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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

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

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

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Jewish Agency, confidential papers, 1938.

CONFIDENTIAL

February 4, 1938.

Dear Mr. Crosbie,

May I refer to the conversation which I had with you and Mr. Pollock on the 21st December, 1937, concerning the fate of the Jewish quarters bordering on Tel Aviv? After that conversation, I had a further interview with the Chief Secretary on the subject and he suggested that I should set forth, in a letter addressed to you, my objections to the Government's present proposal for solving the problem.

2. I understand the proposal to be that the Florentin Quarter should be declared an "urban district" within the meaning of Section 63 of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance. The powers conferred by the law upon an urban district are strictly limited to the provision of services additional to those normally supplied by the Municipality, of which it remains a part, and to the imposition of additional rates to meet the cost of such supplementary services. In respect of all normal services, the urban district remains indistinguishable from the rest of the Municipality. You made it clear, however, that provided the Florentin Quarter accepted what you termed "the suzerainty" of the Jaffa Municipality, you thought that it would be possible to get that Municipality to agree to the grant of a wider measure of autonomy to that urban district.

3. I regret to have to say that this solution does not appear at all to meet the requirements of the case. In the first place, it applies only to the Florentin Quarter with the smaller quarters adjacent to it, whereas the area more or less compactly owned and inhabited by Jews within the municipal district of Jaffa and extending along the border of Tel Aviv



is much larger. In the second place, even if the arrangement suggested by you with regard to wider autonomous powers than those envisaged by law was very liberally implemented it would still leave the core of the problem untouched. The burden of the grievance voiced by these quarters is that their position as part of the Jaffa Municipality is fundamentally anomalous and detrimental to their most vital interests. I can see no redress for this grievance save through separation from Jaffa.

4. To take first the territorial scope of the problem. The quarters I am referring to comprise sections of Blocks 7051, 7052, 7061 and the entire Block 7060, which are all linked up with one another, as shown in yellow on the attached map. Historically, all these quarters are the outgrowth of Tel Aviv. Geographically, they form one compact unit with it. Their streets are direct continuations of the streets of Tel Aviv. If you enter Tel Aviv from the southern end of Herzl Street, the only way by which you can find the dividing line between the areas of Jaffa and Tel Aviv is by watching the street lamps. So long as the lamps are lined up along one side of the street you are in Jaffa, but the first lamp which hangs straight over your head ushers you into Tel Aviv. To those uninitiated into this utterly insignificant technical detail, the whole street with its shops and sidewalks presents an unbrokenly homogeneous aspect. It is true that the four blocks have not all been developed to the same extent. The section of Block 7051 (Florentin Quarter and its appendages) comprised within the proposed boundary is nearly completely built over and possesses a population of over 10,000. The corresponding section of 7052 is, for the time



being, more industrial than residential. It has a number of vacant blocks and a population of some 2,000. Block 7060 contains only two small quarters amidst an area parcelled out but as yet unoccupied. The section of Block 7061 has buildings scattered practically all over the area, grouped in six quarters with a total population of over 4,000. These variations do not change the character of the area as a whole as one complete zone of Jewish urban development. The land in Jewish ownership does not stop abruptly at the proposed boundary as might appear from the attached map. There are plots of Jewish land and houses owned by Jews outside that line, but in view of their scattered condition they have been left out of account and the boundary has been drawn to form a compact Jewish unit.

5. It is, furthermore, true that all the four sections enumerated contain patches of Arab land - shown on the attached map in green stripes - and some Arab houses, but their complete contiguity with Tel Aviv is not affected thereby. When we discussed the problem you gave as a reason for the non-inclusion in the arrangement proposed by you of the quarters lying east and south-east of "Florentin" that they are not contiguous with Tel Aviv but form, as it were, islands within the area of Jaffa. A study of the map does not appear to bear out this view. There is, it is true, a zone of Arab land extending right across Block 7060 from the border of Tel Aviv southwards and cutting into Block 7061, but the Jewish-owned and Jewish-built areas of those blocks remain, nevertheless, directly linked up with Tel Aviv without any strip of Arab land intervening. The area as a whole is about 85% Jewish as regards land and 98% Jewish as regards population. The plots which are still in Arab hands are clearly



destined to be acquired by Jews. It is they that are "islands" in a Jewish urban area. Some of them have been leased to Jews who erected buildings on them. Some Arab houses have been deserted by their Arab occupiers. Others have always been inhabited by Jews. Moreover, if the built-on parts of both Municipalities are taken into consideration, it will be seen that the Jewish quarters of Jaffa do not constitute a bridge between Tel Aviv and Jaffa but form a fringe around the perimeter of Tel Aviv, between which and the main body of Jaffa town there is a gulf of empty space. On geographical grounds, therefore, there appears to be no reason either for the retention of these quarters within the boundaries of Jaffa Municipality or for any differentiation between their constituent parts from the point of view of their contiguity with Tel Aviv.

6. The "ethnic" unity of the quarters with Tel Aviv requires no elaboration. The quarters represent, in fact, a unit of population, variously estimated as between 15 and 18,000, which is an organic part of the economic and social system of Tel Aviv. With the exception of a meagre set of elementary services supplied by the Jaffa Municipality, to which I will refer later, the quarters owe everything, as far as satisfaction of their economic, social and spiritual needs is concerned, to Tel Aviv and nothing to Jaffa. Their children go to the schools of Tel Aviv. Their sick are tended at the Tel Aviv hospitals and clinics. Their religious needs are catered to by the Tel Aviv Rabbinate. Through every channel of labour, commerce, industry, social and cultural life, they are amalgamated with Tel Aviv into one indivisible whole.



7. Their relations with the Jaffa Municipality were unhappy from the outset. They complain of having always been treated like stepchildren - exploited as ratepayers and given as little as possible in the way of services. Representatives of the Florentin Quarter maintain, for instance, that instead of a 50% contribution towards the paving of the streets normally exacted from houseowners in Jaffa, they were made to pay 70% of the estimated cost of most of the streets and that, moreover, the estimate exceeded considerably the actual cost - the result being that their contribution towards it was, in fact, even higher. They also contend that the Municipality discriminated against them in the construction of sewers: whereas in Jaffa this work was financed entirely from the municipal budget, in the Florentin Quarter houseowners were made to shoulder this expenditure over and above the rates they were paying, and in this case again the contribution was higher than the actual cost. I cannot, naturally, vouch for the correctness of all these data, though I do not doubt that they were given to me in perfect good faith. I submit, however, that the mere fact of the existence of such complaints and the apparent inability of the quarters even to have their claims inquired into and properly settled testifies to a deplorable state of affairs. As regards the water supply, the quarters are entirely dependent upon Tel Aviv, only fourteen houses in the Florentin Quarter taking their water from Jaffa. I am informed that in 1935 the Jaffa Municipality itself wrote to the Municipality of Tel Aviv asking that it should undertake the supply of water to the Jewish quarters which were on its borders.



8. The disturbances of 1936 laid bare the anomaly of the connection. It was symbolised in a most tragic manner by the murder of a Jew named Bichutsky who was trapped in one of the streets of Jaffa on his way back to the Florentin Quarter after having paid in his rates at the Jaffa Municipality. On the first day of rioting the scavenging service conducted by the Jaffa Municipality was discontinued and the quarters were left in this matter to their own devices. A scavenging service was improvised by the local committees and has been maintained by them ever since. Lighting and watch services have continued to be maintained by Jaffa but as the quarters virtually discontinued the payment of rates to the Jaffa Municipality at the outbreak of the disturbances, additional lighting in two new streets could be provided only at the quarters' own expense. Similarly some new roads were paved by the Florentin Quarter on its own account. Having thus, for almost all practical purposes, broken away from Jaffa, the quarters not only were not absorbed in Tel Aviv but have continued to suffer from certain disabilities in respect of the services which they are receiving from the Jewish city. While in Tel Aviv there is a system of zoning in regard to the water rate, each zone paying a different rate in accordance with the economic standards of its inhabitants, the residents of the Jewish quarters of Jaffa are paying a uniform rate of 60 mils per room per month, which is the maximum rate obtaining in Tel Aviv. It need not be emphasised that the economic condition of the quarters in question is very much inferior to that of the wealthiest quarters of Tel Aviv. In regard to education, it is true that the poorest children are exempted from school fees, but the



normal rate charged by the Tel Aviv Municipality for a Jewish child coming from Jaffa is £3. tuition fee plus £1.200 for supplementary school services, whereas for the children of Tel Aviv elementary education is free and only the supplementary fee is paid. Moreover, since there is a considerable irregularity in the payment of school fees to Tel Aviv, due to strained economic circumstances, the position of the Jewish quarters of Jaffa in respect of education continues to be most precarious. In this as in other respects they appear to have the worst of both worlds.

9. The present state of affairs under which the residents of the quarters pay no rates and refuse to resort to the Municipality of Jaffa, while no municipal authority has been established as a substitute, is clearly most objectionable. It has already resulted in the deterioration of civic standards and it is inimical to good government in the long run. But the remedy to these evils cannot, in my submission, be found in any arrangement which would seek to maintain the subordination of these quarters to their stepmother in Jaffa. The birth of these quarters has caused the Jaffa Municipality no labour nor has it been particularly solicitous about the needs of their growth, so that I fail to see on what grounds its claim to parentage is upheld. The quarters represent a piece of urban development which is in no way due to the initiative and exertions of the Jaffa Municipality. As to the town of Jaffa, by its behaviour in 1936, it has certainly forfeited all moral claim to have a determining voice in regard to the future status of this zone of Jewish urban development. Any arrangement based upon the subjection of these quarters to Jaffa would be



regarded by them as a state of bondage. It would inevitably work as a constant irritant, breeding disloyalty to the Municipality and dissatisfaction with the Government. Nothing but a complete separation from Jaffa and incorporation in Tel Aviv can meet the issue.

20. Instead of looking for a solution under the terms of Section 63 of the Municipal Corporations Ordinance, it seems to me that what is called for is action under Section 3(2). For the sake of convenience I would reproduce the text of this sub-section in full:

"If it should appear to the High Commissioner by reason of the wish of the majority of the inhabitants in any area, whether such area or any part thereof is, or is not, within the area of a municipal corporation, or for any other reason, that it is desirable that the inhabitants of an area should become a municipal corporation, he may order an enquiry to be made concerning such area and the wishes of the inhabitants thereof, by a commission upon which there shall be at least one member who is not an officer of the Government of Palestine, and may, after considering the report of such commission, at his discretion, declare by proclamation the inhabitants of such area to be a municipal corporation".

When I referred to this sub-section in my conversation with you - I may have been mistaken with regard to the reference number, but it was this sub-section which I then had in mind - I understood Mr. Pollock to suggest that what the High Commissioner was bound to consider was the wishes of the whole body of the inhabitants of Jaffa rather than of the quarters directly affected. You will observe that this is not the case. The sub-section expressly provides for "an enquiry to be made concerning such area and the wishes of the inhabitants thereof". The provision quoted above is intended to make possible the tearing away of a certain area from an



# SECRET

Pol/86/38.

8th  
June  
1938

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
Jerusalem.

Sir,

In accordance with the request of  
the Chairman of the Commission, at the session  
of May 25th, 1938, I have the honour to submit,  
on behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency,  
the enclosed Memorandum on Transjordan, with  
special reference to its agricultural settlement  
possibilities.

A separate note dealing with possibilities  
of new settlement in some of the neighbouring  
countries will be submitted shortly.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY



MEMORANDUM ON TRANSJORDAN  
submitted to the  
PALESTINE PARTITION COMMISSION  
by the  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

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- I. Area and Natural Divisions
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- IV. Water Resources
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- IX. Agriculture and Settlement in Ancient Times
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- XI. Transjordan in Jewish Antiquity

Jerusalem,  
June 7th, 1938.



MEMORANDUM ON TRANSJORDAN  
submitted to the  
PALESTINE PARTITION COMMISSION  
by the  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

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I.

AREA AND NATURAL DIVISIONS

1. Transjordan, as at present delimited, forms a great elevated plateau extending from the Yarmuk River in the north to the Gulf of Aqaba in the south, and from the depression of the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea and the Araba on the west to the desert on the east. Its length from north to south is some 380 kilometres, its width from east to west is 150 kilometres at its narrowest and 330 kilometres at its broadest. It covers an area of some 90,000,000 dunams (90,000 square kilometres)\*. Apart from the Jordan Valley, which is below sea-level, its altitude varies from 1,500 to 4,500 feet above sea-level, and the plateau is intersected at intervals by deep ravines running east and west.

2. The country may be divided into the following natural divisions from north to south:

- (a) The region between the Yarmuk River and the Jabbok River.
- (b) The region between the Jabbok River and the Arnon River (which includes the land of ancient Ammon).

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\* Report of H.M.G. on the Administration of Palestine & Transjordan, 1935, Colonial No.112, p.273.



- (c) The region south of the Arnon to a line south of parallel 30°N., where there is a sudden fall of 2,000 feet (which region comprises ancient Moab).
- (d) The region extending from the latter line to the Gulf of Aqaba. The last mentioned region, known as al-Hasma, formed part of Ancient Edom.

