A RHETORICAL HISTORY OF THE BRITISH CONSTITUTION OF ISRAEL, 1917-1948

by

BENJAMIN ROSWELL BATES

(Under the Direction of Celeste Condit)

ABSTRACT

The Arab-Israeli conflict has long been presented as eternal and irresolvable. A rhetorical history argues that the standard narrative can be challenged by considering it a series of rhetorical problems. These rhetorical problems can be reconstructed by drawing on primary sources as well as publicly presented texts. A methodology for doing rhetorical history that draws on Michael Calvin McGee's fragmentation thesis is offered. Four theoretical concepts (the archive, institutional intent, peripheral text, and center text) are articulated. British Colonial Office archives, London *Times* coverage, and British Parliamentary debates are used to interpret four publicly presented rhetorical acts. In 1915-7, Britain issued the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. Although these documents are treated as promises in the standard narrative, they are ambiguous declarations. As ambiguous documents, these texts offer opportunities for constitutive readings as well as limiting interpretations. In 1922, the Mandate for Palestine was issued to correct this vagueness. Rather than treating the Mandate as a response to the debate between realist foreign policy and self-determination, Winston Churchill used epideictic rhetoric to foreclose a policy discussion in favor of a vote on Britain's honour. As such, the Mandate did not account for Wilsonian drives in the post-War international sphere. After Arab riots and boycotts highlighted this problem, a commission was appointed to investigate new policy approaches. In the White Paper of 1939, a rhetoric of investigation limited Britain's consideration of possible policies. By extending investigation to the limits of kairos, advocates of partition formulated policy without discussing other potential solutions. At the expiration of the White Paper, Britain withdrew from Palestine. As such, in 1947, the United Nations issued Resolution 181 to divide Palestine into two states. United Nations action was possible only because Britain articulated a rhetoric of failure and an end to Empire. None of these four policies was a panacea; each may have enhanced the problem of Palestine. In the conclusion, lessons from Britain's experience are applied to the current American approach to Palestine. Centering George W. Bush's Rose Garden Speech, and drawing on the Mitchell Commission Report and the Tenet Plan, indicates that consideration of ambiguity, epideictic rhetoric, rhetorics of investigation, and rhetorics of failure should be made when evaluating peace proposals.

INDEX WORDS: Rhetorical history, Palestine, British Empire, Middle East, Late colonial period, Interwar decolonization.

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B.A., The University of Richmond, 1998

M.A., The University of Georgia, 2000

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial

Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2003

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DEDICATION

Turn from evil and do good; seek peace and pursue it

– Psalm 34:14

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they will be called the children of God.

– Matthew 5:9

If they should incline to peace, you shall also incline to it, and put your trust in God.

– al-Anfal 8:61

To those who have lived and died for peace.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A Rhetorical History Of The British Constitution Of Israel, 1917-1948 officially began at the University of Georgia library on May 17, 2001. That day, I removed my first cubic foot of books from the shelf labeled DS 101 and began reading. The dissertation was formally proposed in September 2002 in Terrell Hall, Room 117. More reading followed. Drafts of the project were turned in, turned around, and turned back. The project ends (for now) on March 27, 2003 in Terrell Hall, Room 116. These are the dates for the formal course of this project.

The *informal* course of the project has been much longer. I have been interested in the events of the modern Middle East since at least fifth grade. This project began in a social studies class. The assignment was simple: write an essay about an issue in the news that is five paragraphs in length and uses three sources. One could say that the first draft of this dissertation was based on an article in *Time*, an editorial in *Newsweek*, and a fragment from the *Portland Press Herald*. From fifth grade to twenty-first grade (as the third year of the Ph.D. *should* be called), I have believed two things. First, the Israeli/Palestinian conflict can be resolved. Second, I can contribute toward that resolution. In these 16 years, I hope that the arguments in support of these beliefs have matured more than I have.

Over these 16 years, many people have contributed to the development of this project. Some contributions have been direct, others, less so. The encouragement, conversation, criticism, and support (material and otherwise) offered by some have been particularly valuable. Naturally, I thank my doctoral committee. Celeste Condit has served as a model for the academic ideal: invested in research, teaching, and mentorship to construct a more just world for all humankind. She has emphasized the importance of productive distractions and of reading trashy science fiction, both equally important to maintaining balance in the completion of a long project. If I can achieve half the excellence in half the endeavors that she has, I will consider myself a

There are also many former, present, and future graduate (or law or medicine) students, at Georgia and elsewhere, who have been of vital assistance. The reasons are many and varied; each likely know s how she or he has helped me remain (mostly) sane. They include (and in *no* order of importance): Tonya Couch, Nneka Ofulue , Kristy Maddux, Kristan Poirot, Michelle Hucher, Ken Rufo, Windy Lawrence, Patrick Oliver, Hollis Marshall West, Kelly Dorgan, Ryan Galloway, Michael Davis, Tasha Dubriwny, John Lynch, Ilon Lauer, Christina Morus, Patricia Kelley, Davi Johnson, Jen Bevan, Amy Carskadon, Michael Geiser, and Kristin Brown.

Last, but certainly not least, has been my family. My father, mother, and brother have encouraged me to seek truth, act justly, and love humanity's potential. I have not always done so. With their help in the future, I hope to be able to say that I have.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

How far back do the roots of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict go? When this question was

asked in 1947, the London *Daily Express* stated that the conflict began millennia ago. J.A.

Atkinson wrote for the *Express* that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

> started like the Arabian Nights. Persians, Assyrians, Egyptians and Greeks and
>
> the tribes of Israel squabbled over Palestine. For 1,000 years it went on, this rise
>
> and fall of kingdoms until Antiochus led in an army from Syria; to meet his
>
> invasion the Jewish Resistance was born – 165 years before the birth of Christ.[1]

In other words, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict began some 3,000 years before Atkinson wrote

background notes for the *Express*. Atkinson did say that some periods of Israeli/Palestinian

history were more stable than others. Nevertheless, like Scheherazade, he concluded that the story

of Israeli-Palestinian conflict would continue as long as there was a storyteller.

Fifty years later, a similar origin for the conflict was claimed. According to CNN's

timeline of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the conflict had been continuous from Exodus to the

present. CNN claimed that the conflict began when,

> toward the end of the second millennium B.C., Moses led the Hebrew people out
>
> of Egypt into the "Promised Land" – Canaan. In the early 12th century B.C., the
>
> region was invaded by the seafaring Philistines, who ruled it for about 150 years.
>
> At some point, the Greeks and Romans began calling the region the "Land of the
>
> Philistines," from which the name Palestine is derived.[2]

Like the *Daily Express*, CNN tells the story of an ancient conflict that has carried forward to the

present.

When search terms like "centuries of conflict" and "ancient hatred" are paired with "Israel" or "Palestine," the LEXIS-NEXIS news archives reach their thousand news article limit within the past three years.[3] This finding is just for national and international level newspapers. When regional and local newspapers are included, the number of references increases sharply. Even Thomas Friedman, the *New York Times* foreign affairs correspondent and two-time Pulitzer Prize winner, calls the Israeli-Palestinian conflict "the 'Mother of All Tribal Wars'" which, for him, "was all about watching people clinging to their own roots and uprooting their neighbors' olive trees."[4] In short, according to the popular press, there have been thousands of years of conflict in the Middle East, marked by ancient hatreds and primitive means of combat. These ancient hatreds seem to have become blood feuds, feuds that can only be resolved by the absolute elimination of one party.

This fatalistic view must be countered, and it can be.

In this dissertation, I intend to challenge this view. Rather than calling the Israeli-Palestinian conflict the organic result of thousands of years of developmental conflict that have brought us to the current day, we need to recognize that the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict is of relatively recent manufacture. It is about a century old. Perhaps one hundred years is a long time to an individual, but it is certainly shorter than the millennia that are commonly claimed. The Hundred Years War in Europe, one that has been linked to the wars of the twentieth century, had a beginning and ending. More important, the Hundred Years War was not claimed to be part of millennia of unending hatred. The same allowance should be made in the Middle East. Moreover, differences between people – ethnic or otherwise – is not a guarantee of war. Diverse people can share the same land without engaging in lethal violence against one another. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is neither everlasting nor inevitable nor irresolvable. Although there are tense and difficult issues at stake, the conflict has only been made to appear irresolvable by the way it has been talked about.

People have attempted to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian dispute before. This dissertation will not be a programmatic study of my recommendations for conflict resolution. Instead, this dissertation will provide a rhetorical history of Israel/Palestine. I will examine British attempts to construct a coherent and peaceable region in Palestine, now modern Israel, through linguistic action. These attempts all occurred between 1917 and 1947. This thirty-year period was a time of substantial change. Palestine was separated from the Ottoman Empire in 1917. In 1948, Palestine became Israel. The sun never set on the British Empire in 1917. By 1947, a demoralized and nearly bankrupt Britain withdrew from all but a few token possessions. Britain's domestic and foreign actions, and its change from global hegemon to regional power, have broader significance; they represent a trend of Imperial decline.

Through these thirty years, we see a powerful state that felt it could declare and mandate international order become increasingly challenged by local uprisings and material problems at home. Eventually, Britain found itself with little choice but to withdraw. The ways that these expansions and contractions of colonial rule were justified and the strategies employed to legitimate declaration, mandate, and, eventually, flight, are deserving of study. As these choices were made by and through language and were presented to various publics as persuasive acts, a *rhetorical history*, instead of a general history, may prove enlightening. It may also add to the understandings of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by seeing it as a series of rhetorical problems, an accompaniment to previous studies which have seen the conflict as an economic, military, diplomatic, or cultural problem. Writing such a rhetorical history is the goal of this project.

In this introductory chapter, I will indicate how the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been portrayed as being nearly eternal. I will then illustrate that this portrayal of history is a rhetorical choice and, therefore, a choice that invites responses. After reviewing the need to investigate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a series of rhetorical problems, not just historical puzzles, I will review the literature written in communication studies that addresses Israel/Palestine. These studies make an opposite error to the popular press. Instead of making it an eternal conflict,

communication scholars all too often make the Israeli-Palestinian conflict ahistorical. A middle ground between eternal conflict and isolated acts of violence should be found. I offer "rhetorical history" as this sort of middle ground. After summarizing my method of rhetorical history, I offer a firmer outline of the rest of this project. As this is a rhetorical history, before proceeding we should turn to some of the words that others have used to discuss this conflict.

A Thousand Years of Conflict

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not the evolutionary product of thousands of years of ancient hatreds manifesting themselves in the present bodies of Jews and Palestinian Arabs. If we conceive "history as a closed, homogenous, rectilinear, continuous course of events," as the evolutionary narrative of the popular press does, sociologist Slavoj Zizek indicates that our understanding of history "leaves out of consideration what *failed* in history, what has to be denied so that the continuity of 'what really happened' could establish itself."[5] We will do the same if we view history as "the triumphal procession of victors exhibited by official historiography" that argues for a narrative of Romans replaced by Byzantines replaced by Seljuks replaced by Turks replaced by Britons replaced by Israelis in successive order where more fit masters replaced unfit masters.[6] Instead of adopting an evolutionary view or a succession model, we need to realize, as philosopher Michel Foucault does, that studying history is the study of discontinuity within continuities.[7]

History in this sense is viewed as the study of ruptures within seemingly evolutionary narratives. In Israel/Palestine, there is a continuity of imperial imposition of order on the land. Yet, this continuity is disrupted by the changes in which power ruled Israel/Palestine. The changeover from Ottoman rule to British rule does not, though, mean that the British were entirely different from the Ottomans or that they simply continued Ottoman practice. Instead, there are a further series of ruptures *within British imperial rule itself*. These ruptures are the proper focus of rhetorical history. As Zizek puts it, "the rupture between BEFORE and AFTER," a marker in the developmental narrative, is the very stuff of historical studies as "such a rupture in

the continuum of evolution IS the mark of HISTORY."[8] This break or rupture is not absolute. In Israel/Palestine, the British period is marked by breaks, but also by continuity. The British era can be called such because the British were continuous as the power that could define Israel/Palestine throughout the period.

Although Zizek directs historical analysts of all stripes to looks for ruptures within narratives of continuity, he is less able to tell us how this process works. Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu moves Zizek to a less abstract level. In dealing with the process of political and rhetorical continuity and discontinuity, Bourdieu indicates that continuity and discontinuity can be accounted for by the fact that "political struggle is a (practical and theoretical) cognitive struggle for the power to impose the legitimate vision of the social world."[9] In this struggle over visions, agents will engage in "a politics of perception aimed at maintaining or subverting the order of things by transforming or conserving the categories through which it is perceived," a process that Bourdieu identifies as a rhetorical one.[10] Unfortunately, the rhetorical vision of Israel/Palestine proffered by the mainstream press and many historians is one that maintains an order of violence by expecting and naturalizing this violence.

As an early home of civilization and the birthplace of the world's three major religions, the Middle East has long been associated with origins. The ancient history of the place seems to overwhelm discussions of the modern history. Talk about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict seems to assume that because the Jews and the Arabs[11] are both ancient peoples, their conflict with one another must be similarly ancient. David Ben-Gurion, the first Prime Minister of Israel, asserts the antiquity of these conflicts in his *Memoirs* when he argues that the land of Israel "has been conquered incessantly and incessantly abandoned" as eleven empires succeeded one another in colonial rule over the land.[12] More recently, the ninth Israeli Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, has argued that the dispute over Israel/Palestine "resembles an argument of an individual owner to his house."[13] Under Netanyahu's analogy, the Jews were the original owner who was "tossed out of his home," while the Arabs are a squatter who "has fixed up the place."[14]

Because the Byzantines evicted the Jews improperly in 614 and the Arabs came into the land in 636, Netanyahu argues that the conflict began with a dispute over the Jews' right to return and the Arabs decision not to relinquish the house to its proper owners.

More than two people, however, have occupied Netanyahu's "house." Indeed, many people have lived there, and most have never fully moved out.[15] In about 1250 BCE, the Israelite tribes entered Israel/Palestine and displaced the Canaanites who lived there. King David conquered the city of Jerusalem in about 1000 BCE, uniting the land under one kingdom. Although his son Solomon built one of Judaism's most enduring symbols, the Temple, Israel and Judea asserted their political independence and split the kingdom after his death in c.922 BCE. Assyrians conquered Israel in about 720 BCE. In about 586 BCE, Babylon conquered Judea and many of the ruling class Jews were sent into exile, although many of the commoner Jews still remained in Judea. After the Assyrian and Babylonian conquests, neither Israel nor Judea existed as an independent state until 1948.

After 586 BCE, Israel/Palestine was handed over from empire to empire, each time absorbing some of the imperial population and adopting customs, dress, architecture, and language, among other items. Persia made the area a protectorate in about 530 BCE, allowing local autonomy under an imperial rule. Alexander the Great took the land in c.331 BCE, placing Israel/Palestine under Macedonian administrative rule and introducing Greek as the *lingua franca* of the region. After Alexander's death, his leading generals divided the Macedonian empire. The Seleucids took control of Israel/Palestine in about 323 BCE and allowed a great deal of local autonomy. One of the later Seleucid kings, Antiochus IV, attempted to restrain local religious practices in c.200 BCE, leading to a revolt by the Jews. In about 166 BCE, the Maccabeans allied with the Roman Empire to complete the revolt. At the end of the revolt, the Romans incorporated the land into a province they labeled Judea. Although the rule was liberal at first, the Romans later restricted local autonomy and faced a series of revolts beginning in about 70 CE and ending in about 132 CE when the Jews were exiled from Jerusalem and many of their leaders exiled from

Israel/Palestine entirely. The area was then renamed "Palaestina" by the Romans, a term derived from Herodotus's "Palaestine Syria."

The restrictions on Jews in Israel/Palestine would remain throughout the rest of Roman rule and during the Byzantine control over Israel/Palestine from the mid-300s to the mid-600s. In the mid-600s, Muslim armies took most of the Middle East. As part of their administrative apparatus, they allowed local autonomy in religious and cultural matters in exchange for the payment of taxes and tributes. During the first period of Muslim control, many Jews immigrated to Israel/Palestine until the waning days of Seljuk rule over the region. In 1099, the Christian Crusaders captured Jerusalem and expelled or slaughtered many of its Jewish and Arab Muslim defenders. In 1187, Saladin recaptured Jerusalem and invited Jews to "return" to Israel/Palestine. Although Saladin invited Jews to move to Israel/Palestine, by the mid-1200s most of the population was Arab, not Jewish, the first, and only, time that the demographic majority switched, despite the efforts of the Mameluke dynasty to encourage immigration. After the Ottoman Empire took control from the Mamelukes in 1517, the Sultan invited Jews fleeing the Inquisition to settle in Israel/Palestine, as did a later Sultan following Napoleon's 1798 war with the Turks in Israel/Palestine.

Free immigration was allowed from the Ottoman take-over until the 1880s when land speculators began using immigrants – regardless of ethnicity or religion – as fronts for controlling land and placing it out of the taxation system devised by the Ottomans. The Sultan ended European immigration and severely restricted movement within the Ottoman Empire. Shortly after free immigration was ended, Theodor Herzl began organizing the Zionist movement to found a Jewish State. Although Brazil and Uganda were considered as sites for a new Jewish State, at the First Zionist Congress in 1897 the Zionist movement declared its intent to found a Jewish State in Israel/Palestine and to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem. The movement found little governmental support until the outbreak of World War I.

In World War I, the Ottomans allied with Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire against Britain, France, and Russia. Israel/Palestine was considered a minor front during the War. Although most of the war was concerned with events in Europe, and the major front in the Middle East was in what is now Iraq, Israel/Palestine's position at the underbelly of the Ottoman Empire and its closeness to strategic military sites (such as the Suez Canal, the Red Sea port of Aqaba, and the railways to Baghdad, Kuwait, and Yemen) made it an area of military convenience, if not strategy, for the War. Several agreements were made by the British to manufacture influence over the region. In 1915, Sir Henry McMahon, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, began a series of correspondence with Feisal Hussein, the Sherif of Mecca, to draw Arab support. Shortly after this correspondence was concluded in 1916, T.E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia) began to lead the Arab revolt in Israel/Palestine against the Ottomans. In 1916, Sir Mark Sykes of Britain and Georges Picot of France negotiated an agreement that would set the spheres of influence that Britain, France, and Russia would control at the conclusion of the War, an agreement that included internationalizing Jerusalem and its immediate environs and providing British influence in what is now Jordan and French influence in what is now Syria and Lebanon. Although the declared purpose of this agreement was "to recognize and protect an independent Arab state or a confederation of Arab states,"[16] the agreement also seemed to be a way of postponing Imperial conflicts between the Allies. In 1917, Lord Arthur Balfour issued a statement to Lord Lionel Rothschild declaring that Britain "favour[ed] the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."[17] The declaration was seen as a way of gaining Jewish support for Britain, lessening the influence of the Prussian government on Jews, and persuading the United States to enter the conflict on Britain's behalf. Whatever the influence these agreements had on the outcome of the war (an issue discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three), they helped to establish Britain as a major actor in Israel/Palestine and represented Britain's position as a state that could influence what Israel/Palestine would come to mean.

Following the war, Britain's involvement in Israel/Palestine became closer. The League of Nations gave Britain a provisional mandate over Israel/Palestine and, after the Paris Peace Conference of 1920-1922 concluded, the mandate became formalized as the Mandate for Palestine. As a "Class A" mandate, Israel/Palestine was assumed to have the rudiments of government and the League Charter indicated that Britain's role was to assist Palestine in the full development of its internal apparatuses so that Israel/Palestine could become an independent state with all due haste. The other "Class A" mandates attained independence before Israel/Palestine did. The provisional governments recognized by the League of Nations assumed control over Iraq (1932), Lebanon (1943), Syria (1944), and Transjordan (1946, originally part of Israel/Palestine). The provisionally recognized government of Israel/Palestine never assumed control. A series of revolts in Israel/Palestine in 1920, 1921, 1929, 1936, and 1939 prevented the formation of a stable civilian government in Israel/Palestine, as martial law was intermittently imposed by Britain, and leaders (both Jewish and Palestinian Arab) were arrested, deported, or, occasionally, executed. In addition, demographic shifts made it difficult to know what nation should be given the right of self-determination, as immigration of Jews was sometimes allowed and sometimes not and the nomadic lifestyle of southern Bedu made it difficult to track the Palestinian Arab population. In addition, during the 1930s, problems in Europe began to influence the situation in Israel/Palestine. Not only did the British face demands that immigration to Israel/Palestine be expanded to allow Jews fleeing anti-Semitism in Europe to find a safe haven, but some Palestinian Arab leaders, most notoriously Haj Amin al-Husaini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, supported the Nazi cause at home and abroad. The redeployment of troops away from colonial areas and closer to Europe also reduced Britain's ability to maintain order, and, as garrisons were reduced, violence by both Jewish and Palestinian Arab underground movements became more effective in targeting the remaining British soldiers. Throughout the Mandate period, the British issued a series of "White Papers" that attempted to address Jewish and Palestinian Arab concerns. Of these, the most important was the 1939 White Paper that responded to the revolts, to the

demands for increased immigration (by the Jews) and for decreased immigration (by the Palestinian Arabs), and to the exigencies of anti-Semitism.

During World War II, Palestinian Arabs and Jews needed to balance their interests in establishing independent states with the likelihood that either Britain or Germany would win the war. Throughout World War II, David Ben-Gurion declared that Jews "would fight the war as if there was no White Paper and fight the White Paper as if there was no war,"[18] thus committing military support to the British while reserving the right to challenge its Israel/Palestine policy. Arab Palestinians were more divided, with some (such as al-Husaini) supporting Germany and others (such as the muftis of Nablus and Hebron) supporting Britain. At the end of the war, Britain was nearly bankrupt at home, was overextended abroad, and declared its intent to release its overseas possessions, including Israel/Palestine. In 1947, Britain negotiated United Nations Resolution 181 which would end the Mandate for Palestine and establish two autonomous states in the region. One of these states would be officially Jewish and extend from the city of Acre to the city of Tel-Aviv/Jaffa on the Mediterranean coast, with attachments of the Negev, the Golan Heights, and the environs of Lake Tiberius. The other would be officially Arab and be comprised of the Acre, Jenin, Nablus, Ramallah, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Gaza districts. The city of Jerusalem was to become an international city administered by the United Nations. This plan, the United Nations Plan of Partition, failed to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. In 1948, Israel declared its independence. Immediately, Jordan, Syria, and Egypt declared war. Israel was able to take Gaza and Acre and settled with Jordan, which kept the West Bank districts.

Since the 1948 War of Independence, there have been several other regional clashes. In the 1956 Sinai War, Egypt took control of the Suez Canal and Israel invaded the Sinai. The settlement allowed Israel to expand its borders, but left Egypt in control of the Canal. In the 1967 "Six-Day" War, Egypt blocked access to Israel's southern port of Aqaba and Jordanian and Syrian forces began to mobilize. In the ensuing war, one dominated by Israeli air- and tank-power, Israel took control over the West Bank and solidified its control over the other Occupied

Territories. Fortunes were reversed in the early days of the 1973 "Yom Kippur" War, when Egypt, Syria, and Iraq, with other regional support, attacked Israel. After suffering heavy casualties, Israel responded with force and took control of parts of Syria and eastern Egypt up to the bank of the Suez Canal. In 1974, much of this land was returned under mediated agreements. At the 1979 Camp David accords, Egypt recognized Israel's right to exist (the first Arab state to do so) in return for the Sinai Peninsula. In 1982, Israel attacked Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) bases in Lebanon and occupied the southern regions of that country, a position it would hold until 2000. In 1987, Israel's problems became domestic with the first Intifada, or uprising, by Arab Palestinians in the Occupied Territories. In 1988, the PLO recognized Israel's existence, a move that was returned in 1993 when Israel recognized the PLO as the legitimate representatives of Arab Palestinians. From 1993 to 1998, Israel and the PLO negotiated a series of self-rule agreements. The first agreements (the Oslo Accords), negotiated by PLO leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin established the first firm guidelines since 1947 for what a possible Palestinian state would look like. The first implementation of the Oslo Accords was carried out in 1997 when Hebron became the first Palestinian administered district. Later Prime Ministers Benjamin Netanyahu and Ehud Barak extended self-rule while working with Arafat. In 2001, however, the peace process came to a standstill with the election of Ariel Sharon, one of the planners of the war in Lebanon, and Arafat's seeming inability to limit the rise in terror bombing. A number of proposals have been made recently to address this standstill and restart the peace process.

These proposals, however, often fail to address the fundamental question in dispute: on what basis may a legitimate claim to the land of Israel/Palestine be made? The three thousand-year claim in the case of the Jews (two-thousand in the case of the Palestinian Arabs) is used to weight the scales of ownership towards one group or another. Revisionist Israeli historians Eugene Rogan and Avi Shlaim note that "both the Arab and the Israeli nationalist histories are guided more by a 'quest for legitimacy' than by an honest reckoning with the past," although they

argue that Israeli leaders have been more successful in their quest than Palestinian leaders have been, so far as the United States and Europe are concerned.[19] Unfortunately, these nationalist claims are exclusive claims. The land has always been Jewish and *only Jewish* or it has been Palestinian Arab and *only Palestinian Arab.* This creation of boundaries in Israel/Palestine is, as anthropologist Rebecca Torstrick rightly notes, an attempt to "dichotomize the social universe into those who belong and those who do not. They create a self/other discourse that is grounded in a specific cultural logic and that produces a particular form of lived experience," a cultural construct that promotes violent clashes as the discourse of division becomes unquestioned and polarized racialization.[20]

A Rhetorical Conflict

Although several activists, scholars, and politicians have forwarded the claim that the conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Jews over Israel/Palestine is an ancient, nearly primordial, one, the claim is factually untrue. The actual people are different from those who lived there before and the traditions that they practice have changed over time. These changes, however, are uninteresting. Simply put, all peoples change over time, no matter how great their attempts to remain "true" to their pasts. The interesting difference is in their use of history, a use of history that alters the past.

Claims to nationhood are not, in themselves, malicious or destructive. Instead, analysts and actors should remember, as anthropologist Arjun Appadurai does, that the nationalist past is "not a land to return to in a simple politics of memory," but "a synchronic warehouse of cultural scenarios … to which recourse can be taken" when making a claim based in history.[21] That is, rather than seeing a nationalist past as a claim to an original identity, nationalist claims draw on selective portions of history that are adapted to perceived needs by political leaders. Communication theorist John Durham Peters agrees, as, for him, "nationalist invention is a fine example of the principle that nostalgia, while pretending to be only a by-product of loss, is in fact a productive cultural agent."[22] This nostalgic nationalist invention can be seen in the case of

Israel/Palestine. The original homeland of Israel/Palestine is remembered as homogenous and the nostalgia is for an original home where there were Jews and only Jews or Palestinian Arabs and only Palestinian Arabs.

The Palestinian Arab and Jewish stories of displacement and exile by an invader also fit well with Peters' claims about exilic nationhood. In narratives of exile, Peters claims that "leaving" the homeland indicates a "danger, usually political, that makes the home no longer safely habitable," forcing inhabitants to flee into exile.[23] The "shock, disruption, or loss accompanying exile" is often combined with a distance from the "home's mundane realities" in both space and time.[24] This separation and distancing invites a romanticization of the homeland and often leads to plans to restore the homeland to its original state. As Peters points out, this "restoration, however, often conjures something new, such as a social configuration among exiles that never obtained in the old country."[25] Many Jews see Israel/Palestine's "original" state as the social configuration obtained before the First (Babylonian) Diaspora or the Second (Roman) Diaspora, one that they reconstruct as a purely Jewish land. This social configuration, however, conveniently forgets that Israel/Palestine was already a land of many nations when these great diasporas took place.[26] Contrariwise, many Palestinian Arabs see Israel/Palestine's "original" state as that maintained from the period of the Arabian Caliphates through the Ottoman Sultanates. These narratives pose the opposite difficulty; they tell the story of the Jews as a people who abandoned Israel/Palestine. These narratives disregard the fact that there has been a Jewish presence, albeit a constrained one at times, throughout even these periods of "abandonment." Both sets of narratives enact a sense of home that is exclusive.

A better "original state" for Israel/Palestine may be a narrative that recalls coexistent Palestinian Arab and Jewish communities. Ran Greenstein, a political economist of the Middle East conflict, for instance, recalls that "the 'prehistory' of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict" was not incessant violence, but "relatively peaceful coexistence between the different religious and ethnic groups."[27] Historian Sidney Sugarman tells a similar story, finding that "before the Jerusalem

pogrom of April 1920 there had been no massacre of Jews in that city since 15 July 1099, when it was stormed by the Crusaders and its Moslem and Jewish defenders were slaughtered."[28] Indeed, Sugarman notes that it was after Saladin retook Jerusalem in 1187 that Jews were allowed to return, an illustration of ethnic cooperation, not conflict, which seemed to be the rule for at least eight centuries. Even Ben-Gurion, no supporter of Palestinian claims, admits that Jews were accepted by Palestinian Arabs when he arrived in 1906, a situation that had been evident for centuries and in sharp contrast with the anti-Semitic pogroms common in Europe.[29]

The character of the land of Israel/Palestine, and who has the right to occupy that land, seems not to be the natural outgrowth of thousands of years of conflict. Instead, the thousand-year claim comes from the way that history is written. Edward Said, the famous critic of Orientalism, tells us that "Palestine is and always has been a land of many histories; it is a radical simplification to think of it as principally, or exclusively, Jewish or Arab."[30] Choosing one history or the other entails a series of political commitments and may constrain acceptable actions. Exclusive histories help create exclusive futures.[31] In the case of Israel/Palestine, when the historiographical paradigm is reduced to deciding between a Jewish or an Arab character to Palestinian history, the possibility of a third history is excluded, i.e. one that is a *shared* history of Jews and Arabs. Competing histories – a history of primacy for the Jews and of duration for the Palestinian Arabs – shift the ground of history to legitimate different, and apparently exclusive, claims.[32] Because neither side allows for other's claims, their histories are irreconcilable. And, and as long as the divisive historiographical paradigm is accepted, the conflict remains irresolvable.

The most cynical view would suggest that there has been a simple manipulation of history to ensure that neither side can trust the other. Literary critic Nurith Gertz argues that this is true of Zionist histories. Not only do these histories deny that the Palestinian Arab ever had a claim to Israel/Palestine, they also say that the Palestinian Arab has always tried to annihilate the Jew. In Gertz's reading, "the Arab, who has no place in the time and space of this literature"

appears, "like a genie out of a bottle," as the archetype that "personifies eternal hatred toward the Jew."[33] The same can be said of Palestinian Arab nationalist histories. These histories deny that Jews have an inherited connection to Israel because they are now mostly European immigrants while simultaneously claiming that these Jews are continuing a millennia-old plot to assert domination over other peoples. To parallel Gertz, in Palestinian Arab nationalist histories, the Jew, who has no place in the time and space of this literature, appears as the archetype that personifies eternal European domination of the Palestinian Arab. Gertz concludes that "Jewish-Israeli society used the Arab in order to define its own identity" in its writing of history to be the rightful possessor of Israel/Palestine[34] and Palestinian Arab society used the Jew to make the obverse claim.

Exclusive historical claims require the denial of the other's history. Take, for example, Golda Meir's statement: "There was no such thing as Palestinians. It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people."[35] By this statement, Meir did not mean that there were no Palestinian Arabs. Instead, because Palestinian Arabs often labeled themselves "Southern Syrians" or, simply, "Arabs," Meir argued that they did not have a collective identity that created a link to the land of Israel/Palestine. If Meir, as the fourth Primer Minister of Israel, had recognized that there were "Palestinians," she might also have to concede that "Palestinians" have some right to live in a land called "Palestine." For the same reason, many Palestinian Arab nationalists attempt to define the Jews of today as "False Jews," Europeans who have no past as the Semitic peoples that constituted the ancient Hebrew tribes. If these activists admit that the Jews of today are consubstantial with the Jews of the Bible, they might also be forced to admit that Jews, as the tribes of Israel, have some claim to be in Israel.

Denial of the past of the other while maintaining one's own past appears to be a positional strategy. How one interprets the past enters into the stance one takes in dealing with the present situation in Israel/Palestine. Political scientist Deborah Gerner admits as much when she writes that, for many Israelis and Palestinians, "the past is alive in the present. Differing

interpretations of Jewish-Palestinian relations over time fundamentally affect the current situation and prospects of peaceful coexistence."[36] The writing of the past, and the subsequent admission or denial of the existence of a Jewish or Palestinian people , is not just an attempt to write nationalist history. Instead, the way that the past is seen has effects in the possible paths of resolution. Anthony Smith reminds us that "our view of the past has the power also to shape present concerns" by framing the parameters of acceptable conflict resolution and outlining the traditions that must be respected in seeking such solutions.[37] If we frame Jews and Arabs, Israelis and Palestinians, as peoples who have existed in the past and who have a claim to the land, the ability to write the history of these peoples to maintain or sever these connections becomes important in our writings.

Thus, while we should be skeptical of the claims to millennia of conflict between these two peoples, they are important claims to address. Political scientist Daniel Elazar seems correct that any resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict must recognize two facts. First, "in this region peoples are constant, not boundaries."[38] Second, "homogenous states have rarely if ever been attained in the region."[39] The language of irreconciliation based in millennia of conflict or language suggesting that there has always been a uninational Jewish or Palestinian presence that is *only* Jewish or Palestinian seems false. There has not been a thousand years of continuous conflict in Israel/Palestine. Likewise, there has been a Palestinian and a Jewish presence in Israel/Palestine for centuries. The division of the territory into an *exclusive* Jewish or Palestinian territory seems to be a political construct, as does the conflict between Jews and Palestinian Arabs. Instead of assuming that either claim is true, we need to investigate the construction of the modern Israeli and Palestinian identity. And, in doing so, we need to investigate the early years of the conflict – the time from the First World War to the founding of Israel as a Jewish State. The conflict is neither natural nor inherent. It is rhetorical.

Calls For A Rhetorical Intervention

Several historians and Middle East studies experts agree that despite military force, terrorism, and economic and political oppression, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is essentially a rhetorical conflict. True, many people have died in military and terrorist actions (sponsored by all sides: Jewish, Palestinian Arab, and outside interveners) and the denial of political, economic, and human rights have had a material impact. Nonetheless, the symbolic construction of Israel/Palestine may be as fundamental to resolving the conflict as preventing military acts or guaranteeing rights.

Anthropologist Jonathan Boyarin informs us that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is "a struggle for both land and history, space and time."[40] As such, a solution that is based only on the redistribution of land is unlikely to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Instead, we need also to investigate the history of the conflict and rewrite it. By rearticulating this history, which requires an examination of the history of division, we can redefine the stakes of the conflict. Boyarin argues that, rather than looking at land distribution once again,

> we should be looking more closely at the way rhetorical power is deployed to
>
> patrol the margins of ethnic identity and the way these two congealed and
>
> mutually exclusive identities are already momentarily, but regularly, thrown into
>
> question.[41]

The role of the rhetorical analyst is to go back into the written history, find moments where that history can be ruptured, and offer alternatives to the creation of divisions between Palestinian Arab and Jew. The rhetorician's purpose is to help de-solidify mutually exclusive identities by seeing how margins were created and then patrolled in the past.

As each new imperial power took control over the Middle East, they also, perhaps inadvertently, created divisions. Perhaps the clearest way that outside agents have created these margins and patrolled them has been in their drawing of maps. These maps often drew new lines of division between people and created borders where none had existed before. Under these sorts

of conditions, geographer Saul Cohen correctly writes, "new territorial changes will cause a reshaping of ideological goals, just as ideology will set limits on the capacities of the conflicting forces to accept boundary shifts."[42] As he clarifies, when the British helped redraw the lines of the Middle East, the ideologies of the people living there were affected. And when the British helped rewrite ethnic identity, local expectations of how territory should be allotted were also affected.

Multiple agents have defined Israel/Palestine through the mapping of territory and the assignation of that territory to differing groups of people over the last century. Although third parties have not consistently supported the Arabs or the Jews, these third parties have tried to use new language for redefinitions without addressing the implications of their past commitments. It seems that in each case of redefinition, a blank slate has been sought. When such a blank slate has proven unavailable, the defining party tries to simply write over the old structure and pretend it did not exist.

Overwriting an old structure and assigning a new map for the territory is not enough. A new map needs to be enacted through occupation and control. As Chaim Weizmann, the first President of Israel, once argued, new maps "have virtually no importance unless and until they are supported by actual performance."[43] This performance often requires the use of force – military, economic, political, or otherwise – to be enacted. It is not enough to declare one's intention to define a territory. Drawing on Weizmann's claim, historians Don Handelman and Lea Shamgar-Handelman state that since "the validation of political claims to land in the modern era is obsessed with the creation of reality," there also needs to be a "substantive reality of national presence that is … made visible and empowered by material presence."[44] That is, to allow a definition to *have* force, the definition must be backed *with* force.[45] Control over governing institutions, the use of legitimate and illegitimate violence, and the ability to enact other laws for a territory allow the political claim to be enacted and, thus, validated. When this ability fails, the possibilities for new definitions arise, as do new chances to resolve intercommunal violence.

In cases like Israel/Palestine, multiple territorial structures have been defined, in each case enabling a different interpretation of access and residence in that territory. As each definition of Israel/Palestine has come to replace the preceding one, however, the old models still bear influence on the interactions that Palestinian Arabs and Jews have had with that space. For example, although the Balfour Declaration (the 1917 agreement that favored Jewish control) and the Hussein-McMahon correspondence (the 1916 agreement that favored Arab control) were disavowed by the British government in favor of new definitions in 1922, 1939, and 1947, these definitions still carry some rhetorical force. If the competing claims to the land are not recognized as a conflict over definition and control, we will continue to ask the wrong questions and to arrive at the wrong answers. "The Middle East conflict," journalist Frank Epp argues, is "not another US-USSR confrontation, not a test of military muscle between Nasser and Dayan, and not a quarrel between Muhammad and Moses."[46] To update Epp's assertion, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not an American-"Axis-of-Evil" confrontation, not a test of Arafat's suicide bombers against Sharon's tanks, and still is not a battle between Islam and Judaism. Epp seems correct that "it is a contest for control of the same parcel of land" by two peoples that "have been terribly wronged in the past" by European and North American powers that have attempted to define the land for these peoples.[47]

The definition of space can promote conflict by outlining who is allowed to access or reside in that space and who is not.[48] When territory to which multiple groups make claim is so defined, various means can be used to assert the "truth" of that definition of the space, each of which relies on force. Bodily occupation, appealing for a change in the law, or the destruction of the other claimant may all be seen as valid strategies when a definition excludes a group that has a (more or less) legitimate claim to access or residence. Because definitions of territory, as they are structured by ruling powers, intimately affect the likelihood of the survival or demise of some social groups, Chisholm and Smith argue that studying "the ongoing interaction between the structure of society and its spatial form is a theme of critical importance to contemporary human

geography and also in the work of social analysts more generally."[49] The study of rhetoric, as a form of social analysis, may also be a part of understanding this interaction.

Anthropologists Eyal Ben-Ari and Yoram Bilu tell us that even as the role of symbols, narratives, and other rhetorical tropes is recognized widely in Middle Eastern studies, "most analyses carried out by political scientists, political sociologists, or experts in international relations have focused on issues of resources and territoriality" and ignored the rhetoric.[50] Nationalist historian Anthony Smith agrees that this is a common problem in studying nationalist conflicts. He asserts that most scholars have tended to ignore "symbolic and cultural components" in nationalist conflicts, leaving them "for an unsatisfactory and misleading cultural primordialism to pick up."[51] Rather than allowing symbolic and rhetorical dimensions of nationalism to become natural and naturalized, Smith argues we need to remember the analysis of symbolic issues "requires as much attention as the material and political aspects" that are more usually studied.[52]

Communication Without Context

Communications scholars have heard this call to a degree. British and American rhetoric by and for English-speaking audiences about British and American domestic issues and the wars in which Britain and American engage constitute the first tier of studies under the Anglophonic tradition of American public address. Discussions of Israel/Palestine and policies directed toward it may be placed on a second-tier in terms of the number of articles written about it. Unfortunately, in analyses of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, communication scholars have focused on symbolizations in written, spoken, and media texts to the exclusion of context. There are some studies that repeat the assumption of millennia of conflict. More common, however, is that no context is named or the context is so short that it encompasses a few years or, at best, a few decades of contextualization for the communicative act that the scholar has chosen.

As a conflict that begins during World War I because, at least in part, of divisive symbolizations of Israel/Palestine, this decision by communication scholar to largely ignore the context may explain why the communicative recommendations made are so lacking and are

unlikely to spur substantive change. The decision not to study the British period in Israel/Palestine limits our ability to understand the United Nations and United States eras in Israel/Palestine. The same is true for our ability to understand communicative acts in the post-1948 era. Without some understanding of the communicative acts during the British period, we are unlikely to deal well with the communicative acts that were built on British policy and British rhetoric.

A few communication scholars assume that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is intimately tied to ancient hatreds, thus writing bad context entirely. These scholars tie the conflict to biblical narratives acted out in the present.[53] Despite indicating that biblical narratives limit the range of acceptable discourse, the rhetorical force of the narratives still play a role. What goes unsaid, however, is how these narratives could be demystified or how critics could play a role in pointing out qualitative differences between Old Testament conflicts between the Israelites and the Canaanites and the more recent conflicts between Jews and Palestinian Arabs. More important, they do not offer an alternative narrative to the continuation of biblical conflicts, a lack that may leave Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs without a better way of telling the story of their conflict.

Although the carrying forward of ancient history to represent the conflicts of today repeats the mistake of making the Israeli-Palestinian conflict an ancient hatred that is irresolvable, communication scholars have often made the opposite judgment in examining communicative and rhetorical practices in Israel. More often than they repeat the claim to thousands of years of unrelenting conflict, communication scholars limit the active context of the conflict to events after 1948. A few studies even eliminate the consideration of historical context entirely.[54]

Most communication studies treating elements of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict point out distortions that occur in the mass media about the conflict or the role of rhetoric in shaping the current conflict. Nonetheless, their decision not to address Israel in the first half of the century takes some of the issues that are under dispute as basic assumptions in their analyses. These studies have tended to accept the distortion that Israel, as a state, has always existed. They have

not considered important Israel's relative youth as a state nor its conflicted birth in 1948 as part of understanding current treatments of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the media. Similarly, rhetorical accounts take Israel's rhetorical genesis as an objective fact, despite the disputation of this fact in the 1948 and 1967 wars and the uprisings of 1988 and 1999. Because they do not account for the conflict before 1948, at best, the scope of the conflict is overly contracted. Moreover, in their recommendations for resolution these studies' disregard of previous attempts at binationalism, partition, and conflict resolution and their subsequent failure makes the recommendations and arguments of these studies suspect. If we divide these studies up into the years in which they say context "began" and note their common assumptions for resolution, we can see how the failure to consider the period from the First World War to the Second becomes important in explaining the shortcomings of the solutions implied by these studies.

One set of studies begins its treatment of context in 1948. These studies share a common theme of tying Israeli identity to a theme of individualism and, when solutions are offered, solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict focus on the need to change individual attitudes. Several communication scholars have argued that, since 1948, Israeli literature, media, and educational texts have emphasized tropes of pioneerism and individual agency.[55] Israeli culture, they assert, can be changed if these texts are changed. They urge cultural reforms that will have these texts urge individuals to adopt different, although still individualistic, means of shaping collective understanding that promotes peace. Other studies have focused on individual actors who could serve as catalysts for peace if these individuals changed their rhetoric.[56] The "Great Men" of the conflict since 1948 are centered and their actions treated as those of a demiurge who created a view of Israel/Palestine. Although these studies indicate that there is a social collectivity, it is a collectivity made up of individuals empowered through individualizing tropes or one shaped by "Great Men." The first set of studies recommend that each individual come to an understanding that allows him or her to redefine Israeli citizenship so that it is not based on exclusion of Palestinian Arabs or on Zionism. The second set requires great wisdom on the part

of "Great Men" to make different choices. Nonetheless, they do not treat historical and rhetorical factors as they developed throughout the period of the British Mandate. As such, the solutions these scholars offer do not account for the construction of Israeli and Palestinian collectivities in and through history, making it difficult to take a solution based on individualistic action seriously. If we do not have an understanding of the role of individual interaction with the British system in the pre-1948 period, we are unlikely to know if these recommended approaches have been tried in the past. Moreover, neither individuals nor institutions exist in isolation from one another. They interact and their experiences, as individuals and institutions, shape the likelihood that future interactions will be successful. As such, even if individuals are persuaded that they should adopt a new approach, institutions like the Israeli State and the PLO may reject these attempts because of bad historical experience. If the patterns of individual action since 1948 have not been successful, it will be difficult to simply change the actors' approaches and ignore what they have done since. Instead, it may be necessary to look to the pre-1948 era to find precedent for these individuals and institutions working in effective relationships.

A second set of studies root their context in 1967, the year that the Six-Day War occurred. Although the war lasted less than 134 hours, these studies argue that the impact of the war was essential to Israeli and Palestinian identity. As such, they say that understanding the conflict's current manifestations should use 1967 as a continuing reference for the formation of identity. [57] If the 1967 war is our touchstone for the formation of Palestinian identity, then we find support for Golda Meir's claims that there were no Palestinians. If there was not a Palestinian identity before 1967, we deny Palestinian identity by making it a brand-new construct even as we justify organic claims to Israeli Jewish identity.

Another reason that some scholars select 1967 is their focus on the power of the media to create social segregation between Palestinian Arabs and Jews. [58] Electronic media, these studies claim, has had a growing influence since the 1967 war, as it has been removed from censorial control to a ground for more diverse advocacy. Studies of the electronic media in Israel find that,

because media plays an essential role in creating and maintaining social segregation, reforms within the media to show greater cooperation between Palestinians and Israelis may ameliorate the current conflict or, if the media cannot be changed, personal interactions that get people away from their televisions and into flesh-and-blood contact may be the only viable solution. The overall conclusion of these studies is that, since 1967, Israeli media has encouraged greater division between Arabs and Jews and between Palestinians and Israelis.

When these studies begin by rooting their context in 1967 and no earlier, the recommendations they make become suspect. The Six-Day War of 1967 was one that threatened the existence of Israel as a state and its aftermath involved the occupation of several territories by Israel (and absorbing their Arab populations through functional annexation). Thus, beginning in 1967 centers conflict and starts with violence. The studies that begin their context with 1967 argue that Israeli media can often be faulted for simplifying the Israeli-Palestinian conflict by ensuring that the only images shown are Arabs who threaten the existence of Israel and Israelis who defend the land from such aggressions. Daniel Kamin and George Gruen's claim that American media has incorrectly implied "that Israel's relationship with its Arab neighbors has remained static since the Six-Day War," may apply equally well to Israeli media.[59] Kamin and Gruen correctly argue that to ignore history and context in framing the Israeli-Palestinian dispute leads to coverage that is distorting and confusing. It is curious, then, that communication scholars make the same error by assuming the facticity of a divided state and a divided people that have never peacefully coexisted. Although current coverage is distorting and confusing, communication studies' focus on 1967 is also distorting and confusing.

When communication scholars place media or rhetorical practices as starting in 1967 they distort; when they reduce context to nearly no context they distort even more. Some communication scholars begin their contextualization in the 1970's. William Brown determines that terrorist acts from 1975 to 1984 had three objectives: gaining recognition, legitimating violence by allying it with broader values, and achieving political goals.[60] Nonetheless, given

events like the Stern Gang's bombing of the King David Hotel and its publicity in British and Palestinian media,[61] it would seem that extending the context of mediated terrorism in Palestine to at least the 1940s would help justify Brown's claims. Brown argues well for seeing terrorism as a persuasive form of political communication, but the ability to recognize terrorist acts *as communication* may come from previous instances of terrorist violence used to attain political ends in Israel/Palestine.

Whereas Brown limits his context to looking at violence from 1975 on, Tamar Liebes and Elihu Katz examine reconciliation attempts from 1977 to 1993.[62] Like Brown, Liebes and Katz examine media portrayals, holding that media events have the power to transform history. And, like Brown, they do not treat the context prior to 1975. The *need* for reconciliation is assumed in Liebes and Katz's argument; they do not show where or why a division opened that required such reconciliation. Although their rhetorical status argument is compelling, the issues of division need, at least, some mention of the 1947 United Nations partition of Palestine or, more properly, the British suggestions of partition in 1939. In addition, they do not account for the attempts at *preventative* reconciliation that some claim began in 1913 to forestall the need for ceremonies of reconciliation at all.[63]

Brown's and Liebes and Katz's suggestions for media expressions of events in Israel/Palestine to degrade terrorism and to raise the status of reconciliation, respectively, could be better informed by examining some media events before 1975. For instance, although terror was a popular rhetorical tactic in the 1930s and 1940s, the virtual disappearance of terror as a main strategy in the 1950s and early 1960s[64] indicates that terror was perceived as a poor choice, materially and rhetorically. If such perceptions were investigated and understood, the conditions that lessened terror might be reproduced somewhat, with the possibility for a decrease in current terror. Alternatively, if one believes that terror is a good tactic, the ability to forestall conditions that would make terror a poor choice might likewise be aided by understanding the changes in the deployment of terror as a rhetorical device. These authors treat their specific cases well, but the

broader impact of their findings is limited because they truncate the surrounding rhetorical environment so much.

Despite falling short in their treatment of history as it interacts with the rhetorics of terror and reconciliation, Brown and Liebes and Katz at least provide some context for the rhetorics that they investigate. Some communication studies provide no reference to the Israeli/Palestinian conflict before December 9, 1987.[65] Communication studies that treat the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as if it began with the Intifada discuss the problem of media bias. They generally claim that Israeli voices are preferred and that Palestinian Arab voices are silenced. The decision not to treat history, however, begs the question of bias altogether. Media portrayals may align with pro- or anti-Israeli views. The question of bias, however, needs to show that such views are not objective treatments. Without reference to a context outside of the media reports themselves, these studies become close readings that show trends, but they are not close readings that show bias. If media should enact balance, facticity, and neutrality, the validity of other views needs to be indicated to justify the inclusion of these views. Without some sense of history, the justification for considering these views is not present.

Historical context plays little role in communications studies' general treatment of Israel/Palestine. Indeed, only three published communication studies examine context before 1948 in more than a slighting way. Bernard Brock and Sharon Howell encourage the rhetorician to "look beyond the violent acts to the message that was being communicated" when examining Palestinian terrorism.[66] Using Robert Scott and Donald Smith's "rhetoric of confrontation,"[67] Brock and Howell trace the institutionalization and legitimation of the PLO and determine that the 1948 dispersion of Palestinian Arabs from Palestine was what ultimately made Palestinians see "confrontational strategies as their only chance for survival" and necessitated tactics like terrorism.[68] The politics of dispossession and the use of violence to empower voice, however, did not begin in 1948. Brock and Howell indicate that two "forces initiated early in this century – cultural inferiority and Zionism" – articulated by the British and European Jews, respectively,

must be understood if the post-1948 era is to be intelligible.[69] Brock and Howell, though, posit a break between pre-1948 and post-1948, as they argue that the rhetorical efforts of the British, Palestinian Arabs, and Jews were abandoned by 1948 and the rhetorics of force (military, legal, and economic) have been the rule since. This division should not be maintained. Rather than choosing between forceful rhetoric and rhetorics of force, we should see that the rhetoric from before 1948 still has rhetorical force even when rhetorics of force began to be deployed. Brock and Howell do well to survey the history of Israel/Palestine, but we do not need to evaluate these stages as if they were hermetically sealed from one another.

Two other studies make a less complete survey of history, but do provide some British era context to inform our understanding of present rhetorical acts. Robert Rowland's examination of Menachem Begin's rhetoric is concerned mostly with the post-1948 era.[70] Rowland devotes much of his text to explicating Begin's use of mythological tropes, ancient and modern, in justifying Israeli state action and the formation of particular modes of governance. Yet, Rowland also treats Begin's role in the Jewish underground in the waning days of British control. Rowland indicates that Begin used pre-independent Israel as a training ground for selecting effective rhetorical strategies that he later used in Israeli government. In doing so, Rowland points out the importance of considering rhetors as they bridge eras in Israeli history and shows that understanding rhetorical acts of the past usefully informs us when considering the rhetoric of the present. Tamar Katriel and Aliza Shenhar provide a similar contextualization when they examine current Israeli classroom's history texts and Israeli political debates.[71] These textbooks and debates draw on settler stories from 1936 to 1939 and usually portray Palestinian Arabs as enemies of Israel because of the 1939 revolts and the British as enemies for being colonialist. Katriel and Shenhar argue that if we do not understand the importance of the 1936-1939 settlement period, we cannot understand the dominant themes in current Israeli classrooms and politics. The consistent "coverage of the few (Jews) facing the many (Arabs) and defiance of the

weak (Jews) against the strong (British)" makes little sense unless British era policies and decisions as they interacted with Palestinian Arab demands are considered.[72]

The Treatment Of History

Because history and/as context plays so little role in most of our studies, and because this limitation has a substantial impact on the quality of our interpretations of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict, its representation, and its genesis, this dissertation will study the British period in Israel/Palestine and the British construction of that territory.

My treatment of the topic will rely on historical and archival research more than has been usual in communication studies texts in the past two decades because the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is fundamentally embedded in history and in the different interpretations of documents that have become a part of that history. Sociologist Baruch Kimmerling and political scientist Joel Migdal state that the importance of the British period "cannot be underestimated" as "not only did the British define the physical boundaries of the state" of Israel, "but they also carved out what would be the social boundaries of the Palestinian Arab people" and "fostered the formation of a Jewish society in Palestine."[73] They urge the analyst to consider violence in the Middle East as a response to the imposition of colonial controls over Palestine and the effects that this imposition may have for the present. Deborah Gerner agrees, holding that "the reference points for the current debates are found in the period before Israel was established as a state; the issues raised then and the political positions developed are reflected clearly in the arguments made in the 1990s."[74] As such, she looks at the formation of political institutions in Israel/Palestine before 1948 to understand the current political alignments and the participation or nonparticipation of certain actors in Israel's legitimate political system.

Similarly, I will examine the formation of rhetoric that defined the "meaning" of Israel/Palestine. Therefore, I will focus on statements by the British before 1948 to understand the perceived situations that the British felt they faced and their responses to those situations. Through an examination of these rhetorical processes and their rhetorical products, we may better

understand how the shaping of a foreign policy situation can alter what is seen as a fitting

response by the rhetor. In examining rhetorical products, we should also attempt to access how

the rhetor crafted responses. If we can better access rhetorical processes, we may be able to shed

light on the current construction of the situation in Israel/Palestine and better formulate responses

to that situation. The United States appears to be taking on many of the roles that the British

Empire took on after World War I.[75] Just as Britain was the last great imperial power, the United

States is the remaining superpower. Britain after a successful war had a strong military that it

deployed widely and Britain had great economic and cultural influence. The United States is

similarly deployed and enjoys a similar economic and cultural standing. Although these positions

have differences, there may be significant similarities between the situations the British felt they

faced from 1917 to 1948 and the situations that United States sees now. If we can identify failures

to account for factors of audience analysis or the improper minimization or maximization of

elements of a perceived situation in the British era, we may be able to improve current rhetoric by

studying past rhetoric. If we know where rhetoric failed to be fitting because of misperceptions of

situations or misconstructions of response, we may be able to avoid similar mistakes in the future.

The role of the rhetorical historian is to investigate the interpretation of textual situations

by rhetors through the examination of archival materials and publicly presented rhetorical acts. In

distinguishing between archival materials and publicly presented rhetorical acts, I do not claim

that the publicly presented act is a smokescreen behind which the archival materials operate with

a hidden meaning. The archival materials were not publicly presented; indeed some of the

materials that I will use were first recorded as "Confidential Prints," as classified materials.

Instead, I view the publicly presented text, or the center text, as a representative anecdote of the

archival materials, or the peripheral text. Both the center text and the peripheral text *are* the

situation which produced them. Because some texts are publicly presented, others remain

archived, and some are still classified, not all people have equal access to the situation. By

focusing on center texts while also employing fragments from the archives, the documents that

are the situation can be more broadly understood than if the analysis focused on only a center text.

This investigation does more than to provide possible explanations for historical rhetoric. This rhetorical historian has a second, more political, role in suggesting possible solutions to enduring conflicts in the present. Zizek puts the rhetorical historian's role well: "we, the 'actual' present historical agents, have to conceive of *ourselves* as the materialization of the ghosts of past generations, as the stage in which these past generations retroactively resolve their deadlocks."[76] As rhetorical historians we do not simply reconstruct the debates of the past and reconstruct them for an intellectual understanding. Our role is to learn from these debates, see how they may influence the current disputes, and employ ourselves in the past and present as advocates who can suggest alternative possibilities for rhetorical practice.

Performing these roles of the rhetorical historian, then, may make the rhetorical historian a *critical rhetorician*. Rhetorical theorist Raymie McKerrow indicates that critical rhetoric is concerned primarily with examining texts to see how they help to constitute material constraints on *praxis*.[77] Critical rhetorical projects are not concerned with constructing a single methodology that is applied to a multiverse of texts.[78] This does not mean that a critical rhetorical project becomes anarchic. Indeed, critical rhetoric asks the critic to supply a methodological orientation that guides the project, even as different concepts may guide different fragments.[79] Rhetorical history does not attempt to apply a single critical framework to a loosely joined collection of texts. Instead, rhetorical history provides a methodological orientation without imposing methodological monism. As I will indicate in Chapter Two, rhetorical history is a way of looking at texts but is not a controlling methodology. Instead, rhetorical history allows an examination of peripheral texts and center to provide an interpretation of the past that can inform the writing of present rhetorical acts. The rhetorical historian does not approach these texts seeking a predetermined set of indicators. The rhetorical historian may be able to better recognize the polysemic potentials of an archive than if he or she approached the archive with a methodology

that tends to produce a particular type of interpretation. As McKerrow notes, critical rhetoric projects should prefer approaches that allow for multiple interpretations by not overdetermining their findings through the selection of a coherentist methodology.[80]

Rhetorical history meets this need for critical rhetoric. The rhetorical historian makes a number of arguments and interventions when he or she visits the archives and selects elements for the peripheral text. Many archives exist. In this dissertation, I will select certain layers of the discourse available from the period. I have chosen to examine: British Colonial Office documents, Debates in Parliament, and the leading articles from the *Times* of London. These are not the only archival materials available. A different rhetorical historian could use the same methodological orientation that I have – rhetorical history – and examine different archives and potentially come to different conclusions. If a rhetorical historian were to examine the writings of Sir Mark Sykes, Lord Arthur Balfour, and Sir Henry McMahon in 1915-1917 to produce a text for interpreting the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, for example, they might find thematics that lead to conclusions different from the implications of ambiguity that I will argue for in Chapter Three. Similarly, a rhetorical historian immersed in United Nations documents from the post-World War II period might construct a rhetoric of success on the part of the international organization rather than the rhetoric of failure that I will construct in Chapter Six from my peripheral text. The multiple possibilities that come from different interpretations by rhetorical historians accessing different archives indicate that rhetorical history can be a critical rhetoric. Critical rhetoricians need to argue for why the symbolic acts that they have chosen take on power in the constitution of the real. They should also explain why they have not centered other symbolic acts.[81] Rhetorical historians make these arguments when they select a set of archives and, further, select texts from those archives for presentation.

The second opportunity for multiple interpretation and intervention authorized by rhetorical history is in the construction of the peripheral text out of the archive and the center text's interpretation of that construction. Even if two rhetorical historians choose the same

archive, the materials presented by that archive only influence the possible constructions. The materials do not cause a particular construction. This is also a characteristic of critical rhetorical projects.[82] McKerrow argues that the methodologically monist rhetorical critic will often apply the method as if it were a template. In doing so, the critic tends to generate similar interpretations of multiple texts, regardless of significant differences among texts.[83] Although the critic can produce insights into the operations of a text, a methodological template can also limit the possibilities for interpretation. On occasion, the template can even be inappropriate for some center texts, even if it is appropriate for other center texts. For instance, in Chapter Three I will argue that constitutive rhetoric provides insight into the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. If I were to attempt to be a methodological monist, I would then proceed to apply constitutive rhetoric to other center texts as a guide. Doing so may be appropriate for Chapter Six, as United Nations Resolution 181 does attempt to constitute a shared identity among Jews and Arabs. This alteration to Chapter Six, however, would ignore the preponderant themes that I will draw out of the peripheral text. In addition, the more useful insights for rhetoric in and as policymaking following failure would not have been made as important. Constitutive rhetoric would be less useful as a framework for Chapters Four and Five for similar reasons, although it may have some relevance. As such, the framework of constitutive rhetoric was not employed monistically. Instead, the fragments were constructed into a peripheral text and the preponderant themes in the peripheral text were used to interpret the center text. Rhetorical history, as a critical rhetoric, allows this sort of move by authorizing multiple modes of reading.

Rhetorical history as a critical rhetoric calls for a reversal of the usual organizational pattern of rhetorical scholarship. Rhetorical history does not being with theory and then apply that theory to a text or set of texts. Instead, rhetorical history concentrates first on textual action and then on theoretical understandings instead of focusing on theory before the text is considered. Because rhetorical history reverses the research process implied by the organizational structure of

journal articles and book chapters in rhetorical studies, the structure of each Chapter in this dissertation will reverse the organizational form as well as the research process. Instead of beginning with a theoretical problem that can be worked out through a text located in history, I begin with a problem in historical interpretation and work that problem out through a peripheral and center text. Although I will provide theoretical implications for rhetorical studies in each Chapter, these implications should be subordinated to the problem of historical interpretation and the potential lessons that the problems have for current rhetorical practice. As such, in each Chapter, I will use rhetorical history to reverse the standard research process and reporting of that process. Specifically, rhetorical history reverses the research process by beginning with the peripheral text, performing an inductive reading to locate thematics, using these findings to read the center text, and ending with findings that can be integrated into current theoretical understandings.

The structure of each case study will follow this organizational logic. I will begin each Chapter with a review of the "received history" of each center text. By received history, I do not mean that there is a monolithic and singular interpretation of history shared by all historians. By received history, I mean the collection of interpretations and descriptions of historical events as they are reported in the secondary and tertiary historical literature. I use the themes in the received history to argue that even divergent interpretations of historical events share a common logic of historical reportage that limits how center texts can be understood in their contexts. I then construct a peripheral text out of the available archival materials. Using a methodological orientation that I will describe in greater detail in Chapter Two, I examine the peripheral text for patterns of argument and repetitions of representation in the rhetorical actors' perception of their situation. In most cases, I find that the themes in the peripheral text allow an understanding of the importance or impact of a center text that is different than the understandings provided in the received history. Having drawn out themes from the peripheral text, I then use these themes to perform closer readings of the center text. As I will explain in Chapter Two, this mode of reading

makes the analyst the producer of the peripheral text and allows the peripheral text to then guide interpretation of the center text. Once the center text has been closely read, I then provide two kinds of implications. First, I indicate the theoretical implications of the Chapter. The predominant themes of the peripheral text and their assistance in reading the center text may provide insight into the strategies adopted by historical rhetors. By treating the center text as a coalescence of strategies, these strategies can provide examples of historical practice that can inform the theorization of each strategy. Although this reading "backs into" the theory, it also may help to preserve the process of doing rhetorical history textually. Instead of making it appear that theory must guide rhetorical analysis from the outset, this reversal in the organizational pattern may make it clearer that rhetorical analysis also guides theory by providing phenomena that are in need of interpretations. After translating the findings of each case study into theoretical implications, a second kind of inference from the case study is provided. Each of these case studies may also inform current American interventions in the Middle East peace process. Each Chapter will indicate how understanding the rhetorical strategies deployed in historical texts can be useful to present-day policymakers in their formation of new center texts.

Each case study will examine a significant center text in the rhetorical history of Israel/Palestine. Although there are disruptions within British rule that call for different rhetorical interventions, these four Chapters can also be considered as a continuous narrative of British rule. The same rhetorical actor is present in all four cases, but there is discontinuity within this continuity of control. Each Chapter treats a segment of the British period in Palestine.

In Chapter Three I will examine the 1917 Balfour Declaration and the 1916 McMahon-Hussein correspondence as center texts. Although the received history treats these texts as promises, I argue that the peripheral and center texts are characterized by a high degree of ambiguity. Because the ambiguity in the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence allowed the constitution of contradictory nationalist identities and may have

encouraged the genesis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I claim that the unintended effects of ambiguity may make it a poor strategy for present-day policymakers to employ.

In Chapter Four I will examine the 1922 Mandate for Palestine. The received history indicates that the Mandate was designed to seal British control over Palestine out of a sense of colonial self-interest. Rather than emphasizing this imperialist narrative, I argue that actors in the peripheral text, particularly Winston Churchill, framed the Mandate in terms of epideictic appeals rather than policy appeals from national self-interest. Because epideictic appeals foreclose discussions of potential policy implications, I claim that policymakers may want to consider why epideictic appeals are employed and the potential policy effects that go undiscussed if one makes decisions on appeals to honor rather than the efficacy of policy.

In Chapter Five I will examine the 1939 White Paper. The received history indicates that the White Paper reversed British policy so it favored the Arabs instead of the Jews. Although I accept the findings in the received history, I argue that the policy was not reversed because many policies were considered and the White Paper was considered the best option. I claim that the rhetoric of investigation was employed to exhaust policymakers' willingness to study problems and potential solutions, causing them to default to the only policy made available in the investigation. Because investigation can become overly concerned with analyzing a problem instead of considering potential solutions, I suggest the policymakers may want to consider how and for what ends investigation is being deployed. If investigation is being used to narrow possible choices without allowing the full consideration of each, policymakers may want to limit investigation so that it does not exhaust all willingness to consider alternative policy options.

In Chapter Six I will examine the 1947 United Nations Partition of Palestine, also called Resolution 181. The received history indicates that the Resolution was passed by the United Nations because Britain petulantly quit its responsibility in Palestine without concern for future effects. After the Resolution was passed, the received history indicates, Britain abandoned Palestine in a final act of cowardice, leaving a nascent civil war for the United Nations to deal

with. In my reading of the peripheral and center texts, I find that Britain did not abandon Palestine without warning. Instead, I claim that Britain articulated a rhetoric of failure that allowed Britain to transform itself from decrepit Empire into a leading citizen in a community of nations. Simultaneously, this rhetoric of failure offered Palestine an opportunity for a transformation from Mandate territory to citizen. Because transformative rhetorics of failure allow for a reconsideration of generally unquestioned systems of social organization, I offer potential lessons that the British experience has for the United States's current approaches toward the Middle East peace process.

At the end of the project, I will make some "judgment calls." The rhetorical analyst is always also called to judge the subject of his or her analysis. Although a judgment call "implies not knowing exactly how to respond, not knowing if one has heard the call as such or something else," we cannot not judge and remain rhetoricians.[84] One level of judgment could be the simplistic claim that imperialism has inherent failings. This claim would be one kind of critical rhetoric, the kind that McKerrow calls "the critique of power."[85] This dissertation will not be overly concerned with the critique of power. There are already many excellent studies that explore the failings of hegemonic and imperial foreign policy. More important, however, is that the critique of power may be too concerned with lamenting past actions rather than proposing ways to deal with the consequences of previous deployments of power. Instead of proposing a critical rhetoric concerned with the critique of power, this dissertation will, in the end, be what McKerrow calls a "critique of freedom."[86] That is, I will claim that Britain could have acted in ways other than it did. Claiming that there were other possibilities for actions that were foreclosed by the choices that Britain made does not mean, though, the United States should always act differently from Britain when confronted with a similar situation. Instead, historical analysis only offers potential lessons learned about conflict and possible directions for future action. To perform this critique of freedom and to offer potential alternative courses of action, I will offer tentative evaluations of prior rhetorical acts and provisional suggestions for future action in

Chapter Seven. These are, of course, modifiable evaluations and suggestions that can be revisited with later readings (and their revisions) and interactions with other arguments (that may militate against certain solutions). By considering these possibilities, some of the worst mistakes of the past may be avoided, and future policymakers may be able to ameliorate some of the harms of past imperial actions by framing improved policies.

38

Endnotes

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[2] Cable News Network, "Mideast: Land of Conflict," 2001,

<http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2001/mideast/interactive/timeline/> (29 January 2003),

CNN.com.

[3] Search conducted June 18, 2002 in "News" archive of the top 50 United States newspapers and

top five per cent of international newspapers.

[4] Thomas L. Friedman, *The Lexus And The Olive Tree: Understanding Globalization* (New York:

Anchor, 2000), 20.

[5] Slavoj Zizek, *The Sublime Object Of Ideology* (London: Verso, 1989), 138.

[6] Zizek, *Sublime Object*, 138.

[7] Michel Foucault, *The Order Of Things: An Archaeology Of The Human Sciences* (New York:

Vintage, 1973), 218-9.

[8] Slavoj Zizek, *On Belief* (London: Routledge, 2001), 111.

[9] Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Mediations,* trans. Richard Nice (Stanford: Stanford University

Press, 2000), 185.

[10] Bourdieu, *Pascalian*, 186.

[11] The terms Arab and Palestinian are often used interchangeably when addressing the Israeli-

Palestinian conflict. Middle East historian Bernard Lewis puts it well when he introduces the

problematic of defining what an "Arab" is in his most classic text; "The Arabs may be a nation;

they are not as yet a nationality in the legal sense… There are Arab states, and indeed a league of

Arab states; but as yet there is no single Arab state of which all Arabs are national. But if

Arabism has no legal content, it is none the less real" as it plays off of cultural, religious, and

linguistic registers (Bernard Lewis, *The Arabs In History* [New York: Harper, 1958], 9). In this

dissertation, I have attempted to use the term "Palestinian Arab" except when a quotation or

statement refers to Arabs beyond Palestine. In the case of several Arab-Israeli wars, Palestinian

Arabs are involved, but other Arabs are as well. In addition, many of the quotations employed in

the dissertation lead to the referent "Arab" rather than "Palestinian Arab" because these authors

are making claims about Arabs, and not about the specific class of Arabs who are also

Palestinians. If I use the term "Arab," I am referring to Arabic speaking peoples, the traditional

philological definition. If I use the term "Palestinian," I refer to those Arabs who were resident in

or descended from Arabs resident in the British Mandate area called Palestine.

[12] David Ben-Gurion, *Memoirs* (New York: World, 1970), 26.

[13] Benjamin Netanyahu, *A Durable Peace: Israel And Its Place Among The Nations* (New York: Warner, 2000), 27.

[14] Netanyahu, *Durable Peace*, 27.

[15] The following dates are all approximate until the Ottoman period. There is general agreement on the order in which these events occurred as well as the importance of these events. When the dates have been in question, I have deferred to the timeline provided by Mitchell Bard (*The Complete Idiot's Guide To The Middle East Conflict* [Indianapolis: Alpha, 2001]) as the most basic source.

[16] "Palestine And Syria, Sykes-Picot Line And Suggested Post War Spheres Of Influence" [Sykes-Picot Agreement], 1919, WO 153/1044.

[17] "A.J. Balfour to L.A. Rothschild" [Balfour Declaration], 2 November 1917, CO 733/443/6.

[18] David Ben-Gurion, Hagana Address," *New York Times*, 7 October 1943, p 3.

[19] Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, "Introduction," in *The War For Palestine: Rewriting The History Of 1948*, ed. Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 2.

[20] Rebecca L. Torstrick, *The Limits Of Coexistence: Identity Politics In Israel* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), 31.

[21] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions Of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 30.

[22] John Durham Peters, "Exile, Nomadism, And Diaspora: The Stakes Of Mobility In The Western Canon," in *Home, Exile, Homeland: Film, Media, And The Politics Of Place*, ed. Hamid Naficy (London: Routledge, 1998), 29-30.

[23] Peters, "Exile," 19.

[24] Peters, "Exile," 19.

[25] Peters, "Exile," 20.

[26] Lewis, *Arabs*, 179; Interestingly, see also the Old Testament book of Ezekiel, particularly 47:21-23.

[27] Ran Greenstein, *Genealogies Of Conflict: Class, Identity, And State In Palestine/Israel And South Africa* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995), 36.

[28] Sidney Sugarman, *The Unrelenting Conflict: Britain, Balfour, And Betrayal* (Sussex: Book Guild, 2000), 49.

[29] Ben-Gurion, *Memoirs*, 27.

[30] Edward W. Said, *The End Of The Peace Process: Oslo And After* (New York: Pantheon, 2000), 318.

[31] Anthony D. Smith, *Nations And Nationalism In A Global Era* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), 2.

[32] David Newman, "Metaphysical And Concrete Landscapes: The Geopiety Of Homeland Socialization In The 'Land Of Israel'," in *Land And Community: Geography And Jewish Studies*, ed. Harold Brodsky (Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 1997), 153.

[33] Nurith Gertz, *Myths In Israeli Culture: Captives Of A Dream* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2000), 24.

[34] Gertz, *Myths*, 110.

[35] "Meir Addresses Zionist Rally," *Sunday (London) Times*, 15 June 1969, sec. A, p. 4.

[36] Deborah J. Gerner, *One Land, Two Peoples: The Conflict Over Palestine* (Boulder: Westview, 1994), 5.

[37] Anthony D. Smith, *The Nation In History: Historiographical Debates About Ethnicity And Nationalism* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000), 62.

[38] Daniel Judah Elazar, *Two Peoples – One Land: Federal Solutions For Israel, The Palestinians, And Jordan* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1991), 17.

[39] Elazar, *Two Peoples*, 17.

[40] Jonathan Boyarin, *Palestine And Jewish History: Criticism At The Borders Of Ethnography* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 3.

[41] Boyarin, *Palestine*, 200.

[42] Saul B. Cohen, *Jerusalem: Bridging The Four Walls* (New York: Herzl, 1977), 13.

[43] Chaim Weizmann, *Trial And Error: The Autobiography Of Chaim Weizmann* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), 280.

[44] Don Handelman and Lea Shamgar-Handelman, "The Presence Of Absence: The Memorialism Of National Death In Israel," in *Grasping Land: Space And Place In Contemporary Israeli Discourse And Experience*, ed. Eyal Ben-Ari and Yoram Bilu (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 86.

[45] The terms "rhetoric" and "violence" are often juxtaposed. A few scholars have begun to discuss "rhetorics of violence," a discussion of the representation of violence within persuasive acts (see, for example, Marco Abel, *Fargo*: The Violent Production Of The Masochistic Contract As A Cinematic Concept," *Critical Studies In Mass Communication* 16 [1999]: 326; Benjamin R. Bates and Thurmon Garner, "Can You Dig It? Audiences, Archetypes, And John Shaft," *Howard Journal Of Communications* 12 [2001]: 155; Kevin Michael DeLuca and Jennifer Peeples, "From Public Sphere To Public Screen: Democracy, Activism, And The 'Violence' Of Seattle," *Critical Studies In Media Communication* 19 (2002): 138; Kathryn M. Olson, "Detecting A Common

Interpretive Framework For Impersonal Violence: The Homology In Participants' Rhetoric On Sport Hunting, 'Hate Crimes,' And Stranger Rape," *Southern Communication Journal* 67 [2002]: 236-239). These discussions still maintain a strong distinction between rhetoric (or representation) and the use of actual violence (physical force). The distinction may derive from Aristotle's claim that negotiation is preferable to compulsion, that rhetoric is preferable to force (*Rhet.* 1374a-b). In his discussion, Aristotle indicates that rhetoric is more equitable than force, as even those who are weak can still use rhetoric to reach a reasonable position of negotiation with those who are strong. When force is used, however, Aristotle indicates that equity is no longer a concern, as the person who has the greatest ability to deploy violence (his paradigmatic case is the ability to physically strike another person) will always beat the weaker persons.

Yet, negotiations for the peaceful settlement of dispute can take place at the same time as military forces are in conflict. Simply put, both negotiation and force are forms of power deployed to attain the same end: a perceived improvement in the state of affairs. Hans Morgenthau, realist foreign policy's greatest exponent, puts it well: "power may comprise anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over man. Thus power covers all social relationships which serve that end, from physical violence to the most subtle psychological ties by which one mind controls another" (*Politics Among Nations*, 6th ed. [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993], 11). Although one can value one form of power over the other out of concerns over equity or some other value, a sharp division between forceful rhetoric and rhetorics of force cannot be maintained. Morgenthau appears to hold that physical force and rhetorical force are part of the same spectrum of power and that negotiation is a form of compulsion, albeit a subtler one. Morgentahu even indicates that war *is* a form of rhetoric, as "the political objective of war itself is not per se the conquest of territory and the annihilation of enemy armies, but a change in the mind of the enemy which will make him yield to the will of the victor" (*Politics*, 34). Rhetoric requires backing with force if it is questioned, and force requires rhetoric to be justified. In recognition of

this relationship between rhetoric and force – indeed on their shared genus – I have employed the terms "rhetorics of force" to cover the allegedly "non-rhetorical" side of the spectrum of compulsion and "forceful rhetoric" to cover the side of the spectrum of compulsion that is more generally recognized in rhetorical studie s.

