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Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

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American Zionist Emergency Council, absorptive capacity of
Palestine, 1944-1945.

Western Reserve Historical Society

10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106
(216) 721-5722
wrhs.org

American Jewish Archives

3101 Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220
(513) 487-3000
AmericanJewishArchives.org

COPY OF CABLE FROM ALIYAH - JEWISH AGENCY - JERUSALEM - DATED 10/9/44

SHERTOK 77 GREAT RUSSELL STREET LONDON

MAGNES RECEIVED FOLLOWING CABLE FROM HIS REPRESENTATIVE ADEN QUOTE
GOVERNMENT WANTS TO KNOW IF JOINT WILL SUPPORT FINANCIALLY REPATRIATION
OF MAJORITY OF PEOPLE STOP GOVERNMENT AGREES TO SPECIAL TREATMENT
ORPHANS AND WEAK AND WILL NEGOTIATE UNQUOTE TO WHICH MAGNES REPLIED
QUOTE JOINT REFUSES TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REPATRIATION OF YEMENITE JEWS WE REGARD
SUCH REPATRIATION AS A CRUEL ACT UNQUOTE - ALIYAH JEWISH AGENCY



SOS
10/4/44

C
O
P
Y

UNITED STATES SENATE
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Burlington, Vermont
October 24, 1944

Honorable A. Pearley Feen
Burlington
Vermont

Dear Pearley:

I am firmly persuaded to support the establishment of a Commonwealth in Palestine of which the nationals will be neither Jew nor Arab but will be Palestinian. This has always been my position since I made the special study in Palestine of the problem pointed up by the Arab strikes in 1936.

On this basis I personally pressed the cause of the Jews in the Committee on Resolutions of the National Republican Convention. I shall be glad to support that cause in Congress on the same basis.

There are many other controversial details connected with the establishment of a National Home for Jews in Palestine. On these issues I have a strong sympathy for the Jew and have expressed my views publicly. If I could find an old pamphlet containing my views on this subject, which was printed in 1936, I would send it to you. I will try to find it.

Assuring you of my great esteem and friendship, I am

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED) Warren R. Austin

WRA/s

copied
11/15/44-RK-3

EXCERPTS FROM RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE UNANIMOUSLY
ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR, NOVEMBER 30, 1944.

"Whereas, The people of the United States have demonstrated their wholehearted sympathy with the plight of Europe's Jews and have expressed America's determination to bring about a just solution of this most pressing of human problems-- a solution which will take into account the real needs and desires of the Jewish people. During the past year the American people have called for the fulfillment of the pledge contained in the Balfour Declaration. An overwhelming majority of our people desire the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. These sentiments have been voiced through the forthright Palestine planks included in the platforms of both major political parties, and through the notable statements endorsing Jewish aspirations in Palestine made by a large majority of the membership of both Houses of Congress, and

"Whereas, The President of the United States, in a historic declaration made on October 15th, 1944, re-affirmed our country's traditional policy of support for the Jewish National Home in the following words: 'I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization,' and

"Whereas, The American Federation of Labor has followed a policy of staunch and unwavering friendship for Jewish Palestine and has throughout the years supported the Jewish National Home and admired the magnificent accomplishment of Palestine Jewry, and

"Whereas, Resolutions, reflecting America's conviction that at long last justice must be done to the long suffering Jewish people, have been introduced into both Houses of Congress: These bi-partisan measures (HR 418-419 and SR 247) call for the free entry of Jews into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and

"Whereas, The Secretary of War has recently announced that no military reasons stand in the way of action on the Palestine resolutions, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, urges the passage at the earliest possible moment of the pending Palestine resolutions, and, be it further

"Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor calls for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth and urges upon the Government of the United States to take speedy and definite action on the Palestine question-- action which will be in conformity with the historic, but as yet unfulfilled, pledges made to the Jewish people, and with the present needs of the persecuted Jews of Europe."

The A. F. of L. Convention adopted a special committee report instructing its president, William Green, "to call upon the President of the United States to use his good offices to the end that the declaration made concerning the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth be implemented, the pledges made be fulfilled, and the Government of the United States assume its share of responsibility in the carrying out of the pledges and assurances given."

HOLLYWOOD ZIONIST DISTRICT
of

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

MI 3869

704 S. Spring St.
Los Angeles 14, Calif.

Jan. 19, 1945

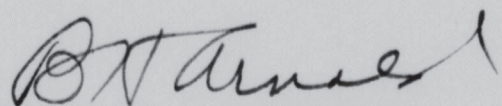
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Euclid Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am herewith enclosing copy of a resolution adopted
at the meeting of our district on January 16, 1945.

As the resolution was adopted unanimously by a large
gathering of serious minded and conscientious Zionists
and many non-Zionists, I sincerely hope that the matter
will receive the serious attention it deserves.

With Zion's greetings,


BERNARD H. ARNOLD

BHA: BH

Enc.

Copy to:
Zionist Organization of America
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise
The New Palestine

February 5, 1945

Mr. Bernard H. Arnold
Hollywood Zionist District
704 S. Spring St.
Los Angeles 14, California

My dear Friend:

Permit me to thank you for your kind letter of January 19 and for the resolutions adopted by the Hollywood Zionist District. Please convey to the members of the District my profound appreciation for the confidence which they have manifested in me. It has been heartening to receive such resolutions from so many parts of the country. The rank and file of American Zionists have fully grasped and appraised the issues involved, and have not been misled by the conspiracy of a little handful of power-hungry Zionist politicians at present in control of the administration of the ZOA. The Anglo-Jewish and Yiddish press particularly have been splendid.

I wish your organization every success, and I hope that I shall have the pleasure, in the not too far distant future, of meeting with your group. With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

HOLLYWOOD ZIONIST DISTRICT

OF THE

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

704 SOUTH SPRING STREET

LOS ANGELES 14, CALIF.