3. In biblical times Eastern Palestine was divided into three parts: (a) the area north of the Yarmuk, called Bashan; (b) the area stretching from the Yarmuk southwards to Wadi Hesban and the northern end of the Dead Sea, called Gilead, and (c) the area south of Wadi Hesban to the Arnon called the Mishor or Table-land, also referred to as the Plain of Medeba (Joshua xiii 9,16) or the Sharon of Eastern Palestine. During the Greek and Roman period the region between the Jabbok and the Arnon was known as Peraea.

4. From west to east the country falls into four natural divisions:

- (i) The depression which runs along the Palestine border from the confluence of the Yarmuk and the Jordan, down to Aqaba. South of the Dead Sea this depression is known as the Araba. The northern part of the depression - the Jordan Valley - from the Syrian border to where the Jordan falls into the Dead Sea is about 100 kilometres in length and varies in breadth from a few kilometres to 15 kilometres. The total area of the Jordan Valley known as "Ghor" which extends to the southern end of the Dead Sea, is about 550,000 dunams\*.
- (ii) The mountain range and hilly region to the east of the Jordan Valley, which comprises an area of about 6,700,000 dunams\*.

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\* The figures quoted are from the Report on the Administration of Palestine & Transjordan, 1936, p.311.



- (iii) The plateau forming the extension eastwards of the hilly region and bordered by the Hejaz railway. Its area is 5,250,000 dunams\*.
- (iv) The area to the east of the Hejaz railway, merging into the desert and extending to the frontiers of Transjordan with Iraq and Saudi Arabia. It covers 72,500,000 dunams.

5. The above four zones are exclusive of the southern region of al-Hasma, the area of which is 5,000,000 dunams. The total area of all the five units is 90,000,000 dunams.

The first three zones, together with al-Hasma - totalling 17,500,000 dunams - are the part of Transjordan which is inhabited by a settled population.

## II.

### SOIL AND NATURAL VEGETATION

6. (a) Northern Gilead: The natural condition of the area is well described by Professor George Adam Smith: "The middle region, Gilead, between the Yarmuk and the Jabbok, has its ridges covered by forests, under which you may march for the whole day in breezy and fragrant shade; the valleys hold orchards of pomegranate, apricot and olive, there are many vineyards, on the open plains are fields of wheat and maize, and the few moors are rich in fragrant herbs. Gilead (in biblical times) bore perfume and medicine for the whole Eastern World." ("The Historical Geography of the Holy Land", p.522.) Gilead is a country of rounded hills of an average height of 3,000 feet, and of many wild springs and rivulets. On its mountains

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\* The figure is quoted from the Report on the Administration of Palestine & Transjordan, 1936, p.311.



there is an abundant growth of evergreen oak forests. Fig, almond, pistachio and other nut-bearing trees grow freely.

(b) Southern Gilead (Ammon): "South of the Jabbok the ridges and forests alike diminish, till by the north end of the Dead Sea the country assumes the form of an absolutely treeless plateau, in winter bleak, in summer breezy and fragrant. This plateau is broken by deep, wide, warm valleys like the Arnon, across which it rolls south. Eastwards it is separated from the desert by low rolling hills." (George Adam Smith, "The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, p.535.) "The land of Moab and Ammon has for the most part excellent soil for wheat. Where wheat is not possible the pasture is good." (George Adam Smith, "Syria", p.31.)

(c) Moab: "Like Gilead, Moab is today pre-eminently the land of the herdsman. In the wadis by the Dead Sea thousands of camels are bred, whilst on the hills above graze cattle, sheep and goats. During the spring its upland fields are thickly covered with grass. The west winds coming from the Mediterranean laden with moisture drench the country with rains during the winter and spring." (Professor Kent, "Biblical Geography and History of the Holy Land", p.60.) Large areas of this plateau land are planted with wheat.

(d) Hasma: The lands of al-Hasma enclosed by the hills of esh-Sherah to the north, the Red Sea to the south, the Araba on the west and the desert on the east are of sandy soil surrounded by granite and sand hills which rise to a height of 4,500 feet above sea-level. In winter these lands are covered with little streams, but the rainfall in this area is scant.



## III.

CLIMATE

7. In consequence of its high altitude, Transjordan has a temperate climate. Throughout the summer there is more rain, dew, mist and cloud than in Palestine west of the Jordan, and the days are swept by breezes from the west with the freshness of the sea upon them. Again one cannot do better than to quote the graphic account of George Adam Smith:

"We traversed Eastern Palestine during twenty-two days of midsummer, and were therefore able to test the climate. We had thrice dense mists, and several very cold evenings. Every morning about ten a breeze sprang up from the west, and lasted until sun-down, so that although the noon temperature in the Jordan Valley, as often as we entered it, was at least 103°, on the table-land above we seldom had it over 90°. Whether upon the shadeless plain of Hauran, where the ripe corn swayed like the sea before the wind, or upon the ridges of Gilead, where the oak branches rustled and their shadows swung to and fro over the cool paths, most of the twelve hours were almost as bracing as the dawn, and night fell, not, as in other parts of Palestine, to repair, but to confirm, the influences of the day. Eastern Palestine is a land of health... Victory and Good Fortune were the favourite deities of the later Pagans of this region, but their temples might more fitly have been dedicated to the goddess Hygeia." ("Historical Geography of the Holy Land", p.520).

Similarly, Professor C.F. Kent writes:

"In summer frequent mists sweep over the heights. At night the temperature often falls very low and as a result heavy dews are deposited. Even during the day cool sea breezes make the air thoroughly invigorating. Thus it richly deserved the reputation which it enjoyed in antiquity of being one of the most healthful regions in all the world." ("Biblical Geography and History of the Holy Land", p.55).

The German explorer Schumacher makes the same report of the land of Gilead. ("Across the Jordan").



8. A more recent estimate of the climate of Transjordan is given in the Report of the Palestine Government for 1935: "The climate on the whole is very pleasant. In summer the shade temperature seldom reaches  $100^{\circ}$  and the nights are always cool. In winter it is cold in the uplands and the rain only falls from November to March. Between rainy days the sky is bright and in the sun and out of the wind it is warm." (p.274).

## IV.

WATER RESOURCES

9. On the water conditions of Transjordan Professor Kent writes as follows:

"In contrast to Western Palestine Transjordan is well supplied with springs and perennial rivers, grass grows almost everywhere in rich profusion even far out towards the desert." ("Biblical Geography and History of the Holy Land", p.56).

George Adam Smith similarly observes:

"Next to its air, its waters are its most charming feature. West of the Jordan no rivers run, and only a few perennial streams, but here are at least four rivers - Yarmuk, Arab, Jabbok and Arnon, of which the Yarmuk, with its great falls, is as large as the Jordan. These rivers drain the whole country and the desert behind. They run in deep gorges, below the average level of the plateau, but they are fed by numerous springs, which, with the winter snow and rains, sufficiently water the higher lands." ("Historical Geography of the Holy Land", p.521).

10. The Jordan Valley and the western hills are well-watered by springs and streams, but the upland plateau depends for its water supply on rain-water cisterns. Even in the land situated to the east of the Hejaz railway there are a number of wells, the most important being at Bayir and Al-Hafeir. Boring



experiments carried out in this region have shown that its water resources are considerable. Artesian wells could probably be sunk with advantage in many parts of this area. There are a number of well-known springs such as at Al-Azrak, Al-Umari, and Al-Khazn and at the above mentioned places Bayir and Al-Hafeir. In the area east of the Hejaz railway the grazing is sufficient, after a good year of rain, to support the camel, sheep and goat herds of the nomads who in the summer go up to the uplands in the west, while in the winter some of them wander as far as the Jordan Valley.

11. Mr.F.A.Stockdale, Agricultural Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who visited Transjordan in 1935, reported as follows:

"In the western part of the country rainfall is reasonably good and ranges from 16 to 25 inches per annum. Towards the east the rainfall is much more scanty and desert conditions prevail. The summer months are hot and dry. This year the rains had been plentiful throughout the country, and the winter crops were looking even better than the crops in Palestine...Trial boring for water has already been made at Meshetta. Here water was struck at 503 feet and a depth of 30 feet of water in the bore became available. It has yet to be ascertained if water at this depth can be raised at a sufficiently low cost to make it utilisable for domestic supplies and for watering of stock, but it is intended, if funds can be made available, to sink three other bores on sites which have been recommended by the Government Geologist of Palestine. If water can be found in these eastern areas at depths which will enable it to be utilised economically even for domestic purposes and for the watering of stock, the whole outlook of the Bedouin will be changed...In the valleys, utilisation is made of water for irrigation wherever it is available. This water is derived from springs which form the source of the perennial streams. Long lengths of irrigation channels following the contours are frequently to be seen in various parts of the country. I was also able to inspect one of these irrigation schemes on the way up from the Allenby Bridge to Amman, and others in the north of the country. There is a considerable wastage of water



from the channels, and it was quite clear that at least 50% increased production would be possible if the irrigation water were under controlled distribution and if efficient canalisation were provided and adequately maintained. There are definite possibilities of development if the existing irrigation schemes are improved and others established." (Report to the Secretary of State, C.A.C. p.274).

It is particularly noteworthy that Mr. Stockdale recommended further boring for water in the eastern part of the country.

## V.

MINERAL RESOURCES

12. Transjordan has substantial deposits of various minerals:

- (a) Phosphates: Large quantities of phosphates have been discovered in the neighbourhood of the village of Razifah and along the railway line near the station at Hamma, as well as in the vicinity of the aviation camp at Amman.
- (b) Iron: Deposits of iron, which had evidently been worked during Roman times for use at Jerash, have been discovered in the mountains of Ajlun in the vicinity of the village of Rahav. There are iron deposits also in the neighbourhood of Zuweili.
- (c) Copper: Evidence of copper mines which have been operated in ancient times have been unearthed in the Araba, in particular at a place known as Khirbet an-Nachas, the meaning of which is "the copper ruins".
- (d) Dyestone: In the neighbourhood of Shunat an-Nimrin and near the village of Maeen there are deposits of dyestone.
- (e) Marble: Large deposits of marble, extending over an area of some 50 square kilometres, are to be found about 50 kilometres to the east of the railway station of al-Jizah.
- (f) Granite: There are large deposits of granite between al-Kweira and Aqaba.



- (g) Asphalt: The German geologist, Professor Blankenborn, discovered in 1894 and 1904 important deposits of asphalt east of as-Salt and in the mountains around the Dead Sea. It is also believed by geologists that oil is to be found in Transjordan.
- (h) Manganese: There are large deposits of manganese in the Araba.

## VI.

POPULATION

13. No census has as yet been taken of the population of Transjordan and any estimate of the number of its inhabitants can only be approximate. In the Report of His Majesty's Government on the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for 1924 it is stated that the population of Transjordan "is thought to be in the neighbourhood of 200,000, of whom some 10,000 are Circassians and Chechen; there are about 15,000 Christians and the remainder in the main are Moslem Arabs." (p.65). In the Report for the year 1935, it is stated that the total number of the population "probably lies between 300,000 and 320,000." (p.274). The Caucasian population is here given as 7,000 and the Arab Christians are said to number some 20,000.

14. The population is divided into (a) settled inhabitants, i.e. those living in built houses, (b) semi-nomadic elements, i.e. cultivators living in hair-tents, moving about from time to time within restricted areas and still preserving their tribal character, and (c) beduin, i.e. nomads who cultivate but little and depend for their livelihood on their herds. In the four administrative districts of Transjordan into which the



country is at present divided, the several types are distributed as follows: In the Ajlun district the population is almost entirely settled; in the Belqa district the settled and semi-nomadic population are approximately balanced; in the Kerak district the population is mostly of the semi-nomadic type, while in Maan the majority are nomadic and the remainder are semi-nomadic tribes, the only settled population in that area being the inhabitants of the town of Maan and of Aqaba. Of the total population it is estimated that 85% are engaged in pastoral and agricultural pursuits, the remaining 15% depending on trades and commerce.

## VII.

PRESENT STATE OF AGRICULTURE

15. Cultivation generally is primitive and wasteful. Tools and methods of farming are antiquated. There is no rational rotation of crops, nor any attempt at manuring or fertilising on a large scale. Apart from the few boring experiments undertaken by the Government and the Iraq Petroleum Company there is no search for water, while existing water resources are either not tapped at all or utilised only in a most backward manner. The lack of capital for development and the fact that the present population is too small to make effective use of the available opportunities have resulted in a general stagnation and retrogression. The prevalence of the musha' system and, in the case of the tribes, the feudal land tenure also present a serious handicap to progress. In short, agriculture in Transjordan is lacking the requisite capital, knowledge and men to achieve such improvements as are possible.



The country as a whole is still suffering from the utter neglect which has prevailed almost uninterruptedly for the last thirteen centuries.

16. In the Jordan Valley where most of the land is suitable for sowing, only just over one-half of the area is under cultivation. Wheat and barley is here sown in the winter and white durra in the summer. There is also some vegetable growing, and recently the planting of bananas, tobacco and flax has been introduced on a small scale. Practically the whole of the area under cultivation is being irrigated, but the methods of irrigation employed are most primitive. The streams used for watering the crops are allowed to run straight into the Jordan without the water being stored or otherwise controlled. This is not only wasteful but is causing definite harm. If the land lies high, the seed is not moistened and the crops become parched. If the land lies low, the seed remains under water for a long time and rots. Moreover, good soil is being steadily washed away. In consequence, some parts of the cultivated area have ceased to yield enough produce to make cultivation worth while.