[46] Epp, *Whose Land*, 250.

[47] Epp, *Whose Land*, 250-5.

[48] Harold Brodsky, "Ezekiel's Map Of Restoration," in *Land And Community: Geography And Jewish Studies*, ed. Harold Brodsky (Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 1997), 38; Michael Chisholm and David M. Smith, "Preface," in *Shared Space: Divided Space*, ed. Michael Chisholm and David M. Smith (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), *vii*; Fay Gale, "Aboriginal Australia: Survival By Separation," in *Shared Space: Divided Space*, ed. Michael Chisholm and David M. Smith (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 217; Zali Gurevitch, "The Double Site Of Israel," in *Grasping Land: Space And Place In Contemporary Israeli Discourse And Experience*, ed. Eyal Ben-Ari and Yoram Bilu (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 207; Dan Perry, *Israel And The Quest For Permanence* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1999), 191.

[49] Chisholm and Smith, "Preface," *vii.*

[50] Eyal Ben-Ari and Yoram Bilu, "Introduction," in *Grasping Land: Space And Place In Contemporary Israeli Discourse And Experience*, ed. Eyal Ben-Ari and Yoram Bilu (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 3.

[51] A. Smith, *Nation In History*, 76.

[52] A. Smith, *Nation In History*, 76.

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[82] McKerrow, "Theory And Practice," 107.

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CHAPTER 2

HISTORY, RHETORIC, METHODOLOGY

The rhetorical history of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is not just about describing the previous outlines and definitions of Israel/Palestine. If finding the best definition were all that conflict resolution demanded, a solution would be simple. A controlling body could decree that Israel or Palestine meant *this* or *that* for all time because it met the best standards of definition through clarity, precision, limitation, or some other standard grounded in an academic debate model. Such solutions do not work. Rather than articulating the best definition as a synchronic, ahistorical act, any resolution to the conflict must acknowledge that previous attempts at definition shape the perceptions of current policymakers and activists in their attempts to come to a solution. Moreover, any solution must realize that even forceful rhetoric must be backed by rhetorics of force. Definitions are made in kairotic moments, those where a need to redefine past acts and a willingness to articulate new definitions coincide with the ability to speak on behalf of the new definition and a perceived ability to enforce that definition.[1]

Although the moment of decision in the twenty-first century is important, previous kairotic moments echo in present inventional materials and in the strategies deployed. This does not mean that we are condemned to repeat history, recycling failure because we have not learned from our mistakes. Each attempt to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict *has* drawn on this history and attempted to correct for errors made in previous policy.[2] The assumption is that by looking at the language of previous documents and retrospectively determining the errors of the text, mistakes can be avoided in present attempts.

Studies of single definitional attempts, though, are unlikely to yield much understanding of what can be done now in efforts towards peace. To be sure, examining the rhetorical choices made in these documents may ameliorate current policies by showing what language choices and

tactics did or did not function well in helping to resolve conflict. If one merely looks at previous accords, declarations, and treaties, then one examines only the *products* of rhetoric. In looking only to products, without examining first the assumptions and decisions made by the parties involved, the *process* of rhetorical formation is ignored. The overall strategy of rhetorical formation remains ignored if only a single product is examined. Even if the rhetoric informed by a process is critiqued, if the same process of rhetorical formation is followed, great improvement in the rhetorical products is unlikely.

Thomas Farrell is correct that advocates seek to alter perceptions of situations by changing the "sense of appearances by expressing them as proposed themes and arguments, inviting decision, action and judgment" by raising "practical questions of choice or avoidance."[3] As such, these practical questions are important. We must ask, "What were policymakers trying to do?" and "What constraints or opportunities did advocates perceive?" Moreover, because "the aim of rhetoric is to *practice* judgment (to enact krisis), where certain sorts of problematic materials are involved,"[4] these are not idle questions. They are the very stuff of rhetorical studies. Examining situations as they are constructed by rhetors should be the ground of our studies. Rhetorical products are the result of a rhetorical process. Situations may exist objectively, but that does not mean we experience situations objectively. The decision to act and to act in a particular way is a rhetorical choice. By understanding how rhetors perceived situations, the rhetorical process of decision making can be accessed. Having accessed part of the rhetorical process rhetorical products can then be examined for the strategies they deploy to see how well they meet the rhetor's self-perceived exigencies, their constraints, and their treatment of problematic materials.

Rather than studying isolated documents or rhetorical products that define Palestine/Israel, the rhetoric of conflict resolution must be accessed, in part, through the rhetorical processes that forms and informs that rhetoric. Rhetorical history is needed to understand these attempts at resolution as they take place in history and as they influence the present management

of the conflict. In other words, just as this dispute has taken place in history, history has a place in understanding the dispute. Because rhetorical acts operate within a particular context, a context that is shaped by and shaping of previous and later rhetorical acts, Kathleen Turner argues that "rhetorical history offers us the opportunity to see rhetoric as a perpetual and dynamic process … rather than as an isolated static process."[5] Beyond allowing an investigation of the diachronic and strategic properties of rhetorical processes, rhetorical history also allows analysts to account for the particular and the contingent in synchronic, tactical rhetorical acts.

In this Chapter, I will clarify rhetorical history as a methodological framework. As with any perspective and methodology, rhetorical history has some limits. I will begin by defining the kind of rhetorical history that I will perform in this dissertation. I will also indicate the importance of integrating historical investigation with rhetorical criticism. After defining rhetorical history, I will discuss two access points for doing rhetorical history, the archive and institutional intent. Next, I will indicate broad methodological consideration for doing rhetorical history. After naming these considerations as outlined by Michael Calvin McGee and Martin Medhurst, I will provide a four-step method of doing rhetorical history. In constructing this method, I claim that when looking at discourses in and through history using rhetorical history as a perspective allows important issues in rhetorical process to be addressed that may go unnoticed by other perspectives. As a methodology, rhetorical history requires analysts to expand the universe of texts in and as contexts that they treat. This requirement makes rhetorical history a method uniquely suited for understanding the ways that rhetoric operates in and as context for enduring conflicts.[6]

Doing Rhetorical History

"Rhetorical history," as a term, is the subject of some dispute. Thus, it is important to define what I mean by rhetorical history. David Zarefsky indicates that there are four different modes of inquiry that can be called "rhetorical history:" "The history of rhetoric, the rhetoric of history, historical studies of rhetorical practice, and rhetorical studies of historical events."[7]

Although these four senses are not mutually exclusive, each strain has some identifying features. The history of rhetoric is a form of rhetorical history in which analysts trace the development of rhetorical theory from ancient times to the present. Most of these studies follow "the" rhetorical tradition from Athens through medieval Europe to the American, English, and French universities of today,[8] although alternative tracings are beginning to emerge.[9] Rhetorical history that examines the rhetoric of history is concerned with history writing as a process in which historians act as interpreters and advocates. These studies suggest that history writing is rhetorical[10] and, further, that these histories become a source of invention for later rhetors.[11] The third sense of rhetorical history is the most common, although it is rarely called by this name. Any study that examines the reuse of rhetorical acts in new contexts could be called a rhetorical history. Such studies often use classical ideas of invention or newer concepts like Derrida's iterability and Bakhtin's heteroglossia that indicate how old texts are revised, altered, and exploited for new situations.

The final sense, and the one I employ in this study, is Zarefsky's fourth sense, "the study of historical events from a rhetorical perspective… In this sense of rhetorical history, the historian views history as a series of rhetorical problems, situations that call for public persuasion to advance a cause or overcome an impasse."[12] Just as the economic historian bases his or her studies on economic factors, a political historian on political ones, and a literary historian on literary factors, the rhetorical historian takes events – material and/or rhetorical – and examines them from a perspective that emphasizes rhetorical choices and perceptions. The documents studied in this dissertation could be used as part of a diplomatic, economic, military, or other form of history. But, by performing rhetorical history, the focus is on the construction and interpretations of exigencies and the creation of fitting responses.

In most acts of rhetorical criticism, the role of historical circumstance has been addressed. Even as the importance of historical circumstance is recognized, discussion of historical contingency is often treated as a mere preamble to the "real" purpose of the academic

rhetorician, the criticism of the text as a rhetorical act. Bruce Gronbeck even went so far as to say that rhetorical criticism and rhetorical history should not be performed together, as "includ[ing] both descriptive-causal judgments and normative-evaluative statements … seems unworkable if we keep in mind a distinction between rhetorical criticism and rhetorical history."[13] Rhetorical criticism textbooks have taken Gronbeck's admittedly artificial distinction between history and criticism as fact. Because Gronbeck claimed that the two studies are conceptually distinct, as they "must pursue different goals, ought to be judged by differing criteria, and usually employ varying standards of evidence,"[14] many studies have outlined the historical circumstances for a rhetorical act, dispensed with it, and moved into the work of analysis.

Since then, Gronbeck has revised his views. He now holds that "the past may not be knowable or accessible, but it is pragmatically utile" for rhetoricians to take the past seriously when constructing their critical claims.[15] For the past to have pragmatic utility for rhetorical studies requires that rhetoricians not use and describe history simply as a precursor to the work of criticism. Instead, as history informs and is informed by rhetoric, it is a powerful resource and a necessary part of the critical act. Turner maintains that if history is viewed "as merely a descriptive preamble to criticism," rhetorical critics will ignore the variability of historical experience and perception that undergirds the formation of any rhetorical act.[16] Doing rhetorical history does not mean, however, that the assumptions of the times in which a rhetorical act took place should be accepted unquestioningly, nor does it mean that the rhetor's viewpoint is the truth of a situation.[17] A rhetor's self-perceived effectiveness is not the only standard of judgment in rhetorical history. Neither is the correspondence of the rhetor's perceptions to historical "truth."

Instead of taking the rhetor's or the journalists' word for truth when evaluating kairotic moments and response, rhetorical history can balance between focusing on a single message and looking at context at the expense of texts. Textual criticism of a single text can become overly concerned with formal and esthetic choices while broad history can ignore the rhetorical force in history by ignoring specific texts.[18] This is why Donald Bryant argues that history and criticism

need one another and that rhetoricians cannot avoid becoming mere biographers or literary critics unless they accept rhetorical history as a central concern.[19] Bryant is clear that criticism taken formally or artistically adds to our knowledge, as does history that ignores rhetorical forces. Nonetheless, he claims that "we must recognize them for what they are worth – for parts" in constructing future stories and further acts of rhetorical history and rhetorical criticism.[20] When assembling these parts, both criticism and history are needed. Barnet Baskerville assures us that "'historical' data – rhetor, purpose, audience, situation – is indispensable to the critical judgment of rhetorical discourse."[21] Next to Baskerville, I argue that rhetorical data – the movements made, the strategies employed, and the portrayal of the historical data within the text – are also indispensable to the critical judgment of historical discourse. There is no need to choose whether one wants to be a rhetorical critic or a historian.

Too often a choice is made, and that choice is often to be a critic without also being a historian. History becomes mere preamble as criticism becomes the essential act. Ronald Carpenter claims

> although rhetorical criticism abounds, historiography largely *has* dropped out of
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> that research. ... Few efforts go beyond discourse to primary source
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> correspondence and other memorabilia ... as causal antecedents of a message or
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> as consequences among respondents. Thus, current rhetorical criticism often is an
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> argument about meanings read out of – or into – discourse, all highly dependent
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> upon the perspective or methodology employed.[22]

Since Carpenter wrote this 15 years ago, little has changed. Turner notes that archival research is rarely done by rhetorical critics as it "conjure[s] up a dull, musty, tedious image for the vast majority of people," an interpretation with which "many researchers in communication would agree."[23] As analysts who are interested in invention, strategy, and a host of other terms that indicate that rhetors plan their actions for particular results, it is surprising that Carpenter and Turner should find this attitude so prevalent in communication studies. Although the text is taken

as the central concern of rhetoricians, when history is taken into account to provide grounding for these texts, it is often through secondary sources alone.

Ernest Wrage gives the simplest explanation for considering historical factors. Rhetorical acts are, at their core, instrumental acts. They are attempts at persuasion. As such, by examining historical contexts as they are perceived by the rhetor and considering the rhetorical act as a response that seeks to alter that historical arrangement, "we may gain insight into the life of an era as well as into the mind of a man."[24] If Wrage's particularization is expanded, the study of rhetoric in and as context offers insight into what parts of an era actors desired to change or maintain. It can also help us to understand the process of creating responses to these situations.

The rhetorical act is not simply part of or a response to a given situation. Instead, the rhetorical act is an articulation of a response to an actor's *construction* of a situation. Interpreting a speech means more than describing a situation and evaluating a rhetorical act's fittingness. Interpretation also involves more than describing a text's construction of reality. Both need to be done. As such, Wrage directs the critic to ascertain a "complete understanding of what goes into a speech, the purpose of the speech and the interplay of factors which comprise the public speaking situation."[25]

This "complete understanding" of the speech, however, is not fixed. Rhetorical history, as conceived by Wrage, does not ask the critic to look at historical circumstance objectively, nor does it ask the critic to match pieces of speeches with occurrences in historical context. Instead rhetorical acts are texts in use. Understanding where a text is used and why is important. But so is exploring how the text operates internally. In rhetorical history, Wrage explains, "a speech is more than a document, for it is something that happened," but it is also "a work of practical art" that is part of and in response to dynamics of history. [26] Baskerville interprets Wrage to claim that rhetoricians need a mode of criticism that "ameliorate[s] both the reification of a formalist textuality and the scattering of critical attention to a diffuse historical context."[27] Thomas Rosteck believes that following Wrage in doing rhetorical history can perform this amelioration. Because

rhetorical history does not focus on the techniques found in a text limited to the immediate and singular context of the rhetorical act itself, it escapes the dangers of formalist textuality. Yet, because rhetorical history does not fall into describing the swath of implications coming from and supported by ideological formations at the expense of reading specific texts, it can also constrain the scattering of attention to texts. By treating texts and history, performing criticism and historiography, Rosteck claims that rhetorical history "has the potential to recover the neglected contextual elements of the critical tradition without excising the centrality of textual reading."[28] That is, rhetorical history reads texts and contemporaneous interpretations of context made by rhetorical actors to combine both into an understanding of texts in use.

Accessing Rhetorical Histories

Although some critics dispense with history altogether or see it as mere prelude to the work of criticism, and some historians focus on the genesis and subsequent relevance or irrelevance of texts in the "big picture" of history, we do not need to come to a choice of being historians who are interested in rhetoric or critics who focus on rhetorical, not literary, texts. We do not need to see the picture as pessimistically as Baskerville does, as a situation where "the paraphernalia of history – who the author was, why he said what he did, etc. – is largely irrelevant" to some critics and where "the other side could be equally intransigent" in ignoring aesthetic, strategic, or ethical choices made in the construction of the text itself.[29] Instead, the historical particulars of the author may be important to why certain aesthetic, strategic, or ethical choices were made. Contrariwise, being able to call something "artistic," "strategic," or "ethical" may very well depend on knowledge of the historical circumstance in which such choices were made or in considering these to be "choices" at all. Braiding history with criticism may allow fuller interpretations of the genesis of rhetorical acts.

This braiding may also allow both critics and historians to better evaluate the strategies deployed in texts and to consider how and why these strategies failed or succeed when the act was presented to audiences.[30] Marie Hochmuth Nichols claims that this performance as critic and

historian by the rhetorician is *necessary,* not just beneficial, to his or her function.[31] She argues that the rhetorician best serves his or her speech community by "revealing and evaluating the public speaker's interpretation of the world around him and the peculiar means of expressing that interpretation to his generation."[32] This revelation and evaluation, however, raises two issues of access. The rhetorician must first access the interpretation that a speaker gives to a situation. This question of access may be resolved by *consulting the archive*. The rhetorician must then access the importance of this interpretation to the formation and use of rhetorical acts. It is difficult to judge the importance an individual speaker's interpretation of a situation to the social use of a rhetorical act. When collective speakers provide an interpretation, however, this importance is easier to judge. This question of accessing the importance of a collective speaker's interpretation of a situation to the social use of a text may be resolved by *considering institutional intent.*

Consulting The Archive

To perform a rhetorical history, the rhetorician must first be able to access a speaker's interpretation of their situation. To do so, the rhetorician must locate moments within discourses that have the potential to display the meaning given to situations by rhetors and that may articulate their responses. If there are not such specific locations within the discourse, it is difficult for the rhetorician to reveal the interpretation of a speaker. Although the rhetorician may be able to describe general trends, to reduce the range of conjecture the rhetorical historian should attempt to locate moments where a speaker constructs and provides interpretations of their situation. To locate these moments, the rhetorical historian should consult the archive.

The term "archive" is often used in historical scholarship. The general sense of the term is that an archive is a place for keeping records or the records themselves. This uncomplicated sense of archives, however, leaves out considerations of what becomes archived and how things become archived. Philosopher Michel Foucault proposes an alternative understanding of the archive. He claims that historians should not think of archives as "the sum of all the texts that a culture has kept upon its person as documents attesting to its own past" nor as the institutions that

"make it possible to record and preserve those discourses that one wishes to remember and keep in circulation."[33] As such, neither the collection of records nor the institutions that administer the records constitute the archive. The archive is not "the great mythical book of history."[34] Instead, Foucault argues that the archive is "the general system of the formation and transformation of statements," a body of (sometimes unarticulated) discursive rules and practices that makes some statements become linguistic events and other statements become forgotten non-events.[35] Foucault's redefinition of the archive has gained increasing currency in historical scholarship.[36]

Despite the claim that the archive is a general discursive system, accessing this system has proven difficult, even for Foucault. Foucault admits, "the archive cannot be described in its totality."[37] Instead of attempting to consult the whole of an archive, the historian should realize that the archive "emerges in fragments, regions, and levels," some parts of which are more accessible.[38] These fragments, regions, and levels are of varying importance. Foucault urges the historian to concentrate on archives that enact "a practice that causes a multiplicity of statements to emerge as so many regular events, as so many things to be dealt with and manipulated."[39] That is, the historian should be on the lookout for archives that provide *repetition* and *quantity*. In this understanding of "important" archives, Foucault indicates that "the analysis of the archive, then, involves a privileged region" of the totality of discourse.[40]

In this dissertation, I will employ three regions of the British archive: Colonial Office documents, Parliamentary Debates, and "leading articles" from the *Times* of London. Each region of the archive is characterized by repetition and quantity. All three regions produced documents on a regular basis. The Colonial Office issued reports, memoranda, and regulations on a near daily basis. Parliament met, and still meets, on a regular basis, and their Debates are published biweekly. The *Times* has been printed every day for more than a century. Because of this regular production, these three regions provide quantity. In addition, there are recurrent themes within these documents. As the specific readings in the following Chapters will show, patterns of argument and representation can be tracked in these documents. Moreover, these patterns are not

isolated to single regions, but can be seen in all three regions at once. As such, these three regions also provide repetition.

In Foucault's historical practice, though, an additional sense of the archive emerges. Foucault claims that some documents from the continuous archive can be used to track discontinuities in historical experience. History, for Foucault, is the study of "beginnings and ends, the description of obscure continuities and returns, [and] the reconstitution of developments in the linear form of history."[41] That is, although the archive presents itself as an undifferentiated plain of statements, monumental documents break up that plain. Behind these monumental documents is a continuation of the archive that is, in many ways, unchanged. With the eruption of the monumental document, though, archival materials that follow the monumental document in the archive are also discontinuous with the materials that preceded the monumental document. Foucault provides several examples of discontinuities within continuities linked to the eruption of monumental documents. Foucault outlines seemingly continuous narratives of sexual pleasure, self-discipline, medical practice, and judicial punishment. Although Foucault finds that there are great continuities within each realm, with the eruption of certain documents, discontinuities are introduced into the linear archive and the general system of discourse is partially disrupted. Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, Galen's *Opera omnia*, Hippocrates's *Prognostic*, and Jeremy Bentham's *Panoptic Letters*, respectively, served as monumental discourses that mark a beginning and an end within these seemingly continuous archives.[42] Although these works, themselves, are part of the archive, the also serve to disrupt and change it. In this clarification of archives and monumental documents, Foucault indicates that those documents that seem to begin or end a period within an archive should be studied in addition to the broader discursive plain of the archive itself.

In this dissertation, each Chapter will focus on what Foucault would call a monumental discourse. The Balfour Declaration, the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the Mandate for Palestine, the White Paper of 1939, and United Nations Resolution 181 are partially continuous

with the archive. They each are informed by the general discursive system of late-Imperial British politics. Each document, however, ruptures that discursive system as well. After each document was issued, the discursive system adapted. These monumental documents introduced new assumptions and displaced some old assumptions. In addition, as later monumental documents arose, their exigencies were informed, in part, by previous monumental documents. Later monumental documents also rearticulated previous monumental documents to provide alternative interpretations.

The terms used by Foucault may be somewhat misleading. Foucault's imagery calls forth a plain of discourse punctuated by monumental documents. Here, the reader could easily imagine a situation like the Washington Monument on the Capitol Mall. A broad, level field suddenly gives rise to a spindly monument. Rather than allowing the general discourse to rise slowly, perhaps with a few incomplete monuments clustered near a finished monument built atop a hill that falls away, Foucault's language portrays a text inserted as if it were an artificial monolith erected in an otherwise undifferentiated field. The next monumental discourse, once could think, will be built in a fresh field or, perhaps, the old monumental discourse will be razed before the new monumental discourse is built.

Rather than arguing for a monumental text inserted into a field of discourse, language that emphasizes the interconnection could be used. With Foucault, I agree that, when consulting the archive, the rhetorical historian should examine both the general plain of discourse and the monumental documents that erupt from that plain. Examining both should also allow the rhetorical historian to emphasize interconnections between the plain of discourse.

To emphasize these interconnections between texts, competing texts, prior context, and following context, I will develop some alternative terms below. I claim that rather than finding monuments in fields of discourse, rhetorical historians need to read *center texts* and *peripheral texts* as they interact. I have employed these terms for the same reason that postcolonialist theorists do. Although "center" and "periphery" indicate a spatial relationship, they do so in a

way that does not separate the periphery from the center. Just as Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin's study of literary acts finds that "when elements of the periphery and margin threatened the exclusive claims of the centre they were rapidly incorporated" into the culture's center,[43] when elements of the peripheral text indicate changes in belief patterns or articulated arguments, they are rapidly incorporated into a center text as its themes. As such, center texts and peripheral texts are not separate texts. Even the most monumental document has precursors in the peripheral text. And, through creating textual chains, even the most distant part of an archive can be connected to a center text. The themes that recur in the peripheral text help form the center text by providing issues that need to be addressed, argumentative norms to follow, and other guides to the design of the center text. In turn, the center text helps form the peripheral text by creating a clearer interpretive frame for reading the peripheral text. Because of these interconnections, the center text and the peripheral text intersect at more than one point. Unlike Foucault's vertical monument and horizontal plain of discourse, the center text is a location within the peripheral text that can shift as the peripheral text becomes more complicated. Moreover, different texts can become center texts depending on the rhetorical historian's desired point of intervention. As I develop my methodology for rhetorical history below, I will outline more clearly how texts become centered by the rhetorical historian and made important by the participants in the kairotic moment.

Considering Institutional Intent

Choosing a center text can be complicated by the understanding that, while rhetorical acts respond to situational exigencies,[44] rhetors also play an important role in shaping these situations and can call exigencies into being.[45] Because of this intersection, Rosteck indicates that the partial shaping of ideas by context and by rhetors "reveals assumptions of cultural rhetors and provides a way of analyzing the content of the form" for unintended, situational, or unquestioned co-messages or influences that are later associated with the rhetorical act or that creep into the rhetorical formation without the rhetor's conscious decision.[46] By considering patterns in the

peripheral text and their enactment in the center text, cultural assumptions and backgrounds for employed forms can be partially understood. In addition, by examining a peripheral text in conjunction with a center text, the instrumental end that a particular center text is meant to serve can be partially determined.

The battle over intent has generally been fought out on individual grounds. Some rhetoricians claim that what a person was trying to do when he or she spoke should be the starting point of rhetorical analysis. As an instrumental art, they argue that rhetoricians should try to determine how a rhetorical act was constructed to fit the particular ends of the person delivering the rhetorical act. Other rhetoricians argue that, because rhetoric is an instrumental act, rhetoricians should be most concerned with what the effects of that instrument were. That is, rather than examining what a person tried to do, they argue that rhetoricians should examine what that person's rhetoric actually did, irrespective of the rhetor's intent. A dispute between Martin Medhurst and Kevin DeLuca illustrates this division.

Medhurst's re-examination of Dwight D. Eisenhower's farewell address argues that rhetorical critics have misunderstood the speech because they have not considered what Eisenhower was trying to accomplish in the speech. Medhurst states that the speech has been analyzed for its warnings on the dangers of the military-industrial complex and has ignored the warnings of pressure and lobby groups that were Eisenhower's main arguments. In addition, Medhurst claims that Eisenhower's critique of John Kennedy has been ignored because rhetorical critics have not examined Eisenhower's personal opposition to Kennedy and his policies. In previous examinations, Medhurst maintains, those who "have written the history of this famous speech have more often that not failed to illumine its distinctively rhetorical features, failed to reveal the speaker's dominant motives, and failed to understand the authority that the speech appropriates or the audience that it creates." [47] That is, by failing to understand how Eisenhower as a rhetorical actor constructed his own situation and deployed a fitting response to it, rhetoricians have too often misperceived the speech as both historians and as critics. As

historians, rhetoricians should have examined the archives to see what Eisenhower indicated he was responding to. As critics, rhetoricians should have examined these preceding notes to see what strategic purposes Eisenhower may have intended for the speech and then used these indicators as part of the evaluative framework.

Kevin DeLuca suggests that the original intent of Eisenhower's speech is largely irrelevant to the reasons for analyzing the speech today. DeLuca suggests that conducting a purely intentional analysis based on Eisenhower's notes and memoirs may miss the point of rhetorical criticism. Although DeLuca admits Medhurst provides "an impressive close reading," its yoke to intentionality "provide[s] an aestheic interpretation that is unable to account for rhetorical effects."[48] Because Medhurst looks to authorial intent, improperly singularized to Eisenhower, DeLuca finds that Medhurst ignores the impact of the phrase "military-industrial complex" on the public. Whatever Eisenhower, the man, was trying to do, DeLuca finds that the importance of Eisenhower's speech was that the audience took the speech as a warning about excessive militarization. For DeLuca, the effect of the speech and its later use is the point of performing rhetorical criticism.

DeLuca is correct in his response as far as it goes. The fact that five writers contributed to Eisenhower's speech makes assigning intent to an isolated Eisenhower problematic. For understanding the relevance of Eisenhower's address to a world dominated by multinational corporations and liquid capital, taking Eisenhower as a warning against the influence of the military-industrial complex may be more important to readers of today than Eisenhower's simple warnings about lobbyists or his implicit critique of Kennedy. This point is, in itself, debatable. More important, though, is that Medhurst is responding to a different sense of Eisenhower's speech than is DeLuca. Medhurst indicates that previous critics read *a man's desires* improperly, saying that they ascribe Eisenhower's intent to the wrong ends. DeLuca adopts a different set of standards than does Medhurst or Medhurst's interlocutors. DeLuca examines the deployment of *Eisenhower's language* by subsequent actors, not the speech as part of an originary situation.

A better interpretation of Eisenhower's farewell address might be one that considers the intent of the speech, but interprets that intent through the institution instead of the individual. In other words, rhetoricians need not decide between what one person meant and what that one person's words did. Rather, rhetoricians may want to take the idea of political institutions seriously and consider processes of institutional rhetoric. In doing so, a single speech can serve only as a center text. A single speech should not be examined as if it were the whole of the discursive equation. Center texts may crystallize and clarify a wider field of discourse (the peripheral text), but the peripheral text cannot be wholly reduced to its representation in the center text.

Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson take the idea of political institutions and institutional rhetorics seriously. In their discussion of presidential rhetoric, they decide to "treat the presidency as an aggregate of people, as a corporate entity," instead of as a series of individual leaders.[49] They indicate that, if one treats the presidency as an aggregate, "an administration encompasses more than a single person, the president. In that sense, the presidency is a syndicate generating the actions associated with the head of state, including those deeds done in words."[50] Drawing on this view, one realizes that the Eisenhower that Medhurst examines is a public fiction. Dwight D. Eisenhower may have spoken the words, and thus claimed them as president, but the farewell address was a syndicated production of the Eisenhower administration. Calling the presidency a syndicate, however, does not mean that the question of intent is vacated. Campbell and Jamieson hold that even under syndicated production, definable rhetorical presidencies emerge that are associated with individual leaders.[51] For them, the presidency is a coherent institution created by the words of its syndicate that then uses these words to accomplish particular functions and to attain particular ends. Campbell and Jamieson hold that the rhetorician does not need to "read a speaker's mind to know what was intended in a given message."[52] Instead of using extrasensory perception, the rhetorician can examine larger plains of discourse and track the construction of situations within an institution to understand how presidents fulfill

functions and meet goals. Specifically, by understanding generic responses to situations, exploring particular situational constraints and resources, and examining the surrounding discourses generated by an institution, the rhetorician can tell "what a speaker realistically hoped to accomplish" in a speech when the center text is examined.[53] If a speech fails, Campbell and Jamieson maintain, failure can come from multiple places: failure to meet generic expectations; failure to properly perceive constraints and resources; failure to craft a coherent institutional voice with clear intent.[54]

Political scientist Graham Allison agrees that executive actors are not the only voices that call for decision-making. He claims that "the 'leaders' who sit on top of organizations are not a monolithic group."[55] If the analyst focuses on a singular, isolated leader, the analyst is likely to ignore important institutional and bureaucratic dynamics involved in decision-making. Rather than a "unitary, rational decisionmaker," Allison proposes that "a government consists of a conglomerate of semi-feudal, loosely allies organizations, each with a substantial life of its own."[56] Although Allison's metaphors might lead the reader to expect decision-making to be incoherent or noncoherent, Allison finds that there is coherence in spite of bureaucratic competition. "The sum of behavior of representatives of a government relevant to an issue is rarely intended by any individual or group," Allison admits.[57] "Nevertheless," he holds, while no "player" in the foreign policy "game" will attain his or her desired and, governmental action proceeds "neither at random nor at leisure."[58] Instead, governmental action gains coherence when viewed as a "political resultant." The action is chosen through a process of "bargaining along regularized channels among individual members of the government" that concludes in an action that "results from compromise, conflict, and confusion of the officials."[59] The political resultants draw together into "formal governmental decisions or actions that represent a combination of the preferences and relative influence of central players in the game" of foreign policymaking.[60] When large amounts of information are available and well-known channels of institutional flow can be traced, the analyst can claim to find institutional intent.[61] As the coherence among

different players' goals increases, better propositions about institutional can be formulated. Moreover, as this coherence grows, the likelihood that exigencies faced by governments will be more accurately identifies, situational responses will be properly formulated, and shared values and assumptions will be articulated grows.[62] In short, clear and successful foreign policy is most likely when institutional intent is mad coherent by the intersection of multiple institutional voices.

If institutional voices are important, and one requirement for success is that they speak coherently for given ends, then an examination of the peripheral text can provide important clues as to what the center text was meant to accomplish. Potentially divergent voices can speak in the peripheral text, but they can also coalesce through discussion and, eventually, articulate a center text. Jean Nienkamp argues that individual speakers should be treated as institutions made up of multiple selves that move through this proves of rhetorical formation. She claims that every person is "an agora of the psyche in which these differing voices work out which attitudes and actions a person will take."[63] In this "agora" rhetoric should be treated as agents effecting change through rhetoric and as audiences affected by rhetoric to change. Under this view, Nienkamp argues, people "are no longer black boxes either producing of receiving discourse, but complex agents that take in cultural and direct rhetorics; reject, manipulate, or swallow them whole; and re-create or respond to them in personal utterances and actions."[64]

Institutions as rhetors are even more clearly such an agora of the collective psyche. Institutions have multiple internal voices and, together, these voices work out the actions that the institution will take and the attitude that the institution will present publicly. These internal voices are producers of some regions of the peripheral text and the receivers of other regions. Members of Parliament, for example, produce Parliamentary Debates that are received by the *Times* of London. The *Times* then recreates or responds to these Debates to produce "leading articles." These leading articles are likely read by Members of Parliament and may be cited or responded to in later Debates. In doing so, some parts of the peripheral text will be rejected by some voices and swallowed whole by others. For instance, a Prime Minister may produce a statement that is

swallowed whole by the Government, as their continued position within the Government may demand obedience. This same statement may be rejected by the Opposition on political grounds and because the Opposition may wish to alter the attitudes or actions of the British State. As these divergent voices create and manipulate the peripheral text, they can elevate some utterances as center texts, texts that crystallize the surrounding discussion and articulate a claim that alters the understanding of the peripheral text.

This process of internal institutional rhetoric is well noted in political science. Ole Holsti indicates that any body that makes decisions "is not merely the sum of its members" and holds that "the dynamics of group interaction are likely to have a significant impact on the substance and quality of decisions."[65] Because institutions change the deployment and interaction of voices, Holsti maintains that "decisions emerging from the group are likely to be different than what a simple aggregation of individual preferences and abilities might suggest."[66] Through internal interaction and the process of internal persuasion or compulsion, differences in behavior are reduced, attitudes and beliefs become crystallized, and there is pressure to join group norms to speak in a single, coherent voice.[67] Thus, when organizations or institutions speak, divisive and, occasionally, contradictory internal rhetoric is transformed into corporate statements that drive toward particular ends.

By adopting a view that intent is the by-product of internal rhetoric, the rhetorician can accept claims based on rhetorical intent and rhetorical effects. Medhurst and DeLuca urge the rhetorician to consider only rhetorical intent *or* rhetorical effect as the point of rhetorical criticism. Contrariwise, Nienkamp claims that taking internal rhetoric seriously can point the rhetorician "toward a more nuanced understanding of how rhetorical intent *and* effect are discernable at every level of language use."[68] Voices argue against each other to affect the outcome of decision-making processes, but, when the agora of the psyche comes to a decision, the collective psyche speaks as one with the intent to perform some function or to attain some end. Nienkamp claims that considering individual internal rhetoric recognizes that "each human

being is a site of both rhetorical dissension *and* concerted rhetorical action."[69] This claim is supported more clearly in institutional internal rhetorics. The institution known as "Britain," in this case, is a site of dissension as the peripheral text is created. As this peripheral text coalesces to express common themes and as a center text is articulated out of that peripheral text, the center text *is* constituted as a concerted rhetorical action supported by and drawing from the peripheral text. Examining ways that the peripheral text is written to guide and support the formation of a center text can indicate how rhetoric effects the decision-making process *and* the center text's rhetorical function as the expression of institutional intent.

Although the critic cannot "get inside the head" of an individual no matter how hard he or she tries, critics can better place themselves within the bodies of institutional rhetors. Institutional rhetors, ones made up of several people who communicate to one another internally before or as they communicate with others, often document their decision-making processes. Corporations often have stacks of memoranda and internal policy documents. Media sources keep notes on stories and footage edited out of presentations is stored. Governments keep archives of their internal documents and record parliamentary sessions. All of these sources can help the analyst to investigate how and why particular institutions acted as they did. The evaluation of these resources can provide a better understanding of what choices rhetors felt they were making and provide grounding for understanding their strategic choices in responding to perceived situations.

Having access to a region of discourse and the possibilities of accessing institutional intent is no guarantee that the analyst will know what to do once she or he has such access. To effectively use this access, the rhetorical historian also needs to consider the method of doing rhetorical history once he or she has attained some access to the archive and to institutional intent.

Need For A Method Of Rhetorical History

The need for "doing rhetorical history" has been well recognized. It may be axiomatic in rhetorical studies that historical context must be taken into account in the analysis of a rhetorical act.[70] Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Thomas Burkholder claim that, in order "to interpret a

rhetorical act, critics need information about the context in which the act occurred, including the particular events that motivated the rhetor to engage in rhetorical action and also the particular occasion."[71] Likewise, Roderick Hart argues, "rhetoric is rooted in the age of its creation… speakers use timebound examples, timebound statistics, timebound jargon," and other timebound elements, making it necessary for the analyst to have an understanding of the historical moment in which a rhetorical act was formed.[72] Comparable basic rhetorical criticism texts make similar claims.

If we take seriously the claims made by Ernest Wrage or Herbert Wichelns,[73] rhetoricians do more than provide biographical and psychological accounts of speakers or chronicle when a speech was made and what was said. As they make clear, if this were all a rhetorician did, then rhetoricians would merely be pop psychologists, panegyricists for "Great Men" in history, or journalists writing their articles several decades too late. Instead, as Michael Calvin McGee directs, analysts should remember that "all the forces in history – whether economic, social, political, psychological, or rhetorical – should be accounted for and not dismissed out of hand" when investigating historical events.[74] The rhetorical historian realizes that rhetoric is an intervention into history, even as circumstances in history call for rhetorical response, and sees his or her mode of analysis as a way of understanding how and why this intervention takes place.

Underneath these broad theoretical agreements, there have been several examples of doing rhetorical history. Nontraditional texts, such as television, buildings and landscapes, could be analyzed using a rhetorical historical framework. The emphasis in rhetorical historical studies, though, has been on traditional texts, like speeches and written materials. This emphasis is demonstrated by two paradigmatic cases of doing rhetorical history, William Norwood Brigance's *History And Criticism Of American Public Address* and Martin Medhurst's *A Rhetorical History Of The United States*.[75] When interpreting these objects, analysts also have recourse to a web of concepts that they can use to make their interpretive claims.

In doing rhetorical history, then, rhetoricians can draw on broad-based theoretical claims and a web of useful concepts and can model exemplary rhetorical histories. What rhetoricians generally have not articulated, however, is the mid-level framework, a methodology of doing rhetorical history. Rhetorical theorist Dilip Gaonkar claims, "the question of method is never vacant. Even as a method is composite, we need to be able to name and coordinate strategies and to note concepts and data" as part of a methodological framework, not just as broad theoretical claims that can become truisms.[76] In addition, Gaonkar indicates that methodologies must be formed because for a theory to be taken seriously or applied to political advocacy, analysts "need to develop substantive frames, not just repeat concepts" as the concepts can be deployed outside of a methodological frame.[77]

Attempts to methodologize rhetorical history have been rare. Although several rhetorical historians deploy concepts, and deploy them well, the application of these concepts largely allows rhetoricians to identify coherent objects with multiple small-scale approaches. As such, there are strong linkages between the conceptual domain and the object domain when doing rhetorical history. What may be more important is a way of doing rhetorical history that can unite these objects and approaches into a systemic, methodological approach, an approach that can coordinate concepts that have proven useful with selected strategies of analysis. McGee and Medhurst both provide methodological directions to the rhetorical historian. McGee, however, claims that his *is* a methodology.

McGee has developed some of the most interesting concepts to deploy in rhetorical historical analysis, particularly his discussion of texts, contexts, and fragments,[78] as well as more specific concepts like the ideograph.[79] McGee, in his theorization of rhetorical history, urges a shift in analysis away from literary form and audience reaction. He claims that "too much focus on *discourse* and *response*" has caused previous analysts to be blinded "to the existence of a rhetorical *situation*" and has "hence precluded consciousness of the rhetorical force in history."[80] Refocusing on situation does not mean, however, that discourse is precluded from any analysis.

Rather, the relationships among audiences, speakers, and speeches (texts) provide "proof of the shape and character of the rhetorical force in history in one time-setting."[81]

McGee offers a general theoretical vision that is useful to doing rhetorical history. McGee also begins to frame mid-level considerations when he provides specific methodological guidelines. Although his published works assume that one knows how to do rhetorical history, his dissertation provides a methodological framework without being so rigid that he predetermines the results that will come from rhetorical historical analyses done under this method.[82]

McGee frames this broad methodology simply. He writes, "in the study of rhetoric, I would gather rhetorical documents, individually observe their form and content, and use the documents themselves to warrant my arguments about their nature, my theory of rhetoric."[83] To carry out this process, McGee indicates that two steps must be taken. First, McGee states that the analyst must find a situation. Because McGee holds that "the document *is* the situation which produced it," finding a situation (or constructing it) will direct the analyst to the range of possible appropriate statements and actions made in response to it.[84] Having found this range of possible response, the analyst must then "capture a rhetoric" for close textual analysis.[85] McGee also recommends, but does not limit the analyst only to, examining three classes of myths found in these texts (myths of "ideology," "leadership," and "the people") and four contact points of analysis (law, leadership, reality, and social motion).[86]

As far as McGee goes, his methodology, as outlined, has significant gaps. The first, and perhaps most important, is that McGee does not indicate how one selects a rhetoric to capture. Simply put, where, physically or socially, does one go to capture a rhetoric? And which rhetoric should the analyst capture if there is more than one? Although McGee selects Edmund Burke's *Present Discontents*, a fine example of 18th Century British rhetoric, McGee later argues that the selection of an apparently finished discourse and the analysis of that discourse without also examining its sources, its cultural assumptions, and its influence will fail to recognize that apparently finished discourses are always already mediated by context and are already in flux as

new sources, new assumptions, and new apparently finished discourses enter the universe of textual interpretation and construction.[87] Second, McGee's later arguments about the fragmentation of contemporary culture, as well as his argument in the "Ideograph" and "The Origins Of Liberty," indicate that rhetorical analysts should not study single documents in isolation.[88] When McGee states, "in studying an individual document, one has 'captured a rhetoric,'" he turns to the close textual analysis of documents in isolation from one another.[89] Rather than fulfilling the task of gathering that he identifies in his dissertation, McGee appears more as a big game hunter. McGee's "capturing" process finds the biggest rhetoric available, captures it, and dissects it. Instead of capturing, his earlier metaphor of gathering allows the critic to better meet the concerns of having objects to analyze, identified in McGee's dissertation, as well as avoiding the focus on single texts in isolation, a concern identified in his published works.

Medhurst provides some additional guidelines that help to avoid the focus on single texts in isolation and to avoid hunting "big game" rhetorics. He indicates that the rhetorical historian needs to look for three things.[90] First, the critic needs to look for previous statements made by the rhetor. Rather than looking at a single text in isolation, we should compile previous materials to create a greater sense of rhetorical context. These previous statements may flesh out the assumptions of a rhetor as well as indicate the constraints that the rhetor has created through their previous statements. While important texts can be named, these texts are made important by analysts and by accidents in history that seem to place some texts at the center of attention. By compiling other texts, a broader web of texts that allow better interpretations can be woven.

After weaving this web, Medhurst states that the critic should identify a center text that serves as a historical touchstone for analysis and examine the features of that text more closely. In doing so, the text is not read in isolation. Instead, the center text becomes a Burkean "representative anecdote," a common reference that people can point back to and declare, "something important happened here." As Burke puts it, the representative anecdote "must be supple and complex enough to be representative of the subject matter it is designed to calculate. It

must have scope. Yet it must also possess simplicity, in that it is broadly a reduction of the subject matter."[91] It cannot be a complete representation, but when understood in relation to the other texts collected, it can serve to reduce the closely read texts to a manageable handful. For this study, the texts selected are those that seem to capture turning points in British policy and stand as the public justifications for the turn. Although others could replace these center texts, these texts seem to stand as definitive statements of a stage in a rhetor's decision making and are treated as such by a range of academic and popular literatures.

Medhurst's last recommendation is to closely read the representative anecdote. By sifting through the preceding and center texts, he maintains that the critic can then propose the situational exigencies realized by the rhetor (as reflected in the previous statements) and the strategies designed to resolve the exigencies (as reflected in the center text). This sort of study, Medhurst argues, reveals the rhetor as "a strategic communicator – one who knew exactly what he was doing with language and why he was doing it."[92] Medhurst's claim is worded too strongly. Rhetors never know *exactly* what they do with language nor why they do it. Nonetheless, this strategy of investigation may indicate important parts of what the rhetor thought he or she was doing and why they were doing it.

McGee and Medhurst do provide some help to the budding rhetorical historian. By drawing together other rhetoricians' arguments about history's role in rhetorical processes, I will propose firmer guidelines for doing rhetorical history.

Four Steps In Doing Rhetorical History

There are four steps to doing rhetorical history. First, the rhetorical historian should identify the levels of the archive that are needed to inform his or her work. The rhetorical historian then needs to collect textual fragments. In this step, the rhetorical historian should attempt to find fragments that have repeated themes or patterns of argument. This collection of fragments will serve as the rhetorical historian's peripheral text. After sifting through archives to find repeated themes in these texts, a public text that acts as a representative anecdote for the

collection of fragments should be selected for closer analysis. This representative anecdote will serve as the rhetorical historian's center text. Finally, the rhetorical historian should read the center text through close textual analysis and read the peripheral text with diminishing degrees of closeness. In doing so, the rhetorical historian needs to consider rhetorical documents that are usually labeled context – the peripheral text – alongside and with the rhetorical documents that are usually exalted to the level of text – the center texts. As part of this reading, the rhetorician should prepare notes for the kind of critical rhetoric discusses in Chapter One.

Archives

The first step in doing rhetorical history is to determine the levels or regions of the archive that may be relevant to the project. Moya Ann Ball is correct that "when a communication researcher begins to depend on archival sources ... the real business of analysis begins in that, instead of relying on the authority of secondary accounts, we are left with primary sources that ... demand we become active rhetorical analysts."[93] *Good rhetorical history is done primarily with primary sources and secondarily with secondary sources.* Religious historian Ernst Knauf provides a simple distinction between these two kinds of sources. Primary sources are sources that "were produced in the course of the events [under study] as they were happening;" secondary sources are those that "were produced after the events in an attempt to clarify for future generations how things were thought to have happened."[94] This does not mean that secondary sources are not useful. In this project, I will make use of secondary sources, both as a way to ground the current project and to show where my analysis deviates from the conclusions of political, economic, and other historians.

The additional layers of interpretation expressed in secondary sources have the potential to bias the critic greatly in his or her later reconstruction of rhetorical history and in the claims the critic makes about the intentions and perceptions of the rhetor. This potential for bias if we accept secondary source claims can be seen in both T.E. Lawrence's[95] and Chaim Weizmann's[96] reflections on the British Government's decision-making on the Hussein-McMahon

correspondence and the Balfour Declaration, respectively. In these books, the reader is left with the impression that Palestine was the most important front in World War I. Lawrence, the Lawrence of Arabia, seems to argue that the Arab Revolt was a key concern to the War Cabinet in London. Weizmann, the then head of the World Zionist Organization, makes similar claims about world Judaism's import to the war effort. As I will indicate in Chapter Three, however, the archives of the War Cabinet indicate that the Palestine front was a minor concern and, thus, the far-reaching implications of the promises to the Arabs noted by Lawrence and to the Jews by Weizmann are unsupported by the documentary record.

In a conflict that has grown as complex as the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, there are many other examples of exaggeration, minimization, spurious association, and, occasionally, outright untruths contained in the secondary literature. Yet, we cannot get to *the truth* by going to archives. Historian Peter Novick indicates that "the footnote has various functions, rhetorical and otherwise" in an attempt to claim scientific replicability by telling future researchers to go and "look for yourself" to see if the historian's interpretation is true, an argument he labels "*argumentum ad vericundiam.*"[97] There are, however, Novick notes, interpretations that are more reasonable than others because they better account for most of the evidence relevant to the study. Despite the dissensus and divergent interpretations that come from multiple scholars, a firm grounding in archival materials is necessary to doing good history generally.

Archives are good for the general historian; they are also good for the rhetorical historian. Wrage indicates that "ideas attain history in process," making archives central to a good critic's work. Because these ideas gain "viability within a setting of time and place" and their "modifications are expressed in a vast quantity of documentary sources" that reflect the process of rhetorical formation, knowing what these documentary sources are and visiting them is important to our work.[98] It is even more important to identify archival sources when examining foreign policy discourses. Public statements on foreign policy are important for students of foreign affairs and the rhetoric of foreign policy. "Foreign policy, however, reaches beyond what

is officially said about it," Philip Wander claims.[99] For Wander, going to the archives and first-hand accounts allows the critic to move beyond being cynical about foreign policy and gets at how and why decisions in foreign policy, and their resulting public statements, are made. If the importance of archival research is admitted, analysts may study foreign policy in "the historical context in which real people were in fact debating what for them were important issues" and, thus, better understand public texts and national decision making.[100] In this first step of rhetorical history, the rhetorical historian needs to determine the archives that may contain a record of the process of rhetorical formation so that the actions that led to the formation of a center text can be identified. Secondary sources can be most helpful here by directing the rhetorical historian to likely archives. If there is a consensus in secondary literature that some archival materials are more relevant than others are, these archives should be consulted so that the rhetorical historian will share in the same conversation as previous historians.[101]

Collection

After identifying the relevant archives, the rhetorical historian needs to amass a collection of fragments from these archives. This does not mean that the rhetorical historian drags out of the archives whatever she or he happens to find. *The good rhetorical historian is directed by secondary sources to the places in the archives most likely to provide information relevant to the study*. This step may be where secondary sources are most valuable. Although they are not comprehensive (an impossible undertaking), the reader can find some agreement on the important moments in history. Going to those moments in the archives, as well as precipitating points that provide further indicators of rhetorical formation, can yield documents relevant to the study.

This visit will, naturally, lead to much that is irrelevant to the rhetorical historian. For example, in the Colonial Office archives of 1920, there is a petition from a field commissioner asking the Colonial Office for berth space on a ship to Palestine for his wife as well as a memo denying the request. This document is unlikely to have much relevance to the British perceptions of the strategies that should be adopted in writing the Mandate for Palestine from the League of

Nations. To exclude this sort of trivia, we should remember Roderick Hart's maxims for a "more scientific" approach to rhetorical studies. He argues, "things repeat; the more there are the more they repeat; the more they repeat the bigger story they tell. This is not Hart's law; it is nature's law."[102] Although Hart is speaking of rhetorical criticism broadly, these insights can be applied to what we should retain from our visits to the archives. Given a broad enough archive, certain arguments, descriptions, and expressed attitudes are likely to repeat. In addition, notable absences of arguments, descriptions, and attitudes that deviate from the interpretations provided in the secondary literature may be noted. The more documents that are examined in the archive, the more times these indicators will recur if they are important. The guiding themes that inform the rhetors creating the archives will be the items that are repeated most of all because repetition across documents indicates that agreement may be being formed and common viewpoints may be becoming accepted by multiple participants. This approach to the archives also recognizes that arguments do not come from isolated moments of rhetorical genius, thus resolving some of the concerns expressed by DeLuca. Rhetorical history considers the rhetor as a decentralized entity. Rhetors may have fragmented intentions and be influenced by unconscious or assumed factors. Rhetors also offer rhetoric to serve a particular end, but their rhetoric can also produce unintended results.

An archival approach that uses a broad net first and filters later also helps to resolve an issue named by McGee, "our general failure fully to exploit the organic conception of human existence presupposed in nearly all rhetorical documents."[103] By looking to these themes, McGee believes that rhetoricians can begin to see that rhetoric, particularly definition, is "more *process* than *phenomenon*" in which persuasive tropes "are conjured into objective reality, remain so long as the rhetoric which defined them has force, and in the end wilt away."[104] McGee's test case is "the people," a rhetorical fiction that maintains rhetorical force as long as the competitive relationship between the fiction and an alternative constitution of "the people" is won by the current fiction. The claim that rhetors create "not a description of *reality*, but rather a political

myth" is applicable not only to capturing terms like "the people."[105] Such political myths are made whenever a new description of political reality becomes "*functionally* 'real' and important" to persons experiencing objective reality.[106]

One way of examining rhetoric through this organic conception is to examine "ideographs," terms drawn from everyday culture that are imbued with a special significance and are deployed in differing contexts to draw on culturally approved ideas even as the rhetor redefines the meaning of the term.[107] Robert Ivie indicates that ideographic criticism is most useful when it is thought of as "the relatively stable center of a universe of discourse" allowing inter-referentiality between texts in different eras.[108] In some periods of history, however, justification for political action can become fragmented and unstable, and no ideograph is centered. This is particularly true in moments of confusion in foreign policy, as the known "facts" of a situation may become plastic to multiple political calculations and diverse points of view sponsored by actors within the corporate rhetor of government. As Wander states, this instability prevents the emergence of a stable center of discourse and denies the ready identification of ideographs as the discourse is "driven from precise philosophical or scientific formulations" to ideologically informed, but inchoate, interpretations of events.[109] In these cases, terms would normally considered to be ideographs may be present, but they may fail to function ideographically.

In these kairotic moments, responses do relate to the larger structure of ideology – particularly the economic and political ideologies of state actors – but because of the instabilities of an era, deciding which ideograph to center in the analysis may become more difficult. In times of instability in foreign policy, stable terms across discourse may become rarer, as these terms, previously seen as pre- and self-justifying, become subject to dispute. Instead, archives become sources for examining textual emergence as corporate rhetors attempt to order their thoughts and, thus, their rhetoric. Wander uses this alternative approach in his examination of Department of State documents in finding the justification for the Vietnam War.[110] He finds that the presentation

of rhetoric is not expressed ideographically, but through the coalescence of arguments onto dominant themes. As these themes were transferred to the rhetorical act presented publicly, these arguments were articulated as a new political myth that was treated as real and became important in shaping the further perceptions of policymakers experiencing that political reality.

Assembly

The analysis of coalescence and transfer is the third step of rhetorical history. After sifting through archives to find repeated themes in these texts, a public text that acts as a representative anecdote should be centered. Ideally, this document should be one that was presented more publicly than the others. Because rhetoric is a public, persuasive, and instrumental art, it seeks to accomplish particular ends by guiding audiences to accept particular actions or arguments. Because some texts are publicly presented, others have more restricted access, and some are still classified, not all people have equal access to the situation. By focusing on the center text – that with the widest dissemination and access – while also employing fragments from the archives, a broader understanding of the documents that *are* the situation can be drawn than if the analysis focused on only the center text or maintained that the hidden meaning was in the archives. Broad themes from the archives should be explicated and documented to illustrate the rhetorical actor's perception of the situation that they faced. The center text can then be analyzed through close reading to see how these themes were presented as a finalized statement of the rhetor's response. *The peripheral texts receive peripheral readings, the center text a centered reading.*

The close textual analysis of *every* document that *could* be relevant to a rhetorical moment would lead to a series of short, repetitive studies that would add little to the understanding of that moment in subsequent iterations because such study would do little more than provide a chronology, rather than a coalescence, of themes. If the analyst overcorrects and reads only the center text, she or he will return to the problems of pure textuality and the reduction or rhetorical analysis to literary criticism. To come to a mediation and to construct the

text for rhetorical history, critics need to make the moves suggested by Wrage. First, there is the "collecting and classifying of data within limited areas amenable to description and analysis. This accomplished, generalizations from the data become at once permissible and desirable, and provide a basis from which further exploration may be conducted," i.e. close textual analysis of the center text.[111]

After visiting the archives, identifying the dominant themes, and keeping a listing for later documentation, the rhetorical historian should be left with an extensive pile of fragments. Since "we live out our lives in this world of discursive shards,"[112] as Hart maintains, we should not be surprised that the dominant themes can be assembled into a whole. But, like Humpty Dumpty, the reconstruction will not be the *original* whole that was constructed and experienced by rhetors. Instead of subjecting these fragments to a statistical analysis that purports to show what the most dominant theme was and, then, in rank-order, the subsidiary themes, these fragments should be read as partially formative of the context of the rhetorical act and informative to the critic in understanding the rhetorical dynamics of the center text.

These fragments will not, themselves, be subjected to close reading. Instead, Robert Kraig claims that "to faithfully capture the rhetorical dynamic" it is important "that analysis not be too close" when sifting through these shards.[113] The rhetorical historian should make a reading that is broad enough to indicate the major ideological formations that ground the text but is still close enough to represent the rhetorical dynamic that the rhetors constructed through the text. This balanced reading of the fragments should indicate the major themes of the discourse as well as articulate the situational features the rhetor made most exigent.

Amos Kiewe's analysis of Benjamin Disraeli's reactions to the Jewish Disabilities Act strikes this balance.[114] Kiewe reads parliamentary records to find the ideological themes of Anglicanism and British identity that were assumed in the debate over this Act. Rather than subjecting these records to close analysis, he uses selections from them as expressions of the rhetorical dynamic Disraeli faced and of which Disraeli was aware. After assembling these

shards, Kiewe then turns to Disraeli's floor speech in Parliament as his center text for closer analysis. In making this move to the center text, Kiewe moves from the compilation of fragments to the reading of a center text as it is informed by these fragments.

This is a proper development when practicing rhetorical history. The analysis does come to its closest reading when it comes to the center text, but this closer approach does not mean that only the center text will be analyzed. The critic should also perform a more peripheral reading of the peripheral text and identify the main lines of ideation to assist in a centered reading of the center text. Or, as McGee puts it, "the elements of 'context' are so important to the 'text' that one cannot discover, or even discuss, the *meaning* of the 'text' without reference to them."[115] There is not a single text that can be divorced from the context created by and consisting of other texts for isolate analysis.

The rhetorical historian is not dealing with literary works; he or she is dealing with rhetorical texts. Rather than reading a work for its internal structure, internal arguments, and the other internal actions of the work alone, rhetoricians should read texts as they interact with one another, as they enact contexts and as they react to one another. Martha Solomon seems correct that "any assessment of the rhetorical function of a single work may obscure its function within a discourse community" because texts are not isolated from one another.[116] Instead, they participate in a dialogic interaction. This expansion requires that the peripheral text be studied in addition to and with the center text. This expansion does not mean that the critic needs to adopt Solomon's pessimism that "texts are largely inaccessible" because of the need to read beyond a central work.[117] The claim that texts are largely inaccessible would make rhetoricians trackers of patterns in discourse, but would not require rhetoricians to examine the flows within pieces of discourse. It is important to track these flows, but the rhetorician should not allow them to wash out the maneuvers and choices made within that flow.

Reading

Instead of casting out texts, rhetorical historians need to make a final move. Rhetorical historians need to consider rhetorical documents that are usually labeled context alongside and with the rhetorical documents that are usually exalted to the level of text. Rhetorical historians need to read peripheral *and* center texts; not one *or* the other. The connections between center texts and peripheral texts are not absolute; they may be severed. This severance, however, is unlikely. McGee points out two ways that these connections between peripheral texts and center texts matter. Rhetoricians should "begin by noticing that rhetors *make* discourses from scraps and pieces of evidence," showing that "the apparently finished text is in fact a dense reconstruction of all the bits of other discourses from which it was made."[118] There is a reason, though, that rhetoricians usually arrive at these apparently finished texts. Although center texts are fragments in their own right, and thus are scraps and pieces of evidence that later rhetors can draw on in crafting their own responses in the future, they are elevated, at least for a moment, to the status of a finished product designed for some end. That is, they are rhetorical acts that are qualitatively different from other fragments because that are seen as finished texts by particular audiences in particular situations. This is the second connection between the peripheral text and the center text. Rhetoricians must remember, as McGee does, that "human responses (rhetoric) constitute a filter for 'facts' which translates them into beliefs" about facts.[119] Moreover, if we ignore these qualitatively different fragments, those elevated by audiences and rhetors alike into "fitting responses," we will return to a textuality of fragments that becomes only history, indeed simple chronology, and ignore the social interactions of perception and elevation of response that make *rhetorical* history. McGee indicates that if the rhetorician fails to account for the fragments and the filtering of those fragments into beliefs, he or she will end up at the "Whig fallacy," the "imposi[tion] on the past one's own conviction and perception of what human responses to conditions ought to have been" rather than seeing what the actual human responses were and attempting to understand why rhetors at the time did what they did.[120]

Because of these connections between center texts and peripheral texts, rhetorical historians can benefit from the tools of close textual analysis and the tools of historiography. In addition, combining close textual analysis and historiography allows the analyst to better play out the role reversal between rhetors and critics indicated by McGee. This reversal no longer sees the rhetor as an agent who constructs a text and leaves it to readers and critics to interpret. Instead, the reversal of roles makes "*interpretation* the primary task of speakers and writers and *text construction* the primary task of audiences, readers, and critics."[121] This reversal of roles does not mean, however, that only the critic constructs the texts, nor that only the rhetor interprets them. McGee carefully emphasizes that both actors do both tasks – "interpretation and text construction go together like reading and writing," he notes – "primary" means that the critic needs to attend also to the task of interpretation and that the rhetor's role in constructing a text for a particular end should not be ignored.[122] Although the rhetor is not absolutely free in stating what a text *is*, critics need to remember that when they work with "material forces, events, and themes in history," critics can only work with these items "*as they have already been mediated*" by the rhetor.[123] Because the rhetor has performed some acts of text construction, this construction needs to be taken into account when criticism is performed. Nonetheless, rhetoricians must also perform acts of text construction. Indeed, inventing texts from available fragments of other texts to understand better what the rhetor and his or her apparently finished discourse may have been doing may be the critic's most important task. If a text seems to respond to forces, events, or themes in history, we should not take the center text's word for it. McGee argues that the rhetorician "should be able to *document* the existence of themes, movements, or rhythms" by examining other textual fragments that surround the center text or that we, as rhetors in our own right, associate with the center text.[124]

The critic should not construct his or her text at random. Instead, there are fragments from the peripheral text that are more likely to be important when inventing the text for criticism. It is also not enough to identify a center text and critique it in isolation. McGee directs the

rhetorician to examine three "structural relationships" between peripheral texts and center texts: those "between an apparently finished discourse and its sources, between an apparently finished discourse and culture, and between an apparently finished text and its influence."[125]

McGee's brief treatment of Martin Luther King, Junior's, "I Have a Dream" speech serves as a model for the connections between textual fragments and center texts that I advocate as the final step of doing rhetorical history. King's speech emerges as an apparently finished discourse. "I Have a Dream" appears to be a work of rhetorical genius that uniquely responds to a situation in 1963 and that should be celebrated for its insightful commentary, literary artistry, and rhetorical elegance. Doing close textual analysis of the speech alone, however, will lead us to "ignore all three parts of context" because close textual analysis presumes that the speech is entirely self-contained.[126] McGee does not discard the benefits of close textual analysis; seeing how structure, style, or persona works within a text *can* yield insight into what the rhetor is doing. It does not, though, tell the reader *why* the rhetor was adopting particular strategies. Close textual analysis, McGee writes, can be "redeemed by consistently, rigorously acknowledging the 'incompleteness' of the analysis" and turning to elements of context.[127] That is, critics must "make it clear that King's speech is a *fragment*" and then look for the connections between this central fragment (center text) and other fragments.[128] Specifically, McGee wants the critic to find fragments that apparently precede the center text, particularly the sources and cultural assumptions that can be documented from other fragments. He also directs the critic to find fragments that apparently follow the center text, the responses to the center text that the rhetor may have anticipated and the future deployments of the center text in other discourses. Because the critic, rather than the rhetor, directly constructs these connections, they are probabilistic constructions, not statements of textual truth. Nonetheless, because rhetoric is an art concerned with effect as well as artistry, given exigencies and the appearance lent to those exigencies by the rhetor, the weaving of fragments and the reading of center texts closely and peripheral texts with diminished degrees of closeness is the best path of writing rhetorical history.

Conclusion

As I have described it, doing rhetorical history *as a methodology* involves four steps. First, archives relevant to the project should be identified based on secondary sources relevant to the actors and problems in history with which the critic wishes to work. The critic then needs to amass a collection of fragments from these archives, discarding the fragments that bear little relevance to the center texts identified as finished texts by the secondary sources. After amassing this collection, the critic needs to read peripherally the peripheral text by outlining the common themes, assumptions, and evidence that the archival sources share. The critic then needs to invent a text for criticism that has as its center text the apparently finished discourse and as the peripheral text the archival sources and anticipations of response. Next, the critic should read the center text with close textual analysis and the peripheral text with diminishing degrees of closeness to outline the response created by the rhetor and the exigency as it was constructed for response, respectively. Finally, the critic should render provisional recommendations for present rhetorical action based on the findings of his or her study.

If this approach is taken, the reading is likely to reveal more about texts and their formation than is revealed by either close textual analysis or historiography alone. Close textual analysis allows the critic to see the strategies and tropes deployed within the text as a fitting response. If the critic also examines the peripheral text with the tools of historiography, the critic may also be able to better understand the situation to which that response was supposed to fit. Rather than predetermining the results as some methodologies may do, doing rhetorical history allows rhetoricians to have a more complete, yet more contingent, understanding of rhetoric and its operations. In this reading, McGee claims that "so long as one reads historical documents ('finished' texts produced in consequence of demonstrated cultural homogeneity) it is possible to take a pluralistic attitude toward the concept 'fragments'" and to manage the contingent nature of rhetoric as a fitting response to exigency and a constructor of fitting exigencies for response.[129] Critics do not need to claim to be Aristotelians, Burkeians, or followers of any other "school" of

rhetorical criticism in doing rhetorical history. Rather, rhetorical history as a methodology allows the analyst to use critical tools from multiple methodologies as part of close textual analysis and to still pay attention to fragments that may indicate the limits of methodological tools or that call for different tools entirely.

Instead of approaching finished texts with finished tools, doing rhetorical history allows the analyst to view the selection of texts, tools, and critique as contingent acts and does not require the analyst to predetermine what he or she will look for in a discourse. Although emergent readings are not "automatically free of subjective interpretations," they do avoid the fallacy identified by Burke, beginning with "a 'symbolist dictionary' already written in advance" that prevents inspection of the rhetorical work on it own terms and forbids reading the work within its own contexts.[130] Instead of adopting a symbolist's dictionary that comes from a theoretically constituted but mechanically applied method, the inductive method of rhetorical history may better meet Burke's ideal of criticism. The critic can "use all there is to use" in studying a personal work if he or she expands study of "the modern author, who has left us rich biographical material," to include the author's perceived circumstances as well as the internal characteristics of his or her work.[131] Likewise, there is no reason to confine the study of the institutional rhetor, who has left such rich archival materials, to either the structures of the institutional text or the broad context alone. The pluralism allowed by the reading and subsequent deployment of fragments will allow the critic to use multiple ways of reading and selecting out texts than adopting one of the more rigid methodologies.

In my centering of certain fragments and associating these center texts with peripheral texts, I aim to make use of this rich store of archival materials while still giving an account of these texts that have become apparently finished. Texts and context, centers and peripheries, the method of rhetorical history may best allow the critic to use all there is to use.

Endnotes

[1] See Michelle Ballif, *Seduction, Sophistry, And The Woman With The Rhetorical Figure*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001), 79-81 for more discussion of the "kairotic moment."

[2] See, particularly their introductions, Neil Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (I): Early Arab-Zionist Negotiation Attempts* (London: Frank Cass, 1983); Nail Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II): Arab-Zionist Negotiations And The End Of The Mandate* (London: Frank Cass, 1986); Neil Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (III): The United Nations, The Great Powers, And Middle East Peacemaking, 1948-1954* (London: Frank Cass, 1997).

[3] Thomas B. Farrell, *Norms of Rhetorical Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 25.

[4] Farrell, *Norms*, 94.

[5] Kathleen J. Turner, "Introduction: Rhetorical History As Social Construction," in *Doing Rhetorical History*, ed. Kathleen J. Turner (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1998), 4.

[6] The phrase "enduring conflicts" should not be taken to mean that the conflict is irresolvable and transcends history. As political scientists Gary Goertz and Paul F. Diehl argue, "if enduring rivalries are the result of well entrenched causes, then the end of a particular rivalry or the beginning of a new should be associated with some dramatic change in the environment," either external, such as world war or global depression, or internal, such as civil war or the beginning of a colonial regime ("The Initiation And Termination Of Enduring Rivalries: The Impact Of Political Shocks," *American Journal Of Political Science* 39 [1995]: 31). The British intervention in Palestine is both exogenous and endogenous in generating the rivalry. Global shifts in power in World War I were external changes, while the British takeover of Ottoman territory was internal to Palestine. In either reading, the extreme changes, and the generation of a new rivalry between Arabs and Jews over Palestine, are concurrent and related in the generation of this enduring conflict.

[7] David Zarefsky, "Four Senses Of Rhetorical History," in *Doing Rhetorical History*, ed. Kathleen J. Turner (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1998), 26.

[8] See George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric And Its Christian And Secular Tradition From Ancient To Modern Times* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 3; James J. Murphy, *A Synoptic History Of Classical Rhetoric* (Davis, CA: Hermagoras, 1972), 1; and Thomas M. Conley, *Rhetoric In The European Tradition* (New York: Longman, 1990), 3 for example.

[9] George A. Kennedy *Comparative Rhetoric: An Historical And Cross-Cultural Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 1; Carole Blair, "Contested Histories Of Rhetoric: The Politics Of Preservation, Progress, And Change," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 78 (1992): 403; Jane Sutton, "The Taming Of 'Polos/Polis': Rhetoric As An Achievement Without Woman," *Southern Communication Journal* 57 (1992): 97.

[10] Richard Harvey Brown, "Rhetoric And The Science Of History: The Debate Between Evolutionism And Empiricism As A Conflict In Metaphors," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 72 (1986): 148; Ronald Lee, "The Featuring Of Will In History: A Rhetorical Exploration Of Richard Nixon's Post-Presidential Writings," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 75 (1989): 453; Marouf Hasian, Jr. and Robert E. Frank, "Rhetoric, History, And Collective Memory: Decoding The Goldhagen Debates," *Western Journal of Communication* 63 (1999): 95

[11] Thomas Kane, "Rhetorical Histories and Arms Negotiations," *Journal of the American Forensic Association* 24 (1988): 143; George N. Dionispolous and Steven R. Goldzwig, "'The Meaning Of Vietnam': Political Rhetoric As Revisionist Cultural History," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 78 (1992): 61; James R. Andrews, "The Rhetorical Shaping Of National Interest: Morality And Contextual Potency In John Bright's Parliamentary Speech Against Recognition Of The Confederacy," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 79 (1993): 40

[12] Zarefsky, "Four Senses," 30.

[13] Bruce E. Gronbeck, "Rhetorical History And Rhetorical Criticism: A Distinction," *Speech Teacher* 24 (1975): 319.

[14] Gronbeck, "Rhetorical History," 310

[15] Bruce E. Gronbeck, "The Rhetorics Of The Past: History, Argument, And Collective Memory," in *Doing Rhetorical History*, ed. Kathleen J. Turner (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 49.

[16] Turner, "Introduction," 3.

[17] Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "The Rhetoric Of Mythical America" in *Critiques Of Contemporary Rhetoric*, ed. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1972), 52;. Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Conventional Wisdom, Conventional Form: A Rejoinder," *Quarterly Journal Of Speech* 58 (1972): 452; Karlyn Kohrs Campbell, "Response To Forbes Hill," *Central States Speech Journal* 34 (1983): 126.

[18] Michael Calvin McGee, "The Fall Of Wellington: A Case Study Of The Relationship Between Theory, Practice, And Rhetoric In History," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63 (1977): 41.

[19] Donald C. Bryant, "Some Problems Of Scope And Method In Rhetorical Scholarship." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 23 (1937): 184.

[20] Bryant, "Some Problems," 188.

[21] Barnet Baskerville, "Must We All Be 'Rhetorical Critics'," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 63 (1977): 111.

[22] Ronald H. Carpenter, "In Not-So-Trivial Pursuit Of Rhetorical Wedgies: An Historical Approach To Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address." *Communication Reports* 10 (1988): 20, *sic*.

[23] Kathleen Turner, "The Presidential Libraries As Research Facilities: An Analysis Of Resources For Rhetorical Scholarship," *Communication Education* 35 (1986): 243.

[24] Ernest J. Wrage, "Public Address: A Study in Social and Intellectual History," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 33 (1947): 455-6.

[25] Wrage, "Public Address," 454.

[26] Baskerville, "Must We All," 110.

[27] Thomas Rosteck, "Form And Cultural Context In Rhetorical Criticism: Re-Reading Wrage," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 84 (1998): 484.

[28] Rosteck, "Form And Cultural Context," 487.

[29] Baskerville, "Must We All," 111.

[30] Turner, "Introduction," 2.

[31] Nichols, *Rhetoric*, 78, *sic*.

[32] *Ibid*, *sic*.

[33] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology Of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972), 128-9.

[34] Foucault, *Archaeology*, 128.

[35] Foucault, *Archaeology*, 130.

[36] Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The 'Objectivity Question' And The American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 535-6.

[37] Foucault, *Archaeology*, 130.

[38] *Ibid*.

[39] *Ibid*.

[40] *Ibid*.

[41] Foucault, *Archaeology*, 137.

[42] See, respectively, Michel Foucault, *The Use Of Pleasure*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1990), 152; Michel Foucault, *The Care Of The Self*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage, 1998), 105; Michel Foucault, *The Birth Of The Clinic*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Vintage, 1994), 56; Michel Foucault, *Discipline And Punish*, 2nd ed., trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1995), 201.

[43] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory And Practice In Post-Colonial Literatures* (New York: Routledge, 1989). 4.

[44] Lloyd Bitzer, "The Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 1 (1968), 1.

[45] Richard Vatz, "The Myth of the Rhetorical Situation," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 6 (1973): 155.

[46] Rosteck, "Form and Cultural Context," 483.

[47] Martin J. Medhurst, "Reconceptualizing Rhetorical History: Eisenhower's Farewell Address," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 80 (1994): 195.

[48] Kevin DeLuca, "The Impact Of Images: Intentionality, Arrangiasti, And Rhetorical Force," Paper presented at the Visual Rhetorics Conference, Iowa City, IA, August 2000, 6.

[49] Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Deeds Done In Words: Presidential Rhetoric And The Genres Of Governance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 11.

[50] *Ibid*.

[51] *Ibid*.

[52] *Ibid*.

[53] *Ibid*, 12-13.

[54] Campbell and Jamieson, *Deeds*, 11-13.

[55] Graham T. Allison, *Essence Of Decision: Explaining The Cuban Missile Crisis* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1971), 144.

[56] Allison, *Essence*, 67.

[57] Allison, *Essence*, 175.

[58] Allison, *Essence*, 162.

[59] *Ibid*.

[60] Allison, *Essence*, 164.

[61] Allison, *Essence*, 264-9.

[62] Allison, *Essesnce*, 274-5.

[63] Jean Nienkamp, *Internal Rhetorics: Toward A History And Theory Of Self-Persuasion* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 2001), 130.

[64] Nienkamp, *Internal Rhetorics*, 4.

[65] Ole Holsti, *Crisis, Escalation, War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1972), 19.

[66] *Ibid.*

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Nienkamp, *Internal Rhetorics*, 127.

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] Barnet Baskerville, "Must We All," 111; William Norwood Brigance, "Wither Research?" *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 19 (1933): 557-8; Donald C. Bryant, "Some Problems," 183-4; Ronald H. Carpenter, "In Not-So-Trivial," 20; Gronbeck, "Rhetorical History," 319; Stephen E. Lucas, "The Schism In Rhetorical Scholarship," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 37 (1981): 3; Martin J. Medhurst, "Reconceptualizing Rhetorical History: Eisenhower's Farewell Address," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 80 (1994) 195; Marie Hochmuth Nichols, *Rhetoric And Criticism* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963), 19; Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, *Speech Criticism: The Development Of Standards For Critical Appraisal* (New York: Ronald, 1948), 315, 11-12; Kathleen J. Turner, ed. *Doing Rhetorical History* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 3; Herbert Wichelns, "The Literary Criticism Of Oratory," in *Studies In Rhetoric And Public Speaking In Honor Of James Albert Winans*, ed. A.M. Drummond (New York: Russell & Russell, 1962), 199.

[71] Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Thomas R. Burkholder, *Critiques Of Contemporary Rhetoric*, 2nd ed. (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1997): 51.

[72] Roderick P. Hart, *Modern Rhetorical Criticism*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1997): 8.

[73] Wrage, "Public Address," 455-6; Wichelns, "Literary," 213.

[74] McGee, "The Fall," 41.

[75] William Norwood Brigance, ed. *A History And Criticism Of American Public Address*. 3 vols. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1943-1955); Martin J. Medhurst, ed. *A Rhetorical History Of The United States.* 10 vols. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1998-in press).

[76] Dilip Gaonkar, "Concluding Remarks," Lecture presented at Globalization And Media Culture: Northwestern University 2002 School Of Speech Summer Institute, Evanston, IL, July 2002, n.p.

[77] Gaonkar, "Concluding," n.p.

[78] Michael Calvin McGee, "Text, Context, And The Fragmentation Of Contemporary Culture," *Western Journal Of Communication* 54 (1990): 283.

[79] Michael Calvin McGee, "The 'Ideograph': A Link Between Rhetoric And Ideology," *Quarterly Journal Of Speech* 66 (1980): 1.

[80] McGee, "Fall," 41.

[81] McGee, "Fall," 42.

[82] Michael Calvin McGee, *Edmund Burke's Beautiful Lie: An Exploration Of The Relationships Between Rhetoric And Social Theory* (Ph.D. Thesis: University of Iowa, 1974), 69-96.

