.¹⁴⁵

Broadcasts sometimes 'took the form of conversation between a Plant Protection Officer and a *fellah* in his garden'.¹⁴⁶ A new Publicity Service, the Public Information Office (or PIO) was opened in May 1938 and was also used to keep the public, both at home and abroad, aware of the Administration's agricultural works. This may, in addition, have been a political tool to indicate the British fulfilment of their Mandate for Palestine. (In November 1945, the PIO was transferred to the recently formed Department of Broadcasting.) Specialist agricultural literature was prepared (for example, on tick destruction), and published in Arabic (usually 1,500 copies), Hebrew (1,000), and English (500), for distribution and sale. There were also agricultural cinema shows brought by caravan, and agricultural shows displaying produce.¹⁴⁷

Although the Agricultural Department concentrated its efforts on the Arab sector, the volume of letters it received from the Jews indicates that the latter probably gained more from the demonstration and extension works.¹⁴⁸ To gauge the effect of the demonstration and

extension work of the Agricultural Department on the Arab rural landscape, the *fellah's* condition must be understood. The Department wrote of the *fellah's* deep debts and 'conservative nature' hindering the introduction of new crops,¹⁴⁹ and questioned his actual ability to adopt expensive agricultural techniques requiring the use of, for example, fertilisers and possibly tractors. Converting from dry cereal-farming to intensive irrigation agriculture 'entailed a complete change in habit' for the *fellabeen* quite apart from the heavy capital input. The better quality seed distributed to them was quickly mixed in with other (mainly local) seeds and lost on the threshing floors, though some farmers were convinced to adopt different crop rotations.¹⁵⁰

The uncertainty of land titles was perceived to further contribute towards the *fellah's* disinclination to invest in the land using scarce funds; and his traditional fear of Government as tax-collector made him suspicious of its activities. On the effects of the broadcasts, it was reported that it was not certain that they were much heeded in the villages. Another report noted that radio owners were anyway 'preponderantly urban, masculine, upper class', so the farming programmes probably had little effect in the poorer countryside (although some action was taken as part of the war effort to install wireless receivers in remote villages). Also, 77 per cent of radio owners were Jews, and the data gathered does not indicate if they listened to the programmes.¹⁵¹

The literacy rate among Arabs was low (251 per 1,000 Muslim males were literate to some extent),¹⁵² thus blocking off the use of published material for the *fellabeen* who depended on Agricultural Officers and *mukhtars* for information. Few Arab farmers attended the short courses at the agricultural and horticultural stations, although Jewish cultivators often did, consolidating them with lectures from their own organisations. The night schools for illiterate adults only numbered 14 at most, and the circulating library hardly operated; both were stopped during the Arab Revolt.

The Agricultural Department struggled against the effects of the Revolt, in which it lost several of its staff, and which made large parts of the country no-go areas. Most of the agricultural institutions, symbols of British presence in the rural districts, were razed to the ground, the animals killed and the fields burnt.¹⁵³ Demonstration farms and plots were also relinquished. The Agriculture Department had to sustain budget cuts because of security needs, resulting in reduced demonstration and extension work. It was the Second World War that stimulated agricultural output again, as the Department began rebuilding its institutions to help in the drive for increased food production.

Research

Whilst the 'bulk' of the research was done by the Jewish Agency's Rehovot Agricultural Station, by the Hebrew University and at Mique Israel (a Jewish agricultural school), practical applied research was carried out at the Government's various stations (see, Tables 11 and 18). The reason for the Mandatory's approach was that the Department of Agriculture believed itself to be able to engage in applied research (because the 'basic level' of Palestine's farming was too 'traditional'), and that results could more rapidly be had this way.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, tempers flared even within Rehovot, over the level of aspects of its research specialisation, which was at times seen as being too theoretical.¹⁵⁵

The Government provided some funding to Rehovot and the Hebrew University, which were both well equipped. Lists of grants to Jewish organisations included monies for research on citrus, intensive farming, experimental fruit-growing, fowlpox vaccine and field mice (the latter two subjects at the Hebrew University). Rehovot mainly concentrated on field experiments, horticulture, animal nutrition and mycology.¹⁵⁶ In exchange, the two organisations were to publish their results in Hebrew, Arabic and English. After some acrimony, an agreement was reached in 1927 that the Jewish Agency would not overlap with Government research. Noteworthy studies were carried out by Jewish research centres, for instance, on field mice and poultry diseases, the results being shared with the Agriculture Department.¹⁵⁷ The discord partly led to the installation of the General Agricultural Council on 16 February 1931, with official and non-official participation.¹⁵⁸

As with much of British agricultural work, research was aimed at Arab agricultural needs, and included the introduction and testing of new crops, and the acclimatisation and breeding of cereals, legumes, vegetables, forage and grasses. In 1934, for example, experiments were carried out with 27 wheat, 23 barley, 13 oat, 15 maize, four vetch, and seven bean varieties. Under trial were 108 varieties of forage crops and, in the vegetable section, 40 varieties of tomatoes, 24 of potatoes, and over 150 varieties of different vegetables. This was besides the experiments in crop rotation (carried out particularly at Acre), horticultural trials, and trials against pests and diseases based on bionomic studies.¹⁵⁹

Palestine also kept contacts with the Imperial Agricultural Bureaux for research information from Britain and across the Empire, and was marked for its experimentation work in seeds for the war effort. With the development of statistical analysis, the Colonial Office sent out a Circular to try and standardise experimentation in the Empire through the use of statistics.¹⁶⁰ A major factor characterising the Mandatory

Government's research and experimentation was, therefore, its practicality: it was more adapted to Palestine's needs, applied through demonstration and extension works.

Conclusion

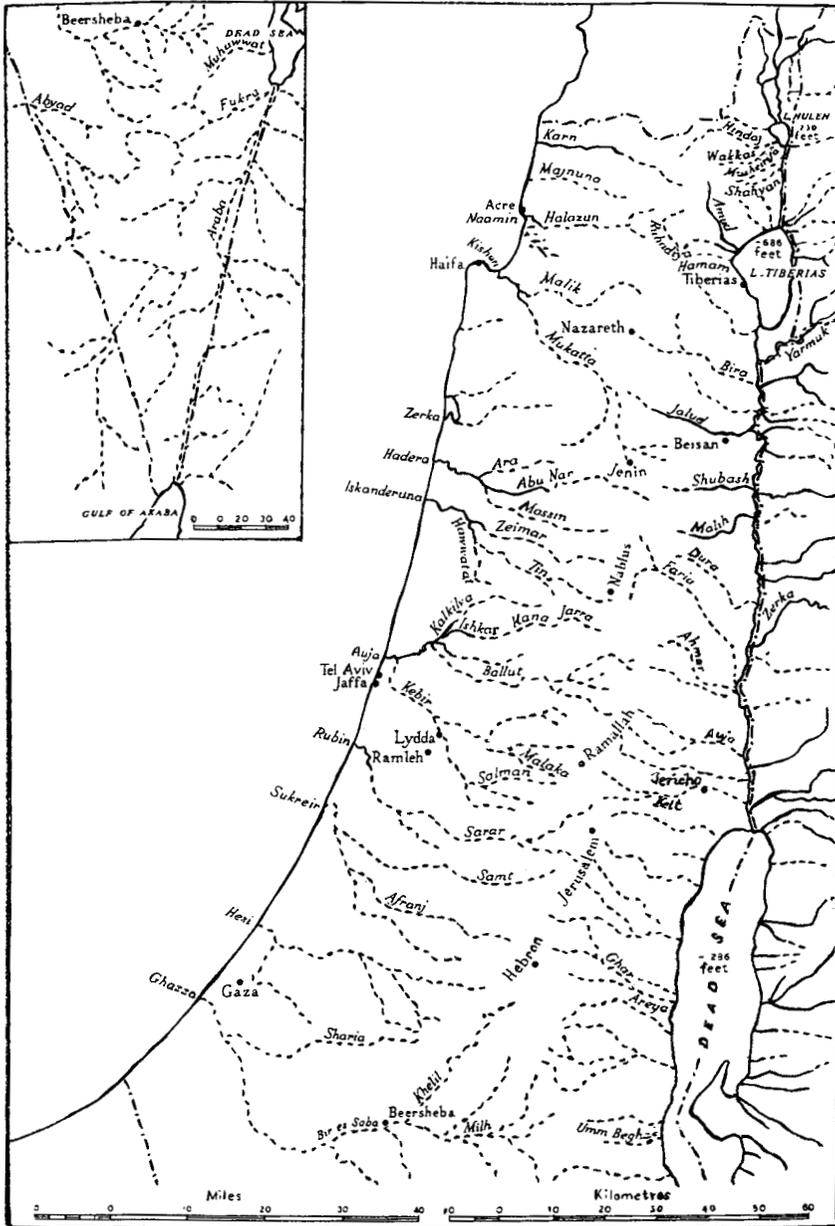
Whilst the British did indeed introduce some agricultural lessons into their curriculums, the school gardens probably had a greater effect than the classrooms, though they were too few to serve the country's needs to any great extent. At the heart of the Government's agricultural works were its institutions, which made information available, as well as experimentation and stock. They were so distributed throughout Palestine as to facilitate visits, but their influence was limited. Even Arab girls who regularly worked at Acre Farm, for instance, had almost no influence back home with the knowledge they gained. Conditions there were too different, debts too deep.¹⁶¹ This was compounded by the Arab Revolt and the 'nightmarish' shooting which blocked off the countryside and undid much of the Mandatory Government's work.¹⁶² With its stations destroyed and demonstration plots inaccessible, demonstration, extension and experimentation work was severely hit, and it took the War to reconstruct them.

IRRIGATION WORKS AND WATER LEGISLATION

Introduction and History of the Irrigation Service

Up to 1940, the Mandatory Government's Irrigation Service achieved little. Much of the literature, such as that by Paul H. Doron and Sharif S. Elmusa, deals with Jewish irrigation; El-Eini has written in detail about the Administration's water legislation.¹⁶³ The aim here is to analyse British irrigation schemes and their attempts to legislate for water control.

Palestine's four main water sources for irrigation were, in terms of importance: wells, tapping into the Maritime and Mountain subterranean aquifers; springs; perennial rivers (especially the 'Auja and Jordan); and non-perennial rivers (Map 15). The advancement of the exploitation of water resources in Palestine was inextricably linked with British development obligations, expressed in Mandate Articles 2, 6 and 11, which also combined to define the Administration's role in facilitating the Jews' close settlement on the land, and Government water rights through HMG's rights over the control of the country's



Map 15. Palestine's Rivers and Lakes.

Source: Naval Intelligence Division, The Admiralty, *Paletine and Transjordan*, B.R. 514, Geographical Handbook Series (Oxford/Cambridge: Oxford and Cambridge University Presses for the Naval Intelligence Division, December 1943), Figure 7.

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natural resources (Appendix 1). Development and the utilisation of water resources were emphasised in the *Hope-Simpson, French and Peel Reports*, and in the British Partition Plans for Palestine, and HMG's 1939 *White Paper*.¹⁶⁴ Arab farming was mainly extensive and based on surface water supplies, whilst Jewish farming was intensive, based on well irrigation. The Jewish Agency highlighted the hapless *fellah*, and pushed for a Government development policy to intensify Arab agriculture. This was to free Arab land by reducing the 'lot viable' – or a *fellah's* subsistence area – and to increase Palestine's 'absorptive capacity' for Jewish immigrants.¹⁶⁵ The Agency advanced data on 'irrigable land' to substantiate their settlement claims, giving estimates of 1,500,000–2,150,000 dunams.¹⁶⁶ But the development of irrigation, the British argued, required legislation to regulate water control; a claim vehemently denied by the Jews.

The Irrigation Service's 'melancholy story' saw it attached first to the Agriculture Department, where its lack of funding and neglect meant that no systematic water investigations or schemes were carried out.¹⁶⁷ In 1931, it was transferred to the new Development Department to help settle Arabs made landless by land sales to Jews. And in 1935, Douglas G. Harris, one of the British Empire's most eminent Irrigation Engineers, was appointed Palestine's Irrigation Adviser. However, the Arab Rebellion and funding shortages led to the Department's closure in 1939 and Harris' transfer to the Chief Secretariat. In 1940, the Development Committee's stinging criticisms of the record of the Irrigation Service caused the establishment of the Irrigation, Drainage and Water Resources Service with a larger budget than previously, to be headed by a Water Commissioner, Robert F. Jardine.¹⁶⁸ The Service had no construction section and Jardine depended on the Public Works and Health Departments, regularly clashing with them for following their own agendas.¹⁶⁹ Jardine was also attached to the Land Settlement Department since it was closely associated with water rights.

Irrigation Schemes

No great irrigation schemes comparable to Egypt's and India's were devised by the British in Palestine; Jardine consolidated earlier works and initiated further surveys. The Irrigation Service planned 'introducing modern scientific means' to expand irrigation. The main Mandatory schemes were in Jericho, Beisan and around Nablus and in the Huleh Valley, with other smaller ones, such as that on the 'Askar Plain.

The Jericho Irrigation Scheme

The Jericho Irrigation Scheme had a long-standing history. It was initially experimental, aimed at 'modern and economical' irrigation, and owing some of its success to the Government's proprietorship of land and water in the Jericho area. Channels were concreted, stopping heavy percolation, and a 'rational system of distribution' was introduced.¹⁷⁰ In 1944, to ensure farmers complied with Government rotation schedules, especially as water was 'sold' both on private and State Lands, the Irrigation Service began taking over distribution controls from the Jericho Local Council. 'Considerable areas' were brought under irrigation and could have been further expanded but for funding shortages. Water therefore still ran to waste.

Further development required increased Government powers over water, though Jardine's undefined 'careful interference' in 1944 obtained more control without legislation. In 1945, the British were forced to resort to the Defence (Water Distribution) Regulations, 1944, enacted especially for the War, and declare Jericho a 'Controlled Area', against the inhabitants' protests at its being 'injurious' and 'prejudicial' to them.¹⁷¹ Jardine brushed these complaints off as 'futile', claiming that many lessees of Government lands were now assured regular water supplies, in contrast with their previously receiving but 'odd shares'.¹⁷²

The Beisan Irrigation Scheme

One of Palestine's most important irrigation regions was Beisan, which contained over 30 perennial springs,¹⁷³ and 100,000 dunams, with 10,000 Arabs and 2,000 Jews, each holding half of the land. Rationalising the use of water and stopping leakages for irrigation were therefore prioritised.

The largest springs were the 'Asi and Jamma'in-Fawwar, Maddu'a (or Maddu'), and Jausaq. A preliminary investigation into water rights for the 'Asi and Fawwar was only completed after Beisan District Officer Abdullah Effendi Kardus obtained an agreement on the rationalisation of water use. Kardus achieved this by securing the village Elders' co-operation and by-passing legislative setbacks. Matters were delayed though as the Irrigation Service insisted on having a comprehensive scheme for the whole of the Beisan, integrating irrigation, drainage and malaria control. Only a contour survey and some canalisation were completed during the War.¹⁷⁴

The Jausaq Spring watered 8,500 dunams of the State Domain Ashrafiya (or Ashrafiye) Farm. Here, too, only parts of the irrigation

channel works were completed (Map 16). In April 1942, leases given to landless Arabs who settled there were cancelled in order to implement a major intensive 'Scheme for Increased Vegetable Production' for the war effort, with the British claiming that the 116 tenants were 'indifferent farmers'.¹⁷⁵ The Military was also permitted to grow hay for the large number of horses it still maintained in Palestine (see, Plate 8). The tenants' angry protests failed to move the authorities.¹⁷⁶ To safeguard the scheme, Jardine invoked the Regulations under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939, declaring 'Ein al Jausaq a Controlled Area.

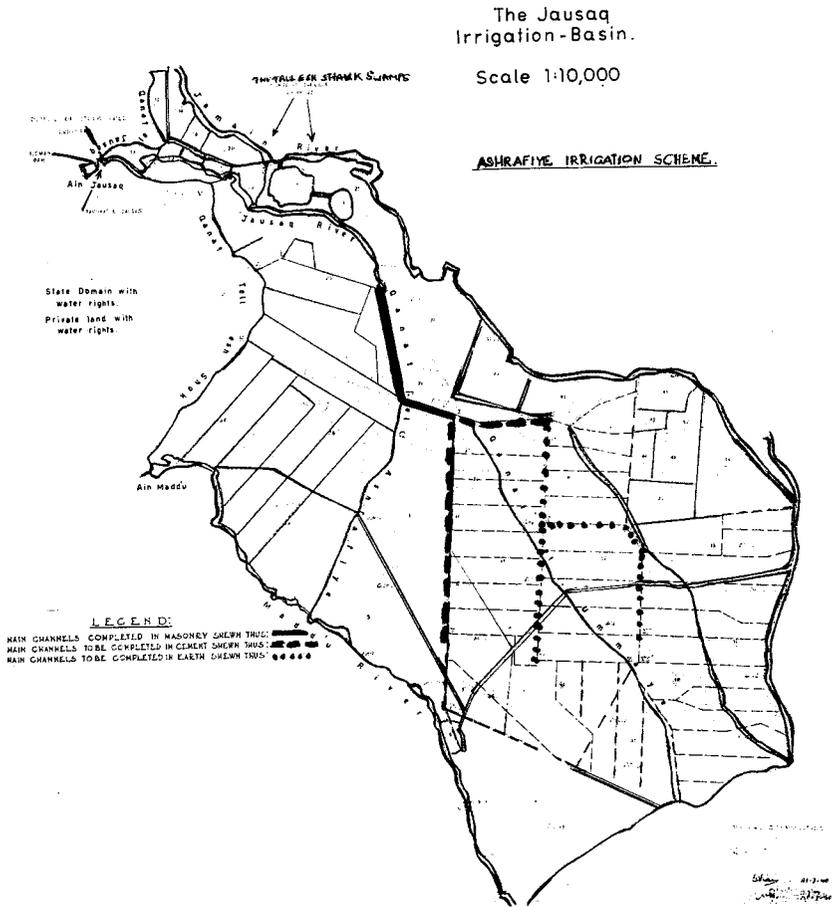
After the Military evacuation from the Ashrafiya Farm in 1946, an irrigation plan was prepared to produce seeds for the Arabs who lacked any similar organisation for the production of seeds as the Jews' 'Hazerah' (in Hebrew, literally 'The Seed').¹⁷⁷ The new post-war scheme was designed to ensure the regular and adequate distribution of water, but due to wartime shortages of cement, experimental mortar was used, causing many difficulties in the construction and functioning of the canals. Schemes to link up all the Beisan irrigation systems through canals from the Maddu'a and Fawwar were unsuccessful because of the absence of legislation empowering the Government to control the distribution of water.

Wadi Fari'a

At Wadi Fari'a (Fara⁶) north of Nablus, an eight-kilometre high-level impermeable canal was planned to divert the 30,000 m³ of water lost every day through percolation, thereby increasing the irrigated area from 9,000 dunams to over 14,000. This was to be completed in 1944 but, yet again, the lack of an Irrigation Ordinance meant that only small sections of the work were carried out.

Other Schemes

There were several other irrigation schemes, such as that for the 'Askar Plain south-east of Nablus, devised for both land development and agricultural instruction. Despite Jardine's full support for the scheme, the Irrigation Service only just began experimental borings before the Mandate's end.¹⁷⁸ Investigations were also made into the development of the Wadi 'Araba area which extended south from the Dead Sea; and the Abu Samara Experimental Dam in the Beersheba Sub-District was constructed to examine the possibilities of alleviating the effect of drought on the Bedouins and of developing agriculture in the desert



Map 16. The Jausaq Irrigation-Basin and Ashrafiye Irrigation Scheme.

Source: Maurice Bennett, Director of Land Settlement, 30 July 1942: ISA/CS02/A/2/2/42/Vol.I.

region. Though the 'Araba had many water sources, the rugged terrain and remoteness made it an unlikely possibility for development, whilst high percolation prevented the success and expansion of the Abu Samara Dam.¹⁷⁹

Drainage Schemes Relating to Irrigation and Further Planning

The late enactment of the Drainage (Surface Water) Ordinance of 1942 meant little could be done, compared to the application of the Anti-Malarial Ordinance of 1922. Palestine's largest potential drainage-irrigation scheme, the Huleh Basin, was hampered by legal



Plate 8. Royal Warwickshire Yeomanry 'B' Squadron at Rosh Pinna, 1940.

Source: Mounted Troops in Palestine, 29 June 1940: IWM/PhotographArchive/E302.
 Photograph Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, London.

and financial drawbacks.¹⁸⁰ Al Burj in the Haifa Sub-District, declared a Drainage Area in 1946, would have benefited 2,000 dunams.¹⁸¹ Though the budget was available to proceed, little was accomplished because of inter-communal strife and attacks on British personnel.¹⁸² It may then be said that whilst the Irrigation Service constantly encountered legal and financial obstacles, it left a legacy of planning schemes and surveys (see, Table 19).

The Battle for the Statutory Control of Water

The Mandatory repeatedly complained of its incapacity to realise irrigation schemes, and thus its development policy, due to the lack of statutory controls over water, and blamed 'Zionist political intrigue' for this.¹⁸³ It justified its statutory claims by Mandate Article 11, which gave it 'full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country'. The operative law was reputed for being vague, as the Ottoman Land Code of 1858 seemed to contradict the *Mejelle* (Ottoman Civil Code, Muslim Law). The former recognised surface water *ab antiquo* customs, whereas the latter vested water in the public *res communae omnium*, attaching it to the land, except for privately held *mulk* (freehold). A complex system evolved, as water

Table 19. Irrigation Schemes, 1947

Schemes	Estimated Cost (£P)
a. Potential Schemes – Designed	
<i>Beisan</i>	
‘Asi Irrigation	21,850
‘Asi Drainage	6,350
Fawwar Drainage	11,900
<i>Haiifa</i>	
Burj Drainage	5,056
Fureidis Flood Protection	3,600
<i>Acre</i>	
Manshiya Drainage	2,000
<i>Gaza</i>	
Hamama Migdal [Al Majdal] Drainage	75,000
Deir al Balah Drainage	2,950
<i>Galilee</i>	
Battauf Drainage	100,000 ^a
<i>Lydda</i>	
Wadi Sarar Flood Regulators	10,000 ^a
<i>Huleb</i>	
Mallaha Irrigation	22,000 ^a
b. Surveyed and Being Designed in 1947	
Ashrafiya Irrigation	75,000
Na‘amein Drainage Completion	100,000
Kurdani Irrigation	50,000
‘Auja (Jordan) Irrigation	40,000
Isdud Drainage	25,000
Marj as Sanur Drainage	30,000
c. Surveyed and Investigated but not Implemented due to High Costs	
Investigations also Stopped due to Costs	
Wadi Sarar Storage and Flood Control	275,000
Wadi Jindas Reservoir	200,000
Manawat Reservoir	200,000

^a Rough estimate.Source: Palestine Government, *Memorandum on the Water Resources of Palestine*, presented by the Government of Palestine to the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine in July 1947 (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1947; henceforth, *Memorandum on Water Resources*), pp. 8–9.

came to be treated as personal property and a commodity. Shares and share fractions were traded, regardless of the land or the needs of people and their livestock. To complicate matters further, rotation systems and the Muslim Law of Inheritance were applied, in all producing a 'chaotic' situation and wastage.¹⁸⁴

A 1933 draft Ordinance for well registration was trounced by the Zionists, leaving the Government with its numerous and incohesive Orders in Council on irrigation as its only weapon. Following his appointment in 1935, Harris drafted three ordinances instead of one, having concluded they would be more difficult to sabotage. They were to be for Surface Water, Underground Water, and Drainage. Two other ordinances were enacted: the 1937 Safeguarding of Public Water Supplies Ordinance, requiring a licence to sink wells in declared Public Water Supply Areas; and the 1938 Water Survey Ordinance, enabling the Government to sink exploratory boreholes for its hydrological survey. On the re-establishment of the Irrigation Service in 1940, the issue of the ordinances was revived.¹⁸⁵

The Mandatory first amended the Palestine Order in Council, vesting all surface water in the High Commissioner, and requiring him to enact legislation 'to secure the beneficial and economic use' of water. The draft Irrigation (Surface Water) Ordinance introduced the three concepts of Irrigation Areas, water rights and water titles. On the declaration of an 'Irrigation Area', all existing surface water rights were annulled and the area's water vested in the High Commissioner. The Water Commissioner was to administer the Ordinance, and a Water Advisory Board with a non-official majority was to be consulted for appeals, safeguarding against 'arbitrary action' by the Commissioner.

A Water Settlement Officer was also to ascertain and record pre-existing rights, with a panel of locally nominated candidates acting as assessors. In the meanwhile, an Irrigation Officer was to prepare a separate report on the volume of water available for use, the area of irrigable land, and the possible 'reasonable' use of the available water. The Water Commissioner was then to compile a Water Register and confer water titles attached to the land. The Commissioner thereby also acquired water for the State from surplus supplies.

The Irrigation (Underground Water) Ordinance was aimed at the control of the exploitation of subterranean water. The Jewish Agency had its own Water Research Bureau, which closely followed legislative developments,¹⁸⁶ and the Jews sunk wells 'in great numbers'. Continuous long-term surveys of subsoil water-tables were required to halt irrevocable damage. 'Well Investigation Areas' could be declared, facilitating subsoil water surveys and requiring that well owners provide information

for this. Permission was needed to sink new wells in Registration Areas. But the Irrigation (Underground Water) Ordinance met with ‘considerable criticism’ from the Jews, who claimed it gave the ‘erroneous impression’ that subsoil waters were exhausted, and that it would obstruct their agricultural development.¹⁸⁷

Palestine’s ‘particular conditions’ – no similar combined system of water rights and political and physical parallels were to be found elsewhere the British claimed – meant that Harris and the legislators mainly used other laws as ‘guidance’ and not ‘points of drafting’. Several statutes were interlocked to prepare the ordinances and enabling Order in Council, including Wyoming’s, the Cyprus Government Waterworks Law, 1928, the Queensland Water Act, 1926, Kenya Water Ordinance, 1929, Northern India Canal and Drainage Act, 1873, and Palestine’s own Land Settlement (Amendment) Ordinance, 1930, and the Rural Property Tax Ordinance, 1935.¹⁸⁸

Some examples of the legislative constructs for the Water Register Section of the proposed Surface Water Ordinance for Palestine are cited here to illustrate the kind of work that was involved in Harris’ preparation of the legislation. ‘Proceedings of the Irrigation Officer (Surface Water Clause 17)’ were drawn up using Wyoming Ordinance Section 897 (27); and reference for the ‘Water Commissioner to prepare the Water Register, (Clause 18)’, was made to the Wyoming Ordinance, Section 898 (27 and 28). For the ‘Definition of Surplus Water (Surface Water Clause 26)’, Cyprus Ordinance Section 3 was used; for the ‘Construction of Waterworks (Clause 28)’, Cyprus Section 4; whilst for the ‘Water Registry to be Constructive (Clause 37)’, Harris resorted to Cyprus’ Section 12.¹⁸⁹

The Order in Council was enacted in December 1940. The British wanted to legislate the Ordinances to ensure increased food production for the War, allocating £P200,000 in loans for this, and were circumspect about approving loans without the prior settlement of water rights. Part VIII of the draft 1935 Surface Water Ordinance concerning drainage was removed and placed in a separate Drainage (Surface Water) Ordinance, 1942, and quickly enacted since many loan application schemes included irrigation, especially those submitted by the Jews.¹⁹⁰

Whilst High Commissioner MacMichael tried to push the ordinances through, Jardine, frustrated at the lack of statutory powers, requested emergency legislation and wanted the Surface Water Ordinance to be applicable to the whole of Palestine, further empowering the Water Commissioner.¹⁹¹ An Ad Hoc Irrigation Committee, appointed by the advisory General Agricultural Council to examine the new ordinance

drafts, failed to reach an agreement. Despite 'most of the surface water rights' being held by Arabs, so that the main Surface Water Ordinance would notably affect Arab life, only one Arab was appointed to the Committee; the rest comprised five Jews, one Greek, and the local Barclays Bank Director: no 'important Arab interests' from the Huleh, Beisan or Jordan Valley were represented. The sole Arab member was from the Gaza District, where surface irrigation was not practised, and he dissented from the Committee's unsigned report on principle. The report was then deliberated over by the General Agricultural Council, which divided along communal lines: the Arabs accepted the ordinances unaltered, while the majority Jewish members supported the report. MacMichael therefore published the draft Surface Water Ordinance to 'invite public criticism', labelling the Council's work 'unhelpful'.¹⁹²

Numerous protests were received from Jewish bodies and settlements against enacting the ordinances – apparently the outcome of 'organized' opposition. Yet the Arabs registered no objections, supporting the legislation because of Jewish opposition to it.¹⁹³ A Jewish Agency memorandum reiterating the Irrigation Committee's report was rebuffed by HMG in London as being too litigious, which ignored the fundamental economic issues. MacMichael sought to compromise, but ensured overall control in the proposed legislation remained with the Government, for instance by refusing the Agency's suggestion to devolve powers to an executive board, stating it would divide along communal lines. Whilst the Irrigation Committee was more disposed towards the draft Underground Water Ordinance, the Agency adamantly opposed it as being totally unnecessary, and said that it should be restricted to facilitating a survey. Deep-boring for underground water had been part of the Agency's agricultural intensification policy since the 1920s, and the Jews continued 'hustling' for water, demanding uncontrolled exploitation.¹⁹⁴

Determined to avert another defeat – as with the hotly disputed Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, which geographically restricted Jewish land purchases in Palestine (see chapter 4) – the Agency embarked on a campaign to stop the enactment of the ordinances. It complained of Harris' and Jardine's 'hostile' attitude towards Zionist aspirations. And, whilst negotiating with the Government about the laws, the Agency had the issue brought up in Parliament. The Jews' 'violent feelings' on the matter which equated land with water, forced Colonial Secretary Stanley to renounce the ordinances so as to avoid a controversial Parliamentary debate, and the issue reached the War Cabinet, with added repercussions from America. The ordinances were in this way indefinitely postponed, despite Palestine's wartime food policy.¹⁹⁵

Refusing to give up, Jardine then successfully argued for the Defence (Water Distribution) Regulations, 1944, to be applied under the wartime Regulations of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939, to Controlled Areas so as to 'ensure increased food production in time of war'. This time the Jewish Agency accepted. The Irrigation Service continued its survey works on rainfall and spring discharges, and fixed underground recording stations, adding to the geological and hydrological information gathered in 1928, 1934–35, and to surveys done for the Woodhead Partition Commission in 1938 and throughout the 1940s.¹⁹⁶

A final attempt to enact a more comprehensive Irrigation (Underground) Water Ordinance was made in 1947, when the Mandatory was alerted to Zionist plans to expand the Negev settlements in the south. These settlements were pumping underground water from Gaza as part of an expansion programme by the Jewish Agency on the eve of UN deliberations on the future of Palestine. The Arabs feared Jewish activities in the Negev, and kept track of their settlements there.¹⁹⁷ Permission for the Zionists to import 200,000 tons of pipes was refused, and the Ordinance was published as a Bill.¹⁹⁸ The Jews at once accused the Government of stultifying their development, and the law was once more shelved in 'political wisdom'.¹⁹⁹

Conclusion

Although the Arab Rebellion abrogated attempts to realise irrigation schemes as part of the Government's development policy, war production efforts spurred on the re-establishment of the Irrigation Service. Underground coastal water was heavily pumped, and even polluted by industrial waste in the Haifa Bay area. To the end Jardine argued for the Ordinances, remarking that they would be one of the first laws a Jewish State would decree, as the Zionists' irrigation plans, notably those prepared by Walter C. Lowdermilk and James B. Hays, clearly required this.²⁰⁰ The Arabs saw such schemes as a threat to their own water and land rights.²⁰¹ The lack of legislation and the severe interruptions to the Irrigation Service's functioning resulted in piecemeal irrigation and drainage works, which trailed across the landscape; it also left the exploitation of water by the Jews unrestrained, who increased the number of wells and the irrigated area. Arab agriculture was little affected by British irrigation works, only partly profiting from the incomplete canal projects. The Arabs rejected the Mandatory Government's irrigation plans, fearing the loss of water rights, as had occurred at Wadi Fari'a. This further hampered development plans, already frustrated by political factors.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR, THE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT
FUND AND POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION

As with other parts of the British Empire, Government wartime activities in agriculture very much revolved around increasing food production for import substitutions. This was despite the fact that Palestine and the rest of the region continued to import 'large quantities of war materials of all kinds', including tinned foods from Great Britain and the USA.²⁰² The country was linked to the British Middle East Supply Centre (MESC) in Cairo. It also planned long-term development and reconstruction work under the Colonial Development Fund, 1940 (CDF), and CD&W, 1945.²⁰³ Gaskin analysed the economic aspects and indicated the MESC's aims to reduce the levels of civilian imports, thereby releasing scarce shipping space for more urgent requirements. This was in addition to increasing the Middle East's self-sufficiency after the closure of the Mediterranean in July 1940. It led in turn to a policy in Palestine to put in place food controls and rationing. The Government also pressed to maintain peacetime supply levels, especially as a steep decline occurred in food imports (notably cattle, eggs and butter for urban demands).²⁰⁴ Only a discussion on how the Mandatory tried to augment production is presented below.

In 1939, the Government decided on three measures to 'improve and increase' wartime agricultural output: legislative 'to compel' the planting of certain crops, the cultivation of unused land, and the adoption of improved methods of farming; 'propaganda, exhortation, and demonstration'; and complementary price controls, loans, seed distribution, marketing facilities, etc. A Loans Scheme for £P200,000 (originally £P100,000²⁰⁵) was then formulated to expand cultivation. A meeting was held with Arab notables to discuss increasing their community's agricultural production through loans and instruction.²⁰⁶

District Commissioners were chosen to vet loan applications because of their knowledge of local conditions, and extra agricultural staff were drafted to carry out extension work geared towards the fulfilment of the wartime policy. The drive for increased food production had a significant impact on the landscape, as urban vegetable gardens were planted out; Army camps expanded their area under crop; and nurseries were especially set up to meet demands for quality bulk seeds and seedlings, notably of vegetables. Using the loans, citrus growers also diversified to other crops due to the depression in the citrus industry following the Mediterranean blockade and the closure to their export trade during the War. New rotation systems incorporating oil and leguminous crops were encouraged, which annually produced an extra

harvest and improved cultivation. Much interest was expressed for foreign seed types, such as Australian wheat and the M38 barley strain selected at Acre. Due to price controls, the area under Government-requisitioned crops decreased. Wheat production around Lydda-Ramle, for instance, fell by 44 per cent; but an expansion in overall production was recorded (see, Table 20). There was a parallel shortage of casual agricultural labour, as wages rose and employment was sought in other sectors of the economy, such as the Military, though more females went into agricultural employment (Appendix 29).²⁰⁷

The Loans Scheme was particularly successful among the Jews,²⁰⁸ who took up most of the loans, though some Arabs used them to purchase water pumps in the citrus belt. Echoing a long-felt complaint, the Arabs stated that the British showed a preference to the Jews in their loans allocations, although there were loans given specifically to Arab Hill farmers and to relieve the impact of droughts.²⁰⁹ This touched on the whole issue of agricultural credit supplies, and the fact that the Arab Agricultural Bank,²¹⁰ the Government's Agricultural Mortgage Bank, and credit co-operatives, inadequately met the needs of Arab small cultivators. Jewish farmers depended on such organisations as the Jewish National Fund for financing and collateral for loans.²¹¹ So successful was the whole Loans Scheme in Palestine that, by 1944, the Government had given out £P854,000.²¹² The loans became an instrument used in the expansion of Jewish settlement, as some candidates framed their applications to gain or consolidate land and water rights, especially in the Jordan Valley. Whilst the scheme progressed, problems arose from wartime shortages of pumps and pipes,²¹³ and over 90 per cent of available irrigation pipes went to the Jews.²¹⁴

Longer-term planning was also instigated through the Committee on Development and Welfare Services and Colonial Development Fund, 1940, which called for the 'resuscitation and extension' of all sectors of the Agricultural Department's works and of the Irrigation Service. This was done following the devastation wrought on the Department's property and demonstration and extension operations during the Arab Revolt, jump-started by wartime food requirements.²¹⁵ The Agricultural Department's requests, under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1945, reflected the Committee's recommendations (see, Table 21). The first item was for a 'Model *Fellab* Farm', showing the Mandatory's continued emphasis on the Arab sector and fundamental development aims. This comprehensive and expanded ten-year programme required large-scale funding and time – neither of which the Government had – leaving it as an unaccomplished plan. War needs acted as a catalyst for the Agricultural Department, intensifying its

Table 20. Increased Wartime Food Production through Seed Loans, (1941?)

District and Sub-District	Irrigation	Oil Crops		Legumes		Cereals		Fodder		Vegetables		Total
		Dunam	Ton	Dunam	Ton	Dunam	Ton	Dunam	Ton	Dunam	Ton	
Galilee District												
Acre Sub-District	750	437	78	383	33	690	75	288	1,020	39	60	1,837
Beisan Sub-District	-	4,115	658	914	92	1,798	320	2,955	5,745	593	583	10,375
Safad Sub-District	-	2,415	574	1,762	166	3,159	338	732	2,178	515	773	8,583
Tiberias Sub-District	2,200	1,920	268	580	76	670	159	85	636	45	22	3,300
Haifa District												
Haifa Sub-District	7,550	2,200	416	1,285	119	-	-	918	3,952	742	1,108	5,145
Samaria District												
Tulkarm Sub-District	10,000	645	258	1,577	136	700	56	1,215	3,440	571	855	4,708
Lydda District												
Ramle Sub-District	2,100	175	70	125	12	175	26	-	-	220	250	695
Total	22,600	11,907	2,322	6,626	634	7,192	974	6,193	16,971	2,725	3,651	34,643

Note: Data for Gaza District was not given.

Source: N.s., n.d. (1941?), in file, Agricultural Loans for the Increase of Food Production: Legumes, Cereals, Fodder, Vegetables: ISA/Gp24/S/2034/1772.

Table 21. Proposals for New Works or Activities Considered Suitable for Financing by the Colonial Development Fund, 1940

Scheme No.	Title
1.	Establishment of Model <i>Fellah</i> Farm
2.	Rural Lecture Caravan
4.	Establishment of Seed Testing Bureau
5.	Hatching Plant
6.	Control and Eradication of Bovine Tuberculosis
7.	Demonstration of Disease Control Measures
8.	Premiums for Selected Sires
9.	Introduction and Acclimatisation of Suitable Stock for Improvement of Local Livestock
10.	Research and Investigation of Sheep and Goat Diseases
11.	Chronic Bovine Mastitis (Chronic <i>Streptococcus</i> Mastitis)
12.	Milk Recording and Herd Book
13.	Castration of Village Scrub Stock
14.	Installation of Modern Olive Oil Presses
15.	Agricultural and Horticultural Station, Huleh
16.	Horticultural Station at Beersheba
19.	Construction of Grain Silo
20.	Establishment of Entomological Laboratory
21.	Establishment of Two Entomological Field Laboratories
22.	Grain Stores
23.	Establishment of Tobacco Stores
24.	Research: Establishment of Two <i>Capnodis</i> Stations
25.	Research: Olive Fruit Fly
26.	Research: Ticks
27.	Research: Citrus Wastage and Storage
Not itemised	Grants for Research to Be Conducted by Non-Government Establishments
28.	Research: Citrus Little Leaf Disease
29.	Research: Large Citrus Fruit
30.	Standardisation of Shamouti Orange
31.	Research: Delayed Foliation of Deciduous Fruits
32.	Research: Drought Resistance of Rootstocks
33.	Research: Acclimatisation of Fruit Trees
34.	Research: Banana Plantations
35.	Awarding Scholarships and Providing Free Education at the Kadoorie Agricultural Schools

Note: Schemes excluded concerned Fisheries.

Source: Compiled from Proposals for New Works or Activities Considered Suitable to be Financed by the New Colonial Development Fund, Introductory Note by Director of Agriculture and Fisheries, n.s., n.d. (1940?): ISA/CSO2/AG/C/13/1/662.

regular activities connected to development, necessity dictating speed and tangible results.

Throughout the War, and on a more local scale, the Army in Palestine 'grew its own bacon' at some of its camps, in places such as Ramle, guarded by 'fierce-looking police dogs' because pigs were 'very valuable in the Middle East'.²¹⁶ In addition, it kept poultry in various places, such as Nathanya's No. 3 Convalescent Depot, where patients raised turkeys and ducks, as well as pigs.²¹⁷

GENERAL CONCLUSION

At the conclusion of the Mandate, the British wrote that they had laid the 'foundation for the very substantial improvement' in agriculture.²¹⁸ Mainly initiatory, the Mandatory Government's work aimed to better agricultural yields. Its activities in technological transfer, education, demonstration, research and irrigation, though limited by time, budget and funding shortages, and undone during the Arab Revolt, may nevertheless have had a subconscious influence by the introduction of ideas – witness the policy of having 'incubator-minded' pupils.

Using their experience and contacts in the Empire and specialist institutes, the Government's officers visited villages, demonstrating and bringing new techniques and stock, and planning the future through education, their conduits being *mukhtars*, *effendis* (landowners with large holdings, usually also politically influential), and notables. The stations and laboratories were hubs of activities with functional and regional specialities. They changed the landscape, introducing new and varied crops and animals, with nurseries, hatcheries, animal and plant pest and disease controls, and irrigation. Seeds, seedlings and animals were moved about the countryside, and different crop rotations, demonstration plots and school gardens were established.

The Jews – with their own research, extension and funding sources, and often obligated through organisations and farming insurance companies to take advanced measures in animal care and crop production – were more amenable to British ideas. As Alami, Tamari and Firestone indicated, the Arabs had very involved communally-based facilities. Many Arab villages were also either too isolated or cut off by nationalist-launched attacks in the countryside for Agricultural Officers to touch upon. The British, however, thought the *fellah* needed to be extricated from debt through improved agriculture. This could also enable them to fulfil their Mandate obligations and their 1930 development policy, making more land available for Jewish settlement, partly through the

intensification of agriculture. The Arabs agreed with the Government that debt was a source problem for the *fellah*,²¹⁹ but called the British development policy a failure in 1947, a mere ‘palliative’,²²⁰ ‘governed by [the] Jewish National Home policy’.²²¹ The Administration helped influence the *fellah*, who was pointed more towards individualism, as in other British colonial policies.²²² A differential policy was also advocated between the poor and the wealthy for the control of plant and animal pests and diseases. But, whilst the *fellabeen* remained subsistence cultivators, the wealthier farmers began using tractors and fertilisers and experimenting with new seeds and crop rotations. In fact, these farmers were often the most open to British agricultural ideas, and participated in demonstration works. Ironically, too, they were often also the moneylenders to the impoverished *fellah* who the Mandatory strove to assist. Technological transfer was, furthermore, affected by politics. During the Arab Revolt, cultivators were noted as being more perturbed about Palestine’s future than about their own agricultural problems.²²³

The Mandatory Government crafted pest and disease control legislation, mobilising the country or bringing it to a standstill. Its more impressive works, such as the campaigns against field mice, made farmers demand Government action. But ecological shock was also caused, as thousands of animals of different species died due to these controls, which also comprised the classic British colonial legacy of rules on Rabies (expressed in Britain in the Draconian quarantine laws).²²⁴ Cash crops such as tobacco and dates were encouraged, with differing results. The Agricultural Department also supported the elimination of *musha*’ (communal lands held in shares, see chapter 4), arguing it was unremunerative. Fine distinctions within its policy implementation were noticeable though, as in the Beersheba Sub-District, where the department focused on upgrading cereal seeds for drought resistance.²²⁵ Wartime measures were especially effective, increasing the cultivated area, but irrigation schemes went unfinished, and necessary controlling ordinances for the exploitation of and rights over water were defeated by the Zionists’ settlement programme.

Widely recognised as a champion of Palestine’s agriculture, High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope contributed from his own purse to support projects, although this did not deflect complaints about issues such as British land policy.²²⁶ Many factors determined the impact of the Government’s agricultural works on the landscape, not just economic ones and an overstretched staff (in a department which also included Forests [until 1936], Veterinary [to 1947] and Fisheries Services), and the analysis above indicates that in some cases the impact was greater than in others.

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Forestry

My picture thus embraces planted belts of timber on the skyline and upper slopes of the hills: lower down a more open formation of olives, carobs, walnuts and mulberry, and in the sheltered valleys beneath vineyards, orchards, and vegetable gardens.¹

All these tasks can be accepted and can be successfully undertaken, if the necessary means are put at the disposal of the Department. Freedom of technical action and continuity of operation are also essential.²

INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Britain's forestry plans in Palestine may be shown to have been more remarkable for their ambition than for their achievements, and their forests works can better be understood in the light of Continental Europe's philosophy and history of forestry values, and British colonial forestry.

There is an increasingly large and dialectic body of literature on the effect of imperial rule on the ecology, control and exploitation of natural resources in the British Empire. 'Environmental History' as a discipline in the USA is traceable to the nineteenth-century American historian Frederick Jackson Turner who wrote about what William Cronon called 'the national myth of the frontier', and the preservation of the wilderness.³ Lucien Febvre's and Marc Bloch's French *Annales* School focused on the environment's role in history.⁴ Sauer's writings on cultural landscapes continued this historical-environmental emphasis, though not in the limited sense of geographical determinism as expounded by Friedrich Ratzel in the nineteenth century.⁵ British historians John M. MacKenzie, David Arnold and B.W. Clapp published significant works on history and the environment.⁶ But Andrew Goudie and Mark Bassin return environmental studies to their origins in geography.⁷ Forestry is prominent in environmental studies, indicating its importance in the debate on nature.⁸

Indian scholars have been particularly critical of colonial forestry policies. Ramachandra Guha, for example, of India's Subaltern Studies Group which advocates research on those 'outside the literate or elite',⁹ and Madhav Gadgil grounded their analyses of British colonial rule in the sub-continent on the issues of forestry, social protest and nationalism.¹⁰ British imperial demands for timber caused large-scale deforestation across the Empire – and it was the assurance of continued wood supplies rather than conservationist beliefs that, these critics say, propelled colonial forestry policy.¹¹ Many Africans and Asians continued to view scientific resource management as a colonial hangover and as being 'anti-people'.¹²

S. Ravi Rajan analysed how British colonial forestry was founded on Continental forestry traditions. In the eighteenth century, Germany established the first known forestry schools aimed at long-term timber production based on the principles of minimum diversity, keeping a balance-sheet of supply and demand and maintaining a sustained yield.

Germany in turn influenced France. Arnold suggested that imperialist Europe desired a 'technological and ideological mastery of nature'.¹³ Nineteenth-century thinking on nature and race was forged by environmental determinism theories by the German scientist, Alexander von Humboldt (on plant geography),¹⁴ the English naturalist Charles Darwin (on natural selection), and the economist Thomas R. Malthus (on population being limited by food supply).¹⁵ Richard H. Grove stated that governments no longer supported a purely destructive environmental imperialism, being more anxious about long-term economic security than short-term gains.¹⁶

Only in the twentieth century did Britain develop its own forestry management and silviculture methods, establishing its own School of Forestry at Oxford University in 1905, and the Imperial Forestry Institute in 1924.¹⁷ The India Forest Service was imbued with Continental-style forestry ideas based on the three principles of the German School listed above. India trained many of the British Empire's forestry cadre. The new forestry departments often met stiff and sometimes violent local opposition,¹⁸ as the foresters 'constructed' nature as 'imagined landscapes'.¹⁹ British forestry activities in Palestine must therefore be considered against this backdrop.

The British scathingly attacked the Ottomans for their 'neglect' of Palestine's forests, claiming their First World War military schemes caused the loss of 60 per cent of the country's olive trees, which were used for rail fuel. But there is disagreement on how destructive Ottoman activities were, and it has been indicated in the literature that the Ottomans had forestry plans.²⁰ There was some new planting in the

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, especially by Jewish settlers and Christian religious groups; for example, the German Templars.²¹ The impact of the Ottomans' imperial rule on Palestine's forests may best be gauged by its legal and administrative legacy. In 1860, French foresters drew up laws for forest conservation in the country and opened a Forest Department. A system was for the first time thereby set up to conserve and manage forests; guards were employed and penalties were administered.²² The Ottoman legacy then was not only one of uprooted and chopped down trees to feed military railways.

The British came to Palestine experienced notably in Indian and Cypriot forestry.²³ Palestine's varied climate, soils and topography, and its total area of 26,000 square kilometres – 11,000 being climatic desert, and of the rest, 8,250 (55 per cent) hills, and 6,750 (45 per cent) plains – together with its agrarian and land regimes, complicated British forestry plans. The Administration also had to deal with settled and nomadic populations, and the Arab–Jewish conflict within the Mandatory Government's dual obligation. The Hill Country, encompassing half of the habitable area, was an 'artificial desert due to over-grazing', with the soil being carried off by the winter rains.²⁴ Substantial water loss occurred through torrential flooding, which caused erosion and choked up estuaries, forming marshes. An estimated 20,000 dunams of agricultural soil was lost annually from the Mediterranean slopes, and a million tons of soil yearly slid into the Dead Sea.²⁵ Patches of forests were scattered across village and State Lands. In 1937, the *Peel Report* remarked that there were 'no real forests' in Palestine. Normally, it was argued, a country should be 15 per cent forested, and Palestine had only five per cent under forest cover.²⁶

The Forest Service was begun in 1920 within the Department of Agriculture. The Woods and Forests Ordinance was enacted in the same year, consolidating British laws made in 1917–18 by the OETA.²⁷ The ordinance was based on a Cypriot one (1898), which itself originated in Indian forestry legislation and the Ottoman 1870 'elaborate *Règlement des forêts*' introduced by the French.²⁸ Its licensing system protected certain economically important trees, such as the olive, and 'closed forest' areas were designated in which trespass was forbidden. A nucleus conservation staff was also formed, and initial work focused on alleviating fuel shortages.²⁹

In 1922, E.R. Sawyer, Director of Agriculture, outlined a nascent British policy of 'conservation and development', aimed at forestry eventually contributing revenue. 'Arbor Day' was also to be observed. Added to the Forests Ordinance of 1926, was the new principle of reservation, permitting State Lands and lands of 'indeterminate

ownership' to be quickly proclaimed a 'Forest Reserve' and managed by the Forest Service. Cultivation was pointedly forbidden in order to avert landownership claims.³⁰ In this 'constructive phase' of forestry policy, plants were distributed gratis from nurseries producing approved species for afforestation programmes, and to municipalities, schools, villages and military cemeteries for amenity planting. Also, exotics, timber, ornamental and fruit trees were introduced.³¹

In the 1920s, the Forest Service suffered frequent staff changes and discontinuity in activities, with staff having to help out in Agricultural Service-led locust campaigns, and such. Afforestation was mainly experimental and small-scale, and in 1929, the voluntary organisation, 'Men of the Trees', opened an office in Palestine.³²

Studies on forestry in Ottoman Palestine have been carried out by Joseph Weitz, René Karschon, Zvi Shilony, Uri Sheffer and Shaul Ephraim Cohen, who debate the extent of forests in that period and the impact of Ottoman rule on the country's forest cover.³³ El-Eini, Garon and Cohen have analysed British forestry policy and activities, and Biger and Liphshitz reviewed some aspects of these.³⁴ It is the aim of this chapter to examine British forestry plans and plan implementation.

POLICY FORMATION, PLANNING AND PLAN IMPLEMENTATION

Throughout the 1920s, attempts were made to have an officially accepted forestry policy. Sawyer, Chief Forester and Deputy Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forests, F.J. Tear (who shaped policy throughout 1920–35),³⁵ and Adviser to Palestine, Sir Ernest M. Dowson (who first prescribed policy in 1925), set out the major themes for forestry policy,³⁶ adapting, too, the British Empire Forestry Conferences' 'definite forestry policy' (see, Appendix 30).³⁷ Potential State Forests were to be reserved and protected, emphasising soil conservation and ensuring wood supplies and pasturage, looking to the State's 'ultimate financial advantages'.³⁸ During the 1930s, forestry policy was broadened as interest in forestry was painstakingly aroused in the Central Government, but only confirmed in the last decade of British rule in Palestine.³⁹

Tear, Dawe and the Foundation of Forestry Policy, 1929–36

The Mandatory's new economic policy introduced after the 1929 disturbances meant more Government attention was paid to agriculture.

HMG's lack of interest in forestry was out of step with its guidelines for the new Development Department. This department was formed in 1931 to improve land to relieve 'congestion' among the Hill *fellabeen* of Judaea, Samaria and the Upper Galilee, and to settle Arabs there who had been made landless by land sales to Jews.

Undaunted by London's attitude, however, Tear pushed the case for forestry at the quarterly meetings instigated in 1932 by High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope to improve District Administration relations with Government departments.⁴⁰ Tear discussed the problem of the slow rate of Land Settlement; this had been noticeable since the enactment of the 1926 Forests Ordinance and necessitated by accurate mapping.⁴¹ He wanted to stop both Government spending on land that sometimes later proved private, and land losses to villagers taking advantage of uncertain ownership. Tear wanted more Land Settlement (that is, the settlement of land titles) to be carried out in the Hills since it was mainly concentrated in the plains and valleys where Jewish purchases were at their greatest and forest reserves were fewer.⁴² In 1933, Director of Agriculture and Forests, M.T. Dawe bitterly compared Palestine's meagre Forestry cadre with that of Cyprus, and proposed a plantation scheme which became the blueprint for the spatial planning of forestry (see, Table 22 and Map 17).⁴³ Dawe also endorsed Tear's 1931 'Note for an Expanded Programme of Afforestation in Palestine', and 1933, 'Memorandum on the Palestine Forest Service'.⁴⁴

In these policy works, Tear simultaneously concentrated on the land problem in the context of Palestine's rapidly increasing population, demands for forest produce, and water wastage in the hills (see, Appendix 31). He advocated a policy for soil and water conservation and timber import substitution, even arguing for the advantages of forestry before agricultural land use. Tear complained that HMG's emphasis on the landless Arabs' plight led villagers to expect wasteland to be given to them, 'regardless' of whether it was cultivable, and that this 'appears to be encouraged by Government officers'. Only quick and defined forest reservation would help.⁴⁵

Tear's proposal for an expanded Forest Service and scheme for 'progressive afforestation' were rejected by Wauchope for being insufficiently worked out and for failing to include an assessment of its impact on grazing. The arboretum at Government House, with its Mediterranean fruit trees, partly assured Wauchope's personal interest in forestry but did not diminish his scepticism of the foresters' plans.⁴⁶ He requested a detailed scheme for 1935-36, asking why villagers were refused permission to plant fruit trees on unworked forest reserves.⁴⁷

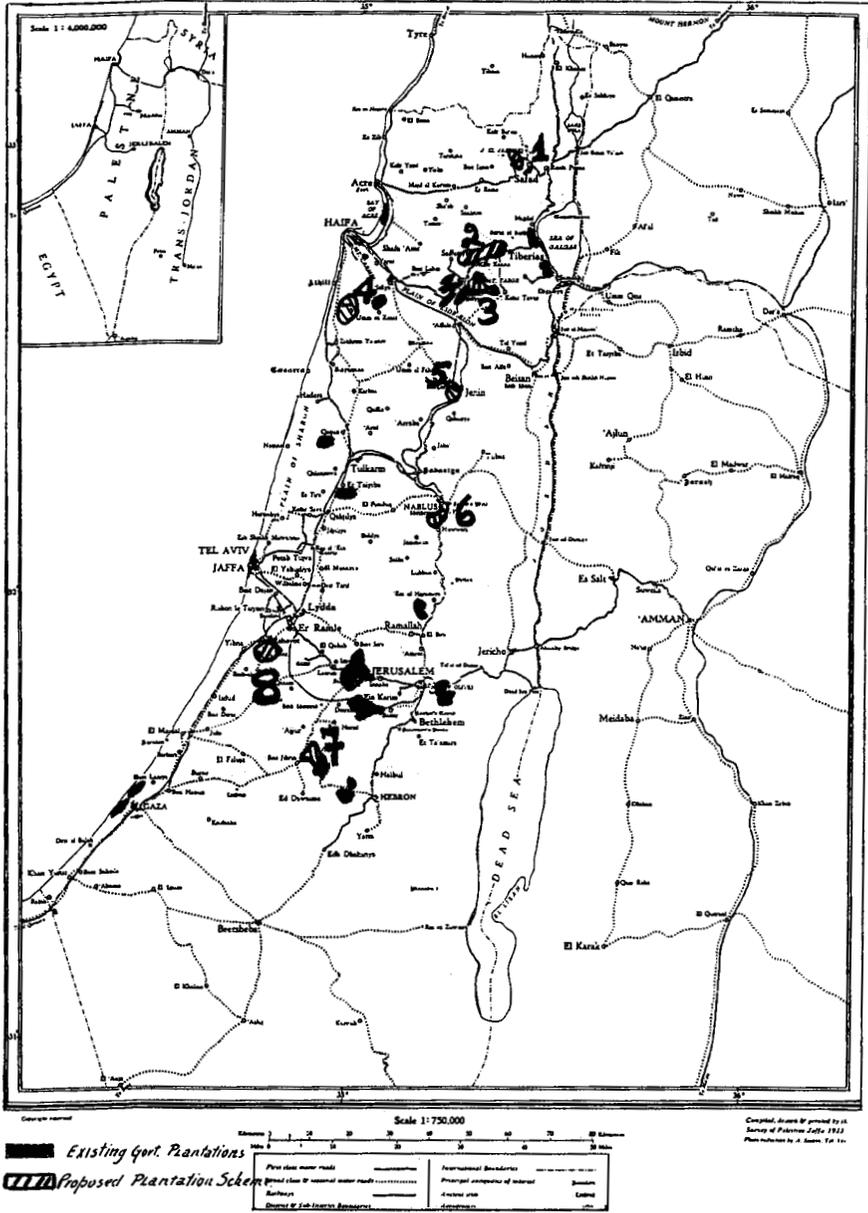
Table 22. Index to Map 17: Dawe's Planned Reserves to be Planted, 1936–37

No. Forest Reserve	Sub-District	Area of Reserve (Dunams)	No. of Units to Be Planted (1936–37)	No. of Years Planting to Continue in Each Reserve	
1.	Meirun [Meiron]	Safad	1,500	1	3
2.	Jebel Toran [Turan or Tur'an]	Nazareth	14,000	2	14
3.	Jebel Sacha [Sasha]	Nazareth	6,000	1	12
4.	Wadi Mughara	Haifa	7,500	1	15
5.	Abu Huran	Jenin	1,500	1	3
6.	Ras Zeid	Nablus	2,000	1	4
7.	Jebel Saradi	Hebron	3,800	2	3
8.	Mughar	Ramle	1,000	1	2
Total		37,300	10		

Source: M.T. Dawe, Director of Agriculture and Forests, to Chief Secretary, confidential, 28 September 1933, and Dawe to Chief Secretary, urgent, 12 August 1934: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.

In fact, a 'favourite ruse' of villagers was to plant fruit trees on unworked forest reserves, then claim ownership of the land, especially if backed by a *kushan* (title deed) – 'true or false' – and an army of witnesses, which courts tended to favour.⁴⁸ The Forest Service defensively argued that 700,000 dunams of forest reserve and another 700,000 of unreserved forest were open to grazing: only 18,000 were Closed Forest Areas in which grazing was forbidden. In the new scheme, plantings were to be increased from 2,000 to 10–15,000 dunams a year, and grazing would be forbidden in forest reserves.⁴⁹ A provisional five-year budget for an expanded afforestation programme was drawn up in 1934, with increased votes for nurseries and grafting of wild carobs (a rich source of food for livestock) in reserves.⁵⁰

In January 1935, Wauchope informed Colonial Secretary Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister (1931–35) of Dawe's 1934 'dual policy' of afforestation and conservation and preservation, and the extensive five-year programme (see, Appendix 32). Setting a pattern for forestry in British Palestine, Wauchope only 'approved in principle' Dawe's policy; 'urgent works and social services' and unstable finances checking the realisation of the plans. Wauchope preferred to train local staff rather than hire more expensive colonial foresters. The High Commissioner condensed forestry policy to three aims, which were henceforth repeated in all policy statements: first, re-afforesting hills and wastelands, conserving water, preventing soil erosion, and sheltering agricultural



Map 17. Dawe's Proposed Plantation Scheme (read with Table 22).

Source: Dawe to Chief Secretary, confidential, 28 September 1933, and Dawe to Chief Secretary, urgent, 12 August 1934; ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.

land; second, curtailing sand dune encroachment; and, third, bringing into economic use land unsuited to cultivation for the production of fuel and other forest output.⁵¹

The Establishment of the Department of Forests in 1936, and Sale's Influence

No forestry working plans were made until 1936, when Gilbert N. Sale was appointed Palestine's first Conservator of Forests and head of the Department of Forests. Sale and his Assistant Conservator, Amihud Grasovsky, who had a Ph.D. in Forestry, were well qualified to prepare working plans. Working plans were detailed and scientific management schemes set out for the next 10–20 years, and could only be drafted by professional foresters.⁵²

A Department of Forests was finally established on 1 April 1936.⁵³ The period before the department's formation was full of attempts to have policy defined, and the High Commissioner officially recognise (in contrast to personally, because of his work at the Government House arboretum) forestry's importance. On 16 September 1936, Sale presented his 'Preliminary Note on Forest Policy': possibly the single most important document on forestry during British rule, it consolidated past policy recommendations, analysed problems, made new proposals, and set out working plans for policy implementation to be followed to the end of the Mandate (see, Appendix 33).⁵⁴ Unlike Tear, Sale had a department which he could use as a platform – albeit a shaky one – from which to convey his message about forestry.

Sale argued for a long-term and 'vigorous' afforestation policy. He defined forestry and land policies as Wauchope had, adding that his department was even 'expected' to have the further responsibility of providing fodder and encouraging plantings of hardy fruit trees. He took particular aim at grazing practices as the main cause of erosion, later calling goats 'highly dangerous beasts'. Forests could not be both developed and provide fodder, he wrote, and must be separated from 'grazing grounds'. Sale prepared a plan for the management of grazing grounds for 1936–50, drawing up a map of an idealised combination of pasture and cultivated village lands (see, Appendix 34). Titles to reserves had to be clarified to obviate investment losses to private claims.⁵⁵ The cheaper, natural, regeneration of forest remnants would also be encouraged in addition to artificial planting. Furthermore, Sale emphasised that it was 'premature' to have large afforestation schemes since his staff was untrained, reserves were neither suited in shape nor in distribution, silviculture was poorly developed, and data was needed on topography and soils. Thus, 'moderate' afforestation was prefer-

able. Land Settlement was necessary in reserves, notably in the large forest of the village of Tur'an in the Galilee (see, Table 22 and Map 17). 'Special Areas', such as steep slopes and river catchments were to receive urgent treatment.⁵⁶

To realise his policy, Sale recommended the expropriation of enclaves in forest reserves, and of steep slopes and village grazing grounds. He wanted grazing rights extinguished in productive forests, as forest-use and dairy land-use conflicted. Furthermore, he advocated cancelling cutting rights in reserves since these inhibited management – wood being obtainable from planned 'village forests'. No 'immediate revolution in the countryside' was intended, but a slow reformation of land and ownership.⁵⁷ Of the five million dunams of extensive grazing land, half could be afforested and half managed as grazing grounds, beginning as follows: one million dunams for forest lands and the same area for grazing grounds, and 250,000 for protected lands.⁵⁸

However, Wauchope immediately had misgivings about the possible impact of Sale's plans on the grazier, noting Palestine was 'too poor' to have 15 per cent of its area forested.⁵⁹ Sale answered that he simply recommended extending the reserve closures, and argued for the long-term advantages of increased fodder production in half of a protected Closed Area in rotation. His idea of 'Village Forests' would 'gradually alter [the villagers'] outlook on Forestry'. The 'imaginary village' with its managed grazing grounds illustrated how pastures could be improved in the hills (see, Appendix 34).⁶⁰ As for the figure of 15 per cent to be forested land, this differed throughout the British Empire, and was in fact kept as a guideline almost to the Mandate's end because it was viewed as suitable for Palestine's particular conditions (see, Appendix 35).⁶¹

The Arab Revolt, 1936–39, and the Threat to the Department of Forests

With the outbreak of the Arab Revolt on 18 April 1936, soon after the founding of the Department of Forests, the latter lost access to many of its reserves which were in remote hill areas. As with the Agricultural Department, it saw the destruction of much of its work; licensing was difficult and over-cutting went uncontrolled. In February 1937, still unhappy about the potential damage to grazing if Sale's plan were applied, Wauchope again 'approved in principle' forestry policy.⁶² The 1937 Peel Commission supported afforestation and its three aims, but cautioned against 'expropriating' land from cultivators.⁶³ Although the Forests Department gave no oral evidence to the Commission, Sale stated that he did not advocate expropriating agricultural lands.⁶⁴

With mounting costs due to deteriorating security conditions, Wauchope began reducing the country's overall budget expenses and prepared for his Administration's decentralisation by delegating certain departmental responsibilities to planned Village Councils and the District Administration. On forestry, he commented that Sale's 'is a dummy Department', its forests being 'chiefly non-existent'. The department was actually scheduled for closure if decentralisation was fully realised.⁶⁵

Sale was exacerbated: his department was functioning on a 'bare maintenance basis', and policy aims were reduced to soil erosion prevention, making conservation 'functionally disproportionate' in its work. Forestry became 'a costly experiment'.⁶⁶ Sale therefore regrouped, and in June 1938 drew up a list for planned forestry activities, in which he included schemes to change grazing methods gradually from extensive to intensive. This way, he also hoped to restrict grazing.⁶⁷

His 1938 scheme, also known as the 'Interim Plan', was made up of two sections of 'present' and 'other' activities. 'Present Activities' were to centre on the prevention of encroachment on forest land. Also, areas of dangerous soil erosion were to be identified for prevention work through afforestation. These areas were catalogued as being mainly in the Gaza Sand Dunes and the steep slopes south of Nazareth, notably the heavily eroded Tiberias slope. The seven 'Other Activities' consisted of: guarding and tending Government plantations already set up during 1925–36; inspecting protected trees on private land for felling licence applications; and planting village forests, with the department giving guidance (this was at the experimental stage). In addition, Sale planned: the experimental fixation of sand dunes in the Beersheba Sub-District to control inland dunes and produce improved vegetation for fodder; experimental development to be carried out at the Khreibe State Forest (or Al Khureiba, Haifa Sub-District) – the only State Domain allocated to the Forests Department; the reconnaissance of areas requiring urgent work, such as at Ya'bad Forest (Jenin Sub-District) and the 'Anabta Valley (Tulkarm Sub-District; activities had been suspended due to the prevailing insecure conditions during the Arab Rebellion); and, lastly, nursery plants to be issued gratis to other Government departments and to the public.⁶⁸

For the 'Interim Period' of Government decentralisation, until the Village Councils became operative, Sale recommended that staff be trained in Trans-Jordan, and that all scrub oak areas in reserves be declared Closed Forest Areas. He felt 'very much in the air', and wanted to see policy implemented.⁶⁹ But his department was too small to sit on the powerful decision-making Executive Council, instead

it had to rely on the Agricultural Department to represent it. Sale had to argue through Chief Secretary William D. Battershill to Wauchope. Battershill was unimpressed, and wanted the Forests Department abolished; its costs were slated as 'largely wasted'.⁷⁰ Wauchope criticised Sale's Interim Plan, saying it inferred that he wanted the department 'to go full blast' rather than be minimised as the High Commissioner had requested.⁷¹

The Forests Department survived the Arab Rebellion. Schemes were now adopted singly, concentrating on soil erosion, Special Areas, sand dune fixation and grazing control. The Rebellion years witnessed the destruction of four nurseries by Arabs, including the large one at Acre (see, Table 23), and 'left a legacy of encroachments', causing the loss of many hill forest reserves, for example, near Kidna in the Hebron Sub-District (see, Appendix 36). In the place of expensive plantings, the department was to focus more on vegetation; and the regeneration of village forests was to be encouraged.⁷²

Changes Instigated during the Arab Revolt, 1936–39

Many fundamental changes occurred during 1936–39, being the period of the Arab Revolt. Immediately on the department's foundation, Palestine was sectioned into two Forestry Divisions, covering nine ranges to facilitate plans and work. The Northern Division, with its headquarters in Haifa, included the Acre-Safad, Nazareth-Tiberias, Jenin-Beisan, Nablus-Tulkarm, Zikhron [Ya'aqov], and Haifa Ranges. The Southern Division had its headquarters in Jerusalem, and was made up of the Jerusalem (with Bethlehem, Ramallah and Jericho), Jaffa (with Ramle and Gaza), and Hebron (with Beersheba) Ranges.⁷³

Sale also introduced four kinds of Closed Forest Areas to enable their cheaper management and grazing control: experimental, special, productive and general (see, Appendix 37). During the Revolt, surveying continued only intermittently, but demarcation work had to be stopped due to the dangers the staff faced in the countryside.⁷⁴

The Land Issue

One of the major problems hindering planning was land ownership and use. In 1936, Sale simplified the forestry land categories into eight. He wanted land use changes to occur towards the higher categories (see, Appendix 38).⁷⁵ The Conservator of Forests initiated a land policy, emphasising the rapid settlement of titles in order to safeguard reserves, but Sale came into direct conflict with the local population

Table 23. Forestry Nurseries in Palestine, 1922–48

Year	No. of Nurseries	Departmental Plantations	Free Issue	Total
1922–23	19 (6 flying)	–	–	714,000
1923–24	–	–	–	519,000
1924–25	–	–	–	622,000
1925–26	–	–	–	1,011,000
1926–27	–	–	–	1,027,000
1927–28	–	–	–	1,030,000
1928–29	21	608,000	778,000	1,386,000
1929–30	14	1,177,000	116,000	1,293,000
1930–31	14	1,088,000	162,000	1,250,000
1931–32	12	845,000	112,000	957,000
1932–33	13	989,000	220,000	1,209,000
1933–34	13	1,000,000	500,000	1,500,000
1934–35	14	1,100,000	400,000	1,500,000
1935–36	14	905,000	345,000	1,250,000
1936–37	10	1,338,000	423,000	1,761,000
1937–38	10	1,152,000	767,000	1,919,000
1938–39	9	144,000	520,000	664,000
1939–40	9	283,000	738,000	1,021,000
1940–41	12	926,000	439,000	1,365,000
1941–42	–	968,000	489,000	1,457,000
1942–43	–	806,000	565,000	1,371,000
1943–44	15	725,000	404,000	1,129,000
1944–45	13	106,000	1,215,000	1,321,000
1945–46	13	110,000	1,400,000	1,510,000
1946–47	11	1,079,000	1,715,000	2,794,000
1947–48	15 ^a	–	–	3,977,000

^a Two not yet productive.

Five per cent of plants raised were conifers, 30% were evergreens, and 20% deciduous.

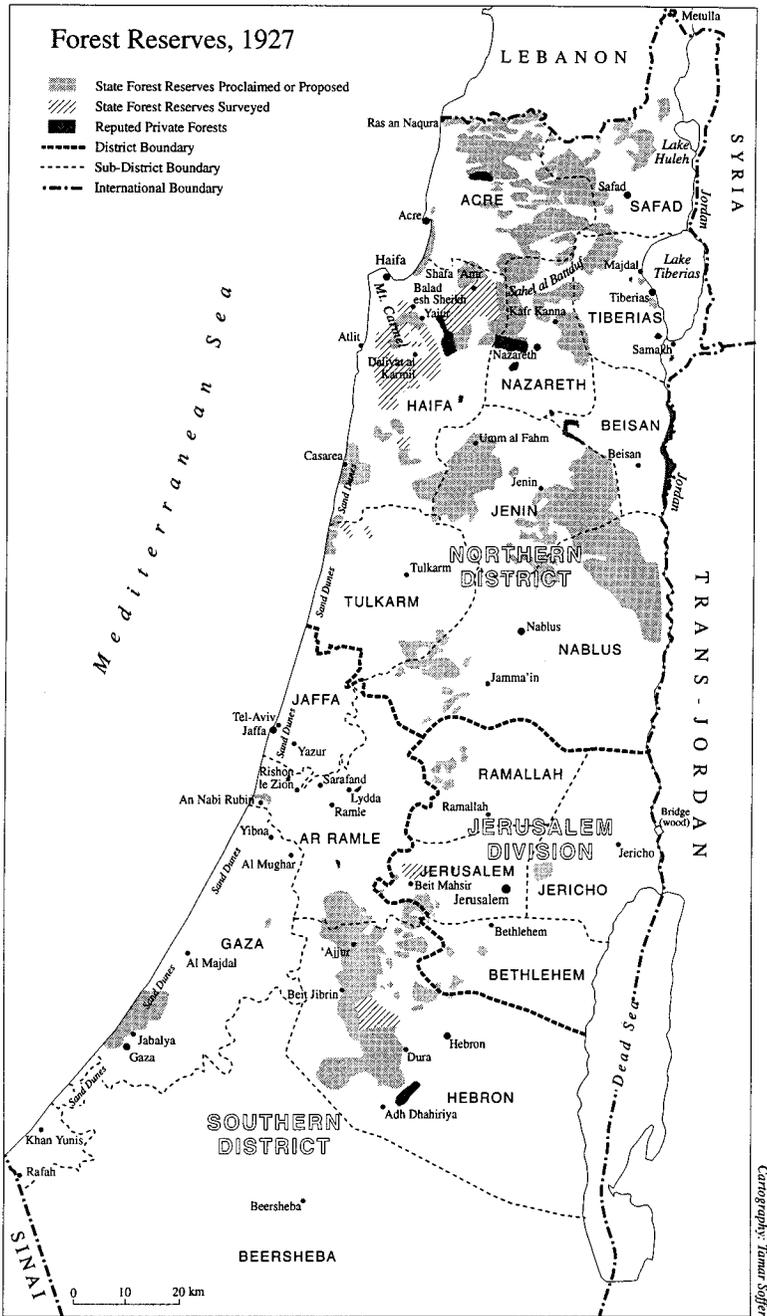
Seventy-five per cent of plants were raised in tins or pots, the remainder in beds or rows.

Source: Compiled from Department of Forests, *Annual Report, 1947* (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1948), p. 6; and A.Y. Goor, Acting Conservator of Forests, to P.J. Loftus, Chief Secretary's Office (CSO), 28 May 1947: ISA/Gp7/F/3/25/1/4164.

and the District Administration, which openly disapproved of his policy. He disdainfully observed that they tended 'to regard Forest Reserves as waste land' held by his department until required by another department, agency or person. For example, in 1936, the 5,143 dunams of carob-planted Closed Forest Area of Balad esh Sheikh near Haifa was alienated from forestry for a housing 'development' scheme. This was to alleviate the overcrowding of seasonal labourers employed in Haifa.⁷⁶ Encroachments were going to 'turn [Sale's] hair grey'.⁷⁷

It was also difficult to convince the Courts of the validity of forest reserves. In 1936, for instance, 56 forest reserves were not legally recognised. Furthermore, the Arabs suspected that the reserves would be given to the Jews under Article 6 of the Mandate, which stipulated that the Government was to 'encourage' the close settlement by Jews on State and waste lands (see, Appendix 1).⁷⁸ The Arabs fought many Government claims of land being State Domain, and often complained of these claims. A villager from Deir Abu Mash'al in the Ramallah Sub-District, for example, strongly contested the Forests Department's assertion that 705 dunams of land near the village were State Domain to be given over to its control.⁷⁹ Whilst the Arabs mainly contested land titles, the Jews carried out their own afforestation works and schemes, backed by the bulwark of the Jewish National Fund. They kept a close watch on British forestry activities, maintaining records.⁸⁰ There was a 'perfect scramble' for land between the rulers, the Arabs and the Jews, with many areas claimed as State Domain (see, Maps 18 and 19). In 1942, a policy was at last approved permitting settled State Domain to be allocated to the Forests Department (see, Appendix 39). Integral to this policy was that village forests be planted where possible, even on quite productive land, with the villagers doing the work in order to keep costs low.⁸¹ Closer co-operation with the District Administration in choosing reserves eventually improved relations with the department in the 1940s.⁸² An essential amendment was sought to the 1926 Forests Ordinance, facilitating the procedure to declare forest reserves or Closed Forest Areas. The amendment prescribed that the onus of proof of ownership of land within a forest reserve now rests with the private claimant. Hitherto, in prosecution for trespass on land declared by a proclamation to be forest reserve, the onus of proof of title had lain with the prosecution.⁸³ Both Sale and the Director of Land Settlement, Maurice C. Bennett, had fought for this shift in the amendment in order to make it more difficult for claimants to make a case for ownership.⁸⁴

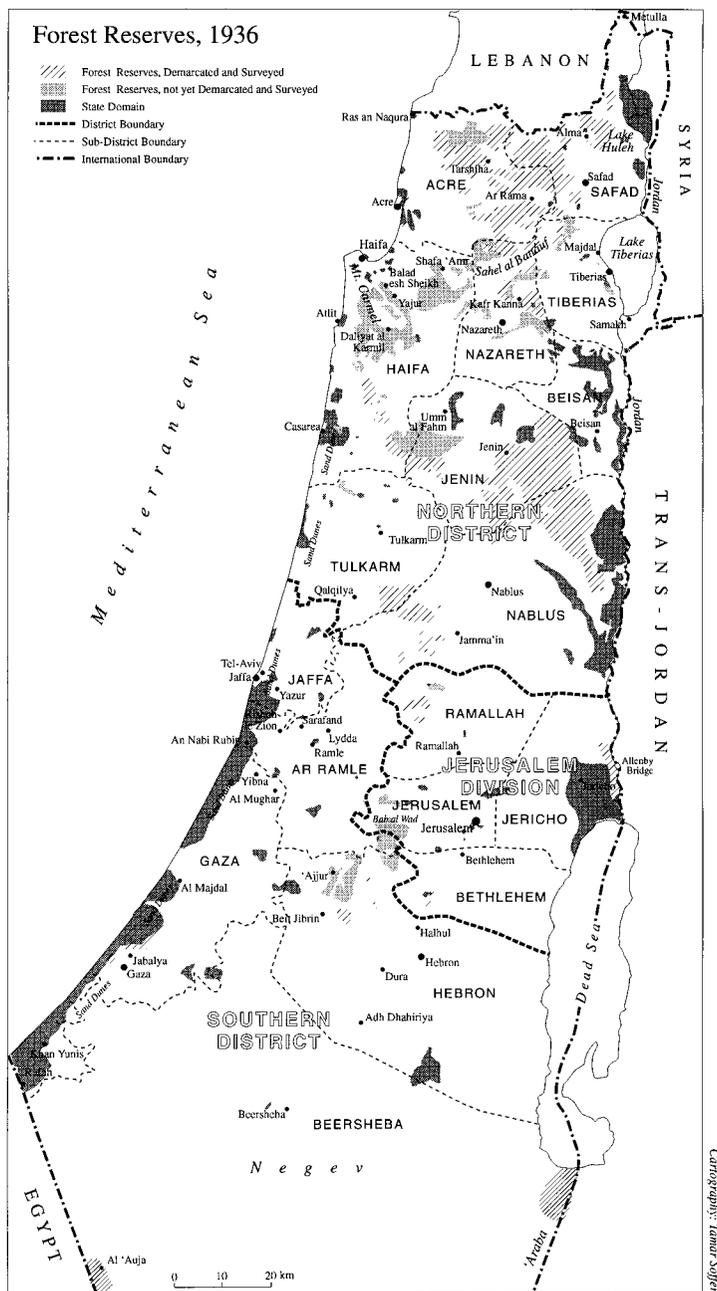
In response to Sale's urgent requests to settle the title of reserves, the Director of the Land Settlement Department prior to Jardine, Bennett, extended his programme to include villages with large forest areas adjoining places most affected by the 1940 Land Transfers Regulations restricting Jewish land purchases to delimited zones. Land Settlement was therefore to be notably carried out in the Haifa Sub-District, the Hills, and those parts of the Gaza District which gave rise for concern to Sale. Systematic rather than piecemeal settlement was planned, but a shortage of surveyors meant the process was still slow.⁸⁵



Map 18. Forest Reserves, 1927.

Note: 1934 Administrative boundaries marked out.

Source: Based on North and South Sheets, AB 900 B (AGR)-3 [1929], 1:250,000; Maps Department, Bloomfield Library, The Hebrew University.



Map 19. Forest Reserves, 1936.

Note: 1934 Administrative boundaries marked out.

Source: Based on State Domain and Forest Reserves, Palestine Administration Map, 1:250,000; Maps Department, Bloomfield Library, The Hebrew University.

In protecting forest reserves, Sale, who had to deal with various authorities and interests, especially the District staff's parochial concerns, employed local guards who were loath to act against their own kin. He also had to make constant allowances for the Arab-Jewish conflict over land.⁸⁶ The practicality of overseeing scattered reserves with unsettled titles meant many were cancelled, such as the Tiberias Sub-District Closed Forest Area of Wadi Tuffah (Al Mughar Village), which was too narrow and difficult to guard.⁸⁷ During the period 1936-39, Sale successfully decided on a forestry policy that became a guideline, though it was accepted only in principle, and was whittled away by the Rebellion. But 'no real development of the Department' was possible.⁸⁸

The Second World War, 1939-45

The years of the Second World War presented yet new challenges to the Forests Department, beginning with an emphasis on policy related to soil erosion, grazing control, sand dune fixation and the meeting of wartime wood demands. In August 1939, Colonial Secretary Malcolm J. MacDonald (1935 and 1938-40) sent a circular around governmental departments in the British Empire requesting that soil conservation be given priority.⁸⁹ Sale formulated a soil conservation policy in December 1939, culminating in the creation of the Soil Conservation Board in August 1940. The Board oversaw the drafting and enactment of the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941.⁹⁰ In January 1940, the Chief Secretary noted that the current financial and political situation meant that the Forests Department's activities had to be curtailed. In response, Sale suggested focusing on 'Special Areas'. After some initial resistance, fearing local reactions, Lydda's District Commissioner R.E.H. Crosbie, who was influential among his peers, supported Sale.⁹¹ The Board increased its activities in soil conservation, and helped enforce the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, encouraging the collection of much-needed basic data.

The Colonial Development Fund Scheme

In May 1940, Sale presented a proposal for a ten-year forestry development scheme to remedy the countryside, to be financed by the CDF. Though similar to the 1938 scheme, it was more limited in scope. A two-year preparatory period was required to train staff, build forest stations and prepare working plans. Land would be bought, its soils ameliorated and planted, and nurseries and a school built for the follow-

ing: sand dune plantations (100,000 dunams; that is, 10,000 planted/year); plantations along the edge of the Jordan River (5,000 dunams); Carmel plantations (10,000); mountain plantations (5,000); natural forests under management (320,000); and terracing (2,000).

However, cutbacks in Government finances and criticisms that the plan was too ambitious had Sale reapplying for CD&W funding, although solely for the 'Sand Dune Fixation Scheme, 1945' (see, Map 20). Dune fixation was to 'completely change' the locality's appearance, with up to 350,000 dunams to be fixed, trees and hedges planted as barriers and stabilisers, and grazing controlled, all providing much needed employment. But it was only in February 1947 that the scheme was approved in principle.⁹²

Wartime Wood Supplies

Palestine endured serious wood shortages throughout the Second World War because of the Mediterranean blockade. Up until then, it had relied almost entirely on imports, and its major sources included Romania, Poland, Russia, Turkey, Germany and India.⁹³ Its already exhausted forests and scrubs were therefore more severely exploited during the War, a situation worsened by increased food demands and high prices, which led to more clearings and cultivation. The British Army, stationed in the country, was the biggest timber consumer, particularly the Royal Engineers; followed by match, then plywood, factories. To protect and control forest exploitation, a 'Utilization ['U'] Section' was set up in January 1941. The Army occasionally contracted with unscrupulous local merchants who got their wood from *fellabeen*.⁹⁴ Its members also felled trees illegally, for example, at Bab al Wad for the officers' mess. The 'U' Section ominously estimated that Palestine's forests would be depleted within 18 months, as supplies had to meet industrial demands, many for the war effort.⁹⁵

The Forests Department could do little to control wood-cutting. The inferiority of the country's wood led to its more intensive exploitation by industries. There was partial success gained by the Forests Department in supporting the substitution of oil for firewood and brushwood in lime-kilns, as the number of oil-kilns increased from one in 1943 to 40 in 1944. In May 1944, the Director of War Production began encouraging the use of oil burners for the 200-plus bread-ovens in existence, the latter of which each consumed 35,000 tons of brushwood annually. Afforestation activities were hampered because large amounts of cheaper seeds could no longer be purchased from Syria (especially) and the Lebanon due to disruptions in relations between

the two countries and Palestine during the War.⁹⁶ The Forests Department's main war record, therefore, remained in protective works.⁹⁷

Towards the War's End and the Impact of the War Years

The Sixth Viscount Field Marshal John S.S.P.V. Gort (1944–45), who replaced Harold MacMichael as Palestine's High Commissioner in 1944, expressed much interest in forestry. However, this did not prevent the Forests Department from once again being targeted for 'considerable decentralization', and its having to relinquish more of its functions to improve its efficiency; for example, the District staff was charged with guarding the reserves, whilst the department was to give technical advice. Although Sale welcomed decentralisation, he resented the District Commissioners' increased power and contested it.⁹⁸ Sale seemed isolated within the Administration, his Department's elimination was once again mooted, but its functions were scaled down instead.⁹⁹

From 1944 onwards, more attention went into training forest staff, and a two-year course was organised to teach basic forestry principles to selected Arab villagers. 'The best type of village lads' were chosen and trained, and there was some speculation about having a forestry school.¹⁰⁰ Sale was to prepare a short-term policy on training, and a long-term one as a major development scheme for the CDF.¹⁰¹ But Gort was criticised for being too enterprising; for example, it was not a supply of trees that was required, but pest control. The War forced the Forests Department on the defensive as it tried to impede forest destruction. In one instance, most of the Habla State Domain, situated as it was, close to Haifa, had to be given over to villagers because of irreversible encroachments and chronic housing shortages; and District Commissioners were reluctant to evict squatters.¹⁰² Sale acknowledged that his plans were complex, requiring time, education and propaganda; but, he wrote, Mediterranean forests needed land-use control and soil formation prior to afforestation (see, Table 24). Long-established rural practices had to be interfered with, and 'a generation or more' would be required to change them.¹⁰³

One significant wartime scheme begun was the planting of 4,380 dunams of the badly eroded slopes on the western approaches to Jerusalem as a Special Area. This was taken as an opportunity to beautify and improve Jerusalem's surroundings. Propaganda in the previous years, and explanations given to the *mukhtars* of Qaluniya, Beit Iksa, Deir Yasin and Lifta, which were to be affected by the scheme, resulted in a 'favourable attitude' to the plan. The villages' built-up areas were excluded, and planting started in 1945.¹⁰⁴

Table 24. Comparative Data on Land Use (in Round Figures)

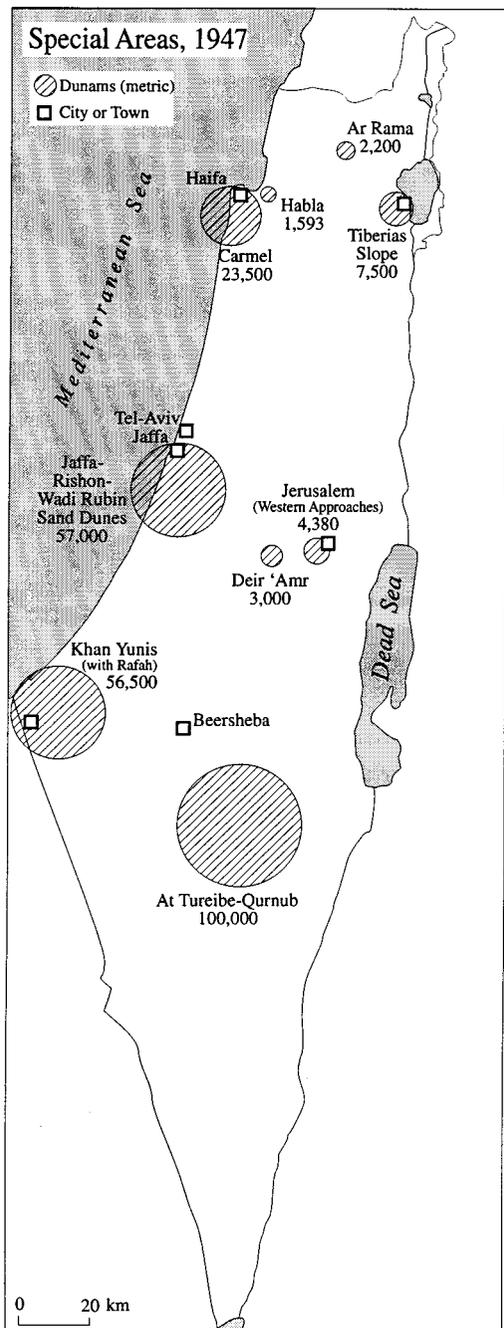
Land Use	Dunams
Total land area of Palestine	26,000,000
Climatic desert	11,000,000
Land in use for agriculture, urban and other	9,000,000
Uncultivated land (other than climatic desert)	6,000,000
Forest, natural and planted (approx.)	200,000
Ruined forest	1,300,000
Total forest land	1,500,000
Waste land, that is, grazing grounds	4,500,000
Forest Reserves, that is, land brought under Government management (by virtue of the Forests Ordinance, 1926)	700,000
Closed Forest Areas, that is, 10 per cent of the Forest Reserves	70,000
Special Areas (Declared under the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941)	
Tiberias	7,500
Haifa	23,500
Sand Dunes South of Jaffa	57,000
Total	88,000
Under consideration for Special Areas ^a	
Hillsides around Jerusalem	4,300
Deir 'Amr School lands [Jerusalem Sub-District]	3,000
Ar Rama, Acre Sub-District	2,200
Habla lands [Haifa Sub-District]	_b

^a Soil Conservation Board, n.s., n.d.: see file reference below.

^b 'Small'

Source: Sale, Forestry and Soil Conservation in Palestine, 28 November 1944: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164/Vol.I.

Summarising in 1945, Sale could write of a 'laudable improvement' in the District Administration's attitude towards forestry; however, there was still no Government policy on the permanent allocation of land to forestry. Still, 120,000 dunams of uncultivated State Domain were given over to forestry, and the Lands Department had expanded title settlement to include uncultivated areas. Nine places were chosen as Special Areas (see, Map 21). Production forests were increased from 89 dunams before 1936, to 17,891 by 1945. In silviculture, an ecologist was successfully appointed in 1944. But no planned village forest succeeded, and no grazing grounds had been brought under management. Soil erosion prevention remained the Forests Department's top priority.¹⁰⁵



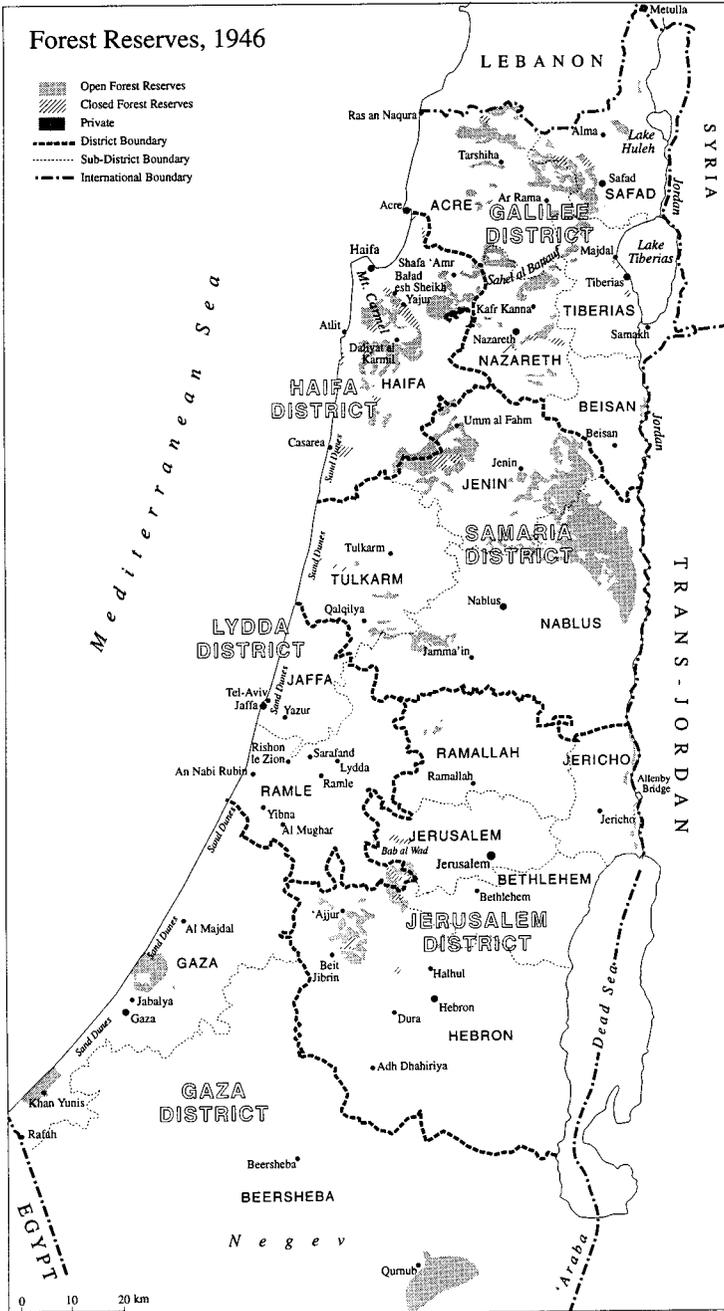
Map 21. Special Areas, 1947.
Source: Compiled.

The Post-War Years, 1946–48

Sale was transferred to Trinidad in July 1946, but left a legacy, as shown in Map 22; Amihud Goor (who had changed his name from Amihud Grasovsky during the Second World War) replaced him, although he retained the title of Assistant Conservator to the Mandate's end. Goor's was a fortuitous appointment for the Jews because of his connections with the *Haganah*, the underground organisation for Jewish self-defence. Goor, for example, facilitated the removal to Jewish settlements of Acre Station's much-valued irrigation pipes.¹⁰⁶ In January 1947, the Special Areas officially came under the management of the Regional Land Settlement Officer of each district, or of the District Administration.¹⁰⁷ A Colonial Secretary circular to all Empire forestry departments asking them to report officially on the Government's '*accepted*' (*sic*) forestry policy, belatedly forced the Palestine Government in February 1947 to approve its Forests Department's policy, which had been formulated over a period of 27 years.¹⁰⁸ Soil erosion prevention, sand dune fixation, and bringing into economic use land not suited to agriculture and increasing forest production became official policy.¹⁰⁹

In 1947, a 'Five Year Forestry Plan' was prepared to complement an 'Ideal Forest Policy' enthusiastically discussed by the Forests Department; this plan concentrated on sand dune and hill afforestation. Three new nurseries were to be built, increasing plant production by 1,500,000, with the same again for a large new central nursery planned for Qadima, south-east of Nathanya.¹¹⁰ All the Forest Officers who took a surveying course, which included a forestry course, were Arabs – deliberately chosen so that they would then teach the significance of forestry to their communities.¹¹¹ On-going close ties with Cyprus were exhibited in the idea for a Cypro-Palestinian School of Forestry in Cyprus; but this was not realised. It was also Cyprus that represented Palestine at the 1947 London Empire Forestry Conference.¹¹² The Forests Department's 1947 *Annual Report* reiterated Sale's 1936 policy, though it made no mention of the 'Five Year Plan' or 'Ideal Policy', and no trace was found of their approval. The report also did not set a percentage for Palestine's Forest area due to the lack of a land use survey.¹¹³

Palestine had a 'very pitiful' 0.2 per cent of Closed Forest Reserves (or potential productive forests); of the 15,000,000 dunams of non-desert land, 700,000 were reserves and, of that, 80,000 (0.2 per cent) were Closed Forest Areas. The Department now only wanted suitable land for forestry.¹¹⁴ Experience and experimentation produced a familiar British imperial pattern of monocultural planting zones – reminders of German, French, and Indian planned forests – so that the hills were



characterised by *Pinus halepensis*, *Pinus pinea* and *Cupressus sempervirens*, the plains by *Eucalyptus* sp., and the dunes by *Acacia cyanophylla*. Exotics were planted for their economic value and ornamentation, but it was the local pine that became the ‘standard plantation tree’.¹¹⁵ Where possible, oaks were regenerated from copices found in the Galilee.

A major post-war development for the future of forestry in Palestine was the publication of the Draft Forests Ordinance, 1948. The new law was mainly prepared in order to consolidate the 1926 Forests Ordinance, which had become so unwieldy that Sale often preferred looking up the legislation of other Empire dependencies.¹¹⁶ ‘Waste lands’ were for the first time included, facilitating their afforestation. Private forest land was also more tightly controlled, stiffer fines were imposed, and squatters could be evacuated. The Ordinance was to be a ‘great assistance’ to implementing the ‘restated’ forestry policy of 1946.¹¹⁷ It was planned to be hurriedly rushed through with a whole body of legislation by the Executive Council in the final days of the Mandate to ensure a legal structure for the new Arab and Jewish States; however, it was not enacted.¹¹⁸

Conclusion

The Department of Forests staff encountered many hurdles both when forming policy, and when planning and implementing their plans during 1929–48. In 1947, the Mandatory was, in the end, forced to officialise policy. Ambitious plans were thwarted by political events and budget cuts that threatened the Forests Department’s very existence. Forestry also attracted little interest from higher-level Government. However, Tear, Sale and the Department continued in their duties. As Table 25 shows, most of the reserves and plantations were in the north where attention was concentrated on hillside erosion. By 1948, though, the area of State Forest plantations was only 41,214 dunams (compared to 41,366 dunams of private plantations), and in many cases was still experimental.¹¹⁹ Like agriculture, technological transfer from the forestry stations was very limited; as mentioned in the previous chapter, local girls who worked at Acre Farm did so purely for monetary gain, and expressed little interest in their tasks.¹²⁰

SOIL EROSION

The prevention of soil erosion consistently ranked as first of the main forestry policy aims throughout the Mandate. Sale wrote of it as the ‘most

Table 25. Formation of Plantations, 1920–47

Year	Northern Division (Dunams)	Southern Division (Dunams)	Total
1920–21	90	–	90
1922–23	–	437	437
1923–24	544	980	1,524
1924–25	64	402	466
1925–26	30	2,094	2,124
1926–27	479	2,831	3,310
1927–28	1,559	1,500	3,059
1929–30	1,131	200	1,331
1932–33	316	2,044	2,360
1933–34	621	900	1,521
1934–35	1,157	221	1,378
1935–36	858	–	858
1936–37	–	1,200	1,200
1937–38	–	319	319
1940–41	1,494	1,432	2,926
1941–42	342	1,084	1,426
1942–43	539	700	1,239
1943–44	1,433	980	2,413
1944–45	1,119	352	1,471
1945–46	1,467	3,537	5,004
1946–47	3,034	3,529	6,563
Total	16,277	24,742	41,019

Source: Enclosed with B.D. Zafiren, for Acting Conservator of Forests, to Public Information Officer, Public Information Office, Jerusalem, 17 June 1947: ISA/Gp7/F/3/25/1/4164.

important practical measure' to restore the ruined hills.¹²¹ Hill forest-cover was necessary to soften and break up rock, and to make the surface pervious to water, thereby reducing evaporation and permitting soil formation.

The Soil Conservation Board

Until the Department of Forests came into existence in 1936, forestry activities were small-scale and unsystematic, and carried out mainly in response to disasters such as the 1934 Tiberias landslide. Hillside cultivation practices by which thin soils were farmed and grazed aggravated erosion; the hills were gullied and scoured, with grazing posing the biggest threat, and in the cereal-growing plains, summer grazing of stubble exposed the soil to wind erosion. To villagers, Sale commented,

soil was but a 'static material': in the Jenin Sub-District, the Arab village of Umm al Fahm – meaning, 'Mother of the Charcoal' – brought its charcoal from elsewhere, its oak forests having been cut down to bare rocks.¹²²

Sale's 1936 plans had focused on soil and water conservation, and when forestry activities were reduced during the Arab Revolt, soil erosion became 'the only excuse' for his department's 'continued existence'. It was the Colonial Secretary's 1938 circular to the Empire directing that soil conservation be made permanent policy, that gave Sale's scheme weight.¹²³ Also, international interest had awakened to soil erosion; Americans, for example, who had lived through the Dust Bowl in the 1930s were publishing a great deal on the subject.