17. In other parts of the country, the prevalent system of agriculture is that of primitive dry farming. With the exception of the relatively small areas where summer crops are sown regularly, the practice is to leave fields fallow every other year. Where rainfall is scant, the land is sown only once in three years and remains fallow for two consecutive years. As a result, only one-third to less than one-half of the area considered cultivable for practical purposes is actually under cultivation in any given year. This wasteful



method of cultivation is inevitable under present agricultural conditions, for so long as there is no rotation of crops and no systematic manuring, the planting of the same crops year after year in succession must lead to a rapid impoverishment of the soil. But it is only on account of the present sparseness of population that such a method can survive at all.

18. Apart from arable farming, the inhabitants of the hilly region engage in vegetable and fruit growing. Summer vegetables not requiring irrigation are also grown in the region between the hills and the railway. The hilly region also contains much forest land. In its northern part, the district of Ajlun, where the population is agriculturally more advanced and nomads are few, forests have been comparatively well preserved. The number of forest trees in Transjordan - oaks, pines, carobs, etc., is estimated at 50,000,000, scattered over an area of 1,600,000 dunams. In the uplands of Irbid and in the southern section of the hilly region - the districts of Belqa and Tafilah - grazing has had ruinous effects on the forests. What remained, was recklessly cut down by the Turks during the war to provide fuel for the railway. As a result of the denudation of the hillsides there is now considerable soil erosion.

19. Some appreciation of the present agricultural conditions in Transjordan in general and in the hilly region in particular is contained in the following passage of the Stockdale Report:

"On the slopes of the higher hills some really good forests were still to be seen, and the forest areas observed around Ajlun also were reasonably good. Many of these forests are being cut by the inhabitants without regard for the future, but steps are being taken to safeguard their preservation in areas where land settlement and registration has been carried out. The position cannot, however, be satisfactory until land registration has been further extended and the areas of reserved



forests have been clearly defined. Areas of the hilly lands are devoted to the cultivation of grapes, and the fresh grapes and raisins produced in Transjordan are of good quality. I passed through one of the more important grape-growing districts and the cultivations appeared to be healthy and very promising. In some instances measures to prevent soil erosion had been taken, but much more work in this direction is necessary. The further encouragement of table-grapes growing is clearly desirable for the local and Palestine markets, and in time the preparation of high-quality raisins for export should be worthy of consideration... It seems to me that fruit growing in Transjordan offers good possibilities provided that careful attention is given to the choosing of suitably protected sites for the cultivations, to the selection of the type of trees planted and to the control of pests and diseases... Supplies of apples, apricots, plums, peaches, and cherries were being raised, and except in the case of apricots the demands were in excess of the supplies... For the development of the plains, arrangements are urgently required to permit of the distribution of good-quality seed of wheat and barley. This could be made possible by the provision of a revolving fund for the purpose... The live stock in Transjordan are, on the whole, of a better quality than the average of the live stock in Palestine except in the Huleh area."

20. An interesting sidelight on the backward state of agriculture in Transjordan is provided by the expenditure of the Department of Agriculture whose activities include the forestry and veterinary services. That expenditure amounted to LP.6,121 in 1931-32; LP.5,479 in 1932-33; LP.5,861 in 1933-34; LP.7,151 in 1934-35 and LP.7,411 in 1935-36. By way of comparison one may mention that in Western Palestine the expenditure of the Department of Agriculture and Forests was LP.147,286 in 1934-35 and LP.181,003 in 1935-36.

#### VIII.

##### CULTIVABLE AREA

21. The definition of cultivable land adopted by the Government for statistical purposes is land which has been actually under cultivation at some recent time. It is obvious that a comprehensive estimate of the cultivable area cannot be confined



to this category but must include all lands which though not at present under the plough, might be cultivated without any improvements or brought under cultivation with the use of better methods of farming and the expenditure of capital on development. In regard to the area officially defined as "cultivable" it has to be borne in mind that an estimate carried out for purposes of taxation, as in the case of Government statistics of cultivable land, can hardly be regarded as reliable owing to the natural inclination of landowners to withhold information which would increase their liabilities.

22. In the Report of the Administration of Palestine and Transjordan for 1936 (p.311) the cultivable area of Transjordan is given as 4,600,000 dunams, apart from the small patches of cultivation in the southern area known as al-Hasma, estimated to amount to a total of only 1,000 dunams. According to our information, the following is the division of the above area by districts:

Irbid	1,080,000	dunams
Ajlun	348,500	"
Jerash	164,000	"
Beni Hasan	372,000	"
As-Salt	418,000	"
Amman	357,000	"
Beni Sakhr	426,000	"
Madaba	188,000	"
Beni Hamaidah	164,000	"
Kerak	595,000	"
Tafila	297,500	"
Maan	190,000	"
Total	4,600,000	"

23. The division of the same area by physical zones is estimated to be as follows:

Jordan Valley	300,000	dunams
Hilly region	2,000,000	"
Plateau west of the railway	2,300,000	"
	4,600,000	"



24. This area includes some 600,000 dunams of land covered with vineyards, olive groves and other fruit trees. As has been pointed out, most of the remaining area of four million dunams consists of fields cultivated only once in two or three years, with the result that from the land considered cultivable, an area of two to two-and-a-half million dunams remains uncultivated in any year. This estimate, which is the result of the observation of patent facts, is corroborated by animal statistics. In 1934 the number of the pairs of bullocks engaged in ploughing (feddans) was officially given as 14,000. In 1936, it rose to 19,267. It is estimated that a pair of bullocks cannot plough up more than 100 dunams in a season. Consequently the area actually cultivated was 1,400,000 dunams in 1934 and a little over 1,900,000 dunams in 1936. If we add to these figures the area of 600,000 dunams of vineyards and fruit orchards (in the olive groves the land between the trees is, as a rule, sown), we reach the totals of 2,000,000 and 2,500,000 dunams respectively as the areas actually under cultivation in the two years under reference. The areas of land remaining uncultivated were thus 2,500,000 dunams in the former year and 2,000,000 dunams in the latter.

25. The reasons of the increase of the cultivated area in 1936 may be of interest. Firstly, there was a good harvest in 1935. Secondly, prices of grain on the world market rose in that year. Thirdly, the operation of the Protection of Cultivators' Ordinance in Palestine had the peculiar effect of causing certain Arab landlords, particularly in the districts of Hebron, Gaza and Samaria, to terminate existing tenancies by one means or another, leaving the land uncultivated, so as to prevent the creation of additional tenancy rights. Some of



the tenants thus dispossessed found their way into Transjordan.

26. There appears to be no objective reason why the whole of the area of 4,600,000 dunams should not be cultivated every year. The system of bi-annual or tri-annual cultivation is justified in regions where climatic conditions are not favourable to crop rotation or where the rainfall is too scant to admit of annual sowing. Such are the conditions in the zone bordering on the Hejaz railway. But in Transjordan even good soil situated in regions with adequate rainfall is left fallow every other year. Even without such far-reaching reforms as the introduction of intensive methods of farming by irrigation - which would necessitate considerable capital expenditure - it should be possible, merely by adopting a rational system of rotation of crops and by properly utilising the available manure, to achieve the transition to annual cultivation. This would not only increase the harvest for the existing cultivators but release land for new settlement.

27. The resources of cultivable land in the areas wholly uncultivated must now be examined. If the area of 4,600,000 dunams cultivated from time to time is deducted from the total area of 17,500,000 dunams which forms the territory of Transjordan inhabited by a settled population, there remains a balance of 12,900,000 dunams. The division of this balance by physical zones is as follows:

Jordan Valley	250,000 dunams
Hilly region	4,700,000 "
Plateau west of the railway	2,950,000 "
The Hasma area	<u>5,000,000</u> "
	12,900,000 "



28. The question is whether any and what parts of these balances are, or can be rendered, fit for cultivation. It is realised that the reclamation of considerable portions of such areas would call for an initial outlay but it is submitted that when a survey is attempted of the possibilities of new settlement in Transjordan such potentialities cannot be left out of account merely because capital is required for their realisation.

29. With regard to the Jordan Valley it is estimated that the lands which have to be written off on account of their topographical unsuitability for cultivation amount at the utmost to 20%, i.e. 50,000 dunams. A similar total has to be deducted on account of areas of excessive salinity, though these are not totally uncultivable but might prove suitable for special cultures or be reclaimed by drainage which would wash out the salt deposits. There would remain in the Jordan Valley an area of 150,000 dunams which could be reclaimed without special difficulty. Most of it consists of patches overgrown with weeds - which can be uprooted - or covered with boulders, brought down and deposited by the streams - which can be removed. The soil thus withheld from cultivation is intrinsically good. Nor would the cost of clearing it be prohibitive.

30. In the hilly region there are large areas covered with forests, estimated to total 1,600,000 dunams. In addition, there are areas, totalling about 2,500,000 dunams, where forests existed in the past. Existing forests are a clear indication of the fruitfulness of the soil, at least as far as ability to support fruit trees is concerned. It is proposed to regard three quarters of the forest area, i.e. 1,200,000 dunams, as forming a



reserve of cultivable land. Of the area where the forests have been decimated, about one half, i.e. 1,250,000 dunams, may be regarded as part of such a reserve. The destruction of forests has not been the result of any deterioration of the soil but of wasteful grazing. It is true that a great deal of the soil has been washed away, but the process of erosion could be stopped by terracing and planting.

31. Of the total of 2,450,000 dunams of forest land, past and present, which it is proposed to consider as cultivable, 2,000,000 dunams fall within the hilly region, while the remaining 450,000 dunams are situated in the adjoining plateau to the east.

32. In the highlands west of the Hejaz railway considerable areas of good land are left uncultivated for no other reason than shortage of cultivators and the absence of any pressure on the existing population to cultivate more land. This zone is estimated to contain a total area of about 1,500,000 dunams of cultivable land which is not now cultivated.

33. As to the Hasma region in the south, all that official records would credit these areas with is a total of 1,000 dunams of cultivable land (i.e. land cultivated from time to time); To dismiss the whole of this vast area of 5 million dunams - save the 1,000 dunams referred to - as wholly uncultivable would appear unwarranted. There are numerous springs in this area from which water flows in deep wadis without being agriculturally utilised. These springs point to the existence of subterranean water resources which might be successfully tapped by deep boring. Although in large areas of the hillside the soil has been almost completely washed away, there are still



many hilltops where rich vegetation abounds in the spring. In the absence, however, of more definite data it is not proposed to include any part of this zone in the reserve of cultivable land.

34. The area east of the Hejaz railway does not present a uniform aspect. Its eastern sections are practically part of the Syrian desert. Its western section resembles more closely the plateau west of the railway. Date palms here grow naturally and could be grown in large quantities. Those areas which are not suitable for arable farming are used for grazing. In the northern sector of this zone, tracts of land are under cultivation. The primary reason why this area is largely uncultivated is the lack of water. Successful borings carried out by the Iraq Petroleum Company indicate the presence of subsurface water resources. Nevertheless, the whole of this area has not been taken into account in estimating the reserves of cultivable land.

35. The following then are the areas which may be regarded as cultivable though they are not at present cultivated:

Jordan Valley	150,000 dunams
Hilly region	2,000,000 "
Between the hills and the railway	<u>1,950,000</u> "
	4,100,000 "

36. A general picture of land conditions in Transjordan is presented by the following table:



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# CULTURE & SET

38. This authoritative view is borne out by various historians and archeologists who have studied the past of Transjordan.



The German explorer of Transjordan, Schumacher, writes of Northern Gilead:

"The numerous oil presses found scattered about the forest lands and near the villages prove that the olive culture was once in a very flourishing state throughout the district. On and near the northern slopes of the Wadi el-Hummam from Samuah southwards we find many distinct traces of vine fences, small watch towers and numerous local names which tend to show that this region was once occupied by the cultivation of the grape though at present no vineyards exist." ("Northern Ajlun" pps.24-25).

Of the Moab district, George Adam Smith writes:

"In Byzantine times Moab appears to have been thickly peopled. You can stand hardly anywhere on the plateau but eight or ten ruined villages with Byzantine traces on them are in sight and once there were also several largish towns with public works, including large reservoirs for the winter rains and not a few other marks of a high level of culture. The Arab geographers praise the grapes and almonds of Moab and the English survey of the northern part of the plateau discover many wine presses but except for a very few about Kerak the vineyards have vanished and there are almost no other fruit trees." ("Syria, p.31.)

These views of the condition of agriculture in Eastern Palestine are unanimously shared by all British visitors to the country (Colonel Conder "Eastern Palestine" p.35, Lawrence Oliphent "Land of Gilead" p.288, Canon Tristram "Topography of the Holy Land" p.312, Guy le Strange "A Ride through Ajlun and the Bilka", Palestine Exploration Fund, p.270).

39. The following are the findings based on the thorough archeological survey which was carried out during the past few years by the American School of Oriental Research and other research institutions:

- (1) "The most intensive period of cultivation (in the area between the Arnon and Wadi Hismeh) seems to have been during the Nabatean period. There was, however, intensive cultivation of this slope in the heyday of the Moabite kingdom, and particularly between 2300 and 1800 B.C.