[83] McGee, *Edmund Burke*, 69.

[84] McGee, *Edmund Burke*, 73.

[85] McGee, *Edmund Burke*, 75.

[86] McGee, *Edmund Burke*, 96, 53.

[87] McGee, "Text," 284.

[88] McGee, "Text," 283; "Ideograph," 13; McGee, "The Origins Of Liberty: A Feminization Of Power," *Communication Monographs* 47 (1980): 28.

[89] McGee, *Edmund Burke*, 75.

[90] Medhurst, "Reconceptualizing," 198.

[91] Kenneth Burke, *Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 60.

[92] Medhurst, "Reconceptualizing," 214.

[93] Moya Ann Ball, "Theoretical Implications Of Doing Rhetorical History: Groupthink, Foreign Policy Making, And Vietnam," in *Doing Rhetorical History*, ed. Kathleen J. Turner (Tuscaloosa, University of Alabama Press, 1998), 68.

[94] Ernst Axel Knauf, "From History To Interpretation," in *The Fabric Of History: Text, Artifact And Israel's Past,* ed. Diana Vikander Edelman (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 46.

[95] T.E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars Of Wisdom: A Triumph* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1935), *passim.*

[96] Chaim Weizmann, *Trial And Error: The Autobiography Of Chaim Weizmann* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), ch. 3-6.

[97] Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 200, 221.

[98] Wrage, "Public Address," 29.

[99] Philip Wander, "The Rhetoric Of American Foreign Policy," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 70 (1984): 342.

[100] Wander, "Rhetoric of American," 341.

[101] Novick, *That Noble Dream*, 52.

[102] Roderick P. Hart, "Doing Criticism My Way: A Reply To Darsey," *Western Journal Of Communication* 58 (1994): 310.

[103] Michael Calvin McGee, "In Search Of 'The People': A Rhetorical Alternative," *Quarterly Journal Of Speech* 61 (1975): 236.

[104] McGee, "In Search," 242.

[105] McGee, "In Search," 241.

[106] McGee, "In Search," 244-5.

[107] For example: Michael Calvin McGee, "The 'Ideograph': A Link Between Rhetoric And Ideology," *Quarterly Journal Of Speech* 66 (1980): 1-16; Celeste Michelle Condit and John Louis Lucaites, *Crafting Equality: America's Anglo-African Word* (Chicago: University of Chicago

Press, 1993), Preface; Dana Cloud, "The Rhetoric Of Family Values: Scapegoating, Utopia, And The Privatization Of Social Responsibility," *Western Journal Of Communication* 62 (1998): 388.

[108] Robert L. Ivie, "The Ideology Of Freedom's 'Fragility' In American Foreign Policy Argument," *Journal Of The American Forensic Association* 24 (1987): 34.

[109] Wander, "Rhetoric Of American," 341.

[110] Wander, "Rhetoric Of American," 340.

[111] Wrage, "Public Address," 30.

[112] Hart, "Doing Criticism," 310.

[113] Robert Alexander Kraig, "The 1912 Election And The Rhetorical Foundations Of The Liberal State," *Rhetoric And Public Affairs* 3 (2000): 367.

[114] Amos Kiewe, "Benjamin Disraeli's Speech On The Jewish Disabilities Act: Contextualizing The Inventional Approach, "*Journal Of Communication And Religion* 19 (1996): 15. Although Kiewe does not use the terms fragments or center text, his approach is parallel to my methodology of rhetorical history. Kiewe instead frames his argument as primarily descriptive and only secondarily historiographical when discussing the context of Disraeli's rhetorical act.

[115] McGee, "Text," 283.

[116] Martha Solomon. "The Things We Study: Texts And Their Interactions," *Communication Monographs* 60 (1993): 67.

[117] Solomon, "Things We Study," 65.

[118] McGee, "Text," 279.

[119] McGee, "In Search," 248.

[120] McGee, "In Search," 249.

[121] McGee, "Text," 274.

[122] McGee, "Text," 274.

[123] McGee, "In Search," 249.

[124] McGee, "In Search," 249.

[125] McGee, "Text," 280.

[126] McGee, "Text," 283.

[127] McGee, "Text," 283.

[128] McGee, "Text," 283.

[129] McGee, "Text," 288.

[130] Kenneth Burke, *Philosophy Of Literary Form* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 89.

[131] Burke, *Philosophy*, 23.

CHAPTER 3

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION AND THE MCMAHON-HUSSEIN CORRESPONDENCE

Before the British Parliament recessed for Christmas in 1917, Prime Minister David Lloyd George addressed the assembly. In his review of the year, he mused, "it would be rather interesting, looking at the year 1917, if it were possible to project ourselves into the year 2017 and to observe the events of this particular year. I should like to know what, in the opinion of many who are present here to-day would be the outstanding event a hundred years hence."[1] He predicted that people would recall most the British advances in the Middle East in the Great War. He stated, "I have no doubt at all that, when the history of 1917 comes to be written and comes to be read ages hence, these events ... will hold a much more conspicuous place in the minds and in the memories of the people than many an event which looms much larger in our sight."[2]

The events of 1917 *have* echoed. The entrance of British troops into Palestine was enabled by alliances with Arab irregulars and Zionist Jews. To gain the support of these groups, the McMahon-Hussein correspondence of 1915 and the Balfour Declaration of 1917 were issued. When 2017 arrives, echoes of these documents probably will still be heard. Historian W.F. Abboushi argues that "the story of Palestine ... starts with a series of promises made to Arabs and Zionist leaders – promises at best so vague as to encourage the most diverse interpretations, and at worst all but completely incompatible."[3] These "promises" remain highly active in the discourse of the present.[4]

In this chapter, I examine the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence as unintended constitutive documents. I will begin by reviewing the received history of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. The received history argues that Britain created foundational, but competing, commitments to the Jews and the Arabs to gain important allies in World War I. After reviewing the received history, I reread the

peripheral text. Since the peripheral text indicates that Palestine was rarely discussed and, when discussed, treated as unimportant, I argue that the received historical narrative does not account for the actual deployment of these documents. I then perform a close reading of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence as center texts. In this reading, I claim that the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence are defective promises at best. More likely, they are not promises because they are characterized by a high degree of ambiguity. I offer some implications of ambiguity for the genesis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and for constitutive rhetoric in general.

Received History

The received history of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence argues that these documents were foundational War promises made to gain the support of the Jews and Arabs, respectively. These documents remain active today. Jews in Israel/Palestine point to the Balfour Declaration's promise of "a National home for the Jewish people" to justify Jewish control.[5] They argue that this statement supports a Jewish State of Palestine. The Palestinian Arabs, contrariwise, argue that the Balfour Declaration promises not to "prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine,"[6] and hold that, if there was a Jewish state of Palestine, that the British would have violated these promises. Palestinian Arab activists also point to the McMahon-Hussein correspondence to show the British recognized an Arabian-wide kingdom and would support its self-determination. Although both documents remain active, each document has been differently valued by the competing sides. Palestinian Arab activists point to the opacity of the Balfour Declaration, the internal tensions of the document, and the fact that the Balfour Declaration was a letter from Balfour, the British foreign secretary, to Lord Rothschild, a British Zionist, not a formal treaty. Likewise, Jewish activists note the opacity of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the internal tensions of that document, and the fact that McMahon was the High Commissioner for Egypt, not an accredited diplomat, and that the letters were informal. The same arguments can be levied

against either document. Each side, however, maintains that the promise made to them was a strong, clear commitment made by His Majesty's Government in exchange for support during the War.[7]

Not only did these documents confuse one another's promises, the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon correspondence were written during a period of overall confusion. Sociologists Baruch Kimmerling and Joel Migdal hold that World War I must have seemed "apocalyptic to those in Palestine,"[8] as a region that had seen no military action for 75 years became a war front and was laid to waste. In addition to these internal conditions, Palestine also became a zone for competing imperial interests. The Ottoman Empire was losing its hold on Palestine and both the British and French Empires saw opportunities for increasing their influence. Historian Ritchie Ovendale indicates that with World War I, the Great Powers reinvigorated their rivalries and replicated their colonial struggle in the Middle East.[9]

The division of the people of Palestine into Arabs and Jews may have served an immediate goal of weakening the Ottomans from within. This division may have also helped Britain gain influence throughout the Middle East.[10] Diplomatic historian Isaiah Friedman claims that "for Britain, acquisition of Palestine was an irreducible strategic requirement" for winning World War I and controlling the post-War era.[11] Historians have argued that Palestine was essential to winning the War because of its geographical placement.[12] Palestine was centered under the soft underbelly of the Ottoman Empire, and a successful campaign through Palestine could be used to split Ottoman lines of communication with a northward advance. Palestine was also near the Suez Canal, an essential route for British communications between their European and Indian forces. Palestine also straddled air and land routes that were important to the War for troop movements, access to oil, and food shipments. Because the British were fighting the Ottomans from two directions, communication between the European front forces and the Indian front forces needed to be maintained. Although there were alternatives to crossing Palestinian space, the logistics of movement – in terms of time and safety – would be much improved if the

British or their allies had control over Palestine. Moreover, if the Ottomans were harried from below, they would be able to devote fewer forces to the zones of British concentration, Europe and Mesopotamia. For these reasons, Palestine has been cast by many historians as an essential front to winning the War.

The War was only one part of an overall design to colonize the Middle East, according to the received history. The decline of the Ottoman Empire would allow Europe to increase its penetration of the Middle East.[13] The British, who held Egypt as a protectorate and had allies in Mesopotamia, were well positioned to assert greater influence in the post-War period.[14] By expanding its alliances to Palestine, the British would be able to influence a corridor from Egypt to India. The completion of this corridor would allow the British to encircle competing powers and, in the end, to absorb the remnants of the Ottoman Empire into its own.[15]

Although Ovendale states that the Middle East in general, and Palestine in particular, became a reiteration of African colonialism, the use of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence also allowed different conditions of colonial identity to emerge. Rather than ignoring local senses of identity, as was common in the African colonial experience,[16] these documents used local senses of identity, recast them, and, ultimately, altered the consciousness of what it meant to be "Arab" or "Jewish" in Palestine.[17] Not only did these documents appeal to local senses of identity, historian Ran Greenstein asserts that, after the McMahon-Hussein correspondence was issued, the first sense of an Arab nationalist identity, as opposed to a tribal identity, was seen in Palestine.[18] Likewise, Greenstein notes that the first sense of a Jewish nationalism was seen in Palestine after the Balfour Declaration was issued.[19] By recasting identity, to focus on a *national* identity and the subsequent formation of *competing* identifications, the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence recast both people and land.

Claims of imperial intrigue and British military strategy make for a compelling narrative. Britain's military strategy did not, however, seem to require competing Arab and Jewish

identities. Indeed, having both Palestinian Arabs and Palestinian Jews working in concert would seem to better support the immediate military aim than would fragmenting a potential Palestinian underground working on behalf of the British. Moreover, in other areas with ethnic divisions, the British followed a policy of uniting diverse groups into a larger sense of identity.[20] For example, in Mesopotamia, the British united Kurds and Arabs into an identity set based on opposing the Turks, not on being Kurds or Arabs. On the Far Eastern front, the British sought to unite diverse groups into an Indian identity to increase the cohesion of its forces. Why, then, did the British introduce divisiveness into a potential Palestinian identity? The divisions enhanced by the British may have been incipient because of other exigencies.

Other European actors recognized the importance of Palestine to the War. Early in the War, the British negotiated the Sykes-Picot agreement with the French. This agreement created spheres of influence for both Empires in the Middle East and gave copies to the Russian Tsar. The French were assigned a sphere of influence in the Lebanon and Syrian Palestine and a second sphere was assigned to the British in lower Arabia. The agreement did not consult the residents of Palestine. Following the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russian government informed the Ottomans about the Sykes-Picot agreement. The Ottomans then released copies of the agreement and told Arab notables throughout their Empire that the British and the French intended to disempower these notables.[21] The advantages of the Sykes-Picot agreement, as a secret plan, were lost, as local Arab objections undermined the presumed stability that would follow the War when French and British administrators took control.[22] Both the French and the British had negotiated with these Arab notables to gain their support, often implying that their positions would be maintained under the new administrations. The Sykes-Picot agreement seemed inconsistent with these commitments. Thus, the British needed to write a document that would retain the support of the Arab notables and that would supplant the Sykes-Picot agreement.[23] The McMahon-Hussein correspondence was seen as a way to negotiate these exigencies and to create a larger appeal to

Arabs throughout the Middle East. This need for a larger appeal is why the letter was sent to

Sherif Hussein.[24]

Sherif Hussein, according to the received history, was the most important Arab leader to

the British. Early in the War, the Ottoman Sultan had called for *jihad* against European forces.[25]

Since the Sultan was a religious leader, owing to his succession to the Constantinople Caliphate,

jihad was to be directed against Allied forces. The Sultan's call for *jihad* seemed to have some

success in the Middle East and the British feared that the Indian Muslim troops in the British

Army would defect unless there was a counterbalancing force.[26] Powerful notables, such as Asir

in Syria and Sa'ud in central Arabia, as well as less powerful leaders on the Hedjaz coast, were

caught between the religious call and the realist concern over power in making their decision.

The British appealed to Hussein for assistance. As the Sherif of Mecca, Hussein held

control over the pilgrimage cities of Mecca and Medina. Because Hussein could use his position

to deny Muslims access to the pilgrimage, Hussein had influence over most Muslims.[27] In

addition, the prestige and power that fell to the custodian of the Ka'aba and the tomb of the

Prophet Muhammad, were unique sources of authority that could be used to counter the Sultan's

call for *jihad*.[28] By writing the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the British tried to sway

Hussein. And, once the Sherif agreed to support the British, Asir, Sa'ud, and the Hedjaz chiefs

could do so as well, as his religious authority would be coupled with the recognition of British

military might.

The McMahon-Hussein correspondence went beyond appealing to Hussein's religious

influence alone. Historians who argue for the foundationalism of the McMahon-Hussein

correspondence note that Hussein was appealed to as the leader of the Arabs. By casting the

Ottomans as Turks, and thus uninterested in the needs of Arabs, the McMahon-Hussein

correspondence appealed to Arabism. The British believed that Hussein would be able to spread

the sense of British support in Arabic as a "mother tongue."[29] The emphasis on Arab nationalism

also would make it appear that Hussein had invited British troops in rather than making British

troops look like an imperial force.[30] To remain consistent in this appearance, the British would send some military advisers to the Arab irregulars, but would only send limited arms and money to make clear that it was an Arab revolt.[31] As T.E. Lawrence explains, this limited assistance was enough, as "the Arabs rejoiced when they came, and believed they were now equals of the Turk" because their value as soldiers had been recognized by a powerful Empire.[32] By emphasizing an Arab identity rooted in both religious obligation and a common language, the received history states that Britain undermined the Ottoman Empire from lower Arabia.

The value of this dissension can be debated. Nonetheless, the strategy was seen as promising. Indeed, the focus on Hussein was seen as threatening not only to the Sultan but to other European powers as well. Before the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the Arabs were seen as most likely to support French rule in the Middle East, particularly in portions of Syria controlled by Asir.[33] By creating ties with Hussein and emphasizing his nationalist and religious role, Asir's became less attractive to Arabs because he lacked religious cachet. Unsurprisingly, the French objected to Britain's new ally.[34] The French also objected that the provisional recognition of the Sherif undermined the Sykes-Picot agreement by fundamentally altering the sense of Arab identity.[35] Whereas appealing to tribal identities could have easily factionalized the Arabs, the new British strategy made a pan-Arab identity more likely to emerge. The French and other allies did not object too strongly, however, because the larger aim was to win the War and colonial issues could always be negotiated afterwards.[36] Moreover, because in 1916, "the only bright spot on the military map was the Middle East,"[37] as historian Lawrence Davidson puts it, the Arab revolt was seen as fundamental to winning the War. If the revolt could remove the Turks from the equation, then German and Austro-Hungarian forces were more likely to be defeated by allied troops on the continent.

With the commitment to the Arabs, why, then, did the British risk this support by appealing to the Jews as a separate people in the Balfour Declaration? After all, since both Jews and Muslims are "People of the Book," and since most Palestinian and Mesopotamian Jews spoke

Arabic, they could be partially incorporated into the Arab revolt and have made it a Middle

Eastern revolt or Palestinian revolt. Because it obviated this possibility by separating Palestinian

Arabs from Palestinian Jews, the Balfour Declaration has become a central document in the

history of the modern Middle East.[38] In addition, the Balfour Declaration was a milestone for

Zionism, allowing a Jewish identity that was nationalist, not religious, to emerge.[39]Although the

Balfour Declaration has been credited with providing strong grounds for identity, it is also a

foundation for nationalist conflict in Palestine precisely because it emphasizes an exclusive

identity.[40]

While the McMahon-Hussein correspondence has consistently been portrayed as a realist

calculation, some arguments have been made to portray the Balfour Declaration as an idealist

document. Chaim Weizmann, the first president of Israel, has claimed that the British recognition

of historical right and the Jewish commitment to democracy were the inspiring forces.[41] The

interest in the inherent dignity of all peoples and a desire to end persecution of the Jews has been

named as a cause.[42] Some historians have claimed that support for a homeland came mostly from

British millenarian Protestants.[43] That is, some British supported the return of Palestine to the

Jews so that the Jews would rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem and cause the Second Coming.

Although a minority of historians subscribes to these claims, a stronger case has been made that

idealism played little role in the British decision. More often, though, the decision to write the

Balfour Declaration has been portrayed as a strategic calculation to gain support by any means

necessary.[44]

The greatest support for British interests in the Middle East is not easily calculated in the

received history. Although *in situ* the greatest support would come from the Arabs, as there were

many more Arabs in the Middle East (and in Palestine) than there were Jews, outside the Middle

East different calculations had to be made. The release of the Balfour Declaration was timed so

that it would coincide with General Edmund Allenby's attack on Jerusalem,[45] a late stage in the

Palestine campaign. Nonetheless, the Balfour Declaration has been regarded as the centerpiece of

propaganda to persuade Jews to join the allied cause. At least four classes of Jews outside of

Palestine have been identified in the received history as the Balfour Declaration's audience:

"world Jewry," British Jews, Jews in allied countries, and Jews in enemy countries.

Historian Lawrence Davidson explains how the influence of "world Jewry" was intended

to operate. In his reading, "the Arabs might have had some regional military potential, but the

Jews, supposedly, had enormous worldwide financial and political potential. Here the old

stereotype of the Jews being capable of worldwide conspiratorial machinations must have

unconsciously come into play."[46] Others see the effort as conscious. Historian Naomi Shepherd,

for instance, writes that the British perceived that "American-Jewish capitalist financiers,

Russian-Jewish entrepreneurs in the grain trade, Communist politicians, Jewish supporters of the

young Turk regime all belonged to one group, one coherent, calculating entity with its hidden

agenda: 'world Jewry.'"[47] Although there were clear differences among different Jewish groups,

the stereotypes and the assertions of Chaim Weizmann that there was, indeed, a worldwide

Zionist movement encouraged an to appeal to this mythical "world Jewry."

In addition to appealing to an international Jewish cabal, the received history indicates

that British Jews were also an important audience for the Balfour Declaration. Before the War

began, the British considered creating a special colony for British Jews in South America or

Eastern Africa, both as a reaction to domestic anti-Semitism and in response to Zionist Federation

requests.[48] This plan, however, was never implemented. The Balfour Declaration seemed to

resurrect parts of this plan. By offering a "National home," Zionism could be turned to support

the British, as could British members of the Zionist Federation.[49] In addition, making the Balfour

Declaration promises dependent on British success in the War could also reduce Jewish

participation in socialist and pacifist circles.[50] That is, if British Jews could be persuaded that

their interests were in fighting for a "National home," their contributions to critiques of capitalism

and militarism could be foreclosed and their energies re-channeled. In all, the Balfour Declaration

was seen as contributing to long-term British aspirations in colonial rule and in limiting the influence of Jews in Britain.[51]

The British interest went beyond British Jews. Jews from other allied states were also targeted according to the received history. The British saw American Jews as especially powerful[52] and, therefore, American Jews were the greatest external targets for British propaganda.[53] The British also assumed that American congressional and executive leaders were strongly influenced by American Jews.[54] The British also believed that American Jews had strong relationships with Russian[55] and European Jews.[56] Thus directing campaigns toward American Zionist Jews would influence other actors. The Jewish alliance that the received history claims the Balfour Declaration was used to persuade stretched even into enemy states.[57] The Balfour Declaration was used to persuade Jews within the Ottoman Empire[58] and the German-Austrian bloc[59] to preempt the ability of the Central Powers to use the Jews against the Allied Powers.

In the received history, the utility of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and the Balfour Declaration in persuading Arabs and Jews, respectively, has been called into doubt. Not only was there no nationalist pan-Arab identity before the onset of World War I, the French and British machinations to ensure that they would become the colonial rulers risked fragmenting the emergent pan-Arab identity.[60] Additionally, the British attempts to persuade "world Jewry" were likely a failure, as only a minority of Jews worldwide were Zionists and many non-Zionist Jews were alienated by the movement.[61] More damaging to the expediency of these documents is the fact that, throughout the negotiation of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and the writing of the Balfour Declaration, Arabs and Jews hedged their bets by extracting similar promises from Germany.[62] Thus, the impact of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence in the War is difficult to divine.

What is clear, however, is that the received history asserts that the British considered Palestine essential. T.E. Lawrence championed the importance of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, arguing that it was strategically deployed and constructed to gain the support of

Hussein and the Arab hordes that he could bring against the Turks.[63] Similarly, Chaim Weizmann

insisted that the Balfour Declaration was designed to trade Palestine for the efforts of Zionist

Jews who would use their political and financial connections to strengthen the Allies and weaken

the Central Powers.[64] In either case, the British needed to control Palestine at the end of the War

to make good on their commitments to their allies. Historian Leonard Stein argues that the

geopolitics of Palestine were the deciding factor in the Middle East campaign. Although "there

was no enthusiasm for the Palestine campaign" in the military, "in light of the War Cabinet's

strong desire, hardening into a fixed resolve, that the War should end with Palestine, or as much

of it as possible, under British control," Palestine became a central concern of His Majesty's

Government.[65]

Peripheral Text

If the story told in the received history is believed, Palestine was an important part of

Britain's efforts in World War I. Thus, the received history argues that these documents were

similarly important. By promising Palestine to the Jews, the Balfour Declaration was necessary to

gaining their support. Likewise, the promises made in the McMahon-Hussein correspondence

were essential in persuading Hussein to lead the Arab Revolt and to deliver Palestine into British

hands. In all, without these documents, the received history implies that the war effort would have

been much weaker, perhaps impossible. As such, the received history urges the reader to Balfour

Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence as essential to winning the War and as

strong commitments made by the British.

The received history's narrative becomes untenable when one turns to the peripheral text

surrounding these documents. The clearest indication that the Balfour Declaration was not a

binding promise was a statement made by the Declaration's author in the November 15, 1917

Parliamentary debates. When asked if Palestine was to become an independent Jewish State, a

British protectorate, or remain part of the Ottoman Empire, Arthur Balfour replied that "it is not

possible at this stage to forecast the future constitution of Palestine."[66] Despite the fact that the

Balfour Declaration had already been written at this point, and thus, according to the Zionist histories, the intent to create a Jewish State should have been clear, Balfour denied the possibility of clear intent when specifically asked. Moreover, while many histories suggest that the Balfour Declaration was used to lobby President Woodrow Wilson for American participation, the Declaration did not appear to have been discussed with other Allies. Balfour stated that "no official communication [of the Declaration] has been made to the Allies on the subject" of a Jewish State and that, until the completion of the War, no such communication was likely.[67] Although Balfour indicated that he believed "the declaration referred to would meet [the Allies'] approval,"[68] less than a month later he indicated that the Balfour Declaration applied only to the city of Jerusalem and that Britain's partners "need be under no apprehension that in our policy in Palestine we shall fail to show the fullest consideration for the opinions of our Allies."[69] In short, even Balfour did not see the Balfour Declaration as setting a clear, determined commitment. There is not a similar "smoking gun" to show that McMahon believed that his correspondence with Sherif Hussein did not set a clear commitment. Nevertheless, throughout the peripheral text it becomes clear that neither the Balfour Declaration nor the McMahon-Hussein correspondence emerges as a well-thought out, clear statement of British commitment to the Jews or to the Arabs.

The peripheral text of newspaper reports, parliamentary debates, and War Office archives indicates that little thought at all was given to the Balfour Declaration or the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. Instead of foundational commitments, the peripheral text indicates that His Majesty's Government may not have been aware that they were making commitments. Rather than finding a strong declaration of intent to establish a Jewish State, as Weizmann read the Balfour Declaration,[70] or to assign a Kingdom to Hussein stretching from Palestine to Persia, as Lawrence indicates Hussein read the McMahon-Hussein correspondence,[71] what emerges is an intentional vacuum. Just as nature abhors a vacuum, so does rhetoric. Because the British failed to take seriously the promises that could have been read into the Balfour Declaration and the

McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the recipients of these documents were able to read the meaning that best suited their purposes into the documents.

The position of His Majesty's Government on Palestine during World War I is best summed up in Lloyd George's Parliamentary speech. In November 1917, General Allenby's forces had taken control of Jerusalem, marking one of the few British successes that year in the War. Lloyd George told Parliament, "I know there is a good deal said about 'side-shows,' and that, after all, these [advances] were only 'side-shows.' The British Empire owes a good deal to side-shows."[72] Lloyd George, in explicitly labeling the Palestinian front a "side-show," indicated that Palestine was not central to the War. Indeed, in a bit of apocrypha, T.E. Lawrence went further, calling Palestine "a side-show of a side-show,"[73] as, even in the Middle East, the more important front was Mesopotamia.

The peripheral text surrounding the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence indicates that Palestine was a side-show. When the War Cabinet archives are consulted, only eleven documents explicitly mention Palestine.[74] Similarly, Chadwyck-Healey's *Official Index to the Times*, indicates that only seven "leading articles" in 1917 were about Palestine.[75] In 1915 and 1916, there were no "leading articles" published about Palestine in the *Times*. That is, front-page news was rarely concerned with Palestine. Similarly, Palestine does not even merit its own index entry in *Hansard's*[76] for 1916, and has only four index mentions as a subset of war operations. Mesopotamia, however, has over forty sub-headings of its own in 1916. Only in 1917 does Palestine become an index term for *Hansard's*, indicating that Palestine became a topic for debate in Parliament then. Because rhetorical history is concerned with repetitions, as Roderick Hart reminds us,[77] what becomes interesting about the peripheral text is the repetition of absence. If there were a strong intended commitment to the Arabs or to the Jews that supported the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine or a pan-Arabian Kingdom for Hussein as the received history claims, then the reader should see this intent repeated throughout the

peripheral text. It is not. Instead, Palestine is rarely mentioned. When Palestine is discussed, its importance is downplayed.

The War Cabinet archives indicate that the Ottoman Empire's lines of communication through the Middle East were a concern. Prime Minister Lloyd George argued that the War effort in Britain was flagging. He stated that "a clear definite victory ... will alone satisfy the public that tangible results are being achieved ... and decide neutrals that it is at last safe for them throw in their lot with us."[78] To attain a decisive victory, Lloyd George argued for an attack against Turkey. He held that "unless we are prepared for some project of this character I frankly despair of our achieving any success in this war. I see nothing but an eternal stalemate on any other lines."[79] To wage this attack, though, Lloyd George recommends first "an attack upon Austria in conjunction with the Serbians, the Roumanians, and the Greeks" to be followed with an assault on Constantinople.[80] Palestine enters this plan, but only as a distraction. Instead, Lloyd George suggests allowing the Turks to freely attack "our forces on the Suez Canal" to distract them from the British assault on their northern flank.[81] Lord Escher agreed with Lloyd George that attacking Turkey would be helpful. He stated that the Ottomans provided three advantages to Germany: "to demobilise in the central area of conflict considerable forces of Russian and British troops, to rouse a certain amount of friction in the Mohammedan world, and possibly, if the war continues, to provide Germany with raw materials."[82] Sundering the Ottoman Empire would address these long-term concerns. To do so, Escher recommended that the Allies concentrate on the Far East in their next round of battle. At this moment, if the received histories accounted more fully for the peripheral text, the reader would expect to see Escher recommend that the Allies turn the frictions in the Muslim world against the Sultan by appealing to Sherif Hussein or to recommend that Arab irregulars be used in place of British troops so that British troops could be mobilized elsewhere. Escher makes neither recommendation.

Alliances with Arab leaders are first proposed in a discussion between A. Hirtzel and Edmund Bartow at a March 14, 1915 War Cabinet meeting. Hirtzel approved the idea of

contracting Arab irregulars, but maintained that "it must be admitted at once that there does not exist the material for an independent state. The Arabs have never shown any cohesive power and there is no single family or individual ... who would have the power to coerce them into obedience."[83] "Moreover," Hirtzel told the War Cabinet, "the Arabs have not so far shown any administrative capacity, and to hand the country over to them ... would not satisfy the axiom laid down above that whoever takes away Mesopotamia from the Turks is responsible to the civilised world for its reclamation."[84] Bartow went even further. Although Hirtzel recommended that Palestine be stripped from the Ottoman Empire, Bartow argued that the Palestinian Arabs so lacked self-government that he recommended "Palestine to be neutralised, and administered as an autonomous province of the Turkish Empire" under international supervision.[85] Moreover, when recognizing the Ottoman provinces that should made independent states or protectorates, Bartow recommends that the British work with Idrisi of the Hedjaz and Lahej of Yemen, not Hussein. Agreeing with Bartow, Hirtzel specifically claims that Hussein is "too far away" to be helpful to a pan-Arab campaign.[86] Thus, rather than committing to Hussein, even as the McMahon-Hussein correspondence was being exchanged in 1915, His Majesty's Government urged simultaneous negotiation with other Arab leaders.

Lord Kitchener made the first mention of supporting an Arab Kingdom two days later. He told the War Cabinet, "should the partition of Turkey take place, it is to our interest to see an Arab kingdom established in Arabia under the auspices of England."[87] Because the British already held influence in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea region, and Egypt, a new kingdom that stretched from the Tigris river (in modern Iraq) to Mecca should be supported. By supporting such a kingdom, Kitchener explained that Britain "would secure all the approaches to the Mohammedan Holy Places" and thus "greatly enhance our prestige amongst the many millions of our Mohammedan subjects."[88] Rather than recommending the Grand Sherif of Mecca be contacted, however, Kitchener advised that the concept be studied.

Kitchener may have felt comfortable studying contacts with the Arabs because Palestine was not an essential front to the prosecution of the War. At the March 16 meeting, Kitchener told the War Cabinet that "the troops" of the belligerents "stand in the two main theatres of war," the eastern and western fronts.[89] The Mesopotamian front, let alone Palestine, is not considered a main theatre of war. Kitchener also used troop strength to estimate the likelihood of British success in the War. In his statement, Kitchener listed the troop strength of Germany, Austro-Hungaria, France, Russian, Britain, Serbia, and Belgium. Neither the Turkish regular forces nor the British-allied Arab irregulars are considered in Kitchener's reports. Lieutenant-General William Robinson noted Palestine's unimportance as a war front in his November 8 report to the War Cabinet. "Leaving minor colonial operations out of account," Robinson said, "we are now waging war in four theatres – in Mesopotamia, in the Dardanelles, in the Balkans, and in France."[90] Moreover, even if one believed that Palestine was part of the Mesopotamian campaign, Robinson reported that the whole of Mesopotamia was an irrelevant theatre. Robinson claimed that "the campaign in Mesopotamia does not help us towards our end, but neither does it employ troops which can be conveniently used ... nor does it cause an appreciable drain upon our resources."[91] In other words, the Mesopotamian campaign would not help win the War, but it also would not help lose the War. The troops there, though, could not be easily moved to where they would do more good for the British cause.

In the face of possible irrelevance, Sir Mark Sykes, the negotiator of the Sykes-Picot agreement with France, was directed to study Kitchener's proposal. Sykes reported to the War Cabinet on December 16, 1915. He told the Cabinet, "with regard to the Arab question, the fire, the spiritual fire, lies in Arabia proper, the intellect and the organizing power lie in Syria and Palestine, centered particularly in Beirut."[92] Sykes moved that these forces be united for British advantage, but discarded the idea of an Arab kingdom. In its place, he recommended a plan based on the Indian experience. That is, the sheiks, sherifs, and emirs throughout Arabia should be considered equivalent to the Indian rajas, actors who should have local administrative autonomy,

but be participants in British colonial rule. The War Cabinet archives do not indicate whether this suggestion was followed or not. It is unlikely that it was. Sykes told the War Cabinet on July 6, 1616 that although "we should show ourselves as pro-Arabs" in our negotiations, "I do not recommend that this policy be made public, or that we commit ourselves by pledges or undertakings to the Arabs."[93] The British government, then, does not seem to indicate that the McMahon-Hussein correspondence was a strong commitment, and, even if such a correspondence existed, Sykes recommended it not be published.

Arthur Balfour offered an alternative nearly two years later. Balfour brought nine representatives of the Jewish community to the War Cabinet on October 1917 to offer a Zionist solution. Although he consulted with these leaders, six argued for a Zionist solution and three were opposed. Herbert Samuel stated that "the best safeguard" for British influence after the War "would be the establishment of a large Jewish population, preferably under British protection."[94] Moreover, Samuel appealed to the concept of "world Jewry" by claiming that "if the policy" of establishing a large Jewish population "were carried into effect through British influence it would be calculated to win for the British Empire the gratitude of Jews throughout the world, and ... to create among them a bias favourable to the Empire."[95] At this meeting, he, Rothschild, Weizmann, Stuart Samuel, and Nahum Sokdov suggested a draft of the Balfour Declaration that would call for His Majesty's Government to "reestablish the Jewish people in Palestine."[96] Three other Jewish leaders, though, Philip Magnus, CG Montefiore, and LL Cohen argued that this argument would further anti-Semitism and unwisely separate European Jews from their nations. Magnus expressed this concern when he charged that the Zionist draft improperly claimed "distinctly Jewish ideals that Jews are fighting for in the present war. [Jews] need not the offer of a National home in Palestine to excite their ardour or to stimulate their courage."[97] Magnus rejected the idea of an international Zionist movement, argued strongly that he "would deem it necessary to consult the existing inhabitants of Palestine as to the ruling power under which they would desire to live" and insisted that a Jewish National home could not be used as a weapon

against Christian or Muslim communities in Palestine.[98] Magnus, on behalf of non-Zionist Jews, submitted an alternative draft that called for the establishment of "a centre of Jewish culture" and the explicit protection of the current "civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" and "the rights and political status now enjoyed by Jews in any other country."[99] Although historian Leonard Stein claims that two competing drafts of the Balfour Declaration were submitted,[100] the War Cabinet archives do not indicate that the Cabinet approved either draft or had any role in the writing of the final draft.

Instead of a strong commitment to either an Arab Kingdom or a Jewish State, the War Cabinet left the post-War situation for later negotiations. In the meantime, the War Cabinet directed its generals "to take every opportunity to defeat the Turkish forces and to follow up any success gained with the object of driving the Turks from Palestine as and when this becomes practicable."[101] Whoever could help the most at that moment was to be supported, but His Majesty's Government could not afford to commit to one ally. Given that the Middle East was not a major theatre and that Palestine was a minor part of that campaign, the Cabinet held that "the purely military advantages to be gained would not justify the expenditure of force required and the risks incurred" by making a commitment to either the Arab Kingdom or the Jewish State ideal.[102]

Even the limited promises recognized by the War Cabinet were downplayed as the War concluded. In their Command Paper to the Foreign Office, the War Cabinet rescinded tentative post-War plans because of American and Russian objections. The War Cabinet wrote, "in view of the change of circumstances referred to, there can be no question that the Agreements of 1915 will have to be rescinded; and from the British point of view there need be little regret in arriving at this conclusion."[103] Moreover, the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence were called into question in the War Cabinet's claim that because of the United States's emphasis on self-determination, "the whole problem of Turkey must therefore be considered afresh."[104] Specifically, the War Cabinet obviated the implications of the Balfour

Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence expressed by the received history. Even if promises had been made, Britain claimed that it was not authorized to make these promises and, thus, could not be expected to enforce them. The War Cabinet stated that they could not propose independent kingdoms, eliminating the promise assigned to the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. Likewise, the Balfour Declaration's "National home," was to be incorporated into a Lebanite form of government, preferably under the Sultan. Thus, not only did "National home" not mean an independent state, but His Majesty's Government's "favour" towards its establishment was devolved to the Ottomans.[105]

In summarizing its obligations at the end of the War, the War Cabinet indicated that the assurances given to the Jews and Arabs had little importance in the post-War settlement. The Arabs and Jews were only two of fourteen parties, and the assurances made to the Arabs and Jews were the most constrained. At the beginning of their synopsis, the War Cabinet noted that it was constrained by the 1914 Pact of London and the 1916 Sykes-Picot Agreement. According to the synopsis, under the Pact of London, Britain "undertook not to make peace separately nor to formulate peace terms without the consent of the other signatory parties" to the Pact.[106] That is, before Britain could promise or enact peace terms, such as allotting land in the Ottoman Empire, Britain had first to consult with France, Russia, and Italy and to gain their consent. In particular, by the terms of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Britain could not dispose of central Palestine without French approval. The synopsis indicated that central Palestine could be "internationalised under a regime to be decided on after discussion" between France and Britain.[107] Similarly, as Italy also had "an interest in the maintenance of the balance of power in the Mediterranean," it too had to be consulted in dividing the Ottoman Empire.[108] "In the event of the partition or partial partition of the Ottoman Empire," the synopsis claimed, zones of influence would need to be redrawn to take Italian concerns into account.[109] In addressing obligations made to Russia, Roumania, Serbia, Belgium, Montenegro, Croatia, Japan, the United States, and to the newly forming League of

Nations, references to the Pact of London and the Sykes-Picot Agreement were made. Specific commitments to each ally or neutral were also outlined.

The British used references to the Pact of London and the Sykes-Picot Agreement to limit their obligations to the Arabs and the Jews. The synopsis stated that these constraints "have been communicated to the King" of the Hedjaz, making Hussein aware of these limits on the McMahon-Hussein correspondence.[110] In the synopsis, the War Cabinet noted three implications that the "various written assurances given to the King by the High Commissioner in Egypt" had for the Paris Peace Conference.[111] First, McMahon had said that "His Majesty's Government had no intention of concluding any peace in the terms of which the freedom of the Arab people from German and Turkish domination did not form an essential condition."[112] That is, Britain did not want Arab lands to be retained by the Prussian or Ottoman Empires. According to the synopsis, McMahon had also assured Hussein that Britain recognized his interest in an independent kingdom "within territories bounded on the west by the Red Sea, on the south by the Indian Ocean, [and] on the east by the Persian Gulf and the Turco-Persian frontier."[113] This territory would include most of the Arabian Peninsula, but might or might not include present-day Israel or Jordan. A broad interpretation of these borders might expand the kingdom's potential territory to include all land east of the Jordan River, which flows into the Red Sea, or east of the Mediterranean Sea. A narrow interpretation might draw a line from the port of Aqaba, the northernmost point of the Red Sea, to the port of Kuwait, the southernmost point where the Ottoman and Persian Empires bordered one another directly. The synopsis noted that "the northern and northwestern [regions were] to be left for subsequent discussion." which could imply that Hussein's assurances did not include any territory north of the Aqaba to Kuwait line, but could possibly include much more expansive territory.[114] The final assurance given to Hussein by McMahon was that "Great Britain would guarantee the Holy Places against external aggression."[115] Although Hussein was called a King, he was king of a vaguely sketched land, bound under France's future recognition, and dependent on Britain for protection. In addition,

these assurances were predicated on their acceptance at the Paris Peace Conference. Britain

claimed that "Arabia, Armenia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Pale stine" were "entitled to recognition

of their separate nationalities."[116] Despite this goodwill, however, the degree of international

agreement was "not developed" and "depends entirely on [the] attitude of Turkey" before a final

proposal at the Paris Peace Conference could be issued.[117]

The Zionist Movement received even less recognition of their interests. The Balfour

Declaration was also given less credence than the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. The

entirety of the British obligation was noted in a single sentence: "we are bound only by the

limited assurances given to Lord Rothschild in Mr. Balfour's letter."[118] This was the *only*

sentence under the heading "To the Zionist Movement."[119] No mention was made of a Jewish

National home in the text of the obligations, let alone a Jewish State. No discussion of a Jewish

nationality took place. There was not even a reference to His Majesty's Government as the

creator of the obligation.

Arab and Zionist nationalist aspirations went little discussed in the War Cabinet. Their

aspirations were discussed even less in the popular media. Quite simply, the Balfour Declaration

and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence are not subject to discussion in the British paper of

record, the *Times* of London. When the British entered combat in Palestine, the *Times* claimed

that "no danger need be expected in this quarter," as the main Middle Eastern front was in

Mesopotamia and the Ottomans were no match for British forces.[120] The *Times*'s leading articles

did not mention the two-year long Arab Revolt that had weakened the Ottomans by disrupting rail

traffic and the ability to send Turkish reinforcements. The essential contributions emphasized by

the received history were less salient to the British public or to Government actors that read these

papers. In addition to ignoring Arab efforts, the *Times* did not discuss the supposedly pervasive

influence of "world Jewry." Indeed, only one leading *Times* article mentioned the possibilities for

Zionist influence. This October 26, 1917 article stated that there could be advantages of the

"hearty sympathy of the Jews throughout the world," but that such advantages needed to be

weighed against comparison to "insidious German propaganda" designed to appeal to Jews.[121] Although the Zionist appeal to His Majesty's Government was "too significant not to merit earnest attention,"[122] the *Times* argued that if the Zionist scheme was impractical or if many Jews were adverse to Zionism, Zionist plans should not be adopted. Given that the War Cabinet had already witnessed dissension within the Jewish community over the claims of Zionism,[123] discrediting the plan for a "National home" as a Jewish State became easier.

Nearly all of the *Times*'s coverage of Palestine for 1917, however, occurred after General Allenby captured Jerusalem. In the *Times* framing of the Palestine front, the efforts made in Palestine were performed by the British Army alone. On November 9, 1917, the *Times* argued that "by his comprehensive defeat of the Turks in Palestine" Allenby had "won a great victory of considerable magnitude and great importance."[124] Three days later, Allenby's invasion was compared to "the scene of heroic exploits from Samson to Sennacherib and from Sennacherib to Saladin."[125] The comparison to Jewish and Muslim heroes and the *Times*'s ecumenical spirit, however, was quickly replaced by the declaration that under Allenby, "the new Crusade ... begins to take form."[126] Indeed, the victory owed nothing to Jews or Muslim Arabs, because "in its essence [the victory] is a vindication of Christianity."[127] Moreover, Allenby's seizure of Jerusalem "stands forth as a sign that the righteousness and justice that are the soul of Christian ethics guide Christian victors" in the War.[128] If the *Times* wanted to maintain this Christian crusade narrative, they could recognize neither the contributions of Arabs inspired by Islam and nationalism nor Zionist Judaism.

Assigning credit to the British Army alone for successes in Palestine and largely ignoring the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence are also common in the House of Commons Parliamentary debates. Indeed, when reports of military action in Palestine were discussed in Commons, the only people said to be fighting the Turks in Palestine were British regular soldiers.[129] Arab irregulars are *never* mentioned in the Commons debates during this time period and there is minimal discussion of Zionist influence. Names that the received

history would lead us to expect to be indexed are not present; there is no subject index reference to Zionism, Jews, Arabs, Chaim Weizmann, or Sherif Hussein. The first reference to Palestinian Jews is a question asked to Prime Minister Lloyd George by MP Thomas Lough. Lough inquired whether the Turks intend to "massacre the Jews now living in Palestine" and what the Government's response would be.[130] The response, given by Assistant Secretary of State Robert Cecil, was that "the Allied Governments would do all in their power to avert such a calamity," but Cecil urged the Member to realize that "it is difficult to see what effective measures are open to" the Allied Governments.[131] If the opinion of "world Jewry" and Jews around the world were as important as the received history states they were, then this statement seems ambivalent at best.

Ambivalence was common in Parliament. When asked about the Sykes-Picot agreement and the possibility that it would "impede the establishment of an independent and integral Palestine under American or British protection,"[132] Cecil claimed that the Government had not decided which wartime pledges would be honored first. If the Balfour Declaration was as widely known as the received history indicates and the intent of His Majesty's Government was to implement a Jewish State based on the Declaration, then a helpful clarification of policy could have been made. Had the Government wanted the Balfour Declaration to override the Sykes-Picot Agreement, Cecil could have declared that the Balfour Declaration was a promise. Instead, Cecil said that he "cannot answer questions as to any pledges which may or may not have been given to our Allies about the terms of peace."[133] Sir Henry Dalziel urged that His Majesty's Government's commitments be clarified, arguing that Parliament "ought to have information regarding the exact position of affairs. We have so many fronts, we are really liable to forget some at a time like this."[134] The danger, Dalziel indicated, was that for British guarantees to be taken seriously domestically and by foreign parties, there had to be clarity in what Britain was guaranteeing. Likewise, when MP James Dillon argued that there was a public impression that Britain was making conflicting promises to its Allies, Chancellor of the Exchequer Bonar Law replied that the

expedience of war required obfuscation and ambiguity. Bonar Law claimed that ambiguous commitments were "an obvious indication of the elementary knowledge that we are at war and act as if at war."[135] Thus, these parties suggest, when at war, promises are made vaguely because of the exigencies of war. Although it is unsaid, Bonar Law implied that once Britain was at peace and could act as if at peace, Britain would then clarify its commitments. The ambiguity of British promises was recognized in Parliament, but this ambiguity was acceptable to Parliament.

Center Text

From this summary of the peripheral text surrounding the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, two qualities that characterize these center texts emerge. First, the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence are rarely mentioned in the peripheral text. The textual void is important to understanding the rhetorical strategies of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. Rhetorician Dana Cloud correctly argues that "too often textual scholars take what is on the page or in the speech as evidence for what is in the person's consciousness or culture" in assigning arguments about the intent of the author.[136] Cloud notes that looking to peripheral discourses and investigating the omitted, yet unmentioned, subjects and asking *why* some subjects are largely omitted can give the analyst a better understanding of the rhetorical strategies deployed. Because secondary sources indicate that some subjects – in this case the negotiations with the Arabs and the Jews over Palestine – are of vital importance to understanding the text, the textual void becomes an important subject of analysis. The need to understand this textual void points to the second quality of the peripheral text: its strategic ambiguity.

The idea that the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence are characterized by vagueness is not new. Nonetheless, historian David Hirst claims that Arabs and Jews have looked to these documents for assurances "that they could rely on mighty and just Britain to help them" safeguard their interests in Palestine.[137] A common tactic in Arab nationalist histories is to argue that the Balfour Declaration was vague, while the McMahon-

Hussein correspondence was the embodiment of full intent.[138] Similarly, a common tactic in

Zionist histories is to argue that the McMahon-Hussein correspondence was vague, while the

Balfour Declaration was the embodiment of full intent.[139] Because the Balfour Declaration and

the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, and their shared peripheral text, adopt the same

strategies, arguing that one is the self-evident expression of full intent to support a nationalist

movement, while the other is a self-serving, non-committal statement, is misplaced at best, and

dangerous at worst. Neither the Balfour Declaration nor the McMahon-Hussein correspondence is

clear in its commitment. Only preliminary drafts of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and

the Balfour Declaration were discussed by the Cabinet, making their status as formal

commitments tenuous.[140] This strategic ambiguity, and the decision to not make a more formal

and unambiguous statement, is the central rhetorical strategy of these documents.

 Britain's use of strategic ambiguity disqualifies both the Balfour Declaration and the

McMahon-Hussein correspondence as promises. Philosopher of language John Searle proposes a

number of conditions for a performative act to be considered a "promise." Searle maintains that a

promise must be made directly by the agent that will be obligated to act under the promise.[141] An

agent, Searle claims, cannot promise that someone else will do something; the agent can only

make promises about how he or she will act. In addition, Searle claims that a promise must take

the form of the promise.[142] That is, the promise must be deployed in a manner that makes it clear

that it is a sincere and direct promise. Searle calls matters of agency and form in promise-making

"preparatory conditions."[143] If preparatory conditions are violated, then a speaker can utter a

defective promise and that promise can still be considered binding. The one condition that Searle

indicates is necessary for a statement to have force *as performative act* is that the speaker must

intend for the statement to be a promise.[144]

 If the speaker's intentions are not clear, then a defective promise does not have

performative force. In this case, the defective promise would not create an obligation. Searle

indicates that, for a promise to be binding, "we have to assume that *T* [the promising statement] is

unambiguous."[145] To be unambiguous, Searle claims that the speaker must intend to act in the way promised, intend to create an obligation to act in the way promised, and intend that the hearer of the promise act based on these intentions.[146] If these three intentions are unambiguous, then even a defective promise may be binding. If they are ambiguous, then the promise is not binding. Promises, for Searle, are premised first on the form of the promise and the authority of the speaker to make the promise.[147] If these conditions are met, then the reader should look to the agent's intention to communicate a promise.[148] Searle claims that "the intention to produce understanding involves the intention that that very intention should be recognized, and the recognition of that intention constitute understanding by the hearer, and hence communication from speaker to hearer."[149] Should any of these intentions be missing, a promise cannot be communicated.

The Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence are disqualified as promises on multiple grounds. At best, these documents are defective promises because they do not have the form of international promises and because their authors lack the authority to make promises on behalf of the Government. Neither the McMahon-Hussein correspondence nor the Balfour Declaration adopts the form of a committed promise from one state recognizing the provisional existence of the other. Because Balfour and McMahon use of a letter, rather than a treaty, and because international commitments are generally framed in treaties to make international promises binding, the documents might be defective promises. In addition, both documents recognize that other actors will have the power to modify the limited assurances made therein. Because neither the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence is issued by a direct representative of His Majesty's Government itself, Searle would likely hold that they were defective promises. Although defective promises are potentially binding, these documents are also disqualified as promises on intentional grounds. Because the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon Hussein correspondence are ambiguous in what they actually promise, they may move from being defective promises to not being promises at all. Neither

document delimits the boundaries of what is recognized as the territory of Palestine assigned to the Arabs or Jews. When these three features are combined, the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence open space for audiences to read promises into the center text even as these documents express the intentional void found in the peripheral text but the documents do not become promises as such.

The *form* of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence matters to their interpretation. Rhetorical acts are not perceived based on their words alone, but also by the form in which these words are embodied.[150] The same words, if expressed in different forms, can take on different meanings. This potential for changes in meaning is important in evaluating "promises." The simplest example is that a promise made on a stage will be given a different meaning than a promise made at a wedding chapel because one is in the form of a play and the other in the form of wedding vows. Searle claims that a promise can "be uttered only in the context of a sentence (or larger stretch of discourse) *T*, the utterance of which predicated some future act *A* of the speaker *S*."[151] In the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the form of a letter is used, not the form of a treaty. Because international treaties usually predicate future acts of sovereign states, but letters usually do not, the larger stretch of discourse in which the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence occur may make them defective promises.

When compared to the Sykes-Picot agreement, the form of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and the Balfour Declaration is different. The Sykes-Picot agreement is clearly written as a treaty. It is the formal expression of the desires of one state to another coupled with the recognition of those desires and a commitment to enact them. Britain and France exchanged signed instruments to divide the Middle East. The Sykes-Picot agreement opens with the performative, "it is accordingly understood between the French and British governments," to introduce a series of mutually recognized guarantees. The agreement closes with the assertion that the governments of Russia and Japan will be informed of the agreement and a signature for each

of the negotiating parties. By adopting these formal markers, the Sykes-Picot agreement enacts an international agreement.

Unlike the Sykes-Picot agreement, the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence are framed as letters. Although very powerful people, the Foreign Secretary and the High Commissioner in Egypt, respectively, authored the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, neither author acted as an accredited diplomat charged with seeking an understanding with a recognized foreign government. Rather than opening with a performative statement that finalizes an agreement, the Balfour Declaration opens with markers that it is a personal letter. The Balfour Declaration opens with "Dear Lord Rothschild." In addition, the declaratives of fact common to international agreements are replaced by declaratives of opinion. The Balfour Declaration indicates that Balfour is conveying a "declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations," but does not convey a recognition by His Majesty's Government of the Zionist Federation as the representative of that movement. Balfour then states that His Majesty's Government "view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National home for the Jewish people." Although Balfour does state that he "should be grateful" if Rothschild "would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation," the structure of the document makes clear that this is Balfour's desire, not that of His Majesty's Government. The agent that expresses the declaration to the Zionist community thus becomes Rothschild, not Balfour, making it possible to re-assign responsibility for interpretation of the statement away from the British government. His Majesty's Government is removed triply from responsibility in this form; Rothschild represents Balfour's representation of Britain's vague assurance to the Zionist Federation. The Balfour Declaration also closes with only one signature – Balfour's – prefaced with the closing phrase "yours sincerely." The Balfour Declaration takes on the form of a letter, not an international agreement.

The McMahon-Hussein correspondence does the same. After a string of honorifics to Sherif Hussein, a string that omits the phrase "King of the Hedjaz," McMahon states that

Hussein's earlier letter was received "with much pleasure" and that Hussein's "expression of friendliness and sincerity have given me the greatest satisfaction." These are not the introductory statements to an international agreement. McMahon also demarcates his impotence as a negotiator, writing that he has not been discussing the post-War division of territory because "it appeared to me that the time had not yet come when the questions could be discussed in a conclusive manner." McMahon then communicates a statement from His Majesty's Government, that "Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs," but does not convey direct recognition of Hussein as King of an independent nation of Arabs. Following this statement, McMahon couches the communication in his own desires, not Britain's, asking that the declaration assure Hussein "beyond all possible doubt of the sympathy of Great Britain towards the aspirations of her friends the Arabs." Despite these assurances, McMahon makes clear that he is willing to discuss these issues "at some convenient date in the future," a date that never came. McMahon also makes others the agents of clarifying Britain's promises. By having Sheik Mohammed ibn Arif ibn Uraifan inform Hussein "of the various matters of interest" that accompanied Hussein's previous letter, i.e. the status of Hussein as King of the Hedjaz, recognition of Hussein's sovereignty is put off; Mohammed will represent McMahon's interpretation of British promises to Hussein, who can then represent them to the Arabs. His Majesty's Government is, in this case, quadruply insulated from expressing direct intentions.

The form of the letter is only one strategy that separated the ambiguous contents from the strategic intentions of His Majesty's Government. I have already stated that Balfour communicated a statement from Britain to the Zionist Federation and McMahon to Sherif Hussein. The content of the statements reveals the two other tactics of strategic ambiguity embodied in the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and the Balfour Declaration. Other actors are recognized by each document as having influence on the enactment of the assurances in these documents. Searle holds that an agent can only promise for him or herself because "*S* [the speaker] intends that the utterance of *T* [the promise] will place him (*sic*) under an obligation of

do *A* [the act]."[152] Neither Balfour nor McMahon held the authority to speak for other Great Powers or local communities in Palestine, and their authority to speak for Britain is tenuous at best. Balfour and McMahon may have recognized their lack of authority, as both Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence were expressed as unfinalized agreements. In this reading, I agree with anthropologists Marcia Kunstel and Joseph Albright that the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence used the promise of future action and put off a present decision through the invocation of other actors who could subvert, or even eliminate, the provisional and limited pledges.[153] In addition, I agree with historian Lawrence Davidson[154] and former Attorney General of Palestine Norman Bentwich[155] that the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, respectively, were written so that the limited pledges made to each group would create an ambiguous declaration in that each document was premised on the partial non-fulfillment of the other.

The Balfour Declaration stated that Britain viewed "with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National home for the Jewish people," but this declaration of sympathy is premised on "it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The existing civil and religious rights of these non-Jewish communities could be violated by a commitment to the Zionist movement on multiple counts. Zionism, as a movement that made faith and citizenship synonymous, would make it difficult for non-Jews to have basic civil rights devolving from the recognition of citizenship. In addition, the religious rights to practice non-Jewish faiths – in this case Islam – would be in tension with a state organized based on the Jewish faith. Moreover, the phrasing of the document recognizes that there are existing rights. Because Ottoman land laws created a right to residence based on physical occupation, and because buying land as non-resident owners was a central strategy of the Zionist movement,[156] recognizing Zionist control could be perceived as a *prima facie* violation of the land rights granted by the Ottomans. Because the Balfour Declaration relied on Palestinian Arabs and Turks accepting the agreement and

because Balfour had no authority to speak for the Palestinian Arabs or the Ottoman Empire, the Balfour Declaration is a defective promise on the grounds of authority.

As restricted as the premises of the Balfour Declaration were, the promises of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence were even more so. The McMahon-Hussein correspondence notes three actors that must be taken into account. First, McMahon excludes districts "lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo" as they "cannot be said to be purely Arab." The "districts to the west" was, itself, an ambiguous phrase. The import of the phrase "purely Arab," however, could be taken to exclude any territory that had populations other than Arab if they were anywhere to the west of these districts. Among the non-Arabs of Palestine, which was south and to the west of these districts, were fertile growing areas with Turks who had settled in Palestine, the Druze areas around the Sea of Galilee, and the largely Jewish cities of Haifa, Jaffa, and Jerusalem. Further limits were imposed when McMahon quoted His Majesty's Government's statement that with those modifications, "and without prejudice to our existing treaties with Arab chiefs, we accept those limits." As already discussed, however, the existing commitments to Arab chiefs comprised several other Hedjaz leaders and Sa'ud in central Arabia. The commitments made to those leaders, although as vague as the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, also provisionally recognized these leaders as leaders of all Arabs. Hussein could not be recognized as *the* Arab leader with dominion over *all* Arab lands precisely because commitments had been made, with equal strength or weakness, to others that made claims of leadership over all Arabia. Finally, McMahon stated that he could speak only about "those regions lying within those frontiers wherein Great Britain is free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally, France." Those frontiers, however, were only the "Red Area" of the Sykes-Picot agreement.[157] In the "Red Area," Great Britain was "allowed to establish such direct or indirect administration or control as they desire and as they may think fit to arrange," under the agreement.[158] The "Red Area," however, was limited to lower Iraq and the south Persian Gulf coastline. The Sykes-Picot agreement states that Palestine, which contains the "Brown Area,"

though, was to be negotiated later by "an international administration, the form of which is to be decided upon after consultation with Russia."[159] Palestine was not part of the area where Britain was free to act.[160] As indicated earlier, Hussein had been informed of the limits imposed by the Sykes-Picot Agreement.[161] The limits on McMahon, then, prevented him from making a non-ambiguous pledge because other actors would have say in the disposal of Middle Eastern lands after the conclusion of the War. Because McMahon could not bind France, Russia, or other local populations (Arab and non-Arab) to the terms of the correspondence, McMahon's "promise" was also defective on the grounds of authority.

The final tactic of ambiguity that the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence employ is that neither document states what was promised. Defective promises can still be binding if the utterance contains other markers that indicate a promise was intended by the utterance. Searle calls this the "essential condition" of promise-making.[162] "Having this intention," Searle claims, "is a necessary condition of making a promise, for if a speaker can demonstrate that he (*sic*) did not have this intention in a given utterance he (*sic*) can prove that the utterance was not a promise."[163] Contrariwise, the hearer must be able to demonstrate that this intent was present to prove that the utterance was a promise. These documents are vague about what they promise; neither assigns land, neither recognizes a sovereign leader, and neither defines its terms. Britain's institutional intent is unclear in the documents, and the peripheral text undermines claims that Britain made a binding promise to either the Palestinian Arabs or the Zionist Jews.

In claiming that neither document is a promise *because* it is ambiguous, I agree with historian Kenneth Cragg's interpretation of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence[164] and historian Gideon Biger's interpretation of the Balfour Declaration.[165] Neither document assigns a land to any party in the dispute. The tactic of omission is used in the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. As I have indicated above, McMahon consistently stated where Britain could *not* make promises. His Majesty's Government could not make promises about lands that were not

exclusively Arab. His Majesty's Government could not make promises about western Syria. His Majesty's Government could not make promises about the "Brown Area." There is not an affirmative statement of what Britain could promise to Hussein. Indeed, Hussein is promised nothing. The McMahon-Hussein correspondence does state, "subject to the above modification, Great Britain is prepared to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs in all regions within the limits demanded by the Sherif of Mecca." Hussein is named as the Sherif. He is not recognized with the title he preferred, King of Arabia. In addition, His Majesty's Government is only *prepared* to recognize an independent Arab state. It had not actually recognized one. Had the Government employed the locution, "Great Britain recognizes and supports the independence of the Arabs," rather than the circumlocution of being prepared to do so, a commitment would have been made. As of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, however, there is no land assigned to an Arab nation, no leader of an Arab nation is named, and no recognition is actually made. These gaps indicate that Britain's recognition in the McMahon-Hussein correspondence is not between two sovereign states. A sovereign state requires territory and a leader who controls that territory. By not naming Hussein King, Britain denied the Arabs one of the trappings of state. In addition, by not recognizing the extent of the land that Hussein supposedly ruled, Britain vacated their recognition of Hussein's sovereignty over Arabia. Britain would repeat this move to *not* recognize sovereignty in the Balfour Declaration and allow the Jews the trappings of state.

The Balfour Declaration also fails to assign land. The sole affirmative statement made by His Majesty's Government, as quoted by Balfour is that "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a National home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object." The object that His Majesty's Government promises to achieve is unique in the history of international relations. Although a key phrase to the Balfour Declaration, "National home" did not exist as a term in international law or diplomacy at the time the Balfour Declaration was issued, limiting the ability to interpret its meaning as part of a promise and undermining the ability of the term to bind Britain to any

course of action.[166] The Zionist Organization's draft of the Balfour Declaration was unambiguous. According to Chaim Weizmann, Lord Rothschild's preferred draft read, "His Majesty's Government regard as essential ... the grant of internal autonomy to the Jewish nationality in Palestine, freedom of immigration for Jews, and the establishment of a Jewish national Colonizing Corporation for the re-establishment and economic development of the country."[167] Rothschild's preferred draft would have given the Zionist Organization the trappings of state. Instead, in the final draft, these are denied. Historian Leonard Stein illustrates a similar textual transformation as Rothschild and Balfour exchanged notes, finding that in each subsequent draft, the trappings of state were lessened and the ideal of statehood was made over to the idea of a National home.[168] An additional modification was that Rothschild's "principle of recognising Palestine as the National home"[169] was changed to the Balfour Declaration's "National home in Palestine." The change of prepositions and the concomitant change of the "National home" from the whole of Palestine to a unit within it altered the geographic bounds of the limited promise. Chaim Weizmann puts his objections to these changes in phrasing, and the ambiguity they caused, strongly. To Weizmann, "this second formula" of the Balfour Declaration, "emasculated as it was, represented a tremendous event in exilic Jewish history – and that it was a biter pill to swallow for the Jewish assimilationists as the recession from the original, more forthright, formula was for us."[170]

Britain was not forthright with either the Arabs or the Jews. These two "promises," the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, are not promises on two procedural grounds. First, the two documents lack the form of an international promise. They are letters, not treaties. In addition, neither document was written by someone with authority to speak for the intentions of His Majesty's Government. Both Balfour and McMahon take steps to insulate the Government from the promises by introducing stages of the documents' dissemination. His Majesty's Government does not speak directly to the Arabs or the Jews. Instead, Balfour speaks to Rothschild who tells the Zionist Organization, which would

presumably then tell the Jews, and McMahon writes to Hussein who would then tell the Arabs. With these two procedural violations, the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence become, at best, defective promises. When ambiguity is used to make the Government's intentions unclear, however, a more serious charge against these documents as promises is leveled. If Searle is correct that a promise must be intended by a speaker to create an obligation and to have the hearer take the promise as an obligation, then the ambiguity in the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence makes the intentions of His Majesty's Government unclear. Since these documents are opaque, and the peripheral text indicates that there was not a strong intention to make promises to either the Jews or the Arabs, reading these center texts as promises becomes difficult. Because it was in the respective interests, the Arabs and the Jews have, however, chosen to interpret these documents as promises and have urged others to accept their interpretations.

Ambiguity as a Rhetorical Strategy

When these three tactics were combined – the form of the letter, the dependence on other actors for approval, and the failure to affirm a commitment – a strategy of ambiguity emerges. The McMahon-Hussein correspondence and the Balfour Declaration promised nothing concrete. The center texts are exceedingly ambiguous, failing to make a clear commitment. The peripheral texts are largely silent. When the texts do refer to Palestine, the decision not to act and not to commit, except to support British troops in that theatre, is present. There is a vacuum of intent throughout the text. Yet, intent was read into these documents. The received history indicates that Sherif Hussein, at the very least, believed that the McMahon-Hussein correspondence was a commitment to support Arab independence and to recognize him as the King of the Hedjaz and of the Arabs. The received history indicates that the Zionist Organization relied on the Balfour Declaration as a commitment to support a Jewish State. Indeed, the received history makes these ambiguous documents into strong statements of intent, even as it disputes which commitment was

made. The strategy of ambiguity helps us to understand why the dispute was opened. Historian

David Holly summarizes the situation well. For His Majesty's Government,

> The obvious conflict between the terms of the Declaration, the Sykes-Picot
>
> Agreement, and the MacMahon (sic) pledge was brushed aside.
>
> The Jews worldwide responded with support for the Allied cause. The Arabs
>
> entered Jerusalem. Both Arabs and Jews chose to interpret the ambiguous British
>
> commitments in their own way: the Arabs looking to the eventual incorporation
>
> of Palestine in an independent Arab state, the Zionists viewing the "National
>
> home" as meaning the establishment of an autonomous state of Israel. The Arabs
>
> and Jews, two Semitic peoples, were now divided by competitive nationalism, by
>
> emotional attachment to a common land and aspirations to exercise exclusive
>
> control over it when the authority of the British ceased, and by external forces of
>
> dangerous international proportions.[171]

Ambiguity, the strategy of His Majesty's Government, may have served well in the War. Zionists

used their influence to lobby the American and Russian governments. The Arab Revolt took

place. After the War, however, these ambiguous statements were taken as foundational

commitments. Britain saw ambiguity as a useful strategy, but later witnessed the transformation

of ambiguity into certainty by Zionists and Arab nationalists. Performing a rhetorical history of

the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and the Balfour Declaration allows us to re-read these

commitments and their foundationalism. It also adds to our understanding of two concepts in

rhetorical studies, ambiguity and constitutive rhetoric.

Throughout Chapter One, I maintained that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was not a

natural conflict, but a rhetorically induced conflict. The McMahon-Hussein correspondence and

the Balfour Declaration have been used to assert that the British made foundational commitments

to the Arabs and the Jews. A rhetorical history that examines these documents through reference

to the peripheral text indicates that this foundation was not intended. Intent, however, matters

little as the documents have been carried forward. A re-examination, however, does not mean that the intent of His Majesty's Government does not matter in conflict resolution. Arab nationalists have read the McMahon-Hussein correspondence to reject the existence of Israel and as a justification for waging war against the state of Israel. Likewise, Zionists have asserted that the Balfour Declaration recognized the existence of Jewish rights to Palestine and have grounded actions against Palestinian Arabs in this reading. Neither reading is tenable. Both should be rejected. Each reading is based on a poor standard; ambiguous documents are held to be binding when they favor one's own side, but are held meaningless when they favor the other.

Debates over who has a right to Palestine should cease to be grounded in the Balfour Declaration or in the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. If a document is to be considered binding, it must have sufficient precision to give fair notice as to what the statement authorizes, enacts, or commits. If normally intelligent people, among whom I include both Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews as well as their supporters, have to guess what a statement means and come to highly competing conclusions about what is authorized, enacted, or committed, the statement may be unreasonably vague as a basis for asserting international legal claims. There will always be some competition over the meaning of international statements. Yet, some interpretations gain support in the language of a center text or sufficient precision can be derived from the peripheral text. The need for sufficient precision to create binding commitments explains why treaty negotiators quibble over the placement of commas and the choice of participles, let alone major nouns and verbs. If words are to be binding, normally intelligent people need to be able to read a common document and have some basic agreement over what that document means. There is not sufficient precision in either the Balfour Declaration or the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, nor is there sufficient precision in their common peripheral text. Drawing on Searle, I have claimed that these documents are defective promises, at best. Given the vacuum of intent in the center texts and in the peripheral text, I have argued that these documents are too ambiguous to be taken as promises. The Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence served a

rhetorical purpose for Britain in the War, but they make a bad basis for international law. Future negotiators and intervening parties can learn from the rhetorical history of these documents that international commitments require sufficient precision to lessen the possibility of conflict over their terms. Although it is highly doubtful that these documents will be excluded in future discussions, recognizing that neither document makes a commitment or a recognition may better serve conflict resolution than does attempting to maintain them as active documents.

Recognizing that ambiguity performs a disservice to conflict resolution may mean that it is an unethical strategy to employ. Yet, in the moment that an ambiguous commitment is made, ambiguity may appear to be an effective strategy to the rhetor. In the international arena, peoples or states may act on an ambiguous commitment because they perceive the commitment as a promise, regardless of the defects in that promise. Moreover, international actors may be unaware that the agent making the commitment does not intend the commitment as a proper promise. Rhetorical actors can take advantage of this possibility by framing statements that encourage action while simultaneously holding that these statements are only a starting point for future discussion instead of being binding commitments. In these situations, the use of ambiguity is unethical because it attempts to effect the results of a promise without enacting a formal commitment.

This strategic ambiguity may always be unethical. Communication scholars Robert Ulmer and Timothy Sellnow argue that there can be cases of ethical ambiguity. They argue that ambiguity that "contributes to a complete understanding of an issue by posing alternative views" without articulating a commitment can be ethical because it allows the best advocacy position to develop. [172] Ulmer and Sellnow claim that unethical ambiguity occurs when the rhetor "aims to deceive." [173] In these cases, the rhetor offers the discussion of alternatives, but the rhetor's view of the situation is fixed and the rhetor intends to act in a particular way regardless of the discussion. Ulmer and Sellnow's position, however, does not examine strategic ambiguity. When strategic ambiguity has been treated in rhetorical studies rhetorical scholars have found that

strategic ambiguity is characterized by two qualities.[174] First, strategically ambiguous rhetors pose a text that allows for two or more readings. Second, strategically ambiguous rhetors use ambiguity to mask their preference for one of these readings. By offering multiple readings, strategically ambiguous texts encourage the reader to find meanings other than the ones intended to be the "true" reading by the rhetor. When a text employs strategic ambiguity, then, it should be presumed deceptive because the rhetor always has a predetermined intent behind the message.

Current treatments of strategic ambiguity in rhetorical studies create a simplistic ethical evaluation of the practice. Communication scholar Eric Eisenberg, though, argues that critics of strategic ambiguity create a double bind for the strategically ambiguous rhetorical actor. He claims that rhetoricians have "endorsed the interactional view" that audiences read themselves into ambiguous language, "while at the same time attempting to identify specific messages" that the rhetorical actor intended in secret.[175] That is, even as rhetoricians claim that strategic ambiguity allows both speakers and audiences to engage in rhetorical work, rhetoricians have only examined speakers' use of strategic ambiguity. In doing so, Eisenberg indicates that "more than one researcher has glossed the issue" of ethical evaluation "by remaining vague about the locus of ambiguity" even as these researchers have placed full blame on the rhetor for allowing ambiguity to enter the text.[176] Because ambiguity is enabled by an *interaction* between the strategic deployment of language by a rhetor and the strategic reading of language by an audience, simply blaming the rhetor is not enough.

Emphasizing the interactional view of strategic ambiguity does not mean that rhetors should be held blameless. The use of strategic ambiguity may indeed always be an unethical strategy. As I have argued above, His Majesty's Government had not settled on a candidate for controlling Palestine in the post-War era. Because of substantial gaps in the peripheral text, it appears that Britain had not devoted much consideration to the situation in Palestine at all. It is clear, though, that Britain saw advantages to gaining both Arabs and Jews as allies in the War, although these advantages were limited. The strategy of ambiguity was not used to mask a

commitment to the Jews and hide it from the Arab. Nor was this strategy used to mask a commitment to the Arabs and hide it from the Jews. Instead, the peripheral text indicates that His Majesty's Government had no concrete commitment to hide. Instead, there is much silence in the peripheral text, a silence that detracts from the argument that Britain strongly intended to create a Jewish State in Palestine or recognize a pan-Arab Kingdom under Hussein.

The lack of a concrete preference, however, does not excuse Britain from responsibility. The language deployed in the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence could be read as defective promises. Indeed, these documents were likely to create the perception that a promise had been made, although they failed to be formal promises. The ethical issue is not that Britain lied to the Arabs in the McMahon-Hussein correspondence or that Britain lied to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration. Rather, the ethical issue is that Britain failed to evaluate the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence for the likely consequences of their statements. Although the British may have only intended to gain temporary alliances, the British could have reasonably foreseen that these statements would create expectations among the Arabs and the Jews. By dealing with Sherif Hussein and indicating potential boundaries for an Arab Kingdom, it was likely that the Arabs would see Hussein as a recognized sovereign actor with a land to call his own. Although the text of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence is ambiguous, Britain should have considered the likelihood of this reading before McMahon was allowed to send his letters. Likewise, although a "National home" is not a state, the ambiguity of this phrase authorizes interpretations that treat it as the equivalent of a state. Britain should have considered the likelihood that Jewish readers would adopt this interpretation. The peripheral text indicates that Britain failed to consider these consequences. As such, Britain bears some responsibility for encouraging the formation of contradictory nationalist claims even if they did not intend to do so. The short-term advantages of deploying strategically ambiguous rhetoric do not seem to account for the longer-term effects of Britain's rhetorical action.

Britain's failure to consider the potential constitution of contradictory expectations resulting from the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence indicates that there is an ethical gap in the writing of these documents. This gap, however, does not mean that ambiguity was used to deceive two innocent populations. Ambiguity only works when there is an interaction among the text, the rhetor and the audience. Although there are some warrants for treating the Balfour Declaration as a promise to recognize a Jewish national identity, the ambiguity of the text does not fully authorize this reading. Similarly, although a promise to recognize a pan-Arab identity can be read into the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the text does not fully authorize that reading. When examining ambiguous texts, the ethics of strategic uses of ambiguity by the audience need to be considered along with the ethics of the rhetor's deployment of strategic ambiguity.

Jewish and Arab audiences interacted with these messages and read the ambiguity in the light most favorable to their positions. Although my reading of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence as center texts may appear legalistic at first glance, I have included the whole of the Balfour Declaration in my reading and nearly all of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. These documents are short, vague, and without much substance. Nonetheless, each audience added its own perceptions and assumptions to the ambiguous text to flesh it out in particular directions. It may have been strategic for the Arabs to read the McMahon-Hussein correspondence as a concrete promise. Not only does the McMahon-Hussein correspondence fail as a promise, the text itself notes that it is an unfinalized negotiation dependent on the comments of other actors. In addition, the text indicates that there are substantial modifications to Hussein's demands that bring the Arab claim to Palestine into question. These movements in the text are left out of the Arab nationalist reading. Instead, Arab nationalists have read the McMahon-Hussein correspondence to emphasize autonomy and control throughout the whole of the Middle East. This reading is obviously one that goes beyond the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and its peripheral text.

Likewise, it may have been strategic for the Jews to read the Balfour Declaration as a concrete promise. The Balfour Declaration too fails as a promise. The "National home" concept, the peripheral text indicates, was not the term preferred by Zionist negotiators because it was not a Jewish State. Zionist negotiators were also aware that the War Cabinet had rejected the idea of "reestablishing" a Jewish nationality in Palestine in favor of the imprecise terms of the Balfour Declaration. These limitations are left out of the Zionist reading. As have the Arab nationalists, Zionists have read the Balfour Declaration to emphasize their autonomy and control throughout Palestine, a reading that exceeds both the center and the peripheral text.

In both cases, Arab nationalists and Zionists have assigned additional meanings and implications to center texts. These additions do not contradict the letter of the center texts. What they add in, however, are readings that are in tension with the language of the center text. Moreover, these readings have assumed a concrete agenda underlying the vague commitments in the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. Both parties may have over-read the center texts to construct commitments that recognize an Arab Nationalist or Zionist Jewish identity as the addressed audience in these center texts. Audiences may also have an ethical responsibility in their interpretations of texts. If a text is ambiguous, then audiences may not want to commit to their part of the bargain unless the rhetor clarifies their intent in the text. This is not to say that promises are always a situation of *caveat emptor*. However, should audiences want to reference a document as a binding commitment, they should request a clear text instead of reading their interests and desires into a text. Just as rhetors have a responsibility to avoid writing ambiguous texts, readers also have a responsibility. Although ambiguous texts may support working relationships, having a clear and agreed idea of what that relationship entails is important to both rhetors and readers.