MICHIGAN 3869

March 20, 1945

PRESIDENT

DR. MONTE SALVIN

VICE-PRESIDENTS

SIDNEY SCHNEIR

BERNARD H. ARNOLD

TREASURER

NAT ROSIN

RECORDING SECRETARY

MRS. JOSEPH LEVINE

FINANCIAL SECRETARY

JULIETTE RUTT

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

BERNICE HUSS

Rabbi Aba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Euclid Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Your recent letter acknowledging the receipt of the copy of the resolution passed by the Hollywood Zionist District, gave great encouragement to our membership which is solidly behind you.

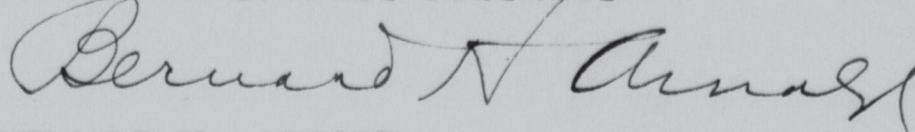
I noticed that the various Anglo-Jewish papers as well as the Yiddish press mentioned a large number of organizations and individuals who passed resolutions similar to ours, while our organization, which was the first to pass such a resolution and which was reprinted in many newspapers throughout the country, was not mentioned in connection with the movement on foot at present to organize a block to carry out the sentiment of the resolutions.

I would deeply appreciate your comments on the subject.

With kindest regards and personal greetings, I am,

Sincerely yours,

HOLLYWOOD ZIONIST DISTRICT



BERNARD H. ARNOLD

Executive Vice-President

BHA: BH

March 26, 1945

Mr. Bernard H. Arnold
Executive Vice-President
Hollywood Zionist District
704 South Spring Street
Los Angeles 14, California

My dear Mr. Arnold:

Thank you so much for your kind letter. We were delighted to receive the resolutions passed by the Hollywood Zionist District. We gave your resolution extensive publicity, and in the booklet "Public Opinion on the Zionist Controversy", a copy of which I hope you have received (I am sending you another one), the resolution of the Hollywood Zionist District is reprinted in full. However, I am sending your letter on to Mr. Harry Shapiro, the Director of the American Zionist Policy Committee, and you will undoubtedly hear from him.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Atlanta Zionist Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Atlanta Chapter Hadassah
Atlanta Unit Junior Hadassah
Atlanta Zionist District
Atlanta Chapter Mizrahi
Atlanta Branch Jewish National Workers Alliance
Atlanta Branch Pioneer Women of America

1107 FIRST NAT'L BANK BLDG.

WALNUT 2329

ATLANTA, GA.

May 7, 1945

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

At a meeting of the Atlanta Zionist Council, held last Thursday, May 3, 1945 reference was made to the deplorable differences which exist between you and some of your colleagues on the American Zionist Emergency Council.

We all realize the seriousness of such disagreements at the most crucial period in the history of the Jewish people. If there ever was a time for unity in Zionist ranks that time is now.

I have been asked to convey to you the sentiments of those attending the meeting and we all hope and pray that whatever differences exist between you and other leaders of the American Zionist Emergency Council, will be speedily composed.

With kindest regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charney B. Abelson

Mrs. Jake Abelson
President

May 10, 1945

Mrs. Jake Abelson, President
Atlanta Zionist Council
1107 First National Bank Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mrs. Abelson:

Thank you for your kind letter of May 7 and for the sentiments of the Atlanta Zionist Council which you have conveyed to me. I share with all of you the hope that unity may be established in the ranks of our movement. I was anxious to preserve it before it was disrupted and stand ready to do all I can to re-establish it. Please convey my best wishes to all the members of the Atlanta Zionist Council.

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Arabs

"To the President of the United States
Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington

"1. The Arabs, who are anxious to maintain cordial relations with America, do not wish to attach great importance to certain declarations regarding Palestine which were made during the recent political campaign, for they realize, on the one hand, that these declarations were made in abnormal circumstances and they consider, on the other hand, that the declarations contradict the spirit of justice sponsored by you and by the noble American Nation, and are prejudicial to the cause of peace for which America is fighting. Moreover, they are contrary to the right of Arabs to live freely in their own country.

"The American political campaign is now over, and Arabs expect you, Mr. President, to dispel their fears, restore their faith in American justice, and draw closer the bonds of friendship planted by American schools and nurtured by American teachings and doctrines in the Middle East.

"2. No country in the world has suffered a greater injustice than Palestine. From time immemorial it has been an Arab country. Jews entered it as invaders and only occupied it for a short time; for they were constantly at war with the aborigines, and other invaders soon drove them out until the Arabs, more than thirteen centuries ago, finally liberated the country and settled it.

"3. Palestine is, by the will of God and the patriotism of its people, an Arab country and will forever remain so. Seventy million Arabs, supported by three hundred million Moslems, are determined to redeem it with their lives. Neither the Balfour Declaration, nor the declarations of statesmen and the power of Zionism employing various measures of force and coercion can change the course of history or dissuade Arabs from defending Palestine and checking the tide of Zionism.

"4. Arabs have always sympathized with Jews in their afflictions in past, mediaeval and modern times, and history bears witness to this fact. But Zionism has met this kindness by conspiring against Arabs and attempting to wrest Palestine from them. This has naturally led to feuds and bitter feelings which have left no hope of reconciliation or mutual understanding.

"5. The project of installing Jews in Palestine will undoubtedly lead to permanent conflicts which will not only come to an end by one people destroying the other, not only in Palestine but in the whole East as well. This fact is worthy of your attention and the attention of all those who are anxious to establish universal peace and tranquillity in the future.