Climbing up and down the slope we were interested to see how the ancients had utilised every available inch of land, and had built terraces to hold it in place. They lived in permanent settlements on this slope in the midst of their cultivated areas. Much of the slope is cultivated today too, but the tent dwellers will pass on leaving no traces, or hardly any, of their once having followed in the footsteps of previous cultivators, since they use skins for containers instead of pottery vessels. Their terracing is not as elaborate or as effective as that of their predecessors, nor do they utilise the water of the numerous springs which are still found with the same economy as in former days. Elaborate stone conduits of Nabatean-Roman origin on this slope are replaced today, if at all, by little ditches scratched in the earth...\*

- (2) "Le pays à cette époque (nabatéenne) fut habité par une population sédentaire et très dense. Les Nabatéens, tout au moins durant les derniers siècles de leur existence, ne furent pas les vulgaires caravaniers que certains imaginent... Ils étaient puissamment installés sur les anciens territoires de Moab et d'Edom et les cultivaient comme ils ne le furent jamais. On est étonné, par exemple, de voir les nombres considérables de ruines de localités nabatéennes disséminées sur le plateau du Chera au S.-O de Maan.\*\*
- (3) "Our survey of the territory of ancient Ammon has only begun. The expedition has, however, already gathered enough evidence to show that the Ammonite civilisation was an advanced one, not behind Moab or Edom, or Western Palestine in the Early Iron Age. The areas occupied by the Ammonites were among the richest in Transjordan. The number and character of the Ammonite sites and their buildings indicate that an intensive system of agriculture nourished a flourishing state.\*\*\*
- (4) "In the Nabatean period much more energy was expended in catching and preserving the available rain water than today. On the numerous sites where Nabatean pottery was found, there were invariably many cisterns. The modern Arabs, failing to emulate their Nabatean predecessors, have been forced to abandon one site after another, so that the entire Ard-ez-Zobayer, which was dotted with villages and hamlets in Nabatean times, is almost completely abandoned today.\*\*\*\*

\* Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research, p.20, 21.

\*\* Père Savignac in Bulletin "Revue Biblique", 1936, p.473.

\*\*\* Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research, 68, p.20.

\*\*\*\* Explorations in Eastern Palestine, I. 1934, p.8.



- (5) "...As we have seen, the entire area between Jemeil and Umm er-Ressas was once cultivated. It is now an abandoned waste land. With regard to this particular region, and all the other regions in Transjordan in which our researches indicated the presence of a considerable number of communities during various periods, but which are now more or less completely abandoned, we repeat that the changes are due not to natural but to human factors.\*
- (6) "...Our investigations have shown conclusively for Moab and Edom that the present abandonment of large areas in these countries is due for the most part, popular theories of precipitation cycles to the contrary notwithstanding, to changes in the political fortunes of the inhabitants.\*\*
- (7) "...Only a short distance away, at Ghadyan, there is a considerable underground supply which when tapped could be caught and stored in these large and small circular earthworks. By digging shallow channels the rain water also could be led into them.\*\*\*
- (8) "...The importance of Ghadyan lies in the fact that there is a large number of wells and springs there, with a practically unlimited water supply.\*\*\*\*
- (9) "...All the way to Ain el-Qanah sections of the stone conduit could be seen, being carried by aqueducts over the numerous small fissures and wadis crossing its path. The sides of the hill between the two springs (Ain el Qanah and Ain es-Sarah) were once terraced and cultivated, although they are completely desolate now.\*\*\*\*\*
- (10) "...Quantities of Nabatean sherds...and some Byzantine sherds were also found. None of the area surrounding Jemeil is cultivated today, except several patches scratched and planted by a few Arabs living on the site. Jemeil was once, however, the centre of an intensively cultivated area. This is evidenced by the many fields in the immediate vicinity of Jemeil which are cleared of stones and surrounded with stone fences."\*\*\*\*\*

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\* Explorations in Eastern Palestine, I, 1934, p.39

**	"	"	"	"	"	p.16
***	"	"	"	"	"	p.40
****	"	"	"	"	"	p.41
*****	"	"	"	"	"	p.65
*****	"	"	"	"	"	p.36



POSSIBILITIES OF NEW SETTLEMENT

40. In the light of historical and archeological evidence, the conclusion is irresistible that Transjordan was in the past a country of flourishing agriculture supporting a large and closely settled population. Today the population is very sparse and large parts of the country can be described as comparatively empty. It seems reasonably certain that the population of Transjordan could easily be doubled and trebled if the same forces which have been operating in recent years in Western Palestine were brought to bear upon its development, i.e. if new settlers were admitted into the territory who because of their greater needs would have to obtain higher returns from the soil; if the land were given the care it requires; if existing water resources were properly husbanded and new resources persistently looked for; if improved methods of cultivation and better cultures were introduced. Even without the powerful impetus which would be provided by Jewish settlement, room could be found in Transjordan for a large number of Arab cultivators to be transferred from Palestine, particularly if their transfer were accompanied by the investment of capital. It should be emphasised that Transjordan has not yet reached the stage of agricultural development or intensity of cultivation when recourse must be had to extraordinary expenditure or highly specialised methods of agriculture to create opportunities for a large-scale settlement of additional farmers. At the beginning, a great deal could be done with comparatively modest expenditure and without revolutionary changes in the methods of farming.

41. It has been shown that within the area now cultivated intermittently, some two to two and a half million dunams



could, with but elementary improvements, be gradually made available for new settlement. Allowing a unit of 100 dunams per family, this area could support from 20,000 to 25,000 agricultural families which would represent a nett addition to the agricultural population of Transjordan. The existing agricultural population would, just as Arabs in Western Palestine have done, concentrate on improving the cultivation of the remaining areas. As a result, its condition would not only not become worse, but, on the contrary, considerably better. It is noteworthy that in recent years, prominent leaders of tribes and other large landowners addressed themselves persistently to the Jewish Agency with offers of land for sale, always explaining that they were offering merely their surplus land and that only by the sale of that surplus would they be able properly to develop the remainder.

42. An illustration of the present helpless state of the impecunious landowners of Transjordan is offered by the case of the Beni Sakhr. This group of tribes own between them an area of well over 400,000 dunams, but cannot raise the means for its development. In 1935, the Transjordan Government gave them a subsidy of £P.250 to help them cultivate this vast area. Another similar case is of the Beni Hasan who own 372,000 dunams in the most fertile parts of the Ajlun district and are in the same plight as the Beni Sakhr as regards inability to develop the land. Both the Beni Sakhr and the Beni Hasan are nomads and not tillers of the soil. Few of them cultivate land and they largely depend on labourers or tenants recruited from among the smaller tribes and the poorer fellahin. As yet another illustration is the case of the Beni Hamide in the Belqa region in regard to whose land tenure and cultivation



the following details are known:

Lands of Beni Hamida

<u>Village</u>	<u>Total Area</u>	<u>Cultivated</u>
Jdeida	103,158 m.dunams	2,137 m.dunams
Abu Deir	48,686	1,037
Mahlute	29,535	5,237
Aqaba	5,569	1,700
Ara'ir	16,261	6,713

43. An area calling for special consideration in regard to possibilities of new settlement is the Jordan Valley. Here climatic and soil conditions and the abundance of water for irrigation opens up wide prospects for close settlement and intensive farming, whereas the continuation of the present system of primitive, extensive cultivation spells further deterioration for the present inhabitants of the area. With proper use of the water resources practically the whole cultivateable land of the valley could be irrigated and the unit of farming reduced to an area of from 25 to 40 dunams. The valley could then support about 12,000 families whereas at present it contains only 2,300.

44. The following areas in the Jordan Valley have at one time or other been offered for sale or long-term lease wholly or in part:

1. Ghor Fara	33,500	dunams
2. Ghor Wehadna	47,500	"
3. Ghor Demia & Shuqaq	33,500	"
4. Ghor Nimrin	80,000	"
5. Ghor Kattar & Kabd	60,000	"
6. Hamra	28,000	"
7. Ghor Arbain	35,000	"

Items 1, 2 and 3 are the property of Palestinian Arabs.

Item 5 belongs to His Highness the Amir. Item 6 is the property of a British resident in Palestine. Item 7 belongs to a tribe which occupies land on both sides of the Jordan and with whom negotiations are in progress regarding the concentration of its members on the area east of the river.



45. The areas previously designated as reserves of cultivable land - parts of the forest lands and suitable areas in the plateau west of the railway - can likewise be made to support an additional agricultural population. Forest lands are largely Government property and their preparation and use for settlement calls for special arrangements. Eventually, the total area of lands of this category, which comprise four million dunams, could, if distributed in units of from 100 to 200 dunams, support an agricultural population of 30,000 families. Concurrently with the opening up of present forest areas for cultivation, new afforestation would have to be undertaken to make good the resulting loss of forest resources.

46. The total number of new agricultural families which could be accommodated in Transjordan would thus appear to be in the neighbourhood of 60,000. Such a marked increase in the agricultural population could, of course, be achieved only gradually. It would naturally be accompanied by a corresponding increase of the non-agricultural population.

47. With regard to the possible transfer of Arabs from western Palestine to Transjordan three facts should be specially noted: (a) Arabs generally are as much at home in Transjordan as in Cis-Jordan. Numerous Palestinian effendis own land in Transjordan and some of the tribes, especially of the Beisan area, live partly in Transjordan and partly in western Palestine (e.g. the Ghezzawieh and the Seigar tribes). (b) Extensive areas in Transjordan are owned by individual landowners and lend themselves, therefore, more easily to acquisition and consolidation of holdings. (c) The price of land in Transjordan is very much lower than in Palestine. Jewish development of Palestine and



SECRET

Pol/98/38

22nd June, 1938.

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

I have the honour to submit, enclosed herewith, a memorandum on the Palestine-Syria and Palestine-Iraq Trade Agreements.

The memorandum is intended to answer the following questions addressed to the Jewish Agency in the note enclosed with your letter of the 30th May, 1938, under para.5:

"What is the policy of the Jewish Agency in regard to the present free trade agreements between Palestine and Syria and Iraq respectively? If the agreements were to be denounced, what effect is it expected that this would have (a) upon the demand of consumers in the Jewish area for local produce, (b) upon the cost of living in the Jewish area, and (c) upon the position of exporters in the Jewish area? It would be useful if the Commission could have an analysis under the principal heads of the present trade between Palestine and Syria and Iraq respectively."

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY



M E M O R A N D U M  
on the  
PALESTINE-SYRIA AND PALESTINE-IRAQ TRADE AGREEMENTS  
submitted to the  
PALESTINE PARTITION COMMISSION  
by the  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

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1. When the Customs Agreement of 1929, establishing free trade relations between Palestine and Syria, was entered into, it was confidently anticipated by those concerned in Palestine that Syria would provide a market for the products of the young Palestinian industries, and that these industrial exports would increase to such an extent as to offset the agricultural products which Palestine was importing from Syria in ever increasing quantities. Events have not, however, fulfilled these expectations. As the following table shows, the balance of trade between the two countries has not moved in Palestine's favour, but in the opposite direction:

Year	Imports from Syria into Palestine LP.1000	Exports from Palestine into Syria LP.1000	Palestine's Adverse Balance LP.1000
1933	943	213	730
1934	1,083	222	861
1935	1,310	302	1,008
1936	1,401	310	1,091
1937	1,375	625	750
Total	6,112	1,672	4,440
Average 5 years	1,222	334	888

The ratio between Syrian imports into Palestine and Palestinian imports into Syria was during those five years 3.7:1, which is even below the general average of Palestine's passive trade balance at the present time.

Looked at from another angle the position is that whereas in 1936 Syria absorbed only 8.5% of Palestine's exports, Palestine took in as much as 22.4% of the exports of Syria. This



country is, in fact, by far the most important single customer which Syria possesses.

2. It is clear, therefore, that the agreement has worked very much more to the advantage of Syria than of Palestine. The reasons for this are not difficult to discern. Within the last few years, Syria - in common with a good many other agricultural countries - has been developing its own industries. The new industries have been based mainly on a low-paid unorganised labour of which Syria possesses an abundant supply. The products of these industries are able to undercut not only Jewish products, but even those of Palestinian Arab industry.

3. In agriculture, much the same situation prevails. The competitive power which primitive standards afford to the Syrian product cannot be resisted by the Palestine producer, be he Jew or Arab, without a material reduction in his own standard of living. In so far as agriculture is concerned, Syria has also distinct natural advantages over Palestine, e.g. a cheaper and more abundant water supply.

4. For all these reasons, Syrian products, unhindered by any tariff barrier, have been able to penetrate the Palestine market, and take advantage of the expanding purchasing power and rising prosperity which were the results of Jewish settlement. No corresponding opportunity has been opened up for Palestine products in Syria - where the new local industries with their cheaper costs of production were able to check the expansion of what had been hoped would prove a favourable market for Palestine industrial exports.