Although the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence are ambiguous, they do allow both the Jews and the Arabs to interpret them in the most favorable light possible. These readings are enabled because these documents do invite the Jews and the

Arabs into partnerships. The documents are ambiguous in what they promise, but they also state that a concrete resolution will be made in the future. As these documents have been carried forward, the second part of the strategic ambiguity of these documents has been forgotten. Palestinian Arab nationalists and Zionist Israeli Jews have read the promise alone, stripping it of the ambiguity present throughout the center text and in the peripheral text. This is the danger of strategic ambiguity; later textual transformations may erase ambiguity and create commitments that must be fully honored, though never intended. This is not a question of ethics, but of expediency. Although the commitments were strategically ambiguous in sustaining a sense of partnership in the War effort, the commitments became both inexpedient and unethical when ambiguity was stripped from the document.

Throughout my discussion of strategic ambiguity, I have indicated that active audiences read themselves into the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. Yet, I have also argued that these documents contributed to the formation of Arab nationalist and Zionist identities. The interactional view of ambiguity allows both. The strategic ambiguity of these documents recognizes that there is an audience to be addressed and persuaded, but also allows these audiences to recognize further modifications to their addressed positions. Balfour addressed an extant Zionist religious and political community. The Balfour Declaration, however, contributed to a further positioning of that Zionist community as one that could be better formed into a stable *national* community. That is, the Zionist audience recognized that the rhetoric hailed them into an addressed position because of the commonality in names, but the rhetoric also helped to constitute that audience as nationalist Zionists. Likewise, McMahon addressed an extant Arab religious and linguistic community. The McMahon-Hussein correspondence, though, allowed a further positioning of that Arab community as one that could be better formed into a stable *national* community. Thus, the Arab audience recognized that the rhetoric hailed them into an addressed position, but the rhetoric also helped to constitute that audience as nationalist Arabs.

By discussing rhetoric's ability to hail people into addressed subject positions, and then using that recognized commonalty as a basis for persuasion, I am agreeing to a line of argument that claims that rhetoric is constitutive as well as persuasive. Constitutive rhetoric, as rhetorician Maurice Charland puts is, recognizes that "one must already be an interpellated subject and exist as a discursive position in order to be part of the audience of a rhetorical situation in which persuasion could occur."[177] Charland's ideas draw on literary critic Kenneth Burke's concept of identification[178] – the process by which the interests of people are made to appear conjoined – and social theorist Louis Althusser's concept of interpellation[179] – the process of hailing by which people recognize that it is their interests that are being discussed – to create this constitutive move. Although rhetoric as constitution explains well how some audiences come to recognize their position, there is a troubling reliance on Althusser's assertion that the interpellative effects of rhetoric "always already" exist. Indeed, nearly every study that employs the term "constitutive rhetoric" also employs the catchphrase "always already." This reliance creates a tension for constitutive studies.

The tension of constitutive rhetoric is that it declares that audiences "always already" exist through ideological apparatuses but also usually declares that an active agent constructs the subject of constitutive rhetoric. Constitutive rhetoric studies indicate that rhetoric – as texts or documents in a public sphere – constitutes the audience through hailing.[180] Because there are always already subject positions that exist because of structural or ideological forces, audiences can recognize their position as the ones being hailed by the rhetoric. That is, ethnic, gender, national and other categories exist because ideological systems have already made them so and there are populations within these categories. Yet, constitutive rhetorical studies also usually name a rhetorical actor who intends to constitute subject positions for the audience. Constituting rhetorical actors have been called "seducers," "constituters," "enactors," and "creators" who uniquely invent subject position categories within which audiences are then hailed to reside.[181]

The tension is that the subject positions are asserted to have always already existed but that outstanding rhetorical actors newly create these subject positions.

This tension is unneeded. Constitutive rhetoric does not need to assert an agent that uniquely seduces, constitutes, enacts, or creates. Constitutive rhetoric does not need to attempt to exist in a vacuum where the rhetor creates subject positions while simultaneously maintaining that these very subject positions were systemically and ideologically inscribed in a social organization. Rhetorical critic Bonnie Dow avoids this trap in constitutive rhetoric by insisting that the constitution of subject positions cannot be attributed to a single rhetorical actor.[182] Instead, Dow notes that there are many forces in a cultural milieu contributing to the formation of these subject positions. These forces are not purely determining of what a subject position requires. Instead, rhetorical actors can modify the sense of these subject positions, even while maintaining much of the larger cultural sense of that position. In the case of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, several other forces contributed to the formation of Arab and Zionist identity. Zionism had existed as a political movement since the 1880s. Zionists also shared a religious identity based on Judaism. Although these forces may have created a Zionist identity, the Balfour Declaration modified that Zionist subject position so it might come closer to a nationalist identity. Arab identity also already existed when the McMahon-Hussein correspondence was written, as a shared language and a common religion for most created some identity. The McMahon-Hussein correspondence, though, modified these ties so that an Arab subject might also include nationalism. Subject positions are not created from vacuums. Rather, existing subject positions are created through multiple cultural forces so that they have long-term stability and appear to be organic. Rhetoric, as one of these cultural forces, can modify the subject positions. Rhetoric, though, is less likely to subvert subject positions altogether and, I believe, cannot create new subject positions out of whole cloth without substantial alterations to state, economic, and other material apparatuses.

In addition to clarifying how constitutive rhetoric constitutes subject positions, considering the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence as constitutive documents also alters the conception of intent in constitutive rhetoric. Constitutive rhetorical studies, as noted, claim that rhetoric constitutes subject positions. Behind each piece of rhetoric, however, is a seducer who uses constitutive rhetoric to seduce an audience, an enactor who enacts the audience, or a creator who creates the audience. Although the claim is that rhetoric acts, rhetoric is not the agent in most considerations of constitutive rhetoric, but is, instead, an agency that is used by a rhetorical actor behind the rhetoric. The implication is that the rhetorical actor creates a piece of rhetoric with the intent that the rhetoric will constitute an audience who can then be persuaded. Indeed, Charland indicates that the narrative of constitutive rhetoric is written precisely so that the interpellated audience member is positioned and constrained to act in the way the rhetorical actor intended. [183]

The chain of intentionality masked in discussions of constitutive rhetoric misses the very point of constitutive rhetoric. The point of constitutive rhetoric is that *rhetoric is constitutive* of subject positions. The point is *not* that rhetorical actors constitute subject positions. Here I do not deny that Balfour wrote the Balfour Declaration or that McMahon wrote the Balfour Declaration. I also do not deny that Balfour may have intended to address a Zionist audience. Rothschild is clearly asked to "bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation." I also do not deny that McMahon may have intended to address an Arab audience. What I do deny is that McMahon intended his letter to create a strong Arab nationalist identity that would seek an independent Arab state or that Balfour intended his letter to create a strong Jewish Zionist nationalist identity that would seek an independent Jewish state. I also deny that His Majesty's Government intended to create these strong identities. Simply put, the peripheral text does not support that reading of intent. Yet, as I noted in the discussion of ambiguity, intent coincides with interpretation and textual construction. Other forces existed in the cultural milieu surrounding the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. These forces – Lawrence's Arab

Revolt, Weizmann's aggressive promotion of Zionist nationalism, narrative traces of ancient Jewish kingdoms and medieval Arab caliphates, and other items – also had constitutive effects. With these framing forces, the reading of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence as constitutive rhetoric is enabled without necessarily requiring a knowing constituting agent behind the text. Instead, the text can be recognized as constitutive rhetoric because its language contributes to the formation of subject positions, although the language may not have been intended to do so. His Majesty's Government did not directly constitute these subject positions. To do so would have voided the strategic ambiguity of the text. Rather, the ambiguity itself was further enabled as a constitutive force because of subject positions that already existed in the cultural milieu into which these documents were inserted. The modification read into the text by the audience was simple; although their subject position existed, it was now altered in its constitution by becoming re-read as an internationally recognized position.

The strategic ambiguity of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and the constitutive effects of these documents requires analysts to reconsider their reading of the documents. The ambiguity was intended by Britain to gain allies, not to recognize or constitute national actors who would then be authorized to appoint national leaders, create national borders, and act within an international system. Nonetheless, the audience constituted by the rhetoric, through the openings allowed by the strategic ambiguity, assumed this recognition. The formation of contradictory Jewish and Arab identities may have been unintended and unofficially sanctioned. They are, however, interesting examples of the unintended effects that nationalist self-interest may have when the long-term effects of statements are not considered. The challenge to contemporary policymakers is not to recognize that the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence were not promises. Instead, the challenge is to recognize that these promises did not intend to entail competition between nationalist identities, even though their effect was to found such identities.

These unintended effects should also warn policymakers away from the use of ambiguity. Some ambiguity may be unavoidable. Yet, statements that are as specific and as clear as possible may reduce the likelihood of different, highly charged interpretations. In Chapter Seven, I will indicate how current United States policy has taken the dangers of ambiguity into account by inserting specificity into current American proposals. Specificity in policy today may not erase the concerns brought about by past ambiguity. Nonetheless, precision in language and making concrete commitments may avoid some of the problems associated with the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence.

Endnotes

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[6] McMahon-Hussein correspondence.

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[19] Greenstein, *Genealogies*, 201.

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[24] Ovendale, *Origins*, 19.

[25] Epp, *Whose Land*, 132.

[26] Friedman, *Question*, 72.

[27] Epp, *Whose Land*, 132

[28] Abboushi, *Unmaking*, 1.

[29] T.E. Lawrence, *Seven Pillars Of Wisdom: A Triumph* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1935), 336.

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[43] Ovendale, *Origins*, 21.

[44] Naomi Shepherd, *The Zealous Intruders: The Western Rediscovery Of Palestine* (Cambridge: Harper & Row, 1987), 256.

[45] Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (I)*, 29; A.J. Sherman, *Mandate Days: British Lives In Palestine 1918-1948* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 35.

[46] Davidson, *America's*, 13.

[47] Shepherd, *Ploughing*, 10.

[48] Ibrahim, "British Imperial," 21-2.

[49] Shepherd, *Plouging*, 10; Ibrahim, "British Imperial," 21-2.

[50] Friedman, *Question*, 41.

[51] Ibrahim, "British Imperial," 9.

[52] Weizmann, *Trial*, 208.

[53] Ibrahim, "British Imperial," 23.

[54] Abboushi, *Unmaking*, 220.

[55] Ovendale, *Origins*, 33.

[56] Epp, *Whose Land*, 134.

[57] Shepherd, *Ploughing*, 7.

[58] Marcia Kunstel and Joseph Albright, *Their Promised Land: Arab Versus Jew In History's Cauldron – One Valley In The Jerusalem Hills* (New York: Crown, 1990), 57.

[59] Kimmerling and Migdal, *Palestinians*, 26; Gerner, *One Land*, 31.

[60] Friedman, *Question*, 72.

[61] Stein, *Balfour*, 67.

[62] Kenneth Cragg, *Palestine: The Prize And Price Of Zion* (London: Cassell, 1997), 38-9.

[63] Lawrence, *Seven*, 555.

[64] Weizmann, *Trial*, 207.

[65] Stein, *Balfour*, 327.

[66] H.C. Deb. ser. 5. 1917. v. 99, col. 382.

[67] H.C. Deb. ser. 5. 1917. v. 99, col. 838.

[68] *Ibid*.

[69] H.C. Deb. ser. 5. 1917. v. 100, col. 1151.

[70] Weizmann, *Trial*, *passim.*

[71] Lawrence, *Seven*, esp. ch. 7 and 122

[72] H.C. Deb. ser. 5. 1917. v. 100, col. 2211.

[73] Cited in Richard Stiller, "Influence As Power," *Perspectives* 97(3) (1997), 24. Lawrence, however, never committed this outburst to paper himself, making the quotation somewhat suspect, although useful for showing passion, as was done in the film *A Dangerous Man: Lawrence After Arabia*.

[74] The War Cabinet archives cover the entire period of the War, 1914-1920.

[75] Chadwyck-Healey publishes the *Official Index to the Times.* Their classification of "leading articles" indicates articles that appear on the center page of the *Times* in the pre-World War II era. Unlike current newspapers, then the *Times* published classified advertisements on the outer pages and placed the leading stories of the day on the center page. If one imagines taking a current day newspaper and folding it in reverse on the center page line, the center page (usually page five or seven) will become the front page.

[76] Here I adopt the standard practice of using *Hansard's* as shorthand for the *Official Record Of The Parliamentary Debates: House Of Commons.*

[77] Roderick P. Hart, "Doing Criticism My Way: A Reply To Darsey," *Western Journal Of Communication* 58 (1994): 310.

[78] "Suggestions As To The Military Position," 1 January 1915, WC/G/2.

[79] *Ibid*.

[80] *Ibid*.

[81] *Ibid*.

[82] "After Six Months," 27 January 1915, WC/G/4.

[83] "The Future Settlement Of Eastern Turkey In Asia And Arabia," 14 March 1915, WC/G/16.

[84] *Ibid*.

[85] *Ibid*.

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] "Alexandretta And Mesopotamia," 16 March 1915, WC/G/12.

[88] *Ibid*.

[89] WC/G/12.

[90] "The Conduct Of The War," 8 November 1915, WC/G/33.

[91] *Ibid*.

[92] "Meeting Held At 10 Downing Street On Thursday December 16, 1915, At 11.30 A.M.," 16 December 1915, WC/G/46.

[93] "The Arab Revolt," 6 July 1916, WC/G/73.

[94] "The Zionist Movement," 17 October 1917, WC/G/16.

[95] *Ibid*.

[96] *Ibid*.

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] *Ibid.*

[99] *Ibid*.

[100] Stein, *Balfour*, 664.

[101] "Report Of 8 October 1917 Cabinet Committee On War Policy," 8 October 1917, WC/G/179.

[102] *Ibid*.

[103] "Turkey In Europe And Asia," 22 October 1917, CP 11022*.

[104] *Ibid*.

[105] *Ibid*.

[106] "Synopsis Of Our Obligations To Our Allies And Others," 14 March 1918, WC/G/203.

[107] *Ibid*.

[108] *Ibid*.

[109] *Ibid*.

[110] *Ibid*.

[111] *Ibid*.

[112] *Ibid*.

[113] *Ibid*.

[114] *Ibid*.

[115] *Ibid*.

[116] *Ibid*.

[117] *Ibid*.

[118] *Ibid*.

[119] *Ibid*.

[120] "The Fight For St. Quentin," *Times*, 2 April 1917, p. 9.

[121] "The Jews And Palestine," *Times,* 26 October 1917, p. 7.

[122] *Ibid.*

[123] "The Zionist Movement," 17 October 1917, WC/G/16.

[124] "The British Victory In Palestine," *Times*, 9 November 1917, p.7; see also "Surrender Of Jerusalem," *Times*, 11 December 1917, p. 7.

[125] "British Victories And The Allied Council," *Times,* 12 November 1917, p. 5.

[126] *Ibid*.

[127] "The British In Jerusalem." *Times.* 13 December 1917, p. 5.

[128] *Ibid*.

[129] Comprehensively, military reports to Parliament in 1917 that mention Palestine are: H.C. Deb. ser. 5. 1917. v. 92, col. 603; v. 92, col. 920; v. 93, col. 2279; v. 99, col. 197; v. 99, col. 990; v. 100, col. 875; v. 100, col. 1180; v. 100, col. 2211.

[130] H.C. Deb. ser. 5. 1917. v. 93, col. 1333-4.

[131] *Ibid*.

[132] H.C. Deb. ser. 5. 1917. v. 93, col. 1043.

[133] *Ibid*.

[134] H.C. Deb. ser. 5. 1917. v. 93, col. 1112.

[135] H.C. Deb. ser. 5. 1917. v. 93, col. 1182.

[136] Dana L. Cloud, "The Null Persona: Race And The Rhetoric Of Silence In The Uprising Of '34," *Rhetoric And Public Affairs* 2 (1999), 133.

[137] Hirst, *The Gun*, 41.

[138] Ibrahim, "British Imperial," *passim* is the best example of this tactic.

[139] Weizmann, *Trial*, *passim* is the best example of this tactic.

[140] The initial draft of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence is mentioned in WC/G/16, but there is no record of it being approved or voted on by the War Cabinet. Likewise, the Balfour Declaration is mentioned as a draft – indeed the entirety of the quoted text is a draft document only – in WC/G/164. There is no other discussion of either document, as a promise, until March 14, 1918 in WC/G/203.

[141] John R. Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay On The Philosophy Of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969), 57.

[142] *Ibid*.

[143] Searle, *Speech Acts*, 60.

[144] *Ibid*.

[145] Searle, *Speech Acts*, 61.

[146] Searle, *Speech Acts*, 60.

[147] John R. Searle, "Meaning, Intentionality, And Speech Acts," In *John Searle And His Critics*, ed. Ernest Lepore and Robert Van Gulick (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 97-8.

[148] Searle, "Meaning," 100.

[149] Searle, "Meaning," 85.

[150] E.D. Hirsch, *Validity In Interpretation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967): 5; L. Rosenfield, "The Anatomy Of Critical Discourse," In *Methods Of Rhetorical Criticism: A Twentieth Century Perspective*, Ed. Robert L. Scott And Bernhard Brock (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 132; James Darsey, "From 'Gay Is Good' To The Scourge Of AIDS: The Evolution Of Gay Liberation Rhetoric, 1977-1990," *Communication Monographs* 42 (1991): 45; O. Gerland, "Brecht And The Courtroom: Alienating Evidence In The 'Rodney King; Trials," *Text And Performance Quarterly* 14 (1994): 315.

[151] Searle, *Speech Acts*, 63.

[152] Searle, *Speech Acts*, 60.

[153] Kunstel and Albright, *Their Promised Land*, 58-9.

[154] Davidson, *America's*, 14.

[155] Norman Bentwich, *Israel And Her Neighbours: A Short Historical Geography* (London: Rider, 1955), 50.

[156] Weizmann, *Trial*, 188.

[157] See Map I.

[158] "Palestine And Syria, Sykes-Picot Line And Suggested Post War Spheres Of Influence" [Sykes-Picot Agreement], 1919, WO 153/1044.

[159] WO 153/1044.

[160] WC/G/12.

[161] WC/G/203.

[162] Searle, *Speech Acts*, 68.

[163] Searle, *Speech Acts*, 60.

[164] Cragg, *Palestine*, 35.

[165] Biger, "The Names," 46.

[166] Stein, *Balfour*, 445; Friedman, *Question*, 311.

[167] Weizmann, *Trial*, 203.

[168] Stein, *Balfour*, 664.

[169] Weizmann, *Trial*, 203.

[170] Weizmann, *Trial*, 207.

[171] David C. Holly, *Exodus 1947* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995), 59.

[172] Robert R. Ulmer and Timothy L. Sellnow, "Strategic Ambiguity And The Ethic Of Significant Choice In The Tobacco Industry's Crisis Communication," *Communication Studies* 48 (1997), 217.

[173] *Ibid*.

[174] For example, see the following: Austin S. Babrow, "Communication And Problematic Integration: Understanding Diverging Probability And Value, Ambiguity, Ambivalence, And Impossibility," *Communication Theory* 2 (1992), 111-114; Sonja K. Foss, "Ambiguity As Persuasion: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial," *Communication Quarterly* 34 (1986), 334, 337; Cal. M. Logue and John H. Patton, "From Ambiguity To Dogma: The Rhetorical Symbols Of Lyndon B. Johnson On Vietnam," *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 47 (1982), 315, 317; Martin J. Medhurst, "Image And Ambiguity: A Rhetorical Approach To 'The Exorcist,'" *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 44 (1978), 87, 90, 91; Carole Ellsworth Tallant, "Disjunctive Ambiguity And The Performance Of Flannery O'Connor's 'The Displaced Person,'" *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 51 (1986), 107, 123.

[175] Eric M. Eisenberg, "Ambiguity As Strategy In Organizational Communication,"

Communication Monographs 51 (1984), 229.

[176] *Ibid*.

[177] Maurice Charland, "Constitutive Rhetoric: The Case Of The *Peuple Quebecois*," *Quarterly*

Journal Of Speech 73 (1987): 138.

[178] Kenneth Burke, *Rhetoric Of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 20.

[179] Louis Althusser, *Lenin And Philosophy And Other Essays*, trans. Ben Brewster (New York:

Monthly Review Press, 1971), 174.

[180] For example, see: Charland, "Constitutive," 134, 143; Ronald W. Greene, "Another

Materialist Rhetoric," *Critical Studies In Mass Communication* 15 (1998): 25; Bonnie J. Dow,

"The 'Womanhood' Rationale In The Woman Suffrage Rhetoric Of Frances E. Willard,"

Southern Communication Journal 56 (1991): 300; Randall A. Lake, "Between Myth And History:

Enacting Time In Native American Protest Rhetoric," *Quarterly Journal Of Speech* 77 (1991):

141; Lisa Flores, "Creating Discursive Space Through A Rhetoric Of Difference," *Quarterly*

Journal Of Speech 82 (1996): 150.

[181] Charland, "Constitutive," 138, 139; Greene, "Another," 28; Lake, "Between," 124; Flores,

"Creating," 150.

[182] Dow, "The 'Womanhood,'" 300.

[183] Charland, "Constitutive," 140.

CHAPTER 4

THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

At the end of World War I, the defeated Empires were stripped of their colonial

possessions by the victorious Empires. The Germans lost their holdings in Africa and the Pacific

Ocean, and the Ottoman Empire no longer ruled the Middle East. The German and Ottoman

possessions, however, were not incorporated into the winning Empires as prizes of war. Instead,

the League of Nations created a system of Mandates. According to the League Covenant, the

Mandates were issued to render "administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such

time as [these territories] are able to stand alone" as independent states.[1] Instead of allowing self-

rule immediately, the Charter stated that self-determination in former Ottoman territories should

develop under the tutelage of "advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their

experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility."[2]

The Mandate for Palestine was officially awarded to Britain by the League of Nations on

July 24, 1922. Throughout the negotiation of the Mandate, Arab nationalist groups, particularly

the Palestinian Arab Delegation, and Zionist groups, most notably Chaim Weizmann's Zionist

Organization, attempted to influence how the Mandate would dispose of the land. Although both

Arab Nationalists and Zionists drew on the promises they felt were made to them during the War,

only the Balfour Declaration was treated as a promise by Britain at that time. Colonial Office

administrator Herbert Young asserted on September 1, 1922 that Winston Churchill, the Secretary

of State for the Colonies, rejected a Mandate that recognized the McMahon-Hussein

Correspondence. Young wrote,

> Churchill considers that it would be most undesirable for the attention of the
>
> Council [of the League of Nations] to be called to the idea that a pledge, which

has never been published, and one His Majesty's Government have no intention

of publishing, has been given in respect of part of the history over which HMG

have accepted the Mandate.[3]

Churchill's standard for evaluating the commitment entailed by a pledge was, then, not whether

the pledge had in fact been made, but whether the pledge had been published.

The reliance on the Balfour Declaration and the repression of arguments against it were

important to the writing of the Mandate. As I have indicated in Chapter Three, both the Balfour

Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence were distributed on a limited basis and

were not issued directly or officially by Britain as a sovereign state. Moreover, both the Balfour

Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence were highly ambiguous documents.

Nonetheless, when General Allenby led British troops into Jerusalem in December 1917, the

Balfour Declaration was made public throughout the city. The Balfour Declaration was printed by

His Majesty's Government and released to the larger Middle Eastern public in late 1919 or early

1920.[4] At this release, local opposition emerged; both from Arab nationalists who felt the Balfour

Declaration was a renunciation of commitments made during the Arab revolt and by non-Zionist

Jews living in Palestine who felt that the Balfour Declaration could spur violence against them.[5]

The military Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (OETA) argued against the publication of

the Balfour Declaration, as the military believed it would spur violence and force military troops

to act as a gendarmerie.[6] Local Colonial Office officials also found the Balfour Declaration

poorly suited for practical implementation.[7]

Nevertheless, Churchill's commitment to the Balfour Declaration in the face of

opposition from Palestinian Arabs and Jews and some factions in the Government, became

policy. Zionist historian Sidney Sugarman is nearly alone when he claims that the Mandate for

Palestine began a "progressive pattern of retreat" from the Balfour Declaration.[8] More often,

historians find that the Balfour Declaration became the legal basis for the Mandate,[9] served as the

Mandate's "spirit,"[10] and was transformed from a vague promise to a ringing pronouncement of

British commitment.[11] Churchill made the position of the Colonial Office clear when he replied to the Arab Delegation's complaints about the Balfour Declaration. On February 3, 1922, he said that "he could not discuss the future of Palestine on any basis other than the Balfour Declaration since there could be of course no question of His Majesty's Government repudiating" these obligations.[12] Churchill claimed that as His Majesty's Government was "bound by a pledge antecedent to the Covenant of the League of Nations," it "could not allow a constitutional position which might make it impracticable to carry into effect a solemn undertaking given by themselves."[13] The solemn undertaking, however, was not assigned to the McMahon-Hussein correspondence.

The solemnity of the pledge to the Jews is emphasized throughout the discourse surrounding the Mandate. Nearly equal to the reinforcement of the idea that Britain must honor the Balfour Declaration is the avoidance of Arab nationalist demands. Zionist self-determination became central to British policy, but Arab self-determination did not. These two themes, repeated throughout the discourse, can be used to interpret the Mandate for Palestine.

The purpose of this Chapter is to explore the rhetorical formation of the Mandate for Palestine. I begin by reviewing the received history of the Mandate. The received history argues that, when the Mandates were written, the surviving Empires divvied up Ottoman land to serve their own national interests. In doing so, the received history claims that the Mandatories disregarded Wilsonian principles of self-determination. That is, the received history argues that realist foreign policy won out over idealist foreign policy. In my reading of the peripheral text, I hold that the preference for realism over idealism is not common in the rhetorical formation of the Mandate. Instead of emphasizing resource, trade, or military expediency in British foreign policy, the peripheral text emphasizes the Balfour Declaration as a foundation for foreign policy. Although the Balfour Declaration was not the most expeditious policy, it is presented in the peripheral text, particularly by Churchill, as a foundation *because* it was a promise. Using this frame, I perform a closer reading of the Mandate to show how the question of Palestine was

framed as a question of George V's honor. This epideictic frame, while strategic for advocates of the Balfour Declaration, may have foreclosed serious consideration of deliberative issues like efficacy and workability. I conclude that, should policymakers rely on epideictic frames to exclusion of deliberative frames, poor policies can be passed without consideration of their likely policy implications.

Received History

In the aftermath of World War I, the Central Powers were stripped of their colonial possessions. These territories were then divided among the Allied States. In the received history of Palestine, some scholars indicate that the disposal of Ottoman territories allowed a new wave of imperial competition between France and Britain.[14] The division of Ottoman territory into Mandates created new and coherent borders within a legal framework[15] and shifted imperial political concerns (both British and Continental) from the Far East to the Middle East.[16] The "newness" of this wave was that, rather than simply attempting to arrive first and claiming land for the empire, the competition was managed through collaboration and amicable division of territory into zones of influence.[17] These spheres of influence were valuable because they ensured that a balance of imperial power followed the war instead of an anarchic scramble for dominance.[18]

The advantages received by taking on a colonial possession went beyond the balance of power. If Britain gained new colonial possessions, it would also gain additional revenue by opening a captive market for the Empire's goods and controlling the territory's raw materials. Mercantilism could be practiced anew.[19] Chief among these raw materials was oil.[20] Although Palestine itself had few valuable raw materials, given that most of its residents practiced subsistence farming, it could serve as an important center of trade. If oil could transit Palestine, extending pipelines to the Mediterranean could shorten trade routes to the Persian Gulf. Also, Palestine offered important sites for military bases to guard the Suez Canal and long-term British protectorates like Egypt.[21]

As important as these concerns are – and one can never maintain that national interests are irrelevant to policymaking – other issues arose as the Ottoman Empire was apportioned. The most compelling statement of these new ideals was an address delivered to a joint session of the American Congress on January 8, 1918. American President Woodrow Wilson articulated his "Fourteen Points," a series of beliefs that would underlie what are now called doctrines of "idealist" foreign policy. The fifth point, and the one most relevant to the disposal of former Ottoman colonies, held that a peaceful world order required

> A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims,
> based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such
> questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have
> equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be
> determined. [22]

These points became the basis for the League of Nations Charter and may have informed the Mandates issued for the Central Powers' former colonies. With the Fourteen Points, and the emphasis on self-determination as the new principle of legitimacy, political scientist Shmuel Sander claimed that "the national interest, the most celebrated concept in foreign policy, would need to be reexamined."[23] The old concept of national interest held the security of the state and its physical survival as its core objectives. The national interest, Sanders claims, needed to move beyond the concerns of state and take seriously the idea of a *nation-state*. As such, the nation's *ethnos*, its cultural memory, and related ethnic aspirations became a part of the national interest on a par with the physical security of the state.

The influence that Wilsonian ideals had on His Majesty's Government has been disputed. Some scholars argue that Britain was clearly guided by the Fourteen Points, while others indicate that idealist foreign policy masked the game of imperial politics.[24] Two charges are levied against the Mandate for Palestine as a failure to fulfill the Fourteen Points. First, the Balfour Declaration is held as an illegitimate basis from which to negotiate the Mandate because it was a secret

agreement.[25] Because Wilson had called on all states to maintain open covenants in their

relations, and because the Balfour Declaration was kept secret for at least two years, these

advocates attempt to reject the Balfour Declaration. These advocates, however, fail to account for

the public writing of the Mandate for Palestine. Wilson nowhere foreclosed the possibility of

drawing on earlier commitments to write the Mandate. Rather, new commitments entered after

the War needed to be open covenants and old commitments needed to be made public. The use of

the Balfour Declaration as inventional ground was *not* a *prima facie* violation of the ideals of

Wilsonian foreign policy. Indeed, Wilson himself was said to approve of the Balfour Declaration,

so long as its contents were made known to the community of nations.[26]

The Mandate for Palestine has also been indicted with a second charge, that it fails to

fulfill the principle of self-determination. A minority of scholars argues that the Mandate was

written in full obedience to the principle of self-determination.[27] More common is the assertion

that the Mandate used the slogans of self-determination only, ignoring the wishes of the

Palestinian population.[28] One reading of the Balfour Declaration is that it recognizes the self-

determination rights of the Palestinian population. Yet, the Balfour Declaration also promises to

establish a "National home" for the Jews, thus determining that the Palestinian population must

chose to become a Jewish State.[29] The choice of self-determination is foreclosed. Indeed, the

Balfour Declaration, and its incorporation into the Mandate, has been accused of creating an

absolute conflict of principle that could only be resolved by denying nationhood to either the

Jews or to the Arabs.[30]

More insidiously, the Balfour Declaration is used to assert that only one of these nations

exists. Arab nationalists have claimed that the writing of the Balfour Declaration proves that

Zionism was invented by Britain to control a colony and deny it self-determination.[31] That is,

since the Balfour Declaration had to be written to recognize a Jewish nation, and since that nation

did not exist before its construction by the Balfour Declaration, there is no true Jewish nation that

can claim the right of self-determination. Conversely, Zionist nationalists have asserted that the

Balfour Declaration proves that Arab nationalism is a post-War construct only and, thus, cannot be recognized as a true nation.[32] Because the Balfour Declaration was written, it recognized the existence of a Jewish nation. Moreover, because there was not a published equivalent document recognizing an Arab nation, only one of these nations actually existed. The McMahon-Hussein correspondence, as an unpublished document, did not fit the requirements.

Violence in Palestine from 1920 to 1922 has been used to argue the charge that self-determination was denied. Yet, the British were rarely the targets of violence. Instead, the violence seemed directed against the other local ethnic group, as if this violence could be used to eliminate it and its claim to nationhood. Arab violence was intended to force Britain to renounce the Balfour Declaration, to establish representative (and thus, Arab-controlled) government, and to establish an Arabia-wide nation, whereas Jewish violence was intended to force Britain to maintain the Balfour Declaration and to create a Jewish State.[33] Both Zionist and Arab nationalists engaged in violence.[34] Nearly all Jewish violence was directed against Arabs[35] and nearly all Arab violence was directed against Jews.[36]

Although several historians have asserted that violence committed by local populations proves that Britain did not take self-determination seriously, the connections between violence committed by local populations and the writing of the Mandate are weak. Violence may have had some influence on policymaking, but it may have only reframed the possibilities of self-determination. What existed in Palestine was not a false nation of Arabs against a true nation of Jews or the reverse. As I have indicated in Chapter Three, two nations may have been constituted, in part, by the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. As such, the policymaking embodied in the Mandate was not a choice between imperialism and the rights of nationhood. Instead, because competing nationalisms had been generated, any Mandate that recognized both Jewish and Arab nationalisms in the same territory would have been rejected as the denial of at least one nation's right of self-determination.

Historian Kenneth Cragg puts the situation well:

It is strange that so many of Zionist mind in Jewry failed to take the measure of

this Arab counterpart... Zionism contrived to be oblivious of the same logic and

the same emotions in the Arab setting. With exceptions rare enough to be

remarkable, it seemed capable of ignoring, dismissing, or simply failing to

register the local Palestinian counterpart.[37]

The same is probable of those of Arab nationalist mind in Araby. Arab nationalists seemed

equally oblivious that Zionist logic and emotion were based on self-determination, just as Arab

nationalist claims were. Moreover, Arab nationalists seemed equally capable of ignoring and

dismissing counterpart claims from Zionists. The first actor to deny self-determination was not

Britain. The first actor to deny self-determination to the Zionist Jew was the Arab nationalist, and

to the Arab nationalist, the Zionist Jew.

Britain may have chosen to favor the Balfour Declaration and a Jewish national claim in

the Mandate instead of favoring the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and a pan-Arab kingdom.

This act of choosing, however, need not be read as denying self-determination altogether. Instead,

the issue may be better framed as choosing to allow the expression of self-determination for one

people and partially denying it to another. The Mandate, as it was generated, may have been seen

as an attempt to mollify both sides by structuring Palestine so that it would be administered as

both a "National home" for the Jews and as a place where Arab rights were also protected.[38]

Indeed, Britain may have seen its role as finding a third way between an Arab-preferred French

Mandatory that would deny self-determination to the Jews and the immediately recognition of an

independent Jewish Israel that would deny self-determination to the Arabs.[39] As a compromise,

Britain set aside Trans-Jordan as a separate Mandate and named Abdullah, the son of Sherif

Hussein, its king.[40] The Colonial Office, under Churchill, then negotiated the Mandate with the

Balfour Declaration as its basis. As I will argue below, His Majesty's Government recognized the

principle of self-determination. Britain's devotion to Zionist self-determination in Palestine as a

matter of principle, and not of policy, though, may have aggravated a conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Jews. The expediency of British policy was not brought to full and open consideration. Instead, considerations of honor – the most idealist frame possible – foreclosed discussions of expediency.

Peripheral Text

In approaching the Paris Peace Conference of 1920, His Majesty's Government attempted to define exactly what "Palestine" was. In the *Peace Handbook* issued to members of the British delegation, the Colonial Office claimed that "in modern usage the expression Palestine has no precise meaning, but it is best taken as being equivalent to southern Syria."[41] Southern Syria did not then end at the Golan Heights as it does today. Instead, southern Syria extended from Lebanon to the Red Sea port of Aqaba and may have reached as far east as the Euphrates River.[42] The issue of territorial boundaries, however, paled next to the Wilsonian question of self-determination. The difficulty addressed by the Colonial Office was not whether to allow self-determination, but to whom self-determination would be allowed.

The *Peace Handbook* claimed that "it is impossible to speak of any common national sentiment in Syria, since its population consists of so many diverse elements, often with conflicting interests and ideals."[43] The two most important elements were the Arabs and the Jews. Smaller populations of Druze, Turks, and Circassians were largely ignored. At the Peace Conference, the Colonial Office assigned Trans-Jordan to the Arabs, because, "as one goes eastward from the watershed which divides the Mediterranean from the Jordan valley, there is an increasing proportion of Arabs; and Trans-jordania is an Arab country."[44] Western Palestine, however, had a substantial and growing Jewish population centered on the cities of Tel Aviv-Jaffa and Haifa, where they formed a majority. Moreover, because "the essence of the Zionist ideal is the desire to found upon the soil of Palestine a revived Hebrew nation based upon an agricultural life and the use of the Hebrew language," Jewish self-determination should be allowed in western Palestine.[45] The partition of Trans-Jordan and Palestine was seen as fully

compliant with the demands of self-determination. In summarizing the political conditions of

Palestine, the *Peace Handbook* stated,

> History, age-long associations and present day conditions point alike to the
>
> separability of Syria and Palestine; and such a separation violates none of the
>
> principles laid down by the Allied Powers at the commencement, or recognised
>
> by them in the course, of the recent war.[46]

The focus on principle, however, transformed self-determination into a subset of a question of His

Majesty's Government's "honor." Moreover, this sense of honor quickly trumped questions of

expediency. Although several members of the Colonial Office initially objected to predicating

policy on an unworkable basis, these voices became silent after Churchill announced that the

Balfour Declaration was the foundation of Britain's policy in Palestine. Similarly, when Members

of Parliament objected to the Declaration becoming policy, Churchill silenced these voices by

calling for a vote of confidence on Britain's credibility in foreign policy, not on the specific acts

embodied in the Mandate. The Balfour Declaration was incorporated in the Mandate, and any

criticism of the Mandate from the ground of expediency was answered as if the critic of the

Mandate was questioning the obligations of British honor.

His Majesty's Government was aware that many Palestinian Arabs opposed the Balfour

Declaration as a Mandatory policy. Indeed, the British military opposed the Balfour Declaration's

inclusion in the Mandate because it would require British troops to settle violence and impair

their abilities as an impartial force.[47] When this violence erupted on January 5, 1921, the British

Army's fears materialized. Martial law was imposed on March 5 at the request of the Colonial

Office, which was to take control of Palestine from the OETA.[48] The Colonial Office named two

reasons for imposing martial law. First, the protection of Jewish lives and property would be

"measures which may be helpful to tranquility."[49] Arab lives and property were not named. In

addition, martial law would void uncertainty held by the local population, as martial law ensured

that "the control is in one hand and the responsibility for issuing clear and definite orders to deal

with the situation as it exists form time to time rests with the Military Commander."[50] The British

Army did not want responsibility for this policy, claiming that "ever since our occupation of the

country the inhabitants have disliked the policy of founding a national home for the Jews in

Palestine. This feeling has gradually developed into nothing short of bitter and widespread

hostility."[51] Indeed, the only respect retained by the British Army was that it "is merely looked

upon as the only force which stands in the way of complete anarchy."[52]

Command over Palestine was transferred from the British Army to the Colonial Office in

June, 1921. With this transfer of command came the transfer of several documents. The Army's

General Staff Intelligence issued a summary report of the situation in Palestine. Their report

claimed that the cause of Arab opposition to British policy could be placed into several headings.

Of these, the most important two were "the special privileges accorded to Jews" and "the

influence of the Zionist Commission and the openly declared political aims of the Zionist."[53] The

other headings are variations on these themes. The Army warned that if pro-Zionist policies were

not modified, "the outbreaks of to-day may become a revolution of to-morrow."[54] Upon reading

this report, the Colonial Office informed Churchill, "it is evident that nothing short of a

modification of the Jewish policy and the establishment of some form of proportional

representation will ease the situation." [55] As such, the Colonial Office told Churchill that British

policy had to be altered so that the Arabs would know that the Government "are not bound hand

and foot to the Zionists as it popularly supposed."[56] This change would have a cost, however, as it

appeared to the Colonial Office to be "the thin end of the wedge for the annulment of the Balfour

Declaration."[57] Moreover, it would encourage Arab efforts to "not submit to any policy which

does not completely revoke the Balfour Declaration."[58]

On August 18, 1921, Prime Minister David Lloyd George claimed that the Army's report

left two options open to the Cabinet. Britain could either "withdraw from their Declaration, refer

the Mandate back to the League of Nations, set up an Arab national Government, and slow down

or stop the immigration or Jews" into Palestine as a package *or* "they could carry out the policy

[of the Balfour Declaration] with greater vigour."[59] With this stark choice, Lloyd George held that the "honour of the Government" would be the deciding factor. To fulfill these demands, he ordered the Colonial Office to enact a policy based on the Balfour Declaration.[60]

Lloyd George recognized that promises are fulfilled because the promising agent chooses to fulfill them. Although there is a social obligation to follow through on one's promises, promises can, and often are, broken. Throughout the peripheral discourse, advocates of the Balfour Declaration policy insist that the Mandate had to enact the Balfour Declaration in the Mandate because a commitment had been made. These advocates, however, do not argue that the commitment entailed in the McMahon-Hussein also had to be enacted, despite the fact that both were ambiguous assurances. Promises must be perceived and treated as binding commitments to become binding. As such, promised acts are not necessitations. Promises do not negate all freedom of voluntary action and make the promised action inevitable. Rhetorical theorist Marouf Hasian argues that, in an argument from necessity, choice cannot be offered to an agent.[61] Instead, necessitations pose a deterministic frame for human action. Promises, however, may rely more on social codes of honor than on necessity. Rhetorical critic James Andrews argues that two key terms guided British policy throughout the age of Empire: duty and honor.[62] Duty, in Andrews' view, corresponds to necessity. Some acts must be enacted because "civilized" powers have an obligation to assist in the natural development of colonial subjects and, once colonies become independent, to guide their growth as international citizen. Other acts, Andrews claims, are made important because they are honorable, they support the character that the British Empire was trying to develop for itself. Under the division between duty and honor proposed by Andrews, promises fall into the category of honor. Although a commitment devolving from a promise may be discussed as a necessity, the commitment becomes a necessity only because it is in proper national character to honor the commitment. Both betraying a promise and fulfilling a promise are possible actions, but only one of these actions is honorable. This choice can be seen when the

Balfour Declaration is honored as a national commitment., but the McMahon-Hussein

correspondence is not.

The Palestinian Arabs objected strongly to the Balfour Declaration as a policy

foundation. They expressed their disapproval in two ways. One form was the anti-Jewish rioting.

Although advocates at the time [63] and the present[64] have claimed that the Palestinian Arab

nationalists were so disunited at the time that their only form of advocacy was through violence,

Palestinian Arab nationalists also formed groups to lobby His Majesty's Government

diplomatically. One group of prominent Palestinian Arabs formed the Palestinian Arab

Delegation to contact the Colonial Office as a "national" representative. These diplomatic appeals

were ignored or disregarded in the main.

The Palestinian Arab Delegation issued five demands to His Majesty's Government for

the first time on August 12, 1921. [65] These demands were the creation of representative

government, the rescinding of the Balfour Declaration, a cap on Jewish immigration to Palestine,

the maintenance of Ottoman legal forms as dictated by the Armistice, and the inclusion of

Palestine in a larger Arab nation. Of these demands, only the second was addressed when the

Colonial Office. Shuckburgh summarized these demands in his notes from an August 13 meeting

with the Delegation. The Delegation had two claims. First, Shuckkburgh recorded that the

Delegation thought that "the Balfour Declaration was self-contradictory."[66] Second, the

Delegation reported that "the establishment of a National Home for the Jews was utterly

inconsistent with safeguarding of the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish

communities."[67] Shuckburg's reply did not address the claim that the very structure of the Balfour

Declaration created a violation of civil and religious rights. Instead, he wrote that, since there was

not a material case of discrimination presented, there was not an "instance of a breach of the

second clause of the Balfour Declaration."[68] The other demands were not addressed.

Other attempts by Arab groups to influence the Colonial Office were simply disregarded.

Rather than having the opportunity to be misrepresented by Shuckburgh, their views were not

considered. After Omar Betor of the Palestinian Arab Delegation sent King George V a telegram outlining Arab concerns, the King's secretary forwarded the telegram to the Colonial Office for comment.[69] The reply of the Colonial Office was simple: "we do not allow ourselves to be influenced by this kind of thing."[70] No warrants for ignoring the telegram were offered. July telegrams were similarly sent to Lloyd George[71] and to the British High Commissioner at Constantinople [72] and they similarly forwarded to the Colonial Office in 1922. This time, no reply was made or recorded at all.

In September 1921, Sir Cecil Lucas provided the warrants for disregarding the Delegation's telegrams to the Colonial Office. Sir Lucas held that the "Delegation is not an official one nor was their mission under the official auspices of the Palestinian Government, neither is their claim to represent the ... population of Palestine universally admitted in that Country."[73] The situation of representation became impossible. There was no Palestinian Government to authorize the mission or to make it official, as self-government was not allowed. Moreover, the need to have a Delegation recognized by the entirety of the Palestinian population created an impossible burden because the Zionists would not recognize an Arab nationalist delegation. Shuckburgh then used Lucas's finding to inform the Delegation that they would not be recognized as the representatives of Palestinian Arabs until they could meet this burden. [74]

Immediately before the Mandate was sent to the League of Nations for approval in May 1922, the Delegation made a final attempt to influence His Majesty's Government, agreeing to drop their demands for representative government, abrogation of the Balfour Declaration, and immigration controls in exchange for an announcement of Britain's intent to "not make extinct" Palestinian Arabs' cultural and political rights.[75] A memo containing this clarification was sent to Parliament,[76] to Weizmann at his Zionist Organization offices,[77] and to Herbert Samuel, the administrator at Jerusalem.[78] Curiously, however, no reply was made to the Delegation, perhaps because doing so would recognize them as a negotiating partner.

Word of these demands did reach Churchill. Churchill wrote in his August 22, 1921 notes that

> The Delegation seemed to think that they could come over and ask that the
>
> Balfour Declaration be thrown aside. His Majesty's Government had taken up
>
> their position before the world. The Declaration had to be carried out and the
>
> Arabs must accept that fact.[79]

The Balfour Declaration became the crux of British policymaking. Either it had to be included in the Mandate or Britain should refuse the Mandate. There were no other grounds.

The pragmatics of policy were rarely mentioned at the Colonial Office after Churchill's decision. Churchill averred that His Majesty's Government "could not create a government that would at once tear up the Balfour Declaration" in Palestine.[80] Although Churchill was aware that Palestinian Arabs thought the Declaration to be bad policy, their demand for representative government was not an opening move in negotiation, but, rather, asking for "the impossibility of repudiating the Balfour Declaration."[81] Although Palestinian Arab demands may have impinged on the expediency of British policy, Churchill did consider them. He held that "the Government did not want an excuse. They wanted to see the Declaration carried out."[82] Churchill framed dissent as the manufacture of excuses, not legitimate policy objections.

Several administrators at the Colonial Office did not support the Balfour Declaration as strongly as Churchill did. Nonetheless, they followed the policy of supporting the Declaration as a commitment of honor. Shuckburgh noted that there was violent opposition against the Declaration in Palestine. Still, he agreed that His Majesty's Government was "determined to adhere to the Balfour Declaration" despite the costs of policy.[83] In fact, Shuckburgh urged speed, as "in perpetually asking the Zionists to go slow we are killing the Zionist idea."[84] William Findlay argued that the Balfour Declaration was not written as a commitment to a National home, as it was "purposely and inevitably vague."[85] Yet, because of the reading assigned to the Balfour Declaration by the Zionist Organization, "it might be the essence of a perfectly proper scheme

that some such privileges should be conferred."[86] Similarly J. Masterson Smith noted that he did

"not know what may have been the original intention" of the Balfour Declaration, but, given that

the appearance of commitment had been made, it was "clearly useless for us to endeavor" to

reconcile the Zionists "to a more limited view of the Balfour pledge."[87] The perception that the

Balfour Declaration was a firm promise became more important than the document's original

intent or language.

Colonial Office members made this adherence to the Balfour Declaration the foundation

for the Mandate. The Colonial Office wrote that "the Government desire it to be clearly

understood that their resolve to accept the Mandate for Palestine, with a view to the establishment

of a Jewish national home in that country, has not and will not be shaken."[88] Moreover, fears that

the costs of violence entailed by the adherence to the Declaration would undermine British

commitments were denied. The Zionist Organization presented charges from the American press

that Britain lacked the "determination to proceed further" in establishing the National home.[89]

Britain replied that the "good faith of His Majesty's Government" should answer such worries.[90]

Moreover, because "the Preamble of the Mandate constitutes a statement of existing fact" that His

Majesty's Government supported the National home, regardless of cost, Britain's intent to honor

the commitment in the Balfour Declaration was assured.[91] Balfour himself made the clearest

statement of British commitment when presenting the draft Mandate to the League of Nations.

Zionist fears that Britain would renege on the Balfour Declaration were addressed, as were Arab

nationalist hopes that the costs of violence would undermine support for the Declaration. Balfour

proclaimed, "Those who hope that [the Declaration] is going to suffer substantial modifications

are in error. The fears are not justified, the hopes are not justified. The general lines of policy

stand, and must stand."[92]

The commitment to the Balfour Declaration was continuously circulated as, and so

became, a policy foundation rather than an ambiguous commitment colored by its reception. In

addition, the benefits of maintaining it as a policy were never questioned again within the

Colonial Office. The Colonial Office's negotiations assumed "that His Majesty's Government does not contemplate anything like a fundamental change of policy, and that the Balfour Declaration ... still holds the field, and must continue to do so," regardless of potential costs.[93] Churchill argued that British policies "would be severely inconvenienced if the British Government took any action which might give the impression that it was hostile to Zionism," but did not outline the reasons for or results of such inconvenience.[94] The closest that the Colonial Office came, after Churchill's decision to support the Balfour Declaration, to outlining the policy reasons for supporting a Zionist reading was its memorandum of August 17, 1921. Although the memorandum promised to "prove the advantage to Great Britain of continuing the policy inaugurated by the Balfour Declaration," it failed to provide reasons based in realist policy.[95] The memorandum asserts that the Balfour Declaration "is intimately connected with the general foreign and economic policy of Great Britain."[96] These connections, however, are not elucidated and the warrants for its intimacy are not shown. Instead, the body of the memo insists that Britain must support the Zionist movement in Palestine because the Balfour Declaration was now a fundamental policy. Trust and credibility do play into foreign policy decision making, yet, in this case, questions of expediency, workability, and enforceability were not examined.

Some concerns over the expediency of the Balfour Declaration as British policy were raised by the *Times* early in the negotiations of the Mandate. The *Times* noted that the phrases "National home" and "existing rights" in the Balfour Declaration were vague, and might not make a strong foundation for policy.[97] A Mandate needed to provide firm conditions to meet the demands "necessary for the liberty and progress of the country and for the satisfaction of Mr. Balfour's promise that Palestine should be a national home for the Jews."[98] The *Times* further asserted that a policy based on the Balfour Declaration would also be best able to take advantage of Jewish capital and brainpower. Indeed, the *Times* chided Arab nationalists for opposing it, holding that "the Arab who agrees to be a Palestinian first and an Arab second will have his full share in the prosperity of the country and in whatever political distinction it may achieve."[99] The

Times argued that development would be served by establishing the British Mandate. In addition, they held that "there can be no comprehensive restoration of stability throughout the Near and Middle East while the future" of Palestine remained uncertain.[100] For the *Times,* any form of Mandate was better than no Mandate

As in the Colonial Office, discussion in the *Times* moved quickly from matters of expedience to matters of honor. Before Churchill's decisions that the Balfour Declaration was foundational to British policy, the *Times* criticized Churchill because "his plans are as bespeckled with ifs as the leopard is with spots."[101] The *Times* urged commitment to wartime promises, "provided that the policy of the mandatory Powers is concordant, firm, and clear" in its enactment of the Balfour Declaration.[102] Although the *Times* did refer to the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the wartime promise that had to be maintained was the Balfour Declaration. The *Times* described the Balfour Declaration as a "policy designed to heal old sores, not to open new wounds."[103] The McMahon-Hussein correspondence might have opened new wounds by betraying the Balfour Declaration's promise.

After Churchill made the Balfour Declaration the centerpiece of Mandatory responsibility, both in his memorandum at the Colonial Office and to Parliament,[104] the *Times* applauded the commitment to honoring Britain's promise. In the War, the *Times* wrote, "Great Britain undertook to establish in Palestine a Jewish national home," and that with Churchill's commitment, "we accepted a mandate for that purpose."[105] A year later, in April 1922, the Mandate was placed on the formal agenda at the League of Nations. At that time, the *Times* described the Balfour Declaration as "the heavy obligations undertaken by our Government in Palestine" and as "a pledge which the Government cannot in honour abandon."[106] Although the *Times* fretted that "it appears incredible that the responsibilities involved in the Balfour Declaration should have been undertaken so lightly" in the War, the Declaration, nonetheless, had to be maintained even if costs unforeseen by Balfour in 1917 were becoming apparent in 1922.[107]

When it appeared that the Mandate would be passed without discussion in Parliament, however, the *Times* changed its focus. Churchill and the Colonial Office stonewalled debate over the costs – economic and otherwise – of His Majesty's Government's commitment to establish the National home. Because questions of expedience were not answered in Parliament, the *Times* asked, "is it to be understood that the British promise is to be kept in defiance of British interests in the near East and of British good faith in other directions?"[108] Immediately before the July 4, 1922 vote in Parliament, though when this discussion was underway, the *Times* reasserted that Britain must solidify its commitment to the Balfour Declaration, regardless of the cost, to "allay the misgivings aroused by the troubled experience of the past."[109] The *Times* maintained that "since the Armistice, there have been two governing factors – the British Administration, with a wavering and uncertain policy, and the Zionist Organization."[110] The Government, the *Times* said, needed to found a solid policy. The Balfour Declaration offered such a foundation. With the acceptance of the Mandate, the *Times* concluded that "the British Government has laid down a policy which, though not entirely satisfactory, is at least definite" in its honoring of the Balfour promises.[111]

Of the three segments of the peripheral text, the Parliamentary debates had the greatest discussion of expedience. Historian Kenneth Cragg correctly notes that the Mandate for Palestine provided the first opportunity for Parliament to discuss Palestine.[112] Yet, as Cragg also maintains, the discussion in Parliament was severely truncated by Churchill and supporters of the Colonial Office. Several times Parliament attempted to call the Mandate to debate. Several times they were rebuffed. On March 1, 1921, a Member of Parliament stated that the terms of the Mandate were unclear and was told by Lord Privy Seal Andrew Bonar Law that more information would be provided.[113] Bonar Law returned the next day and stated that the Mandate would be presented to Parliament as an up-or-down vote when it was ready and that debate could take place then.[114] Calls for debate were made again on March 7, and Churchill replied that debates would take place when Britain was officially selected as the Mandatory.[115] Undersecretary of State for Foreign

Affairs Harmsworth reported to Parliament on March 21 that Britain had been selected for the Mandate, but regretted that questions would have to be postponed until Churchill next appeared before Parliament.[116]

Churchill and other representatives of the Colonial Office subsequently attempted to prevent debate. At Question Time on February 15, 1922, Churchill told Parliament that "the pledges of His Majesty's Government are contained in the Declaration" in response to a question about the grounds for the draft Mandate.[117] He also promised a full debate on the Mandate when the next rounds of "estimates," or budget allocations, came to debate, as the Mandate would require additional funding for the Colonial Office. On March 16, Churchill repeated the promise for debates later. He also insisted that he could not answer questions about the Mandate, as that "policy is not one that can be dealt with by question and answer," but would require a full presentation and debate.[118] As calls for an open debate grew more vociferous, the new Lord Privy Seal Chamberlain asserted on July 1 that Parliamentary involvement was not "neccessary as a matter of form, as a matter of routine," and that the Mandate would be presented for their *discussion*, not their *decision*.[119]

Questions were raised despite the efforts to foreclose debate. Liberal Party leader Herbert Asquith argued that there was too much emphasis on British honor. He claimed that "you run great risks of incurring an additional number of these indefinite and undefinable obligations of so-called honour, which we have to redeem at the cost of the British taxpayer and British lives."[120] Asquith called for a debate based on expedience, not honor, and concluded he would win such a debate, as "neither on the grounds of obligation nor on the grounds of interest have we any stake" in Palestine.[121] Asquith insisted that British interests would be better served by acceding to the demands of Arab nationalists.

Asquith was rebuffed strongly. J.D. Rees, a self-described Orientalist, asserted that Asquith was wrong because "there is no such thing as the Arab nation... There is no relation between the Arabs of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and the Arabs on the Arabian Sea and the

Arabs on the Syrian side."[122] As such, no Arab nation could be negotiated with, leaving the

Zionists as the nation for negotiation by default. Colonel Thomas Yate was even stronger in his

assertion. He claimed that there was neither obligation to nor interest in an Arab nation because

"when [the Arabs] thought the Turks were in the ascendant, they murdered the British wounded

and robbed the British dead, and now, when the British were in the ascendant, they murdered the

Turkish wounded and robbed the Turkish dead."[123] The Arabs were unworthy partners, not only

because they were opportunist, but also because they were ghouls. According to both Rees and

Yate, the Jews were a fair-minded and honorable people that had invested greatly in British honor

and deserved respect. Churchill addressed the question of commitments to the Arabs by denying

them. He stated on July 11, 1922, that "no pledges were made to the Palestinian Arabs in 1915"

and that "the point of view of His Majesty's Government was explained to the Emir [Feisal], who

expressed himself as prepared to accept that it had been the intention of His Majesty's

Government to exclude Palestine" from the McMahon-Hussein correspondence.[124]

Churchill's claim that Britain was obligated to fulfill a promise to the Jews because of the

Balfour Declaration appears inconsistent with other positions advocated by the Government.

Although the British had made two promises in the War, one to the Arabs and the other to the

Jews, Rees, Yate, and Churchill treat only the Balfour Declaration as a promise. They may have

been arguing that one can only make an international promise to another recognizable

international actor. Because the Zionist Organization was represented as an international

representative for an identifiable groups of people, the Jews may have been granted the status of a

nation. The Arabs, lacking such a coherent group representative, may have been considered

ineligible as a national agent to which an international promise could be made. This claim,

however, appears to be inconsistent with the promise made in the McMahon-Hussein

correspondence. This seeming inconsistency is aggravated by the Mandate policy's tension with

other British colonial policies. Even as Britain was adopting the Mandate for Palestine, Britain

was reluctantly beginning to recognize limited self-determination for the Irish and the Indians. In

addition, Britain had already allowed self-government to evolve in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa.

Churchill answered these concerns in a 1922 White Paper written for Parliament's consideration. Churchill claimed that these tensions could be resolved by reference to the Mandate.[125] Although Churchill provides few specific references, the draft Mandate indicated the differences between Mandated territories and Commonwealth territories. In paragraph one, the Mandate states that the Mandate was issued "to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire." British administration was also to be limited by the Covenant of the League of Nations. Paragraph Six states 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" in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant. Article 22 claims that, with the end of the War, Ottoman and German colonial territories "have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them," but these territories are not yet ready to be independent states, as they "are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world."[126] In accordance with Article 22, Britain accepted that Palestine and other territories "formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized."[127] The purpose of the Mandate, then, was not to expand the British Empire. Britain was to allow self-determination, but this self-determination occurred within the boundaries set forth by the league. Because Mandate territories constituted a special case, the value of self-determination was dependent on the exercise of Mandate rule.

Although the principle of self-determination could be modified by the need for practicable implementation, Churchill's emphasis on Jewish self-determination, and not on Arab self-determination appears curious. The League Covenant would appear to require that Arab self-

determination be the guiding principle for the Mandate for Palestine. Article 22 of the Covenant states that "the character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances."[128] The population of Palestine, and the development of its communities to a point where it could be provisionally recognized as independent, could be interpreted as a circumstance for which Mandatory rule should account. Churchill answered these concern in his 1922 White Paper. Churchill claimed that Britain would not "depart from the policy embodied in the Declaration," as it was "not susceptible of change."[129] Although Churchill reaffirmed the commitment to the Balfour declaration, he treated the McMahon-Hussein correspondence as a non-promise. Churchill wrote that, although the "letter is quoted as conveying the promise to the Sherif of Mecca to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories proposed by him," this proposal did not include Palestine.[130] The correspondence "excluded from its scope, among other territories, the portions of Syria lying to the west of the District of Damascus."[131] According to Churchill, "the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was thus excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge" to Hussein.[132] Through this reinterpretation of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, Churchill gave the document clarity. Moreover, this clarity meant that Britain was in no way violating its commitment to the Arabs.

Indeed, Churchill claimed that even as the Mandate needed to recognize the Balfour Declaration as its guiding principle, he wrote that the value of self-determination was not being violated. Churchill recognized that Palestinian Arabs' fears that the Balfour Declaration would lead to "the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine."[133] Churchill argued that these fears "are partly based upon exaggerated interpretations of the meaning of the Declaration."[134] Because Britain recognized that there was an Arab population, their needs for self-determination would be included in Mandatory policy. Churchill also claimed that there was a Jewish nation in Palestine that needed self-determination. The Palestinian Jewish population, he wrote, "with its town and country population, its political,

religious and social organizations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has in fact 'national' characteristics."[135] The Balfour Declaration recognized both nations' rights to self-determination. Churchill claimed that the Balfour Declaration "does not contain or imply anything which need cause alarm to the Arab population in Palestine or disappointment to the Jews."[136] In fact, the nation to which Britain was giving advice and assistance was not Jewish or Arab. Instead, Churchill argued, "it is contemplated that the status of all citizens of Palestine in the eyes of the law shall be Palestinian," not Arab or Jewish.[137] Although the White Paper favored the Balfour Declaration, Churchill interpreted the Declaration so that it would subsume the right of self-determination.

With the question of honoring commitments to the Arabs sidestepped, the great debate over the Mandate could take place. This debate occurred on July 4, 1922. Although the debate took place more than a year after the first calls were made, Churchill did make good on his promise for a debate when the estimates for the Colonial Office needed to be renewed. Calling this session a debate, however, is generous. Sir William Joynson-Hicks raised the question for debate, moving that, to be binding, the Mandate had to be considered by the House of Commons. He stated that "this is the body which is popularly supposed to control the Government," and that the question was not whether the Mandate should be approved, but by whom.[138] Joynson-Hicks levied several charges against the Balfour Declaration because it did not account for the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. Yet, "the real trouble is not the Balfour Declaration," and it could be retained in the text of the Mandate.[139] MP Ormsby-Gore opened the debate by stating that he hoped that "the Government will be in no way deterred by the criticism, either in the house of in another place, from carrying out what was not merely the pledge given by" Balfour "but was also an allied pledge" that carried the honor of France, Italy, Japan, the United States as well.[140] For Ormsby-Gore, "it would be completely dishonourable to this country to go back on the Balfour Declaration," and, thus, it must be the foundation of the Mandate.[141]

Lord Percy addressed Joynson-Hicks' concerns about the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. Percy stated that "apart from the meanings of the words [of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence], there is no doubt ... that McMahon's description was intended to exclude Syria and Palestine," making the McMahon-Hussein correspondence irrelevant to discussion of the Mandate.[142] For Percy, the question of Palestine was not about the utility of Mandatory rule, but in maintaining just governance in Britain. He stated, "let us remember that Palestine is in its essence... part of the British Empire, in the sense that we have the responsibilities which we have for a part of our Empire... Everything as this moment depends on a strong Government in Palestine."[143] To maintain this strong government, he clarified, Britain should speak with one voice and adopt the policy forwarded by the Colonial Office without modification or reservation. Morgan Jones agreed with Percy. He declared that the McMahon-Hussein correspondence was moot, as "the Arabs are not by any means taken unawares by this Mandate."[144] Moreover, he claimed that Feisal's statement at the Paris Peace Conference – that Arabs "will wish the Jews a hearty welcome home... There is room in Syria for us both"[145] – constituted agreement to the National home. More important, however, was the Balfour Declaration. Jones argued that "all of us who read the declaration of the Earl of Balfour during the War ... must have felt a sort of satisfaction when they read."[146] This satisfaction, apparently could only be maintained by making good on the Declaration.

Churchill closed the debate. He stated that Parliament faced two issues in deciding whether Parliament should have a debate on the merits of the Mandate. He held that Parliament must decline a debate and allow the Colonial Office to proceed. Churchill summarized: "are we to keep that pledge or are we to abandon it? That is the first issue. The second issue is a separate one, and it is: Are the measures taken by the Colonial Office to fulfil that pledge reasonable and proper measures?"[147] The first issue was clearly one of honor for Churchill. He claimed that "pledges and promise [to the Jews] were made during the War" and they must be fulfilled.[148] Although Churchill made clear that he "was not responsible at that time for the giving of those

pledges," he did support "the policy of the War Cabinet" to trade a National home for the Jews'
support in the War.[149] That this trade was the policy of the War Cabinet can clearly be disputed,
as I have indicated in Chapter Three. Nonetheless, Churchill claimed that Britain's "fulfilment of
the Balfour Declaration was an integral part of the mandatory system" and that the entirety of the
Armistice hinged upon it.[150] Drawing these factors together, Churchill expressed that he was
personally "bound by the pledges and promises which have been given in the name of Great
Britain" and urged the other Members to recognize their responsibility as well.[151] Interestingly,
the second issue, that of the policy's reasonability or propriety, was not addressed by Churchill.
He assumed that the measures of the Colonial Office are reasonable and proper. To his opponents
he issued a sharp rebuke:

> You have no right to support public declarations made in the name of your
> country in the crisis and heat of war, and then afterwards, when all is cold and
> prosaic, to turn round and attack the Minister or Department which is faithfully
> and labouriously endeavouring to translate these perfervid enthusiasms into the
> sober, concrete facts of day-to-day administration.[152]

Any criticism of policy implementation and any move that could be interpreted as against the
Balfour Declaration needed to be rejected. Indeed, Churchill turned what had begun as a debate
over budgeting and developed into a question of governmental procedure into a vote of
confidence. Less than a week earlier, a bill over milk prices had gone against the Government.
Another rejection, Churchill claimed would show that Parliament had no confidence in Lloyd
George and would require the disbanding of Government in the midst of important League of
Nations negotiations.[153] In calling a vote of confidence, Churchill may have highlighted the
problem of the government's character rather than its promises. Because Britain was involved in
League negotiations where international credibility may have played a role, having a Government
that could keep British promises may have been more important than having the most expeditious
Government. As the vote was framed as a vote of confidence in His Majesty's Government and

whether the Government's commitment to honor was important, the vote carried for Churchill. Thirty-five Members voted against the Government; two hundred and ninety-two voted for it. Parliament gave up the right to debate the merits of the Mandate. Churchill's advocacy was adopted and the Colonial Office attained its Mandate for Palestine without further Parliamentary question.

Center Text

The peripheral text surrounding the Mandate shifted the grounds for discussion. Early in the peripheral discourse, the British Army attempted to make questions of expedience important. Since the Army feared that it would be brought into an interminable deployment and beset from all sides, the Army urged that the Balfour Declaration be disregarded. After Churchill and the Colonial Office made clear that the issue at stake in writing the Mandate was Britain's commitment to the Balfour Declaration *as a promise*, not its expedience as policy, the Army's objections no longer carried great weight. From August 21, 1921 until the issue of the Mandate on July 24, 1922, Britain's honor was tied to the Balfour Declaration. If the Mandate enacted the Balfour Declaration, then the Crown would maintain its honor. If it did not enact the Declaration, the Crown would lose honor. The Mandate reflects the concern over honor in its writing in two ways. The first tactic deployed in the Mandate is to make George V the Mandatory of Palestine, not Britain. The second is to assert and enact the Balfour Declaration as a foundation for the Mandate.

Throughout the definition of the terms of the Mandate, the Balfour Declaration was made a guiding principle. The preamble assigns the authorship of the Balfour Declaration to His Majesty's Government. The Balfour Declaration was also claimed as a principle that guided the Allied Powers in assigning the Mandate. Paragraph two of the Mandate states that the provisions of the Mandate were based on "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." The Mandate, however, was

not assigned to His Majesty's Government. Instead, it is directly assigned to the sovereign; George V. The assignation is not simply synecdoche. George V *is* the Mandatory for Palestine. He is the one who must enact its provisions. Paragraph four of the Mandate states that "the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine." In addition, paragraph six of the Mandate states that "His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League." The distinction made in the Mandate is not accidental.

British Mandates indicated that the Mandatory was the King of England. If the Mandate for Palestine is compared with Mandates awarded to other countries, the emphasis on the sovereignty of the King and the powers and responsibilities assigned to him as the Mandatory emerge more clearly. Other Mandates indicate that governments accept the burdens of the Mandate, not individuals. For example, the French Mandates for Syria and the Lebanon, Togoland, and the Cameroons each state that "the French Republic has agreed to accept the mandate."[154] In addition, because the Togoland and Cameroons mandates were shared with Britain, the Mandates could "be slightly modified by mutual agreement between His Britannic Majesty's Government and the Government of the French Republic."[155] Whenever the Togoland and Cameroons Mandates refer to Britain's responsibilities, they refer to His Majesty's Government and not to the King Himself. When parts of the British Dominions were given Mandatory responsibility, their governments are also the ones that are responsible for the execution of the Mandate. The Mandate for German South-West Africa was assigned to "the Union of South Africa."[156] The Mandate for German Samoa was awarded to "the Dominion of New Zealand."[157] "The Commonwealth of Australia"[158] was given the Mandate for Nauru and the Mandate for German Possessions in the Pacific Ocean Situated South of the Equator Other than German Samoa and Nauru. Although South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia were, and are still, part of the British Commonwealth, their governments are named, not the head of state.

These differences between the Mandates assigned directly to Britain and the Mandates given to other states indicate that naming the King may be an important symbolic move within the text.

Alternatively, the difference between British Mandates and non-British Mandates could be assigned to a British decision to negotiate all international agreements in the name of the King. If this were so, then George would simply by the synecdoche for the British Empire. Not all agreements entered not by Britain, however, are made in the name of the King. Indeed, when naming the signatory for international agreements, British negotiators have a variety of terms to choose from. In 1922, Britain reported 41 new treaties or international agreements to the League of Nations. Of these, only seven treaties named the King as the signatory. Five of these treaties were between the King and other kings, emperors or princes, including the Treaty of Versailles and three related agreements.[159] Only two of the agreements that named the King were not negotiated with other royal figures.[160] The other agreements used terms that may have indicated a difference between treaties entered by the King and treaties that did not need the King's imprimatur. "His Majesty's Government" agreed to twenty-two of the remaining treaties.[161] Other treaties did not name the Government as belonging to the King. Three treaties simply named "the British Government" as the signatory.[162] Six other treaties were adopted by the "British Empire."[163] Another six by were signed by "Great Britain," excluding the Empire,[164] and an additional three by just "the United Kingdom."[165]

Neither the form of the Mandate nor the customs of treaty writing required Britain to name the King as the Mandatory. Other Mandates were assigned to governments, but Britain's Mandates claim that the King "agreed to accept the mandate in respect of" the territories named in British Mandates. In addition, because there were a number of acceptable terms for British policymakers to choose from when formulating treaties, the decision to name the King as the signatory was not required by custom. Instead, the negotiators chose to make this treaty in the name of the King rather than in the name of the Government or the state. This personalization may have been made to underscore the seriousness of the treaty and the vitality of the

commitment. Under my reading of the peripheral text, however, I claim that the King was named so that the treaty would be judged as George's promise, not the promise of the Empire or of the King's Government.

When reading the Mandate for Palestine, it is important not to substitute "Britain" for the term "Mandatory." Instead, "His Britannic Majesty, George V" should be substituted. Article 1 invests George V with authority over Palestine, stating " The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate." In addition, it is George V who, under Article 2, 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 it was His Government that issued the Balfour Declaration. Article 5, providing for the territorial integrity of Palestine, holds the King " 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." George V is held, in Article 9, "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." Article 12 entrusts him "with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers." Articles 14 and 15 allow the King to appoint religious commissions and to evaluate the balance between religious freedoms and public order. Article 16 tells George V that he cannot delegate this authority, as he "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," a most curious position for the head of the Anglican Church. Article 18, 19 and 20 indicate that the King must ensure that Palestine participates properly in the international system, preventing the spread of slavery, drugs, infectious diseases and the like. Article 24 may be the most important charge issued to George V, as he must "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" or be stripped of it.

The King of England is named as the Mandatory, not Britain, Parliament, or the Cabinet. The Mandate is given to a sovereign individual. Because the King is the Mandatory, he embodies its powers. In doing so, it is not a vague sense of honor that Parliament must approve. The Mandate reinforces this personalization by enumerating George V's roles as the Mandatory. Under paragraph seven of the Mandate, "it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory … shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League Of Nations." The King does not define the powers He is given, but He is the one who must control, authorize, and administer. The peripheral text indicates that Parliament must vote on whether the King should accept the Mandate because of the obligations He has created. The War Cabinet was not a political body alone; it was *His Majesty's* Government. The commitments made by His Majesty's Government were the commitments of His Majesty. Should George V honor commitments that he has made? That is the question articulated in the peripheral texts.

In addition to investing George V as the Mandatory for Palestine, the Balfour Declaration becomes the foundation for His Majesty's mandated authority. The British Army's objections to the Balfour Declaration were silenced as the peripheral text developed and concerns expressed in the *Times* were sporadic. The most strongly worded and most representative statements of the Colonial Office – those by Churchill, Shuckburgh, and their assistants – make clear that the Balfour Declaration was a foundation for British policy. This foundationalism is reasserted and reenacted in the Mandate for Palestine.

The first paragraph of the Mandate states that the Allied Powers have agreed to establish Mandatories. This paragraph is common to all of the Mandates; only the name of the mandated territory changes. The second paragraph of the Mandate provides the commitment that guides the Powers in constructing the terms of the Mandate. This paragraph states,

> 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 favor 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.

This paragraph is a replication of the Balfour Declaration. The principles of Wilsonian foreign policy make clear that, for an international commitment to be legal and binding, it must be expressed in open covenants. The reiteration of the Balfour Declaration, a private and closed letter, in the Mandate, an open covenant, transforms the Balfour Declaration. If the form of a commitment matters, and I have indicated in Chapter Three that it does, this transformation makes the Balfour Declaration into a foundation for international legal claims. Moreover, the paragraph is preceded by the word "whereas." The word "whereas" means that the claim made in the paragraph is a statement of existing fact, not a subject of policy negotiation. That is, the Balfour Declaration's force and the facticity of His Majesty's Government's intent are made from disputable topics into policy determinations. Paragraph three enacts further justifications for developing a Jewish State in Palestine. "Whereas," under the Balfour Declaration, "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," a Jewish State in Palestine is made necessary to enacting the Declaration. Not only is there a historical connection, the Mandate states that this National Home is not to be *established* but *reconstituted.*

The reconstitution of the National Home, the preamble implies, is not to be enacted in a way that curtails the rights of "existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine" or of Jews who choose not to resettle in Palestine. Articles 9 and 13 expressly protect Muslim rights to administer wakfs (religious endowments) and to access Holy Places (such as the Dome of the Rock), except where "the requirements of public order and decorum" prohibit it. These provisions are the only ones that directly name a non-Jewish community and the only rights explicitly granted are

religious, not civil, rights. The Article 13 rights of access to Holy Places are not guaranteed. Article 14 makes clear that "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." That commission is fully empowered to define what places are considered holy and can redefine the right of access and its balance against order and decorum. Article 16 also allows the Mandatory "supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government." This supervision further allows Britain to use any ground other than overt religious discrimination to determine what public order and good government may require. Under these provisions, the rights of existing non-Jewish communities are unclear at best and erasable at worst.

Instead of a bi-national state that clearly defines two separable, but equal, communities, the Mandate concerns itself with creating a structure that will allow the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home. Article 2 of the Mandate states,

> 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.

These safeguards, however, are questionable. It is unclear how these conditions of development can be met irrespective of race and religion if their stated purpose is precisely to respect the establishment of a Jewish National Home. Article 4 raises this tension further when it recognizes "an appropriate Jewish agency" that "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." Article 4, however, does not recognize an equivalent Arab,

Christian, Muslim, Druze or other agency to advise or cooperate with the Administration. Article 4 continues by stating that "the Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency" for the Jews, uniquely empowering Chaim Weizmann's organization and its interpretive frame so long as George V tolerates it.

Article 6 of the Mandate states that "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 ... close settlement by Jews on the land." Here, at least, the economic interests of "other sections," whoever they may be, are recognized. This recognition of economic interests, however, is undermined by later articles. Article 11 grants Britain "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." This power "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," though, is to be devolved to the Jewish Agency "in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration." Non-Jewish possibilities for encouraging development are foreclosed.

The remaining enactment provisions are consonant with the other Mandates issued by the League. Article 17 limits the military and police forces of Palestine to the defense of Palestine. Articles 18, 19, and 20 ensure that Palestinian policy will agree with international norms of free trade, drug trafficking, the prevention or slavery, and other items. Article 21 protects antiquities from expropriation. Articles 22 and 23 recognize languages and days of rest. Articles 24 through 28 assert that the League of Nations will have the power to demarcate borders, to resolve disputes with other Mandates, and to modify the terms of the Mandate.

Article 25 is the only one that limits the reconstitution of Palestine as a National Home for the Jews. This article states that

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.