Sale devised a 'Soil Conservation Policy' and measures for its implementation. He berated the Central Administration for its ignorance about the Hills (estimated at half of Palestine's habitable area) being 'practically a desert'. The Government's control of land-use was required, either by purchase or legislation. Almost no legislation existed for the prevention of flooding and soil erosion. Certain areas needed to be proclaimed 'Vegetation Reserves', forbidding grazing in them whilst cultivation was permitted by licence only. Timber production plantations were too costly to begin and run, and had therefore to be postponed for years; however, legislation was passed to ease planning for such schemes as those prepared for the important Nablus–Tulkarm Valley and the Lydda and Tel-Aviv catchment areas, where flooding had damaged roads and rails, disrupting daily and economic life.¹²⁴ During the period of the Arab Revolt in 1936–39, insecurity in the countryside and financial cutbacks meant that little soil conservation work was done, and most of the effort went into guarding 'protection forests' (Special Areas). Also, the Agricultural Department did little demonstration work on improved cultivation methods for hill peasants.¹²⁵

In January 1940, a Soil Conservation Board chaired by Sale was set up to co-ordinate departmental and inter-departmental activities.¹²⁶ By 1944, its membership was made up of: Sale, who was Chairman; Bennett (Director of Land Settlement); R.C.H. Grieg (Assistant District Commissioner, Jerusalem); Henry Kendall (Town Planning Adviser); F.R. Mason (Director of Agriculture and Fisheries); S.H. Shaw (Government Geologist); F.H. Taylor (District Engineer, Palestine Railways, Lydda); P.L.O. Guy (Director, British School of Archaeology); and Dr. A. Reifenberg (Soil Chemist).¹²⁷ The Board was to review all soil erosion-related problems, flooding, silting, and other causes of damage, and recommend remedial and preventive measures, incorporating legislation, publicity and education. Amelioration work by

terracing, planting windbreaks, the regeneration of vegetation, and oak copicing would be carried out. Oak was economically valuable, and most of the scrub oak grew in forest reserves, for example, at Ya'bad and Jalama (Jenin Sub-District).¹²⁸

The Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941 and Special Areas

The Board's legal weapon was the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941, which it drafted after a series of damaging floods in Tiberias. By this law, land could be inspected and then proclaimed as a 'Special Area', and restrictions could be imposed for land improvements and the prevention of soil erosion.¹²⁹ Since landowners stood to benefit from the improvements, no compensation was to be paid them.¹³⁰ Sale ensured that regulations drawn up for Special Areas prohibited grazing, and that cultivation was only permissible after terracing or other safeguards were in place. *Ab antiquo* rights were prohibited under Rule 4 of the Special Area Rules. Building on Special Areas was possible if it did not cause soil erosion.¹³¹ 'Special Area' schemes were small and adopted singly, with the Forests Department implementing them at Government expense and the owners retaining any net profits. Landowners were then encouraged to use the land according to its 'nature', for example, for agriculture if it were so suited. These schemes were the Soil Conservation Board's overall concern. Approved by the Colonial Secretary – who was not to be consulted on the Special Areas Rules (in contrast to the politically sensitive land laws) – the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance was passed in May 1941.¹³²

Data Collection

There was little data on soil erosion in Palestine, so, in 1932, Tear initiated the methodical collection of information from across the country: a process which Sale continued to encourage. To help develop the forestry staff's knowledge of erosion, during 1936–37 Grasovsky toured Nigeria, the Sahara, Algeria, Morocco, America, Japan, Java, Malaya, Ceylon and India, and took a course on erosion and soil formation at Oxford's Imperial Forestry Institute.¹³³ Whilst anti-soil erosion work was carried out before 1936, with hillsides being planted in connection with terracing for horticulture, vegetable-growing and viticulture, only limited references were made to it prior to 1932.

Determined to deal with the problem, Tear asked all forest rangers in 1932 to report damages caused by rains to terraces, plantations, trees,

roads, and so on. The Fourth Empire Forestry Conference held in South Africa in 1935 was specifically devoted to soil erosion:¹³⁴ that year, the Mandatory set in motion a preliminary survey of the extent of soil erosion and water run-off, and Tear included 'Research on Soil Erosion' as a new item in the Forest Service's budget estimates. He also listed questions for voluntary 'observers' living in different parts of Palestine, and the staff of other Government departments participated in gathering data on soil erosion.¹³⁵ In addition, a complementary scheme of experiments on erosion was set up.

The most outstandingly consistent reports were those from Lydda's Palestine Railways District Engineer, F.H. Taylor, who regularly sent detailed accounts of the devastation caused by flooding to Wadi Sarar and Wadi Jindas in the Shephelah (Lowlands) region between Jerusalem and the coast. His abiding interest in the problem earned him a place on the Soil Conservation Board. Joseph Weitz of the Jewish National Fund was also made an observer.¹³⁶ Quarterly 'Forestry Reports' prepared by forest rangers supplied more detailed information on weather conditions, plantation and nursery works, forestry works and forest offences. Particularly vulnerable places were pinpointed as potential Special Areas.¹³⁷

Propaganda and Education on Soil Erosion

The Board used propaganda and formal and informal education to make farmers aware of soil erosion. Demonstration work at nurseries and by officers helped urge farmers to 'plough along contours, to build contour walls and terraces, to plant windbreaks and hedgerow trees to protect vegetation from grazing'.¹³⁸ A booklet by Taylor was published by the Board in Arabic and English called, *Save Our Soil* – or *SOS*. Despite costs, Taylor succeeded in having illustrations included, arguing that they made up 50 per cent of the book's value.¹³⁹ The first photograph showed a 'Typical English Countryside', with gently rolling hills. Was 'England's green and pleasant land' to be built in Jerusalem? A map of Palestine's eroded areas that 'should be' planted with trees was also added (Plate 9). Taylor closed on an evangelical note, urging the reader to do their 'part in saving and improving the country'.¹⁴⁰ The Board and Forests Department jointly published educational and propaganda calendars, too, which let it be known that the pictured 'typical Palestine hillside is neither beautiful nor useful', as grazing had caused soil erosion (Plate 10).

GOVERNMENT of PALESTINE

The aims of the SOILS Conservation Board include the encouragement of the vegetation to prevent floods and soil movements and to provide leaves and fodder for tethered domestic ANIMALS

This typical PALESTINE hillside is neither beautiful nor useful. GOATS have destroyed the vegetation the soil has then been blown and washed away and the land is now A DESERT.



1943	APRIL	MAY	JUNE	1943
SUNDAY	4 11 18 25	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	SUNDAY
MONDAY	5 12 19 26	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	MONDAY
TUESDAY	6 13 20 27	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22 29	TUESDAY
WEDNESDAY	7 14 21 28	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23 30	WEDNESDAY
THURSDAY	1 8 15 22 29	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	THURSDAY
FRIDAY	2 9 16 23 30	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	FRIDAY
SATURDAY	3 10 17 24	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	SATURDAY



(a) 'This typical Palestine hillside is neither beautiful nor useful'.

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GOVERNMENT of PALESTINE

The SOILS Conservation Board sends this calendar with GOOD WISHES for 1943. This scene can be reproduced on the HILLS of PALESTINE by the conservation of

SOIL and the protection of vegetation. The HILL TOPS are covered with TREES, the slopes are TERRACED and the VALLEY is levelled and carefully ploughed.



1943	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH	1943
SUNDAY	3 10 17 24 31	7 14 21 28	7 14 21 28	SUNDAY
MONDAY	4 11 18 25	1 8 15 22	1 8 15 22 29	MONDAY
TUESDAY	5 12 19 26	2 9 16 23	2 9 16 23 30	TUESDAY
WEDNESDAY	6 13 20 27	3 10 17 24	3 10 17 24 31	WEDNESDAY
THURSDAY	7 14 21 28	4 11 18 25	4 11 18 25	THURSDAY
FRIDAY	1 8 15 22 29	5 12 19 26	5 12 19 26	FRIDAY
SATURDAY	2 9 16 23 30	6 13 20 27	6 13 20 27	SATURDAY



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(b) 'The Hill Tops are covered with Trees, the slopes are Terraced and the Valley is levelled and carefully ploughed'.

Plate 10. Was 'England's green and pleasant land' to be Built in Jerusalem?
 Source: Soil Conservation Board and Department of Forests Calendar, 1943, enclosed: Sale, Manuscript Collections, RHL/MSS.Medit.s.23.
 The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Rhodes House. G.N. Sale, Manuscript Collections, Mss.Medit.s.23.

Special Areas Case Study: Tiberias

By 1948, nine Special Areas had been declared under the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941 (see, Appendices 40 and 41, and Map 21). The first of these was Tiberias Slope, declared on 15 September 1941 (the others were at Jaffa–Rishon–Wadi Rubin, Haifa [Carmel Section], Deir ‘Amr, Ar Rama, Jerusalem [Western Approaches], Habla, Khan Yunis, and At Tureibe–Qurnub). Heavy floods resulted from topographical, meteorological and human factors, regularly causing severe damage to Tiberias town. High evaporation from the Sea of Galilee caused heavy rainfall, termed ‘cloudbursts’;¹⁴¹ the rainwaters then rushed in torrents down the bare hillsides, depositing large amounts of soil, stones and boulders – some over two metres wide – in Tiberias below. Severe cloudbursts occurred in 1929, 1933, 1935, 1936 and 1940, with considerable loss of life and damage: in 1933, for example, 36 people were killed, and houses and agricultural land were destroyed. The hills formed a wide bay-like depression above Tiberias, with mud-floods rather than water causing most of the damage (Plate 11).

All attempts at protecting Tiberias and its main road had failed, hence Tear’s recommendations for urgent afforestation to stop hillside erosion, and that the whole Kinneret–Tiberias–Migdal area come under a flood control scheme. Wauchope accepted Tear’s proposals, however, land ownership problems delayed their implementation.¹⁴² Experimental plantings were initially made in the area’s six forest reserves, but Sale wanted control of the entire Tiberias basin to ensure the success of his plans, so that a larger area had to be purchased. He argued that in one year, £1,500 was spent on clearing flood debris ‘which afforestation would retain on the slopes’.¹⁴³ Contour trench terraces, or ‘gradoni’, were built and planted, and the 7,000-dunam Tiberias catchment area was divided into five working blocks. The Forests Department tried convincing farmers to cultivate their land to form a vegetation cover instead of leaving it fallow, as they sometimes preferred to do.¹⁴⁴

The steepest slopes were afforested, resulting in an almost total vegetation cover, and treated areas closed to grazing were unaffected by heavy rains. The scheme’s main aims were therefore realised, as Tiberias town was protected, hill soils were restored, and the whole site was beautified by the plantation; however, guarding it from grazing remained a problem (Plates 11 and 12).¹⁴⁵



(a) The Tiberias–Samakh Road. The road's left side is blocked by boulders; the right part below the Plantation is clear from boulders.



(b) Tiberias South Plantation: The Lower Part Covered with Trees.



(c) *Acacia cyanophylla*, One Year Old, on a 'Gradoni' Terrace.

Plate 11. Terracing and Planting the Tiberias Special Area.

Source: Enclosure, file, Flooding and Soil Conservation Scheme, Tiberias Slopes, (1946?): ISA/CSO2/AF/31/1/41/21.



(a) Deep Gullying on Bare Hills behind Tiberias Town, 1924.



(b) Impact of Afforestation in Tiberias South Plantation, January 1945.

Plate 12. Aerial View of the Impact of the Afforestation of the Tiberias Special Area.

Source: (a) 1924: RAF, Uncatalogued; (b) 5 January 1945: RAE/PS11/5064; both from the Aerial Photographic Archive, Geography Department, The Hebrew University.

Conclusion

The Department of Forests mostly expressed its 'imagined country' in its soil conservation works. The Soil Conservation Board tackled soil erosion by having the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance enacted in 1941 and by starting the Special Areas scheme. Its works directly influenced the formation, by the Jews in April 1945, of the Public Committee for Soil Conservation in Palestine.¹⁴⁶ In 1945, Sale put a separate head in the CDF application for hill plantations to prevent erosion, but as noted, dune fixation became the main focus.¹⁴⁷ Throughout, the problem of grazing outweighed achievements.

GRAZING

In his booklet, *Save Our Soil*, Taylor rather ignominiously declared the Palestine goat, 'Public Enemy No. 1'.¹⁴⁸ Afforestation 'in a new world' would permit the 'substitution of the cow'.¹⁴⁹ Palestine had patches of grassland and no real pasture, since its sub-tropical climate was too dry for juicy grasses to grow. Goats were the only animals capable of producing milk from the deeply-rooted rough weeds and twigs that grew. Large tracts of land were denuded to sheer rock due to 'uncontrolled and injudicious grazing practices', as overgrazing gave maximum immediate benefits to livestock owners.¹⁵⁰

The Development of a Policy on Grazing

Dowson stated early on that grazing had to be controlled in order for forestry to proceed, but until agriculture was improved and fodder grown, the goat was to be accommodated. Whilst only three per cent of the Arab population was engaged in animal husbandry, stock-owning was a material supplement in the rural economy.¹⁵¹ Arab-owned stock were extensively pastured on poor quality fodder, whilst the Jews raised mainly high-grade cattle of Friesian crosses, kept under modern conditions.¹⁵² The following section focuses on Arab-owned livestock, therefore, since the British mainly concerned themselves with this.

Arab goats and sheep supplied meat and milk, and cattle, camels, mules and donkeys were used for draught, transport, and in agriculture. To stave off erosion, Forestry Officers could only issue licences and fine illegal graziers in forest reserves. In 1934, for instance, about 5,250,000 dunams were open to grazing all year round, of which only 289,155 were reserves. Of the latter, only 8,000 dunams were planted and that

in the Hill Country. The entire forest reserve area made up less than six per cent of Palestine's total grazing grounds.¹⁵³

Sale was the first to concentrate on the problem of grazing. He argued that vegetation could either be used to build up forests and improve the soil, 'or' (*sic*) to nourish animals – not both – and that well-managed grazing grounds could produce at least twice as much fodder as the current ones.¹⁵⁴ Sale's separate plan for fodder production aimed at protecting existing vegetation and increasing production per dunam, favouring the nutritious carob and *Prosopis*. Sale supported the Agricultural Department's attempts to have mountain goats replaced by 'well-bred' ones, and within this context prepared his elaborate plan for managing grazing grounds (see, Appendix 34). No laws specifically dealt with grazing, so Ottoman Land Laws were used to interpret grazing rights.¹⁵⁵

Grazing rights connected to land disputes 'principally since the British occupation' were vague, the most contentious being over unowned land. These 'unowned lands' were *prima facie* unassigned State Domain, and described by the Administration as a 'misnomer for an *alleged* [*sic*] unhampered, unlimited right to feed animals on natural vegetation growing on any land', especially unassigned waste lands, swamps, forests, and so on. Villagers also claimed rights for wood-cutting, watering and pitching up their tents on such lands. Claimants alleged that the lands were '*matruka*', that is, for public use such as communal pastures and, hence, often won the support of the Civil Court. Sale strongly disputed the assignment of grazing rights for *matruka* and *mewat* (unoccupied hill, scrub and grazing grounds not held by title deed) lands, claiming they were State Domain; but he was unable to sway the Courts.¹⁵⁶

The Bedouins and the Reality of Controls on Illegal Grazing

Despite the existing legislation, it was difficult to control the actual grazing of animals, as Bedouins and husbandmen moved herds across international and internal borders, for example to and from Syria, bringing with them the associated problems of disease and overgrazing. Although, in October 1937, an Agreement had been signed with Syria for the control of livestock movement for grazing, it had little effect, as shown in the previous chapter, as the borders were treacherous and hard to patrol.¹⁵⁷

Whilst the Bedouin Control Ordinance, No. 18, 1942, was passed to control nomadic tribes – especially as regards the 'rapid' enforcement of collective responsibility for raids and robberies – it also helped restrict

their movement and therefore their livestock's. It took 20 years to impose official controls on the Bedouins, who were estimated to number 50–60,000. Their flocks 'roamed ... extensively about Palestine'. Over time, the Mandatory increasingly restricted their movements.¹⁵⁸ The first of the stipulations in the ordinance gave the District Commissioners the power to restrict the Bedouins' movement:

Exercise general control and supervision over all or any nomadic tribes or tribesmen, superintend their movements, and wherever he considers it necessary direct them to go, or not to go, or to remain in, any special area for any specified period.¹⁵⁹

International boundaries, the 1942 Ordinance, and forestry activities therefore combined to disrupt Bedouin migratory habits, confining them to enclaves – as Ghazi Falah's study on the Galilee Bedouins illustrates.¹⁶⁰ British land laws in Palestine only recognised ownership after Title Settlement, and the Administration's own Cadastral Survey, begun in 1921, which demarcated tribal boundaries on maps, made specific what had for centuries been oral tradition. The Forests Ordinances and the forest reserves system also disturbed Bedouin land ownership claims and use. Falah showed how some Bedouin groups set up new settlements on the edges of Closed Forest Areas from which they had been forced, as land use conflict increased between forestry and grazing.¹⁶¹ The Restriction of Bedouin movement limited their flocks to smaller grazing areas.

Falah also argued that due to yearly declarations of forest reserves during 1925–47 – mainly in the Northern Division (52 per cent) – 'extensive internal boundaries within bedouin grazing pastures', were created. The 'Arab Subaih Bedouin of Mount Tabor, for example, deliberately settled down to establish ownership to land disputed with the British. In addition, Falah contended that Government policy favoured sedentarisation and that the Bedouin Control Ordinance was applied to contain Bedouin movement, for example, by the Qazaq Tribe around Tiberias, to safeguard the Tiberias Special Area. He observed, too, that the District Commissioners supported sedentarisation. The British were undoubtedly important in introducing Bedouin sedentarisation to cope with their mobility in the context of the new frontiers and the Mandatory Administration.¹⁶²

But Falah does not discuss certain aspects of the *reality* of controlling illegal grazing (and therefore Bedouin movement) to any great extent. The British could not in fact get a handle on illegal grazing and many conflicts arose between Sale and the District staff over the issue. For

example, each spring, large numbers of camels would be driven from around Beersheba to the Jericho area. Sale deprecated the Jerusalem District Commissioner's suggestion that the Allenby State Closed Forest Area, a reserve near Jericho, be opened to grazing. The Commissioner wrote to him that 'an Arab will go a long way actually and metaphysically to save the life of his camel', and warned against showing 'a lack of sympathy'. But Sale held fast to the small 1,300-dunam Allenby State Forest. 'The attitude of the forester towards his trees closely resembles that of the Arab towards his camel', he retorted, and executing forestry policy depended on the District Administration's 'undeviding cooperation'; he added that, in such instances, the Police should be called.¹⁶³

Attempts at setting up managed grazing grounds in the Beersheba area remained at the experimental stage, achieving 'little or nothing'. Sale complained that schemes approved by the Chief Secretary could often only be tried out in his officers' spare time. In 1947, illegal grazing was still widely reported, even in the Special Areas, such as Tiberias, where a single *ghaffir* (guard) was posted to supervise an area of 7,500 dunams.¹⁶⁴ Forestry had made some impression on the local population, however, as when one Nasri Issa Juha of Bethlehem asked permission to cut grass for his cattle, undertaking 'not to cause any harm' to the area's trees.¹⁶⁵ But, despite the forest reserves system, illegal grazing was in the main unchecked.

Animal Enumeration as an Indicator of Grazing Practices

Animal enumeration records show the 'extreme hardship' suffered by herdsmen in drought years, which left District staff apprehensive of supporting forestry policy against illegal grazing, and the stock-owners' clear inability to pay the Animal Tax indicates the continued perceived necessity for illegal grazing. The Animal Enumeration and Animal Tax (or *Aghnam*) Government files are thick with examples of the impact of drought on local livestock, which obliged the British to remit the tax. Up to 90 per cent of a village's or individual's livestock could be lost in a season; the situation being particularly bad in the hill areas. In 1933, for example, severe drought caused a 75 per cent loss of village and nomad livestock in and around Safad, as reported by the *mukhtars* who collated data for the *Aghnam* and Animal Enumeration in the month before tax assessment (see, Table 26).¹⁶⁶

Palestine's High Commissioners regularly signed tax remissions and sought credit for hard-hit stock-owners; after the 1933 drought, 75 per cent of the *Aghnam* was remitted. Livestock Censuses as part of the

Table 26. Sheep and Goat Enumeration: All of Palestine, 1926–43

Date of Enumeration	Sheep over 1 Year	Goats over 1 Year
1926 (All of Palestine)	290,854 ^b	571,289 ^b
1928 ..	226,661 ^b	367,730 ^b
1932 ..	205,478	316,289
1934 ..	157,235	321,983
1937 ..	177,838	307,316
1942 (Jewish-owned)	19,120	10,774
1943 (Arab-owned) ^a	190,283	288,523
1943 (Beersheba Sub-District)	34,659 ^b	26,079 ^b
1942–43 (Combined)	244,062	625,376

^a Excluding Beersheba Sub-District.

^b Tax Collectors' figures.

Source: Office of Statistics, *Enumeration of Livestock, 1943, Special Bulletin*, No. 9, For Official Use Only (Palestine: Palestine Government, n.d. [1944?]), p. 5; figures are according to owner's abode and not to where animals were found at time of enumeration, see p. 1: enclosed in: ISA/Gp27/G204/2625/Vol.VII.

World Agricultural Census were held in 1930, 1932, 1934, 1937 – 1936 was missed because of the Arab Revolt. The War delayed the next census to 1943. Enumeration was carried out because of the Ottoman *Aghnam* Law of 1905 making annual stock counts compulsory. Enumerations were inaccurate, however, since *mukhtars* sometimes filled in forms incorrectly, or were reluctant to report on their kin, fearing that they might have to pay higher taxes.¹⁶⁷ Only with 'strong military escorts' could more accurate enumerations be ensured.¹⁶⁸

Sale wanted to change grazing practices from extensive to intensive, as the declared forestry policy was to prevent soil erosion by conserving grazing ground soils, by increasing fodder, and by improving grazing stock by substituting sheep and/or cows for goats, and by bettering goat breeds. Closure sometimes proved effective. The gradual replacement of the humble Palestine goat by its neighbour, the Damascus goat, was planned, with striking portraits of the latter being published as the higher grade animal, yielding more meat and milk.¹⁶⁹

Hence, Falah's assessment that the British partly controlled Bedouin movement, and pushed for their sedentarisation, must be squared with the reality of drought and District staff concerns for their plight; also, locally recruited staff preferred to put kith and kin before Government, so that illegal grazing continued to be widely practised. Fencing reserves was ineffectual, as herders broke through to let their animals graze. Although Government-instigated sedentarisation certainly occurred, the Bedouins' sense of being 'fenced in' which Falah remarks on,¹⁷⁰

therefore, was probably more often psychological than actual during the Mandate when considered against the Forests Department's limited strength and the Land Courts' sympathy for the Bedouins.

The Shepherds (Licensing) Ordinance, 1946

To gain greater control over grazing, it was decided to deal directly with the herders through the Shepherds (Licensing) Ordinance, 1946. This provided for a licensing system permitting only 'fit and proper' persons aged ten and above to graze goats and sheep. The High Commissioner was empowered to make rules setting a limit on the number of animals herded by one shepherd at any one time; fees; and the validity date for each licence. These licences were applicable solely to 'grazing control areas ... especially in areas customarily grazed by Bedouin tribes', because it could not be practically applied to the whole of Palestine. Licences were required for grazing in 'Grazing Control Areas'.¹⁷¹ Sale proposed a scheme for more accurate records of goats, intending to reduce numbers to 100,000 of better quality stock. On 27 September 1946, it was decided to apply the Shepherds (Licensing) Ordinance to at least one area in each of the districts, and to have the goats tagged. On 1 January 1948, the ordinance was finally applied to the whole of the Galilee District and to one selected area in each of the other five districts, and shepherds had to wear their licences as discs in the Control Areas. The number of livestock permitted in each area was set according to prevailing conditions, but could not exceed 100 sheep, goats, camels, horses, donkeys and cows, which seemed unrealistic.¹⁷²

Although the scheme was 'strictly' experimental, the District Commissioners feared that if the United Nations' decision to partition Palestine proved to be 'unpopular', then the whole programme would be seen as yet 'another infringement' of liberty, 'arbitrarily imposed by a dictatorial Government'.¹⁷³ But the scheme was continued as the Forests Department expected by now that it would be met with the same hostility as other activities of the Mandatory. The tags and discs were made of weak metal and easily got lost, and shepherds hid their flocks to avoid enumeration. Around Bethlehem, for example, 3,354 goats in seven villages were tagged, but only 1,260 enumerated, a difference of 37.5 per cent. It was estimated overall that Palestine had about 750,000 goats. Help from tax-collectors and other officers in enforcing the Shepherds (Licensing) Ordinance was not enough, as many more guards were needed for the new law to have any impact.¹⁷⁴

Conclusion

The Shepherds Ordinance was introduced just before the Mandate's end and had no influence. Grazing Control Areas were only suggested and many were changed, so no definitive list can be made of them or their size or geography. Artificial pastures remained experimental and only in Jewish settlements did they have any success. Studies to improve pastures (including research undertaken at the Hebrew University), were simply too small-scale and villagers did not co-operate a great deal. Though the area of intensive cultivation (unrecorded) in the hills and plains increased through irrigation, terracing and closure, in 1947 Dr R.O. Whyte, who reported on Palestine's pasturage, could only note that, 'there is no evidence that the number of grazing animals is decreasing'. More animals were feeding on smaller areas, and 'all attempts to introduce a scheme' to reduce the number of goats 'has so far failed'.¹⁷⁵

SAND DUNE FIXATION

Wandering dunes threatened fertile soils, villages, roads, and rail and telegraph lines, and blocked up estuaries, thus producing marshes. The Ottomans had earlier attempted to deal with this problem.¹⁷⁶ An analysis is given here of British dune fixation in the context of forestry policy and implementation problems.¹⁷⁷

Physical Factors

The dunes covered over 350,000 dunams of much of the coast, from the Bay of Acre in the north, to Rafah in the south. Their origin was uncertain, one theory stating that Nile sands were deposited in the Mediterranean and then shifted north-east to Palestine.¹⁷⁸ Conditions in the north differed from those in the south. In the north, the sand belt was narrower, ranging from 40 metres to two kilometres in width, and the dunes were only two to three metres high, combined with salt marshes, causing a fragmented pattern of vegetation. The annual rainfall of 580 millimetres was also greater than in the south.¹⁷⁹ In contrast, almost all the area from Jaffa to the Sinai had wandering dunes of 'formidable mass', producing undulating sand-hills in a north-easterly direction. Some dunes extended over an area of seven kilometres inland and travelled 50 centimetres to two metres each year. They encroached on fertile soils, and 'overwhelmed' villagers, who were

obliged to retreat. Proximity to the south's desert country ensured an abundant supply of sand. Low rainfalls, averaging 417 millimetres a year, and the traditional practice of exploiting dune vegetation for fuel and pasture, left the area denuded of natural forest. The water-table was at sea level near the coast, and 25 metres below ground inland. Vegetation was more varied than in the north, and 'substantial areas' of dense plant and grass networks grew. In addition, the southern coastline was more regular than in the north, and a continuous series of dune cliffs alternated with unbroken stretches of sandy foreshore. Foresters claimed from experience that soil movements in Palestine were 'largely' due to overgrazing and the destruction of vegetation cover: finer soils were blown away, leaving sand residues that became moving dunes.

Heeding the geographical differences, the Forest Service in 1921 ensured separate dune nurseries at Acre and Gaza. The British saw dune reclamation as being 'of considerable economic importance', and wanted urgent action to support the country's growing population and its fuel, timber and pasture demands, and to deal with rising land values. Being more costly than normal afforestation, dune fixation was set aside as mainly State work. In 1922, a policy was quickly formed to stop dune encroachment on arable land, to thereby return the land to economic use, and to leave waterways open.¹⁸⁰

The Sand Drift Ordinance, 1922

To implement this policy and 'compel action' by villagers threatened by dunes, the Sand Drift Ordinance, 1922, was enacted. However, by 1946, the ordinance was found to have been invoked only twice, and with little success. Goor suggested its cancellation, stating that the Forests Ordinance of 1926 was sufficient, unless the Agricultural Department wanted to apply it in conditional leases. The ordinance was mainly aimed at dune reclamation for cultivation: the Chief Forest Officer was empowered to stop dune drift or reclaim land, and could operate in any area where he concluded that sand threatened its agriculture. Males above 15 years of age had to work a maximum of six days a year in dune fixation, and the *mukhtar* was to supply the labour and monies towards expenses, as requested by the Officer. Landowners refusing to co-operate risked losing their land to the State. Land reclaimed by a village was deemed *matruka* to be set aside for the village's benefit, subject to private claims. The Officer was also empowered to make rules for planting, watering and protection, for the *mukhtars'* duties, and for other matters he judged needed

regulating. The Government could in this way undertake any works it saw as necessary, regardless of a village's, company's or individual's willingness to co-operate.¹⁸¹

By 1933, however, the ordinance had become so unpopular that it drew Tear's criticism. He pointed out that it had been drafted at a single sitting, and that the labour and monetary clauses 'are unworkable in practice', as activities were often scheduled during 'normal cultivation' when farmers were at their busiest. Furthermore, until Land Settlement was completed, landowners could not be controlled. However, because of Palestine's large dune area, the Colonial Office opposed the redrafting or cancellation of the ordinance. London also felt that the ordinance could have been invoked more often. The ordinance remained intact, therefore, as a safeguard for assistance and some funding from affected villages if needed. It was in any case superseded by the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941. Such sand drift ordinances are recorded as suffering similar fates elsewhere in the Empire.¹⁸²

Dune Fixation in the South

The 1920s were notable for the experimental plantings done at Acre and Gaza, and for the works in the north. In the 1930s, attention focused on the south, as land in the Haifa–Acre area escalated in value while Haifa Port was being built and completed in 1933. In 1935, forestry work had to be stopped there so that the land could be handed over to private ownership in the following year. Railway workshops, oil depots and industrial and residential buildings were constructed, and Jewish settlements were built on the dunes, where 610 dunams had been stabilised mainly with *Acacia cyanophylla*. Conditional Government-granted concessions dealt with other northern areas – for example, at Nathanya.¹⁸³

In the south, the Government mainly operated in Jaffa, Gaza–Jabalya, and the Beersheba–Asluj road at KM100. Dune fixation was as essential as dune reclamation: in 1935, for example, cereal crops were ruined by encroaching sands in Gaza and Beersheba, and 3,000 dunams of water melons were destroyed. Prolonged periods of dry east winds necessitated north–south shelter belts and vegetation cover. Droughts impacted more intensively on the south because they desiccated the dunes and caused a desperate search by villagers and Bedouins for pasture and fuel. Dunes exploited under such conditions would be stripped of vegetation, at once becoming more mobile.¹⁸⁴

Dune Fixation in Gaza and the Town Planning Scheme

By 1936, dune fixation in Gaza had been systematised, and over 8,700 dunams were planted. As noted in the first chapter of this book, operations here were closely associated with town planning and are an interesting example of Government inter-departmental activities. The Gaza Sand Dunes Scheme originated with the Gaza Development Scheme, which dated back to 1899, and an Ottoman development plan. The aims then were to construct a jetty, build a hospital, and 'indirectly' urbanise the large stretch of drifting sand dunes which threatened Gaza at its entrance. In 1908, a parcellation scheme was prepared and the area was declared *mablul* ('vacant State Domain'). The town was bombarded during the First World War and many houses were damaged or destroyed. High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel retrieved the Turkish Scheme, as it was known, and used it as the basis for the new Development Scheme. Gaza was declared a Town Planning Area on 15 June 1923. The impracticability of building a jetty for Gaza town, as approved by Samuel on 5 March 1924, led the Mandatory Government to assign 5,000 dunams of dunes between the Municipality boundary and the sea to the Gaza Municipality. Plots were to be sold to develop a new suburb for Gaza, and a committee was to control the sales, putting the proceeds towards a Building Loan Fund for residents of Old Gaza town whose houses had been damaged during the War. While preparing the town plan, the Government discovered that shifting dunes were stultifying the town and encroaching on supposed State property; also, potential buyers demanded easier terms.

The Colonial Secretary approved the scheme in April 1924, but legal and technical difficulties delayed the final draft purchase agreement to 16 August 1933. The District Administration was given responsibility for the scheme. Unsettled conditions during 1936–39 and the war that followed made it difficult for buyers to obtain capital or building materials, so that they were unable to meet pre-agreed deadlines. This is clearly illustrated by the figures in Table 27.¹⁸⁵

The Gaza Sand Dunes Forest Reserve No. 121 was declared on 1 November 1926, and categorised a Closed Forest Area on 16 March 1927. The Reserve was on *miri* land (or 'State Lands', where the owner held the usufruct but not the title¹⁸⁶) in the Daraj Quarter of New Gaza, and formed part of the town's westward development. Reclamation work was begun in 1921, and by a laborious process of trial and error, a shelter of *Tamarix* was erected in front of the dunes along the coast, and the whole area was planted then with various grass and shrub species.

Table 27. Number of Agreements and Parcels in the Gaza Development Scheme, 1933–39

Year	No. of Agreements Executed	Parcels Involved	Area (Dunams)
1933	1	1	1.2
1934	271	322	476.6
1935	133	135	167.6
1936	24	25	23.2
1937	23	23	27.8
1938	2	3	4.5
1939	2	1	1.7
Total	456	510	702.6

Source: Gaza Sand Dunes Development Scheme, by (?), 14 February 1941: ISA/Gp22/GP/3/4/A/3464.

By 1935, most of the surface was ‘practically fixed’ except for a few plots totalling 300 dunams behind dune-cliffs exposed to the wind. Technical reports show yearly replantings of 40–90 per cent, depending on weather conditions. In 1931–32, for example, the majority of the new plants were discovered to be dead.¹⁸⁷ The most successful species for fixation were found to be *Ammophila arenaria*, *Artemisia monosperma*, *Saccharum*, *Polygonum maritimum* and *Calligonum* spp. The first were planted behind a belt of *Tamarix*, which provided shelter from sea spray and onshore winds. Planting was gradually extended eastwards and confined to depressions between fixed dunes. Spontaneous natural vegetation was encouraged, and *Retama roetam* was especially prized because it attracted bees that supplied valuable honey. Gaza’s specialised dune nursery and pottery provided most of the plants, and 500 plants per dunam were planted at two-metre intervals, parallel to the sea, across prevailing winds. New techniques were constantly tried out, the most common problem being the inundation of plants by sand. Information was obtained from the Administration’s Forestry Library, which stocked updated papers and publications.

Planting and fixation attracted people from all around the area who then encroached on the dunes south of Gaza; for example, immediately after the Sand Drift Ordinance was enacted, inhabitants from the Jabalya area began planting trees to claim land. The Forest Service could not stop these encroachments, but it tried ensuring technical reclamation before cultivation in order to prevent more dune drifts. Villagers near reserves even asked for ‘large quantities of *Acacia cyanophylla*’ for their property boundaries, a request Tear readily agreed to, so long as

reserve lands or trees were not claimed. A symbolic fee was asked from each of the inhabitants for every 1,000 plants found still alive after six months.¹⁸⁸ In August 1939, schedules for most of the Daraj Quarter between the Gaza and Jabalya Reserves were published. But the town plan was delayed because of staff shortages in the Land Settlement Department during the War, therefore unsettled patches within the reserves and building permits could not be dealt with.

Sale disapproved of plans to expand the town planning area by alienating large parts of the southern Gaza Sand Dunes Reserve. He felt that when the Chief Secretary – for whom, Sale said, dunes were a ‘waste land’ – had made his decision, he had not evaluated beautification, the prevention of drift towards the town, or the provision of cheap firewood. Nor did the Chief Secretary approach any of the Forests Authorities in his deliberations. In time, the southern area was occupied anyway.¹⁸⁹ The Conservator preferred the Gaza Sand Dunes Reserve to be kept as forests, and that Jabalya’s dunes be left blank for the future growth of Gaza town; Jabalya was subject to the Sand Drift Ordinance, and it was planned to fix and afforest it by compulsory village labour. Although Jabalya was at first worked by free labour, by 1934, the Forest Service found it difficult to enlist village help. Sale accepted the scheme by the Town Planning Adviser, Kendall, to develop the area between the two Forest Reserves (see, Appendix 42).

The Gaza Sand Dunes Reserve began showing ‘distinct promise’; its one access road was to be a ‘pleasant means’ to the sea. Kendall listed the prevention of dune drift as second in importance in his draft Town Plan.¹⁹⁰ His plan, delineating zones for shopping, schools, and open spaces, was provisionally approved at the Gaza Town Planning Commission’s first meeting of 12 September 1939. Locals were to be encouraged to plant trees on their property boundaries to check sand drift. In 1940, an agricultural and horticultural zone, in which building was strictly forbidden, was added to the Outline Scheme for New Gaza. After many land exchanges and mutations, in 1947 the Gaza Sand Dunes Forest was successfully consolidated, remaining within the boundaries of Gaza town.¹⁹¹

During the Arab Revolt, an attempt to destroy the Gaza toolshed failed, such incidents being dealt with by Issa Abdel Hadi, the ‘energetic and devoted’ Forest Gardener who ran both the Gaza and Jabalya nurseries. The toolshed and nurseries were of primary importance to Sale’s projects in the south. On 30 May 1940, Sale began planning the plantation for the Gaza–Jabalya area prior to an application to the CD&W fund. A windmill from near Jenin was transported to Gaza to provide water for the afforestation scheme and the increased demand

for plants from the Gaza Nursery. Dune fixation was continued south and, in 1944, three new reserves were declared within the Khan Yunis Town Planning boundaries.¹⁹² Meanwhile, the Gaza Nursery, at one time almost scrapped for producing 'very poor' plants due to its proximity to the sea, was enlarged by 12 dunams in 1945; a well, motor-pump, reservoir and building were added to it. The Mandatory's work on the Gaza dunes was clearly a legacy. Plantings of two to five dunams were also made in malaria-infested pools in the Gaza Sub-District area to drain them and eradicate the disease.¹⁹³

The Beersheba–'Asluj Road at KM100

In 1934, the 1,000-dunam experimental 'Asluj Road Plantation' was inaugurated immediately adjoining the Beersheba–'Asluj road to Egypt at KM100 to stop disruptions caused by wandering dunes. Plans were also made to improve grazing and fuel production from shrubs and naturally and artificially grown trees. An 800-metre fence was put up and 20-dunam plots were marked out. Where possible, 250 dunams were to be planted each year; the Jerusalem Nurseries supplied the plants. Both cultivable and uncultivable land was found in the vicinity of the 'Asluj Road Plantation, with barley and natural vegetation growing on the lower grounds. *Artemisia*, *Lycium arabicum* and *Argania sideroxylon* were prevalent. The central section was made up of bare dune where drift partly buried all new plantings. Here, too, trial and error was invaluable, and it was concluded that *Artemisia* gave the best results; and *Tamarix* and *Acacia cyanophylla* were also successfully planted for protection.¹⁹⁴

However, land disputes immediately broke out, and land ownership claims on the basis that water melons were grown in the plantation soon halted work. Sale failed in his attempt in 1938 to obtain the plot-owners' written agreement to the Government continuing activities rent-free for at least ten years, and the plantation was abandoned and eventually destroyed. He did, however, revive the scheme in 1944, rating it of 'considerable importance'. A larger work, covering 1,820 dunams and called 'Planting Scheme–Sand Dunes–Beersheba–'Asluj Road' was planned in June 1945. The area was divided up into five blocks, each to be planted within a year. 'For propaganda purposes', the first block chosen was one of 200 dunams and situated by the road's south side. This was to be followed by two years in which 300 dunams were to be planted annually, with 440 in the fourth year, and 580 in the fifth. The sixth and seventh years would then be devoted to replacement plantings, expected at 40 per cent, with 40 per cent replacement plantings also

being made during each year of the scheme. The plantings were to extend south to the 'Asluj Police Station'.¹⁹⁵

Gaza District Commissioner, W.R. McGeagh, argued that the scheme would save on annual clearings of 20,000 cubic metres of sand, 600 man-days, and 380 bulldozer working-hours. The District Administration was to control planting, protection and management, with the Forests Department giving technical assistance. The Soil Conservation Board also wanted the major problem of the annual flock migrations to the north (for example, to the Ramle and Rishon areas) in search of pasture, to be tackled. Some tribes travelled great distances for cooking, heating and lighting fuel.¹⁹⁶

The scheme was approved, and planting began after the War. Apart from land ownership claims, there were the difficulties of transporting water and plants over long distances. Also, winter rains rendered the road impassable. The process of Land Settlement was continued and payments were given *ex gratia* to local claimants where necessary. In January 1948, a 100,000-dunam 'undemarcated' reserve at At Tureibe-Qurnub in the Beersheba Sub-District was declared a Special Area.¹⁹⁷ Goor also wanted to have the 'Asluj Road Plantation declared a Special Area, but no further reference to this has been found in the archival sources. An impression of the impact of dune fixation on the inhabitants is gained from a request made by the Sheikh of the Intush (Netush) [Sub-]Tribe (of the Tyaha Tribe of the Beersheba Sub-District) to have his land afforested. Due to departmental principles and funding shortages, Sale had to reply that the Administration could only take control of the land, or 'encourage' afforestation.¹⁹⁸ In another example, the Huleiqat villagers of the Gaza Sub-District 'welcomed' *Eucalyptus* supplies from the Forests Department for boundary protection.¹⁹⁹

Ashdod and Khan Yunis Operations

Ashdod and Khan Yunis were also treated for dune fixation. Operations at Khan Yunis began very late into the Mandate: 1946-47, permitting only 300 dunams to be planted before the British left Palestine. Plantings at Ashdod successfully kept the rail-line open, and land was reclaimed. Built in 1917, the line was often disrupted at KM141.3 and KM142.5 by sands from a strip of dunes to the railway's west, near Isdud village in the Gaza Sub-District. The dunes averaged 155 metres in width and covered 163 dunams, being bound by the rail-line to the east and the sleeper fence to the west. In 1917, the dunes were unfit for cultivation or grazing, and crossed east of the track, rapidly moving

onto Isdud village lands. A large gang of men laboured to keep the line open, and in 1917–25, removed a million tons of sand. Plantings of pine trees and marrow grasses were begun in 1922, attracting illegal grazing. During the 1930s, dune fixation was continued, and the foresters reduced the threat to Isdud of encroaching dunes, making the area east of the rail-line cultivable and figs and vines were planted.²⁰⁰

The Jaffa–Rishon le Zion–Wadi Rubin Sand Dunes

Though plantings were started on the Jaffa–Rishon le Zion–Wadi Rubin Sand Dunes in the 1920s, little was achieved until 1942 when the dunes were declared a Special Area, making up 57,000 dunams. This is discussed in the chapter on the Shephelah.

The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund Scheme

The CD&W funding application for the Fixation of Sand Dunes Scheme was planned for Palestine’s most extensive dunes area, stretching 100 kilometres from Jaffa to Khan Yunis. Chief Secretary John V.W. Shaw added to Sale’s reasons for the scheme (see above), saying that dune advancement, increased Jewish settlement, and Arab population growth were causing ‘an acute shortage of cultivable land in the area’ and had to be taken into account. Shaw surmised that villages would be unable to reabsorb men returning from employment in the War-associated military and agricultural works; the Sand Dunes Scheme was therefore presented as urgent for the ‘future economic stability’ of the coastal plain south of Jaffa. The Arab Revolt, followed by the War, had also caused a backlog of development work.²⁰¹

The Colonial Office was more sceptical, and questioned the availability of forestry staff for such a big scheme, and the large proportion (over a third) it was to take from the £1,000,000 allocated from the CD&W Fund to both Palestine and Trans-Jordan. Also, the political situation, in view of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry’s investigations and Palestine’s uncertain future, led some in the Colonial Office to ask if it was wise to begin funding a long-term project. The plan to fund the scheme by public bonds had failed. Should not the Mandatory collect a local levy instead, it asked? However, the Colonial Office was agreed on the scheme’s importance, and it was felt that Britain ‘obviously could not defend a position in which’ Palestine’s uncertain future ‘were made a reason for not starting on conservation work’.²⁰²

Because the Colonial Secretary decided in 1946 that it was ‘wrong’ to make a large CD&W contribution to Palestine whilst its future was

unclear, Sale instead applied for a £P15,000 grant towards the £P350,000, ten-year sand dune fixation scheme that he prepared in 1945 (see, Map 20). Work had already begun on the scheme's 100,000 dunams, since Sale indexed it among the country's 'most urgent requirements'. Conservation activities would 'not seriously affect local life and customs', so that 'little opposition' to the scheme was expected. Sale also justified his scheme on the basis of increased land value.²⁰³

By April 1947, the long-awaited progress in Land Settlement gave the following results: of a total of 312,000 dunams, 42,000 were Army Ranges (partly registered as State Domain), of which 20,000 were State Domain gazetted as forest reserve; 3,500 dunams were 'Other' occupied State Domain (leases, etc.); 50,000 were other forest reserves (State Domain); 106,000 were unoccupied State Domain; 87,000 were Private Property (registered after Land Settlement); and 24,000 were awaiting the completion of Land Settlement. Of the total, 6,560 dunams were planted, mainly in reserves near Gaza.

Streams naturally separated the blocks to be treated which made up the southern coast (see, Map 20). The 57,000 dunams of Block 'A' (Rishon le Zion) was bounded by Wadi Rubin; whilst Block 'B' (Yibna) was bounded by Wadi Sukreir, and covered 62,000 dunams. Block 'C' (Isdud), made up of 43,000 dunams, was separated off by the cultivated land of Hamama and Al Majdal; and the smallest block at 22,500 dunams, Block 'D' (Ashkelon), by Wadi Hasi and the Hirbiya lands. The 70,500 dunams of Block 'E' (Jabalya–Gaza), made up the largest of the blocks, and was separated by Wadi Ghazza and Deir al Balah; finally, Block 'F' (Khan Yunis–Rafah), in the extreme south, was 56,500 dunams large.

A third of the Yibna block was patch-farmed, cultivators moving from patch to patch as the 'soil' was exhausted. Parts of the central and inland dune area was fixed. And whilst a quarter of the Isdud block was cultivated and the dunes were being fixed near the railway, Sale wrote without further explanation that it was 'not all that could be desired'. No work record was given for Ashkelon where good water supplies allowed for more intensive agriculture – above the usual 50 per cent associated with dune cultivation.²⁰⁴

The Army used a section of the Jabalya Forest Reserve for battle practice. Of the rest, only part was fixed, 4,000 dunams being planted with *Acacia cyanophylla*, 'completely changing the appearance of the locality'. Almost 2,000 dunams of *Acacia* were also planted at the Gaza Sand Dunes Forest Reserve, and 4,500 dunams of loose sands required urgent fixation. The Khan Yunis–Rafah Block, with its less favourable climate, had only a narrow strip cultivated near the coast, where date-palms, other fruit trees and vegetables were grown in many gardens.

Most of the block's Rafah section was unallocated State Domain, and not much planting was undertaken there. This was the sum of British forestry work in southern Palestine.

The ten-year plan was to begin in 1946–47; reserves would be progressively demarcated, closed, and grassed,²⁰⁵ although the area was still 'riddled with small enclaves of cultivated patches' whose titles the cultivators had obtained. A new nursery at Gaza and flying (that is, temporary or mobile) nursery at Nabi Rubin were fostered for the scheme. Applying techniques learnt from experience at Gaza and in South Africa, plantings would proceed in stages: after first planting *Acacias* and *Tamarix* as windbreaks, *Artemisia*, *Retama* and other perennials were then to be grown in the spaces between the *Acacias* for soil formation. Techniques developed in Palestine permitted the immediate planting of *Acacias* into bare sands without prior fixing by sand-binding grasses and shrubs.²⁰⁶ Larger *Acacias* were planted in pits halfway into the sand, this rooted them in the moist layer and the wind had to displace 60 centimetres of sand before damage could be done to the plant. Sand in the pits actually served to protect the stems from wind abrasion. Forestry staff also gained information from visits abroad: Assistant Conservator of Forests, J.D. Farquhar, studied dune reclamation and soil erosion at Aberdeen University, and Goor visited Tripolitania.²⁰⁷ Palestine also had a Forest Museum.

High Commissioner General Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham (1945–48) supported Sale's ten-year plan, seeing in it a source for relief work for the Beersheba Bedouin who had lost their 1946–47 winter crop due to drought. But he strongly rejected the suggestion by the Colonial Office to levy the villagers for the costs. He argued that, whilst resenting the natural forces that spoilt their crops and land, the Bedouins would consider roster levies as 'adding insult to injury'. The levy would, in any case, likely fall on those 'least able to bear it', making the scheme a 'tool for political agitators', ready to present any land tax 'as a move to force the Arabs' to sell their property to the Jews.

The Colonial Office's significant backing for the scheme ensured that dune reclamation work was continued, though paid for from the Palestine budget, despite the country's increasing defence costs. The Office believed the operations to be a 'progressive measure of development' that would help restore local confidence in the Mandatory Government's intentions, and the Colonial Secretary felt obligated to approve the £P15,000 free grant from the CD&W vote.²⁰⁸

Private Works

Concessions to private organisations to lease State Domain land usually had a development clause attached whereby the lessee agreed to complete specified works to upgrade the land, thus assuring the Government of its property's improvement. Most large concessions went to Jewish organisations because, as previously shown, they were regarded as better funded. A typical example of such a lease was for the 30,000-dunam Casarea dunes, signed in 1922. In another example, a 99-year lease agreement, made on 4 July 1932 with the Jewish-owned company of Hanotaiah Ltd, included a Clause 6 that stipulated that the lessee do works 'reasonably necessary' to afforest the land and stop dune drift within ten years, with the advice of the Government's Chief Forester. The lessee could even be charged to do the works. The area consisted of three small plots totalling 1,051.82 dunams near the village of Umm Khalid in the Tulkarm Sub-District.²⁰⁹ The leasehold was apparently not well supervised, however, because when, in 1938, Pardess Hagdud Ltd expressed interest in one of the plots, Bennett (then Acting Commissioner for Lands and Surveys) had to report that the land had been planted 'several years' before and nothing had been done since; but, the lessees were still obligated to complete the planting.

When a Forest Ranger checked another part of the leased land in 1940, the impact of the agreement could be seen: 40 per cent of the area was covered by woody species, part natural and part planted. Plants and trees familiar in departmental dune fixation work were also growing there: for example, *Acacia cyanophylla* and *Tamarix*. Because of the protection afforded by these plants, the natural vegetation, such as *Pistacia lentiscus*, was found to be in very good condition, and the soil on most of the open spaces was stabilised by natural grasses.²¹⁰ Hence, parts of the Nathanya and other concession areas of dunes were fixed due to British development policy.

Conclusion

As with plantations in the Hill Country, much of the dune fixation and reclamation work was experimental, achieving mixed results, only 22,700 of the over 350,000 dunams of dunes being fixed by the Mandate's end (see, Table 28, also indicating 'disturbances' in 1939–40).²¹¹

The High Commissioners and Colonial Office seemed more interested in dune operations than in any other forestry activities. This also appears true for the local population. Perhaps, due to the more intense impact of drought in the area, the stark contrast between bare

Table 28. Sand Dune Fixation, 1922–47

Year	Dunams					Total
	Acre	Gaza	Jabalya	Khan Yunis	Rishon	
1922–39 ^a	610	1,770	808	–	–	3,188
1939–40	–	–	(‘Disturbances’)	–	–	–
1940–41	–	–	759	–	–	759
1941–42	–	–	864	–	–	864
1942–43	–	–	500	–	–	500
1943–44	–	–	700	–	–	[825]
1944–45	–	–	317	–	630 ^b	[829]
1945–46	–	–	2,900	–	130	[3,043]
1946–47	–	–	2,000	300	400	2,700
Total	610	1,770	8,848	300	1,160	12,708
Programme for 1947–48	–	–	8,000	1,500	500	10,000

^a Given as a summary by Goor, probably because there was little annual progress.

^b Total plantings before April 1945.

Note: [] Reported figures tended to differ sometimes.

Source: Compiled from A.Y. Goor, *Sand Dune Fixation in Palestine*, Department of Forests, *Annual Report, 1947* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1948), Appendix I, and High Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, Saving, 1 April 1947: PRO/CO733/492/3/76301/3.

and planted dunes emitted a more powerful message about forestry works here than in the hills (Plate 13).

Land claims were also strong in the sand areas, and the Arabs feared that the Government was fixing the dunes to give them over to the Jews. Illegal plantings were rife, especially in the area south of Jaffa adjoining the valuable citrus belt. The Arabs would take trees the Forests Department distributed gratis, in order to plant disputed land overnight, then loudly claim it as theirs.²¹² Dune fixation, notably around Gaza and after the War, was one of the Forests Department’s ‘few considerable activities’, with 500–1,000 dunams being fixed annually near Gaza.²¹³ Through experience, new dune fixation techniques were developed that were particularly suited to Palestine’s climate and topography. But here, too, the Arab Revolt, the War, and staff and budget shortages limited activities.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The Forest Service and Department of Forests continued in their works despite the difficulties discussed above. As Deputy Head of the



(a) Moving Dunes Cover Agricultural Land.



(b) Looking North-East across Jabalya Forest Nursery to the Planted *Acacia* Forest.



(c) The Last Area Planted before the Mandate's End, Khan Yunis, 1947.

Plate 13. The Impact of Dune Mobility and Dune Fixation Plantings.

Source: Enclosure, Sale, Application for Grant, n.d. (1945?), 1 April 1947: PRO/CO733/492/3/76301/3.

Public Record Office.

Department of Agriculture and Forests, Tear's time was divided between agricultural and forestry needs. In contrast, as head of the Forests Department alone, Sale concentrated on forestry matters, crystallising policy formulated by Sawyer, Dawe, Tear and others, and applying his own experience. But Sale's policy was opposed, from the High Commissioner down to the Forest Guard, who feared its impact on traditional livelihoods. Policy therefore became 'largely defensive',²¹⁴ and was only finally officialised in 1947 when so forced by a Colonial Secretary directive. The correspondence shows a minimal interest at higher Government levels in Palestine's Forestry: the *Peel Report* only touched on it, and the Colonial Office discussed it mainly in reference to the CD&W dune fixation application and soil erosion in the Empire. This reflected the inter-war shift in planning initiatives away from the 'man on the spot' to the 'metropolitan experts', written into the very influential Empire Forestry Conferences.²¹⁵ Nevertheless, the 'man on the spot' remained the main interpreter of the conference policies, and thus an irreducible factor in the equation that could not be ignored.

Policy continued to be focused on soil and water conservation, the curtailing of dune encroachment, and on bringing into economic use land unsuited to agriculture. But the threats of closure, and paltry support from the Central Administration or the Colonial Office, undermined the Forests Department's activities.

Also, the 'polarising effects of lengthy and exacerbated communal struggle could not fail to weaken Departmental loyalties'. Reserves were ploughed up during the Arab Revolt, and many were cancelled. Stations and plant stock were destroyed and, due to the Administration's loss of control of power in the rural areas, forestry court cases fell from 1,717 in 1936–37, to 970 in 1937–38, and 289 in 1938–39.²¹⁶ Sale commented that budgetary and staff shortages 'might have been tolerable' if his department had not been 'stunned at the outset' by the disturbances. During the War, extra demands made for new aerodromes and military camps led to the further exploitation of forests, and more grazing licences were given to meet local needs.²¹⁷ There is no data to show the influence of wartime prices on tree planting by villagers, but for all of the Forests Department's efforts, the villagers remained 'impoverished, indebted, and discontented'.²¹⁸ *Fellabeen* planted trees given gratis, then usually let them perish.

The Department was more effective in getting legislation passed to control soil erosion, notably in the nine Special Areas needing urgent attention, tree protection and grazing. This impacted on the local population by causing restrictions (psychological and actual) on land-

use and ownership, and on Bedouin movement. Forest reserves theoretically blocked off land to local exploitation, however effective they really proved. Many plantation reserves died a natural death due to financial and political reasons, and unsettled titles.²¹⁹ Uncertain land ownership was forestry's 'greatest problem'; unsettled titles made for unsettled forestry activities. Sale had constant altercations with the Lands Department regarding more Settlement in the Hills and changing policy towards the allocation of State Domain so that forestry was assured more State Land. 'In addition, the excessive lenience of rural magistrates, unaccustomed to restrictions on peasant practices, and distrustful of economic reforms, however salutary, took the teeth out of the penal clauses of the Forests Ordinances'.²²⁰

By the Mandate's end, 844,191 dunams (5.6 per cent) of Palestine's 15 million dunams of non-desert land were under reserve, 81,585 dunams (0.5 per cent) being Closed Forest Areas; however, only 31,911.6 dunams in all were State Forests. There were 13 nurseries producing four million plants, with several arboreta. Included in the 'larger and more successful' plantings were those on the Nazareth Hills, Mount Tabor, Mount Gerizim (south of Nablus), Bab al Wad, Wad al Quff, Allenby Bridge, and Na'amein. The main dune fixation work was at Jaffa, Gaza and Khan Yunis, with notable plantings initiated in the private sector through conditional leases. Natural forests were also damaged, in which case management was limited to protection, notably on Mount Carmel and at Umm Safa (as the Forests Department referred to the village of Umm al Safa, Ramallah Sub-District). Protection of Forest Reserves turned them into 'almost the only green places', thus attracting increased illegal grazing, as there were no managed grazing grounds or village forests. A permanent Government forestry staff of nearly 300 was also created. The last Forests Ordinance, consolidating that of 1926, was drafted and published in 1948, but not enacted.

Some words must be said about Sale who unstintingly tried to keep the Central Administration's interests in forestry alive, even at the cost of being isolated within the Mandatory Government. Despite being identified by many in the Administration as 'too cautious and somewhat lacking in initiative', he had his supporters in London who were 'personally, more favourably impressed'.²²¹

The outcome of British forestry activities throughout the landscape of Palestine was one of tree-planted hillsides, dunes and rail and road lines. Work in administration, legislation and planning indicate the foresters' imagined country. Embodied in the Forests Ordinances was a forestry landscape as the Mandatory thought it 'should' be. Monocultural bands across the topographical zones of hills, plains and dunes

are references to British Empire forestry planting patterns. This was apart from the nurseries, toolsheds, water-pumps, fences and forest paths, and the plantations imposed upon the landscape – the most famous being at Bab al Wad at Jerusalem's entrance, and at Wad al Quff in the Hebron Sub-District. Even the scramble for land had an effect, as villagers felt compelled to stake their claims to the precious commodity by planting fruit trees in disputed places, thus expanding the area under vegetation. Also, terracing and the rehabilitation of hillsides by forest management, afforestation and the growing of oak copices all left their mark. But the British did not achieve their ultimate economic aims in forestry, their activities often hardly going beyond the experimental initial planting stages. Their forestry ambitions did not come up to expectations, but then neither did they provoke violent opposition reminiscent of that in British Imperial India.

NOTES

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1. E.R. Sawyer, *The Restoration of Palestine's Hill Country, An Address to the Palestine Economic Society on 25th October 1928, by the Director of Agriculture and Forests, Department of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries, Agricultural Leaflets, Series VIII, 1, Afforestation* (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1928; henceforth, *Palestine's Hill Country*), p. 19.
2. G.N. Sale, Conservator of Forests, Preliminary Note on Forest Policy, enclosure with Sale to CS, 16 September 1936: PRO/CO733/330/7/75097.
3. Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920); and William Cronon, 'The Trouble with Wilderness; or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature', in William Cronon (ed.), *Uncommon Ground: Toward Reinventing Nature* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1995), p. 76.
4. See the journal, *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* [French]; Marc Bloch, *Les Caractères Originaux de L'Histoire Rurale Française* (Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1931) [French]; Lucien Febvre, *La Terre et l'Évolution Humaine: Introduction Géographique à l'Histoire. Avec le concours de Lionel Bataillon* (Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1922) [French]; and, Richard White, 'American Environmental History: The Development of a New Historical Field', *Pacific Historical Review*, 54 (1985), pp. 297–335.
5. Bassin, 'Geographical Determinism', p. 3; Friedrich Ratzel, *Wider der Reichsnorfler. Ein Wort zur Kolonialfrage aus Wablerkreisen* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1884) (German), noted in Bassin, p. 5; and David Arnold, *The Problem of Nature: Environment, Culture and European Expansion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), pp. 114–16.
6. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and the Natural World*; Arnold, *Problem of Nature*; and David Arnold and Ramachandra Guha (eds), *Nature, Culture and Imperialism: Essays on the Environmental History of South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995). Also, B.W. Clapp, *An Environmental History of Britain since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Longman, 1994).

7. Andrew Goudie, *The Human Impact on the Natural Environment*, 4th edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995), pp. 1–28; and Bassin, ‘Geographical Determinism’, p. 5.
8. For example, Arnold concludes *Problem of Nature*, with a case study on forestry.
9. Sabra J. Webber, ‘Middle East Studies and Subaltern Studies’, *Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 31 (1997), p. 11.
10. Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil, ‘State Forestry and Social Conflict in British India’, *Past and Present*, 123 (1989), pp. 141–77.
11. Christopher, *British Empire*, pp. 197–8; and Mahesh Rangarajan, *Fencing the Forest: Conservation and Ecological Change in India’s Central Provinces, 1860–1914* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 5. On British conservation, see John Sheail, *Rural Conservation in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).
12. S. Ravi Rajan, ‘Imperial Environmentalism, the Agendas and Ideologies of Natural Resource Management in British Colonial Forestry, 1800–1950’ (D.Phil. Dissertation, Wolfson College, Oxford University, Oxford, 1994), p. 3.
13. Rajan, ‘Imperial Environmentalism’, pp. 3 and 95–149.
14. Malcolm Nicolson, ‘Alexander von Humboldt and the Geography of Vegetation’, in Andrew Cunningham and Nicolas Jardine (eds), *Romanticism and the Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 183.
15. Charles Darwin, *On the Origin of Species by Natural Selection*, 1st edn (London: Collins’ Clear-Type Press, 1859); and Thomas R. Malthus, *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (London: Macmillan, 1926, [1798, 1st edn]), pp. 44–58.
16. Richard H. Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 8.
17. N.D.G. James, *A History of English Forestry* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), pp. 203, 207, 219.
18. Rajan, ‘Imperial Environmentalism’, p. 132; and Guha and Gadgil, ‘State Forestry and Social Conflict’, pp. 141–77.
19. Arnold, *Problem of Nature*, p. 136.
20. René Karschon, *In Defense of the Turks: A Case Study of the Destruction of Tabor Oak Forest in the Southern Plain of [the] Sharon*, Series No. 1259-E (Beit Dagan: Volcani Center, Agricultural Research Organization, 1982), p. 55; and Kark, *Jaffa*, p. 43.
21. For example, Shilony, *Jewish National Fund*.
22. Sawer, *A Review*, Pt. I, pp. 18–19; and Thirgood, *Mediterranean Forest*, p. 115.
23. J.V. Thirgood, *Cyprus: A Chronicle of its Forests, Land and People* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987); and Thirgood, *Mediterranean Forest*, ch. 3.
24. Department of Forests, *Report, 1936–39* (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1939), p. 3. In other reports, Palestine’s total area was given as 26,320 square kilometres: see the section on the Land Transfers Regulations in ch. four, ‘Land’.
25. Sawer, *Palestine’s Hill Country*, p. 9; and Sale, Forestry and Soil Conservation in Palestine, Summary, 28 November 1944, enclosure with Sale to A.P. Cumming-Bruce, Private Secretary, Government House, 28 November 1944: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164/Vol.I.
26. *Peel Report*, pp. 271–2.
27. Sawer, *A Review*, Pt. III, pp. 13–25.
28. Goadby and Doukhan, *Land Law of Palestine*, pp. 66, also 51 and 58.
29. Sawer, *A Review*, Pt. III, pp. 16 and 24.
30. Forests Ordinance, 1926, *Official Gazette*, 1 March 1926, No. 158, p. 85; and A.Y. Goor, Acting Conservator of Forests, *List of Forest Reserves by Categories, 31.12.46* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1947), Sheet No. 1.
31. See Department of Agriculture, *AR*, various years; and Department of Forests, *AR*, various years. Re amenity planting see ch. 6, The Shephelah.
32. F.J. Tear, Chief Forest Officer, Deputy Director of Department of Agriculture and

- Forests, Memorandum on the Palestine Forest Service, 26 September 1933, enclosure with Dawe to CS, 28 September 1933: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I; and Men of the Trees: George Antonius Papers, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/1235/341.
33. Joseph Weitz, *Forests and Afforestation in Israel* (Jerusalem: Massada Press, 1974), pp. 18–30; Karschon, *In Defense of the Turks*; Shilony, *Jewish National Fund*; Uri Sheffer, 'Four Documents on the Subject of the Destruction of the Alon-Tavon Forest in the Area of Givot-Tavon during the First World War', *Cathedra*, 44 (1987), pp. 97–107 [Hebrew]; and Cohen, *Politics of Planting*, pp. 23–52.
 34. El-Eini, 'British Forestry Policy', pp. 72–155; Garon, 'Forestry of Eretz Israel'; Cohen, *Politics of Planting*, pp. 52–9; and Liphshitz and Biger, 'Afforestation', pp. 5–16.
 35. Tear produced several policy papers: see enc. with Dawe to CS, 28 September 1933: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
 36. Sir Ernest M. Dowson, [Palestine and Trans-Jordan Land Agreement and Registration, 1923–8] to CS, Letter with Explanatory Note and Draft Forest Ordinance, 12 March 1925, in Tear, Memorandum on the Palestine Forest Service, 26 September 1933: *ibid.*
 37. *Ibid.* Due to the many and lengthy policy reports, they are summarised in tables here.
 38. Dowson to CS, 12 March 1925, in Tear, Memorandum on the Palestine Forest Service, 26 September 1933: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
 39. Sale, The Aims of Forest Reservation, Memorandum, enc. with Sale to All District Commissioners (and Others), confidential, 22 September 1943: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164.
 40. M.A. Young, CS, CS Circular No. 61, 7 September 1932: ISA/Gp7/F/3/4/4164. Minutes of the Quarterly Staff Conference held at the District Commissioner's Offices, 1 August 1934: *ibid.* District Officers became more directly involved in forestry matters in April 1932, when their signatures were required for forest licences instead of those of the Forest Rangers: see, Tear, Memorandum on the Palestine Forest Service, 26 September 1933: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
 41. Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Report, 1927–30*, p. 10. Also, Note of a Meeting Held on 16 October to Discuss the Draft Forests (Amendment) Ordinance, 1941: ISA/Gp7/F/6/2/5/4167/Pt.VI. The immediate declaration in 1926–28 of 166 Forest Reserves, totalling 644,000 dunams 'gazetted with the vaguest boundaries' 'proved to have no permanent value', its being better to have surveyed and demarcated forest and cultivated enclave boundaries: Sale, The Aims of Forest Reservation, 22 September 1943: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164.
 42. Tear to Sawer, Director of Agriculture and Forests, 23 December 1930: ISA/Gp7/F/3/4/4164; and Gavish, *Land and Map*, chs 5–7.
 43. Dawe to CS, confidential, 20 May 1933: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
 44. *Ibid.*, enc. Tear, Note on the Need for an Expanded Programme of Afforestation in Palestine, 1931, in which Tear gave the alarmingly high estimated costs for sand dune fixation of £P990,682 – this, during the world economic depression and widespread unemployment in Britain: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
 45. Tear, Memorandum on the Palestine Forest Service, 26 September 1933: *ibid.*
 46. Dr René Karschon, (Emeritus), formerly Director of Research at Israel's Department of Forestry (Ilanot), interview, Rehovot, 30 July 1997; and Mr Mohamed Khalil Abu Qulbain, former Gardener at Government House, Jerusalem, resident of Abu Dis, interview, Jerusalem, 21 October 1997. Short reports on the upkeep of the Government House grounds were regularly given in the Forest Service's annual reports, for example, Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Report, 1931 and 1932*, p. 167.
 47. J. Hathorn Hall, CS, to Dawe, confidential, 10 July 1934: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164.
 48. Sale to CS, 27 May 1936: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164.

49. A.J. Grasovsky for Deputy Director of Agriculture Department, to Director of Agriculture Department, 13 July 1934: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164.
50. Department of Agriculture and Forests, *AR*, 1935, p. 103.
51. Wauchope to Colonial Secretary Cunliffe-Lister, 31 January 1935: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164.
52. Department of Agriculture and Forests, *AR*, 1935, p. 115.
53. 'Development of Forestry', Memorandum by Government of Palestine, Palestine Royal Commission, Reference No. B (n), Confidential (Palestine, [1937?]; henceforth, 'Development of Forestry', Confidential Memorandum), p. 2; and Department of Forests, *Report*, 1936–39, p. 3.
54. Sale, Preliminary Note on Forest Policy, 16 September 1936, Sale, Supplementary Note to Forest Policy Report, 4 December 1936, Sale, Second Supplementary Note to Forest Policy, n.d., and Sale, Third Supplementary Note on Forest Policy, 3 February 1937: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
55. For example, in 1934, out of 200 reserves, only 'four or five' were registered as State Domain: Dawe to Attorney-General, 25 June 1934: ISA/Gp3/AG20/20/730.
56. This is discussed further in the section below on Grazing.
57. Sale, Preliminary Note on Forest Policy, 1936: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
58. *Ibid.*; also, CO file, Forestry Policy: PRO/CO733/330/7/75097.
59. Note by H.E. ([His Eminence] Wauchope), 7 January 1937: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
60. Sale, Second Supplementary Note, n.d.: *ibid.*
61. R.S. Troup, *Colonial Forest Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 119–20; and Minutes of a Meeting Held in the Office of the Forests Department, Jerusalem, 15 January 1947: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/1/4164/Vol.II.
62. J.V.W. Shaw, Acting CS, to Sale, 9 February 1937: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
63. Sale, Preliminary Note on Forest Policy, 1936, enclosure with Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, 30 March 1937: PRO/CO733/330/75097; and 'Development of Forestry', Confidential Memorandum B (Palestine [1937?]) – no explanation was found for the report's confidentiality, though it may have been due to the land issue. *Peel Report*, p. 275. *Palestine Royal Commission: Memoranda Prepared by the Government of Palestine*, Colonial No. 133 (London: HMSO, 1937; henceforth, 1937, *Memoranda for Peel*), 'Memorandum No. 8: Description of Different Kinds of Land and of Agricultural Production of Each', pp. 22–6. For a Jewish proposal for forestry, see *Peel Report*, p. 275, citing a scheme by Joseph Weitz, the JNF's Forestry Officer. Weitz's scheme was considered too ambitious and costly: see, Lewis Andrews, Commissioner on Special Duty, Palestine, to Secretary, Palestine Royal Commission, 25 January 1937: PRO/CO733/346/7550/34.
64. Sale, Preliminary Note on Forest Policy, 1936, and Sir L. Hammond, CO, Minutes, 27 July 1937: PRO/CO733/330/75097; Sale to CS, 21 September 1937: ISA/Gp7/F/3/10/4164/Pt.II.
65. Battershill (CS), to Sale, confidential, 2 June 1938: ISA/Gp7/F/3/22/13/4164.
66. Sale to CS, Minute, 19 May 1938: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/41/21.
67. Note by Sale, 18 April 1938: ISA/Gp7/F/3/10/4164/Pt.II; and Conservator of Forests to CS, 3 May 1938: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/41/21; also see file, Reconsideration of Forest Policy in 1938: ISA/Gp7/F/3/15/4164.
68. Sale to CS, 3 May 1938: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/41/21.
69. Sale to CS, Minute, 19 May 1938: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/41/21.
70. CS to HC, Minute, 21 May 1938: *ibid.*
71. HC to CS, 23 May 1938: *ibid.*
72. Department of Forests, *Report*, 1936–39, p. 5.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 3.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 5; and Sale, Note, 13 June 1939, enclosure with Sale to M.J.P. Hogan, Crown Counsel, Palestine Government, 14 June 1939: ISA/Gp7/F/3/15/4164.
76. A. Lahav, Department of Forests, 3 December 1936: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164.
77. Sale to S.E.V. Luke (Palestine Administration), 11 March 1937: *ibid.*
78. Maurice C. Bennett, Director of Land Settlement, to CS, 17 September 1941: ISA/Gp7/F/3/17/4164.
79. File: Complaint, Abu Mish'al [Deir Abu Mash'al] Village, 10 September 1946: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3618/405.
80. For example, Forestry: CZA/S25/6980. The CZA holds a large number of files on Jewish forestry activities, see especially the KKL papers.
81. CS [to Sale?], 6 March 1942: ISA/CSO2/A/17/37/41; also referred to in Sale to CS, 15 December 1944: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164/Vol.I.
82. The CS was here drawing on a similar procedure followed in Ceylon. CS to Director of Land Settlement, 26 May 1941: ISA/Gp7/F/3/17/4164. On the limiting role of the District Commissioners, see Sale to CS, 7 October 1941: *ibid.*
83. Note of a Meeting Held on 16 October to Discuss the Draft Forests (Amendment) Ordinance, 1941, n.s., n.d. (1941?): ISA/Gp7/F/6/2/5/4167/Pt.VI.
84. For example, Bennett to CS, Memorandum, 17 September 1941: ISA/Gp7/F/3/17/4164. Note by Sale, 19 June 1941, and Criminal Appeal No. 136/40, In the Supreme Court Sitting as a Court of Criminal Appeal, copy, 16 December 1940: ISA/Gp7/F/6/2/5/4167/Pt.VI. Also, Note on Mewat Land and Forest Reserves, n.s., n.d.: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164.
85. Bennett to CS, Memorandum, 17 September 1941: ISA/Gp7/F/3/17/4164.
86. Note by Sale, 13 May 1941: *ibid.*; and Mr Pinhas Oren (Weiss), formerly Junior Forest Ranger, Department of Forests, interview, Haifa, 29 July 1997.
87. Grasovsky, for Acting Director of Agriculture, 18 November 1935 (1934?): ISA/F/6/2/4167/Vol.III.
88. Department of Forests, *Report, 1939–45*, p. 8.
89. Colonial Secretary MacDonald to OAG, Palestine, Circular, copy, 23 August 1939: ISA/CSO2/AF/14/46/22/19.
90. Conservator of Forests, Soil Conservation – Policy, 5 December 1938, amended 14 June 1939: ISA/Gp7/F/3/15/4164. Soil conservation policy is only outlined here: it is further analysed in the section below on the subject.
91. Note by Sale, 23 January 1940: *ibid.*
92. Department of Forests, Scheme of Development: Ten-Year Period, [1945?]: ISA/CSO2/A/13/45/A17.
93. G.N. Sale, 'Forestry in Palestine under the Mandate, 1923–1948' (Unpublished Manuscript, Oxford Forest Information Service, Oxford University Library Services, and Oxford Forestry Institute, Oxford University, 1965; henceforth, 'Forestry in Palestine'), p. 6; Department of Forests, *Empire Forests during the War, 1939–1945: Palestine*, No. 1 of 1947 (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1946), pp. 2–4; and *The Fourth British Empire Forestry Conference (South Africa 1935): Supply, Consumption and Marketing of Timber: Palestine* (Palestine: Palestine Government, n.d. [1935?]), pp. 5–9.
94. Copy of a Note in file: ISA/Gp7/F/16/7, by Grasovsky, 3 May 1938: ISA/F/3/15/4164. Mr Pinhas Oren (Weiss), interview, Haifa, 29 July 1997; and Dr Yerachmiel Kaplan, formerly a Forest Inspector and at the Forest Research Station at Rehovot for the JNF during the Mandate, interview, Rehovot, 30 July 1997.
95. Department of Forests, *Empire Forests, 1939–1945: Palestine*, pp. 8–9.
96. File, Purchase of Seeds from Syria and the Lebanon, Department of Agriculture: ISA/CSO2/AF/204/33/20/7. Most of the contents of the ISA War Supply Board files concerning timber and wood are missing. Some idea of supply and demand can be gained from the file, Coal, Coke, Etc. – Monthly Statements to Government Statistician: ISA/Secretary War Supply Board/2–9/1–35/1355.

97. Sale, 'Forestry in Palestine', p. 7.
98. Note by Sale, 6 April 1944: ISA/Gp7/F/3/22/13/4164.
99. Note by Sale, n.d. [30 June 1944?]: *ibid.* This file is titled, Suggestions for the Elimination of the Department of Forests.
100. Note, n.s., n.d.; ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164/Vol.I.
101. Minutes from the Meeting of the District Commissioners Held on 23 March 1945: ISA/CSO2/A/12/45/17.
102. Sale to D.C. MacGillivray, CS, 3 August 1945: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164/Vol.I.
103. Sale, Forestry and Soil Conservation in Palestine, Summary, 28 November 1944: *ibid.*
104. Sale to CS, 30 April 1944: the Jerusalem (Western Approches) Conservation Rules were published in the *Official Gazette*, 4 January 1945, No. 1382 – HC to Colonial Secretary, 27 February 1945: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/8/41/21.
105. Notes by Sale to CS, 16 June 1945: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164/Vol.I.
106. Mr Arie'h Kotik, formerly Driver, Department of Forests, interview, Haifa, 29 July 1997.
107. Goor to All District Commissioners, [?] December 1946: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/1/4164/Vol.II.
108. MacGillivray for CS, to Acting Conservator of Forests, 10 October 1947: ISA/CSO2/AF/14/46/22/19; and Goor to CS, 15 September 1946: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/1/4164/Vol.II.
109. Department of Forests, *AR*, 1947, p. 1.
110. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
111. See file, Survey School: ISA/Gp7/F/30/18/4188.
112. HC to Governor of Cyprus, Telegram, 7 March 1947: ISA/CSO2/AF/2/46/22/3.
113. Department of Forests, *AR*, 1947, p. 3.
114. Goor to MacGillivray, 16 December 1946: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.II.
115. Palestine Government, 'Development of Forestry', Confidential Memorandum, p. 1.
116. Sale to Attorney-General, 3 November 1939: ISA/Gp7/F/6/2/4167.
117. Attorney-General, Objects and Reasons, November 1947: *ibid.*
118. Department of Forests, *AR*, 1947, pp. 5–6. Dr René Karschon confirmed it was not enacted; interview, Rehovot, 30 July 1997.
119. Department of Forests, *AR*, 1947, p. 7.
120. Mr Pinhas Oren (Weiss), interview, Haifa, 29 July 1997, and Dr Yerachmiel Kaplan, interview, Rehovot, 30 July 1997.
121. Sale to Chief Officer, Imperial Bureau of Plant Genetics, 24 January 1938: G.N. Sale, Manuscript Collections, RHL/MSS.Medit.s.23.
122. Sale to Director of Agriculture, 15 May 1938: *ibid.*
123. Ormsby-Gore to HC, 27 January 1938, enclosure Circular re Soil Erosion, Based on Deliberations at 36th Meeting of the Colonial Advisory Council of Agriculture and Animal Health: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/2/41/21/Vol.I.
124. Sale, Measures, Palestine, 1938, enclosure with Sale to CS, February 1939: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/2/41/21/Vol.I.
125. Progress Report on Soil Erosion and Conservation Methods in Palestine for 1938 and January–June 1939, n.s. [by Sale?], Enclosure 1 with MacMichael to MacDonald, 19 October 1939: *ibid.*
126. Minute by Sale to Acting CS, 27 March 1940: ISA/CSO2/AF/7/39/20/Vol.I.
127. Note, n.s. [by Sale?], n.d. [1944?]: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164.
128. Sale to CS, 3 May 1938: ISA/Gp7/F/3/15/4164.
129. Note by Sale, 14 May 1940: ISA/Gp3/AG19/202/722.
130. Memorandum by W.J. Fitzgerald, Attorney-General, n.d. [1940?], and R. Windham, Attorney-General, to CS 10 April 1941: *ibid.*
131. H.E. Baker, Attorney-General, to CS, 13 August 1943: *ibid.*

132. Lord Moyne to MacMichael, 7 November 1941: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/41/21; and *Official Gazette*, 10 May 1941, No. 1097, Supplement No. 1, p. 37.
133. Amihud Grasovsky, *A World Tour for the Study of Erosion Methods, Institute Paper*, No. 14 (Oxford: Imperial Forestry Institute, Oxford University, 1938), enc. with file titled, Soil Conservation – General: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/2/41/21/Vol.I. Goor studied at California and Yale Universities gaining an M.A. and Ph.D.
134. Colonial Secretary George H. Hall (1945–46) to OAG, Circular, 19 June 1946: ISA/CSO2/AF/2/46/22/3.
135. Director of Agriculture to Various Members of the Palestine Government and Administration, draft, n.d. [1935?]: ISA/Gp7/F/27/1/36–37/4186/Pt.I.
136. F.H. Taylor, Damage from Floods and Soil Erosion on the Palestinian Sections of the Railway, 1928–1936, and Taylor to Sale, 30 January 1937: *ibid.*
137. See file, Monthly Reports (3.4.1938–31.9.1947): ISA/Gp7/AG/F/YA/18/658.
138. Sale, Soil Conservation Board, Circular No. 1, n.d. [1942?]: ISA/Gp7/F/27/1/39–43/4186/Pt.V.
139. Extract from the Minutes of the 71st Meeting of the Soil Conservation Board Amended and Signed on the 72nd Meeting Held on 22 November 1946: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/3/41/21/Vol.II.
140. F.H. Taylor, *Save Our Soil: A booklet explaining the dangers of Soil Erosion which threaten the prosperity of Palestine and the remedies which can cure it* (Jerusalem: Soil Conservation Board, n.d. [1944?]), p. 56.
141. M. Schwartzman, Report on Flood and Resulting Soil Erosion which took place in Tiberias Region on 11th November 1934, enclosure with Tear to District Officer, Tiberias, 11 December 1934: ISA/Gp7/F/10/4/4176/Vol.I. Also, A.Y. Goor, *The Tiberias Special Area*, Soil Conservation Board, *Bulletin*, 4 (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1948), pp. 5–6.
142. Wauchope to Mayor of Tiberias, 24 November 1934: ISA/Gp7/F/10/4/4176/Vol.I.
143. Memorandum by Sale to C.T. Evans, Assistant Secretary, 12 November 1937: ISA/Gp7/F/10/4/4176/Vol.II.
144. Extract from Director of Agriculture Note ‘Special Areas’ under Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941, of 29 October 1946: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/1/41/21. Also, Department of Forests, *Report, 1939–45*, p. 13.
145. Goor, *Tiberias Special Area*, pp. 8–9.
146. *Annual Report of the Activities of the Public Committee for Soil Conservation in Palestine*, (2.4.45–31.3.46) (Palestine: no publisher stated, 1946); and J.C. Eyre, Acting Deputy Director of Agriculture, Public Committee for Soil Conservation, n.d. [1945?]: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/17/41/21.
147. Department of Forests, Palestine, Scheme of Development: Ten-Year Period, n.d. [1945?], enc. with Sale to CS, 29 May 1945: ISA/CSO2/A/13/45/A/17.
148. Taylor, *Save Our Soil*, p. 27.
149. Sawyer, *Palestine’s Hill Country*, pp. 20–1.
150. V. Zakarian, Grazing and Grazing Practices in Palestine, (1941): ISA/CSO2/AF/17/29/41/20/23.
151. Mills, *Census of Palestine, 1931*, Pt.I, p. 298. Re fodder, see, Dr R.O. Whyte, ‘Fodder Resources of Palestine: Report’, 31 October 1946: PRO/CO733/494/6/76474. Re British work to improve fodder, Kamen, *Little Common Ground*, pp. 219–31.
152. Also, *A Survey of Palestine*, p. 332.
153. Dawe to CS, urgent, 12 August 1934: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.
154. Sale, Preliminary Note on Forest Policy, 1936: *ibid.*
155. Sale, Supplementary Note, 4 December 1936: *ibid.*
156. Zakarian, ‘Grazing Practices in Palestine’: ISA/CSO2/AF/17/29/41/20/23.
157. Shaw for CS, to Consul-General of France, Jerusalem, 30 November 1937: ISA/Gp27/S129/2680; and *Official Gazette*, 14 October 1938, No. 728, Supplement No. 2.

158. Luke, Minute, secret, 17 October 1941: PRO/CO733/448/76138.
159. Bedouin Control Ordinance, No. 18 of 1942, enclosure in: PRO/CO733/448/76138.
160. Ghazi Falah, 'The Processes and Patterns of Sedentarization of the Galilee Bedouin, 1880–1982', (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Durham, Durham, 1982), pp. 217–30.
161. Frank Henderson Stewart, *Bedouin Boundaries in Central Sinai and the Southern Negev: A Document from the Abaywat Tribe, Mediterranean Language and Monograph Series*, Vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), pp. 1–16; I am grateful to Professor Michael Lecker of the Hebrew University Arabic Department for drawing my attention to this monograph. Falah, 'Sedentarization of the Galilee Bedouin', pp. 217–31.
162. Summarised from Falah, *ibid.*, pp. 230–45.
163. Sale to District Commissioner, Jerusalem District, 11 March 1941, enclosure with Minute by [?] to Administrative Secretary, 13 June 1941: ISA/CSO2/AF/17/24/41/20/19.
164. Goor to District Commissioner, Lydda District, 23 March 1947: ISA/Gp7/F/40/2/4190.
165. Nasri Issa Juha, Bethlehem, to Conservator of Forests, 22 April 1947: *ibid.*
166. For example, Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Report, 1927–30*, pp. 15–16; Department of Forests, *AR, 1947*, p. 9.
167. See files, Animal Enumeration: ISA/Gp27/G204/2625/Vol.I–V.
168. Keith-Roach, District Commissioner, Northern District, 8 April 1937: ISA/Gp27/G204/2625/Vol.V.
169. See also, Taylor, *Save Our Soil*, p. 6.
170. Falah, 'Sedentarization of the Galilee Bedouin', pp. 217–20.
171. MacGillivray for CS, to All District Commissioners, 13 November 1946: ISA/Gp7/F/6/9/4167.
172. Minute by M. Nacht, Assistant Legal Draftsman, to CS, 27 June 1947: ISA/CSO2/AF/9/46/22/9.
173. Minute by Financial Secretary to C. Evans, Under-Secretary, Administrative, 19 July 1947: *ibid.*
174. Grounds for Grazing Control Area under the Shepherds (Licensing) Ordinance, 1946: ISA/CSO2/AF/9/3/46/22/12.
175. Goor, Comments on Dr R.O. Whyte's report on Fodder Resources in Palestine, 9 June 1947, pp. 28–36: ISA/Gp7/F/3/29/4164.
176. The British found remnants of a nursery and pottery-shed; the location is not given: F.J. Tear, 'Sand Dune Reclamation in Palestine', *Empire Forestry Journal*, 4 (1925), p. 24.
177. For a listing of some of the plantings, for example, at Acre, and by private Jewish organisations, for example, at Casarea, see, Nili Liphshitz and Gideon Biger, 'Sand Dunes Reclamation by Vegetation in Palestine during the British Mandate Period', *Ofakim*, 46/47 (1997), pp. 21–38 [Hebrew].
178. A.Y. Goor, 'Sand Dune Fixation in Palestine', Appendix I, Department of Forests, *AR, 1947*, p. 2; and Peter Theroux, 'The Imperiled Nile Delta', *National Geographic*, 191, 1 (1997), pp. 2–35, especially p. 10.
179. G. Orshan, 'A Vegetation Map of the Sand Dunes in the Southern Acre Plain', *Israel Exploration Journal*, 5, 2 (1955), pp. 109–13.
180. Goor, 'Sand Dune Fixation in Palestine', p. 2.
181. Sand Drift Ordinance, 1922, in Sawyer, *A Review*, Pt. III, pp. 26–9.
182. John Mayher [?], Assistant Conservator of Forests, Southern District, to Sale [?], 11 December 1945: ISA/Gp7/F/6/12/4167.
183. File, Afforestation Private – Bnei Benyamina (Natanya): ISA/Gp7/F/10/8/5/4176.
184. Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Report, 1931 and 1932*, p. 173, and *AR, 1935*, p. 109, which records it as KM107.

185. Department of Land Settlement, Memorandum on Gaza Development Scheme, draft, n.s., 14 February 1941: ISA/Gp3/4/A/3464. About Gaza and the First World War, see, Matthew Hughes, *Allenby and British Strategy in the Middle East, 1917–1919* (London/Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1999); and Steven Allan, ‘Gaza: The Unsundered City: World War I’s Fateful Fiasco in Gaza, a Story of Military Mishaps and Serendipitous Circumstance’, *Eretz*, 49 (1996), pp. 36–41.
186. Stein, *Land Question*, p. 281.
187. Report on Gaza and Gebalia Sand Dunes Plantations, Planting Operations Carried out between 5 and 7 February 1935 at Gaza Sand Dunes, n.s., n.d. [1935?]: ISA/Gp7/F/10/6/5/4176.
188. Goor to District Officer, Gaza, 19 July 1937: ISA/Gp7/F/10/6/5/4176.
189. Sale to Commissioner for Lands and Surveys, 28 January 1937: ISA/Gp7/F/28/14/4187.
190. Kendall to District Officer, Gaza, 22 May 1937: ISA/Gp7/F/28/14/4187.
191. Goor to CS, 30 July 1947: ISA/Gp7/F/42/5/4190; and Notice, Town Planning Ordinance, 1936, Re Deposit of an Outline Scheme within the Gaza Town Planning Area, *Official Gazette*, 25 March 1948, No. 1655, Supplement No. 2, p. 464.
192. Probably part of the CD&W application: Goor, 14 February 1944: ISA/Gp7/F/28/14/4187.
193. S. Shihaby, Agricultural Officer, Gaza, to Senior Agricultural Officer, Jerusalem, 16 October 1943: ISA/Gp7/F/10/5/10/4176.
194. Tear to Forest Ranger, Jerusalem, 14 November 1934: *ibid.*
195. Shihaby to Senior Agricultural Officer, 16 October 1943: ISA/Gp7/F/10/5/10/4176.
196. W.R. McGeagh, District Commissioner, Gaza District, to CS, 6 August 1945: ISA/Gp7/F/10/6/4/4175; and Grasoovsky to Deputy Head (Tear), 21 December 1932: ISA/Gp7/F/10/5/10/4176.
197. Goor, *List of Forest Reserves*, Sheet No. 24; Department of Forests, *AR*, 1947, p. 4; and Et Tureibe–Kurnub Conservation Rules, 1948, Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, *Official Gazette*, 22 January 1948, No. 1643, Supplement No. 2, p. 39.
198. Sale to Assistant Conservator of Forests, 5 November 1940: ISA/Gp7/F/10/6/4/1/4176. For tribal names, see, Palestine Government, *Schedule of Villages and Tribal Areas* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1933).
199. Shihaby to Senior Agricultural Officer, 16 October 1943: ISA/Gp7/F/10/5/10/4176.
200. District Engineer, Lydda District, to Attorney-General, 20 February 1935: ISA/Gp7/F/10/6/3/4175.
201. John V.W. Shaw, CS, to G.H. Hall, 22 September 1945; and Cunningham to Colonial Secretary, 12 January 1946, Telegram: PRO/CO733/470/76301/3.
202. [?] to Stockdale, Minute, 12 December 1945: *ibid.* Trans-Jordan remained under Palestine’s High Commissioner, hence its close links with it.
203. Sale, Application for Grant, n.d. [1945?], enclosure with HC to Colonial Secretary, Saving, 1 April 1947: *ibid.*
204. *Ibid.*
205. *Ibid.*
206. For example, the first experiments at Acre Station registered a ‘complete ... failure’, Tear, ‘Sand Dune Reclamation in Palestine’, p. 27.
207. HC to Colonial Secretary, Saving, 1 April 1947: PRO/CO733/492/3/76301/3.
208. Colonial Secretary to Cunningham, Telegram, 14 July 1947: PRO/CO733/492/3/76301/3.
209. Agreement between Government and Hanotaiah Limited, Lease, 4 July 1932: ISA/Gp7/F/10/8/5/4176.
210. M. Schwartzman, Forest Ranger, Zikhron Ya’aqov, to Assistant Conservator of Forests, Northern Division, 15 May 1940: *ibid.*

211. The actual number is not given; for example, desert areas such as the 'Araba where investigations into afforestation were made in 1936, are not included: Shepherd *et al.*, Report on Wadi Araba Development, 29 February 1936 (unpublished): Dr René Karschon, (Emeritus), Papers Collection, Rehovot. It is because of such omissions that figures for Forestry varied in the correspondence and reports.
212. H. Bergman, Inspector 'D' Division, Ramle, to District Commandant of Police, 14 February 1923: ISA/Gp3/LS/27/707.
213. Sale, Application for Grant, n.d. [1945?], enclosure with HC to Colonial Secretary, Saving, 1 April 1947: PRO/CO733/492/3/76301/3.
214. Sale, 'Forestry in Palestine', p. 7.
215. Rajan, 'Imperial Environmentalism', p. 5.
216. Department of Forests, *Report, 1936-39*, p. 10.
217. The number of animals licensed to graze in Forest Reserves increased during the War, up from 11,734 in 1939-40, to 39,306 in 1944-45: Table 5, Department of Forests, *Report, 1939-45*, p. 27.
218. Sale, Forestry and Soil Conservation, 28 November 1944: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164/Vol.I.
219. For example, file, Lists of Non-Settled Forest Reserves, secret: George Antonius Papers, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/1283/342.
220. Draft for a final report on Forestry sent to Sale, 2 July 1946: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164/Vol.I.
221. Minute by C.G. Eastwood, Principal Assistant Secretary, Cabinet Office, 21 November 1945: PRO/CO733/470/76301/3.

Land

... the extent of land hunger is evident ...¹

INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The land conflict in Mandate Palestine expressed the many-faceted aspects of the place. The literature about land in Palestine is vast, and only a few references are used here to illustrate the key points. Anthropologists have shown how property registration on paper insufficiently describes the human–land relationship, where the spirits of the dead may make a different claim to the landscape. The role of land for religious and secular peoples is poignant.² Land is a commodity, a natural reserve of ‘irreplaceable value’, with competing interests for food production and accommodation space.³

The Arabs and Jews made strong religious, historical, political, economic, social, cultural and traditional claims to the land in Palestine. Arab claims focused on their continued presence in the country,⁴ whilst Zionist ideology looked to the Jewish ‘redemption of the land’. ‘Eretz Israel’, the Land of Israel, was a gift from God to the Jews, linking them back to their biblical roots. The Zionists were also influenced by the eighteenth-century French physiocratic school which regarded agriculture as a means to improve society’s material lot; by revolutionary movements in Europe and Russia to better the peasants’ condition; and by nineteenth-century European agrarian reforms.⁵ The JNF implemented the Jewish Agency’s Zionist ideology, purchasing lands, and helping Jewish settlements in Palestine. Jewish National Fund literature still includes the term ‘redemption’, and refers to biblical passages showing the Jewish attachment to Eretz Israel.⁶

The Mandatory Government was a third factor in Palestine’s land equation, however. Land is a visible symbol of power; and the Administration’s claims to State Domains (known also as Public Lands), were strongly disputed, often in lengthy court battles. The British kept the Ottoman Land Law of 1858, as amended and added to by the 1876 Ottoman Civil Code and the 1912–13 laws, which were all influenced

by European land legislation.⁷ The 1858 *Tabu* Law instituted land registration (the *Tabu* was the Ottoman Land Title; it also refers to the Ottoman Land Register),⁸ and in 1869–73, cadastral surveying was introduced into Palestine. The 1858 Code determined five basic land categories: *mulk* (freehold); *miri* (State ownership held by lease); *Waqf* (religious endowment); *matruka* (for public use, such as threshing floors); and *mewat* ('dead' or unclaimed State Land that cannot be or is not cultivated; wasteland). There were many sub-divisions of these categories, making for a very complex land regime.⁹ Large estates were formed in the Middle East, which were often subject to inheritance laws. These large estates could form for a number of reasons, prominent among which in Palestine, for example, was the practice whereby peasants, fearful of land registration leading to their conscription in the Military, let notables register the peasants' property in their names instead. This caused further entanglement in land rights, especially as the legal framework did not protect the peasants' entitlements.¹⁰

In 1921, the British initiated a cadastral survey in Palestine.¹¹ They also tried to limit the problem of Arabs made landless by land sales to Jews; to establish title rights to State Domain; to control malaria; and to eliminate the communal land system of *musha'*, which the Mandatory deemed detrimental to agriculture. So bitter was the Arab–Jewish dispute over land, that the Colonial Office and High Commissioner dealt with the issue.

There are numerous studies and commentaries on land in Palestine, especially that by Kenneth W. Stein on the land issue between the Arabs and the Jews during 1917–39. Stein also covered British legislative attempts to safeguard Arab lands. In addition, there are works by Gabriel Baer (on tenureship and use); W.F. Boustany (on agricultural land and the Mandate terms); Firestone (on crop-sharing and *musha'*); Sami Hadawi (on land categories, quality and politics); David Vital and Kark (on religious aspects); Tarif Khalidi (on land tenure and other elements); and Reiter (on *Waqf*). Hadawi was an Official Land Valuer and Inspector of Tax Assessments in the Palestine Government, and his works are especially detailed as regards statistical analyses, giving data on land distribution and land use. The Bibliography has more references and further information on the authors' works mentioned above. Some of the studies are also referred to in the course of the chapter below. An analysis is given of the Mandatory Government's role in shaping the land laws, in developing State Domains and malarial swamps, and partitioning the communally-held *musha'*, thus changing Palestine's landscape.

LAND LAWS

The Mandatory passed several laws to control land transfers to the Jews and their impact on those Arab farmers most affected by the transfers. Stein has written about the history of these laws, especially the Cultivators (Protection) Ordinances (or Protection of Cultivators Ordinance), covering the years up to 1939. In this section, the spatial influence of the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, are discussed, after the impact of the Protection of Cultivators Ordinances on the landscape of Mandate Palestine has been considered.

The Protection of Cultivators Ordinances

The successive Protection of Cultivators Ordinances (POCOs) originated with the Land Transfer Ordinances (LTO) of the 1920s, which aimed at ‘protecting’ tenants from being evicted by determining that they could keep ‘maintenance land’ to sustain themselves and their families. The history of these Ordinances showed that their terms for the transfer of land swung between monetary compensation of tenants, and legally binding them to the land through the enforced system of having to retain a ‘maintenance area’ – or, as Hope-Simpson termed it, the ‘lot viable’. The size of a subsistence area and extent of cultivable land remained contentious to the Mandate’s end, as these depended on soil quality and the agricultural techniques used in any given area. Hope-Simpson had in fact defined two categories in 1930: 130 dunams necessary for a *fellah* to sustain his family on unirrigated land, and 40 dunams on irrigated land. The 1933 Protection of Cultivators Ordinance even determined that subsistence areas where possible be in the ‘vicinity of the holding from which the statutory tenant is being ejected’.¹²

While these laws were constantly circumvented by sellers and buyers, they did have an impact on the landscape. A patchwork pattern of artificially formed cultivated ‘subsistence plots’ emerged. The 1934 Amendment to the ordinance also empowered the High Commissioner to fix the subsistence area. The effect was especially visible because tenant land ‘holdings’ usually consisted of ‘fragments widely scattered’ about the village area, evidenced by the Statistics Department’s complex land map, making the identification of maintenance areas difficult.¹³ The geographical restrictions on the purchase of subsistence areas were patently the beginnings of the 1940 Land Transfers Regulations, much reviled by the Jews. As an examination of the impact of the creation of the ‘statutory tenant’ category in 1933 shows below, tenants

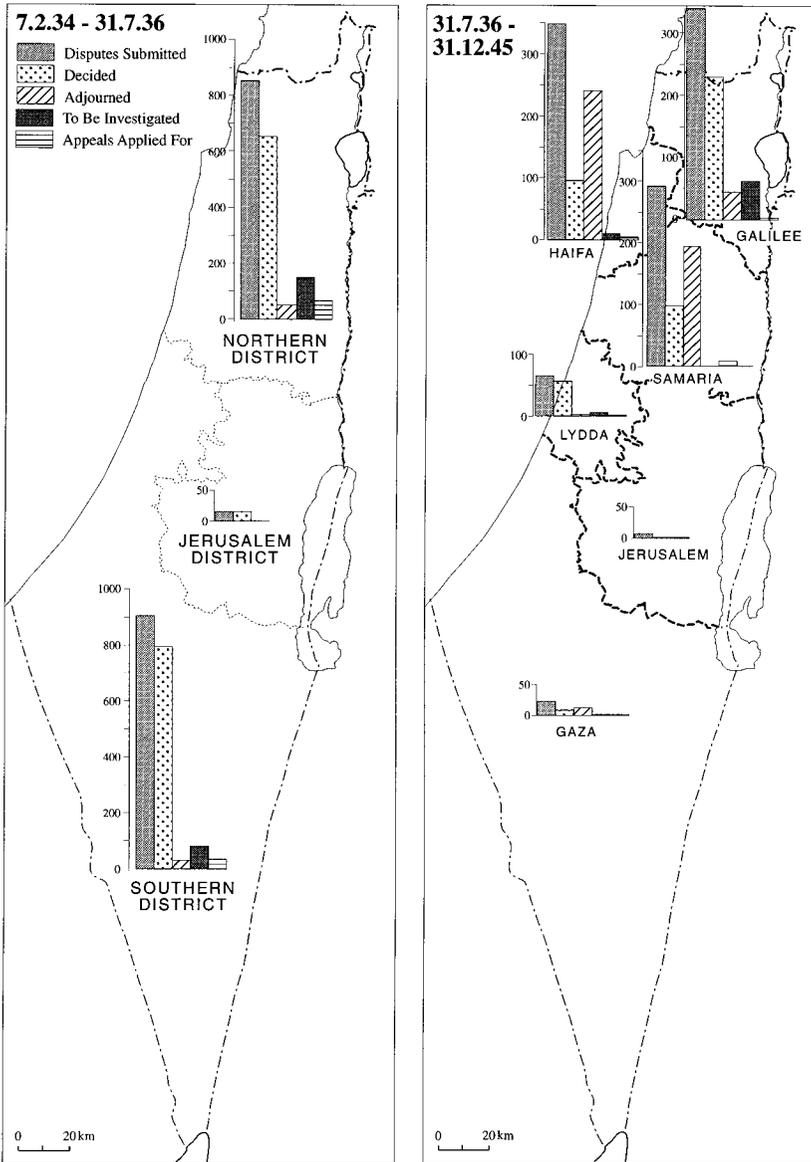
began seeking out their rights, also causing qualifiable changes to the landscape.