5. A few examples of the development of trade in industrial products between Palestine and Syria may here be quoted:

	Imports from Syria (LP)	Exports to Syria (LP)	Trade Balance (LP)
<u>Cement:</u>			
1933	3,441	12,837	+ 9,396
1934	17,368	1,700	- 15,668
1935	28,633	2,650	- 25,983
1936	42,760	765	- 41,995
1937	108,495	132	- 108,363



	Imports from Syria (LP)	Exports to Syria (LP)	Trade Balance (LP)
<u>Socks &amp; Stockings:</u>			
1933	3,613	8,639	+ 5,026
1934	6,478	7,178	+ 700
1935	7,028	10,639	+ 3,611
1936	11,715	7,267	- 4,448
1937	21,004	9,515	- 11,489

Wearing Apparel:

1933	72,865	18,568	- 54,297
1934	107,365	26,900	- 80,465
1935	125,516	54,663	- 70,853
1936	59,646	41,733	- 17,913
1937	114,124	28,229	- 85,895

Boots & Shoes  
of leather:

1933	19,121	485	- 18,636
1934	40,396	843	- 39,553
1935	58,200	-	- 58,200
1936	43,269	-	- 43,269
1937	72,467	-	- 72,467

6. As an example of the penetration of Syrian agricultural products into the Palestine market, the case of eggs may be quoted:

Egg Imports from Syria & their Share in Palestine's  
Total Egg Imports

Year	Imports from Syria (000's)	Total Import (000's)	Share of Syria in Total
1934	7,049	56,982	12.4%
1935	42,574	75,924	56.7%
1936	52,419	91,224	57.5%
1937	65,000	92,910	70.0%

7. The situation which has, therefore, developed under the present free trade agreement cannot be considered satisfactory from the Palestine point of view. Although it is desired to maintain as close trade relations as possible between Palestine and Syria, a revision of the agreement as it stands appears to be imperative. This modification may, it is suggested, take the form of excluding from the provisions of the agreement Syrian goods competing with local produce while continuing to allow the free entry of non-competitive articles.



8. The agreement with Iraq cannot be defined as a "Free Trade" agreement. It is not based on any elements of reciprocity but is a purely unilateral arrangement. It provides for the reduction of duty on certain specified commodities imported into Palestine from Iraq, exempts certain Iraqi commodities from duty, and contains the provision that duty in Palestine on a further list of imports from Iraq cannot be increased without six months' notice being given to the Iraqi Government. This agreement in its present form is utterly objectionable inasmuch as it confers benefits solely on Iraq, without any reciprocal advantages accruing to Palestine.

9. The trade between Palestine and Iraq over the last five years has been as follows:

Year	Imports from Iraq to Palestine LP.	Exports to Iraq from Palestine LP.	Palestine's Adverse Trade Balance LP.
1933	81,592	5,393	76,199
1934	180,542	6,169	174,373
1935	219,776	7,070	212,706
1936	156,172	5,895	150,277
1937	361,161	12,047	349,114
Average of 5 years	199,849	7,315	192,534

In view of Palestine's large adverse trade balance with Iraq, the agreement should have been so framed as to narrow down the gulf between Palestine imports from, and exports to, Iraq. In its present form, the agreement can only serve to aggravate the discrepancy.

10. The reduction of the adverse trade balance could, it is submitted, have been achieved through the extension of special reciprocal facilities to Palestinian products in Iraq. Many categories of industrial goods manufactured in Palestine are not produced in Iraq, and it should not have been difficult to obtain some preferential treatment for some of these commodities in exchange for the very considerable concessions extended to Iraq by Palestine.



11. From the above it should be clear that what is contemplated is not a complete denunciation of the present trade agreements but a revision of their unsatisfactory features. Such revision, whether it be undertaken by the present Palestine Government or by the future Government of the Jewish State, would result in the diversion of local demand from the imported to the local products. (See Appendix). The home producer would experience no difficulty in expanding his output to meet the greater part of the increased demand for local produce which would develop as a result of the stoppage of these imports from Syria.

12. Even with a change in these trade agreements, however, competitive articles would, for various reasons, still continue to be imported in certain quantities. There is, for example, a seasonal slackening in the supply of certain agricultural products, when an increase in the imports from neighbouring countries may be required to fill the gap. Also, certain goods classed in the Appendix as "competitive" are sub-divided into varieties some of which are not produced in Palestine, although in the trade statistics they are lumped together in one category.

13. A revision of the trade treaties with Syria and Iraq need not necessarily lead to any appreciable rise in the cost of living in Palestine. The question has to be examined with reference (a) to agriculture and (b) to industry. It is clear that the exclusion of Syrian vegetables or eggs would cause the price of these products in Palestine to be maintained at a higher level than that fixed by the present cheap imports. This higher price, however, would not constitute an abnormal feature of the economic life of Palestine but would, on the contrary, be in harmony with the general conditions governing the price level of commodities in Palestine which is now disturbed by the abnormally cheap imports from the neighbouring countries. With regard to industry, the exclusion of present Syrian imports would in many cases not cause any rise of price at all. At present, Syrian competition cramps the development of many an industry, preventing it from expanding to a point where the advantages of large-scale production render



a reduction of prices practicable. The cutting out of this competition would in such cases lead to an increased employment for local labour without, in the long run, raising the cost of living. On the other hand, it has to be taken into account that once Syrian competition succeeds in ruining certain branches of Palestinian industry, as it has nearly succeeded in doing in certain cases, there would be nothing to prevent the Syrian importers from eventually raising the price of their products sold in Palestine to such an extent as the Palestinian market would bear. So far as Iraq is concerned the question does not arise as no change is demanded in the present regulations governing imports from Iraq to Palestine, only reciprocal facilities being desired for Palestinian exports to Iraq.

14. In general, it has to be remembered that the presence in Palestine of large sums of capital seeking investment, and the continuous expansion of development activities by public and semi-public bodies lead to every opportunity of investment being eagerly seized upon, resulting in an intense internal competition between local producers which forces the price level of commodities down. This feature of the economic situation is tellingly illustrated by the following statement from official sources (Agricultural Supplement No.2 to Palestine Gazette No.572, pp.27-28) referring to tomatoes, which have been enjoying protection under the "Plant Protection Ordinance", since 1923:

"It is well known that even when there were no imports during the past ten years, the summer crop was frequently unprofitable, because owing to the large production, prices were low...It should be borne in mind...that during the past ten years when the most effective form of duty (an embargo on importation) was in force, prices were, nevertheless, low, owing to an over-production in relation to demand."

15. An instance of an actual decline in prices after a rise in the tariff rate is provided by recent experience in the local egg market. At the end of 1937, the increased duty on eggs, which had formerly applied only to the months of February to May, was extended to December and January. The bulk of eggs imported during the months of February to May, was sent to

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imported in these months derive from Egypt, and are subject to duty, so that the effect of the increased duty may be gauged by a comparison between prices in December 1936 and January 1937, before the imposition of the increased duty, and December 1937 to January 1938, after the imposition of the duty:

Egg Prices in Tel Aviv and Jaffa

(According to Official Retail Price Bulletins)

Before Increase of Tariff	"Tnuva" Grade A Eggs (Tel Aviv)	Local Eggs (Jaffa)
December 1936	80 mils per 10 eggs	50 mils per 10 eggs
January 1937	60 " " 10 "	38 " " 10 "
<u>After Increase of Tariff</u>		
December 1937	60 " " 10 "	38 " " 10 "
January 1938	50 " " 10 "	38 " " 10 "

As regards the effects of increased duties on industrial articles, a detailed investigation was undertaken in 1936 on behalf of the Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency. In only one case could a rise in price as a result of the tariff increases in recent years be discerned. Otherwise prices were found to have remained stationary or even to have declined after the imposition of the duty if fluctuations in the prices of raw materials are taken into consideration.

16. It should be pointed out that the revision of the Treaty with Syria and active measures to stem the rising tide of certain imports from Syria and other neighbouring countries have been urged with equal vigour by Jewish and Arab producers. The imposition of a duty on imported tomatoes was the result of representations made to Government by Jewish and Arab growers jointly. All recommendations adopted by the Marketing Sub-Committee of the General Agricultural Council for the introduction of measures against the competition of neighbouring countries were supported unanimously by Jewish and Arab members. The outcry against the duty-free importation of footwear from Syria which has had ruinous effects upon local industry is louder in the Arab than in the Jewish press. At the time of writing joint efforts are on foot by Jewish and Arab manufacturers - undertaken upon



the initiative of the latter - to protect the interests of the local sweets industry against the competition of Syrian products.

17. It is not likely that the position of exporters in the Jewish area will deteriorate if the agreements with Syria and Iraq are revised. An extensive trade with Syria will still be maintained in non-competitive goods, the sole object of the trade revision being to secure some improvement in Palestine's trade balance with Syria by limiting the free entry into Palestine of competitive Syrian goods. The value of non-competitive imports in 1937 is calculated at LP.500,000, but no doubt some proportion of the goods classed as competitive will continue to be imported. In 1937 Palestinian exports to Syria were valued at LP.625,000, so that - with the exclusion of competitive goods from the treaty provisions - the desired reciprocity will be approximately attained.

18. The proposed revision of the treaty with Iraq is designed to improve the position of Palestinian exporters by granting to Palestine products certain concessions on the Iraqi market in exchange for Palestinian concessions to Iraq. The very large adverse trade balance between Palestine and the countries under discussion puts Palestine in a favourable bargaining position for improving its export trade if only the opportunities in this regard are effectively utilised.

19. All calculations in this memorandum refer to undivided Palestine, as the questions were framed with reference to "present trade". They have been based on the admittedly arbitrary assumption that imports and exports will, after partition, continue in the same proportion and composition as regards both areas. It has not been found possible to define, with any degree of accuracy, the volume of trade which should be allocated to each of the proposed areas.

Jerusalem,  
June 22, 1938.



APPENDIX

PALESTINE-SYRIA TRADE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Imports from Syria into Palestine LP.</u>	<u>Exports from Palestine into Syria LP.</u>	<u>Palestine's Adverse Balance LP.</u>
1933	943,000	213,000	730,000
1934	1,083,000	222,000	861,000
1935	1,310,000	302,000	1,008,000
1936	1,401,000	310,000	1,091,000
1937	1,375,000	625,000	750,000
Average of 5 years	1,223,000	334,000	888,000

	<u>1933</u>	<u>1934</u>	<u>1935</u>	<u>1936</u>	<u>1937</u>
<u>Imports from Syria (LP.000's)</u>					
Class I (food, drink & tobacco)	498	529	615	932	649
Class II (articles mainly unmanu- factured)	26	60	113	42	28
Class III (articles wholly or mainly manu- factured)	329	429	542	408	671
Class IV (Unclassified)					
<u>Exports to Syria (LP.000's)</u>					
Class I (food, drink & tobacco)	85	95	119	139	363
Class II (articles mainly unmanu- factured)	17	31	49	55	87
Class III (articles wholly or mainly manu- factured)	111	96	134	116	147
Class IV (Un classi- fied)	90	65	40	19	27

Import from Syria into Palestine 1937

Competitive goods*	LP. 873,549	= 63.6%
Non-competitive goods	LP. 500,895	= 36.4%
Total:	1,374,444	= 100.0%

\* "Competitive" refers to goods which are produced in Palestine, excluding goods, such as wheat, which, although produced in Palestine, cannot be increased at will to replace imports.



SECRET

Pol/103/38.

July 1st,,1938.

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
J e r u s a l e m.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit herewith for the consideration of the Palestine Partition Commission a Memorandum on the historical connection of the Jewish people with Jerusalem. The Jewish Jerusalem of today, which is only briefly referred to in the final section, will form the subject of a separate Memorandum which will shortly be submitted.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY.



THE HISTORICAL CONNECTION  
of the  
JEWISH PEOPLE WITH JERUSALEM

Submitted to the  
PALESTINE PARTITION COMMISSION

by the

JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

WRHS



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES



Jerusalem  
July 1st, 1938.



## I N T R O D U C T I O N

In the historical consciousness of the Jewish people Jerusalem occupies a unique position. Rome was to the Italians the emblem of their supreme achievement in military conquest and political organisation. Athens embodied to the Greeks the noblest that the genius of their people had wrought in the realms of art and thought. The significance of Jerusalem to the Jews is both of the temporal and spiritual order. It is to them the centre of the ancient wordly glory of Israel, the capital of David and Solomon, "beautiful in elevation, the joy of the whole earth, the city of the great king". (Psalm XLVIII). Its conquest and elevation to the capital of Judaea by David signified the establishment of a Jewish polity in Palestine. Conversely, its destruction first by the Chaldeans and subsequently by the Romans, marked in each case the end of Jewish statehood. On its recapture the last efforts of the nation were spent in the abortive revolt of Bar Cochba half a century after the Roman conquest. In each of these wars Jerusalem was defended with desperate tenacity. It was never surrendered, but only reduced after a fierce struggle. And as soon as the pressure of the conqueror relaxed Jewish settlement was resumed. As will be shown in the present survey, an almost unbroken chain of Jewish settlement connects present-day Jerusalem with the holy city of antiquity. To countless generations of Jews ascent to Jerusalem and residence within its precincts was the highest that life could offer. During eighteen centuries this attachment and this aspiration formed the central theme in the literature of the Jewish people. It was the inspiring force of the numerous Messianic movements which sprang up generation after generation in every part of the far-flung Jewish diaspora. Its reality impressed itself



even on the non-Jewish world. Every scheme for a Jewish political restoration in Palestine, from the Proclamation of King Cyrus in the third century B.C.E. to that of Napoleon at the threshold of the nineteenth century was expressed in terms of the rebuilding of Jerusalem. All Jewish prayers for a national restoration, all movements of resettlement, all Messianic aspirations, spiritual and secular, had as their prime object the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Jerusalem came to epitomise Palestine as a whole, its rebuilding became synonymous with the redemption of Israel.