This territory was later divorced from Palestine and made into Trans-Jordan. The Balfour Declaration was held not to apply to this section of the territory. The remainder, the land from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, was to be administered under the strictures of the Balfour Declaration as re-articulated in the preamble to the Mandate for Palestine.

George V is charged with heavy obligations. The Mandate appears to give him great authority over Palestine. Yet, as the Mandatory, his powers are circumscribed by certain obligations. He must include the Zionist Organization as his partner in forming an administration. The King must make efforts to increase Jewish immigration, secure land for them, provide economic opportunities, and assist in the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The framing of the Mandate gives George V an additional responsibility. He is bound to implement the Balfour Declaration.

This additional obligation becomes the central charge of the Mandate. George V cannot build just any state. He does not have the flexibility that France obtained in Syria or even that obtained by Britain in Iraq or Arabia. The Mandatory for Palestine must build a Jewish National Home. If he fails to do so, then it is not just a failure of British foreign policy, but the King's failure to make good on his promises. The peripheral text makes clear that British honor, and the King's honor in particular, was at risk. The Mandate had to be approved out of obligations to honor, not because it was the best workable policy for state building in Palestine. The advocacies from the Colonial Office archives, the *Times* reporting, and the statements made before Parliament coalesce around this issue of George V's obligations and whether Britain will respect his honor. Thus, it is unsurprising that policy implications are discussed little in the peripheral

text, but the obligations of the Balfour Declaration are expressed much. As the center text, the Mandate for Palestine should be seen less as a commitment to a practical policy but more as a commitment to an obligation of honor.

Honor and Epideictic

The peripheral and center text of the Mandate for Palestine center the obligations of honor, not the obligations of expedience. In addition, opportunities for deliberation about the entailments of the commitment to honor are foreclosed. Churchill's decision to withhold the Mandate and its discussion from Parliament is the most obvious way that this discussion was limited. Simply put, if there is not a forum to discuss the policy implications of the Mandate, these implications will not be discussed. Other strategies are also used. Churchill strongly discourages discussion of the propriety of including the Balfour Declaration in the Mandate, holding that any discussion would be looking for an "excuse" to renege on obligations. The primary strategy, however, is the framing of the question of Palestine. Rather than framing the Mandate as a policy question, a question of expediency that would require a deliberative framework, the peripheral text frames the question of Palestine as a question of honor. In centering the question of honor, deliberation is foreclosed.

The question of honor functions in two ways. First, the peripheral and center texts operate so that the auditor asks not "What policy in Palestine is most expedient" but "What kind of King is George V?" The Mandate is written so that to be an honorable king, George V must accept the obligations incurred by the Balfour Declaration as a product of His Majesty's Government. Should he accept the Mandate, George V is honorable. Should he reject it, he is dishonorable. In order to retain the ethos needed by a King, George must have the Mandate in the submitted form. Yet, George V faces a barrier. He cannot accept it if Parliament prevents him from doing so. Here, the framing provided by the peripheral text becomes important. Churchill's (and Shuckburgh's and the *Times's* and others') statements place approval of the Mandate into an epideictic framework. That is, the Parliament is asked to vote on the ethical obligation incurred

by the Balfour Declaration, not the Balfour Declaration's soundness as policy. If Parliament votes that it should be allowed to deliberate the Mandate, the peripheral text casts this decision as a way to dishonor the King. To honor the King, the peripheral text indicates that Parliament must agree to give up the right to review the Mandate. In both the peripheral text and the center text, the King's (and by extension Britain's) obligations are presented as already decided. The question is whether Parliament will allow the policy to be enacted, and thus fulfilling the King's ethical obligation, or prevent enaction, thus denying the King the ability to fulfill His ethical obligation.

In emphasizing considerations of honor and foreclosing debate over policy, the peripheral and center texts adopt an epideictic frame for considering the Mandate for Palestine. Aristotle claims that appeals to virtues, of which honor is one, are common in epideictic speeches. Under Aristotle's theories, when epideictic appeals are inserted into policy they "take up actions that are agreed upon, so that what remains is to clothe the actions with greatness and beauty," for logical appeals have little place in epideictic rhetoric.[166] Moreover, appeals to the honorable insist that the auditor overlook questions of expedience as "such things are done for their own sake," not because they bring about advantages.[167] Aristotle's distinctions between epideictic rhetoric and deliberative rhetoric have been carried forward to the present. Epideictic rhetoric is sometimes seen only as speeches that praise or blame persons, qualities, or acts, while deliberative rhetoric is only the evaluation of policy on the grounds of workability, effectiveness, or expedience.[168]

Epideictic rhetoric can serve three functions beyond simple praise or blame.[169] Aristotle's definition accounts for the display function of epideictic by allowing the rhetorical actor to show his or her ability to effectively praise or blame a person, thing, or policy for an audience's entertainment. More importantly, epideictic rhetoric can allow a rhetorical actor to define a situation so that the audience comes to understand it and their place within that situation. Epideictic rhetoric can thus urge an audience to recognize the flaws of a situation and to seek improvement or to recognize the good qualities of a situation and to seek its maintenance. The third function that epideictic rhetoric can serve is by shaping a community and urging audience

members to participate within it and to celebrate it. These three functions typically center on a cultural value that allows praise or blame, that becomes the standard for defining and understanding a situation, and that is shaped as the core value of the community to be celebrated.

If epideictic is used well, it can strengthen communal bonds through these three functions. "The promotion of individual values in the abstract is generally seen as noncontroversial," Celeste Condit explains, "because we [as audiences] are trained to accept a wide range of values, and to see conflict only in their relationships to each other and to specific decisions."[170] For controversy to arise under an epideictic frame, then, a counter-value can be proposed to the value that the rhetorical actor is proposing. Because epideictic appeals rarely admit deliberative or forensic appeals, the disputational universe is limited. Rhetorical actors who would speak against the epideictic rhetor are constrained in their approach. They can propose a counter-value, but this counter-value must fit within an epideictic forum, have equally broad applicability, and be in conflict with the first value proposed. Alternatively, the counter-rhetor can argue that the policy conflicts with the first rhetor's chosen value. If the counter-rhetor agrees that the value is a sound value and that the policy accords with that value, the counter-rhetor may be silenced. Because questions of policy expedience cannot be raised in a purely epideictic "deliberation," epideictic frameworks are a poor place to make policy decisions.

This policy-making concern is raised by Karlyn Kohrs Campbell. She argues that when epideictic frameworks control the deliberation, "the primary justifications for the policy can be the ethical rather than the pragmatic."[171] In these situations, the decision that the audience can take must rely on the merit of the value and the authority of the rhetorical actor. In the deliberation over whether Parliament should approve the Mandate, the value was the King's honor and the advocates of the Mandate, as His Majesty's Government, were authorized to represent his honor. Moreover, Campbell indicates that reliance on epideictic appeals allows for "the evasion of the hard questions of feasibility and costs" by emphasizing a simple abstract value and ignoring the rest.[172] Again, in the debates over the Mandate, feasibility and costs were framed

as "excuses," not valid concerns about enacting the policy. Once epideictic appeals become the only basis for judging a policy, the possibilities for deliberation are foreclosed. Instead of allowing deliberations, audiences are required to "follow, patriotic and undissenting" their leader's policy or to cast themselves out of the community represented by the value used in the epideictic appeal.[173] In the debates over the Mandate, feasibility and costs were framed as "excuses," not valid concerns.

Epideictic appeals, if they foreclose deliberative appeals, can lead to unquestioned policymaking. Campbell further argues that "questions of practicality and feasibility are essential to rational decision-making in deliberative addresses."[174] The central concern of deliberative appeals is expediency. A framework that denies the ability to express concerns based on expediency cannot be said to be deliberative. Campbell indicates that rhetoric "that seeks to avoid questions of expediency and conceals the true nature of the policy being advocated" can be presented to avoid deliberative processes.[175] These rhetorical acts, ones that present policies as already arrived at and presented merely for the approval of the audience, violate the premises of rational deliberation. Epideictic appeals transform what should be a discussion of expedient policy into the celebration of values, cloaking dangerous courses of action into unquestionable goods.[176] More dangerously, deliberation is foreclosed at great cost. In the case treated by Campbell, Richard Nixon's plans for the Vietnam War, discussion of the cost – in terms of money, lives, and the credibility of American foreign policy – could not be discussed because Nixon made "peace" his core value. Any questioning of Nixon's policy would thus become an attack on "peace," not a legitimate concern over his policy. Likewise, in the Mandate, any criticism of British policy was an attack on His Majesty's honor. The obvious financial costs, the risks posed to the lives of British civil servants and military personnel (let alone to Palestinian Jews and Arabs), and the potential for alienating large segments of the Arab world could not be discussed. These costs may have been foreseen if deliberative discussion were allowed.

Policy should be proposed and deliberated, not presumed and acceded to. This does not mean that epideictic appeals have no place in making policy. Aristotle may be correct that "to seem virtuous suits a good person more than an exact argument does."[177] Yet, he also argues that "if one has logical arguments, one should speak *both* 'ethically' and logically."[178] There were good reasons for the British to accept a Mandate for Palestine. As the received history indicates, there were economic, military, and other reasons of empire to have control over Palestine. There may have been an ethical issue as well in that Britain had been perceived as making a commitment toward a Jewish National Home, as well as in the countervailing commitments contained in the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. An opportunity for deliberation may have allowed these concerns, as well as those of the detractors of the Mandate, to be met. In short, a better Mandate might have been written had deliberation been allowed.

There is a place for epideictic appeals in deliberation. I do not claim that one should never make an epideictic appeal when deliberating. I also do not claim that policy should never account for values. All policymaking is invested with values. The danger arises when one must decide on only one articulated value. The peripheral text of the Mandate places the value of honor above all others and never allows a reconsideration of this placement. In addition, the peripheral text's definition of the value "honor" is not open to question. Advocates of the Palestinian Arab cause did use the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, but these appeals went unconsidered after Churchill marked the Balfour Declaration as the only promise foundational to British policy. Other actors, like Asquith, disputed the idea of British honor altogether, but were silenced. The Mandate itself was presented as a body of facts and commitments recognized by George V. Curiously, George V's voice does not appear in the peripheral text, except as he forwarded one telegram from the Arabs to the Colonial Office. Obligations were asserted as incurred, not as a ground for modification through negotiation or the offering of other concessions.

The Mandate could have been discussed using both deliberative and epideictic appeals. These negotiations did take place when other Mandates were issued to Britain, particularly in the

Mandate for Iraq. Advocates can present an epideictic appeal to set a ground for policymaking and then demonstrate that their proposed policy fits well with that value. That is, values can be used as a foundation for making policy, but policy must also be discussed to see if that foundation supports the policy and to examine whether adopting the value will incur too many other costs to be justified. Alternatively, advocates can present policy proposals grounded on issues of expediency and use an epideictic appeal as a "tie-breaker" if there is not a clear policy preference. Indeed, several other cases have demonstrated that a blend of epideictic and deliberative appeals can lead to a superior advocacy and better policy.[179]

This blend of epideictic and deliberative appeals did not occur in the debate of the Mandate for Palestine. The peripheral text indicates that policy was presumed to be justified because the Balfour Declaration was a commitment. The strength of that commitment as ethical ground was unquestioned. Other potential costs were not considered. Instead, the only vote allowed was whether His Majesty's honor was a value. In this framing, policy is predetermined. No one would want to say that Britain should have a dishonorable king. The vote should not have been an up or down vote on the Government and on the basis of the Balfour Declaration. If the either/or vote had been recast, it might have been possible to emphasize the Balfour Declaration's clause that states the National home would be founded "in Palestine." In addition, the up or down vote precluded considerations about what Britain's promises would cost it, monetarily and in persons-under-arms, and whether preserving British honor was worth that cost. Instead, the Mandate was passed on limited ground and limited discussion.

As the United States approaches the problem of Palestine, it must also be aware of replacing promises with policy assessments and of using epideictic frames to foreclose deliberation. Although the United States has made commitments to the Israeli State, these commitments should always be open to question. If the costs of these commitments grow to high, the United States may wish to reassess them. The concern facing the United States, however, is more probably the use of the "blame" side of epideictic rhetoric's praise and blame function. The

United States must try to avoid demonizing Palestinian Arab political leaders in an attempt to avoid the realistic assessment of foreign policy toward the Middle East conflict. When I examine the current United States approach toward the conflict in Chapter Seven, I will indicate the George W. Bush has adopted an epideictic frame in assessing Palestinian National Authority President Yasser Arafat. In that Chapter, I will indicate some of the policy questions that are deflected by a focus on Arafat's character. In our current moment of foreign policy, there is limited ground for negotiations because of Bush's portrayal of Arafat as an unreformed, and thus blameworthy, terrorist. This characterization limits the possible solutions considered by the Bush administration.

If a policy to resolve conflicts over Israel/Palestine is to be properly formed, these limits must be removed. Only the open and realistic assessment of policymaking, *including arguments based on values*, can successfully navigate the question of Palestine/Israel. Indeed, as Chapter Five will illustrate, one can move too far into the question of policy assessment and ignore the fact that perceived obligations should be addressed as well as policy considerations. Striking a balance between ethical obligations and practical policy can be difficult, but it is the role of the policymaker that wants to effect peace in Israel/Palestine to attempt to address both concerns as extensively as possible.

Endnotes

[1] LN/Covenant, Article 22.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] "H Young To D Lloyd George," 1 September 1922, CO 733/31/391.

[4] There is some discrepancy over the dates. Historian Deborah Gerner counts publication from the date that His Majesty's Government decided to publish the Balfour Declaration and their general release of that document to the British Zionist community. Historian Naomi Shepherd argues the Balfour Declaration had to be published in Palestine before the analyst can claim that the document is published. In any case, the difference is only a matter of months. Deborah J. Gerner, *One Land, Two Peoples: The Conflict Over Palestine* (Boulder: Westview, 1994), 31; Naomi. Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand: British Rule In Palestine 1917-1948* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 38.

[5] Yehoshua Porath, *The Emergence Of The Palestinian-Arab National Movement, 1918-1929* (London: Frank Cass, 1974), 31.

[6] Samih K. Farsoun, *Palestine And The Palestinians* (Oxford: Westview, 1997), 70.

[7] Kenneth Cragg, *Palestine: The Prize And Price Of Zion* (London: Cassell, 1997), 55; John J. McTague, *British Policy In Palestine, 1917-1922* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983), 83.

[8] Sidney Sugarman, *The Unrelenting Conflict: Britain, Balfour, And Betrayal* (Sussex: Book Guild, 2000), 73.

[9] Frank H. Epp, *Whose Land Is Palestine? The Middle East Problem In Historical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 137; Farsoun, *Palestine*, 69.

[10] Albert Montefiore Hyamson, *Palestine Under The Mandate: 1920-1948* (London: Methuen, 1950), 35.

[11] Cragg, *Palestine*, 54; Ibrahim Ibrahim, "British Imperial Policy And The Jewish Homeland," In *Palestinians Under Occupation: Prospects For The Future*, ed. Peter F. Krogh and Mary C. McDavid (Washington: Center For Contemporary Arab Studies, 1989), 26.

[12] "Mr Churchill's Reply To The Arab Deputation," 3 February 1922, CO 733/30/88.

[13] *Ibid*.

[14] Edward W. Said, *The Question Of Palestine* (New York: Vintage, 1979), 3.

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CHAPTER 5

THE WHITE PAPER OF 1939

The Mandate for Palestine was designed to settle the disposal of Palestine after World

War I. It was conferred to establish a National home for the Jews in Palestine. The Mandate was

predicated on both Arabs and Jews cooperating in the National home's establishment and nothing

being done to prejudice the rights of the "non-Jewish" population. These assumptions were not

fulfilled. In 1921, 1922, 1929, 1933, and 1935, there were outbreaks of violence by Palestinian

Arabs, all of which were accompanied by economic stoppages by Palestinian Arabs.[1] After new

outbreaks from April to October 1936, Britain considered a change in Mandatory policy.

In the face of this violence, King Edward VIII appointed a Royal Commission to

investigate. The terms of reference Edward gave for the Commission were broad. This

Commission was

> to ascertain the underlying causes of the disturbances which broke out in the
>
> middle of April; to inquire into the manner in which the Mandate for Palestine is
>
> being implemented in relation to the obligations of the Mandatory towards the
>
> Arabs and the Jews respectively; and to ascertain whether, upon a proper
>
> construction of the terms of the Mandate, either the Arabs or the Jews have any
>
> legitimate grievances upon account of the way in which the Mandate has been, or
>
> is being implemented; and if the Commission is satisfied that any such
>
> grievances are well founded, to make recommendations for their removal and for
>
> the presentation of their recurrence.[2]

After Edward's abdication, George VI renewed this Royal Warrant. George explained in a

November 3, 1936, speech to Parliament that he hoped that the Commission's "examination of

the very difficult problems which will come before them will lead to a just an permanent settlement."[3]

In response to the King's Speech, Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin urged that the Commission be allowed to investigate without interference, given that their work "is very difficult and very delicate."[4] As such, Baldwin told the House of Commons that they "should avoid as far as possible as we can such controversial treatment of the subject," as issues raised in the House would prejudice the Commission's findings.[5] Baldwin emphasized that the Commission "is a strong one. I think it is an impartial one, and I would like to emphasize ... a Royal Commission in this country is an entirely independent body, uncontrolled by His Majesty's Government and perfectly free to report in any sense that they think fit within the terms of their reference."[6]

The Royal Commission took up this freedom. Historian A.J. Sherman concludes that, once the Commission met it was "accepted that the Mandate as originally conceived was unworkable, but no coherent policy had yet been elaborated to replace it."[7] In recommending a new policy – partition – the Commission articulated a policy that was not based on the principles of the Balfour Declaration as Britain's only policy. Sociologists Baruch Kimmerling and Joel Migdal find that, once the Commission realized it could ignore the Balfour Declaration as the controlling commitment, five changes occurred in Britain's Palestine policy.[8] Kimmerling and Migdal argue that Palestinian opinion was taken more seriously than domestic British opinion was. Arab influence also grew to rival Jewish influence on the Government. In addition, other Arab states helped set British policy, balancing the Zionist Organization's influence. The Arabs also no longer demanded complete abrogation of the Balfour Declaration. Finally, Kimmerling and Migdal claim that revolt and rebellion became effective tools for social change in Palestine. The Partition Plan of 1939 may be evidence of increased Arab influence on British decision-making[9] and of a substantial change in British policy toward Palestine.[10] Indeed, Zionist Organization President Chaim Weizmann declared that "actual nullification [of the Balfour

Declaration] came with the White Paper of 1939. It was the classic technique of the step-by-step sellout of small nations which the great democracies practiced in the appeasement period."[11] More generously, historian Samih Farsoun argued that, in 1939, "the British government issued a white paper that, for the first time during the mandate, *reversed* its previous policy and responded to Palestinian concerns."[12]

The effect of the Partition Plan was to reverse fifteen years of British policy in Palestine. Strangely, however, the Partition Plan was not strongly advocated by the Royal Commission. Indeed, the Technical Commission charged with designing the implementation of partition concluded the policy was unworkable. Because the investigation of the problem *was* so thorough, there was little discussion of implementation of a solution. The need for fairness and independence emphasized by Baldwin were reemphasized throughout the peripheral text of the White Paper. Discussion about potential solutions was limited so that the findings of the Commissions would not be influenced.

Unlike the Mandate for Palestine, there was no guiding principle to the White Paper of 1939. Instead, the peripheral and center texts of the White Paper reflect indecision. Britain failed to balance the exigencies of 1938 against the desire for thorough investigation into the problem of Palestine. As such, when the White Paper of 1939 was issued, it was a rushed policy. Rather than seeing investigation lead to deliberation, Britain created an opposite, and equally severe, problem to the one it created in 1922. That is, rather than failing to question foundational assumptions, the problem in 1922, in 1938 Britain engaged in too much questioning to be able to come to a better policy. The balance of deliberation cuts both ways; one cannot prejudge the situation, but one also cannot indefinitely delay judgment.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the rhetoric of investigation employed in the formation of the 1939 White Paper on Palestine. The investigations by British special commissions were rhetorical tactics in their own right. Additionally, the investigations became rhetorical resources for British policymakers writing the White Paper. As in other chapters, I will

begin with an overview of the received history of the White Paper. The received history indicates that the White Paper was carefully formulated to defend British interests against Nazi influence in the Middle East. To challenge the received narrative of a British government eager to appease Arabs and willing to sacrifice Jews to this cause, I reread the peripheral text to show how the rhetoric of investigation contradicts this narrative. Because the peripheral text emphasizes the need for completeness and fairness in investigation, I argue that the simplified historical narrative does not account for important patterns in the peripheral text. As the peripheral text enables the 1939 White Paper as a center text, it used a narrative of the investigatory process to justify partition and the process's investigatory reports served as inventional resources for advocates of partition. In addition, I argue that the rhetoric of investigation allowed policymakers to limit the discussion of policy by constricting the inventional resources available to opponents of partition. By comparing these findings to previous research on the rhetorical implications of investigation, I argue that the rhetoric of investigation is not simply a delaying tactic or a mask for preconceived policies. Instead, the rhetoric of investigation can allow the narrowing of policy possibilities by restricting the terms of reference for investigation so that only a few options are considered out of the total policy universe. I offer some implications of the rhetoric of investigation and investigatory commissions and their impact on British Palestinian policy in 1938 and policy in general.

Received History

According to most historians, the exigencies faced by Britain in 1938 did not lie in Palestine. Instead, the primary concern was on the Continent. First prime minister of Israel David ben-Gurion argues that "Hitler did much to retard, not advance, [Israeli] nationhood," as the threat of war in Europe led to a reconsideration of British commitments.[13] The concern was no longer whether or not Britain should uphold its expressed moral obligation to the Jews, but other, more material, concerns over British national security interests. By 1938, the demographics in

Palestine required Britain to take Arab concerns seriously if it was to retain control over Palestine in a world of growing conflict.[14]

The strategic reasons for retaining control over Palestine were largely the same as they had been in World War I. Palestine still held promise as a source of, or at least pipeline to, Middle Eastern oil.[15] The Suez Canal remained relevant,[16] as did Palestine's importance to British military communications.[17] In addition to these traditional concerns, the Third Reich and its allies in Italy were gaining influence in northern Africa and the Middle East.[18] At the same time, the Zionist Organization was beginning to fracture, and, consequently, the community of Jews, long a centerpiece of British strategic planning in the Middle East, no longer appeared united.[19] As such, the story goes, mollifying the Arab community in Palestine and obtaining their goodwill was seen as essential to British interests in the Middle East.[20] Influential Arab leaders, particularly the Mufti of Jerusalem[21] and ibn Sa'ud of Arabia,[22] were seen as susceptible to Nazi influence and it was feared that, as these leaders went, so would the mass of Arabs go.[23] Anthropologists Marcia Kunstel and Joseph Albright simplify this situation: "With the scent of war blowing across Europe ... the British had to keep the Arabs."[24] Sherman claims that "the calculation was simple" for the British: "Arab friendship could not be taken for granted, and had to be cultivated. The Jews, hardly candidates for cooperation with the Axis powers, had no option but loyalty to Great Britain."[25]

Sherman's summary of the calculation makes sense. Britain had already taken a policy of appeasement in Europe, often sacrificing Jews to British national interests.[26] In addition, the Jews were seen by His Majesty's Government as a barrier to enthusiastic Arab support for Britain.[27] As Jews fled from Europe to Palestine, among a few other places, Arab hostility towards the Jews grew.[28] And, as Arab hostility grew, hostility against British policy based on the Balfour Declaration grew as well.[29] As the threat of war in Europe became more real, an anti-British stand by the Arabs was feared.[30] Moreover, violence in Palestine threatened to destabilize the British Empire from within and would distract British Forces from the German threat. As such, His

Majesty's Government decided that they needed to make concessions to the Arabs and end violence in Palestine before total war broke out in Europe.[31]

The threats of Arab discontent were not illusory. The riots and economic boycotts witnessed in Palestine did harm imperial policy. Of these, the violence and economic non-participation in 1937 represented, according to historian Deborah Gerner, "the largest sustained protest against Jewish national aspirations in Palestine prior to Israel's establishment as a state."[32] Although the paramilitary operations have received more attention, there were high economic costs to Arab work stoppages and boycotts.[33] The near shutdown of the Palestinian economy showed that Palestinian Arabs were a significant community for which British policy had to account.[34] Indeed, some historians indicate that it was the economic impact of Arab discontent that gained British attention, not the riots, assassinations, and other forms of violence.[35] More likely, however, is that the Arab uprising was not just economic and not just violent, but gained attention because it coordinated economic inaction with armed resistance.[36]

This violence affected nearly all Palestine. At one time, Palestinian Arabs had effective control of the interior of Palestine. The rural and mountainous areas quickly came under Arab control.[37] In the summer of 1937, Britain found itself, in Sherman's words, "settled into a prolonged little war" with its Palestinian Arab subjects.[38] By September 1937, Palestinian Arabs controlled the cities of Nablus, Galilee, Hebron, Beersheba, Gaza, Jaffa, Jenin, and even parts of Jerusalem.[39] In these parts of Palestine, a *de facto* Arab state – complete with courts, a rudimentary legislature, and an army of 10,000 troops – was in place.[40] The turn against the British was feared to be infectious. Additionally, His Majesty's Government viewed Araby as an organic whole and felt that, if the Palestinian Arabs were not brought back to supporting Britain, Britain would soon lose Iraq, Trans-Jordan, and the Arabian Peninsula to the Axis.[41] This fear may have been reasonable, as sympathy riots were held in Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo to show support for Palestinian Arabs.[42]

Arab nationalism had arrived at a fork. It could either adopt liberal attitudes and align with Britain or it could follow the Axis powers into fascism.[43] According to diplomatic historian Michael Cohen, in 1938, "the single principle to be adhered to rigidly was that Britain would not move out of Palestine – certainly not on the eve of war."[44] Cohen concludes that, while Jews and Arabs were invited to present their views to His Majesty's Government, Britain would impose the policy that advantaged the Empire's Middle East position and brought Palestine back to the liberal fold. Britain's interest was to ensure that Palestine, and thus the Middle East, would remain allied with Britain and not turn to the Axis.

Peripheral Text

The received history of the White Paper of 1939 makes for a compelling narrative. Britain, preparing to fight for its survival in a European war, reversed the Balfour Declaration and began appeasing the Arabs from a selfish sense of national self-interest. This narrative, however, does not account for the exigencies of the Arab riots and economic actions. It also does not account for the peripheral text of the White Paper. Instead of a self-interested Britain seeking justification for abandoning the Jews and mollifying the Arabs, the peripheral text is studded with calls for full and objective investigation. The Colonial Office would consider the Royal Commission objective if the Commission's investigation were fair, independent, and bipartisan. The peripheral text indicates that these requirements for objective investigation would be fulfilled if the Royal Commission heard the views of both Palestinian Arabs and Jews equally, if the Commission was not beholden to previous policy commitments, and neither the Colonial Office nor Parliament directly controlled the Commission. Once the Commission began meeting, the Commission, the Colonial Office and Parliament strove to maintain this aura of full and objective investigation. In addition, these three requirements for objective investigation were retained. Even the *Times*, the section of the peripheral text that called most loudly for a declaration of policy, made clear that any policy would need to be based on a complete and unbiased examination of data and testimony.

The Colonial Office was strongly concerned with the Royal Commission's appearance of undertaking a full and fair investigation of the question of Palestine. This commitment was manifest in the structuring of the Commission and in determining the scope of their investigation. Objective members for the Commission needed to be retained. For example, when seeking nominations to the Commission, Undersecretary of State for the Colonies John Shuckburgh told John Maffey that "no name ought to be submitted for service in the Royal Commission of anyone who has been or is in any way connected with Palestine, or who has any known preconceived views or who has ever taken part in Jewish or Arab affairs."[45] If such views were expressed, the member would be ineligible for consideration. This concern was also evident in selecting the chair of the Commission. When seeking the advice of Viscount Halifax, Secretary of State for the Colonies William Ormsby-Gore wrote, "the important thing is to select a peer who is not already committed by previous speeches or contact with the problems of Palestine to either Jew of Arab, and obviously must be, to use Hitler's in many ways most objectionable phrase, 'of pure Aryan descent.'"[46] Even a Jew or Arab who had not expressed a previous commitment was suspect, as racial ties were presumed to determine one's viewpoints. As such, only persons from northern European stock could be considered. The concern for apparently objective members was carried out. Before Lord Peel was appointed the Chair of the Commission, Baldwin's first choice, Lord Wakehurst, was discovered to have written a book entitled, *The Truth About Mesopotamia, Syria, And Palestine*. Upon this finding, but without reading the book, David Boyd told the other staffers at the Colonial Office that "it would appear therefor that Lord Wakehurst has already committed himself publicly ... which would render his appointment to the Royal Commission inadvisable."[47] The other members of the Commission, Lord Peel, Baronet George Rumbold, Sir Egbert Hammond, Sir William Carter, Sir Harold Morris, and Professor Reginald Coupland were passed as objective investigators.

After their appointment to the Royal Commission, the members were told that His Majesty's Government would not attempt to predetermine their findings and that the Commission

could use any means or logic to come to its conclusions. Indeed, Shuckburgh argued that "if the conclusions had been preceded by long arguments on general principles setting out the basis of the conclusions, great controversy would have arisen... This is a point well worth bearing in mind in view of the passions which dominate the Palestine question."[48] O.G.R. Williams agreed with Shuckburgh, arguing that this "formula would require to be amplified and modified" so that conclusions would not be drawn until the Commission met.[49] The findings had to be induced from the evidence presented, not deduced from pre-set principles. What is more, the findings of the Commission could not foreclose the possibility of future modification. As J.D. Mackie told Harold Amery, he hoped that, "whatever proposals the Royal Commission makes, it will leave a loophole which will allow us without loss of faith to accept such a proposal if it is made" to void the Balfour Declaration and seek Arab rapprochement.[50] The *status quo ante* could be disrupted. The Royal Commission was free to suggest any modifications.

These terms of reference were made broader when Edward confirmed the Royal Commission. The Royal Warrant allowed the Royal Commission to determine the "underlying causes" of violence, to investigate "legitimate grievances," question the implementation of the Mandate, and to "make recommendations" as it saw fit.[51] Wauchope, the host for the Commission, made clear to Ormsby-Gore that he would not follow declared Colonial Office policy, as he felt "it is only right I should enter these discussions with some latitude of mind and action, otherwise any discussion would be rather purposeless."[52] In making this claim, Wauchope stated that the "results of Government help in establishing the National Home grow more apparent each year and therefore more odious to the Arabs" because Colonial Office policy had failed to question its foundation on the Mandate.[53] The "undue forcing of the pace" of the Balfour Declaration and Britain's "lack of understanding of the Arab outlook," he claimed, required that the Royal Commission be free to expand their terms of reference to better account for Arab concerns.[54] This need for expanded terms of reference was recognized in the "Commissioner's Powers Ordinance of 1936," which gave the right of subpoena to the Commission. More

important, the Ordinance gave the Royal Commission the power "to procure all such evidence, written or oral, and to examine all such persons as witnesses as the Commissioners may think it necessary or desirable to procure or examine."[55] No limits were placed on what evidence could be examined or which witnesses could be required. The general rules of evidence were suspended, as the Commission was given the power to "admit any evidence ... which might be inadmissible in civil or criminal proceedings."[56] There was not even a clause requesting that the Commission's calls be limited to their terms of reference. In short, the Commission could inquire into nearly any topic, and, as their report shows, they did.

The Royal Commission was appointed on August 7, 1936. Yet, they did not meet until October 6, as they were delayed by violence in Palestine. As the Royal Commission reports, "the interval was not, however, entirely without value, since we were enabled to examine some of the numerous official reports relating to the Mandatory Administration and to study an invaluable series of descriptive and statistical memoranda."[57] The Commission was delayed, but they did not take evidence from witnesses in London, as they did not want to create the appearance of special hearings.[58] Had they taken evidence in the interim, Wauchope argued that "it would only need a few agitators spreading the rumour that the Royal Commission was not coming out at once because they wished to take Jewish evidence in London ... to start the old troubles over again."[59] The reports and memoranda reviewed by the Royal Commission were incorporated into the report. In their review, the Royal Commission "determined that, while we might in the meantime acquire some historical knowledge of the historical background and of essential facts and figures, we should apply to the evidence to be heard in Palestine minds so far as possible free from prejudice or preconceived ideas."[60] That is, the institutional knowledge acquired by the Colonial Office would provide a general background, but evidence taken in Palestine would become the primary foundation for the report.

A great deal of the Royal Commission's archival materials has been destroyed. As much as 75 per cent of the documentation compiled may have been burned or "put aside" in classified

files that cannot be accessed even today. Much of the testimony taken by the Commission has been destroyed to protect witnesses against reprisals and to ensure forthrightness in testimony. Nonetheless, many fragments of the testimony appear in the Royal Commission's report. If the witness was a public figure, such as the High Commissioner for Palestine, the Mufti of Jerusalem, of President of the Zionist Organization (Wauchope, al-Husseini, and Weizmann, respectively), the witness was named. More common, however, was the appearance of other, less public voices. Shopkeepers, police officers, and physicians appeared before the Commission. Witnesses were drawn from the Palestinian Jewish, Muslim, and Christian communities, as well as from the offices of the Mandatory Government. Because "there were some witnesses whom it was more proper to hear in private and others who preferred to give evidence in that manner," the identities of these individuals often remain secret.[61] The Royal Commission emphasizes that their witnesses were a representative cross-section of Palestine (although only four women testified). The Commission indicates that it was "impracticable to examine all those who offered themselves at witnesses; but we believe that no aspect of situation on which it was important to receive evidence was neglected in the representative testimony of those who actually appeared before us, or in written statements."[62]

Although it was impracticable to hear all witnesses, the Commission sought to hear the breadth of testimony available from men. This testimony would comprise the basis of the Royal Commission's report, not the preconceptions of the Colonial Office. Rumbold, the vice-Chair of the Commission wrote to Peel, the Chair, that the Commission needed to "*make clear to the public*" that, "rather than with the object of amplifying the memorandum prepared for us," the Commission would seek a policy based on full investigation, with "the main part of the official evidence being taken after we had heard the Arab and Jewish views."[63] The Commission would not kowtow to previous British commitments. At the October 6 meeting, the Commission stated, "after discussion *it was agreed* that, in view of the difficulty of interpreting the Mandate, particularly as regards the 'position' of the 'non-Jews,' it would be better not to try to construe

[the Palestine question] in advance, but to allow witnesses considerable latitude in its interpretation."[64]

The Royal Commission heard an array of witnesses, and the surviving fragments in the archive proper show strongly divergent views. For example, the Commission heard evidence from Zionist extremist Vladimir Jabotinsky, despite the fact that, in Ormsby-Gore's words, "he had made himself a very outspoken exponent of extreme views regarding a Jewish 'state' in Palestine."[65] Jabotinsky's views were balanced with those of the pro-Nazi al-Husseini, the Mufti of Jerusalem. The Mufti argued that, in the face of a Jewish State, "the Palestinian Arabs much prefer death to a policy aiming at their annihilation."[66] Commentators from outside Palestine were also asked for input. Colonel Josiah Wedgwood argued to the Commission that "nobody should be sent to Palestine without being told that he must be in favour of the settlement of that country by the Jews and the carrying out of the Mandate."[67] In opposition, Emir Abdullah of Iraq averred that, "no Arab, no matter how reasonable and moderate he may be and no matter how far he participates with those who support the Balfour Declaration, in their sympathy towards the Jews, can but advise that a 'halt' should be called [to the Mandate] and that not one step further should be attempted."[68]

Many witnesses presented extreme pro-Arab nationalist or pro-Zionist views. Just as common, however, were advocates who sought balanced approaches. Colonel Patterson, for instance, laid blame at the feet of British policy, holding that, under the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, "throughout the whole of this district *there was never once the slightest friction between Arab and Jew*. If Palestine had been impartially administered from the outset" as it had been under the OETA, "no friction need have occurred."[69] As such, Patterson urged that the entirety of British policy be rethought. Samuel Newcombe agreed. He argued that there was a perception that Britain was "entirely under the control of Zionists to let them develop the country as suited them best, without regard to British or Arab interests or feelings."[70] Because of this perception, Newcombe recommended that "whenever Zionists are consulted on political matters,

Arabs should be equally consulted" and that an Arab Office be established in London to balance

the Zionist Organization.[71] The anti-Zionist Jewish organization Agudath Israel argued that a

Jewish State was "opposed by the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people" and was "in

complete contradiction with the historical tradition of the Jewish people."[72] Therefore, they urged

the Balfour Declaration be reneged. Similarly, Ascher Saphir wrote for the Palestinian Delegation

that settlement should "not have as its basis either the Balfour Declaration or the accord entered

into between the British and King Husein. The accord to be reached between the two parties must

not be influenced by either of those two political documents."[73]

Despite collecting evidence reflecting the breadth of opinion in Palestine, the

Commission admits that their desire to obtain a full view was not fulfilled. Indeed, their report

argues that the question of Palestine can only be answered if the fundamental oscillations required

of British policy are recognized Moreover, the Commission claimed that policymaking required

objective balance and should always be provisional, as further investigation would be needed for

the findings to remain relevant. The Royal Commission's report recognizes its limitations.

Although they do, in the end, call for a partition of Palestine, they claimed that partition required

a technical commission to investigate its practicability.

The Royal Commission made clear that their investigation found a need for British policy

on Palestine to oscillate between two poles. The Royal Commission indicated that the Mandate

system "involved certain general obligations, mainly towards the Arabs. The Mandate *itself*

involved certain specific obligations, mainly towards the Jews."[74] Rather than a clear and

principled preference, the Royal Commission claimed that Palestinian violence was not a case

where one side was "in the wrong by resorting to force, whereas the other side patiently kept the

law."[75] Instead, "it is fundamentally a conflict of right with right."[76] The first pole was supported

by the Commission's claim that "unquestionably ... the primary purpose of the Mandate, *as*

expressed in its preamble and its articles, is to promote the establishment of the Jewish National

Home."[77] The second pole was equally relevant, as "there are also general obligations attached to

every Mandate. These are not always remembered in the present controversy, nor is the first recital of the Preamble so often quoted" as the reference to the Balfour Declaration.[78] The first recital, that the Mandate is issued "for the purpose of giving effect to Article 22 of the Covenant,"[79] declares that "the principle of 'national self-determination' should be applied as far as possible" to the Ottoman colonies and the people who make up a majority in that territory.[80]

British attempts to oscillate between these poles were largely ineffective. The Royal Commission found that His Majesty's Government assumed "that the obligations ... undertaken towards the Arabs and the Jews respectively would not conflict. And this belief was still held when the draft Mandate was confirmed."[81] The Commission states that "it must have been obvious from the outset that a very awkward situation should arise if that basic assumption should prove false. It would evidently make the operation of the Mandate at every point more difficult, and it would greatly complicate the question of its termination."[82] Tension existed between the national home concept and the right to self-determination. If the majority were given self-determination, the Arabs could obviate the possibility of a Jewish state in Palestine. Yet, if the Balfour Declaration were implemented, the rights of the Arab majority to determine the disposal of Palestine could be violated. Simply put, "the international recognition of the right of the Jews to return to their old homeland did not involve the recognition of the Jews to govern the Arabs in it against their will."[83] Likewise, the international recognition of the rights of the Arabs to self-determination did not involve the right of the Arabs to govern the Jews in Palestine against their will.

Despite the tensions between the two poles of the Mandate, the Royal Commission found that Britain ignored the need for oscillation. As such, Britain could not make better policy until it realized that "in that stark contradiction ... lay and always had la in that one insurmountable crux" of the problem.[84] The only way that the Mandate could be maintained in its present form, the Royal Commission wrote, was to rely "on the old original assumption that the two races could and would learn to live and work together" under this contradiction.[85] Through subsequent policy

statements, this assumption went unchallenged. The difficulty of relying on the assumption was not that Arabs and Jews could never co-exist. Indeed, the Commission went to great lengths to argue that, before the interference of European Powers in Palestine, Jewish and Arab relations were cordial.[86] The difficulty lay in the way that this assumption played out. The Commission argued that in the formation of the assumption of cooperation "only one voice was missing from the chorus—the Arab voice. Not once since 1919 had any Arab leader said that co-operation with the Jews was even possible."[87] Instead of joining the chorus, "the response of Arab nationalism to the assumption to which all the other parties in the case so stubbornly adhered was an equally stubborn denial. *Obstat natura*."[88]

In the face of counterclaims, the Royal Commission held that this obstinacy was not racial or permanent. Instead, the obstinacy on the part of the Arabs arose from the failure of His Majesty's Government to take Arab concerns seriously. Indeed, as I have noted in Chapter Four, the Colonial Office often expressly ignored Arab contacts. The Arab Higher Committee, the Commission states, was reluctant even to participate in the hearings. Rather than seeing the hearings as an open forum, the Arab Higher Commission believed that their demands would be ignored again. The Royal Commission relates that "the Arab Higher Committee told us plainly why they [delayed their appearance before the Commission]. There has never, indeed, been much doubt about it. The Arab leaders have often set out their case before in public statements, and for some time they were in doubt whether they could add to its weight by repeating it before the Royal Commission."[89] The Royal Commission represented the first time that Arab views were taken seriously, at least in the Commission's eyes. The point, however, was not simply to accede to Arab demands. Rather, "the point which concerns us here is not whether the Arab claims are justified or not, but simply that they are their claims, and that the overriding or setting-aside of them was the main cause of the disturbances" in Palestine.[90]

The central concern of the Royal Commission, then, was to ensure an open investigation. Beyond stating that all assumptions of British policy in Palestine could be questioned, the

Commission also emphasized the importance of maintaining an objective viewpoint. Equal access to the Commission needed to be ensured. The Commission identified conflicts in the Mandate as the primary cause of the Arab strike and riots. Yet a severe aggravating factor was "the inequality of opportunity enjoyed by Arabs and Jews respectively in putting their case before Your Majesty's Government, Parliament, and public opinion in this country; and the Arab belief that the Jews can always get their way by means denied to the Arabs."[91] Because of this belief, the Royal Commission argued that Arab opinion had to be accessed and weighed objectively against Jewish opinion in the Commission's deliberations.

In addition to being neutral, the Commission also stated, "while it seemed manifest that the situation was far more serious and a settlement far more difficult than we had imagined before leaving England, we realized the danger of allowing ourselves to be to much affected by the atmosphere around us."[92] Primarily, this meant that the Commission could not accept failure at the outset and had to "give due weight to any reassuring facts or opinion or to follow up any line which might conceivably lead to a happier conclusion."[93] The commitment not to be prematurely pessimistic did not mean that the Commission would examine Palestine through rose-colored glasses. Indeed, the Royal Commission stated that "we have been careful not to overstate the facts as we see them" to create a dark view.[94] Yet, the Commission indicated that they *were* pessimistic, holding that "understatement is no less reprehensible" than overstatement," and we should be failing in our duty if we said anything to encourage a hopeful outlook for the future peace of Palestine under the existing system or anything akin to it."[95] This pessimism, however, was premised on Britain retaining the Mandate in its 1922 form. Rather than conceding defeat, the Commission held that "the best service which well-wishers of the National Home can render it is to recognize frankly that the situation in Palestine had reached a deadlock and to bend their minds to find a way out."[96]

Old assumptions of Palestine policy had to be reconsidered. The Mandate for Palestine, the cornerstone of British policy, could be torn out and replaced. Towards this end, the Royal

Commission recommended additional investigation before commitment. Although the point of having the Commission tour Palestine and take evidence was precisely to investigate, the Royal Commission followed the rest of His Majesty's Government in asserting that more investigation was needed. Although the Commission recognized that "it was clearly our duty to probe the case on either side, and we have done what we could to form a judgment on it," because of time constraints and the lack of technical expertise the Commission's "judgment must be taken only as a rough, although we believe it to be a fair, opinion on a complicated question."[97]

This "rough" opinion would require the services of a technical commission to be made smooth. After outlining the problems of the internally conflicting Mandate and the need for objectivity, the Commission made its recommendations. Although they claimed to "have exhaustively considered what might be done in one field after another in execution of the Mandate to improve the prospect of peace," even this exhaustive consideration required additional inquiry.[98] The Royal Commission outlined 13 areas of dispute between Arabs and Jews. In the conclusions offered for each, the tentativeness of the recommendations is made clear as is the need for additional inquiries. For example, in describing the need for administrative reform, the Commission states that "from the very start" the government of Palestine had "been driven to work at high pressure and has never had an opportunity for calm reflection," an opportunity that must be offered before reforms can be specifically recommended.[99] Likewise, when discussing security policy, the Commissions wrote, "truth compels us to say that ... we would regard [our recommendations], not as a permanent remedy, but only as temporary measures designed to prevent a recurrence of open rebellion."[100] For a more permanent solution, the Commission recommended an expert staff of British District Officers be appointed to determine policy. A thornier issue, that of land distribution, benefited from the Commission's "reading many earlier reports of various committees and experts."[101] Despite these earlier studies, the Commission made clear that, "after all these reports, covering a period of fifteen years, the Palestine Government are unable to state with any degree of certainty how much land" and of

what type they may dispose.[102] As such, these issues require more investigation. The same can be said of water issues ("Much work remains to be done before any reliable estimate can be made of the approximate quantity of water available and still more to ascertain how much can be brought into use"[103]), immigration issues ("[T]he Administration so far as immigration is concerned have taken no account of political, social, or psychological considerations... immigration must be reviewed and decided upon all considerations and not on economic considerations alone"[104]), education reform ("[W]e are not in a position to say how practicable it may be financially or otherwise; but we recommend that in any further discussion of the project the possibility should be carefully considered"[105]), and the rest.

The Royal Commission recognized that its report was unsatisfactory. Indeed, the Commission stated that the recommendations were

> not, in our opinion, the recommendations which our terms of reference require. They will not, that is to say, "remove" the grievances nor "prevent their recurrence." They are the best palliatives we can devise for the disease from which Palestine is suffering, but they are only palliatives. They might reduce the inflammation and bring down the temperature, but they cannot cure the trouble. The disease is so deep-rooted that, on our firm conviction, the only hope of a cure lies in a surgical operation.[106]

The radical surgery suggested by the Commission was partition. Although they made the recommendation with trepidation, they argued that "partition seems to offer at least a chance of ultimate peace. We can see none in any other plan."[107] That is, partition was recommended because it was the only option considered, not because it was an appealing one. This endorsement was further limited when the Commission clarified that, "with the information at our command, we are not in a position to assert that the proposal we have to make in this matter is the only solution of an obviously difficult problem."[108]

The Commission also recognized that its work was not complete. The Commission admitted, "clearly we must show that an actual plan can be devised which meets the main requirements of the case. There seem to us to be three essential features of such a plan. It must be practicable. It must conform to our obligations. It must do justice to the Arabs and the Jews."[109] Although the Commission was able to outline these principles for partition, it was unable to offer a full plan. To conceive such a plan, the Royal Commission indicated that further study should be performed

The *Times* remained largely silent while the Royal Commission met. The first "leading article" on Palestine was not published until the initial draft of the Commission's report was released in July 1937. The *Times* stated that, with this report, the "Commission has set forth with unanswerable cogency (and, it may be added, with rare felicity of language) the whole case for the revision of the British Mandate and the partition of the Mandatory Territory."[110] The plan of partition, the *Times* realized, was not complete. Indeed, they argued that "any conceivable plan must be open to attack in detail" and that the partition plan, failing the test of specificity, needed refinement.[111] Nonetheless, the *Times* kept the question of partition open, as "the critic" of partition "must be prepared to show that he has a better plan of his own." The *Times* noted that the arguments for partition were clear, but the plan was not. As they wrote, "more discussion of detail is unquestionably necessary; the plan of partition sketches the broad outlines of proposals which will have to worked out."[112] Despite the need for additional investigation into the details of partition, the *Times* advocated that the Government "leave no doubt that they mean to follow resolutely the broad conclusions of the Royal Commission's Report."[113] In August 1937, once the Commission's report was forwarded to the League of Nations for consideration, the *Times* claimed that no deviation from partition should be allowed.[114]

The *Times* was a leading advocate of partition. Investigation was proper, but investigation was not a substitute for policy as such. In January 1938, the *Times* argued that Parliament's call for additional study was important for two reasons. First, "it emphatically gives the lie to

rumours" that partition would not be enacted.[115] Second, investigation into borders would "press on with the work of reconciliation" as it resolved "feelings of anxiety, uncertainty and suspense" about British commitments to Palestine.[116] The pace of the study was, however, too slow for the *Times*. They claimed that "the lapse of time" between the call for a technical study and the appointment of the Technical Commission "contributed to the prolongation of the anxieties and uncertainties of the Palestinians. And unfortunately, the anxieties of the Palestinians affect a wider world than lies between Dan and Beersheba."[117]

The continuous study, the *Times* believed, contributed to violence in Palestine. They argued that Britain must rid its policy of "vague and hesitant language," as "hesitation has been the besetting sin of British policy in Palestine" and the goad to intercommunal violence.[118] When a firmer decision had not been articulated by March 1938, the *Times* claimed that "in the present state of Palestine delays breed uncertainty, and uncertainty encourages terrorism."[119] The "terrorists," they wrote in April, "have been encouraged by the vague and indecisive language" of the Royal Commission's report.[120] As such, they urged the Technical Commission to complete its survey as quickly as possible and to report definitive findings. The reason behind the *Times*'s call was simple: "it has been said with great truth that it is relatively easy to put down rebellion against a definite policy, but almost impossible to suppress it when policy is indefinite or when it is believed to be non-existent."[121] The investigation had to conclude. The *Times* argued for a clear policy, as "it is to be hoped at all events that His Majesty's Government will henceforth avoid giving occasion for the suspicion ... that they are playing for time before taking a definite decision on the question of partition."[122] Designing good policy was admirable; delaying policy through interminable investigation was not.

The calls for more investigation, and less discussion of policy, the *Times* claimed, undermined the benefits of partition. The *Times* praised Shuckburgh when the Government "expressed the opinion that partition offered in principle the best and most hopeful solution of the Palestinian deadlock."[123] Nonetheless, their praise was tempered when they noted that

Shuckburgh's claims "can only have been weakened ... by his earlier statements that there must be some uncertainty as to the details of partition."[124] The *Times* concluded, "it cannot be too strongly emphasized" that peace in Palestine "will depend very largely on the belief that His Majesty's Government will not swerve from the policy to which they have publicly adhered."[125] The *Times* claimed that violence and Jewish-Arab conflict could be resolved only if it was established that "the fundamental British policy of partition had not and will not be deflected by terrorism."[126] Shuckburgh's, and the Government's, equivocation and delay could not be tolerated. In the *Times*'s view, His Majesty's Government's "determination to select and follow a definitive policy as soon as they had obtained the necessary data" should be praised, but more praiseworthy would be a settled policy action.[127] According to the *Times*, Britain knew two things, both of which called for a partition. First, the Balfour Declaration committed Britain to a "notorious lack of policy and of departmental cooperation at home" that undermined the unity of the Empire.[128] Second, "the Palestine problem must be separated from that presented by the situation of the Jews in a great part of Europe."[129] Once these two items were recognized, the *Times* claimed, British policy in Palestine was made simple and partition made necessary.

Partition was the only solution examined by the *Times*. They stated that, although "no one pretends that partition is an ideal solution ... none of its critics has produced a better" plan.[130] "The partition of Palestine," they wrote, "for all its obvious risks, seems less dangerous than [Palestine's] mechanical unification" under the Balfour Declaration.[131] Although the choice *was not* between partition and unification, as there were several forms of partition and several possible modes of unification, the *Times* argued that commitment to a questionable policy was better than having no policy at all. Indeed, the *Times* praised an extemporaneous speech by Churchill in Parliament on November 24, 1938. The *Times* held that "Churchill, after a vigorous and not undeserved denunciation of earlier hesitations and temporizations on the part of the Government, went on to offer his solution."[132] This solution was that partition should be implemented as soon as practicable.

Although Churchill seemed to settle the debate, Churchill's policy may have been approved as policy by default. Hesitation and temporization were more common than firm advocacies in Parliament. From the time that the Royal Commission began its investigation until Churchill's speech, the debates about the Royal Commission and Technical Commission and their reports are characterized by two qualities. First, there are continuous calls for investigation. Second, there are consistent statements that Parliament should do nothing to bias the outcomes of the Committees' work. Simply put, until Churchill proposed partition, no policy was suggested, and Churchill's policy was the only policy considered by Parliament.

The Royal Commission departed for Palestine on November 5, 1936 and opened its sessions on November 12. The Commission finished taking evidence in Palestine on January 17, 1937 and all members returned to London by January 30. The Commission spent the next five months compiling their report and it was submitted to George VI on June 22. While the report was written, Baldwin and his Cabinet sought to limit Parliament's inquiry into the Commission's activities. Parliamentary debates indicate that the Government moved through three phases. First, the Government sought to protect the Royal Commission's objectivity by limiting Parliament's inquiry. Then, in the debates over the Commission's report, Parliament made calls for further investigation. Finally, in the debate over the White Paper, Parliament stated that a policy needed to be formed. There, most speakers expressed frustration at endless inquiry, but only one member – Churchill – proposed an actual policy for debate. By the end of Parliament's collective statement, there still was no debate over the policy of partition, but a settlement on partition almost as if by default.

The Government consistently told Parliament that, while the Commission investigated and wrote its report, discussion of Palestine was improper, as it might influence the Commission's findings. For example, in response to a November 24, 1936 question by Wedgwood about the causes of violence in Palestine, Ormsby-Gore said, "it would be improper for me to attempt to analyse them while the Commission is engaged on its inquiry."[133] During the

January 27, 1937 Question Time, Ormsby-Gore stated that the Government was not designing policy, as "it is not possible to make any definitive statement until the report of the Commission and the evidence are in the hands of His Majesty's Government."[134] When Sir Gordon Hall-Caine asked on February 3 what limits were placed on the Commission's inquiry, Ormsby-Gore replied that that "matter is entirely one for the Royal Commission itself," and not a limit that the Government should try to set.[135] When William Gallagher raised the question of partition on February 17, Ormsby-Gore replied that he was "not in a position to say anything about the future of Palestine until I receive the report of the Royal Commission."[136]

Parliament began to suspect that the Government was accessing the Commission's findings without sharing them. In response to an accusation by Campbell Stephen on February 24, Ormsby-Gore claimed, "I have not read any of the evidence of the Palestine Royal Commission myself. I shall no doubt receive the printed evidence from the Royal Commission when the report is issued."[137] On April 14, Robert Morgan asked when this evidence would be published. Ormsby-Gore regretted that he could not give a publication date, and claimed "until the Report of the Royal Commission is received I can make no statement" about publication.[138] Geoffrey Mander and Thomas Williams each asked on May 24 how His Majesty's Government would craft policy in reaction to the Report. Ormsby-Gore replied that "until the report of the Royal Commission is received no final decision as to procedure can be taken, but it is hoped that it will be possible for His Majesty's Government to reach their conclusions without delay."[139] Ormsby-Gore also stressed that the Government would not "consider the advisability of publishing the report before [the Royal Commission] come to their conclusions," as such consideration would bias their findings.[140]

After the Report was issued, the Government dodged immediate inquiry by claiming the League of Nations had to investigate also. The League's findings, the Government indicated, would influence British policy. Ormsby-Gore told Parliament on July 7 that a report sent to Parliament was a "purely objective statement of facts" and "submitted by the Palestine

Government purely as record."[141] On July 12, Ormsby-Gore stated that League input was required because "Palestine has never been a part of the British Empire" and the Royal Commission's findings would need to be reviewed under Article 22, the Mandates provision of the League Covenant.[142] Later that day, he told Parliament that they could not read the Commission's evidence, nor could he, because the Report "relies on confidential evidence which was given solely to the Royal Commission in confidence and which is always kept under seal."[143]

After the Report of the Royal Commission was issued to Parliament, an extensive debate took place on July 21. Ormsby-Gore opened the debate, moving "that this House approves the policy of His Majesty's Government as set out" in the Command Paper.[144] Ormsby-Gore praised the Royal Commission's report, arguing that "no more impartial body, no more varied body could have been selected to go fundamentally in this question of Palestine."[145] In addition to claiming that the Commission had engaged in full and objective inquiry, Ormsby-Gore urged that Parliament do the same. He warned Parliament that

> practically everything said in this Debate will be scrutinised word by word by both Arab and Jew, not only in Palestine, but throughout the world, and that there is in this problem of Palestine a problem which is not confined to Palestine, but involves the whole of Jewry throughout the world and whole Moslem world as well. Therefore, it behooves us ... to weigh our words carefully with this gigantic problem arising in a tiny country.[146]

Ormsby-Gore also told Parliament that prior commitments should not form the basis of Parliament's decision. He stated that Palestine "is not purely Arab territory. It is not purely Jewish territory. It is not purely Christian territory ... No settlement is possible unless the interests of Moslem, Jew and Christian are recognised in the future of Palestine."[147] As such, Ormsby-Gore claimed that no preconceived policy should be followed without thorough investigation, *including* the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence.[148]

Ormsby-Gore even argued that the Mandate itself did not have to be followed in setting

British policy. He stated,

> the Mandate in the minds of some people has become a sort of bible, every word
>
> of which is inspired, and that is hopeless. The whole essence of the League of
>
> Nations is that treaties and international obligations, when they are shown to be
>
> obsolete by the facts of the case, can and should be revised.[149]

To meet this need for revision, Ormsby-Gore, like the Royal Commission, proposed partition.

Yet, like the Commission, his advocacy was tentative at best and demanded additional

investigation. Ormsby-Gore appeared to make a strong statement when he claimed that "only by

partition can the ideals of both [Arabs and Jews] be realised, only by partition can peace be

restored to these two nationalities."[150] Ormsby-Gore, though, tempered this advocacy. First, he

claimed that Britain could not yet implement the plan. Instead, Britain "cannot make one step in

the direction of the policy proposed in the White Paper, we cannot implement any proposal of the

Royal Commission, without first going to the League."[151] Additionally, even if Britain could

implement the policy, Ormsby-Gore made clear that he was not asking anyone to advocate

anything; "the House of Commons is not being invited to tie itself, any more than is the

Government, to the specific proposals ... of the Royal Commission's report."[152] Instead,

Parliament and the Government are being asked "whether they accept the general thesis" that "a

case has been made for fundamental changes in the Mandate ... not the details of this particular

scheme."[153]

Ormsby-Gore clarified that he was seeking permission simply to investigate the

possibilities of partition. He stated, "it is obvious that proposals so radical, so novel and so

unexpected by His Majesty's Government, will take a great deal of prolonged consideration, and

it is most undesirable that people should jump to the conclusion that the doors are shut in this and

that direction."[154] At the close of Ormsby-Gore's speech, the motion was amended by Archibald

Sinclair to move that "the proposals ... be brought before the League of Nations with a view to

enabling His Majesty's Government, after adequate inquiry, to present to Parliament a definite scheme taking into full account all the recommendations of the Command Paper."[155] The call for a debate on the merits of partition became a debate on the need for more study and the need to gain the approval of two additional agents, the League and Parliament, with a motion that better fit the content of Ormsby-Gore's speech.

Further investigation may have been warranted. As several Members noted, the Royal Commission was appointed to study the problem of Palestine, not to study the merits of partition. Morgan Jones argued that Palestine "is a most-far reaching question, and one which obviously calls for a most meticulous examination by the House."[156] As "no evidence was taken on the question of partition" by the Commission, Jones recommended that a Joint Select Committee be appointed to investigate the issue.[157] He concluded that the Government "must walk with care and circumspection, and to that end it must fortify itself with more knowledge of the facts of the situation than has yet been presented to it."[158] Similarly, Sinclair claimed, "it is too early for this House to take the final and irrevocable step which His Majesty's Government are asking us to take this afternoon."[159] Rather than advocating partition, he stated, "we must guard against the conclusion that partition is the only way out ... The scheme of the Royal Commission is only a crude outline. It was outside their terms of reference, and they obtained no evidence about it from any of the parties in Palestine."[160] Based on these arguments, Sinclair urged Parliament to empower "fact-finding inquiries in regard to customs, finance, immigration, defence, and Transjordan before we decide" on the policy of partition.[161] Leopold Amery agreed that, "if we are going to adopt the policy of partition, we have obviously to consider all the arguments and consideration upon which partition should be based."[162] Amery said, "my point is that the Commission's scheme as it stands is only the merest sketch. It really has not been fully thought out. The Commission never called the evidence [on partition], which is essential before such a scheme can be drawn up."[163]

In the debate on the Royal Commission's report, the terms of reference for a new commission were outlined. Daniel Frankel proposed a Technical Commission because "no evidence has been taken upon partition. Those who produced this Report were not asked to produce a Report upon Partition, but the conclusion is quite definitive. If there should be a partition, then let Arab and Jewish opinion ... come and give evidence" on it.[164] Churchill agreed with the need for more investigation. He claimed that he could not vote for partition without study "because it seems to me it would be premature for the Government to ask the House to commit itself finally to this main principle. The principle cannot be judged fairly apart form the details by which it is expressed."[165] He concluded, "this is a matter on which we must know more before we can approve."[166] Williams ended the debate with a statement that captured the mood of the House. He stated, "Members in all parts of the House feel that it is premature for this House to be committed to the proposals of the White Paper."[167] As such, he held that "to even accept the principles laid down by the Commission was very premature, dangerous, and extremely hazardous."[168] He urged the Members to "not let the House commit itself, either in principle or in detail, to a scheme which has not been worked out.[169]"

The Government obeyed these calls for further investigation. On July 15, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Viscount Cranborne claimed that, even though the Royal Commission recommended partition, the Government had not altered the terms of the Mandate because it had not yet consulted with the League.[170] Ormsby-Gore accepted the Parliament's request for more investigation, stating that the Government could not "adopt proposals until we have heard the views of the League of Nations."[171] After Cranborne's resignation, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Robert Eden told Parliament on July 28 that League input would be required because "approval of the Council of the League is required for any alteration in the terms of the Mandate" and that the League would want to conduct an inquiry as well.[172]

After the League gave its general approval for Britain to investigate the possibilities of partition, the issue of a Technical Commission's parameters was raised in Parliament in March

1938. The Technical Commission was appointed to investigate the practicability of partition. Parliament, however, became concerned that the Commission would rehash the topics of previous investigation and derive no new findings. At the debate on the Technical Commission, Jones argued that, while Palestine was a complex issue, "we do not need more knowledge on Palestine. Palestine has been examined, re-examined, and re-examined over and over again. It is not information we wanted but an inquiry as to the implications" of partition.[173] Because the Commission was not covering new ground, Jones reported, "I deplore very much that it was not been possible for us to examine fully the conditions which seem to me to give rise to this necessity" of British-enforced partition.[174] Rothschild agreed that the Technical Commission needed to conclude its work before Parliament recessed for the summer. As "the delay and lack of decision" evidenced by another fact finding Commission "encourages terrorism," Rotshchild claimed "it is therefore urgent that the fact-finding Commissions ... should arrive at its conclusions as quickly as possible in order to put an end to procrastination."[175] Captain Victor Cazalet was even more suspicious of the continued investigation. He claimed "there is no country in the world where so many surveys have been made as have been made in Palestine. Every orange grove has been noted and the inhabitants of every village have been checked... I ask the Government to expedite a decision."[176] Pessimistically, Cazalet claimed that the whole purpose of the study was to avoid articulating a policy, as "it is always easier to put off a decision if it is likely to entail trouble or difficulties, but ... it is vital, if you want peace and goodwill, to come to a decision."[177] Richard Denman replied to this point, noting, "the survey has been going on and is not yet near completion, but [Ormsy-Gore] has used very specific words when he said that until an effective picture of partition was provided by some such survey, you cannot with any certainty suggest conditions" for partition.[178] "Indeed," Denman argued, "if the work is to be properly done it is worth doing carefully, with great attention to detail, and with every attempt to get the best possible view that can be obtained upon it."[179]

The Technical Commission was sent to Palestine in May 1938. In June, they had not completed their study. When they appeared before the Supply Committee's Estimates debate on June 14, 1938, the Government and Members in its coalition presented a strong case for continued inquiry. The debate was short. The newly named Secretary of State for the Colonies Malcolm MacDonald summarized Parliament's permission for the Commission. He argued that the Government obtained permission "to explore a scheme of partition further, and some two months ago the Woodhead Commission went out to Palestine to examine in greater detail the possibility of a scheme of partition which would be equitable and practicable."[180] The Commission had not, however, completed its survey. Rather than giving an opinion on behalf of the Government, MacDonald reported that, "pending the receipt of its report, it is impossible to add anything to the statements which have been made" about the Government's position on the question of Palestine.[181]

Although there was suspicion that investigation was a delaying tactic and although Parliament was becoming frustrated, the Members supported the need for additional study because they would be able to investigate the issue as well. Jones, a Member who had complained about incessant study, limited Parliament's right to inquire further into the Technical Commission's terms of reference. He held investigation was necessary, and as long as investigation was ongoing, "this Parliament refused to commit itself to the principle of partition, and it is not committed at this moment."[182] Moreover, Jones told Parliament that "the House of Commons should be consulted on any recommendation that Commission may make on the question of partition" or else the partition plan could not be considered binding.[183] Rothschild, an opponent of partition, agreed. He claimed that "the future of Palestine lies in the report of the Commission. After the Commission have reported the matter is to be referred to this House and it will therefore be debated again."[184] MacDonald agreed with these arguments, promising that a report would be forthcoming soon. Having received funding for the Commission's work, he made clear that the Government would not act without further consultation with Parliament. He stated,

"the Government is very well aware that [the need for investigation] is the position of the House of Commons at the present and that no final decision on the principle [of partition] can be taken until the House has been able to express its position on the matter."[185]

Following the debate, MacDonald reported to Parliament, but indicated that Palestine was still under study. As such, he could not tell Parliament what policy His Majesty's Government would pursue. Because "the commission are inquiring into the question of an equitable and practicable scheme," MacDonald said, "naturally, a certain amount [of the Government's policy] must depend on the findings of the commission."[186] Furthermore, MacDonald reminded Parliament "that a commission is now engaged in investigations in Palestine with a view to framing an equitable and practicable scheme of partition," which prevented him from making further comment on the Government's policies.[187] Even when the Technical Commission returned to London, MacDonald refused comment on the direction of future policy. Having received the Report, MacDonald informed Parliament that the Government "are now carefully considering the report" and "hope it will be possible to publish the report and to issue a statement of the Government's intentions shortly after the beginning of the new session."[188] This statement was issued as the White Paper on Palestine.

At the debates on the White Paper, held on November 14, the depth of investigation came under attack. Yet, with the exception of a policy proposed by Churchill, there was little discussion of actual policy. Instead, the Government reiterated the standards for thorough and fair investigation, while Members of the Opposition argued that the Government should articulate a specific policy. MacDonald thanked Parliament for not engaging in extensive advocacy on the question of Palestine. He claimed that "hon. Members have refrained from doing these things. It is not because they are indifferent to what is going on in Palestine."[189] Rather, they have "refrained from doing these things because they appreciate the special difficulty and delicacy with which we are faced in that country."[190] Although he realized the Government was being attacked for unclear and wavering policy, MacDonald reported that partition was still under

investigation. He stated that, partition "is a policy of discussion with Arabs and Jews in London, and we are going to abide by that policy. We cannot do anything now which might prejudice the chance of those discussions ending successfully."[191] That is, the policy was to consider the problem of Palestine, not to force a solution. Although partition was the government's starting point, MacDonald admitted that it could be modified. If the conference with the Jews and Arabs did not work, "the Government will itself take full responsibility ... in the light of its examination of the question, following the Peel and Woodhead Reports, and in the light of the discussions themselves, for formulating and declaring future policy."[192] Although the White Paper was presented as, and later became, the Government's policy, it was a draft and could be substantially modified or rejected altogether based on the discussions in London.

Herbert Morrison believed that it was time to stop the investigation and to assert a policy. Because partition was still a topic of discussion, rather than policy, Morrison argued that Britain "was getting deeper and deeper into the mire, that there was less and less clarity of utterance and less and less decision" because of the endless need for investigation.[193] Morrison made clear that he was "not saying that discussion is a bad thing... But you cannot govern a country by talk, and you cannot solve international problems by eternal discussion. The time has come when we ought to have some reasonable idea of what the policy of the Government is."[194] The problem with investigation was simple in his view. Rather than having investigation lead to sound policy, investigation allowed delay and the avoidance of proposing a solution. Indeed, Morrison remarked that, after the Royal Commission's Report, "the Government definitely accepted partition," yet "the other Commissioners reported that the Governments action about partition was all wrong, and so the Government said, 'very well, no partition; we always agree with the latest commission's report.'"[195] Morrison lambasted the policy of continuous investigation into conditions on Palestine precisely because investigation prevented the discussion of policies to resolve those conditions.

Other Members agreed that the policy of investigation was no policy at all. Kenneth Pickthorn claimed, "instead of accepting the policy [of partition], we authorized the Government to go to Geneva and explore the possibilities of the policy."[196] Because the Government had not proposed a policy as such, its merits went unexplored. Pickthorn concluded that "the effect of that vote in this House was that for the 18 months nothing could be done, and we are still in a position in which nothing had been done because of that day's vote."[197] Churchill confirmed Pickthron's view. He argued that "there was nothing that the Royal Commission ... could have possibly discovered in Palestine that was not already known to the Middle East Department of the Colonial Office—nothing."[198] Rather than facing the question of policy forthrightly, Churchill held that "the British Government lived from hand to mouth in Jerusalem, while the responsible Ministers back home held firm to the opinion that nothing was settled and that all speculations were premature."[199] John McGovern suggested that His Majesty's Government had given "the feeling that you are afraid to face the situation" because of the endless calls for more investigation.[200] Ralph Beaumont claimed that the work of investigation had been for naught. Because there was not a discussion of policy implementation, but only a discussion of the problem, "we therefore find ourselves back again where we were before the Royal Commission went out; we are still faced with the same problem, and in the meantime the state of affairs in Palestine has been going from bad to worse."[201] Lieutenant Commander Reginald Fletcher summarized the attitude of Parliament towards additional investigation. He stated, "as regards the conference, we must recognise that it can bring no new facts at all. All the facts are already known, and the position really is that Jews and Arabs alike believe that we have not yet made up our mind."[202]

Despite the carping for a concrete policy that could be debated on its merits, only Churchill forwarded a specific plan. Churchill rejected the need for additional study. He described the Commission as follows:

> The court is august, the judges are incorruptible, their private virtues are beyond
> dispute, but the case is urgent, and they have been able to do in three whole years
> of classic incapacity is to palter and maunder and jibber on the Bench... They are
> suffering from "a decrepitude of will power" which can be easily traced…[203]

to the Government's inability to forward concrete policy. Churchill then offered Parliament his ten-year plan for the partition of Palestine and the erection of three independent states, joined by economic union, to be completed by 1948. He proposed the policy, not because he thought it the best one, but "so that we not have any more debate or argument about what we ought to do, but only how to do it."[204] McGovern praised Churchill's option for a concrete policy. He argued that, "we can call conference after conference, but, unless we are prepared to back those conferences by the will, determination and decision of the British Government, they will come to naught."[205] Indeed, he told the Government to "get rid of this vacillating policy, make your decision as a Cabinet and Government, and carry it out."[206]

The Government then made its decision and began to carry it out. Without further Parliamentary debate, the White Paper of 1939 became British policy. There was hostility toward further investigation. The investigation into the problems of Palestine was carefully conducted so that there was not a preconceived policy, or even preconceived bases for policy. Although the White Paper appears to be a policy based on investigation, the White Paper recasts the investigation into *the need for policy* into an investigation into *actual policies*. The peripheral text displays a failure to set the parameters of policy. The center text covers this failure and presumes that policy investigation was conducted.

Center Text

The White Paper of 1939 is different from the center texts previously examined. Rather than appearing as a declaration (as the Balfour Declaration and McMahon-Hussein correspondence may have) or as a legislative framework (as the Mandate did), the White Paper appears as a narrative of decision making. The story is simple; the Government carefully

investigated policies toward Palestine, discussed them, and recommended partition as the best policy. The White Paper is divided into four sections. There is an introduction to the general problem of Palestine and three sections addressing particular problems, namely, the constitutional framework for Palestine, immigration, and land distribution. In each section, the White Paper indicates that there has been an investigation and asserts that a proposed policy has been found to address the issue.

Proem

The narrative of investigation and proposition becomes clear in the proem to the White Paper. After the debate on the White Paper, the Government called a conference that brought together Palestinian Arabs, Palestinian Jews, their respective supporters, and the Government. According to the White Paper, it was the Government's "sincere hope that, as a result of *full, free and frank discussions*, some understanding might be reached. Conferences recently took place ... and served the purpose of a *complete exchange of views* between British Ministers and the Arab and Jewish representatives."[207] Palestinian Arab and Jewish views were combined with the results of the Royal Commission's investigation. The findings of the Technical Commission were not discussed. The White Paper claims,

> In the light of the discussions as well as of the situation in Palestine and of the
>
> Reports of the Royal Commission and the Partition Commission, certain
>
> proposals were formulated by His Majesty's Government and were laid before
>
> the Arab and Jewish Delegations as the basis of an agreed settlement.[208]

The Jews and the Arabs did not agree to a settlement and offered little common ground for future proposals. As such, the White Paper states that "His Majesty's Government are free to formulate their own policy, and after careful consideration they have decided to adhere generally to the proposals which were finally submitted to and discussed with the Arab and Jewish delegations."[209] The White Paper then outlines the policies it will propose. These terms are broad. The White Paper states that "the Royal Commission and previous commissions of Enquiry have

drawn attention to the ambiguity of certain expressions in the Mandate, such as the expression 'a national home for the Jewish people', and they have found in this ambiguity ... a fundamental cause of unrest and hostility between Arabs and Jews." [210] Because vagueness was *the* root cause of violence in Palestine, the White Paper reports that "His Majesty's Government are convinced that in the interests of the peace and well being of the whole people of Palestine a clear definition of policy and objectives is essential."[211] According to the White Paper,

> It has therefore been necessary for His Majesty's Government to devise an alternative policy which will, consistent with their obligations to Arabs and Jews, meet the needs of the situation in Palestine. Their views and proposals are set forth below under three heads, Section I, 'The Constitution,' Section II. Immigration and Section III. Land.[212]

In each of these areas, the White Paper promises to state Britain's intent. Each recommendation is based on a thorough investigation into policy.

The White Paper adopts two strategies in the introduction. Each draws from the peripheral text. The peripheral text's consistent call for additional investigation is used as an inventional resource in the White Paper. The White Paper seeks to assure the reader that any relevant information has been uncovered, examined, discussed, and examined anew. All relevant parties were invited into the discussion. There could be no accusation that only Arabs were consulted or that only Jews were. In addition, the findings of other agencies, particularly the Royal Commission, as commanded by Parliament, and the Colonial Office were consulted. This was a thorough and fair discussion under the White Paper's terms. Following this investigation, the White Paper indicates that a carefully considered policy is to be implemented. A policy toward Palestine was finally offered. The frustration with investigation could be satisfied because a concrete proposal had been made. Yet, because there has been so much investigation, the policy itself can be treated as a clear articulation of Britain's intent that need not be revisited. That is, the peripheral text asserted the need for a policy because there had been so much investigation. Yet,

the investigation did not examine multiple possible policy options; it only looked into the policy problem. Here the textual gap created through the rhetoric of investigation allows the Government to assert that it has found the best policy. Moreover, because of the shape that the investigation took, there are no inventional resources for opponents. One cannot speak against the policy with additional investigation; that option is foreclosed because of the frustration with investigation. One cannot speak against the policy with the resources available; there are none because that question was not investigated. Thus, investigation into a problem creates the appearance of democratic deliberative processes but enacts policy without an examination of its suitability to the problem.