"6. Arabs cannot believe that Democratic America is capable of

helping usurpers, encouraging injustice, sacrificing her reputation, repudiating her mission in this world, discarding her friendship with the Arab world, and foregoing the moral and material interests which she has in Arab and Moslem countries, all for the sake of a race which is widely scattered in the world, and which only relies on the power of money for the realization of its designs.

"For the above reasons, Arabs meeting in Congress hope that you will uphold them in their own country and that Zionism will be given no support by you, your Government or your people."

" (Signed)

THE ARAB UNION SOCIETY,
Fouad Abaza Pasha, President
Assad Dagher, Secretary General

THE YOUNG MEN'S MOSLEM ASSOCIATION,
Dr. Dardiri, Secretary General

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
ARAB PARLIAMENTARY UNION CONFERENCE,
Mohamed Aly Allouba Pasha, President.

EL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMIN,
Hassan El-Banna, President.

MOSLEM SOFIE SECTS,
Shaikh El-Sayed Ahmed Al-Bakri, President.

HIGHER COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF PALESTINE
Hamed El-Meligui Bey, Secretary General."

THE ABSORPTIVE CAPACITYOFP A L E S T I N EComparative
Estimates

1. Palestine, west of the Jordan, comprises an area of 10,000 square miles. It is characterized, despite its small size, by great diversity of climate, soils, altitude, and rainfall, and offers possibilities for many types of agriculture and varied economic development. Its population today is about 1,500,000.

2. Belgium, Holland, and Sicily are each of approximately the same size as Palestine. The population of Sicily, mountainous and without important industries, is 4,000,000; that of Belgium and Holland each, over 8,000,000. It is clear that area alone does not determine the absorptive capacity of a country; its material resources and the energy, skill, and character of its inhabitants must also be taken into account.

3. Archaeological and historical evidence indicates that Palestine in Graeco-Roman times supported a population of 3,000,000 - 4,000,000, or more than twice the present total. It is reasonable to suppose that with the aid of modern technology that figure will not only be reached once more, but considerably exceeded.

Agricultural
Possibilities

4. Increase in the agricultural population depends on an extension of irrigation. The present irrigated area of Palestine can be increased at least ten times. This is the conclusion reached a decade ago by two American experts (Professor Strahorn and Dr. F. Julius Fohs) who confirmed an earlier study by the late Dr. Elwood Mead, former United States Commissioner of Reclamation. At present less than 100,000 acres (1½% of the total area of Palestine), are irrigated.

5. Since the date of the above study, further new and abundant sources of water have been found in the sub-soil of Palestine. An estimate of 1,000,000 acres of irrigable land must today be regarded as conservative. Development of such an area would make possible the doubling or even trebling of the present agricultural population.

The Negeb

6. For lack of water, the entire southern half of Palestine, known as the Negeb, is almost unpopulated. Archaeological remains throughout the Negeb bear witness to partial irrigation and marked prosperity in that region in ancient times. Sir John Hope Simpson, who in 1930 investigated agricultural possibilities in Palestine on behalf of the British Government, reported that "Given the possibility of irrigation, there is practically an inexhaustible supply of cultivable land in the Beersheba district (Negeb)." It is now clear that irrigation waters can be brought to the Negeb from northern Palestine, much as they are brought from the Colorado River to southern California. Plans for the irrigation of the Negeb along these lines are part of a comprehensive irrigation scheme of the type

of the TVA now being worked out for Palestine.

Industry

7. Palestine industries before the first World War comprised only a few handicrafts. By 1933 production had risen to \$20,000,000, and by 1942 to \$80,000,000. Today Palestine produces an astonishing range of articles, including metal, textile, and chemical products, precision instruments, electrical equipment, machine tools and parts, cement, glass, and many specialized products. In addition, the Palestine Potash Company has begun to extract the vast and hitherto untapped mineral wealth of the Dead Sea, whose products may well serve as the basis of a great chemical industry.

8. Jewish skilled workers and technicians have already proved the possibilities of developing flourishing industries in Palestine, based on local resources as well as imported raw materials. It is a commonplace of economics that many great industries have developed far from their sources of supply, and Palestine's central geographical position gives it easy access to raw materials.

9. Though Palestine lacks coal, great quantities of fuel from the oil-fields of Iraq reach Haifa, the Mediterranean terminal of the Mosul pipeline. Moreover, plans are now under way for a great hydro-electric development made possible by the remarkable rift formation of the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, dropping from 3,000 feet above to 1,300 feet below sea level. On a small scale this rift formation has already been utilized for the production of light and power by the Palestine Electric Corporation.

Palestine, a
Trade Center

10. Palestine's geographical position is also bound to be a factor of prime importance in determining its economic future. Located as it is at the crossroads of three continents, Palestine is rapidly becoming a commercial center for the whole of the Near East. In the words of Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, it has "a position in the twentieth century world not incomparable to the position of Great Britain as an entrepot between Europe and the Americas." Already Haifa is the third largest harbor in the eastern Mediterranean. A second modern port has been built in Tel Aviv, a city of 200,000, where thirty years ago there were merely sand dunes.

Palestine's
Balance of
Trade

11. Coincident with the growth of Jewish immigration and settlement, Palestine's trade figures have consistently shown a considerable excess of imports over exports. In the normal course of events dependence upon large capital imports would be dangerous as involving an increase in the external debt. But the case of Palestine is unique in that the great bulk of capital imported is provided by the immigrants themselves or by Zionist funds from abroad. As the Palestine Royal Commission pointed out:

"The most singular feature in the economy of Palestine is the vast amount of capital which has been invested in the country, for which no remittance for interest and sinking fund are required. This feature sharply differentiates the Jewish National Home from other communities which have been created by a process of colonization and are burdened by charges on the capital obtained from overseas for their development."