Yet the motive of this age-long attachment is not merely, or even predominantly, political. It would never have survived with such an intensity had it had no deeper inspiration. From its early origins Jerusalem was to the Jew the city of the spirit. David carried into it the Ark of the Covenant and conceived the plan of building a national sanctuary within its walls. King Solomon erected the Temple and thereafter it became the religious centre of the Hebrew people, the city "chosen by God to put his name there". It was not merely the repository of the religious shrine of the nation, but the tribune from which spoke its moral teachers and prophetic guides: "The Lord roareth from Zion and uttereth his voice from Jerusalem" (Amos I,2). In the messages of the prophets it became the emblem of the divine call for the establishment of justice between man and man and between nation and nation. During the last phase of the Jewish State the prophets inspired and comforted the people with the vision of a new world order of universal peace and justice which would arise from a reborn Jerusalem: "And it shall come to pass in the end of days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it...For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem" (Isaiah II. 2,3). At a later stage this conception was clothed in the mystical



vision of a New Jerusalem on high which would one day descend on earth. Nothing, perhaps, is more significant of the depth of the Jewish attachment to Jerusalem than the fact that even in this supernatural projection the vision of a better world was conceived in the image of the beloved city. Nor was the vision allowed to dwarf the reality. A Talmudical saying has it that God will not make his entry into the Jerusalem above before he has returned to the Jerusalem below.\* The dictum well exemplifies the distinctive character of that attachment which is spiritual and realistic at once. To the Jewish people Jerusalem is The City. "Aloof, waterless, on the road to nowhere" - such, in the description of George Adam Smith, is the nature of the plateau on which it stands. It has "none of the natural conditions of a great city. And yet it was here that She arose who, more than Athens and <sup>more</sup> than Rome, taught the nations civic justice, and gave her name to the ideal city men are ever striving to build on earth, to the City of God that shall one day descend from heaven - the New Jerusalem. For her builder was not Nature nor the wisdom of man, but on that secluded and barren site of the Word of God, by her prophets, laid her eternal foundations in righteousness and reared her walls in her people's faith in God".\*\*

It is by that faith and that attachment that the Jewish People has survived.

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\* Tractate Taanith, p.5

\*\* G.A.Smith: "The Historical Geography of Palestine", p.319.



### THE BIBLICAL PERIOD.

Jerusalem first appears in the biblical record in the story of Abraham, the patriarch, paying a tithe to Melchizedek, King of Shalem, after he had rescued the King of Sodom (Genesis XIV,18). At the time of the Israelite conquest of Palestine, Jerusalem was in the hands of the Jebusites. It was only during David's reign that it was finally captured by the Jews. He made it his capital, surrounded it with a wall and brought the Ark of the Covenant into it. He subsequently bought the threshing floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, as the site for the erection of a permanent sanctuary. The hill is named, in the Book of Chronicles, the Mount of Moriah, and is identified in Jewish tradition with the site of Isaac's sacrifice. It was here that King Solomon built the first Temple. He enlarged the city by the erection of a palatial residence situated above the City of David, by the construction of an additional wall and the building of new town quarters. In his reign, Jerusalem became the cultural and religious centre of the Hebrew nation. Even when, under his successors, the northern tribes had seceded from Judaea and established a separate kingdom, many of the inhabitants of the latter retained their loyalty to the holy city and continued to come up on pilgrimage to Jerusalem (II Chronicles XI,16). Under the <sup>later</sup> Judaeans kings the city grew both in area and in population. The historical books of the Bible record intensive building activities and the addition of new suburbs to the city. Water was brought to Jerusalem by a canal, its fortifications were strengthened and new walls and towers erected. Jerusalem was famed as a city "that was full of people", as "great among the nations and princess among the provinces".\* The Books of the Prophets convey a colourful picture of the rich cultural life that reigned during this period in the capital. The Biblical Canon generally reflects the central place which Jerusalem held in

\* Lamentations I,1.



the whole life of the nation. It was to them "the joy of the whole earth", "the city that is compact together; whither the tribes went up". (Psalm 122). Three times a year the whole male population of the country came up to the Holy City to celebrate the High Festivals. That pilgrimage symbolised the dominating influence of Jerusalem in the theocratic order of ancient Israel.

#### THE FIRST EXILE AND THE RETURN

In 587 B.C.E. Jerusalem was captured by the Chaldeans after a stubborn defence lasting for more than a year and a half. The city and the Temple were utterly destroyed, the walls razed to the ground, and the king with the elite of the nation exiled to Babylon. In songs which have become classics of national mourning, the later prophets expressed the lamentations of the people over the loss of their holy city: "How doth the city sit solitary, that was full of people! How is she become a widow! She that was great among the nations, and princess among the provinces, how is she become tributary! She weepeth sore in the night, and her tears are on her cheeks; she has none to comfort her..All her friends have dealt treacherously with her, they are become enemies". (Lamentations I,1,2). In the Babylonian captivity it is the thought of their Holy City which is uppermost in the minds of the exiles: "By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion. Upon the willows in the midst thereof we hanged up our harps.... How shall we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land? If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I remember thee not, if I set not Jerusalem above my chiefest joy". (Psalm 137). Similarly, the visions of the national restoration which fill the prophetic writings, centre around the city of Jerusalem. "Return O backsliding children, saith the Lord, for I am a lord unto you, and I will take you one of a city, and two of a family, and I will bring you to Zion" (Jeremiah III,14). "Yet again there



shall be heard in this place, even in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem that are desolate, the voice of joy and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride". (Ibid.33, 10,11). In innumerable variations the theme recurs in all the later prophetic writings.

Equally, when the call comes to the exiles to return to their native land it is the rebuilding of Jerusalem which, in the proclamation of the king of Persia, symbolises the restoration of the nation. "Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia...Whosoever there is among you of all His people let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord" (Ezra I,2,3). It was essentially against the restoration of Jerusalem that the opposition of the Samaritans and Ammonites, who had usurped the country during the exile of the Jews, was directed. They burst into Jerusalem with "force and arms" and disturbed the work of reconstruction: "They that builded on the wall and they that bore burdens, every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held his weapon". (Nehemiah IV, 2).

In the ensuing period, Jerusalem resumed its former position as the political and religious centre of the Jewish people. Its population increased, one-tenth of the entire nation being settled in the city. It was during this period that the Biblical Canon was compiled and edited. For a time the high priests were both the heads and spiritual guides of the nation. The welfare of Jerusalem was their principal concern. They fortified the walls of the new city and provided it with a new water supply. To those who remained in exile, Jerusalem was the centre of their national hopes. To Jerusalem the scattered communities of the Diaspora sent their shekel dues for the upkeep of the Temple. To Jerusalem they appealed for aid and advice in times of stress and from Jerusalem they obtained instructions in regard to the laws and precepts of the Jewish religion. In



saying their prayers they would turn to the Holy City (Daniel VI,10). All supplications for the gathering in of the exiles and the redemption of the nation ended with the entreaty that "Jerusalem be again filled with the glory of God". (Ben Sira, 36).

#### THE MACCABEAN ERA

In the period of the Maccabeans which followed, it was again Jerusalem which was in the centre of the struggle for national and spiritual independence. The efforts of the king of Syria, Antiochus Epiphanes, to force Greek customs and idolatrous practices on the Jews began with his attempts to transform Jerusalem into a Hellenistic city. They reached their climax in the plunder of the Temple, the destruction of the walls of the city, and the massacre of its inhabitants. Equally, the revolt of the Maccabeans centred on Jerusalem. The recapture of the Temple Mount and the resumption of religious services in the sacred area marked the recovery of religious independence as the conquest of the citadel of Jerusalem signified the restoration of political freedom.

Under the Maccabean rulers Jerusalem reached a new peak in its development. The city was beautified with palaces and stately buildings and fortified with strong walls and towers. Learned academies were established which drew the most talented of the nation to the capital. It continued to flourish even when Judaea fell under Roman influence after its conquest by Pompey in 63 B.C.E. Herod, the Edomite adventurer, who was appointed by the Roman Senate as king of Judaea, endeavoured to establish himself in the favour of the Jewish people by beautifying Jerusalem on a lavish scale. The Temple was rebuilt with great splendour. It was regarded by the contemporaries as one of the wonders of the world. The population of Jerusalem increased very largely during this period. According to some accounts it numbered, prior to the Roman siege, a quarter of a million inhabitants. Noble families vied with each other in building spacious



residences and synagogues. The Jewish communities abroad maintained their own synagogues and guest houses where their representatives stayed when they came up for the holy pilgrimage. Agrippa I surrounded the city and its new quarters with a well-fortified wall, the so-called Third Wall, the remnants of which have recently been excavated. Jerusalem, at that period, was not only the capital of Judaea, but the centre of the far-flung Jewish Diaspora whose communities were to be found in all the main cities of the Roman Empire. In writing to the Emperor Caligula, Agrippa described Jerusalem as the capital of the Jewish communities throughout the world. It was this central position which turned the revolt of Jerusalem against the Pro-Consul into an uprising of the whole Jewish nation against Roman rule. Equally, the conquest and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in the year 70 meant the end of Jewish national freedom.

#### JERUSALEM UNDER ROMAN RULE

The Roman conquest ended in the complete destruction of Jerusalem. Only a few towers of the city wall, the western wall of the Temple vestibule, and several gates of the Temple area were left standing. The Jewish population was practically annihilated in the siege and the final onslaught. After a while, however, Jews appear to have settled again in the area of the city. Two generations after the fall of Jerusalem, a national rising against Roman rule broke out, led by Bar Cochba. The insurgents succeeded in reconquering Jerusalem and holding it for a short while. Coins issued by Bar Cochba to celebrate the liberation of Jerusalem have recently been found. The revolt, which lasted for three years, was crushed by the Romans with extreme force. Nearly 600,000 Jews are recorded to have perished in the course of the long drawn out struggle. Jerusalem, greatly reduced in size, was transformed into a Roman colony and given the name of Aelia Capitolina. The Romans are



reported to have passed the ploughshare over the Temple area and to have strewed its furrows with salt.

In spite of all this, however, the Jews did not entirely abandon the Holy City. Historical sources ranging from the second to the fourth century, testify to the continuance of Jewish pilgrimages to Jerusalem on the holy festivals and on the days of mourning of the Jewish calendar, in spite of the fact that considerable difficulties were placed in their way by the Roman soldiery.\* They also used every opportunity that offered itself in the political developments of the Roman Empire to secure their national freedom and the restoration of their city. Such an opportunity seemed to have occurred when the Roman Emperor Julian, before setting<sup>on</sup> out his Persian War, held out a promise that after its completion, he would permit the Jews to rebuild Jerusalem. Many Jews flocked to his colours in the wave of enthusiasm which that promise elicited. But the Emperor died during the war and Jewish hopes were again shattered. A second opportunity came when the Persian king Chosroes II invaded Palestine in 616 and attracted many Jews to his colours by promising them the restoration of Jerusalem. The promise was not kept, however, and when the Byzantine Emperor recaptured the city fourteen years later, he wrought terrible revenge on the Jews. During the short interval between its re-conquest and the Arab invasion, the Jewish community of Jerusalem was again utterly destroyed. So terrible was Jewish suffering during that period that when the Caliph Omar launched his attack against the Byzantine Empire many Jews joined his colours and participated in the final rout of the Roman armies.

#### MOURNING FOR ZION

In the aftermath of the abortive revolt of Bar Cochba, a movement grew up among the Jewish population both in Palestine and in

\* "Jerusalem", Tome II. Jerusalem Nouvelle par les P.P. Hughes Vincent and F.M. Abel, Paris, pp. 877-8.  
Juster, Les Juifs Dans l'Empire Romaine II, p.174, note 5.



the Diaspora which continued well into the period of the Crusades - the movement of the "Mourners for Zion and Jerusalem". Its adherents abstained from partaking of wine and meat as a sign of mourning for the destruction of Jerusalem. They dressed in black garments, held fasts and spent their nights in fervent prayers for the gathering in of the exiles and the restoration of the Holy City.

Apart, however, from these ascetic practices, mourning for Jerusalem became a general feature of the Jewish ritual and the service of the synagogue. In all the countries of the Diaspora Jewish life, religious and secular, became impregnated with symbols of mourning for Jerusalem. At midnight, the devout Jew would cover his head with ashes, sit on the floor and read passages from the Book of Lamentations, from the Psalms and the Prophets, ending up with supplications for the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the restoration of its ancient glory. The great central prayer of the Jewish service, recited at dawn, midday and at night, contains numerous supplications for the "rebuilding of Jerusalem speedily in our days" and "for the restoration of the Divine Presence unto Zion". In the special service read on the three festivals of the pilgrimage, the Jew, until this day, prays: "Gather our dispersed from the ends of the earth and lead us with exaltation unto Zion, Thy city, and unto Jerusalem, the place of Thy sanctuary with everlasting joy". "Next year in Jerusalem" is the concluding passage of the most solemn services of the Jewish liturgy, that of the Passover Night and of the Day of Atonement. It is equally a central theme in every private service, in the grace after meals, in the marriage service, in the initiation of the new-born and in the memorial for the dead. The liturgical formula of comfort to mourners is: "May the Lord comfort ye among all those that mourn for Zion and Jerusalem", while the doxology recited after the interment concludes with a fervent supplication for the "rebuilding of the city of Jerusalem and the restoration of the worship



of the true God". According to Talmudic prescription, it was customary when building a house to leave a spot unfinished as a reminder of the destruction of Jerusalem. The bridegroom at the marriage ceremony was to put ashes on his head as a symbol of "setting Jerusalem above his chiefest joy". Equally, the jewelry of the bridal dress was to be incomplete, while neither bride nor groom were to wear any floral wreaths. Three days of fast in the Jewish calendar are devoted to commemorating the fall and destruction of Jerusalem: the 10th of Teveth, the anniversary of the commencement of the siege, the 17th of Tammuz, the day when the Roman besiegers effected the first breach in the wall, and, finally, the 9th of Ab, the day of the fall of the city and the destruction of the Temple. The latter fast is observed in all Jewish communities throughout the world unto this day, the whole congregation sitting on the floor, saying lamentations late into the night and in the morning until midday. The preceding three weeks already are observed as a period of deep mourning when every kind of festivity, public or private, is strictly prohibited.

#### THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF JERUSALEM AFTER THE ARAB CONQUEST

The Arab conquest produced an improvement in the position of the Jews in Jerusalem. According to trustworthy contemporary evidence, Jews were again allowed to enter the Temple area and even to erect a synagogue in its vicinity. Gradually the Jewish community began to revive. New synagogues were built\*, and a religious academy was established which attracted many scholars from the countryside and from the Diaspora. According to the evidence of a Christian source, the Jewish Quarter formed something of a city of its own, covering the area "between Jehoshaphat Road and the city walls on the left".\*\*

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\* Caetani, *Annali del Islami*, Vol.III, p. 941.

\*\* *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, Vol.I, p.500.



In addition, the Jews occupied the southern part of the city, between Zion Gate and the Wailing Wall, which is known to this day as the "Jewish Quarter". In the space before the Wailing Wall the community and the pilgrims held their gatherings. This is confirmed, also, by Salman ben Yeruhm, a Karaite scholar of the tenth century who records that the Jews lived "in the courts of the house of God", i.e. alongside the gates of the Temple area.\* The authoritative position Jerusalem held in contemporary Jewry is illustrated by the many letters addressed to its spiritual heads by the communities of the Diaspora asking for guidance and enlightenment in religious matters. From France, Italy, Germany and even Russia pilgrims came up in growing numbers who brought with them gifts and donations for the upkeep of the synagogue and religious colleges. Attempts were also made to revive the office of the "Nasi", the former head of the Jewish community. Merwan II, the last of the Omayyad Caliphs, is reported to have "commanded that the Jews everywhere should return to Jerusalem.\*\*

The deep attachment of the Jewish people to Jerusalem throughout the Diaspora is also testified by the Messianic movements which sprang up during this period. The most famous were those of Serenus of Syria and Abu Isa of Ispahan. According to contemporary historical sources, Latin and Arab, multitudes of Jews emigrated to Jerusalem under the impetus of these visionaries.

Equally instructive is the evidence of the Hebrew liturgical literature produced during this period in Palestine, Spain, France and Germany. The lamentations composed by rabbis and scholars so far apart as Rabbi Gershon, the head of the Jewish community of Mayence in Germany, of Amitai ben Shefatiah and Meshulam ben Kalonimos in Italy, of Rabbi Samuel Hanaggid, the Vizier of Granada, and Rabbi Solomon Ibn Gabirol, the great Hebrew poet and philosopher of

\* J. Mann "The Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs", Vol. I, p.46.

\*\* Daniel Ha-Kopti, quoted in B.Dinaburg "Israel Bagolah", Vol.I, p.161.



Malaga, exemplify how intense and how universal was the attachment of the Diaspora to the memory of Zion. "Zion mourns over her children and her children mourn over her" - such is the central theme of all this liturgical poetry. "When I remember O Lord, I do moan, when I see each city secure upon its foundations, and the city of God humbled unto the deepest depth". Mourning for "the holy city and its environs/<sup>which</sup>are pillaged and disgraced" varies in these lamentations with supplications for its restoration and with urgent appeals to the reader to go up and help in its reconstruction. This liturgical poetry kept the memory of Jerusalem actively alive among the Jewries of the Diaspora and produced a never-ceasing stream of pilgrims which helped to maintain the material and spiritual strength of the Jerusalem community. The characteristic of this literature is that its inspiration is not of the romantic order. Jerusalem to these poets is not a visionary dream, but the actual centre, sacred yet of ever-present reality, of the Jewish people, degraded and humiliated as she is, but nonetheless a living body. And neither can be redeemed without the other.

#### THE ERA OF THE CRUSADERS (1096-1187).

The conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders resulted in the destruction of the flourishing Jewish community of the preceding period. The Jews took an active part in the defence of the city against the invaders and they were made to suffer terribly for their prowess. Many were burned alive in the synagogue near the Wailing Wall, multitudes were massacred at the gates of the city, and the rest sold into slavery. Jews were forbidden by the new rulers to dwell in Jerusalem and it was perilous for a Jew even to appear in the streets of the city. Nevertheless, a small remnant was left even during this acute period of persecution. The famous Jewish mediaeval traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Jerusalem in the year 1170, found there a community of not more than 200



Jews living "at the very end of the city near the Tower of David".\* Another Jewish traveller of that period, Petahiah of Regensburg, who visited Palestine a few years later, records that the Jews had to pay heavy taxes to the Latin kingdom for being permitted to reside in Jerusalem.\*\* During the latter period of the rule of the Crusaders, there appears to have been some relaxation of the anti-Jewish measures, for Jewish immigrants from Western Europe are reported to have been admitted to Jerusalem, apparently in order to promote commercial intercourse between the Latin kingdom and the continent. So, the Jewish community, despite the hardships and perils of the period, gradually again increased in numbers. In 1140, Judah Halevy, the greatest of the mediaeval Hebrew poets, is reported to have come to Jerusalem and to have perished at the gates of the Holy City. His writings, poetical and philosophic, mirror more than those of any other poet of the Diaspora, the extraordinary intensity of the Jewish attachment to the Holy City. His "Ode to Zion" is the classic of mediaeval Hebrew poetry:

"Zion,  
Hast thou no greeting for thy prisoned sons,  
That seek thy peace, the remnant of thy flock?  
I would pour forth my soul upon each spot  
Where once upon thy youth God's spirit breathed,  
Prostrate upon thy soil now let me fall,  
Embrace my stones, and love thy very dust!  
Shall food and drink delight me when I see  
Thy lions torn by dogs? What joy to me  
Shall daylight bring if with it I behold  
The ravens feasting on the eagle's flesh?  
But where thy God Himself made choice to dwell  
Lasting abode thy children yet shall find".

This elegy became the prototype of a long series of similar odes written by the outstanding poets of the Judaeo-Spanish period. However flowery the language, the attachment which it reflects was of intense reality, as shown by the fatal pilgrimage of Judah Halevy himself.

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\* "Encyclopaedia Judaica", Vol.VIII, p.1151.

\*\* Itinerary, ed. Greenhut, p.32, et seq.



THE PERIOD OF THE AYUBIDES AND THE MAMELUKES  
(1187-1517)

The capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187 marked the beginning of a great improvement in the condition of the Jewish community of the city. According to the testimony of the Spanish-Jewish poet, Al-Harizi, who visited Jerusalem in 1216, Saladin issued a proclamation inviting the Jews to return to Jerusalem. Despite the insecurity and continual warfare, a large number immigrated from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Southern and even from France and England. In 1211, three hundred Rabbis from the latter two countries settled in Jerusalem. Saladin's brother Melik-el-Adil received them with great honour and they are reported to have established new synagogues and rabbinical colleges. Al-Harizi in his epistles from Jerusalem describes the flourishing condition of the Jewish community during this period. The revival was unfortunately of only short duration. The continuous wars, more especially the Tartar invasion which swept over Jerusalem in 1244, decimated the Jewish inhabitants. It was by the efforts of Nachmanides, the famous Hebrew philosopher and mystic, who visited Jerusalem in 1267, that the foundations of a new community were laid. He revived the services in the half-destroyed synagogues and re-established the rabbinical academies to which scholars soon again began to flock from far and near.

The history of the Jewish community during the ensuing period was a very chequered one. The long drawn-out struggle between Islam and Christianity had greatly inflamed the religious fanaticism of the Moslems, and the Jews were the prime sufferers. The Mameluke governors and local officials imposed extortionate levies on them, knowing fully well that the Jewish communities abroad would come to their aid. Sometimes, Jews would be allowed to live in peace for a while. Jewish immigrants were even welcomed, particularly those who brought with them lucrative trades, like the manufacture of silk.



Then after a period of prosperity persecution, extortion, pillage and even murder would recommence. It is this which explains the constantly varying size of the Jewish community during that period. Meshullam da Volterra, an Italian scholar, who stayed in Jerusalem in 1481, reports that 250 Jewish families were then living in the city.\* After the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, a considerable number of the refugees came to settle in Jerusalem.

#### THE TURKISH ERA.

The Turkish conquest of Palestine produced no marked change in the condition of the Jewish community in Jerusalem. At the beginning of the Turkish era the community numbered, according to contemporary estimates, some 600 to 650 families. Their number grew rapidly, and at the beginning of the 17th century a Jewish writer reports that "the city of our Lord is occupied by more of our nation than there ever were since the day when Israel was exiled from its land".

It was during this period that the powerful Messianic movement led by Sabbatai Zevi swept the Jewish Diaspora. Of the innumerable Messianic waves which had shaken the Jewish people at various periods of their history in exile, none produced so deep a social and spiritual upheaval. Jews in all lands flocked to the standard of the young mystic of Smyrna and prepared themselves for the ascent to Jerusalem. The response was equally great among the enlightened communities of Germany and Holland as among the mystically inclined Jewries of the East. So deep was the impression created by the movement even on the non-Jewish world that bets were taken at Lloyd's in London as to the date when Sabbatai Zevi would triumphantly enter Jerusalem. The movement ended in a terrible spiritual debacle, but its impetus produced new waves of Jewish immigration to Jerusalem, both from the Orient and from Eastern Europe.

This immigration assumed larger proportions in the 18th

\* Ozar Massaot (ed. Eisenstein) p.99 et seq.



century when several groups of the adherents of the Hassidic Movement came to Jerusalem from Poland. In the middle of the century two further large groups settled in the city, one from Italy and another from Morocco. From contemporary estimates it would appear that already by the middle of the 18th century the Jews formed the majority of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The learned Swedish traveller Hasselquirt who visited Jerusalem in 1751, gives the figure of the Jewish community as 20,000.\* Their economic position was generally poor. Many were artisans, silversmiths and goldsmiths, weavers and saddlers. Others worked during the week in the villages and only returned to Jerusalem for the Sabbaths and Holy Days.

In the 18th century an organisation arose among the Jewries of eastern and central Europe which greatly assisted the growth of the Jerusalem community. A system of regular contributions for the support of Jewish scholars in Palestine was set up - the so-called Haluka. Through its agency, Jews in all lands - in Germany and Italy, in France and England, in Poland and Austria - sent their donations to those whom they regarded as their "representatives" in the Holy City. The organisation is still in being today and has contributed a great deal to the maintenance of the scholarly element among the Jewish community of Jerusalem.

As the authority of the central government in Turkey went down, the position of the Jewish community of Jerusalem deteriorated progressively. It still represented a spiritual elite, but its economic and political condition constantly grew from bad to worse. "You ought to see this nation in Jerusalem", writes Chateaubriand, the French romantic poet. "The real owners of the country are as strangers and slaves in their own land. But no matter how they are oppressed, they still hope for the redeemer and meanwhile bend their heads in silence without complaining of their fate".\*\*

\* "Voyages and Travels in the Levant" by Frederick Hasselquirt (1766), p. 124.

\*\* "Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem", Paris (1811), Vol. III, p. 68.



In 1799 Napoleon invaded Palestine from Egypt. In the course of the campaign he issued a proclamation to the Jews of Asia and Africa calling upon them to march under his banner "in order to re-establish ancient Jerusalem".\* Napoleon's army never reached Jerusalem and little is known of the effects of his proclamation, but the fact that its essential promise was for the restoration of Jerusalem indicates how much that magic word was even then felt to mean to the Jewish people.

#### JEWISH JERUSALEM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The conquest of Palestine by Mohammed Ali in 1832 brought Jerusalem for seven years under Egyptian rule. The policy of tolerance pursued by the Egyptian Government against the non-Moslem population and the stoppage of the arbitrary practices of the Turkish pashas, had a beneficial effect on the development of the Jewish community. Immigration from Eastern Europe and from the Oriental countries brought new forces, among them also wealthy elements. The improvement was maintained when Palestine, in 1841, reverted to Turkish rule. The Jewish community was granted by the Sultan a wide measure of self-government. Its Chief Rabbi, the Hakham Bashi, was invested with the same privileges as the spiritual heads of the other communities, and the Jewish rabbinical courts were given jurisdiction in all matters pertaining to personal status and charitable and religious endowments.

More important even was the protection afforded to the Jews who immigrated to Jerusalem from abroad by the consulates of their countries of origin, by virtue of the powers conferred upon them by the Capitulations. Of special importance in this connection was the appointment in 1831 of a British Consul, to whom Lord Palmerston subsequently gave directions "to afford protection to Jews generally".\*\*

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\* N.Sokolow: "History of Zionism", Vol.II, p.220.

\*\* Ibid, Volume I, p.158.



Similarly, in a circular addressed by Lord Palmerston to his agents in the Levant and Syria, it was stated that the British Consul was on every suitable occasion to make it known to the local authorities that "the British Government felt an interest in the welfare of the Jews in general, and was anxious that they should be protected from oppression!"\* Under the conditions of security thus guaranteed, a new Jewish immigration set in which resulted in a rapid growth of the Jewish community. About the middle of the century it was estimated to number some 5,700, in a total population of 18,000. By 1869, it had grown to 10,000, by 1891 to 25,000 and by 1900 to 28,000 out of a total of 45,000. In 1913, the Jewish community numbered 48,400, the entire population 75,400. In less than 60 years it had grown from less than a third to nearly two-thirds of the total population.