The Problem of Statutory Tenancy

Stein wrote about the legislative and tax aspects of the creation of 'Statutory Tenants' under the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance, 1933.¹⁴ An analysis is now presented of the geography of the impact of the implementation of this Ordinance. Compensation was to be given to the new category of 'statutory tenants' of not less than a year for disturbances caused them for leaving the land, and for any improvements they may have made to it. Unless they had 'grossly' neglected their holdings, tenants could not be evicted. They were otherwise to keep a subsistence area if the land were sold. Sub-tenants were also covered, as were graziers and woodcutters, if they had been on the land for five consecutive years. Colonial Secretary Philip Cunliffe-Lister insisted on having the High Commissioner's prior approval for subsistence areas. In addition, Cunliffe-Lister wanted the Bedouins' rights assured for grazing their animals for only one season a year.¹⁵ By December 1933, the public was already known to be losing faith in the ordinance as it was again circumvented, with statutory tenants being threatened or bribed to withdraw their claims. The Protection of Cultivators Ordinance was amended on 3 February 1934 to authorise the installation of a Northern and a Southern District Commission, respectively, which were to deal with claims in order to cut out lengthy and expensive court proceedings over disputes.

On 3 February 1934, the ordinance was again amended, empowering the High Commissioner to fix the subsistence area.¹⁶ By 29 March 1934, claims had been made under the ordinance's Section 19 against 120 landlords in the Northern District. Thirty-six were withdrawn, and 66 were decided; none were adjourned. Eighteen were to be investigated and three appealed (see, Map 23). The number of claimants in individual disputes actually varied. It was found that a single dispute could have from one to 72, or more, claimants. The disputes were mainly with Arab landlords, since most Jews paid off their tenants to leave. The public was beginning to 'realize the advantage' of the 'new law'. Tenants 'insisted' on cultivating subsistence areas, placing these plots on the map. Some tenants thought they were entitled to plough up any land they chose.

The law had an effect on the landscape. It was reported that most claims in 'the Gaza Sub-District concern reduction of area to within the limits of a "subsistence area", and not the refusal to lease land to the



Map 23. Cases Heard under Section 19 of the Cultivators (Protection) Ordinance, 7 February 1934 to 31 December 1945.

Source: Compiled from *A Survey of Palestine*, p. 1,214.

tenant'. District Officers even had to inform tenants of the 'protection' given them by the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance when a sale was impending. The ordinance, however, was said in 1934 to have 'passed practically unnoticed in the [Judaean] Hills'.¹⁷ In the Northern District, claims were mainly in the plains. The Southern District also received a high number of claims that, as the period 31.7.36–31.12.45 in Map 23 shows, arose more in the Lydda than in the Gaza District. The map of claims essentially reflected Jewish land interests; and, tenants continued leaving the land on payment. The ordinance did not compel landlords to permit tenants to cultivate the land, and 'in many cases' landlords preferred leaving their land fallow rather than rent it out and risk having a sitting tenant. They were especially cautious on the Coastal Plain, where land was in great demand and tenants were probably more aware of their rights.¹⁸ The ordinance was at once causing both a reduction in and an expansion of cultivated land, spatially determinable by the main areas of Jewish land purchases.

The Protection of Cultivators Ordinance, 1933, was opposed by landowners and even by the Government, as it was thought that tenants 'exploited' landlords by becoming 'sitting tenants', and that a new 'landless class' was being formed of trespassers who had been paid to leave the land.¹⁹ Jewish tenants also applied for statutory rights.²⁰ In 1942, a committee was finally appointed, chaired by Lydda District Commissioner, R.E.H. Crosbie, to prepare for the possible emendation of the ordinance.²¹ However, its recommendations of 23 January 1943 were set aside because of the War.²² The High Commissioner had already, in 1939, waved statutory tenants' rights under the Defence Emergency (Amendment) Regulations 48A of the principal Regulations under the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act of 1939 in order to ensure increased cultivation by landlords for the war effort. The amended regulation continued in effect until the Mandate's end.²³ This removed the main objection to the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance, that tenants or occupiers gained the right to remain on the land after a year, and followed the Cairo Middle East Supply Centre wartime directive 'that every available dunam in Palestine which can be cultivated should be cultivated'.²⁴ Since, in 1941, London had refused to approve the exclusion of State Domain from the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance, because of criticism that a distinction was being made for Public Lands, the High Commissioner's act was carried out under the guise of 'temporary wartime measures'.²⁵ On 17 December 1942, another amendment was made, suspending the acquisition of statutory tenancy rights in the future. The amendment was initially published as a bill, the Cultivators (Protection) (Amendment) Ordinance, 1941.²⁶ The

number of disputes in 1936–45 fell remarkably, possibly indicating the impact of the Arab Revolt and wartime needs (see, Map 23).

The agricultural landscape was both extended and contracted by the Protection of Cultivators Ordinances, first giving tenants and squatters rights, then forcing landlords to leave their fields fallow. This built up to the sweeping Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, which were intended to block Jewish buyers from swathes of Palestine, doing on a large scale what the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance had done locally and in a patchwork fashion. However, the Land Transfers Regulations had by then surpassed the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance in land controls, which became unpopular amongst landowners and with the Mandatory Government alike, leading to its amendment.

The Formation of the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940

During the 1930s, the Jews made increasing demands on the British to intensify Arab agriculture and revise the definition of the subsistence area. Accusations were commonly levelled at the Government's non-fulfilment of Mandate Articles 6 and 11 ensuring the 'close settlement' by the Jews on the land and the 'promotion' of intensive cultivation.²⁷ Arab opposition to sales remained equally strong.²⁸ The *Peel Report* therefore pressed both for the consolidation of scattered Arab holdings for development and for the 'lot viable'.²⁹ The Land Transfers Regulations of 1940 were eventually formulated to protect Arab small-owners.

One of the Government's most controversial pieces of legislation, the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, was to influence Palestine's partitioning. Following the shelving of the 1938 *Woodhead Report* on the partition of Palestine, on 17 May 1939, HMG published a *White Paper* policy restricting Jewish immigration (to 75,000 in the following five years) and land transactions. HMG feared that the problem of the landless Arabs would lead to unrest across the territory. Turning Mandate Article 6 on the Jews, the Government used the Article's terms to justify the land restrictions, stressing that whilst it was to 'encourage' the Jews' 'close settlement' on the land, it also had to do so 'while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population' were not prejudiced. In addition, it quoted paragraph 16 of the 1939 *White Paper*, revealing British disquiet about the growth of the Arab population by natural increase, and 'steady' land sales to the Jews, leaving 'certain areas' with 'no room' for further transfers. Other areas had to be restricted to ensure that Arab cultivators maintained their living standards, and that the number of landless Arabs did not escalate.³⁰ The new regulations therefore shifted the focus

from subsistence patches to the geography of land sales.³¹

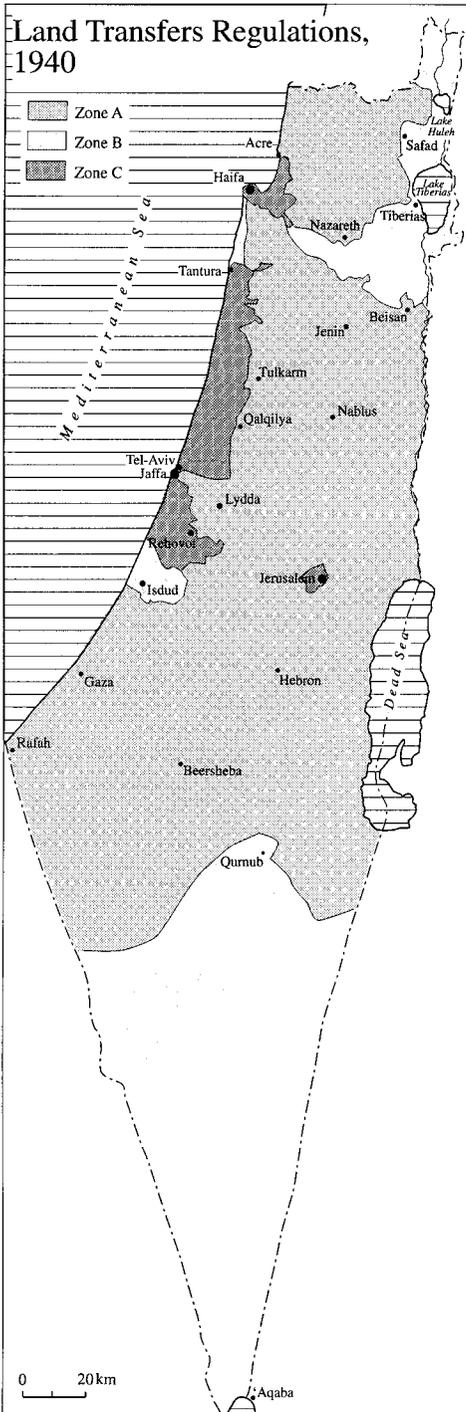
On 28 February 1940, the Regulations were published, dividing Palestine into zones, 'largely based' on the Woodhead Commission's partition plan for Palestine.³² Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald accepted the Commission's assumption that the Arabs and Jews needed the same lot viable because, though the Jews practised intensive agriculture, they required more land to maintain their higher living standards, thus balancing the two 'lots' out. Also, HMG agreed with Hope-Simpson that there was only room for new immigrants to settle on undeveloped Jewish reserve lands (for example, in 1939 estimated at 111,100 dunams), and also agreed with Peel that the Hills were already congested.³³

Douglas G. Harris, the Commissioner on Special Duty in Palestine, drew up the initial Regulations, and Stephen E. V. Luke who had served as Chief Secretary in Jerusalem during 1928–30, suggested dividing Palestine into three zones of varying land restrictions, 'following closely' the *Woodhead Report*. Zoning was to replace High Commissioner Sir Harold MacMichael's proposal that his approval be sought for any transfer in Palestine, since this would have given rise to a process too slow and 'cumbersome'.³⁴ Urgent secret correspondence continued between Jerusalem and London to prepare the Regulations, with MacDonald and MacMichael actively involved. A 'Statement' explaining the Regulations to accompany their publication was also readied.³⁵

The Geography of the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940

Central to the Regulations were the geographical zoning of transfer restrictions, and the inclusion of the term 'Palestinian Arab'. In 1930, Chancellor proposed the enactment of the Transfer of Agricultural Land Bill (TALB) aimed at the 'non-alienation' of Arab agricultural land, subject to the High Commissioner's discretion. Though it was not passed, it introduced the idea of legally distinguishing between Arab and Jewish Palestinians.³⁶ Paragraph nine of the Regulations now defined a 'Palestinian Arab' as an Arab 'ordinarily resident in Palestine'. Palestinian Arabs could not sell land to non-Palestinian Arabs who would then sell the land to the Jews. Also, corporations were not interchangeable with 'Palestinian Arabs'. Druze with Palestinian citizenship were recognised as 'Palestinian Arabs', but Armenians and Circassians with Palestinian citizenship were not (due to being immigrants?).³⁷

The Regulations divided Palestine into three Zones (see, Map 24). In 'Zone A', land transfer, 'save to a Palestinian Arab', was prohibited. The High Commissioner could, however, permit this if: (a) companies



Map 24. The Geography of the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, Zones. Source: Based on Palestine Index to Villages and Settlements, 900B(ADM) 48 [1940(2)], 1:250,250: Maps Department, Bloomfield Library, The Hebrew University.

or societies which he approved of mortgaged the land; (b) a religious or charitable institute bought the land; (c) the land was transferred to consolidate existing holdings, or for parcelling village *musha*; and (d) the land was transferred between two persons who were not Palestinian Arabs. In 'Zone B' also, transfers were only permissible between Palestinian Arabs, unless approved by the High Commissioner or by a judgment or order by the Chief Execution or Land Settlement Officers in execution of a mortgage registered before the Regulations' enforcement, or undertaken prior to the Regulations. The Regulations were implemented retroactively for 18 May 1939, a day after the publication of, and in accordance with paragraph 16 of, the *White Paper*. All information on transactions was deposited at the Land Registry Department.³⁸ The High Commissioner's permission was not required for transfers in the third, 'Free Zone'.

Because of their local knowledge, the District Officers contributed to the demarcation of the zones. 'Zone A', which covered much of Palestine, included the Hill Country and parts of the Gaza and Beersheba Sub-Districts. 'Zone B' incorporated the Plain of Esdraelon and Valley of Jezreel, and the Eastern Galilee. The plain between Tantura and Haifa was transferred from 'Zone A' to 'Zone B' as HMG did not want a prohibited area between the Plain of Sharon, with its large Jewish presence, and the 'free' industrial zone around Haifa – despite leaving certain Hill villages 'deprived of their most productive asset' – in case Palestine became a federation.³⁹

Included in the 'Free Zone' were the coastal strip (Plain of Sharon) from Tel-Aviv to Tantura (also in the Jewish State in the *Woodhead Report's* Plan C); municipal areas; the Haifa Industrial Zone; and Jerusalem's Town Planning Area. This zone incorporated parts of the Shephelah. At first, MacMichael wanted the Beersheba Sub-District classified as Zone A because of 'grave' objections by the Arabs to Jewish settlement there, although development prospects were 'slight'. Still, at MacDonald's suggestion that the Negev be included for future development, it was categorised as Zone B.⁴⁰ The Regulations' Schedule of place-names was often added to over the years, even if just by a few parcels. By 1946, Zone A extended over 16,680 square kilometres; Zone B, 8,348 square kilometres; and the Free Zone, over 1,292 square kilometres in area (totalling 26,320 square kilometres).⁴¹ Regulation 8(b) maintained the Government's right to dispose of State Domain and waste land at its discretion.

The procedure adopted for the submission of applications for land transfers was set out and the main steps outlined by the Chief Secretary after discussions with the High Commissioner. All the District and

Assistant District Commissioners were informed of the procedure. A certificate from the Registrar of Lands giving details of the relevant plot and the application had to be supplied to the District Commissioner. The District Commissioner then had to carry out a full investigation and submit a report on this along with his recommendations to the Chief Secretary. The High Commissioner was then to review the application.⁴²

MacMichael was loath to consult the Arabs and Jews on the nature of the Regulations because he thought they would not accept them. Also, London was nervous about enacting such legislation during wartime, when the support of both the Arab and Jewish communities was needed, and HMG felt it could not rely on a 'gentleman's agreement' with the Jewish Agency to limit land transfers. MacDonald even argued with Weizmann that the Regulations might clarify the geographical division between the Arabs and the Jews, thus strengthening the case for a federated Palestine.⁴³ The Permanent Mandates Commission had already dissented from the 1939 *White Paper* policy, but war stopped it from reporting this to the League of Nations Council, leaving HMG a free hand to implement the law.⁴⁴

The Arabs and Jews sent numerous complaints to the Government strongly denouncing the Regulations, and there are several files full of such correspondence. Some notables, *mukbtars* and *fellabeen* even protested the 'injury' they would suffer from not selling their 'surplus land'.⁴⁵

Indeed, during the years of the Arab Revolt, the JNF had received a 'considerable increase' in land offers. The Jews said the Regulations were racially discriminatory, making them 'become town-dwellers'.⁴⁶ Jewish settlements railed against the 'murderous law restricting land sales'. They were in contradiction to the 'elementary principles of justice and human equality' and the Balfour Declaration; instead of protecting the *fellabeen*, the Regulations would in fact 'only enslave and subject them to the exploitation of the Arab Feudalism' (*sic*).⁴⁷ The official Arab response was to reject the Regulations because they came 'too late and did not go far enough'. The Arabs demanded a total ban on transfers to Jews.⁴⁸ But in the 6 March 1940 House of Commons debate on an Opposition motion to censure HMG's policy in Palestine, MacDonald tried to play down the Regulations' 'discriminatory aspect', emphasising the Mandatory Government's dual obligation. The motion failed to be carried, with Palestine being made eligible for monies provided under the Statement of Policy on [the] Colonial Development and Welfare Act.⁴⁹

The Implementation of the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940

Mixed results were obtained from the Regulations' implementation as they were often by-passed in a 'legally illegal process'.⁵⁰ On 8 October 1940, the High Commissioner appointed an Advisory Committee on Land Transfers to assist him in the decision on the applications for sales made under the Regulations. The District Commissioners had previously helped on this Committee, but their recommendations varied too much between the Districts.⁵¹ Harris chaired the Committee and J.N. Stubbs, the Director of Land Registration, was a member. Neither this Committee nor the State Domain Committee (see below) were officially announced.⁵² The District Commissioners, however, signed the rejections to applications, as they could 'sugar coat it' as necessary. A new policy determined that that State Domain, though not subject to the Regulations, was to be 'considered in the light of the regulations'.⁵³

In one report by a District Officer in Nathanya in the District of Samaria, it was noted that in the 12 months ending February 1940, the prices of land, 'especially orange groves transferred from Jews to Jews' were lower than in the past. This was because the Jews were 'reluctant' to invest when the political situation was so unstable. However, the prices of Arab lands, 'and particularly those situated in the free zone' were reported to 'have gone up'.

The Officer gave the following two explanations for this. In the first place, 'an ordinary Arab' presumed it safer to invest in immovable property, 'subsequently there are a good many prospective Arab purchases'. In the second place, the Regulations' restrictions on land-buying by Jews 'had the natural effect of raising the prices in both the free zone and zone A as the Arabs who sell their land in the free zone immediately buy other land in zone "A"'. The overall reduced scale of operations was put down to the 'lack of Jewish *National* [*sic*] capital and to the general public's fear to part with cash money in the present circumstances'. However, 'The Arabs are quite willing to sell their land to Jews'.

Within the area of Nathanya, which was inside the Free Zone, the Officer wrote, 'no local racial bitterness' was noticed. But, 'the land-owners in zone "A" are far from being happy' since they rated the price rise of land in the 'Free Zone' as having been 'at the expense of the land in zone "A"' where sales were prohibited; and, although prices had gone up, 'they do not compare favourably with those obtainable in the free zone'.⁵⁴ It therefore quickly became apparent that the overriding local concern was not so much about land alienation, as for land prices.

After 17 months of the Regulations' operations, it was reported that most of the applications made were for Zone A, under Regulation 3, proviso 1, clauses (c) and (d), and proviso 2; and for Zone B (Regulation 4).⁵⁵ Regulation 3, proviso 1, clause (c) stated that the High Commissioner could permit sales to consolidate existing holdings, or effect the parcellation of village *musha*' within the meaning of the Land (Settlement of Title) Ordinance, 1928. Clause (d) allowed transfers between two persons not being Palestinian Arabs (for example, between Jews). Proviso 2 permitted transfers: (a) for the execution of a mortgage and if registered before 18 May 1939; and (b) delivered or made before the Regulations' publication. Many loopholes in the Regulations were highlighted.

Sixty-three per cent of Palestine's total area was in Zone A, 32 per cent was in Zone B, and five per cent in Zone C.⁵⁶ Among the most effective ways of evading the Regulations was by the execution of mortgages and foreclosures. For instance, a Jew bought land near Beisan in Zone A by offering the highest bid at an Execution Officer's auction in a mortgage foreclosure between Palestinian Arabs. In Regulation 3, proviso 1 (a), Zone A land was transferable if the High Commissioner gave his permission for it to be mortgaged to a company or society which he approved of. District Commissioners investigated mortgages to ensure Palestinian Arabs did not enter any mortgages they would be 'forced' to see foreclosed on by prior arrangement with Jewish buyers.⁵⁷

There were many mortgage circumventions. The first land transfer to Jews in Zone A was to settle a mortgage registered before 18 May 1939: a 2,250-dunam plot four kilometres east of Gaza, abutting a Jewish-owned area, was transferred to the JNF in this way. Old judgments were executed on land bought especially for this: the property would be mortgaged, the mortgage foreclosed on for the non-payment of debt, and the land taken instead. This was common in the Gaza District, possibly due to its high number of smallholders. 'Rackets' were run involving the exchange of thousands of dunams.⁵⁸ In 12 months in the Gaza area alone, the JNF acquired 3,700 dunams in rigged-up foreclosures with full Arab co-operation.⁵⁹ The Jews also bought larger areas than required to execute debt judgments.⁶⁰

Mortgage foreclosures remained the most common method of evading the Regulations to the end of the Mandate. This was despite a special investigation into the problem in 1943, in which it was found that the Regulations did not need amending because the risks were high for the Jews and the Transfers Committee was keeping close tabs on the matter.⁶¹

Attempts were also made by Jews to enter into leases with Arabs on Arab land, to cultivate the land, and then acquire rights under the Cultivators (Protection) Ordinance.⁶² The leases were usually up to three years, and there was nothing preventing the Jews from entering into annual leases with Arabs, and thus acquiring rights under the Ordinance. In April 1942, the Acting Chief Secretary wrote that although he was 'doubtful whether much advantage is taken of it by the Jews, there is certainly a loop-hole here for evasion' of the Regulations.⁶³ The High Commissioner disallowed land speculation involving large tracts bought but not registered before 18 May 1939, if he concluded this would prejudice the present holders' economic position, and that the 'spirit' of the Regulations was transgressed. MacMichael pointedly asked for proofs of land registrations. This form of land transfer, however, does not seem to have been practised often, possibly because of its complexity, and little documentation has been found on it.⁶⁴

Two factors in Regulation 3(c) were much exploited: that transfers were permissible if the High Commissioner saw this as necessary to consolidate existing holdings or to effect the parcellation of village *musha*' within the meaning of the Land (Settlement of Title) Ordinance. The Mandatory was concerned that the Jews were using this regulation to increase their presence in certain areas. For example, the Jews acquired numerous isolated parcels in the Beisan Sub-District, and began asking permission to purchase Arab-owned lands separating the parcels in order to 'consolidate' them, drawing on Harris' comment that many of the parcels could not be 'economically developed'.

To accept these applications would be to open the way to the Jews eventually owning 'the bulk of Beisan lands', many being in 'Zone A'. The Transfers Committee rejected these applications as HMG believed Beisan to be important for accommodating part of the 'surplus Arab population'. The operative principle for consolidation was, in fact, that large Jewish blocks with small Arab blocks in between could be consolidated. Hence, approval for consolidation was given for a 1,301-dunam transfer from a Palestinian Arab to the JNF in As Sakhina in the Beisan Sub-District in Zone B because the Fund owned most of the land.⁶⁵ The High Commissioner preferred encouraging land exchanges for consolidation. An exact exchange was approved, for instance, of 79,685 dunams each between an Arab and the JNF in Beit 'Affa Village in the Gaza Sub-District.⁶⁶

Similarly, the Mandatory did not intend that Jews who bought *musha*' shares should be able to purchase the remaining shares for consolidation. Here, the High Commissioner encouraged partitioning based on exchange, except for shares bought before 18 May 1939, and where Arab shares were small. The Transfers Committee had therefore

to be well informed about proposed *musha*' transfers, although it is uncertain how much *musha*' the Jews held. Partitioning was to be based on the area and not value of shares, as the Jews tended to stress the latter, thereby getting larger plots which were representative of the value of their shares.⁶⁷

Time favoured the JNF when it applied for 2/16ths of the Arab-owned *musha*' shares of Al Ghazawiya Village in the Beisan Sub-District in Zone A. The Committee recommended the transfer because the Fund had already registered 14/16ths of the shares in its name before 18 May 1939.⁶⁸

Jews regularly bid for auctioned State Domain whilst bearing in mind the Mandatory's policy regarding this category of land in the context of the Regulations. For example, a 19-dunam plot of State Domain in Qalandiya Village, Jerusalem Sub-District, Zone A, was auctioned because it was too small to maintain. The JNF bid for this but was rejected despite the fact that it was the highest bid, at double the reserve price of £P5. The reason was that, although the plot bordered the Jewish settlement of 'Atarot, its area was bounded by Arabs; and the Administration wanted to prevent the Jews from 'gaining a footing' in purely Arab areas, and to avoid a repetition of this situation elsewhere. Since the Government was not obligated to accept the highest bidder, the Jewish offer was rejected.⁶⁹

The 'lot viable' was also used by the British to oppose transfer applications. A JNF application for land in Al Malikiya Village, in the Safad Sub-District, was not recommended due to the fear that the villagers would have insufficient lots viable. A Lebanese Arab had wanted to transfer his lands – two-thirds of Al Malikiya's lands – to the Fund; but there were no Jews in the village, and the villagers farmed almost all of its cultivable land. Galilee District Commissioner C.T. Evans, therefore, strongly opposed the sale.⁷⁰

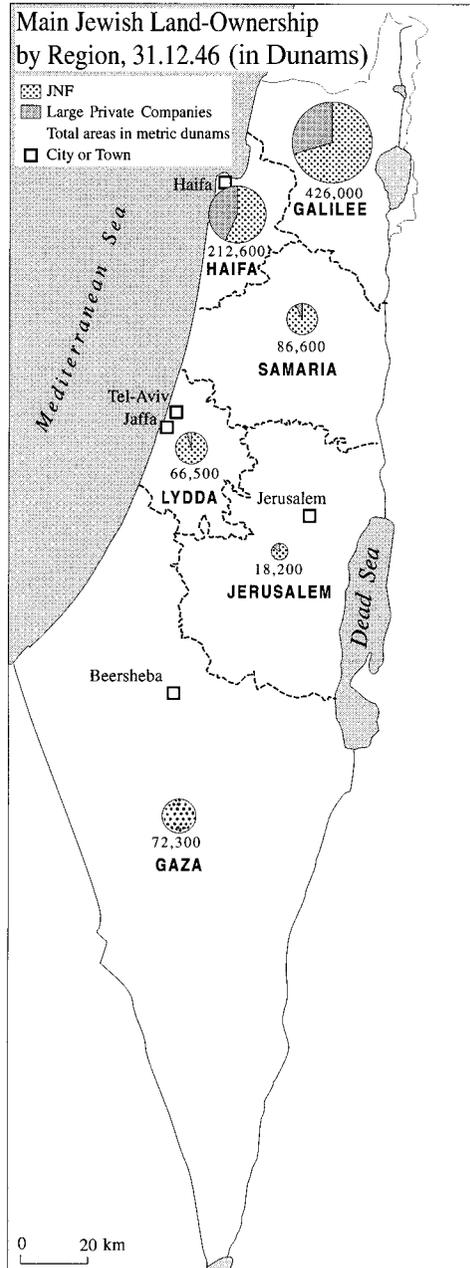
The Arabs tried counteracting Jewish land purchases through their own National Fund (*Sunduq al-Ummah*), started in 1931 and run by the Arab Executive Committee, which represented the Arabs in Palestine,⁷¹ and had a Lands Department.⁷² The Fund apparently had little effect in the 1930s, becoming a joint stock company (The Arab Company for the Rescue of the Lands in Palestine),⁷³ although in the 1940s, it was revived and received many requests from individuals to buy lands affected by the 1940 Regulations that were about to fall into Jewish hands. The Arab National Fund communicated with the Government about such transactions. For example, in 1943–45, it corresponded with the Mandatory to stop sales to Jewish buyers in Biriya and Meirun in the Safad Sub-District, also in the Beisan and in the Gaza Sub-District.

The Gaza plot alone measured 5,000 dunams.⁷⁴ The Arab National Fund appears to have been particularly active in Tiberias,⁷⁵ and many of the lands connected with its operations were in Zones A and B. In 1945, a Central Committee for the Arab Fund to Save Arab Lands from Jews was also formed, which included Musa al-Alami, member of a prominent Jerusalem family. The Arab Higher Committee, representative of Palestine's Arabs, ran its own Lands Department, and contact was maintained with the British Government and across the world with different Muslim organisations on the problem of land sales to the Jews – most notably to the JNF (for example, concerning sales in Safad and Gaza).⁷⁶ The necessity for this new Committee reflected the difficulties the Fund encountered in controlling land sales, even with the existence of, and referral to, the Land Transfers Regulations.⁷⁷

The Arabs regularly complained to the Mandatory's Committee on Lands, founded on 2 June 1945, to look into continued illegal sales to Jews. The National Fund compiled lists of lands sold, and of lands 'saved', presenting this as evidence of the failures of the 1940 Regulations; the Committee on Lands therefore had access to lists from the Arabs showing the weaknesses in the Regulations.⁷⁸ The Jews also organised a campaign against the Regulations, and were bitterly disappointed when they were enacted. They collated data,⁷⁹ protesting its amendment, and constantly sought to have them cancelled.⁸⁰

Conclusion

In 1945, the Government claimed a 50 per cent drop in known land purchases by Jews from Arabs (1943: 19,418 dunams; 1944: 9,094 dunams).⁸¹ The Regulations had become important in shaping the landscape of relative Arab and Jewish settlement, but they were evaded in many ways, and almost 75 per cent of the lands bought by Jews in 1940–46 were in Zones A and B, as they planned for their own State (see, Map 25); for example, the JNF began purchasing land in the [Gush] Etzion area around Jerusalem.⁸² Of the 2,514 dunams of land where transfer applications were received and approved in Zone A: 946 were direct exchanges; 924 were approved for the consolidation of existing Jewish holdings; transactions for 604 were initiated before the implementation of the Regulations; and 40 were transferred under Regulation 3, proviso 1(b) to religious institutions. In Zone B, of the 10,877 dunams approved for transfer: 1,430 were exchanges; 3,101 were for the consolidation of existing Jewish holdings; and 6,346 were for transactions initiated before the Regulations. Altogether, 45,021 dunams were transferred from Arabs to Jews in the Free Zone.⁸³



Map 25. Main Jewish Land-Ownership by Region, 31 December 1946. Source: Compiled from Palestine Government, *Supplement to Survey of Palestine: Notes Compiled for the Information of the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, June 1947* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1947; henceforth, *Supplement: UNSCOP*), p. 30; and *A Survey of Palestine*, p. 245.

Despite setting up the Society for the Preservation of Arab Lands in 1932 in Tulkarm, an Arab Fund to Save Arab Lands from Jews (or Arab Land Fund, the revived National Fund of what was the Arab Executive Committee) in 1945–46 in Palestine, and the Arab Land Company in 1947 in Cairo (as a Société Anonyme Egyptienne, to which only Arab League members could apply), the Arabs continued co-operating with the Jews in land sales, making the Mandatory's work all the more difficult. The Arab League had helped finance the formation of the Arab Development Society in 1945, aimed at assisting Palestinian Arab peasants repay their debts to moneylenders, on condition that they turn their properties into (inalienable) family *waqfs*. Al-Alami, who was a Palestinian Arab representative at the 1944 Alexandria Protocol talks in Egypt to set up the Arab League, had argued that the smallholders' debts caused the *fellabeen* to sell their lands to the Jews. By then, the Jews were said to have purchased most of the absentee landowners' properties. Though not wanting to appear to obstruct the Arab Land Company's establishment provided it followed 'ordinary commercial practices', the British were adamant that no land in Zone A be transferred to any companies, regardless of their shareholders' 'national composition'. This principle was even applied to the Arab National Fund of Palestine which aimed to safeguard Arab lands from sales to the Jews.⁸⁴

A Committee established in June 1945, by High Commissioner Lord Gort, to investigate Arab complaints about the Regulations' failures concluded that, whilst it found no evidence of the contravention of the Regulations, they were being evaded by the methods discussed above.⁸⁵ In 1946, proposals were made by the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry ('regarding the problems of European Jewry and Palestine') to abolish the Land Transfers Regulations, as its 'effect has been such as to amount to discrimination against the Jews; their tendency is to separate and keep separate Arabs and Jews'. The Committee added that the Regulations also afforded 'no protection to the Arab living in the free zone'. HMG proclaimed support in the same vein for the 1946 Morrison–Grady Plan for the Provincial Autonomy of Palestine, but this did not materialise as the recommendations were not implemented.⁸⁶

STATE DOMAIN

The Government was always a powerful factor in Palestine's land struggle, as the Ottomans, for example, valued *miri* lands as a major source of tax revenue. The claim that State Domain was vital, and the

role that the Mandatory played in the development of these lands, is therefore addressed here.

Using Ottoman Land Laws, the British classified State Domain, or Public Lands, under the following categories: *miri* which became *mablul*; *jiftlik* or *mudawwara*, (which were *miri* lands originally taken over from Sultan ‘Abdul-Hamid II by the Young Turks Government after their Revolution in 1908); mines and minerals; forest reserves; lands and buildings purchased by the State (which were neither *matruka* nor *mewat*, but included, for instance, Government buildings); *mewat*; and land and water of the *matruka* class. Land and water of the *matruka* class was open to common use, so that it was considered as probably better to treat this class separately from the other main categories, unlike Public Domain proper.⁸⁷ Statistics on the extent of each category have not been found. From the beginning of the British occupation, the Government tried to ensure the actual registration of all *mablul* and *mewat* as *miri*; this became an on-going process.

There were many small, scattered plots in the State Domain, varying in quality and size. Several large areas were leased or made up part of concessions – some dating from Ottoman times – or were declared forest reserves. By analysing the terms of the leases, sales and concessions, the policy towards and management of State Domain, and the Mandatory Government’s interpretation of its dual obligation to the Arabs and the Jews, a picture may be gained of HMG’s slant on the development of these lands.

The Policy towards and Management of State Domain

Under Articles 12 and 13 of the 1922 Order in Council, all rights of the State Domain were vested in the High Commissioner in trust for the Government, enabling him to make grants or leases of the land, or provide for its temporary occupation. Despite such clear-cut powers, however, no official policy was formulated for State Domain until 1940.⁸⁸ Mention has been found of the ‘Government policy’ to lease rather than sell State Domain when Government properties in Beit Hanun in the Gaza Sub-District were being considered in 1936. Here, the Commissioner for Lands and Surveys, F.J. Salmon, supported the sale of plots of lands that were too small to maintain, such as uncultivable pieces intermingled with village lands.⁸⁹ But, as will be shown below, State Domain leases mainly reflected a policy of land development that dated from the early 1920s. This finding contrasts with Rachel Makover’s conclusion, which dated this to 1930.⁹⁰

On 11 March 1937, the High Commissioner authorised the formation of the Committee on State Domain; this was to report on Public Lands, their development, and any 'material advantage' in them for the Government. The Committee was set up because of delays in settling the titles of State Domain.⁹¹ By then, the Mandatory favoured granting long-term leases for its land rather than selling it.

The Administration sought to develop its lands through development clauses and conditional sales and concessions, and in consultation with the Departments of Development, Agriculture, Forests, Health, and Public Works, as well as the Town Planning Office. Inter-departmental co-ordination did not always occur however: for example, Maurice C. Bennett, Director of Lands, complained that in one town planning scheme, the Lands and Surveys Department was not informed of the plans made for the State Domain that was included.⁹² State Domain was also available for public use and, if necessary, *miri* lands were converted to *matruka*, whilst the Conservator of Forests, G.N. Sale, fought for more forest reserves.

The Committee on State Domain actively investigated matters relating to Public Lands, but in 1940 there was still 'no definite policy' for the administration of these lands, and control over them became increasingly dissipated by 'encroachment'.⁹³ In order to frame a 'comprehensive land policy', the Committee was charged in December 1939 with reviewing the policy and legislation on State Domains, and 'the best means of utilizing and developing them'. The Committee called for a revision of the leases to enable the production of a more equitable profit for the Government and the lessees who improved the land and accentuated development. It also supported the exemption of State Domain from the Cultivators (Protection) Ordinance;⁹⁴ in addition to which, State Domain was exempted from the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940 (see above).

Development and State Domain Leases, Sales and Concessions

To prevent their alienation and assure their productivity, the Ottomans had *miri* lands revert back to the State if left uncultivated.⁹⁵ It is essential to examine the State Domain leases, sales and concessions in order to understand the importance that the Mandatory Government also attached to the development of Public Lands. State Domain was usually leased for three, 49 or 99 years, depending on the size of the plot and the work needed to bring the land into the required use. 'Development leases' specified that lessees were, for example, to cultivate the land, reclaim dunes or marshes, build terraces or plant a forest. Most

leases that have been examined included a development clause, as illustrated below.

The 27,491-dunam Shafa 'Amr State Lands, in the Haifa Sub-District, came under both development leases and 'conditional sales', the latter of which also incorporated development clauses. In 1947, a scheme was approved for the Shafa 'Amr State Domain,⁹⁶ in which, of 12,759 dunams available for disposal: 97.8 were placed on sale; 1,452.4 were set aside for conditional leases; 6,896.8 were to be divided between the villagers and the four tribes in the area; 3,803.9 were set aside for a village forest; 477.2 were for 'special purposes'; and 30.7 dunams for sale or development leases.

The 49-year development leases stipulated that the Agricultural Department was to be asked for advice. The area for special purposes was given to the Ar Rujm Housing Scheme, helping to relieve overcrowding among labourers employed in Haifa.⁹⁷ Shafa 'Amr's Municipal Corporation was to be given a warrant to control tribes squatting in the forest reserve, and was made responsible for grazing licenses, with the Conservator of Forests' advice. It was more difficult to control the semi-nomadic 'Arab Zubeidat tribe squatting in the Closed Forest Area because members had cultivated the land.⁹⁸ The different tribes were eventually resettled outside of the forest reserve.

In conditional sales, buyers had to build terraces according to the Forests Department's instructions to ensure soil conservation. Defaulting on an agreement meant its cancellation, and regular progress reports were written. The records show that leases were in fact cancelled due to non-fulfilment of conditions; and that land was sold to those who could fulfil the development clauses (if a purchase option was included).⁹⁹

In another type of example, water was made the salient factor in the continued cultivation of State Domain. The Jericho *Jiftlik* was an extensively cultivated 'field' (10,000 dunams), and 'garden' area. Of the garden's 4,389 dunams of intensively cultivated land, 2,214 were irrigated. In February 1937 – and in the face of many of the farmers' ownership claims – the whole area was pronounced as State Land, with the Settlement Officer's recommendation that land be sold to those who had cultivated and improved their holdings. However, land and water controls were necessary for the area's 'rational irrigation'; the State Domain [Inspection] Committee therefore recommended keeping this 'valuable property', and attaching water control to the leases, in accordance with the draft Surface Water Ordinance. This meant that claims to water had to be settled because the planned conditional leases depended on it.¹⁰⁰

Drainage for the control of malaria was also included in conditional leases. For instance, the Director of Medical Services recommended the construction of fish ponds as the best anti-malarial measure for the *miri* parcels in Umm Sarisa in the Beisan Sub-District. This would have been too costly for the Arabs to undertake and, since eradicating malaria was a priority in this district, the land was conditionally leased to the better-financed JNF on 18 August 1941. This was despite the plot being in Zone A of the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, which in any case exempted State Domain under Regulation 8(b).¹⁰¹

Similar development clauses were included in State Domain 'conditional sales', though the Government generally opposed selling Public Lands, unless 'no material advantage' could be derived. Whilst the Mandatory thought the Jews more likely to develop State Domain, there were many exceptions. For instance, it rejected the JNF's bid, though the highest, for an isolated 2.5-dunam block in Manshiya Village, in the Acre Sub-District, in Zone A because of worries that the sale might prejudice an Arab-controlled irrigation scheme. Also, the Jews owned no land in the vicinity. Development clauses were usually included in the conditions of sale for State Domain even if the land was not scheduled for development. For example, 308 dunams of *miri* wasteland in Beit ha-Shitta, in the Beisan Sub-District, was sold to the JNF on condition that soil conservation measures be carried out, although the transfer – delayed by the Arab Revolt – was really carried out to consolidate the Jewish holdings in the village.¹⁰²

The Government feared that the eviction of Arabs from one parcel of State Domain land would swell the ranks of the landless Arabs, who would then be shifted on to other State Domain lands. The Mandatory tried, therefore, to take legal steps to enforce development clauses only where large tracts of State Domain were concerned. Hence, when Dabburiya villagers in the Nazareth Sub-District divided up a stretch of State Domain wasteland between themselves and left it uncultivated and unimproved, the whole matter ended up in court. The Settlement Officer permitted the villagers to use the land, provided they developed it for crop production under the Government's supervision, 'and make a living thereby'.¹⁰³

Development clauses were also included in concession agreements and long-term leases as a means to develop large areas of State Domain. The Government, for instance, gave a 99-year lease to the Jewish-owned Palestine Land Development Company (PLDC) for 2,086 dunams in Wadi Rushmiya in the Haifa Sub-District because more time and investment were needed (than the British surmised the Arabs to have) to develop the land as a building complex. But the Arab Revolt, and

shortages and restrictions in building materials during the Second World War, as well as disputed land titles, made investment hazardous and development 'impossible'.¹⁰⁴

The Government's interests in developing its State Domain were very apparent in its concession terms, the first of which allowed for 'time-limit clauses, in the interests of genuine and expeditious development'. There were several concessions, including those for mining and the production of electricity.¹⁰⁵ Two examples are cited here. In the first, a long-term concession lease was given in 1921 to PICA for the Atlit salt mine, the Kabbara swamp (in the Haifa area), and the Casarea dunes between Tel-Aviv and Haifa. Although difficulties arose during the 1930s over the interpretation of the original agreement, PICA developed the land. The problems mainly related to the clause for 'the use and cultivation' of the land in accordance with the Agricultural Department, and to clause 20, which mentioned industry, whilst in fact three types of land were involved: agricultural, mining and industrial. By 1940, the Kabbara swamps had been reclaimed. The Committee on State Domain urged the Government not to restrict land use in this concession, as: 'the more intensively it [land] is developed, the more [the] Government will benefit by way of taxes'. Separate agreements were signed for Atlit on 6 August 1943 and, prior to that, for Kabbara on 19 September 1941, permitting free development.¹⁰⁶

In the second example, a concession for the drainage of the lower portion of the Huleh Basin and marshes, given in 1918 by the Ottomans to the Syro-Ottoman Agricultural Company, was sold in 1934 for £P192,000 to the PLDC because little work had been done. As it was recognised as potentially 'one of the most fertile' tracts in Palestine, the Mandatory agreed that this highly malarial area could be drained and irrigated, and a Government clause in the agreement reserved 15,772 dunams for Arab cultivators. The PLDC hired the British consulting engineers company, Messrs Rendel, Palmer and Tritton, to prepare a scheme for the area.

Of the 56,939-dunam concession area (the number stated in the original document), 18,568 were cultivable, 21,453 were marshes, and 16,919 were lake. The scheme would cost £P933,000, of which £P222,600 was to be paid by the Government. If the whole area of 100,000 dunams were reclaimed, two-thirds would be Arab-owned, and the rest, Jewish. Seeing an opportunity for HMG to discharge its dual obligation stated in the Mandate's Article 6 to encourage the close settlement of Jews on the land, the Peel Commission strongly recommended the scheme. However, negotiations were protracted and delayed by the Palestine Electric Corporation (PEC), which claimed to have rights over Lake

Huleh, although it had not used the lake since winning a concession for the exploitation of water power of the Jordan, including its tributary, the Yarmuq, in 1926.¹⁰⁷ To the end of the Mandate, the Administration and Colonial Office steadfastly supported the PLDC, and drew up the Huleh Concession Ordinance, 1945, 'to implement and secure the validity' of the modified concession to drain the lake and reclaim the malarial marshes.¹⁰⁸ Government interests in development were therefore decidedly evident here.

The consolidation of State Domain was encouraged, and consideration was given to enacting Section 22 of the Land (Settlement of Title) Ordinance, operative in 1946, which permitted the High Commissioner to order the regrouping of parcels of land if he found their distribution 'not satisfactory to its [the land's] economic or agricultural development'.¹⁰⁹ Taking into account the zoning in the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, the Mandatory promoted consolidation by pre-agreed land swaps between Arabs and Jews. However, disputes resulting from encroachments hampered the voluntary redistribution of land parcels. Also, British-planned exchange schemes were often too rigid, as with that for Samakh Village State Domain in the Tiberias Sub-District, which was based on the premise that the scheme be accepted as a whole. When the Arabs and Jews started bargaining, the State Domain Committee expressed little sympathy for either party, as it was more concerned in this instance about revenue losses. It was only at the instigation of Galilee's District Commissioner, C.T. Evans, who emphasised the advantages to the public of developing the land, that agreement was at last reached.¹¹⁰

Article 6, Jewish Claims to State Domain, and Settling Landless Arabs

One of the most enduringly contentious points between the British, the Arabs and the Jews, was that of the interpretation of Article 6 of the Mandate which stated that the Administration, without prejudicing

... other sections of the population ... shall encourage ... close settlement by Jews on the land, including State Lands and waste land and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Jewish interests in State Domain are well documented,¹¹¹ and the Mandatory was often criticised by the Zionists for not fulfilling Article 6. For instance, in 1935, the Jewish Agency complained that, whilst the *French Report* noted that the Beisan Lands could be further developed, the Government had done little in that way.¹¹²

Hope-Simpson had, prior to the *French Report*, confidentially written to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Passfield, advising that State Domain should not be sold, and that it be used instead to settle the Arabs and Jews, via long-term leases. Claiming to have examined every case of State Land, Hope-Simpson said that his *Report* of 1930 had ‘exploded’ the myth that the Government held large land reserves, and he opposed these reserves being made available to the Jews.¹¹³ This had affected the Jews, who went on to complain angrily to the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry in 1946, which investigated the possibility of re-settling Holocaust survivors in Palestine.¹¹⁴ Land surpluses existed, the Agency claimed, and unused ‘lot viables’ could be given to the Jews. It also accused the Mandatory of allotting State Domain to the Jews that was mostly marsh and dune.¹¹⁵

As shown above, the Government did prefer giving the Jews large tracts, evidenced by the Huleh Concession, since they assumed they were better financed and motivated to develop the land. The Jews occupied 191 square kilometres of State Domain compared to the Arabs’ 255 (see, Table 29) – which was quite disproportionate to the relative population size of each community at that time – but it was the agricultural land that the Jewish Agency most wanted. The Government, however, tried to place Arabs on this sort of land, either through old and existing leases, or by settling landless Arabs – which was difficult, as their introduction into an area did ‘not always promote harmony’. In Shafa ‘Amr, this was therefore actually discouraged.¹¹⁶

Leases for landless Arabs were characterised by special clauses: reference was made to ‘settlement schemes’, and the opening clause stated that the lessor was to supply the lessee with plough animals, forage seed, agricultural implements, and subsistence for a year. Clause three obligated the lessee to repay costs in annual installments; clause four, to follow the Irrigation Officer’s instructions; clause five, not to ‘neglect the land’ within the meaning of the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance, 1933: that is, not to leave it uncultivated; and clause six, not to sub-let. The Solicitor-General, L. Lloyd-Blood, opposed the Development Officer’s ‘ambitious scheme’ of giving 99-year leases to landless Arabs, for fear of the fragmentation of land through inheritance. Lloyd-Blood’s three-year lease system, renewable throughout the tenant’s life, was adopted instead, thereby supporting the permanent settlement of Arabs as the Government wanted.¹¹⁷

The leases were tightened further, with the inclusion of clauses to ensure varied and remunerative cultivation and the personal association of tenants in the whole scheme. Irrigation, crop rotation, ground-leveling and ‘good [animal] husbandry’ were to be co-ordinated with the

Table 29. Distribution of State Domain with Titles Settled under the Land (Settlement of Title) Ordinance, and Claimed by the Government, 1947

Land Use	Kilometres ²
1. Settled Public Land	
Railways, roads, wadis, rivers, etc.	144
Antiquity sites	5
Public, Government and Army use	86
Leased to:	
Arabs	31
Jews	95
Others [undefined]	3
Occupied by Arabs on old tenancies, etc.	112
Forest, marshes, sand dunes, mountains and rocks	490 ^a
Total	966
2. Unsettled Land Claimed by the Government	
Occupied on lease, mostly as tenants on <i>jiftlik</i> land, by Arabs	112
Occupied on lease, written or implied, by Jews	96
Army, Government Departments and Forest Reserves	400
Lands in the Jordan Valley	92
Total	700

^a Sand dunes were located mainly in the Gaza and southern Lydda Districts (being 81.6 km²), whilst the rocky area was less than half this. Marshy areas were located around Lake Huleh. Of the remainder, 10 km² were Beisan District lands (mostly in Hill villages); 10 km² were in the Huleh area; 2.5 km² were in Shafa 'Amr village plus land reclaimed from the adjacent Na'amein swamps; and 12 km² were in Arab villages in and near the Carmel Mountain.

Source: *Supplement: UNSCOP*, p. 32.

Agricultural Department, and the settler was to be given a one-year 'probationary period'. All of this was aimed at encouraging the tenant, whom the British supposed would not otherwise 'make any effort to improve his holding'. The Mandatory did not want to have to provide alternative plots for settlers expelled under the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance (that is, to ensure a lot viable).¹¹⁸ Lloyd-Blood was highly sceptical of the whole scheme, and condescendingly wrote about suing the Arab settlers for the non-payment of loans that 'it is a matter for consideration whether they are worth the powder and shot as presumably they are men of straw'. There would be no property to attach in satisfaction if the Government obtained judgment.¹¹⁹

The Administration was anxious not to lose State Domain to speculators, however, such as at Ghor Mudawwara in the Beisan, and tried to prevent tenants from selling their leases to Jews in exchange

for the payment of debts owed to the Government. The Jews held up the failures experienced with the Arabs in the Beisan Agreement (1921) as an example of how the Jews were excluded from State Domain. As shown in the chapter on Agriculture, it was difficult to settle the landless Arabs, and many did not fulfil their lease contracts, forcing the Government to seek eviction – which only perpetuated the problem – or to revise the agreements.¹²⁰ However, although encouragement of development was an important part of the terms of State Domain leases, the Arabs believed that the Government's policy on State Domain was founded on favouring the Jews rather than based on development. In 1947, the Arab Higher Committee, representative of Palestine's Arabs, wrote that the Mandatory had handed over 'large areas of State lands [to the Jews] that were a source of income to the Arabs'.¹²¹

Conclusion

The Mandatory did indeed care for the development of its State Domain, its motives were not entirely based on revenue gains, but also encompassed such concerns as the settlement of landless Arabs and the control of malaria and soil erosion. As shown in the chapter on Forestry, the Government was itself active in the 'scramble' for land in Palestine, and had to prove many of its claims in the Land Courts. By 1948, approximately 1,000 of Palestine's 26,000 square kilometres – about (3.8 per cent) – was settled as State Domain, with a further 700 square kilometres of varied land types being claimed by the Government (see, Table 29 and Appendix 39). In 1947, UNSCOP expected this area to be doubled when title settlement was completed, in particular because of the many communally-used lands in the Hills.

The Government used the leases, conditional sales and concessions as a means to develop its land and ensure its continued productive use. How successful it was in achieving development is arguable, as has been illustrated above and in the chapter on Agriculture, because – in spite of the Administration's assistance in providing tools, seed, stock, technical advice, and even some funding – leases were often not fulfilled. Evicting offenders put the Mandatory in an awkward position, especially when it had to contemplate expelling Arabs who had settled on State Domain because they had already been made landless by selling their land to the Jews. Jewish complaints that the Government had not kept to Article 6 of the Mandate were partially countered by the fact that more State Domain was leased to them than to the Arabs. Also, the British preferred contracting with the Jews because they were viewed

as being more able and willing to develop State Domain. In a further attempt to fulfil Article 6, a 1944 Committee was set up to investigate the availability of State Domain in the Free Zone to settle Jewish ex-servicemen; it reported there was little land to lease to Jews there. The belated formation of a policy on State Domain belied the fact that, during the 1930s, the Government was more disinclined to sell its land, and that it established the State Domain Committee to investigate individual cases concerning Public Land. It also protected State Domain by exempting it from the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, and from the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance.¹²²

ANTI-MALARIAL WORKS AND LAND RECLAMATION

The British were among the leaders in malarial research, as tropical diseases threatened imperial expansion. The British expert on malaria, Dr. Ronald Ross of the Indian Medical Service was one of those who at the start of the twentieth century discovered that the *Anopheles* female genus of mosquitoes was the malaria vector. Interest thus shifted from quinine cures to preventative anti-malarial works, for example, drainage and sanitation schemes were developed across the British Empire.¹²³

The OETA in Palestine was initially heedful of malaria's debilitating effect on the British Army, and anti-malarial works – carried out by the Health Service, established in 1917–18 – were mainly concentrated in military camps, for example, around the River 'Auja estuary north of Tel-Aviv. Cisterns and wells harboured malaria in urban areas,¹²⁴ and, in the countryside, where over 50 per cent of the population lived, the seasonal rains caused the largely limestone hill and sand dune topography – which had only three major lakes (Huleh, Tiberias and the Dead Sea) and a few narrow streams – to flood, leaving pools and blocked-up estuaries that formed malarial marshes. The agriculturalists' habit of using the same waterlogged irrigation channels also created malarial breeding grounds.

Government works were quickly extended to civilian areas and, by 1929, were being carried out in several places, for instance, at Beisan–Jenin, Wadi Kabbani (in the Tulkarm area), Jericho, Qishon (near Haifa), and at Wadi Rubin.¹²⁵ Due to the geography of their settlements, which were mainly in the coastal area, the Jews were especially active in swamp drainage, partly enforced by the concessions they held, such as that for the Kabbara coastal swamp of 6,000 dunams at the Carmel foothills (Haifa Sub-District).¹²⁶ Rates of infection of the spleen were recognisably reduced during British rule; for example, in

Jerusalem, the rate decreased from 5.3 per cent in 1925 to one per cent in 1929.¹²⁷

The Mandatory Government's Anti-Malarial Policy

In 1923, E.R. Sawyer, then Director of Agriculture and Forests, established the Mandatory Government's anti-malarial policy of controlling malaria for health and land reclamation reasons. However, budget shortages hampered policy and plan implementation, resulting in a greater involvement of the local population, led by the *mukhtars*. The Health Department made a complete appraisal of malarial areas at the start of the Civil Administration, in conjunction with the Malaria Research Unit (the MRU: sponsored by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee), and the Malaria Survey Section (sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation). A scheme was prepared for both Government and civilian works.¹²⁸ In 1921–23, the Government Entomologist also made a survey of malarial mosquitoes, and mosquito-catching stations were set up across Palestine and in 1941, nearly 200 such stations could be counted.¹²⁹ By 1942, 74 malarial areas had been identified (see, Appendices 43 and 44). Staff and civilians were trained to oil and mosquito-proof wells, cisterns, and other potential malarial centres. This was a huge task: in Jerusalem alone, for example, there were 7,000 cisterns.¹³⁰

Both Hope-Simpson, in 1930, and the 1937 *Peel Report*, called for a link between the mainly anti-malarial drainage works, and irrigation and agricultural development; and the 1939 *White Paper* also stressed agricultural and land development, which would have sharpened anti-malarial policy. In 1934, more emphasis was given to controlling irrigation to prevent waterlogging.¹³¹ But, on a larger scale, drainage policy was still inadequate, and the Committee on Development and Welfare Services wrote in 1940 that there were many drainage works 'crying out for execution'.¹³² In 1945, the British Army stationed in Palestine criticised a policy it concluded had failed to increase civilian anti-malarial works intended to safeguard the troops.¹³³

Three types of anti-malarial works influenced Government policy: the drainage of large swamps; the clearing and regulating of artificial channels, collections of water, natural streams and seepage areas (permanent and temporary works); and the annually recurring chemical controls.¹³⁴ Policy was based on the Anti-Malarial Ordinance, 1922, which was eventually embodied in the Public Health Ordinance, 1940, and the Public Health (Anti-Malaria) Rules, 1941. The key clause stated that the occupier or landowner through whose land 'streams or water

courses pass, or any person with easement' to such waterways must, if so ordered by the Director of Medical Services, maintain them to prevent mosquito breeding. It was difficult to make villagers clean up wadis from which they obtained 'no visible benefit'. The Government enforced its policy of making the villagers pay for initial cleaning, but subsequent neglect – the main source of the Army's criticism – meant that the Administration often underwrote maintenance. Hence the new 1945 policy had the Government also pay for initial cleaning.¹³⁵

The Jews also criticised the Government for its policy on malaria, saying that they only received technical advice, whereas actual anti-malarial works were concentrated in Arab villages.¹³⁶ George W. Heron, the Director of Medical Services, denied this, claiming that most of the Government schemes in 1935 worked for the Jewish settlers' benefit, for example, at Birket Ramadan in the Tulkarm Sub-District. The Government also gave grants for the Hebrew University's anti-malarial research at Rosh Pinna, near Safad. The Mandatory, however, rejected a proposal to turn the university's facilities into a malarial research centre for the Middle East because this would have been run by the Jews and British-backed, and therefore unacceptable to the surrounding Arab countries.¹³⁷

Palestine continued to maintain contacts with international health organisations, and the Director of Medical Services supported allotting monies from the CDF for anti-malarial works; however, the pressing need for hospitals and other health facilities weakened his case.¹³⁸ Still, British anti-malarial works made an indelible impact on the landscape, as will be discussed below.

Case Studies and Examples of Implementing the Anti-Malarial Policy

The British engaged in many large-scale and small-scale anti-malarial works, and examples are given here so as to analyse the problems encountered in implementing their policy and the anti-malarial laws.

For example, a 1929 Government drainage scheme for the large 8,000-dunam Birket Ramadan swamp (locally known as Basset Umm al 'Alaq), took three years to complete and was hindered by land claims. It was finally adjudicated in 1934 to the Supreme Muslim Council as *Waqf*. The British then became hesitant about leasing it for the settlement of landless Arabs as originally planned, as the Mandatory tended to disapprove of *Waqf* as this was inalienable and thought to 'retard progress'. The Government therefore preferred using the nearby State Domain of Wadi Hawarith, which they controlled completely.¹³⁹

As it was primarily an anti-malarial scheme, Lewis Andrews, the Development Officer, asked that at least 75 per cent of the area be made available for cultivation, which High Commissioner Wauchope approved. The Jewish company, Hanotaiah Ltd, wanted to lease 8,000 dunams of nearby dunes, which lay between Nahr al Faliq (a river) and Nathanya, from the Government for a resort; in exchange, it would contribute towards the costs of draining Birket Ramadan, whose malarial infestation was preventing development. However, this meant negotiating with the SMC, which neither side wanted to do;¹⁴⁰ also, the SMC was unwilling to pay for the drainage. But the Health Department did not apply its powers under the Anti-Malarial Ordinance, 1922, to enforce the reclamation of the marsh since the SMC could beg a lack of credit, despite the fact that it stood to gain 5,000 dunams of good agricultural land. After lengthy transactions, Andrews approached the Nathanya Seashore Development Company, which agreed to pay £P6,000 towards the drainage costs, while the Government contributed £P7,500, and the SMC, £P4,500, totalling £P18,000.¹⁴¹

The Government's remedial measures were completed in 1936, placing half of the area under cultivation. But the land almost immediately fell to neglect and 'some wilful damage' during the Arab Revolt, and semi-nomadic cultivators and squatters dug up the peat soil, producing malarial water-holes. Government officers failed to serve notice on the SMC for the damages, so that costs could not be reclaimed from it. Hence, despite the Nathanya Seashore Development Company's annual contribution of £P130 towards maintenance and the SMC's 'considerable' rent-income from the reclaimed land, the latter agreed to pay only a quarter of the costs of damages, and in 1938-41 the Government footed a bill of £P3,300.¹⁴² The scheme was praised by the Peel Commission, though, for being one of the few instances of co-operation between the Government and the inhabitants in such a scheme, and of the Administration taking control to regulate water-supplies.¹⁴³

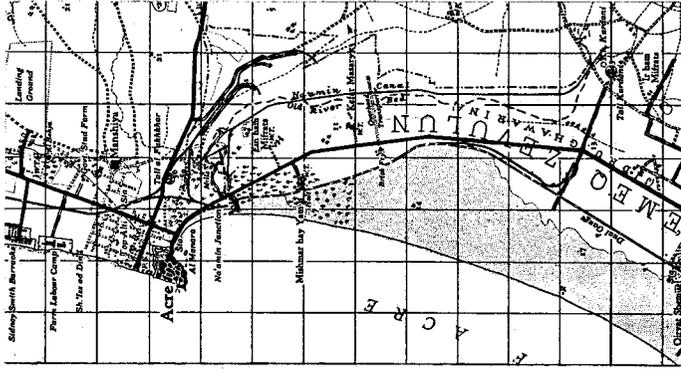
In another major drainage scheme, this time involving State Domain, budgetary problems seriously delayed progress. The Na'amein River swamps were fed by the Kurdani Springs that rose in the Coastal Plain, and the area's drainage was one of the last remaining major anti-malarial projects still to be carried out in the 1930s apart from those of the Huleh and Jordan Valley marshes.¹⁴⁴ The swamps were only one kilometre south of Acre and the centre of malarial infection that extended over 300 square kilometres. It was proposed in May 1932 to shorten the route of the Na'amein River to the sea by draining these swamps, and to reclaim 2,500 dunams; the value of the land would increase

significantly, and the Administration could thereby recoup its capital costs of £P55,000. Since the land value of the neighbouring Arab and Jewish settlements would also increase, they were expected to contribute towards costs.¹⁴⁵ However, no funds were initially available; although, by 1935, the extension of Haifa finally necessitated the control of malaria in the Na'amein swamps.

A scheme was prepared to drain the Kurdani, which was situated south of Acre, and the nearby smaller area of springs, then fill in the old river bed and marsh, and reclaim the land. This was an 'ideal' scheme because it provided for both health and development. Half of the land was owned by the JNF and the Haifa Bay Corporation, and the Government wanted them to contribute 70–80 per cent of the costs. Although the Jewish Agency agreed, Government financial cutbacks during the Arab Revolt held the scheme up,¹⁴⁶ it was only the impact of the Second World War which enabled the scheme to advance.

Due to the large build-up of British troops converging on the Haifa area, the War Office in London offered to pay for work to reduce the incidence of malaria, and decided on the quicker solution of having the Army itself canalise the swamps. The whole was to be completed by 1 May 1942.¹⁴⁷ The Medical Service rose to the challenge, and finished operations on schedule. Fish ponds were also built because the system was based on levels that left open water, which controlled the drainage of springs, and thus also produced 'valuable food products'.¹⁴⁸ On 19 February 1943, the area was declared a Drainage Area under the Drainage (Surface Water) Ordinance, 1942, which ensured the protection of the channels and entitled the Government to betterment rates from neighbouring settlements that benefited from the works. In 1943, a permanent drainage scheme was started, which was almost complete by 1947 (see, Map 26 and Plate 14).¹⁴⁹

Birket 'Atta near Hadera in the Haifa Sub-District was another example of joint participation, again involving an increased military presence. A pump installed in 1930 to drain the pool which formed every year, and was a malarial centre, was submerged by the exceptionally heavy rains of 1944. The Army agreed to dig a channel with its heavy-duty excavating machinery through the high dunes which were blocking the water's path to the sea. A scheme was then devised by the Health Department in which a pipe would be laid to provide permanent drainage, thus clearing the area of a 'dangerous source of malaria in a highly populated locality'. The Government paid half of the £P7,000, and the *Va'ad Leumi* (Jewish National Council), the local councils and the PICA financed the rest. Over 90,000 cubic metres of sand were removed and a 1,000-metre drainage pipe laid.¹⁵⁰



Map 26. Na'amein Canal.
 Source: Haifa, 1943, 1:100,000 BB 900C-
 [2]/2 Haifa/1943/1, printed 1947, Maps
 Department, Bloomfield Library, The
 Hebrew University.



Plate 14. Na'amein Canal (Aerial View) [annotation by the Author].
 Source: 3 January 1945: RAF/PS10/5043, and 5044, Aerial Photographic Archive, Department of
 Geography, The Hebrew University.

In fact, during the Second World War, the Army greatly influenced anti-malarial operations, thus imposing its presence on the landscape. Large notices were posted, 'the whole length and breadth of galvanised iron' at specified points reading, for example:

MALARIA – YOU ARE ENTERING JORDAN VALLEY – USE NETS

with the place-name changed as appropriate. 'Considerable concern' was expressed about rice-growing – encouraged by the Administration for war supplies – in the Safad Sub-District where fields were irrigated without interruption during 20 May–6 June when the *Anopheles* mosquito was breeding. This made large reaches of Metulla Road 'extremely dangerous'.¹⁵¹

The Huleh Basin became more prone to malaria because of the increased food production for the War; labourers feared working there and asked the Government to spray the area with the 'wonder-working drug', DDT, which was used 'effectively' by the Army during the War. DDT had been sold to the Hebrew University, which then experimented with it in the Huleh Basin, and stories circulated of the American anti-malarial works with DDT in the Far East campaigns.¹⁵² The Huleh concessionaires were asked to clear papyrus channels, and Arab villages in the Huleh district were also sprayed with DDT. The Mandatory felt certain, however, that its 30 years of anti-malarial measures in the Galilee had been successful, quoting falls in the rate of infected spleens among Arab infants from 80–100 per cent to 35–40 per cent over 1941–45.¹⁵³

Three further examples illustrate the other main aspects of British anti-malarial policy and activities. The Administration's attitude towards malaria treatment of isolated areas for private enterprise was less sympathetic, as in the instance of the 'Ein Feshkha Springs on the Dead Sea shore. Palestine Potash Ltd, which extracted minerals from the Dead Sea, wanted the springs cleared of malaria because it claimed they affected its Kallia Camp, seven kilometres away.¹⁵⁴ However, in 1937, the Health Department rejected this claim, arguing that the radius of infection was only three to four kilometres wide. The company then put forward data showing that malarial mosquitoes could fly 10–12 kilometres. The issue being contested here was whose responsibility it was to eliminate malaria: the shorter radius would mean the source was within the company's Concession Area, and therefore its responsibility.¹⁵⁵ The Government also refused to fund a survey since the company would have been the only beneficiary of any anti-malarial work there: to which the company replied that the Kallia Hotel further north would also gain. After much toing and froing, the Administration finally accepted liabil-

ity, and in September 1944 began operations.¹⁵⁶

The Mandatory undertook many urban-related works that significantly increased the price of drained lands. For example, the 30-dunam Tob Alti Swamp within Acre's Municipality boundaries, just north of Acre new town and south of the Sidney Smith Army Barracks, was waterlogged half of the year. Numerous land claims delayed anti-malarial work because the plot had a potentially high value as it was in the path of Acre's natural extension.¹⁵⁷ (A plot bought in the Acre Sub-District for £P5,000 in the summer of 1933, was sold for £P27,000 in June 1934.) A drainage scheme was nevertheless prepared by the Administration. But the land disputes dragged on into 1947, and the Government was unwilling to do any more work unless part of the area was settled as State Domain. The Health Department even claimed that Acre was not affected by the swamp, as the latter dried up before the *Anopheles* breeding season, thus leaving matters unresolved in 1948.¹⁵⁸

In a final example, this time in the Safa State Domain Lands, Beisan Sub-District, the Government was forced into initiating anti-malarial works. The Jewish village of Tirat Tsevi (or Zvi) protested against the Administration for granting its neighbours in the Arab village of As Safa a year's rights in October 1945 to graze their animals on the 148-dunam plot, because it wanted to drain the land for malarial control. Since the land was in Zone A, as defined by the 1940 Land Transfers Regulations, the Mandatory could not let it to the Jews, and had therefore to begin drainage works itself.¹⁵⁹

Conclusion

In 1936, Heron reported that, 'Geographically great changes have been effected in the malarious nature of the country'.¹⁶⁰ Initially driven by the Army's urgent needs after the First World War, the British were responsible for carrying out some of the largest anti-malarial schemes in Palestine, and numerous medium and small ones. Applying the anti-malarial laws, the Mandatory also had villagers provide labour and funds to clear and maintain local wadis and channels, and concessionaires had to treat malarial areas on leased State Lands. The Government's anti-malarial campaign was described as 'excellent work' by Dr Tawfiq Canaan, President of the Palestine Arab Medical Association.¹⁶¹ Also, running parallel to this were the anti-malarial works privately carried out by the Jews.

By 1929, only 15 of the 74 major malarial areas had been drained, and 16 were still to be drained, so it was reported at least in 1942.¹⁶² However, large tracts of land were reclaimed and their use changed,

and the heightened military presence during the Second World War intensified anti-malarial activities; the Army willingly paid for works, thus changing the landscape. Although many problems arose, for example, due to Bedouins watering and pasturing their livestock and damaging regulated channels, by 1946 – despite budget restraints – it was written that the Health Department had ‘successfully dealt with the malaria problem in all towns and in most of rural Palestine’. Many areas still required treatment, for example, the Huleh Basin and Jordan Valley, but the British had left their mark.

REFORMING *MUSHA* LANDS

Many definitions of the *musha*’ (or *masha*’) land system confuse landownership with land-use, or categorise it as *mulk*. Also, much of the literature perpetuates the various misconceptions of *musha*’, with little new information being produced.¹⁶³ For example, Abdul-Karim Rafeq defined *musha*’ as ‘collective ownership’, and Haim Gerber described it as ‘communal ownership of land’.¹⁶⁴ However, David Grossman and Kark argue that *musha*’ is a form of land-use.¹⁶⁵ Firestone wrote of *musha*’ as a ‘land equalization’ system.¹⁶⁶ This section deals with *musha*’ *al-balad*, or village *musha*’, as opposed to other types of *musha*’ partnerships.¹⁶⁷ *Musha*’ is referred to in many studies on the Middle East, but only historical and legal themes are discussed here to explicate British attitudes towards this land system.

Background Discussion

Musha’ was a complex land system tied in with the agrarian use of undivided *miri* land ‘held equally, in common, as the property of the whole community’.¹⁶⁸ In practice, it often consisted of strips of cultivated land less than 10 metres wide and over 500 metres long, which were periodically redistributed (every 1–5, or more, years) among the shareholders, usually by a system of drawing lots. ‘Each individual member of the community’ had the ‘right by inheritance to plough and to sow *musha*’ lands because of the *Hak al-Muzara’a*, the right of cultivating’. The literature often depicted the strips – or ‘strip’ holdings – as ‘fairly homogenous’, in, for instance, the type of soil, terrain and access to the village, though liable to change in form, which made surveying difficult for the British.

The number of shares allocated to a person or family also depended on various factors, such as the number of males in a family.¹⁶⁹ Firestone

differentiated between ‘open-ended’ and ‘quantified share’ *musha*’ villages: in the first, titles were redistributed among all units ‘qualified to receive shares’, for example, all adult males; in the second, the number of shares or title units were fixed, and only the land, not the title, could be redistributed. This resulted in the fragmentation of the land, often through inheritance. Firestone also argued that – apart from its being periodically redistributed – Levant *musha*’ resembled the European open-field system. Two types of *musha*’ were identified, the *Sahm* (or *Hussa*) and the *Zukur*, corresponding to Firestone’s ‘quantified share’, and the ‘open-ended’ *musha*’ village form of partition, respectively. Women who married out of the community sometimes lost their *musha*’ rights; and *musha*’ could be distributed between ‘hundreds of persons’.¹⁷⁰

From interviews carried out, however, it was found that *musha*’ had a variety of uses. For example, it could be arable, or an orchard (olive, citrus, etc.).¹⁷¹ Even a car park could be referred to as *musha*’.¹⁷² Although, as Firestone argued, in the latter case it indicates an error sometimes made in ordinary speech among Palestinian Arabs. For instance, ‘a house held from a father and not yet partitioned among his sons is said to be *musha*’ among them: “*al-dar musha*’”, the villagers will simply say’.¹⁷³ In an apparent reference to such ‘*musha*’ lands, the Arab Mayor of Tiberias requested on behalf of the Municipal Council that the Mandate Government amend its Draft Town Planning Ordinance in 1935. Among other things, the Council determined that: ‘In the case of *Musha* Land, no building permit will be granted to any of the Owners until the building plan is agreed upon by all of the Owners’.¹⁷⁴

For *musha*’ agricultural lands, agreements would be made between shareholders about tending the soil, harvesting, and financial arrangements. Also, not all ‘partners’ were necessarily active in the operations of the land, especially when there were large numbers of people holding shares.¹⁷⁵

Musha’ variants existed throughout the Middle East, and were portrayed as being prevalent in Palestine, Lebanon, southern Syria, Upper Egypt, and irrigated parts of Iraq.¹⁷⁶ Some scholars argue that it may have originated when nomadic tribes settled, and common grazing rights over certain areas were adapted to communally owned and worked agricultural land, ‘to prevent land alienation to strangers, and to foster village cooperation’.¹⁷⁷ The Ottoman Land Code of 1858 focused on the consolidation of *miri* land rights. Oddly, whilst arguing that *musha*’ was not widespread in the Middle East, Gerber nevertheless notes that the Code also aimed at putting an end to it.¹⁷⁸ The 1858 *Tabu* Law enforcing land registration, led to much local resentment (as noted above) due to fears of taxation and military conscription, as

information on individuals was readily attainable from the land registers. Despite the Ottomans making *musha'* illegal, it is believed to have expanded throughout Palestine during the nineteenth century into the coastal and inland plains, along with the extension of agriculture.¹⁷⁹

Jacques Weulersse asserted that the *musha'* system did not reach into the Syrian mountain regions, and Schölch argued that it was confined to the lowlands since, for example, vineyards were not redistributed in the highlands, where individual/familial property and cultivation forms dominated.¹⁸⁰

During Ottoman rule, fearing taxation, villagers often had their *musha'* shares registered in the name of a local notable, who then kept the rights to the land. Stein argued that in the latter half of the nineteenth century and throughout the Mandate period, the notables gained many *musha'* shares, and that they therefore supported the *musha'* system as a form of 'leverage' over the peasantry. This may explain both the *fellab's* disposition towards the partitioning of *musha'* (*ifraz*), and British reluctance to compulsorily partition *musha'*. Reiter noted that, starting in 1934, funds from tithe agreements between the SMC and the Mandatory were invested in land, which the SMC turned into *musha'*. This was done to prevent its sale, since to do so required the unanimous approval of all the village community members who now held the *musha'*. In this way, for example, 6,000 dunams in Taiyiba (Tulkarm Sub-District) were bought by the SMC and became *musha'*. However, Stein commented that, in the 1930s, the decline in the number of large landowners and continued *fellab* indebtedness made *musha'* the main land source for the Jews,¹⁸¹ but Stein does not substantiate this. A map published by Hadawi in 1957 indicates that the Jewish-held 'shares in undivided land' in March 1945 were quite small; though even this information does not identify divided shares (that is, partitioned *musha'*) of land registered as Jewish due to Land Settlement. Another map, dated 30 June 1947, and prepared for the Jewish Agency, showed that Jewish shares in undivided land geographically closely paralleled those lands classified as in 'full' Jewish possession. The purchase of *musha'* by the Jews had the important roles of both extending and consolidating their settlement. Hence, Jewish shares in undivided lands may be found in such places as the northern Galilee, in the Arab villages of Hunin, Al Buweiziya and Az Zawiya, these being close to the Jewish settlements of Kfar Gil'adi, Kfar Blum and Neot Mordekhai, respectively. By June 1947, lands in full Jewish possession and Jewish shares in undivided lands amounted to 1,621,327 dunams of a total of 1,802,386 dunams of land in Jewish possession. The remaining 181,059 dunams were held as Concessions.¹⁸²

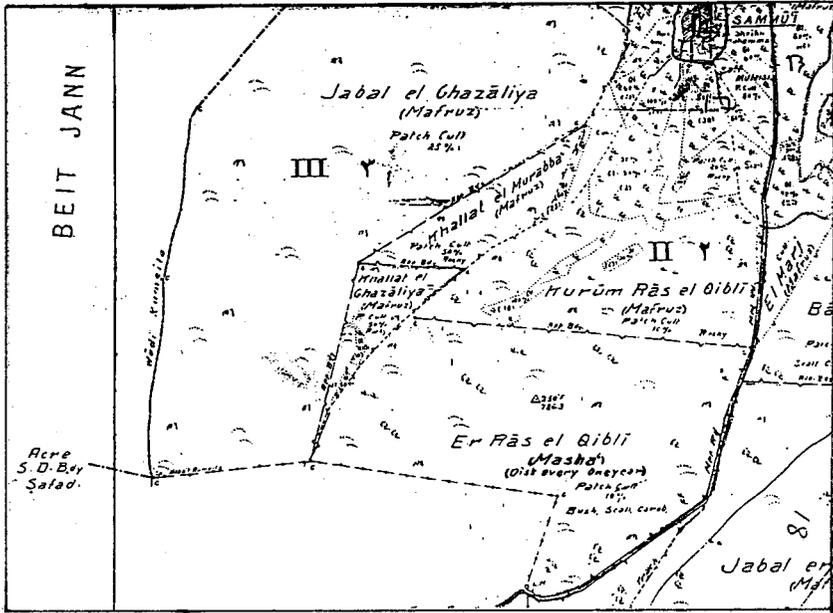
The British had much knowledge of and experience in land systems and their controls gained from their Empire, and recast whole landscapes through their land policies and legislation. They knew of many land-share systems, for example, those of the Marri of Baluchistan, and other systems in many parts of Africa,¹⁸³ so Palestine's *musha'* was seen as only a variation. Indeed, Britain's own land history contains the example of the enclosures of common fields, and Eric Kerridge argued that these fragmented fields may have been formed to give equal access to periodically redistributed land manured by the common flock.¹⁸⁴ The complex change from communal to individual ownership in Britain lasted from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and was backed by private, public, general and Parliamentary Acts.¹⁸⁵

England's local and imperial history of enclosures may partly explain the Mandatory Government's platitudinous and quickly formed policy on Palestine's *musha'*. Enclosures were associated with the high economic productivity of the Agricultural and Industrial Revolutions,¹⁸⁶ and Mandate policy was founded on this attitude towards private as opposed to communal lands, and this may be the reason that officials spoke with such ease of the threat of *musha'* to agriculture.

British Policy towards Musha'

The British were highly critical of *musha'*, although a clear-cut policy on it was not officially stated, it was seen as a hindrance to land registration and agricultural development. Thin hillside strips of *musha'*, for example, were ploughed up and down slopes, and catalogued by the British as causing and further aggravating erosion (see, Map 27 and Plate 15).¹⁸⁷ Its redistribution led to 'much trouble among villagers', and the Government argued that this resulted in the cultivator having 'neither the energy nor the inclination to improve his temporary holding', thus leading to diminished productivity and problems in Land Settlement. Also, when the holdings came into private ownership, they were seen to further aggravate land fragmentation, as small pockets of land would be purchased.¹⁸⁸ The progressive abolishment of *musha'* by the British largely, therefore, occurred within the context of Land Settlement.

Many estimates may be found of the extent of *musha'* in Palestine: for instance, it was calculated as making up 70 per cent of the land in 1914; 55 per cent of the cultivated land in 1922; 46 per cent in 1930; and 25 per cent at the end of the Mandate. During the Jewish land purchases in the 1930s, a decline in the *musha'* area was thought to have occurred, as it was increasingly partitioned or sold.¹⁸⁹ The British



Map 27. Es Sammu'i Village Lands, Safad Sub-District, Indicating *Musha'*.

Source: Survey of Palestine, May 1933 (Tax Map), Es Sammu'i, Safad Sub-District, Es Sammu'i (JC-60), 1:10,000: Maps Department, Bloomfield Library, The Hebrew University.

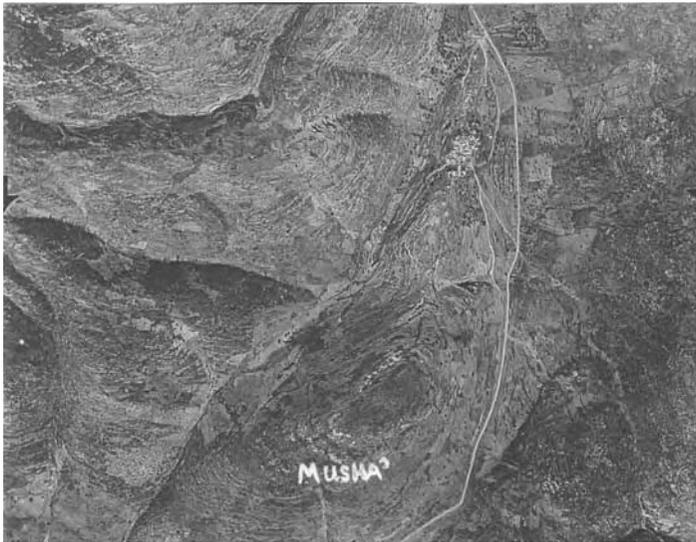


Plate 15. Es Sammu'i Village, Safad Sub-District, Showing Rocky *Musha'* Lands.

Source: 29 January 1945: RAF/PS22/5115, Aerial Photographic Archive, Department of Geography, The Hebrew University.

officials' own uncertainty over the extent of *musha*' was well illustrated in Director of Development Lewis French's *Reports*.

In December 1931, French wrote that 339, 109 and 131 villages in the Northern District, Southern District and Jerusalem District, respectively, were partitioned. A further 207, 168 and 23 villages, respectively, were 'wholly or partly unpartitioned'; and 31, 31 and no villages, respectively, had been 'unofficially partitioned' (that is, the villagers effected partition by agreement without recording this in the Land Registry). These were in fact 'unverified statistics' provided from the Commissioner for Lands.¹⁹⁰ French used the figures to show how the 'evil' of *musha*' was 'gradually though very slowly breaking down', pointing to the 'disintegration of this primitive land system'. He claimed that the percentage of unpartitioned villages fell from 56 in 1923 to 46 in 1930, but added that the figure was probably 'rather less than 40 per cent' in December 1931, due somewhat to compulsory partitioning. French predicted that, 'This residue will, of course, present the most stubborn cases to be handled'.¹⁹¹

After ten years of 'uninterrupted and unchallenged' occupation on land that had not been officially partitioned, the holder obtained prescriptive rights to the land. Analysing the reasons for villagers not registering partitioned land, French reported that it was probably due to the difficulties of gaining the assent of all co-proprietors, especially as absentees and minors had to be consulted. Furthermore, 'the exorbitance of the fees demanded by the State' to register the partitioned land acted to dissuade the villagers from so doing. This point had already been raised in 1923 in the Report of the *Musha*' Land Commission. French was not surprised, therefore, that progress in partitioning *musha*' was wanting, he repeated the calls previously made for a revision of the fees, and suggested a committee be set up to reform the levying system for unofficial partitions.¹⁹²

Recording the existence of *musha*' lands was thus difficult and, by 1936, no systematic survey had been made of them, so that the data can at best be described as conjectural.¹⁹³ It is not known, for example, how the transfer of *musha*' shares by *fellabeen* to notables to repay debts, or to Jews for ready cash (as Stein described), influenced British policy on *musha*' or the extent of *musha*'.¹⁹⁴

In 1923, Ernest M. Dowson, the Lands Adviser to the Palestine and Trans-Jordan Governments (1923–28), strongly advocated the simplification of Palestine's land registration and tax systems, to be based on a national cadastral survey and the settlement of 'real rights'. He here gave the example of the success of a similar process in Egypt. Dowson concluded that the compulsory registration of land titles, which also

served to secure tenure for the peasantry, was important to stimulate agricultural output. This was based on the Torrens system, with the 'recording and passage of real rights on the indestructible immovable and readily definable unit of land instead of on the ephemeral, mobile ... unit of humanity'. In support of the 1923 *Musha* Land Commission that surveyed 753 villages, Dowson singled out *musha* as a land system to be quashed, and recommended its abolishment and permanent partition.¹⁹⁵ He saw it as a 'serious obstacle' to economic development, 'inconsistent with the enacted law', and noted that without tenure security, it was difficult for the *fellabeen* to get cheap Government agricultural credit.¹⁹⁶ This latter point was proven during the 1930s, when many were refused special relief loans because their land was jointly-held, offering no collateral.¹⁹⁷

The 1930 Johnson–Crosbie Committee *Report on the Economic Condition of Agriculturists in Palestine and the Fiscal Measures of Government in Relation Thereto* also defined *musha* as a major obstacle to agriculture. Legal transactions were difficult with *musha*, it claimed. Partition was costly and problems always arose in gaining consent from other shareholders. The partition of *musha* could therefore only progress slowly.¹⁹⁸

French argued in 1931 that due to climatic conditions, land in the Southern District was of 'small value', and partitions were effected less so than elsewhere. In contrast, as much as 85 per cent of *musha* in the Jerusalem District was partitioned because of the 'congestion of the population and the consequently greater value of land in the hills'. French therefore directly linked population density with the distribution of *musha*. In comparatively sparsely populated areas, where 'the land provides the bare requisites of a livelihood without the labour and expense of tree-planting, manuring, etc., the *mesha'a* system still largely prevails'.¹⁹⁹

However, French questioned Hope-Simpson's and Strickland's (Strickland in 1930 wrote on Palestine's system of agricultural co-operation) assessment of the drawbacks to yields of some of the *musha* lands they had seen, and concluded that 'tillage results were not as bad as indicated on paper'. He backed this up by writing that two adjacent strips of *musha* he visited, when cultivated as a plough unit, 'constituted a respectively shaped field'.²⁰⁰ Nevertheless, French continued justifying the need for partition by stating that 'it is well known to those familiar with the countryside' that partition was 'attended by a reduction in crimes of violence, thanks to the removal of fruitful grounds of quarrel'. Indeed, partition could be 'educative'. With so little co-operation among villagers and so many land disputes, the Government could 'encourage

a spirit of solidarity and induce' the villagers themselves to undertake partitioning their *musha*'. Partitioning bore in it the 'germs of self-government' and 'real development and progress', and reduced the workload of the Lands Department. It proved successful in some regions of the Southern District, where an Assistant Settlement Officer supervised voluntary partition, and French thereby recommended that special staff be appointed for partitioning.²⁰¹

The Jews reiterated Government attitudes towards *musha*', 'because it does prevent serious development, it impoverishes the soil and prevents ... the development of a bold peasantry'. Dr Maurice B. Hexter, a member of the Jewish Agency, was asked by the Peel Commission what recommendations he could suggest 'for the extinction of the *masha'a* system', making it sound more like a dangerous pest than an established land-use pattern. Attempts to obtain the villagers' 'internal agreement' had not gone well but, Hexter felt, this was probably the best method – something the Government had started doing to advance 'voluntary parcellation'. Hexter was especially perturbed about the boundary problems *musha*' lands caused, and added that if compulsory partition would speed up the abolition of *musha*', then he was for it.²⁰²

The Government initially questioned the abolishment of *musha*': it was widely practised; resembled co-operative systems that the Mandatory encouraged; and it was recognised that its equitable partition would be a complicated process. By 1930, however, the official policy, or rather attitude, agreed with that formerly espoused by Dowson. Partitioning *musha*' then became intrinsic to Land Settlement, so much so, that the Commissioner for Lands wanted the process accelerated in advance of general Settlement, even though this could have made planned systematic settlement piecemeal.²⁰³ Despite this last difficulty, the Commissioner won the day.

The Musha' Lands Ordinance

The proliferating reports on land and agriculture after the 1929 disturbances in Palestine reinforced the Government's increasingly antagonistic attitude towards *musha*'. Criticisms of its being an obstacle to agricultural development and calls for its abolishment were repeated in the *Hope-Simpson*, *Johnson-Crosbie*, *Strickland*, and *French Reports* (as discussed above); all the arguments of which were repeated in the Colonial Office by H.F. Downie, who saw land partition as a means to improve Arab agriculture.²⁰⁴ London thus readily approved the 1933 draft 'Ordinance to provide for the partition of village *Musha*' Lands

in advance of Settlement'.²⁰⁵ The *Musha*' Lands Ordinance, 1933, empowered 'Partition Officers' to investigate *musha*' land claims and settle them ahead of the general Land Settlement process under the Land Settlement Ordinance, 1928. A 'Partitioning Committee' was to be appointed by the respective District Commissioner, consisting of reputed owners of the shares to be partitioned. The Partition Officer settled disputes, then notices were posted allowing for objections, after which the Commissioner for Lands would give final approval. The Ottoman Provisional Law of Partition of 1916 relating to partition was declared inapplicable to *musha*', subject to the new ordinance.²⁰⁶

It was thus hoped to circumvent the slow and laborious court and Land Settlement processes, and the villagers' own attempts to clear up ownership, thereby speeding up partitions and dissolving the *musha*' system. No further reference to the Ordinance have been found in the sources however. The *Peel Report* simply echoed the Mandatory's attitude towards *musha*' as a 'bar' to agriculture, and said that efforts at its abolishment had been only 'partially successful'.²⁰⁷ The *Report* also seemed to corroborate findings that *musha*' was prevalent in the Hill area.²⁰⁸ Whilst some *fellabeen* sought security of tenure in partitioning, many are reported by the Mandatory to have objected to the British over this as they feared receiving land that was difficult to cultivate. Major C.H. Ley, the Director of the Survey of Palestine, had, in 1931, warned against the hasty elimination of *musha*' as a 'positive injury' to development, and estimated that as much as 45 per cent of Palestine's lands were *musha*'.²⁰⁹

That same year, French expressed strong doubts about passing legislation to partition *musha*'; he wrote that he knew of cases where villagers had agreed to partition their lands, but decided not to 'when pressed to abide by too precise official instructions'. Further legislation would only aggravate such reactions. On the contrary, the transition away from the centuries-old *musha*' system had to be handled 'very tenderly', 'with leniency and sympathy in applying a minimum of rules'. By appointing special officers to help the expansion of partition, French suggested, 'only very simple legislation' would be required. Clause 51 of the Settlement (of Title) Ordinance, 1928, empowered the High Commissioner to direct a Settlement Officer to carry out partition within a Settlement area if 'deemed to be in the public interest'; this could be extended to include lands outside Settlement areas.²¹⁰ Prior to the enactment of any specific legislation, French preferred that more experience and knowledge be gained of the difficulties that were likely to arise.²¹¹

Settlement procedures were slow and difficult. In one case, for example, inhabitants of Qalansuwa Village in the Tulkarm Sub-District,

vehemently protested about *musha*' being adjudicated as State Domain. The Settlement Officers decided that the village had areas of uncultivated lands, including the claimed *musha*', and wanted them to be returned as uncultivated State Domain. During the Second World War, the Army used this land. In 1946–47, the State Domain Committee recommended that it be leased to the JNF to settle Jewish ex-servicemen, since it was contiguous with the Jewish settlement of Ge'ulim – the Jews themselves owned part of Qalansuwa Village and so were 'villagers'. However, the story was deliberately politicised, and the Administration felt unable to proceed.²¹²

The Arabs also argued that if British Land Settlement were 'honourable', it would first start with *musha*' areas and places with constant 'inheritance and other problems', and not with the fertile coastal lands, which the Jews were interested in purchasing, thereby easing land transfers.²¹³ Fearing opposition from Arab notables, the Administration was 'reluctant for political reasons' to annul *musha*', and decided to slow down partition operations.²¹⁴ Nevertheless, calls to abolish *musha*' continued into the 1940s. Based on the data of a survey of five (unnamed) Arab villages (four in the Ramle Sub-District, and one in the Hebron Sub-District) by the Department of Statistics in 1944, comments were also written in the *Survey of Palestine* for the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry concerning 'fragmentation and co-ownership' as an impediment to agricultural mechanisation and irrigation. The number of fragments into which an individual holding was divided was found to increase with the size of the holdings, averaging at three co-owners per shared plot.²¹⁵

Musha' was apparently deemed unlawful under the Ottoman Land Code,²¹⁶ and experts in Ottoman and Mandate Palestine laws, Frederic M. Goadby and Moses J. Doukhan, argued that the 1858 Code did not accommodate *musha*' rights, and that it was legally not possible to distinguish between *musha*' and *matruka*, the latter of which were lands held for public use. The Code forbade *miri* to be held in whole by the villagers or their representatives. But, since *musha*' existed, Goadby and Doukhan suggested that the Government apply Article 6 of the *Mejelle*, Ottoman Civil Code, AH1285/CE1869, whereby that which had existed from 'time immemorial' was to be left in its 'ancient state'.²¹⁷

With seemingly no further mention of the *Musha*' Lands Ordinance, 1933 – as noted above, no more references have been found – it was not until the drafting of the Land (Settlement of Title) Ordinance, between 1944 and 1947, that any attempt was made to place *musha*' within a legal construct. Already in 1936, the Lands Commissioner

could only report that most of the partitioning of *musha*' had occurred within Settlement areas. Attempts at partitioning in advance of settlement had not succeeded because of the villagers' unwillingness to cooperate. The *musha*' legislation was equally ineffective, and gathering data on the progress of partition was problematic because lands would be partitioned during sales and transfers, as well as through the more obvious official Land Settlement process.²¹⁸ The Courts and the Settlement Officers were left to manage as best they could with the uncertainties of the Land Settlement Ordinance, 1928, and its numerous amendments, as exemplified by the case of Miska.

The Case of the Miska Village Lands, Tulkarm Sub-District

A caustic dispute broke out over *musha*' land ownership in Miska (or Miskeh) Village near Qalqilya in the Tulkarm Sub-District, in which one 'Abdul Fattah el-Jabr and Others raised a case against one Aron Mas'ud and Others. The case was interesting since it personally involved the Attorney-General as the Third Party. The case in the Haifa Land Court dragged on from 1932 to beyond 1939. The plaintiffs accused the defendants of declaring certain *musha*' lands in Miskeh Forest as their own, stating that the many plots in the forest were fictitiously registered in the names of Miska Village inhabitants according to *musha*' custom. The three disputed plots were all part of the *musha*' forest lands owned by Miska villagers, and in 1888 the plots had been recorded in the *Tabu*, the Ottoman Land Register, in the names of several individuals. The defendants mortgaged the plots, registering them as their own; hence the court case, with claimants saying the land was *musha*' *Zukur* (or *Zakur*), held in common by Miska Village adult males.²¹⁹

The Attorney-General personally appeared as the Third Party, and stated that the Law did not identify *musha*'. He feared the Court might recognise the claim, thus creating a new land category that was also 'contrary to public policy', leading to revenue losses from registration and other land fees. However, though legally not recognised, *musha*' *Zukur* land (registered in the name of male villagers, rather than an individual) was known to exist in many villages, and had been recognised by the Courts in a previous case.²²⁰ In 1939, when the case was still pending, J.A. O'Connor, Tulkarm's Settlement Officer, complained that it was holding up the completion of land registration in the Tulkarm Sub-District.²²¹ Unfortunately, the files on the outcome of the trial were not found.

Musha' Policy and the Land (Settlement of Title) Ordinance, [1944]

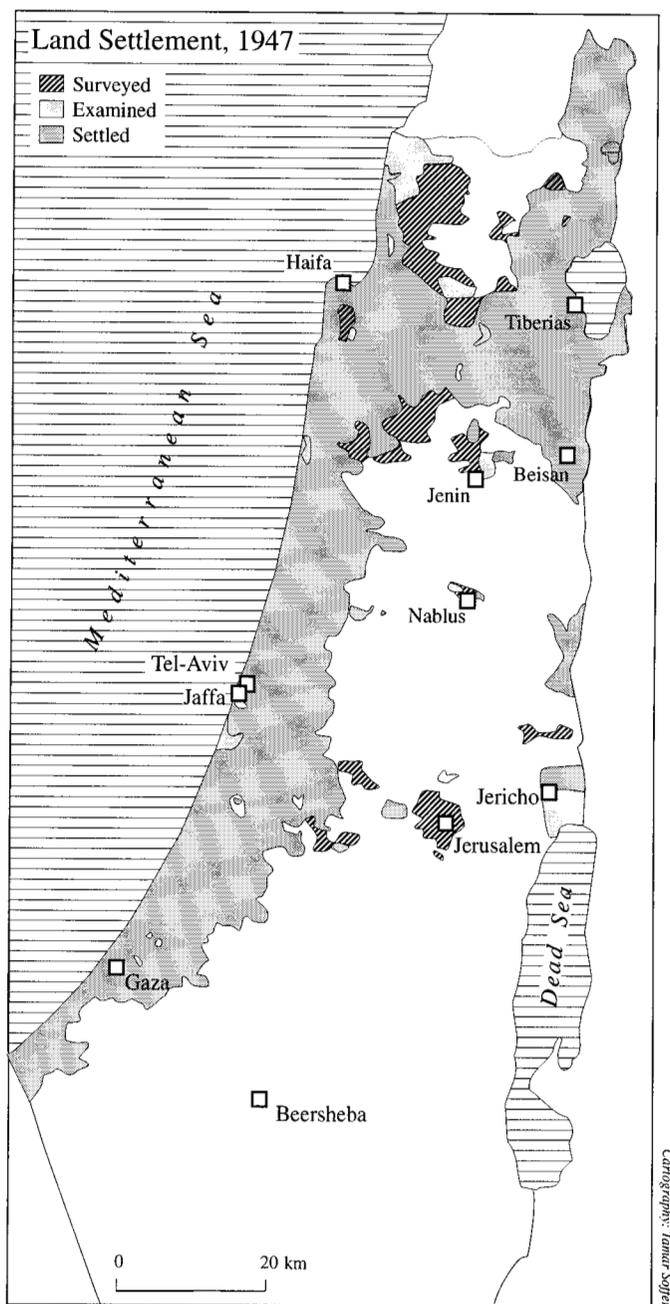
Land transactions in Palestine required a *mukhtar's* certificate, and *mukhtars* sometimes distributed the *musha'* shares among the villagers.²²² During the Mandate period, however, though the British were supportive of *mukhtars* – as has previously been shown – they may have reduced their role in partitioning *musha'*, since nowhere in the Land (Settlement of Title) Ordinance drafts of 1944–47 is their involvement mentioned.²²³ British land policy in all its different forms (as with the Protection of Cultivators Ordinances) clearly aimed at 'binding' the owner-occupier and tenant to their land.²²⁴ Tentative Mandate policy to abolish *musha'* was then also translated into the Land (Settlement of Title) Ordinance. When drawing up this ordinance to simplify and consolidate the Land (Settlement) Ordinance, 1928, which was often amended piecemeal, a section was devoted to *musha'* settlement.²²⁵

Partition and parcellation was to be simplified on the basis of experience gained since the original 1928 ordinance. Part IX of the Draft Ordinance first prepared in 1944 dealt with 'Partition and Parcellation and Minima'. The Mandatory wanted to keep as far as possible to the boundaries of the blocks that villagers used, and any owner with a share in *musha'* could apply to have it separated from the undivided land and register his own parcel in his name. If two-thirds of *musha'* share-owners in a village applied to have all the village lands divided, then partition could proceed. To obviate any misunderstandings, the Settlement Officer was to collaborate closely with the villagers whilst upholding the rights of the individuals concerned.²²⁶

More definitions were added for different kinds of *musha'*. Village *musha'* was defined as land held in undivided ownership by a village and periodically redistributed among shareholders for cultivation, whether or not it was registered as undivided shares. Customary *musha'* was village land or were sections held or cultivated on the basis of customary joint tenure of a non-heritable nature. Individual *musha'* was defined as land held by two or more persons in undivided shares, which was not village or customary *musha'*. This Ordinance applied to all of Palestine and put *musha'* lands into legal focus.²²⁷

Conclusion

The loosely formed Government policy to abolish *musha'* seemed counter-balanced by the Administration's reluctance to disturb the relationship between *fellah* and notable and, by extension, between notable and the Government. The Land Settlement process constantly operated and emphasised *musha'* partition. Map 28 shows the areas



Map 28. Land Settlement, 1947.

Source: Based on Department of Surveys, *Report for the Years 1940–1946* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, March 1948), Map 1.

settled by the Mandate's end, and possibly indicates the extent of *musha'* that had been partitioned, or at least affected by Land Settlement (the partitioning of *musha'* may have paralleled Land Settlement operations rather than been caused by it). Land Settlement of titles was very much driven by Arab–Jewish land transactions because of the land conflict. The British may have inadvertently impacted on *musha'* through their Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, by limiting Jewish land purchases to certain areas of the country.

The Mandatory clearly exhibited preconceived ideas about *musha'* as being detrimental to agriculture. Yet, those interviewed for this book indicated that the Arabs did not regard it badly. Its profitability depended on its use: a *musha'* orchard could be profitable if well maintained.²²⁸ This indicates a more telling picture of *musha'*, one which the British may have paid less attention to because of their on-going concern for the *fellah*. But even the *fellah* was not in the financial position to neglect any land, so the answer to productivity problems associated with *musha'* must be sought elsewhere, for example, in problems related to upgrading cultivation.

Although *musha'* was not legally recognised – the draft Musha' Lands Ordinance, 1933, having been little invoked – it was an important element of landownership in Palestine and hence could not be ignored – as proven by the Land Courts and multitude of Land Settlement notices in the *Official Gazette*. The various Land Settlement ordinances and amendments had to allow for *musha'*, and it is specified in the final Land (Settlement of Title) Ordinance drafted in the Mandate's last years.²²⁹ Many Government documents concerning *musha'* are missing or obscurely filed under a variety of titles, making for an incomplete picture. However, it may be concluded that at least through Land Settlement operations, the British certainly had an influence on *musha'*.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Necessity and legislation produced changes in land-use in Palestine, as shown above, each measure temporarily or permanently impacting on the landscape. The land conflict in Palestine underlined the religious, secular and historical importance of land, it was a practical example of what had been written on land's role in society: of how land and the attachment to land is regarded. Historical and biblical links to the land in Palestine underpinned Zionist claims, and helped formulate their land-purchasing policy and sense of geography. However, land was also

a commodity being traded and developed, and it was the increasing monetary value of land in Palestine that led the Arabs to sell their properties, despite their own historical and economic attachment to it.