A Self-Supporting
Society

12. On the basis of this capital influx, assets of a permanent and constructive character in the shape of new farms and factories have been and are being created, and will provide the basis for a self-supporting society. It is significant in this connection that an increasing number of the Jewish settlements founded with the help of Zionist funds, have begun to make repayments out of income on the monies originally borrowed by them. During the years 1922 to 1923 the sum total of these repayments averaged only about \$2,000 a year. In 1939 alone they reached the sum of nearly \$400,000.

Conclusion

13. As long ago as 1930 when Palestine was far less developed than it is today, Lord Samuel, after five years experience as High Commissioner, said:

"I am confident that with proper agricultural and industrial development Palestine could . . . support a population of three millions."

On the basis of the experience of the last thirteen years and of the economic possibilities above indicated, Lord Samuel's estimate now appears conservative. It has become clear that Palestine may well be able to maintain a population of at least 5,000,000.

14. Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the United States Soil Conservation Bureau, who in 1939 spent eight months in a thorough study of land use in the countries of the Near and Middle East on behalf of the United States Government, has the following to say on the absorptive capacity of Palestine:

"I shall not attempt to estimate the final absorptive capacity of Palestine. That would be impossible, for the absorptive capacity of any country is a dynamic and expanding conception. It changes with the ability

of the population to make the maximum use of its land, and to put its economy on a scientific and productive basis. It is clear, however, that there is ample proof of the assertion that full utilization of the Jordan Valley depression for reclamation and power will in time make possible the absorption of at least four million Jewish refugees from Europe, in addition to the 1,800,000 Arabs and Jews already in Palestine and Trans-Jordan."*

15. The experience of the last twenty-five years has proved that Jewish immigration and economic activity have led to a marked increase in the numbers and well-being of the Arab population. As Mr. Malcom MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Chamberlain Government, stated in the House of Commons on November 24, 1938:

"The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population of Palestine today would still have been round about the 600,000 figure (instead of over 1,000,000 as at present) at which it had been stable under the Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages, that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

16. Repeatedly our conception of the absorptive capacity of Palestine has had to be revised upwards because of the achievements brought about by the combined pressure of Jewish need and of Jewish determination to rebuild the ancient homeland of the Jewish people. We believe that the prospects held out in this memorandum are, if anything, an under-statement of the possibilities.

*"Palestine, Land of Promise", to be published by Harpers in March, 1944.

[undated]

TABLE I

CHANGES IN JEWISH POPULATION OF

AXIS DOMINATED EUROPE, 1933-1943 ^{a)}

	Census Year	Pre-Hitler Jewish Population	September 1939	September 1943	Gross Loss 1933-1943	Gross Loss ex- cluding deportees present and in- cluding refugees.	Breakdown of Deficit by Countries		
							Dead	Escaped evacuated or emigrated	Deported
Total		8,676,300	8,324,500	3,303,000	5,373,300	5,871,300	3,081,050	2,438,000	352,250
Germany	Jan. 1933	525,000	215,000	5,000	520,000	520,000	150,000	285,000	85,000
Poland	?	(3,325,000)	3,300,000	1,400,000 ^{b)}	1,925,000	2,125,000	1,600,000	525,000	-
U.S.S.R. (occupied territories)	?	(2,100,000)	2,100,000	400,000 ^{c)}	1,700,000	1,850,000	650,000	1,200,000	-
Lithuania	?	(145,000)	145,000	30,000	115,000	115,000	105,000	10,000	-
Latvia	1935	95,000	95,000	15,000	80,000	80,000	65,000	15,000	-
Austria	1937	170,000	55,000	8,000	162,000	162,000	25,000	127,000	10,000
Rumania	?	(850,000)	850,000	430,000	420,000	420,000	227,500	100,000	92,500
Yugoslavia	1931	75,000	75,000	20,000	55,000	55,000	35,000	8,000	12,000
Greece	1928	70,000	75,000	45,000	25,000	25,000	18,500	3,000	3,500
Belgium	1934	60,000	100,000	20,000	40,000	80,000 ^{d)}	30,000	25,000	25,000
Holland	1935	112,000	150,000	40,000	72,000	100,000 ^{d)}	45,000	25,000	40,000
France	1933	250,000	320,000	200,000	50,000	120,000 ^{d)}	56,000	30,000	34,000
Czechoslovakia	1930	355,000	315,000	185,000	170,000	170,000	70,000	55,000 ^{e)}	45,000
(a) Protectorate	1930	118,000	80,000	30,000	88,000	88,000	30,000	43,000	15,000
(b) Slovakia	1930	137,000	135,000	55,000	82,000	82,000	40,000	12,000	30,000
(c) Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia	1930	100,000	100,000	100,000	-	-	-	-	-
Other European Countries		544,300	529,500	505,000	39,300	39,300	4,050	30,000	5,250
Italy	1931	47,000	57,000	47,000	-	-	-	-	-
Danzig	1933	10,000	500	-	10,000	10,000	250	9,500 ^{f)}	250
Estonia	1934	5,000	5,000	-	5,000	5,000	3,000	2,000	-
Norway	1933	2,000	2,000	-	2,000	2,000	800	1,200	-
Denmark	1930	6,000	8,000	6,000	-	-	-	-	-
Finland	1930	1,800	2,000	1,800	-	-	-	-	-
Bulgaria	1934	55,000	50,000	50,000	5,000	5,000	-	-	5,000
Hungary	?	(400,000)	(400,000)	400,000	-	-	-	-	-
Luxembourg	1935	3,000	5,000	200	2,800	2,800	-	2,800	-
(Balancing item)	-	14,500	-	-	14,500	14,500	-	14,500	-

- a) All countries are considered according to their pre-war boundaries.
b) Including 200,000 deportees from other European countries.
c) Including 150,000 deportees from other European countries.
d) Including refugees from other countries.
e) Including 20,000 who emigrated prior to 1938.
f) Emigrated prior to 1939.