Constitution

This pattern is reiterated in the first substantive section of the White Paper. The first substantive section proposes the basis for Palestine's future Constitution. As in the proem, the White Paper asserts that the constitutional bases of a future Palestinian government were investigated and that a policy to meet those needs was designed. The White Paper indicates that it examined claims from Zionist Jews that the Balfour Declaration was the legitimate basis for a future Palestinian state. The paper states, "His Majesty's Government do not wish to contest the view ... that the Zionist leaders at the time of the issue of the Balfour Declaration recognised that an ultimate Jewish State was not precluded by the terms of the Declaration. But, with the Royal Commission, His Majesty's Government believe that the framers of the Mandate in which the Balfour Declaration was embodied could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country."[213] The White Paper then cites the Command Paper of 1922's claim that Palestine was never intended to become a Jewish State. Because the Command Paper of 1922 had not removed doubts about the British interpretation of the Balfour Declaration, though, the White Paper clarified Britain's previous statements. Under the terms of the White Paper, "His Majesty's Government therefore now declare unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish

State. They would indeed regard it as contrary to their obligations to the Arabs under the Mandate, as well as to the assurances which have been given to the Arab people in the past."[214] Because of these obligations, "His Majesty's Government adhere to this interpretation of the (Balfour) Declaration of 1917 and regard it as an authoritative and comprehensive description of the character of the Jewish National Home in Palestine."[215]

Despite this apparent abrogation of the Balfour Declaration, the White Paper does not concede interpretation to the Palestinian Arabs. Although the Government's investigation took Arab claims into account, the declared policy would not be in lockstep with them. The White Paper reports that "in the recent discussions the Arab delegations have repeated the contention that Palestine was included within the area in which Sir Henry McMahon, on behalf of the British Government, in October, 1915, undertook to recognise and support Arab independence."[216] This claim was not accepted outright. Instead, "the validity of this claim, based on the terms of the correspondence which passed between Sir Henry McMahon and the Sharif of Mecca, was thoroughly and carefully investigated by the British and Arab representatives during the recent conferences in London."[217] As with the Jewish reading of the Balfour Declaration, the White Paper claims that the Arab reading of the McMahon-Hussein correspondence was overly optimistic. As such, "His Majesty's Government regret the misunderstandings which have arisen as regards some of the phrases used. For their part they can only adhere ... to the view that the whole of Palestine west of Jordan was excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge, and they therefore cannot agree that the McMahon correspondence forms a just basis for the claim that Palestine should be converted into an Arab State."[218]

Having dispensed with claims to make Palestine a constitutionally Jewish State or a constitutionally Arab State, the White Paper proposes a binational state. Although there had been much investigation of the problems associated with the Mandate, there had been little discussion of the implications of partia lly voiding the Mandate or of the feasibility of a binational state. Although vagueness in policy was avoided, the potential results of the policy remained

unexplored. The recommendation for a binational state was premised on two policy objectives. These objectives were articulated as guiding principles, but the particulars of policy are largely absent. The first objective was that Palestine would become self-governed. The White Paper states that, although "His Majesty's Government are unable at present to foresee the exact constitutional forms" for a future Palestinian government, "their objective is self government, and they desire to see established ultimately an independent Palestine State."[219] The second premise was that Palestinians, Jewish and Arab, should be involved in a transition of government. The White Paper claims that self-government "must be an evolutionary process" and, thus, "a transitional period will be required before independence is achieved."[220] During this evolution, Britain would retain its Mandatory responsibility "while the people of the country are taking an increasing share in the Government, and understanding and cooperation amongst them are growing."[221] Following this process, and as envisioned in the larger Mandates system, Palestine would become independent.

Because the Government would have fulfilled the Mandatory's obligation, the White Paper indicates, Britain could then end the Mandate entirely. The White Paper insisted that "the objective of His Majesty's Government is the establishment within 10 years of an independent Palestine State."[222] Moreover, the participation of Palestinian Arabs and Palestinian Jews would be appreciated, but was not required. Instead, "both sections of the population will have an opportunity to participate in the machinery of government, and the process will be carried on whether or not they both avail themselves of it."[223] Five years after the White Paper became policy – 1944 – "an appropriate body representative of the people of Palestine and of His Majesty's Government will be set up to review the working of the constitutional arrangements during the transitional period and to consider and make recommendations regarding the constitution of the independent Palestine State."[224] The White Paper does note that transition might not be completed in ten years. Although "His Majesty's Government will do everything in their power to create conditions which will enable the independent Palestine State to come into

being within 10 years," should postponement of independence become "unavoidable, they will invite the co-operation of these parties in framing plans for the future with a view to achieving the desired objective at the earliest possible date."[225]

The propriety of the objective, a binational state in Palestine, is not investigated. Instead, this objective becomes the foundation for policy. Although there was investigation into a Jewish State with subalternated Arabs and into an Arab State with subalternated Jews, other schemes were not considered. Zionist alternatives, such as the Uganda and Brazil plans were not considered. Cantonization is mentioned on occasion. Partition without economic union and/or British overlordship is simply not discussed. Instead, the reader is told that the problem has been investigated. A solution is proposed. The investigation does not extend to the solution. Indeed, the suitability of the solution to the problem was little investigated.

Immigration

This pattern also emerges from the White Paper's discussion of a second substantive issue. In their investigation of immigration issues, it became clear to the British that Palestinian Arabs viewed Jewish immigration as excessive because the immigration might lead to a Jewish majority in Palestine. Palestinian Jews, however, thought that immigration was overly limited because it meant that many Jews could not escape an increasingly anti-Semitic Europe and were unable to return to what they perceived as their homeland. The White Paper drew on the Royal Commission's findings and reported that "the lamentable disturbances of the past three years are only the latest and most sustained manifestation of this intense Arab apprehension" about immigrant Jews.[226] Although, "the methods employed by Arab terrorists against fellow Arabs and Jews alike must receive unqualified condemnation," the White Paper noted,

> it cannot be denied that fear of indefinite Jewish immigration is widespread
> amongst the Arab population and that this fear has made possible disturbances
> which have given a serious setback to economic progress, depleted the Palestine

exchequer, rendered life and property insecure, and produced a bitterness

between the Arab and Jewish populations.[227]

The violence was not blamed on xenophobic Arabs. Instead, because "in practice ... the economic absorptive capacity of the country has been treated as the sole limiting factor" for determining the levels of Jewish immigration, the Arab violence came from legitimate concerns. [228] The commission found that, "if immigration has an adverse effect on the economic position in the country, it should clearly be restricted; and equally, if it has a seriously damaging effect on the political position in the country, that is a factor that should not be ignored."[229]

As such, Arab violence was not the subject of direct criticism, but the policies that provoked it were. The White Paper states that "in the view of the Royal Commission the association of the policy of the Balfour Declaration with the Mandate system implied the belief that Arab hostility to the former would sooner or later be overcome."[230] The White Paper found, however, that the Arab hostility toward British immigration policy remained. The White Paper reports that because of this continued opposition, the Government had only two possible policy choices. These were either to "seek to expand the Jewish National Home indefinitely by immigration, against the strongly expressed will of the Arab people of the country" or "to permit further expansion of the Jewish National Home by immigration only if the Arabs are prepared to acquiesce in it."[231] The choice is clearly false. There are other alternatives, most obviously attempting to lessen Arab objections to Jewish immigration or stopping immigration entirely.

Despite the existence of alternatives, the White Paper frames the Government's policy as a choice between unlimited immigration or Arab-approved immigration. Unlimited immigration, the White Paper maintains, would require rule by force, as the immigrants would need to be protected and Arabs would rebel against an unpopular British policy. To avoid violence, "His Majesty's Government, after earnest consideration, and taking into account the extent to which the growth of the Jewish National Home has been facilitated over the last twenty years, have decided that the time has come to adopt in principle the second of the alternatives."[232] This

adoption "in principle," however, did not require the Arabs to actually approve a level of immigration! Instead, the White Paper sets firm rules and quotas that will not be negotiated with either the Jews or the Arabs. The White Paper declares that "Jewish immigration during the next five years will be at a rate which, if economic absorptive capacity permits, will bring the Jewish population up to approximately one third of the total population of the country."[233] Doing so "would allow the admission, as from the beginning of April this year, of some 75,000 immigrants over the next five years."[234] Therefore, "for each of the next five years a quota of 10,000 Jewish immigrants will be allowed."[235] This quota would leave several thousand places open and could be devoted to helping Jews leave Europe, particularly Germany. Thus, "as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem, 25,000 refugees will be admitted as soon as the High Commissioner is satisfied that adequate provision for their maintenance is ensured."[236]

As with the proposals for Palestine's Constitutional development, the White Paper reserves the right to review policy in 1944. This review, however, will not alter the intent of British policy. The paper suggests that additional immigration may be allowed and the quotas extended if the Palestinian Arabs agree. "After the period of five years," however, "no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it."[237] Moreover, if the Palestinian Arabs do not agree, the White Paper states that Britain will not hear appeals based on the Balfour Declaration to become involved again. According to the White Paper,

> His Majesty's Government are satisfied that, when the immigration over five
> years which is now contemplated has taken place, they will not be justified in
> facilitating, nor will they be under any obligation to facilitate, the further
> development of the Jewish National Home by immigration regardless of the
> wishes of the Arab population.[238]

Simply put, after 1944, the Balfour Declaration was to become a dead letter. Its obligations, if any, would be fulfilled, and the self-determination implied by the Mandate system could be exercised by Palestinian Arabs.

The immigration policy articulated in the White Paper was definitive. Although the White Paper outlined two concerns, it is unclear how the quota policy would address them. The first concern was to lessen Arab violence against Jews. If one assumes that the number of Jews living in Palestine in 1939 was acceptable to the Arabs, then one could also assume that ending immigration in five years would also end violence after five years. The violence, however, was not against immigration policy *per se*. Arab complaints, as indicated in the peripheral text, may have been a reaction against Jews who had already entered Palestine, not just Jews who would immigrate after 1939. As such, the White Paper policy's ability to end economic and guerilla action should have been investigated to consider how Arabs would react to the new policy. An at least plausible outcome was that Palestinian Arabs would not be mollified if these past grievances had not been addressed. The second concern may have had a worse outcome. The second purpose of the White Paper immigration policy was to ameliorate the Jewish refugee problem in Europe. The Palestinian contribution would be accepting 75,000 Jewish refugees from fascist regimes. How well 75,000 immigration slots would serve the European Jewish population was not investigated. Instead, it appeared to be a number drawn from thin air; the number is not discussed in the peripheral text. As some 6 million Jews were killed in Europe, 75,000 was clearly inadequate if the British government intended to substantially alleviate the European refugee problem. As I will further indicate in Chapter 6, the failure to consider the effects of this immigration policy – as it failed to either resolve Arab worries or address the Jewish problem in Europe – only encouraged additional violence.

Rhetoric of Investigation

Unlike the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein Correspondence, the White Paper of 1939 is clear about the policies that it is establishing. Unlike the Mandate for Palestine,

the White Paper clearly indicates how far the Mandatory must go to fulfill the burdens of policy and establishes an exit date for the Mandatory. The White Paper resolves some of the concerns indicated in the previous Chapters. There is less ambiguity in this document and there is a careful investigation of previous British policy assumptions.

What is lacking is an investigation into the feasibility of the proposed policy. Unasked in the peripheral text is "will the Constitutional and immigration policies articulated in the White Paper end unrest and hostility in Palestine?" The peripheral text has a large gap. The Colonial Office indicated that it would not propose a policy and would leave the Royal Commission alone in determining the best policy. The Royal Commission advocated partition, but also made clear that partition *as a solution* would need to be investigated. The Technical Commission that investigated partition found it unworkable, but did not propose an alternative. Throughout these investigations, Parliament insisted that proposing partition went beyond the terms of reference of the Royal Commission and called for separate investigations into the best policy. The Technical Commission was appointed to investigate partition, but was not authorized to propose or investigate alternative solutions. Yet, Parliament balked at investigating other potential solutions. At the end of the process, the problem of Palestine was well understood. Instead of engaging in an equally thorough investigation of the propriety of partition as policy, the White Paper reviewed the investigation into the problem of Palestine and simply asserted that the policy would ameliorate these problems. The assertion, however, goes unchecked because the continuous calls for investigation generated frustration in Parliament, which then demanded that the Government get on with policy and stop investigating.

The investigation was not useless. It may have been advantageous for Chamberlain's Government for two reasons. First, the investigation allowed a thorough examination of conditions in Palestine. As I will show in Chapter Six, the Royal Commission's report was used in writing United Nations Resolution 181. Additionally, the report remains active today as a basis for several Israeli security laws.[239] The investigation outlined the problems of violence, the

impotence of foreign rule, land ownership, irrigation, immigration, the conflicts between the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence and other issues so well that the findings of the investigation remain valuable today. The value of understanding an exigency is unquestionable. Defining a problem, however, does not necessarily entail the problem's solution. The Royal Commission's investigation did not tell the Government what policy would be best because the investigation did not compare multiple possible policies. Nevertheless, the investigation was valuable as an inventional resource when the Government issued the White Paper.

It may be a truism in popular culture that the best way to prevent government action is to call for a study. Special commissions and blue ribbon panels make it appear that a government is taking an issue seriously. Study panels also allow the government to delay actual decisions, leaving the problem unchecked. Decisions may be costly or unpopular, even as they may serve a greater good. Several scholars have objected that studying problems, particularly health and environmental problems, is little more than a delaying tactic so that problems will seem to disappear and no changes need to be made.[240] Although the claim that investigation is simply a strategy of delay may be a truism and appear intuitive, beyond the bare assertion there is little to indicate that governments adopt the strategy of investigation simply to delay action. Policies usually *are* formed and the issuing government *does* claim the policy is meant to address the problem.

Rather than simply being a delaying tactic, I argue that the rhetoric of investigation can be more complex. Investigation can be simply to look into a problem and it can be simply to delay proposing a solution. In the case of the White Paper of 1939, however, neither of these simple narratives appear to be the case. Instead, it appears that the Government may have been seeking the best policy. Yet, the Technical Commission clearly reported that partition was a poor policy. Despite these objections, the Government then used the rhetoric of investigation to maintain the appearance of objective querying to allow them to determine that partition would

become policy and used the results of the investigations as an inventional resource to support that determination.

In claiming that policy determinations are paired with the appearance of objectivity, I am describing a common strategy deployed through the appointment of special commissions. The reason for appointing these special commissions – whether they are called blue ribbon commissions, expert panels, or by another term – is simple. Policymakers are often aware that they are seen as unwilling to consider all possible policy options. This perception may arise from a policymaker's previous policy commitments, as enacted by voted or written or oral statements, or because of a policymaker's placement within a larger political system that is influenced by party and caucus ties, among others. To avoid the perceptions of actual or apparent conflict between the policymaker's ability to form a considered policy and the policymaker's ability to represent his or her political stance or that of his or her constituents, policymakers may rely on special commissions. That is, outside "experts" may be appointed to investigate complex issues and make policy recommendations. The special commission is claimed to be the best set of experts on a policy issue by the appointing policymakers. The policymakers allege that the special commission is able to conduct a full and unbiased investigation. The commission will then make recommendations based on this investigation. Theoretically, the policymakers, recognizing the wisdom of these experts, will then implement the recommendations. In this process the commission is expected to play the role of a neutral arbiter of information that presents the full evidence, with unbiased interpretation, to the policymakers for final action.

Investigatory committees that examine future actions may find themselves in a difficult place. When policymakers call for an investigation into the past, special commissions can examine what happened in the past and interpret how well policy fit previous exigencies. Likewise, when policymakers call for an investigation into present policies, special commissions can examine what is happening and interpret what current policies may be doing. When a special commission is called to investigate the outcome of future policies, however, investigation is

forced to ask what the effects of policies might be. Although this is a difficult place, as the future cannot be known, a properly conducted investigation can suggest what the likely outcomes of policies may be. Investigators can draw on examples from the past and compare present situations to these examples to gain insight on what will probably work in the future. Investigators can also examine what policymakers are already doing in comparable situations and consider the short-term outcomes of current policies. Aristotle addresses questions of debate about future policies by proposing that that rhetoric is the branch of politics that considers questions of future fact.[241] If Aristotle is correct, then an investigation into what might be could offer multiple possible policies with supporting evidence based on past and present experience. These resources could then be used by policymakers to conduct a rhetorical debate over which possible policy has the greatest chance of succeeding. Although these investigations will not tell the policymaker what the future *will* be, they offer possible futures that *may* be. To allow the fullest debate over what future policies could be and what their effects might be, investigators should attempt to keep as many possible futures open as they can and not foreclose a rhetorical debate among different policy options.

To maintain their effectiveness as arbiters, special commissions must adopt certain core values. There are three central values to special commissions: fairness, independence, and bipartisanship.[242] Fairness indicates that appointees to the commission, and the commission as a whole, will remain open in their evaluation of the evidence. Although members of the commissions may hold strong views on the problem that they are appointed to investigate, a fair commission will allow these views to be modified as the evidence warrants. Independence is the idea that the special commission is free to act without interference from or obeisance to policy actors outside the commission. That is, although an executive, judicial, or legislative actor may appoint the commission and give it terms of reference, the executive, judge, or legislator should not then be able to impose further limits on the commission, foreclose certain areas of investigation, or require that given conclusions be reached by the commission. Bipartisanship[243]

indicates that commissions should strive for a policy recommendation that can be supported by all members of the commission. At the very least, dissenting members should be allowed to articulate their views and interpretation of the evidence in a minority report to the commission's findings. In the best case, the commission of experts should be able to find a set of views that can be supported by all experts.

Despite these core values, the ability of special commissions to articulate unbiased and fully agreed interpretations is limited. One failure experienced by many special commissions is that the commissions can fail to implement the values of fairness, independence, and multipartisanship. Indeed, communication scholars have found that some commissions predetermine the policy recommendations that they will make, toady to the views of the policymakers who appointed the commissions, or exclude some members for partisan reasons.[244] More insidiously, a policymaker may use special commissions to create the appearance of an objective investigation and then manipulate the commission's findings to support his or her agenda.[245] Public opinion scholar Leo Bogart has found that commissions are uniquely exploitable in this way because even the best commissions find it "difficult to translate social research findings into the kinds of 'go/no go' verdicts that policymakers crave."[246] Bogart argues that commissions report "cautious and incomplete answers" to the policymakers and the policymakers transform these answers into sure and finished supportive materials for the policy that the policymaker intended to pursue regardless of the commission's findings.[247] The inventional resources that commissions provide to policymakers may be more important than their internal functioning.

In the White Paper of 1939 the first explanation for commission failure does not seem applicable. The Royal and Technical Commissions appear to have adopted the three core values. The Commissions' decisions not to take evidence in London because it might advantage Zionist advocates, for instance, displays the norm of fairness. In addition, calling Jewish, Arab, and colonial representatives as witnesses, touring Palestine to hold hearings in small towns and big

cities, and the admission of written evidence by persons too poor or infirm to appear at the

hearings indicates that the admissions of diverse views was highly valued by the Commissions.

Moreover, people who had written or spoken publicly on their views about the ultimate disposal

of Palestine were excluded from membership on the Commissions by His Majesty's Government

to serve as a further check on the Commissions' abilities to be fair in their evaluations. The

decision to fully fund the Commissions before they reported and the physical removal of the

Commissions to Palestine helped the Commissions to become independent of the Government

and Parliament. In addition, the Commissions' decisions to hire staffs unconnected to the

Palestine administration or the Government as well as the housing of the Commissions in separate

quarters, and not in British Army, Colonial Office, or Palestine Police housing, show additional

layers of independence. As indicated earlier, the terms of reference offered by Edward VIII[248] and

the Commissioner's Powers Ordinance[249] gave the Commissions broad powers and authorized

them to act without needing additional authorization from the Colonial Office or the High

Commissioner for Palestine. Lastly, bipartisanship was evidenced in the reports offered by the

Commissions. In the report, arguments from multiple sides are presented and the findings are

carefully qualified to indicate the strength of agreement within the Commissions. Additionally,

there is no minority report appended to the Commissions' findings and there was no indication in

Parliament that dissenting members contacted Members for intervention.[250]

The problems with the implementation of the Commissions' reports were probably not

the result of the Commissions failing to implement the core values of special commissions. Both

Commissions conducted thorough investigations into the implementation of the Mandate and the

problems engendered or enhanced by the Mandate. Group communication scholars Dennis

Gouran, Randy Hirokawa, and Amy Martz are correct that, "no matter how carefully crafted a

decision structure may appear," the effective use and implementation of a special commission's

decision "is still reliant on the social, psychological, and communicative environment in which

responsible parties function."[251] That is, even if a special commission is charged with crafting the

best policy, policymakers are still the actors responsible for the implementation of the recommended policy. Policymakers do not simply read commission reports, unstaple the appendix describing the model policies, and enact these policies into law. Perhaps policymakers would do so if commission reports gave "go/no go" verdicts. More likely, they would not do so. The communicative environment is partially altered by the special commission's investigation. Nonetheless, some social, psychological, and communicative factors remain the same. The policymaker's place within the larger political structure serves as a social condition that is only partially altered by a commission's report. Similarly, a policymaker who has stated strong policy preferences in the past may find it difficult to change his or her mind to act in the manner suggested by the report. In addition, a communicative problem arises if a policymaker acts in a way that conflicts with previous statements or with the statements of his or her party because this alteration must be explained.

In the end, a commission's report is not read by other investigators. Instead, it enters a decision structure populated by policymakers. Policymakers will approach the commission's findings with their own assumptions or previous commitments, and these assumptions and commitments play at least as strong a role as the evidence garnered by the commission.[252] These other variables do not mean that the commission's report is disregarded. Rather than adopting the findings of the special commission outright, policymakers may draw "self-evident" conclusions from the commission's report through the selection of some fragments of it and the deselection of others.[253] The commission's report thus acts as inventional ground. Policymakers who support one course of action may select the parts of the report that support their course of action and ignore parts that contradict their preferences. Other policymakers may emphasize other portions of the report. Since opponents or uncommitted actors may examine these advocacies, policymakers may reference the commission's reports to show "independent" and "objective" support for their view. As such, the function of special commissions may not be to gather new information, but to verify views already held by policymakers. Indeed, as political

communication analyst Kristine Davis notes, "marshalling evidence for later debate appears to be the most important function of hearings" in the American political system.[254] The same may be true of other democratic systems.

Special commissions can provide competing advocates with grounds for invention. In the case of the White Paper of 1939, the peripheral text indicates that several speakers used the Royal Commission as part of their advocacies. The center text is clear in its use of the Royal Commission findings to support claims for partition. Insofar as advocates drew on the Royal Commission's report to support partition, previous research on the function of committees is supported. Proponents of partition were able to use the Royal Commission's findings to argue for partition. The Royal Commission's findings were cautious and incomplete in that they recommended additional study. Despite these reservations, proponents of partition marshaled evidence from the report to make a case for partition and concluded that partition was the self-evident recommendation of the Royal Commission. Opponents of partition could have drawn on the Technical Commission report to argue against partition. The Technical Commission, however, did not offer a clear alternative. As such, while the Technical Commission's findings could be used to debunk the idea of partition, advocates of alternative policies mentioned earlier, such as the Uganda plan or the cantonization scheme, would require an additional investigation to provide evidence that affirmed these options. Instead of calling for additional investigation into other possible policies, the opposition appeared to grow tired of the decision-making process. Rather than a debate over the policy of partition, partition became policy by default.

In the peripheral text, frustration with investigation emerged. This frustration was expressed in claims that there had already been a thorough investigation of the problem of Palestine and that what was needed was policy, not additional investigation. This frustration may have erupted from the kairotic limits of policymaking. Public policy is made in time, usually to address a concern or problem as quickly as possible. Excessive investigation into a policy problem can foreshorten the time available for inventing possible responses. When the time for

making policy expires, the kairotic moment is foreclosed and policy can become ineffective or even destructive. If policymakers perceive that investigations take too long, these kairotic limits can encourage policymakers to default to the available options out of fear that if they do not act immediately, they will be unable to act at all. This frustration may be an additional strategic reason for the appointment of committees. Previous research has indicated that special commissions can fulfill two purposes. First, commissions can be used as a rhetoric of delay. The policymaker who does not want to act can use claims that the problem is being studied as a justification for inaction. Second, commissions can be used to sort out and make available inventional materials. That is, policymakers can use committees to uncover statements, statistics, or facts that can then be deployed in support of the policymaker's preferred policy. A third function of commissions may be that commissions can be used to foreclose debate. This foreclosure of debate is not the same as the removal of policy discussion, as was done in the 1922 Mandate debates. This foreclosure is also different from the absence of discussion in the Balfour Declaration and McMahon-Hussein correspondence. Rather than preventing talk, the foreclosure of debate through the threat of *excessive* discussion is possible in the rhetoric of investigation.

The issue that was discussed excessively through the rhetoric of investigation was the problem of Palestine. This excessive discussion closed off space to the issue that needed additional discussion: the possible solutions to the problem of Palestine. At no point in the debate was the failure of the Mandate policy in question; all participants agreed that the 1922 formulation of policy had proved unworkable and that a new tack must be taken. The dispute was over what new policy should be adopted. This question is underexplored in the debate over Palestine. The Colonial Office writings, the Parliamentary debates, and the *Times* coverage – as fragments of the peripheral text – sought to explore the necessity of policy change. This issue may have been important in the early peripheral text. It was possible that the Mandate was not flawed, but had been poorly implemented. After this possibility was obviated by the Royal Commission's report, however, the debate should have moved to the next issue, the question of

what new policy should replace the Mandate. Instead, the investigation into the need for a new policy was reiterated. With this new iteration, the iteration that proposed the Technical Commission, there was some grumbling. Although the Technical Commission was directed to investigate the best way of enacting the policy of partition as recommended by the Royal Commission, the Technical Commission spent most of its time and energies on the problem of Palestine under the Mandate. This investigation outside the terms of reference for the Technical Commission may have been useful in that it found flaws with the policy of partition. Yet, the technical Commission did not propose, and did not investigate, possible alternatives.

Given two arguments, the Royal Commission's advocacy of partition and the Technical Commission's opposition, the analyst might expect calls for investigation into alternative policies. As indicated in the late peripheral text, though, further investigation was rejected because there had already been so much investigation into the problem of Palestine. Although previous investigations had resulted in explanations of the problem, little, other than a brief outline of partition in the Royal Commission report, had been considered in the way of a solution. Some opponents of further investigation may have feared that investigation would waste time, as newly appointed investigators would simply explore the problem of Palestine anew and fail to investigate solutions to that problem. Others who spoke against further investigation may have been committed to partition or have been too exhausted by the debate to believe that other alternatives were available. In any case, further investigation was opposed and a solution was demanded. The only available proposal that had been offered and investigated was partition, and partition became the policy of the White Paper.

Even as the White Paper offered only one policy option, the White Paper also foreclosed the consideration of alternative policies because there was no evidence to support those policies and because further investigation was unwarranted. Thus, the White Paper managed a tension between policy proposals and policy investigations. Rhetorical critic Kenneth Burke might call the White Paper's use of the rhetoric of investigation as a "heads I win, tails you lose" strategy.[255]

Burke defines this strategy as "a device whereby, if things turn out one way your system accounts for them—and if they turn out the opposite way, your system also accounts for them."[256] As Burke makes clear, this strategy is neither a logical fallacy nor a fatal flaw in advocacy. Instead, it is a way to makes advocates play "cards-face-up-on-the-table" to show where their strategies lead inexorably to a chosen outcome if their definition of the game is accepted.[257] If a Member of Parliament argues for partition – for whatever reason – the White Paper is able to channel those arguments into additional support for the Royal Commission investigation and its findings. In this case, the White Paper "wins" because the advocate supports the White Paper policy. The "tail" to this coin is that, if an advocate argues against partition, there is no policy alternative that has been investigated and even partially supported. The opponent of partition is in a losing position because no evidence to affirm an alternative has been made available in the previous Commissions' reports. Evidence for an alternative policy would need to be gathered. To be weighed against the evidence from the Royal Commission, a similar expert panel that could draw on the values of fairness, independence, and bipartisanship would need to be appointed to investigate the alternative policy. As the peripheral text shows, Members of Parliament, the *Times*, and Colonial Office representatives were willing to adopt a policy that promised to ameliorate the problem of Palestine so long as the policy did not require additional investigation. Alternative policy proposals were untenable because they would "lose" if proposed without the sound basis an investigation would provide and would "lose" if they proposed such an investigation.

If rhetoricians who study the rhetoric of investigation also turn their cards "face-up on the table," investigation has often been portrayed as a losing option. Some rhetoricians have concluded that the rhetoric of investigation harms policy formation by delaying action until the kairotic moment has passed altogether. Others claim that investigation merely serves as an inventional resource for preconceived policy decisions, making investigation moot in terms of its ability to offer new alternatives. A third possible function of investigation, and the one discussed

above, is the use of investigation to create frustration with questioning policy assumptions and the nature of exigencies. This third function may use investigation so that only one solution emerges as a possible policy option. Other possible policies are foreclosed because policymakers are willing to accept nearly any solution that allows the investigatory process to end. A fourth possible use of investigation, and one that has not been sufficiently practiced in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the use of investigation alongside conditional implementation. Kairotic moments may require a response, but the response does not mean that one cannot also try to develop better policies. Special commissions may be able to avoid frustration by offering potential piecemeal solutions for the most pressing problems and be able to continue the investigatory process by examining how well these piecemeal options are working and continually suggesting improvements. As I will indicate in Chapter Seven, the Bush administration has partially adopted this fourth use of investigation. In doing so, the Bush administration may be able to avoid some of the frustration with investigation that was experienced during the writing of the White Paper of 1939.

When policymakers became frustrated with the investigatory process in 1939, they were frustrated with the investigation into the past administration of Palestine. There was little discussion of the fittingness of the partition policy as a solution to the problem of Palestine. The specific solutions articulated by the White Paper were not investigated. Although the suggested constitutional structures, the quotas placed on immigration, and the limits enacted towards land redistribution were made to appear as if they had arisen from a careful investigation into the best policy for Palestine, the investigations conducted in 1937 and 1938 did not cover these grounds. Simply put, the investigation was into the *problems* of policy, not into the *solutions* that became policy. A final provision of the White Paper policy, and the provision that was not given its own heading, was the only provision that was carried out. The constitutional suggestions of a binational, partitioned state with economic union never came into existence despite their formalization in the 1947 United Nations Partition of Palestine. The immigration controls and

land reforms were not implemented. The fourth provision was a "sunset" provision. Because the White Paper sought to establish Palestine as an independent state within ten years, British rule in Palestine would end in 1949 as the latest. This provision, despite its specificity and its implications for the whole of the British Empire, was not debated in Parliament, did not gain mention in the *Times*, and is not found in the Colonial Office archives. The origin of this ten-year sunset provision is mysterious. Nonetheless, as with the rest of the White Paper, the sunset provision became British policy without further investigation into its appropriateness.

Not only had the sun begun to set on British policy toward Palestine, the sun had begun to set on the British Empire, thus denying Christopher North's famous description of the Victorian era. Although Britain would suffer greatly in World War II and its position of dominance would be assumed by the United States and the Soviet Union, the decline of the British Empire did not mean the end of all British influence. Because of historical and linguistic ties to the Commonwealth and its position on the United Nations Security Council, Britain would remain a great power despite the contraction of its Empire. The sunset provision of the 1939 White Paper may have allowed Britain to signal that it was willing to withdraw from its possessions as long as it had influence on the form of the state that would be established after British withdrawal. As I will demonstrate in Chapter Six, the ten-year sunset provision Britain placed on its rule in Palestine was enacted in the 1947 Partition. Moreover, with the 1947 partition, Britain transformed the danger that it would become a fallen empire into an opportunity for world leadership through the newly established United Nations organization.

Endnotes

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[58] *Ibid*.

[59] "Wauchope To Parkinson," 22 July 1936, CO 733/317/38.

[60] Cmd. 5479, *ix*.

[61] Cmd. 5479, *xi*

[62] *Ibid*.

[63] "Rumbold To Peel," 10 October 1936, CO 733/320/23/5.

[64] "Palestine Royal Commission Draft Minutes," 6 October 1936, CO 733/320/22/10.

[65] "Ormsby-Gore To Lord Davies," 9 February 1937, CO 733/319/AE/22.

[66] "Translation From The Arabic," 16 January 1937, CO 733/344/9A47/12.

[67] "Evidence Of The Rt. Hon. Col. JC Wedgwood," 11 February 1937, CO 733/343/9A29/46.

[68] "Evidence Of The Emir Abdullah," C. March 1937, CO 733/344/9A56/14.

[69] "Patterson To Peel," 20 August 1936, CO 733/319/AE/5.

[70] "SF Newcombe To JM Martin, 22 February 1937, CO 733/342/8/24.

[71] *Ibid*.

[72] "Memorandum On The Establishment Of A Jewish State In Palestine," 31 May 1937, CO 733/343/9A38/4-5.

[73] "Statements And Documents Forming Written Evidence Submitted To The Palestine Royal Commission By Ascher Saphir," 7 February 1937, CO 733/343/9A32/17.

[74] Cmd. 5479, 42, emphasis mine.

[75] Cmd. 5479, 2.

[76] *Ibid*.

[77] Cmd. 5479, 39, emphasis in original.

[78] *Ibid*.

[79] *Ibid*.

[80] Cmd. 5479, 40.

[81] Cmd. 5479, 41.

[82] Cmd. 5479, 41-2.

[83] Cmd. 5479, 42.

[84] Cmd. 5479, 76.

[85] Cmd. 5479, 77.

[86] Cmd. 5479, 7-11

[87] Cmd. 5479, 78.

[88] *Ibid*.

[89] Cmd. 5479, 106.

[90] Cmd. 5479, 107.

[91] Cmd. 5479, 111.

[92] Cmd. 5479, 113.

[93] *Ibid*.

[94] Cmd. 5479, 373.

[95] *Ibid*.

[96] Cmd. 5479, 125.

[97] *Ibid*.

[98] Cmd. 5479, 148.

[99] Cmd. 5479, 160.

[100] Cmd. 5479, 204.

[101] Cmd. 5479, 218.

[102] Cmd. 5479, 219.

[103] Cmd. 5479, 255.

[104] Cmd. 5479, 299.

[105] Cmd. 5479, 344.

[106] Cmd. 5479, 368.

[107] Cmd. 5479, 376.

[108] Cmd. 5479, 383.

[109] Cmd. 5479, 380.

[110] "A New Way In Palestine," *Times*, 8 July 1937, p. 17.

[111] "Palestine In The Lords," *Times*, 21 July 1937, p. 15.

[112] "Palestine In Parliament," *Times*, 23 July 1937, p. 17.

[113] *Ibid*.

[114] See "Palestine And The League," *Times*, 3 August 1937, p. 11; "The Zionist Vote," *Times*, 12 August 1937, p. 11; "Palestine—Another Step," *Times*, 24 August 1937, p. 11.

[115] "A Palestine Dispatch," *Times*, 5 January 1938, p. 11.

[116] *Ibid*.

[117] "Delay Over Palestine," *Times*, 24 February 1938, p. 13.

[118] *Ibid*.

[119] Palestine In Parliament," *Times*, 9 March 1938, p. 15.

[120] "The Palestine Commission," *Times*, 21 April 1938, p. 13.

[121] "Marking Time In Palestine," *Times*, 3 August 1938, p. 11.

[122] "Palestine And Partition," *Times*, 1 March 1938, p. 17.

[123] "Palestine At Geneva," *Times*, 11 June 1938, p. 13.

[124] *Ibid*.

[125] *Ibid*.

[126] "Palestine After The Visit," *Times*, 13 August 1938, p. 11.

[127] "Disorders In Palestine," *Times*, 6 October 1938, p. 11.

[128] "Balfour Day," *Times*, 3 November 1938, p. 15.

[129] *Ibid*.

[130] "The Palestine Commission," *Times*, 21 April 1938, p. 13.

[131] "Palestine," *Times*, 12 October 1938, p. 15.

[132] "The Debate On Palestine," *Times*, 25 November 1938, p. 15.

[133] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 318, col. 234.

[134] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 319, col. 947.

[135] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 319, col. 1586.

[136] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 320, col. 1167.

[137] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 320, col. 2016.

[138] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 322, col. 989.

[139] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 324, col. 12.

[140] *Ibid*.

[141] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 329.

[142] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 852.

[143] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 853-4.

[144] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2235.

[145] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2236.

[146] *Ibid*.

[147] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2238-9.

[148] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2239; H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2237.

[149] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2241.

[150] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2247.

[151] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2249.

[152] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2249-50.

[153] *Ibid*.

[154] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2251.

[155] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2267.

[156] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2254.

[157] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2255.

[158] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2264.

[159] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2268.

[160] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2272-3.

[161] *Ibid*.

[162] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2279.

[163] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2283.

[164] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2288.

[165] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2330-1.

[166] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2331.

[167] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2333.

[168] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2338.

[169] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2344.

[170] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 1501.

[171] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 2662.

[172] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 326, col. 3067.

[173] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 332, col. 1753.

[174] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 332, col. 1756-7.

[175] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 332, col. 1761.

[176] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 332, col. 1773.

[177] *Ibid*.

[178] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 332, col. 1778.

[179] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 332, col. 1778.

[180] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 337, col. 83.

[181] *Ibid*.

[182] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 337, col. 98.

[183] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 337, col. 99.

[184] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 337, col. 114.

[185] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 337, col. 184.

[186] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 337, col. 1055.

[187] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 337, col. 914.

[188] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 340, col. 41.

[189] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 1987.

[190] *Ibid*.

[191] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 1990.

[192] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 1995-6.

[193] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 1996.

[194] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 1997.

[195] *Ibid*.

[196] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2012.

[197] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2013.

[198] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2032.

[199] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2034.

[200] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2067.

[201] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2068.

[202] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2081.

[203] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2031.

[204] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2040.

[205] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 341, col. 2067.

[206] *Ibid*.

[207] "Palestine: A Statement Of Policy," 9 November 1938, Cmd. 6019, (hereafter WP), para. 1.

[208] *Ibid*.

[209] *Ibid*.

[210] WP, para. 6.

[211] *Ibid*.

[212] *Ibid*.

[213] WP, para. 7.

[214] WP, para. 9.

[215] WP, para. 12.

[216] WP, para. 13.

[217] *Ibid*..

[218] *Ibid*.

[219] WP, para. 14.

[220] WP, para. 15.

[221] *Ibid*.

[222] WP, para. 17.

[223] WP, para. 19.

[224] WP, para. 22.

[225] WP, para. 27.

[226] WP, para 31.

[227] *Ibid*.

[228] *Ibid*.

[229] *Ibid*.

[230] WP, para. 32.

[231] *Ibid.*

[232] *Ibid*.

[233] WP, para. 34.

[234] *Ibid*.

[235] WP, para. 35.

[236] WP, para. 36.

[237] WP, para. 38.

[238] WP, para. 40.

[239] Ministry of Foreign Affairs, State of Israel. *Guide To The Middle East Peace Process* (Jerusalem: Government Publications Office, 2000), *passim.*

[240] See, for example, Lawrence C.Howard and Richard L. Chapman, "Education For The Public's Interests: A Critique And A Projection Of The NAPA View Of Meeting The Needs Of Tomorrow's Public Service: Reply To A Critique," *Public Administration Review* 35 (1975): 173; Jocelyn Kaiser, "Smoldering Battle Over Saccharin Heats Up," *Science* 278 (1997): 791; Faith McLellan, "US Expert Panel Divided Over Human Therapeutic Cloning," *Lancet* 360 (2002): 231; Mark Schrope, "Consensus Science, Or Consensus Politics?" *Nature* 411 (2001): 113; Richard T. Woodward and Richard C. Bishop, "How To Decide When Experts Disagree: Uncertainty-Based Choice Rules In Environmental Policy," *Land Economics* 73 (1997): 494.

[241] Aristotle, *Rhet.*, 1393a.

[242] Dennis S. Gouran, "Factors Affecting The Decision-Making Process In The Attorney General's Commission On Pornography: A Case Study Of Unwarranted Collective Judgment," *Free Speech Yearbook* 28 (1990): 111; Charles I. Nero, "Clarence Pendleton And The Rhetoric Of Paradox," *Howard Journal Of Communications* 3 (1992): 215; Richard Speer, "The Rhetoric Of Burke's Select Committee Reports," *Quarterly Journal Of Speech* 57 (1971): 307.

[243] Although Gouran, Nero, and Speer each indicate that bipartisanship is the third core value, their discussion may be limited by their references to special commissions in the United States.

"Multipartisanship," although unwieldy, may be a better term for special commissions in multiparty political systems.

[244] Gouran, "Factors," 106; Dennis S. Gouran, Randy Y. Hirokawa, and Amy E. Martz, "A Critical Analysis Of Factors Involved In The Challenger Disaster," *Central States Speech Journal* 37 (1986):133; David L. Paletz, "Pornography, Politics, And The Press: The U.S. Attorney General's Commission On Pornography," *Journal Of Communication* 38 (1988): 127; Richard T. Woodward and Richard C. Bishop, "How To Decide When Experts Disagree: Uncertainty-Based Choice Rules In Environmental Policy," *Land Economics* 73 (1997): 502.

[245] Irwin Goodwin, "Experts Dispute CIA Assessment Of Missile Threat And Raise Demands In Congress For Defense System," *Physics Today* 51 (1998): 44; Frederick W. Haberman, "Views On The Army-McCarthy Hearings," *Quarterly Journal Of Speech* 41 (1955): 16; Matthew W. Seeger, "The Challenger Tragedy And Search For Legitimacy," *Central States Speech Journal* 37 (1986): 151; Eshan Masood, "UK Panel Formed To Rebuild Trust In Government Science Advice," *Nature* 397 (1999): 458.

[246] Leo Bogart, "Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That TV Violence Is Moderately Dangerous To Your Child's Mental Health," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36 (1972): 520.

[247] *Ibid*.

[248] *Op cit* at 2.

[249] *Op cit* at 55.

[250] Indeed, as I will indicate in Chapter Six, members of the Royal and Technical Commissions who later became Members of Parliament indicated that all Commission members agreed when the reports of their Commission were written.

[251] Gouran, Hirokawa, and Martz, "A Critical Analysis," 133.

[252] Gouran, "Factors," 106; Paletz, "Pornography," 127.

[253] Speer, "Rhetoric," 314.

[254] Kristine M. Davis, "A Description And Analysis Of The Legislative Committee Hearing," *Western Journal Of Speech Communication* 25 (1981): 103.

[255] Kenneth Burke, *Attitudes Toward History*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 260; see also John Lucaites, "Affirmative Action And The Transformation Of 'Equality,'" 6 July 2001, <http://www.mcgees.net/fragments/essays/guests/paradox_race.html > (7 January 2003), *(F)ragments*.

[256] *Ibid*.

[257] Burke, *Attitudes*, 262.

CHAPTER 6

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION 181

On February 20, 1946, Major John Wilkes savaged Britain's foreign policy in Parliament.

In a heated debate on the principles of policy, he accused Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin of

mishandling foreign affairs in the aftermath of World War II. Although battered by war, mired in

a depressed economy, and shackled by debts to the United States, Britain needed to remain active

in foreign affairs. Wilkes stated that his attack on Bevin was not because "he is playing power

politics – indeed, in the somewhat desperate straits in which we now find ourselves the playing of

power politics is inevitable – but that *he is not playing the right kind of power politics.* He is not

playing power politics which will win."[1] To win, Wilkes claimed, required escaping the logic of

imperialism. He stated, "so long as this Empire of ours remains a symbol in Asia and the Arab

Middle East of Colonial Imperialism, so long our position in relation to the Soviet Union and

America will not be that of a first-rate power, but of a third-rate declining Colonial Power."[2]

Bevin replied the next day. In his response, Bevin indicated that Britain would withdraw

from most of the Empire. The Indian subcontinent was to be released. The Black and Tans were

to be withdrawn from Northern Ireland. Africa would be evacuated. Palestine was to be let go.

Britain would withdraw to its islands and advise, but not rule, its former dominion. Bevin

claimed, "I would rather do that than be arguing about nineteenth century imperialism. I invite the

House to join with me in this effort."[3] The Empire, with the exception of a few Caribbean islands

and Hong Kong, would be ended "to carry the evolution of free nations and the growth of

independence still further, [while] at the same time maintaining our standard of life," Bevin

stated.[4]

As part of this withdrawal, Britain referred the problem of Palestine to the United

Nations. United Nations Resolution 181 was passed on November 29, 1947. This resolution

partitioned Palestine into three areas: a Jewish State, an Arab State, and an international zone centered on Jerusalem. The Partition Plan called for Britain to withdraw its forces between May 15 and August 1, 1948, for the United Nations to administer Palestine in the interim, and for the establishment of the three states by October 1. As policy for the government of the people of Palestine, the Partition of Palestine did not work. As a way for Britain to surrender the Mandate for Palestine and contract its Empire into a Kingdom, the Partition succeeded.

In this chapter, I examine the rhetoric of failure employed by Britain in the writing of Resolution 181. As in previous chapters, I will first provide an overview of the received history of Britain's withdrawal from Palestine. The received history portrays Britain as a great power that abandoned Palestine and fled without giving the international community proper warning. Then, I reread the peripheral text to extract four themes that guided Britain's response to the problem of Palestine. Four claims emerge: Britain faithfully attempted to execute the Mandate; the costs of the Mandate had grown too high; Britain textually withdrew from Palestine before implementing a physical withdrawal; and Britain used the United Nations to allow an international structure to assume Britain's role. The peripheral text tells a story of recognition of problems and the need for Britain to withdraw. I argue that the simplified historical narrative does not account for the peripheral text's attempt to transform Britain, Palestine, the United Nations and the relationships among them. As the peripheral text is recognized by Resolution 181, this center text's authorization of Britain's withdrawal and its reconceptualization of the relationships among great powers and smaller nations is examined as a rhetoric of transformative failure. In addition, I argue that this rhetoric of failure allowed Britain to change its self-identity from imperial power to leading citizen in a community of nations. By comparing these findings to previous research on the rhetoric of failure, I argue that the rhetoric of failure is not always a therapeutic attempt to forestall structural change and prevent collective politics. Instead of being a conservative rhetoric, the rhetoric of failure can allow transformations to occur. I offer some implications of the rhetoric of failure and the possibility they hold for broader social change.

Received History

Palestine was a test case for the United Nations ability to usher new states into the post-War world.[5] The partition was a success on paper. Boundaries were drawn between the three zones and the General Assembly approved the plan.[6] Many observers believed that the establishment of a Jewish State next to an Arab State would be proof that the world had recovered from Hitlerism.[7] Indeed, European guilt over the Holocaust, coupled with the belief that Palestine could become the National Home for the Jews, may have been the strongest impetus for the United Nations's establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.[8] Wartime immigration quotas were to be reversed to allow Jews a safe haven.[9] This safe haven was further secured by strong Jewish civil institutions and a functional Jewish military in Palestine.[10] Indeed, international law scholar John Quigley argues that, even before 1947, Jews in Palestine had established a "state within a state" and that the United Nations's decision merely formalized its Jewish existence.[11]

The optimistic mood, however, was shattered after the United Nations vote. When the British intent to leave Palestine was clear, violence erupted.[12] This violence was initially a civil war within the Mandate territory but quickly developed into war between the Jewish State – dubbed "Israel" by David ben-Gurion – and Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Transjordan, and Egypt.[13] This war set the boundaries for Israel more clearly than did the United Nations plan.[14] Both Palestinian Arabs and Palestinian Jews suffered greatly in the war. Hundreds of thousands of Palestinian Arab refugees were created, a problem that still exists.[15] Additionally, six thousand Jews, or about one per cent of the total Jewish population in Palestine, were killed, a death rate four times greater than that of the United States in World War II.[16]

According to received history, the essential factor in causing this war was the end of British rule.[17] Because Britain was the Jews's sponsor in Palestine, Britain's departure meant that the Jews lost their protector. In addition, without the British Army to act as a peacekeeper, the Palestinian Arabs felt free to attack the Jews and the Jews felt free to attack the Palestinian Arabs. Historian Martin Jones summarizes these claims when he writes, "authority does not wait upon a

dying king, and Britain's real authority over Palestine's future had expired long ago."[18] Britain

had been harried by Arab resistance for much of the 1930s,[19] but, in the 1940s, British authority

was undermined by Jewish terrorism.[20] Among the more spectacular events was the July 22, 1946

bombing of the King David Hotel, an act of violence that placed Jewish terrorism into the

"leading articles" section of British newspapers.[21] The bombing killed 92 British civil and

military officers. Anthropologists Marcia Kunstel and Joseph Albright report that the bombing

broke British Imperial morale; "just as American will to remain in the Middle East would be

smashed in the 1980s by the truck bombing of the U.S. Marine compound in Beirut, so British

will to hold Palestine was undermined by the bombing of the British government offices in

Jerusalem" at the Hotel.[22]

The bombing may have been the final incident that shattered British resolve. After World

War II, other factors may have prepared the Empire for collapse. The expenditure in blood and

treasure in the War had been beyond the means of the Empire.[23] In addition to the high costs,

economic and otherwise, was a loss of imperial will.[24] The strategic reasons to control the Middle

East – ports, oil, and bases – remained the same.[25] Yet, the costs appeared to outweigh these

reasons. Former Prime Minister of Israel Benjamin Netanyahu indicates that, given these costs,

"the British Empire, tottering and drained of energy at the end of World War II, could not afford"

to remain an empire.[26] As Kunstel and Albright summarize, "her treasury drained by the war and

her people at home standing in breadlines, Britain was forced to contract the empire."[27] Britain

began this contraction in South Asia, but expanded the program of withdrawal throughout the

Empire. After Britain left India, historian A.J. Sherman argues, "there was a growing awareness

of military and financial impotence to deal with simultaneous emergencies" and a consensus that

problems on the home islands were more important than those overseas.[28] The problem of

Palestine was one of several such "emergencies."

Although Britain wanted to surrender the Mandate, walking away without attempting

resolution would confirm fears that it was, indeed, a third-rate colonial power. According to the

received history, rather than accepting defeat, Britain offered three options for exiting Palestine. Britain first attempted to mediate conflict between the Palestinian Arabs and Jews. After it was clear that Britain was no longer an honest broker, Britain attempted to align itself with the United States, a rising power, to seek a bilateral solution. When this bilateral approach did not meet Britain's needs, Britain sought the guidance of the United Nations. The story told in the received history indicates all three of these options failed and that Britain fled Palestine in shame.

The first option was to mediate again between the Palestinian Arabs and the Jews. Under the Mandate system, although not in the text of the Mandate itself, Britain was supposed to guide Palestine to statehood. Moreover, as I have indicated in Chapter Four, when the Mandate was issued, Palestine was a "Class A" mandate, meaning that it was assumed to be well along in establishing its own governmental structure. As long as Palestine was internally at odds, however, the Mandate could not be relinquished without the authorization of the United Nations, the successor to the League of Nations. Palestinian Jews interfered with Britain's attempts to be a neutral arbiter by appealing to the United States government, a government to which Britain was financially and politically indebted.[29] Palestinian Arabs also interfered by asking Arab states to align with the Soviet Union and cut their ties with the Empire if Britain did not offer a pro-Arab settlement.[30] Because of the large debts Britain owed to the pro-Zionist United States, Palestinian Arabs saw evidence that Britain was biased towards the Jews. Similarly, Palestinian Jews saw Britain's continued involvement in the Middle East and its fear of Soviet influence as evidence that Britain would favor the Arabs. For these reasons, British neutrality resulted in the alienation of both Palestinian Arabs and Jews and the inability to negotiate a settlement.[31] Jones argues that, given these suspicions and Britain's previous failures, "it was ludicrous to expect to discover a scheme" upon which the three parties would agree.[32] Jones concluded, perhaps rightly, the Britain did not have "any faith in the attempt from the end of 1946; they merely felt that they ought to see it through" before trying a solution that required actors other than the Empire.[33]

With perceptions growing that Britain could not manage the problem of Palestine, the United Kingdom sought assistance from its allies. According to the received history, because Britain was already financially and politically indebted to the United States, forming a working relationship on Palestine would not entail much greater costs and would help insulate Britain from Arab and Zionist criticism.[34] In addition, the United States was seen as a new type of state – a superpower – that would influence world events greatly. Because Britain was a declining great power, creating interconnections between British policy and American policy would bring long-term advantages through allied interests.[35] Britain attempted to share the financial, civil, and military burden of administering Palestine with the United States.[36] The United States agreed to bear part of the economic cost, but was unwilling to accept civil administrative powers or to engage in additional military deployments, given its commitments in Japan and Germany after World War II.[37] If Britain had indeed lost its will to Empire, the financial support offered by the United States may not have been enough to keep Britain in Palestine. The costs experienced by Britain in World War II went beyond a shattered economy; they included a cost in lives that may have discouraged further military obligations in Palestine. In addition, many Britons feared that American military assistance would be temporary, at best. If the United States were to withdraw from world affairs, as it appeared to do after World War I, then Britain would be saddled once more with the full burden of Palestine.[38] Aligning with the United States also carried more immediate dangers. If Britain aligned with the United States and helped implement America's pro-Zionist policy, then Arab states might become alienated and offer their resources and markets to the Soviet Union.[39] As the Soviet Union was also a rising power – indeed, many believed that it too would become a superpower – it would be unwise for Britain to align itself firmly with the United States.[40] There may have been advocates of an Anglophone alliance to administer Palestine. Nevertheless, the limited reduction of financial costs was probably not enough to justify the full costs of military and administrative responsibility, nor the risks of strengthening Soviet influence in the Middle East against British economic and political interests.

A final option conceived by British policymakers was to use the United Nations to remove Britain's responsibility for Palestine. Although the United Nations was an untested organization, and although its predecessor, the League of Nations, was a failure, the United Nations had potential as a structure through which international negotiations could occur.[41] Historian Deborah Gerner indicates that Britain turned to the United Nations only after it had "lost all ability to mediate" between Arabs and Jews.[42] In Britain, however, the turn to the United Nations was not seen as a British failure. Instead, Britain blamed intransigent Arabs and obstinate Jews for the collapse of the negotiations and transferred the problem to the United Nations. This transfer then allowed Britain to save face and to maintain ties with powerful forces on both sides of the dispute.[43] Although the White Paper of 1939 became the model for the United Nations's solution, Britain disclaimed responsibility for the new plan of partition.[44] Britain was careful not to comment on the United Nations plan as it was written, insisting that the United Nations would be wholly responsible for designing and enforcing the partition.[45] This decision to remain aloof, however, is not seen as an active one in the received history. Instead, the received history largely claims that Britain was resigned to accept any decision and was indifferent to the decision so long as it was final.[46] As the British were willing to place decision making power in the United Nations's hands, Jones concludes, "British policy was held in a state of suspended animation" and became inactive on all fronts.[47]

If the narrative of a completely passive Britain is accepted, then the events of 1948 are shocking. In 1948, British troops and administrators left Palestine. Before the United Nations could establish an interim government, civil war between Arabs and Jews erupted and several Arab states invaded a newly proclaimed Israel. This sense of shock, though, is predicated on viewing Britain as a nation that unexpectedly abandoned Palestine, astonishing friends, foes, and neutrals alike.[48] Jones argues that the British withdrawal was the "final resort of a government with no policy ... stepping out of its predicament with almost petulant resolution."[49] Historian Samih Farsoun agreed that "Britain in effect simply abandoned everything" without establishing a

post-British regime for Palestine.[50] This lack of planning was widespread in government analyst Edward Ullendorff's view. He states that the "mischievous incompetence of the British in Palestine from November 1947 to May 1948" prevented other actors from assisting in the transition and left them unwarned about British intentions to leave Palestine.[51]

The shock went beyond the physical withdrawal of British troops and administration from Palestine. According to the received history, in 1947 and 1948 it was simply inconceivable that Great Britain would be willing to contract the Empire. Rather than an announced withdrawal, historian David Hirst names the exit from Palestine a "desperate muddle" that Britain threw "into the lap of the United Nations" while it engaged in a "dishonorable scuttle" to clear its troops out.[52] Historian Naomi Shepherd agrees that the departure was "a most shamefaced British withdrawal" inconsistent with the reputation of the Empire.[53] The British departure was not simply egress; the received history labels it a flight, a rout, or a retreat from British obligations to which an unprepared and unwarned United Nations could not respond.[54] Under this reading, historian A.J. Sherman concludes that Britain failed "the elementary obligations of a sovereign" as it left Palestine without a legitimate government and handed the United Nations an untidy civil war as a housewarming gift.[55]

Although most authors admit that Britain had stated its intention to leave from Palestine, they assign blame for the civil war to Britain for actually having the temerity to withdraw. The problem may not have been a lack of statements from Britain, as there were rumors of a British departure as early as 1944.[56] Instead, the problem may have been that most non-Britons did not believe that the Empire would withdraw.[57] The rhetorical historian, however, takes the views of those inside the empire seriously as well. Throughout the peripheral text of the 1947 United Nations Partition of Palestine, Britain recognized it was an empire in decline. Yet, instead of articulating a rhetoric of failure that would justify the recovery of its empire, Britain articulated a rhetoric of failure that was transformative and allowed the British Empire to craft a new identity as the United Kingdom.

Peripheral Text

The ebb of Britain's power was clear to some on the islands, even if external observers did not recognize that the Empire was ending. Although it was still more powerful than many European states, given its relative insulation from the worst of World War II, changes on the global scene indicated that Britain would need to rethink its position in global politics. For some members of Parliament, Britain's experience in Palestine was a synecdoche for the British Empire. Although Britain had traditionally operated with a free hand, after World War II Britain's relevance as a colonial power and its ability to impose British will were questioned. In a trenchant attack on February 20, 1947, Norman Lever, a Member of Parliament, stated that, after the War, the Palestinian experience had been little more than "two years of planless, gutless and witless behaviour which has not only cost us treasure in terms of money but uncountable treasure in manpower and loss of life, all in order to prove that we are master of a situation of which we are obviously not the master."[58] Even worse, Lever maintained, Britain had done so "all for some obscure reason made plain not to our troops, not to the people of Palestine, and certainly not to us."[59]

In 1947 and 1948Britain recognized that there were few good reasons of Empire to remain in Palestine. Instead of plainness and witless behavior, clear themes in the peripheral text indicate that Britain carefully orchestrated a textual and physical withdrawal from Palestine. Instead of continuing old power politics toward no purpose, the peripheral text adopted four themes to frame the 1947 United Nations Partition of Palestine. The peripheral text began by praising Britain's faithful attempts to execute the Mandate for Palestine, arguing that critics of British actions failed to acknowledge the difficult balance between competing interests required by the Mandate. The costs of the Mandate to Britain were then outlined. The peripheral text indicated that these costs were not recognized by most actors in the international community. Britain's claimed that it had expended imperial resources, but these expenditures were of declining relevance in a post-imperial world. This third theme, that of the failings of Empire in a

post-imperial order, was then raised in the peripheral text. Because of these failings, Britain announced – textually and through overt actions – that it was withdrawing from Palestine. This withdrawal, however, is not a simple abandonment of Palestine. Instead, the peripheral text articulated a fourth theme. Britain argued for a United Nations solution. Britain did not default on its obligations. The peripheral text allowed Britain to transform its failed policy into a successful recognition of the needs inherent to post-imperial politics. Rather than seeing Britain, the Empire, quit Palestine, Britain, the leading citizen in the community of nations, desired common management of a shared problem.

Although the received history disagrees over whether the 1947 Partition of Palestine favored Palestinian Arabs or Jews, the peripheral text indicates that Britain faithfully executed the Mandate to be fair to both. The loudest complaints heard in Parliament came from Jewish observers who felt that, at least since the 1939 White Paper, British policy was biased towards the Palestinian Arabs. In response to such complaints, on February 20, 1946, Daniel Lipson argued that Britain's actions against the Nazis should serve as evidence that Britain supported the Jews. He noted, "if it were not for Great Britain, there would be no Jewish problem to solve" in Palestine or in any other place.[60] Instead of engaging in terrorism against their benefactors, he urged Palestinian Jews to recognize that "Great Britain has shown herself to be the best friend the Jews ever had; and it is not only folly but ingratitude, to pursue a policy which brings Jews anywhere into conflict with the people of these islands."[61] In the same debate, George Hall, Secretary of State for the Colonies, argued that Lipson was correct, but that Lipson's statements did not mean bias towards Jews. He stated that the Government "recognises an obligation to both Arabs and Jews in Palestine," that sometimes came into conflict and that, "while admitting the difficulty of reconciling their obligations," the Government "bases its hope upon what we trust will be the beginning of understanding and recognition of the common interests of the two races."[62]

Statements claiming an unbiased execution of the Mandate did not calm violence in Palestine. According to the June 21 *Times*, rather than recognizing Britain's faithful attempts to discharge the Mandate, both the Palestinian Arabs and Jews engaged in violence against British forces. Both sides, in attacking the neutral power, were harming "the traditionally tolerant, kindly, and impartial men who are bearing the unsought responsibility of keeping order in Palestine" and disadvantaging their cause.[63] On July 1, Lipson "remind[ed] the House that in 1940 the Jews of the world faced the greatest menace that has ever threatened them in their tragic history" and that British beneficence saved that people.[64] In the current situation, he told the Jews in Palestine to remember "that not only did Britain save them in the war, but also that it is in Great Britain and in her Dominions that the Jew holds a position of equality … which he does not enjoy in some of the countries which are vilifying this country for its activities in Palestine."[65] In reply to Lipson, Prime Minister Clement Atlee indicated that equal protection for Jews in the Dominions did not mean that Arab views were ignored. Instead, he noted the Britain had "to face this position where there are two races in one small territory and we are charged with a Mandate in which we have to deal fairly with both these peoples. That is sometimes forgotten" by advocates of the Jewish and Arab nationalist causes.[66] Rather than favoring one side, Atlee stated, "it is not our policy to enforce a policy on Palestine at the point of the bayonet, whether that policy is dictated by one side or the other in favour of one side or the other."[67] Rather than insisting on such a policy, Atlee maintained that Britain is "trying to deal fairly with the Jews and with the Arabs in Palestine. It is really no good suggesting that we have not an obligation to Arabs as well as Jews. That is our Mandate."[68]

Clement Davies indicated that this balanced policy was not just British policy; it was world policy entailed in the Mandate. In his July 31, 1946 speech, he told Jewish observers that they "must remember that [Britain] took upon ourselves the responsibility of protecting them, and that we did it when the United States of America was refusing to do it… We undertook to do it not only on our own behalf, but on behalf of all the United Nations."[69] Although Davies' claim is

anachronistic – there was no United Nations when Britain assumed the Mandate – it foreshadows the strategy of turning the problem over to the United Nations while maintaining Britain's position as a leader. The next day Winston Churchill asserted that Britain became the Mandatory without view of its own interests, but in the interests of both the Jewish and Arab people. He claimed that Britain had "never sought or got anything out of Palestine. We have discharged a thankless, painful, costly, labourious, inconvenient task for more than a quarter of a century with a very good measure of success."[70]

Despite this good measure of success, the peripheral text claims that only British failings were seen by Jewish and Arab observers. Although a more successful policy might have been to impose a state only for Jews or only for Arabs, the obligations of the Mandate and Britain's desire to fulfill those obligations had led to the current situation. The January 27, 1947 *Times* disputed claims of British imperialism in Palestine. The *Times* argued that "Britain is not acting on her own behalf in Palestine, but is endeavouring in the face of much willful misrepresentation to discharge a duty imposed upon her by international agreement."[71] At the July 1 Debates, Sir Ralph Glyn claimed that Britain had resisted taking on the Mandate but did so when no other power was willing to accept such a demanding obligation. Glyn claimed that American criticism was unwarranted as "the United States was to have had the Mandate, and that important point should not be forgotten. It was accepted by the United States, and, when President Wilson turned down the League of Nations, it passed to us to hold this troublesome baby." [72] According to Glyn, Britain "accepted the Mandate, not because we wished to have it, but in order to do something for the benefit of the Middle East."[73] The Mandate was not entirely beneficial, of course. The July 19 *Times* recognized "there have been mistakes plenty… but there has been no lack of honesty of purpose, no disposition to take the easy way of sacrificing the interests of the weaker party, and no exploitation of the difficulties in Palestine for the profit of Britain."[74] In this rewriting and evaluation of events, Britain had erred only in not considering its own interests. As such, in December, Maurice Orbach urged Parliament to seek no longer the enforcement of an

unworkable Mandate. Instead, he urged Britain to "go down in history as a people who accepted a great trust, carried it forward through very great difficulties indeed and who relinquish it with grace and generosity."[75]

In the British view, the greatest flaw of the Mandate was that it required a single power to administer it. Although a Mandatory government was a sensible policy in regions where indigenous governments could be quickly formed, Palestine had shown itself resistant to developing a proper government. Britain, having faithfully attempted to fulfill its Mandatory obligations and without gaining profit, could not be expected to maintain control indefinitely. Criticism of British attempts became most unpalatable when the costs of the Mandatory government grew too high. At the February 20, 1946, debate Lispon maintained "it is not fair that this country should have to bear the whole burden of solving [the problem of Palestine]. America has a great interest in it" because there were some five million U.S. Jews and because "America is now a world Power, and I submit, with all respect, that the problem of the Jew is a world problem" requiring the resources of more than just the British Empire.[76]

In addition to being costly, a single power administration was considered unjust by some Britons. The problem of Palestine was not that Britons did not support a Jewish State. Instead, Thomas Reid claimed that, given the conditions after World War II, continuing the Mandate "is untenable and impossible" because of the high costs.[77] In Parliament, on February 21, Richard Crossman claimed that British actions under the Mandate actually alienated both Jews and Arabs. He stated, "we are faced with the intolerable situation in Palestine that at great cost to this country in men, material, and money, we are maintaining a so-called rule detested by Jew and Arab alike."[78] Because both sides of the conflict would prefer to "get rid of us and to fight it out between themselves," Britain should no longer attempt to maintain rule.[79] Crossman continued, "it is right that this House should be deeply concerned about the cost of British lives."[80] Although Crossman claimed that Parliament "are indignant that British soldiers should be killed,"

Parliament would grow "even more indignant if we discover that they are being killed in an unjust war."[81]

In the July 31 and August 1 debates, Crossman's emphasis on the costs of the Mandate was expanded. Herbert Morrison claimed that, unless Britain gained international support for actions in Palestine, "we shall have to reconsider the position, particularly as regards the economic and financial implications, and this is bound to affect the whole tempo and extent of immigration and development."[82] Reginald Manningham-Buller agreed: "any solution which will bring peace to the Holy Land and, at the same time, lighten the intolerable burden on British shoulders and on the British Army will, I am sure, be welcomed by both sides of this House."[83] Stanley Evans indicated that an end to British burdens would be welcomed by those who did not have seats in Parliment. He reported that, "for the first time in my experience, ordinary decent working men are talking in their pubs and clubs, at the barber's and at work, about the lot to which our lads are being subjected to in Palestine."[84] Even the British army thought the costs were too high. Evans claimed that, because "it is most unpleasant to be hunted, stalked and ambushed by evilly disposed persons armed with sticks of dynamite, tommy-guns and other lethal weapons," British soldiers were near mutiny.[85] Churchill summarized Parliament's concerns about the Mandate and its costs. He described the Mandate as "an unfair burden was being thrown upon Great Britain while the United States … and other countries … sat on the sidelines and criticised our shortcomings with all the freedom of perfect detachment and irresponsibility."[86] Because other international actors were not cognizant of these costs, Churchill said that he "had always intended to put it to our friends … that either they should come and help us … or that we should resign our Mandate."[87] Following these debates, the August 7 *Times* reported that "the British government cannot undertake responsibilities outside the limits of their own resources, and their attitude towards" extension of the Mandate "cannot be more than tentative" and, more properly, should not even be a matter for discussion.[88] The November 18 *Times* argued that all of "British opinion is increasingly concerned at the unexpected protraction of the period during

which this attitude [in Palestine] must be maintained at such heavy costs."[89] This attitude, that of retaining British troops for the defense of British administration in Palestine was untenable because there was no return on this investment. Instead, the *Times* indicated it would be more sensible to withdraw the civilian administration and impose martial law or to withdraw altogether.

Despite these complaints about the costs of the Mandate, Britain believed that the international community did not take their concerns seriously. In response, Churchill called for the immediate withdrawal of all British Forces from Palestine. On February 18, 1947 he asked Parliament, "how does [Bevin] justify keeping 100,000 British soldiers in Palestine, who are needed here, and spending 30 million Pounds to 40 million Pounds a year from our diminishing resources upon this vast protraction and delay?"[90] The answer was unclear to Churchill, as none was provided. On February 25, Glyn maintained that "it was never felt that this country should be saddled with this Mandate for a long period. It was always considered that it should be for a fairly short time, but, unfortunately, we have got more and more into the morass."[91] The only proper action to Glyn was that Britain should cut its losses and withdraw. Lever agreed, holding that, due to costs, "it is not in the interests of the British people that [British troops] should remain there any longer as one of the intermeddling parties" in a Jewish-Arab settlement.[92] The lack of interest did not come from Britain's failure to try. Rather, the *Times* claimed that "the real charge against" the Government is "that they have persisted in their attempt long after failure had been obvious to all but themselves."[93] This failure enabled further opposition. Moreover, because of this failure, the *Times* held that the Government "now stand without a policy at a moment of mounting political tension in Palestine" and where the current administration "is now universally recognised to be provisional and transitory."[94]

This recognition was *not* universal. Although the Colonial Office was well aware of the costs of continued British administration in Palestine, other parts of the Government were not. During the Estimates debate on 11 July, the Colonial Office called for no increase in the Palestine budget. The Treasury argued that the Colonial Office required more funds. The Colonial Office

replied that, "if the Treasury wish to insist" on additional funding to be sent to Palestine, "they are surely predicating a hypothesis that we must contest; namely that things are going to get no better in Palestine after 1947-48 and that H.M.G. will be left holding an unreformed and unrepentantly turbulent baby indefinitely."[95] Neither of these was to be the case. The Colonial Office did not accept that Palestinian violence would continue indefinitely. More important, the Colonial Office did not assume that Britain would remain responsible for Palestine.

The Colonial Office was aware of the costs of administering Palestine. Although they may have been influenced by discussions in Parliament and the *Times* regarding costs, the Colonial Office also received many letters from British citizens making similar claims.[96] Many correspondents simply sent letters. Others included clippings of photographs and articles contained in less known newspapers to justify their views about Palestine. The mother of a British soldier stationed in Palestine wrote the Colonial Office that "our young boys should be taking [sic] out of Palestine now, for if we wait any longer there will be nobody to bring home."[97] She also urged that the Colonial Office speed up its withdrawal, holding that "it is all very well for our government to sit and wait to hand over the Mandate in May, but they should be made to realise that the Jews or Arabs wont [sic] wait."[98] She included an unsourced news clipping that quoted Secretary of State for the Colonies Creech Jones as stating "time is short, and the prestige of the United Nations is at stake" to urge the Colonial Office to follow the advice of its own Secretary.[99]

Other correspondents sent similar messages about the costs of British administration. A common clipping came from the March 1, 1948 *Daily Record* in Glasgow, Scotland. The *Daily Record* claimed that the "U.N.O. had better forget about the American jurists, and make up its own mind to do something about Palestine. Britain has had more than enough of it" and should not be relied on to keep the peace there.[100] One Welsh correspondent urged the Prime Minister to "use your enegengy [sic] to speed up Removal of British Forces from Palestine, and so <u>Save</u> young lives, Stores, etc."[101] Confident in his suasory abilities, he concluded the letter by leaving

the Prime Minister "trusting you will try to get these lads Home even if you have to use Jews

Ilegall imagrants Ships [sic] for transport."[102] An undated editorial from the London *Daily

Express* was sent in by several correspondents, some of whom underlined its claim that, although

"every member of the United Nations wavers" in its support for partition, "only one nation should

not waver – Britain. She has played her part in Palestine, fully and honourably. Now her course is

clear ... Get out of Palestine! At once! Bag and baggage!"[103] An English correspondent wrote the

Colonial Office emphasizing public statements that Britain would withdraw from Palestine

because of high costs. He claimed that, because "both Mr. Ernest Bevin and Mr. Creech Jones

have given undertakings that British troops would be withdrawn from Palestine," any deployment

beyond the termination date would "simply be a betrayal of the people of this country."[104] When a

reply was not immediately received, this correspondent sent an additional letter to Creech Jones

on March 25. He informed Creech Jones that "the British public is sick and tired of this needless

loss of life and devoutly hopes that the expressed policy of the Government will be carried

out."[105]

Some letters attempted to influence the Colonial Office by accessing forums that were

more public. For example, the *Times* forwarded an April 7 unpublished letter to the Colonial

Office. This letter asked, "how much longer must we tolerate this deplorable situation and how

many more of our men are to lose their lives in a country where we are not at war?"[106] This

question was echoed in other letters forwarded by other newspapers. Organizations also issued

open letters that were copied to the Colonial Office. The Rogerstone Parish Council, a church

group, sent a note to the Prime Minister that reported resolutions they had made on March 5. The

Council resolved that "this Council expresses approval of H.M. Government to terminate the

Palestine Mandate and to withdraw all British Forces not later than the 15th May 1948, and

respectfully urges that in no circumstances should the date of withdrawal of the forces be

extended."[107] Similar resolutions from local groups affiliated with the Anglican Church, the

Church of Scotland, and Catholic Dioceses in Northern Ireland are contained in the Colonial

Office records of February through May, 1948. Even people who had served the British Empire had concluded that the cost of British administration had grown too high. The Executive Committee of the British Legion urged the Colonial Office on March 2 to "place the entire responsibility of the immediate future of the Holy Land on the shoulders of the warring parties and the U.N.O." and remove it from British soldiers.[108] Other fraternal organizations and veterans' groups submitted similar recommendations.

The Colonial Office appeared to take these concerns seriously, both in responding to these letters and in its internal investigations. Replies sent to correspondents throughout March and April, 1948 indicated that the Colonial Office supported the withdrawal of British Forces from Palestine and would not maintain forces there after the termination of the Mandate. The Colonial Office assured correspondents that "Government spokesmen in both Houses of Parliament have consistently stressed the anxiety of His Majesty's Government to complete the withdrawal of our Administrative and Armed Forces from Palestine at the earliest practicable date."[109] Moreover, the Colonial Office indicates that "the United Kingdom cannot enter into any new or extended commitment in regard to Palestine and that the date of termination of our responsibility is irrevocably fixed."[110] In their reply to organizations and their representatives, the Colonial Office made similar assurances. For instance, in their reply to the Archbishop of Wales, the Colonel Office claimed, "Government spokesmen in both Houses of Parliament have constantly stressed the intention of His Majesty's Government to complete the withdrawal of our Administrative and Armed forces from Palestine at the earliest practicable date."[111] In addition, the Colonial Office's internal documents on terror attacks, vandalism, theft, kidnappings, and bombings indicated that the high costs of attempting to maintain control were good reasons for Britain to withdraw from Palestine.[112]

Reid summarized the British position on the costs of Palestine at the December 11, 1947 Debate. There he argued that Britain should depart Palestine for three reasons. Both the Arabs and the Jews "have said that they want us to quit, and that is one reason why we should.