HMG's Mandate obligations relating to land, settlement and development, ensured that land was kept alive as one of the most contentious issues during British rule, with the State an active contender. The Arabs blamed the British for facilitating Jewish land purchases through their immigration policy; these purchases sometimes led to whole villages being wiped off the map (for example, Shatta, as the neighbouring Jewish settlement of Beit ha-Shitta developed).²³⁰ The Land Transfers Regulations of 1940 dealt a blow to Jewish land purchasing and affected the geography of transfers, but the Arabs found the law weak, and their own Land Funds could not avert the exploitation of loopholes. The Regulations cut Palestine into blocks, changing the emphasis from the patch cultivation landscape of the Protection of Cultivators Ordinances to one of large-scale political and economic units.

The State actively competed for land, even fighting lengthy court battles; its gains broke up encroachment patterns, causing land use changes. But it was less willing to invest in development, seeking a solution in its conditional contracts, in which clauses for land amelioration and use were specified. Land was bought by the Service Departments for the Military, and by private agreement. The State also expropriated lands for roads and other public needs, and therefore slowly built up a land reserve, although the overall percentage of land it held was small. But Government efforts to make its lands available for landless Arabs were considered by the Arabs to be 'half-hearted and inadequate'.²³¹

Anti-malarial works for health reasons also released lands and attempts were then made to develop them through contract clauses. The Anti-Malarial Ordinance obliged citizens to have swamps nearby their habitations drained, and to contribute either to the costs or to the labour, or both. Many wadis near villages and Jewish settlements were in this way cleared of malaria.

The Administration advocated abolishing *musha*, but, apprehensive of the Arab notables' response, did not push this policy. *Musha* partition, nevertheless, did proceed through Land Settlement operations.

The Mandatory was an agent of change in land-use and the landscape. Title settlement and the accompanying 'piece of paper' proving land ownership,²³² became part of a larger landscape of Arab and Jewish nationalist self-determination, with the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, slowly carving out final partition plans and confirming the power of land. Land registration and the struggle over land as a commodity, as

a source of livelihood and for accommodation, with the Government a full contender, however, belied the on-going spiritual significance of land in Palestine, as *ab antiquo* claims remained the true measuring rod.

NOTES

1. *Hope-Simpson Report*, p. 14.
2. Peter Gow, 'Land, People, and Paper in Western Amazonia', in Hirsch and O'Hanlon (eds), *Anthropology of Landscape*, pp. 50–9. Vital, *Origins of Zionism*, p. 5, mentions 'the relationship with the Eternal such as can be achieved nowhere else', when discussing the feelings of Jews towards the Holy Land. Also, Kark, 'Land-God-Man', pp. 63–82.
3. Nathaniel Lichfield, *Settlement, Planning and Development: A Strategy for Land Policy, Human Settlement Issues*, 4 (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), pp. 7–8; and Metzger, *Divided Economy*, pp. 139–40.
4. For example, Reiter, *Islamic Endowments*.
5. See especially, Vital, *Origins of Zionism*, pp. 3–20. Also, Shmuel Almog, 'Redemption in Zionist Rhetoric', in Ruth Kark (ed.), *Redemption of the Land of Eretz-Israel—Ideology and Practice* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1990), pp. 13–32 [Hebrew].
6. Shilony, *Ideology and Settlement*, p. 309; Shapira, *Land and Power*.
7. Roger J. Kain and Elizabeth Baigent, *The Cadastral Map in the Service of the State: A History of Property Mapping* (Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press, 1992), pp. 1–8; and Dov Gavish and Ruth Kark, 'The Cadastral Mapping of Palestine, 1858–1928', *Geographical Journal*, 159, 1 (1993), p. 70.
8. See, Doreen Warriner, 'Land Tenure Problems in the Fertile Crescent in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in Charles Issawi (ed.), *The Economic History of the Middle East, 1800–1914: A Book of Readings* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 71; and Ruth Kark, 'Mamluk and Ottoman Cadastral Surveys and Early Mapping of Landed Properties in Palestine', *Agricultural History*, 71 (1997), pp. 55–6.
9. For example, Moses J. Doukhan, 'Land Tenure', in Himadeh (ed.), *Economic Organization of Palestine*, pp. 73–107.
10. Farhad Kazemi, 'Peasant Uprisings in Twentieth-Century Iran, Iraq, and Turkey', in Farhad Kazemi and John Waterbury (eds), *Peasants and Politics in the Modern Middle East* (Miami, FL: Florida University Press, 1991), p. 114–15.
11. Officially introduced in 1921. Gavish and Kark, 'Cadastral Mapping of Palestine', p. 71; and Gavish, *Land and Map*.
12. Protection of Cultivators Ordinance, 1933, *Official Gazette Extraordinary*, 24 July 1933, No. 377, p. 964.
13. *Shaw Report*, p. 124.
14. Stein, *Land Question*, pp. 189–90.
15. Cunliffe-Lister to Wauchope, 20 November 1933: ISA/CSO2/V/123/33/478.
16. Protection of Cultivators (Amendment) Ordinance, 1934, enclosure with Note on Cultivators Protection Ordinances, 1929–1941, n.s., n.d., enclosure with M. Brown, CS, to Sale, 29 December 1941: ISA/CSO2/V/9/34/478/Vol.II.
17. L. Andrews, Development Department, to CS, confidential, 31 March 1934: ISA/CSO2/V/125/33/478.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Minute by [?] to Administrative Secretary, 12 February 1943: ISA/CSO2/V/9/34/478/Vol.III.

20. See file, Cultivators (Protection) Ordinance, Appointment of Commissioner under Section 19 of the: ISA/CSO2/140/47/4355.
21. C.H. Hartwell for CS, to R.E.H. Crosbie, District Commissioner, Lydda District, 18 February 1942: ISA/CSO2/V/9/34/478/Vol.II. Also, file, Cultivators (Protection) Ordinance, Miscellaneous: PRO/CO733/447/76117/1. For an example of a particularly complicated case involving POCO statutory tenant rights, see re Ma'lul Village, Nazareth Sub-District, *A Survey of Palestine*, pp. 299–308; and file, Lands–Miscellaneous: ISA/Gp3/AG20/12/730/VolsI–II.
22. *Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Necessity of Amending the Cultivators (Protection) Ordinance*, For Official Use Only, 20 January 1943, No. 8 of 1943 (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1943), p. 3.
23. Minute to HC's Personal Assistant Secretary [?] by W.M.B. [Brown, CS, ?] 28 March 1947: ISA/CSO2/V/9/34/478/Vol.III.
24. D.G. Harris to CS, 10 October 1942, Copy of a Minute on CSO File No. A/33/12/41: *ibid.*
25. *Report to Consider Amending the Cultivators Ordinance*, p. 3; and M. Brown, CS, Note on Cultivators Protection Ordinances, 1929 to 1941, n.d., enclosure with Brown to Sale, 29 December 1941: ISA/CSO2/V/9/34/478/Vol.II.
26. *Report to Consider Amending the Cultivators Ordinance*, p. 3.
27. See file, Land Laws – General, 1935–1938: CZA/S25/9745.
28. Khalidi, *Palestinian Identity*, p. 128; and Hadawi, *Palestinian Rights and Losses*, pp. 61–75.
29. *Peel Report*, pp. 225 and 246–9.
30. Statement Explanatory of the Land Transfers Regulations, n.s., n.d. [1939?]: PRO/CO733/392/75072/9; also, *White Paper*, 1939.
31. HC to Colonial Secretary, 6 October 1939: *ibid.*
32. Sir Stephen E.V. Luke to HC, draft, most secret, most immediate, private and personal, 27 February 1940, and Minute by Luke, Middle East Department, CO, 27 October 1939: PRO/CO733/392/75072/9.
33. Minute by H.F. Downie, CO, to Colonial Secretary, 5 January 1940: PRO/CO733/392/75072/9; Downie referred to *Woodhead Report*, para. 143.
34. Minute by Luke, CO, 27 October 1939: PRO/CO733/392/75072/9.
35. Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, *Official Gazette Extraordinary*, 27 February 1940, No. 988, Supplement No. 2, pp. 337–9.
36. Chancellor to Passfield, 17 January 1930: PRO/CO733/183/77050/Pt.I.
37. Acting Director of Land Registration to All Land Officers, Registrar of Lands, Circular Letter, No. 611, copy, 27 November 1940, and Minute by Acting Solicitor-General to CS, 7 November 1945: ISA/CSO2/L/28/3/40/305/Vol.III.
38. Memorandum, by John F. Spry, Assistant Director, Land Registration, Palestine, [?] October 1948: PRO/CO733/494/3/76452/1A; also, *White Paper*, 1939.
39. MacMichael to MacDonald, secret, 6 October 1939: PRO/CO733/392/75072/9.
40. Both: Memorandum: Regulation of the Transfer of Land in Palestine, n.s. [Harris?], n.d., Enclosure II, MacMichael to MacDonald, Secret 'A', 16 June 1939: PRO/CO733/392/75072/9.
41. Although Palestine was usually stated as being 26,000 sq kilometres, this figure of 26,320 was given in the *Survey of Palestine*, p. 261.
42. CS to District and All Assistant District Commissioners, 30 May 1940: ISA/Gp112/294/2716.
43. D. Land Regulations: Extract from the Secretary of State's Talk with Dr Weizmann, Palestine, secret, [?] December 1939: *ibid.*
44. Extract from note of Secretary of State Interview with Major Cazalet on 4 November 1939, by Downie, 4 December 1939: PRO/CO733/392/75072/9.
45. For example, Arab Mukhtars and Notables, Jerusalem Sub-District, and Others, to CS, [?] February 1940: ISA/CSO/L/28/40A/305/Vol.I.

46. E.M. Epstein, The Political Significance of Land Purchases, JNF, Information Circular No. 2/98, strictly confidential, 1937: CZA/S25/10250.
47. O. Ben Ammy, On Behalf of the Delegation of the Jewish Settlements in the Samaria District, to District Commissioner, Samaria District, 5 March 1940: ISA/Gp112/294/2716.
48. Hadawi, *Palestinian Rights and Losses*, p. 59.
49. The Colonial Secretary's Speech in the House of Commons on 6 March 1940 on the New Palestine Land Regulations, p. 7: ISA/Gp24/S/199/1740. Also, 'Palestine Land Transfers Regulations', Memorandum by HMG in the UK, Enclosure 3, *Palestine Land Transfers Regulations: Letter to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations*, London, February 28, 1940, Cmd. 6180, Miscellaneous, No. 2 (1940) (London: HMSO, 1940), p. 10.
50. District Commissioner, Gaza District, to CS, 4 March 1943: ISA/CSO2/SF/215/40/397.
51. J.S. MacPherson, CS, to Harris, 8 October 1940: ISA/CSO2/L/28/2/40/305/Vol.I; and CS to All District Commissioners, copy, 6 August 1941: ISA/Gp24/LG/31/1/1850.
52. Minute by Harris, Reconstruction Commissioner, to CS, 5 February 1944: ISA/CSO2/L/28/3/40/305/Vol.II.
53. Note Circulated for the Information of the Executive Council on 20 July 1942: *ibid.*
54. District Officer, Nathanya, to Assistant District Commissioner, Tulkarm, confidential, 7 February 1941: ISA/Gp112/294/2716.
55. CS to All District Commissioners, 6 August 1941: ISA/Gp24/LG/31/1/1850.
56. *Report to the General Assembly by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine*, Geneva, Switzerland, 31 August 1947 (London: HMSO, 1947; henceforth, *UNSCOP Report to the General Assembly*), pp. 35–6.
57. A.N. Law, Note on Application of Land Transfers Regulations, 18 September 1940: ISA/CSO2/L/28/40/305/Vol.I.
58. Extract from Acting District Commissioner, Gaza District's Minute No. 49 dated 9.4.43 on SF/1115/38: ISA/CSO2/SF/215/40/397.
59. Assistant Inspector-General, CID, to CS, secret, 25 March 1943, and Extract from Acting District Commissioner, 9 April 1943: *ibid.*
60. Draft Secret Despatch to Colonial Secretary from HC, 29 November 1943: *ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. CS to All District Commissioners, copy, 6 August 1941: ISA/Gp24/LG/31/1/1850.
63. Acting CS to All District Commissioners, urgent, 23 April 1942: ISA/Gp112/294/2716.
64. CS to All District Commissioners, 6 August 1941: ISA/Gp24/LG/31/1/1850.
65. Minute by Harris to CS, 23 October 1940: ISA/CSO2/L/28/27/40/305.
66. Minute by Harris to CS, 10 September 1942: ISA/CSO2/L/28/40/305/Vol.I.
67. [?], Acting Director, Department of Land Settlement, Jerusalem, to CS, 5 January 1946: ISA/CSO2/L/28/3/40/305/Vol.III.
68. Harris, Chairman, to CS, copy, 16 November 1942: ISA/Gp24/LG/31/1/1850.
69. District Commissioner, Jerusalem District, to CS, 4 February 1943: ISA/CSO2/L/13/4/37/303.
70. C.T. Evans, District Commissioner, Galilee District, to CS, confidential, copy, 3 July 1946: ISA/CSO2/L/103/46/315.
71. Reiter, *Islamic Endowments*, p. 190; and Stein, *Land Question*, pp. 217–18. Both Stein and Porath, *From Riots to Rebellion*, p. 296, give the date of the Fund's establishment as 1931.
72. See, for example, Arab Fund: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3194/394.
73. Stein, *Land Question*, pp. 217–18; and Porath, *From Riots to Rebellion*, pp. 19, 93–4, 296.
74. Arab National Fund: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3603/405.

75. Arab National Fund: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/669/326.
76. Arab Fund: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3194/394; and Sidqi Al-Tabri, Tiberias, Private Papers, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65; and ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3198.
77. Re Jewish land transactions, *see* files: CZA/KKL5/SeriesB/Vol.5.
78. File: Arab National Fund: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/669/326; and Land Problems: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3002/389. Compare with Jewish Agency, Department of Statistics, Note Submitted to the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry, 1946: CZA/Z4/23.443.
79. Propaganda re Land Law, 1940: CZA/S25/6933.
80. Amendments re Land Law Transfer, 1940–47: CZA/S25/6936.
81. ‘Arab Land-Sales to Jews’, *Hamashkif*, 16 April 1945: ISA/CSO2/SF/215/40/397.
82. Yossi Katz, *Between Jerusalem and Hebron: Jewish Settlement in the Pre-State Period* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1998), pp. 266–7.
83. *A Survey of Palestine*, pp. 263–5.
84. On the Arab National Fund and the Tulkarm Society, *see* Stein, *Land Question*, pp. 217–18. Re the Arab Fund to Save Arab Lands from Jews (or Arab Land Fund), *see* June 1945–September 1946: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3498. About the Arab Development Society, *see* Furlonge, *Palestine is My Country*, pp. 135–7. The Arab-owned National Bank, Jerusalem Branch, also helped landowners fund court cases in land disputes against Jews, and to purchase lands in public sales: *see*: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/657. About the Arab Land Company, *see* [HC?] to Colonial Secretary, repeated to Cairo, Telegram, 12 September 1947, and Ronald Campbell, British Embassy, Cairo, to Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin (1945–51), Foreign Office (henceforth, FO), 27 October 1947: PRO/FO141/1166.
85. *A Survey of Palestine*, pp. 270–1; also, Director of Land Registration to CS, 2 February 1946: ISA/CSO2/L/9/46/311/70.
86. Recommendation 7: Land Policy, *Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry Report*, p. 7.
87. Goadby and Doukhan, *Land Law of Palestine*, pp. 60–8: the authors noted that, open to common use, the last category would have been better separated, unlike Public Domain proper, *see, ibid.*, pp. 67–8.
88. MacMichael to Colonial Secretary Lord Moyne, 28 June 1941: PRO/CO733/447/76117.
89. F.J. Salmon, Commissioner for Lands and Surveys, to All District Commissioners, 18 May 1936: ISA/Gp22/GP/3/3/3483.
90. Rachel Makover, ‘The Land Problem in Britain’s Policy in Palestine in the Years 1929–1939, and Its Influence on the Development of the Jewish National Home’ (M.A. Dissertation, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 1976), p. 6 [Hebrew].
91. Salmon to CS, 6 February 1936: ISA/CSO2/L/14/45/308.
92. Maurice C. Bennett to District Commissioners, Jerusalem, Northern and Southern Districts, 19 July 1936: ISA/Gp24/TA388/1818.
93. *Report of the Committee on Development, 1940*, p. 40.
94. Report of the Committee on State Domain on the Proposal to Exempt State Domain from the Provisions of the Cultivators (Protection) Ordinance, by Harris, Bennett, and L. Savage, n.d., enclosure with MacMichael to Colonial Secretary Moyne, 28 June 1941: PRO/CO733/447/76117.
95. Doukhan, ‘Land Tenure’, pp. 77–8.
96. Director of Land Settlement and Water Commissioner to Crown Counsel, 30 October 1947: ISA/Gp/4/4A/3475.
97. I.N. Camp, Acting Director, Land Settlement and Water Commissioner, 10 August 1947: *ibid.*
98. Re ‘Arab Zubeidah Bedouins’ land claims, *see* file: ISA/CSO2/AF/17/37/41/20/24; and Report of the State Domain Committee in Respect of the Shefa ‘Amr Lands, n.s., n.d.: ISA/Gp7/F/28/17/4187/Vol.I.

99. See cancelled leases and sales permits in file, Shefa 'Amr Scheme: Development Leases; Conditional Sales: ISA/Gp7/F/28/17/1-46/4187/Vol.II.
100. Report of the Committee on State Domain, by Harris, Bennett and Savage, 14 July 1943: ISA/CSO2/V/11/2/35/479.
101. Minute, Bennett, Director of Land Settlement, to CS, 10 April 1940, and Minute by CS, 13 August 1943: ISA/CSO2/L/12/40/305/1.
102. J.H.H. Pollock, District Commissioner, Galilee District, Land Transfers Regulations, 1940: Application for Permission to Transfer Land in Zone A and B, n.d.: ISA/CSO2/L/13/1/37/301/Vol.II.
103. Case No. 7/Dabburiya and 22/Dabburiya: Proceedings and Decision of Settlement Officer, Nazareth Settlement Area, 3 October 1941: ISA/CSO2/L/13/1/37/301/Vol.II.
104. Bennett, Director of Land Settlement, to CS, 28 November 1944, enclosure with Jardine, Director of Land Settlement and Water Commissioner, to CS, 19 December 1946, and Bennett to CS, 7 June 1944, enclosure with Jardine to CS, 19 December 1944: ISA/CSO2/L/47/31/298/3/Vol.II.
105. *A Survey of Palestine*, pp. 969–78.
106. Report of the Committee on State Domain, Harris, Bennett and Savage, 24 June 1946: ISA/CSO2/L/24/34/299/13; and Bennett to CS, 23 June 1942: ISA/CSO2/L/13/37/301.
107. There were other concessionaires before the PLDC: see, *Peel Report*, pp. 257–9; also Sa'id B. Himadeh, 'Natural Resources', in Himadeh (ed.), *Economic Organization of Palestine*, p. 53.
108. An Ordinance to Implement and Secure the Validity of the Huleh Concession as Modified, 1945: PRO/CO733/474/3/75056. See also, W.P.N. Tyler, 'The Huleh Lands Issue in Mandatory Palestine, 1920–34', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 27, 3 (1991), pp. 343–73; and Tyler, 'The Huleh Concession', pp. 826–59.
109. Regional Land Officer, Galilee District, to Jardine, Director of Land Settlement, 31 December 1946: ISA/CSO2/L/182/46/316.
110. Evans to CS, 15 November 1946: ISA/CSO2/L/182/46/316.
111. For example, L.B. [L. Lloyd-Blood, Solicitor-General?], to Dr Harry Sacher, Palestine Zionist Executive, 27 October 1929: CZA/S25/7453.
112. *French Report*, pp. 25–6, also, pp. 7 and 70; Memorandum, London, n.s., confidential, 13 October 1935, enclosure with Weizmann to Colonial Secretary MacDonald, 13 October 1935: CZA/S25/3823.
113. Hope-Simpson to HC Chancellor, very strictly confidential, 18 August 1930: Lieut.-Col. Sir John Robert Chancellor, Manuscript Collections, RHL/Brit.Emp.s.284/Box16/File6.
114. 'Criticism of the Administration of State Domain', Submitted to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry by the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Jerusalem, March 1946: CZA/S25/6916.
115. Minute of an Interview with HC, 30 June 1936, confidential: CZA/S25/3823.
116. Camp to CS, 10 August 1947: ISA/Gp/4/4A/3475.
117. Minute by L. Lloyd-Blood, Solicitor-General, to CS, 27 February 1935: ISA/Gp3/AG12/10/706.
118. Note for Development Officer re Settlement of Landless Arabs – Agreement form, n.s., n.d. [1935?]: *ibid*.
119. Minute by Lloyd-Blood to CS, 22 December 1935: *ibid*.
120. For example, the Ghor Mudawwara (Beisan Agreement) was revised in 1937, see, Report of the Committee on State Domain, Harris, Bennett and Savage, 14 January 1941, enclosure with MacMichael to Moyne, 28 June 1941: PRO/CO733/447/76117. Also, W.P.N. Tyler, 'The Beisan Lands Issue in Mandatory Palestine', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 25, 2 (1989), pp. 123–62.
121. Arab Higher Committee, *Arab Case*, p. 28.

122. *Supplement: UNSCOP*, pp. 31–3.
123. Headrick, *Tools of Empire*, pp. 58–79; Mark F. Boyd (ed.), *Malaria: A Comprehensive Survey of All Aspects of this Group of Diseases from a Global Standpoint* (Philadelphia, PA: W.B. Saunders, 1949); Ralph Mansell Prothero, *Migrants and Malaria* (London: Longman, 1965); Gordon A. Harrison, *Mosquitoes, Malaria and Man: A History of the Hostilities Since 1880* (London: J. Murray, 1978); and Edwin R. Nye and Mary E. Gibson, *Ronald Ross: Malarialogist and Polymath: A Biography* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1997).
124. G.W. Heron, [Director of Health], *The Campaign Against Malaria in Palestine* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1936), p. 3, draft, enclosure with Heron to CS, 11 December 1935: ISA/CSO2/M/70/35/321.
125. Department of Health, *A Review of the Control of Malaria in Palestine (1918–1941)* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1942[?]; henceforth, *Control of Malaria*), pp. 5 and 19.
126. Re Jewish malarial works, Sandra Sufian, ‘Healing the Land and the Nation: Malaria and the Zionist Project in Mandatory Palestine, 1920–47’ (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, New York, 1999).
127. Department of Health, *AR, 1929*, pp. 29–30.
128. MRU Inspectors and Personnel: ISA/Gp10/2/135/1506.
129. Department of Health, *Report on Malaria Survey Section* (Palestine: Palestine Government, 1928), App. I; and Department of Health, *Control of Malaria*, Map 3.
130. Heron, *Campaign Against Malaria*, pp. 4–5.
131. Department of Health, *AR, 1934*, p. 37.
132. *Report of the Committee on Development, 1940*, pp. 32–7.
133. [?], for Maj.-Gen. Commanding the British Troops in Palestine and Trans-Jordan, to CS, 17 November 1945: ISA/CSO2/M/70/35/321.
134. J. MacQueen, Director of Medical Services, to Acting CS, 24 November 1945: *ibid.*
135. Public Health (Anti-Malaria) Rules, 1941, *Official Gazette*, 7 August 1941, No. 1121, Supplement No. 2, in: ISA/CSO2/M/14/41/323.
136. *Palestine Post*, 14 June 1935.
137. Heron, A Note on the Memorandum entitled ‘The Malaria Institute of Palestine in the Middle East. A Proposal’, 4 April 1946: PRO/CO733/493/4/76395.
138. Colonial Development Fund 1940: Notes and Drafts by Dr MacQueen: ISA/Gp10/11/37/1522.
139. Minute by CS, 27 April 1934: ISA/CSO2/M/107/37/322/Vol.I. The British tended to disfavour *Waqf* because it was inalienable and considered to ‘retard progress’, see [?] for Director of Land Registration, to CS, 17 December 1945: ISA/CSO2/112/45/309.
140. Minute by Evans, 18 August 1934, and L. Andrews, Development Officer, to CS, secret and personal, 16 October 1933: ISA/CSO2/M/107/37/322/Vol.I.
141. Nathanya Development Co. members were associated with Hanotaiah, which had financial problems, Minute by [?] to D.F.S. [Deputy Financial Secretary?], 29 January 1941: ISA/CSO2/M/107/37/322/Vol. II.
142. HC to Colonial Secretary, Telegram, confidential, 22 July 1944: ISA/CSO2/M/107/37/322/Vol.II.
143. *Peel Report*, p. 257.
144. [?] Department of Health, to CS, 16 December 1937: ISA/CSO2/M/30/32/320/Vol.I.
145. *Report of the Committee on Development, 1940*, pp. 31–2.
146. Moshe Shertok, Jewish Agency Executive, to CS, 4 April 1938: ISA/CSO2/M/30/32/320/Vol.I.
147. Director, Medical Services, to CS, 2 April 1942: *ibid.*
148. Director, Medical Services, to (Military) HQ, Palestine, 21 July 1942: ISA/CSO2/M/30/32/320/Vol.I.

149. Na'amein Drainage Scheme, n.s., n.d. [1947?]: *ibid*.
150. Drainage Scheme for the Birket Ata Swamp Area, Hadera, n.s., n.d. [1944–45?]: ISA/CSO2/M/25/46/X/326.
151. J. Bryant, Lieut.-Col. Commanding 3 Malaria Field Laboratory, to DDMS (Military), 15 Area, 1 October 1942, enclosure with J.M. Montgomery for District Commissioner, Galilee District, to 212 Town Major, HQ, 20 October 1942: ISA/Gp24/S459/2684.
152. Note and Actions by Acting CS on his Tour in [the] Galilee on 20 April 1945: ISA/Gp24/S459/2684; also, *Malaria and Other Insect-Borne Diseases in the South Pacific Campaign, 1942–1945: A Series of Four Papers, Supplement to The American Journal of Tropical Medicine*, 27, 3 (1947) pp. 1–128.
153. Memorandum by Dr (J.H.) Pottinger, Senior Medical Officer, Haifa, n.d. [1945?], enclosure with Pottinger to Director, Medical Services, Jerusalem, 29 June 1945: ISA/Gp24/S459/2684.
154. M. Novomeysky, Managing Director, Palestine Potash Ltd, to CS, 18 January 1938, and S. Belferman, Sanitary Inspector (Palestine Potash), to the Management (Palestine Potash), 29 January 1938: ISA/CSO2/M/4/38/322.
155. S.A. Van Vriesland for Palestine Potash Ltd, to CS, 16 February 1938: *ibid*.
156. Robert Scott (CSO), 2 September 1944: ISA/CSO2/M/4/38/322.
157. Morris Bailey, District Commissioner, Northern District, to Director, Department of Lands, secret, 5 August 1934: ISA/Gp22/LD53/2/6/3322.
158. Evans to CS, 10 July 1946: ISA/CSO2/M/4/38/322.
159. Evans to Acting Director, Land Settlement, 28 January 1946, and M. Nasir for CS, to Acting Director of Medical Services, 14 May 1946: ISA/CSO2/L/115/45/309.
160. Heron, *Campaign Against Malaria*, p. 8.
161. Statement by Dr T. Canaan, President of the Palestine Arab Medical Association, Public Hearings Before the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry, Jerusalem, 21 March 1946: George Antonius Papers, ISA/Gp65/2606/376.
162. Heron, A Note on the Memorandum, 4 April 1946: PRO/CO733/493/4/76395. Kendall, the Town Planning Adviser, contracted malaria in the winter of 1943–44, see, Kendall to Sir William McLean, CO, 10 February 1944: PRO/CO733/467/760/94.
163. Prof. Ruth Kark, in conversation, Jerusalem, 23 September 1998.
164. Rafeq refers to it as 'a major aspect of *mulk* land', Abdul-Karim Rafeq, 'Land Tenure Problems and their Social Impact in Syria around the Middle of the Nineteenth Century', in Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land Tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1984), p. 374; and Haim Gerber, *Social Origins of the Modern Middle East* (Boulder, CO.: Lynne Rienner, 1987), p. 147.
165. For example, David Grossman, 'Communal Holding: Debate on the *Musba*' System and its Implications', *Karka*, 41 (1996), pp. 56–76 [Hebrew]; and Kark and Oren-Nordheim, *Jerusalem and its Environs*, Pt. 4, nn. 53–4 [Hebrew].
166. Ya'akov Firestone, 'The Land-Equalizing *Musba*' Village: A Reassessment', in Gilbar (ed.), *Ottoman Palestine*, pp. 92–5; Ya'akov Firestone, 'Land Equalization and Factor Scarcities: Holding Size and the Burden of Imposition in Imperial Russia and the late Ottoman Levant', *Journal of Economic History*, 41, 4 (1981), pp. 813–33.
167. David Grossman, '*Musba*' as a Factor in the Settlement Process', in Grossman, *Expansion and Desertion*, p. 28 [Hebrew].
168. Samuel Bergheim, 'Land Tenure in Palestine', *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement* (1894), pp. 191–2; Bergheim's emphasis.
169. Firestone, '*Musba*' Village', pp. 92–3. About the inheritance rights and the right of cultivating, see Bergheim, 'Land Tenure in Palestine', p. 192. On the subject of 'strip' holdings, see, Keen, *Agricultural Development of the Middle East*, p. 14.

170. *Ibid.*, pp. 92–5; Goadby and Doukhan, *Land Law of Palestine*, pp. 208–9; Harry Charles Luke and Edward Keith-Roach (eds), *The Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1934), pp. 261–2; and S. Atran, 'Hamula Organization and *Musha*'a Tenure in Palestine', *Man*, 21 (1986), pp. 271–95.
171. Dr Fouzi El-Asmar, was a school pupil in Lydda in the last years of the Mandate, writer, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999.
172. Mr Mousa Younis El Husseini, interview, Jerusalem, 6 December 1999.
173. Firestone, '*Musha*' Village', p. 103.
174. Z. Haddef, Mayor of Tiberias, to District Officer, Tiberias, enclosure with District Officer, Tiberias, to Assistant District Commissioner, Galilee Division, 12 November 1935: ISA/Gp27/G457/2633.
175. Dr Fouzi El-Asmar, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999.
176. Joseph K. Irby, 'Aspects of *Musha* Land Tenure in Lebanon', *Association of Pacific Coast Geographers Yearbook*, 33 (1971), pp. 153–60; and numerous index references in Kazemi and Waterbury (eds), *Peasants and Politics*, p. 336.
177. Stein, *Land Question*, p. 14 and p. 246, n. 29; again, landownership via land-use is not discussed.
178. Gerber, *Social Origins*, p. 77.
179. Bernard Lewis, 'Ottoman Land Tenure and Taxation', *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Bilad-a-Sham, 20–24 April 1984* (University of Jordan and Yarmouk University, 1984); and Alexander Schölch, 'European Penetration and the Economic Development of Palestine, 1856–82', in Roger Owen (ed.), *Studies in the Economic and Social History of Palestine in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Carbondale/Edwardsville, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), p. 22; and Kark, 'Ottoman Cadastral Surveys', pp. 55–6.
180. Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, 4th edn (Paris: Gallimard, 1946), pp. 98–109 [French]; also, Schölch, *Palestine in Transformation*, p. 178.
181. Stein, *Land Question*, pp. 15, 20–5, etc. Unfortunately, Stein gives little supportive data for his comments on *musha*'. About the SMC, see, Reiter, *Islamic Endowments*, p. 190.
182. Sami Hadawi, *Land Ownership in Palestine* (New York: Palestine Arab Refugee Office, 1957), map on p. 16. And, Land in Jewish Possession (As at 30.6.47), Compiled by J. Weitz and Z. Lifshitz on behalf of the Jewish Agency, map enclosure in: Sir Alan Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxV/File3/f.42.
183. Especially, C.K. Meek, *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 24.
184. Eric Kerridge, *The Common Fields of England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 22 and 41.
185. Michael Turner, *Enclosures in Britain, 1750–1830* (London: Macmillan, 1984), pp. 11–13.
186. Robert C. Allen, *Enclosure and the Yeoman* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 2–3 and 12–13.
187. Thirgood, *Mediterranean Forest*, p. 114.
188. Luke and Keith-Roach, *Handbook of Palestine and Trans-Jordan*, pp. 261–2; Keen, *Agricultural Development of the Middle East*, pp. 14–15.
189. For example, Gabriel Baer, *Fellah and Townsman in the Middle East: Studies in Social History* (London: Frank Cass, 1982), p. 136.
190. *French Supplementary Report*, pp. 86–7.
191. *French Report*, p. 12.
192. *French Supplementary Report*, pp. 86–9.
193. Doukhan, 'Land Tenure', p. 93.
194. Stein, *Land Question*, pp. 15 and 71–2.

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212. Acting Director, Land Settlement, to CS, 4 April 1946: ISA/CSO2/L/101/45/309/Vol.I.
213. Robert John and Sami Hadawi, *The Palestine Diary: Vol.I: 1914–1945* (New York: New World Press, 1970), p. 230.
214. *Peel Report*, p. 219.
215. For example, holdings of 6–10 dunams on average were made up of five fragments, and of 21–40 dunams, of 12 holdings, etc: see, *A Survey of Palestine*, pp. 275–8, and Table 4, p. 277.
216. Cohen, *Politics of Planting*, p. 34.
217. Goadby and Doukhan, *Land Law of Palestine*, pp. 206–7.
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228. Dr Fouzi El-Asmar, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999.
229. Sections 23 and 56–62 of the Land Settlement Ordinance, 1928, now restructured and presented as Part IX Partition and Parcellation Minima: Moving Reasons, n.d., enclosure with Note by Water Commissioner to CS (?), 12 July 1947: ISA/Gp3/AG19/309/726.
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The Partition Plans

The force of circumstances.¹

INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Barbara Bender argued that identities may be ‘created and disputed’ in landscapes.² Inherent in this statement is territoriality, defined by Aharon Kellerman as people’s attachment to spaces, which, as Robert David Sack wrote, is more than biologically motivated, and is amply exemplified by the bitter Arab–Jewish conflict in Mandate Palestine, and Britain’s role in it. Hence, John A. Agnew’s analysis of political geography as the study of the uneven distribution of power over the earth is relevant here. Power is geographically manifested by boundaries, by the control of powerful States and empires over the less powerful, and by the material and emotional connections that people make between themselves and territories they inhabit, thus limiting access to them.³ Yi-Fu Tuan has also shown that ‘power is creativity’.⁴ Gregory’s ‘maps of an intellectual landscape’, give equal prominence to economics and political economics, as geography is the spatial expression of its ‘strategic encounters’ with anthropology, sociology and economics. Specific societies produce specific geographies.⁵

In this chapter, British power in Mandated Palestine within the context of British imperial hegemony in the Middle East forms the backdrop to the analysis of HMG’s partition plans. The Arab–Jewish conflict seemed intractable during the 1936–39 Arab Revolt, which resulted in the British officially mooting partition for the first time. British interests in Palestine played a conspicuous role in partition planning, as London dominated Jerusalem over the matter, but the latter still had its share.

European imperialism was already undermined by American ‘insistence’ that First World War colonial gains be held as Mandated territories – not colonies – subject to the League of Nations established in 1920, a ‘sacred trust to civilization’. The Second World War ushered into the Middle East new competing American and Soviet economic and political forces, and these – along with rising Pan-Arabism –

threatened Britain's position in the region. The USA's anti-colonial stance ran parallel to nationalist activities in the different empires.⁶

US President T. Woodrow Wilson's principle of 'self-determination', stated during the First World War, was enshrined in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which was 'behind the Mandate'.⁷ However, this hardly meshed with the many existing and eventual boundaries of post-colonial countries. As A.I. Asiwaju noted for Africa, lines were drawn across 'culture areas', such as the Masai's (split by the Kenya-Tanzania border), or economic or other zones (for example, pastures).⁸ Few nation-states with ethnic-territorial compositions existed. Partition thus played a defining role in creating new identities, often factitiously throwing together different peoples, usually with tragic consequences – for instance, the Sudan's Arab north and African south – giving rise to years of conflict that still remain unresolved.⁹ David Fromkin saw nationalism in the Middle East as a British replacement of religion by politics, introducing an 'artificial state system'.¹⁰ As Yehoshua Porath has demonstrated, Palestinian Arab nationalism and its Islamic strain were determining factors during the Mandate, influencing Cabinet decisions, as members feared reactions in the Islamic world, notably from India's millions of Muslims.¹¹ But, comparing partition in Ireland, India and Palestine, T.G. Fraser stressed the centrality of nationalism and economics.¹²

An impressive number of studies exist on the political history of British Palestine, and of the Jewish partition plans and Arab political reactions to British partition plans. Much emphasis has especially been given to British political and military interests in partition planning. Some of the writers on the subject, covering a range of aspects, are here listed to illustrate the points made above: Fawzi Asadi (geography); Meron Benvenisti (population aspects); Michael J. Cohen (history); Shmuel Dothan (history); Samih Khalil Farsoun and Christina E. Zacharia (historical overview); Itzhak Galnoor (partition); Sami Hadawi (land); Yossi Katz (Jewish partition plans); Nathaniel Katzburg (political history); 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Kayyali (political history); Tarif Khalidi (history); Walid Khalidi (history); Fred J. Khouri (political history); Aaron S. Klieman (partition and territory); Ian Lustick (national identity); Nur Masalha (Zionist ideas about transfer); Muhammad M. Muslih (Palestinian nationalism); Elhanan Oren (Jewish settlement); Amos Perlmutter (partition); Allen Howard Podet (Anglo-American Committee); Yehoshua Porath (Arab nationalism); Shalom Reichman (historical geography); Michael W. Suleiman (American policy); and 'Abd al-Qadir Yasin (Palestinian nationalism).¹³

The issue of partition is being currently debated, by Morris and others, within the context of the Arab–Israeli conflict and is outside of the scope of this chapter, though it naturally follows on from its subject matter. For a review of this, see the Introduction. Reichman outlined the principles of the 1937 *Peel Report*, but mentioned little about what influenced their formation. Only Hadawi and Asadi have written on the economic and land aspects of partition. However, these studies are on the 1947 UN Partition of Palestine and give statistics for land area and ownership, and for water allocations to the Arab State and the Jewish State, Asadi concluding that the data showed the partition to be ‘grossly unfair’.¹⁴ But the population, land and economic issues behind British partition planning have not been studied.

This chapter analyses the underlying maxims and considerations relating to population, land, and the economy that informed British thinking during the preparation of the partition plans and British notions of what an Arab or a Jewish State ‘should’ include: HMG’s interests are also discussed.¹⁵ The milestone plans analysed are: the 1937 *Peel Report*; the 1938 *Woodhead Report*; the 1943 (though less so because it has already been researched) and 1944 Cabinet Committee on Palestine Reports; the 1946 *Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry Report*; and the Morrison–Grady Plan; concluding with an examination of British influence on the 1947 UNSCOP Partition Plan, as Palestine descended into open civil strife and was handed over to the UN. Lesser proposals by British officials are also presented. The Mandatory Government’s role in forming the landscape of partitioned Palestine may then be better understood.

The roles of the Mandatory and of Douglas G. Harris in partition planning are the main focus of this study. The reason for this, is that the Palestine Administration’s function in the planning has either been neglected in other research, which has concentrated on London’s political and strategic interests, or has not been sufficiently emphasised, and therefore little analysed. Hadawi, for example, only refers to the Administration’s input of data into the plans without further expanding on this; and Dothan just mentions Harris. Gavriel Cohen and Katzburg give more credit to High Commissioner MacMichael’s role, but whilst the former discusses mainly high-level politics, the latter gives little detail.¹⁶

THE PEEL REPORT, 1937

On 18 April 1936, the Arab Rebellion broke out in Palestine, bringing widespread demonstrations and disorder, with ambushes a common

occurrence, and leading for the first time to the political intervention of the Arab States.¹⁷ Village searches and checkpoints caused a breach in daily life and movement.¹⁸ The Arabs strenuously opposed Jewish immigration and land purchases which had increased dramatically after Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933. On 5 November 1936, a Royal Commission chaired by Earl Peel (William Robert W. Peel, formerly Secretary of State for India in 1922–24, and 1928–29) visited Palestine to investigate the Mandate's operations and the causes of the disturbances. In the final part of its report, the *Peel Report*, the Commission recommended cantonising or partitioning Palestine, as Arab and Jewish nationalist aspirations were determined as 'irreconcilable'.

Cantonisation: Cust, Keith-Roach and Harris

The Commission gave cantonisation short shrift, despite the Mandatory Government's two reports on it.¹⁹ Cantonisation would have divided Palestine internally into separate Arab or Jewish autonomous cantons, while leaving it intact, with the option of a British-ruled federation.²⁰ The foremost British exponent of cantonisation was Sir L.G. Archer Cust, who had been a member of the Palestine Administration in the 1920s, and the *Peel Report* referred extensively to a plan he submitted to the Commission.²¹ Cust proposed dividing Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish canton, with Jerusalem and Haifa as Mandated 'enclaves', all in a Mandated federation. The Hills were to be an Arab Canton, possibly linked to Trans-Jordan. The Acre–Gaza Coastal Plain and the Jezreel and Huleh Valleys would make up the Jewish Canton, which was where Jewish settlement was already focused in any case, effectively cantonising Palestine, as Cust argued. A third 'mixed' Arab and Jewish Canton would include Tiberias, Safad and part of the Huleh. This plan confined Jewish immigration and land purchases to the Jewish Canton.²² Harris' map (see Appendix 45), was based on Cust's. All the maps have been kept together for convenience in the Appendices of this book to show the continuities and changes within planning.

Cust's proposal was much criticised, Cosmo Parkinson of the Colonial Office calling it 'impracticable' and contrary to HMG's policy of Arab–Jewish parity.²³ Influenced by Edward Keith-Roach, the Northern District's District Commissioner, the Palestine Administration later rejected cantonisation.²⁴ Calling on his 17 years of experience in Palestine, Keith-Roach also attacked the cantonisation scheme prepared by Douglas G. Harris (the Commissioner on Special Duty and Irrigation Adviser), together with Lewis [Y]. Andrews (the Officer in charge of the Department of Development, as well as Harris'

Assistant Commissioner on Special Duty, and, later on, Liaison Officer to the Palestine Royal Commission, 1936–37) (Appendix 45). The plan violated Article 6 of the Mandate, whereby the Mandatory's encouragement of Jewish settlement was not to prejudice non-Jewish rights, Keith-Roach argued. The Jewish Canton gained 'all the best' citrus land and the 'exceptionally fertile' Jezreel Valley; also, Keith-Roach emphasised, many towns and villages were mixed. Using statistics he had especially commissioned for his secret memorandum, Keith-Roach wrote that the Northern Jewish Canton of Esdraelon and the Jezreel included the overwhelmingly Arab Haifa, Nazareth, Jenin and Beisan Sub-Districts, as well as many large Arab villages, such as Yajur. The Western Jewish Canton, which included parts of the Tulkarm and Jaffa Sub-Districts, also had a large Arab population. For example, the Tulkarm Sub-District had 46,000 Arabs and only 700 Jews.²⁵ Twenty-five-thousand Arabs also resided in villages in the Tulkarm plains, or in the hills outside of the proposed canton's boundaries, but derived over half of their living from, and owned lands within, the proposed canton (Table 30). The plan was 'fantastic', since population pressure on the land, no longer relieved by compulsory conscription as in Ottoman times, was producing 'town dwellers with no resources' and a strong sense of nationalism.²⁶

On reading Keith-Roach's memorandum, Harris made an about-turn. A federation, he wrote, was the act of pre-existing self-governing units attaching themselves together for common objectives, connected by a central federal government; whereas in Palestine, the Government would be delegating powers to previously non-existent units. Also, a 'considerable' part of any Jewish canton would consist of Arab land, and Jewish land purchases would force Arabs out of the canton, whilst land shortages in the Arab Canton, and Arab rural–urban migration would increase the number of landless Arabs. Harris here reiterated Keith-Roach's interpretation that this was contrary to Article 6 of the Mandate, as it placed Arabs under Jewish domination. Different standards between the cantons would arise, causing financial and legislative difficulties for the central Government, which would be unable to control Jewish immigration into the Jewish Canton. Despite Jewish expansion towards Gaza, over 90 per cent of the area's population was Arab, and Harris thought it unwise to allot Gaza for potential Jewish growth. Jewish settlement would be permitted in the Negev, the great Jewish 'hope', but would remain 'mixed', due to its overwhelmingly large Arab population.²⁷

Both the Mandatory Government and the *Peel Report* therefore rejected cantonisation, and adopted Harris' conclusions and wording

Table 30. Arabs Residing Outside the Boundaries of the Western Jewish Canton but Wholly or Partly Dependent on Lands Inside the Canton

Arab Village (Tulkarm S/D)	Arab Population (1931 Census)	Comments
Kafr 'Abbush	360	Hill village – detached lands
'Azzun	994	.. ..
Kafr Jammal	498	.. ..
Kafr Zibad	469	.. ..
'Attil	2,207	.. ..
Qalansuwa	1,069	Lands extended into Canton
At Taiyiba	2,944	Lands extended into Canton; some also detached
At Tira	2,192	Lands extended into Canton
Zeita	1,165	Hill village – detached lands
Kafr Sur	559	.. ..
Kafr Saba	765	Lands extended into Canton
Shuweika	1,861	Various detachments
Tulkarm	5,337	About half the village's lands are inside the Canton
Various detachments (estimated) (Jaiyus, Dannaba, etc.)	1,000	
Total Arabs here (1931 Census)	21,420	
Add estimated 15 per cent increase since 1931	3,213	
Estimated grand total at present (1936)	24,633	

Source: I.N. Camp, Land Settlement Officer, Statistical Memorandum on Arab Population in the Two Proposed Jewish Cantons, Haifa, 22 September 1936, enclosed with Edward Keith-Roach, District Commissioner, Northern District, Recommendation on Future Policy, secret, 30 September 1936: PRO/CO733/316/75528/71.

in noting that the Arabs would oppose the mixed cantons as 'embryo' Jewish cantons²⁸ without 'eventual peace', thus leaving the three problems of land, immigration and self-government unresolved. Even the wording of this was taken from Harris. But the idea of federation did become important in British geopolitical planning, with cantonisation being occasionally speculated on.²⁹

The Peel (Royal Commission) Partition Proposal

The Royal Commission therefore supported partition and the termination of the Mandate in favour of a new Treaties System based on the Iraqi and Syrian precedents, as the only solution to the Arab–Jewish ‘deadlock’. It outlined ten points on: a Treaty system between the Arab and Jewish States and the new Mandatory Government; a Mandate for the Holy Places; the frontier; the need for an Inter-State Subvention; the need for a British Subvention; tariffs and ports; nationality; civil services; industrial concessions; and the exchange of land and of population.³⁰ Contrary both to Katz’s conclusion (though he discusses the role of Dr Chaim Weizmann, head of the Jewish Agency),³¹ and to Galnoor’s statement, Professor Reginald Coupland (a Colonial History specialist at Oxford University and member of the Royal Commission), did not have such a singular influence on the Commission’s final partition plan. Input is evident from various sources, including the Mandatory Government, Arabs and Jews, and shows that Coupland was open to ideas.³²

When discussing the different plans contemplated by the Peel Commission, one member, Sir Laurie Hammond, even stated that he had ‘no particular fancy for one scheme more than another since I know nothing definite about any of them’. This reflected the Commission’s lack of relevant information on partition, which led to a further ‘Technical Commission’, the Woodhead Commission (see below).³³ Strategic questions are rarely addressed below because they have already been dealt with in the literature.³⁴

The Development of the Peel Partition Plan

HMG’s early planting of the ‘seeds’ for the eventual partition of Palestine was carried out in 1931, when it aimed to keep the Hill regions of Judaea, Samaria and the Upper Galilee for landless Arabs.³⁵ Why the partition option was originally chosen is unclear.³⁶ It is the aim here to further examine British ideas behind the Peel Plan, and to analyse British preconceptions and the contribution of the Palestine Administration, notably that of Harris. These have been overlooked in previous studies, which concentrated on British political and military interests. A short survey of those interests is given below.

Strategic issues were discussed at a meeting in London, 1 March 1937, with the Chiefs of Staff. The discussion indicated that there was no final map at that point, and that the ‘Southern Scheme’ was favoured (which gave the Jews the Coast and the Negev for expansion) rather

than the 'Northern Scheme' (which allotted them the coast and the Galilee for growth). The Chiefs of Staff underscored Palestine's 'great strategic importance' in the Mediterranean: it served as a 'buffer' for the Suez Canal and lay across routes to Iraq and the East. The Navy valued Haifa as the country's only deep-water port and was concerned about the Kirkuk–Haifa oil pipeline. Jerusalem and the Holy Places were to form a Mandated Enclave for their security – and the security of the port and pipeline was to be effected.

Preconceptions about the Arabs and the Jews regularly surfaced: for example, Sir Horace Rumbold, the Royal Commission's Secretary, commented that industrial towns would be developed along the shoreline if the Jews controlled the coast; and Peel justified allocating the southern Coastal Plain to the Jews because 'only' they could have it irrigated and developed.³⁷ In the meanwhile, Inter-State Military Conventions were to ensure strategic interests.³⁸

The Peel Plan would have immediately impacted on the landscape through increased Jewish immigration into the Jewish State, with subsequent settlement being mainly in urban areas. Rumbold expected the Jewish State to be uneconomic, 'with the bulk of the Jews crammed into the large towns'.³⁹ He may have been aware of High Commissioner Sir John Chancellor's stinging and 'memorable' despatch of 17 January 1930 to Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield, in which he predicted the land and population problems that were to develop in Palestine, and which the Colonial Office was reluctant to give to the Peel Commission.⁴⁰

Coupland actually sought the advice of Harris, who, as previously noted, was Palestine's Commissioner on Special Duty and Irrigation Adviser. Harris commanded much respect as one of the British Empire's leading Irrigation Engineers and senior colonial officials, and he had previously worked in the Indian Government, sitting on various important committees.⁴¹

Harris proposed the Southern Scheme, which was eventually rejected by the Royal Commission.⁴² He wanted the Arab State to maintain the services established by the Mandatory Government, which would necessitate a subvention for both the Arab State and the Mandated Enclave. Harris referred to the Franchise and Subjects Committees, which had worked out the details for the proposals made in general terms – along similar lines to the Peel Partition Plan – in the *Montagu–Chelmsford Report* on the Constitutional Reform of India. He suggested that a Boundary Committee and a Financial Committee be appointed, the former to delimit the boundaries, 'possibly field by field', basing his proposal on the *Montagu–Chelmsford Report*. The Financial Committee would determine the subventions to the Enclave

and the Arab State, and other arrangements, such as the division of customs revenue. Harris reasoned that since the Jewish State would probably be the only one with a surplus, it should defray the deficits of the poorer economies of the Arab State and the Mandated Enclave. Palestine's surplus budgets in the 1930s closely correlated with Jewish immigration (see, Appendices 2 and 5). Indeed, Rumbold saw any interference with Jewish immigration as liable to produce an 'economic crisis', as most of Palestine's wealth came from the Jews. In subsequent data, not then available to Peel, Harris went on to illustrate the large differences of estimated revenue for the respective Arab and Jewish States and the Enclaves, as shown in Table 31.

Table 31. Urban Property Tax in the Peel Plan

Divisions	Non-Jews (£P)	Jews (£P)	Total (£P)
Arab State	47,178	26,072	73,250
Jewish State	65,053	247,682	312,735
Enclaves	59,632	51,872	111,504
Total	171,863	325,626	497,489

Source: D.G. Harris, Addendum, enclosed with William D. Battershill to Colonial Secretary William G.A. Ormsby-Gore, secret, 16 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4.

A 'Separation Department' (later called the Partition Department) would deal with partition. This, Harris wanted headed by a 'Separation Commissioner', answerable to the High Commissioner, thereby relieving the already overburdened Chief Secretariat of any additional work. Partition would be dealt with through three departments: Re-Settlement, which would locate and develop land to resettle Arabs and Jews desirous of leaving the Arab or Jewish States; Irrigation, which would search for and exploit water resources; and Finance, which was authorised to give Treasury approval for expenditures. In this way, the 'enormous delays' caused by referring first to Jerusalem or London would be averted. Sind's separation from Bombay, India, was given as an example here, as the above idea originated with Harris, who had in fact been a member of the Sind Financial Inquiry Committee (for separation; 1931). On the difficult issue of the Arab citrus-grove owners, Harris expected 'a number' of them to keep their properties, suggesting that the Jewish Agency should have a section within it that could buy the groves at Government-fixed prices.⁴³ The *Peel Report* therefore incorporated many of Harris' ideas, such as those on the

Subventions and land, although it did not include that for the groves.⁴⁴

Another major contributor to the Peel Partition Plan was Sir Laurie Hammond, who in his 'Note on a "Clean Cut"' listed several principles he thought necessary for partition. A member of the Royal Commission, he wanted the Jewish State to include as many Jewish settlements, as much Jewish land, and as few Arabs as possible. The State was also to include the irrigable land, such as the Beisan and Huleh, since the Arabs did not 'appreciate' it. In contrast to the Jews, the Arabs – except those near large markets and owners of citrus groves – were disinterested in intensive cultivation or new technology, Hammond wrote; but, he added, the Jews had both capital and scientific supervision, and they required room for industrial and commercial development, and preferably the 'whole' of the railway system. Arabs in the Jewish State or Jews in the Arab State, were to be compensated for land they had to leave, the price being fixed under supervision by the Mandatory Government. Compulsory population transfer would occur only by agreement between the two States and if it was proven that land was available for the transferred population. Hammond cautiously argued that there was 'no evidence to justify our basing our proposals on a possible transfer of Arab population to either'.⁴⁵

Hammond applied these principles to his three alternative schemes. The first of these schemes allocated to the Jewish State the Galilee and the coastal area north of a line from Al Majdal in the Gaza Sub-District, to the foothills towards Jerusalem, thus including all the Jewish settlements except Beersheba's, 'all the best land', and a substantial Arab population.⁴⁶ Regarding the allocation of 'all the best land' to the Jews, Hammond commented, 'we are assigning land to those who can make the best use of it', which was a recurrent theme in British partition planning. In the second of his schemes, the Jewish State was to be given much of the Jewish lands and the Huleh, north of the Gaza–Beersheba road for development. The third scheme resembled the Northern Scheme but retained the Negev under Mandate, thus ensuring development and relieving Trans-Jordan of its allotted role of absorbing Arabs from the Jewish State. Trans-Jordan was considered as poor in land and precipitation, so it would have been difficult for it to equal the revenues that were 'pumped' up by the Mandatory from the plains to the hills of Palestine.⁴⁷

Harris remained deeply involved throughout the planning discussed above, and his continued influence was palpable in the schemes produced. Harris therefore became a predominant figure in partition planning by the Peel Commission, and was often consulted. He was, in turn influenced by Keith-Roach – from within the Palestine Administration

– in his decision to renege on the Cantonisation Plan (or Cantonisation Scheme, as it was also known). Harris put forward ideas, sometimes even pushing them through, and used his own experience of working in the British Empire to solve problems that arose. Many of Harris' proposals were, sooner or later, incorporated in Peel's final Partition Plan.

Substantiating the Peel Partition Plan

In detailed correspondence, Coupland discussed the situation before the publication of the *Peel Report*.⁴⁸ The Arab State and Trans-Jordan were to be integrated to make unity with Syria also possible, and to help Trans-Jordan through its experienced Syrian officials.⁴⁹ In addition, there seemed to be more chances of irrigation in Trans-Jordan than in the Negev.⁵⁰

Coupland gave several reasons for the final choice of the Northern Plan, although it left almost 50 per cent of the Jewish State in Arab hands. He wrote that there was not 'much' in this population difference between the two schemes.⁵¹ Furthermore, the Zionists opposed the Southern Plan and preferred the Galilee to the Negev; unlike in the Maritime Plain, the Galilee Arabs lived separately from the Jews, and, it was argued, the Jews could not irrigate the hills. Also, the Jews had 'old' traditional contacts with the Galilee, and were interested in maintaining links with the Lebanon for political and commercial reasons. The Arab State would therefore have a 'good stretch of seaboard'. The Jews were to be compensated for losing the Rutenberg Power Station on the Jordan River. To ensure security between the Arabs and Jews, the 'Mixed Towns' of Haifa, Acre, Tiberias and Safad would be administered by the Mandatory Government (see, Appendix 46);⁵² this was to 'soften the blow of Partition to the Arabs'. Both Coupland and the *Peel Report* are vague about the final status of Tiberias and Safad, they are referred to as 'holy cities', and though not specified, this really categorised them as 'Holy Places' to be under the new Mandate. But they are also mentioned as part of the Jewish State.⁵³ In a population arithmetics of swings and roundabouts, suggestions were originally made whereby the Jews would not be allocated Safad (7,000 Arabs, 2,500 Jews), but would instead gain Tiberias, the other Jewish Holy City (3,100 Arabs, 5,400 Jews), and so on.⁵⁴

Due to Arab forebodings about the future of Acre and Haifa and the region around the two towns, reference to these was deliberately omitted by the British Cabinet, which was considering recommendations to retain Haifa permanently.⁵⁵ After ten years under the Mandate, the subject of the environs of Acre and Haifa were again to be discussed.⁵⁶

The 'Transition' period to independence was expected to be about three years. The Royal Commission attacked the economic absorptive capacity criterion for Jewish immigration,⁵⁷ proposing instead the 'political high level' for the next five years until statehood, with 12,000 Jews being permitted annually if partition were opposed.⁵⁸ The Arabs, however, contested this criterion as inadequate.⁵⁹

An Irrigation and Development Scheme for Trans-Jordan and the Negev was planned for the Arab State, to be funded by HMG and the Jewish State to 'gild the pill for the Arabs'.⁶⁰ Indeed, going by the correspondence, much 'pill-gilding' was to occur. If the Arabs accepted partition, the Jews could later be permitted to develop the Negev.⁶¹ Ironically, the very population seen as incapable of development and lacking in funds and initiative, was allotted the areas most needing development and investment. HMG would grant two million pounds to the Arab State for development, whittled down from Coupland's original five million, to 'assuage' the Arabs: a 'small' price for Britain's strategic interests.

As 'third party' in the Enclaves and Corridor, the Mandatory Government would forestall criticism associated with obvious comparisons to the Polish Corridor, that is, that the areas concerned were being run by two peoples recently at war – hence the Mandatory retaining control. A Mandated Enclave west of 'Aqaba, apparently ensuring Arab and Jewish access to the Red Sea, would also be of 'great value to the Empire', though this latter point was not stated in the *Peel Report*.⁶² The arterial Jaffa–Jerusalem road and the rail lines would be enclosed within the Jerusalem Enclave, separating Arab Jaffa from Jewish Tel-Aviv, and keeping the Holy Places, Christian Bethlehem, and the Shephelah's Military bases British. The Mandatory Power would also hold the Sea of Galilee and Nazareth for the Christians, all legitimised by Article 22 of the League of Nations Covenant (where the Palestine Mandate was a 'sacred trust to civilization') and Article 13 of the Mandate, which obligated the Mandatory Government to protect the Holy Places and to ensure free access to them.⁶³

The League of Nations and the USA were to decide on the termination of the new Mandate. No provisions applied here for the Jewish National Home and the immigration quotas. In the Jerusalem Enclave, the only economic opening for the Jews was expected to be commerce in the Jewish suburbs.⁶⁴ Most Jews were thought to want to settle in the Jewish State. Jaffa was to be an Arab Enclave, governed by the Arab State, but it was hoped to have a joint Arab–Jewish port, controlled by the Mandatory; access to ports was then to be assured by the Treaties.⁶⁵ Coupland also wanted a halt during the transition

period to the expansion of the Jewish-run jetty at Tel-Aviv, built in response to the Arab Rebellion when Jewish access to Jaffa Port became dangerous. Because of the inadequate facilities at the Tel-Aviv Jetty, the Jewish Agency wished to keep the option of using Jaffa Port.⁶⁶

Due mainly to the high number of Arabs left in the Jewish State, land and population exchanges were to be affected, based on the 1923 Turkish–Greek precedent whereby population exchanges were made to resolve the problem of the large minorities in Turkey and Greece, thus the ‘ulcer’ was ‘cut out’ (see, Table 32).⁶⁷ Coupland was in fact criticised for being ‘inclined to be hasty in his conclusions and to deal in rather cavalier fashion with the political aspects of the Palestine situation’.⁶⁸

Table 32. Estimated Population (in Thousands) of Proposed Peel Partition Areas

	Total	Jews	Christians	Muslims & Others (Including Bedouins)	Total Non- Jews
All Palestine	1,384	391	110	883	993
Jerusalem Corridor					
Urban	158	76	38	44	82
Rural	74	1	4	69	73
Total	232	77	42	113	155
Nazareth	10	(^a)	6	4	10
Arab State					
Jaffa State	71	16	13	42	55
Excluding Jaffa	478	2 ^b	11	465	476
Total	549	18	24	507	531
Jewish State					
Tel-Aviv	140	140	^c	^c	^c
Haifa, Acre, Safad and Tiberias Towns	132	62 ^d	24	46	70
Rural	321	94	14	213	227
Total	593	296	38	259	297

^a Fewer than 100.

^b Estimated at 2,400 and composed as follows: Settlements in the Gaza Sub-District (850); settlements near Jerusalem (214); Palestine Potash (200); and Settlements over Jordan (Tiberias Sub-District) (1,136).

^c Fewer than 500.

^d Includes Haifa suburbs (5,000).

Source: An Indication of the Possible Financial Effects of Partition, Office of Statistics, enclosed with F.G. Horwill, Treasury, Jerusalem, to High Commissioner, 28 September 1937: PRO/CO733/355/75733.

Coupland predicted that the Jews would ‘bribe’ the Arabs to leave the Jewish State; compulsory exchange was to be a last resort only.⁶⁹ Regarding the Arab-owned citrus groves in the Jewish State, he coyly commented that the owners were an influential group, but, he added dismissively, ‘fortunately some of them have not been doing well’.⁷⁰ This sensitive issue of the groves was deliberately only hinted at in the *Peel Report* in the context of the general sale of ‘land and any plantations and crops’,⁷¹ though citrus occupied a large area of Palestine’s Coastal Plain (Plate 16). Acknowledging that the Jews would get the



Plate 16. Citrus Groves around Jaffa.

Source: 10 December 1944: RAF/PS2/6122, Aerial Photographic Archive, Department of Geography, The Hebrew University.

'best land', and again using Harris' suggestion based on Burma and India, a Jewish subvention to the Arab State was proposed, especially as the latter would lose the benefit of higher Jewish tax contributions. During the transition period to statehood, land transfers to Jews within the Arab Area, and to the Arabs within the Jewish Area, were to be forbidden, immigration being based on the 'economic absorptive capacity'.⁷² Britain was therefore to maintain her control over strategic areas and the Holy Places, and the main land and population problems were to be resolved by forced transfer in the last resort, with a Treaty System and Military Conventions replacing the original Mandate.

Reactions to the Peel Partition Plan

The Foreign Secretary, R. Anthony Eden (during the Mandate: Foreign Secretary, 1935–38; War Secretary, 1940; Foreign Secretary, 1940–45), led an assault on the partition proposals because he feared its impact on the millions of Muslims in the British Empire, whilst the India Secretary (1935–40), Lord Zetland, called the arrangements for Jaffa Port a 'new Danzig'.⁷³ Indeed, Britain had much first-hand experience in the German–Polish Borderlands' negotiations on the establishment of Danzig as a Free City, and the workings of small states and enclaves after the First World War.⁷⁴ However, the Cabinet agreed to the partition of Palestine in principle, but requested more information. Though the Peel Partition Plan was based on the three principles of: being 'practicable', of conforming to HMG's obligations, and of doing 'justice to the Arabs and the Jews', it lacked detail. After the 21 July 1937 House of Commons debate on the *Peel Report*, several 'pro-Arab' Members of Parliament called for boundary changes based on existing ethnic divisions.⁷⁵

Whilst the Zionist leadership accepted partition in principle as an opportunity for sovereignty,⁷⁶ 'most of the Arabs' received the *Peel Report* 'with deep indignation'. Messengers were sent 'even to remote villages to explain' the evils of partition.⁷⁷ Feelings against the Mandate as 'impracticable' were already high;⁷⁸ the *Peel Report* was seen as having a 'bias' towards the Jews, 'stripping Arabs of a large area of their most fertile and developed land', with the Mandate Enclave a 'selfish' inclusion.⁷⁹

Many Arabs opposed the *Report* and protested to the High Commissioner.⁸⁰ One group of Galilee Arabs wrote that they 'detested' the declaration contained in it, that the Galilee villages do not object to Jewish influence.⁸¹ The Arabs objected to their being allotted the 'barren mountains',⁸² and as with the Arab Higher Committee, the President

Table 33. Arab Protests about the Allocation of Cultivable and Uncultivable Land in the Five Plains

Area	Total Area	Uncultivable	Areas Allotted to Jews in the Proposed Partition Scheme
Maritime Plain	3,218,000	555,000	2,218,000 ^a
Acre Plain	450,000	171,000	
Marj Ibn 'Amir ^b	400,000	28,000	400,000
Al Huleh	191,000	65,000	191,000
Jordan Valley	1,365,000	511,000	
Safad and Tiberias Districts			2,191,000

^a Less the Gaza area.

^b Arabic name for the Plain of Esdraelon.

Source: Collated from Shukri Tagi Farouki, President, Arab Committee of Citrus Fruits Industry, Jaffa, to High Commissioner, President, League of Nations, President, Permanent Mandates Commission, and Colonial Secretary, 29 July 1937, enclosed with Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, 4 August 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718/6B.

of the Arab Committee of Citrus Fruits Industry, Shukri Tagi Farouki, was outraged at the loss of the cultivable lands to the Jews, and presented statistics to back up his claim (see, Table 33 and compare to Appendix 47). The whole proposal was 'scandalous'.⁸³ Farouki's statistics were, in fact, comparable to those produced by Harris later on for the Woodhead Commission, showing the frequency distribution of villages in each region according to the percentage proportion of uncultivable land they contained (see, Table 34). The Jerusalem Arab Chamber of Commerce also wrote against partition.⁸⁴ There was already a standing Arab complaint that their petitions were going unanswered by the British,⁸⁵ and George Antonius, a leading Christian Arab, angrily felt that the Royal Commission had 'abruptly' wound up proceedings, not giving him the chance to fully express himself. He now expected the whole Mandate system 'to crumble to earth'. It was only a matter of time.⁸⁶ By autumn 1937, violence once again escalated, and on 26 September, Andrews, the Development Officer who had served in Palestine since 1918, was murdered by the Arabs in Nazareth, as the Arab Revolt gathered momentum into 1938.⁸⁷

The Peel Partition Plan became imperative because it set up partition as a firm option to Palestine's impasse, and structured further partition plans, which also always served British interests. This all entailed a significant potential rearrangement of the landscape, as populations and lands were to be exchanged, producing new political, economic, social and cultural dynamics, with new boundaries being drawn up.

Table 34. Frequency Distribution of Regional Villages by Percentage of Uncultivable Land they Contained

Interval (%)	Number of Villages			
	Acre Plain	Maritime Plain	Galilee Hills	Central Hills
0–9.9	3	63	–	5
10–19.9	2	15	1	4
20–29.9	4	6	3	19
30–39.9	1	2	7	17
40–49.9	3	2	15	23
50–59.9	–	–	12	30
60–69.9	–	1	9	22
70–79.9	–	1	11	22
80–89.9	–	1	11	5
90–99.9	–	–	1	1
Total	13	91	70	148

Source: The Proportion of Uncultivable Land, Village by Village, Eric Mills, Commissioner for Migration and Statistics, Memorandum, 2 December 1937, Enclosure I, Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, 14 December 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4.

Conclusion

In seeking to resolve the inter-communal conflict in Palestine through the principle of Partition, the Peel Commission's perspicacity, shown in the body of its *Report*, seems to have been tested in its tacked-on Partition Plan. This was especially so where the Arabs' economic conditions and agricultural development problems were implicated. Furthermore, the Plan was presented despite the failure of the development scheme at Beisan (see the chapter on Agriculture), which was acknowledged by Hammond, who wrote that, 'The Arab ... as at Beisan, does not readily take to irrigation even where facilities exist'. The Royal Commission also went ahead with its proposal for the Partition Plan – founded on weak data for the boundaries – as its key solution to the Arab–Jewish predicament.⁸⁸

The recommended solutions for the looming problems of population and landownership imbalances in the proposed States, and the Arabs' ramifying economic and agricultural difficulties, were demanding and sweeping. Yet, the Peel Partition Plan was based on the large-scale agricultural development of arid and semi-arid lands for hundreds of thousands of Arabs who would be displaced and forced to live in locations that were practically alien to them.⁸⁹ Peel's Plan was anything but a 'clean-cut' solution.

Whilst apparently solving one acute crisis, partition was to produce another, underwritten by deep-seated Arab resentment and a sense of irretrievable loss, with few lessons learnt from the Turkish–Greek exchange.⁹⁰ The Jews would have the doors left but narrowly ajar for them, as only 8,000 could enter to March 1938, the figure after that still to be determined: they would have to await independence to control Jewish immigration into their state – whilst Nazi persecution continued on its grisly path.⁹¹ Perhaps the Peel Commissioners in fact showed considerable foresight concerning where Palestine was headed by the force of circumstances (as they argued), towards the geographical separation of Arabs and Jews, accompanied by large population movements. The Peel Partition Plan indeed appeared destined to mete out ‘rough justice’.⁹²

The Peel Plan proved to be the master partition plan, on which all those that followed were either based, or to which they were compared, ushering in a fundamental change in the British outlook on Palestine’s future. The new boundaries were to redraw the country’s landscape, producing new places with new characteristics, and an imposed expansion of settlement into the Negev, Beisan, the Jordan Valley and Trans-Jordan. The import of the Peel Partition Plan, simplistic as it seemed, was in its being over-ambitious in the extreme for the future of Palestine and the Middle East.

THE WOODHEAD PARTITION COMMISSION REPORT, 1938

The Woodhead Report

In the *White Paper* of 4 January 1938, HMG appointed a Technical Commission to recommend the partition boundaries and to examine the economic and financial aspects of Peel’s Plan. With the British Cabinet’s rejection of compulsory population transfers, the Commission was to propose ‘a detailed’ partition scheme.⁹³ Though the Jews presented their own plans to the Commission and spoke before it, no Arab did.⁹⁴ The Jews felt bitter about British ‘vacillation’ deepening Palestine’s economic crisis, the economy having already been hit hard by the Arab Revolt.⁹⁵

The Commission, headed by Sir John A. Woodhead of the Indian Civil Service,⁹⁶ was supplied information especially prepared by Jerusalem for the purpose. Many protests were received against the Commission on its arrival;⁹⁷ and, resentful of its members’ aloofness, High Commissioner MacMichael was soon complaining of its ‘clam-like attitude’.⁹⁸ The Commission was in fact operating under adverse

pressure from London, as Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden bent HMG's policy away from partition. Fearing an Italian attack in the Middle East, HMG laid down plans for troops at the Suez Canal in case of war in Europe. This required stability in Palestine and Arab goodwill. Porath argued that the Foreign Office had the Commission's terms so construed as to make partition unworkable, for instance, by debarring the option of forced transfer.⁹⁹ The Colonial Office and the Cabinet could hardly ignore High Commissioner Wauchope's previous warning, relayed by Harris, that the forced transfer *en masse* of Arabs from the rain-fed Galilee to the arid Jordan Valley or Beersheba could not be done 'without force or bloodshed'.¹⁰⁰ Whilst military determinants suffused the Commission's report (the *Woodhead Report*), its members were told that their recommendations could by no means 'freely indent' on the British tax-payer.¹⁰¹ The Treasury had had its say.

Just prior to its departure for Palestine, Colonial Secretary, William G.A. Ormsby-Gore (1936–38) impressed on the Commission the need for a workable scheme with an 'umbrella' of 'effective machinery' as a 'practical' rather than 'political' necessity for the Arab, Jewish and British units to co-operate. He added that Jerusalem was to remain permanently Mandated and not be divided administratively, whilst Haifa was to be Mandated 'at least temporarily'. Also, the Acre Sub-District, the Commissioners were advised, was best excluded from the Jewish State due to security reasons brought on by its overwhelmingly large Arab population. Ormsby-Gore also recommended that the Negev be retained as a Mandated territory because the Arabs could not develop it. The region was strategically important for the frontiers of Palestine and Trans-Jordan *vis-à-vis* their neighbours, including Saudi Arabia and Egypt, in addition to the oil pipeline to 'Aqaba and the Dead Sea Salts Concession'.¹⁰² The Colonial Secretary's words must have influenced the Commission's deliberations, as their plans reflected them.

However, a Foreign Office attempt to send the Commission a damning memorandum against partition, in which everything from the Jewish State's potential economic problems to security drawbacks were covered, was blocked by the new Colonial Secretary, Malcolm J. MacDonald (1935 and 1938–40). MacDonald curtly retorted that it was not an appropriate procedure for the Foreign Office to present such a document.¹⁰³

During the Colonial and Foreign Offices' relentless manoeuvrings to influence the Cabinet in its policy on partition, the Palestine Administration once again proved to be the forceful undercurrent. The Mandatory Government collected and interpreted data, often at the Colonial Office's instigation, which was later used to form the nuts and

bolts of the Woodhead Commission's planning. The Colonial Office's requests to Jerusalem point firmly towards its desire to obtain informative statistics, rather than make a case for partition.¹⁰⁴ Jerusalem, again led by Harris, produced statistics not previously available: on population; land availability by classification; and finances. These were all within the bounds of Peel's proposed Mandated Enclaves and Arab and Jewish States. Harris was therefore to examine their areas' current revenue contributions and, therefore, their viability and possible Subventions.¹⁰⁵ The classifications used were the basis of the published *Village Statistics*, which gave land categories.¹⁰⁶ For the financial statistics, Eric Mills, the Commissioner for Migration and Statistics, referred to the two principles of preventing population transfer and migration from the Arab into the Jewish State.¹⁰⁷

An 'enormous amount of labour' was needed for the research carried out for the Woodhead Commission, with three separate investigations required into: the possibilities of development in Southern Palestine, the Jordan Valley and Trans-Jordan; the economic condition of the Arabs; and the distribution of Urban Property Tax (missing from the *Peel Report*) and Rural Property Tax, and revenue from and expenditure by towns and Sub-Districts. A preliminary period of provisional governments under Mandatory control was also to be reckoned. By September 1937, statistics were already in hand,¹⁰⁸ with early suggestions being made by Wauchope, for instance, about Jewish claims to Jerusalem.¹⁰⁹ Information on all the villages, except for those of the Beersheba Sub-District was presented in a level manner, and duly forwarded to the Commission, emerging as the statistical backbone to which the final *Woodhead Report* was to attach its arguments.¹¹⁰

The Woodhead Commission's Proposals

The Woodhead Commission did not produce a unanimous report. It suggested three new partition plans, and a majority opinion, and two minority opinions. One of the opinions was against partition, exposing the chasms in the Peel Plan. With Woodhead's legal experience as Sessions Judge in India, the Commission sharply enunciated that HMG, and not itself, was responsible for reporting on the 'equity or practicality' of partition. The Commission pointed out that, according to its terms of reference, it was charged with producing the 'best' partition scheme it could, but if this was not possible, then it was to say so, and why; also, it was not to query the 'equity and morality' of partition in principle.¹¹¹

Comparisons: The Peel Plan and the Woodhead Commission's Plan A

The Woodhead Commission devised three plans: A, B and C. It criticised the Peel Plan for underrating defence, which the local Military authorities in Palestine advised be based on boundaries suitable for defence against rifles and machine guns (and not modern warfare), due to the small size of the country. The Commission used the new data presented to it by the Mandatory (lacking details for Trans-Jordan) to noticeable effect.¹¹²

Plan A narrowly modified the Peel Plan. The Jerusalem Enclave was so shaped as to safeguard the Holy Places and Bethlehem, its northern boundary being shifted to include: Ramallah; the Qalandiya landing-ground; the strategic Ramallah–Latrun road; the Beitunya height for defence; and the Palestine Broadcasting Station. The Enclave's shape paralleled information and ideas from Harris (see, Appendix 48),¹¹³ and its southern boundary remained the same as in the Peel Plan.¹¹⁴ The Nazareth Enclave was limited to Nazareth's village lands. However, the Woodhead Commission opposed the Mandated separation area between Jaffa and Tel-Aviv because of defence and administration difficulties, and proposed keeping Jaffa town as part of the Arab State. A straight road driven through the two towns was suggested instead, involving population transfers of 15,700 Jews and 2,000 Arabs (due to the geography of the route) from Jaffa to Tel-Aviv, and 5,400 Jews from Tel-Aviv to Jaffa (see, Appendix 49).¹¹⁵ An Arab scheme for Jaffa was rejected because it meant shifting the boundaries, causing an actual increase in the Jewish population there.

Henry Kendall, Palestine's Town Planning Adviser, gave evidence before the Partition Commission concerning the re-planning of the Jaffa–Tel-Aviv boundaries. Kendall described the arterial road in the Commission's map for the towns as an 'excellent developmental road' in its town planning aspect: it had the potential to open up an almost inaccessible area, necessitating the demolition of four blocks of slum dwellings, 'vastly' improving sanitary conditions and general amenities. The Commission's map even followed block plans.¹¹⁶

The Maritime Plain's eastern boundary between Tulkarm and the Jerusalem Enclave was drawn up within the foothills, giving the Jewish State a defensible border. North of Tulkarm, the boundary kept to Peel's line, as it was adjudged defensible and the railway was thus safeguarded. The Jezreel boundary ran over the crest of the hills, with defensible borders for the Jewish State. As in Peel's Plan, Beisan remained outside of the Jewish State. The Jewish settlements east of the Sea of Galilee and the Palestine Electric Corporation lands were included in the Jewish State.

However, Plan A left a distinctive Arab population and land area inside the Jewish State, including citrus lands valued at the highest Rural Property Tax (see, Table 35), the Commission concluding that 'no scope' existed for land and population exchanges.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, due to the time pressure under which the statistics were produced, and the crudeness of many of the data categories, entailing a whole new structure for its collection, the information provided to the Commission was inconsistent. Standardised tables could not therefore be drawn up here.

Expected development in Beersheba, Beisan, the area south of Gaza, the Jordan Valley, and Trans-Jordan – on which the Peel Plan and Plan A hinged – proved very doubtful. Though the Water Survey suggested by Peel for deep bores, shallow wells, springs and flood irrigation, was almost completed by the Government for the Woodhead Partition Commission, it had to be abandoned because of attacks on the survey parties (see, Appendix 50). However, it served its '*political [sic]* objective', producing 'definite' but 'disappointing' conclusions.¹¹⁸ Contrary to expectations, random borings did not obtain sweet water. But, even with large-scale irrigation, Arab farming would have had to be transformed from extensive to intensive, and also required markets for the expensively irrigated produce.

The Woodhead Commission heeded the Peel Commission's own advice on the difficulties to be expected in changing Arab agriculture more so than did the Peel Commission itself in its Plan, when it left out this element and proposed Arab population transfers to arid and semi-arid areas. Though the Agricultural Director and Harris reduced the recommended 'lot viable', the latter by accounting for supplementary income to agriculture, the Woodhead Commission dismissed this as 'speculative'. Harris, it was noted, had assumed 'future' cultivation methods and markets. The Commission, therefore, remained with Peel's definition of the 'lot viable'.¹¹⁹ The *Peel Report* had in turn backed up the *Shaw Report* that stated Palestine could not support or maintain a larger agricultural population unless its farming underwent a 'radical change'.¹²⁰ Also, only 49,000 Arabs could be settled in the Jordan Valley, and 4,000 in the Beisan Plain. There was 'little scope' for intensive settlement in Trans-Jordan, and the introduction of wide-scale intensive farming in the Gaza Sub-District would be 'slow'.¹²¹

The Woodhead Commission rejected Zionist demands to be given at least the modern Jewish section of Jerusalem, as it would have resulted in an inter-state boundary through the centre of the city, with all the attendant administrative and services problems (reasoned as being more problematic than the proposed Jaffa–Tel-Aviv division).¹²² Also, the

Table 35. Woodhead Plan A: Population and Land Statistics for the Arab and Jewish States and Mandated Enclaves

	Arab State ^a			Jewish State			Jerusalem and Nazareth Enclaves		
	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs	Jews	Total	Arabs	Jews	Total
	Population								
Urban	136,500	5,600	142,100	77,500	243,600	321,100	91,000	76,000	167,000
Rural	348,700	1,600	350,300	217,200	61,300	278,500	134,000	4,200	134,600
Total	485,200	7,200	492,400	294,700	304,900	599,600	221,400	80,200	301,600
Land (in Dunams)									
Citrus Land	26,600	1,300	27,900	78,600	135,900	214,500	37,900	8,900	46,800
Other Cultivable Land	3,018,000	28,300	3,046,300	2,153,000	730,700	2,883,700	795,900	42,900	838,300
Built-on Land	37,100	4,400	41,500	31,700	31,400	63,100	34,500	7,800	42,300
Uncultivable Land	3,926,200	3,000	3,929,200	1,591,400	242,200	1,833,600	636,300	19,200	655,500
Total^b	7,007,900	37,000	7,044,900	3,854,700	1,140,200	4,994,900	1,504,600	78,800	1,583,400

^a Population: Including Beersheba Sub-District (Negeb); Land: Excluding Beersheba Sub-District (Negeb).

^b Excluding roads, railways, rivers and lakes.

Source: Compiled from the *Palestine Partition Commission Report*, Cmd. 5854 (London: HMSO, 1938; henceforth *Woodhead Report*), pp. 49, 51 and 81.

Arabs were expected to object, making their own claims. Though Wauchope produced a map for a Jewish 'bloc' (Wauchope's emphasis), allocating potential Jewish development focused on Jewish Beit ha-Kerem and Arab Deir Yasin (see, Appendix 51), he agreed with Harris' rejection of sectioning off part of Jerusalem to the Jews, or of having a two-municipality arrangement, with the whole city under Mandate. There would be a duplication of services and 'great loss of revenue' from the Jewish sector, Harris remarked.¹²³

John M. Martin, of the Colonial Office, flinched at having 'enclaves within enclaves', and giving the Jews the south-east quarter of the Old City with its many synagogues, and assigning the Haram esh Sharif (Temple Mount) to the Muslims.¹²⁴ The Commission therefore decided to keep Jerusalem whole, under Mandate, since inter-municipal friction and financial differences and difficulties would probably arise.¹²⁵ There was thus to be no Zion in Zion.¹²⁶ The Jewish State would have 295,000 Arabs and 305,000 Jews, and 3,855,000 dunams of Arab land of the State's total 4,995,000, thus failing to fulfil the Commission's term of reference to include the fewest possible Arabs in the Jewish area. Voluntary transfer was also not expected to occur because of the Arab population's 'deep attachment to the land', and resentment of the Jews. In addition, development difficulties for the Arabs were expected, resulting in the rejection of Plan A and the presentation of Plan B.¹²⁷

Comparisons: The Woodhead Commission's Plan B

Plans B (especially) and C reveal a close similarity to Harris' 'alternative' plans,¹²⁸ and excluded Trans-Jordan (see, Appendices 52 and 53). As with Harris, the Woodhead Commission argued that for Plan B the Galilee should not be included in the Jewish State due to the region's large Arab population, which also had a high natural increase, demanded more land, and was regarded as hostile to the Jews. The Jewish State was also severed south-west of the Jerusalem Enclave (see, Appendix 52). The Galilee would be Mandated to ensure security for the Jews, which could not be done if it were in the Arab State, despite risking Arab anger at the region not granting independence. As a mixed town and Palestine's only deep-water port, Haifa was also to be Mandated so that neither the Arab nor the Jewish community dominated. The area inside the Jewish State from Haifa to east of Beisan and to the frontier was only 24 per cent Jewish. But, above all, the 'problems created by the Galilee', discussed above, were 'considered fatal' to Plan B. Plan C was therefore introduced, each new plan successively whittling away at Peel's, and enlarging the Mandated area.

Comparisons: The Woodhead Commission's Plan C

Plan C was the 'majority plan', accepted by two of the four Commission members. Now, the whole of the Galilee and the area from Haifa and just north of Tantura, east to the frontier, was to be Mandated because of its population imbalances, thus doing 'justice' to the Arabs and the Jews within it. The Negev would also be Mandated, since allocating it to the Arabs would condemn it 'to perpetual poverty', because the Arabs, even with British help, were unable to develop it, as the Woodhead Commission had already reasoned. To give it to the Jews would violate the Commission's terms due to its being essentially Arab, whilst it was 'unfair' to the Jews if the Arabs received it, thus denying them the chance to develop it. Only the centre was to be partitioned as in Plan B, except for a boundary between Khan Yunis and Rafah, with the latter in the Southern Mandated Territory, giving it access to the sea (see Appendix 53).¹²⁹

The Jews, then, were permitted to develop the Negev. This again resembled Harris' 'alternative' scheme, its author writing that the Jewish State would probably become the 'manufacturing centre and market of the Near East', so that there was space for their industrial development in the coastal towns. Agriculturally, however, 'the Negev was a land for development by Jews and not Arabs' and was therefore to be Mandated.¹³⁰ The Jews produced their own development schemes for the Negev, but these were set aside by the Colonial Office as the Cabinet turned away from partition.¹³¹ Despite a sizeable reduction in the number of Arabs in the Jewish State in Plan C, there still remained a large Arab minority. The statistical outcome of Plan C was summarised (see, Table 36), with the Woodhead Commission forced to resort to 'voluntary transfer'. Noting, however, that there would be insufficient land to resettle the number of Arabs thus transferred, a solution was sought in placing them in the Northern Mandated Territory, and the Jews' 'definite undertaking' to finance the transfer and resettlement.

The Arabs of the Northern and Southern Mandated Territories could only be placed under Jewish rule with their consent, but the Jerusalem Enclave, Nazareth and the Sea of Galilee would be permanently Mandated. Under a 'negative policy of control', Jewish land purchases in the Galilee would be prohibited, thus determining Jewish immigration and settlement into this area. In actuality, the conditions and geography set for land purchasing by the Jews was similar to those of the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940. Government approval was required in the rest of the Northern Mandated Territory, though it was not necessary for land buys in the Jerusalem Enclave or Haifa's urban area. The Southern Mandated Territory was to be divided into

Table 36. Woodhead Plan C, the 'Majority Plan': Statistical Outcome of Population and Land Distribution for All of Palestine

	Arabs	Jews	Total
Arab State			
Population	444,100	8,900	453,000
Land	7,329,700	63,800	7,393,500 ^a
Jewish State			
Population	54,400	226,000	280,400
Land	821,700	436,100	1,257,800 ^a
Mandated Territory			
1. Jerusalem Enclave			
Population	211,400	80,100	291,500
Land	1,485,200	78,700	1,563,900 ^a
2. Northern Territory			
Population	231,400	77,300	308,700
Land	2,730,500	677,300	3,407,800 ^a
3. Southern Territory			
Population	60,000	—	60,000
Land	1,944,500(?)	55,500	2,000,000(?) ^{a,b}
Total Mandated Territory			
Population	502,800	157,400	660,200
Land	6,160,200	811,500	6,971,700 ^{a,b}

^a Excluding roads, railways, lakes and rivers.

^b Excluding 10,577,000 dunams of desert in the Beersheba Sub-District.

Source: *Woodhead Report*, p. 109.

Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

an 'Unoccupied' and an 'Occupied' area, delineated by the five-inch (12.5-cm) rainfall contour. In the first area, Jews would be able to develop land, and this could possibly have led to independence; but in the second, where the Bedouins lived, the Government was to help develop the area, permitting Jewish settlement later on to 'improve' the Bedouins' living standards, independence being granted only if there were no opposition from the minority population.

The 'negative policy', however, was to be offset by a 'constructive policy of development'. This was elaborated as the continuance of British financial assistance aimed at 'facilitating Jewish settlement' and, where possible, 'undertaking an active programme' to benefit Arabs and Jews. This was to be through agricultural development, including drainage and land reclamation, and road and bridge construction; and agricultural research and education. In all, this added up to the continuation of what the Mandatory Government did anyway, often with only shreds of success, as shown in the chapter on Agriculture; but, with partition, there would

be the added urgency of settling a recently displaced population.

In Plan C, immigration into the Mandated Territories was to be allowed at the Government's discretion, and the Balfour Declaration would not apply: now 'political, social, and psychological as well as economic considerations' were to be made for immigration.¹³² Rejecting the idea of a Jewish Subvention to the Arab State – as it would 'provoke resentment and humiliation on both sides' – the Commission did, however, propose that HMG pay towards the Arab State (see, Table 37). The Commission had to suggest boundaries that left the Arab and Jewish States 'self-supporting',¹³³ and data from Palestine Treasury's F.G. Horwill on the economic viability of the Jewish and Arab sectors (see, for example, his figures for the Peel Plan, Table 38, and compare to Table 39), showed the extreme differences between the Jews' high taxable capacity and the Arabs' low financial prospects.¹³⁴ This was in addition to Harris' bleak comment that it was uncertain if the Arab State would be 'living at subsistence or starvation level'.¹³⁵ The Commission could only conclude that no partition plan whatsoever would produce a 'self-supporting' Arab State.¹³⁶

The Woodhead Commission members, therefore, fell back on Peel's concept of installing inter-State financial arrangements to remedy the situation. A customs union was suggested to facilitate markets for the Arab State – attached to Trans-Jordan – and to ease trade in the post-partition transition period of about ten years, with the proceeds being equally divided between the Arab and Jewish States and the Mandatory. The Jewish State would thus contribute towards the Arab State by absorbing only a third of the overall revenue, though its own revenue was expected to be higher. Proposals on minority rights and numerous other points were also put forward for Plan C. Jewish partition proposals published in the *Woodhead Report* were rejected as this plan was a reversal of Plan C, with the Northern Mandated area now Jewish, and the southern section enlarged to extend east to Ein Karim and the Jewish part of Jerusalem, all of which had the effect of narrowing down the Corridor to Jaffa (the Jerusalem–Jaffa Corridor). The Arabs were centred around Nablus and linked to Trans-Jordan, with a horseshoe-shaped area around Beersheba (see, Appendix 54).¹³⁷

Though having the 'majority' support for Plan C, the Commission was aware of its many drawbacks, most importantly the political ones, which would lead to partition being rejected. The Commission also took other factors into consideration in its planning, such as the accommodation of natural population growth, and the problem of providing part-time employment to supplement agricultural earnings in the Arab State, as emphasised by Harris.¹³⁸

Table 37. Comparison between HMG's Financial Costs under the Peel Partition Plan and Woodhead Plan C

	Peel Partition Plan		Woodhead Plan C	
	Capital (£)	Recurrent (£)	Capital (£)	Recurrent (£)
1. Capital grant-in-aid of Arab State (on account of Trans-Jordan)	2,000,000	–	–	–
2. Capital grants on account of development in Arab State to provide for transfer of Arab minorities, say	4–5,000,000 ^d	–	–	–
3. Capital grants on account of development in Mandated Territories	–	–	1,000,000	–
4. Annual grants on account of development in Mandated Territories and of cost of settlement survey	–	–	–	75,000 ^a
5. Annual grants on account of deficit in Mandated Territories ^c	–	267,000 ^b	–	460,000
6. Annual grants on account of deficit in Arab State ^c (including Trans-Jordan)	–	–	–	614,000
7. Expenses of partition (say)	250,000 ^e	–	250,000 ^e	–
Total:				
Capital	6–7,250,000	–	1,250,000	–
Recurrent	–	267,000	–	1,149,000

^a For 10 years.^b For the Jerusalem Enclave only.^c Excluding cost of defence.^d Estimates are uncertain because of lack of data, but costs may be halved because of the proceeds from land sales by transferee owner-cultivators.^e Including the cost of diverting the railway at Tulkarm, and of the Jaffa–Tel-Aviv boundary.Source: *Woodhead Report*, p. 200.

Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Table 38. Example of Financial Statistics Supplied to the Woodhead Commission, Showing Revenue and Expenditure for the Peel Partition Plan (Revealing Notable Differences between the Arab and Jewish States)

	Estimated Revenue of the Three States (£P)	Estimated Expenditure if there were no Partition (£P)	Profit or Loss upon Partition if Expenditure were Proportionally Divided between Arab and Jew (£P)	Profit or Loss upon Partition by Reason of Disproportional Expenditure on Social Services (£P)	Net Profit or Loss upon Partition (£P)
Mandated States	1,177,700	874,200 ^a	+303,500	+14,400	+317,900 ^a
Arab State	991,800	1,983,400 ^a	-991,600	-195,200	-1,186,800 ^a
Jewish State	2,830,500	2,142,400 ^a	+688,100	+180,800	+868,900 ^a
Total	5,000,000	5,000,000			

^a Horwill commented here that drawing conclusions from averages was 'dangerous', but that the Memorandum was only to serve as a 'rough indication' of the 'possible financial effects of Partition'.

Source: F.G. Horwill, Palestine Treasury, to High Commissioner Wauchope, 28 September 1937: PRO/CO733/3555/75733.

Table 39. Estimated Revenue and Expenditure for Woodhead Plan C

	Arab State (£P)	Jewish State (£P)	Mandated Territories (£P)
Revenue	858,000	1,478,000	1,692,000
Expenditure	1,472,000	886,000	2,152,000
Surplus (+) or Deficit (-)	-614,000	+592,000	-460,000

Source: *Woodhead Report*, p. 185.

Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

In fact, it was weaknesses connected to such points that divided the Commission's final opinion. Sir Alison Russell wrote a 'Note of Reservation', in which he supported Plan B for its being 'equitable and practicable', more 'likely to secure peace', and returning to a modified version of Peel's reasonings. But another Commission member, Thomas Reid, rejected partition completely, arguing that the Arabs and Jews did not consent to it, and that it was in fact *lacking* in equity, security and solvency. Partition was a 'disintegrating policy', dismembering Palestine into 'strange' administrative and physical blocs.¹³⁹ Reid had support from within the Jerusalem Government, as when questioned in camera for two-and-a-half days, the Officer Administering the Government, Sir William D. Battershill, opposed partition mainly on economic grounds and because it was not possible to devise any state, he noted, that 'could be properly administered'. Battershill added that 'even the Bedu' of Beersheba rejected partition, since they would be unable to range in the Jezreel as some tribes were in the habit of doing. He was actually acquainted with Reid and held his report to be the best of the Partition Commission's, having the most 'realistic approach'.¹⁴⁰

Conclusion

The *Woodhead Report* presented impressive statistics to detail the Peel Plan's weaknesses. However, it was Peel's proposal that became the main reference point for future British partition planning. The *Woodhead Report's* minutely argued substitute plans, though referred to, attracted less interest in subsequent partition planning, and were even mocked (see, Appendix 55).¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, by presenting three plans and by exposing serious differences of opinion between its authors, it highlighted the innate fragilities of the Peel Plan. Also, as shown previously, the *Woodhead Report* became the primary guide for the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, creating new geographies, as it enforced restrictions on Jewish land purchasing patterns. MacMichael had already in April 1938 reported to Woodhead that although the Arabs were 'utterly opposed' to partition, many, including headmen and *fellabeen* seemed resigned to it.¹⁴²

However widespread this sense of resignation was among the Arabs, they officially remained opposed to partition, and hence to the Woodhead plans.¹⁴³ With the *Report's* much reduced Jewish State, the Jewish Agency also rejected it as a 'basis for any negotiations'.¹⁴⁴ But the *Report's* fate was anyway sealed by Britain's mindfulness of Muslim support with war approaching in Europe.¹⁴⁵ On receiving the *Report*, the Cabinet,

swayed by Foreign Office reasoning, had it published on 9 November 1938, along with a *White Paper* rejecting partition.¹⁴⁶

The Arabs approved of Reid's opinion, and modern historian Walid Khalidi reproduced it as testimony against partition.¹⁴⁷ Jamal al-Husseini, a prominent Arab Palestinian leader, offered the Jews communal autonomy.¹⁴⁸ The more radical National Defence Party (which had split from the generally representative Arab Higher Committee) maintained its stand after the *Peel Report*, that the Arab-Jewish population ratio should not be altered.¹⁴⁹

In Palestine, a silent symbol of partition appeared when stairs were cut through Safad's Old Town in 1938–39 during the Arab Revolt, physically separating the Arabs and the Jews due to the grievous inter-communal strife. A searchlight was constantly trained on the stairs from atop the Public Works Department building immediately facing them (Plate 17).¹⁵⁰

THE WAR CABINET AND THE 1943 AND 1944 PARTITION PLANS

A British-instigated 'Round-Table Conference' – for which Harris had been especially recalled to London because of his technical expertise on land and population data, and on cationisation – opened on 7 February 1939 in London, failed to produce a compromise between the Arabs and the Jews. On 17 May 1939, the British Government published the *White Paper* restricting both Jewish immigration (to 75,000 in the next five years), and land transactions, the latter elaborated in the Land Transfers Regulations of 1940. Numerous plans were suggested to HMG between 1939 and 1943.¹⁵¹ In 1943, with the Allies victorious in North Africa, and the Jewish immigration quota period set to end on 31 March 1944, the British once again scrutinised partition. The War Cabinet appointed a Ministerial Committee on Palestine which was to formulate long-term policy on the Mandated territory, to be put into effect after the War. In its Terms of Reference, the Committee was specifically requested to 'start by examining the Peel Commission's Report, and considering whether that scheme, or some variant of it, can now be adopted'. The Palestine Committee went on to prepare two reports on partition, in 1943 and 1944, the latter being initiated in order to work out 'the details of the scheme recommended in the first of the reports'. Douglas G. Harris, who temporarily held the post of Commissioner for Reconstruction and Development in Palestine and was made MBE in 1942, was called back to London especially to advise on the planning during the First Report of 1943.¹⁵²



(a) Stairs Cut by British through Safad's Arab and Jewish Quarters.

Plate 17. Partitioned Landscape.
Source: El-Eini, 1996.



(b) Searchlight Atop a Pillbox (Part of the PWD Building) Trains on the Stairs.

Several studies have been done on these reports, though mainly from the political angle, for example, by Gavriel Cohen, Katzburg, Michael J. Cohen and Porath.¹⁵³ In the following section, an analysis is made of the less-researched influence of High Commissioner MacMichael on the Cabinet Committee on Palestine's Second Report, 1944. Other factors influencing HMG, such as the part played by the British Middle East Ambassadors have also been discussed in the literature and will not be examined here. Katzburg wrote on the differences between the First and Second Report, looking at general themes, and on MacMichael's influence, but mainly examined the High Commissioner's basic ideas on the Jerusalem State and the geographical divisions proposed. Here, other aspects of MacMichael's proposals will be analysed, following a note on the Second Report, and more details are given about the geographical aspects.

The Cabinet Committee on Palestine Second Report, 1944

The First Report, which was made ready on 13 December 1943 and endorsed by the Cabinet on 25 January 1944, squarely returned British policy to a modified Peel Plan, the most notable difference being the proposal to have an 'association of Levant States', made up of a Jewish State, a British protected Jerusalem Territory, the Lebanon and a Greater Syria (the latter consisting of Syria, Trans-Jordan, a small part of the Lebanon and the 'Arab residue of Palestine') (see, Appendix 56). The Second Report was submitted to the Cabinet by the Palestine Committee on 16 October 1944, and was again aimed at maintaining the Peel principle of partition based on the spatial distribution of existing Arab and Jewish settlements.¹⁵⁴ High Commissioner MacMichael sent detailed responses to the questions on partition posed to him by the Colonial Secretary.

The Second Report and MacMichael's Influence on it

MacMichael and the Palestine Administration had a significant impact on the Second Report through his 'Replies' of 24 March 1944 to Colonial Secretary Oliver Stanley's 'Questionnaire' to him earlier on. This subject has not been considered in any depth in previous research: for instance, Katzburg only mentions the religious value that MacMichael attributed to Jerusalem.¹⁵⁵ Unlike the *Woodhead Report*, no reams of statistics were produced. Large sections of the Second Report read almost verbatim like the High Commissioner's 'Replies'. MacMichael was asked 24 questions on a full gamut of issues related to partition,

from the boundaries of the Jerusalem Territory, to minority rights. The Second Report is here analysed in terms of MacMichael's replies.

MacMichael answered Stanley's Questionnaire according to the three 'primary needs' that he identified. First, that a Jerusalem State and an Arab State be founded from the start in the 'interests of finality', preventing the Jews from taking 'two bites at a cherry'. Second, for the survival of the Jewish State, barriers should be abolished, tariffs unified, and a co-operative spirit induced, permitting trade with neighbouring states. And third, British strategic interests in the region had to be maintained.¹⁵⁶

Recognising that the 'largely indeterminate' criterion of the economic absorptive capacity was failing to control immigration, and that a bi-national State could not succeed because of the question of Jewish immigration, the Cabinet Committee agreed with Peel on the point of partition as the long-term policy for Palestine. MacMichael therefore had to respond in the context of partition and, as with the Woodhead Commission before him, he was not to query partition *per se*.