Adapted from American Jewish Yearbook No. 42, 1940-41; Jacob Robinson, Hitler's Ten-Year
K. Grossman, The Jewish Refugee, Institute of Jewish Affairs, Unpublished.

War on the Jews, Institute of Jewish Affairs 1943; and A. Tartakower and

[undated]

**THE JEWISH REFUGEE PROBLEM AND THE PROBABLE
TOTAL DEMAND FOR ENTRY INTO PALESTINE, 1945 - 1955.**

European Scene

In the ten year period since the advent of Hitlerism in Europe in 1933 until the middle of 1943 about 3,100,000 of the 8.7 million Jews in Axis-dominated Europe (including the occupied areas of the Soviet Union) have died unnatural deaths. Actually the majority of these Jews, or 3,030,000 died during the four years of war from 1939 to 1943 from murder, starvation, epidemics, deportation and actual warfare. Since 1943 it is estimated that close to a million Jews have died -- mostly in Poland.

The data from Table 1 summarized and carried forward below indicate the estimated general disposition of the Jewish population from 1933 to the end of the war. ^{1.}

**Jewish Population of Axis-Dominated Europe
(in millions)**

	<u>1933</u>	<u>Sept. 1943</u>	<u>June 1944</u>	<u>End of War</u>
Surviving Jews of Axis Europe	8.7	5.6	4.6	4.3
Jews living in Axis Europe	8.7	3.3	2.3	2.0
Escaped or evacuated a)		2.3	2.3	2.3
Dead (since 1933)		3.1	4.1	4.4
Total	8.7	8.7	8.7	8.7

a) Adjusted for double counting

-
1. Although these data are presented in tabular form, the figures are the best only rough indicators of the magnitude of the problem. The definitions of the countries ignore frontier changes and the constant movement of some groups of Jews make it impossible to tell exactly to what extent the same people are involved.

Of the surviving 5.6 million Jews of Axis-dominated Europe in 1943, about 4 million, or 70 percent, had been displaced from their original homes. (Table 2) Displaced Jews include refugees and evacuees (2,391,000),² deportees to Poland and occupied Russia (350,000),³ and deportees within the limits of the same country (1,295,000).

In order to arrive at an estimate of the number of European Jews who will present a settlement problem to the allied governments at the end of the war, certain groups must be subtracted from this displaced category. Thus, of the 2.4 million refugees and evacuees, 1.2 million were Russian evacuees, largely Ukrainian Jews moved into the interior of Russia, and will therefore present no problem to allied agencies. It is further estimated that about 500,000 refugees to other countries are permanently settled in their countries of refuge. (Table 3) Of the remaining 690,000 refugees and evacuees, 625,000 were Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Rumanian Jews who were evacuated into Russia. A few of these have made their way to Palestine.

Making no allowance for births, which declined to practically nothing among Jews in Axis-dominated Europe, this leaves about 2.3 million displaced Jews out of the total of 4.0 million displaced Jews surviving in 1943 who are the nucleus of the Jewish resettlement problem. Actually, however, not only the displaced population but the entire surviving Jewish population still in Europe (3.3 million) with the possible exception of the approximately 250,000 Russians in what was occupied Russia, must be considered in relation to the resettlement problem at the end of the war.

2. Not adjusted for double counting.

3. Estimated by assuming that one-half of all deportees perished.

Since the middle of 1943, when formal analysis by the Institute of Jewish Affairs and the World Jewish Congress ends, it is estimated that about one million more Jews, mostly Polish, have died or been killed; persecution has begun in Hungary with Nazi occupation, and the deportations of other Jews to Poland for extermination has continued. Thus, the estimates of the number of Jews in Axis Europe surviving at present must be reduced from 3.3 million in 1943 to about 2.3 million in the summer of 1944. #

What will be the fate of Jews remaining in the occupied countries before the armies of liberation reach them is anyone's guess. Already systematic liquidation of the 400,000 Jews of Hungary has begun and the remaining Jews of Rumania and Bulgaria are in immediate danger. The probability is that many Jews in occupied Europe will die simply from the discriminatory food rations which have been in effect for so long now; and it goes without saying that the longer it takes the more will die. So far the efforts of the War Refugee Board to get Jews in occupied Europe classed as civilian internees so that they may receive the supplementary food packages supplied by the Red Cross to persons enjoying such status have met with no success.

Guesses as to the number of Jews surviving the war in Axis-dominated countries vary widely. Leeway must be allowed for the varying estimates of numbers of Jews hiding out in woods, living under assumed names and under mixed marriages. A very optimistic guess, as is obvious from the foregoing data, would put the number of survivors at about 2 million. 2.700 on

Having arrived at the general neighborhood of 2 million Jews probably surviving in occupied Europe at the end of the war, adding in those #9

690,000 who have temporary refuge in Russia and other countries, we have the approximate size of the Jewish resettlement problem in Europe at the end of the war.

How Many Jews Will Want to go to Palestine at the End of the War?

The demand for entrance into Palestine at the end of the war will stem mostly from European Jews, but two other sources must also be considered: the Middle East (including Africa), and the idealistic immigration from the western hemisphere.

Middle East . Current reports from countries of the Middle East -- Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq -- indicate that the Jewish population of these countries has during the war undergone the same economic uprooting as has occurred in Europe. ⁴ As a result a good part of the Jews of these countries will probably, at the end of the war, be anxious to emigrate to Palestine where economic opportunities will be better. The Jewish population of these countries in 1935 numbered about 200,000.

What will be the desires of the Jews in Africa, who numbered about 600,000 before the war, will depend on what is done in reconstituting the French Empire and whether the Jews remain welcome there.

Western Hemisphere. The demand for idealistic immigration from the western hemisphere to Palestine might be swelled from hundreds to thousands by economic difficulties and unemployment in the United States in the postwar period.