Secondly, we should quit because we cannot use our boys to implement this iniquitous policy, and, thirdly, we should quit from the point of view of practical politics" regarding Britain's position on the world scene.[113]

From this view of practical politics, Britain needed to resign the Mandate for Palestine. The received history portrays Britain's May, 1948 withdrawal as sudden and unexpected. The peripheral text indicates, however, that Britain made clear its intention to withdraw from Palestine in 1948. This textual withdrawal was accompanied by actual withdrawals. The primary reason given by Britain for ending the Mandate was the costs of continued administration. These costs were not just lives and money, but also involved the reputation of the British Empire. Some Britons felts that these costs, coupled with Britain's ineptitude, risked the Empire's international reputation. On February 20, 1946, Viscount Hitchingbrooke claimed in Parliament that "if these violent disturbances continue nations great and small can scarcely be blamed if they call into question Britain's reputation for competent and vigourous overseas administration."[114] Indeed, Britain herself should call this competence into question. Hitchingbrooke stated that imperial rule should recognize that "the sword of British justice has been too blunt, and the scales of British justice too coarse, for the proper discharge of the obligations we took on 20 years ago."[115]

In the July 31 and August 1, 1946 debates, calls for the end of British rule in Palestine were made more clearly. There, Crossman maintained that violence continued because "there is, throughout the Middle East, a conviction that we are staying in Palestine."[116] To resolve this violence, Churchill said that Britain should prepare to leave. Toward that end Crossman suggested that "there should be a time limit" and that "after that it will be their federation or their partition, but we are not staying 'for keeps.'"[117] To make the intent to leave clear, Crossman told Parliament, "we should be prepare to say to the world that, within a given number of years [from 1946], we are going to give up our unilateral military responsibility … and put the matter before the U.N.O."[118] Britain would leave Palestine out of concern for Palestine's interests, according to William Gallacher. After providing an outline of imperial policy, he asked, "is it not a very

significant and a very sinister thing that where British Imperialist influence is predominant, these murderous impulses exist?" [119] Gallacher believed it was, concluding that Britain should "take away this unsavoury influence" of imperialism and, thereupon, "ordinary people will find ways and means of living together in harmony and cooperation. That is the solution."[120] Tufton Beamish agreed that Palestine should no longer be part of the Empire. Rather than having Britain bear the burden of policy, it should be shared. He held that "the onus is as much on Arab and Jew, as on the people of this country to preserve that sacred trust, by avoiding the extremes of prejudice, and … it rests as much on Arab and Jew as it does on the United Nations as a whole."[121]

Indeed, if the costs to Britain were not reduced by the immediate cessation of violence and the obligations were not shared out among all powers, Parliament indicated that Britain would have no choice but to end its rule. On August 1, Churchill claimed, "warfare directed against the British in Palestine will, if protracted, automatically release us from all obligations to persevere, as well as destroy the inclination to make further efforts in British hearts."[122] Churchill called on Britain to, at once, "make it clear that the British have no interests in remaining in Palestine and no wish to do so, and that they decline to carry forward single-handed this harsh, invidious burden." [123] If Britain made clear its desire to withdraw Churchill believed that British concerns would be taken seriously. By promising to withdraw, Churchill claimed that "you will get attention paid to what you say and what you ask and all kinds of good solutions … will immediately come into the field of possibility."[124] Although some Members objected to such strong-arm tactics, holding they violated the Mandatory responsibility, Kenneth Pickthorn asserted that there was no Mandatory responsibility. Pickthorn claimed that, "in view of the relationship between the Mandate and the League of Nations, which has now long gone, and the relationship between the Mandate now and the United Nations, which has hardly yet come … I do not think too much stress should be laid upon the Mandate."[125] M. Philips Price went further. He claimed the kind of rule empowered by the Mandate was outdated. He held, "the days of

military occupation and strategic forces in the Middle East are over. That was all right for the 19th century, but this is the 20th century."[126] Because of changes in the times, Philips Price averred, "I certainly agreed with … giving notice now to the United Nations that we are not going to stay in Palestine indefinitely, that we must ask for some term to be put on our military liabilities in regard to our occupation of Palestine."[127]

Despite calling for giving notice to the United Nations that Britain intended to depart Palestine, some members of the international community believed that it was Britain's responsibility to provide a transition government or to propose an alternative administration. At the February 18, 1947 debate Ernest Bevin rejected this logic. Rather than biasing the outcome of the Mandatory's rule, Bevin claimed he did not "think that we can offer to the United Nations any more proposals. We shall leave them on the table. They, in turn, may have better ones, but this is the best we can do."[128] To do otherwise would be to overstep the bounds of the Mandate and to undermine the United Nations framework. A week later, Bevin stated, "we, as Mandatory Power, cannot solve that problem until the United Nations have recommended … the basis of the future organisation of Palestine. We, as Mandatory Power, have no power to make that decision. Nothing … indicates that we have that power."[129] Stanley supported Bevin's claim. He stated that, rather than proposing an interim policy that was bound to fail, "it would be better to say now what we shall have to say in the end, namely, that failing an agreement between the United Nations upon some policy which we ourselves can support, we will surrender the Mandate of Palestine and leave it to the United Nations to appoint a successor and frame a policy."[130] In addition to recognizing the United Nation's jurisdiction, Stanley urged the Government to articulate clearly its intent to surrender the Mandate. He argued the Government "should say so at once and restore our Mandate to the United Nations, instead of continuing to jeopardise the lives of our men and pour out the all too exiguous treasures of the State in a task … incapable of successful completion."[131] Instead of continuing an impossible task, Crossman urged Parliament at the February 18 debates to, "for once, make up our minds, and go to the United Nations with

the following three plain statements:" Britain believes "the Mandate is unworkable;" Britain is

"in favour of an orderly partition;" and "whatever happens we will have our troops and

administrators out by a certain date."[132] These statements did not go far enough, according to

Richard Stokes. Beyond forwarding these principles to the United Nations, he argued that Britain

"ought to set a time limit; otherwise, U.N.O. will mess about and not come to a decision, and our

men will have to come to bear the heat and burden of the day."[133]

Although Stokes' three plain statements were reported to the United Nations, they did not

have the impact on the United Nations for which Stokes hoped. The August 10 *Times* reported

that, despite Britain's call for a reduction in its obligations, the United Nations General Assembly

felt that British withdrawal was an "extreme improbability." [134] The *Times* indicated that the

United Nations did not believe British threats to withdraw for two reasons. First, the United

Nations thought that the Balfour Declaration was still a foundation for British policy. Second, the

United Nations believed that Britain would not allow a power vacuum in Palestine to form.. The

Times replied that British presence was not needed because "the conscience of humanity would

never permit the Jewish National Home to perish." [135] Moreover, even "if Britain were to

withdraw, her place would at once be taken by some other authority, whether national or

international."[136] As such, the *Times* rejected the United Nations's thinking. Parliament rejected

these assumptions as well. In Parliament, there was little concern over what agent would protect

the Jewish National home. In the August 12 debates, the Balfour Declaration policy appeared

dead. Lever claimed that "nobody in the two years we have sat in the Parliament has told us why

[our troops] are there, what purpose they are serving, and what possible benefit it is going to be to

the people of this country."[137] Instead of continuing the deployment, he urged Britain to recognize

that "our time is up in Palestine. We must go, and the sooner we go the better it will be for the

people of Palestine and the people of this country."[138] Likewise, Michael Foot "urged His

Majesty's Government to make an act of policy for the first time in two years, and declare now

that whatever decision is arrived at by U.N.O. we are going out of Palestine."[139] Foot also

proposed a withdrawal date, holding that "under no conditions will our troops remain in Palestine six months, or, even better, three months, after U.N.O. has reported."[140] Because the United Nations would report in February, 1948 at lasted, Foot created a deadline of May, 1948 at the latest. The calls for withdrawal were not limited to one Party either. Benn Levy summarized the debate and reported "real unanimity on all sides of the House on at least two points: … a declaration should be made that we will bind ourselves to … whatever the result of the United Nations Committee may be and … we have got to get out of the unilateral responsibility for Palestine."[141] Foot and Levy's advocacy was accepted. On April 3, 1947 Sir Alexander Cadogan, the United Kingdom Delegate, informed the United Nations that Britain was referring the problem of Palestine to the United Nations and making Palestine an issue of collective responsibility.[142]

The *Times* reported that the United Nations was slow to react to Britain's stated intent to withdraw. In the September 2 edition, the *Times* argued, "No one can doubt that it is expedient to terminate the mandate and to make Palestine independent at the earliest possible date, or that during the transition period the authority administering the country must be responsible to the United Nations."[143] The *Times* clarified that Britain could not be that authority, as Britain was withdrawing. Although "the British commitment in Palestine has been faithfully discharged," the *Times* noted that "where honour and security will permit, Britain's domestic situation now requires a reduction, not an enlargement, of external commitments."[144] The decision to withdraw went beyond the Government's claims. On October 13 the *Times* stated, "it is clear that the British people have made up their minds once and for all; and unless the United Nations can provide both a plan and the appropriate international agency to enforce it, this country can and should carry out its stated intention to leave Palestine."[145] When the United Nations did not act immediately, the *Times* reiterated this call on October 15, 1947. Then, they wrote that Britain was not withdrawing out of its own interests, but also because it was in Palestine's interests as well. For the *Times*, "it seems clear that the honourable course for" Britain "is to free her hands

forthwith by announcing the determination to lay down the mandate on a specific date," as this will force the United Nations to devise an agency for the administration of Palestine.[146] Unfortunately, the *Times* noted, "too many delegations" at the United Nations "have been content to proceed upon the assumption that Britain can be persuaded to remain."[147] This assumption was not shared by Palestinian Arabs and Jews. They were not relying on Britain to stay in Palestine. Indeed, the November 13 *Times* reported, "neither community doubts that Britain intends to withdraw soon; any skepticism has been dispelled" by civil withdrawal and clear statements before the United Nations.[148]

The United Nations remained deaf to Britain's statements. As such, on November 15 the *Times* argued that Britain should speak more clearly, if that was possible. "Precision," the *Times* noted, has "great virtue in such matters." [149] With the recent debates in Parliament, the *Times* indicated that such precision had been gained. Because "the United Nations now knows the timing of zero hour, after which it will be responsible for carrying out its own decisions about the future of Palestine," Britain, at least in the *Times's* view, had made its intentions clear.[150] That same day, the High Commissioner for Palestine wrote the Colonial Office that, the United Nations had been informed "of our intention to withdraw our administration of forces from Palestine not later than 1st August, 1948."[151] Furthermore, the High Commissioner stated, "it is probable ... that the Civil Administration and our financial responsibilities will be terminated before that date," a fact of which the United Nations was also aware.[152] Six days later, the Colonial Office summarized its position toward Palestine. In a departmental meeting, the Office indicates that "it was the intention of H.M.G. to ensure that the termination of the Mandate should be simultaneous with ... the assumption of authority by the United Nations Commission. It was agreed that we should resist any suggestion that the Commission should exercise any authority" until British administrators and military personnel left Palestine.[153] This position was also recognized in that day's *Times* which reported that, "when [Britain] gives up the mandate, and with it her obligations … she is ready to make over power" to the United Nations.[154]

The Colonial Office statements and the *Times* reporting emerged on November 22, one week before the Partition for Palestine was issued. This center text, as I will explain below, recognized and authorized the British withdrawal from Palestine. The peripheral text continued to supplement this recognition, making clear that Britain's interpretation was that it would withdraw as soon as practicable. In the December 11 debates, Creech Jones stated that "the Government must prepare for the early withdrawal of British Forces and administration from Palestine" even before the suggested date of May 15, 1948.[155] In addition, Creech Jones claimed that "His Majesty's Government would not carry sole or major responsibility for the administration of Palestine and for enforcing changes which the United Nations regarded as necessary" because of this decision to withdraw.[156] Clearly, Creech Jones said, "British troops could not be used as the instrument of the United Nations for enforcing a decision" and, moreover, "it was not for Britain, after it had given so much, to take up again the heavy commitments of bringing a new order."[157] From the other side of the House, Stanley agreed. He stated, "we see no alternative to the decision of His Majesty's Government to lay down the Mandate and evacuate Palestine at the earliest possible moment."[158] Because settlement requires the British to leave and with "the decision to leave Palestine having been taken, it should now be implemented with the greatest practicable speed."[159] Lipson claimed to recognize the wisdom of British non-involvement. He reported that he was "glad that the Government have decided that they will take no part whatever in trying to enforce partition" and, furthermore, "urge[d] that we should withdraw at the earliest possible date."[160] Although Lipson was opposed to the principle of partition, he was in favor of British withdrawal. Because Britain had "made many sacrifices for [Palestine] but, whatever the future may hold for Palestine, we cannot accept responsibility for what follows the decisions to bring about partition. The effects of that must be accepted by those who are responsible for making the decision," not Britain.[161]

Praise for British withdrawal went beyond general approval of the decision. Many Members of Parliament lauded the specific date for withdrawal, as it set a firm deadline for the

end of the Mandate. Davies supported Creech Jones' policy of a specific termination date. He claimed that Creech Jones had "rightly given two dates" for British withdrawal: "one when we hand over the Mandate and the other when we ultimately leave."[162] Davies also indicated that, should these two dates be the same, he would not object. James Hutchison announced that he "welcome[d] the firm decision .. that we shall carry out our Mandate up to and until 15th May, and that then we will definitely lay it down."[163] Because of this commitment, Hutchison noted that Britain had "the whole responsibility, until 15th May, and that thereafter none of the responsibility will be ours."[164] As such, "on 15th May, we shall, perhaps, with a sigh of relief, be able to depart and hand it over to some one who may be able to solve the troubles that we have been unable to solve."[165]

The date where British responsibility ended was welcomed. Several Members, such as Harold Roberts, desired that it be hastened. Roberts argued, "the Ministerial decision to terminate our connection with the country is the right one. Furthermore, I say to the Ministers, 'expedite it, if you can. … Do not let us be deluded into believing that by staying on we shall ever be able to leave the country nicely tidied up."[166] Indeed, Roberts claimed, the British errors in India and Ireland showed that partial and piecemeal withdrawal would entail high costs in blood and treasure. The next morning, Thomas Moore urged early withdrawal as well. The Government "has told us that the Mandate will expire on 15th May next year, and that our British troops will get out by 1st August. That," in Moore's view, was "too long. We have no responsibility there, we have no obligations there … The League of Nations is dead, and we are not wanted in Palestine by anyone."[167] As such, Moore concluded, "let us get out, and let that going be quick."[168] Arthur Dodds-Parkers supported early departure as well. He held, "it will be generally agreed by the greatest number in this country and in Palestine that the sooner we move out the better, and I would join my voice to the plea that has been made for a speedy withdrawal."[169] Anthony Eden "want[ed] to be assured that the date of 15th May is not a date which is subject to negotiation with the committee of the United Nations."[170] As such, he urged that the United Nations recognize

"that it is our definite date on which we shall go." [171] Indeed, May 15th had to be made a firm deadline in both directions, Leonard Gammans asserted. "Up to this Debate there has been a feeling in the minds of some Jews and Arabs and also in the United States, that there was an element of bluff in what we were saying, that we did not intend to clear out, that we were prepared to hold the Mandate baby a little longer." [172] With a May 15 deadline, Gammans claimed, "no misapprehensions on that point will exist any longer."[173]

These textual withdrawals were accompanied by physical and contractual withdrawals that could have served as additional indicators that Britain intended to withdraw. Changes in police employment, utility structures, and other policies served as evidence that British administration would end. For example, on April 19, 1948 the Palestine Police Commissioner told the Attorney General's office that "we cannot sent any further letters by official bag but you will appreciate that the 15th May is not very far distant," making continued contact between the two offices largely irrelevant.[174] The Palestine Police contacted the Home Office on November 26, 1947 because the "evacuation from Palestine is now certain and it is most urgently necessary to make a start" on finding jobs for Palestinian police officers in the British police, prison, and military services.[175] The Palestine Police also urged that their officers be transferred to other colonies. For example, the Palestine Police told the Hong Kong police in December 1947 that "the withdrawal or the British Administration from Palestine is expected to commence shortly" and this withdrawal "seems likely" to produce qualified personnel for the colony.[176] Likewise, administrators in Kenya were told, "now that the announcement has been made as to the termination of the civil administration," the Police "thought it might be worthwhile" for them to recruit from Palestinian ranks.[177] Similar contacts were made with the administrators of Britain's Caribbean possessions.

Changes were also made in British utility contracts that would allow Britain to sever administrative powers. Before the decision to withdraw, the British Government had intended to construct and operate several rail lines between Palestine and Egypt. With the termination of the

Mandate, these intentions were cancelled to facilitate the end of Britain's responsibilities in Palestine. Given Britain's intention to leave Palestine, Britain's liaison with Egyptian Railways wrote the Colonial Office that he "had written the whole thing off and had put the case" of extending British lines into Palestine "aside as one of those non-essentials" that had to be discarded with the end of the Mandate.[178] The decision to end British involvement in Palestinian railways was recognized by Palestine Railways as well. Their general manager informed the Iraq Petroleum Company on November 4, 1947 that previous plans to extend rail services and intermodal connections with shipping and pipelines management would be put aside until a new administration was in place. He wrote that, "in view of the recently declared policy ... financing of the project cannot be undertaken by the Mandatory Government of Palestine, nor can the British Treasury be expected to provide the requisite capital funds at this juncture."[179] Moreover, the joint project would be delayed until the United Nations's views toward the project could be ascertained. The end of British control over Palestinian railway extensions was sealed in February 1948, shortly before the British withdrawal. In a meeting at the Egyptian Railways office, it was announced that the Government and Egyptian Railways were "in complete agreement" about the end of British involvement.[180] At this meeting, both parties "stressed that everything should be done to ensure that the date of take over" by the United Nations "should be 1 April, 1948, subject to final instructions from London" that the Mandate was formally terminated.[181] Likewise, electrical projects that were to take place under British auspices were cancelled on April 23, 1947 because "the whole question of the political future of Palestine is now before the United Nations."[182] As such, "negotiations would be precluded from reaching finality at the present time" and Britain's role could not be continued.[183] Britain's role in assisting Palestinian oil exporters was similarly curtailed. Due to the referral, Crown Agents for British export were told on April 14, 1947 that "that no further work is to be undertaken in regard to the proposed additional oil accommodations" in Palestine because the contracts could be voided by a post-Mandate administration.[184] As of March 5, 1947 educational reforms also could not be implemented, even

if they were desirable. The Colonial Office's McNair Report, which had recommended changes in the educational system, was "written on the assumption, no longer valid, that present relations between the Government and the Yishuv would continue."[185] Under the British withdrawal, the "reference of the Palestine problem to U.N.O. means further considerable delay before we can plan education to fit a known political structure," and that, even under a new structure, Britain might not play a role.[186] Similar reports were made for projects involving reforestation, land distribution, immigration, and other areas where Britain's withdrawal would mean the end of Mandatory obligations to implementing change in Palestine.[187]

The peripheral text contains clear indications that Britain intended to end its administration in Palestine. In addition to ending the administration, the peripheral text indicates that Britain would not simply abandon Palestine. Instead, Britain would allow the United Nations to assume military and civil responsibilities. In the Parliamentary debates held on February 21, 1946 Hopkin Morris was the first MP to recommend that Palestine be referred to the United Nations. He stated that "until the correct policy is known neither Jews nor Arabs are fairly done by. The opportunity is now provided by the United Nations, and it is a matter for the United Nations to deal with and solve."[188] Rather than continuing the British muddle, Morris told Parliament to "let the United Nations enunciate their policy… Let them decide upon a policy which can be enforced."[189] Instead of complaining about the weight of policy, he argued that constructive solutions should be sought. Because the Mandate "is an unfair burden to put upon the Government" and because "it is a burden that should be taken up by the United Nations," he "trust[ed] that [the United Nations] will be able to find a solution."[190] Samuel Segal agreed that Britain could not abandon Palestine. In his view, "it is not for Britain to will away Palestine as she pleases."[191] The Mandates, in Segal's view, were "a concept of power politics dating back to the first world war" and were outdated with the rise of the international system.[192] To adapt to this new international order, Segal urged that the Mandates system "give way to the principle of collective trusteeship" and that the territories be administered by the United Nations.[193] George

Hall, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, assented. He stated that "a just settlement of the Palestine problem is of major interest not only to the United Kingdom and the United States but to the United Nations as a whole. The repercussions of this conflict between Arabs and Jew in Palestine are now felt throughout the Eastern and Western Hemispheres" and should be resolved by all those affected.[194] In its reporting on these debates, the *Times* concluded that any settlement in Palestine "must fulfill two conditions. It must enable Arabs and Jews to live side by side in amity, and it must convince public opinion throughout the United Nations of its inherent fairness and equity."[195] As such, the only reasonable course was to have the United Nations devise a plan for administering Palestine.

Additional calls for an international regime in Palestine were made during the July 31 and August 1, 1946 debates. Immediately before these debates the *Times* claimed that disturbances in Palestine called for a policy "which can be administered with the assent and assistance of the United Nations and with the moral support of men of good will throughout the world."[196] At the debates, Stanley argued that Britain's withdrawal would end its obligation to enforce peace. Under the new international system, that responsibility was one "which the United Nations organisation would expect to deal with."[197] The United Nations was the guarantor of the Mandates and was oversaw their administration. As such, any change in the Mandate obligated Britain to defer to the United Nations. According to Lever, "two courses are opened up to a bewildered trustee. One is to resign, and the second is to go to the court."[198] Because Britain could not simply abandon its responsibilities, Lever held that "the appropriate action" for Palestine "is to go to only court available, the United Nations, and submit the matter to them in order that the weight of world opinion will be behind the solution, whatever it may be."[199] For Churchill, there was no difference between simple resignation and seeking the guidance of the United Nations. He argued, "it is our duty at any rate to offer to lay down the Mandate. We should, therefore, as soon as the war stopped, have made it clear" that "we would lay the whole care and burden at the feet of the United Nations organisation; and we should have fixed a date by

which all our troops and forces would be withdrawn from the country."[200] This choice was not easy, even if it was necessary. Hall told Parliament, "it is not easy to lay down the Mandate at the feet of the U.N.O. unless there is an organisation to take its place, and that is what we are hoping to do" by seeking the United Nations's guidance.[201]

In February 1947, the Government assented to Parliament's calls for an international regime and referred the problem of Palestine to the United Nations for resolution. On February 18, Bevin reported to Parliament that His Majesty's Government have "reached the conclusion that the only course now open to us is to submit the problem to the judgment of the United Nations."[202] After outlining the 1922 and 1939 proposals, as well as possible schemes of cantonization and partition, Bevin stated that Britain "shall then ask the United Nations to consider our report, and to recommend a settlement of the problem. We do not intend ourselves to recommend any particular solution" because the power to decide, and the responsibility for decision, should be devolved to the United Nations.[203] The February 19 *Times* agreed that this was the responsible action. The *Times* held that "this situation is not of Britain's making. Its root cause lies in the unsuitability of the mandate to present conditions."[204] Because the Mandate system was not adapted to a post-imperial order, the *Times* argued that an alternative had to be devised by international actors to fit with the current world situation. In the February 25 debate, Bevin disclaimed any further British responsibility for Palestine. He argued that a British-imposed decision "could not succeed" as Palestine was "not British territory; we hold it under trust – we would return to the United Nations and ask for their help and advice."[205] Mannigham-Buller agreed, claiming that Bevin had given a reasoned and cogent argument for the decision to refer this problem to the United Nations organisation."[206] Stanley, leading the Opposition, also claimed concord with the Government. He held that the Opposition "have no complaint to make at all about a reference of this problem at this stage to the United Nations."[207] In addition, Stanley told Bevin that the Opposition "agree[d] that in the special circumstances of the day it may well be that it is better to get prior approval and support from the [General] Assembly" before any

British action is taken in Palestine.[208] Moss Turner-Samuels noted that Britain, under international law, was required to seek the United Nations's approval. He stated, "if there is to be a new document or a new policy" in place of the Mandate, "then the only power, the only source from which that can be done is the United Nations, and because of that it is to that body that it is now intended to refer this particular Mandate."[209] Likewise, Glyn argued that Britain "should go to the United Nations ... and say that for all these years we have struggled and done our best; circumstances are such that we honestly believe we cannot carry on any further, and we therefore fix a date when we come out."[210] Creech Jones concluded the debate. He claimed that Britain had "been very unfairly attacked in regard to our administration. Therefore, we feel that it is right and proper that we should let the world now judge what is best to be done for Palestine… Let there be a solution which we do not prejudice, a solution which is likely to give satisfaction to the rest of the world."[211]

With the decision made to refer Palestine to the United Nations, Britain would no longer propose solutions. Indeed, its only action would be to refuse further administrative responsibility. The February 26, 1947 *Times* supported Britain's policy. It argued that "the decision could not be taken by the mandatory power, but only by the United Nations; and that until an authoritative rule was obtained, and the final objective plainly laid down, no progress was possible."[212] To avoid such an impasse, the *Times* urged the United Nations to act quickly so that "the burden of responsibility" could "be shared by other interested powers" and Britain would be relieved.[213] Indeed, on March 3, 1947 the *Times* concluded that British action was impossible. Not only could Britain barely defend its troops, but Britain was also "bound to refrain from any action which would prejudice the position of unstable equilibrium that the United Nations must shortly take into account."[214] In April, the *Times* urged Britain not to propose future policies for Palestine. Although the *Times* recognized that "the existing mandate for Palestine has proved unworkable," it was "for the United Nations, and not for this country by itself, to determine what should be done."[215] Later that month the *Times* clarified Britain's policy of not proposing a solution. The

Times stated that "the attitude of Britain is governed by the fact that she had deliberately sought the guidance of the United Nations upon the future government of Palestine. Such guidance is necessary because … the mandate contains no directions applicable to the present situation."[216]

Following the July 31 and August 1, 1946 debates, Parliament reconfirmed its decision to refer Palestine to the United Nations. On August 12, Stanely argued he did "not believe that this country can continue to carry alone a burden in blood, in treasure, in work and labour in Palestine, on anything like the same lines as for the last 20 years."[217] Rather than attempting continued enforcement by a single great power, Stanley held that Britain's "task is to try to maintain the security of life and property in Palestine until [the United Nations's] decision has been taken" and to then transfer enforcement powers to the United Nations.[218] Rather than continuing classic imperial politics, Creech Jones argued that Britain was ready to recognize a new world order that require international administration. To prove that Britain had made this recognition, he claimed to "have every hope that the United Nations will recommend a line of action which will prove acceptable to both Jews and Arabs, and will be a guarantee, by international obligation, of the peace, good order, security and development of Palestine."[219] Lever also recognized that changes in the international system required that the United Nations structure be recognized. Concerning Palestine, he stated that "Britain should take the only honest course left and should ask the United Nations to relieve her of responsibility."[220] Likewise, Manningham-Buller claimed Britain could no longer act unilaterally as "the decision on the great problem of Palestine has now passed, for the time being, from the hands of the British Government" to the United Nations.[221] Because of this referral, "no final decision can be, or will be, arrived at by the British Government until after the United Nations have made up their minds."[222]

Despite disavowing unilateral action and supporting international institutions, Britain was urged in the American press to impose a solution. Britain rebuffed these attempts. For example, on September 1, Creech Jones wrote American judge Bernard Rosenblatt that the Colonial Office

appreciated suggestions for bettering British rule in Palestine. These suggestions, however, could not be adopted. Creech Jones informed Rosenblatt that "H.M.G. have felt unable to adopt any solution which they themselves would have to impose by force," a possible result of Rosenblatt's plan.[223] "Consequently," Creech Jones wrote, Britain had, "after exhausting their efforts to reach a settlement, referred the question to the ultimate Tribunal, the United Nations" and would allow them to establish a new policy.[224] On October 13, the *Times* rejected suggestions in the American press that Britain needed to deploy additional troops in Palestine to prevent violence. The *Times* claimed that "the responsibility for preventing" civil war in Palestine "will lie not upon Britain but upon the United Nations."[225] Indeed, the October 18 *Times* argued that since the United States "can no longer count upon Britain to remain in Palestine as the world's whipping boy, [the United Nations] must now take the further step of assuming responsibility."[226] The *Times* claimed on November 3 that such responsibility and "such authority can no longer be looked for from Britain, since she has herself placed the entire problem of the future of Palestine in the hands of the United Nations."[227] Since Britain had made power over the United Nations, Britain had also made over its obligations. The November 13 *Times* concluded, "power cannot be divorced from responsibility. If Palestine is to be administered by international authority, that authority itself must be endowed with all the means of enforcement."[228] Indeed, Britain no longer had any responsibilities toward Palestine. The November 22 *Times* said as much when it reported, "if the United Nations proposes a settlement requiring enforcement, it must devise its own instrument" for such enforcement.[229] Furthermore, the *Times* said, "the only course for Britain is to lay down the mandate, and to refrain from prejudicing the competing claims."[230]

Britain made sure not to prejudice the United Nations's decision making process. The United Nations appointed an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Palestine Question. The Committee was in session from September 25, 1948 to November 25. Although Britain had a month to contribute its views to the Committee, Britain made few remarks to the United Nations on the Palestinian question. Britain chose not to join any subcommittee at the United Nations that impinged on the

problem of Palestine and abstained from all voting on the United Nations's choice.[231] Throughout the Committee's meetings, Britain only made two claims. The first was that Britain would accept the United Nations's decision, whatever it might be. The second was that Britain would definitely withdraw on May 15, 1948. These themes are reflected in the *Ad Hoc* Committee's notes. Although there is not a verbatim transcript of the comments made before the Committee, the summary of the meetings generated by the United Nations report the major claims made by the participants in the Committee's sessions. At the September 26 opening of the Committee's meeting, Creech Jones was summarized as saying that "the government of the United Kingdom accepted that necessity [of terminating the Mandate] and would willingly lay down the obligations imposed on it so that the independence of Palestine might be attained."[232] Furthermore, the Committee's notes indicate that, in Creech Jones's interpretation, "the United Kingdom would be in the highest degree reluctant to oppose the Assembly's wishes in regard to the future of Palestine."[233] Creech Jones reaffirmed this statement to the Committee on October 16. Then, the Committee reported that, in Creech Jones's view, "experience had finally convinced the Government of the United Kingdom that impartial consideration by an international and independent authority was needed."[234] In addition, the Committee's summary notes that Britain had decided that the United Nations "should not be prejudiced by the advocacy of the United Kingdom of any particular scheme, more especially in the view of the continuing existence of prejudice and suspicions concerning [Britain's] role in Palestine."[235] Immediately before the Committee voted on November 20, the Committee's notes reflect that Cadogan reminded the United Nations that Britain did "not wish to impede the implementation of a recommendation of the General Assembly," whatever it might be.[236]

The second claim Britain forwarded to the United Nations was that Britain would withdraw from Palestine. The United Nations records that, on September 26, Creech Jones announced "with all solemnity that in the absence of a settlement it had to plan for an early withdrawal of British forces and British administration from Palestine."[237] Similarly, the United

Nations's summary shows that, on October 16, Creech Jones reminded the United Nations that Britain had "announced an early withdrawal of its forces and administration in order to remove all doubts of its intention, …. to emphasise the urgency of the situation and to leave the United Nations unhampered in its recommendations."[238] According to the Committee's notes, Cadogan told the United Nations that Britain was withdrawing from Palestine. Although there was still discussion in the *ad hoc* committee, Cadogan maintained that there was "no reason to suggest that [Britain] must await the approval of the Security Council before relinquishing the Mandate."[239] Moreover, "British forces would be withdrawn from Palestine as quickly as possible," in Cadogan's view, "but there would be no reason to await the approval of the Security Council" to do so.[240]

Britain allowed the United Nations to choose the disposal of Palestine. In May, 1948 British forces left. The interim administration plan, the United Nations Partition of Palestine, may not have been to Britain's liking. Having decided not to advocate any solution and not to comment on any proposal, Britain also indicated that it was obligated to accept the results as a member of the community of nations. On December 11, Creech Jones stated,

> Having asked the United Nations for advice, we could not then proceed to shape
> the advice which the Assembly could give, nor could we hope to secure
> acceptance of plans and proposals which has already proved unacceptable to the
> parties. A free judgment by the United Nations, without any suspicion or
> prejudice which might be engendered by Britain urging proposals of her own,
> seemed to His Majesty's Government, in all the circumstances, to be the wisest
> course to take.[241]

Creech Jones was not alone in accepting the decision because of Britain's decision to defer to the judgment of the United Nations. Austin Low supported this transformation from a British-controlled Mandate to an international administration. He said, "I have always supported the United Nations and hold it as a gain that when one great Power draws out of Palestine, the

vacuum of authority or power thus created is to be filled, not by another great Power, but by the United Nations."[242] Harry Morris also claimed that Britain had an obligation to accept partition, even if many Britons were opposed to the specific solution. "Having passed the problem to the United Nations organisation and a decision having been made," Morris said, "it is not for us to sit in the corner like a sulky boy and say that we are not going to play."[243] Morris claimed that Britain would not "just walk out of Palestine," but was obligated to "hand over to some organisation, no matter how constituted," that would be responsible.[244] Barnett Janner supported the claim even more strongly, holding, "we cannot turn down the U.N.O. decision; of course, we have to proceed with it and to take our share as Members who have signed the Charter which calls upon its members to take a proper share in fulfilling a decision."[245] Davies agreed that "it was necessary that the matter should be referred to all the nations of the earth, and, thereupon, we finally took the right step by submitting it to the judgment of those people, and they have now given their judgment."[246]

Britain acceded to this judgment.British policymakers claimed that the new world order required Britain to act within the rules of international organizations. On December 12, Wilfrid Vernon clarified that although Britain's short-term objective was to bring British troops home, Britain's "ultimate objective must be to strengthen the United Nations, as of supreme importance, to accept decisions loyally and carry them out."[247] Santo Jeger claimed that "because we are part of the United Nations organisation … we ought to accept any decision at which that organisation arrives, especially when we have submitted the question to them for their decision."[248] To do otherwise would undermine the United Nations's authority and interfere with the rule of international law. This obedience, though, was subservient to the large international law against the unprovoked use of military force. Bevin assured Parliament that the Government "are not going to oppose the United Nations decision. The decision has been taken" and was binding.[249] Bevin also claimed that, while Britain had "no intention of opposing that decision," Britain could

not "undertake, either individually or collectively in association with others, to impose that decision by force."[250]

The Mandate had come full circle for Britain. Since the Mandate was assumed under the League of Nations, the Mandate had to be referred back to a similar international body. This is why Eden claimed Britain was not abandoning the Mandate. Rather, "we are handing it back to that body on which has fallen the mantle of the League of Nation."[251] The burden went to the United Nations because it had succeeded the League. In addition, because Britain had taken "the initiative in asking the United Nations to pronounce upon this matter" and were "members of that organisation, it is really not open to us to seek to repudiate their decision."[252]

Center Text

After Britain referred the problem of Palestine to the United Nations, an *ad hoc* committee at the United Nations was appointed to propose a solution. Although Britain was invited to join this committee, it chose not to do so. In addition, when the proposals were brought to a vote on November 29, 1947, Britain was one of ten countries that abstained from the decision.[253] The proposed solution was the partition of Palestine into three parts, an Arab State, a Jewish State, and the City of Jerusalem, that would be joined in economic union. This proposal was approved by the United Nations as General Assembly Resolution 181. The Resolution asserts that the Mandate for Palestine would end, Britain would be allowed to withdraw, and that the United Nations would administer Palestine until the Jewish and Arab States became members of the United Nations. Jerusalem would be administered as a special regime, and the residents of the city would have a referendum in 1958 to decide their future status. Although the constitutional outline provided by the Resolution is interesting, it is also important to consider how the Resolution operates to meet the peripheral text's demands for British withdrawal and for international administration.

The Resolution's introduction justifies transferring the problem of Palestine from Britain to the United Nations. These clauses reframe the problem as one that international organizations

must respond to, rather than a uniquely British burden. The proem to the Resolution indicated that

the United Nations was not usurping Britain's authority. Instead, Britain's desire to end the

Mandate for Palestine was posited as the primary reason for the United Nations Resolution.

Paragraph 1 states that the General Assembly "met in special session at the request of the

mandatory Power to constitute and instruct a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration

of the question of the future Government of Palestine."[254] In addition, the Resolution recognizes

that Britain could have chosen to remain the Mandatory. As the General Assembly had "take[n]

note of the declaration by the mandatory Power that it plans to complete its evacuation of

Palestine by l August 1948," the Resolution realized that British withdrawal was likely and its

administrative responsibilities needed to be fulfilled by another agent.[255]

The Resolution then offers reasons why the United Nations is the appropriate agent to

assume Britain's responsibilities. The Resolution states that the General Assembly "considers that

the present situation in Palestine is one which is likely to impair the general welfare and friendly

relations among nations" as a reason for intervening.[256] This language reflects that in the United

Nations Charter. The Charter indicates that purposes of the United Nations include developing

"friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-

determination of peoples" and becoming "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the

attainment" of common ends."[257] As such, the General Assembly has determined that the general

principles of the United Nations allow it to intervene.

In addition, the Resolution labels the problem of Palestine to constitute a potential threat

to international peace. The Resolution urges the Security Council to consider "supplement[ing]

the authorization of the General Assembly by taking measures, under Articles 39 and 41 of the

Charter, to empower the United Nations Commission, as provided in this resolution, to exercise

in Palestine the functions which are assigned to it by this resolution."[258] Moreover, the Resolution

calls on the Security Council to "determine as a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of

aggression, in accordance with Article 39 of the Charter, any attempt to alter by force the

settlement envisaged by this resolution."[259] Calling on these two Articles, 39 and 41, gives the

United Nations broad authority in Palestine. Article 39 allows the Security Council to "decide

what measures shall be taken in accordance with Articles 41 and 42, to maintain or restore

international peace and security."[260] Article 39 authorizes the United Nations to "call upon the

Members of the United Nations" to "complete[ly] or partial[ly] interrupt[] economic relations and

of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance

of diplomatic relations."[261] The reference to Article 42 contained in Article 39 would also allow

the United Nations to respond to force against Palestine with "air, sea, or land forces as may be

necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security."[262] By seating the partition in

terms of the United Nations's powers and obligations to maintain international peace, the

Resolution justifies the United Nations assumption of Britain's obligations through international

law.

These powers, however, can only be fulfilled with the support of United Nations

Members acting as world citizens. The United Nations is not an autocratic structure. Indeed, the

introduction to the Resolution makes clear that the United Nations is composed of individual

states, requiring a majority of these states to support the Resolution for it to carry the force of law.

Instead of demanding compliance, the Resolution "recommends to the United Kingdom, as the

mandatory Power for Palestine, and to all other Members of the United Nations the adoption and

implementation" of the Resolution.[263] In addition to Britain's consent, the Resolution "calls upon

the inhabitants of Palestine to take such steps as may be necessary on their part to put this plan

into effect."[264] Lastly, the Resolution "appeals to all Governments and all peoples to refrain from

taking any action which might hamper or delay the carrying out of these recommendations."[265]

The vote of the United Nations would determine whether the Resolution would become

international law or not. With the vote taken, the Resolution passed 33 to 13, with ten abstentions.

As such, the plan of partition with economic union would become law under the auspices of the

United Nations.

Having established the right of the United Nations to consider the problem of Palestine, the substantive sections of the Resolution dismiss Britain from its direct responsibilities for Palestine and assert that the United Nations will take them up. In this transfer, Britain is required to quit Palestine as quickly as possible and the United Nations is expected to move in within two months. The plan of partition with economic union consists of four parts. Part II defines the physical boundaries of the Arab and Jewish States. Part III establishes Jerusalem as an international city.[266] It defines Jerusalem as "a corpus separatum under a special international regime" that "shall be administered by the United Nations" even after the Arab and Jewish States are established. Because there would be two new states and an international zone, Part IV of the Resolution requests that "states whose nationals have in the past enjoyed in Palestine the privileges and immunities of foreigners … renounce any right pertaining to them to the re-establishment of such privileges and immunities in the proposed Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem."[267] If the Arab and Jewish States were to be treated as equals in the international realm, then foreign nations had to surrender extraterritorial rights that they asserted during the Ottoman era and capitulate privileges offered by the Mandatory power.

Parts II, III, and IV may have been essential to the operation of the partition. These three sections, however, are dependant on the acceptance of Part I. Part I is not only the most rhetorically interesting part of the Resolution, it is also a predicate for the United Nations taking power over Palestine. Part I articulates the mechanisms of the transfer of responsibility. If the United Nations had not assumed the obligation for Palestine from Britain, then the Mandate would have remained in force. In addition, without the British withdrawal of administration and troops, there was potential for administrative conflict and, perhaps, armed conflict between the Mandatory power and the international organization. Recognizing this fact, Part I of the Resolution outlines the steps that were to be taken to prepare the two states for United Nations administration. Last, Part I establishes the obligations that all states, from the newly named Arab

and Jewish States to their former Mandatory, have in assisting the United Nations's superintendency over Palestine.

The first segment of Part I of the Resolution calls for the termination of the Mandate. Recognizing that Britain intended to depart Palestine, this segment of the center text declares that August 1, 1948 will be the last possible day of British administration. This date is the same as the final possible date asked for by Britain. As the peripheral text indicates, though, Britain preferred a May 15 withdrawal. The termination of the Mandate, as enacted by the United Nations, allows both dates to become part of the withdrawal. The Resolution repeats that Britain should withdraw as soon as possible, i.e. as soon as withdrawal could happen. In any case, Britain could remain no later than August 1. The Resolution states that "the Mandate for Palestine shall terminate as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948."[268] With the end of the Mandate would come the end of the British military deployment. As such, the Resolution requires that "the armed forces of the mandatory Power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible but in any case not later than 1 August 1948."[269] Some areas of Palestine were to be evacuated even earlier. The Resolution told Britain to "use its best endeavours to ensure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish State, including a seaport and hinterland," both necessary for free immigration, "be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than 1 February 1948.[270] Britain's right to withdraw before August 1 is recognized in the clauses of this segment. The Resolution indicated that the partition would "come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the mandatory Power has been completed but in any case not later than 1 October 1948."[271] The partition was contingent, not on August 1, but on the withdrawal of British armed forces. As such, Britain could withdraw on May 15, as that was the date that would be "as soon as possible" for meeting the Resolution's demands.

Having outlined the mandate's termination, the United Nations assumes responsibility for Palestine in the second segment of Part I. In these "steps preparatory to independence," the

Resolution indicates that, as British administration and armed forces were withdrawn from Palestine, a United Nations Commission would take control.[272] The Resolution states that "the administration of Palestine shall, as the mandatory Power withdraws its armed forces, be progressively turned over to the Commission, which shall act in conformity with the recommendations of the General Assembly, under the guidance of the Security Council."[273] Here, multiple levels of United Nations authority over Palestine are created. The Commission holds primary responsibility. The General Assembly and the Security Council provide direction to the Commission. Although Britain is told to "coordinate its plans for withdrawal with the plans of the Commission to take over and administer areas which have been evacuated," the Commission was responsible for establishing a post-British regime to administer Palestine.[274] In order to discharge "this administrative responsibility," the Resolution grants the Commission "authority to issue necessary regulations and take other measures as required" to implement administrative rule.[275] Meanwhile, Britain, would busily withdraw its forces in order not to "take any action to prevent, obstruct or delay the implementation by the Commission of the measures recommended by the General Assembly."[276]

The transfer of authority over Palestine was expected to move smoothly from Britain to the Commission and, ultimately, to the Governments of the Jewish and Arab States. Britain was not expected to leave Palestine in a single hour and give control to the Commission instantly. The Resolution recognized that, due to logistical restraints, Britain would move out of Palestine, beginning in the Jordan Valley and finally leaving from the Tel Aviv-Jaffa seaport. To prevent conflicting administrations, the Resolution stated,

> During the period between the adoption of the recommendations on the question
> of Palestine by the General Assembly and the termination of the Mandate, the
> mandatory Power in Palestine shall maintain full responsibility for administration
> in areas from which it has not withdrawn its armed forces. The Commission shall
> assist the mandatory Power in the carrying out of these functions. Similarly the

mandatory Power shall co-operate with the Commission in the execution of its

functions.[277]

That is, there was to be coordination between the two groups, but not overlordship by either. The

transfer of power envisioned by the Resolution was one that guaranteed "continuity in the

functioning of administrative services."[278] As such, "on the withdrawal of the armed forces of the

mandatory Power, the whole administration shall be in the charge of the Provisional Councils and

the Joint Economic Board, respectively, acting under the Commission."[279] Rather than an abrupt

shift of power, the Resolution ordered "a progressive transfer, from the mandatory Power to the

Commission, of responsibility for all the functions of government, including that of maintaining

law and order in the areas from which the forces of the mandatory Power have been

withdrawn."[280] The Commission was to retain this responsibility until the Jewish and Arab States

were prepared to assume it. Until such States could be established, the Commission was to "have

full authority in the areas under their control including authority over matters of immigration and

land regulation."[281] These two issues were not only the most contentious issues under British

dominion, they were also to be the last powers transferred to the Arab and Jewish States because

of their complexity. As the Jewish State appointed a Provisional Council, the Resolution required

the Commission to cede progressively "responsibility for the administration of that State in the

period between the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the State's

independence.[282] The same was true of the Arab State. Throughout this process, however, neither

the Commission nor Britain could act freely. Instead, both were to "be guided in its activities by

the recommendations of the General Assembly and by such instructions as the Security Council

may consider necessary to issue."[283]

United Nations influence over Palestine would not end when the Jewish and Arab States

came into being. Instead, the Resolution asserts its continued authority over the laws of Palestine

and outlines the acceptable bounds of Palestine's participation in the international community.

Moreover, this acceptable citizenship within the community of nations created reciprocal

obligations for other international actors. Following the transition to independence, the Resolution would still carry force as the basic law for both Palestinian States. The third segment of Part I of the Resolution consists of a Declaration of constitutional principles for the States and provides for its enforcement. This segment opens with a proviso holding that "the stipulations contained in the Declaration are recognized as fundamental laws of the State and no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them."[284] These stipulations included protection for religious buildings and holy sites and guarantees of equal protection under the laws of the Jewish and Arab States for all people, irrespective of religion or nationality. The declaration also defined citizenship and articulated the States' treaty and financial obligations. These provisions could not be changed by the States. Instead, these provisions were "under the guarantee of the United Nations, and no modifications shall be made in them without the assent of the General Assembly of the United Nations."[285]

The enforcement of these provisions did not rely on the good natures of the new States. The first line of enforcement was the Membership of the United Nations. As external observers, Members were presumed to be in a position to identify violations of the Resolution's principles. To allow enforcement, the Resolution notes that "any Member of the United Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the General Assembly any infraction or danger of infraction of any of these stipulations."[286] Upon such a reference, "the General Assembly may thereupon make such recommendations as it may deem proper in the circumstances."[287] Reporting violations or potential violations of the Resolution did not give any Member State the right to enforce unilaterally the principles of the Resolution. Instead, the only right authorized is to keep watch on Palestine and to refer problems to the General Assembly.

This enforcement mechanism had important ramifications for Palestine. With Britain's withdrawal also came the withdrawal of imperial modes of enforcement. Outside powers were not to use their weight – military, economic, or otherwise – to determine the course of Palestinian

policy. Rather, great powers were expected to work through collective enforcement and international law. In addition, because of the membership structure of the United Nations, any Member could seek the Resolution's enforcement, not just the states that had the immediate power to impose their will. The Resolution did not seek only its own enforcement. It also made Palestinian obligations arising from British treaties and agreements during the Mandate enforceable as well as countervailing obligations from the treaty nations. The Resolution holds that, "during the initial ten-year period, the undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom may not be modified except by consent of both parties and with the approval of the General Assembly."[288] As such, an intermediate body is incorporated as a protector of both parties' interests as well as allowing theoretical equality in issues of abrogation and obligation of treaties. In addition, should a Member of the United Nations come into conflict with the Jewish or Arab State because of disputes over bilateral commitments or alliance interpretation, these disputes were also supposed to be referred to an international body. The Resolution requires that "any dispute relating to the application or the interpretation of the undertaking and any treaty issuing therefrom shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice."[289] In referencing issues arising from disputes with individual Members of the United Nations or with the General Assembly, the Resolution creates an appeals system more insulated from the political hurly-burly of the United Nations forum. The Resolution states that "any dispute relating to the application or interpretation of this declaration shall be referred, at the request of either party, to the International Court of Justice, unless the parties agree to another mode of settlement."[290] Although the parties could agree to acquiesce to the General Assembly's finding, the ability to refer disputes to the International Court of Justice extends the principles of international law. The Resolution asserts the International Court as a shared forum with the power to enforce an international legal code on potentially disparate states. When established states proposed challenges to the Jewish and Arab States, the Resolution limited these challenges to the Court. Nineteenth century enforcement options rising from imperial politics were supposed to be

foreclosed. The established state was to enter a forum where the Court would be the arbiter, not the military or economic force of a great Power or by an alliance of powers.

The ultimate goal of the Resolution was to incorporate both Palestinian States in the community of nations. This goal was enabled by the clauses referenced above. Even before independence, the Arab State and the Jewish State were required to function as citizens by participating in international legal structures and being subject to the laws of nations. Eventually, these States were to be made formal members of the United Nations. This goal is clear in the conclusion of Part I. The Resolution states that,

> when the independence of either the Arab or the Jewish State as envisaged in this
> plan has become effective and the declaration and undertaking, as envisaged in
> this plan, have been signed by either of them, sympathetic consideration should
> be given to its application for admission to membership in the United Nations in
> accordance with article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations.[291]

Formal admission of the Arab State and the Jewish State would conclude their probationary period. According to Article 4 of the United Nations, "membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter and, in the judgment of the Organization, are able and willing to carry out these obligations."[292] That is, by joining the United Nations and being accepted as a Member, the Palestinian States would become fully recognized as mature States. The citizenship function of the Resolution, as enacted by the reference to Article 4, notes two parts to international citizenship. The Palestinian States would no longer operate under the supervision of Britain or the tutelage of the Commission appointed by the General Assembly. Like Britain and the other Members of the United Nations, the Arab and Jewish States would be adult states. Becoming mature required that the States accept the obligations knowingly *and* be willing and able to carry out these obligations. Citizenship was not just a function of accepting international law; it was a function of doing one's part to enforce the law. This final transition would promote Palestine, once an Ottoman territory

that Britain was to protect because it was too immature and weak, to a status of an equal among states, with all the rights and duties pertaining to this status.

The Rhetoric Of Failure

In Resolution 181, both Britain and Palestine were transformed. Although the received history is correct that British troops and administration left Palestine, the received history is less correct when it portrays this withdrawal as a panicked rout. Likewise, the received history rightly notes that British imperial power was drained in the aftermath of World War II. Yet, the received history's extension of this power drain to imply an utter collapse of British international will seems an overstatement. Instead of grasping at the threads of imperial power, Britain may have enhanced its post-imperial power by using the United Nations to withdraw from Palestine. This decline and recovery may have partially resulted from the repositioning of Britain from an elderly Empire to a central citizen of the post-imperial world. This rhetoric of failure and transformation appears different from other rhetorics of failure. Previous studies of rhetorics of failure have examined how failing or failed agents have transformed the perception of their failures so that the failures are no longer assigned to the agent. The case of Britain is different because the failing agent transforms the agent itself. Britain admits that the Empire's policies failed and seeks a solution. What Britain does is to transform the all-powerful British Empire into the United Kingdom, a leader of nations, precisely because Britain failed as an Empire. As the United Kingdom, however, it could succeed because of alterations in the agent's identity and corresponding changes in the structure of global politics.

Studies of the rhetoric of failure generally do not allow for this kind of transformation. If acts intended to accomplish a particular goal do not succeed, the agent may question their appropriateness as an actor, the goals of their policy, or the power of others to interfere with the accomplishment of a task. Eventually, some goal will not be accomplished by an individual, institution or society. This is why rhetorician David Payne argues that "failure is central to the rhetorics of politics and socialization."[293] When a failure is experienced, Payne claims that the

"failure demands that we employ our resources to alter, mitigate, or in some way accommodate our sense that self and world have changed."[294] Payne indicates, though, that in this alteration the fundamental sense of self is rarely questioned. Instead, rhetorics of failure seek "to separate the individual from a failure sequence, promote some change of self within the boundaries of possible repair, and reestablish continuity of self."[295] Because of this third function, Payne states that rhetorics of failure are therapeutic because they affirm "our basic theories of character and human events."[296] In his view, rhetorics of failure adopt a tragic view of human relations because they require the agent to blame an external force or opposing actor to explain failure in their preservation of a continuous self-identity. Rhetorician Dana Cloud takes Payne's conclusions further. She agrees that the ideological work in rhetorics of failure creates scapegoats to prevent questioning larger assumptions that implicate the need for structural change.[297] She holds that "the rhetorical function of therapeutic discourse is to encourage audiences to focus on themselves and the elaboration of their private lives rather than to address and attempt to reform systems of social power in which they are embedded."[298] Although Cloud discusses individuals, a parallel case could be constructed for collective entities. Under similar assumptions, Britain, the corporate entity, would use therapeutic discourse to question how it could be a better Empire, not to question the structure of imperial power. Because therapeutic rhetorics, in Cloud's articulation, have "restorative and conservative effects in the face of conflict and change," fundamental transformations in identity after a failure are unlikely to occur.[299]

The assumption that rhetorics of failure are unlikely to lead to a fundamental transformation in the articulation of identity is followed in rhetorical studies of sociopolitical failures. Few studies exist of rhetorics of failure that extend across social collectivities.[300] Rhetorical critic Cal Logue's examination of how defeated Southerners used rhetorics of failure during Reconstruction exemplifies these studies. Logue argues that when the Confederacy was defeated, Southerners were confronted with the fact that they had failed to win the war, despite the supposed advantages they held against Union forces. This defeat challenged the quality of

Southern identity, but societal healing could begin only after the defeat was conceded and the ruptured state of society was recognized.[301] Southerners blamed the failure to industrialize quickly enough for their defeat, not the socioeconomic conditions inherent to a slave-based economy.[302] Finding this scapegoat allowed the community to reforge its original identity. Logue finds that the rhetoric claiming that "the South will rise again" is based on an original, Confederate South. Confederate identity is preserved because it is unrepentant about racial and economic inequality and has been able to find a scapegoat for its problems. In this reforging, the honor of the original identity is preserved and the identity's power to unite the society is regenerated.[303] The original identity is not just stabilized; it is reinvigorated.

Following the defeat, rhetorics of failure are used to restore identity and to guarantee a new ascension of the failed social collectivity. Moreover, if the identity is properly recovered, the society must show fealty to that identity. If they deviate from the reforged and reinvigorated identity, the rhetoric of failure assures them that a new defeat will come. Should the social collectivity adhere to this identity, however, the collectivity will overcome all opposition and reassume its proper place in the social order. In Logue's study, the South would not just rise again if the rhetorics of failure employed were to be believed. Instead, a return to the Confederate identity would allow Southerners to oppose Reconstruction successfully and prevent economic changes and protections for racial minorities in the United States. If, however, Southerners did not remain faithful to the Confederate identity, the rhetoric of failure assured them that the South would be defeated again.[304] Logue concludes that Southerners' rhetoric of failure preserved an unreformed Confederate identity to allow Southerners to assert politics in line with that identity.

On an institutional or personal level, rhetorics of failure also preserve identities rather than transforming them. Individual or institutional rhetorics of failure are often treated through apologia. An apologia may be broadly defined as an argument meant to justify a behavior or action. As it has been defined in rhetoric, an apologia is a speech intended for the "preservation of the accused's reputation."[305] Rhetoricians B.L. Ware and Wil Linkugel claim that an apologia is a

defense offered when "a man's [sic] *moral nature*, *motives*, or *reputation*" are attacked, a situation that "is qualitatively different from challenging his [sic] policies."[306] Rhetorician Ellen Gold agrees that arguments over character are different from arguments over character. She claims that unlike responses to direct attacks on policy, an apologia is needed when "a substantive issue – e.g. opposition to bussing – is rapidly conflated with an issue of personal style – the candidate has hidden racist motives" – that entails an issue of character.[307]

Although the literature on apologia seeks to separate policy attacks from character attacks, this distinction may not matter. Aristotle argues that *dynamis*, or power, is part of character. He states that those who hold power "are more ambitious and more manly in character ... because of aiming at deeds that they have the means of doing because of their power. And they are more earnest, because of being in a position of responsibility, forced to keep an eye on everything that relates to their power."[308] If one's grip on power slips, it may be because ambition has failed or because of a failure of responsibility. In either case, it is possible that policy failures show flaws in character. If a policy fails, it may be because of a failure of power. Moreover, if there is a failure of power, then there may also be a failure of character on the part of the person or institution viewed as powerful. Therefore, the distinction between attacks on character and attacks on policy may not be as clear as Ware and Linkugel and Gold make it out to be.

The distinction between policy attacks and character attacks becomes more blurred when apologias are examined more closely. What also becomes clear in this examination is that previous rhetoricians have found that apologias are conservative strategies meant to restore qualities to an actor's reputation so that the person or institution can assume their previous position. Attacks on an individual's character often question that individual's worth as a human being or the fittingness of their character to a position of social trust.[309] For organizations, such as corporations, attacks on character usually question whether the organization is a good corporate citizen or their ability to fulfill core values assumed of organizations in liberal capitalist societies.[310] When an attack on character is made, one of four general strategies may be

followed.[311] The rhetor may simply deny that the act that spurred the character attack took place. The rhetor may bolster their reputation by pointing to character-supporting acts that may outweigh the acts that bring their character into question. Alternatively, the rhetor may use differentiation, an argument that an act does not implicate questions of character, but should be placed in some other context. Finally, the rhetor may use a strategy of transcendence, the alteration of the act so that it demonstrates or leads to a demonstration of good character. None of the apologetic strategies noted by rhetorical scholars, however, entails the transformation of the rhetor. Although communication scholars William Benoit and James Lindsey claim that differentiation and transcendence are transformative,[312] the object of transformation in their theorization is the act, not the agent. That is, the act is transformed into an act that has no relationship to character (differentiation) or that displays character (transcendence). The agent that is defended remains unchanged. Rhetorician Noreen Kruse claims that the very point of apologia is to prevent a change on the part of the rhetor. She indicates that the purpose of apologia is to "secure or reaffirm status, mastery, or a place in the group" for the rhetor.[313] That is, the rhetor facing a challenge that risks their social position wishes to retain that position through their defense. The ability not to change when under attack may be essential to apologias.[314] Indeed, the preservation of place and reputation may be why Benoit has suggested that a better term for apologia may be "image restoration."[315] As apologia is a rhetoric of failure that aims to conserve, at worst, and completely restore, if possible, a person or institution to their previous place, it is a rhetoric of failure that seeks to preserve a sense of identity instead of allowing it to adapt to new exigencies.

The preservation of identity entailed in rhetorics of failure may be why some rhetoricians view them as little more than therapeutic placebos. Payne argues that rhetorics of failure are often crafted to provide "an agreeable interpretation of particular circumstances," making the immediate failure a unique shortfall.[316] The agent can preserve their core identity through a rhetoric of failure. Having done so, the agent is then able to assert that these circumstances will

not arise again or, if they do, that the agent will not fail again because it has strengthened its character to react properly to these events. Cloud holds that rhetorics of failure become therapeutic in that they only require "individual adaptation rather than social change."[317] In Cloud's view, without fundamental social changes, individual adaptation never entails the transformations necessary to prevent future failures or to ameliorate a problem's root causes. As such, Cloud claims that rhetorics of failure create "an experience of politics that is impoverished in its isolation from structural critique and collective action."[318]

British policy in Palestine clearly failed. Yet, Britain did not offer a therapeutic rhetoric of failure. There was not an assertion that the sun would rise again on the British Empire. There was also not an apologia offered to restore the image of the British Empire. The British Empire was no more. To turn Benoit's phrase, Britain was not interested in image restoration but in image transformation. Contrary to Cloud, the rhetoric of failure offered by Britain enacted a politics that was engaged in structural critique and collective action. The structural critique emerged when Britain recognized that imperial politics were better left in the nineteenth century, as an Empire would be unable to respond to exigencies of the twentieth century. The collective action was taken when Britain referred the problem of Palestine to the United Nations for collective decision-making and collective enforcement. The rhetoric of failure in the case of the 1947 Partition of Palestine was one that recognized failure, faced it squarely, and sought alternatives to ensure that the failure of imperial politics would not recur.

This rhetoric of failure was coupled with Britain's withdrawal from Palestine. This withdrawal, however, was neither a defeatist rhetoric of failure nor a therapeutic rhetoric that discounted failure. Resolution 181 merely continued several principles of Britain's policy even as Britain formally withdrew from decision making in Palestine. Britain's Balfour Declaration policy provides a background for the Resolution's call for a Jewish State in Palestine. Similarly, the McMahon-Hussein correspondence may have provided a basis for the Resolution's Arab State. The Mandate's guidelines for equal protection for persons regardless of religion or

nationality and its provisions for access to religious sites and Jerusalem recur in the Resolution. The 1939 White Paper's push for Palestine's independence as two democratic states is adopted in the Resolution, as is the requirement that an external regime control land distribution and immigration policies until the two States became independent. Because the Resolution draws together fragments from the Balfour Declaration, the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, the Mandate, and the White Paper, the Resolution may be a center text that draws in fragments of prior center texts.

Although these themes from previous British policies recur in the Resolution, Britain failed as the agent that could implement these themes and enforce them as policies. Despite Britain's failure as an agent in Palestine, Britain retained influence. Had Britain collapsed, the fragments may not have been drawn together in Resolution 181. Yet, the appearance of these fragments does not indicate that Britain had complete control over Palestine. That is, Resolution 181 was articulated because Britain was *both* a failure and because it could succeed. This claim is not a paradox. In the specific case, Britain failed as a mandatory power. Britain's power as an imperial ruler over Palestine had reached its limit, as the peripheral text shows. Britain did not have the resources necessary to sustain the Empire, making failure inevitable. In a broader sense, however, Britain was able to succeed as a post-imperial power. By altering its position concerning Palestine, Britain could change its position in the post-War order.

Britain's transformation from failed Empire to successful state in the post-imperial world was accomplished in the peripheral and center texts. By referring the problem of Palestine to the United Nations, Britain used international law in two ways to retain its position as a leading state even as it contracted the Empire. The first use of international law was through the Mandate system. As the Mandatory, Britain functionally held title to Palestine as long as it was able to exercise its responsibilities. If the Mandate was recognized as good law, then Britain could transfer this title in the ways recognized by the League of Nations and its successor, the United Nations. By referring Palestine to the United Nations, Britain asserted its position as an

empowered citizen in the community of nations. Had Britain lost Palestine because of revolution or invasion, then Britain would be shown as an incompetent power. Moreover, losing Palestine because of weakness would show that Britain had failed its international trust and become an unworthy international citizen. By voluntarily surrendering Palestine, though, Britain showed that it recognized the end of imperial power politics and the exigencies of international law. Additionally, by working through the United Nations, Britain's position as a citizen nation was also raised. The United Nations was free to act because of Britain's referral. By referring the problem, Britain spoke from a position of strength and judgment. Although Britain rarely spoke, the reenactment of British policies by the United Nations shows some deference to the former Mandatory's inclinations. The changes that were made, those that allowed British troops and administration to leave, also reflected the few direct demands made by Britain in the peripheral text.

In addition to using the principles of the Mandate system, Britain used international law to transform its position by enabling the structure of the United Nations as a forum for dispute resolution. The United Nations's principal organs, the General Assembly and the Security Council, were empowered as the decision-makers. Because changes in Palestine's status from dependent territory to independent state relied on United Nations approval, Britain gained additional influence because of its overall position in the United Nations's structure. The Resolution authorized United Nations action. By investing authority in the United Nations to decide the outcome of Palestine, Britain's decision also reinforced other elements of the United Nations. In particular, Britain's position on the United Nations Security Council was strenghtened. Although the United Nations is premised on all nations being equal, some nations are more equal than others. Because Britain, along with China, France, the Soviet Union, and the United States, held veto power over United Nations action, decisions with which Britain disagreed could be stopped. This power, though, depends on other states recognizing the right of the United Nations to make decisions in the first place. By subjecting its policies to the United

Nations's approval and accepting its decision, Britain placed itself under the authority of the United Nations. If one of the five most powerful nations under international law were subject to such authority, then those that were weaker would be similarly subjected. Although Britain gave up decision power in the case of Palestine, the use of the United Nations's procedural mechanisms shored up the United Nations as the proper forum for designing and implementing international order. As such, Britain's long-term power as a permanent member of the Security Council and, therefore, as a global power that still needed to be reckoned with were reinforced. If these two procedures of international law, the old Mandate system and the new United Nations, are combined, Britain becomes something other than a failed Empire. Britain becomes a powerful global citizen in a world of international law.

The case of Britain in 1947 offers an alternative possibility in rhetorics of failure. We do not have to conflate all rhetorics of failure with therapeutic, avoidant rhetorics as Cloud and Payne do.[319] Most rhetorics of failure may seek to preserve an identity as Payne and Cloud assert, and few entail any structural critique or collective action. This possible quantification of rhetorics of failure does not mean that there are not qualitative differences between types of rhetorics of failure. Literary critic Kenneth Burke rightly reminds the analyst that "categorical expectancy does not only make for inclusions; it also makes for exclusions. In expecting how things *will be*, we expect by implication how they *will not be*."[320] As rhetorical analysts, we must not be too quick to judge rhetorics of failure as an attempt to avoid responsibility for or the implications of failure. If rhetorics of failure are *a priori* defined as therapeutic attempts to salve and preserve fixed identities and avoid change, then rhetorics that respond to failures by asserting the need for fundamental changes in self-identity will be neglected.

Britain's rhetoric of failure can be read outside of Payne's and Cloud's allopathic view. Rhetorics of failure are not necessarily designed to repair a situation. That view of rhetorics of failure assumes that one's sense of identity, whether personal, institutional, or national, is in a state of decay for which restorative intervention is needed. The allopathic view of rhetorics of

failure constrains their possibility by insisting on the continuity of stabilized identity. As rhetorical analysts, we must also be able to investigate rhetorics of failure where a *discontinuity* of the self is recognized and *transformation* of self-identity is possible.

Resolution 181 is a rhetoric of failure that also provides a convenient stopping place for a rhetorical historian interested in Israel/Palestine. The transformative possibilities offered by the Partition of Palestine include: a transformation of Britain from Empire to citizen; a transformation of Palestine from Mandatory territory to potential participant in the community of nations; and a transformation of the United Nations from theoretical structure to an active and respected agent. The translation of these possibilities to actualities, however, can be questioned. The Resolution's constitution of an Arab State and a Jewish State likely did not occur. At the very least, no Arab State in Palestine came into being, and Israel differs markedly from the Jewish State outlined in the Resolution. The United Nations may not have been transformed into a credible actor. Both the Palestinian civil war that undermined the partition concept and the Arab-Israeli wars call the United Nations's Chapter VII powers into question, as the United Nations had no effective response to these breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

The first transformation, though, may have occurred. Oliver Stanley, at the December 11, 1947 Parliamentary debates, said that the Partition might "be the end of the chapter. I do not believe that it is the end of the story. We are now on the verge of abandoning our authority and of laying down our responsibility, but I am sure that this country will never lose its interest in, or its concern for, Palestine."[321]Although Britian may have remained interested in and concerned for Palestine, Britain withdrew from Palestine in May of 1948. The United Nations was supposed to take Britain's place as Palestine's guide to mature statehood. With the outbreak of civil war in Palestine and the invasion of Palestine by surrounding Arab countries, the United Nations administration was unable to assume Britain's functions. The mature states envisioned by the Partition were not formed. Israel, a Jewish State, did come into being, but not in the way specified in Resolution 181. The territory that was to become the Arab State was consumed by Israel and

Transjordan. Although Britain's rule was ended, Britain retained some influence on Israel and Transjordan until 1956. That year, the Suez Canal was nationalized by Egypt and Britain's remaining interest in the Levantine Middle East came to a close.[322] In the fifty years since, Britain's role in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has continued to dwindle.

Despite the decline of British influence, Palestinian Arabs and Israelis have continued to call for third party intervention. Both Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews have recalled successful attempts to gain British support in their negotiations. The Palestinian Arabs have remembered the reversal of policy that seemed to be contained in the 1939 White Paper. Israeli Jews have emphasized the Balfour Declaration and its support for a National home. When Britain no longer was willing to participate, other third parties were sought. From 1956 to at least the 1978 Camp David Accords, the United Nations was a third party to which both Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews appealed.[323] After Camp David, the United Nations ceased to be the third party of choice and both Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews sought to negotiate through the United States.[324]

The United States is the third party of choice at the present time. The United States has military and economic power and an interest in being involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In the concluding Chapter, I will indicate how the rhetorical history that I have performed in this dissertation is relevant to the current United States involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The lessons of each Chapter have important implications for the Bush administration's policymaking.

Endnotes

1 H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1236, emphasis mine.

2 *Ibid*.

3 H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1365.

4 *Ibid*.

5 Kai J. Holsti, *The State, War, And The State Of War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 73.

6 Michael J. Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers: 1945-1948* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 335; Shmuel Sandler, *The State Of Israel, The Land Of Israel: The Statist And Ethnonational Dimensions Of Foreign Policy* (Westport: Greenwood, 1993), 71; Gad Yaacobi, *Breakthrough: Israel In A Changing World* (New York: Cornwall, 1996), 63; Hanna Yablonka, *Survivors Of The Holocaust: Israel After The War*, trans. Ora Cummings (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 3.

7 Neil Caplan, "Victimhood And Identity: Psychological Obstacles To Israeli Reconciliation With The Palestinian," in *Israeli And Palestinian Identities In History And Literature*, ed. K. Abdel-Malik & D.C. Jacobson (New York: St. Martin's, 1999), 69.

8 David ben-Gurion, *Memoirs* (New York: World, 1970), 72; Caplan, "Victimhood," 68; Kenneth Cragg, *Palestine: The Prize And Price Of Zion* (London: Cassell, 1997), 90; Frank H. Epp, *Whose Land Is Palestine? The Middle East Problem In Historical Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 159; Deborah J. Gerner, *One Land, Two Peoples: The Conflict Over Palestine* (Boulder: Westview, 1994), 43; Ran Greenstein, *Genealogies Of Conflict: Class, Identity, And State In Palestine/Israel And South Africa* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1995), 227; David C. Holly, *Exodus 1947* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1995), 64; Israel Kolatt, "The Zionist Movement And The Arabs," in *Zionism And The Arabs*, ed. Shmuel Almog (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center, 1983), 34; David McDowall, *The Palestinians: The Road To Nationhood*

(London: Minority Rights, 1994), 21; Bernard Reich, *Israel: Land Of Tradition And Conflict* (Boulder: Westview, 1985), 151; Yaacobi, *Breakthrough*, 58; Yablonka, *Survivors*, 4.

[9] Martin Jones, *Failure in Palestine: British And The United States Policy After The Second World War* (London: Mansell, 1986), 237; Yoporath Katz, *Partner To Partition: The Jewish Agency's Partition Plan In The Mandate Era* (London: Frank Cass, 1998), 180; Ben Wicks, *Dawn Of The Promised Land* (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), 120.

[10] Norman Bentwich, *Israel And Her Neighbours: A Short Historical Geography* (London: Rider, 1955), 61; Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 305; Samih K. Farsoun, *Palestine And The Palestinians* (Oxford: Westview, 1997), 111, 113; Greenstein, *Genealogies*, 227-229; Baruch Kimmerling and Joel S. Migdal, *Palestinians: The Making Of A People* (New York: Free Press, 1993), 132-3; Kolatt, "The Zionist Movement," 31; Marcia Kunstel and Joseph Albright, *Their Promised Land: Arab Versus Jew In History's Cauldron – One Valley In The Jerusalem Hills* (New York: Crown, 1990), 127; McDowell, *The Palestinians*, 21; A.J. Sherman, *Mandate Days: British Lives In Palestine 1918-1948* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 107

[11] John B. Quigley, *Palestine and Israel: A Challenge To Justice* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 23.

[12] The estimates on *when* this violence erupted vary. Some claim that the violence was "instant" (Reich, *Israel*, 59), within 12 hours (Yossi Feintuch, *U.S. Policy On Jerusalem* [New York: Greenwood, 1987], 20), within one, two, or three days (Kunstel and Albright, *Their Promised Land*, 143; Bentwich, *Israel*, 61; Saul B. Cohen, *Jerusalem: Bridging The Four Walls* [New York: Herzl, 1977], 36; respectively), within one month (Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 302). In any case, it is generally accepted that at sometime within four months of Resolution 181's passage, the partition of Palestine was a dead letter, given that there was open warfare between the newly declared Israel and the surrounding Arab states (Benwich, *Israel*, 61; Gershon Shafir, "Ideological Politics Or The Politics Of Demography: The Aftermath Of The

Six-Day-War," in *Critical Essays On Israeli Society, Politics, And Culture*, ed. Ian S. Lustick and Barry Rubin [Albany: Statue University of New York Press, 1991], 46).

[13] Ben-Gurion, *Memoirs*, 71; Farsoun, *Palestine*, 88; Gerner, *One Land*, 43; Albert Montefiore Hyamson, *Palestine Under The Mandate: 1920-1948* (London: Methuen, 1950), 168; Yaacobi, *Breakthrough*, 63.

[14] Meron Benvenisti, *Jerusalem: Study Of A Polarized Community* (Jerusalem: West Bank Data Base Project, 1983), 34; Kolatt, "The Zionist Movement," 34; Kunstel and Albright, *Their Promised Land*, 7; Sidney Sugarman, The Unrelenting Conflict: Britain, Balfour, And Betrayal (Sussex: Book Guild, 2000), 5.

[15] Farsoun, *Palestine*, 114; Kimmerling and Migdal, *Palestinians*, 80; Yaacobi, *Brekthrough*, 112; Yablonka, *Survivors*, 22.

[16] Efraim Karsh, *Fabricating Israeli History: The 'New Historians'* (London: Frank Cass, 2000), 22.

[17] Bentwich, *Israel*, 11; Kimmerling and Migdal, *Palestinians*, 140; Merle Thorpe, Jr. *Prescription For Conflict: Israel's West Bank Settlement Policy* (Washington: Foundation for Middle East Peace, 1984), 130.

[18] Jones, *Failure*, 319.

[19] See Chapter Five.

[20] Benwich, *Israel*, 58; Ritchie Ovendale, *The Origins Of The Arab-Israeli Wars* (London: Longman, 1999), 89; Naomi Shepherd, *Ploughing Sand: British Rule In Palestine 1917-1948* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 223.

[21] Shepherd, *Ploughing*, 225; Edward Ullendorf, *The Two Zions: Reminiscences Of Jerusalem And Ethiopia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 103.

[22] Kunstel and Albright, *Their Promised*, 132; see also Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 9.

[23] Michael J. Cohen, *Palestine To Israel: From Mandate To Independence* (London: Frank Cass, 1988), 220; Wicks, *Dawn*, 140.

[24] Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 233, 269; David Hirst, *The Gun And The Olive Branch: The Roots Of Violence In The Middle East* (London: Farber and Farber, 1984), 121; Reich, *Israel*, 59.

[25] Farsoun, *Palestine*, 93; Ovendale, *Origins*, 110; Shepherd, *Ploughing*, 5.

[26] Benjamin Netanyahu, *A Durable Peace: Israel And Its Place Among The Nations* (New York: Warner, 2000), 83; see also Michael J. Cohen, *Palestine: Retreat From The Mandate* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), *xii*; Hirst, *The Gun, 113;* Kimmerling and Migdal, *Palestinians*, 137.

[27] Kunstel and Albright, *Their Promised,* 132.

[28] Kolatt, "The Zionist Movement," 189.

[29] Neil Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II): Arab-Zionist Negotiations And The End Of The Mandate* (London: Frank Cass, 1986), 150-1; Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 211; Cohen, *Palestine To Israel*, 199.

[30] Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II)*, 154; Jones, *Failure*, 264.

[31] W.F. Abboushi, *The Unmaking Of Palestine* (Cambridgeshire: Middle East & North African Studies, 1985), 22; Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 211; Peter Grose, *A Changing Israel* (New York: Vintage, 1985), 75; Hirst, *The Gun*, 112; Shepherd, *Ploughing*, 236.

[32] Jones, *Failure*, 229.

[33] *Ibid*.

[34] Bentwich, *Israel*, 58; Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II)*, 150-1; Cohen, *Palestine To Israel*, 199.

[35] Benvenisti, *Jerusalem*, 39; Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 300; Feintuch, *U.S. Policy*, *xi*; Ibrahim Ibrahim, "British Imperial Policy And The Jewish Homeland," in *Palestinians Under Occupation: Prospects For The Future*, ed. Peter F. Krogh and Mary C. McDavid

(Washington: Center For Contemporary Arab Studies, 1989), 27; Ovendale, *Origins*, 119;

Sherman, *Mandate*, 188; Wicks, *Dawn*, 140.

[36] Norman Bentwich and Helen Bentwich, *Mandate Memories: 1918-1948* (London: Hogarth,

1965), 31; Wicks, *Dawn*, 120.

[37] Bentwich and Bentwich, *Mandate*, 31; Jones, *Failure*, 282.

[38] Jones, *Failure*, 247.

[39] Bentwich and Bentwich, *Mandate*, 31; Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II)*, 154; Jones, *Failure*, 264.

[40] Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 262; Michael J. Cohen, *Palestine: Retreat From The*

Mandate (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1978), *xii*.

[41] Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II)*, 155.

[42] Gerner, *One Land*, 42.

[43] Epp, *Whose Land*, 159; Feintuch, *U.S. Policy*, 7; Jones, *Failure*, 190; Kunstel and Albright,

Their Promised, 132; Shepherd, *Ploughing*, 6.

[44] Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II)*, 139; Katz, *Partner*, 180.

[45] Saki Dockrill, *Britain's Retreat From East Of Suez: The Choice Between Europe And The*

World? (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 9-10.

[46] Feintuch, *U.S. Policy*, 15; Jones, *Failure*, 232; Netanyahu, *Durable*, 83.

[47] Jones, *Failure*, 284.

[48] Kunstel and Albright, *Their Promised*, 137; and the following.

[49] Jones, *Failure*, 185.

[50] Farsoun, *Palestine*, 111.

[51] Ullendorff, *Two Zions*, 122; see also Feintuch, *U.S. Policy*, 20.

[52] Hirst, *The Gun*, 113; also Ovendale, *Origins*, 127

[53] Shepherd, *Ploughing*, 5.

[54] Bentwich, *Israel*, 61; Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 310-1; Shepherd, *Ploughing*, 239.

[55] Sherman, *Mandate*, 211.

[56] Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 268; Ullendorff, *Two Zions*, 119.

[57] Cohen, *Palestine And The Great Powers*, 277.

[58] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 441, col. 2340.

[59] *Ibid*.

[60] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1374.

[61] *Ibid*.

[62] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1428.

[63] "Terrorism In Palestine," *Times*, 21 June 1946, p. 5.

[64] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 424, col. 1893-4.

[65] *Ibid*.

[66] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 424, col. 1904

[67] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 424, col. 1909.

[68] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 424, col. 1909-10.

[69] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 992.

[70] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1253.

[71] "A Policy For Palestine," *Times*, 27 January 1947, p. 5.

[72] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1971.

[73] *Ibid*.

[74] "Stewardship Of Palestine," *Times*, 19 July 1947, p. 5.

[75] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1414.

[76] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 149, col. 1374.

[77] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 149, col. 1388

[78] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 424, col. 1869.