MacMichael attached great importance to the Jerusalem State as a 'religious metropolis' for Christians, Muslims and Jews, and successfully argued that it transcended the status of crown colony to that of 'Sovereign State', similar to the Vatican. It was thus to be a 'diarchy', with the High Commissioner acting both as HMG's representative before the world and as constitutional head of an autonomous territory.

Geographically, this State was to include the road and rail lines between Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem, permitting Jewish access without passing through the Arab State. Jerusalem, Bethlehem, the broadcasting station at Ramallah, Lydda airfield ('likely to be an important centre of post-war Empire air communications') and Jerusalem's water source at Ras al 'Ein were incorporated into this state. A common tariff with Southern Syria was to facilitate free passage for Arabs travelling through the Jerusalem State, and 'substantial' HMG grants-in-aid were to be provided in its early years.

The population of this State would be 300,000, of which its urban Arabs (numbering over 100,000) were expected to be more educated than their Syrian and Lebanese counterparts, and also to be politically conscious. This was a rather poor assessment by MacMichael of Syrian and Lebanese 'political consciousness', considering that Syria and the Lebanon had produced some of the most prominent Arab nationalists up to that point in time.¹⁵⁷ An elected legislature was to operate, with an additional two members nominated by the High Commissioner. Arab and Jewish residency would be controlled,¹⁵⁸ as there was to be a 'definite Jerusalem State nationality', thus avoiding the creation of

'a glorified cockpit'. MacMichael even complained about the High Commissioner's minimal role, as the Legislative Council was to have a 'very real measure of self-government'.¹⁵⁹ This in effect would have decreased British influence on the country, and therefore on planning, though the High Commissioner was portentously still to have 'the power of the purse-strings since the grants-in-aid can always be discontinued'.

In adopting Peel's Plan for the Jewish State, the Second Report did, however, exclude the Galilee with its 98 per cent Arab population and land. 'Important additions' to the State were made though: the 'valuable' area east of the Jordan at the southern end of Lake Tiberias (Sea of Galilee); the southern portion of the Beisan Sub-District, containing one of Palestine's few tracts with large perennial springs that permitted gravity irrigation; Jaffa town and the 'rich lands' to its east; and an extension of the area south of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa (see, Appendix 57). MacMichael tried unsuccessfully to have Jaffa's Municipality made autonomous within the Jewish State, thus virtually creating an Arab enclave – a geographical feature that the Cabinet Committee was trying to avoid. Peel's Jewish State was now reduced by the Committee from 3,105 to 2,349 square kilometres, mainly because of the Galilee's exclusion. But, the Ministers argued, much of the omitted land was 'barren hillside' and 'on the contrary', the areas added were fertile and 'mainly suitable for intensive cultivation'. The Jewish State envisaged by the Ministers was ten per cent more valuable in taxable capacity than that in the *Peel Report*, and contained 33,280 more Jews, and 76,000 extra dunams of Jewish land. For the Arab State, the Galilee was to be included as an island appendage to Southern Syria, thus obviating the necessity for a corridor and the concomitant transfer of 1,260 Jews and 119 square kilometres to the Jewish State. This also reduced French, Syrian and Lebanese influence.

Other points were discussed, the first being the consolidation and development of the Jewish State. The Committee clearly expected a continued Jewish economic shift away from agriculture and towards industrialisation. The Second Report refuted claims that the Jewish State would be too small to absorb 'a considerable number of new immigrants', saying that 64 per cent of the Jews in Palestine lived in Jerusalem, Haifa, Tel-Aviv and Jaffa, 18 per cent in the smaller towns, and 'only' 18 per cent in the rural settlements. Thus, rounding off the decimals, it was estimated that about 82 per cent lived in an area of under 145 square kilometres, which included the rural area farmed by the inhabitants of the smaller towns. Hence, the Report continued, there was ample space in the proposed 'nearly 1,500 square miles' (2,414 square kilometres) for 'a further substantial increase of population by

way of immigration, if employment for further immigrants can be found'.¹⁶⁰

Conditions in Palestine, it was stated in the Second Report, were such that there were now 'practical limits' to the realisation of the Zionist ideal 'of a people "rooted in the soil"'. Woodhead's criterion for the rural economic absorptive capacity, it argued, had already 'exactly' been met on Jewish rural land: development on any land allotted to the Jews could not 'in the main' be agricultural. It had to be based on a high population density, and 'depend upon industry, transport and the like'.¹⁶¹ In addition, Arab rural land was carrying double its capacity in population, thus limiting the number of Arabs that could be added to it from the Jewish State, especially in the Hill Country, and the Hebron Sub-District within it (see, Table 40). Eighty per cent and 77 per cent of all Arab and Jewish cultivable lands, respectively, were under cereals, which were costly to produce in Palestine, imported cereals were therefore suggested in order to release more land. The Jewish State could thus exploit the economic advantages of having Haifa, Tel-Aviv and Jaffa, and almost all of the Jewish industries, except for the Dead Sea Potash works. It would also contain most of the Arab industries, though the Committee did not specify if these were to be bought out by the Jews, so (presumably) the Committee was thinking of the taxable advantages. This State was also to contain 81 per cent of the Jewish population (the remainder being mainly in the Jerusalem State), and 88 per cent of Jewish land, as well as Palestine's best quality land, which included 99 per cent of Jewish-owned citrus and 82 per cent of all citrus in the country. Arab grievance was expected and unavoidable, the Committee surmised, since with Arab and Jewish groves inextricably intermixed, it was the only way to allocate Jewish settlements to the Jewish State. The State would thus have land with a property tax valued at almost two-and-a-half times more than the rest of Palestine's.

Haifa was included in the Jewish State as it had a Jewish majority (88,398 Jews to 64,220 Arabs), and because Jewish industrial development there outstripped that of the Arabs. Further to this, the Second Report contended, it would be inadvisable to divide the two industrial centres of Tel-Aviv and Haifa, and to place them under different tariff systems. British strategic requirements could in the meanwhile be assured by treaty. The inclusion of the Huleh Salient in the Jewish State was justified on the basis that the Jews held a concession to drain Lake Huleh and its neighbouring marshes, and that they were the only ones who had the enterprise and capital to develop it (they planned to settle 3,000–3,600 families in the area).

Table 40. Lot Viable in the Hill Country (Hebron Sub-District), Based on Rural Property Tax Ordinance Land Categories and Used as the General Index by Woodhead, and in the Cabinet Committee Second Report

Category	Description	Lot Viable (Dunams)	
1.	Citrus	–	10
3.	Bananas	–	10
5.	First-grade irrigated land and 1st-grade fruit plantation		50
6.	Second-grade irrigated land and 2nd-grade fruit plantation		57
7.	Third-grade irrigated land and 3rd-grade fruit plantation		67
8.	First-grade ground crop land, 4th-grade irrigated land and 4th-grade fruit plantation		80
9.	Second-grade ground crop land, 5th-grade irrigated land and 5th-grade fruit plantation		100
10.	Third-grade ground crop land, 6th-grade irrigated land and 6th-grade fruit plantation		111
11.	Fourth-grade ground crop land, 7th-grade irrigated land and 7th grade fruit plantation		133
12.	Fifth-grade ground crop land, 8th-grade irrigated land and 8th-grade fruit plantation		167
13.	Sixth-grade ground crop land, 9th-grade irrigated land and 9th-grade fruit plantation		250
14.	Seventh-grade ground crop land (untaxable), 10th-grade irrigated land		400
15.	Eighth-grade ground crop land (untaxable)		400
16.	Forest, planted and indigenous and uncultivable land		400

Source: *Woodhead Report*, pp. 67–8.
Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Equitable treatment of the large Arab minority in the Jewish State had to be ensured, especially with the Arabs distributed as follows: 30 per cent (338,980) in the Jewish State; 19 per cent (210,370) in the Jerusalem State; and 51 per cent (567,810) in the Arab State.¹⁶² With only a small Jewish presence and minority landownership in the Arab

State, population exchange was now no longer an option. MacMichael was not disconcerted by references to Government failures in schemes to resettle Arabs, nor by what he and the Administration in Palestine regarded as the Arabs' spendthrift attitude towards monies gained from land sales. He also seemed to overlook the Arabs' desire 'to remain *in situ*' despite offers for better quality lands, as well as their population growth (the Arab population within the Jewish State was expected to rise to 750,000 in 25 years). MacMichael instead concluded that the Arabs should be induced to leave the Jewish State, with assistance given through development projects and not direct grants. The eastern Jordan Valley and the terracing of Southern Syria's foothills could then serve as an increase in the land available for Arab resettlement.¹⁶³

As regards the practicality of the scheme, the Jerusalem State was expected to be poor and funded from grants-in-aid, but the Committee nevertheless aimed for equal facilities for all its citizens. Though pointedly noting that there was literally no room for tourists, since most hotels and hostels were used as Government offices, the Second Report placed heavy reliance on developing tourism through intensive planning and clearance works of potential sites. Palestine's Arab population mainly consisted of small cultivators who contributed no income tax and little in customs duties. The Arab State was classified a 'deficit' area, with a property tax assessment valued in 1944 as less than ten per cent of all of Palestine's.¹⁶⁴ Since specific figures of the predicted property tax were not produced for the Second Report in 1944, those prepared by the Colonial Office in its 'Study of Partition' in April 1947 relating to the Peel Plan, the 1944 Cabinet Committee Report Plan (which the Colonial Office called the 'First Revision' and erroneously referred to as the 1943 Cabinet Committee Plan), and its own 1947 Plan, are used here as indicators of the potential financial problems the Arab State would have faced. In its April 1947 'Second Revision' Plan, as the Colonial Office named it, the Arab State in the north now had a boundary drawn across the Sea of Galilee, giving it the upper third of the lake. The Arab State in the south was additionally extended to include Jaffa. The Second Revision Plan was, in fact, a refashioned version of the 1943 Cabinet Committee Plan, and was symptomatic of the use of old ideas then current among British officials as they sought to resolve the situation of attrition in Palestine. The 'Study' was aimed at showing how the 'difficulties inherent in the drawing of boundaries' could be 'at least diminished' if not surmounted; and data from the Palestine Government's published *Village Statistics* was used in order to give sufficiently detailed figures for each plan (which included the Jewish Agency's Plan), so that variants could also be determined. It is

in this context that the Study's findings are referred to here for the Second Report.

In the Peel Plan, Arab property taxation would amount to £117,926 in the Arab State, whilst in the 1944 Second Report Plan, it would be £91,901. In the Peel Plan's Jewish State, Arab taxation would come to £114,534, compared to £137,286. And, finally, in the Mandated Enclaves, Arab property taxation would make up £98,586 in the Peel Plan, in contrast to £101,859 in the Second Report. The amount paid by the Arabs in property taxation in the Colonial Office's Second Revision Plan would have accrued as follows: £135,761 in the Arab State; £93,845 in the Jewish State; and, significantly, £101,440 in the Jerusalem (Mandated) Enclave. This would thereby have shifted the balance in favour of the Arabs in their own State, though still leaving the Mandatory with a substantial amount of Arab revenue. As for the important 281,448 dunams of citrus area (of which the Arabs owned 140,283 dunams; the Jews, 139,728 dunams; and 1,437 were Public Land), the 'Study of Partition' revealingly gave detailed figures for their relative distribution, including for the Peel Plan, whose authors had deliberately shied away from the subject. The distribution would have been as follows. In the Peel Plan, 29,037 dunams would have been in the Arab State; 216,598 in the Jewish State; and 35,813 in the Jerusalem Enclave: making the loss of Arab citrus land 'a valid Arab grievance'. In the Second Report Plan, 29,231 dunams would have accrued to the Arab State; 231,114 to the Jewish State; and 21,103 to the Jerusalem Enclave: a third of Arab citrus lands in this Plan would have been in the Galilee, which produced an 'inferior' quality of citrus, 'in general, unsuitable for export'. The citrus lands would have been divided thus in the Second Revision Plan: 53,039 dunams to the Arab State; 207,337 to the Jewish State; and 21,072 to the Jerusalem Enclave. Due to Arab and Jewish-owned groves being 'inextricably intermixed', any transfer of citrus lands from the Jewish to the Arab State would have been 'impossible without mutilating' Jewish-owned groves.¹⁶⁵

MacMichael commented that Trans-Jordan could not be expected to sustain the Arab State's population, which would in fact be larger than its own. Hence, the return to Peel's proposal that an HMG grant of two million pounds be given, though now for a period of over eight years. The Jewish State had Palestine's highest taxable capacity; to secure regional markets, however, it would probably have required customs agreements with its neighbours, granting lower duties than it would otherwise impose.¹⁶⁶

The Jewish population was distributed thus in the Second Report: 80.9 per cent (391,725) in the Jewish State; 18.5 per cent (89,480) in the

Jerusalem State; and 0.6 per cent (3,210) in the Arab State. The areas excluded from the Jewish State because they were wholly or almost wholly Arab are set out in Table 41.

Table 41. Arab Areas Excluded from the Jewish State in the Second Report

Area	Population		Land Holdings in Sq Km	
	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews
Galilee	108,910	2,210	893	18
Central Judaea	305,760	300	3,915	13
South Gaza and North-West Beersheba	153,140	700	2,325	56
Total	567,810	3,210	7,133	87

Source: Report of the Committee (henceforth, Second Report), Committee on Palestine, War Cabinet, P.(M)(44)14, top secret, 16 October 1944: PRO/PREM4/52/1.

Despite Palestine's larger Arab population, the Cabinet Committee laid down the condition that 'as much land, Arab and Jewish, as possible' be in the Jewish State. This statement was made with attention to the requisite to exclude wholly or almost wholly Arab areas from the Jewish State, resulting in the following statistics: of a total area of 2,347 square kilometres in the Jewish State, 834 were Jewish-owned lands; 1,463 were Arab-owned lands; and 50 were roads, rivers, and so on.¹⁶⁷

Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, however, pointed out that there was disagreement in the Committee on this issue because it placed so much Arab land in the Jewish State. In the Colonial Office 'Study of Partition', it was noted that compared with the Peel Plan, which would have spelt out the 'division' of 14 villages by boundary lines, the 1944 Report Plan had only three villages intersected.¹⁶⁸ The built-up sites of villages were to remain on one or the other side of the boundary. This way, the Peel Plan directly affected the morphology of the villages of Zir'in, Ti'innik, Zububa, Rummana, Umm al Fahm (all in the Jenin Sub-District), 'Ar'ara (Haifa Sub-District), Tulkarm (rural), Irtah, Far'un, Taiyiba, Qalqilya (all in the Tulkarm Sub-District), Majdal Yaba, Muzeiri'a (both in the Ramle Sub-District), and Kafr 'Ana (Jaffa Sub-District); whilst the 1944 Report Partition boundaries intersected Zir'in, Tulkarm, Irtah, Far'un, Taiyiba, Shafa 'Amr (rural) (Haifa Sub-District), 'Ajjur (Hebron Sub-District), and Yahudiya (Ramle Sub-District). The 1947 Second Revision Plan by the Colonial Office would have seen eight villages intersected by partition boundaries:

those of Zir‘in, Tulkarm (rural), Irtah, Far‘un, Taiyiba, Shafa ‘Amr (rural), Yahudiya and Rishon le Zion (rural). The Colonial Office document thus helped define the manner in which village partition was to be carried out. Again, the Study could be used as an indicator for the Second Report, since more specific information relating to it was not produced in 1944.¹⁶⁹

After a reconnaissance of the southern limit of the Negev’s barley lands, the boundary was redrawn, the greatest divergence being west of ‘Asluj, where the land was found to be part of the peneplain but with heavy sands and uncultivable. The divergence to the east of ‘Asluj was carried out as, in places, cultivation extended up the valleys and across the gentler slopes of the counterscarp (see, Appendix 58).¹⁷⁰ The Bedouin barley lands were thereby included in Southern Syria, though after a survey they were found to be lacking in subsoil and the region to be deficient in rains. Echoing the First Report, the Cabinet Committee decided not to allot the remainder of the Negev to the Jewish State. Also, oil concessions, the only concessions for the Negev, were to be safeguarded.¹⁷¹ So sensitive had the issue of the Negev become, that many nervous deliberations were made over permitting Robert R. Nathan and Oscar Gass, of the Zionist-leaning American Palestine Institute to visit Palestine in order to investigate development possibilities, including those in the Negev.¹⁷²

Joint Boards for the three States were to facilitate certain services, such as the railways, currency and customs; and treaties would define relations, including strategic, between the States. The possibility of calling in a UN-based International Body to supervise the discharge of the Treaty obligations was also presented. The transition period was to last until the death of King ‘Abdullah of Trans-Jordan.

Conclusion

The partition scheme in the Second Report was presented as the ‘minimum practicable’,¹⁷³ but contained many points underlying future Arab and Jewish grievances, especially those regarding the allocation of the best lands to the Jews and the continued population imbalances, with the Jews making up a slim majority within their own State. Since the pressure valve of compulsory exchange was ruled out in this plan, as compared to Peel’s, only voluntary transfers could be hoped for. But, MacMichael’s ‘Replies’ to the Colonial Secretary’s ‘Questionnaire’ helped the Cabinet circumvent many of the thornier problems. In its dissent from the Second Report, the Foreign Office, as it had repeatedly argued, warned that the Arabs, unable to accept partition, would await

their opportunity to recover the *'terra irridenta'* temporarily occupied by the Jewish State.¹⁷⁴ Still opposed to partition, the Foreign Office aimed its old criticisms at the new Second Report Plan, which it defined as 'consistently against the Arabs', the Jewish State having nearly twice as much Arab as Jewish land.

Though apparently 'clear-cut', the plan was riddled with many difficulties and threatened British interests in the region.¹⁷⁵ The scheme was no more than a 'variant' on Peel's.¹⁷⁶ Eden attacked the Report on its economics (the Arab State was a 'deficit area'); its geography (as enclaves, such as the Galilee and Jerusalem State), were now viewed with disfavour following the 'ominous precedents' of Danzig, the Polish Corridor, the autonomous Memel Territory, and the Saar); and on administration (because of the long and complicated frontiers proposed).

Within the Mandate Administration, retiring High Commissioner MacMichael still supported partition, notably for its geographical focusing of Jewish immigration into one area of Palestine,¹⁷⁷ whilst District Commissioner, F.W.G. Blenkinsop opposed it as it 'bewilders the inhabitants'.¹⁷⁸ The new factor of the Arab League, established in Alexandria, Egypt, in October 1944 (the League's Covenant was signed in March 1945), now also had to be taken into account in any planning for Palestine.

Prime Minister Winston L.S. Churchill's (1940–45) political apprehensions about the timing of the announcement of the partition scheme contained in the Second Report – he preferred to await the end of the War and the impending General Election in Britain – compounded with Lehi's (a Jewish group) assassination in Cairo of the Minister Resident in the Middle East (since January 1944), Lord Moyne, on 6 November 1944, led to its being put aside, three days after it was made ready for the War Cabinet's deliberations.¹⁷⁹ On 26 July 1945, the Labour Party won the General Election in Britain, and ended partition as HMG's policy 'in principle', but the *White Paper* policy of 1939 was left standing. However, the Report was referred to in subsequent discussions on Palestine, forming a bridge with the Peel Plan across the *Woodhead Report* which had so condemned partition.¹⁸⁰

GRIGG'S TRUSTEESHIP PLAN AND THE RETURN TO HARRIS' CANTONISATION SCHEME

Britain emerged from the War financially drained; its Empire, along with the European Empires, were waning, and America was scouring the colonies for potential markets. Palestine watched as the Labour

Party came to power, confirmed in its policy to grant India independence, which it did on 15 August 1947. In the spring before Britain's General Election, two long-term plans prevailed for Mandate Palestine: that of the Second Report, and the other by the Minister Resident in the Middle East, Sir Edward Grigg, who had replaced Moyne in Egypt. Grigg proposed a trusteeship for Palestine – originally MacMichael's 'non-territorial' scheme from 1938 based on District boundaries, by now couched in the language of UN international 'trusteeships'.

The Trusteeship system replaced the former League of Nations Mandates. Under UN Charter Article 76, the progressive development of Trusteeships were to lead to self-government, in readiness for independence.¹⁸¹ MacMichael's plan conferred on each community a large degree of self-administration based on 38 councils, under British control (Figure 2), with a population distribution as shown in Table 42. Grigg (who opposed partition) criticised the dual function of the Jerusalem State as a religious and military base, which made it less of a truly religious enclave. He argued that his plan would preclude the need for treaties for vital communications situated in the Jewish State as under a partition scheme.¹⁸² But Grigg's Plan was rejected because it left 'British troops alone to face the consequences', and 'quickly became anachronistic in the emerging cold war pattern', since it meant bringing the Soviets into the Trusteeship.

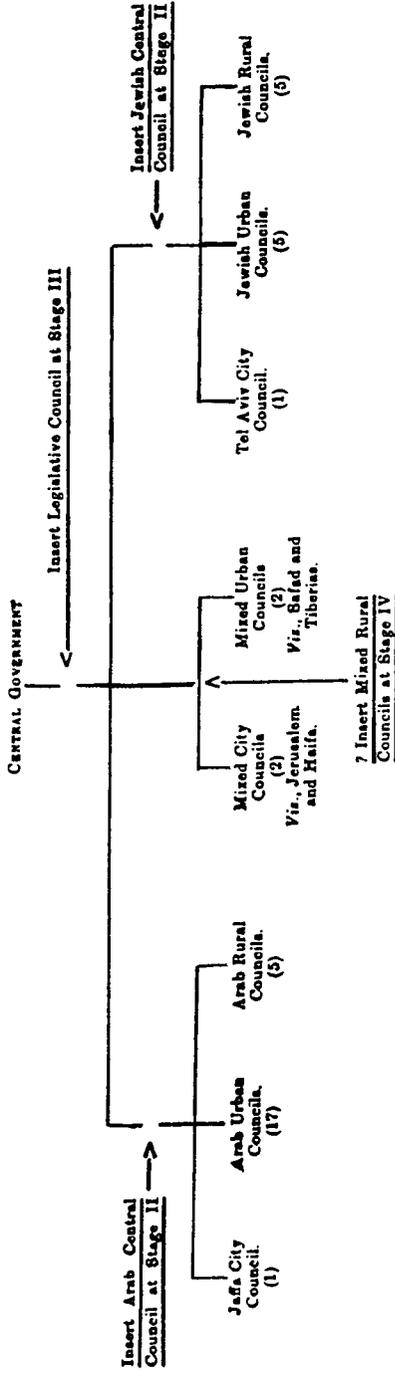
The Colonial and Foreign Offices then produced other plans. The latter was for a 'federal union' of Palestine and Trans-Jordan under an Arab king, with one Jewish and one Arab unit, having similar boundaries to those of the Second Report Plan (already discussed in the literature). As previously noted, the Colonial Office produced its Second Revision Plan in April 1947. These proposals were superseded, however, by the advent of UNSCOP's own schemes later that August (see below).¹⁸³

The new Colonial Secretary, George H. Hall (1945–46), circulated a 'Scheme for Local Autonomy', which was really Harris' 1936 cantonisation plan recycled (Harris had been invited back post-haste to London from Cyprus, where he was Chairman of the Development Committee, to his new appointment as Secretary of the Ministerial Committee on Palestine¹⁸⁴). Hall applied his suitably interpreted version of Peel's principle, and stated it as giving 'each race the largest practicable measure of control over its own affairs', whereas in fact, partition was intended to give sovereign control for each race.

Harris' scheme had a material impact on further geopolitical planning for Palestine. It designated to the provinces local autonomy over their internal affairs, including the control of land settlement. A central Mandated Government would have powers of superintendence,

STATEMENT I.

Chart showing Initial Proposals and Scheme of Development.



STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT.

- STAGE I.—Establishment of 38 local Councils as above.
- STAGE II.—Constitution of Arab and Jewish Central Councils to co-ordinate and direct activities of communal local Councils.
- STAGE III.—Establishment of Legislative Council drawn from Arab and Jewish Central Councils.
- STAGE IV.—7 Abolition of communal Rural Councils (*) and substitution of mixed Rural Councils (if agreed upon).

Figure 2. High Commissioner Harold MacMichael's 'Non-Territorial' Scheme: Initial Proposals and Scheme of Development.
 Source: MacMichael to Colonial Secretary, 25 October 1938, attached Appendix, Sir Edward Grigg, Palestine, Note, Minister Resident in the Middle East, War Cabinet, W.P.(45)2114, top secret, 4 April 1945: PRO/PREM4/52/1.
 Public Record Office.

Table 42. Population Distribution among Local Councils, Proposed by MacMichael as a 'Non-Territorial' Alternative to Partition, 1938

No. of Bodies	Class of Body	Population		
		Arabs	Jews	Total
1. City Councils				
2	Mixed City Councils (Jerusalem and Haifa)	100,090	124,000	224,090
1	Arab City Council (Jaffa)	56,219	4,028	60,247
1	Jewish City Council (Tel-Aviv)	2,200	152,600	154,800
Total: City Councils		158,509	280,628	439,137
2. Urban Councils				
2	Mixed Urban Councils (Safad & Tiberias)	12,208	8,162	20,370 ^a
17	Arab Urban Councils	160,429	472	160,901
5	Jewish Urban Councils	1,752	36,836	38,588
Total: Urban Councils		174,389	45,470	219,859
3. Rural Councils				
5	Arab Rural Councils	589,058	7,042	596,100
5	Jewish Rural Councils	5,305	59,137	64,442
Total: Rural Councils		594,363	66,179	660,542
Total: All Councils		927,261	392,277	1,319,538
38	Nomads and 'miscellaneous groups'	13,986	61	14,047
Total Population of Palestine		941,247	392,338	1,333,585

^a Original had probable typing error: 23,370.

Source: Outline of a Scheme of Local Autonomy for Palestine, MacMichael to Colonial Secretary, 25 October 1938, enclosed as Appendix, Palestine, Memorandum by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, War Cabinet, W.P.(45)229, top secret, 10 April 1945: PRO/PRM4/52/1.

and over matters of 'all-Palestine importance', such as foreign relations. Accordingly, the Colonial Office's August 1945 Plan for the 'Distribution of "Subjects" between the Central Government and the provincial administrations', was presented under four main headings. First, the 'International and Inter-Provincial Subjects', gave the Central Government control of defence, foreign relations and immigration, and left the Provincial Administration with control over 'residential qualifications' and land sales. Second, under 'Law and Order', the Central Government was expected to oversee the Court of Appeal, whilst the Provincial Administration was given the District and Magistrate Courts, the Police and Prisons, and Probation. Third, the

structure of the Central Administration allotted the Central Administration to the Central Government, with the Provincial Administration being in charge of itself and the District and Municipal Administrations. And fourth, 'Departmental Activities' were so divided as to give the Central Government responsibility for Antiquities, Audit, Broadcasting, Civil Aviation, Customs, Harbours, Posts and Telegraphs, Railways, Statistics and Surveys. In contrast, the Provincial Administration was apportioned the more practical departments of Agriculture, Building, Co-operative Societies, Development, Education, Excise, Fisheries, Forests, Irrigation, Land Registration and Land Settlement, Printing and Stationery, Public Health, Roads, and Trade and Industry.

Jerusalem as a religious metropolis would be a separately administered enclave. Here, again, the boundaries proposed in the Second Report Plan were to be used for the provincial, though 'purely administrative' borders, 'their somewhat tortuous nature' now no longer a 'disadvantage'. The Negev was to be subject to the same conditions as those set out in the Ministerial Plan (meaning the Second Report), and, would come under Central Government control. It was optimistically conjectured that opposition to 'islands' would 'disappear', as was supposed to have happened in India, where different provinces administered detached areas.

Hence, the Galilee – and especially Jaffa – would be part of the Arab Province. Unlike the partition plan, development schemes would not be constricted by boundaries. India was again cited for having inter-provincial irrigation schemes, where water was used as payment for its transfer through one province by another. The two changes to the boundaries recommended in the Second Report Plan markedly affected the Jerusalem State – now truly diminished – and Jaffa, and therefore the Shephelah, setting a precedent which was later used in the final partition of Palestine. A severe population imbalance still remained in Harris' Plan: the Arab Province would have 830,000 persons, 815,000 being Arabs; however, the Jewish Province would have 752,000 persons, with 451,000 Jews, and 301,000 Arabs. The Jerusalem Enclave's population of 198,000 would be equally divided between Arabs and Jews.

Hall recommended that the Mandatory control immigration but direct it to the Jewish Province, which it was thought would exercise its own caution. This was to be done with the 'economic absorptive capacity' replacing the 'political high level' as the deciding criterion, as wartime industries began winding down due to increased competition from imports in the post-war era. The structure of the federal constitution would ensure 'parity' in communal representation. This, then, was to be the 'New Policy for Palestine'.¹⁸⁵

This plan, too, was rejected, with High Commissioner Lord Gort claiming it had all the drawbacks of partition, leaving over 300,000 Arabs in the Jewish Province.¹⁸⁶ The plan also took little account of the very real inter-communal hostility that was gaining momentum in Palestine, combined with the pressing needs of the Jewish concentration camp refugees. The new Cabinet Committee on Palestine, set up in the summer of 1945, and again chaired by Herbert S. Morrison (Secretary of State for Home Affairs, 1945–51), therefore decided to continue with the 1939 *White Paper* policy in the short term.¹⁸⁷

THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY AND THE MORRISON-GRADY PLAN

Detailed studies have been made on the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry and its history, notably by Michael J. Cohen, Amikam Nachmani and Michael W. Suleiman. Hence, only aspects of the associated economic planning will be discussed here.¹⁸⁸ On 13 November 1945, the establishment of the Committee, with equal American and British representation, was announced by Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin. This was done ostensibly to involve the United States in Palestine, as Britain was finding it increasingly difficult and expensive to handle, especially in view of HMG's ongoing part in the settlement of the concentration camp survivors of the Holocaust, an issue that had become integral to the Jewish vote in the New York mayoral elections and American President Harry S. Truman's (1945–53) role in them. In one of their most harrowing hours during the Second World War, the Jews of the Lodz Ghetto had sung the refrain: 'I am going to Palestine,/That is a golden land./.../Good-bye Jews, I'm going home'. The destruction by the Nazis in Europe of six million Jews and their families and communities in the Holocaust, had added a new dimension to negotiations on the partition plans.¹⁸⁹ Also, as with other Mandates, Palestine was to come under the UN's superseding Trusteeship system. The Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry was required to examine the issue of settling the Jewish Displaced Persons in Palestine (with discussions revolving around the country's capacity to absorb 100,000 DPs) and Europe, as well as the 'political, economic and social conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the well-being of the people now living therein'.¹⁹⁰ Both the Arabs¹⁹¹ and the Jews tried to influence the Committee and those connected with it.¹⁹²

A 'compromise document', the *Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry*, which was produced in April 1946, included Recommendation 2: that 100,000 immigration certificates be authorised immediately. Recommendation 3 stated that Palestine's future constitution should be such that neither the Arabs nor the Jews could dominate the other. And Recommendation 4, stated that neither an Arab nor a Jewish State should be established, and that Palestine should remain under the Mandate (later a Trusteeship) until hostilities abated, when a state system could be set up. Both recommendations were looked upon as vague, lacking in practical suggestions.¹⁹³ Recommendation 7 rescinded the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940. A large-scale economic development programme was proposed in Recommendations 5, 8 and 9, which also aimed at bringing Arab education and health and social services up to the standards of those of the Jews in Palestine, with the Americans contributing \$50 million towards this.¹⁹⁴

At a Cabinet meeting of 11 July 1946, during which the *Report* was endorsed, Harris' Plan (which had also been submitted anonymously to the Anglo-American Committee and rejected by it in January), was presented by the Colonial Secretary, Hall, as a 'remedy' for Recommendation 3 which gave no 'practical suggestions' on how it should be carried out.¹⁹⁵ This plan – with its insistently demarcated Jewish-owned lands demonstrating the fundamental guidance of its creators – was accepted by the Cabinet and the experts appointed to provide more details and planning for the *Report's* implementation. Attempts to increase the Arab Province to include Jaffa within it, and not as an island, were disapproved of by the Americans. The plan, commonly known as the Morrison, or Morrison–Grady Plan was then presented to Parliament by Morrison on 31 July 1946 (see, Appendix 59) (Henry F. Grady was the diplomat who headed the American group of experts).¹⁹⁶

An examination of the budget of each of the proposed provinces shows the continued economic precariousness of the Arab areas, which appeared throughout British partition planning (see, Table 43). It was uncertain what real effect the Americans' \$50 million would have, considering the British experience in development in Palestine, especially as this money was to go to raising Arab living standards to that of the Jews, which was a complex task.¹⁹⁷ Also, the Foreign Office doubted the neighbouring Arab States' willingness to participate in the development plans. American financial involvement in the area was, nevertheless, initiated through this plan (although it was not implemented), a step which needs to be stressed in the understanding of British–US relations in the context of the Mandatory's planning for

Table 43. Revenue, Expenditure and Budget, According to the Divisions in the Morrison–Grady Provincial Plan

	Jewish Province (£ million)	Arab Province (£ million)	Jerusalem Enclave (£ million)	
1. Estimated Revenue				
Income tax	2.100	0.230	0.450	
Animal tax	0.085	0.150	0.015	
Property taxes	0.720	0.375	0.175	
Land registration fees	0.660	0.185	0.155	
Road transport	0.165	0.050	0.039	
Fees and taxes	0.836	0.218	0.156	
Other receipts	0.133	0.148	0.035	
Total	4.699	1.356	1.025	(7.080)
2. Estimated Expenditure				
Public Debt	0.230	0.230	0.032	
Administration	0.141	0.152	0.022	
Agriculture, fisheries and forests	0.200	0.282	0.011	
Co-operative societies	0.007	0.008	0.002	
Education	0.460	0.625	0.127	
Local authorities	0.900	0.108	0.087	
Health and social welfare	0.463	0.582	0.113	
Income tax	0.074	0.074	0.074	
Labour	0.140	0.140	0.070	
Land registration and settlement	0.093	0.162	0.021	
Miscellaneous	0.089	0.120	0.036	
Public Works Department	0.450	0.910	0.215	
Supreme Muslim Council	–	0.040	–	
Town planning	0.009	0.009	0.009	
Total	3.256	3.442	0.819	(7.517)
3. Budget				
	Revenue (£)	Expenditure (£)	Surplus (£)	
Central Government	11,920,000	11,483,000	437,000	
Jewish Province	4,699,000	3,256,000	1,443,000	
Arab Province	1,356,000	3,442,000	[-]2,086,000	
Jerusalem	1,025,000	819,000	206,000	

Source: Palestine, Statement of Policy, Appendix D, Final Report by the Finance Sub-Committee, strictly confidential, n.s., n.d. [c. 25 July 1946]: General Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxV/File2/f.104.

Cunningham Papers, Private Papers Collection, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford University.

Palestine and its impact on the future. Indeed, the Anglo-American Committee signalled the United States' entry into the arena of the Arab–Jewish conflict at the highest political level at Britain's request.

One tangible outcome of the Morrison–Grady Plan was the immediate and calculated building and consolidation of Jewish settlements in regions that the plan intended to close to them.¹⁹⁸ In response to the Anglo-American Committee's suggestion that administrative areas be formed to encourage Arab and Jewish 'civic responsibility' and foster 'self-government', Robert Scott, of the Palestine Administration proposed a 'Scheme for the Mutated Development of Self-Government'. Scott 'discarded' the 'principle of geographical re-organization on a community basis', and put in its stead a system of 'counties', based on two principles: devolution on regional local government bodies ('county councils'), based on the 'lowest common denominator' interests of the communities (undefined); and that each county have wholly Arab or Jewish populations, or equally balanced populations, and be given 'politically attractive names'.¹⁹⁹ The counties were to be divided as shown in Table 44.

Scott's Scheme, which was reminiscent of MacMichael's Plan, was considered by the Colonial Secretary alongside Harris' Cantonisation Plan, but did not see the light of day.²⁰⁰ It was worth mentioning here, though, as an illustration of the ongoing planning that continued behind the scenes in the Palestine Administration. Another, more hair-brained, scheme was by Brigadier Sir John Baggott Glubb ('Pasha') of Trans-Jordan's Arab Legion, who sent memorandums to the Anglo-American Committee with different suggestions for partition, including

Table 44. Scott's Scheme for the 'Mutated Development of Self-Government'

	Approximate Distribution of Population (Thousands)			
	Jews	Muslims	Christians	Others
1. Upper Galilee	3	77	16	10
2. Nazareth	139	153	40	3
3. Sharon	274	13	–	–
4. Jaffa and Samaria	1	380	26	–
5. Jerusalem	100	100	51	–
6. Shephelah	39	80	–	–
7. Hebron	1	192	2	–

Source: Robert Scott, A Scheme for the Mutated Development of Self-Government in Palestine, Scott to Richard H.S. Crossman, MP, secret, 1946: Richard H.S. Crossman, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Crossman/File5/2/f.88.

Crossman Papers, Private Papers Collection, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford University.

that Haifa become a large 'Charing Cross Station' so that no Arab or Jew need traverse the other's territory.²⁰¹ The Colonial Office quickly dispensed with Glubb's plan of over 100 pages with the remark: 'To be read in times of greater leisure'.²⁰²

The Morrison–Grady Plan became the basis of negotiations for the London Conference that the British organised with the Arabs and the Jews, beginning on 1 October 1946.²⁰³ But the Conference failed, as the Arabs rejected the plan, suspecting it would lead to partition: indeed, the British had tagged it as 'transitional'. The Arabs also argued that they wanted to keep the 'oriental characteristics' of Palestine, compounding what the Arab Higher Committee had written to the Anglo-American Committee, that the country's geography and history were '*inescapably part of the Arab World*'.²⁰⁴ At the Zionist Congress in Basle in December 1946, the Jews voted not to attend the Conference. Perhaps symptomatic of the acute situation, political positions were interchanged as if in some unchoreographed dance, as Bevin drifted towards pro-partition, against all Foreign Office precedents, and Harris reneged on his disagreement with his own cantonisation plan.²⁰⁵ A final attempt was made with the presentation of a new Bevin Plan (7 February 1947) that combined provincial autonomy with the Arab idea of a unitary state and the basic Jewish demands on immigration, under a five-year British Trusteeship until independence; but this was rejected by both the Arabs and the Jews. On 18 February 1947, exasperated by seriously deteriorating conditions in Palestine and the deadlock at the Conference, Britain referred Palestine to the UN without recommendations in order to safeguard its relations with both sides.

On 22 July 1946, the Jewish underground group *IZL* had bombed the section of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem that housed the Chief Secretary's Office, the British Military headquarters and the Criminal Investigation Department (CID), killing 92. Even during negotiations, conditions worsened, with Britain planning to send out 900 police recruits.²⁰⁶ Imminent Indian and Pakistani independence encouraged Arab and Jewish nationalist aspirations, and in 1947–48, Britain 'lost control' in Palestine with a series of humiliating kidnappings of its officers by the Jews, mounting British casualties, and the intensification of the Arab–Jewish conflict. The running down of Jewish refugee ships off Palestine's coast – particularly highlighted by the *Exodus* episode – worsened Britain's case and its image around the world, and on 26 September 1947, HMG announced its withdrawal from Palestine to the UN.²⁰⁷

BRITISH PLANNING AND THE UNSCOP AND
UN PARTITION PLANS

On 28 April 1947, the UN set up an Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine. The UN General Assembly adopted the Committee's recommendation that a United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) be set up to find a solution to the problem of Palestine. In proposing partition, the *UNSCOP Report* of 31 August 1947 to the United Nations General Assembly covered many of the points raised by Peel concerning development and economics, and applied Peel's basic principles on population and land for guidance. UNSCOP's Jewish State in the Minority Proposal Plan of Federation resembled the Peel Plan without the Western Galilee, but included the eastern Negev and the territories in the Morrison–Grady Plan. The Majority Proposal Plan for Partition with Economic Union allotted the whole of the Negev to the Jews, giving Jaffa to the Arabs as an enclave, and designating a City of Jerusalem that was sectioned off within the minimal role of a religious centre and incorporated Bethlehem (see, Appendix 60).²⁰⁸ The Negev, therefore, which the British consistently avoided immediately assigning to the Jews, was to be in the Jewish State. This was despite British scepticism as to its intrinsic agricultural value, and their assessment that it was more important as a strategic and political possession. Harris was especially active in writing about the Negev's lack of agricultural potential; to quash Jewish claims on this, he wrote that in 77 per cent of the Beersheba Sub-District, agriculture 'is not only non-existent but is virtually impossible'.²⁰⁹

Even the Majority Plan's title hinted at the terms embodied in Peel's Plan. Britain closely followed the deliberations concerning the possibility of it continuing to govern Palestine, whichever way the terms were still to be defined. Then, on 26 September, HMG announced its withdrawal from Palestine, as increasing casualties gave rise to angry calls in Britain to bring the troops home:²¹⁰ the Colonial Office received hundreds of letters and petitions, and kept a large number of newspaper cuttings in this vein. One letter (in this case dated 1948), typified Britain's mood, with Mrs E. Kidd writing, 'If we wait any longer there will be nobody to bring home'.²¹¹

The Arabs spoke out against partition,²¹² whilst the Jews looked to extending their settlements in the Negev.²¹³ On 29 November 1947, the UN adopted the Majority Plan with small adjustments, and voted for Palestine's partition in a form which incorporated the in-built population imbalances of Peel's principles (see, Table 45 and Appendix 61). The next day, the Israeli War of Independence – also called the

Table 45. Population Estimates by State, According to the UN Partition Plan, 1946

State	Muslims	Jews	Christians	Others	Total
Arab State					
North (Western Galilee)	743,000	8,000	64,000	9,000	824,000
Nablus, Jenin, (etc.) area	89,000	3,000	28,000	9,000	129,000
Jaffa Enclave	489,000	5,000	18,000	—	512,000
South (Gaza area)	54,000	—	17,000	—	71,000
	111,000	—	1,000	—	112,000
Jewish State					
North (Eastern Galilee)	370,000	500,000	35,000	6,000	912,000
Tel-Aviv and Haifa area	87,000	33,000	4,000	2,000	126,000
South (Negev area)	173,000	464,000	32,000	4,000	673,000
	110,000	3,000	—	—	113,000
City of Jerusalem	61,000	100,000	45,000	—	206,000
Total Palestine^a	1,174,000	608,000	145,000	15,000	1,942,000

^a Nomads other than those of Beersheba, not included in the above, were estimated at 23–30,000.

Note: Due to the rounding-off of figures in the original table, the sub-totals do not add up to the nearest thousand.

Source: Estimates of Population in Each of the States, by Areas According to Boundaries Proposed by the General Assembly of the United Nation's Organization as at 31.12.46: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxIV/File5/f.72.

Cunningham Papers, Private Papers Collection, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford University.

Arab–Israeli War – broke out; the State of Israel was declared on 14 May 1948; and the period of 1947–49 became known in Palestinian historiography as ‘*Al-Naqba*’, or ‘The Catastrophe’.²¹⁴

The War had begun long before, though, as both sides measured up their needs and activated underground organisations, such as the *Futuwa* Arab Secret Army and the *Haganah*.²¹⁵ This was not only reflected in the protagonists’ armament and military capabilities, but also in their long-term economic needs. Irrigation pipes owned by the Mandatory, for instance, were lifted by both sides:²¹⁶ the *Haganah*, for example, organised the removal of pipes from Acre Station. Also, a great effort was made to enter into Government services in order to gain information, work experience, and access to equipment, which could be required for the new Jewish State.²¹⁷ So, to the end, the British remained conductors of change, even if at times unwittingly so.

In a last *Statement* declared in the *Termination of the Mandate, 15th May, 1948* in defence of HMG’s policy in Palestine, the Colonial Office and Foreign Office reiterated the words of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs’ speech of 18 February 1947 in the House of Commons, that there was an ‘irreconcilable conflict of principles’ between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine. HMG ‘had no power, under the terms of the Mandate, to award the country either to the Arabs or to the Jews, or even to partition it between them’. It was for this reason that Palestine was handed over to the UN. The *Statement* added that although most of the Jews accepted the UN Partition Plan, the Arabs rejected it, support to resist it being given by Egypt, the Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, the Yemen, Iraq and Trans-Jordan. With 338 British casualties (not all soldiers) counted since 1945, HMG emphasised that it would not enforce partition unless it had Arab and Jewish agreement, hence its declaration on 11 December 1947 that it would end the Mandate on 15 May 1948 – a decision welcomed by the Arabs, the Jews and the UN.²¹⁸ Although the Mandate for Palestine was terminated on that date, the impact of the British partition plans remained.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

The ascendant role of members of the Palestine Administration, notably Harris and MacMichael, and of British-held preconceptions about Arab and Jewish economies in partition planning, emerge from the study presented above. It was not only political and military interests and distractions, therefore, that determined these plans. Statistics and information provided by the Mandatory Government undoubtedly

influenced British planning. The statistical imbalances in Palestine's Arab and Jewish population and landownership and the proposed restructuring initially expressed in Cust's and Harris' Cantonisation schemes, were not just footnotes but at the core of the partition plans, along with strategic considerations. Peel's Plan required the movement of communities across imposed boundaries, producing new economies and political dynamics in the Middle East.

The Peel Commission deduced that the Arab–Jewish conflict would become almost congenital, centred on the struggle for land, space and territory, with communities hurtling towards inter-communal war, so that no political or legislative solution would be satisfactory; this pointed towards the need for physical separation. The Jews, an exiled and persecuted people had come to reclaim their ancient homeland. British partition planning was the distilled expression of the conflict, if not the catalyst which, by the mere mapping of possible solutions to the dual claims to Palestine, precipitated the country's actual partition. HMG's imperial interests throughout partition planning played a weighty and consistent role in shaping the borders, producing 'enclaves', 'corridors' and 'Mandated' areas. Contrary to their purpose, these planned enclaves, corridors, islands and areas then became facilitators for Jewish settlements, especially in the Negev, which were quickly established to stake out territory in anticipation of partition.

The British, as elsewhere in their Empire, were therefore pivotal to boundary-formation in Palestine. They overrode population and land ownership distribution, a reminder of the many boundaries they drew up in Africa and other regions in the world. Partition was resorted to as a means to prise apart geographically intermixed and mutually hostile communities, sometimes at a great cost to human lives, as with the independence of Pakistan from India in 1947, when communal wars resulted in at least 200,000 deaths, and the movement of six million people from Pakistan to India and eight million from India to Pakistan.²¹⁹

Artificial lines cut across villages, and communal, tribal, traditional and economic zonings, as well as landownership patterns, producing a new map and landscape. This new landscape further crystallised nationalistic identities in the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, realising Bender's theories on landscape and identity. That Britain could draw up such boundaries as those in the Peel Plan, shows the extent of its imperial power in determining the region's geography, and exemplifies Agnew's theory on the uneven distribution of power. Gregory's writings on the importance of the economic and political factors are also illustrated, both in Britain's economic definitions of the Arabs and Jews

underlying its decisions on what ought to make up each community's state, and in HMG's own persistent interest in maintaining a presence in Palestine.

Those Arabs who opposed partition, led by the Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj Amin al-Husseini, could not accede to partition, because they refuted the Jewish People's right to return to the Holy Land.²²⁰ The Nashashibis, the Mufti's rivals, tried to gain better conditions for the Arab State, although rejecting population transfers of Arabs. All knew, however, that when speaking of partition, this entailed 'giving the fertile part of Palestine to the Jews', and they listened with scepticism to British proposals to help fund Arab development in their new state, as HMG came out of the Second World War 'poor'.²²¹ The Jews, traumatised by the Holocaust, also began arming themselves after the War, as did the Arabs, in preparation for the inevitable struggle over Palestine for each side to fulfil their own plans.²²²

Harris became more important in partition planning, actually attending Cabinet Committee meetings and being appointed in 1945 to the post of Secretary of the Ministerial Committee on Palestine; he was indispensable to HMG deliberations on partition, his scheme being the last one presented by the British.²²³ Harris had come a long way from being Irrigation Adviser to the Palestine Government.

In giving expression to the disturbed situation in Palestine in 1936–37, Peel had set down certain principles, most notably concerning land and population, which became the basis for subsequent partition plans that changed like pictures in a flipbook: Woodhead's A, B and C Plans; the War Cabinet Committee's 1943 and 1944 Reports; Grigg's Trusteeship Plan; the Anglo-American Committee's Recommendations; the Morrison–Grady Plan; and in all the other and often unsolicited plans submitted; leading up to the UNSCOP and UN Plans.

The UN's final partition plan for Palestine evidenced the importance of British partition planning, not only by its borrowing from the almost evolutionary process discernible in the different British maps – which sliced up the country to the left and to the right – but also in the UN's partition terms and turns of phrase in its Partition Resolution 181 of 29 November 1947, a Resolution Britain chose to abstain from.²²⁴ The Armistice lines of 1949 thus confirmed the imposition of the basic principles of British partition planning on the landscape (see, Appendix 62). Through its plans, Britain was to leave its greatest and most enduring mark on the landscape of the country it had ruled for but 31 years, before evacuating it at midnight on 14 May 1948. On their departure, the now-divided country was already caught up in violent turbulence, as British Mandated Palestine was no longer on the map.

NOTES

1. *Peel Report*, p. 370.
2. Bender, 'Introduction: Landscape', p. 3.
3. Kellerman, *Time, Space and Society*, p. 5; Robert David Sack, *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 2; and John A. Agnew, 'General Introduction', in John A. Agnew (ed.), *Political Geography: A Reader* (London: Arnold, 1997), p. 1.
4. Tuan, *Passing Strange and Wonderful*, p. 187.
5. Derek J. Gregory, *Geographical Imaginations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 5–6; and Smith and Godlewska, 'Introduction', p. 3.
6. Louis, *Imperialism at Bay*, p. 3, and William Roger Louis, *The British Empire in the Middle East, 1945–1951: Arab Nationalism, The United States, and Postwar Imperialism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 383–572. *See also*, H. Duncan Hall, *Mandates, Dependencies and Trusteeships* (London: Stevens and Sons Ltd for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1948).
7. Note of a Meeting at the Secretary of State's Room, CO, secret, 30 March 1938: PRO/CO733/381/1/75730.
8. A.I. Asiwaju, 'The Conceptual Framework', in A.I. Asiwaju (ed.), *Partitioned Africans: Ethnic Relations across Africa's International Boundaries, 1884–1984* (London: C. Hurst & Co., 1985), pp. 1–2.
9. P.M. Holt and M.W. Daly, *A History of the Sudan: From the Coming of Islam to the Present Day*, 4th edn (London: Longman, 1989), pp. 1–11.
10. David Fromkin, *A Peace to End All Peace: Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914–1922* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1989), p. 17.
11. Porath, *Palestinian Arab National Movement*, Vols 1 and 2; and Michael J. Cohen, *Palestine: Retreat from the Mandate – The Making of British Policy, 1936–1945* (London: Elek, 1978), pp. 66–87.
12. T.G. Fraser, *Partition in Ireland, India and Palestine: Theory and Practice* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1984), p. 17. For a comparative study on Partition, *see*, Stanley Waterman, 'Partitioned States', *Political Geography Quarterly*, 6, 2 (1987), pp. 151–70.
13. For the full references and other works, *see*, the Bibliography.
14. Hadawi, *Land Ownership in Palestine*, pp. 18–20; and Fawzi Asadi, 'Some Geographic Elements in the Arab–Israeli Conflict', *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 6, 2 (1977), pp. 79–91.
15. For a political analysis, *see*, Cohen, *Retreat*, for example, pp. 167–77.
16. Hadawi, *Village Statistics*, p. 11; Shmuel Dothan, *A Land in the Balance: The Struggle for Eretz-Israel* (Tel-Aviv: Ministry of Defense Publications, 1981), p. 182 [Hebrew]. *Also*, Gavriel Cohen, 'Harold MacMichael and the Question of Palestine's Future', *ba-Mizrab ba-Hadash*, 25, 1/2 (1975), pp. 52–69 [Hebrew]; and Nathaniel Katzburg, *From Partition to White Paper: British Policy in Palestine, 1936–1940* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1974), ch. 4 [Hebrew].
17. Porath, *From Riots to Rebellion*, pp. 162–216; *see also*, The British Mandate in Palestine, 1917–1948, Photograph Series: An Arab Demonstration in Jerusalem in 1936: IWM/PhotographArchive/HU 56368; *ibid.*, A British Army Convoy Ambushed on the Jenin Road, Palestine in 1936: IWM/PhotographArchive/HU 56369.
18. For example, *ibid.*, Men of the Manchester Regiment Searching a Village in Palestine for Terrorists in 1938, British Soldiers in Palestine in 1938 Searching a Lorry at a Check Point, and Searching Cars on the Nablus-Jerusalem road, 1938: IWM/PhotographArchive/HU 51761, HU 18700 and HU 18710.
19. *Peel Report*, pp. vi, 370–9.
20. Note of a Conversation between David Ben-Gurion and Moshe Shertok [both of the Jewish Agency] and HC, 9 July 1936: CZA/Z4/14446II. *Also*, file, Suggested

- Cantonisation of Palestine between Jews and Arabs, 1933–34: PRO/CO733/248/17688. Ideas on partition were already circulating in the British Government in reference to India, *see*, Anita Inder Singh, *The Origins of the Partition of India, 1936–1947* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991).
21. *Peel Report*, pp. 377–8.
 22. Archer Cust, Cantonisation: A Plan for Palestine, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 23 (1936), pp. 194–211; and, Cust, Memorandum on the Palestine Problem, n.d., Chancellor, Manuscript Collections, RHL/MSS.Brit.Emp.s.284/Box15/File3.
 23. Minute, A.C.C. Parkinson, CO, to O.G.R. Williams, CO, 12 April 1936: PRO/CO733/302/75288. *See also*, Suggested Division of Palestine into Jewish and Arab Cantons: PRO/CO733/283/75288.
 24. CS to Keith-Roach, 7 July 1936: PRO/CO733/316/75528/71.
 25. Harris, Cantonisation in Palestine, 4 October 1936: PRO/CO733/302/75288; and Keith-Roach to CS, secret, 5 August 1936: PRO/CO733/316/75528/71. Andrews was later murdered, so that his name was no longer associated with the Cantonisation Scheme. *Also*, Philip Jones, *Britain and Palestine, 1914–1948: Archival Sources for the History of the British Mandate* (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 237.
 26. I.N. Camp, Land Settlement Officer, Haifa, Statistical Memorandum on Arab Population in the Two Proposed Jewish Cantons, 22 September 1936, enclosure with Keith-Roach, Recommendations on Foreign Policy, 30 September 1936: *ibid.*
 27. Harris, Cantonisation in Palestine, 4 October 1936: PRO/CO733/302/75288. Chanina Porat, ‘Zionist Policy on Land Settlement in the Negev, 1929–1946’ (Ph.D. Dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, 1989) [Hebrew].
 28. S.I. James, 11 November 1936: PRO/CO733/302/75288; Harris, Cantonisation in Palestine, 4 October. 1936: *ibid.*; and *Peel Report*, p. 378–9.
 29. Porath, *From Riots to Rebellion*, pp. 279–80.
 30. *Peel Report*, pp. 381–93.
 31. Yossi Katz, *Partner to Partition: The Jewish Agency’s Partition Plan in the Mandate Era* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), pp. 2–3, and 6, re Chaim Weizmann.
 32. Galnoor, *Partition of Palestine*, pp. 70–4 and 317n120.
 33. L.H. [Laurie Hammond], Note on ‘Clean Cut’, 23 May 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
 34. For example, Katz, *Partner to Partition*, pp. 4–8.
 35. Stein, *Land Question*, pp. 137–8; for an earlier reference, *see*, Note by Hope-Simpson to Chancellor, strictly confidential, 26 June 1930: Chancellor, Manuscript Collections, RHL/MSS.Brit.Emp.s.284/Box15/File2.
 36. For example, Aaron S. Klieman, *Divide or Rule: Britain, Partition and Palestine, 1936–1939* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1983), pp. 29–36 [Hebrew].
 37. Note of an Informal Discussion between the Chiefs of Staff Sub-Committee and Members of the Royal Commission on Palestine, secret, 1 March 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
 38. Future Strategical Considerations in Regard to Palestine, enclosure with Air Chief Marshal Sir Edward Ellington to Lord Peel, 3 March 1937: *ibid.*; and *Peel Report*, pp. 380–93, and especially p. 385.
 39. Sir Horace Rumbold, Some Considerations Connected with the Clean Cut, secret, n.d.: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
 40. Chancellor to Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield, Despatch, 17 January 1930: PRO/CO733/183/77050/Pt.I. For a discussion about the despatch, *see*, Stein, *Land Question*, pp. 80–8; and Hope-Simpson to Chancellor, 4 January 1937: Chancellor, Manuscript Collections, RHL/MSS.Brit.Emp.s.284/Box15/File7.
 41. *See file*, Irrigation Adviser: PRO/CO733/265/37521.
 42. Harris’ plan in: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4; Coupland’s, Note for Discussion of Partition, [8 June?] 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41; and *Peel Report*, pp. 380–93.

- Also, Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, Cmd. 9109 (London: HMSO, 1918; henceforth, *Montagu-Chelmsford Report*).
43. Harris to Coupland, 15 April 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
 44. *Peel Report*, pp. 386 and 389.
 45. Hammond, Note on 'Clean Cut', 23 May 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
 46. *Ibid.*
 47. *Ibid.*
 48. R.C. [Coupland], Note for Discussion of Partition, [drafted after full deliberations with Hammond and expressing both their opinions], n.d., enclosure with R.C. [Coupland], Note on British Subvention, 8 June 1937; and Coupland to Ormsby-Gore, 23 June 1937, enclosure with Memorandum by Colonial Secretary, Report of Palestine Royal Commission, Cabinet, Secret C.P. 166(37), App. II, 25 June 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
 49. Coupland added that some of the Palestinian Arab officials were 'quite competent': Coupland, 25 June 1937: *ibid.*
 50. *Ibid.* On Jewish grievances on the possibility of developing land in the Negev, see: PRO/CO733/345/75550/33].
 51. Coupland, Note on British Subvention, 8 June 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41; and *Peel Report*, pp. 389–90.
 52. *Peel Report*, p. 385; and, Coupland to Ormsby-Gore, 23 June 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
 53. Coupland to Ormsby-Gore, 23 June 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718; Chaim Weizmann Interview with Ormsby-Gore, 25 February 1938: CZA/S25/7563; and *Peel Report*, pp. 381–2 and 384–5. The Southern Plan, devised by Harris, was also known as the 'Wauchope Plan' because of the HC's support for it: see Cohen, *Retreat*, p. 48; and see Harris' plan in: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4, also noted in Cohen, *Retreat*, p. 202, n. 109.
 54. Coupland, Note for Discussion of Partition, [8 June?] 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
 55. Cabinet 27 (37) Extract from Conclusions of Meeting Held on 30 June 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
 56. Colonial Secretary to HC, immediate, secret, 7 July 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
 57. *Peel Report*, p. 367. Both the Colonial Office and Foreign Office expressed concern that the economic absorptive capacity still not be exceeded: J.M. Martin, CO, to Downie, 19 June 1937, and Foreign Office to [Sir Reader] Bullard, British Minister, Saudi Arabia, 1 July 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
 58. Coupland to Ormsby-Gore, 23 June 1937: *ibid.*
 59. Economic Absorptive Capacity, Arab Office, Jerusalem, , n.s., n.d.: ISA/Arab-Files/Gp65/1904/355.
 60. Coupland, Note on British Subvention, 8 June 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
 61. Coupland to Ormsby-Gore, 11 July 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
 62. Coupland, Note for Discussion of Partition, [8 June?] 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
 63. *Peel Report*, pp. 381–2.
 64. Coupland, Note for Discussion of Partition, [8 June?] 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
 65. *Peel Report*, pp. 388, and 385–6.
 66. Shertok, Interview with HC, 29 September 1936: CZA/Z4/20708/106.
 67. *Peel Report*, pp. 382–3 and 390. Coupland originally wrote this in, Note for Discussion of Partition, [8 June?] 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
 68. Downie, CO, to Sir John Shuckburgh, Deputy Under-Secretary, CO, 29 December 1937: PRO/CO733/355/75732/4.
 69. *Peel Report*, p. 391.

70. Coupland, Note for Discussion of Partition, [8 June?] 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
71. Coupland to Ormsby-Gore, 11 July 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
72. *Peel Report*, pp. 306, 386 and 393; also, *Palestine: Statement of Policy by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom*, Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, [7] July 1937, Cmd. 5513 (London: HMSO, 1937), para. 6.
73. Cabinet 27 (37), Conclusions of Meeting, 30 June 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
74. M.K. Dziewanowski, *Poland in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), pp. 113–46.
75. House of Commons [Members], D. Clifton Brown, *et al.*, to Colonial Secretary Ormsby-Gore, private, 29 July 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718. For the debate, see, *Parliamentary Debates: Official Report, House of Commons, Hansard*, Fifth Series, Vol. 326, 5–30 July 1937, Second Session of the 37th Parliament of the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland, 21 July 1937 (London: HMSO, 1937), column 2235.
76. Katz, *Partner to Partition*, pp. 18–20; also, Jewish Agency, Resolution of Governing Bodies: CZA/Z4/gimmell5.182.
77. Porath, *From Riots to Rebellion*, pp. 228–32; and al-Kayyali, *Palestine*, pp. 207–8.
78. Boustany, *Palestine Mandate*, pp. 94–129.
79. Arab Higher Committee, *Arab Case*, pp. 48–9.
80. Peel Commission: George Antonius, Card Index Notes, n.d.: George Antonius Papers, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65.
81. Letter signed by over 50 Arabs, to HC, (25 October 1937): PRO/CO733/351/75718/6.
82. (Arab) National Committee, Jaffa, Manifesto, 10 July 1937: *ibid.*
83. Shukri Tagi [Taji?] Farouki, President, Arab Committee of Citrus Fruits Industry, Jaffa, to HC, President of League of Nations, President of PMC, and Colonial Secretary, 29 July 1937, enclosure with Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, 4 August 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718/6B. For the reaction of the Arab Higher Committee, see, *Memorandum Submitted by the Arab Higher Committee to the Permanent Mandates Commission and the Secretary of State for the Colonies*, 23 July 1937 (Zug: Inter Documentation Co., 1977) (microfiche).
84. Sadiq al-Tabri, Tiberias, Arab Higher Committee, Arab Chamber of Commerce, Jerusalem, 14 July 1937: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/1098/338.
85. Canaan, *Palestine Arab Cause*, p. 7.
86. George Antonius, Card Index Notes, n.d. [1937?]: George Antonius Papers, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/854/330.
87. Samih Khalil Farsoun, with Christina E. Zacharia, *Palestine and the Palestinians* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), p. 107. The Arabs considered Andrews to be 'pro-Jewish', and said they were 'after him': Battershill, 'Autobiographical Writings', n.d.: Sir William Battershill, Manuscript Collections, RHL/MSS.Brit. Emp.s.467/Box15/File5/£.72.
88. Hammond, Note on 'Clean Cut', 23 May 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
89. Despite the romantic images some British held of the Arabs as desert wanderers (for example, re the Bedouins, see Kathryn Tidrick, *Heart-Beguiling Arab: The English Romance with Arabia* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 1981), pp. 212–13), village and town-dwellers – unlike the unsettled Bedouins, who were not the main issue in population transfers – were rarely thought to venture into the distant wilderness, and it was believed to be quite unknown to them. One Gazan, when visiting the Negev for the first time, observed that he 'was appalled by these miles of emptiness': George E. Kirk, 'The Negev, or Southern Desert of Palestine', *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (April 1941), pp. 57–71. This article was quoted by Harris, 'Memorandum on the Negeb', Annex, The Negeb, Committee on Palestine, War Cabinet, P(M)(43)6, most secret, 7 August 1943: PRO/CO537/2311/75648.

90. Yossi Katz, 'Transfer of Population as a Solution to International Disputes: Population Exchanges between Greece and Turkey as a Model for Plans to Solve the Jewish-Arab Dispute in Palestine during the 1930s', *Political Geography*, 11, 1 (1992), pp. 55-72; also, Elliott Grinnell Mears, *Modern Turkey: A Politico-Economic Interpretation, 1908-1923 Inclusive, with Selected Chapters by Representative Authorities* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1924), pp. 61-3.
91. Yehuda Bauer, *A History of the Holocaust* (New York: F. Watts, 1982), pp. 207-26; and file, German Immigration: PRO/CO733/255/37313/3.
92. Coupland, Note for Discussion of Partition, [8 June?] 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
93. *Policy in Palestine, Despatch Dated 23rd December, 1937, from the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the High Commissioner for Palestine*, Cmd. 5634 (London: HMSO, 4 January 1938).
94. *Woodhead Report*, p. 234.
95. David Horowitz, Economic Conditions, confidential, February 1938: CZA/S90/105.
96. Minute by Downie to Shuckburgh, 29 December 1937: PRO/CO733/355/75732/4.
97. File, Partition Protests: ISA/CSO2/X/30/38/Vols.I-II.
98. Extract from Letter by MacMichael to Colonial Secretary, 23 August 1938: PRO/CO733/382/75735/1.
99. Porath, *From Riots to Rebellion*, pp. 277-8; and Cohen, *Retreat*, pp. 32-49.
100. Wauchope to Parkinson, 30 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/Pt.II; and Battershill, 'Autobiographical Writings', n.d.: Battershill, Manuscript Collections, RHL/MSS.Brit.Emp.s.467/Box15/File5/f.110.
101. [?], Treasury Chambers, to Downie, 6 December 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/Pt.II.
102. Note of a Meeting at the Colonial Office, 30 March 1938: PRO/CO733/381/1/75730.
103. MacDonald to Foreign Secretary Viscount Halifax, 27 May 1938: *ibid.*
104. For example, Ormsby-Gore to OAG, Palestine, draft, 2 October 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4.
105. Harris, Memorandum on the Royal Commission's Proposal for the Partition of Palestine, 10 November 1937, Enclosure, secret: *ibid.*; and F.G. Horwill to Wauchope, 28 September 1937: PRO/CO733/355/75733.
106. The first were published in 1938: Office of Statistics, *Village Statistics, February 1938* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1938).
107. Proportion of Uncultivable Lands, Village by Village, Memorandum by Commissioner for Migration and Statistics [Eric Mills], Enclosure I, Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, 14 December 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4; and *Woodhead Report*, p. 247.
108. Battershill to Ormsby-Gore, 14 September 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718/6B.
109. Extract from Letter to Parkinson, from Wauchope, 16 August 1937, and Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, 2 September 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/Pt.I.
110. Harris, Memorandum, 10 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4; and *Woodhead Report*, p. 32.
111. *Woodhead Report*, p. 232; and, *Policy in Palestine, Despatch* (1938).
112. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 11, 22 and 31.
113. *Ibid.*, p. 35. Also, Harris, Memorandum, Enclosure, secret, 10 November 1938: PRO/CO733/381/75791; and Luke to Downie, 28 June 1938: PRO/CO733/381/75732/9II.
114. *Woodhead Report*, p. 47.
115. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-51 and 71.
116. TPA, *Report, 1938*, p. 14.
117. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 35-51 and 71; and Harris, Memorandum, 10 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4.
118. Minute by J.S. Bennett, 28 October 1938: PRO/CO733/380/75720/1.

119. Harris, Memorandum, secret, 30 August 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/Pt.I; and *Woodhead Report*, p. 68.
120. *Peel Report*, pp. 237–8.
121. *Woodhead Report*, p. 83.
122. William McLean to E.B. Boyd, CO, 19 July 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75731.
123. Harris, Memorandum, Confidential, 2 September 1937, Enclosure IV, with Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, confidential, 2 September 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75731.
124. Martin, Minute, 20 September 1937: *ibid.*
125. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 77–8.
126. Shmuel Sandler, *The State of Israel, the Land of Israel: The Statist and Ethnonational Dimensions of Foreign Policy* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), p. 64.
127. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 81–4.
128. Harris, Memorandum, 10 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4.
129. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 13, 84–9, and 107–9.
130. Harris, Memorandum, 10 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4; and *Woodhead Report*, p. 106.
131. Minute by J.S. Bennett, 14 November 1938: PRO/CO733/380/75648. For example, Theodore A.L. Zissu, leader of Negev Group for Settlement, see: Theodore A.L. Zissu Papers, CZA/A240.
132. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 110–24, 133–51 and 187.
133. *Ibid.*, pp. 179, 194, 201 and 223–31.
134. Sir John M. Martin, Secretary, Palestine Royal Commission, 16 October 1937, F.G. Horwill, Treasury, to HC, 28 September 1937: PRO/CO733/355/75733.
135. Harris, Memorandum, secret, 30 August 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/Pt.I.
136. *Woodhead Report*, p. 179.
137. These points are raised in the above, pp. 111–15, and, 152–231. For a discussion on the Jewish plans, see Katz, *Partner to Partition*.
138. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 232–46; compare with Harris, Memorandum, 10 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4.
139. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 249–81.
140. Battershill, Manuscript Collections, RHL/MSS.Brit.Emp.s.467/Box15/File5/ff.109–10, and Battershill to Wauchope, 20 September 1937: *ibid.*, Box10/File4.
141. Sir Charles Tegart, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Tegart/BoxII/File3/f.3.
142. MacMichael to Woodhead, secret, 6 April 1938: PRO/CO733/381/1/75730.
143. For example, Porath, *From Riots to Rebellion*, pp. 278–83.
144. Galnoor, *Partition of Palestine*, p. 238.
145. The new Colonial Secretary, Malcolm MacDonald (1938–40), also quickly accepted the Foreign Office's anti-partition policy: see Cohen, *Retreat*, p. 49.
146. *Ibid.*, pp. 41–49, and 66–87.
147. Walid Khalidi (ed.), *From Haven to Conquest: Readings in Zionism and the Palestine Problem until 1948* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1987), pp. 409–32.
148. Al-Kayyali, *Palestine*, p. 213.
149. John and Hadawi, *Palestine Diary*, pp. 271–2.
150. Mr Emmanuel Damati, Israeli Government Archaeologist in the Eastern Galilee District, interview, Safad, 26 June 1996; and Mr Rafi Hamous, a school pupil in Safad in the last years of the Mandate, accountant, interview, Safad, 26 June 1996.
151. Porath summarises them in *Arab Unity*, pp. 72–80. See also, for example, the file, Cantonal Systems for Palestine: PRO/FO371/1559/61901. Also, file, Policy—Mr D.G. Harris: PRO/CO733/387/2/75872/31.
152. Sir Edward Bridges, War Cabinet Secretary, to Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill, 28 October 1943: PRO/PRM4/52/1. Also, War Cabinet, Committee

- on Palestine, Report of the Committee [henceforth, First Report], most secret, P. (M) (43) 29, 20 December 1943: PRO/CAB95/14; War Cabinet, Committee on Palestine, Report of the Committee [henceforth, Second Report], P. (M) (44) 14, top secret, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1; and Cohen, *Retreat*, pp. 158–79.
153. Cohen, 'MacMichael', pp. 52–69; Nathaniel Katzburg, *The Palestine Problem in British Policy, 1940–1945* (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1977) [Hebrew], ch. 4; Michael J. Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers, 1945–1948* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), chs 1–2; and Porath, *Arab Unity*, pp. 196–256.
 154. Cohen, *Retreat*, p. 175; and, First Report, 20 December 1943: PRO/CAB95/14.
 155. Katzburg, *Palestine Problem*, pp. 104–5.
 156. Palestine Policy: Replies by HC to Questionnaire from Secretary of State for Colonies, Containing a List of Matters on which a Decision or Further Information is Required prior to Publication of a Scheme of Partition, CO, top secret, [25] March 1944: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxIV/File3/f.35.
 157. See, for example, Sylvia G. Haim (ed.), *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology*, selected and edited with an Introduction by Sylvia G. Haim (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1962).
 158. Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
 159. Replies by HC, [25] March 1944: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxIV/File3/f.35.
 160. Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
 161. *Ibid.*; and *Woodhead Report*, pp. 67–8.
 162. Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
 163. Replies by HC, [25] March 1944: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxIV/File3/f.35; and Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
 164. Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
 165. Colonial Office, 'Palestine: A Study of Partition', [henceforth, 'A Study of Partition'], confidential, April 1947: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxIV/File4. This document is only used as an indicator for the Second Report, of 1944 because, although it refers to a partition plan which its authors termed 'First Revision' and dated it 1943 – the date of the First Report – the description of the plan is similar to that of 1944. This is notable on page 8, where it is stated that the Galilee would be separated from Syria and the Arab State 'by a strip of Jewish land', which probably meant the Huleh area, allocated to the Jewish State in the Second Report. Furthermore, the maps accompanying the 'Study' show that the 'First Revision' Plan follows the same boundaries as the 1944 Second Cabinet Committee Report: see, Colonial Office, 'A Study of Partition', pp. 11–12 and Maps: PRO/FO371/61858/115.
 166. Replies by HC, [25] March 1944: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxIV/File3/f.35; and Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
 167. Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
 168. Annex 1: Letter from Foreign Secretary to HMG's Ambassadors to Cairo and Baghdad, enclosure in Future Policy in Palestine, Memorandum by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, War Cabinet, W.P.(44)253, top secret, 15 May 1944: *ibid.*
 169. Colonial Office, 'A Study of Partition', confidential, April 1947: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxIV/File4.
 170. Addendum to Question 1 [to HC, [25] March 1944], Determination of the Northern Boundary of the Negeb, 25 March 1944, p. 63: PRO/CO537/2311/75648.

171. Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
172. File, Palestine: PRO/FO371/40142.
173. Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
174. HMG's Ambassador to Baghdad, Kinahan Cornwallis, to Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, 24 December 1944, enclosure with Future Policy in Palestine, 15 May 1944: *ibid*.
175. Many roads seemed to lead to Palestine in the arguments on British communications, strategic and oil interests: see Palestine, Memorandum by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden, War Cabinet, W.P.(44)229, top secret, 10 April 1945: *ibid*.
176. Annex 1, 15 May 1944: *ibid*.
177. MacMichael to Stanley, top secret, 17 July 1944: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxVI/File1/f.536.
178. Memorandum by F.W.G. Blenkinsop, October 1944: Blenkinsop, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Blenkinsop/f.2. He served as Assistant District Commissioner in Beersheba and as District Commissioner of the Galilee.
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182. Sir Edward Grigg, Palestine, Note by Minister Resident in the Middle East, War Cabinet, W.P.(45)214, top secret, 4 April 1945, and attached Appendix, MacMichael to Colonial Secretary, 25 October 1938: PRO/PRM4/52/1.
183. Cohen, *Great Powers*, pp. 14 and 23–5. About the Second Revision Plan, see, Colonial Office, 'A Study in Partition': PRO/FO371/61858/115.
184. Harris, Memorandum, 25 August 1945: PRO/CO537/1762/75872/133. See file, Palestine Policy: Sir Douglas Harris: Recall to Colonial Office: PRO/CO537/2318/75872/133.
185. A New Policy for Palestine, Note by Colonial Secretary G.H. Hall, P.(M)(45)11, top secret, 29 August 1945: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxIV/File3/f.51.
186. Cohen, *Great Powers*, p. 27.
187. Hall to Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, 14 September 1945: PRO/FO371/45380.
188. Cohen, *Great Powers*, pp. 96–134; Amikam Nachmani, *Great Power Discord in Palestine: The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in the Problems of European Jewry and Palestine, 1945–1946* (London: Frank Cass, 1987); and Michael W. Suleiman (ed.), *US Policy on Palestine: From Wilson to Clinton* (Normal, IL: Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Press, 1995), pp. 81–112. See also Allen Howard Podet, *The Success and Failure of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 1945–1946: Last Chance in Palestine*, *Jewish Studies*, Vol. 3 (Queenston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986); and Miriam Joyce Haron, *Palestine and the Anglo-American Connection, 1945–1950* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 1986).
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- Memorandum from Palestine Arab Party to US President, 16 September 1945: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3501/402; Letters and Telegrams to London Ministries, 1945: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/1282/342; and George Antonius Papers, 1946, ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/2605-8/376.
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 193. Cohen, *Great Powers*, pp. 105–6; and Extract from Minutes of 14th (46) Meeting of the Defence Committee, Army Council Secretariat, 24 April 1946: PRO/WO32/10260. Also, Extract from the Conclusions of the 67th (46) Meeting of the Cabinet, Held on 11 July 1946: *ibid.*
 194. *Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry Report*, pp. 1–10. Also see file, Provincial Autonomy: PRO/CO537/1767/75872/138/22F.
 195. Extract from C.M. [Cabinet Meeting] (46)67th, Conclusions, 11 July 1946: PRO/CAB127/280.
 196. Extract from Cabinet Meeting, C.M.(46)71st, Conclusions, Palestine, 22 July 1946: PRO/CO733/CAB127/280; and *Parliamentary Debates: Commons, Hansard*, Fifth Series, Vol. 426, 31 July 1946, column 970.
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 204. Original emphasis: PRO/CO733/482/6/75872/147/6. On Arab reactions, see file, Palestine: Palestine Policy: London Conference, January 1947: PRO/CO537/2324/75872/147/10. 'Anglo-US Talks on Palestine: Suggestions for Partition', *The Times*, 23 July 1946.
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 208. *UNSCOP Report to the General Assembly*, pp. 5, 65–83 and 72–97.
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210. See petitions in file: PRO/CO733/477/1/75156/75/1/Pt.I.
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 220. Mr Mousa Younis El Hussein, interview, Jerusalem, 6 December 1999.
 221. Mr Nasser Eddin Nashashibi, journalist, interview, Jerusalem, 19 October 1999.
 222. Mr Teddy Kollek, formerly of the Jewish Agency, and Mayor of Jerusalem (1965–93), interview, Jerusalem, 9 April 1998.
 223. Committee on Palestine, War Cabinet, Draft Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee, P.(M)(43) 2nd Meeting, most secret, 4 November 1943: PRO/CO537/2311/75648; and, see later, Harris to Sir Norman Brook, 8 July 1946: PRO/CAB127/280.
 224. See, Cohen, *Great Powers*, pp. 260–300; and Mark Tessler, *A History of the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington/Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 261. UN Resolution 181 (Part B [3]) followed the British partition planning precedents of 1944 and 1947, in that village areas 'will not be divided by State boundaries'.

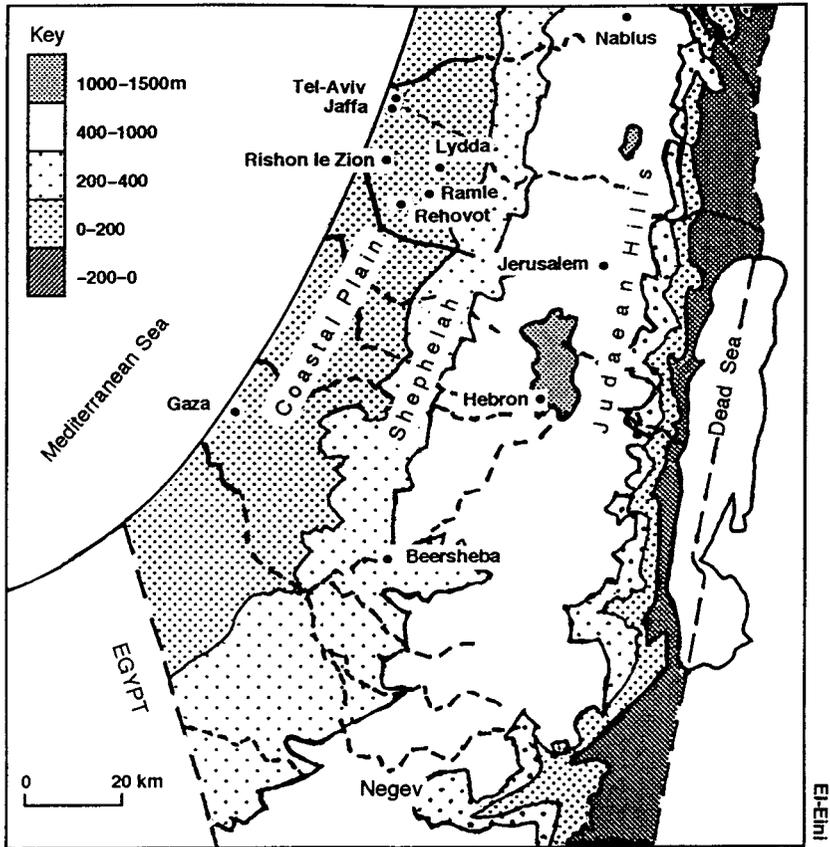
The Shephelah: A Case Study

To the west could be seen the stretch of sand-hills that fringed the coast-line, beyond which was the blue of the Mediterranean; to the north the white minarets of Ramleh marked the position of a purely Arab town; to the south were the fields and fruit groves of old-established Jewish colonies.¹

INTRODUCTION: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Shephelah (or Lowlands) region in Palestine had a rich history dating back to Antiquity,² and is estimated to contain ‘the highest ratio between ruins to inhabited settlements’ in Israel today.³ As part of the western approaches to Jerusalem it was at once exceptional for the British, being situated between the Plateau of Judaea and the Coastal Plain (see, Map 29). General Sir Edmund Allenby enhanced its military importance in 1918 by way of having his General Headquarters at Bir Salim near Ramle. The region was a crossroads in the country, and was ‘famous for its fertility’, water, favourable climate, easy communications and suitable places for settlement.⁴ It also bordered on and cut into the economically important citrus belt. The Shephelah was chosen for a case study on the Mandatory Government’s impact on Palestine’s landscape here, because of its geographical significance and its British, Arab and Jewish presence.

During the Mandate, the Shephelah became Palestine’s largest military centre, with many bases being built there, notably at Sarafand, Deir Tarif, Tel Litwinsky, Tsomet Bilu, and Lydda Airport. Overgrown with vegetation, the Beit Nabala base is still visible today (Plate 18), and Ramle War Cemetery is a monument to British rule; as, too, are the Tégart Forts, embodied by Latrun’s. Much of this military focus owed its development to the road and rail networks built due to the strategic prominence of the area. The Ottomans, for example, had a rail line linking Lydda to the port of Jaffa and, by 1929, the British had made Lydda Station Palestine’s central junction, connecting the Jaffa–Jerusalem and Qantara–Haifa lines (Plate 19).⁵ The Shephelah was also a road junction, with routes radiating out to all the settlements, stations and



Map 29. The Shephelah.

ports of the region and beyond. The region, therefore, became a conspicuous locus of employment for the British-related sector, compounding its established attraction as an agricultural centre.⁶ This chapter analyses how British rule impacted on the Shephelah in Town Planning and the Urban and Rural Landscape, Agriculture, Forestry, and Land; and how this was expressed in the Partition Plans.

The Shephelah's Geographical Boundaries in the Literature

Although mainly characterised by gently undulating hills and plains, and geographically defined as the foothills of the Judaean Mountains, there are in fact several delimitations of the Shephelah – or Lowlands – in the literature. For example, in classifying Palestine's geographical units in 1939, D.H. Kallner and E. Rosenau do not specifically mention



Plate 18. Lime Factory, now Abandoned, Beit Nabala Military Base.
Source: El-Eini, 1994.

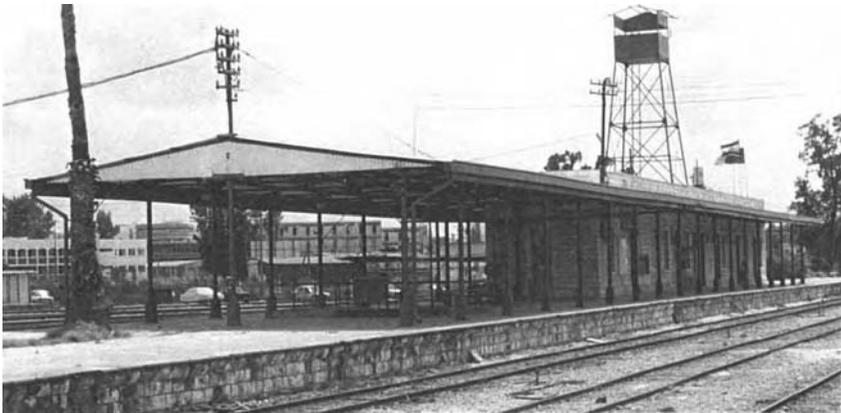


Plate 19. Lydda Station and Junction.
Source: El-Eini, 1994.

the Shephelah, but include some of its components of the Ramle–Lydda Plain and the Southern Plain – also the coastal dune area south of Jaffa to Khan Yunis – in the overall region of the Coastal Plain.⁷ D.H.K. Amiran described the region as ‘the foothill-zone ... between the Judaeon Mountains and the coastal plain’, making up seven per cent of Mandated Palestine. In defining the Southern Shephelah, Eliahu Stern draws a line reaching south of Beersheba, but excludes the coastal area;⁸ whilst David Grossman analyses settlement in the region alongside that of Mount Hebron because of their interlinked physical, economic and social conditions.⁹ Yehoshua Ben-Arieh divides the Shephelah into the Low and High Shephelah, the former being rolling hills and wide

valleys, and the latter being mountainous, stony and rocky, with only small patches of soil.¹⁰

In the broadly based area described above, the terrain is mainly 0–300 metres high, with narrower foothills of 300–600 metres in height. There are red sandy soils in the Lydda-Ramle area, with areas further south having Mediterranean soil, which gives way to loess.¹¹ Annual rainfall averages 400–500 millimetres in the north, and 200 millimetres in the south.¹² Several perennial rivers and streams intersect the region, the two main ones being the Sarar (ending in Wadi Rubin), and the Sukreir (see, Map 15). Due to the vastness of the region, this study will be focused on the Mandate's Lydda District to account for the varied definitions of the Shephelah although, in some instances, the analysis will include bordering areas because of their influence on the Shephelah.

A Note on Research Methodology

Problems arose in the research because many of the British Mandate Lydda District files were destroyed or are missing, including most of those on the Arab villages.¹³ Also, landmarks have been erased or concealed through urban expansion and change in land-use.

TOWN PLANNING AND THE URBAN AND RURAL LANDSCAPES

Introduction

Due to the Shephelah's historical and strategic importance, influenced by its geographical location, as shown above, the region could more readily be included in British Town Planning and Regional schemes. It was also made part of Village Development and Health facilities programmes, and slum clearance and post-war housing projects. The Shephelah's strategic role ensured it a ranking in city primacy and British imperial symbolism.

Town Planning and the Urban Landscape

Two of the Shephelah's major urban centres were the Arab towns of Lydda and Ramle, with many of the surrounding Arab villages and Jewish settlements. The Southern District, comprising large parts of the Shephelah, lagged behind in town planning in Palestine, which was focused on Jaffa, Tel-Aviv, Jerusalem and Haifa.¹⁴ Lydda and Ramle are discussed here, as they were the main towns in the Shephelah and the

focus of the research. Lydda and Ramle, standing 2.5 kilometres apart, were agricultural towns with small populations (see, Table 46), and were first declared a combined Town Planning Area in 1922. As the 1936 Town Planning Ordinance prohibited combined municipalities, individual Town Planning Areas were initiated for each of them in 1937, which was also aimed at controlling the immediate vicinity of built-up land.¹⁵ In 1940, the Lydda Town Planning Area was declared, and in 1945, the Lydda Outline Town Planning Scheme was published (see, Map 30).¹⁶

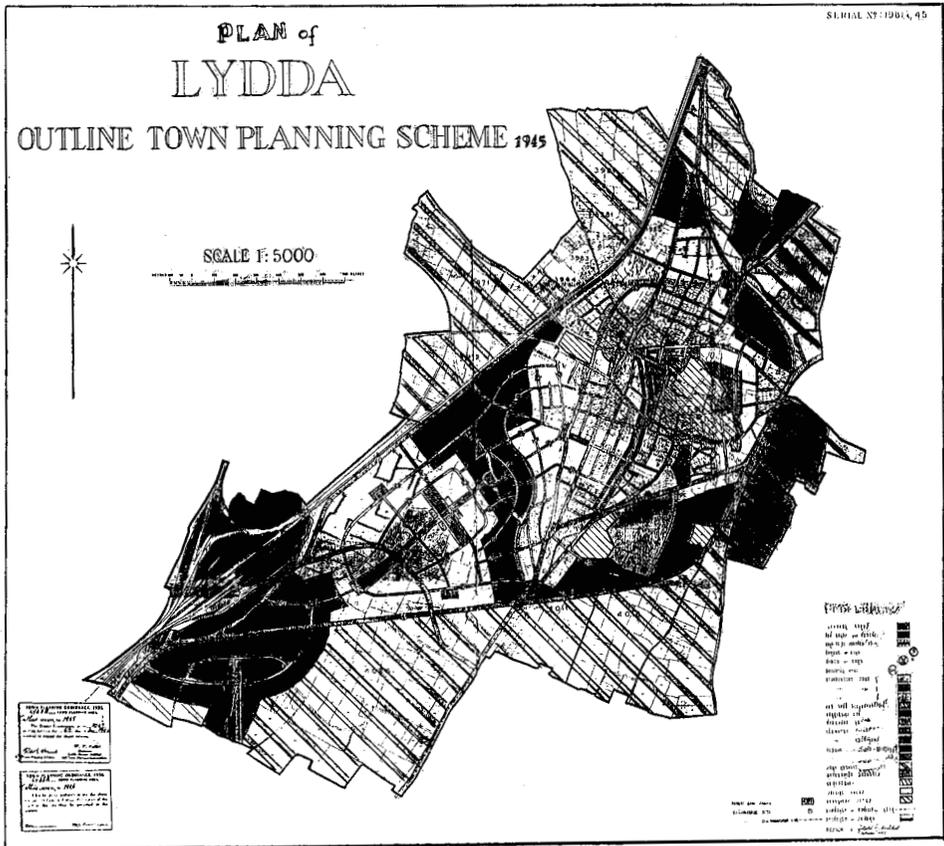
Table 46. Urban Population by Religion and Town in 1931 (*Census*) and 1944 (Statistics Department Estimates for End of 1944)

Town	All Religions		Muslims		Jews		Christians		Others	
	1931	1944	1931	1944	1931	1944	1931	1944	1931	1944
Ramle	10,347	15,160	8,156	11,900	5	–	2,184	3,260	2	–
Lydda	11,250	16,780	10,002	14,910	28	20	1,210	1,840	10	10
Rishon	2,525	8,100	47	–	2,478	8,100	–	–	–	–
Rehovot	3,193	10,020	103	–	3,075	10,000	15	20	–	–

Source: Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944–45*, pp. 21–2.

Reflecting Lydda's rurality, and its industrial, rail and military concentration, the Outline Scheme included Industrial, Workshop, and 'Semi-Agricultural' zones (for example, cowsheds), and the Old Town was sectioned off as a 'Reconstruction Area'.¹⁷ In fact, 'traditional' life dominated this zone, in and around Lydda, with workshops for basket-making, 'Native cloth and fabrics weaving', and 'cotton beaters', and shops and workshops for wool, jute and similar activities, as well as blacksmiths and saddlers. Design regulations determined that external walls were to have 'natural dressed stone'; this was similar to Jerusalem's by-law. The Old Town and the 'Al-Marajin' area enclosing archaeological sites were subject to the Antiquities Ordinance. The scheme was sent to the High Commissioner for final approval. However, the Government decided on 28 April 1948 – 16 days before the British withdrawal from Palestine – 'not to proceed with the approval and publication of the scheme in present [political] circumstances'.¹⁸

The Ramle [Urban] Town Planning Area was approved in 1937, and amended in 1940 due to the town's expansion. A Rural Area was also designated to bring the surrounding village lands under planning control. The Ramle (Outline Town Planning Scheme) By-Laws, 1941, for Rural Ramle were issued, covering all of Ramle's Town Planning

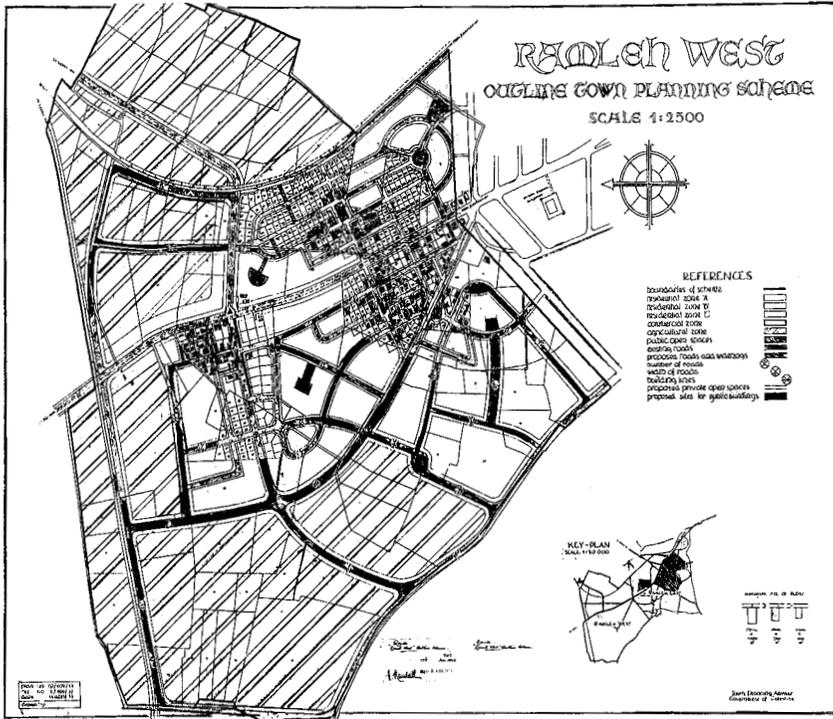


Map 30. Plan of Lydda Outline Town Planning Scheme, 1945.

Source: Enclosed in: ISA/Gp24/S/172/1739.

Area, excluding the 1929 Outline Scheme.¹⁹ A Ramleh West Outline Town Planning Scheme was prepared, despite Town Planning Adviser Henry Kendall's objections that it was really a 'Detailed Scheme', for only part of the Planning Area (see, Map 31). The scheme's by-laws contained little detail, demarcated an Agricultural Zone, and determined that all external walls on the Jaffa–Jerusalem road be 'entirely of stone', to provide an attractive facade for the traveller. Otherwise, any material was permissible for external walls, provided it was uniform for a building. However, staff shortages meant the draft Ramle Outline Scheme was still incomplete in November 1947, and it is uncertain if it was enacted.²⁰

Lydda District had the highest number of Local Commissions by the Mandate's end, with 13 out of an overall total of 46; also, the highest



Map 31. Ramleh West Outline Town Planning Scheme, 1942.

Source: Enclosed in: ISA/CSO2/Z/125/37/569.

number of Local Council Areas with seven out of a total of 16. It also had five Municipal Areas (equalling the Jerusalem and Galilee Districts). This indicated the area's accessibility, and its importance as a communications and population centre and as the focus of Jewish settlements with their many Town Planning requests.²¹ Arab participants on Planning Commissions occasionally complained of the Jews abusing the Town Planning Ordinance by annexing Arab lands to Jewish settlements, notably around Jaffa.²²

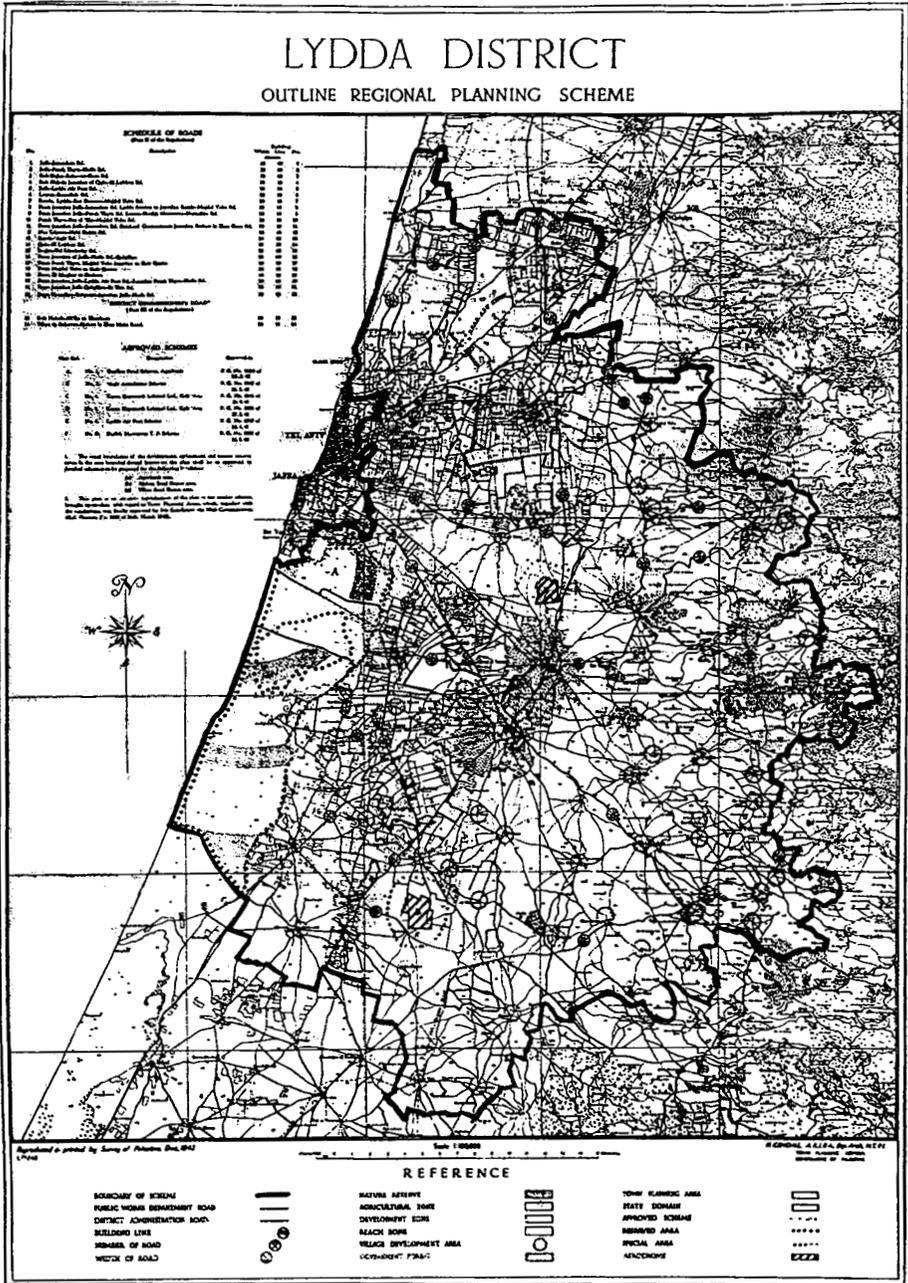
The Implementation of Town Planning

The impact of British town planning is still perceptible in Lydda's layout; for example, in today's alignment of Sderot Tzahal, formerly Al Malik Faysal Street, the main thoroughfare.²³ Illicit building became 'alarming' after the 1927 earthquake, with 'a continual struggle' between magistrates and planning authorities, as the former failed

to appreciate building by-laws, making demolition orders rare.²⁴ But there was some building control, as Kendall noted that parcellation schemes ‘almost crowded out’ Town Planning Commission meetings.²⁵ Constant curfews throughout the Arab Revolt, however, beleaguered the functioning of the duly elected Municipality councils.²⁶ In 1943, Lydda’s and Ramle’s Municipality Councils were acerbically accused of letting their towns become ‘rural slums’ through their ‘lethargy and incompetence’.²⁷ This contrasts with the Reconstruction Commissioner’s 1945 assessment that Lydda Municipality ‘always stood on its own legs’ and neither demanded nor received Government grants. But the Government also influenced matters, as in 1945 Lydda still had no public buildings. That year, Lydda and Ramle were listed among the Commissioner’s 19 municipalities chosen for post-war reconstruction. Planning for Lydda mainly focused on drainage, education, health, roads and slum clearance; and in Ramle, on water supplies, drainage, the Infant Welfare Centre, schools and roads. However, both Municipality and Government funding shortages left facilities inadequate, with Local Commissioners being accused by the British of lacking an understanding of town planning concepts.²⁸

Regional Planning, Village Development and the Rural Landscape

In 1938, the Southern District was divided up into two Districts – Gaza and Lydda – as part of a reorganisation of Palestine’s Administrative regions. The Lydda District’s Regional Outline Planning Scheme was defined by the District’s boundaries, and published in July 1938. In March 1942, the High Commissioner approved the new Lydda District Regional Outline Planning Scheme and this – with its October 1946 Modification – became the operative scheme. It included a Special Area of dunes, omitting the Town Planning areas of Lydda, Ramle, Rishon le Zion–Nahalat Yehuda, and Rehovot as well as military areas (see, Map 32).²⁹ In the parts of the Shephelah investigated for this chapter, there were 74 of Lydda District’s 75 Village Development Areas; also nine of the District’s 12 Development Zones (which were mainly Jewish settlements, such as those south of Rehovot); and five of its six Approved Schemes. Apart from the Special Area, there were three nature reserves.³⁰ Workshops and trades and industry were mainly restricted to Development Zones. The Agricultural Zones were designed to control suburban development, but to permit the sub-division of agricultural holdings. Parcellation was subject to the Land Transfer (Amendment) Ordinance, 1939, which was aimed at controlling land speculation, and the Antiquities Ordinance applied. The



Map 32. Lydda District Outline Regional Planning [Modification] Scheme, 1946.
 Source: Enclosed in: ISA/Gp24/S/1810/1769.