Europe. How many of the approximately 3 million surviving Jews of Europe will want to go to Palestine when the war is over? The estimates

after
3M
survivors

4. Tartakower and Robinson interview.

on this score vary with the Zionist fire in the estimator. On the assumption that anti-semitism has taken deep root during Hitler's decade or more in Europe, it follows that at least half the surviving Jews of Europe will wish to emigrate. Since no other doors are likely to be open, they will want to emigrate to Palestine. 11/2

The opposite assumption is that at the end of the war a peace based on economic considerations will be made and as a consequence economic depressions, which have been one of the basic causes of anti-semitism, will be eliminated. This idealistic assumption, and the further hope that native anti-semitism will be stamped out by strong new governments, give rise to a much more modest estimate of the demand for immigration into Palestine. Somewhere between these two areas lies the most realistic assumption and the most realistic estimate.

There is an alternative way of looking at the problem. The so-called forced labor battalions who numbered about 150,000 Jews in 1943 may be taken as the nucleus of the demand for immigration. These people are most bitter of anything reminding them of the past, no matter from which country they came -- and in addition, they are good workers.

Outside this nucleus, the following generalization can be made. On the assumption of static or contracting economic opportunities in Europe after the war, wherever the Jews have been economically displaced by the native population of their country, although they may still be in that country at the end of the war, they will not be able to take back their jobs without causing a wave of anti-semitism. On the other hand, where Nazis have taken over the jobs of Jews, the Jews will be able to return. An instance of the first case is Slovakia, where from 1939 to 1943 the Jewish population of the country declined by 80,000 and the jobs of these Q

persons were taken over by the native population. In Hungary where anti-semitism has a long history, the Jews have been spared physically until recently, but their economic uprooting by the native population was accomplished a long time ago. This complete economic uprooting has also occurred in Rumania.

Actually Holland is the only country in Europe where the native population has objected not only to the physical violence against Jews, but also against their economic uprooting. For that reason, it is likely that of the 65,000 displaced Jews of Holland those who are not settled permanently elsewhere or members of forced labor battalions will probably want to return.

Yet many Jews who have lost permanently their economic ties may wish to return to or remain in their own countries. Thus many may want to return to France and Belgium. This argument of economic displacement is weakened by the possibility of an expanding economy in Europe after the war, in which case former economic ties will be less important.

The translation of all these qualitative statements into quantitative estimates are set forth in Table 4. The most reasonable estimate appears to be average of the two extremes.

One important limitation on immigration possibilities taken into account in these figures is that of the Jews remaining in Europe at the end of the war many will probably be older persons, since they seem to survive hardships better than young people.

TABLE 2

**SURVIVING DISPLACED JEWS OF AXIS-DOMINATED EUROPE
SEPTEMBER, 1943**

	<u>Refugees and Evacuees</u>	<u>Deportees to Poland & occupied Russia</u>	<u>Deportees within lim- its of same country a)</u>	<u>Total Displaced Jews</u>
All countries	2,391,000 ^{b)}	352,250	1,295,000	4,038,250
Poland	525,000 ^{c)}		1,100,000	1,625,000
USSR	1,200,000 ^{c)}			1,200,000
Germany	285,000	85,000		370,000
Austria	100,000	10,000		110,000
Rumania	100,000	92,500		192,500
France	30,000	34,000	100,000	164,000
Protectorage (Bohemia Moravia)	25,000	15,000	30,000	70,000
Slovakia	10,000	30,000	20,000	60,000
Lithuania	10,000		30,000	40,000
Latvia	15,000		15,000	30,000
Belgium	25,000	25,000		50,000
Holland	25,000	40,000		65,000
Yugoslavia	8,000	12,000		20,000
Greece	3,000	3,500		6,500
Bulgaria	-	5,000		5,000
Other European countries	30,000	250		30,250

a) Adjusted for probable deaths.

b) This number is high because it includes about 120,000 persons who took refuge in France, Belgium, and Holland where they later fell again under Hitler's power.

c) Total Jewish evacuees into Russian interior of 1,850,000 is divided as follows: Polish 500,000; Russian 1,200,000; Rumanian 100,000; Latvian 15,000; Lithuanian 10,000; Esthonian 2,000.

Adapted from Tartakower and Grossmann, The Jewish Refugee, unpublished.

TABLE 3

COUNTRIES OF RECEPTION FOR JEWISH REFUGEES, 1933-43.

	<u>Number admitted (in 000's)</u>	<u>Probably permanently settled (in 000's)</u>	<u>Fell again under Hitler's power (in 000's)</u>
All countries	811 a)	528	120
United States	190	190	
Palestine	120	120	
England	65	65	
France	55		55
Belgium	30		30
Holland	35		35
Switzerland	16		
Spain	12		
Other European countries	70		
Argentina	50	50	
Brazil	25	25	
Uruguay	7	7	
Bolivia	12	12	
Chile	14	14	
Other Latin America	20	20	
China	25		
South Africa	8	8	
Australia	9	9	
Canada	8	8	
Other countries	40		

a) This figure includes some 270,000 deportees.

Adapted from Bartakower and Grossman, The Jewish Refugee, unpublished.

TABLE 4

RANGE OF ESTIMATES OF JEWS LIKELY TO WANT TO GO
TO PALESTINE AT THE END OF THE WAR (in 000's).

	Number of Jews to be considered	Range of Estimate 1)		Mean Estimate
		Maximum	Minimum	
Total		1,437	635	1,055
European:	<u>2,665</u>	<u>1,332</u>	<u>580</u>	<u>1,000</u>
Surviving Jews in Axis Europe	2,000	1,000	350	720
Non-Russian evacuees into Russia	625	312	210	260
Refugees not permanently settled	40	20	20	20
Middle East and Africa: 2)	<u>800</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>50</u>
Syria, Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq	200			
Africa	600			
Add:				
Idealistic immigration from western hemisphere		5	5	5

1) One-half of survivors in Europe.