[79] *Ibid*.

[80] *Ibid*.

[81] *Ibid*.

[82] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 971.

[83] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1028.

[84] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1056.

[85] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1057.

[86] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v.426, col. 1253.

[87] *Ibid*.

[88] "The Plan For Palestine," *Times*, 7 August 1946, p. 5.

[89] "The Palestine Mandate," *Times*, 187 November 1946, p. 7.

[90] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 989.

[91] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1972.

[92] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1990.

[93] "Public Order In Palestine," *Times*, 1 February 1947, p. 5.

[94] "Deadlock On Palestine," *Times*, 15 February 1947, p. 5.

[95] "To H.C. no 1511," 11 July 1947, co 733/472/1/5.

[96] See CO 733/477 and the contained folders for the following letters, news clippings, and petitions written by British citizens and more than are included here.

[97] "E Kidd To Holmes," 23 February 1948, CO 733/477/1/21.

[98] *Ibid*.

[99] "We Have Been Slandered," c. February 1948, CO 733/477/1/24.

[100] "Enough," *Daily Record*, 1 March 1948, CO 733/477/1/25.

[101] "WH Coulson To Prime Minister," 29 February 1948, CO 733/477/1/31.

[102] *Ibid*.

[103] "Opinion." *Daily Express*, c. March 1948, CO 733/477/1/51.

[104] "G Schofield To A Creech Jones," 23 April 1948, CO 733/477/2/10.

[105] "G Schofield To A Creech Jones," 25 March 1948, CO 733/477/2/39.

[106] "JA Beamont To Editor," 7 April 1948, CO 733/477/12/22.

[107] "Rogerstone Parish Council To C Attlee," 5 March 1948, CO 733/477/2/49.

[108] "Alex. Gordon To A Creech Jones," 2 March 1948, CO 733/477/2/147.

[109] Here I cite "DR Rees-Williams To L Middleton," 6 March 1948, CO 733/477/1/82, although the Colonial Office writers appear to use a generic, "form" letter in their reply, as the only items changed are the names and addresses of the receivers. Note also the similarities between this letter and the generic letter sent to organizations, *sub.* at 53.

[110] *Ibid*.

[111] "A Creech Jones To Archbishop Of Wales," 25 March 1948, CO 733/477/2/100.

[112] See the folders marked CO 733/477/3-5 for discussions of the high costs of violence in Palestine generally and CO 733/478/1-2 for investigations into the kidnappings of judge Ralph Windham and Major H.E. Collins and the bombing of the King David Hotel as case studies of the excessive price paid by Britain in Palestine.

[113] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1304.

[114] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1412.

[115] *Ibid*.

[116] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 107.

[117] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1018.

[118] *Ibid*.

[119] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1039.

[120] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1039.

[121] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1069.

[122] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1254.

[123] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1256.

[124] *Ibid*.

[125] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1275.

[126] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1302.

[127] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1303.

[128] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 994.

[129] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1902.

[130] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1930.

[131] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1931.

[132] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1984-5.

[133] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1969.

[134] "Jew And Arab," *Times*, 10 August 1946, p. 5.

[135] *Ibid*.

[136] *Ibid*.

[137] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 441, col. 2346.

[138] *Ibid*.

[139] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 441, col. 2363.

[140] *Ibid*.

[141] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 441, col. 2369.

[142] "A Cadogan To VCT Hoo," 3 April 1947, UN Document A/286.

[143] "Plans For Palestine," *Times*, 2 September 1947, p. 5.

[144] *Ibid*,

[145] "The U.S. And Palestine," *Times*, 13 October 1947, p. 5.

[146] "The British Mandate," *Times*. 15 October 1947, p. 5.

[147] "Palestine," *Times*, 18 October 1947, p. 5.

[148] "Prospect For Palestine," *Times*, 13 November 1947, p. 5.

[149] "Responsibility In Palestine," *Times*, 15 November 1947, p. 5.

[150] *Ibid*.

[151] "High Commissioner To Colonial Office," 15 November 1947, CO 733/472/1/22.

[152] *Ibid*.

[153] "Notes Of A Discussion Held On November 21, 1947, Regarding Financial Problems Arising Out Of The Prospective British Withdrawal From Palestine And Termination Of The Mandate," 21 November 1947, CO 733/472/1/45.

[154] "Prospects For Palestine, *Times*, 22 November 1947, p. 5.

[155] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1209.

[156] *Ibid*.

[157] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1211.

[158] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1221.

[159] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1223.

[160] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1250.

[161] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1251.

[162] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1290.

[163] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1290.

[164] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1291.

[165] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1293.

[166] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1298.

[167] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1343.

[168] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1344.

[169] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1363.

[170] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1386.

[171] *Ibid*.

[172] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1377.

[173] *Ibid*.

[174] "WW Clark To HA Vickery," 19 April 1948, CO 733/473/4/46.

[175] "WN Gay To HF Downie," 26 November 1947, CO 733/473/4/262.

[176] "J Gutch To W Shillingford," 17 December 1947, CO 733/473/4/227.

[177] "J Gutch To M Charteris," 22 December 1947, CO 733/473/4/233.

[178] "Kirby To J Gutch," 3 September 1947, CO 733/476/4/17.

[179] "General Manager, Palestine Railways To Manager, Iraq Petroleum Company," 4 November 1947, CO 733/475/1/39.

[180] "Minutes Of A Meeting Held In The Office Of The General Mangers, Egyptian State Railways, Cairo Station, On 14 February 1948. At 10.00 Hours To Discuss Preliminary Arrangements Connected With The Kantara-Rafa Railway," 14 February 1948, CO 733/473/6/81.

[181] *Ibid*.

[182] "AD Cunningham To A Creech Jones," 23 April 1947, CO 733/474/3/53.

[183] *Ibid*.

[184] "Foreign Affairs Greaves To The Crown Agents," 14 April 1947, CO 733/475/1/30.

[185] "The McNair Report," 5 March 1947, CO 733/476/2/15.

[186] *Ibid*.

[187] The folders contained in CO 733/473-476 outline these other areas, most of which correspond to areas listed for further study in Palestine Royal Commission, *Report of the Palestine Royal Commission Presented By The Secretary Of State For The Colonies To Parliament By Command Of His Majesty* (London: HMSO, July 1937).

[188] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1391.

[189] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1392.

[190] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1293.

[191] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1411.

[192] *Ibid*.

[193] *Ibid*.

[194] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 419, col. 1424.

[195] "Task In Palestine," *Times*, 23 February 1946, p. 5.

[196] "A Senseless Outrage," *Times*, 23 July 1946, p. 5.

[197] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 984.

[198] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1075.

[199] *Ibid*.

[200] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1253.

[201] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 426, col. 1310.

[202] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 988.

[203] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 989.

[204] "New Approach In Palestine*, Times*, 19 February 1947, p. 5.

[205] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1914.

[206] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1993.

[207] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1923.

[208] *Ibid*.

[209] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1961.

[210] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 1974.

[211] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 433, col. 2006.

[212] "Commons And Palestine, *Times*, 26 February 1947, p. 5.

[213] *Ibid*.

[214] "Blind Terrorism," *Times*, 3 March 1947, p. 5.

[215] "Palestine In The Lords," *Times*, 24 April 1947, p. 5.

[216] "The U.N. And Palestine," *Times*, 28 April 1947, p. 7.

[217] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 441, col. 2329.

[218] *Ibid*.

[219] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 441, col. 2321-2.

[220] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 441, col. 2347.

[221] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 441, col. 2377.

[222] *Ibid*.

[223] "A Creech Jones To BA Rosenblatt," 1 September 1947, CO 733/473/1/8.

[224] *Ibid*.

[225] "The U.S. And Palestine," *Times*, 13 October 1947, p. 5.

[226] "Palestine," *Times*, 18 October 1947, p. 5.

[227] "Proposals For Palestine," *Times*, 3 November 1947, p. 5.

[228] "Prospect For Palestine," *Times*, 13 November 1947, p. 5.

[229] "Proposals For Palestine," *Times*, 22 November 1947, p. 5.

[230] *Ibid*.

[231] United Nations, *Official Records Of The Second Session Of The General Assembly, As Hoc Committee On The Palestinian Question, Summary Records Of Meetings*, (Lake Success: New York, 25 September – 25 November, 1947), *passim* (hereafter, *Ad Hoc Committee*), UN Document A/364(1).

[232] *Ad Hoc Committee*, 3.

[233] *Ibid*.

[234] *Ad Hoc Committee*, 96.

[235] *Ad Hoc Committee*, 96.

[236] *Ad Hoc Committee*, 153.

[237] *Ad Hoc Committee*, 4.

[238] *Ad Hoc Committee*, 97.

[239] *Ad Hoc Committee*, 154.

[240] *Ibid*.

[241] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1208.

[242] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1237.

[243] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1265.

[244] *Ibid*.

[245] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1272.

[246] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1288.

[247] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1359.

[248] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1367.

[249] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1396.

[250] *Ibid*.

[251] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1382.

[252] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1384.

[253] The other nine were Argentina, Chile, China, Columbia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Honduras, Mexico, and Yugoslavia.

[254] UN Res. 181, para. 1.

[255] UN Res. 181, para. 5.

[256] UN Res. 181, para. 4.

[257] UN Charter, Art. 1, sec. 2, sec. 4.

[258] UN Res. 181, para. 8.

[259] UN Res. 181, para. 9.

[260] UN Charter, Art. 39.

[261] UN Charter, Art. 41.

[262] UN Charter, Art. 42.

[263] UN Res. 181, para. 6.

[264] UN Res. 181, para. 11.

[265] UN Res. 181, para. 12.

[266] UN Res. 181, III. A.

[267] UN Res. 181, IV. A.

[268] UN Res. 181. I. A. 1.

[269] UN Res. 181. I. A. 2.

[270] *Ibid*.

[271] UN Res. 181. I. A. 4.

[272] UN Res. 181, I. B. Title.

[273] UN Res. 181. I. B. 2

[274] *Ibid*.

[275] UN Res. 181. I. B. 3.

[276] UN Res. 181. I. B. 4.

[277] UN Res. 181. I. B. 25.

[278] UN Res. 181. I. B. 26.

[279] *Ibid*.

[280] *Ibid*.

[281] UN Res. 181. I. B. 8.

[282] UN Res. 181. I. B. 9.

[283] UN Res. 181. I. B. 27.

[284] UN Res. 181. I. C. General Provision.

[285] UN Res. 181. I. C. 4. i.

[286] UN Res. 181. I. C. 4. ii.

[287] *Ibid*.

[288] UN Res. 181. I. D. Termination. 2.

[289] UN Res. 181. I. D. Termination. 3.

[290] UN Res. 181. I. C. 4. iii.

[291] UN Res. 181. I. F.

[292] UN Charter, Art. 4., sec. 1.

[293] David L. Payne, *Coping With Failure: The Therapeutic Uses Of Rhetoric* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 4.

[294] *Ibid*.

[295] Payne, *Coping*, 87.

[296] Payne, *Coping*, 7.

[297] Dana L. Cloud, *Control And Consolation In American Culture And Politics: A Rhetoric Of Therapy* (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1998), 60, 74.

[298] Cloud, *Control*, *xiv*.

[299] *Ibid*.

[300] Cal M. Logue treats the defeat of the Confederacy by the Union in the American Civil War ("Coping With Defeat Rhetorically: Sherman's March Through Georgia," *Southern Communication Journal* 58 [1992]: 55-66). John Flowerdew examines Britain's withdrawal from Hong Kong ("The Discourse Of Colonial Withdrawal: A Case Study In The Creation Of Mythic Discourse," *Discourse And Society* 8 [1997]: 453-77). Kenneth S. Zagacki investigates presidential speeches about the American loss in Vietnam ("Rhetoric, Failure, And The Presidency: The Case Of Vietnam." *Communication Studies* 43 [1992]: 42-55). Paul E. Corcoran

investigates a smaller-scale phenomenon in his study of how American political parties recover from electoral defeats ("Presidential Concession Speeches: The Rhetoric Of Defeat," *Political Communication* 11 [1994]: 109-31).

[301] Logue, "Coping," 56. On the need for recognition of failure, see also Corcoran, "Presidential," 115; Flowerdew, "Discourse," 471; and Zagacki, "Rhetoric," 42.

[302] Logue, "Coping," 65. On the need for finding a scapegoat in public moral drama of failure, see also Corcoran, "Presidential," 128; Flowerdew, "Discourse," 472; and Zagacki, "Rhetoric," 53.

[303] Logue, "Coping," 63, 65. On the rebirth of the original identity, see also Corcoran, "Presidential," 116; Flowedew, "Discourse," 473; and Zagacki, "Rhetoric," 53.

[304] Logue, "Coping," 63. On the claims of new ascension deriving from the rhetoric of failure, see also Corcoran, "Presidential," 115; Flowerdew, "Discourse," 472; and Zagacki, "Rhetoric," 54.

[305] B.L. Ware and Wil A. Linkugel, "They Spoke In Defense Of Themselves: On The General Criticism Of Apologia," *Quarterly Journal Of Speech* 59 (1973): 282.

[306] Ware and Linkugel, "They Spoke," 274.

[307] Ellen Reid Gold, "Political Apologia: The Ritual Of Self Defense," *Communication Monographs* 45 (1978): 307.

[308] Arist., *Rhet.*, 1391a.

[309] Paul J. Achter, "Narrative, Intertextuality, And Apologia In Contemporary Political Scandals," *Southern Communication Journal* 65 (2000): 320; Sherry Devereaux Butler, "The Apologia, 1971 Genre," *Southern Speech Communication Journal* 37 (1972): 289; Sharon D. Downey, "The Evolution Of The Rhetorical Genre Of Apologia," *Western Journal Of Communication* 57 (1993): 42; Noreen W. Kruse, "Motivational Factors In Non-Denial Apologia," *Central States Speech Journal* 28 (1977): 13; Brant Short, "Comic Book Apologia: The 'Paranoid' Rhetoric Of Congressman George Handen," *Western Journal Of Speech Communication* 51 (1987): 190.

[310] William L. Benoit and James, J. Lindsey, "Argument Strategies: Antidote To Tylenol's Poisoned Image," *Journal Of The American Forensic Association* 23 (1987): 138; Keith Michael Hearit, "'Mistakes Were Made': Organizations, Apologia, And Crises Of Social Legitimacy," *Communication Studies* 46 (1995): 3; Susan Schultz Huxman and Denise Beatty Bruce, "Towards A Dynamic Generic Framework Of Apologia: A Case Study Of Dow Chemical, Vietnam, And The Napalm Controversy," *Communication Studies* 46 (1995): 63, 67.

[311] Ware and Linkugel, "They Spoke," 278. This division of strategies is also supported by Benoit and Lindset, "Argument," 138; Gold, "Political," 308; and Short, "Comic," 190.

[312] Benoit and Lindsey, "Argument," 145.

[313] Kruse, "Motivational," 21.

[314] Benoit and Lindsey, "Argument," 145; Butler, "Apologia," 289; Downey, "Evolution," 60; Hearit, "Mistakes," 6; Huxman and Bruce, "Toward," 67; Ware and Linkugel, "They Spoke," 282.

[315] William L. Benoit, *Accounts, Excuses, And Apologies: A Theory Of Image Restoration Discourse* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995), 30. See also William L. Benoit, "Hugh Grant's Image Restoration Discourse: An Actor Apologizes," *Communication Quarterly* 45 (1997): 251-67; William L. Benoit, "Sears' Repair Of Its Auto Service Image: Image Restoration Discourse In The Corporate Sector," *Communication Studies* 46 (1995): 89-105.

[316] Payne, *Coping*, 5.

[317] Cloud, *Control*, 3.

[318] *Ibid*.

[319] This theme is throughout their books, but in particular, see Payne, *Coping*, 152 and Cloud, *Control*, xiv.

[320] Kenneth Burke, *Counter-Statement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 209, emphasis his.

[321] H.C. Deb., ser. 5, v. 445, col. 1228.

[322] Albert Hourani, *A History Of The Arab Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1991), 362-69.

[323] Thomas L. Friedman. *From Beirut To Jerusalem* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, & Giroux, 1989), 17; Hourani, *A History*, 409.

[324] Friedman, *From Beirut*, 496; Hourani, *A History*, 419.

CHAPTER 7:

RETURNING TO THE TABLE

In 1947 British policymakers indicated that the United Kingdom would remain interested in Palestine. Since then, this interest has waned. Britain still trades with the region, sells arms to various states, and engages in a variety of other relationships, but it no longer enjoys hegemony over the Middle East. As indicated in Chapter Six, at the end of World War II many Britons wanted the end of Empire and a greater focus on the Kingdom's domestic problems. The Empire was contracted. As part of this retrenchment, Britain ended its role of mediating the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Although the 1948 United Nations Partition of Palestine was the first step in ending British mediation, other steps taken by Britain enhanced this divide. The Suez Canal was nationalized by Egypt in 1956. When Britain accepted the nationalization, this acceptance decreased British influence over the region. [1] In 1969, Britain's Foreign and Commonwealth Office divided the former Empire into two regions: an "inner area of concentration" and an "outer area of lesser concentration." [2] The whole Middle East, including Israel/Palestine was placed into the area of lesser concentration. Two years later, in the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles, Britain and its former imperial territories agreed that the Commonwealth would include "peoples of different races, languages and religions, and display every stage of economic development from poor developing nations to wealthy industrialised nations" and would "encompass a rich variety of cultures, traditions and institutions." [3] No Middle Eastern states, though, joined the Commonwealth, despite the fact that Britain's imperial territories had included several of them. [4] Rather than expanding its influence over the Middle East, Britain appeared to withdraw.

As Britain withdrew, the United States began to expand its influence in the Middle East and in Israel/Palestine in particular. As indicated in Chapter One, the post-Cold War United States may be taking on many of the roles of world leadership that Britain enacted in the post-

World War I era. Although international power relations have grown increasingly complex, the United States remains a singularly important node in the web of world affairs.[5] In the Middle East, in particular, the United States is still seen as having great influence as it remains a military, production, and diplomatic leader.[6] By supplying arms and deploying troops in the Peninsular Middle East, the United States has made strong military commitments to the region.[7] In addition, given financial ties throughout the region and financial influence on a number of fourth and fifth parties, the United States has substantial economic relevance to the Middle East and those who trade there.[8] When these military and economic factors are combined with an expression of interest in the region, the United States may be able to foster the impression that its diplomatic efforts in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict could be backed by force if necessary.[9] Last, but certainly not least, the United States has expressed a willingness to become involved in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a mediator.

The United States has consistently argued that it seeks an end to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. At least since the presidency of Jimmy Carter, the United States has viewed resolution of this conflict as an important diplomatic goal. Following the 1978 Camp David Summit, Carter announced that Israel/Palestine has "a direct and immediate bearing on [American] well-being as a nation and our hope for a peaceful world. That is why we in the United States cannot afford to be idle bystanders and why we have been full partners in the search for peace."[10] Indeed, Carter claimed, "the United States has had no choice but to be deeply concerned about the Middle East and to try to use our influence and our efforts to advance the cause of peace" among Israel and surrounding Arabs states. Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush have since formalized Carter's pronouncement as part of the United States's national security strategy.[11] That is, each president since Carter has claimed that resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not just a diplomatic goal, but is also fundamental to the United States's national security.

In a speech at the Rose Garden on April 4, 2002, American president George W. Bush reiterated the United States's commitment to the Middle East peace process. In addition, Bush announced that the United States would support the Mitchell-Tenet proposal for Arab-Israeli peace. Although anthropologists Marcia Kunstel and Joseph Albright have claimed that American resolve in the Middle East was shattered by the Beirut bombing of Marine barracks,[12] Bush has indicated that the United States will remain a mediator. He stated, "I have no illusions. We have no illusions about the difficulty of the issues that lie ahead. Yet, our nation's resolve is strong. America is committed to ending this conflict and beginning an era of peace."[13] With this expression of commitment made, the United States will probably do something to enact this commitment.

The purpose of this concluding Chapter is to draw together the implications that a rhetorical history of the British era in Palestine has for current United States policy. Although foreign policy situations are rarely isomorphic, examining precedents can provide guidance to current policymakers by suggesting what policies are likely to work well and which policies are likely to fail.[14] I will begin by summarizing the kind of intervention into policymaking processes that performing rhetorical history offers. By providing a critical reading of historical texts and formulating contingent recommendations based on these readings, the rhetorical historian can use his or her observations to inform his or her understanding of current policymaking and to evaluate that policymaking. I then indicate how the rhetorical history that I have performed in this dissertation is relevant to the current United States involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. I draw out the "lessons" learned from each Chapter of this dissertation and apply them to Bush's April 4, 2002 announcement of American involvement in the Middle East peace process. Finally, I summarize the role that third parties, such as Britain, the United Nations, and the United Sates, play and have played in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In this summary, I note some of the reasons that a critically informed and active United States should remain involved in the peace process despite the dangers of third party intervention.

Rhetorical History As Critical Rhetoric

The United States has indicated that it will be an active third party in the Middle East peace process. In this situation, the rhetorical historian may enact two programs through his or her writing. The rhetorical historian serves as both a rhetorical critic, in the isolated cases, and as a critical rhetorician, in explaining the importance of his or her project to the present. Rhetorical theorist Raymie McKerrow suggests that, in performing criticism, the critical rhetorician becomes an "advocate of or arguer for an interpretation of the collected fragments" that he or she had brought together for analysis.[15] These fragments can be brought together to form a peripheral text and one fragment can be selected as a central text. In this selection of fragments, McKerrow argues, the critical rhetorician makes sense out of a pastiche of discourses to create a more or less coherent narrative for interpretation.[16]

Although McKerrow is unclear about how the intervention proposed by a critical rhetorician can be implemented, others indicate how the rhetorical analysis of historical texts can be used to inform advocacy about the issues related to the object of critique. Rhetorical theorist Robert Hariman urges the critical rhetorician to use "rhetorical studies as a perspective within both social history and the history of ideas, melding contemporary theoretical vocabularies with the traditional categories of rhetorical analysis to reconsider and extend" each.[17] In forming a critical rhetoric, then, one does not have to discard old methods and adopt newfangled theories entirely, nor the reverse. Instead, Hariman claims that critical rhetoricians should admit their reliance on convention while incorporating elements of postmodern theories. Hariman's indicators for the theoretical "how" of critical rhetoric are helpful. Rhetorical theorists Kent Ono and John Sloop suggest how the critical rhetorician should relate to his or her text. They claim that the critical rhetorician must enter into an empathic relationship with their text and become, insofar as possible, part of the life of the text.[18] As part of this attempt Ono and Sloop urge the critical rhetorician to see their work "*in situ* – related to the circumstance, situation, and history of the artifact and its world."[19] That is, rather than detaching oneself from the contextual situation

constructed by and for a text, the critical rhetorician should attempt to insert him or herself into the contextual situation.

In this dissertation, I have attempted to incorporate the elements suggested by Hariman and Ono and Sloop to perform a critical rhetorical history. I have tried to combine the most venerable tools of rhetorical analysis with new concepts. Like traditional, Rankean historians, I have emphasized throughout this project the importance of examining archival materials. The way that these archives have been treated, however, is different from the way that Rankean historians employ them. Rather than positing a stable text, the traditional object for diplomatic historians, I have examined the archival materials as peripheral texts that are constructed by the reader and as they interpret a center text. Diplomatic historians would approach these center texts as the important object of analysis. Diplomatic historians would note the directions encouraged by the center text and then visit the archives to find supporting materials for their interpretation of the center text. In this project I have gone the other route. I have examined the peripheral text for common themes. After drawing out these themes, I then examined the center texts as they have manifested these themes. That is, I have used a center text to interpret the peripheral text, even as the reading of the peripheral text has guided my interpretations. This combination of McGee's fragmentation thesis with historiographical methods has allowed an alternative reading of the history of Israel/Palestine to emerge.

Rather than constructing a Great Britain that imposed strife on Palestine/Israel out of a selfish concern for imperial power, I have suggested that the problem of Palestine is more complex. The timing of events in Palestine *is* suspicious. In Chapter One, I indicated that there had been centuries of coexistence among Palestinian Arabs and Jews, a coexistence that was disrupted with the entry of European powers. Nonetheless, I have also argued that one cannot simply blame the British for intercommunal strife. Even if British power was used to serve selfish, imperialist interests, it is important to understand how these interests sustained in Britain's policy toward Palestine. My rhetorical history, and the accompanying critique, shows

that Britain's imperial interests were not necessarily the product of direct intent, fully articulated within Whitehall and Westminster Palace, but rather they are the product of ambiguity, diversions to epideictic discourse, rhetorics of investigation, and, at the end, a rhetoric of failure. In Chapter Three instead of arguing that the British intentionally split Palestinian Arabs from Jews through the writing of the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, I suggested that the division might have been an unintended consequence of the documents that accompanied imperial interests in World War I. In Chapter Four, I claimed that the Mandate for Palestine should not be framed as a choice between imperial self-interest and idealist self-determination. Instead, I argue that through a reframing of the vote, the question of imperial power as balanced against native rights was never properly explored. In Chapter Five, I suggested that the White Paper of 1939 was not written to gain Arab allies against the Axis by sacrificing Jewish interests in Palestine. As with the Mandate, I indicated that the rhetoric of investigation was used to dodge these policy questions until the kairotic moment was nearly expired and only one choice of action was available. Finally, in Chapter Six, I argued against the received history's narrative of a cowardly Empire that fled from its responsibilities. Instead of adopting this narrative, I wrote an alternative story that indicated how Britain transformed itself from an Empire into an international citizen. In each Chapter, I have attempted to introduce complexity into the received narrative. Instead of claiming that the historian should identify the imperial motivations behind all policies of an empire, I have argued that rhetorical historians should attempt to examine the ways that historical actors create their own exigencies, form patterns of responses in the peripheral text, and articulate a center text that acts as a representative anecdote for the themes of the peripheral text. Although this inductive approach to rhetorical history is not as straightforward as a deductive approach encouraged by other methods, the inductive approach allows the complexities of both the peripheral and center texts to emerge more fully.

This complexity foregrounds the elements encouraged by Ono and Sloop in a critical rhetoric project. A critical rhetorical history will encourage the rhetorical historian to immerse

him or herself in a text so that he or she becomes part of its life world. That is, reliance on

secondary, tertiary or quaternary sources encourages the rhetorical historian to read later

interpretations that attempt to clarify events for future generations about how things were thought

to have happened. "Nonrhetorical" forms of history often emphasize one element of the

peripheral text at the expense of others. If one relies on diplomatic histories, then the only

relevant elements are what occur in high-level meetings behind closed doors. If one relies on

military histories, then the important elements are those that are played out on a battlefield. If one

relies on economic histories, then the flow of materials, goods, and services determines the course

of events. These forms of history begin with the center text of center events. After offering and

interpretation of the center text, these types of historians will then delve into the peripheral text to

find fragments that support this interpretation. A rhetorical history, however, because it pays

close attention to the texts that were produced in the course of the events as they were happening

and because it regards those texts as productive of those very events, allows an alternative

understanding of events to emerge. This alternative understanding arises precisely because the

rhetorical historian views events as those that are constructed through and by the sharing of

human understandings. Approaching the center text "knowing" what elements are important to

history – be they economic, military, diplomatic, or whatnot – limits the possibilities in

investigating the peripheral text. By beginning at the periphery, the rhetorical historian can look

for preponderant themes across the peripheral text. The rhetorical historian does not begin with

his or her interpretation of the center text. Instead, the rhetorical historian begins with the

peripheral text and then reads the center text to see how these themes are crystallized. The

rhetorical historian should be aware that multiple elements matter in the formation of human

understanding through the peripheral text, but be prepared to discard those elements that do not

appear in the actual articulation of these understandings in the center text. Rather than using the

texts to speak for them, the rhetorical historian allows the peripheral text to speak through the

reader and the peripheral text's themes to provide the interpretation for the reader's construction of a center text.

In addition to allowing a mode of interpretation, rhetorical history serves as a mode of advocacy. Rhetorical history allows the critic to intervene in the life-world of the text. Literary critics Edward Said reminds historians of all kinds that "there is not much use today lamenting" past statements.[20] Rather than criticizing past statements, Said urges the historian to critique them. He argues that "it seems more valuable to see" previous statements directed toward the Middle East conflict "as part of a history, of a style and a set of characteristics centrally constituting the question of Palestine as it can be discussed even today."[21] What was done in the past needs to be reappraised consistently so that any lessons that past acts offered can improve current attempts. Diplomatic historian Michael Reisman also indicates that these past attempts haunt current efforts, even as previous efforts may be explicitly discarded. He argues that this is so because "a statement of policy generates a pattern of behavior as individuals realign their lives in conformity to the expectation that has been created. When the promise ends, the behavior often continues and may even invoke the ruptured agreement as its own authority."[22]

This haunting, while powerful, is not absolute. Changes in conditions can alter the demands that are made of the past. Historian of nationalism Anthony Smith argues, "our view of the past is only partially shaped by present concerns," since the "past has the power also to shape present concerns."[23] For Smith, there is an interaction between the demands of the present that guide the construction of history and the remnants of the past that haunt these demands. When the rhetorical historian engages in his or her work, the rhetorical historian shapes his or her present concerns by selecting some elements of the past and deselecting of others. Additionally, the rhetorical historian is also immersed in that past so that his or her present concerns are modified by the engagement with the peripheral text. Rhetorical historians need to be aware of this immersion in two times with interacting concerns. Religious historian Ernst Knauf reminds the historian that "the constitution of 'events' is a selection of the meaningful" and its "reorganization

by the historian," not the extension of natural historical laws free from human influence.[24] The archive, therefore, is not a pure collection, but a collection constructed by the rhetorical historian and his or her predecessors. Cultural historian Diana Edelman agrees with Knauf. Moreover, because all history is a tentative construction, historians, in her view, must allow for the "need to modify, adjust, or abandon their interpretations of the evidence in light of new evidence or a better interpretative framework" brought to the evidence.[25] That is, rhetorical historians should not reject later rhetorical histories simply because they employ different methods or arrive at different conclusions. As new evidence and frameworks are brought into the discussion, rhetorical historians should be open to the consideration of these interpretations. In short, good history of any kind should be self-critical even as it forwards recommendations based on an understanding of history. Rhetorical histories should do the same.

Critical Recommendations For American Policy

This sense of self-criticism even as recommendations are made is characteristic of a critical rhetorical project. Critical rhetoric does not propose an eternal navel-gazing and the issuance of negative findings. Instead, critical rhetorical projects involve two levels of critique. The first, what McKerrow terms "the critique of power," investigates the structures and relations of domination.[26] Critiques of American power – military, economic, cultural, and more – are common and I will not rehearse the breadth of arguments that portray the destructive potential and constructive possibilities of American hegemony in world affairs.[27] Critiquing the deployment of American power by itself, however, does not ameliorate the potential dangers when the United States acts. If American action is accepted as inevitable, and American action seems likely under the Bush administration, then critical practice can intervene in a second way.

This second level of critique is what McKerrow labels "the critique of freedom."[28] McKerrow argues that dominant narratives about the freedom of action should be challenged. Rhetorical critics and critical rhetoricians are unlikely to discover universal truths that will propel social collectivities toward an ultimate destiny. Rather than seeking an unattainable grail of social

perfection, McKerrow urges the critical rhetorician to "guard against 'taken for granteds' that endanger our freedom – our chance to consider new possibilities for action."[29] The "taken for granted" that this dissertation has struggled against is the eternality of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the inevitability of its continuance. In each Chapter, I have presented the received history of an intervention in this conflict. Rather than viewing the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a primordial battle, I have relocated the beginning of this conflict in the events around World War I. In each Chapter, I have constructed a peripheral text out of some of the available fragments. Based on the themes in the peripheral text, I have reread center texts. By doing so, I have offered an alternative narrative of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict during the British era.

In offering this alternative narrative, I do not claim that I have found the "true" narrative of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Said would surely be correct if he were to critique my narrative, find its debts to unquestioned political assumptions, locate my place as an intellectual, and attack the newly articulated narrative's claim to be "better history."[30] To such an attack, I would reply much as peace negotiators Randy Deshazo and John Sutherlin do.[31] Politics are always entailed in academic analyses and the intellectual is always attempting to secure his or her place in an institutional pecking order. There are, however, better politics and better ways to negotiate one's place in an academic hierarchy. The central value to both is to make clear that these positions are open to challenge and modification, even as they challenge and modify the positions of others.

The recommendations offered below posit alternatives that could have been adopted by the British in their Palestinian policy during the Mandate. Instead of offering a critique of power in the mode that has become popular, however, what I present below is a summary of the critique of freedom that has been carried out in preceding Chapters. That is, the British could have acted in ways other than they did. These possibilities, however, were foreclosed by the approach that was actually taken by the British. These limits on possibility were not absolute, but in most cases were the result of discursive constraints. British discourses surrounding central policies toward Palestine had material effects by making the British feel that some options were foreclosed to

them or compelling them to accept other options. In each case, opting for a different possibility could have generated problems unique to that possibility and, perhaps, entailed the problems associated with the option that was actually taken. This is not to say that the United States should learn from the British experience and therefore should always take an alternative that the British were not free to take. Instead, the critique of freedom that is offered in this dissertation through a critical rhetorical history should allow the consideration of some questions that effect policymaking. I present these areas of consideration below.

In Chapter Three, I offered an analysis of British discourse surrounding the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. The received history claims that these two documents are foundational to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict's current manifestation. The Balfour Declaration has been used to assert that Britain intended to found a Jewish State in Palestine in 1917. The McMahon-Hussein correspondence has been used to assert that Britain intended to found a pan-Arab State. After assembling a peripheral text, I found that these attributions are difficult to make because there is so little discussion in the peripheral text about Palestine. Using this theme, I then reread the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. The reading offered in Chapter Three indicates that neither document can be characterized as a clear commitment, but, instead, both were rife with vagueness and non-commitment. The reason for this vagueness that I offered in Chapter Three was that Britain viewed Palestine as a relatively unimportant area and, thus, did not consider either the Balfour Declaration or the McMahon-Hussein correspondence to be binding promises. Ambiguity was the central trope of both the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence, although other formal features could be used to discount these documents as formal commitments. The unintended effect of these documents was that the ambiguity could be read as a constitutive rhetoric, i.e. the Balfour Declaration may have helped constitute a Jewish national identity and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence an Arab national identity.

Ambiguity does not appear to have been a virtue in the Balfour Declaration and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence. These documents were transformed into formal commitments by Jews who read the Balfour Declaration in a light favorable to Jewish nationalism and by Palestinian Arabs who read the McMahon-Hussein correspondence an a light favorable to pan-Arabism. The ambiguity, while strategic in gaining allies for Britain in World War I, may not have been strategic in the long-term. This balance of short-term advantage and long-term cost is one that policymakers may wish to consider in their own decisions. In the peripheral text that is being formed now by American diplomats and service officers, one issue contributing to the ambiguity appears to have been addressed. Israel/Palestine is not an ignored part of the world. American policymakers do not seem ignorant of issues there and there is much discussion of Israel/Palestine. Another contributing factor, the fact of unclear commitment, may remain. As policymakers continue to form their peripheral text and as they articulate documents that may become center texts in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, questions of ambiguity and the unintended effects that could result from the reading of ambiguous statements could be considered.

In his Rose Garden speech, Bush announced support for the Tenet-Mitchell plan. He stated he was sending Powell "to the region next week [April 11, 2002] to seek broad international support for the vision" entailed in United Nations Resolution 1402.[32] Resolution 1402 calls for a "meaningful cease-fire," by both Palestinian Arabs and Israelis, "the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Palestinian cities," and for the Palestinian Arabs and Israelis "to implement the Tenet security plan as a first step towards implementation of the Mitchell Committee recommendations."[33] The Report from the Sharm el-Skeikh Fact-Finding Committee Report chaired by former Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell lists 26 specific recommendations for both the Government of Israel and the Palestinian Authority.[34] A plan generated from this report by Central Intelligence Agency director George Tenet offers specific procedures to be followed by the Israeli Government, the Palestinian Authority, and third parties, as well as timetables for agreements and regularly scheduled implementation meetings.[35] Bush's endorsement of the

Mitchell Report and Tenet Plan indicates support for a series of specific measures. The parties may disagree over these recommendations. Nonetheless, there are, at least, specific grounds over which they may disagree. By reducing ambiguity, unintended effects of American policy may be limited. The potential dangers of ambiguity appear to have been recognized in the Mitchell Report and the Tenet Plan, and these new center texts attempt to lessen these dangers. This decision to lessen ambiguity may prove to be helpful in the United States' intervention into the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In Chapter Four, I offered an analysis of British discourse surrounding the Mandate for Palestine. The received history reduces the debate about Palestine to a confrontation of Wilsonian idealism and practical realism. For the most part, the received history indicates that realism won out over idealism, as the resource, trade, and military opportunities were held to be more valuable to the British than the right of Arab self-determination. After assembling a peripheral text, I argued that there was little debate between idealism and realism in the discourse surrounding the Mandate. Instead, the peripheral text indicates that appeals to honor, an epideictic claim, were much more common than deliberative claims arising from the merits of a realist or idealist British foreign policy. In my reading of the center text through these themes, I claimed that epideictic appeals foreclosed consideration of deliberative appeals, thus preventing considerations of expedience. Because questions of expedience were replaced with questions of honor, I argued that the relative merits and demerits of the Mandate went unconsidered and a potentially flawed plan was accepted as policy.

Although the Mandate was framed as a question of George V's honor and his commitment to the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate appears to have done more harm than good to Britain's reputation. Treating the Balfour Declaration as a binding promise and the McMahon-Hussein correspondence as an irrelevancy may have assisted Parliament in approving the Mandate. Doing so, however, may have cost the British part of their reputation as a fair broker with the Arabs. Because this questioning was not allowed to enter the discourse, this foreclosure

may have limited the possibilities that the Mandate had for resolving a newly born conflict between Palestinian Arabs and Jews. Moreover, because Winston Churchill helped set the tone of the debate, the assumptions embodied in the Churchill White Paper of 1922 could not be questioned on the grounds of policy. Had there been some discussion of the expedience of the Mandate and its endorsement of the Balfour Declaration and Churchill White Paper, then the effects of the policy might have become an issue. Because the Mandate was transformed into the fulfillment of a promise rather than a policy action, potential costs of the Mandate and the opportunities that might have resulted from other possible policies became undiscussable. Had they been discussed, then the problems of implementation, particularly the Arab riots and strikes in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s in reaction to the Mandate, might have been foreseen. The reliance on epideictic appeals may hinder effective policymaking because it forecloses deliberation. As the United States formulates its approach to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, policymakers may want to be on the lookout for epideictic appeals. Policymakers may wish to examine such appeals to see what policies they allow to be enacted without question and what possibilities they do not allow to be discussed.

The Mitchell Report and the Tenet Plan appear to recognize that deliberation is central to drafting an effective American policy toward the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The potential policy costs are explicitly recognized in the Mitchell Report. The Report states that one limitation on the peace process is that "Israeli leaders do not wish to be perceived as 'rewarding violence.' Palestinian leaders do not wish to be perceived as 'rewarding occupation.' We appreciate the political constraints on the leaders of both sides."[36] To move beyond this cycle of blaming the other, the Mitchell Report asks that questions of trust and ethos be put aside and that policy effectiveness be emphasized. The Report claims that "the very foundation of trust required to re-establish a functioning partnership consists of each side making ... strategic reassurances to the other" even if there is not yet complete trust.[37] The Tenet Plan indicates that these strategic reassurances have been made. Each side has initiated "specific, concrete, and realistic security

steps" in order to "reestablish security cooperation and the situation on the ground that existed" before the Al-Aqsa Intifada of October 2000.[38] Tenet claims that these policy actions were based on questions of security, enforceability, and workability. They were premised on the likelihood that small steps would not pose great dangers and would allow more effective cooperation in the future, even in the absence of trust.

This commitment to effective policy has been challenged by Bush's turn to the epideictic in his Rose Garden speech. The Mitchell Report had asked the Palestinian Authority to do "the politically difficult: to lead without knowing how many [citizens] will follow."[39] In doing so, the Report acknowledged that individuals and groups who did not follow the lead of the Palestinian Authority would challenge the Authority. These difficulties, however, were glossed by Bush's speech. Bush's speech was a response to a terrorist attack on a Netanya hotel. Rather than recognizing the difficulties of implementing the Tenet Plan and seeking better ways for the Palestinian Authority to enact its commitments, Bush made the issue into the praise or blame of the Authority's president, Yasser Arafat. Bush said,

> Since September the 11th, I've delivered this message: everyone must choose; you're either with the civilized world, or you're with the terrorists. ... The Chairman of the Palestinian Authority has not consistently opposed or confronted terrorists. At Oslo and elsewhere, Chairman Arafat renounced terror as an instrument of his cause, and he agreed to control it. He's not done so. The situation in which he finds himself today is largely of his own making. He's missed his opportunities, and thereby betrayed the hopes of the people he's supposed to lead.[40]

In making this statement, Bush reduced a complicated set of policy variables into an attack on Arafat's trustworthiness. Instead of recognizing the Palestinian Authority's renunciation of terrorism and its laws against Hezbollah, Hamas, and other groups, Bush claims that Arafat has not renounced terrorism. Rather than addressing the limitations placed on Arafat's police and

paramilitary forces in apprehending terrorists, Bush claims that Arafat has personally failed to control terror. Perhaps most important, Bush argues that the current Middle East situation is one of Arafat's making, thus ignoring Israel's continuation of its settlement policy, the non-cooperation between Israeli Defense Forces and the Palestinian Home Guard, and the general suspicion between ordinary Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews. Bush's epideictic appeal encourages the listener to decide that Arafat is with the terrorists and, thus, against the civilized world. The epideictic appeal encourages the listener not to consider the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a complex policy.

Bush's epideictic appeal also closes off serious deliberative consideration. By making a stark choice between supporting Arafat and terror or supporting an unnamed alternative and civilization, questions of policy expedience become largely unimportant. If one simply blames the terrorists, the proximate causes that encourage terrorist action go without amelioration. Israeli policies imposing curfews, border closings, collective punishments, assassinations, and the like may contribute to the perception among some Palestinian Arabs that political violence is the only reasonable option. Likewise, blaming the Palestinian Authority without further consideration does not ask why the inability to enforce counter-terror policies is present. The reduction of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to Arafat's abilities may foreclose consideration of the complex web of policies that contribute to violence or that prevent the amelioration of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Does the Palestinian authority's inability to prevent terror attacks arise from non-communication between the Israeli Defense Force and the Palestinian Home Guard? Does the Palestinian Authority lack the police and military troops and firepower, both of which were limited under the Oslo and Madrid agreements, to counter terrorism? Has the destruction of the Palestinian Authority's tax base through curfews and border closings made funding inadequate to the task? These questions go unasked in an epideictic framework of praise and blame. Policy deliberation about the limits of Israeli and Palestinian Authority enforcement need not be asked should the governments involved frame these considerations as negotiations with terrorists. The

most important question that Bush's epideictic strategy forecloses is, "If not Arafat, then who should lead the Palestinian Authority?" The epideictic appeal asks that the relatively moderate Arafat be rejected without naming an alternative. According to a report conducted by Dani Neveh for the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs, nearly every member of the Palestinian Authority's Legislative Council and Cabinet has some link to terrorist organizations or activities.[41] As such, Bush's call "for leadership, not terror"[42] may be too stark a choice that does not account for the vagaries of policy. Yet, because the reader is not asked to consider the effects of a regime change in Palestine, the question of post-Arafat leadership need not be asked. To take serious consideration of the effects of replacing Arafat, the United States may want to ponder the adage that the devil you know is better than the devil you don't. Should the United States seek regime change in Palestine as part of its peacemaking efforts, the United States may want to examine these and other deliberative issues in addition to the epideictic appeals that Bush's Rose Garden speech foregrounds.

In Chapter Five, I offered an analysis of British discourse surrounding the White Paper of 1939. The received history indicates that the White Paper was written in an attempt to retain alliances with Arab states as fascism rose in Europe. The motivational calculus offered in the received history is simple; since the Jews were unlikely to support Hitler's regime, their concerns could be ignored in appeals to the Arabs, a group that might be persuaded to support Hitler. After assembling a peripheral text, I found that the received history's conclusion that Britain was more concerned with Arab perceptions that with Jewish perceptions could be supported. The discourse, however, does not use the manipulative language present in the received history's narrative. I argued that the peripheral text uses the rhetoric of investigation to mask the probability that a preconceived decision had been made. I indicated that the rhetoric of investigation was used in two ways. First, the rhetoric of investigation emphasized a special commission that would be fair, independent, and bipartisan in its proceedings. Although I argued that the special commissions in the case of the 1939 White Paper attempted to fulfill these three core values, when their reports

were given to Parliament and the Government, the use of the reports may have changed. The decision structure in Parliament and Government may not have been concerned with being fair, independent, and bipartisan. Rather, those who had already decided to advocate the White Paper policy may have used the commissions' findings to justify their claims.

The second function of the rhetoric of investigation may have been to prevent the consideration of policies other than the White Paper. Although the commissions performed exhaustive surveys on the problem of Palestine, the potential merits and demerits of polic ies other than the White Paper went undiscussed. Because there had been so much investigation into the problem of Palestine, Members of Parliament may have been reluctant to investigate further. Members may have felt that further investigation would be futile, as the same ground would be covered anew. As I indicated, when Parliament came to their vote on the White Paper, it was presented as an all-or-nothing proposition. Either the White Paper and its reforms were to be approved or the Mandate policy would go forward without modification. Because there was little support for investigating other possible policies, the choice between the Mandate, a policy that was seen as unworkable, and the White Paper, a policy that was problematic but different, may have been excusably easy to make. In current approaches to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, policymakers may want to consider how the rhetoric of investigation plays out in their own decisions. While some investigation of problems may be helpful, policymakers may want to curtail investigation of a problem before it exhausts the willingness to consider new policies. Additionally, policymakers may wish to direct special commissions to focus on possible policy effects instead of providing exhaustive surveys of a known problem.

The Sharm el-Sheikh Committee may have successfully negotiated the tension between too much and too little investigation. Too much investigation may tire policymakers. Too little may not report factors that need to be considered in effective policymaking. The Mitchell Report states that Bill Clinton appointed the Committee after a breakdown in the peace process in order to "determine what happened and how to avoid it recurring in the future."[43] Specifically, the

Committee was to remain fair, independent, and bipartisan. Clinton told the Committee that they "should strive to steer clear of any step that will intensify mutual blame and finger-pointing between the parties" by conducting a thorough and unbiased investigation.[44] The Committee appeared to be aware of the problem of investigating the causes of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict at the expense of considering what could or would be likely to happen in the future. They also emphasized that their investigation was a starting point, not the end of all investigation for the United States. The Committee claimed, "in this report, we will try to answer the questions assigned to us by the Sharm el-Sheikh summit: What happened? Why did it happen?"[45] Unlike the British special commissions, though, the Mitchell Committee did not stop at covering the past. Indeed, the Committee claimed,

> in light of the current situation, however, we must elaborate on the third part of
> our mandate: How can the recurrence of violence be prevented? The relevance
> and impact of our work, in the end, will be measured by the recommendations we
> make concerning the following: Ending the Violence. Rebuilding Confidence.
> Resuming Negotiations.[46]

By orienting its work toward future policy and considering possible ramifications of their recommendations, the Committee did not rehash the past again. By devoting much of their work to the limitations and opportunities of their suggestions, the Mitchell Committee did not present the United States with a *fait accompli* and with one, and only one, proposal that could be considered. The Mitchell Report is presented as one part of a process that involves additional consultation, negotiation, and study. The Report was delivered in a short timeframe, four months after the Committee was assembled, and the Report provides starting points for talks, rather than finished conclusions. As such, it may allow further talks to take place without exhausting policymakers or short-circuiting the policymaking process. The Mitchell Report ends by calling for future talks that would settle issues implicated in the question of Palestine; it does not end by making only one solution the focus of its recommendations.

The balance of investigation and action has been carried out in other American policy statements. The Tenet Plan makes more concrete recommendations than does the Mitchell Report. Despite establishing firmer proposals, the Tenet Plan also recognizes that no plan should be implemented without the possibility of review and modification. To meet this need, Tenet proposed a "joint security committee" to "resolve issues that may arise during the implementation of this work plan." [47] He did not make his plan an all-or-nothing recommendation to the White House. Bush also considered the Mitchell Report and the Tenet Plan as part of a recursive policy that would consistently need modification and study of its effects even as it was implemented. Although some demands made by Bush, such as Arafat's resignation and the end of Israel's settlement policy are proposed as non-negotiable, other parts of Bush's Rose Garden speech ask for additional negotiation before settling on a final policy. Bush claims that "the outlines of a just settlement are clear: two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side, in peace and security."[48] Bush speaks favorably of the Mitchell and Tenet Plans, as well as a proposal made by Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia, as possible solutions. Rather than settling on one of these proposals, though, he announces that he will send Powell to the Middle East as an envoy to seek the best workable solution for Israel/Palestine. Moreover, upon receiving Powell's recommendation, Bush promises to push for that solution to be enacted as American policy, as Bush has committed to United States to working "for all the children of Abraham to know the benefits of peace."[49] Most likely, the Palestinian Authority and the Israeli Government will have disagreements. By conducting an investigation that considers the possible future effects of policy in addition to exploring the causes of violence, the rhetoric of investigation may be used in a more helpful way in 2003 than it was in 1939. It may also lessen the possibility that policymakers will predetermine their decisions by transforming investigation into an ongoing process rather than an event that abruptly halts once decisions are issued. This decision to use investigation as a future-oriented strategy rather than a past-oriented strategy may prove to be helpful in the United States's intervention into the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

In Chapter Six, I offered an analysis of British discourse surrounding United Nations Resolution 181. In the received history, Resolution 181 has been portrayed as an international attempt to assume British power after the collapse of British imperial will. As the Empire entered decline, the received history renders Britain as a cowardly actor that fled Palestine with little warning in May of 1948, abandoning Palestine and handing its nascent civil war to an ill-prepared United Nations without second thoughts. After assembling a peripheral text, I found the received narrative unsatisfactory. Although Britain refused to maintain the Empire and the United Nations issued the Resolution to assume control over Palestine, both did so after Britain repeatedly announced its intention to depart Palestine and after Britain began to end contracts and to remove its military and administrative forces from Palestine. In my reading of the Resolution as a center text, I argued that Resolution 181 was a rhetoric of failure that recognized that the British Empire could not effectively continue imperial rule in a post-imperial world. I also claimed that by assuming control over Palestine from Britain and articulating the obligations of all nations to the Partition Plan, the rhetoric of failure enacted by Britain and the United Nations in the Resolution is a transformative rhetoric of failure. That is, the Resolution allowed the transformation of Britain from failed Empire to a responsible, yet leading, citizen in the community of nations and the transformation of Palestine from colonial territory to a potentially equal citizen in that community.

The potential lessons that this rhetoric of failure has for the United States are unclear at the present juncture. Britain's rhetoric of failure was a success, for Britain. Britain extracted itself elegantly from Palestine, losing only its reputation as an Empire. This loss of reputation, though, was no loss. The age of imperialism was over; this grand narrative was defunct. Rather than struggling to hold on as a weak and dying Empire, Britain's transformation through the rhetoric of failure allowed it to reemerge in the post-imperial world as a leader. By recognizing that Empire no longer functioned and withdrawing from much of the Empire, Britain did not suffer the debilitating collapses that seem common to Empires that attempt to retain control for too long.

The referral of the problem of Palestine to the United Nations had the potential for success. Although the policy quickly failed, a rhetorical history that examines a peripheral text formed by the United Nations may find why Britain's imminent departure was not taken seriously by many people outside of Britain. The rhetoric of failure was appropriate for Britain. The corresponding rhetoric of success on the part of the United Nations may not have been articulated or been misguided in its articulation. Only future study of peripheral and center texts during the United Nations period in Israel/Palestine will be able to more fully investigate this possibility.

Although the grand narrative that accompanied the United States in its superpower rise – the Cold War – has ended, the United States has not been weakened economically and militarily as Britain was at the end of World War II. As noted earlier, the United States is widely perceived as having the military, economic, and diplomatic influence to retain its position as a superpower. The United States does not appear to be prepared to fail in the Middle East, and it has not prepared a rhetoric of failure that will allow withdrawal in the near term. Instead, Bush has made hopeful predictions about the United States's involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. In his Rose Garden speech, Bush reaffirmed the United States's commitment to being a third party in this dispute. He said,

> In our lifetimes we have seen an end to conflicts that no one thought could end.
> We've seen fierce enemies let go of long histories of strife and anger. America
> itself counts former adversaries as trusted friends: Germany and Japan and now
> Russia. Conflict is not inevitable. Distrust need not be permanent. Peace is
> possible when we break free of old patterns and habits of hatred. The violence
> and grief that troubled the Holy Land have been among the great tragedies of our
> time. ... The Middle East could write a new story of trade and development and
> democracy. And we stand ready to help.[50]

If the United States does not quit its current role as a third party mediator for the conflict a rhetoric of failure may not need to be written by the United States. If, however, the story of trade,

development, democracy, and peace is not completed, future policymakers may want to draw on the British rhetoric of failure to examine ways that international administration can be more effectively transferred.

The United States And The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Although the United States currently acts as a third party and has offered to continue in this role, third party intervention has not been a panacea for resolving violence in Israel/Palestine. Third party intervention, however, is not hopeless or entirely misguided. Diplomatic historian Neil Caplan indicates that third party intervention may be essential to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict because third parties have "overwhelming power at their disposal to dictate policy without consulting the main protagonists."[51] By "overwhelming power," though, Caplan does not mean the power to impose policy. Instead, third parties bring with them resources for influence and control that are not available to either Palestinian Arabs or Israeli Jews. Caplan notes that, during the Mandate, Britain had much more economic and military power than did either the Palestinian Arabs or the Jews. To bring this power to their side, Caplan argues that both parties "have *deliberately chosen to invite the involvement of these outside powers* whenever they felt it would help them advance their respective national interests."[52] When Britain surrendered its Empire, Caplan indicates that the prestige and the putative power of the United Nations led both parties to ask it to impose a solution favorable to their respective national interests.[53] After Camp David, the United States became the target of these appeals.[54] Despite the ability to set ground rules for negotiation, Caplan concludes that, even if communication efforts sponsored by third parties are "essential to a breakthrough, they are not sufficient in themselves."[55]

Power, not communication, has been the primary justification used to encourage United States involvement in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.[56] Because the United States has trade, military, and diplomatic influence in the Middle East, some analysts have encouraged the United States to simply impose and enforce a settlement. These appeals to an overwhelming power have drawn criticism. Caplan argues that third parties are poor mediators "given the drastically unequal

power" between the third party and the Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews.[57] In addition, Caplan

concludes that "this so-called mediation" turns out to be "a process in which pressure and

incentives" are applied by the third party for the third party's benefit, a benefit that often

encourages continued strife.[58] Because third parties seek their own advantage in interventions,

they often create client relationships with either Palestinian Arabs or Israeli Jews.[59] In exchange

for the third party's influence, the Palestinian Arabs or Israeli Jews will offer access to markets,

military bases, or other resources that make the local population dependent on the continued

goodwill of the third party. This relationship leads Said to claim that Britain's intervention was

symptomatic of nineteenth century politics. Said claims that, in the nineteenth century,

"imperialism was the theory, colonialism the practice."[60] If, in the late twentieth century, similar

client relationships were formed, then new forms of colonialism may be the result.

The risk of new forms of colonialism does not mean that third parties should not become

involved. Caplan argues that the "simplistic thesis that peace-efforts of the Arabs and Jews have

been sabotaged by evil, Machiavellian imperialists" cannot be supported.[61] Simply put,

Palestinian Arabs and Israeli Jews have done a sufficient job of sabotaging their own efforts.

Third party intervention may have merely aggravated this sabotage. In addition, the

characterization of Britain, the United Nations, and the United States as evil and Machiavellian

may assign too much coherence to third party interventions.

Moreover, even if third parties *are* evil and Machiavellian in their policy toward the

Israeli-Palestinian conflict, American involvement in the Middle East appears inevitable. Some,

such as former National Security Counselor Peter Rodman argue that American involvement in

the Israeli-Palestinian conflict "is indispensable," as the United States is the "pivotal factor for

stability."[62] Political scientist Francis Fukuyama proposes that, because the world has reached

"the end of history," American intervention is desirable because only the United States has an

appropriate and effective model for world leadership.[63] Former Secretary of State Henry

Kissinger, however, warns that the United States must not fall prey to two delusions common in

the post-Cold War era. He claims that many leftist policymakers believe that the United States is "the ultimate arbitrator of domestic evolutions all over the world," causing them to impose republican governments "regardless of cultural and historical differences" that call the ethics and efficacy of such policies into question.[64] Because of concerns about practicality and ethics, Kissinger states that he cannot endorse Fukuyama's thesis. On the other hand, Kissinger warns that rightist policymakers are too likely to adopt a triumphalist vision that claims "the solution to the world's ills is American hegemony," a vision that will bring the United States into conflict with other powers or a coalition of powers.[65] The dangers of triumphalism lead Kissinger to fear Rodman's overenthusiasm. Neither strain of the Americanist approach is likely to work on its own. Nonetheless, Kissinger indicates that American involvement in the Middle East peace process is essential because only the United States has the ability and willingness to be involved.[66] In short, the United States may be the least worst bad choice for a third party negotiator.

The United States can continue to negotiate from its positions of strength. In addition to being willing and able to be involved in the Middle East peace process, there are other justifications for American intervention. Both Israelis and Palestinian Arabs may view the United States – within limits – as an honest broker.[67] Israel may trust the United States more than other third party interveners. The United States has vetoed United Nations resolutions to Israel's benefit. In addition, Israel remains the largest recipient of American foreign aid. Palestinians have greater reason to view the United States as a dishonest broker. Recently, the United States abstained from United Nations Resolution 1322, a resolution that "condemns acts of violence, especially the excessive use of force against Palestinians" and "calls upon Israel, the occupying Power, to abide scrupulously by its legal obligations."[68] The Palestinian National Authority has taken this abstention as a sign that the United States is willing to consider Palestinian Arab views in addition to Israeli views. In addition, the United States has increased its foreign aid to the Palestinian National Authority. In addition to these actions, Bush argued in his Rose Garden

speech "the outlines of a just settlement are clear: two states, Israel and Palestine, living side by side, in peace and security."[69] By recognizing that a two state solution was needed, Bush reinforced the position of the United States as a fair mediator. The United States would not accept Israel's destruction (as advocated by Palestinian Arab extremists), but neither would the United States accept Israel's continued occupation of all disputed territories (as advocated by Israeli extremists). By poinitng toward this middle path, and taking leadership in walking it, the United States may be able to serve as an effective mediator.

American involvement is important for a final reason. United States involvement may be needed if there is to be resolution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Third party intervention may have been harmful in the past, but the prospects for local mediation do not appear much better. At the very least, American, Israeli, and Palestinian negotiatiors have indicated that, without American involvement, there is little chance that normalized relations between Israelis and Palestinians will be possible.[70] Former Deputy Speaker of the Israeli Knesset Naomi Chazan states that, in Israel/Palestine, "we have a stalemate, because terrorism, which Israelis fear most, is continuing, and occupation, which Palestinians fear the most, is continuing."[71] This stalemate, she claims, can be broken only if the United States remains involved. If the United States intervenes and provides an open forum for discussion, Chazan argues that neither terrorism by the Palestinians nor occupation by the Israelis will continue because less violent and more successful means of negotiation will be available.

The alternative to American involvment may not be local mediation. The alternative may be continued violence. Chazan states

> We need intervention because the two sides today cannot talk to each other,
> given the present leadership and the personal vendetta between them. We have a
> bunch of very old children doing terrible things and it has become very personal.
> Indeed, it has been personal from the beginning. So the situation has become

impossible, and unless the United States and the Western World intervene now,

they will have to pick up the pieces eventually. [72]

Yasser Arafat and Ariel Sharon may not be the best negotiators for Israel and the Palestinian

National Authority. Sharon was condemned by the United Nations for "the provocation carried

out at Al-Haram Al-Sharif in Jerusalem on 28 September 2000" that "result[ed] in over 80

Palestinian deaths and many other casualties."[73] In addition to this provocation, many Palestinian

Arabs distrust Sharon because he planned the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon when he served as

the Israeli Minister of Defense. Likewise, Arafat was condemned by the United Nations for

failure to meet "expressed commitment to ensure that those responsible for terrorist acts are

brought to justice" and for supporting terrorist bombings in Israel.[74] In addition to these failures,

many Israelis distrust Arafat because of the previous involvement of Arafat and the Fateh group

in terrorist acts. Because of the personal distrust between these two leaders, a mediator may be

necessary. The United States may have the resources and the credibility to serve as a mediator

between these two leaders and their peoples.[75] Without this involvement, Israelis and Palestinian

Arabs may conclude that violence is the only solution, a conclusion that risks the outbreak of new

regional wars between Israel and their Arab neighbors.[76] On the other hand, with American

involvement these risks are lessened and a long-term, enforceable peace agreement may be

obtained.[77]

Should the United States play an important role in resolving a conflict that has plagued

Palestinian Arabs and Jews for nearly a century, then that role should be celebrated. The United

States may largely be free to act. How it uses this freedom should remain the object of critique.

By learning from the rhetorics of the past, we may be able to improve the policies of the future.

Performing rhetorical history may contribute to this possibility. In addition to constructing

alternative rhetorical histories of the British period in Palestine, rhetorical histories of United

Nations involvement and United States involvement can contribute to understandings of the role

that third parties play in negotiating settlements to ethnic conflict. Rhetorical histories that

concentrate on Palestinian Arab rhetoric and Israeli rhetoric, as well as their pan-Arabist and Zionist interlocutors, can further contribute to these understandings. Although this dissertation has foregrounded the rhetorical strategies of ambiguity, epideictic, investigation, and failure, other rhetorical strategies that play into the construction of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the possibilities of its amelioration are worthy of study. Although I have not invented the program that will resolve the conflict, this dissertation has noted some of the questions that could be asked when such a program is constructed. Instead of accepting the inevitability and irresolvability of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, rhetorical studies can help break down the narrative of conflict and open a space for stories that contribute to a peaceful settlement.

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[45] *Ibid*.

[46] *Ibid*.

[47] Tenet Plan, n.p.

[48] Bush, "President," n.p.

[49] *Ibid*.

[50] *Ibid*.

[51] Neil Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II): Arab-Zionist Negotiations And The End Of The Mandate*

(London: Frank Cass, 1986), 169.

[52] Nail Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (I): Early Arab-Zionist Negotiation Attempts* (London: Frank Cass, 1983), 117; See also Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II)*, 169.

[53] Neil Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (III): The United Nations, The Great Powers, And Middle East Peacemaking, 1948-1954* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), *passim.*

[54] Thomas L. Friedman. *From Beirut To Jerusalem* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, & Giroux, 1989), 496; Albert Hourani, *A History Of The Arab Peoples* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1991), 419.

[55] Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (II)*, 165.

[56] *Op cit.* 5-8; see also Yael Cory, "The EU And The United States: Partners Or Rivals?" *Echoes De L'Europe* 3 (2000): 3; Franklin Kramer, "A National Security Strategy For A New Century: The Middle East, North Africa, Southwest And South Asia," (December 1999) <http://www.defenselink.mil/policy/isa/nesa/nss_nesa_extracts.html> 19 February 2003, Office Of International Security Affairs; William J. Perry, "United States Security Strategy For The Middle East," (3 May 1995) <http://www.defenselink.mil/policy/isa/nesa/mideast.html> 19 February 2003, Office of The Secretary Of Defense.

[57] Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (I)*, 118.

[58] *Ibid*.

[59] Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (I)*, 117; Said, *Question,* 19.

[60] Said, *Question*, 78.

[61] Caplan, *Futile Diplomacy (I)*, 117.

[62] Peter W. Rodman, "The State Of The World – Middle East," in *Preparing America's Foreign Policy For The 21st Century*, ed. David L. Boren and Edward J. Perkins (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 38.

[63] Francis Fukuyama, *The End Of History And The Last Man* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992), 1.

[64] Henry Kissinger, *Does America Need A Foreign Policy: Toward A Diplomacy For The 21st Century* (New York: Touchstone, 2001), 19.

[65] *Ibid*.

[66] Kissinger, *Does America*, 312.

[67] See American Israel Public Affairs Committee, "AIPAC Briefing Book," (2002) <http://www.aipac.org/briefbookissues.html> 3 February 2003, American-Israel Public Affairs Committee; Stephen P. Cohen, Shibley Telhami, Yoram Peri, and David E. Long, "Is Unilateral Withdrawal The Answer for Israel?" *Middle East Policy* 9(2) (2002): 17;Cory, "The EU," 3; International Institute For Strategic Studies, "Strategic Truths," *Foreign Policy* 131 (2002): 15; Matthew A. Levitt, "War On Terrorism Scorecard," *Middle East Quarterly* 9(3) (2002): 46; Daniel Mandel, "U.S. Diplomacy: Even-Handed, Empty-Handed," *Middle East Quarterly* 9(3) (2002): 4; Adeb Rabbo, "Palestinians Support U.S. Initiative To Implement Mitchell Report Recommendations," (21 May 2001) <http://www.pna.net/search/titledetails.asp?txtDocII=33> 21 February 2003, Palestinian National Authority; Jonathan Schanzer, "Palestinian Uprisings Compared," *Middle East Quarterly* 9(3) (2002): 36; Joshua Sinai, "Overcoming The Deadlock In The Palestinian-Israeli Conflict," *Middle East Insight* 17(3): (2002): 51; Saul Singer, "Camp David, Real And Invented," *Middle East Quarterly* 9(2) (2002): 4, for example.

[68] "Resolution 1322," 7 October 2000, UN/S/RES/1322.

[69] Bush, "President," n.p.

[70] See Naseer Alomari, "Ideology Behind Violence," *Middle East Insight* 17(3): (2002): 49; Naomi Chazan, "Israeli's Palestinians, And The Search For Peace," (8 October 2002), <http://www.fmep.org/analysis/Chazan_Search_For_Peace.Html> 3 February 2003, Foundation For Middle East Peace; Legal Unit Of The Palestinian Liberation Organization For Negotiations Affairs, "The PLO's Assessment Of U.S. Involvement In The Peace Process," (20 January 2001) <http://mondiplo.com/focus/mideast/ploassessment200101> 3 February 2003, *Le Monde*

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"What Now? Palestinians, Israelis, And America's Options," *Middle East Insight* 17(3): (2002):

13; Ian Urbina, "The Analogy To Apartheid," *Middle East Report* 223 (2002): 64.

[71] Chazan, "Israelis," n.p.

[72] Chazan, "Israelis," n.p.

[73] UN/S/RES/1322.

[74] "Resolution 1435," 24 September 2002, UN/S/RES/1435.

[75] AIPAC, "Briefing," n.p.; Chazan, "Israelis," n.p.; Michael Scott Doran, "Palestine, Iraq And

American Strategy," *Foreign Affairs* 82(1) (2003): 22; Legal Unit, "PLO," n.p.; Levitt, "War,"

45; Mandel, "U.S. Diplomacy," 15; Perry, "National Security," n.p.; Spiegel, "What Now," 7;

Urbina, "Analogy," 60-1.

[76] AIPAC, "Briefing," n.p.; Chazan, "Israelis," n.p.; Doran, "Palestinian," 28; Kramer, "National

Security," n.p; Legal Unit, "PLO," n.p.; Mandell, "U.S. Dipomacy," 16; Perry, "National

Secuirty," n.p.; Schanzer, "Palestinian," 33; Sinai, "Overcoming," 54; Singer, "Camp David," 11;

Spiegel, "What Now," 10.

[77] AIPAC, "Briefing," n.p.; Alomari, "Ideology," 50; Chazan, "Israelis," n.p.; Doran,

"Palestinian," 31; International Crisis Group, "Plan To Tackle The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,"

(10 April 2002) <http://www.fmep.org/analysis/ICG_Release_Plan_To_Tackle_I-

P_Conflict.Htm> 3 February 2003, Foundation For Middle East Peace; Perry, "National

Security," n.p.; Rabbo, Palestinians," n.p.; Sinai, "Overcoming," 55; Spiegel, "What Now," 8.

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Cmd.   Papers By Command Of His Majesty's Parliament, His Majesty's Stationery Office, Great Britain.

CP   British Documents On Foreign Affairs, Confidential Print, Foreign Office, Great Britain.

PH   Peace Handbooks: Historical Section Of The Foreign Office, Great Britain ; X/60, *Syria And Palestine*, 1917; X/162, *Zionism*, 1917.

LN   League Of Nations, 1917-1946, Documents : Assembly, Council, Circular Letters.

Times   *Times* (Of London) And *Sunday Times* (Of London).

UN   United Nations Archives, New York.

WC   War Cabinet, Prime Minister's Office, Great Britain.

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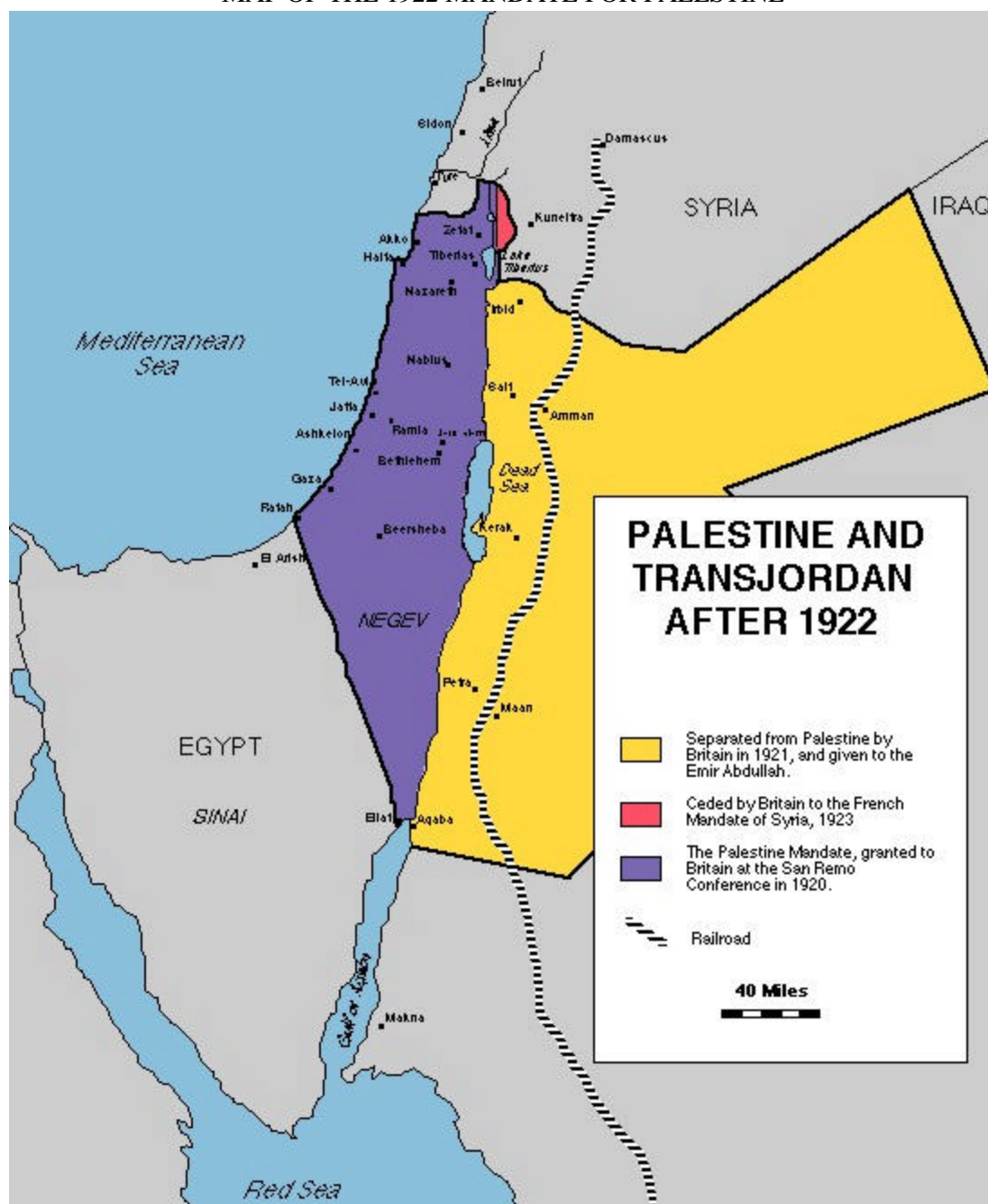Zizek, Slavoj. *The Sublime Object Of Ideology.* London: Verso, 1989.

APPENDIX A

MAP OF THE MIDDLE EAST UNDER THE SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT

APPENDIX B

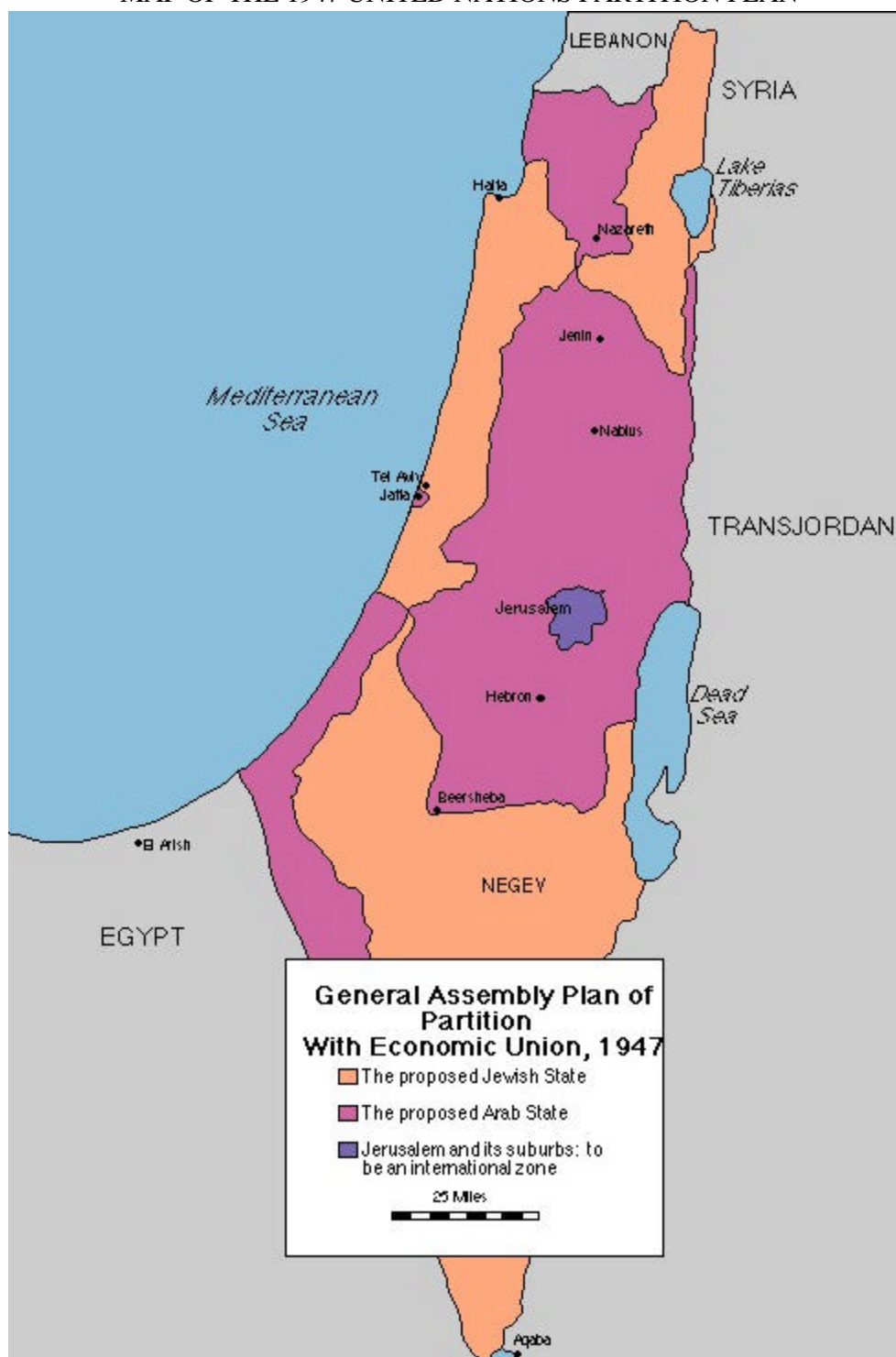MAP OF THE 1922 MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

APPENDIX C

MAP OF THE 1938 PARTITION PROPOSAL

APPENDIX D

MAP OF THE 1947 UNITED NATIONS PARTITION PLAN

APPENDIX E

MAP OF ISRAEL/PALESTINE IN 1995