Director of Public Works was also empowered to clean wadis, and to carry out other related schemes.³¹ Zoning reflected rural planning (see, Appendix 63).

During the Arab Revolt, the Regional Engineer, based at Ramle, dealt largely with military needs, and the Regional area was limited to only the Ramle and Jaffa Sub-District parts of the Southern District.³² Staff shortages mainly confined building controls to the immediate surrounds of Ramle's and Lydda's Town Planning Areas. The Rural Areas of Ramle, Lydda and Al Yahudiya were finally cancelled in 1940, leaving the Municipalities to deal with them.³³ Tensions during the Revolt also resulted in the mayors of Ramle and Lydda refusing to participate in the Planning Commission. The Regional Outline Scheme was implemented in 1942, but with wartime needs, and the Estimates Committee's decision in 1947 not to expand activities in Regional Areas, the Village Development Programme was severely curtailed.³⁴ As security worsened in 1948, attendance at regional planning meetings dropped, further affecting the schemes.³⁵ Copying Samaria District, Lydda held separate Arab and Jewish Regional Commission meetings.³⁶

But regional planning had an impact. Many Jewish settlements, for example, wanted to participate in the Planning Commission, and Commission meetings were replete with planning requests (for example, that for Rehovot in, Appendix 64).³⁷ Regional planning especially affected the 1936–37 Lydda Airport Scheme, and the RAF landing-grounds at Ramle, Lydda and Beit Dajan, as it set aside the surrounding areas for 'purely agricultural purposes',³⁸ and building was 'severely restricted'. The Commission also prohibited buildings and trees within a 200-metre radius of the new 'Aqir Airport, and forced the neighbouring Shamma Village's south-westerly expansion, away from the airport.³⁹

Village Development

A pilot scheme to promote village welfare was successfully initiated in Lydda District in the late 1930s, though it was discontinued during the Arab Revolt. Control was more easily exercised where there was a council,⁴⁰ especially as it was closer to Lydda and Ramle due to staff shortages.⁴¹ Village Development was included both in the Lydda District Regional Planning Scheme and in the Reconstruction Commissioner's 1945 proposals. However, financial cutbacks immediately reduced Government activities in Regional Areas in 1947, mainly impacting on building control in Arab villages and the preparation of

Village Schemes. Villages were listed by the Town Planning Adviser's Department according to accessibility as 'Class A' (for example, Ramle (Rural) and Bir Salim adjacent to a military base); or 'Class B' (for example, Abu Shusha). Only Class A villages were made subject to building controls. All the region's 'Jewish Settlements' – the official name for the Jewish towns and villages in the Shephelah outside of Tel-Aviv – were included in Class A. Budget cuts reduced the scheme to one 'A' village per sub-district, with Jewish settlements excluded since 'practically all' already had plans.⁴² Towards the Mandate's end, only four villages per district were chosen. The scheme hardly progressed, with unsupervised construction 'increasing daily'.⁴³ British rule impacted on the Shephelah's villages mainly through road building and the provision of health facilities and schools. The Village Development Programme came too late to have an influence.

Health Facilities

The Shephelah had greater access to health facilities than many other parts of Palestine because of its juxtaposition between Jaffa, Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem (see, Appendix 19). Ramle was reputed to be 'a very healthy place', with its Ophthalmic Clinic, Casualty and Epidemic Post, and Dispensary. There was also an Army hospital at nearby Sarafand for military personnel. People from all around Ramle depended on its health facilities, whilst more serious cases attended Jaffa's Government Hospital.⁴⁴ When the Application for a Colonial Development Grant for Rural Health Centres was planned in 1945, facilities for Lydda, Al Yahudiya and Yibna were included.⁴⁵ Village health centres were to be in a vernacular style, with vaulted or flat roofs, and an infant welfare and general clinic were planned. On 20 April 1947, however, the scheme was curtailed to only two clinics per district in a five-year programme and – apart from the preparation of some plans – did not advance.⁴⁶

The Mandatory Government's Impact on City Primacy, and Symbolism

The British placed great strategic value on Lydda, Ramle and their surrounds, and bolstered the towns' role as centres to the large surrounding agricultural area.⁴⁷ Isbir Munayer and Ora Vackrat wrote on the general history of Lydda under the Mandate, and a more detailed study is presented here within the context of city and town primacy.⁴⁸ The Mandatory Government used Lydda and Ramle as service centres for its army, with Sarafand, one of Palestine's main military concentrations, becoming a particularly prominent source of employment. In

turn, the towns also orientated some of their services towards the Forces, for instance, food supplies. Tégart Forts were strategically positioned in this highly sensitive area, at Ramle, Beit Dajan and Latrun (Appendix 13), and many British personnel and families worshipped at Ramle's Anglican Church.⁴⁹ The Shephelah was also a transport centre, and Lydda Station was Palestine's main junction for passengers, soldiers, army equipment and produce. Sarafand workshops repaired tanks brought from the war in North Africa, and Lydda Station had a large locomotives repair yard. Many British and local railway and military employees were housed in typical Government cottages in the Mahattah (Arabic for 'station') Lydda Compound, abutting the rail tracks (Plate 20), and a 'tin town' soon developed around the junction.⁵⁰ Lydda and Ramle also served as stop-offs on the main Jaffa–Jerusalem road.⁵¹ Just outside of Lydda was Palestine's largest civilian airport, Lydda Airport, also a major employer.⁵²

During the Arab Revolt, the Military and the Police increased their presence demonstrably, imposing curfews, billeting troops, commandeering buildings, and demolishing houses of suspected Arab rebels.⁵³ This presence was further augmented in the Second World War, when whole blocks of areas in the towns were evacuated. For example, in Ramle, behind the Jaffa–Jerusalem road which passed through the town, a large section was taken over for an Army base. An Auxiliary Training Service Base and a Horse Camp were also established there.⁵⁴ Extensive hiring by the wartime Army and RAF caused 'considerable difficulties' to agricultural life, with some villages having 80 per cent of their able-bodied men working in military camps.⁵⁵ Lydda Airport was converted into an RAF regional base for the War.⁵⁶

One of the main war industries extensively carried out in Palestine was that of land-mine filling. Much of this work was done in small mine-filling units which were scattered about the country. Local people, including girls, were employed to clean and fill the mine cases. One such factory was situated at Wadi Sarar, where a vast dump of empty mine cases could be observed, with soldiers and workers clambering about to sort through them. It was a hazardous site, and employees had 'to wear rubber shoes to prevent friction which might cause sparks' when in the factory (Plate 21). Mine-filling was an essential activity associated with wartime operations in the area of Lydda and Ramle.

The region was pulled towards Jerusalem as the administrative centre and the country's capital; it also experienced an internal pull within Lydda District towards its headquarters at Jaffa, and the Ramle Sub-District's headquarters at Ramle, with a District Officer being based at Lydda. Ramle's large clinic attracted both townspeople and



Plate 20. The Mahatta Railway Cottages.
Source: El-Eini, 1999.



Plate 21. View inside the Mine-Filling Factory at Wadi Sarar, with Men Operating Levers to Press Down TNT.
Source: Mine-Filling in Palestine, 6 April 1943: IWM/PhotographArchive/E 23491.
Photograph Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, London.

villagers, and a central prison was situated just outside the town. The Regional Planning Office at Ramle reinforced the town's relative health primacy over Lydda.⁵⁷

Hence, shared and differing functions defined Lydda's and Ramle's comparative primacy, and their fundamental strategic value was consistently emphasised by the British, who wished to retain them if Palestine were partitioned. This and the British presence in the Shephelah, lent the region a powerful symbolism, underlined at Lydda by the grave of St George, England's Patron Saint.

Slum Clearance and Post-War Housing and Reconstruction

Lydda and Ramle were described as 'grossly overcrowded'.⁵⁸ The Jews were surmised to be more 'conscious' of slum conditions and their needs, although the Arabs were 'incomparably worse housed', especially in the villages, where costs and 'indignant opposition' blocked the changes that the Administration wanted to introduce. In 1945, only about 20 per cent of the villages had densities of fewer than two persons per room (the Mandatory's ideal was an average of two persons per room).⁵⁹ With fields far from their houses, peasants kept crops and animals at home, using up precious accommodation,⁶⁰ and a policy of direct Government intervention was called for.⁶¹ In contrast, Jewish settlements made loan requests, and were included in the Reconstruction Commissioner's loan recommendations of 1945, as he thought they could meet the charges. The Lydda Municipality could not pay £P37,000 for its Demolition of Slum Areas project in the Old Town, and the Commissioner recommended it be given a grant or that an improvement trust be set up.⁶² Being more financially controllable, Local Councils (which excluded the Jewish Settlements) were eligible for assistance from the Ex-Servicemen's Resettlement Scheme.⁶³ This Government prejudice was criticised by Lydda District Commissioner W.R. McGeagh for overlooking the Jewish Settlements sector.⁶⁴ In January 1948, the Mandatory's impending withdrawal determined that no loans were available for the Settlements.⁶⁵ The Ex-Servicemen's Housing Scheme therefore had only a minor impact on the Shephelah.

Conclusion

The British influence on the Shephelah was dominated by the region's strategic value as a transport and military centre, affecting both town and village life. This did not ensure services though: Lydda and Ramle Municipality Councils operated with little Government interference,

and town planning had a limited effect. Information on Arab claims in town and rural planning were not located, since, as noted above, many of the files on Arab villages for the Shephelah were destroyed or are missing. Urban primacy was dictated by the area's historical importance as an agricultural and transport centre, and by the British presence, although slanted by the domination of Jaffa, Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem.⁶⁶ Villages were sporadically dealt with in any British development efforts, accessibility being the limiting factor. The Arab Revolt and Second World War also significantly shaped British policy in the region, and hence the urban landscape.

AGRICULTURE

Introduction

The Lydda–Ramle area of the Shephelah studied here had a varied agriculture, and included stock-rearing (see, Table 47). Abbas Nemer has summarised Lydda's agricultural profile during the Mandate.⁶⁷ Many Arab landowners ran large farms and citrus and olive groves, and Jewish settlements specialised in intensive farming, horticulture and citrus. The region was recorded as having the most extensive olive groves in Palestine's plains.⁶⁸

Technological Transfer

Cash Crops: Potatoes

Prior to 1930, potatoes were mainly cultivated in the Jewish Settlements, and by Arabs in Lydda and Ramle. The British started encouraging potato cultivation in the 1930s to meet increased urban demand and to diversify production after Egypt imposed high tariffs on water melons, an important cash crop for the *fellabeen* in Palestine.⁶⁹ A campaign was mounted through the sale and free issue of imported seeds, demonstration plots and protective tariffs, resulting in measurable increases in production, notably in the Jaffa–Ramle area. Farmers preferred European over regional potato varieties because of their higher yields, although some growers sought their own sources of quality potatoes (for example, Egypt).⁷⁰

In 1930/1, the region of Jaffa and Ramle combined had 1,703 dunams under potato crop, whilst the Northern District had 957 dunams; the Gaza–Majdal region had only 200; and the Jerusalem District, 45. In 1934/5, as a result of the Government's campaign to increase potato-

Table 47: Ramle Sub-District Crop Production

Cereals	Vegetables	Fruits
Wheat	Cabbage	Olives
Wheat (winter)	Cauliflower	Oranges
Wheat	Onions	Lemons
Barley (winter)	Garlic	Grapefruits
Barley	Marrow	Water melons
<i>Durra</i>	Tomatoes	Sweet melons
Maize	Eggplants	Bananas
Oats	Potatoes	Figs
	Pumpkins	Apricots
Legumes	Cucumbers	Dates
Beans	Carrots	Almonds
<i>Kersenneb</i>	Radishes	Apples
Lentils	Beet	Quinces
Peas		Pears
Chick-peas	Other	Plums
Lupins	Sugar cane	Pomegranates
<i>Berseem</i>	Cotton	Grapes (wine)
Vetches	Tobacco	Grapes (table)
Oats	Silk cocoons	
Oil Seeds		
Sesame		
Sunflower		
Soya beans		

Source: Crop Prospects for Ramle Sub-District, October 1937: ISA/Gp7/Ag/8/2/1/629.

growing, the Jaffa–Ramle area had 3,850 dunams under potato crop; the Northern District had 1,191 dunams; Gaza–Majdal, 1,092; and the Jerusalem District, 101 dunams.⁷¹ In all, £P30,000 of Potato Seed Loans were also given to augment wartime production,⁷² and the Lydda–Ramle area became the major potato producer in Palestine.

Due to the influential position of Arab large landowners, the British targeted them for the distribution of seed potato, firmly establishing European varieties.

Cash Crops: The Sarafand Citrus Demonstration Station

Citrus played a leading role in the Shephelah's economy and many large plantations were located there. Some of the most important Arab citrus-growing families were based in the region: such as the Taji, whose label was the famed 'Queen of Jaffa'.⁷³ The Shephelah also contained two of Palestine's eight forwarding stations for citrus, at

Lydda and Rehovot.⁷⁴ The Sarafand Citrus Demonstration Station was opened in 1933 (see, Map 11); it was centrally placed in the main citrus area and designed for the demonstration of the ‘best known’ citriculture methods. It also had a nursery (see, Table 48). Sarafand coordinated and financed research with the Jewish Agency’s Rehovot Research Station on, for example, using overhead irrigation in the groves. A large range of citrus imported from all over the world was grown, with 28 varieties of oranges being planted, including Valencia, Lue Gim Gong, and the local *baladi*.⁷⁵ A vegetable section was also maintained at the station. During the Second World War, Sarafand Station was used for seed and seedling production, and tests were made on new and improved vegetable varieties for distribution to farmers. Sarafand maintained strong links with Acre Agricultural Station, regularly bringing seeds from there.⁷⁶ Since the wealthy Arab grove-owners, and the Jews, actively promoted citrus exports, Sarafand attracted much interest.⁷⁷ Its geographical location, in the heart of the citrus belt, close to both the Zionists’ Miqve Israel Agricultural School near Jaffa and the Rehovot Research Station, reinforced its standing within the citrus industry, as did particularly its sales from its nursery.⁷⁸

Improving Stock: Beekeeping

The Lydda–Ramle area had many beekeepers, a number of whom were especially associated with the citrus plantations, and a Government Apiary was kept at Sarafand.⁷⁹ Arab and Jewish farmers developed beekeeping, and also maintained links with the Agricultural Officer through the Bee Hive Loans Scheme. A monthly Register of Modern Beekeepers in the Ramle Sub-District was kept by the Agricultural Officer, who noted details on the conditions of the hives and their honey production. In April 1940, for example, 74 Arab ‘modern beekeepers’ were registered in 11 towns and villages in the Ramle Sub-District as using modern hives.⁸⁰ Modern hives were ‘expensive’, and therefore probably only affordable by the better-off farmers and not by *fellaheen*, whose beekeeping the Mandatory aimed to upgrade. One list recorded 16 out of 77 hives as being in ‘poor’ condition, and Al Barriya Village had 489 empty hives, compared with 292 for all the other villages counted. The information available is inconsistent, however – a common problem with studying the Shephelah – but shows that contacts were maintained between Agricultural Officer and beekeepers, with a number purchasing modern hives.⁸¹ The Agricultural Department had a greater impact on the Jews, however, who had a sustained interest in improving beekeeping and often used Government

Table 48: Planned Lay-Out, Sarafand Station

Land Distribution		
Buildings		10 dunams
Nursery, well, packing house		10 ..
Pits and quarries		10 ..
Roads and windbreaks		10 ..
Grapefruit		20 ..
Lemons		10 ..
Various citrus of economical value		10 ..
Oranges		50 ..
Reserve		20 ..
Total		150 ..
Grapefruit		
A-1. General Orchard, sour orange stock (10 dunams)		200 trees
B-2. Stock trial demonstration (10 dunams)		
Sour orange stock		100 ..
Sweet lime		33 ..
Rough lemon		33 ..
Grapefruit		33 ..
Lemons		
1. General Orchard (5 dunams)		100 ..
2. Collection of varieties (5 dunams)		100 ..
Various Citrus of Economical Value		
Limes, mandarins, grapefruits, kumquats, tangelos, pomelos, seed-producers, etc. (10 dunams)		400 ..
Oranges		
I.1. Planting distance		
a) On sour orange stock (10 dunams)		
6×6 metres		100 ..
6×4 ..		135 ..
4×4 ..		200 ..
II. b) On sweet lime stock (10 dunams)		100 ..
6×6 metres		100 ..
6×4 ..		135 ..
4×4 ..		200 ..
III.2. Stock trial demonstration (10 dunams, 6×6 metres)		
Sour orange stock		160 ..
Sweet lime		40 ..
Rough lemon		40 ..
Sweet orange		40 ..
IV.3. Planting trees and budding them <i>in situ</i> (10 dunams)		
a) Sour orange seedlings planted spring 1934, budded autumn 1934		134 ..
b) Planted 1934, budded autumn 1935		150 ..
V.4. General treatment, fertilisers and irrigation demonstrations 6×6 metres, all sour orange stock		300 ..
Reserve for Future		20 dunams

Source: Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Annual Report, 1934*, pp. 138–9.

services. In this endeavour the Jews were also supported by the Jewish Agency's own experts.⁸²

Upgrading Village Livestock

Along with Nazareth, Lydda had Palestine's largest animal market, and Lydda's Livestock Depot served as Lydda District's main animal holding area. Animals were kept at the depot ready for transportation elsewhere both across the country and to other parts of the Middle East (Plate 22).⁸³ There was also a Quarantine Station at Lydda, and more animal markets at Ramle, Al Yahudiya and Yibna (see, Table 49). But Lydda District's livestock often suffered from starvation: the herd of the Arab village of Khulda, for example, was described as a 'typical specimen of extreme debility'. Little information has been found on upgrading village livestock in this region. Whilst the Stock Breeding Service was used in the Lydda District, the numbers involved were so small as to have had very little impact. In March 1940, for instance, only 28 mares and donkeys were served by a Government-owned jackass. The lack of data also makes it difficult to gauge the role of the scheme to castrate village scrub bulls. Reference was found to a campaign for the winter of 1943 to castrate village scrub stock gratis but, again, the records indicate numbers too small to have had an influence. In September 1947, for instance, only 13 bulls were castrated in Arab villages.⁸⁴

The Control of Plant and Animal Pests and Diseases: Field Mice

In 1940, field mice began overrunning large areas of the south and the Chief Secretary had to sanction expenditure on poisoned grain, diverted from the Seed Loans allocation.⁸⁵ The Lydda–Ramle villages and Southern District Jewish Settlements had the highest rate of infestation. Over 800 kilogrammes of poisoned grain was distributed in Southern



Plate 22. Lydda Livestock Depot.
Source: El-Eini, 1999.

Table 49. Heads of Livestock Enumerated in Arab Towns, Villages and Tribal Units by District (Excluding Beersheba S/D: Data Unavailable), 1943

District	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Buffaloes, Camels and Horses	Mules, Donkeys, Pigs and Poultry
Galilee	63,768	20,971	45,012	5,634	224,656
Haifa	19,797	4,939	14,199	2,171	99,913
Samaria	52,906	16,600	29,162	4,216	292,600
Jerusalem	28,118	33,756	50,696	953	297,152
Lydda	22,318	9,028	6,337	769	235,289
Gaza	18,167	9,902	3,711	515	261,187
TOTAL*	205,074	95,196	149,117	14,258	1,410,797
Beersheba S/D					
Estimates	9,496 ^a	34,659 ^b	26,079 ^b	16,395 ^c	75,914 ^d

* Excluding Beersheba Sub-District.

^a Estimates for fodder requirements.

^b Tax Collector's figures.

^c Estimates for fodder requirements and Tax Collector's figures.

^d Estimates for fodder requirements and estimate of 1937 Census.

Source: Compiled.

Palestine that year, most of it going to Ramle. The campaign continued into 1941, with the Jaffa–Ramle area still requiring the largest amounts of poisoned grain, issued both gratis (for State Lands) and as a loan.⁸⁶ Although field mice remained a problem in the region, the legal obligation to combat them, and Government campaigns, acted to reduce the incidence of this pest.

Animal Diseases: The African Horse Sickness Epidemy

The Lydda–Ramle district was the first and hardest-hit centre of the epidemic of African horse sickness in Palestine in September 1944.⁸⁷ In 1943–44, this disease spread from Egypt and became ‘established’ in Palestine after being first diagnosed in a Sarafand Army unit on 30 August 1944.⁸⁸ By 7 September 1944, under the Prohibition of Movement of Horses, Mules and Donkeys Rules, 1944, Ramle, and its neighbouring Jaffa and Gaza Sub-Districts were being given ‘stand-still’ orders, forbidding the movement of equines except within towns. The sale of equines was also banned. Incidences of the disease were recorded at: Sarafand al ‘Amr; Sarafand al Kharab; the Citrus Demonstration Station; Al Qubeiba; Ramle Town; Deir Qaddis; Seidun;

Nahalat Yehuda; Lydda Town; and Ben Shemen.⁸⁹ In all, 730 losses were recorded in the ‘most heavily-infected’ District of Lydda. The standstill orders in the Ramle Sub-District were finally lifted on 2 and 6 November 1944. African horse sickness severely affected life in the Lydda District, which registered 50 per cent of Palestine’s equine deaths.⁹⁰

The No. 1 Veterinary Hospital in the Middle East

The so-named ‘No. 1 Veterinary Hospital in the Middle East’ nearby Ramle especially treated Army horses and mules. This was the ‘main’ veterinary hospital in the British Middle East, further enhancing the Lydda–Ramle region on the map of the war effort (Plate 23). It is uncertain when the hospital was founded, but it was clearly functioning during 1942. ‘Fully equipped to handle all sorts of cases, from simple skin diseases to major operations’, it was commanded by Major J. Bell, who had two veterinary surgeons as assistants. Animals with infectious diseases were kept separately from the others, and there was a surgical stable for operations. A post-mortem slab was installed for autopsies, with a ‘completely equipped laboratory attached’. Animals too old to work were ‘painlessly destroyed, after being fattened up so that they make good meat’. There was also a forge that produced shoes for 500 animals a month, special shoes being made for lame horses. In fact, a large part of the hospital’s veterinary stores had been captured from the Italians, and several Italian prisoners worked at the facility, ‘in the gardens, the horse lines, the saddlery workshop’.⁹¹

Agricultural Education, Demonstration, Extension and Research

Agricultural Education

Again, the lack of consistent data caused problems in estimating the number of school gardens in the Shephelah. In 1934, there were 28 school gardens in the Southern District, seven being in the Ramle Sub-District, 10 in the Jaffa Sub-District, and 11 in the Gaza Sub-District – both of the latter crossing into the Shephelah. That year, there were 22 teachers connected with school gardens in (unnamed) Ramle Sub-District schools, of whom six had been trained in agriculture.⁹² ‘Special attention’ was to be given to the Southern District, including the Shephelah, because it was considered to have the lowest village literacy rates in Palestine. A third elementary class – only three levels above kindergarten – was also to be introduced into schools.⁹³ There were about 37 Arab Government schools in 1931 in the Shephelah area studied, and only 38 in 1944–45.



Plate 23. A Section of No. 1 Veterinary Hospital in the Middle East, Ramle (with Italian POWs Working in the Foreground).

Source: No. 1 Veterinary Hospital in the Middle East, Ramle, 18 September 1942: IWM/PhotographArchive/E 16997.

Photograph Courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, London.

The average number of adult Arab readers per month in the Southern District village libraries was only 14, compared to 60 in Samaria and the Galilee. In 1934–35, there were as few as four village evening classes in the Southern District. Villagers paid over 50 per cent of the costs of building schools: for instance, Rantis contributed £P95, and received a £P75 grant-in-aid. Some village schools were closed due to low attendance or poor accommodation, as occurred at Al Haditha in 1934–35.⁹⁴ The Jews maintained their own educational system, and received Government grants; but their communities also had funding problems, caused by the many heavy demands on their independently financed system. Government grants were therefore important to them. In 1940, for example, the *Histadrut* applied for aid from the CDF for 75 classrooms in the Lydda District.⁹⁵ The region also had the non-Governmental Christian Agricultural Schools of Beit Jamal, Rafat and Latrun. Considering that the number of pupils attending class beyond fourth elementary dropped precipitously, the influence of agricultural education and school gardens in the Shephelah was probably very small.⁹⁶

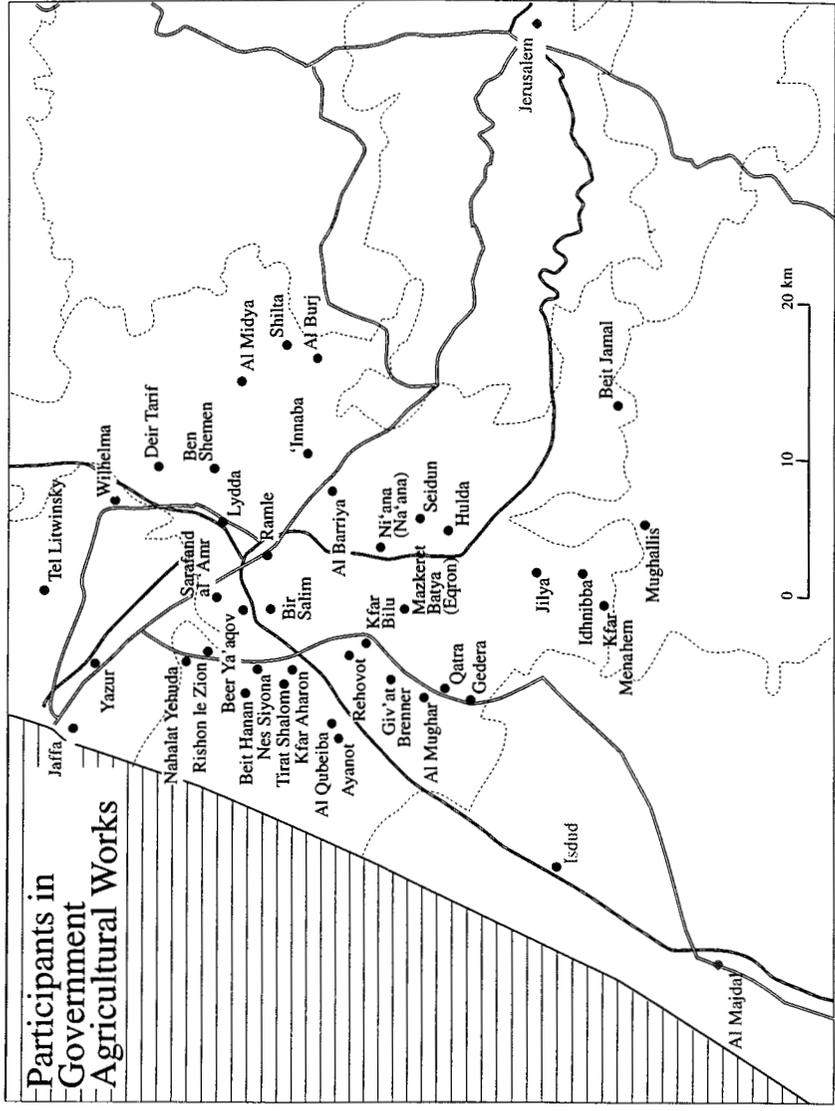
Agricultural Demonstration, Extension and Research

There is notable evidence of demonstration and extension work in the Shephelah (see Map 33). The available correspondence only refers to Arab farmers, at whom agricultural extension tended to be aimed. A system of 'Co-operative Farmers' was set up, whereby farmers 'co-operated' with the Agricultural Department in its schemes. Such farmers were given seed gratis to help demonstrate its advantages, although other factors – such as fertilisation, irrigation, crop rotations and the control of the wheat leaf miner, *Ed-Dudeb* (*Syringopais temperatella* (L.)) – were usually included. Agriculturists set aside areas of 0.5–75 dunams for demonstration farms or demonstration plots. Teachers, who also taught at local village school gardens, helped instruct farmers.⁹⁷ Seed was sold to farmers for seed farms – it was both an example to farmers and remunerative for those involved – and comparative production records were kept where different varieties would be tested. For example, improved cereal seeds gave yield increases of 15–45 per cent and, for lentils, of 20–50 per cent.

The name of the influential Hassunah family of Lydda who owned tractors and trucks, selling their fruits and vegetables in Jaffa and Jerusalem, recurs regularly on lists of distributed seeds and demonstration plots.⁹⁸ Agricultural Officers depended especially on notables such as Sheikh Hassunah, and on village *mukhtars*, in demonstration and extension work. These leaders were counted on to be linchpins in the dissipation of ideas and new technology, so that constant links were maintained with them by the Agricultural Officer who toured the small towns and villages. The Officer regularly took around quantities of cabbage, potato and other seeds, as well as fertilisers for demonstration work and for distribution both on the notables' own farms and for those in the vicinity. In this way, interest slowly developed on a foundation of an already-existing commercial desire to improve production. Attendance at Government agricultural lectures and touring films, and listening to radio farming programmes, seems to have been less effective, however.⁹⁹ It may be deduced from the above, then, that it was mainly the larger landowners who benefited from extension works.

Irrigation

Although there was an abundant source of water in the Ramle–Ni'ana area, such as Ramle's underground Pool of Arcs, it was too saline for irrigation. There were also many wadis, for example, Wadi Sarar and Wadi Sukreir.¹⁰⁰ The Jews were very active in drilling wells in the Shephelah. The Jewish-owned Palestine Water Company, for example,



Map 33. Participants in Government Agricultural Works in the Shephelah.
 Source: Compiled.
 Cartography: Tamar Soffer.

applied under the Safeguarding of Public Water Supplies Ordinance, 1937, to drill test wells near Rishon; a project that was readily approved by the Government since it was judged needful – probably for the war food production effort.¹⁰¹ Other requests were rejected, however, such as that made in 1942 by the Jewish Agency's Water Research Bureau on behalf of the Na'ana Settlement. This plan, put forward under the wartime Food Production Scheme, was not accepted due to the over-pumping already occurring in the area.¹⁰² In 1947, a scheme was designed for Wadi Sarar flood regulators, and surveys were made of the wadi's storage and flood control and of the Wadi Jindas Reservoir; but costs were too high for the scheme to be implemented. Over-exploitation of underground water in the Lydda–Rehovot area resulted in a startling seven-metre drop in the water-table.¹⁰³ But, whilst Jewish organisations continued exploiting water, initiating many of their own irrigation schemes, the Mandatory mainly confined its activities to irrigation demonstrations, to supporting related research, and to hydro-geological investigations. The Government therefore probably had a mixed impact on the Shephelah's landscape, through a combination of controlling drilling within its limited legal powers and subsidising wartime irrigation schemes.

The War Years

Besides the Government's Food Production Loans Scheme during the Second World War, another comprehensive scheme was devised in the Lydda District, called the Loans for Development of Agricultural Products. The District's tractor owners were to be paid to deep plough an extra 94,000 dunams (80,000 Arab-owned, and 14,000, Jewish-owned). Other loans were proposed under the scheme: for ploughing 10,000 dunams in the hills with mules and bullocks; for seed; for organic manure (predominantly for the Jewish agricultural sector due to its intensive farms); and to raise sheep and calves that would otherwise have been sold for slaughter.¹⁰⁴ Many in the Shephelah area took up the wartime loans, including those for irrigation and for maintaining citrus groves hard-hit by the Mediterranean blockade. These efforts led to an overall expansion of the area under crops: pea production, for example, increased by 100 per cent, and cabbage by 50 per cent.¹⁰⁵ Military labour needs diverted 'many' *fellahdeen* in the Ramle Sub-District area, and in some villages, 80 per cent of the able-bodied men worked in Army camps, although the Military agreed to release labour at harvest time where necessary. Orange groves were especially affected by labour shortages, which pushed up wages, and militated against Government loans to maintain groves.¹⁰⁶

Conclusion

The Shephelah, and more notably the Lydda–Ramle area, which was the focus of this case study, was undoubtedly important in British agricultural works. The Mandatory had regular contact with local *mukhtars* and landed notables, whose own interests in improved agricultural technology made them co-operate with the Administration, thus changing the farming landscape. The numerous major Jewish agricultural settlements in the region, such as Rishon le Zion, and the Rehovot Research Station also ensured Jewish interest. Jewish farmers received many of the Government loans, probably because they had collateral and were mainly concerned with developing intensive farming.¹⁰⁷ With the citrus belt nearby, beekeeping increased under British influence, and Sarafand Station supplied stock and instructions to grove owners and cultivators. However, the Mandatory barely influenced the quality of Arab livestock. Reflecting their achievements in the rest of Palestine, the British impact on the agricultural landscape proved limited but initiatory.

FORESTRY

Introduction

In 1946, it was reported that ‘many people’ within living memory remembered ‘extensive wooded land near Abu Ghosh’ – this suggests that at least parts of the Shephelah originally had some forest cover. Several places were named after trees: for example, Al Jimzu (Arabic for sycamore). Ottoman forestry plans for the area went unrealised.¹⁰⁸ The OETA established nurseries at Ramle, and experimental works were begun at Wadi Rubin, which affected those areas that bordered on the inner periphery of the Shephelah.¹⁰⁹ Lydda District Engineer, F.H. Taylor’s, presence ensured forestry activities in the region, because of his own professional interest in the problems of soil erosion.

The Implementation of Forestry Policy in the Shephelah

No specific forestry policy is discernible for the Shephelah area. The Shephelah’s air, road, rail and military centres made it a prime target for amenity planting as part of the Mandatory Government’s sustained effort to keep communication lines open and to beautify the landscape. Plants were issued gratis, mainly from the Railways Department’s own nursery

at Lydda. In 1931–32, for example, the nursery distributed about 100,000 plants ‘for decorative planting’ and ‘utility’, the latter being largely aimed at checking erosion and sand-drift. Taylor got special mention for his ‘enthusiasm’. Railway tree-planting was particularly striking; for instance, in the same years, 99,700 trees and shrubs, of over 40 varieties, were planted along railway tracks and in stations.¹¹⁰

Planting was classified as: utility, decorative or general. Utility planting was mainly carried out at Lydda, Yibna, ‘Arab Sukreir and Isdud against sand-drift, and *Acacias* were often used. Flowering trees and shrubs, such as *Acacias*, *Hibiscus* and *Oleander* were planted for decoration at stations and section gang-houses. District Railway staff houses had gardens. Trees and shrubs were also given to the RAF, to Military cantonments, and to the Health Department. Trees were planted on unused land at and between stations: for instance, at the Vale of Sorek Forest Reserve in 1925–35, where blanks were planted out around Sorek Station.¹¹¹ In this manner, Taylor successfully helped develop Lydda Nursery into a major supply and co-ordination centre for amenity planting in the District.¹¹²

Amenity planting featured prominently in the construction of Lydda Airport in 1935–36. Long lists of ornamental shrubs and trees were ordered, including fruit trees, palms and rosemary;¹¹³ but it was the *Jacaranda* that symbolised the aerodrome’s landscape. Municipal councils such as Ramle’s also planted trees along roadsides.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, Agricultural Officers visited settlements to advise on amenity and utility planting to check soil erosion: for example, they recommended that the boundaries of Giv’at Shmuel’s public garden be contour-ploughed and planted with *Acacia cyanophylla* to prevent soil erosion, and that a plantation be started along the wadi leading from Giv’at Shmuel to reclaim it.¹¹⁵

Plantation work was on a much smaller scale in the region of the Shephelah than in the Hill Country. Some plantings were done on Lydda State Domain,¹¹⁶ and one of the ‘most important plantations of the hill-country’ on the fringes of the Shephelah was at Bab al Wad. Planting began in 1928 – the plants were supplied from Bab al Wad’s own nursery – producing remarkable results by 1945. Several plantations were notable enough to warrant accounts in the annual reports: such as, Deir Aban, Abu Luwis, Al Ghosheineh, Qarn al Dibeh, and Khirbet Rabiya – all in the Jerusalem Sub-District. These places were planted with a variety of species, such as *Pinus halepensis*. Forest reserves in the Lydda District and the Southern Shephelah made up only 9.1 per cent of Palestine’s 844,191 dunams of reserves (see, Table 50). Several school forests were planted out in the Lydda District, and were so

successful as to be used as examples by the Department of Forests. Four such forests had an impact beyond their own boundaries (for example, the Yahudiya School Forest and Nursery supplied sapplings to Lydda and Gaza Districts' school gardens), although the British sometimes encountered opposition to these from *mukhtars* and notables. The reason for this opposition has not been discovered, and could well have ranged from ideological to landownership and financial origins. At Salama School Forest, 'the village committee were intimidated into tacit agreement', as the Government used undisclosed methods of persuasion to gain the *mukhtars*' and notables' acceptance of school forests. Underlining the importance the British gave the school forests, they ensured an impressive turnout of senior officers and notables on the first Arbor Day celebrated in 1942 at Tireh School Forest, which had been planted on 175 dunams of unutilised village *musha*' land and after initial opposition by the *mukhtars*.¹¹⁷

In contrast, attempts at creating village forests failed (as with the rest of Palestine). The Sajad villagers, for example, were reported as being 'not at all anxious' to have such a forest, and 'pressure' was needed to use 200 dunams that 'could easily be spared' for a village forest.¹¹⁸ The Shephelah also suffered in the 1936–39 Arab Rebellion and in the Second World War. During the Rebellion, there was little control over the extraction of forest produce, much of it going unlicensed. Only at road-blocks could any control be exercised. Forest reserves were damaged, and the stock at Lydda's nursery was reduced.¹¹⁹

In the course of the War, offences were recorded for cutting, removing and transporting trees (including protected trees) without licence, both by Arabs and Jews.¹²⁰ Forest produce was weighed at the Police stations at Saron and Beit Dajan,¹²¹ and fines ranged from £P0.300 to £P3. The annual number of cases against offenders slowly dropped towards the War's end. Under the Regulations of the Emergency Powers (Defence) Act, 1939, Timber Storage (Petah Tiqva) Order, 1942, Lydda District, timber stores were prepared at different locations to safeguard firewood and its industrial use by licence. The Lydda District Commissioner was not supplied with lists of trees that should not be cut, nor of areas where felling should be especially disallowed to preserve places of special beauty, so cutting continued relentlessly during the War.¹²² Lime kilns in the region were also operated to the Mandate's end with little control, despite the Lime Kilns Ordinance, 1947, which specified that they had to be licensed, since it was too difficult to find the kilns, and hopes of discovery were unrealistic.¹²³ Olive trees were further protected: only dead trees could be cut by

Table 50. Lydda District and Southern Shephelah Forest Reserves, Declared and Proposed during the 1940s

Name	Status	Dunams
Northern Shephelah		
Khirbet Rabiya (Jerusalem S/D)	Forest Reserve	437.00
Qarn al Dibeh ..	.. ..	1,188.00
Al Ghosheineh ..	.. ..	998.00
Qurnet Ishkaff Aleyan ..	.. ..	239.00
Sh'ib an Nimr ..	.. ..	287.00
Abu Luwis ..	.. ..	566.00
Batin Muheisin and Dhahr Abu Mehaya ..	.. ..	221.00
Deir Aiyub (Ramle S/D)	.. ..	0.36
Ras al 'Ein (pump station) (Ramle S/D)	Closed Forest Area	112.75
Jebel Harsis ..	.. .. ..	534.00
Ras al 'Ein Nursery ..	State Domain	11.00
Bab al Wad Nurserymen's Hut (Jerusalem S/D)	.. ..	0.36
Bab al Wad Forest Station ..	.. ..	0.45
Beit Susin (Ramle S/D)	Forest Reserve	600.00
Southern Shephelah		
[Khirbet] Umm Burj (Hebron S/D)	Forest Reserve	99.00
Beit Jibrin ..	.. ..	510.00
Beit Nattif ..	.. ..	1,458.00
Deir Nakh-khas ..	Closed Forest Area	2,489.00
Deir Nakh-khas ..	Forest Reserve	4,516.00
Khirbet al Biss ..	.. ..	2,911.00
Khirbet Sanabira ..	.. ..	2,946.00
Special Area		
Jaffa-Rishon le Zion-Wadi Rubin Sand Dunes (Jaffa S/D and Ramle S/D)	Special Area	57,000.00
Total		77,123.92
Proposed in 1944 (but Not Declared by the End of the Mandate)		
Mughallis (Hebron S/D)	Proposed	1,000.00
Qazaza (Ramle S/D)	..	1,000.00
Baharat Sheikh Daoud	..	300.00
Batin Sahra	..	200.00
Kharbata (Ramle S/D)	..	500.00
Qibya ..	..	300.00
Shabtin ..	..	200.00
Beit Nabala ..	..	300.00
[Al] Mughar ..	..	847.00
Total		4,647.00

Source: Compiled from Office of Statistics, 'Enumeration of Livestock, 1943', pp. 8-10, enclosed in: ISA/Gp27/G204/2625/Vol.VII.

licence to control wartime felling. By September 1939, no licences were being issued even for pruning olive trees, and by 1941, their transport for fuel wood was banned.¹²⁴

The increased military presence in the Shephelah also affected forestry throughout the region, with local residents officially complaining that trees were being cut down and uprooted by soldiers 'who load them off to their camps'.¹²⁵ Not only this, the Army left a trail of civilian injuries and deaths in its wake, and damaged agricultural lands and soils in the Shephelah, much of which occurred as a result of practice in its firing ranges.¹²⁶

Soil Erosion

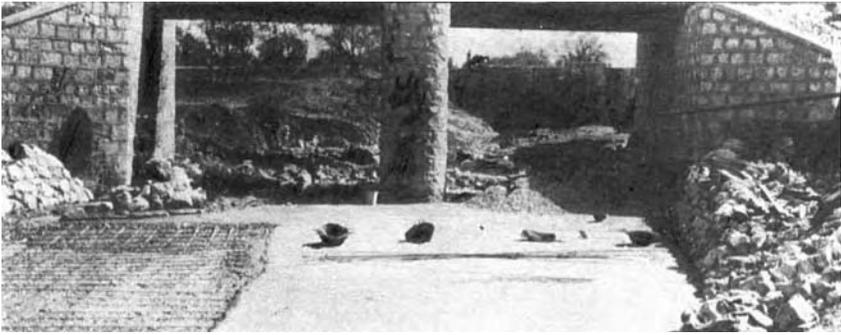
Soil erosion control was vital to the Shephelah area, both because of its communications lines and because it was a 'valuable agricultural region', and Taylor was particularly active in this sphere.¹²⁷ At Jisr Jindas Bridge, large deposits of debris would be left as a result of flooding. Water run-off from the hills also caused flooding, soil erosion and marsh-formation in the Lydda District, and rail lines and crops were regularly damaged, and roads blocked.¹²⁸ Some permanent protection was constructed in Lydda in 1937 (Plate 24), and flood regulators for Wadi Sarar were planned in October 1947, with the Government purchasing five pieces of land (totalling seven dunams) in Gedera Village, and six pieces (totalling three dunams) in Qatra Village.¹²⁹ The catchment area of Wadi Jindas was studied in the 1940s, though little seems to have been done – as also for Wadi Salama's of which a number of public demands were made to improve the barren basin and check flooding. There were several problems, especially those relating to land ownership: in the central Shephelah and Gaza District, for example, many Arabs and Jews held land in long strips, making development planning difficult. Hence the plans to consolidate holdings.¹³⁰

Taylor blamed the *musha*' system of land tenure for partially causing gullying and soil erosion since strips were ploughed up and down hillsides; he wanted to encourage contour-ploughing.¹³¹ As part of a 1945 country-wide scheme, prizes were given for terracing and contour-ploughing in the Lydda District; Arab and Jewish settlements were judged separately reflecting more their differing agriculture than any political antagonism. The Jewish settlement of Gezer won first prize in 1947. The scheme quickly impacted on Jewish settlements as, by 1947, it was reported that there was 'no more need to persuade' people around Tel-Aviv about soil erosion.¹³² Unfortunately, no records were found on the Arab sector.

(a)



(b)



(a) Wadi Jindas, Showing Erosion of Sides; (b) Wadi Jindas, Permanent Protection.

Plate 24. Anti-Erosion Work at Wadi Jindas.

Source: Taylor, 5 May 1937: ISA/Gp7/F/27/1/(37-38)/4186/Pt.III.

The Government's Soil Conservation Board was very active in the Shephelah, and impressive and varied lists of local officials attending its meetings can be reviewed. For instance, at a Board meeting held at the District Commissioner's Office in Jaffa, on 5 February 1942, the following attended, in addition to members of the Board:

H.S. Bulman, British Inspector, Rehovot
 Fahmi Effendi Dabbagh, Municipal Engineer, Jaffa
 C.W. Doxey, British Inspector, Petach Tiqva
 A. Epstein, MBE, District Officer, Tel-Aviv
 J. Gutch, Deputy District Commissioner, Jaffa
 Z. Haddad, MBE, Assistant Senior Medical Officer, Jaffa
 Ihsan Bey Hashem, District Officer, Jaffa
 Khulusi Effendi Khairy, District Officer, Ramle
 Abdul Razzak Effendi Kleibo, District Officer, Lydda
 Dr D. Murray, Senior Medical Officer, Jaffa

G.H. Ranoë, (position not recorded), Ramle
J. Shiffman, Municipal Engineer, Tel-Aviv
Dr. S. Shihab, Medical Officer, Al Majdal
Abdel Latif Effendi Tibawi, District Inspector of Education, Jaffa.¹³³

The Board clearly had a direct impact on the Shephelah's Jewish Settlements, as the Jewish-run Public Committee for Soil Conservation attracted the interest of the farmers from around Tel-Aviv where the organisation was based. Two Special Areas were declared in the Shephelah under the Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941: the Jaffa-Rishon-Wadi Rubin Sand Dunes, which crossed into the Shephelah, and the Western Approaches to Jerusalem.¹³⁴ But soil conservation work was mainly piecemeal.

Grazing

Although Lydda District had one of the lowest goat counts in the country (see, Table 49 and Appendix 65), seasonal livestock movements from other districts strained the region's pastures. The British mainly focused their efforts on the Arab sector because it was founded on extensive pasturing. The Jews had a much smaller stock based on intensive farming. The Administration could not obtain accurate information on livestock or for the *Aghnam*.¹³⁵ During the Second World War, the Defence (Control of Livestock) Order, 1943, authorised Assistant District Commissioners to requisition livestock for food supplies, and a scheme for the Lydda District sheep and goats was initiated on 11 May 1944. In 1945, for example, 86 sheep and 45 goats were proposed for requisitioning.¹³⁶

Livestock were seasonally moved north from the Beersheba Sub-District, for pasturing in the Shephelah (see, for example, Appendix 66); but, as with the rest of Palestine, staff shortages and droughts necessitated official tolerance of illegal grazing (for example in 1947) and limited controls on Bedouin movements.¹³⁷

The Jewish Cattle and Sheep Breeders Association complained about illegal grazing and supported the enactment of controlling laws. More importantly, the Government increasingly questioned *ab antiquo* claims, especially when graziers applied under the Cultivators (Protection) Ordinance. In one example, a case concerning the grazing on lands of the Jewish settlement of Kfar Uriya by stock moved from Beit Jiz, was dismissed due to insufficient evidence. This was done despite elders and *mukhtars* being included as witnesses: when stringently cross-examined, none could give details of cattle numbers or their owners.¹³⁸

Assistant District Commissioner, Ramle, G.G. Grimwood, was a strong critic of the proposed Shepherds (Licensing) Ordinance, and argued that whilst creating artificial forests such as that at Bab al Wad was ‘admirable’, as long as there were goats, ‘licensed or otherwise’, soil erosion would continue. He instead suggested that the Animal Tax be gradually raised (from 250 mils in 1940 to a steep £P1 by 1948) – hence relying on the ‘incentive of fear’. Curiously, Grimwood called for the drastic measure of the outlawing of goat-ownership from 1949 onwards. The Shepherds (Licensing) Ordinance was nevertheless passed in 1946: it proposed to declare Grazing Control Areas in Beit Nuba, Yalu and Deir Aiyub; and two guards were to be hired. The number of discs ordered to apply the Shepherds (Licensing) Ordinance, 1946, to the Lydda District Grazing Control Area was the smallest in Palestine, at only 50. However, on 8 November 1947, with the Mandate about to terminate, it was decided to cancel the plan.¹³⁹ The ordinance therefore had no impact on the Shephelah.

Drought relief measures were greatly influenced by Lydda’s District Administration. During the severe drought in the winter of 1947, the rainfall was only 76 per cent of that recorded in 1946. Since the District annually played unwilling host to illegal graziers, the drought would have had a noticeable effect on its pasturage. Despite this, Lydda’s District Commissioner, W.R. McGeagh, strongly opposed giving either fodder loans in his District or to the north of it, or Government fodder relief sales to stock-owners. He reasoned that most stock was not worth keeping, making loans difficult to recover, and that merchants provided more flexible credit terms than the Government. Although drought provided an opportunity to reduce scrub stock, especially goats, McGeagh was cognisant of the ‘political difficulties’ of any compulsory slaughter. In April 1947, the Government decided to restrict its drought relief loans and fodder distribution to the Gaza District only, with no compulsory requisitioning of livestock.¹⁴⁰ The Government’s policy on grazing and its connected activities were thus well represented in the Shephelah region.

Sand Dune Fixation

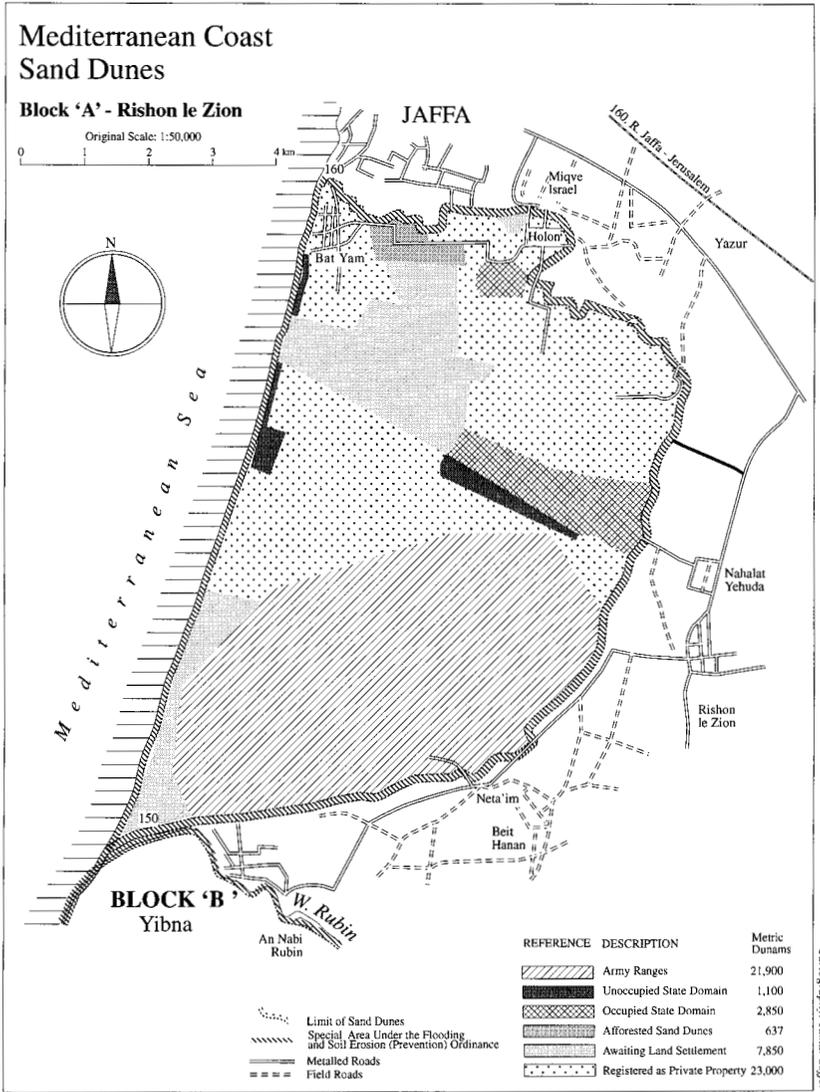
The British began sand dune fixation in the Shephelah in 1922, but this only gained momentum in 1941 with the Soil Conservation Board’s involvement. The main area was south of Jaffa, extending inland to Rishon le Zion and then to Wadi Rubin (see, Map 34). In a visit by the Board to the village of Holon on 28 October 1941, its members, headed by Sale, saw the dunes in the west and south-west of the settlement,

and the damage done to buildings and the only road to Bat Yam (constructed in 1937). It would cost £P300 to clear the sand. Planning was hindered by 'unchecked land speculation', which resulted in the whole area south of the road being parcelled off in an unsystematic manner. 'Literally thousands' of parcels averaging 250 square metres each were sold to people all over the world. To further complicate matters, State Domain was scattered throughout the area. The town planning authorities were still awaiting permission for a skeleton road scheme to impose some order by the end of the Mandate. In addition, the area was badly over-grazed. Rishon also had long-standing land disputes, and contained an Army Battle Practice Area. Wadi Rubin's 'deplorable condition of this valuable area' could be clearly seen.¹⁴¹

The Board concluded that dune fixation was necessary for any development to take place, and that the same types of plants successfully used in the Gaza dunes should be grown. The Army was also to participate in fixing dunes in the areas it controlled. Following Lydda District Commissioner R.E.H. Crosbie's disagreement with Sale's suggestion that the Holon village lands be declared a Special Area to take advantage of local interest, a compromise was formulated: the land from Jaffa to Wadi Rubin would be declared a Special Area under the Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941. Sale was to prepare a working plan for this area, but staff shortages delayed commencement of work.¹⁴² He also outlined a scheme for the 'Development of Sand Dunes South of Jaffa'.¹⁴³

The area to be affected by the scheme measured 57,000 dunams and stretched from south of Jaffa to Wadi Rubin. The problem was that cultivated lands suffered from dune encroachment and storms, because of the area's proximity to the sea; the British also wanted to stop dune movement because of the region's sizeable population centres, and to use the area for different types of (unspecified) development. In previous attempts by Jewish settlers to reclaim the area, people tried to use land at the edge of the dunes without first fixing them. As a result, several houses were constructed north-west of Rishon le Zion, 'which now present a pitiable picture. Sand is piled high against some buildings while the foundations of others are exposed'. South and west of Holon, the roads needed approximately £P1,000-worth of clearing, which would only have had a temporary effect. The Town Planning Adviser, Henry Kendall, emphasised the need for road construction as an indispensable preliminary to development, but a large area had to be fixed, otherwise the dunes would again encroach.

The Soil Conservation Board was first informed of the problem of the dunes in 1941. The District Commissioner wanted the whole



Map 34. Sale's Colonial Development Fund Application for Financing Mediterranean Coast, Sand Dunes Fixation – Block 'A' – Rishon le Zion.
 Source: Based on Sale, n.d. (1945?): PRO/CO733/492/3/76301/3.

area declared a Special Area under the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941; and on 17 December 1941, the Board formally agreed to declare the dunes a Special Area as soon as this became possible.

The Board made eight main recommendations for the amelioration

and reclamation of the dunes south of Jaffa. The Army was to close to grazing its Battle Practice Area north of Wadi Rubin. The Rishon, Bat Yam and any other local authority bodies were then to be asked to help bring the area under control. All remaining blocks would be closed and protected by the Government, with the local authorities' assistance. Holon and many other places could then pay for their own guards to patrol the dunes. Planting was to begin by November 1942, with no commitment from the Chief Secretary towards expenditure in the short term. The District Commissioner was to be primarily responsible for the fixation work; whilst the Land Commissioner, Bennett, and Kendall would give advice. Technical aspects were also to be computed by the Director of Agriculture and other members of the Board. And, finally, the scheme was to be under the Forests Department's supervision, with extra staff being employed in 1942–43.¹⁴⁴

The Jaffa–Rishon le Zion–Wadi Rubin Sand Dunes were officially declared a Special Area on 27 August 1942, under Sale's charge, and planting began on 1 December 1942 along the metalled road to Bat Yam and Holon. Grazing was prohibited in the area, and landowners were encouraged to plant windbreaks, with the Department of Forests supplying plants. Plans were made for work on a 'considerable scale'.¹⁴⁵ But progress was slow, with only about 1,180 dunams planted by 1947. Furthermore, grazing control was hampered by the Police's pre-occupation with security as the Mandate neared its close.¹⁴⁶

The Jaffa–Rishon le Zion–Wadi Rubin Special Area – where the sands were loose and moving in a north-easterly direction – was determined as Block 'A' in Sale's CDF application for the 'Fixation of Sand Dunes on [the] Mediterranean Coast' (see, Map 34). Sale argued the importance of the area due to: urban expansion in the north; the encroachment of dunes on rich agricultural land in the east near Rishon le Zion; and the southern part being used by the Army for firing practice and training; and because small cultivators were also forced to evacuate their plots in the face of encroaching dunes (Plate 25).¹⁴⁷

The Jaffa–Rishon le Zion–Wadi Rubin Special Area was riddled with landownership problems, which throughout the Mandate period greatly undermined progress in dune fixation in the area. Litigation over the Jaffa dunes dated to the 1920s, with many cases left incomplete or being struck out, and much oral evidence being presented, the Government always appealing on losing a case. Highly valued for its location in an urban development zone, and adjacent to the economically lucrative Jaffa–Rehovot citrus belt, the land was bitterly contested. Lawyers regularly traded insults in open court, making the cases an 'almost intolerable burden' for I.N. Camp, the Jaffa Settlement Officer.¹⁴⁸ Land Settlement



Plate 25. Block 'A' Rishon le Zion Dunes.

Source: Sale, Application for CDF Grant, (1945?): PRO/CO733/492/3/76301/3. Public Record Office.

there remained incomplete in 1947. Dune fixation was 'guided mainly' by the necessity of protecting the Bat Yam–Holon Road.¹⁴⁹

Conclusion

British forestry activities in the Shephelah were on a small scale, as in Palestine's. The region had a small forested area, but its importance as a transport and military node partly ensured that forestry works were initiated, especially in amenity planting, though less so in sand dune reclamation, thereby marking the landscape. It was difficult to gain cooperation to control livestock movement; and strongly held land claims resulted in tedious litigation, often leaving the Government unable to continue with dune fixation.

LAND

Introduction

The Shephelah's geographical significance made it a major focus for Palestine's land conflict. The country's citrus belt formed part of the region, which also contained the first modern Jewish agricultural settlement in Palestine, Rishon le Zion (founded 1882),¹⁵⁰ and Rehovot (founded 1890), with their mixed farms and the Agricultural Research Station,¹⁵¹ together with many Arab villages. How the Mandatory Government impacted on the Shephelah through its land laws, State Domain policy, anti-malarial activities, and the attempt to abolish *musha'*, is discussed below.

Land Laws: The Protection of Cultivators Ordinances

The POCOs noticeably impacted on the Shephelah. These laws were centred on the 'cultivable area' and 'lot viable', though the region's cultivable area could only be estimated since the data available included only parts of the Shephelah. Appendix 47, however, may be used as a guide. So, too, the region's 'lot viable' cannot be ascertained because of its varied natural and agricultural conditions, reflected in the different British and Jewish Agency figures for this criterion. One of the main effects of the Protection of Cultivators (Amendment) Ordinance, 1934, whereby commissions rather than courts heard tenancy cases, was that a large number of claims were made against landlords. One claim could involve several individual disputes. In the first month of the amendment, the Southern District, which included the Shephelah, saw more than double the number of claims of the Northern District.

In the Southern District, 319 disputes were submitted, against 120 in the Northern District; and the relative number of cases decided were 254 compared with 102 (with 36 withdrawn). Twelve cases were adjourned in the Southern District. The latter also had 53 cases still to be investigated, compared with 18 in the Northern District. Only three appeals were registered, all in the Northern District.¹⁵²

Still, the Northern District later led in the number of disputes brought to the Land Commission (see, Map 23). This coincides well with the pattern of Jewish land purchases, which were highest in the north (see, Map 25). Different examples may be cited of the application of the POCO, 1934, in the Shephelah. For example, in Abu Shusha, in the Ramle Sub-District, the Jewish-owned Maccabian Land Company refused to let its tenants continue cultivating their lands. Twenty-four of the tenants then applied to the Commission, resulting in 19 of them being declared 'statutory tenants'. At Al Yahudiya, in contrast, 25 Arab labourers living in flimsy tin-can huts had their tenancy claims dismissed when trying to 'force the Jewish owners to bribe them to move on'.¹⁵³

The POCO failed to protect tenants against landlords paying them to leave, causing them to lose their 'statutory tenants' rights in the process. The Land Commission, for example, upheld the claim of 11 cultivators from Ni'ana, Ramle Sub-District, to be made statutory tenants on land registered in the name of the Jewish-owned Hanotaiah Ltd. Three days later, however, the tenants accepted a total sum of £P600 from the landlord to quit. The Southern District, especially, had many cases of landlords exploiting the weakness in the law whereby tenants could be evicted after a year's tenancy. Tenants often found that the

heavy investment they made, which was necessary to produce their summer crops, could not be realised the following winter since the landlord was not obligated to allow a tenant to cultivate the land. The law stipulated that a tenant could cultivate land for one calendar year – but in practice, it was the agricultural year that was the benchmark, and the Commission in the Southern District was regularly ‘besieged’ by tenants ‘asking to be put back on the land’.¹⁵⁴

So adversely had the POCO impacted on the land regime and landlord–tenant relations – with the resulting formation of a growing number of statutory and sitting tenants and illegal trespassers who had acquired cultivation and grazing rights – that Lydda’s District Commissioner, Crosbie, wanted the law revised or even repealed. He was in fact chosen to chair the 1942 Committee to review the possibility of amending the ordinance. Sale also railed against the damage to the soil caused by the ‘southern bedous [*sic*]’ who used the law and continued grazing their flocks in the ‘better-developed lands further north’.¹⁵⁵ The POCO seemed to safeguard continued illegal grazing and woodcutting in the Shephelah.

Indeed, many landowners in the Lydda District took advantage of the Defence Emergency (Amendment) Regulations 48A of the Emergency Power (Defence) Act, 1939, which removed the main objection to the POCO giving tenants or occupiers the right to remain after a year unless they found a suitable alternative elsewhere. Crosbie reported that ‘considerable areas’ in his District were ‘lying fallow’ because landlords feared that their tenants would gain occupancy rights. Numerous examples have been found of applications by landowners during the Second World War to produce vegetables, for instance, for war needs, and then to have tenants removed from the land supposedly to be cultivated, specifically to prevent them acquiring occupancy rights.¹⁵⁶

The Mandatory’s land laws, initiated to protect the cultivator, but eventually overtaken by the more geographically defined Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, did cause the movement of tenants, bringing land into and out of cultivation in different places. Subsistence areas produced a patchwork landscape, and, as statutory tenants and trespassers became more assertive, so more land was farmed by them, at the same time as other lands were deliberately left fallow by frightened landowners. The Second World War slowed the process down, as the Government applied emergency measures to slip legally past the POCO, in turn opening the way to tenant evictions and increased cultivation for the ‘war effort’. The Shephelah’s rural landscape, as with large parts of Palestine, changed continually because of the Administration’s protective land laws.

Land Laws: The Land Transfers Regulations, 1940

The Shephelah included all the three zones defined in the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, and therefore had the potential to produce a varied landscape. Colonial Secretary Malcolm J. MacDonald and High Commissioner Harold MacMichael were to have a major role in the zoning of the Shephelah.

Douglas G. Harris, the Commissioner on Special Duty in Palestine, based the original proposals for the zones on the *Peel Report* and *Woodhead Report*. The latter report recommended that the Jerusalem Enclave be 'regulated' and not 'prohibited', and consist of two portions: a section of the Hill Country, and part of the plain between Latrun and Jaffa.¹⁵⁷ Harris wanted to stop the 'encirclement' of Jaffa by Jewish holdings for 'security' reasons. Also, in any federalisation scheme, he continued, Jaffa would be included in the Arab unit and become its main outlet to the sea. Hence his emphatic recommendation that as much of the hinterland between Jaffa and the hills 'as has not already been acquired by the Jews should remain in Arab hands'.¹⁵⁸

But the geography of the Jewish settlements meant that MacMichael had to extend the 'free' area around Rehovot north to include Jewish Bat Yam and the Agrobank settlement lands east of Jaffa. This area, developed by the Jews for over a million pounds, was almost wholly Jewish. The 'few islands' of Arab lands in it were 'quasi-urban', making their sale 'beneficial rather than detrimental to their owners'. The area's thousands of leases and tenants would give the Mandatory much 'unnecessary work' if changed from a 'Free Zone'. By extending the 'Free Zone' north of Rehovot, therefore, a '*fait accompli*' would be recognised, since nothing could be done about the encirclement of Jaffa.¹⁵⁹

MacDonald disagreed with MacMichael about excluding the Maritime Plain south of Rehovot from the Free Zone, arguing that the area was not as densely populated, and that this exclusion would leave no room for future Arab needs as the High Commissioner had claimed. He saw it as an extension of the Tel-Aviv to Tantura maritime plain. The Free Zone was therefore extended south to the boundary of the Ramle Sub-District. The area south of that boundary, including the Negev, was then placed in Zone B.¹⁶⁰ MacDonald and MacMichael's close collaboration, therefore, helped mould the Shephelah's settlement pattern through the application of the restrictive Land Transfers Regulations of 1940.

The Implementation of the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940

There were many circumventions of the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, in the Gaza District (which crossed into the Shephelah). Commonly, a Palestinian Arab landowner would agree with a Jewish buyer on the price of a plot of land where title settlement was in process, and sign a contract backdated to before the Regulations became operative. The buyer then lodged a claim with the Land Settlement Officer for the land, after having settled all cultivators', and other claims, out of court. Hence, the Settlement Officer had only one claim on which he had to decide the contract's validity and the price paid.¹⁶¹ There was, however, increasing anger in the Gaza District about such transfers, though they were within the law.¹⁶²

Nationality issues also caused the Arabs difficulties among their own people. In one such example, a Palestinian Arab became a naturalised Syrian, and on his death, his 13-dunam property in the Lydda District in Zone A, was inherited by his ten children. Five of the children were Syrian subjects, and the rest, all Palestinians, lived in the Shephelah. Nine of the children wanted to sell their shares to the wife of the tenth child, who was a Syrian resident, but the application was rejected because the purchaser was not a Palestinian Arab.¹⁶³

The Regulations were thus a notable factor in determining the map of the Shephelah. Many transfers, however, went unregistered, so that the Regulations' impact may well have been more limited, especially as they were often simply evaded.

State Domain

The Shephelah had several large blocks of State Domain and numerous small patches of this land category dotted about it.¹⁶⁴ The most outstanding of the extensive areas of State Domain were the Jaffa–Rishon le Zion–Wadi Rubin dunes – which had many claimants – and the Gaza coast dunes. The dunes made up a sixth of the 490 square kilometres in 1947 of Settled State Domain in the category classified as 'Forest, marshes, sand dunes, mountains and rocks' (see, Table 29). As shown above, the Forests Department tried to develop the dunes, so only an analysis of the leases will be made here to see how far the Government attempted to fix the Shephelah's State Domain in the dune area, and hence its impact on the landscape.

In 1915, the Ottomans granted the Rishon settlers 17,750 dunams of dunes as *matruka*, situated between Rishon and the sea. Land disputes immediately broke out after the British occupation, with the Govern-

ment also claiming the land as *mewat*. The settlers did not want the land adjudicated as *matruka* in order to permit them the freedom to use it for urbanisation and industry. In 1940, the State Domain Committee noted that it was inconsistent with Article 6 of the Mandate to encourage close settlement by the Jews on State Domain made up mainly of dunes that also required 'large sums for development'. Furthermore, the settlers were ready to take the case to the Privy Council. If they won, the land would be declared *matruka* and remain undeveloped, consequently the Government would lose urban property tax or the 'higher rate of rural property tax which would be leviable' if developed. The settlers would then ask the High Commissioner to change the land's category from *matruka* to *miri*, which the Government could not control. The High Commissioner would have been unable to refuse then, since development was rapidly extending south of Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, and it was 'uneconomical' to maintain the area as forest. The Government would also have either to buy or pay compensation for half of the area which it had taken over as a Battle Practice Range.

The State Domain Committee concluded its report by proposing a compromise whereby the land be declared unencumbered *mewat*: the Government could keep the Practice Area, and the rest would be leased at a 'concessional rent' in order to safeguard the places already developed and fulfil Article 6.¹⁶⁵ Eventually, the Government got the wasteland because the law assigned this category to the State, but ownership claims remained unresolved. The settlers' lease, however, was lengthened from 49 years to 99, thereby facilitating development. The Government stood to gain £P80,000 in rent, and secured the reversion on expiration of the lease of 'an immensely valuable property'.¹⁶⁶ This exhibited the Government's shrewdness in looking to its own interests, whilst apparently fulfilling its Mandatory duties.

In the example of the Beit Dajan Dunes, several issues came to a head. During title settlement, the Beit Dajan villagers unsuccessfully claimed two blocks of land, totalling 1,303 dunams; when these were adjudicated to the State, the Government thought of leasing them to the PLDC and the Jewish Agency because the plots were wedged inside a section of Jewish land. Negotiations dragged on between 1934 and 1940, when the uncertainty produced by the pending Land Transfers Regulations finally dissipated and the blocks were allotted to the 'Free Zone'. The State Domain Committee disagreed with District Commissioner Crosbie in his decision not to lease this land to the Jews because the Arabs still resented failing in their claim. The Committee concluded that the 'average' Arab cultivator could not develop these lands, and by leasing the land to the Jews, the British would fulfil

Article 6 of the Mandate. It was for this reason that the land was eventually leased to the Jews.¹⁶⁷

The Shephelah had many small isolated plots of State Domain, and Harris, the Commissioner on Special Duty, wanted the Government to divest itself of them because they were too expensive and troublesome to lease out. Harris thereby crystallised Government policy on this, reducing litigation in the process (which had been made more complex by the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance statutory tenants conditions).¹⁶⁸ The Government's decision to help re-settle ex-servicemen on State Domain could not be implemented in the Shephelah because Land Settlement delays caused a postponement in discussions on the matter.¹⁶⁹ As well as aiming to afforest the Shephelah's State Domain, the Mandatory also then tried to have its larger plots of land developed through leases, thereby increasing the lands' value with little Government input. But the Administration endeavoured to sell its small and troublesome plots, all leading to changes in the region's landscape.

Anti-Malarial Works and Land Reclamation

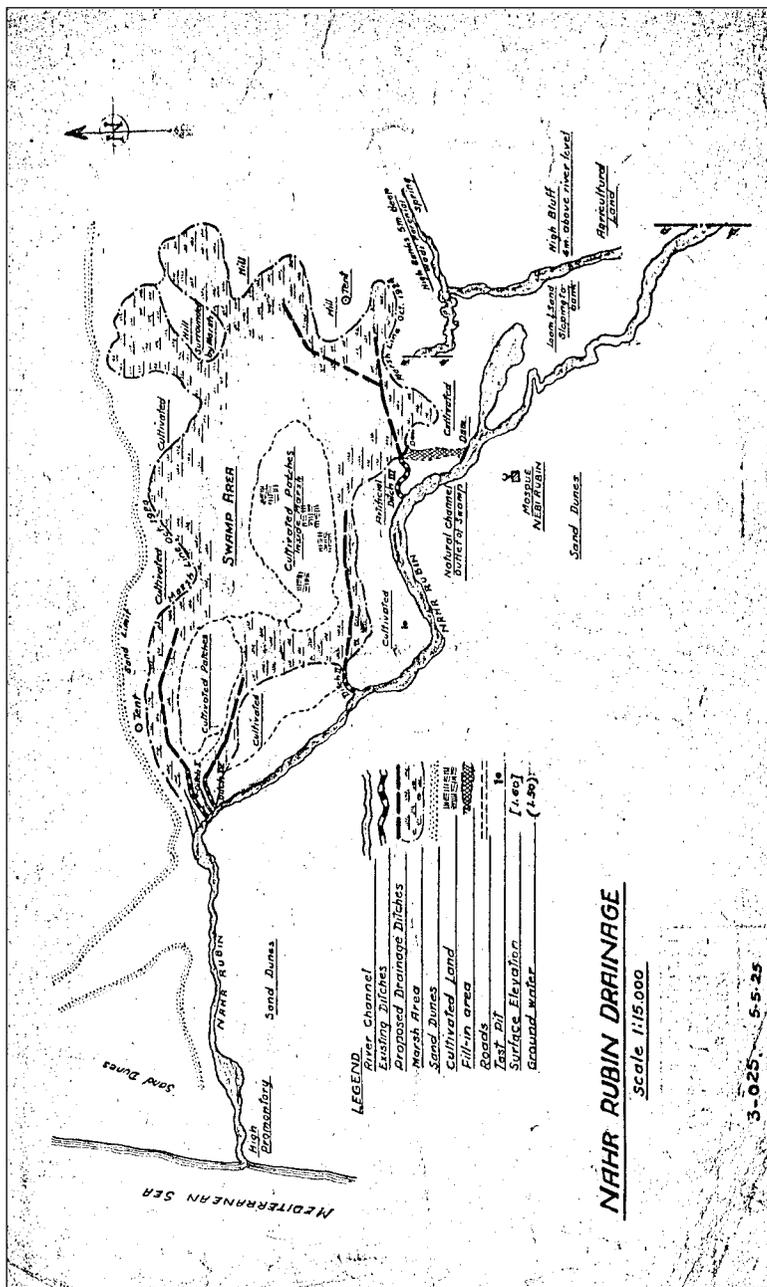
The Shephelah had a number of extended or parts of extended malarial areas. These were: the swamps of Deir al Balah, Wadi Ghazza, Wadi Sukreir, Wadi Sarar, Wadi Muqana, Latrun, the Jewish Settlement of Hulda, Malat, Wadi Riziqat, Nabi (or Nahr) Rubin (see below), Wadi Shimshon, Wadi Musrara, and Yazourieh Swamp (see, Appendix 43 and refer to Appendix 44: Serial Nos 1–11, inclusive, and 17 and 20). In 1942, malaria was estimated to affect about 46,200 people, and a possible further 45,000 during the annual Nabi Rubin Muslim Festival. Many of the malarial areas arose from the blockage of rainwater by sand; and small swamps formed near river beds, springs, seepages and pools.¹⁷⁰ Because of the concentration of military bases and civilian settlements in the region, many anti-malarial works were begun early in the 1920s, continuing throughout the Mandate.¹⁷¹ Inspectors visited villages to enforce the Anti-Malarial Ordinance, 1922, and the Public Health Ordinance, 1940, and monthly data on anti-mosquito work in towns was collated. Joint drainage and soil conservation schemes were also implemented: for example, 3,000 eucalyptus trees were planted in the Ramle Sub-District in 1942.¹⁷² Examples of the Government's larger, smaller and village-scale anti-malarial activities and the enforcement of the Anti-Malarial laws are discussed below.

Each summer for a month, about 45,000 people attended a Muslim festival at Nabi Rubin. The Rubin River, as the malarial source, required canalisation (Wadi Rubin had been declared a Malarial Area in 1927)

and, in 1936, the Government decided on extensive anti-malarial works to eliminate malaria at Nabi Rubin (which crossed into the Shephelah at its eastern end, thus affecting the region of the case study). The Health Department wanted the SMC to pay for this from the land the Mandatory had reclaimed in 1931, which the SMC now administered as *Waqf* and leased to cultivators.¹⁷³ However, though obligated to do so by the Anti-Malarial Ordinance, the SMC refused to put up the funds for the scheme, whilst both the SMC and its lessees put little effort into maintaining this reclaimed area, which tended to marsh. Concerned about malaria, the Health Department pressed ahead with its plan to drain Wadi Rubin. The scheme was completed in 1937–39, and the work released 2,000 dunams of rich, perennially watered land, which the SMC was subsequently able to lease to farmers (see, Map 35).¹⁷⁴

Many small anti-malarial measures were carried out in accordance with the ordinance, for example, at Wadi Sarar (Plate 26), and lists of Arab and Jewish landowners affected by the Basset al Yazourieh pool (Yazourieh Swamp in Appendices 43 and 44) were made to determine their annual contributions for anti-malarial works (although, usually, villages abutting malarial areas were responsible for such works).¹⁷⁵ Hence, despite being affected by malaria from Wadi Burshein, settlers at Kfar Menahem in the Southern Shephelah were not legally bound to pay for its drainage because their lands were a full five kilometres away. Still, they decided to contribute £P30 towards costs. The payment, and the number of labourers and work days, were specified for each settlement. The Administration normally gave technical advice and some funding, although for smaller works – like removing vegetation from a wadi – it did not pay for costs if the villagers themselves could do so. Villagers paid sums ranging, for instance, from £P3 to £P250, and contributed between 14 and 3,200 work days.¹⁷⁶

The Army also influenced anti-malarial works in the Shephelah; this was particularly due to its increased presence during and after the Second World War. It even had a special Anti-Malarial Control Unit (AMCU). The Army, the RAF, AMCU and the Health Department, held regular joint meetings for ‘Malarial Control in Lydda and Gaza Districts’. At one such meeting held on 1 July 1946, no less than 17 anti-malarial operations were discussed, so here, as in the rest of Palestine, the Military augmented anti-malarial operations.¹⁷⁷ The draining of the large Wadi Rubin marsh, as well as other marshes, unmistakably transformed the Shephelah, despite maintenance problems. Large tracts of land were reclaimed, leading to a change in land-use, as thousands of dunams of what had been malarial breeding grounds were now cultivated. Works were completed throughout the 1930s and 1940s, which involved: the



Map 35: Nahr Rubin Drainage.
Source: Map enclosed with (?) for Director, Department of Health, to Chief Secretary, 27 September 1927: ISA/CSO2/M/118/31/320.



Plate 26. Anti-Malarial Works: Building a Dam to Flood out Choked Streams.

Source: N.d.: ISA/PIO/Tray3024/697.

drainage of open channels going down to the sea; canalisation and regrading; flushing and dynamiting; stream regulation; and subsoil drainage.¹⁷⁸ These schemes were carried out alongside many smaller anti-malarial works in the region, which were not registered. Approximately 3,220 dunams were officially recorded as having been drained by 1942, especially in the regions of Ramle, Jaffa and Gaza. An obvious change to the landscape occurred, quite apart from the associated health benefits.

Reforming Musha' Lands

It was difficult to find information on the *musha'* land system for the Shephelah (see also, chapter four). *Musha'* was believed to be concentrated in the lowlands. For example, Weulersse argued that *musha'* did not reach into the Syrian mountain regions, and Schölch maintained that it was confined to the lowlands, since the villages of the highlands had 'individual/familial' forms of property and cultivation (such as the predominating olive plantations and vineyards) and the orchards and land could not be easily redistributed among the farmers.¹⁷⁹ Hence, it has been argued that *musha'* mainly developed in the lowlands, where cereal dry-farming was more prevalent and where there were fewer orchards, which facilitated the division of land for *musha'*.¹⁸⁰ This latter point, however, contradicts the finding mentioned above that the Shephelah contained the most extensive olive groves found on Palestine's plains.¹⁸¹ *Musha'* holdings were present in the Shephelah in the nineteenth century, as borne out by the history of the Abu Shusha (Gezer) village lands. It has been described in the literature how, in 1872, 7,500–25,000 Turkish dunams situated southeast of Ramle were purchased by Melville Peter Bergheim, a Jerusalem-based businessman.

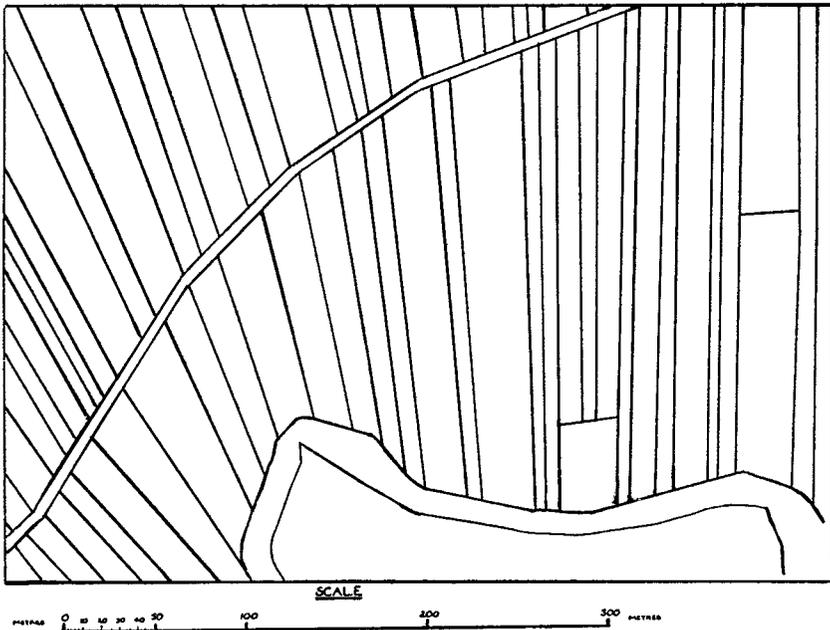
The *fellabeen* remained as tenants, continuing to cultivate the land as *musha'*.¹⁸²

For the Mandate period, references were found in the *Official Gazette*, of notices published under the Land Settlement Ordinance, 1928, which declared the partitioning of *musha'* in different villages in the Shephelah as part of the enforced title settlement process. One such notice announced the parcellation of Al Qubab village *musha'*, adding information on whether or not they were registered in the Land Registers as being held in common and periodically redistributed among village inhabitants. The Jewish Agency map of 1947 also indicates notable areas of Jewish-held shares in undivided land near Kfar Ono, and in the Arab Village lands of Bash-shit, Tel as Safi and Qastina, which were close to the Jewish settlements of Gedera, Kfar Menahem and Kfar Warburg, respectively.¹⁸³ Scattered references were also found to what was taken to be the deleterious impact of the *musha'* system on agriculture and soil erosion. For instance, Lewis Andrews, the Development Officer, complained in 1937 that intensive cultivation was being delayed in Palestine because land was held in strips. As noted in the section on Soil Erosion (above), the British favoured the consolidation of holdings, which included *musha'*.¹⁸⁴ At a meeting between the Soil Conservation Board and Lydda District Officers, on 5 July 1943 to discuss soil erosion control under the Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, 1941, it was suggested that some of the *musha'* lands of the area be given over to afforestation.¹⁸⁵ Block Plans and photographs, sometimes marked out *musha'* lands, also characterised as 'strip' holdings (see Map 36).

It was evident from the research, and the findings from the *Official Gazette*, that Land Settlement operations definitely influenced the distribution of *musha'* in the region, as individual shareholders sought to claim *musha'* plots and have them parcelled and officially registered in their own names. The partitioning of *musha'* was probably further accelerated by the Jewish sector's own intensive interests in purchasing land in the Shephelah.

Conclusion

The Shephelah, as a case study area, clearly reflected the impact of British activities on the landscape. Both the Protection of Cultivators Ordinances and the 1940 Land Transfers Regulations influenced the region because of Jewish interests in purchasing lands there. This was expressed in the large number of land cases and in the growth of a class of statutory tenants that came to threaten landlords. The State Domains of the area were earmarked for development through lease



Map 36. Block Plan of Typical 'Strip' Holdings, [Musba], Ramle Sub-District.

Source: B.A. Keen, *The Agricultural Development of the Middle East: A Report to the Director General, Middle East Supply Centre*, May 1945 (London: HMSO, 1945), Plate 14a. Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

development clauses, but uncertain landownership delayed works. The region's Military sector also influenced land-use and development. In the effort to control malaria, the British cleared Wadi Rubin, a major pilgrimage site; and, in addition, anti-malarial laws were applied to ensure smaller village works.

Despite problems encountered in collating material on *musba*, proof was also found of the influence of Land Settlement partition operations on this system of land.

THE PARTITION PLANS

Introduction

The Shephelah was important in the partition plans because it straddled a heavily populated Arab area (spread out in numerous villages), major places of Jewish settlement, and central British strategic interests.

Cantonisation

In Harris' 1936 Cantonisation Scheme (or Plan), two determining factors were recognised: first, British interests in maintaining part of the extreme eastern Shephelah as an enclave adjoining Jerusalem, both of which areas were to be administered centrally under the Mandate; and, second, that the Jewish cantonal areas should include the places most intensively settled by the Jews. The 'old-established' Jewish settlements centred on Rishon and Rehovot had to be included in the Western Jewish Canton (see, Appendix 45).¹⁸⁶ However, Keith-Roach produced statistics to argue the detrimental effect this Canton would have on the local Arabs: of the 17,633 Arabs in the (Coastal Plain) Jewish Canton, 6,052 lived in the section in the Shephelah. Also, thousands more Arabs outside of the area depended for their livelihood on lands inside the Canton, causing the *Peel Report* to reject cantonisation.¹⁸⁷

The Peel Report, 1937

In the Peel Partition Plan, the Shephelah was to be divided between the British, the Arabs and the Jews (see, Appendix 46). The strategic aspects of the Peel Partition Plan were particularly obvious as regards the Shephelah. Peel wanted to retain control over Jerusalem, the Holy Places, and the area around them – this spilled over into the Shephelah, where British communications needs would produce a corridor between the Arab and Jewish States.¹⁸⁸ A number of strategic considerations directly affected the Shephelah: the maintenance of British trunk, air and land communications from the Mediterranean to the British garrison in Iraq; the need for free and priority use of the ports; and the entrenchment of a British-administered corridor, covering Jerusalem, Jaffa Port and the main Jaffa–'Amman road, linking up to Baghdad. This translated into the formation of the Jerusalem Enclave and Corridor, incorporating Lydda with its new airport, the main Jaffa–Jerusalem road and rail lines, and certain important military bases, such as those at Latrun and Sarafand.¹⁸⁹

The new Mandate would no longer incorporate the Balfour Declaration, annulling the Jewish right to immigration; and, since the Shephelah lands of the Enclave were mainly populated by Arabs, the Mandatory Government was expected to 'discourage' Jewish settlement there. The general line for the Jewish State at the edge of the Maritime Plain was to run along the bottom, and not the top, of the hills. The Jews wanted control of the hilltops for strategic reasons, but this was opposed by the Peel Commission, as it would have included many

more Arabs within the Jewish State. Jaffa, Ramle and Lydda were to be administered by the Mandatory Government, with Jaffa treated as a detached part of the Arab State.¹⁹⁰

After consultations, it was decided that the corridor linking up the Jerusalem Enclave to Jaffa would extend to the north of the road and to the south of the railway from Jerusalem, to include Ramle and Lydda, and narrowing to its exit at Jaffa.¹⁹¹ The Arab State was to have access to the sea at Jaffa and Gaza, and unhindered access to Jaffa through the Jerusalem–Jaffa Corridor. For tariff purposes, however, Jaffa town was made part of the Mandated Jerusalem–Jaffa Corridor. The Peel Commission outdid itself in its complications by proposing that customs duties paid on goods ‘destined for Jaffa’ should accrue to the Arab State, but that duty rates would be the same as those fixed for goods destined for the Mandated territory. The aim here was presumably to retain the ‘common tariff’ for the ‘widest’ range of products and ‘facilitate the freest possible interchange of goods’ between the three territories.¹⁹² Coupland expected the Mandatory Government to receive ‘substantial’ revenues from direct taxation, especially from Jerusalem, Ramle and Lydda.¹⁹³

The Jewish State, its borders interrupted by the Jerusalem Enclave, was to extend south to incorporate the key Jewish settlements of Rehovot, Rishon le Zion, and settlements surrounding these to a point midway to Al Majdal on the coast. The Arab State was to hold the remaining area, and extend to the Egyptian border (see, Appendix 46). Harris had suggested elaborate arrangements for the Arabs to dispose of their citrus groves if they so wished; many owners were, anyway ‘accustomed’ to living in predominantly Jewish areas, and resided in Jerusalem or elsewhere. As previously noted, the Jewish Agency was to have a section that would tend to the (now former) Arab groves until it could purchase them, with the price being fixed by a Government-appointed tribunal to check land speculation and ensure a fair price.¹⁹⁴ But Harris’ idea was rejected by the Peel Commission, which simply avoided this very sensitive issue, opting to bypass a discussion on the groves in its *Report*.¹⁹⁵ Hence, citrus, Palestine’s single most profitable product – which generated foreign capital and greatly affected the economy of the Shephelah – received no notable mention in the Peel Partition Plan that was to determine the country’s future.

Through the Peel Plan, the British could thus realise their security interests, act as a buffer between the Arab and Jewish States, and maintain their own access to the sea. The citrus belt, however, was to fall within the Jewish State, the Arab State being left with the less developed dunes area, which was only partially cultivated and stabilised.

The Arabs reacted angrily to the Peel proposals. On the matter of the allotment of the citrus groves, the President of the Arab Committee of Citrus Fruits Industry, Shukri Tagi Farouki, wrote to the Administration that the Jews would be getting the best lands. The Shephelah lands were roughly incorporated into the Maritime Plain (less the Gaza Area), which amounted to 2,218,000 dunams. This, Farouki said, left the Arabs with the Gaza Plain, which, excluding the 'sandy wastes' came to 650,000 dunams, as well as sections of the Shephelah which were situated in the desert Sub-District of Beersheba, 'with its scanty and irregular rainfall'.¹⁹⁶ Officer Administering the Government Sir William D. Battershill, weakly responded that the extent of the irrigable area depended on the width of the Coastal Plain at various latitudes and altitudes and on the quality of the underground water. Thus, for the Shephelah sections, the average widths of the areas where good quality water was actually available was approximately (from the sea coast): 17–18 kilometres at the latitude of Jaffa; 12–14 kilometres at Rehovot; 10–12 kilometres at Al Majdal; and 6–8 kilometres at the latitude of Gaza and Khan Yunis. As though compensating for Arab losses, Battershill stated that investigations 'lead to the belief' that there was sufficient water to plant around 100,000 dunams of citrus south of the proposed Jewish State.¹⁹⁷

The partition of the Shephelah was integral to the Peel Plan as it affected three of the Plan's geographical aspects: first, the British strategic and communications interests, which were focused on Lydda and Ramle and were paramount to HMG planning; second, the Holy Places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem; and, third, the Peel Commissioners' perceived necessity of cutting through Arab Jaffa and Jewish Tel-Aviv to produce a neutral zone to separate the two hostile communities and to safeguard the route to the Jerusalem Enclave. In addition, the Shephelah's cores of Arab and Jewish settlements also had to be taken into account.

The Woodhead Partition Commission Report, 1938

In the *Woodhead Report*, Plans A, B and C for the Shephelah were all different. In Plan A, which was aimed at giving effect to the Peel Plan, defence and water supply needs were the foremost considerations. Hence, it was decided that – despite only the Arab villages of Qibya and Budrus in the Ramle Sub-District being required in the Jerusalem Enclave, for reasons of defence – Shuqba, Ni'ilin and Deir Qaddis were also to be included because they had a co-operative arrangement to

obtain water from a well in the village of Shabtin. Thus the area covered by Peel's Plan was expanded eastwards (see, Appendix 48 and compare to Appendix 46).

The Commission's rejection of Jewish calls to control a section of Jerusalem was also partly justified by the administrative arrangements necessary for water supplies in the Shephelah. Since Jerusalem obtained its water from the Government at Ras al 'Ein, which pumped water to a Municipality station at Romema through pipes traversing the proposed Jewish area, it was preferred to keep Jerusalem whole under Mandate rule to ensure co-operation on this matter. The Enclave's boundary west of the Lydda–Haifa railway was shifted northwards to exclude the Arab villages of Salama, Al Kheiriya, Saqiya, Kafr 'Ana and Al Yahudiya (the latter village of which included the civil airport) from the Jewish State, also the residential area of the German colony of Wilhelma (at its request).¹⁹⁸ The Enclave's southern boundary in the hills was placed close to the railway to make it more defensible, and it was drawn to include Sarafand and the planned RAF base at 'Aqir. This was being built because the RAF claimed that Ramle's landing-ground was too small for modern aircraft, and that it was 'essential' for the Mandatory Government to have a 'first-class' base to defend the Enclave.¹⁹⁹

To interpose a wider, more viable Mandated strip between Jaffa and the Jewish State, the Enclave's southern boundary was moved to become Rishon le Zion's northern boundary. But this was subject to letting the Mandatory use modern firing ranges that were planned north of Wadi Rubin. The Administration was also to have the right to enter the Jewish State along the shores and to use it for emergency defence reasons as far south as Wadi Rubin, since the Enclave's access to the sea was too narrow. The Jews disputed the widening of the Enclave at Ramle, saying it would stunt their development south of Jaffa. However, the Commission replied that this ensured Peel's rider, that the Mandatory Government's primary duty was to keep 'Jerusalem and Bethlehem inviolate'. Treaty agreements would seal the arrangements.²⁰⁰

Concern was expressed in the Colonial Office about the southwards extension of what it sardonically labelled 'Rehovot "East Prussia"', as this southern section of the Jewish State was divided off from its northern part.²⁰¹ Harris argued that the Arab towns of Lydda and Ramle, 'or indeed the corridor as a whole, which is almost exclusively Arab', totalling 150,000 dunams, was the Peel Plan's 'weakest feature'; and he suggested that, along with Rishon le Zion and Rehovot, they be removed from the Enclave and included in the Arab State,²⁰² oddly

disregarding the great importance the Military attributed to this area.²⁰³ The Jerusalem–Jaffa Corridor was a ‘serious obstacle’ to the free passage of people and goods, Harris continued. He had already strongly opposed any southward extension of the Jewish State to the Egyptian frontier, writing that it would ‘spell ruin to the Arab State’, since £P23,451 of the £P68,442 of the latter’s Rural Property Tax under the Peel Plan would accrue from the Gaza Sub-District. Furthermore, he said, of the 28,153 dunams that would remain in the Arab State, 16,609 were in Gaza.²⁰⁴ High Commissioner Wauchope went the other way, and suggested that Rishon and Rehovot be included in the Jerusalem Enclave.²⁰⁵ Whilst only 20 per cent (217,000 dunams) of the Gaza Sub-District was classified as uncultivable, the Woodhead Commission estimated that it could not be used for further Arab settlement because it would take time to change ‘primitive extensive [farming] with cereals’ to intensive methods.

When proposing Plan B, to reduce the number of Arabs in the Jewish State, the Commission viewed Plan A’s Jewish State as being divisible into two south of the Jerusalem Enclave: that is, into a Northern and a Southern Section (see, Table 51), with the line running from the sea, along Wadi Rubin and south of the villages of Al Qubeiba and Zarnuqa, till it joined the Enclave’s boundary (see, Appendix 52). The Northern Section had a predominantly Jewish population, but was ‘less’ markedly Jewish-owned. Since the Southern Section was 90 per cent Arab in population and land, and had the significant Muslim pilgrimage site of the shrine of Nabi Rubin, it was to be excluded from the Jewish State.

Plan C, the modified version of Plan B, kept the latter’s boundary of the Jewish State south of the Jerusalem Enclave.²⁰⁶ However, the Woodhead Commission dubbed ‘unsuitable’ a border running so closely by the Lydda–Qantara railway line between Gaza and Khan Yunis. The line was therefore drawn further east to include the Southern Shephelah and the Negev, now within the Southern Mandated Territory, with access to the sea near Rafah (see, Appendix 53).²⁰⁷ Under Plan C, the Mandatory Government was to control the whole of the Jaffa–Jerusalem railway line, and the Rafah–Lydda line, which helped prescribe communications between the Jerusalem Enclave and the Suez Canal. The Lydda–Haifa line, which was primal to the defence of Haifa Port and the Jerusalem Enclave, though, was to be jointly administered by the Mandatory and the Jewish State.²⁰⁸

Thus, the Woodhead Commission’s ‘majority’s’ choice of Plan C was also a vote for a larger part of the Shephelah to be Mandated, thereby ensuring the main lines of communications, and the air and military bases. In his objection to all the partition plans, Commission member

Table 51. Comparison of the Northern and Southern Sections of the Jewish State, South of the Jerusalem Enclave

	Northern Section		Southern Section	
	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews
Population	4,700	16,700	18,100	1,600
Land (in Dunams)	Arabs	Jews	Arabs	Jews
Citrus land	13,500	35,000	14,600	6,500
Plantations	2,000	5,000	7,600	1,700
Taxable cereal land	22,900	5,000	159,600	17,500
Untaxable cereal land	–	–	200	–
Total Cultivable Land	38,400	45,000	182,000	25,700
Built-on areas	200	5,000	600	200
Uncultivable land	20,000	20,500	90,500	900
Total Land^a	58,600	70,500	273,100	26,800

^a Excluding roads, railways, rivers and lakes.

Source: Woodhead Report, p. 85.

Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Thomas Reid remarked that with Plan C, a person journeying from Haifa to the Egyptian border would 'pass through six blocks of territory, no contiguous blocks' being British-ruled. This was well exemplified by the breaks in the Shephelah's border, where the Jerusalem Enclave severed the Jewish State. In addition, Reid said, 'tens of thousands' of Arabs residing in the hills who depended on citrus for a living, might not be permitted into the Jewish State to work, which would change population mobility and patterns of employment.²⁰⁹

The War Cabinet Committee on Palestine First Report, 1943

In the 1943 War Cabinet Committee First Report Plan, the Jewish State was given Arab Jaffa, thereby assuring a sea outlet to the Jewish part of the Shephelah.²¹⁰ It was Colonial Secretary Stanley who promoted the idea of including the airfields of both Lydda and Ramle in the Jerusalem State, as well as Jerusalem's water supply all the way to Ras al 'Ein near Petach Tiqva, thus extending the State north-westwards across the Shephelah (compare Peel's Plan, Appendix 46, with Appendix 56).²¹¹ As a military headquarters, Lydda became a major place of activity during the Second World War,²¹² and a transit camp for the wounded from India.²¹³

Writing after the First Report was completed, the Chiefs of Staff Committee confirmed the need to keep ‘especially the airport of Lydda’ for the Jerusalem State, possibly to be used as a control centre for the Empire Air Lines to the Middle East, India and the Far East. In peacetime, they added, such airfields were of ‘great economic importance’, whilst in war they became a ‘strategic necessity’.²¹⁴ In fact, military plans were afoot to increase the use of Lydda, among other places, in the Middle East.²¹⁵

The War Cabinet Committee on Palestine Second Report, 1944

The Second Cabinet Committee Report, which was presented in 1944 and was more detailed than the first, confirmed the inclusion of the Lydda airfield in the Jerusalem State; this was Palestine’s main civil aerodrome, which was ‘likely to be an important centre in post-war Empire air communications’.²¹⁶ The Second Report also contrived to include Ras al ‘Ein in the Jerusalem State, and supported the First Report in its elimination of the cumbersome Jerusalem Corridor. In this manner, the Jerusalem State made way for the Jewish State – which was connected up to Jaffa and no longer bisected by the Jerusalem Corridor, its new boundary was now almost level with Al Majdal – but the Mandatory Government’s transport arteries were assured (see, Appendix 57). As in the First Report, the Jewish State projected southwards into the Shephelah following a more natural line. Indeed, it almost gave the impression that both it and the Jerusalem State had indigenously evolved over a long period of time, instead of being designed by a distant and detached high-level foreign committee that had not even visited the area during its deliberations. In the Second Report, the Shephelah was thus saved the impact of landscape markings consisting of straight boundaries, so characteristic of other imperial border designs. As in the Peel Plan, the Jewish State in the Second Report was still allotted some of the country’s best lands, including most of the region’s citrus plantations. Yet, the Cabinet Committee noted that Jaffa’s inclusion in the Jewish State was ‘dictated by considerations of practicability rather than desirability’, concluding that it was unnecessary to have a high iron railing as a border, since the port would be a ‘free zone’, allowing access to the sea for Arabs.²¹⁷ But other political intentions (see the chapter on the Partition Plans), and Lord Moyne’s murder on 6 November 1944, left the plan without Cabinet endorsement.

Grigg's Trusteeship Plan and the Return to Harris' Cantonisation Scheme

The 1945 plan of the Minister Resident in the Middle East, Sir Edward Grigg, was based on MacMichael's 'non-territorial' trusteeship (with self-administration) scheme of 1938, and allotted eight representatives to 38 projected councils under British control. These included councils in Lydda, Ramle, Rishon le Zion and Rehovot.²¹⁸ However, this plan was rejected.

Colonial Secretary George H. Hall in turn put forward the Morrison–Grady Plan (that is, Harris' and Lewis Andrews' 1936 Cantonisation Scheme). This plan would have had a significant impact on the Shephelah, most notably because of the somewhat shrunken Jerusalem State it proposed. The Second Report had originally intended the Jerusalem State to be restricted to Jerusalem and Bethlehem – plus a few surrounding villages, to allow for the 'normal expansion' of these two towns – together with Ras al 'Ein and Lydda's civil airport. The Cantonisation Scheme returned the focus to the 'religious' aspects of the Enclave. It also entailed slight modifications to the Jewish Province in the Shephelah – but especially to the many Arab towns and villages of the region that would not be in the Arab Province – and gave it more territorial continuity. Initial proposals to include both Jaffa and 320,000 dunams of citrus groves south of the town in the Arab State, or to expand the Arab Province by a corridor across the Shephelah to the sea, were opposed in the Cabinet. The first was due to anxieties over possible American reactions to the expansion of the Arab State; and the second was because the proposed corridor bisected the Jewish State. It was also proposed that Jaffa should be included in the Arab Province as an 'island'.²¹⁹ Such changes would have caused either the spatial merging or the polarisation of the two communities – and would have affected Arab and Jewish settlement patterns and communications across the Shephelah, especially as land sales were to be controlled in each province. However, the Jerusalem Enclave would no longer present a large block to geographical development.