2) Pre-war population.

THE ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY

OF

P A L E S T I N E

Comparative Estimates

1. Palestine, west of the Jordan, comprises an area of 10,000 square miles. It is characterized, despite its small size, by great diversity of climate, soils, altitude, and rainfall, and offers possibilities for many types of agriculture and varied economic development. Its population today is about 1,500,000.

2. Belgium, Holland, and Sicily are each of approximately the same size as Palestine. The population of Sicily, mountainous and without important industries, is 4,000,000; that of Belgium and Holland each, over 8,000,000. It is clear that area alone does not determine the absorptive capacity of a country; its material resources and the energy, skill, and character of its inhabitants must also be taken into account.

3. Archaeological and historical evidence indicates that Palestine in Graeco-Roman times supported a population of 3,000,000 - 4,000,000, or more than twice the present total. It is reasonable to suppose that with the aid of modern technology that figure will not only be reached once more, but considerably exceeded.

Agricultural Possibilities

4. Increase in the agricultural population depends on an extension of irrigation. The present irrigated area of Palestine can be increased at least ten times. This is the conclusion reached a decade ago by two American experts (Professor Strahorn and Dr. F. Julius Fohs) who confirmed an earlier study by the late Dr. Elwood Mead, former United States Commissioner of Reclamation. At present less than 100,000 acres ($1\frac{1}{2}\%$ of the total area of Palestine), are irrigated.

5. Since the date of the above study, further new and abundant sources of water have been found in the sub-soil of Palestine. An estimate of 1,000,000 acres of irrigable land must today be regarded as conservative. Development of such an area would make possible the doubling or even trebling of the present agricultural population.

The Negeb

6. For lack of water, the entire southern half of Palestine, known as the Negeb, is almost unpopulated. Archaeological remains throughout the Negeb bear witness to partial irrigation and marked prosperity in that region in ancient times. Sir John Hope Simpson, who in 1930 investigated agricultural possibilities in Palestine on behalf of the British Government, reported that "Given the possibility of irrigation, there is practically an inexhaustible supply of cultivable land in the Beersheba district (Negeb)." It is now clear that irrigation waters can be brought to the Negeb from northern Palestine, much as they are brought from the Colorado River to southern California. Plans for the irrigation of the Negeb along these lines are part of a comprehensive irrigation scheme of the type

of the TVA now being worked out for Palestine.

Industry

7. Palestine industries before the first World War comprised only a few handicrafts. By 1933 production had risen to \$20,000,000, and by 1942 to \$80,000,000. Today Palestine produces an astonishing range of articles, including metal, textile, and chemical products, precision instruments, electrical equipment, machine tools and parts, cement, glass, and many specialized products. In addition, the Palestine Potash Company has begun to extract the vast and hitherto untapped mineral wealth of the Dead Sea, whose products may well serve as the basis of a great chemical industry.

8. Jewish skilled workers and technicians have already proved the possibilities of developing flourishing industries in Palestine, based on local resources as well as imported raw materials. It is a commonplace of economics that many great industries have developed far from their sources of supply, and Palestine's central geographical position gives it easy access to raw materials.

9. Though Palestine lacks coal, great quantities of fuel from the oil-fields of Iraq reach Haifa, the Mediterranean terminal of the Mosul pipeline. Moreover, plans are now under way for a great hydro-electric development made possible by the remarkable rift formation of the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, dropping from 3,000 feet above to 1,300 feet below sea level. On a small scale this rift formation has already been utilized for the production of light and power by the Palestine Electric Corporation.

Palestine, a
Trade Center

10. Palestine's geographical position is also bound to be a factor of prime importance in determining its economic future. Located as it is at the crossroads of three continents, Palestine is rapidly becoming a commercial center for the whole of the Near East. In the words of Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, it has "a position in the twentieth century world not incomparable to the position of Great Britain as an entrepot between Europe and the Americas." Already Haifa is the third largest harbor in the eastern Mediterranean. A second modern port has been built in Tel Aviv, a city of 200,000, where thirty years ago there were merely sand dunes.

Palestine's
Balance of
Trade

11. Coincident with the growth of Jewish immigration and settlement, Palestine's trade figures have consistently shown a considerable excess of imports over exports. In the normal course of events dependence upon large capital imports would be dangerous as involving an increase in the external debt. But the case of Palestine is unique in that the great bulk of capital imported is provided by the immigrants themselves or by Zionist funds from abroad. As the Palestine Royal Commission pointed out:

"The most singular feature in the economy of Palestine is the vast amount of capital which has been invested in the country, for which no remittance for interest and sinking fund are required. This feature sharply differentiates the Jewish National Home from other communities which have been created by a process of colonization and are burdened by charges on the capital obtained from overseas for their development."

A Self-Supporting
Society

12. On the basis of this capital influx, assets of a permanent and constructive character in the shape of new farms and factories have been and are being created, and will provide the basis for a self-supporting society. It is significant in this connection that an increasing number of the Jewish settlements founded with the help of Zionist funds, have begun to make repayments out of income on the monies originally borrowed by them. During the years 1922 to 1923 the sum total of these repayments averaged only about \$2,000 a year. In 1939 alone they reached the sum of nearly \$400,000.

Conclusion 13. As long ago as 1930 when Palestine was far less developed than it is today, Lord Samuel, after five years experience as High Commissioner, said:

"I am confident that with proper agricultural and industrial development Palestine could . . . support a population of three millions."

On the basis of the experience of the last thirteen years and of the economic possibilities above indicated, Lord Samuel's estimate now appears conservative. It has become clear that Palestine may well be able to maintain a population of at least 5,000,000.

14. Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the United States Soil Conservation Bureau, who in 1939 spent eight months in a thorough study of land use in the countries of the Near and Middle East on behalf of the United States Government, has the following to say on the absorptive capacity of Palestine:

"I shall not attempt to estimate the final absorptive capacity of Palestine. That would be impossible, for the absorptive capacity of any country is a dynamic and expanding conception. It changes with the ability

of the population to make the maximum use of its land, and to put its economy on a scientific and productive basis. It is clear, however, that there is ample proof of the assertion that full utilization of the Jordan Valley depression for reclamation and power will in time make possible the absorption of at least four million Jewish refugees from Europe, in addition to the 1,800,000 Arabs and Jews already in Palestine and Trans-Jordan."*

15. The experience of the last twenty-five years has proved that Jewish immigration and economic activity have led to a marked increase in the numbers and well-being of the Arab population. As Mr. Malcom MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Chamberlain Government, stated in the House of Commons on November 24, 1938:

"The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population of Palestine today would still have been round about the 600,000 figure (instead of over 1,000,000 as at present) at which it had been stable under the Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages, that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

16. Repeatedly our conception of the absorptive capacity of Palestine has had to be revised upwards because of the achievements brought about by the combined pressure of Jewish need and of Jewish determination to rebuild the ancient homeland of the Jewish people. We believe that the prospects held out in this memorandum are, if anything, an under-statement of the possibilities.

*"Palestine, Land of Promise", to be published by Harpers in March, 1944.

THE ECONOMIC ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY OF PALESTINE

Comparative Estimates.

Palestine, west of the Jordan, comprises an area of 10,000 square miles. Its population at the end of the last war was about 750,000; its population today is 1,500,000. One-third are Jews and the population as a whole now enjoys a far higher standard of life than in Turkish times. Sicily, similar in area to Palestine, mountainous and without important industries, has a population of about 4,000,000; Belgium, also about 10,000 square miles in area, has a population of about 7,000,000. It is clear that area is only one element in determining the absorptive capacity of a country. Account must be taken of many factors including not only its material resources but the energy and the creative ability of its inhabitants. Lord Samuel, speaking in 1930 on the basis of his intimate experience as High Commissioner of Palestine for more than five years, said that there was no reason to doubt that Palestine could support a population of 3,000,000. This is supported also by critical estimates of the population of Palestine in biblical times which indicate a figure then of 3,000,000 to 4,000,000. Present prospects of development in industry and agriculture are considered in what follows. It is reasonable to suppose that with modern technical advantages and with a hard working and intelligent population, the above figure of 3,000,000 may be substantially exceeded.

Agricultural Developments.

Mark Twain, sixty years ago, said of Palestine that it "sits in sackcloth and ashes. Over it broods the spell of a curse

that has withered its fields and fettered its energies." This may be compared with the statement in 1930 of British Prime Minister MacDonald after he had visited Palestine: "It is impossible for anyone who saw what I saw to be too extravagant in tribute to the Jewish colonizers in Palestine. I saw what was bog being turned into cultivable land. I saw the historical and very barren sides of the mountain Jerboa being planted with olive trees. I saw the morass... being drained and recovered." Further drainage of the marsh lands and scientific irrigation of the dry areas will make possible a vastly increased agricultural population. At present less than 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the total area of the country (3,500,000 metric dunams out of 26,300,000) is irrigated. For lack of water the entire southern half of Palestine is almost unpopulated. Experts who have investigated conditions in Palestine, including the late Dr. Elwood Mead, Commissioner of Reclamation in the Department of Interior, Dr. Walter Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service, and others, estimate that the present area under irrigation can be increased tenfold from existing sources. By thus turning over land now used mostly for a precarious crop of cereals, to mixed farming, poultry, dairy products, vegetables, fruits and honey, an increase in the farm population from the present figure of about 800,000 to at least 2,000,000 will be made possible.

Palestine as a center of commerce and industry

Palestine's industry before the last world war comprised nothing but a few handicrafts. Today it produces an astonishing range

of articles including textiles, leatherware, clothing, chemicals, electric equipment, metalware, glassware, cement, and a great range of specialized products. In 1933 industrial production was valued at \$20,000,000; by 1942 this had risen to \$80,000,000. The primary reason for this development is the specialized skill of many of the immigrants. There is no coal in Palestine but in its place are available fuel oil brought by pipe-line from Iraq and hydro-electric power which can be generated as a result of the Jordan's drop from 3000 feet above to 1300 feet below sea level. Moreover, due to its geographical location on the cross roads between three continents, Palestine is becoming in increasing measure a center of commerce between the countries of Europe and Asia. In the words of Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, it has "a position in the twentieth century world... not incomparable to the position of Great Britain as an entrepot between Europe and the Americas." The new harbor at Haifa is already the third largest in the eastern Mediterranean and may well develop into a city of one half or three quarters of a million people. A wholly Jewish port, further, has been built in Tel Aviv, a city of 200,000 where thirty years ago there were merely sand dunes. On the basis of an agricultural population of 2,000,000 there should be no difficulty in maintaining an urban population of at least that number.

Increase in Arab population.

The Palestine Royal Commission in 1937 paid striking tribute to the economic benefits derived by the Arab population of Palestine as the result of Jewish colonization there. In 1938 the Secretary of State for the Colonies, (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald)

stated in the House of Commons that

"The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population of Palestine today would still have been round about the 600,000 figure (instead of over 1,000,000 as at present) at which it had been stable under the Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages, that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

Conclusion.

A large increase in the Jewish population is possible without displacing the native population. On the contrary, experience has shown that the increase in Jewish immigration and the resulting economic activity is paralleled by an increase in the Arab population. Assuming a continuation of Palestine's agricultural and industrial development by an energetic, determined and devoted population there is every reason to hope that the country may, with a relatively brief period, maintain on a reasonable standard of living not less than four or five million inhabitants.