Harris' Plan, or the Morrison–Grady Plan, was unsuccessfully used as the basis of the London Conference in October 1946 between Britain, the Arabs and the Jews; and when on 26 September 1947, the British announced at the UN that they were withdrawing from Palestine, another round of partition planning was set off.

British Planning and the UNSCOP and UN Partition Plans

UNSCOP's Majority Plan allotted only parts of the Shephelah to the Jewish State. With the proposed City of Jerusalem now tightly encom-

passing both Jerusalem and Bethlehem, Lydda and Ramle were marked off for the Arab State, following similar lines to Morrison–Grady’s Plan in this area (see, Appendices 59 and 60). The British failed to ensure their strategic interests in the Shephelah, as they saw Lydda and Ramle being allocated to the Arab State by the UN Partition Resolution of 29 November 1947 (Appendix 61). The Armistice lines also redrew the boundaries to exclude those places from the Arab State, in which HMG could have had treaty relations to maintain bases (Appendix 62).²²⁰

Conclusion

Throughout British partition planning, the Shephelah was consistently important in HMG’s strategic means tests. This was reflected in the changing shape of the proposed boundaries, which were also tied in with the destiny of the British–designed ‘Jerusalem Enclave and Corridor’, the transport and military centres in the Shephelah, and the allocation of Jaffa. In the final years of the Mandate, cornered by the Arab–Jewish conflict, the British were forced to enclose themselves behind barbed wire,²²¹ itself a symbol of approaching partition by violence. HMG’s partition maps are depositories of changes in perception and policy, both in Jerusalem and London. Their final impact on the UN Partition Plan acted as the last etchings of British rule on Palestine, and helped to imprint deeply the landscape with boundaries influenced by a combination of imperial preconceptions and needs.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

At the Mandate’s end, the British made an orderly withdrawal, sending their tanks and other vehicles by train to Haifa, whilst the soldiers departed from the ports of Jaffa and Haifa, and their families left by plane from Lydda Airport and by train from Lydda Station.²²² The British left behind them a landscape that bore witness to their rule in Palestine, and more specifically in the Shephelah.

Primarily guided by their strategic interests in the region, the British marked the Shephelah’s landscape with major Military and RAF bases and with Palestine’s main civilian airport, also by their development of Lydda Railway Junction and the inter-linking roads. Town and regional plans were prepared that influenced zoning and the nature of a town’s or village’s growth. The Mahatta depicted British Lydda. In agriculture, Sarafand was the Mandatory Government’s centre for citrus research, attracting grove owners from north and south. An

animal-holding area and quarantine station expanded Lydda's role as a major livestock market; and, Ramle's No. 1 Veterinary Hospital served Army and civilian equines both across Palestine and in the British Middle East.

Many demonstration plots were laid out in the region and beekeeping increased. Forestry works were minimal, however, except in amenity plantings and the beginnings of soil conservation works and sand dune fixation. State Domain was developed and malarial areas cleared, increasing land-use; but the Mandatory had difficulty in controlling land sales to the Jews under the 1940 Land Transfers Regulations. In their partition plans, the British repeatedly sought to maintain control of the Shephelah region, which they so valued, leading to the production of maps with tortuous boundaries.

In this case study, many parallels were found with the rest of Palestine, and the Shephelah served as a microcosm, illustrative of the Mandate's impact on the country's landscape. Reminders of the British Mandate Government's rule are still perceptible across the Shephelah, although in places hidden beneath the undergrowth, and are a testimony to a period that in many ways reshaped the region and the lives of those who inhabited it.

NOTES

1. Wavell, *Allenby*, p. 197.
2. Eliahu Stern and Dan Urman (eds), *Man and Environment in the Southern Shephelah: Studies in Regional Geography and History* (Ramat Gan: Massada Press, 1988), Pts. 2, 3 and 4 [Hebrew]; Ora Vackrat, *Lod: Historical Geography* (Lod: Lod Municipality, Goma, Chirikover Publishers Ltd, 1977), pp. 37–60 [Hebrew]; and Harry Charles Luke and Edward Keith-Roach (eds), *The Handbook of Palestine* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1922), pp. 87–8.
3. David Grossman and Amiran Derman, 'Marginality within Core: The Changing Role of the Shefelah Region in Israel', in Ole Gade (ed.), *Spatial Dynamics of Highland and High Latitude Environments, Occasional Papers in Geography and Planning, Proceedings of the International Geographic Union Commission on Changing Rural Systems, Sub-Commission on Highlands and High Latitude Zones – The Consortium on Perceived Planning Issues in Marginal Regions of Developed Countries Held at Boone, North Carolina, July 26–31, 1992*, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 4 (Boone: Appalachian State University, 1992), p. 81.
4. Wavell, *Allenby*, p. 197; and Benjamin Maisler and Samuel Yeivin, *Palestine Guide: For Navy, Army and Air Force* (Tel-Aviv: Olympia, 1940), p. 157.
5. Yigal Sheffy, 'The Origins of the Operational Shift in the Palestine Campaign: The ANZAC Raid on the Ottoman Railway, 1917', *Cathedra*, 87 (1998), pp. 107–30 [Hebrew]; Cotterell, *Railways of Palestine*.
6. David Grossman, 'Rural Settlement in the South Coastal Plain and the Shefelah, 1835–1945', *Cathedra*, 45 (1987), pp. 57–86 [Hebrew]; David Grossman 'The Spatial Dispersion Process of Rural Settlements in the Southern Shefelah and

- Hebron Mountain', in Stern and Urman (eds), *Man and Environment in the Southern Shefelah*, pp. 201–12; and Amiran, 'Settlement in Palestine', pp. 192–209.
7. D.H. Kallner and E. Rosenau, 'The Geographical Regions of Palestine', *Geographical Review*, 29 (1939), p. 66; and Jean Gottmann, 'The Pioneer Fringe in Palestine', *Geographical Review*, 27 (1937), pp. 550–65.
 8. Amiran, 'Settlement in Palestine', p. 205; and Eliahu Stern, 'The Southern Shefelah: Boundaries and Geographical Division', in Stern and Urman (eds), *Man and the Environment in the Southern Shefelah*, pp. 12–16 [Hebrew].
 9. Grossman, 'Spatial Dispersion', pp. 201–3; and Grossman, 'Rural Settlement in the South Coastal Plain', pp. 57–86.
 10. Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, 'A Comparison of Agricultural Land-Use in a Semi-Arid Region: Ashqelon–Bet Guvrin Area, 1946–1968', *Jerusalem Studies in Geography*, 1 (1970), pp. 108–9.
 11. Naval Intelligence Division, The Admiralty, *Palestine and Transjordan*, B.R. 514, Geographical Handbook Series (Oxford/Cambridge: Oxford and Cambridge University Presses for the Naval Intelligence Division, December 1943), p. 14 and Fig. 27.
 12. Grossman, 'Spatial Dispersion', pp. 201–2.
 13. The British destroyed or removed many of these files before leaving: Mr Gilad Livne, Director, Research and Advice, Israel State Archives, in conversation, Jerusalem, July 1998. The remaining files mostly pertain to the Jewish Settlements in the Lydda District, at times making it difficult to gain information on the Arab community.
 14. TPA, *Report, 1937*, pp. 4 and 10–13.
 15. Section 6, Town Planning Ordinance, 1936; R.E.H. Crosbie, Chairman, Southern District Town Planning Commission, to CS, 28 May 1937: ISA/CSO2/Z/125/37/569; TPA, *Report, 1936*, p. 11. Hyman did not mention the combined Town Planning Area, noting Holliday prepared 'Earthquake Reconstruction Schemes' for Ramle and Lydda after the 1927 earthquake: Hyman, 'British Planners', pp. 476–80. Also, files: Lydda Town Planning Scheme, 1928: ISA/CSO2/CS1/2771/29/12; and Ramle Town Planning Scheme, 1928: ISA/CSO2/CS2/2772/30/12.
 16. Lydda Outline Town Planning Scheme, 1945, enclosure in: ISA/CSO2/ZTP/14/48/564.
 17. Traditional life dominated this zone, in and around Lydda, for example, with workshops for basket-making, 'Native cloth and fabrics weaving', and 'cotton beaters', and shops and workshops for wool, jute, etc., blacksmiths and saddlers: *ibid.*, p. 8.
 18. *Ibid.* And, Antiquities Ordinance, 1929. The precise date of the Scheme was not traced: the Scheme was published in the *Official Gazette*, 17 January 1947, No. 1468, p. 64, and was sent to the HC for final approval on 15 April 1948: see, [?], Secretary, District Town Planning Commission, Lydda District, to CS, 15 April 1948, and E. Matta for CS, to Secretary, District Town Planning Commission, Lydda District, 28 April 1948: ISA/CSO2/ZTP/14/48/564.
 19. The Outline Scheme was published in the *Official Gazette*, 16 August 1929, No. 241: see, Government of Palestine, Town Planning Ordinance, 1936: By-Laws Made by the Lydda District Building and Town Planning Commission Under Section 4(1), *Official Gazette*, 18 December 1941, No. 1154, pp. 1–3; and Crosbie, Chair, Lydda District Building and Town Planning Commission, to CS, 22 November 1941, enclosure in: ISA/CSO2/Z/125/37/569.
 20. Ramle West Outline Town Planning Scheme, signed by R. Church, Chairman, Lydda District Building and Town Planning Commission, p. 5, and Kendall, Commission's 70th Meeting, 17 December 1942: ISA/CSO2/Z/125/37/569. Also, Kendall to CS, 17 November 1947: *ibid.*

21. For example, TPA, *Report, 1939*, pp. 10 and 34–5, where over 90 per cent were Jewish schemes.
22. Ahmad Hilmi, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Arab National Fund Co. Ltd, Central Office, Jerusalem, 5 October 1946: ISA/Gp23/TP/1/1906. Arab Municipal Engineers qualified during the Ottoman period in, for example, Beirut or Egypt, or in colleges in Mandate Palestine. Lydda's Engineer, for instance, was Ottoman-trained: Mr Muhammad Rajab Hassunah, whose father was a local landowner, sheikh and notable, and member of the Lydda Municipal Council during the Mandate, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999; and the Reverend Bayouk Bayouk, interview, Ramle, 4 November 1999.
23. Mr Oded Arnon, Lydda Municipality Architect and Town Planner, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999; and Mr Muhammad Rajab Hassunah, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999.
24. L.T. Stevenson, Acting District Commissioner, Lydda District, 1 July 1947: ISA/CSO2/ZTP/22/47/564. *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, p. 132; and the Reverend Bayouk Bayouk, interview, Ramle, 4 November 1999.
25. Town and Country Planning Bill, 1945: Amendments Proposed by the Town Planning Adviser, by Kendall, 22 March 1946: ISA/Gp23/TP/1/1906.
26. The Reverend Bayouk Bayouk, interview, Ramle, 4 November 1999; and Mr Muhammad Rajab Hassunah, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999. *Also see* List of Elected to Lydda Municipal Council: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/2361/367.
27. T.V. Scrivener, Acting District Commissioner, Lydda District, District Commissioner's Offices, Jaffa, to CS, 12 February 1943: ISA/Gp23/TP34/1907.
28. Kendall to Attorney-General, 23 April 1937: ISA/Gp23/TP/3/1906.
29. To define the Planning Area, 'Jewish' and 'Arab' Blocks and their relative percentage ownership were determined, and arrangements made for neighbouring village lands, for example, of 'Aqir and Zarnuqa: see file, Town Planning: Rehovot: ISA/Gp24/S/1712/1768.
30. Regional Outline Planning Scheme (Modification), 1946, *Official Gazette*, 17 October 1946, No. 1528, Supplement No. 2, pp. 1242–50.
31. I. Gevirtz, (unofficial member of the Regional Town Planning Commission), to Chair, Regional Town Planning Commission, Lydda District, 27 April 1944: ISA/Gp24/S1681/1764.
32. TPA, *Report, 1938*, p. 10.
33. Minutes of the Third Meeting of Lydda District Regional Planning Commission, Jaffa, 13 March 1940: ISA/Gp24/S7441/1751/Vol.I.
34. This is discussed below. *See*, Acting Town Planning Adviser to District Commissioners, All Districts, 20 May 1947: ISA/Gp24/S/1810/1769.
35. H. Ariav, Manager, League of Local Councils, to District Commissioner, Lydda District, 14 January 1948, and Assistant District Commissioner, Tel-Aviv, to District Commissioner, Lydda District, Jaffa, 15 February 1948: ISA/Gp24/S/4841/1798.
36. Secretary, Regional Planning Commission, Lydda District, to District Commissioner, Lydda District, 22 April 1948: *ibid*.
37. For example, Zvi Berenson, *Histadrut*, to District Commissioner, Southern District, 18 June 1939: ISA/Gp24/S/377/1745. For planning requests, see, Minutes of the Regional Town Planning Commission: ISA/Gp24/S/172/1739. For instance, one scheme was rejected for positioning roads too close to the Ramle War Cemetery, contravening the Regional Plan: 39th Meeting of the Lydda District Regional Planning Commission, Jaffa, 2 October 1947: ISA/Gp24/S744/1751/Vol.II.
38. TPA, *Report, 1936*, p. 11; and TPA, *Report, 1937*, p. 34.
39. Minutes of First Meeting of the Southern District Regional Commission, District Commissioner's Offices, Jaffa, 30 August 1939: ISA/Gp24/S7441/1751/Vol.I.
40. Mr Alexander Cohen, interview, Bnei Braq, 5 November 1999.

41. E.C. Eggins, for Acting District Commissioner, Lydda District, to Town Planning Adviser, Jerusalem, 26 June 1947: ISA/Gp24/S1810/1769.
42. The Jewish Settlements were controlled by the Town Planning Department, and most of the plans only required approval: Acting Assistant District Commissioner, Settlements, Tel-Aviv, to District Commissioner, Lydda District, 28 May 1947: *ibid.*
43. See file: ISA/Gp24/S/1484/1761.
44. The Reverend Bayouk Bayouk, interview, Ramle, 4 November 1999.
45. Application for Colonial Development Fund Grant for Rural Health Centres in Palestine, n.s., n.d. [1945?]: ISA/Gp12/1/13/4090.
46. For an example, see the plans in: PRO/CO733/491/4/76221/7.
47. Mr George Bayouk, former Railway Checker, Lydda Junction, interview, Ramle, 4 November 1999. Many town quarters were named after landed families, for example, Zabaneh and Wahab in Ramle: Mr Muhammad Rajab Hassunah, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999.
48. Isbir Munayer, *Lydda during the Mandate and Occupation Periods* (Washington, DC: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1998) [Arabic]; and Vackrat, *Lod*.
49. The Reverend Samuel Fanous, Emmanuel Anglican Episcopal Church, Ramle: Reverend Fanous' father worked as a Tank Repairs Technician in Lydda; and The Reverend Bayouk Bayouk, both interviewed, Ramle, 4 November 1999. The British had their own Chaplaincy and services, which were conducted in English.
50. Dr Fouzi El-Asmar, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999. See also, file, Tin Town at Lydda Junction: ISA/CSO2/W/50/45/501.
51. Mr Nasser Eddin Nashashibi, interview, Jerusalem, 19 October 1999.
52. Palestine Railways, *Report of the General Manager on the Administration of the Palestine Railways and Operated Lines for the Year Ended 31st March, 1939* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1939), p. 19, enclosure in: ISA/CSO2/R/16/39/373; on Lydda Airport, see: ISA/CSO2/D/5/35/Vols.I–III. Also, (Arab) Proposed Palestine Airway Ltd: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/2285/366.
53. See files, Housing: Army Billets, 1936–1948: ISA/Gp24/S/1690, various Vols. The policy of demolishing houses especially affected the villages, causing much resentment: Minute by O.G.R. Williams, CO, 14 December 1936: PRO/CO733/287/75036/49.
54. The Reverend Samuel Fanous, The Reverend Bayouk Bayouk, and Mr George Bayouk, interviews, Ramle, 4 November 1999.
55. For example, Labour Employment by the RAF in Ramle: ISA/Gp11/Lab9/1187; and G.G. Grimwood, Assistant District Commissioner, Ramle, to Assistant Controller of Man Power, 20 October 1942: ISA/Gp24/S/2383/1777.
56. Sick Quarters: UK – India Air Route, n.s., n.d. [1944?]: ISA/PRO/AIR23/1117. This was especially important as the war in Europe was ending and plans were focused on the war in the Far East. See also, file, Soldiers in Rishon: CZA/S25/6254.
57. Mr Muhammad Rajab Hassunah, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999; and TPA, *Report, 1937*, p. 10.
58. G.W. Heron, Reconstruction Commissioner, Interim Memorandum, Housing, Enclosure I, secret, 25 July 1944, with HC MacMichael to Colonial Secretary Stanley, 25 July 1944: PRO/CO733/469/76282.
59. See Table 48, 'Percentage of Rooms Occupied at Various Degrees of Density', in Department of Statistics, 'Conditions in Arab Villages, 1944', 10, 9 (1945), and pp. 562 and 566. Four of the five villages were in the Ramle Sub-District. However, due to the inhabitants' insistence on anonymity, the villages were not named. Also, *A Survey of Palestine*, p. 803.
60. Department of Statistics, 'Conditions in Arab Villages, 1944', 10, 9 (1945), p. 562.
61. Scrivener, Acting District Commissioner, Lydda District, to CS, 12 February 1943: ISA/Gp23/TP/34/1907.
62. *Report of the Reconstruction Commissioner*, May 1945, pp. 131 and 152–4.
63. Namely, Rishon and Rehovot in the area studied. A. Lerman, Secretary, Labour

- Settlements Committee, Lydda District, Tel-Aviv, 9 December 1946: ISA/Gp24/S/4161/1792. Information on Arab claims were not located.
64. W.R. McGeagh, District Commissioner, Lydda District, 20 December 1946: *ibid*.
 65. [?] to Assistant District Commissioner, Settlements, 12 January 1948: *ibid*.
 66. Munayer, *Lydda during the Mandate*, pp. 12–47.
 67. Abbas Nemer, *Town of Lydda: Plantation of Memories* (Place of publication and publisher not stated, 1996), pp. 29–33 [Arabic]; and for a study on the modern agriculture of the area, see, David Grossman, 'Lod Valley Agriculture: Characteristics and Considerations', in David Grossman (ed.), *Between Yarkon and Ayalon: Studies on the Tel-Aviv Metropolitan Area and the Lod Valley* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1983), pp. 151–72 [Hebrew].
 68. Kallner and Rosenau, 'Geographical Regions of Palestine', p. 66.
 69. El-Eini, 'British Economic Policy', pp. 50–2; and Kamen, *Little Common Ground*, pp. 231–3.
 70. Mr Abd-El-Rahman Taji, of the Taji [Tagi?] family of landowners, notables and citrus growers during the Mandate, Ramle area, Administration Officer of Supply and Transport Department, UNRWA, interview, Jerusalem, 19 November 1999.
 71. Department of Agriculture and Forests, *AR, 1935*, p. 42.
 72. Chief Agricultural Officer, 24 November 1941: ISA/Gp24/S/970/1755.
 73. Mr Abd-El-Rahman Taji, interview, Jerusalem, 19 November 1999. See also, Taji family home, Wadi Hunein, Ramle, in Khalidi, *Before Their Diaspora*, Pl. 169.
 74. Rehovot was second to Petach Tiqva, followed by Hadera, Tel-Aviv, Binyamina, Lydda, Gaza and Jaffa; see, Palestine Railways, *AR, 1939*, p. 19, enclosure in: ISA/CSO2/R/16/39/373.
 75. Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Report, 1931 and 1932*, p. 12.
 76. S. Antebi, Agricultural Officer, Southern Circle, to Chief Agricultural Officer, 23 June 1941: ISA/Gp7/AG/47/5/2/646.
 77. Citrus growers were mainly represented by among others, S. Tolkowsky, General Manager of the Jewish-run Pardess Co-operative Society. The Arabs also had their own export organisations: William, CO, Note of Interview, 1 July 1932: PRO/CO733/222/15/97210/1; and Roza I.M. El-Eini, 'Trade Agreements and the Continuation of Tariff Protection Policy in Mandate Palestine in the 1930s', *Middle Eastern Studies*, 34, 1 (1998), pp. 182–4. W.M. Bradley, CSO, Minute, 30 April 1947: ISA/CSO2/A/231/32/Vol.II.
 78. District Commissioner, Lydda District, to CS, 11 April 1947: ISA/CSO2/AF/9/3/46/22/12.
 79. A. Rashid, Poultry and Beekeeping Instructor, to Senior Poultry and Beekeeping Officer, Jerusalem, 6 May 1940: ISA/Gp7/AG/20/2/635.
 80. Register of Arab Modern Bee-Keepers (Ramle Sub-District), Abdalla Eff. Bushnaq, Agricultural Officer, Jaffa–Ramle, to Senior Poultry Officer, 30 April 1940: ISA/Gp7/AG20/635.
 81. Bushnaq, Beehives in Ramle Sub-District, enclosure with Senior Poultry and Beekeeping Officer to Agricultural Inspector, Southern District, 24 May 1940: *ibid*.
 82. See, for example, file, Veterinary Service: Bee-Hive Loans: ISA/Gp24/S/401/1745.
 83. Dr Fouzi El-Asmar, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999.
 84. Monthly Veterinary Report, September 1947, by Y.S. Goor, Veterinary Officer, District Veterinary Office, Tel-Aviv, to Director, Veterinary Services, 23 October 1947: ISA/Gp24/S/698/1751.
 85. Acting Director of Agriculture to All District Commissioners, 20 January 1940: ISA/Gp24/S/983/1755.
 86. Agricultural Officer, Southern District, to District Officer, Settlements, Tel-Aviv, 16 February 1940: *ibid*.
 87. Communicated by the Chief Veterinary Officer, Agriculture Department, n.s., n.d.: ISA/Gp24/S/1373/1759.

88. The 1944 Epizootic of African Horse-Sickness in Palestine, H.R. Binns, Acting Chief Veterinary Officer, 21 May 1945: ISA/Gp24/VT/3/1851.
89. Animal Diseases Ordinance, 1926, Rules Made by the High Commissioner under Section 19, *Official Gazette*, 7 September 1944, Supplement No. 2, p. 895. Agriculture Department, Incidence of African Horse-Sickness (up to mid-day of 14.9.44), n.s., n.d., enclosure with Mason, Agriculture Director, to All District Commissioners, urgent, 14 September 1944: ISA/Gp24/1373/1759.
90. Monthly Veterinary Report, January 1945, by Goor, Assistant Veterinary Officer, Jaffa, to Chief Veterinary Officer, 19 February 1945: ISA/Gp24/S698/1751.
91. Department of Photographs, IWM, 'Captions, Second World War British Official Photographs, E Series, Vol. IV, E 15003–E 20011'.
92. Department of Agriculture and Forests, *AR*, 1935, p. 34.
93. Department of Education, *AR*, 1931–32, pp. 46–7; and Tibawi, *Arab Education*, pp. 44 and 48.
94. Department of Education, *AR*, 1935–36, pp. 29 and 33; and *AR*, 1936–37, p. 35.
95. Agricultural Workers Organization, *Histadrut*, to District Commissioner, Lydda District, 31 March 1940: ISA/Gp24/S/1097/1757.
96. Dr Fouzi El-Asmar, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999; and Department of Statistics, 'Conditions in Arab Villages', 10, 9 (1945), p. 560.
97. List of Field Experiments being carried out during 1934/35 – Ramle Sub-District: ISA/Gp7/22/8/4/637. See also, List of Gratis Seed to Cooperative Farmers, Ramle S.D. 1934/35: *ibid*.
98. Results of the Demonstration Farms at Ramle Sub-District, 25 August 1937: *ibid*.
99. Mr Muhammad Rajab Hassunah, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999.
100. G.S. Blake and M.J. Goldschmidt, *Geology and Water Resources of Palestine: Maps and Diagrams*, Department of Land Settlement and Water Resources (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1947), pp. 228–34 and 267.
101. District Commissioner, Lydda District, to CS, 21 November 1940: ISA/Gp24/S/387/1745.
102. M.J. Goldschmidt, Irrigation Officer, to Chief Irrigation Officer, copy, 28 September 1942: *ibid*.
103. *Memorandum on Water Resources*, pp. 6 and 8–9.
104. Grimwood, Assistant District Commissioner, Ramle, to District Commissioner, Lydda District, 29 May 1942: ISA/Gp7/AG/71/654; and Mr Muhammad Rajab Hassunah, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999.
105. Enclosure with S. Antebi, 15 March 1942: ISA/Gp7/AG/71/654.
106. Grimwood to Assistant Controller of Man Power, 20 October 1942: ISA/Gp24/S/2383/1777.
107. The Arabs had the Arab Agricultural Bank: The Reverend Bayouk Bayouk, interview, Ramle, 4 November 1999.
108. F.H. Taylor, *The Destruction of the Soil in Palestine*, Soil Conservation Board, *Bulletin*, 2 (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1946), p. 12. Also, Yerachmiel Kaplan, 'Forestry and Aforestation [*sic*] in the Southern Shefelah', in Stern and Urman (eds), *Man and the Environment in the Southern Sbefelah*, pp. 242–7.
109. Re sand dune reclamation: Sawyer, *A Review*, Pt. I, p. 22. In 1919, a large forest reserve was also established at 'Beit el-Jemel' (or Beit Jamal): *ibid.*, Pt. II, p. 7.
110. Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Report*, 1931 and 1932, p. 179.
111. See file, Afforestation: Vale of Sorek Plantation: ISA/Gp7/F/10/5/32/4175.
112. Lydda even supplied Palestine's Imperial War Graves and Trans-Jordan, Department of Forests, *Report*, 1936–39, p. 30.
113. Tear to Director of Civil Aviation, 14 February 1935, List of Plants Required for Lydda Airport Garden, enclosure with Assistant Controller, Lydda Airport, to Sale, 19 February 1938, and Flight Lieutenant (RAFO) Superintendent in Charge, Lydda Airport, Department of Civil Aviation, to Sale, 10 February 1940: ISA/Gp7/F/12/1/4177.

114. District Officer, Ramle, to Conservator of Forests, 10 February 1945: ISA/Gp7/F/3/24/4164/Vol.I.
115. Agricultural Assistants to Agricultural Officer, Tel-Aviv, 31 October 1946: ISA/Gp24/S/4387/1794.
116. For example, Lydda State Domain: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/2184.
117. Short Notes on School Forests, Lydda District, to be visited on 2/5/45 by Mr Robert Scott, Acting Chief Secretary, by District Inspector of Education, n.d. [April 1945?]: ISA/CSO2/A/12/45/17.
118. Extract from Letter No. 11445 to Sale from R. Church, Assistant District Commissioner, Ramle, 28 December 1937: ISA/Gp7/F/50/1/4190.
119. Department of Forests, *Report, 1936–39*, pp. 14 and 30.
120. See file, Agriculture: Return of Forestry: ISA/Gp24/S/272/1742.
121. Sale to All Range Officers Through Assistant Conservator of Forests, 31 July 1941: ISA/Gp24/S/345/1744.
122. Assistant District Commissioner, Settlements, Tel-Aviv, to District Commissioner, Lydda District, 4 April 1944: ISA/Gp24/S/790/1752.
123. File, Administrative Instructions: Lime Kiln Reports: ISA/Gp24/S/4492/1795; and Acting Assistant District Commissioner, Settlements, Tel-Aviv, to District Commissioner, Lydda District, 24 April 1946: ISA/Gp24/S/4085/1792.
124. Sale to All District Commissioners, 27 September 1939, and Sale to All Licensing Officers, 12 July 1941: ISA/Gp24/S/760/1752.
125. Z. Habib, President, Local Council, Rishon le Zion, to District Officer, Settlements, Tel-Aviv (translated from Hebrew), 31 January 1941: ISA/Gp24/S/790/1752.
126. File, Army Claims: ISA/Gp24/S/913/1754.
127. Sale, Soil Conservation Board, Soil Erosion and Conservation Measures, Palestine 1939, 23 June 1940: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/2/41/Vol.I.
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- AF/9/2/46/22/11. License printing was cancelled in March 1948, *see*, Government Printer to Assistant District Commissioner, Settlements, 11 March 1948: *ibid*.
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 148. I.N. Camp, Settlement Officer, Jaffa Settlement Area, to Director of Land Settlement and Water Commissioner, confidential, copy, 18 April 1947: ISA/Gp3/AG/12/39/707.
 149. A.Y. Goor, Acting Conservator of Forests, to Acting Chairman, Soil Conservation Board, 7 February 1947: ISA/CSO2/AF/31/1/2/41/21/3.
 150. Penslar, *Zionism and Technocracy*, p. 23.
 151. Jewish National Fund, *Jewish Villages in Israel* (Jerusalem: Jewish National Fund, 1949), pp. 152–3.
 152. L. Andrews, Director of Development, to CS, confidential, 31 March 1934: ISA/CSO2/V/125/33/478.
 153. *Ibid*.
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 157. *Woodhead Report*, para. 252.
 158. Memorandum: Regulation of the Transfer of Land in Palestine, n.s. (referred to as Harris'), n.d., Enclosure II, MacMichael to MacDonald, Secret 'A', 16 June 1939: PRO/CO733/392/75072/9.
 159. MacMichael to MacDonald, secret, 6 October 1939: *ibid*.
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 161. For example, accounts in Gaza Fortnightly Report, 12 (16–30 March 1943), from McGeagh, Acting District Commissioner, Gaza District, to CS, secret, 3 April 1943: ISA/CSO2/SF/215/40/397.
 162. Assistant Inspector-General, CID, to CS, secret, 25 March 1943: *ibid*.

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165. Report of the Committee on State Domain on the Question of the Disposal of the Rishon-le-Tsiyon Sand Dunes, by Harris, Bennett and Savage, 22 June 1940: PRO/CO733/447/76117.
166. Committee on State Domain, Supplementary Report on the Disposal of the Rishon-le-Tsiyon Sand Dunes, by Harris, Bennett and Savage, 17 January 1941: *ibid.*
167. Report of the State Domain Committee on State Domain of the Beit Dajan Sand Dunes, by Harris, Bennett and Savage, 31 October 1940: *ibid.*
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174. Heron to CS, 20 August 1937, and V.L. Ferguson, Senior Medical Officer, to District Commissioner, 30 September 1937: *ibid.*
175. [?] for Senior Medical Officer, District Health Office, Jaffa [Health] District, to District Officer, Ramle, 19 March 1941: ISA/Gp24/S/894/1754.
176. Anti-Malarial Work Carried out During Financial Year, 1935/36, enclosure with Senior Medical Officer, to Director, Medical Services, 4 May 1936: ISA/Gp10/1/86/1503.
177. Minutes of Fourth Meeting Representing the Health Department and Other Army RAF and ANCU for Malarial Control, Lydda and Gaza Districts, Held at Ramle District Health Office on 1 July 1946: ISA/Gp24/S/894/1754.
178. Department of Health, *Control of Malaria*, Appendix II, Key to Map IV, pp. 36–9.
179. Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie*, pp. 98–109, mentioned by Schölch, *Palestine in Transformation*, p. 178.
180. Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800–1914* (London: Methuen, 1981), p. 258.
181. Kallner and Rosenau, 'Geographical Regions of Palestine', p. 66.
182. Ruth Kark, 'Changing Patterns of Landownership in Nineteenth-Century Palestine: The European Influence', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 10, 4 (1984), p. 368.
183. Notice Under Land Settlement Ordinance, 1928–1932, signed by I.N. Camp, Ramle Settlement Area, 27 December 1932, *Official Gazette*, 15 January 1933, No. 377, p. 23. And, Jewish Agency map, Land in Jewish Possession (As at 30.6.47), enclosure in: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/BoxV/File3/f.42.
184. Though not specifying the *musha'* system here – because *musha'* plots were usually known by the British to be in strips – this may equally have been a reference to *musha'*. L. Andrews, Development Officer, to CS, secret, 9 March 1937: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164. See, file, Arab Sukreir Land Settlement: ISA/Gp22/GP3/25/3477; file, Gaza: Sale Masha Lands: ISA/Gp22/R779/3925; see, file, CZA/KKL9/23/2; and file, Qubeiba: CZA/L18/6281.
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187. I.N. Camp, Statistical Memorandum, 22 September 1936, enclosure with Keith-Roach, Recommendations on Future Policy, 30 September 1936: PRO/CO733/316/75528/71.
188. Note of an Informal Discussion between the Chiefs of Staff Sub-Committee and Members of the Royal Commission on Palestine, secret, 1 March 1937: PRO/CO733/346/75550/41.
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190. Coupland to Ormsby-Gore, 23 June 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
191. Coupland, Note for Discussion of Partition, [8 June?] 1937: PRO/CO733/344/75550/41.
192. *Peel Report*, pp. 387–8.
193. Coupland, Note for Discussion of Partition, [8 June?] 1937: PRO/CO733/344/75550/41.
194. Harris to Coupland, 15 April 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718.
195. *Peel Report*, pp. 386 and 389.
196. Shukri Tagi Farouki, President, Arab Committee of Citrus Fruits Industry, Jaffa, to HC and Others, 29 July 1937: PRO/CO733/351/75718/6B.
197. Commentary on the Memorandum, 14 September 1937, Enclosure I, Battershill (for HC), to Ormsby-Gore, 14 September 1937: *ibid.*
198. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 35–6, and re drainage, pp. 76–7.
199. *Ibid.*, p. 36; and unheaded Note, n.s., n.d. [1938?]: PRO/CO733/382/75735/1.
200. *Woodhead Report*, p. 37.
201. Martin, Minute, 20 September 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75731.
202. Harris, Memorandum, confidential, 2 September 1937, Enclosure IV, with Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, confidential, 2 September 1937: *ibid.*; and Harris, Memorandum, secret, Enclosure, 10 November 1937, with Battershill to Ormsby-Gore, secret, 10 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4.
203. For example, unheaded Note, n.s., n.d. [1938?]: PRO/CO733/382/75735/1. Harris merely stated that the aerodrome at Lydda ‘would like other similar matters’ be covered by a ‘Convention’, Harris, Memorandum, 10 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/4.
204. *Ibid.*
205. Wauchope to Parkinson, secret, 30 November 1937: PRO/CO733/354/75730/Pt.II.
206. *Woodhead Report*, pp. 70–1, 84–5, 101 and 253.
207. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
208. *Ibid.*, pp. 168–70.
209. *Ibid.*, pp. 271 and 276–7.
210. Extract from Note of Dissent by the Minister of State, FO, War Cabinet, 10 December 1943: PRO/CO537/2311/75648.
211. The Jerusalem State also included Bethlehem and the Broadcasting Station at Ramallah; Draft Minutes of a Meeting of the Committee, 4 November 1943: *ibid.*; and, The Present Position in Palestine, Note by A.S.C. for the Secretary of War, 20 November 1943: PRO/WO32/10260.
212. See file, C.R.E. Lydda Area: HQ Lydda Area: PRO/WO169/1347–8; and War Diaries of Lydda Area: PRO/WO169/4403–5.
213. See file, Middle East Air Route Development Committee: Reports – Lydda (14 Staging Post): PRO/AIR23/1117.
214. British Strategic Needs in the Levant States, Chiefs of Staff, War Cabinet, CO S.(44)62(0); also P.(M)(44)6, Appendix II, most secret, 22 January 1943: PRO/PREM4/52/1.
215. File, Middle East Air Route: PRO/AIR23/1117.

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217. Second Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PREM4/52/1.
218. Sir Edward Grigg, Palestine, Note by Minister Resident in the Middle East, War Cabinet, W.P.(45)214, top secret, 4 April 1945, and attached Appendix, MacMichael to Colonial Secretary, 25 October 1938: *ibid*.
219. A New Policy for Palestine, Note by Colonial Secretary G.H. Hall, P.(M)(45)11, top secret, 29 August 1945: Cunningham, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Cunningham/Box IV/File3/f.51. The Arabs were also interested in Lydda Airport, for example, file: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/2285/366.
220. Appendix (Extract from D.O. (47)3), n.s., n.d., enclosure with Chiefs of Staff to Foreign Office, 5 September 1947: PRO/CO733/486/575872/159/9/Pt.II.
221. Dr Fouzi El-Asmar, interview, Lydda, 10 November 1999.
222. *Ibid*.

Conclusion

[It is hoped that the work done is] not unworthy also of the conceptions of duty which guide the policy of the Empire to whom in these latter days the guardianship of that Land has been entrusted.¹

In 1946, as Palestine's future hung in the balance, Colonial Secretary Hall wrote to High Commissioner Cunningham, that the Palestine Government had 'no reason to be ashamed of its record ... considering the conditions'.² It was the aim of this study to analyse the Mandatory Government's record within the context of how the British constructed their policies and plans and implemented them, impacting on Palestine's landscape.

The British exhibited strong attitudes about their imagined 'ideal' for Palestine, as shown in their town and rural, agriculture, forestry, land and partition plans, affirming Baker's call for the ideological interpretation of landscapes. Partition plans, for example, were partially based on British beliefs that a Jewish State 'should' be urban and industrial, whilst an Arab State 'should' be agricultural. British ideology indicated a path paved by its own logic, ideas and myths, reminiscent of Duby's interpretation of ideology. A clear 'system of ideas' emerges at the base of the Mandatory Government's political and economic actions. The British imposed their rule across Palestine, even on the small scale, mobilising different forces to produce a new landscape: a landscape 'process' through time, as defined by Hirsch.³

Symbols of British rule marked Palestine's landscape, from the High Commissioner's Residence with its formality and its hilltop position overlooking the Holy City of Jerusalem, to the characteristic British postbox – all reflections of an imported culture, giving rise to a definable cultural landscape. Differential values were given to places; for instance, by preserving historic sites, through town planning for Jerusalem's Old City, and by using local stones for building facades, producing what Baker called 'distinctive identities'.⁴ In this way also, cities and towns gained varying degrees of primacy, regardless of their population size, dependent on their administrative and differential

functions: for example, Jerusalem became the capital, though it was not the largest city.

'Development' was a consistent theme in British planning in Palestine, even before a development policy was formally adopted. Article 22 of the League of Nations acted as a yardstick and encoded the dual obligation of the Mandatory Government towards the Arabs and the Jews to prepare the country for independence through development. Although Palestine was run as a crown colony, it was actually Mandated, giving the Arabs and Jews a pedestal on which to hold up British activities to international scrutiny. By so doing, in 1929, they forced the Government to move away from its hitherto *laissez-faire* attitude and to adopt a development policy, expressed in the 1930 *White Paper*. This policy was especially reflected in agricultural schemes, but was seen by the Arabs as a ploy to fulfil Mandate Article 6, whereby HMG was to ensure the 'close settlement by Jews on the land'. The Arabs persistently argued that by intensifying the *fellah's* cultivation methods as part of HMG's commitment in Article 11, land would be released for the Jews. However, there were on-going town planning, village development, agricultural, forestry and land amelioration works, and the British were ever sensitive to criticism to the Permanent Mandates Commission.⁵

Development work was also part of the process of spreading and consolidating imperial control, imaging Meinig's five points on imperial rule through political, sociological, cultural, economic and psychological domination: being permeating reminders of the rulers to the ruled. The Mandatory's activities touched on every aspect of life, from where a person could reside (town planning), to improving health conditions through anti-malarial works and the provision of clinics; thereby conveying nineteenth-century evangelical and Fabian ideas and continuing shouldering the 'White man's burden'; although there were those in the Administration who were ready to declare that they were 'fair fed up with this sickening so-call white mans burdin'.⁶

Christopher's thematic analysis of the British Empire is relevant here, for instance, in reference to land and linkages. Palestine had no White settler communities in the colonial sense, but through the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate facilitated Jewish settlement and the realisation of Zionist aspirations for the Jews to return to their homeland, eventually leading to the establishment on 14 May 1948, of the State of Israel. A new land regime was produced, with the parallel formation of landless Arabs through land sales to the Jews. Land laws from other societies in the Empire were then adapted to Palestine's perceived needs. In town planning, concepts being formed in Britain,

and a Village Development Scheme were applied to improve amenities, leading to a new emerging landscape.

This, and the implementation of the official development policy, and continued development activities, exhibited the transfer of ideas and technologies. Headrick's theories on the role of empires in the transfer process became consistently evident in all the spheres discussed above: town planning, agriculture, forestry, land and partition – and shown on a micro-level in the case study of the Shephelah. Mandate Government departments kept regular contacts with the Colonial Office and other parts of the British Empire and with different specialists and specialist institutes, exchanging ideas, information, legal advice and animal and plant stock, and adapting such imports to Palestine's particular needs.

British development activities often met with local resistance, however, but attitudes differed between the Jewish community and wealthier Arabs who could afford the risk of change, on the one hand, and the poorer peasantry on the other, for whom risk could spell devastation. Change sometimes brought disastrous results, as with the encouragement of tobacco growing as a cash crop, which led to the financial ruin of whole villages and angry outcries against the Government. The influence of the ruled was also glaringly exemplified by the British failure to enact much-needed Irrigation Ordinances due to organised Jewish protests.

But, whilst the British were not welcome as imperial rulers, they were somewhat respected as administrators.⁷ Political feelings against the Mandatory did not automatically colour all attitudes. As shown with pest control, people came to expect and then to demand Government intervention. For example, the Palestinian Arab Workers' Society in Haifa requested that an out-patient clinic be built at Ni'ana Village.⁸ When Musa al-Alami backed setting up the Arab Development Society in 1945 to help relieve Palestinian Arab peasants from their debts, it was hoped 'to teach villagers improved methods of agriculture', and hygiene and household management by women; to encourage crafts; to open new clinics; and to campaign against illiteracy. Tours of villages promoting these objectives were also conducted; and land was purchased for two of three model villages planned – for the north, centre and south of the country – 'in which training and demonstration courses would be given': all these activities being synonymous with the British presence, their concepts and use of words in Palestine.⁹ The Mandatory Government was called 'a good father', an Arab term of respect, reflecting both the impact of the Administration's more intrinsically valued activities, such as education and health provisions, and its own paternalistic attitude.¹⁰ In its wartime policy for the development of

the Colonial Empire, though thoroughly attached to 'raising large revenues',¹¹ HMG also put forward provisions 'which citizens of the post-war world may reasonably consider themselves to be entitled to'.¹² It thereby drew Palestine into expecting basic universal living standards as of right, irrespective of colonial hegemony. The Mandatory Government laid the ground for this through its varied activities, exemplified above by its works in town planning, agriculture, forestry and land, and its associated inter-departmental links, and even in aspects of its partition plans.

The Administration's problem definition, policy formation, planning and plan implementation were all highly influenced by previous experiences in the Empire, gained both by London and individual British officials working in Palestine. Agricultural development schemes, for example, were carefully prepared to suit targeted groups, focusing on the Arabs because the Jews were seen to be well organised and funded. Schemes were planned for gradual application based on especially formulated legislation, often elaborated on Ottoman regulations, and other British colonial laws were used to ensure policy implementation. This was shown in town planning (for instance, in zoning and building height controls); agriculture (pest and disease control); forestry (preservation of forest reserves); and land (the Protection of Cultivators Ordinances and Land Transfers Regulations). Formal and informal education and propaganda were also used. Small-scale, but countrywide schemes, were devised both because of budget and staff shortages and because of the acknowledged reality of the difficulties of introducing new ideas.

Plan implementation was open to the influence of the 'man on the spot', including indigenous employees who interpreted orders as they saw fit, and looked to personal and kinship interests. For example, town planning principles were often misunderstood or deliberately misapplied by magistrates, and local forest guards were reluctant to deprive their family and fellow villagers of wood for fuel, thus defeating the Forests Ordinance. *Mukhtars* and notables who were constantly used as the interface for communication with the indigenous population were also seminal in plan implementation. They were instrumental in acquiring information for Government officials as well as disseminating information on their behalf. Their co-operation was also not always assured, as shown during Animal Enumeration when, fearing increased taxes, they regularly filed false records. Inter-departmental clashes occurred and struggles arose between different sections of the Administration, such as those between the District Commissioners and some of the Departments; the most outstanding example being

that of the Department of Forests, which at times had to strive for bare recognition from the Government.

A clear periodisation appeared, especially through the larger events of the Arab Revolt and the Second World War, although the Mandatory Government's activities were not always affected by the same factors. Agriculture and forestry, for example, were badly hit by the 1936–39 Arab Revolt, which was in protest against British rule and Jewish immigration and land purchases. But town planning continued, as it was mainly urban based and away from the rural centres of the 'disturbances', although village development was affected. In contrast, the timing of the formulation of the partition plans was almost wholly dependent on political events, being triggered by the violence associated with the Arab Revolt. The British valued Palestine as the Holy Land and as a strategic base. However, high-level political motives were not the only determining factors in the actual shaping of these plans. Data and opinions from the Palestine staff, notably former Irrigation Adviser (later Special Commissioner), Douglas G. Harris, and High Commissioner Harold MacMichael, played especially significant roles in British partition planning and drew attention to other issues, such as local economic conditions.

The 1936–39 Arab Revolt brought widespread destruction in its wake and shook the Mandatory to its very foundations, so that the 1940 Committee on Development and Welfare Services had to recommend mainly the 'resuscitation' of departmental activities rather than new 'schemes'.¹³ Nationalist political and economic concerns also led to direct Government intervention in the spatial control of land sales to the Jews and in Palestine's partition. The war effort actually helped in the 'resuscitation' of some departmental operations: Government policy to increase food production, for example, meant the intensification of agricultural activities; whereas the lack of certain necessary materials almost brought the building industry to a halt. The Department of Forests continually faced closure whenever periodic budget deficiencies arose, caused by the Revolt and wartime conditions, whilst trying to implement a policy of soil conservation and forestry development in a country with a major livestock economy based on free-range pasturage.

The years 1945–48 saw the Mandatory Government follow London's lead in its attempts to realise post-war reconstruction plans drawn up during the War. This was done even though the British Administration in Palestine was plainly facing an uncertain future and an increasingly hostile and combative population that was split by inter-communal conflict, with the Jews now operating in the aftermath of the Holocaust. But the hostile environment took its toll on the Mandatory, as plans

were minimised, usually made applicable only to single villages in each District or Sub-District, and were barely put into effect.

The macro, meso and micro analyses of HMG's operations were also illustrated in the detailed study of the Shephelah, an economically important region valued by the British as a military and transport centre and as a link with Jerusalem. When viewed on these different levels, town and regional planning, agriculture, forestry, land and partition, all highlighted Palestine's unique qualities and those co-ordinates shared with other territories within the British Empire, reflecting the realistic difficulties associated with British rule and the ruler's attempts to transfer ideas.

Despite criticisms of Carl O. Sauer's school of analysing artifacts in the landscape, artifacts are conspicuous indicators in historical geography, being a visual testimony through time. Palestine's landscape was marked by icons of British rule: the High Commissioner's Residence; Haifa Harbour, the largest deep-water port in the Mediterranean; preserved antiquities; Government buildings; employees' cottages; forest guards' huts; military camps and RAF and naval bases; air and sea ports; monuments; police, railway, agricultural, horticultural, poultry, and other stations; and by expansions and contractions in areas under cash crops; by imported plants and animals; and by poison bait factories and fumigation tents; by public works; by drainage and irrigation channels – many not completed; by fences, terraces and forests; by dried swamps and converted land-use; by bridges, roads, railway lines; and by frontier and quarantine posts. There was also the concealed evidence of British rule in Palestine, such as that resulting from building construction and urban drainage, safety and health regulations, and camouflaged concrete artillery observation points, often dug deep into overhanging rocks at strategic places in the countryside. It was not only the obviously apparent that was witness to HMG's presence.¹⁴

Though the functions of many places associated with the Mandate Administration have been retained to the present, as exemplified by the Shephelah's military bases, many are slowly being eroded through the loss of 'public memory'.¹⁵ This was a living landscape, whose traces today are obscured by undergrowth and changed use, but whose aspect was influenced by British colonial thinking. The Administration's schemes were mainly initiatory, however, because of the size and nature of the task the British faced in Palestine, as well as their limited budget and number of staff, although funds were usually found for police and military needs. Time was also in short supply, as inter-communal strife caused the British to withdraw from Palestine 28 years after receiving the Mandate in 1920 at the San Remo Conference.

To the end, the Mandatory was to influence the landscape: on the eve of the British departing from Palestine, they carefully allocated their military camps to the Arabs or to the Jews, depending on the location. Sarafand, for example, was not sold to the Jews.¹⁶ Whole Government departments in Israel today owe their initial structuring to the Mandate Administration and mirror ministries in Britain: for example, the Treasury, Agriculture, Health, Education, Labour, Trade and Industry, Posts and Communications, and others.¹⁷ And several current Palestinian institutions have developed out of former British frameworks, such as An-Najah National University's College of Veterinary Medicine at Tulkarm, where the Mandatory had its main Arab agricultural school.

British imperial rule in Mandate Palestine was not merely a cynical tax-gathering exercise in colonial domination, ensuring a strategic Mediterranean base. Though the rulers held on to the Mandated territory with a grip that had been well practised in the rest of their Empire, the Palestine that the British left on the termination of the Mandate on 15 May 1948 was different from the one they conquered on 11 December 1917. On their arrival there, the locality had no single official name, no perimeter, was sub-divided and had no individual status: the Mandate was implemental in circumscribing the name Palestine, as the country's boundaries were formulated. The Administration operated in a turbulent political climate, which both demanded development works and functioned against the success of those works. Nevertheless, as shown in this study, though many Government activities were mainly regulatory and initiatory, British imperial rule had a profound impact on Palestine's landscape during 1929–48. This was a Mandated landscape. Here the rulers served under internationally set conditions, and this fact, and Britain's imperial history, were expressed in the legacy of the Mandatory's activities, laws and institutions, as well as in the ultimate partition of Palestine.

NOTES

1. Sir Herbert Samuel, *Palestine: Report of the High Commissioner on the Administration of Palestine, 1920–1925*, Colonial No. 15 (London: HMSO, 1925), p. 58.
2. Colonial Secretary G.H. Hall, 30 January 1946: PRO/CO733/470/76301.
3. Hirsch, 'Introduction: Landscape', pp. 1–23.
4. Baker, 'The Identifying of Spaces and Places', p. 1.
5. See, for example, the deliberations during 1937 over which firm was to construct the Government Hospital at Haifa: ISA/CSO/M/74/36/321/Vol.II.
6. *Sic*, Hodgkin, *Letters from Palestine*, p. 162.
7. Mr Mousa Younis El Husseini, interview, Jerusalem, 6 December 1999; and Mr Jacob Marash, interview, Jerusalem, 17 October 1999.

8. Palestine Arab Workers' Society, Haifa, 1 May 1945: ISA/CSO2/M/27/47/327. Also, Ya'acov Parshel, Tel-Aviv, 18 May 1938: ISA/Gp7/Ag/54/652.
9. Furlonge, *Palestine is My Country*, pp. 137–8.
10. [?], Chairman of the Society, Villages' Young Men's Society, Salameh Village, to Director of Agriculture, 1 October 1941: ISA/Gp7/AG/71/654.
11. Sir John V.W. Shaw for CS, Circular, 24 December 1940: ISA/CSO2/AG/C/13/1/662.
12. Reconstruction Commissioner, 19 April 1943: ISA/Gp24/S/2696/1780.
13. Colonial Development 1940 Scheme, 27 December 1940: ISA/Gp7/AgC/13/1/662.
14. About the artillery observation points, *see* file, Defence of Palestine, Most Secret: PRO/WO201/183.
15. Delores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1995), pp. 5–6.
16. FIXETS, Cairo, to War Office, 12 December 1948: PRO/CO733/486/5/75872/159/9; Correspondence with Sarafand: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/3194/394; and Purchasing Military Camps from the British: ISA/ArabFiles/Gp65/2962.
17. Edwin Samuel, *British Traditions in the Administration of Israel* (London: Vallentine, Mitchell/The Anglo-Israel Association, 1957), p. 21.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Mandate for Palestine

PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT BY COMMAND OF
HIS MAJESTY, DECEMBER 1922

The Council of the League of Nations:

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the afore-mentioned Article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

ARTICLE 1

The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

ARTICLE 2

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

ARTICLE 3

The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

ARTICLE 4

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

ARTICLE 5

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power.

ARTICLE 6

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State Lands and waste land and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ARTICLE 7

The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

ARTICLE 8

The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the afore-mentioned privileges and immunities on August 1st, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specific period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately re-established in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

ARTICLE 9

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

ARTICLE 10

Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

ARTICLE 11

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

ARTICLE 12

The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

ARTICLE 13

All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings

and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

ARTICLE 14

A special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

ARTICLE 15

The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

ARTICLE 16

The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government.

Subject to such supervision, no measures shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

ARTICLE 17

The Administration of Palestine may organise on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defence of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

ARTICLE 18

The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State Member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate, the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special customs agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

ARTICLE 19

The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication or literary, artistic or industrial property.

ARTICLE 20

The Mandatory shall co-operate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

ARTICLE 21

The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archaeological research to the nations of all States Members of the League of Nations.

(1)

‘Antiquity’ means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year AD 1700.

(2)

The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorisation referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

(3)

No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said Department.

(4)

Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5)

No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorised by the competent Department.

(6)

Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archaeological interest.

(7)

Authorisation to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archaeological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorisations, act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nation without good grounds.

(8)

The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

ARTICLE 22

English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

ARTICLE 23

The Administration of Palestine shall recognise the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities.

ARTICLE 24

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

ARTICLE 25

In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provision of Articles 15, 16 and 18.

ARTICLE 26

The Mandatory agrees that if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be

submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

ARTICLE 27

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

ARTICLE 28

In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Members of the League.

Done at London the twenty-fourth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

For the Secretary-General,
Rappard,
Director of the Mandates Section

Source: League of Nations: Mandate for Palestine, Together with a Note by the Secretary-General Relating to Its Application to the Territory Known as Trans-Jordan under the Provisions of Article 25, December 1922, Cmd. 1785 (London: HMSO, 1923; henceforth, Mandate for Palestine). Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Appendix 2

Palestine Government Revenue, Expenditure and Annual Budgetary Balance,
1920–45

Fiscal Year	Revenue (£P)	Expenditure (£P)	Surplus (+) Deficit (-) (£P)	Appreciation (+) Depreciation (-) of Investments (£P)	Accumulated Balance (£P)
1.7.20–31.3.21	1,136,951	1,259,587	(-) 122,636	-	(-) 122,636
1921/2	2,371,531	1,929,341	(+ 442,190)	-	319,554
1922/3	1,809,831	1,884,280	(-) 74,449	-	245,105
1923/4	1,675,788	1,675,105	(+ 683)	-	245,788
1924/5	2,154,946	1,852,985	(+ 301,961)	-	547,749
1925/6	2,809,324	2,092,647	(+ 716,677)	-	1,264,426
1926/7	2,451,365	2,123,568	(+ 327,797)	-	1,592,223
1927/8	2,358,365	2,700,414	(-) 342,049	-	1,250,174
1928/9	2,497,011	2,997,750	(-) 500,739	-	749,435
1929/30	2,355,623	2,245,989	(+ 109,634)	-	859,069
1930/1	2,462,304	2,567,671	(-) 105,367	-	753,702
1931/2	2,354,696	2,377,625	(-) 22,929	-	730,773
1932/3	3,015,917	2,516,394	(+ 499,523)	-	1,230,296
1933/4	3,985,492	2,704,856	(+ 1,280,636)	-	2,510,932
1934/5	5,452,633	3,230,010	(+ 2,222,623)	-	4,733,555
1935/6	5,770,457	4,236,202	(+ 1,534,255)	-	6,267,810
1936/7	4,640,821	6,073,502	(-) 1,432,681	-	4,835,129
1937/8	4,897,356	7,297,688	(-) 2,400,332	(-) 33,958	2,400,839
1938/9	5,937,280	5,692,672	(+ 244,608)	(-) 112,182	2,533,265
1939/40	6,768,352	6,004,738	(+ 763,614)	(+ 99,874)	3,396,753
1940/1	8,441,899	7,450,355	(+ 991,544)	(+ 36,483)	4,424,780
1941/2	8,325,552 ^a	7,463,601	(+ 861,951)	(-) 20,656	5,266,075
1942/3	8,851,877 ^b	10,253,283	(-) 1,401,406	(+ 70,677)	3,935,346
1943/4	11,513,748	14,819,250	(-) 3,305,502	(+ 22,001)	651,845
1944/5	17,496,682	18,196,594	(-) 699,912	(+ 48,067)	-
Total^c	121,535,801	121,646,107	(-) 110,306	(+) 110,306	-

^a Excluding Railways deficit of £P42,867, charged to 1942/3 budget.

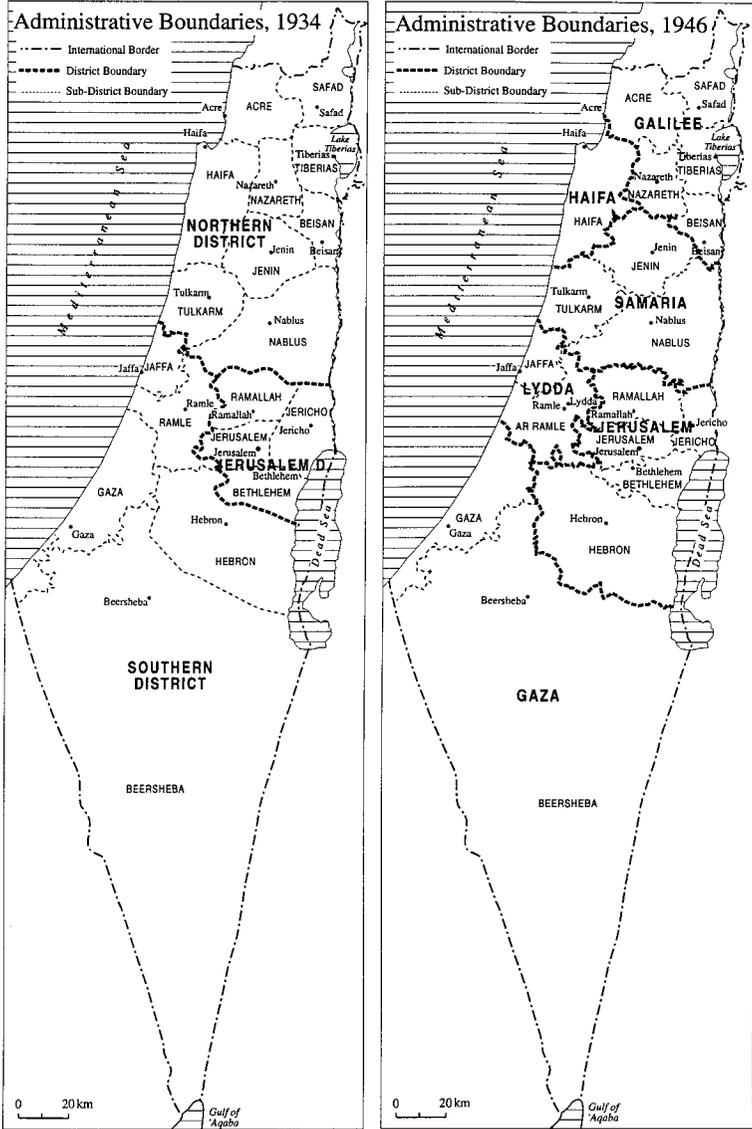
^b Including the Railways deficit of 1941/42 (see ^a).

^c 1 July 1920–31 March 1945.

Source: Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944–45*, p. 79.

Appendix 3

Administrative Boundaries, 1934 and 1946



Source: Based on Report by His Britannic Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan for the Year 1935, Colonial No. 112 (London: HMSO, 1936); and Index to Village Settlements, Forest Lands (as at 31.12.45) (1946?): Maps Department, Bloomfield Library, The Hebrew University.

Appendix 4

Land Purchased by Jews, 1920–45

Year	Dunams
Area Owned	
before 1920 (Estimated)	650,000
1920	1,048
1921	90,785
1922	39,359
1923	17,493
1924	44,765
1925	176,124
1926	38,978
1927	18,995
1928	21,515
1929	64,517
1930	19,365
1931	18,585
1932	18,893
1933	36,991
1934	62,114
1935	72,905
1936	18,146
1937	29,367
1938	27,280
1939	27,973
1940	22,481
1941	14,530
1942	18,810
1943	18,035
1944	8,311
1945 (Estimated)	51,700 ^a
1946/7 (First Half)	23,256 ^a
TOTAL	1,652,321

Sources: A Survey of Palestine, p. 244; and, ^a Supplement: UNSCOP, pp. 30 and 33.

Appendix 5

Annual Immigrants by Race and Total Persons Registered as Immigrants (Including those Entering as Travellers and Subsequently Registered as Immigrants), 1920–47

Year	Total	Jews	Christians	Muslims
1920 ^a	5,716	5,514	————— 202 —————	
1921	9,339	9,149	————— 190 —————	
1922	8,128	7,844	————— 284 —————	
1923	7,991	7,421	402	168
1924	13,553	12,856	510	187
1925	34,641	33,801	741	99
1926	13,910	13,081	611	218
1927	3,595	2,713	758	124
1928	3,086	2,178	710	198
1929	6,566	5,249	1,117	200
1930	6,433	4,944	1,296	193
1931	5,533	4,075	1,245	213
1932	11,289	9,553	1,524	212
1933	31,977	30,327	1,307	343
1934	44,143	42,359	1,494	290
1935	64,147	61,854	903	1,390
1936	31,671	29,727	675	1,269
1937	12,475	10,536	743	1,196
1938	15,263	12,868	473	1,922
1939	18,433	16,405	376	1,652
1940	5,611	4,547	390	674
1941	4,270	3,647	280	343
1942	3,052	2,194	423	435
1943	9,867	8,507	503	857
1944	16,476	14,464	680	1,332
1945 ^b	15,019 ^b	12,751 ^b	————— 2,268 ^c —————	
1946 ^b	12,272 ^b	7,851 ^b	————— 4,421 ^d —————	
[1947		22,098	?	]e
Total	414,456^b	376,415^b	————— 38,041^b —————	

^a September–December.

^b *Supplement: UNSCOP*, p. 17. Also, 38,041 is the difference between the Total and the number of Jews.

^c 829 'Arabs' and 1,439 'Others' (both categories undefined, *ibid.*, p. 17).

^d 1,543 'Arabs' and 2,878 'Others' (both categories undefined, *ibid.*, p. 17).

^e Moshe Sicron, *Immigration to Israel, 1948–1953: Statistical Supplement* (Jerusalem: Falk Project for Economic Research in Israel and Central Bureau of Statistics, 1957), Table A1; this is not included in the Total.

Source: A Survey of Palestine p. 185; and *Supplement: UNSCOP*, p. 17.

Appendix 6

Apparent Consumption of Cement (Tons), 1928–44

Year	Imported	Locally Manufactured	Total	Cement Exported and Re-Exported	Apparent ^a Consumption
1928	14,203	59,165	73,368	11,459	61,909
1929	7,983	68,661	76,644	7,639	69,005
1930	5,154	78,398	83,552	12,351	71,201
1931	4,725	84,427	89,152	8,941	80,211
1932	7,152	99,933	107,085	9,938	97,147
1933	39,409	135,000	174,409	6,393	168,016
1934	150,530	142,833	293,363	609	292,754
1935	169,537	187,000	356,537	984	355,553
1936	69,567	154,382	223,949	508	223,441
1937	69,878	160,869	230,747	1,221	229,526
1938	42,037	98,445	140,482	5,750	134,732
1939	36,681	112,350	149,031	5,143	143,888
1940	9,765	148,487	158,252	472	157,780
1941	4,139	114,841	118,980	1,433	117,547
1942	2,292	216,577	218,869	3,546	215,323
1943	15	166,804	166,819	3,867	162,952
1944	1	176,500	176,501	6,005	170,469

^a The Department of Statistics used the term 'apparent' due to a lack of absolute data.

Source: Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944–45*, p. 271.

Appendix 7

Building Activities in the Four Main Towns, 1932–38: Showing an Increase after Jewish Immigration and a Decrease after the Outbreak of the Arab Revolt

	New Buildings Authorised (m sq)					
	1932	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Tel-Aviv	128,079	424,504	448,701	261,224	180,745	150,994
Jerusalem	127,568	164,070	182,400	140,593	147,451	80,333
Haifa	70,400	323,425	389,701	282,868	213,387	94,121
Jaffa	32,679	152,069	193,828	63,964	35,801	16,860
Total	358,726	1,064,068	1,214,630	748,649	577,384	342,308

Source: Palestine: Blue Book, 1938 (Alexandria and Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1939), p. III.

Appendix 8

Building Activity in Palestine, 1936-45

Place	No. of Rooms Built during the Year												Total for 1936-45	
	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Grand Total	Total Jewish	Total Non-Jewish	
Jerusalem	4,683	4,915	1,676	1,744	1,480	1,156	988	54	-	-	16,696	10,018	6,678	
Jaffa	2,132	1,193	562	436	638	374	282	91	-	-	5,708	1,142	4,566	
Tel-Aviv	7,401	5,121	4,278	1,406	1,191	116	205	148	-	-	19,866	19,866	-	
Haifa	8,010	6,046	2,664	2,078	1,305	439	451	427	-	-	21,420	14,994	6,426	
Ramallah	18	117	85	85	107	70	43	65	-	-	590	-	590	
Rishon le Zion	254	176	59	53	279	68	140	21	-	-	1,050	1,050	-	
Rehovot	347	198	63	220	70	37	3	68	-	-	1,006	1,006	-	
Petach Tiqva	393	278	82	97	69	49	180	49	-	-	1,197	1,197	-	
Ramle	109	129	42	98	85	53	19	19	-	-	554	-	554	
Ramat Gan	311	146	46	160	299	394	865	342	-	-	2,563	2,563	-	
Lydda	88	48	42	44	147	36	5	40	-	-	450	-	450	
Bethlehem	109	116	50	79	137	42	4	46	-	-	583	-	583	
Beit Jala	20	31	10	7	20	4	1	25	-	-	118	-	118	
Beersheba	37	46	15	40	63	158	54	170	-	-	583	-	583	
Hebron	63	112	104	100	129	241	138	18	-	-	905	-	905	
Gaza	288	252	157	86	101	165	16	-	-	-	1,065	-	1,065	
Majdal	31	27	31	25	8	28	31	266	-	-	447	-	447	

continued

Appendix 8 cont.

Place	No. of Rooms Built during the Year											Total for 1936-45		
	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	Grand Total	Total Jewish	Total Non-Jewish	
Khan Yunis	13	11	19	10	7	6	8	60	-	-	134	-	134	
Nazareth	94	142	106	42	168	66	72	11	-	-	701	-	701	
Tiberias	388	379	286	126	140	67	18	5	-	-	1,409	982	427	
Safad	44	64	23	27	25	22	7	39	-	-	251	125	126	
Nablus	105	434	425	450	353	357	80	47	-	-	2,251	-	2,251	
Acre	115	53	28	7	77	-	-	17	-	-	297	-	297	
Tulkarm	81	89	26	126	136	271	117	143	-	-	989	-	989	
Jenin	20	40	9	18	30	37	14	13	-	-	181	-	181	
Beisan	20	28	30	26	31	11	1	6	-	-	153	-	153	
Total for Palestine (1944 and 1945)									7,109	15,024	22,133	14,386	7,747	
Grand Total for 1936-45											103,300	67,329	35,971	

Source: *A Survey of Palestine*, p. 791.

Appendix 9

Public Works Department Operations, Recurrent and Extraordinary,
1939–47 and 1946–47, Respectively^a

Public Works Recurrent Sub-Heads (1939–47)

Maintenance of Water, Electric Light and Sewage Plant
 Upkeep of Mechanical Transport
 Maintenance of Buildings
 Maintenance of Government House
 Plant and Tools
 Rent of Offices and Quarters
 Furniture
 Maintenance of Roads and Bridges
 Maintenance of Drainage and Irrigation Works
 Maintenance of Plant and Machinery
 Maintenance of State Domain Buildings not in occupation by Government
 Maintenance of Approach Roads to Government Buildings
 Maintenance of Airports
 Minor Maintenance of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre
 Bethlehem Water Supply
 Maintenance of Shibteen Water Supply
 Maintenance of Jail Labour Camp
 Maintenance of Camps
 Minor Works
 Repairs to Barrack Damages
 Maintenance and Operation of Government Transport Fleet

Public Works Extraordinary (1946–47)

Agriculture and Fisheries

Improvement of Water Supply – Mount Tabor Agricultural School
 Improvement of Water Supply – Citrus Demonstration Station, Sarafand
 Improvement of Water Supply – Acre Horticultural School
 Improvement – Mount Tabor Agricultural School
 Improvement – Animal Quarantine Stations
 Fencing – Nablus Horticultural Station
 Accommodation for Superintendent – Poultry Station – Jerusalem
 Minor Works

Broadcasting

Improvements to Broadcasting Studios

Customs

Extension to Customs Control Post, Allenby Bridge
 Accommodation at Haifa

continued

*Appendix 9 cont.***Civil Aviation**

- Improvements to Water Supply – Haifa Airport
- Improvements to Customs Accommodation – Lydda Airport

Education

- Extension – Rashidiyeh Boys' School, Jerusalem
- Farm School Buildings
- Water Supply – Agricultural School, Tulkarm
- Improvements to Water Supply, Haifa Trade School
- Haifa Trade School
- Hot Water Installation – Boys' Reformatory, Bethlehem
- Minor Works

Forests

- Protection of Balad esh Sheikh Forest Reserve
- Staff Accommodation, Forest Stations, Jammaya
- Minor Works

Health

- Improvements, Mental Hospital, Kiryat Arabiyeh
- Extension, Hayarkon Hospital Operating Suite, Government Hospital, Jerusalem
- Repairs to Mental Hospital Bethlehem
- Minor Works

Police and Prisons

- Ras an Naqura Police Post
- Yard for Criminal Lunatics, Acre
- Construction of Police Buildings
- Extension of Police Building Programme
- Jail Labour Camp No. 1
- Electric Supply, Beisan Police Station
- Nablus Fort
- Water Storage Police Formations
- Improvements – Police Department, Jerusalem
- New Power House, Detention Camp, Latrun
- New Water Supply, Central Prison, Qubab

Roads and Bridges

- Nazareth Arterial Roads – Improvements
- (?)
- Beit Dajan – Masmiya Road Bridge at KM21
- Improvements, Kharbata–Ni'ilin–Beit Nabala Road
- Bethlehem–Beit Sahur Road
- Land for Tirat Tsevi Road
- Repairs to Samakh–Al Hamma Road
- Erection of Road Signs, etc.
- Protection of Level Crossings

Irrigation, Drainage and Water Supplies**Jerusalem Main Drainage**

- Additional Pumping Plant – Jerusalem Water Supply
- Village Water Supplies
- Wadi Fara Irrigation Scheme
- Na'amein Drainage Scheme
- Staff Accommodation, Shabtin Water Supply
- Water Supply, Acre
- Safad Water Supply
- New Water Supply, Latrun Camp
- Emergency Water Supplies
- Water Supplies for Small Townships

Miscellaneous

- Purchase of Land
- Repair of Walls, Acre

continued

*Appendix 9 cont.***Police and Prisons**

Alteration, electricity system, Gaza
 Police Station
 Accommodation – Tel al Milh Police
 Post
 Alarm Bell System in Prisons
 Improvement to Prison Accommodation
 Ra'anana Police Post Sewage System
 Water Supply, Sarafand al Kharab
 Police Post
 Hot Water Supply, Atlit Clearance
 Camp
 New Water Supply, Latrun
 Explosive Stores, Tulkarm
 Alteration – Accommodation for
 British Police 'Einab
 Repairs to Latrun Camp
 Repairs to Clearance Camp, Atlit
 Repairs of Water Pipeline – Mounted
 Training Depot, Beisan
 Mounted Depot, Beisan
 Repairs – Mounted Police Depot, Beisan
 Improvements – Jerusalem Lock-Up
 Police Workshops and Tool Hut, Haifa
 Wireless and Radio Telephone –
 Police Headquarters
 Improvements to Jerusalem Prison
 Minor Works

Posts and Telegraphs

Extension of Main Store, Haifa Bay
 New Post Office, Tel-Aviv

Public Works

Purchase of Motor Vehicles
 Purchase of Motor Scythes
 Purchase of Universal Grinding Machine
 Purchase of Bulldozer
 Purchase of Universal Milling Machine
 Government Transport Fleet

Surveys

Extension of Surveys Headquarters

Miscellaneous

Maintenance and Conservation of
 Old City Walls, Jerusalem
 Furniture for Officers' Quarters
 Cleaning and Repair of Basilica of
 Nativity, Bethlehem
 Preliminary Investigations
 Reinstatement of Buildings Occupied
 by Wartime Departments
 Restoration and Improvement to
 Buildings Damaged by Saboteurs
 Security Measures
 Construction of Sheds for Controller
 of Road Transport
 New Remand Home, Haifa
 New Press Room – Public
 Information Office
 New Income Tax Office, Tel-Aviv
 Renovation of Chief Secretary's
 Residence
 Temporary Extension – Ras al 'Ein
 Pumping Station
 Repair and Alteration – ex-Nordau
 Hotel
 Accommodation, Social Welfare,
 Tel-Aviv
 Memorial to Lord Allenby, Gaza
 Reconditioning Rest House, 'Auja Hafir
 Temporary Government Offices,
 Jerusalem
 Accommodation – Land Registry,
 Jerusalem
 Furnishing Chief Secretary's House
 Extension – Assistant District
 Commissioner's Bungalow at Acre
 Security Measures – Railways and Ports
 Restoration and Improvements to
 Railway Installations Damaged by
 Saboteurs
 Alterations, ex-Palace Hotel,
 Jerusalem
 Minor Works

^a *Note:* The original terminology used in the PWD *Report* is quoted here (for example, 'criminal lunatics').

Source: Public Works Department, *Administration Report for the Period 1st April, 1946 to 31st March, 1947* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1948), pp. 39–42.

Appendix 10

Safad District Officer's Report on Sanitation Conditions in Safad, 1933

His Worship the Mayor of Safad.
Medical Officer, Safad.

District Offices, Safad
12 September 1933

Subject: Sanitation – Safad Town.

- [1.] On 11–9–33 I inspected practically all streets and quarters of this town together with his Worship the Mayor, the Station Officer, Safad, the Municipal Inspector and Municipal Shawish (sergeant).
2. The sanitary conditions and cleanliness of the town are still far from being satisfactory. I had the impression that the town is not sufficiently inspected and that with some explanations and warnings a good deal of improvements could have been carried out.
3. Not all the streets appear to be swept daily. Some of the ruins have only partly been cleaned and have not been properly closed and built up. Many houses have already been provided with a tin or box for keeping the house rubbish but those tins are mostly uncovered and I noticed thousands of flies enjoying themselves on the sweet remains of the water melons which are kept in the open tin or thrown near the tin in the street at the doors of houses.
4. It appears that the inhabitants consider the street in front of their houses part of their private property (not for cleaning purposes of course) and by walking through the streets you will find some using same for storing their building material, boxes, sacks and others have placed a washing kettle, made a fire underneath and washing their dirty laundry is going on undisturbed in the middle of streets. Ropes are tied over the street and the wet laundry placed to dry thereon.
5. Many of the people whom I explained that such things are not allowed looked quite surprised and appeared hardly believing what they hear. It is certainly lack of supervision and instructions which allow this undesirable state of affairs.
6. Sellers of charcoal, oil, lime, eggs, fruits etc., choose each a place which best pleases him and spread their manufacture all over the street. The Municipality or Municipal Inspector should introduce order and system for the sale of all these goods at fixed centres.
7. Old sacks used as sun-shelters carrying years of dust and dirt are hung over shops and every easy wind distributes this ancient dirt among the fruit and vegetables which are kept open inside and outside the shops. I ordered the removal of same in my presence but many more require attention.
8. All kinds of Advertisements contrary to Regulations are freely posted on shops, walls, etc. Barrels of Benzine, irons rails, heaps of stones are obstructing the narrow public streets and squares. Some were removed in my presence but it certainly needs continual attention to instruct the public to give up these undesirable and contraventionary habits.

It is expected that the Municipality, Police and especially Public Health Department will cooperate together to put an end to this unsatisfactory state of affair. Police Patrols and Public Health Officials are requested to warn continually the Public for any nuisance, obstruction and contravention of Public Health, Road Transport, Advertisement Ordinance and Municipal Regulations and Bye-Laws, in order to improve conditions.

H. Bergman
District Officer, Safad.

Copy to: Assistant District Commissioner Galilee.

ADSP^a – Safad, for cooperation and the issue of appropriate instructions to Police Patrols in Town.

^a ADSP: Assistant District Superintendent of Police.

Source: Enclosed in: ISA/Gp27/S.128/2680.

Appendix 11

Jerusalem Old City Walls Sub-Committee Recommendations, 1944

Item No. on Plan	Details	Recommended Action	Cost (£P)
(a) List A: Buildings, etc., Requiring Immediate Action			
1.	Remove chicken coops, loose stone walls and make good	Municipal By-Laws	4
2.	Remove 10 huts, tine and tile roofs and rubble walls	Public Health Ordinance, 1940	150
3.	Remove 2 huts and loose stone walls	.. ..	40
4.	Remove 1 hut and 2 sheds	.. ..	25
5.	Remove earth dumps and loose stone walls	Direct Municipal action through District Administration	60
6.	Remove earth dump	.. ..	10
7.	Remove 3 huts and refuse dump, and stables in wall and make good – ground to be terraced possibly for playground	Public Health Ordinance, 1940	300
8.	Remove old wall remains	Direct Municipal action through District Administration	5
9.	Remove stone rubble wall and spread earth	.. ..	100
10.	Remove 3 huts and WC sheds adjoining wall	Public Health Ordinance, 1940	30
11.	Remove stone wall, tidy and make good	Direct Municipal action through District Administration	10
12.	Remove loose stone hut	Public Health Ordinance, 1940	10
13.	Spread earth dump and make good	Direct Municipal action through District Administration	5
14.	Remove concrete parapet wall built by Police authorities	.. ..	2
15.	Remove stone walls, eject inhabitants, make good to walls	Public Health Ordinance, 1940	25
16.	Clear cactus, tidy and widen path	Direct Municipal action through District Administration	100
17.	Level earth and tidy	.. ..	50
18.	Remove 7 huts (eject inhabitants) and tidy	Public Health Ordinance, 1940	300
19.	Remove 4 tin huts and 13 rubble huts and sheds and 3 stores, and tidy up	.. ..	1,000

continued

Appendix 11 cont.

Item No. on Plan	Details	Recommended Action	Cost (£P)
20.	Remove squatters in wall and make good	Public Health Ordinance, 1940	5
21.	Remove stone lean-to shed, eject inhabitants from wall and make good	.. ..	25
22.	Remove sheds	.. ..	5
23.	Repair dangerous ruin, remove debris and make good	Municipal action through Dangerous Structures By-Laws	200
24.	Remove hut	Public Health Ordinance, 1940	3
25.	Remove tin huts adjoining wall	.. ..	10
26.	Remove concrete hut	.. ..	10
27.	Remove 2 sheds	.. ..	2
28.	Remove 10 lean-to sheds with tin roofs	.. ..	15
29.	Remove hut, tile roof	.. ..	10
30.	Remove 3 concrete huts abutting City Walls	.. ..	50
31.	Remove 2 huts in wall	.. ..	15
40.	Remove 4 lean-to sheds with tin roofs	.. ..	30
41.	Remove tin sheds used as garages and stores	.. ..	100
Total			2,706
(b) List B: Buildings, etc., Requiring Future Action			
32.	Remove wood store and tile roof, etc., including girders	Town Planning Ordinance	100
33.	Remove iron bridge	.. ..	50
34.	Remove lean-to huts	Public Health Ordinance, 1940	25
35.	Remove latrines and make good	.. ..	25
36.	Demolish garage and connecting concrete covered bridge	Town Planning Ordinance	150
37.	Reduce height of parapet wall and make good	.. ..	10
38.	Remove municipal latrines	Direct Municipal action	–
39.	Remove and make good shops and buildings immediately inside New Gate	Town Planning Ordinance (shown as open space)	1,000
42.	Remove building, store, etc., adjoining Jaffa Gate – Municipal property	Town Planning Ordinance (for open space)	250

continued

Appendix 11 cont.

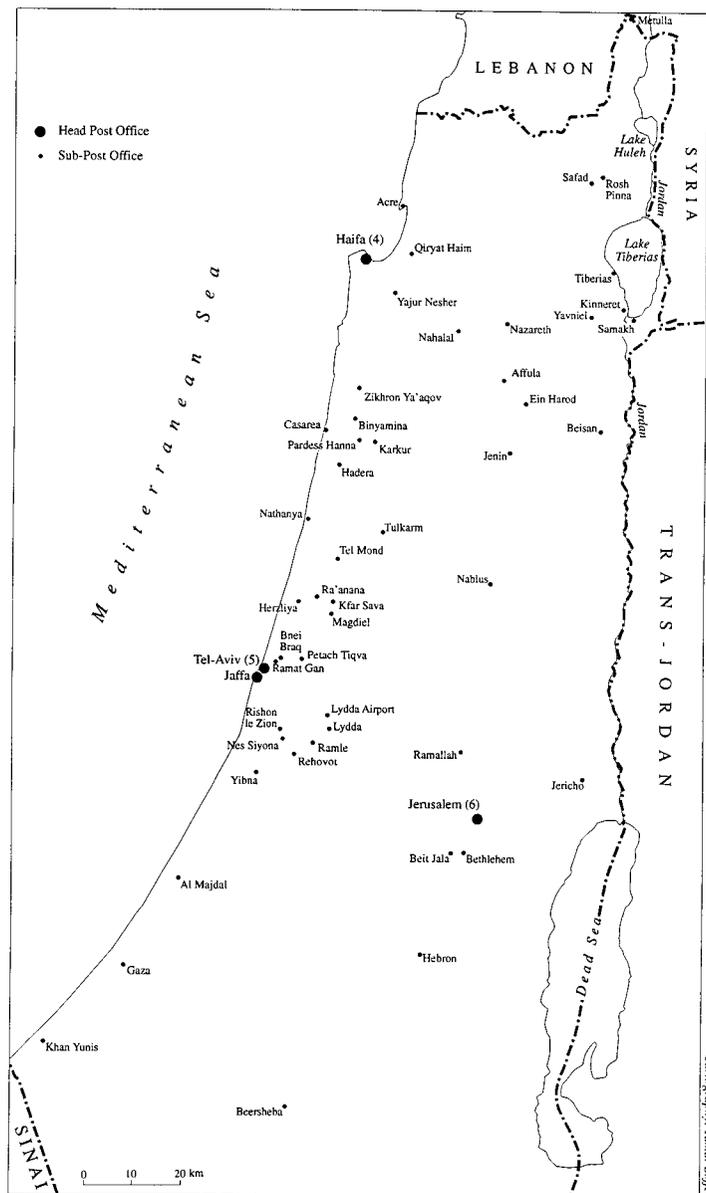
Item no. on Plan	Details	Recommended Action	Cost (£P)
43.	Remove 1/3 earth and terrace for use as garden	Direct Municipal action through District Administration	2,000
Total			3,610
(c) List C: Summary			
1.	Cost of removal in List A		2,706
2.	Cost of removal in List B		3,610
3.	Recurrent expenditure recommended		
	(a) 2 <i>ghaffirs</i> (supernumerary police)		200
	(b) maintenance, etc.		500
Grand Total			7,016

Source: Memorandum by Kendall, Chairman, City Sub-Walls Committee, 13 January 1944, Enclosure II, MacMichael to Colonial Secretary Oliver Stanley, 13 January 1944: PRO/CO733/467/76094.

Public Record Office.

Appendix 12

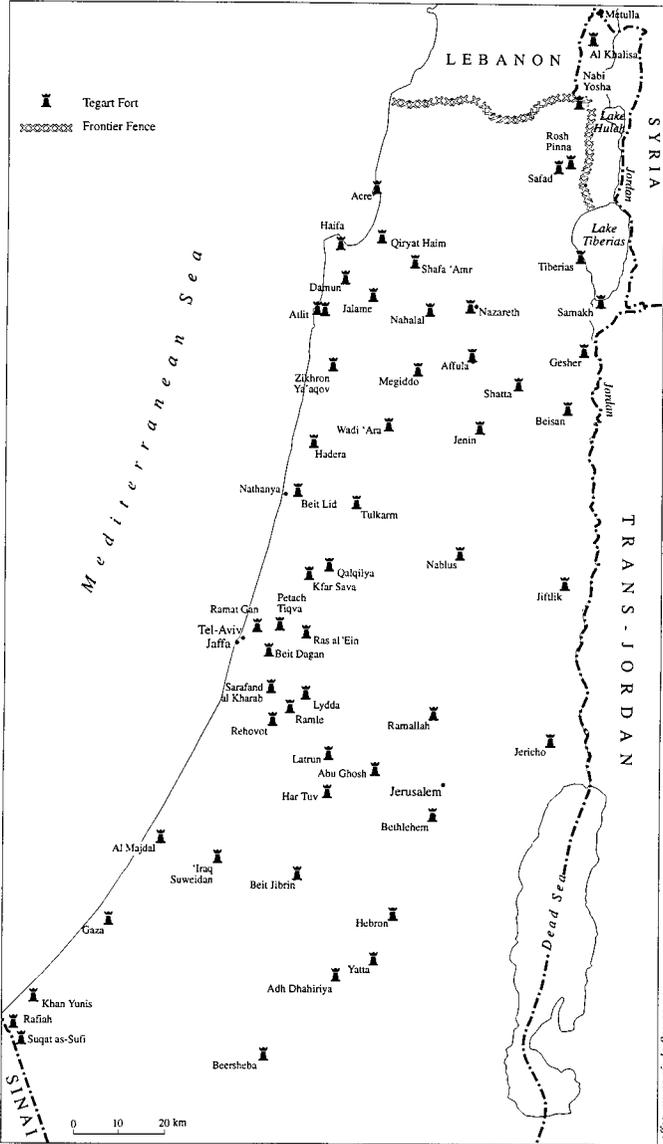
Head Post Offices and Sub-Post Offices, 1938



Source: Based on listings in Government Post Office, *Palestine Post Office Guide, 1938* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1938), pp. 145–6.

Appendix 13

Tegart Forts



Source: Based on Jehuda Wallach, *Carta's Atlas of Palestine: From Zionism to Statehood*, 2nd revd edn (Jerusalem: Carta, 1974), Map 93 [Hebrew].
 Copyright © Carta, Jerusalem.

Appendix 14

Grants-in-Aid to Municipal Corporations, Northern District, 1936/7

Municipal Corporation	Amount of Grant-in-Aid Applied for (£P)	Grant-in-Aid Recommended by District Commissioner (£P)	Grant-in-Aid Approved by Government for 1935/6 (£P)
Haifa	118,450	76,450	18,000
Acre	11,360	10,810	2,032
Beisan	500	500	750
Nablus	7,770	7,770	7,155
Nazareth	7,400	1,500	500
Jenin	3,400	3,400	750
Safad	23,800	4,000	500
Shafa 'Amr	550	550	336
Tiberias	6,270	1,500	2,500
Tulkarm	3,000	3,000	400
Total	182,500	109,480	32,923

Source: E. Keith-Roach, District Commissioner, to the Treasurer, 24 October 1935: ISA/Gp27/G.189/2624.

Appendix 15

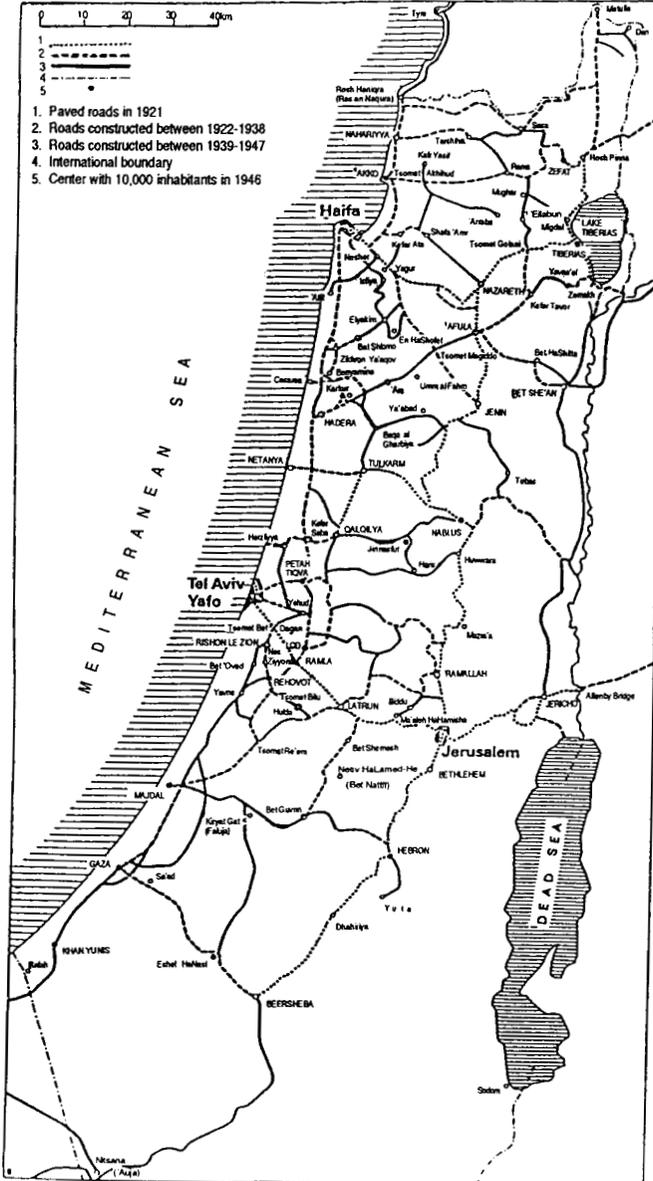
Grants-in-Aid Allocations between the Different Districts, 1932–40

District	Actuals		Approved Estimates	Proposed Allocation
	1932/3 (£P)	1937/8 (£P)	1938/9 (£P)	1939/40 (£P)
Jerusalem District				
Jerusalem	16,750	43,943	15,500	10,000
Others	1,510	3,000	2,500	1,500
Southern District				
Jaffa	9,238	15,000	11,000	7,000
Tel-Aviv	9,775	25,000	21,000	14,000
Others	1,520	3,500	2,000	1,500
Haifa and Samaria District				
Haifa	8,000	22,000	14,600	10,000
Nablus	2,744	4,500	4,050	3,000
Others	210	1,175	1,350	900
Galilee and Acre District				
Acre	150	1,750	1,450	1,000
Safad	875	375	680	500
Others	660	1,126	870	600
Total	51,432	121,369	75,000	50,000

Source: Robert Scott for Chief Secretary, to All District Commissioners, 31 December 1938: ISA/Gp27/G.189/39–40/2624.

Appendix 16

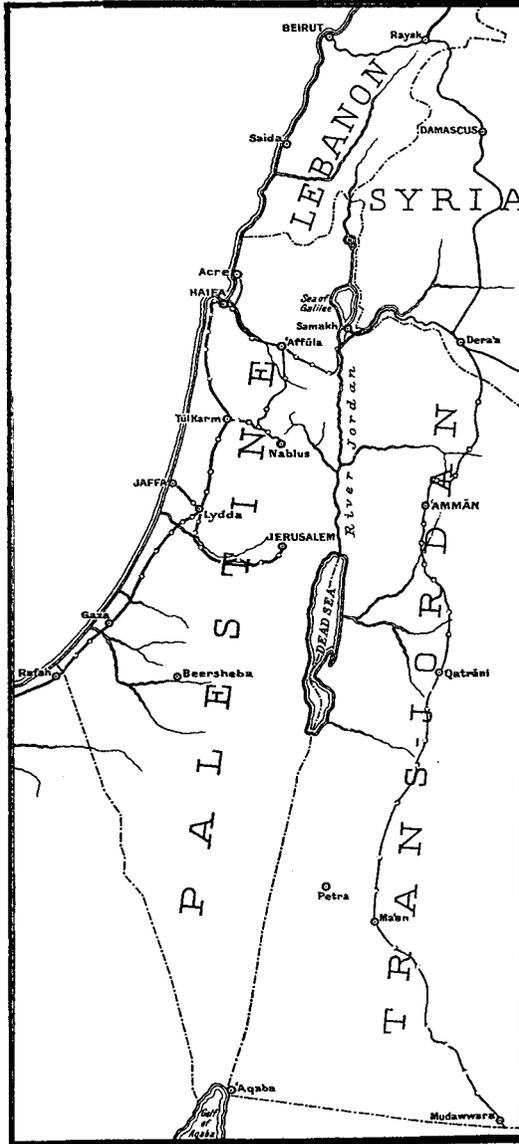
Expansion of Road Network, 1920-47



Source: Shalom Reichman, 'The Evolution of Land Transportation in Palestine, 1920-1947', *Jerusalem Studies in Geography*, 2 (1971), p. 64.

Appendix 17

Palestine Railways, 1939



Source: Palestine Railways, *Report of the General Manager on the Administration of the Palestine Railways and Operated Lines for the Year Ended 31st March 1939* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1939), inside cover.

Appendix 18

Construction Material and Household Density in a Sample Five Arab Villages, 1944

(a) Dwelling Units, Rooms and Dwellers According to Construction Material of Outer Walls and Roofs

Dwelling Units with		No. of Dwelling Units	No. of Rooms	No. of Persons	Per Cent of		
Outer Walls of	Roofs of				Dwelling Units	Per Cent of Rooms	Per Cent of Persons
Stone	Concrete	32	78	199	6.5	7.6	6.7
	Wood	302	542	1,890	62.0	53.0	63.4
	Stone	9	27	75	1.9	2.7	2.5
	Varying	9	34	81	1.9	3.3	2.7
Mud	Concrete	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Wood	130	326	712	26.7	31.9	23.9
	Stone	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Varying	—	—	—	—	—	—
Some walls of stone and others mud	Concrete	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Wood	1	5	10	0.2	0.5	0.3
	Stone	2	8	7	0.4	0.8	0.2
	Varying	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tents		2	2	10	0.4	0.2	0.3
Total		487	1,022	2,984	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Department of Statistics, 'Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in Arab Villages, 1944', *General Monthly Bulletin of Current Statistics*, 10, 9 (1945), p. 563.

continued

Appendix 18 cont.

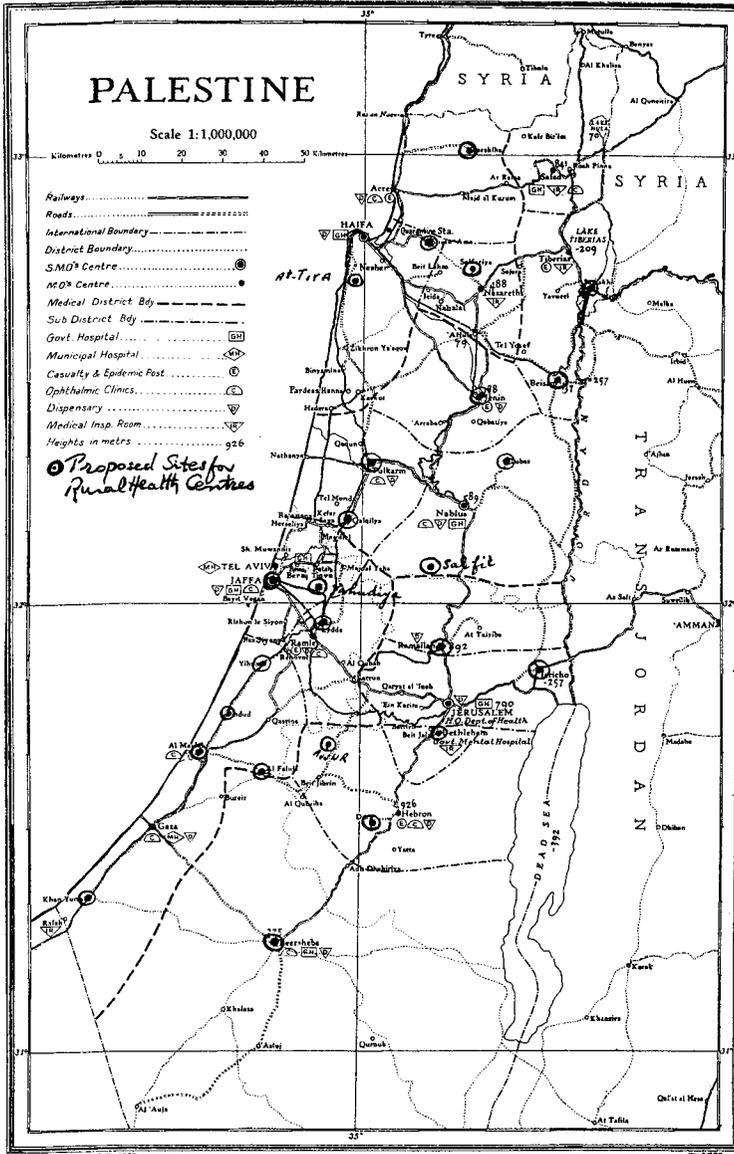
(b) Average Density of Households of Different Sizes

No. of Persons in Household	Average Density (Persons/Room)
1	0.7
2	1.5
3	2.3
4	2.4
5	2.9
6	3.1
7	3.2
8	3.1
9	3.7
10	3.2
11+	3.3

Source: Department of Statistics, 'Conditions in Arab Villages, 1944', *General Monthly Bulletin of Current Statistics*, 10, 9 (1945), p. 567. This table may be juxtaposed with Moshe Brawer's on the 'Growth and Dispersion of Typical Arab Villages in Palestine during British Rule', in which location, population increase (1922–47), population density/dunam (1920s and 1946–7), and population outside the village's nucleated area (1946–7) are given in his publication 'Transformation in Arab Rural Settlement in Palestine', in Ruth Kark (ed.), *The Land that Became Israel: Studies in Historical Geography* (New Haven, CT/London/Jerusalem: Yale University Press/Magnes Press, 1990), p. 177.

Appendix 19

Proposed Sites for Rural Health Centres, Palestine Health Administrative Division



Note: Writing in key added by El-Eini.

Source: Application for CDF Grant for Rural Health Centres in Palestine, n.s., n.d. [1945?]: ISA/Gp12/1/13/4090.

Appendix 20

Congestion in Arab Urban Areas, 1946

Town	Population (1944)	Average No. of Rooms Needed to Reduce Density to 2 Persons/Room
Jaffa	68,000	8,217
Haifa	73,000	6,874
Jerusalem	56,000	6,000
Gaza	32,500	3,845
Nablus	24,000	2,700
Hebron	23,000	2,108
Khan Yunis	10,000	1,667
Acre	15,000	1,500
Beersheba	6,000	890
Ramle	17,000	793
Majdal	8,000	453
Tulkarm	9,000	450
Beisan	5,800	411
Bethlehem	7,000	400
Lydda	17,000	400
Faluja	4,625	307
Nazareth	14,000	300
Shafa 'Amr	4,500	262
Beit Jala	5,235	211
Tiberias	4,000	200
Ramallah	5,800	160
Jenin	4,200	155
Qalqilya	4,000	100
Safad	4,000	100
Total	421,660	38,503

Source: A Survey of Palestine, p. 803.

Appendix 21

Area under Tobacco Cultivation and Crops Produced, 1926-42

Year of Crop ^a	Turkish Tobacco		Arabic Tobacco		Tombac		Heisheh Tobacco ^b		TOTAL	
	Area Planted (Dunams)	Crop (Kilos)	Area Planted (Dunams)	Crop (Kilos)	Area Planted (Dunams)	Crop (Kilos)	Area Planted (Dunams)	Crop (Kilos)	Area Planted (Dunams)	Crop (Kilos)
1926	7,339	470,324	1,164	47,897	174	25,669	319	8,229	8,996	552,119
1927	6,922	370,580	2,192	109,662	734	52,152	457	14,348	10,305	546,742
1928	7,119	299,835	654	34,620	141	7,382	-	-	7,914	341,837
1929	18,737	1,069,442	1,765	113,753	308	10,749	-	-	20,810	1,193,944
1930	22,314	908,209	1,075	46,215	127	3,531	-	-	23,516	957,955
1931	13,073	485,463	379	18,178	32	588	-	-	13,484	504,229
1932	11,621	544,287	569	21,331	179	5,771	-	-	12,369	571,389
1933	9,066	399,594	265	3,029	448	17,906	-	-	9,779	420,529
1934	17,610	897,103	1,433	61,241	905	52,859	-	-	19,948	1,011,203
1935	21,461	774,513	660	34,410	185	5,804	-	-	22,306	814,727
1936	29,560	1,205,235	390	27,381	161	4,178	-	-	30,111	1,236,794
1937	54,322	2,428,764	582	57,824	506	17,615	-	-	55,410	2,504,203
1938	27,828	1,154,000	394	18,000	290	8,000	-	-	28,512	1,180,000
1939	14,552	504,000	402	9,000	183	10,000	-	-	15,137	523,000
1940	20,142	942,839	446	30,979	234	11,659	-	-	20,822	985,477
1941	19,757	554,892	405	16,148	350	18,448	-	-	20,512	589,488
1942	24,345	1,386,057	342	5,916	502	26,701	-	-	25,189	1,418,674

^a Year of planting; for example, the 1935 tobacco crop represents tobacco planted in 1935 and registered in 1936.

^b Heisheh cultivation was permitted in the Beersheba Sub-District only and was uncontrolled; its production was not registered.

Note: No plantation records were made for 1925 as planting for that year began prior to the promulgation of the Tobacco Ordinance of May 1925. The total crop, including tobacco, tombac and heisheh for 1925 was 678 kilos. Detailed records for 1943 onwards were not found (for example, Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Palestine, 1944-45*, p. 270).

Source: Department of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of Palestine for the Year 1943*, No. 11 of 1944 (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1943), p. 73.

Appendix 22

Number and Distribution of Tobacco Growers, 1936-46

	1936	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946
Northern District											
Haifa	84	336	259	224	257	270	445	501	649	504	596
Nazareth	65	210	34	45	39	42	78	97	116	102	95
Acre	1,322	2,414	1,810	907	1,583	1,597	1,877	1,982	2,168	2,077	1,832
Tiberias	45	115	30	9	8	1	2	2	-	-	-
Beisan	4	21	5	6	2	5	5	4	2	2	2
Safad	860	802	640	826	546	561	588	695	798	721	654
Rosh Pinna	64	69	69	78	76	77	76	73	109	66	61
Metulla	-	30	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nablus	-	7	4	-	5	9	7	2	-	-	-
Tulkarm	-	21	1	-	10	20	27	26	59	1	1
Jenin	-	91	11	15	14	9	84	206	185	164	130
Sub-total	2,444	4,116	2,863	2,115	2,540	2,591	3,189	3,588	4,086	3,637	3,371
Southern District											
Jaffa and Ar Ramle	9	12	28	11	28	27	20	19	44	40	40
Jerusalem District											
Sub-total	29	55	33	14	60	62	77	29	62	79	52
Total	2,473	4,171	2,896	2,129	2,600	2,653	3,266	3,617	4,148	3,716	3,423

Source: R.W.B. Belt, Director, Customs and Excise, to Chief Secretary, 30 December 1946: ISA/CSO2/A/13/42/103/Vol.II.

Appendix 23

Imports into Palestine of Fresh and Dried Dates, 1927–32

Year	Fresh Dates		Dried Dates	
	Quantity (Tons)	Value (£P)	Quantity (Tons)	Value (£P)
1927	192	1,652	1,786	24,756
1928	314	2,496	2,062	22,356
1929	363	2,570	1,343	17,742
1930	293	1,896	1,070	11,043
1931	559	3,296	1,450	11,517
1932	621	3,761	2,309	18,572
1933 ^a	–	–	1,600	11,073

^a First six months.

Source: Statement from Customs Department, enclosed with T. Dawe, Director of Agriculture and Forests, to Chief Secretary, 25 December 1933: ISA/CSO2/A/264/33/Vol.I.

Appendix 24

The Twenty-Six Varieties and the Origins of Dates Introduced from Different Countries into the Jericho Horticultural Station, 1935

Name	Origin	Name	Origin
1. Daghlat Nur	California	14. Al Fard	Muscat via Trans-Jordan
2. Hayani	Deir al Balah	15. Hilali	..
3. Amri	..	16. Khalas	..
4. Ashrazi	Iraq via Kinneret Nursery	17. Kash Hanzal	..
5. Bashi	..	18. Kash Hawami	..
6. Bonfashi	..	19. Khewaizi	..
7. Emir Haj	..	20. Barbi	..
8. Hallawi	..	21. Zaghoul	Egypt
9. Mizawi	..	22. Samani	..
10. Khadrawi	..	23. Saidi	..
11. Khustawi	..	24. Amri	..
12. Maktoum	..	25. Bint Aisha	..
13. Tabuzal	..	26. Amhat	..

Source: Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Annual Report, 1935*, p. 168.

Appendix 25

Date Offshoots Established at Government Stations, (1945?)

Jericho Station

From Iraq

Ashrazi	2
Bashi	4
Braim	2
Bonfashi	1
Emir Haj	1
Ghantar	4
Hallawi	6
Mizawi	1
Khadrawi	3
Khustawi	2
Maktoum	5
Tabuzal	2

From Muscat

Al Fard	1
Khewaizi	2

From Deir al Balah

Hayani	10
--------	----

Farwaneh and Beisan Station

Hayani	20
--------	----

Majdal Station

Hayani	10
--------	----

Source: Dates, Memorandum by [?], Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, [1945?]: ISA/CSO2/A/264/33/Vol.I.

Appendix 26

Linseed Production

(a) The Geography of Linseed Cultivation, 1931

	Village	Seed Sown (Kg)	Yield (Kg)	Sold (Kg)	Left for Seed (Kg)
Jaffa–Ramle Area	Beit Dajan	100	450	400	50
	Beit Nabala	250	200	200	50
	Idhnibba	50	100	100	–
Jerusalem–Ramallah Area	Saffa	40	180	180	–
	Beit Sira	10	45	45	–
	Beit Sira	10	30	30	–
Gaza Area	Beit Hanun	293	632	–	632

Source: S. Antebi, Agricultural Officer, Southern Circle, to Chief Agricultural Officer, 19 October 1932: ISA/Gp7/12/4/1/632.

(b) Linseed Cultivation, 1928–34

Year	Dunams	Tons
1928/9	882	54
1929/30	2,836	174
1930/1	11,182	269
1931/2	6,882	347
1932/3	1,270	15
1933/4	400	–

Note: In 1930–31, seed advances repayable at harvest time were made to farmers by the Shemen Oil Company.

Source: Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Annual Report, 1934*, p. 28.

Appendix 27

Modern Beekeepers and Beehives in Palestine, 1932-35

Sub-District	No. of Villages			No. of Beekeepers			No. of Hives					
	1932	1933	1934	1935	1932	1933	1934	1935	1932	1933	1934	1935
Jerusalem	1	8	14	20	1	11	23	37	98	193	232	400
Ramallah	-	5	7	15	-	6	8	18	-	38	51	125
Bethlehem	-	2	1	2	-	2	1	2	-	3	3	4
Jericho	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	41
Hebron	-	2	2	2	-	6	9	14	-	36	59	185
Jaffa	15	15	23	25	66	68	111	125	2,281	3,298	5,887	7,473
Ramle	10	9	13	16	47	44	49	114	1,375	1,360	2,778	3,653
Gaza	1	2	4	25	1	2	7	48	68	76	29	255
Haifa	7	9	12	24	44	55	72	88	1,444	2,006	3,383	4,362
Acre	1	1	1	3	1	1	2	3	160	160	140	72
Nazareth	9	8	11	11	12	12	14	15	441	276	315	482
Beisan	3	3	3	5	5	5	5	8	131	190	202	595
Tiberias	2	2	2	5	7	2	2	8	113	103	250	155
Safad	6	5	9	17	7	6	10	43	294	297	315	681
Tulkarm	1	1	13	19	1	1	27	50	39	39	302	371
Nablus	-	-	2	3	-	-	3	18	-	-	19	31
Jenin	-	-	4	9	-	-	4	14	-	-	20	55
Total	56	72	121	203	192	221	347	607	6,444	8,075	13,985	18,940

Note: Records started being kept more systematically in 1932 (Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Report, 1931 and 1932*, p. 163, though after 1935, they were once again inconsistent and incomplete.

Source: Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Annual Report, 1936*, p. 156.

Appendix 28

Government Agricultural Education Facilities in the British Empire, 1937

Place	Agricultural Teacher Training (Farm or Institution)		Agricultural School or Training Centre	Years of Training	No. of Students/Year (Total for All Schools)	Other
	No.	No. Trained/Year				
West Africa						
Gold Coast		Had facilities, but no data available	1	3	23	-
Nigeria	2	60	2	2	14-15	-
Sierra Leone	-	-	-	-	-	-
East and Central Africa						
Kenya	-	-	2	3	150	5 Veterinary training centres
Northern Rhodesia	-	-	3	30	?	2 as part of general schools
Short courses with practical experience to train Agricultural Instructors						
Nyasaland	-	-	1	2	?	Adult training centre planned
Tanganyika						
Uganda	2	?	1	5	?	-
Zanzibar	1	9	-	-	-	-

continued

Place	Agricultural Teacher Training (Farm or Institution)		Agricultural School or Training Centre	Years of Training	No. of Students/Year (Total for All Schools)	Other
	No.	No. Trained/Year				
The Mediterranean						
Cyprus	Some training at experimental farms; considered new teacher training school (general and agricultural)		Closed Agricultural School (1911-34)	?	?	-
Malta	Courses planned		-	-	-	-
Palestine	1	10	2	2	100-120	- Mt Tabor Jewish School: only teacher training courses
The East						
Ceylon	Courses	12	4	4 months-2 years	10-22	-
Malaya	1	?	2	1-2	80+	-
Mauritius	Courses	?	1	3	30	-
West Indies and British Columbia						
Barbados	-	-	-	-	-	-
British Guiana	Agricultural apprenticeships begun in 1908 of year courses at experimental stations, stock farm and nurseries					
Jamaica	Scheme for further training		1 (oldest in Empire)	3	60	-

continued

Appendix 28 cont.

Place	Agricultural Teacher Training (Farm or Institution)		Agricultural School or Training Centre	Years of Training	No. of Students/Year (Total for All Schools)	Other
	No.	No. Trained/Year				
West Indies and British Columbia (cont.)						
Tobago (Trinidad)	Very little. Gave 12 free scholarships to Imperial College, Trinidad Trained teachers at 2 general schools					
Trinidad	—	—	1	3 (also postgraduate)	24-30	—
Windward and Leeward Is.	2-year training courses at experimental stations and nurseries				10-24	—
The Pacific						
Fiji	Closed the Agricultural School; planned a training school			?		—

Source: Compiled from *A Survey of Vocational Agricultural Education in the Colonial Empire*, Colonial No. 124 (London: HMSO, 1937); Palestine Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, various years; and for Mount Tabor, Dr B. Morrison, Director of Education, *Vaad Letumi*, to Director of Agriculture, Palestine Government, 2 May 1941: ISA/Gp7/AG/50/648.

Appendix 29

Industrial Distribution of the Population Aged 15-60

	Average in 1939		Average in 1942	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Agriculture	183,100	100,000	126,200	150,000
Forestry	500	—	600	—
Fishing	1,100	—	1,200	—
Mines and Quarries	4,300	—	4,700	—
Manufacturing (including handicrafts and privately owned public utilities)	43,000	7,000	51,900	14,000
Building and construction (including PWD and construction for War Departments)	27,000	1,000	61,500	1,500
War Departments civilian employment excluding construction	1,700	—	24,600	400
Armed Forces	—	—	20,000	1,200
Transport and Communication	20,500	300	23,200	300
Commerce and Finance	37,500	4,000	37,500	5,200
Government and Municipal Services (including Police)	20,000	1,000	30,000	1,500
Personal Services (including hotels and restaurants)	10,800	19,200	12,200	22,850
Other Services	14,300	8,000	16,000	10,500
Unproductives	6,200	228,500	7,000	200,950
Total	370,000^a	369,000^a	416,600^a	408,400^a

^a Includes 10,000 male and 10,000 female illegal immigrants.

Note: These figures were not further broken down into religious groups.

Source: G.E. Wood, Government Statistician, *Survey of National Income of Palestine*, Confidential (For Official Use Only), No. S 4 of 1943 (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1943), p. 12.

Appendix 30

Summary, Empire Forestry Conference Recommendations, 1921, 1923 and 1928

Forestry Policy

- Set a 'definite and permanent general policy'
- Laws protecting water supply and preventing erosion; control shifting cultivation; manage private forests better
- Provide forestry assistance and afforestation near demand centres, and meet agricultural needs
- Trained forest staff to manage forests serving local or communal needs
- Amalgamating services is a 'short-sighted economy'. Keep Forestry and Agriculture separate
- 'Strictly commercial' relations between Forests Department and other Government Departments
- Public education on forestry's importance and educate from school level

Forest Technique

- Government-organised management of State Forests, ensuring forest products, and assisting agriculture

Survey of Resources

- Ensure stable forestry policy by collection, organisation and dissemination of facts on forests and their future

Constitution and Status: For Continued Forestry Development, Stabilise Forestry Policy by

- Defining forestry policy in a Forestry Act or Ordinance
- Reserving forest land, securing its management and development, ensuring it is not alienated
- Sufficient funding
- Granting Forestry Service members civil servant status
- Appointing highly trained Forestry Chief Officers; selection and promotion by merit only
- In colonies without governments, have officer(s) with special forestry policy and works duties

Organisation of Forest Industries

- Maintain Forest Authority links with timber organisations and other forest product consumers

Publicity

- Publicise and educate re forestry, aims and policy for public's co-operation

continued

Appendix 30 cont.

Plant Distribution

- Gratis/cost price plant distribution from Government/private nurseries, to encourage tree-planting

Research: Three Principles

- State to be primary researcher since it is the main forest owner and research is long-term work
- Trained and qualified researchers not to be hampered by routine or administrative duties
- Ensure salaries attract and retain most highly qualified

Research Subdivisions

- Growing forest crops
- Timber uses and other forest products

Research Subjects: Growing Forest Crops: One adequately funded officer in each part of the Empire

- Silviculture, including regeneration
- Statistical investigation into growth and volume, thereby gathering data for forest management
- Forest botany, ecology, mycology and etymology
- Soil
- Meteorology
- Wood technology
- Products other than timber

Conditions for Good Silviculture

- State to set forest policy, and 'be content to leave' timber-growing policy to expert silviculturist
- Classification of forest areas to remain under forest or for other uses
- Dedication to forestry of other parts and to remain forest
- Demarcate forest areas so that they are definite to all
- Regulation of dedicated forests under definite plans of management (working plans)

Comment: It is in a regulated forest that silviculture is most effective and production maximised. This is the last stage of order of forest development.

Source: Compiled from FJ. Tear, Memorandum on the Palestine Forest Service, 26 September 1933, enclosed with Dawe to Chief Secretary, 28 September 1933: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.

Appendix 31

Summary of Tear's 1933 Forestry Policy Recommendations in his Memorandum on the Palestine Forest Service

1. Percentage of Land to be Dedicated to Forestry: Factors to Consider

- (i) • Population increase (natural and by immigration)
 - Increased demands for forest produce (rose from £P140,000 in 1922, to £P500,000 in 1933: villagers walk far to larger towns for fuel, wood, firewood and charcoal supplies, transporting these back by rail, car or animal. In Beersheba, problem is 'acute')
 - Loss of natural pasture to agriculture
- (ii) • Significance of forest growth on slopes to ensure rainwater storage by underground springs
 - Prevent further soil denudation on and between the hills
 - Prevent erosion of cultivated lands in the plains
 - Equalise climatic extremes
 - Shelter crops and orchards: important in a country of 35 per cent rocky hills
- (iii) • Large wasteland areas can only be economically developed by afforestation due to steep slopes, poor rainfall, shallow soil and 'impossibility of irrigation': for example, sand dune areas, Hill Country facing Jordan Valley, foothills in western parts of Hebron and Ramle Sub-Districts, parts of Safad, Southern Gaza, and Beersheba
- (iv) • Forestry in long-run is revenue-producing. Takes time to gain results, hence is more suitable to State than private initiative
 - A large total area is needed because of long period to forest maturity; can only cut annual increments to ensure regular and sustained yield

2. Types of Lands to be Dedicated to Forestry

- Lands suited for economic [*sic*] agriculture or horticulture must not be given to Forestry. It is sometimes better, though, to afforest good agricultural land for timber and other forest produce. For example, eucalyptus in plains yielded profits, and fast-growing pine for citrus cases can be grown in deeper, plains soils
- Production of merchantable timber needs reasonable soil depth and fertility, and lower costs to bring existing forest growth to maturity by protection and by replanting banks in a forest soil. Is much cheaper than new-planting denuded soils
- Therefore, because have inadequate forest produce supply in Palestine, it 'is generally justified' to retain existing forests, even on soils that can be converted to agricultural or other use
- Where lands are precipitous or hilly, and where tree removal could lead to soil erosion, damaging crops and orchards, roads, rail lines and settlements, or where forest needed for watershed protection, or to maintain underground springs

Apart from that noted above, Forestry 'will generally be concerned with the poor classes of land'.

Source: Summarised from Tear, Memorandum on the Palestine Forest Service, 26 September 1933: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.

Appendix 32

Summary of Dawe's 1934 Budget and Forestry Policy Recommendations

Subject	Recommendation															
1. Afforestation	<p>5,000 dunams planting/year, in 500-dunam units <i>Note:</i> No definite figure possible because of rainfall irregularities, drought, and labour costs</p> <p>Plantations planned, 1936–37 (<i>see</i>, Map 17) <i>Note:</i> No less than 8 reserves to be planted, also ensuring that not too large an area is closed to grazing, causing hardship to livestock owners</p>															
2. Budget	<p>Increase from £P4,000 (1934/5) to £P15,000 (1938/39) <i>Note:</i> Increased expenditure on afforestation, ensuring trees are first grown in nurseries:</p> <table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 30%;">1934/5 and 1935/6</td> <td style="width: 20%;">£P 4,000</td> <td style="width: 50%;">(of £P19,493 Forest Budget^a)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1936/7</td> <td>£P10,300</td> <td>(no figure given)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1937/8</td> <td>£P12,100</td> <td>..</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1938/9</td> <td>£P13,900</td> <td>..</td> </tr> <tr> <td>1939/40</td> <td>£P13,900</td> <td>(of £P36,462 Forest Budget^a)</td> </tr> </table>	1934/5 and 1935/6	£P 4,000	(of £P19,493 Forest Budget ^a)	1936/7	£P10,300	(no figure given)	1937/8	£P12,100	..	1938/9	£P13,900	..	1939/40	£P13,900	(of £P36,462 Forest Budget ^a)
1934/5 and 1935/6	£P 4,000	(of £P19,493 Forest Budget ^a)														
1936/7	£P10,300	(no figure given)														
1937/8	£P12,100	..														
1938/9	£P13,900	..														
1939/40	£P13,900	(of £P36,462 Forest Budget ^a)														
3. Nurseries	<p>2 central nurseries planned at Acre and Sarafand. Acre: part of the Acre Government Experimental Station; Sarafand: next to the Citrus Demonstration Station, with good water supply Maintain other, smaller nurseries</p>															
4. Staff	<p>To 'preserve and protect what exists' of 'so-called forests' District Commissioners complain of staff shortages For 'conservation and preservation', need: 2 Senior Forestry Officers (sent to study Forestry at Oxford), and increased junior staff</p> <p>Problems Subordinate staff must be supervised to stop abuses and destruction of forest and scrub and loss of forest revenue</p> <p>Senior Staff Need officer with previous colonial experience to supervise forest programme and train locally picked junior staff</p>															
5. Land	<p>To follow Commissioner of Lands' suggestions re which lands are <i>mewat</i> [unoccupied land, for example, stony fields, not owned by title deed^b]; plant only <i>mewat</i> lands, to become State Domain</p>															

continued

Appendix 32 cont.

Subject	Recommendation						
Grazing	<p data-bbox="337 267 978 322">Fiscal Survey, 1 August 1934, showed following areas of forestry and uncultivated lands:</p> <table data-bbox="337 326 897 413"> <tr> <td data-bbox="337 326 613 352">Forests: (a) State Reserved</td> <td data-bbox="732 326 897 352">289,195 dunams</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="433 355 537 381">(b) Private</td> <td data-bbox="732 355 858 381">384,175 ..</td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="433 385 658 411">(c) Uncultivable, other</td> <td data-bbox="716 385 858 411">4,568,483 ..</td> </tr> </table> <ul data-bbox="337 414 955 583" style="list-style-type: none"> • All open to grazing • Closed Forest Reserves total area of 8,000 dunams • Entire Forest Reserve area is under 6 per cent of Palestine's total grazing ground • Closed Forest Areas: provision of best grasses • Encourage rotational grazing 	Forests: (a) State Reserved	289,195 dunams	(b) Private	384,175 ..	(c) Uncultivable, other	4,568,483 ..
Forests: (a) State Reserved	289,195 dunams						
(b) Private	384,175 ..						
(c) Uncultivable, other	4,568,483 ..						

^a Wauchope to Cunliffe-Lister, Despatch, 31 January 1935: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.

^b Note on *Mawat* Land and Forest Reserves, n.s., n.d. [1941?]: ISA/Gp7/F/3/9/6/4164.

Source: Summarised from Dawe to Chief Secretary, urgent, 12 August 1934: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.

Appendix 33

Summary of Sale's Forest and Land Policies, 1936

1. Forestry

Policy

- Wide-range rural planning
- Buy land important to water supplies and soil conservation: big acquisitions for rising population
- Land buys, including Forest Reserves declared State Domain, to be divided into three categories: a) Forest; b) Grazing; c) Protected
 - a) Forest Lands
 - Best land to be used for forest produce. Soil to be good enough for high forest, and early and major improvement. Large blocks for Working Series, giving continuous produce and work for skilled labour in nearby villages
 - Forest section specifically for water conservation and prevention of soil erosion
Produce not an aim here. Forest size and shape dependent on local circumstance
 - Village Forests: 'Reasonably productive land' near village 'solely' to supply it forest produce (fuel, small timber). Material paid by villagers; produce almost free if villagers work without pay; free/very cheap Forests Department supervision; low guarding costs
 - b) Grazing Lands
 - Due to slow agricultural education, need to provide fodder in hills and prevent erosion
 - Need grazing grounds where suitable and nutritious shrubs and grasses grown. Areas to be closed as necessary, limiting animal numbers. Charge only for minor costs (for example, fencing)
Comment: Overgrazing practised because gives 'maximum immediate benefit', but destroys land's productive power, preventing recovery
 - c) Protected Lands
 - Buy headwater areas of important streams or rivers requiring protection. Afforest steepest slopes; rest to be terraced and prepared for productive forestry or controlled horticulture
Note: Land must not be alienated or terraces may be left to deteriorate; and State horticulture is 'undesirable'. Best to lease land at low rent, but with 'stringent conditions', ensuring water and soil conservation, settling 'men of good type' on land of 'desolate eroded slopes'
 - Advantage of terracing: can devote to fruit trees, notably increasing their number since mixed forest and fruit tree plantations fail

continued

Appendix 33 cont.

2. Land*Policy*

- Set aside approx. 15 per cent of Palestine's total area for Forestry
- Department of Forests to care for land too poor for agriculture. 'Cultivable land', as defined by Director of Agriculture (land on which can grow crops regardless if profitable or not), also applies to growing forest produce. Slopes and catchment areas should be purchased and afforested for water conservation (in accord with Empire Forestry Conference Resolution No. II.)

Sale's Comments

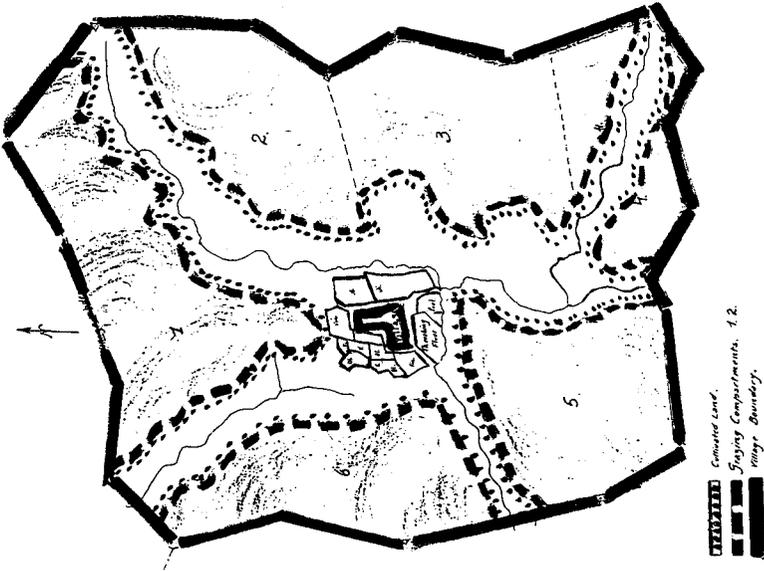
- Palestine's total area 27,009,000 dunams
 - Desert 10,000,000 ..
 - Potential high forest, scrub and agricultural area 16,000,000 ..
 - Of 16,000,000 dunams, 1,400,000 (less than 10 per cent) has some forest characteristic: in reality, majority is grazing ground with little scrub or no vegetation
 - Forest of valuable scrub and plantations (approx.) 200,000 dunams
 - Total area Forest Reserves (approx.) 739,000 ..
 - Many small blocks, strips and private property in Reserves
 - Population increases (natural and by migration) causing rural 'devastation'
 - Whole fertile area is divided into 'villages', and no reserved State Land is unconnected to a village
 - Nearly all land possible is claimed as private or communal
 - Rest of land has private land enclaves and unclear rights attached
-

Source: Summarised from Sale, Preliminary Note on Forest Policy, 16 September 1936, enclosed with Sale to Chief Secretary, 16 September 1936: ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.

Appendix 34

Sale's Schematic Plan for Management of Grazing Grounds, 1936-50

PLAN FOR MANAGEMENT OF GRAZING GROUNDS.
1936-1950



Compartments.

Year	1	2	3	4	5	6
1936	C	C	C	C	O	S
1937	C	S	C	C	O	O
1938	C	O	S	C	C	O
1939	C	O	O	S	C	C
1940	C	C	O	O	S	C
1941	C	C	C	O	O	S
1942	S	C	C	C	O	O
1943	O	C	S	C	C	O
1944	C	C	O	S	C	C
1945	C	C	O	O	S	C
1946	C	C	C	O	O	S
1947	S	C	C	C	O	O
1948	O	S	C	C	C	O
1949	O	O	C	S	C	C
1950	C	O	C	O	S	C

Sowing in 1.
Tending in 1.
do.
Sowing in 2.
Tending in 2.
do.
Sowing in 3.
Tending in 3.
do.

C = closed to all grazing.
S = open to sheep and oxen only.
O = open to general grazing on permit.

(a) Idealised Map of Managed Grazing Grounds.

(b) Land-Use Rotation in Compartments.
Source: Sale, Supplementary Note to Forest Policy Report, enclosed with Sale to Chief Secretary, 16 September 1936; ISA/CSO2/AF/109/36/20/Vol.I.

Appendix 35

Forest Areas and their Percentages in Colonial Dependencies

Country	Total Forest Area (Sq Miles)	Forest in Total		Forest Reserves		Forest According to Ownership		
		Land Area (%)	Area (and Year) (Sq Miles)	Land Area (%)	Total Land Area (%)	State (%)	Corporate (%)	Private (%)
British Guiana	78,680	87.3	513 (38)	0.57	99.4	..	0.6	
British Honduras	8,007	90.0	221 (38)	2.76	52.0	22.0	26.0	
Ceylon	16,704	66.8	2,211 ³ (37)	9.00	99.4	0.2 ¹¹	0.4	
Cyprus	652	18.2	622 (37)	17.35	95.4	1.1	3.5	
Fiji	3,655	51.6	53 (38)	0.75	0.5	..	99.5	
Gold Coast	13,900 ¹	15.1	5,682 ⁴ (38)	6.17	0.4	99.6 ¹²	..	
Jamaica	..	..	309 (38)	7.00	..	..	..
Kenya	6,021 ¹	2.7	5,347 (37)	2.40	76.3	20.4 ¹²	3.3	
Malaya	41,390	81.1	10,471 (37)	19.70	100.0	..	..
Mauritius	175	25.0	105 ⁵ (36)	15.00	64.5	..	35.5	
Nigeria	219,050 ²	59.5	20,090 (37)	5.45	11.5 ⁹	88.5 ¹²	..	
North Borneo	24,158	82.3	455 (37)	1.55	95.8	..	4.2	
Northern Rhodesia	176,000 ²	61.0	454 (34)	0.16	54.7	43.6 ¹²	1.7	
Nyasaland	4,440 ²	11.8	2,623 (37)	6.99	92.6	7.1 ¹³	0.3	
Sarawak	41,000	89.1	1,863 ¹⁷ (38)	4.05	100.0	..	..
Sierra Leone	1,500 ¹	5.5	766 (37)	2.75	7.7	92.3 ¹²	..	
Tanganyika	4,432 ¹	1.3	4,060 ⁶ (38)	1.18	94.0 ¹⁰	2.0 ¹⁰	4.0	

continued

Appendix 35 cont.

Country	Total Forest Area (Sq Miles)	Forest in Total		Forest Reserves		Forest According to Ownership		
		Land Area (%)	Land Area (%)	Area (and Year) (Sq Miles)	Total Land Area (%)	State (%)	Corporate (%)	Private (%)
Trinidad and Tobago	871	44.0		461 ⁷ ('37)	23.24	95.5	..	4.5
Uganda	5,703 ¹	7.1		2,047 ⁸ ('37)	2.54	100.0	..	..
Total	646,338			58,353				
India ¹⁴	266,019	24.2		112,934 ¹⁶ ('36)	10.25	63.2	0.5	36.3
Burma ¹⁵	166,060	65.6		34,645 ('36)	13.68	100.0	..	..

¹ Excluding savannah forests, thorn bush, and cut areas, estimated in Tanganyika alone at 70,000 square miles.

² Including savannah forests.

³ Exclusive of a large area above 5,000 feet, alienation of which is forbidden.

⁴ Finally constituted 3,760 square miles.

⁵ Crown forests under the control of Forest Department. In addition, there is a considerable area of forest protected by law and under the care of other departments or in private ownership.

⁶ Government forest reserves: in addition, 107 square miles of native communal reserves.

⁷ Including 47 square miles proposed for reservation.

⁸ Demarcated and undemarcated Crown land: reservation of further areas totalling over 3,000 square miles under consideration.

⁹ State forest is taken to mean anything reserved, whether Government or Native Administration reserves, on the ground that both categories have the character of State forest.

¹⁰ Reserved forests only.

¹¹ Village forests constituted under the Forest Ordinance: these are the property of the State, and might be classed under State forests.

¹² Native communities and tribal authorities.

¹³ Village forests.

¹⁴ Including Burma and the Federated Shan States.

¹⁵ Including the Shan States.

¹⁶ Including 6,812 square miles of 'protected forest'.

¹⁷ Including 1,328 square miles of 'protected forest'.

Note: One mile=approx. 1.609 kilometres.

Source: R.S. Troup, *Colonial Forest Administration* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 120; and by permission of Oxford University Press.

Appendix 36

Periodisation in Forest Reserves

(a) Forest Reserves Gazetted (Following Periodisation, Sample Years, 1925/6, 1928/9, 1936/7 and 1939)

District/Division	1925/6		1928/9		1936/7		1939	
	No. of Reserves	Approx. Area (Dunams)	No. of Reserves	Approx. Area (Dunams)	No. of Reserves	Approx. Area (Dunams)	No. of Reserves	Approx. Area (Dunams)
Northern District/Division								
Haifa	16	46,390	2	19,221	—	—	82	135,415
Acre	9	74,769	3	2,041	—	—	13	77,904
Nazareth	6	16,528	—	—	1	84	37	85,520
Tiberias	6	11,626	—	—	—	—	17	17,162
Nablus	9	81,805	—	—	—	—	9	81,805
Jenin	23	229,000	—	—	—	—	23	229,000
Tulkarm	1	5,000	—	—	—	—	4	7,074 ^a
Safad	3	2,800	—	—	—	—	4	6,664
Betsan	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1,072
Total	73	467,918	5	21,262	1	84	190	641,616
Southern District/Division								
Jerusalem	6	6,050	—	—	—	—	9	9,384
Bethlehem	1	400	—	—	—	—	3	3,947
Ramallah	3	1,300	—	—	—	—	3	1,300
Jericho	1	3,500	—	—	—	—	1	3,500

continued

Appendix 36 cont.

District/Division	1925/6		1928/9		1936/7		1939	
	No. of Reserves	Approx. Area (Dunams)						
Ramle	14	10,800	—	—	—	—	17	12,573 ^a
Hebron	22	27,320	—	—	—	—	52	36,960
Gaza	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	32,224
Total	47	49,370	—	—	—	—	88	99,888
Grand Total	120	517,288	5	21,262	1	84	278	741,504^b

^a Three Forest Reserves totalling 2,972 dunams were cancelled on 12 July 1934, 4 March 1937 and 8 April 1937.

^b Estimated areas as gazetted.

Source: Compiled from Department of Agriculture and Forests, *Report, 1931 and 1932*, p. 196, (*AR, 1934*), p. 103, (*AR, 1935*), p. 123, (*AR, 1936*), p. 55. Also, Department of Forests, *Report, 1936-39*, p. 20.

continued

Appendix 36 cont.

(b) Final Department of Forests Summary of Forest Land Categories, 1946

A. Allocated State Domain

- AI. State Forest (State Domain, Allocated, Closed Forest Area and Forest Reserve)
- AII. Allocated State Domain (State Domain, Allocated, Forest Reserve)
- AIII. Allocated State Domain not Reserved (State Domain, Allocated, not Forest Reserve)

B. State Domain Not Allocated

- BI. Closed State Domain (State Domain, Closed Forest Area, and Forest Reserve)
- BII. Open State Domain (State Domain Forest Reserve)
- BIII. State Domain (not Forest Reserve)

C. Unassigned State Domain

- CI. Closed Forest Reserve (Closed Forest Area, and Forest Reserve)
- CII. Open Forest Reserve (Demarcated)
- CIII. Open Forest Reserve (not demarcated)

D. Private Forest (Under Protection and Management of Department of Forests)

Note: Changes in land categories and gazetting requirements caused a discontinuity in the figures after 1939, and are presented according to Goor's final report on forestry land in 1946.

Source: A.Y. Goor, Acting Conservator of Forests, *List of Forest Reserves by Categories, 31.12.46* (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1947), Sheets Nos 2 and 3.

continued

Appendix 36 cont.

(c) Land Category Areas by District and Sub-District

District	Sub-District	Category A			Category B			Category C			Category D		Total (Dunams)
		AI	AII	AIII	BI	BII	BIII	CI	CII	CIII	D		
A. Galilee	1. Acre	-	-	-	512.184	89	139,518	5,302	50,027	2,400	-	58,469,702	
	2. Beisan	297,141	1,072,057	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,369,498	
	3. Nazareth	3,560,194	9,837,127	1,394,273	1,647,083	20,569,251	-	-	20,288,834	14,800	-	72,096,762	
	4. Safad	-	1,149,164	1	1,069,476	3,137,717	-	1,358	21,355	1,950	-	30,020,357	
	5. Tiberias	2,418,253	138,763	52,832	2,452,889	12,082,722	-	-	-	-	53,600	17,199,059	
B. Haifa	Haifa	11,886,634	36,148,143	1,173,736	7,671	39,815,606	330	1,974	16,218,717	-	5,381,489	120,604,325	
C. Samaria	1. Jenin	-	-	-	-	-	-	10,560	122,069,062	-	-	132,629,062	
	2. Nablus	19,050	-	-	-	-	-	737	171,065	-	-	171,821,050	
	3. Tulkarim	1,249,886	509,375	3,834	-	766,216	-	1,593	6,529	-	-	10,651,311	
D. Jerusalem	1. Hebron	-	121	-	1,547	327	-	4,210,100	28,351	-	-	34,556,100	
	2. Jerusalem	1,533,639	-	-	3,864,819	3,051	24	4,239	15,898	-	-	28,610,458	
	{ Jericho Bethlehem	-	-	-	402	-	-	-	1,085	-	-	1,487	
E. Lydda	1. Jaffa	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
	2. Ramle	112,750	-	11,814	-	-	-	534	600	-	-	1,258,564	
F. Gaza	1. Beersheba	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,000	-	100,000	
	2. Gaza	10,833,826	49,658,552	2,577,832	-	11,493	10	-	-	-	81	74,654,210	
Total		31,911,373^a	98,634,181	5,215,321	19,166,451	91,331,512	503,518	30,507,100	453,486,613^b	119,150	5,516,089	855,427,458	

^a A typing error in the original gave this total as 31,911.673.

^b A typing error in the original gave this total as 453,491.613.

Source: Goot, *List of Forest Reserves*, Sheets Nos 2 and 3.

Appendix 37

The Four Types of Land Management for Closed Forest Areas (Closed to Grazing and Other Forms of Interference), 1936

Type	Management
(a) Experimental	The area of land devoted to an experiment depends on the nature of the experiment, and records are kept in full detail, both technical and financial
(b) Special	In areas of special importance or difficulty, where accelerated afforestation is desired, intensive management is necessary. The land is divided into compartments of approximately 100 dunams and full records of working [<i>sic</i>] are kept for each compartment. The area is afforested by planting or sowing suitable species and by subsequent tending operations
(c) Productive	Where forest produce could be obtained from an area it will be divided into compartments for purposes of record, and a working plan made to determine areas and dates of cutting, and methods of regeneration
(d) General	Ruined lands closed for regeneration will be divided into 'Blocks' of approximately 500 dunams based on the area which one labourer can protect and work. The cost of the man engaged on guarding and cultural operations will be charged against the Block, and a report made periodically on the condition of the growing stock. When the vegetation has been completely regenerated, it is hoped that one man will be able to protect several Blocks during the resting period. (Owing to the disturbances [the 1936–39 Arab Revolt], no areas have so far been worked under (c) and (d))

Source: Department of Forests, *Report, 1936–39*, pp. 8–9.

Appendix 38

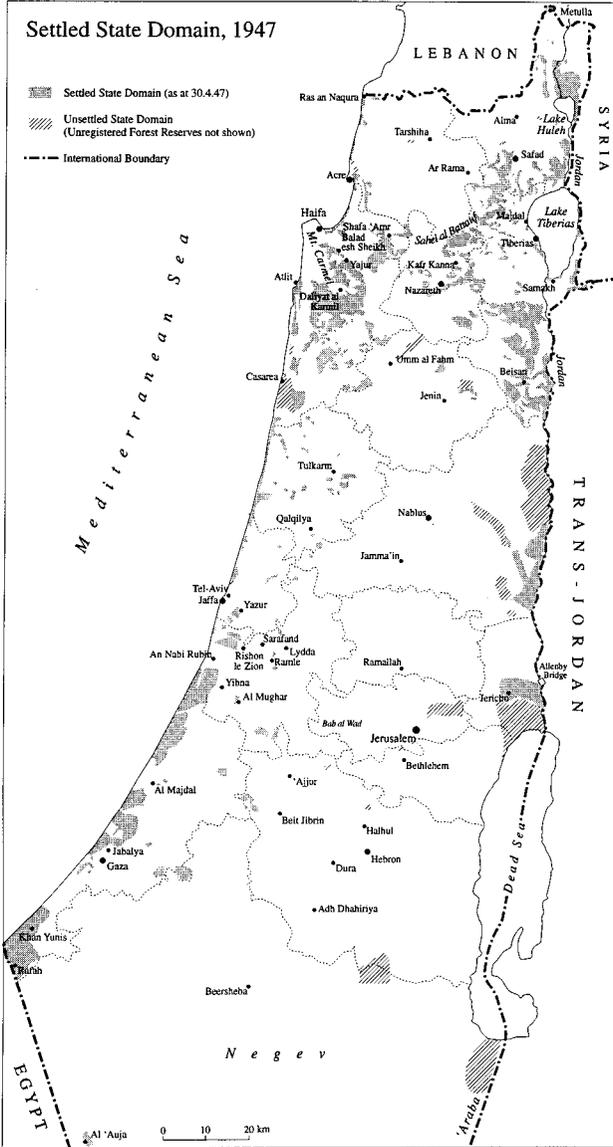
Land Categories as Defined in 1936

Category	Definition
AI State Forest	State Domain definitely allocated to Forestry and declared as Closed Forest Reserve. Allocated by Government authority, while the declarations bring the land legally under the provisions of the Forests Ordinance
AII Allocated State Domain	Land that for some reason (usually security-related) has not yet been declared a Closed Forest Reserve
BI Closed State Domain	Land not yet definitely allocated by Government but which is under Forests Department protection and has been declared a Forest Reserve and Closed Forest Area
BII Open State Domain	Land not definitely allocated which has been declared a Forest Reserve but not a Closed Forest Area
BIII State Domain not Forest Reserve	Includes land which is to be declared, or such land as nurseries, etc., where declaration is unnecessary or delayed
CI Closed Forest Reserve	Land not registered as State Domain, which has been declared a Forest Reserve and a Closed Forest Area
CII Open Forest Reserve	Land which has been declared a Forest Reserve, but not closed to grazing and cutting
CIII Undemarcated Forest Reserve	Land similar to CII (Open Forest Reserve), which has been declared a Forest Reserve with approximate boundaries, but which still awaits demarcation and surveying

Source: Department of Forests, *Report, 1936–39*, p. 5.

Appendix 39

Settled State Domain, 1947



Note: Redrawn from original map by Forest Surveyor.

Source: Based on Palestine: Index to Village and Settlements, 900B (ADM)-46[1947(1)], 1:250,000: Maps Department, Bloomfield Library, The Hebrew University.

Appendix 40

Special Areas, 1947

Name of Special Area	Dunams	Date Declared	Reason	Remedies and Comments
1. Tiberias Slope Conservator of Forests in charge	7,500	15.9.1941	Severe damage to Tiberias from badly eroded slopes south of town descending into Sea of Galilee	Terracing; tree planting; grazing control
2. Jaffa-Rishon-Wadi Rubin Sand Dunes Conservator of Forests in charge	57,000	27.8.1942	Prevent sand drift in large dune area south of Jaffa	Large-scale Government and private planting, and tree windbreaks; grazing control
3. Haifa (Carmel Section) Municipal Engineer in charge	23,500	16.9.1943	Bad erosion due to grazing; includes whole Carmel Range within municipality boundary	Preservation and improvement of natural vegetation cover
4. Deir 'Amr Headmaster of Deir 'Amr Orphan School in charge	3,000	26.12.1944	Erosion within village boundaries	Terracing in and around the area, planting forest and fruit trees and vegetables; 90 per cent reduction of grazing animals
5. Ar Rama Supervised by Forest Guard	2,200	26.12.1944	Damage to village land caused by mountain-slope erosion north of village due to building Rama-Buqei'a road and associated destruction of terracing and vegetation	Grazing control; protection Soil erosion checked

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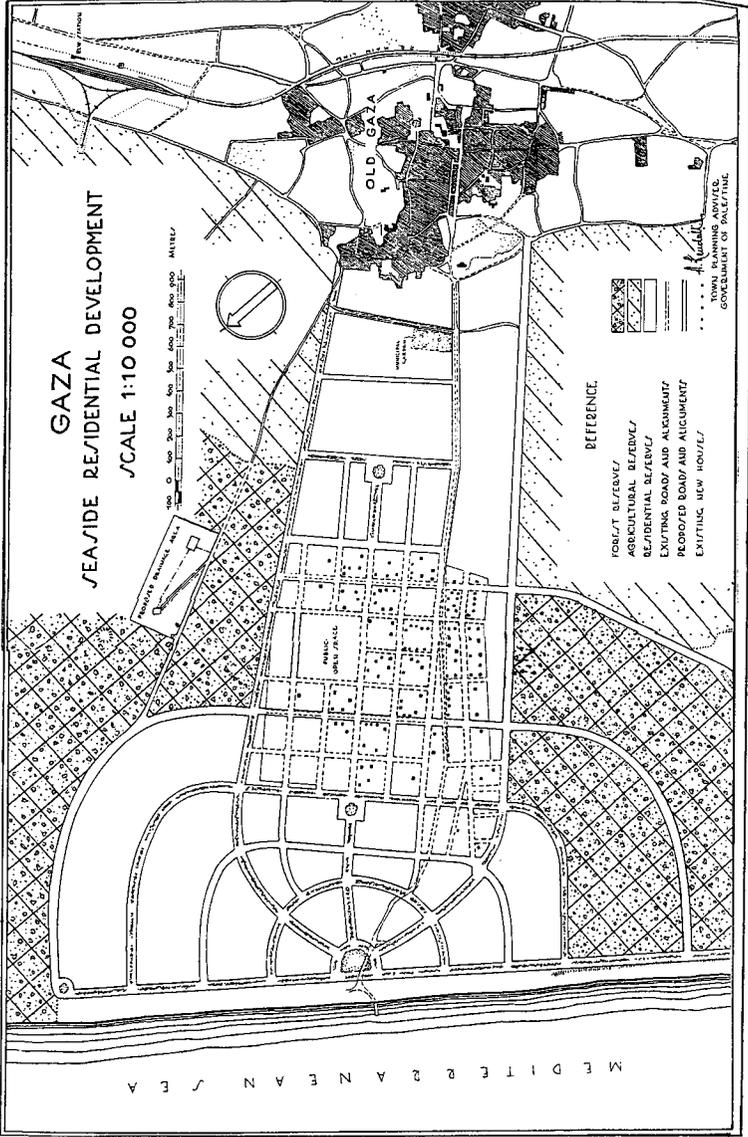
Appendix 40 cont.

Name of Special Area	Dunams	Date Declared	Reason	Remedies and Comments
6. Jerusalem (Western Approaches) Assistant District Commissioner in charge	4,380	26.12.1944	Improve and beautify area; reduce violent floods; restore bare hills; increase land productivity	Encourage villagers to plant fruit trees given gratis because of staff shortages; village reluctance to co-operate
7. Habla Village Lands District Commissioner in charge	1,593	7.3.1945	Improve State Domain, and sell or lease to villagers	Terracing, planting; staff shortage problems
8. Khan Yunis (with Rafah) Assistant District Commissioner in charge	56,500	18.5.1945	Dune encroachment on village land	Private tree planting; grazing control; staff shortage problems
9. At Tureibe-Qurnub Assistant District Commissioner (?)	100,000	22.1.1948	Details not stated	Details not stated

Source: Compiled: Soil Erosion in Palestine, Annual Report, 1946: ISA/GSO2/AF/31/20/41/21; Note, n.s., n.d. [1944?]; ISA/Gp7/E/3/24/4164/Vol.I; Sale, Application for Grant, n.d. [1945?], enclosed, High Commissioner to Colonial Secretary, 1 April 1947: PRO/CO733/492/3/76301/3; Goor, *List of Forest Reserves*, Sheet No. 24; Department of Forests, *Annual Report, 1947*, p. 4; and Et Tureibe-Qurnub Conservation Rules, 1948, under the Flooding and Soil Erosion (Prevention) Ordinance, *Official Gazette of the Palestine Government*, No. 1643, Supplement No. 2, 22 January 1948, p. 39.

Appendix 42

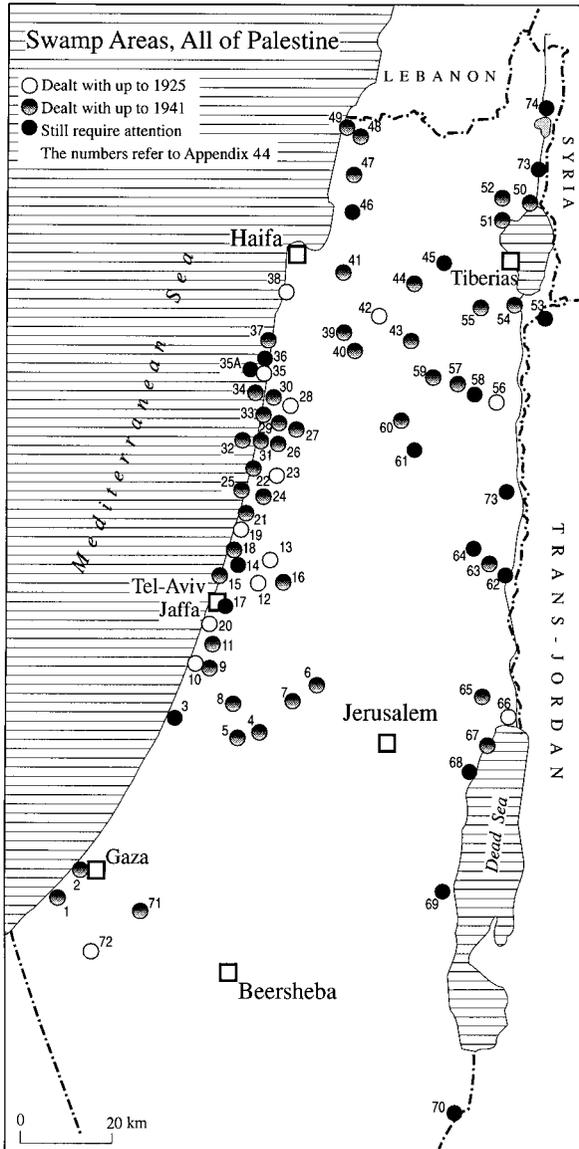
Kendall's Town Plan for [New] Gaza's Seaside Residential Development



Source: Town Planning Adviser, *Annual Report, 1957*, unnumbered map at end of *Report*.

Appendix 43

Swamp Areas, All of Palestine, 1942^a



^a Read with Appendix 44.

Source: Based on Department of Health, *A Review of the Control of Malaria in Palestine (1918–1941)*, (Jerusalem: Palestine Government, 1942 [?]), Map IV.

Appendix 44

Extent of Work in Major Malarial Areas, 1942 (*read with Appendix 43*)

Serial No. on App. 43	Name of Swamp	Location	Approx. Area Drained Dunam Km	Approx. Population Affected ^a	Year Work Completed	Source and Cause	General Scheme of Control Work (in Addition to Oiling or Paris Greening)
1.	Deir al Balah	Gaza	100	2,000	1934	Rainwater blocked by sand	Drained by open channels to the sea
2.	Wadi Ghazza	Gaza	8	600	1929	River bed, springs and seepages	Canalisation: regrading
3.	Wadi Sukreir	Majdal	200	4,000	—	River bed and small adjacent swamps	Canalisation: regrading: still under action
4.	Wadi Sarar	Ramle	5	1,800	1941	Stream bed; springs and seepages	Flushing by dam
5.	Wadi Muqana	Ramle	11	500	1941	Stream bed; spring and seepages	Flushing by dam
6.	Latrun	Ramle	6	1,500	1928	Stream bed	Canalisation
7.	Hulda	Ramle	220	300	1924	Stream bed and pools	Canalised, clearing and filling
8.	Malat	Ramle	100	3,000	1940	Swamp	Drained in 1923 by subsoil pipes: open drains in 1940
9.	Wadi Riziqat	Jaffa	500	3,500	1930	Swamp	Drained by open channels
10.	Nabi Rubin	Jaffa	2,000	8,500 ^b	1939	Swamp and river; seepages	Drainage scheme by dynamiting. Stream regulation

continued

Serial No. on App. 43	Name of Swamp	Location	Approx. Area Drained		Year Work Completed	Source and Cause	General Scheme of Control Work (in Addition to Oiling or Paris Greening)
			Dunam	Km			
11.	Wadi Shimshon	Jaffa	100		1927	Swamp and seepages	Subsoil drainage
12.	Basset Zeitoun	Jaffa	200		1929	Swamp, seepages and springs	Open drains
13.	Upper 'Auja	Jaffa		3	1940	River and swampy banks	Open drains and bank clearing
14.	Middle 'Auja	Jaffa		7	—	River and swamps	Not done yet
15.	Lower 'Auja	Jaffa		5	1939	River with swampy areas along banks	Open drains, canalisation and bank clearing
16.	Ras al 'Ein area	Jaffa	250		1941	Spring area, swamps and river	Open masonry drains, subsoil drains, and clearing
17.	Wadi Musrara	Jaffa		6	1926	Stream, seepages and pools	Regulation canals
18.	Burak Leil	Jaffa	1,800		1937	Rainwater pool	Pumping yearly
19.	Bahret Katturieh	Jaffa	780		1922	Rainwater pool	Drainage by tunnelling
20.	Yazourieh Swamp	Jaffa	500		1936	Rainwater swamp	Open channels
21.	Birket Ramadan	Tulkarm	8,000		1938	Jaffa town area	Open canals by dynamiting.
22.	Wadi Hawarith	Tulkarm	2,500		1931	Marsh, springs and rainwater pools	Filling
23.	Wadi Kabbani	Tulkarm	3,500		1941	Swamp, springs, seepage	Open canals by hand
24.	Birket Hanun	Tulkarm	180		1937	Swamp, springs, seepage	Open canals by dynamiting and by hand
						Rainwater lakes	Pumping annually

continued

Serial No. on App. 43	Name of Swamp	Location	Approx. Area Drained		Year Work Completed	Source and Cause	General Scheme of Control Work (in Addition to Oiling or Paris Greening)
			Dunam	Km			
25.	Birket Samir	Tulkarm	100	1,000	1937	Rainwater lakes	Pumping annually
26.	Gazaza Swamp	Haifa	250	3,500	1926	Swamp and seepage	Open drains
27.	Wadi Sherkes	Haifa	150	7,500	1926	Swamp and seepage	Subsoil drainage
28.	'Ein Asawir	Haifa	100	3,000	1936	Spring and stream bed	Canalisation and dam flushing
29.	Hudeidun	Haifa	-	5,000	1926	Swamp and springs	Subsoil drainage
30.	Birket al Battikh	Haifa	100	7,000	1928	Swamp and springs	Open drainage
31.	Birket 'Atta	Haifa	500	8,000	1929	Rainwater lake	Pumping annually
32.	Birket Taza	Haifa			1929	Rainwater lake	Pumping. Connected to Birket 'Atta
33.	Nahr Hadera	Haifa	-	7,000	1929	Stream bed	Regulating canals
34.	Damaira Swamp	Haifa	500	7,500	1935	Swamp and seepage	Open canals
35.	Kabbara	Haifa	6,000	4,000	1925	Marsh	Open and subsoil channels, filling
35a.	Nahr az Zarqa mouth	Haifa	-	-	-	River mouth with swampy banks	Not done yet
36.	Wadi Duffleh	Haifa	500	1,500	-	Marsh and spring	Not done yet
37.	Tantura	Haifa	1,200	1,000	1929	Marsh pools	Open channels
38.	Atlit	Haifa	750	2,500	1924	Stream pools	Open drains and filling
39.	Abu Zureiq area	Haifa	150	1,000	1929	Seepage springs	Subsoil drainage

continued

Appendix 44 cont.

Serial No. on App. 43	Name of Swamp	Location	Approx. Area Drained		Year Work Completed	Source and Cause	General Scheme of Control Work (in Addition to Oiling or Paris Greening)
			Dunam	Km			
40.	'Ein at Tina	Haifa	50	800	1929	Seepage springs	Subsoil drainage
41.	Qishon River	Haifa	6,000	6,000	1927	Marsh and seepage springs	Filling: concrete open channels and subsoil drains
42.	Nahalal	Nazareth	600	1,500	-	Marsh and seepage springs	Filling: concrete open channels and subsoil drains
43.	Balfuriya	Nazareth	250	2,500	-	Marsh and seepage springs	Subsoil drainage
44.	Saffuriya	Nazareth	-	5,000	1930	Spring and irrigation system	Reservoir and 'rotation' drainage
45.	Sahel al Battauf	Nazareth	120,000	750	-	Rainwater accumulations	Not done yet
46.	Na'amein River	Acre	3,000	9,000	-	River, spring and marsh	Scheme prepared; [works begun in WWII, see ch. 4]
47.	Kabri Area	Acre	-	2,500	1929	Irrigation system; springs	'Rotation' system of drainage
48.	Zib River	Acre	-	1,500	1930	Stream and pools	'Rotation' system of drainage
49.	Musharifa	Acre	60	2,500	1941	Spring and irrigation	Dam with reservoir and canalisation

continued

Appendix 44 cont.

Serial No. on App. 43	Name of Swamp	Location	Approx. Area Drained Dunam Km	Approx. Population Affected ^a	Year Work Completed	Source and Cause	General Scheme of Control Work (in Addition to Oiling or Paris Greening)
50.	Tiberias Lake	Sea of Galilee	- 30	3,000	1935	Lake shore rise and fall, exposing seepages; stream beds entering the lake	Filling and canalisation
51.	Migdal	Sea of Galilee	2,500		1935		
52.	Mudawwara	Tiberias	50	2,000	1937	Springs, seepage and stream	Concrete channel and canalisation
53.	Al Hamma	Tiberias	- 4	300	1930	Marsh and springs; river	Swamp drainage; irrigation system; part of river not controlled
54.	Deganya and Jordan	Tiberias	1,500	7,000	1930	River and swamp	Clearing, filling and canalisation
55.	Mas-ha	Tiberias	- 3	1,000	1929	Springs and stream	Canalisation
56.	Beisan	Beisan	12,800	8,000	-	Springs, swamp and stream	Canalisation and filling
57.	Wadi Tom	Beisan	- 6		1930	Stream	Irrigation scheme
58.	Tel esh Shauk	Beisan	500	4,000	-	Marsh and springs	Much work left to be done
59.	Nuris	Beisan	-		1928	Marsh, springs and seepage	Drainage of various kinds
60.	Wadi Nusf	Jenin	- 8	6,000	1929	Stream, springs and marsh	Canalisation

continued

Serial No. on App. 43	Name of Swamp	Location	Approx. Area		Year Work Completed	Source and Cause	General Scheme of Control Work (in Addition to Oiling or Paris Greening)
			Drained Dunam	Population Affected ^a Km			
61.	Sanur	Jenin	4,000	5,500	-	Winter rainwater swamp	Not done yet
62.	Makhruq	Jordan	500	500	1940	Swamp and springs	Drained by open channels; 'Rotation' system
63.	Jiftik and Damiya	Jordan	-	-	1941	Marsh and seepages	Canalisation. 'Rotation' system
64.	Wadi Fara'	Jordan	3,600	1,000	-	Streams and springs	Not done yet
65.	Jericho	Jordan	800	2,500	1927	Springs and irrigation	Irrigation system regulation and canalisation
66.	Mouth of Jordan	Jordan	100	} 1,500	1929	Lagoons	Filling
67.	'Ein Jehayer	Dead Sea	150		1930	Spring and marsh; seepages	Canalisation. 'Rotation' system
68.	'Ein Feshkha	Dead Sea	400	-	-	Springs, marsh and seepages	Not done yet
69.	'Ein Jedi [Engeddi]	Dead Sea	1,000	-	-	Springs, marsh and seepages	Not done yet
70.	Ghor al Safi	Dead Sea	5,000	-	-	Swamp and stream	Not done yet
71.	Wadi Shari'a	Beersheba	-	} Scattered and varies	-	Stream	Canalisation
72.	Shallal	Beersheba	400		1924	Springs and stream	Canalisation
73.	Jordan River	Jordan	-	-	-	River banks and swamps	Not done; will cost many thousands of pounds

Appendix 44 cont.

Serial No. on App. 43	Name of Swamp	Location	Approx. Area Drained Dunam Km	Approx. Population Affected ^a	Year Work Completed	Source and Cause	General Scheme of Control Work (in Addition to Oiling or Paris Greening)
74.	Huleh	Safad	157,000	25,000	—	Largest swamp in Palestine Swamps, streams and lakes	Not done; will cost many thousands of pounds

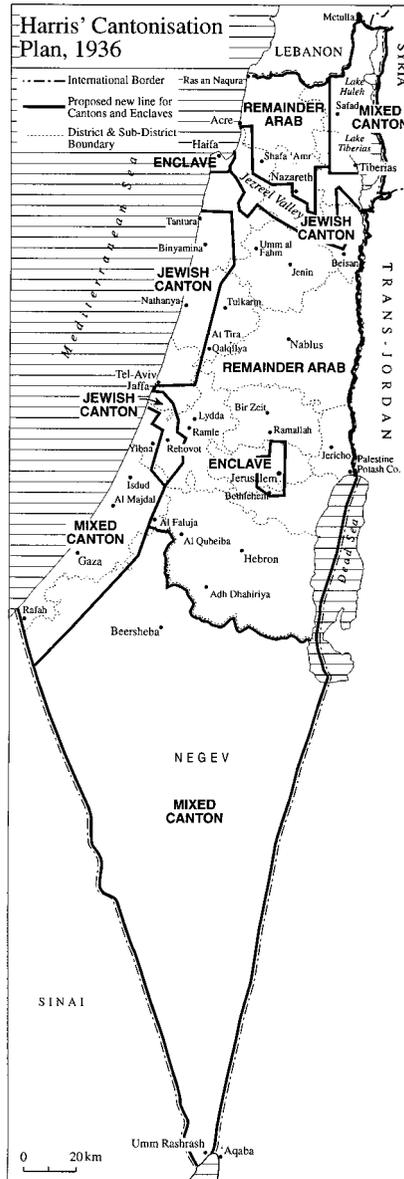
^a Approximate population in 1942 given as affected within a 5-kilometres range; the number affected increased because people tended to gather round the reclaimed areas.

^b 45,000 visited the area during the annual festival period.

Source: Department of Health, *Control of Malaria*, Appendix II, Key to Map IV, pp. 36–9.

Appendix 45

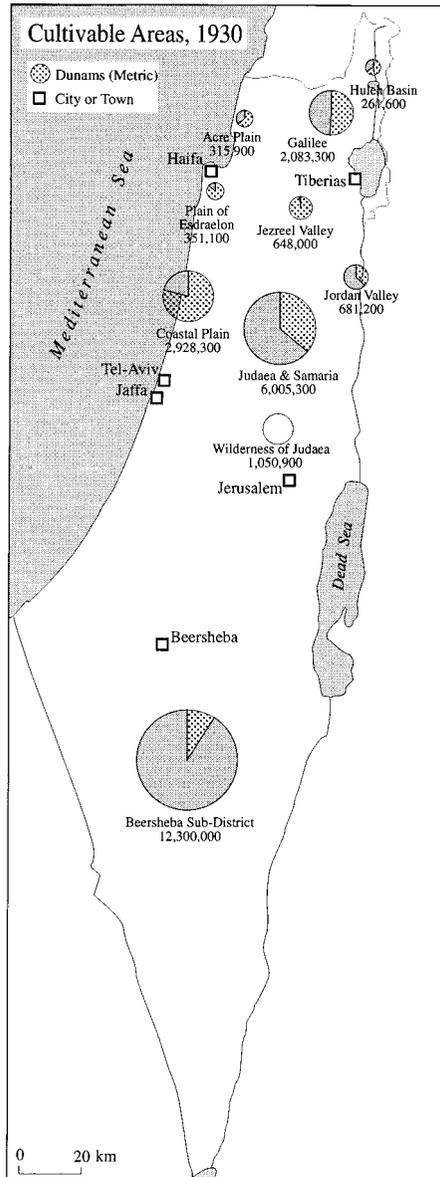
Harris' Cantonisation Plan, 1936



Source: Based on Harris, Cantonisation in Palestine, 4 October 1936: PRO/CO733/302/75288. Public Record Office.

Appendix 47

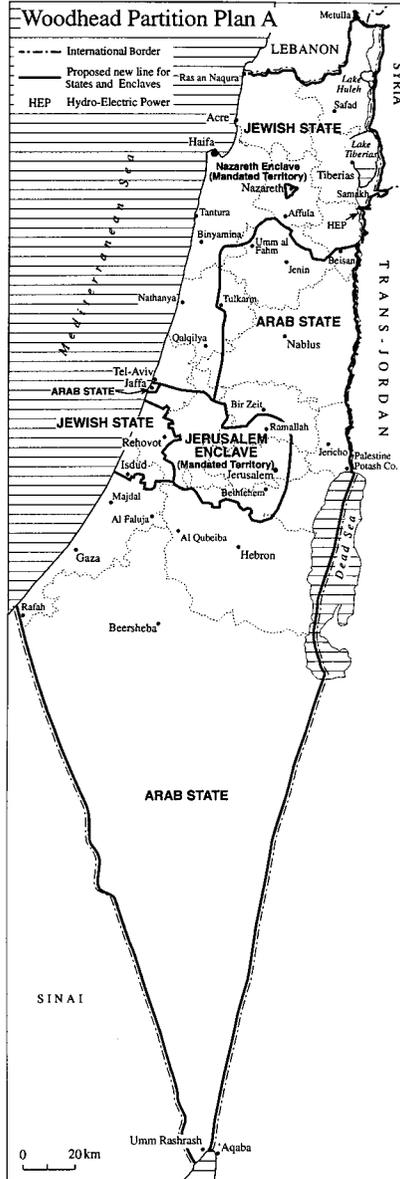
Cultivable Areas, 1930



Source: Based on Maurice C. Bennett, Lands Commissioner (seconded to the staff of Hope-Simpson for the 1930, *Hope-Simpson Report*), 9 October 1936: CZA/S25/6562.

Appendix 48

Woodhead Partition Plan A, 1938



Source: Based on *Woodhead Report*, Map 8.
 Cartography: Tamar Soffer.
 Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Appendix 49

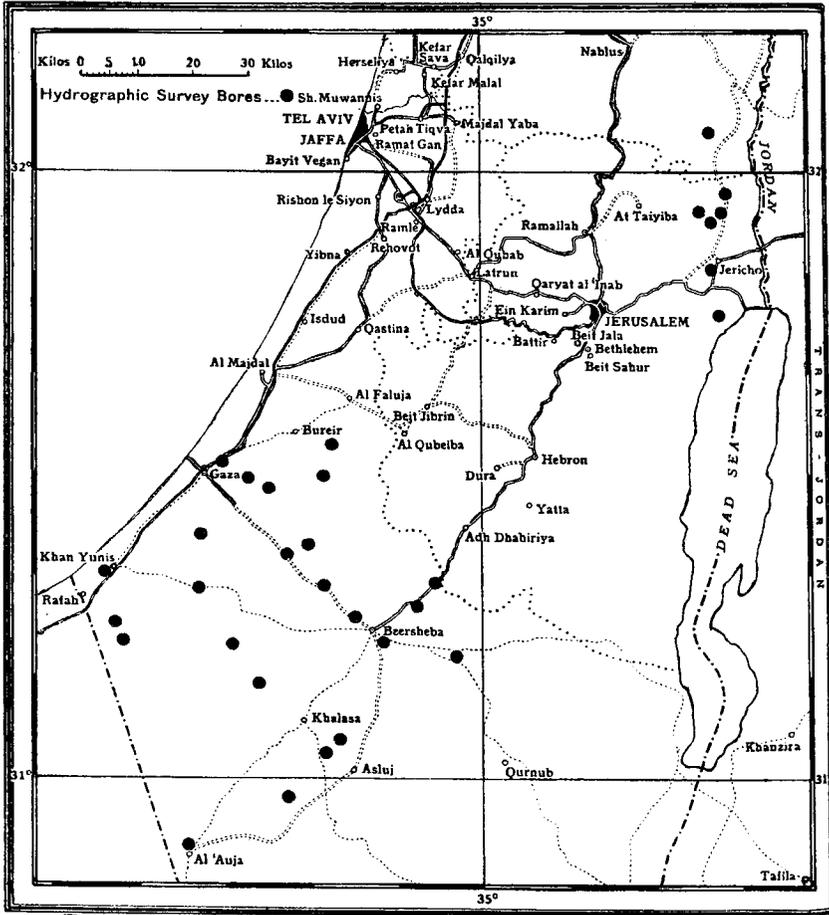
Woodhead Commission's Proposed Boundary between Jaffa and Tel-Aviv



Source: *Woodhead Report*, Map 12.
Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Appendix 50

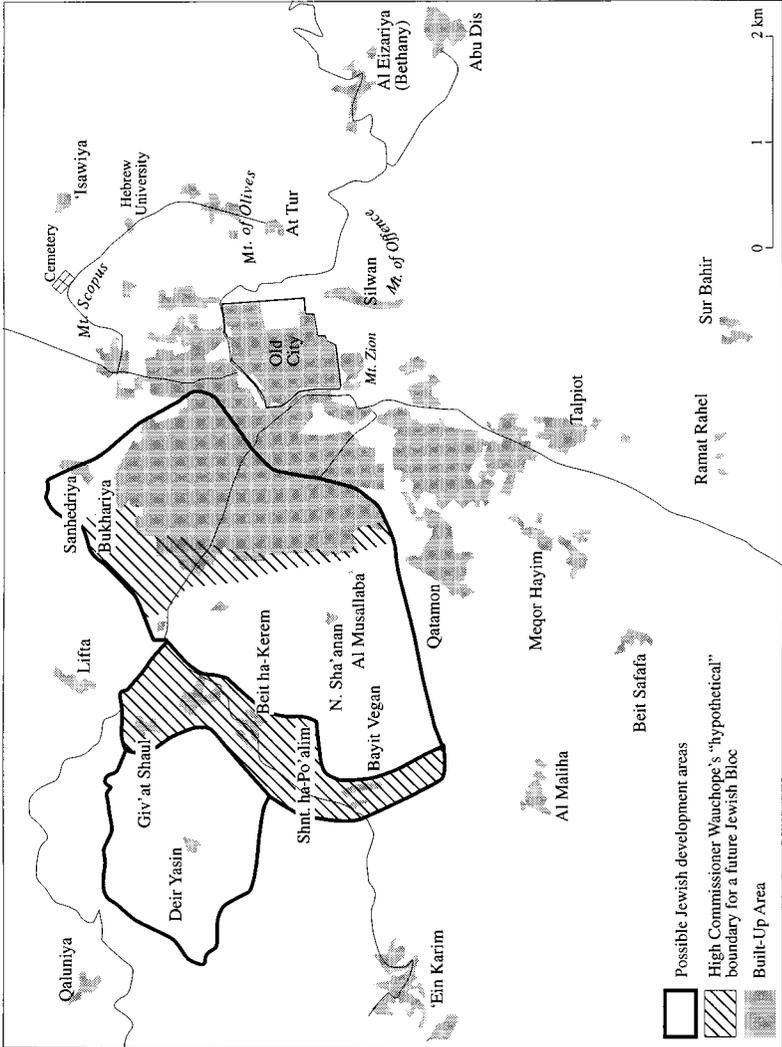
Palestine Hydrographic Survey



Source: Woodhead Report, Map 1.
Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Appendix 51

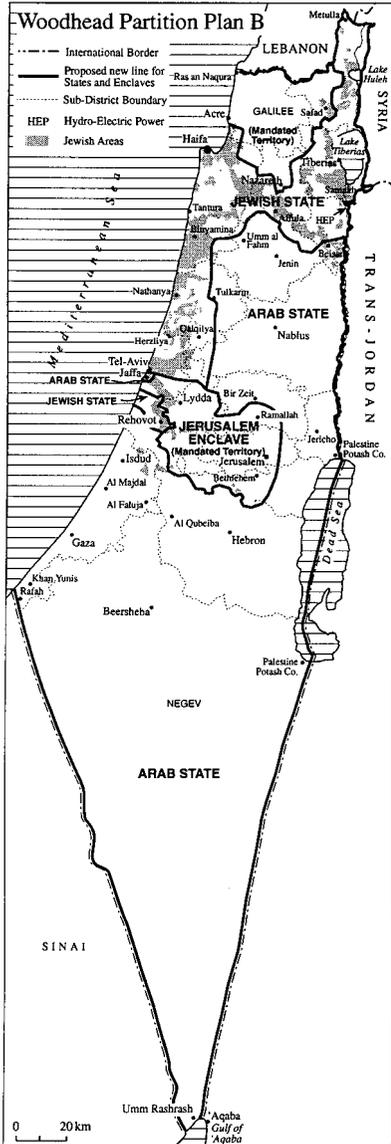
Wauchope's Proposal for Jerusalem, September 1937



Source: Based on Wauchope to Ormsby-Gore, Map C, 2 September 1937: PRO/CO733/54/75731.

Appendix 52

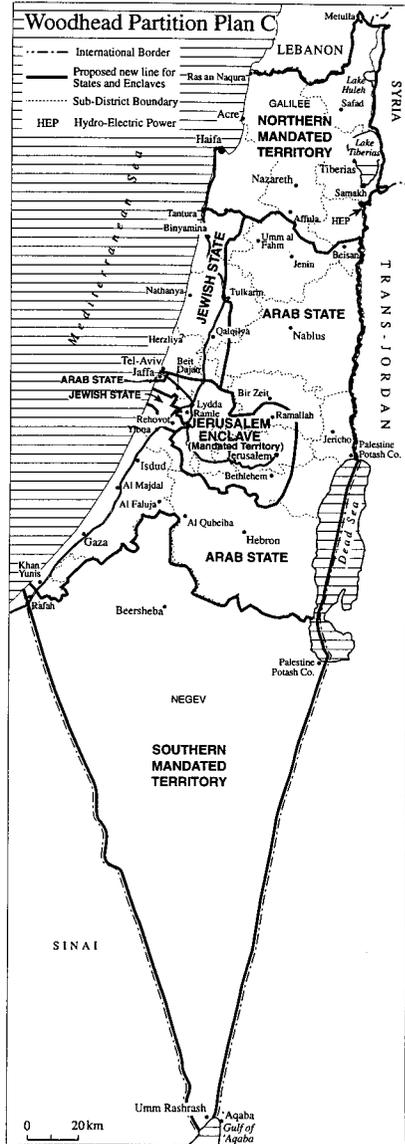
Woodhead Partition Plan B



Source: Based on Woodhead Report, Map 9. Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Appendix 53

Woodhead Partition Plan C

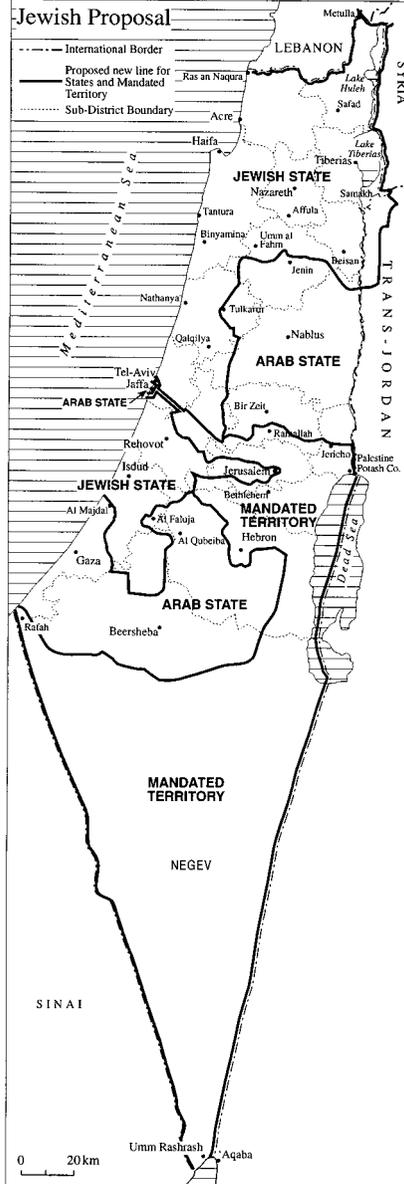


Source: Based on Woodhead Report, Map 10.

Cartography: Tamara Soffer

Appendix 54

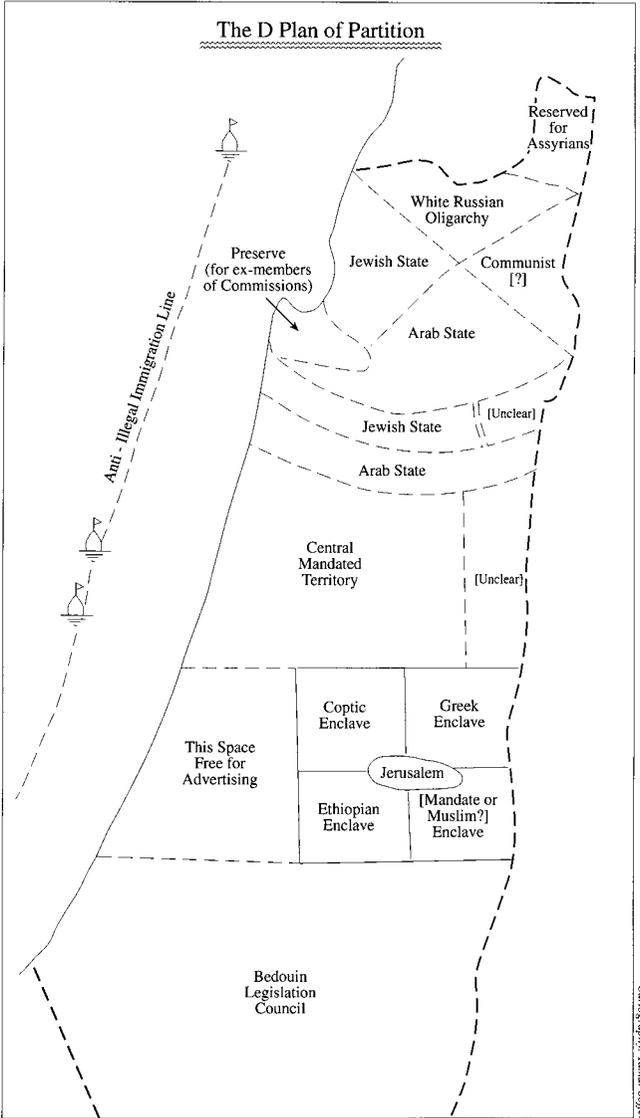
Jewish Proposal



Source: Based on Woodhead Report, Map 7.
 Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Appendix 55

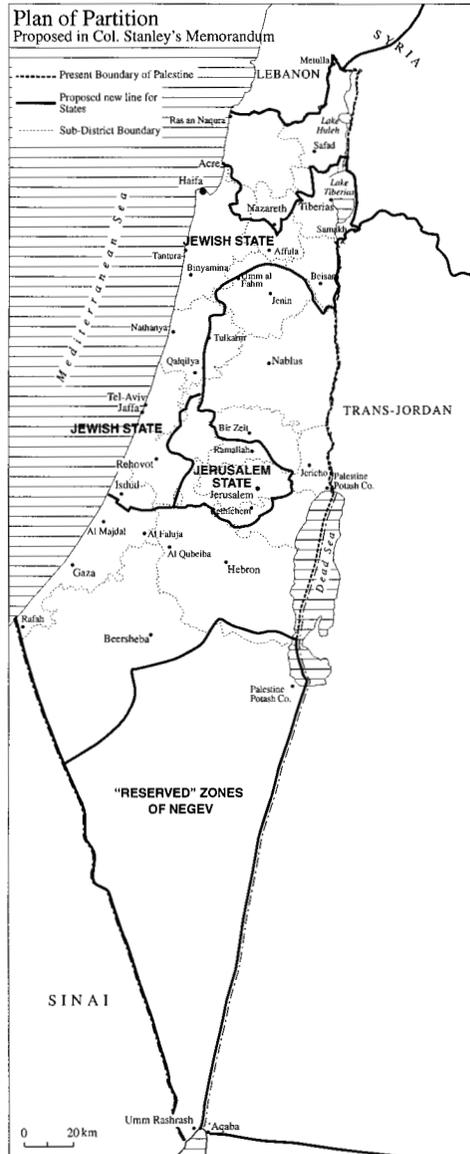
Tegart's D Plan of Partition



Source: Based on Tegart, The D Plan of Partition, [1938?]: Sir Charles A. Tegart, Private Papers Collection, MEC/Tegart/File3/f3.
 Tegart Papers, Private Papers Collection, Middle East Centre, St Antony's College, Oxford University.

Appendix 56

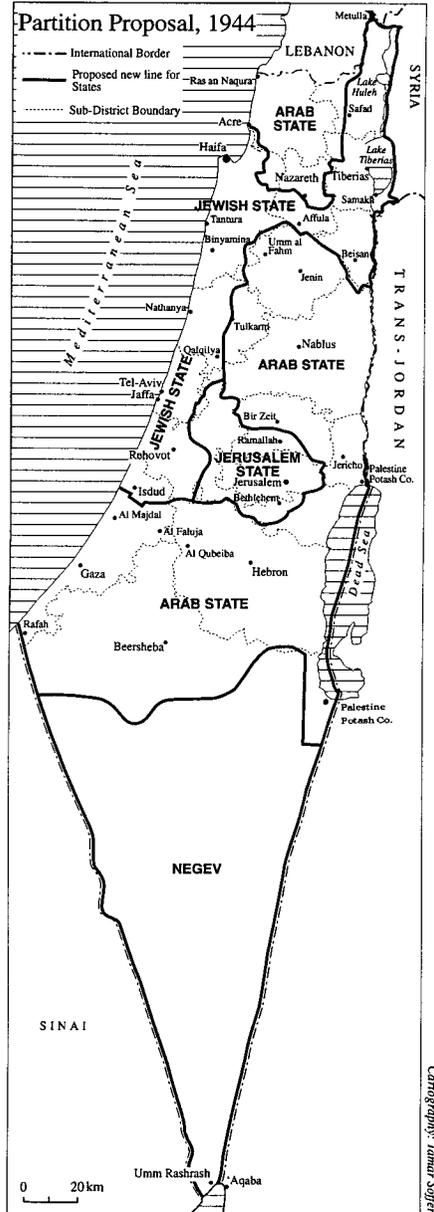
Plan of Partition Proposed in Colonel Stanley's Memorandum: Foundation for the
1943 Cabinet Committee Partition Plan



Source: Based on: A Plan for Partition, Memorandum, Colonial Secretary Stanley, PM(43)14, 1 November 1943; PRO/CO537/2311/75648.

Appendix 57

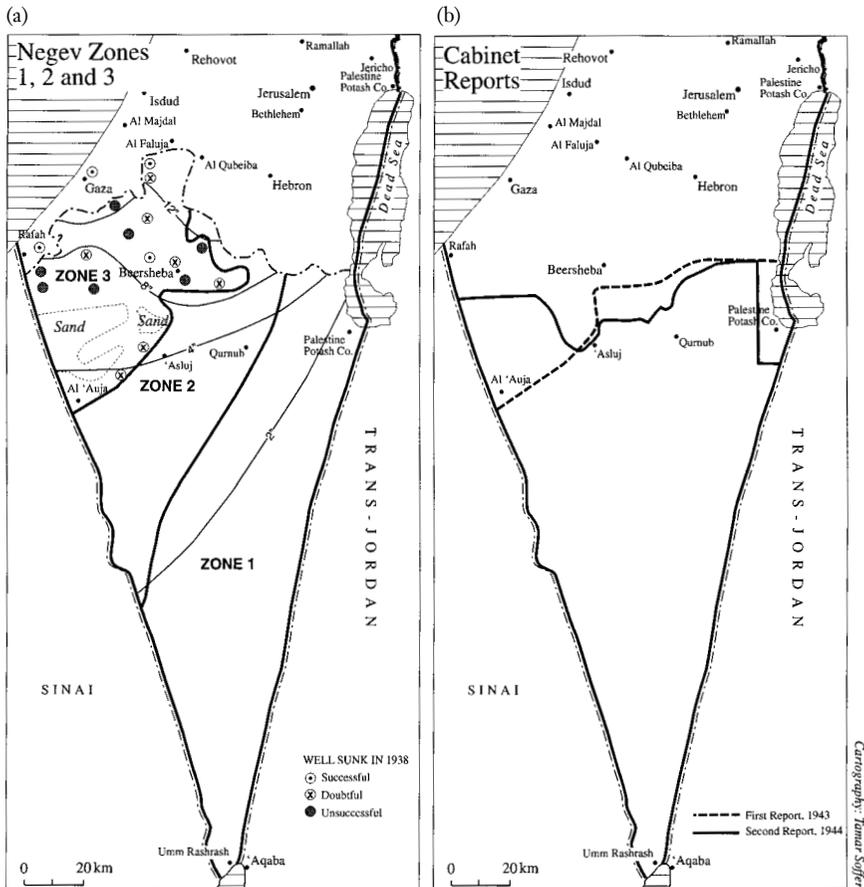
Second Cabinet Committee Report, Partition Proposal, 1944



Source: Based on Second [Cabinet Committee] Report, 16 October 1944: PRO/PRM4/52/1.

Appendix 58

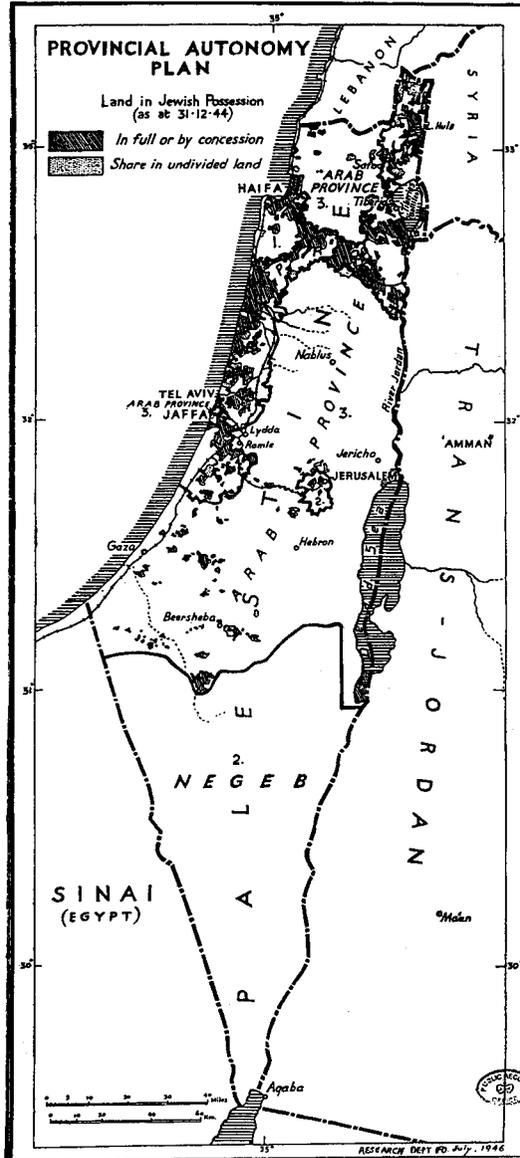
Determination of the Northern Boundary of the Negev: First and Second Cabinet Committee Reports



(a) Negev Zones 1, 2 and 3. Source: Based on Harris, Memorandum, Annex to Memorandum by Stanley, P(M)(43)6, 7 August 1943: PRO/CO537/2311/75648. (b) Cabinet Reports: The Negev. Source: Based on Palestine: Reply to Questionnaire: Determination of the Northern Boundary of the Negev, High Commissioner, 25 March 1944: PRO/CO537/2311/75648.

Appendix 59

The Morrison–Grady Plan, Based on Harris' Plan

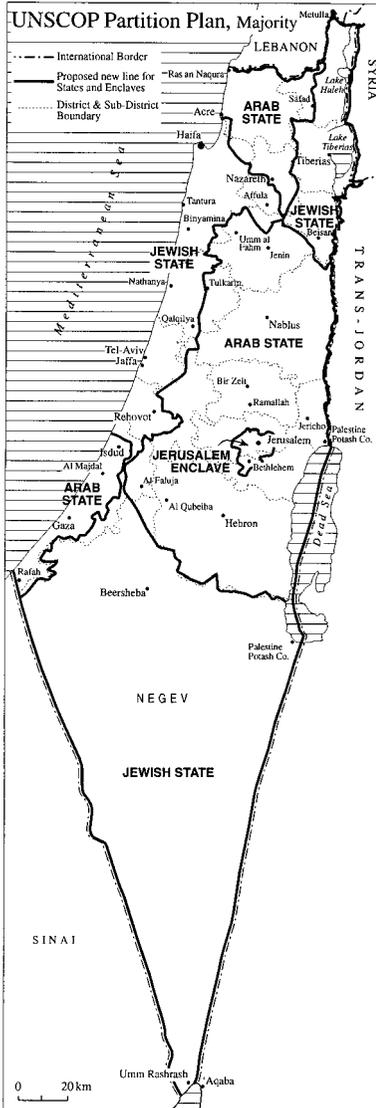


Source: *Proposals for the Future of Palestine: July, 1946–February, 1947*, Palestine No. 1 (1947), Cmd. 7044 (London: HMSO, 1947).

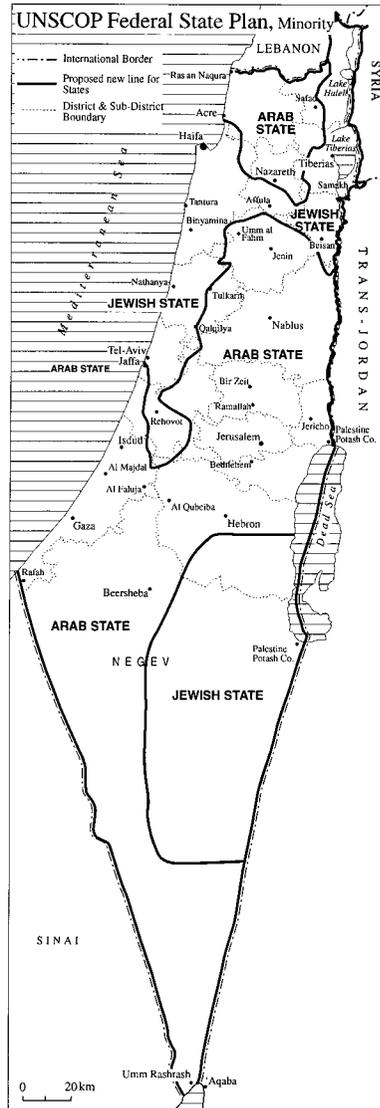
Cabinet Office, Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Appendix 60

UNSCOP Plans, 1947



(a) UNSCOP Partition Plan, Majority.

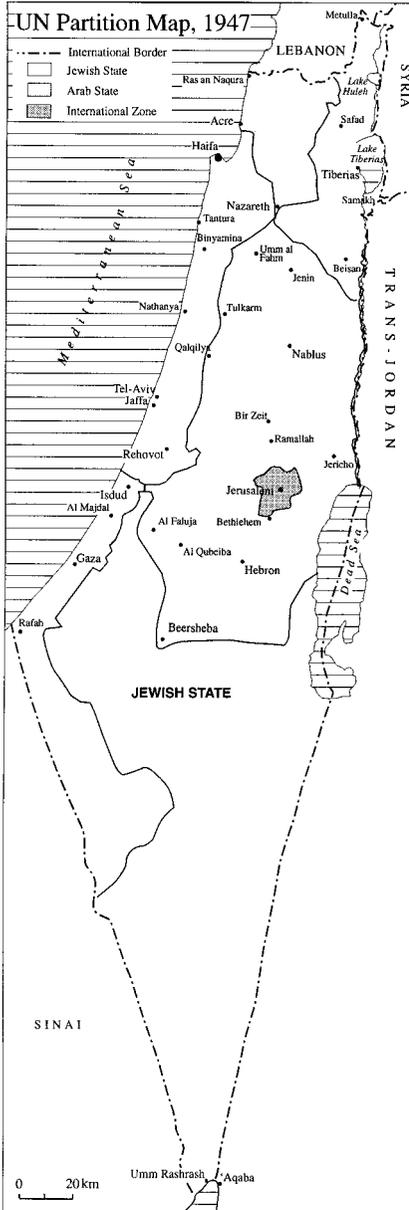


(b) UNSCOP Federal State Plan, Minority.

Source: Based on *Report to the General Assembly by the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine*, Geneva, Switzerland, 31 August 1947 (London: HMSO, 1947; *UNSCOP Report to the General Assembly*).

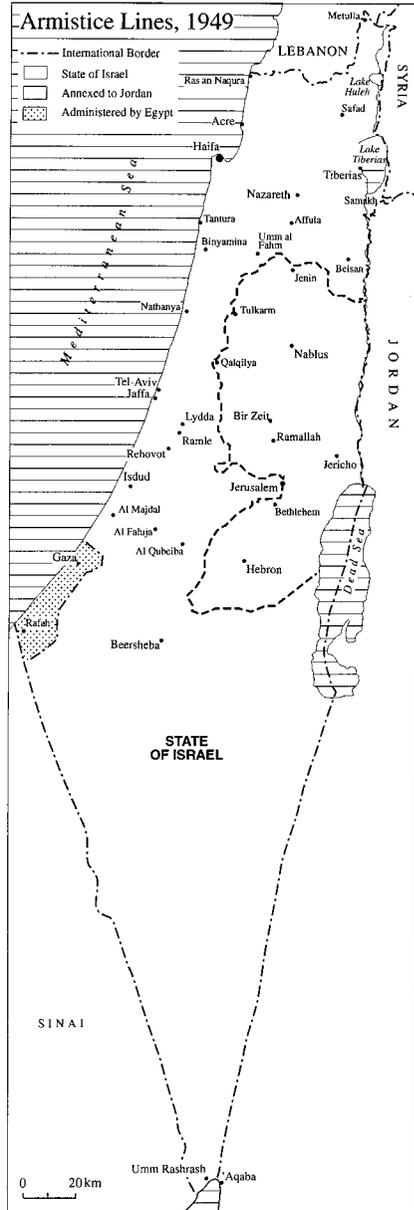
Appendix 61

UN Partition Map, 1947



Appendix 62

Armistice Lines, 1949



Appendix 63

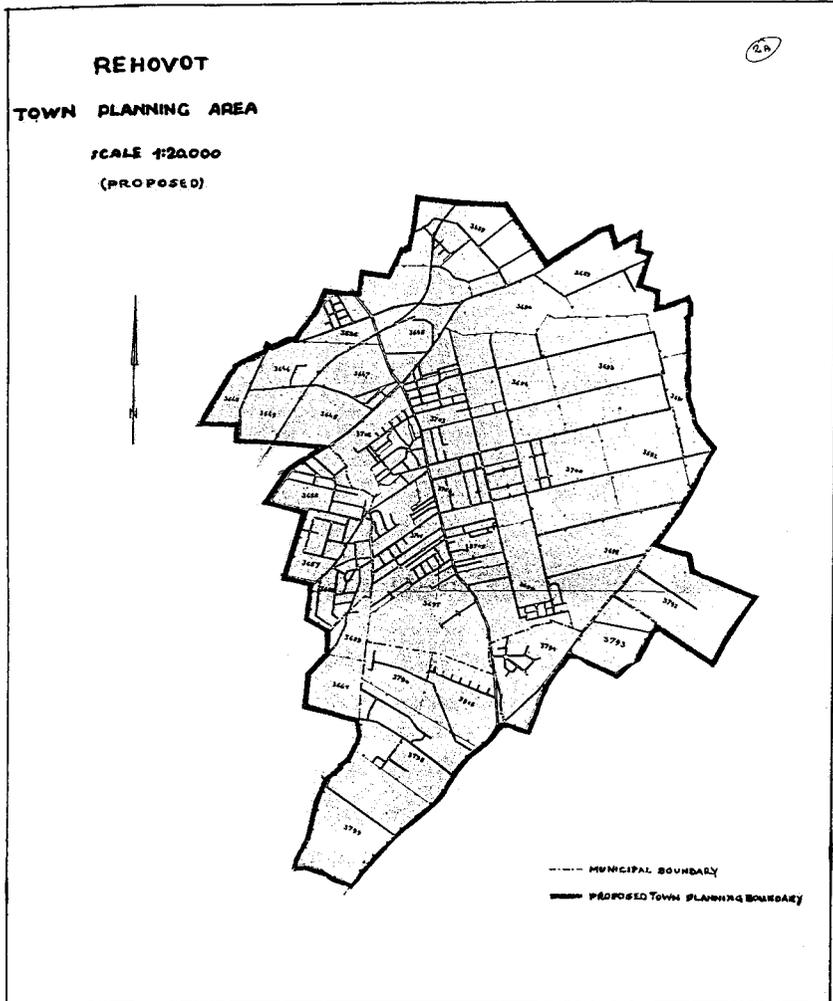
Zoning Table for the Lydda District Regional Outline Planning Scheme (Modification), 1946

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Zone as Shown on Plan	Minimum Curtilage of Plot in Square Metres	Maximum Percentage of Plot which May Be Built Upon	Outbuilding	Maximum Height of Building	Minimum Height of Building	Minimum Frontage of New Plot	Minimum Setback in Metres Front Side Rear
Agricultural Zone	As fixed from time to time by the Local Commission bearing in mind the situation and nature of the land affected and the use to which it is intended to be put always provided that for residential and industrial purposes such plots shall not be less than 1,000 m ² in area	15% or 180 m ² whichever is the less for residential purposes. For industrial purposes as approved by the District Commission	As approved by the Local Commission	Not exceeding 2 storeys; no part of the building for residential purposes to exceed 8 m; for industrial buildings as approved by the District Commission	3.00 [m]	25 m if for dwelling purposes; for industrial purposes as approved by District Commission	10 10 10
Nature Reserves	As approved by special consent of the District Commission and the Conservator of Forests						
Development Zone (including villages and settlements) ^a	1,000 m ² ; as existing, or as indicated in detailed schemes approved by the District Commission	15% or 180 m ² whichever is the less for residential purposes, or as approved by the District Commission in detailed schemes	Outbuilding 25 m ² , as approved by the Local Commission or as indicated in detailed schemes	Not exceeding 2 storeys and for residential purposes no part of the building to exceed 8 m, unless otherwise approved by the District Commission	3 m	20 [m], as existing or as approved in detailed schemes	5, as indicated in detailed schemes, and in any case not less than 3 m from the centre of abutting road
Beach Zone	As approved by special consent of the District Commission in detailed schemes						

^a In the built-up area of villages the minimum curtilage of the plot shall be 500 square metres, the maximum percentage to be built on shall be 50 per cent or 150 square metres whichever is the less, no outbuildings shall be permitted, the height of any building shall not exceed twice the width of the abutting road or path and in any case shall not exceed 8 m, the minimum frontage shall be as approved by the Local Commission and the front setback may be nil provided that the building is erected not less than 3 m from the centre of the road or track, and the side and rear setback may be reduced to 2 m and 3 m respectively. *Source:* Schedule. Regional Outline Planning Scheme (Modification), 1946, *Official Gazette*, No. 1528, Supplement No. 2, 1946, p. 1248.

Appendix 64

Rehovot Town Planning Area (Proposed), 1941



Source: Yehuda Gorodisky, President, Rehovot Local Council, and G. Rojansky, Secretary, to District Town Planning Commission, 22 May 1941: ISA/Gp24/S/1712/1768.

Appendix 65

Goat Grazing, 1945

District	Area of District (Dunams)	Area of Forest Reserve (Dunams)	Forest Reserve (%)	Closed Forest Area (Dunams)	CFA ^a (%)	Goats	
						En ^b	Goats in FR ^c (%)
Galilee	2,747,530	168,999	6.00	12,542	0.45	78,161	23.0
Haifa	1,020,683	95,458	9.30	26,164	2.50	17,087	86.0
Samaria	3,266,354	197,255	6.00	8,463	0.20	54,976	32.0
Jerusalem	4,333,968	49,991	1.15	15,183	0.35	73,669	3.0
Lydda	1,205,574	600	0.05	647	0.05	9,205	—
Gaza ^d	1,112,462	65,060	0.60	10,834	0.98	19,325	—
Total	13,686,571	577,363	4.20	73,833	0.53	252,423	20.8

^a CFA, Closed Forest Area.

^b En, Livestock Enumeration, 1943.

^c FR, Forest Reserve.

^d Excluding Beersheba Sub-District.

Source: Goat Grazing, 1945: ISA/CSO2/AF/17/29/41/20/23.

Note: The source does not specify if the figures included Jewish-owned stock. Lydda's Forest Reserve area was underestimated in the source.

Appendix 66

Number of Animals in Beersheba Sub-District and the Sinai,
which Were Grazing Elsewhere, 1943

1. From the Beersheba Sub-District	Taken out Grazing (for 4–6 Months)
Total	
Sheep 45,000	10–27,000
Goats 35,000	7–29,000
Camels ploughing 13,000	–
Camels breeding 500	4–450
Donkeys 24,000	–
Cattle 9,500	500–1,000
Horses 9,600	–
Mules 84	–
 2. From the Sinai	
Sheep 36,000	
Goats 24,000	

Source: Minute 9, District Commissioners' Conference, 20 July 1943: ISA/Gp24/S/2051/1772.

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 - Gp7 Departments of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries
 - Gp10 Department of Health
 - Gp11 Department of Immigration
 - Gp12 Public Works Department (also its Antiquities and Town Planning sections)
 - Gp15 Public Information Office
 - Gp18 War Supply Board
 - Gp22 Department of Lands
 - Gp23 Jerusalem District
 - Gp24 Lydda District
 - Gp25 Haifa District
 - Gp26 Gaza District
 - Gp27 Galilee District
 - Gp65 Arab Organisations Files (mainly files of the Arab Executive Committee, Arab Higher Committee, but includes, for example, Arab Chamber of Commerce and George Antonius Papers)
 - Gp95 Labour
 - Gp112 Samaria District
- Map Collection
- Palestine Government Publications Collection
- PIO Public Information Office (Photographs)
- War Supply Board

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- 30 Maps

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 PREM4 Confidential Correspondence and Papers

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 KKL Keren Kayemet Le-Israel (Jewish National Fund)
 L18 Palestine Land Development Company
 S15 Agricultural Settlement Department, Jewish Agency
 S25 Political Department, Palestine Zionist Executive and Jewish Agency
 S90 Economic Research Institute, Jewish Agency
 Z4 Zionist Organization/Jewish Agency, Central Office, London

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