The newcomers represented practically every branch of the far-flung Jewish Diaspora. Since the beginning of the persecution of the Jews of Russia in the eighties of the nineteenth century, the Russian contingent predominated. But there was also a large immigration from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, from the Balkans and from the Sephardic communities of North Africa, Iraq, Persia, Caucasia, Bukhara and even remote Yemen. As previously, the communities of these countries materially contributed to the maintenance of what they viewed as their delegates in the Holy City.

A direct result of the new immigration was the establishment of new Jewish quarters outside the walls of the old city. On the initiative of Sir Moses Montefiore, the noted Anglo-Jewish philanthropist who visited Palestine seven times between 1827 and 1876, a Jewish quarter was built to the south of the Wall, named "Mishkenoth Shaananim", where some twenty Jewish families settled in 1860. This was followed nine years later by the establishment of the Nachlat Shiva quarter close to the Jaffa Road, and shortly after that, by the foundation of the large suburb of Mea Shearim,

\* N.Sokolow "History of Zionism", Vol.I, p.159.



near the Nablus Road. Special building funds obtained by co-operative efforts and from various bequests assisted this development. Every wave of new immigration was followed by renewed building activities. A whole network of new Jewish town quarters arose, partly to the south of the old city, partly along the Jaffa Road and partly on the north-western ridge. Thus it is that the new Jewish Jerusalem came into being.

The new immigration effected a change also in the economic structure of the community. While it had, at the beginning of the century, been composed to a large extent of religious scholars and other pious elements, who were maintained by donations from abroad, it now assumed in growing measure the character of a working community. Jews took again to building and masonry work, to carpentry and printing. The establishment of trade and vocational schools by Jewish philanthropic societies abroad contributed materially to this economic transformation. It is noteworthy that the first attempt towards the establishment of a Jewish agricultural settlement originated from the Jews of Jerusalem. In 1878, a group purchased an area of land north-east of Jaffa on which they laid the foundations of what was to become Petah Tiqva, the first of the new Jewish agricultural colonies.

The growth of the community also produced a new cultural development. Hebrew, which for centuries had been merely the language of prayer and literature, became the living tongue of the composite Jewry of Jerusalem. James Finn, the first British Consul, who resided in Jerusalem in the middle of the nineteenth century, records in his memoirs the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language. In 1863, the first Hebrew paper began to appear. The most active pioneer of the movement for the revival of Hebrew as a living tongue was Eliezer Ben Yehuda who had come from Russia in 1881 deeply inspired with the ideal of a Hebrew political and



cultural renaissance in Palestine. Within a few decades, a number of Hebrew journals appeared. Books and periodical publications on agriculture and economics, on pedagogy and history, on literature and exploration, made their appearance. Jerusalem became the centre of an elite of modern Jewish scholars, philosophers, historians, explorers, teachers, artists, physicians, translators and journalists. Apart from publishing their own journals, they contributed in large measure to Jewish periodicals in the Diaspora and thus brought the problems and developments of Jerusalem to the notice of Jewish opinion the world over.

The first modern school - the Lemel College - was founded in Jerusalem in 1855. This was followed in the subsequent decades by a whole series of modern schools ranging from the kindergarten to the grammar school. In the period immediately preceding the War, the community had 18 modern schools, two teachers' training colleges, three vocational schools and an art college, apart from numerous religious schools and Talmudical colleges. Hebrew was the language of instruction in the greater part of them. The first Hebrew public library was opened in the seventies. It was followed in 1892 by the foundation of a Hebrew National Library, which has since become embodied in the Hebrew National and University Library which now comprises close on 400,000 volumes.

The total effect of all this development was to give to Jerusalem in large measure again the character of a Jewish city. Such was the impression it created on folklorists who studied its composition and social structure during the phase immediately preceding the outbreak of the World War.\*

#### NEW JERUSALEM

The War produced a serious setback in the development of Jewish Jerusalem. The Jewish community went through a period of

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\* Cf. Max Loehr: "Volksleben im Lande der Bibel", p.122.



terrible suffering. Poverty, famine and the persecution of the Turkish officials progressively reduced its numbers. More than 5,000 are estimated to have died during the years of the War, apart from those who were killed in the course of military operations. The adhesion of Turkey to the Central Powers compelled the subjects of the Allied Powers to leave the country. The capture of Jerusalem by the British army on December 7th, 1917, at last brought relief to the exhausted community. It was, however, deprived of its leaders who, before the fall of the city, had been sent by the Turkish Commander-in-Chief to Damascus and further north.

In March 1918, the Zionist Commission, which was sent out from London under the authority of the British Government, arrived in Palestine. One of its first tasks was to provide relief to the Jewish community of Jerusalem. The Commission undertook the responsibility for the reorganisation of the health, education and social services. It also represented the community vis-a-vis the Military Administration. Gradually the ravages of the War were remedied and the foundations laid for a new communal development. Despite the fact that during the first period of British administration, economic conditions in the city were not favourable, a good deal of the new immigration which came to Palestine, especially from the countries of the Middle East, went to Jerusalem. To the Jews from these countries immigration to Palestine meant, even in modern times, pre-eminently settlement in Jerusalem. The Jewish community grew steadily. At the 1922 census it numbered 33,171. At the next census, which was held in 1931, it had increased to 51,222. This figure did not include the population of the new western suburbs Givat Shaul, Kiryat Moshe, Beth Hakerem and Bait Vegan which then amounted to about 3,000. At present the Jewish population of Jerusalem is estimated to number about 75,000, in a



total population of about 125,000.

The new immigration has resulted in a progressive expansion of the older Jewish quarters and in the foundation of several new ones on the southern and western fringe of Jerusalem. It is the most composite Jewish community in the world. There is hardly any branch or sect of the Jewish people which is not represented in it. It is equally representative of every current of Jewish cultural life, ancient and modern, from the religious orthodoxy represented by the Rabbis from Poland and Hungary to the most westernized types of English, German and American Jewry.

The new development of Jewish Palestine, which began under the impetus of the Balfour Declaration, has restored to Jerusalem its ancient position as the cultural and administrative centre of the Jewish National Home. It is the headquarters of all the directing political and cultural agencies of Jewish Palestine: the Jewish Agency, the Zionist Organisation, the Jewish National Council, the Chief Rabbinate, the Hebrew University. Most of the Jewish learned and scientific societies have their centre in Jerusalem. Its teachers' training colleges, rabbinical academies, music and art schools serve the needs of the whole of Jewish Palestine. It is becoming more and more the spiritual centre not only of Jewish religious life throughout the world, but also of Jewish secular culture. It is equally the nerve/centre of the Jewish work of reconstruction throughout Palestine. What has been said at the beginning of this memorandum about the two-fold significance, spiritual and secular, of ancient Jerusalem to the Jewish people is being realised afresh in the New Jerusalem of our day.

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CONFIDENTIAL

3rd  
July  
1938

Pol/104/38

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your letter of the 30th May, 1938, and to reply to the question addressed to the Jewish Agency in the note attached to that letter, under paragraph 3, which was as follows:

"In giving their views before the Commission last week, the representatives of the Agency mentioned that they found by experience that for every immigrant settled on the land, additional employment could be provided for three other immigrants in subsidiary occupations. It is thought that in their evidence before the Royal Commission the Agency assumed only two instead of three persons in subsidiary occupations. If so, the Commission will be glad to know on what grounds the Agency now assume the higher ratio. In any case, the Commission would be glad to have a memorandum showing on what basis of experience this calculation is made, and in particular whether it would require to be modified if the Jewish State should adopt on a large scale the policy of settling immigrants on the land in small mixed farms intended to make the occupants entirely self-supporting in the matter of food consumption."

2. We have not been able to trace, in our evidence before the Royal Commission, any reference to an assumption that the ratio between immigrants settled on the land and immigrants absorbed in other occupations is, or should be, 2:1. As will be explained below, the ratio of 3:1 is the minimum which can be assumed in the light of actual experience. We would, however, point out at the outset that in our opinion there is no hard and fast rule which can serve to determine the proportion of agricultural population to total population in any given country. This proportion depends on a number of factors, each of which exerts an influence on the others - the area of cultivable land, the degree of agricultural productivity, the social structure of the population and its standard of living, etc. In Palestine, the



aim of the Jewish Agency has been to absorb as high a proportion of the immigrant population as possible in agricultural pursuits, and it was to this general aim that the Jewish Agency gave expression before the Royal Commission.

3. Three considerations, however, establish beyond doubt that the ratio between non-agricultural and agricultural occupations is greater than 2:1.

(a) Past experience in Palestine:

The following table gives the proportion of agricultural to non-agricultural Jewish population, at various points of time for which some reliable census data or other estimates are available.

		Proportion of Jewish Agricultural Popula- tion to Total Jew- ish Population	Proportion of Jewish Agricultural Earners to total Jewish Earners
1927	(Jewish Agency Estimate)	12%	-
1931	(Government Census )	18%	21%
1936	(Jewish Agency Estimate)	15%	-

The percentages in the first column refer to the Jewish population as a whole, as the Jewish Agency estimates were made on this basis. In the second column, the Government census figure for the percentage of agricultural earners to the total gainfully employed Jewish population is given. It will be observed that although if earners only are taken the proportion is higher, it still falls below 25%.

What is thus clear is that the proportion of agricultural population has always been well below 25%, and that in the past it has been possible to maintain approximately four persons in other occupations for every one settled in agriculture. The ratio of 1:3 (or 25%) now mentioned thus involves an increase in the relative weight of Jewish agriculture over and above the maximum weight which it has attained in the past.

(b) Experience in other countries:

In other countries, the proportion of the agricultural population to the total population varies from 6% to 7% in Great Britain, to over 80% in the countries of Eastern Europe - in accordance with general and industrial development.



### 3.

Where agriculture occupies an important position, a proportion of approximately 1:3 (or 25%) between the agricultural and the non-agricultural population is common.

#### Percentage of Earners Engaged in Agriculture

Australia	(1921)	21.06
New Zealand	(1911)	24.47
Holland	(1930)	20.5

In industrial or semi-industrial countries, the proportion of earners engaged in agriculture to the total earning population is much lower. For example:

#### Percentage of Earners Engaged in Agriculture

Belgium	(1920)	15.02
Great Britain	(1931)	6.43

#### (b) Increasing agricultural productivity in Palestine:

With the improved methods which have been adopted by Jewish agriculture, there has been a notable increase in agricultural productivity. The yield of wheat has been increased from 70 kg. to about 110 kg. per dunam and of barley from 59 kg. to 154 kg. The annual yield of milk per pedigree cow has risen from a minimum of 1,600 and a maximum of 2,500 litres in 1927 to 3,200 and 5,400, respectively, in 1936, the yield of the local cow being only 600 to 700 litres. The annual laying capacity per hen has increased from 40 eggs in the case of local hens to 150 in the case of white Leghorns. This increased productivity admits of a smaller percentage of agriculturists in the population. At the same time, the gradual mechanisation of agriculture tends also to decrease the proportion of agriculturists. This process is making fairly rapid headway among Jewish farmers, and the imports of agricultural machinery are considerable.

4. The policy of settling immigrants on small, "self-supporting" farms would not involve a modification in this estimate of the proportion of agricultural population. It has been pointed out that the present proportion of Jewish agricultural population is under 25%, so that a definite increase in the number of farmers is needed to reach even the 1:3 ratio. Even with the present proportion of agriculturists, the Jewish milk output is sufficient



to supply the local Jewish market, the egg output covers about one-half of the egg consumption and, with favourable marketing conditions, the total Jewish demand for vegetables could be satisfied with a relatively small increase in the area of agricultural land. With the high degree of intensification already attained, and the increase in the agricultural population envisaged, the surplus produce of these planned "self-supporting" farms, together with such produce as is now being bought from local Arabs, would be fully sufficient to supply the Jewish urban population. In fact, according to this scheme, the production of each unit will supply the needs of a larger number of town families than that indicated by the ratio of 1:3. It should be realised that this scheme for the development of "self-supporting" farms does not aim at self-sufficiency and involve no lessening in the output per unit. "A farm of the type under consideration is designed to supply the full milk, egg, meat, fruit and vegetable produce requirements of 4-6 families."\* Its main object is a reduction in the excessive dependence of the producer on outside supplies of foodstuffs for his own livelihood and for the maintenance of his livestock.

5. It should, further, be noted that the existence of the "self-supporting" farm does not imply any reduction in industrial activity. As far as this trend of agricultural development is concerned its effect would be an increase of the purchasing power of the agricultural population for manufactured goods. But quite apart from that, if the policy of fostering industry is adopted by the Jewish State - as would undoubtedly be the case - local production will be able to replace a considerable proportion of the present high import of manufactured articles. With the larger local market created by an immigration of broader dimensions, many industries which could not at present be established owing to lack of sufficient demand for production to be technically profitable, would be given a sufficient market for profitability.

6. The only class of population whose numbers may conceivably be reduced by the development of self-supporting farms is that

\* Volcani - "Mixed Farming", p.97



engaged in commerce and, particularly, in the import trade, The commercial population formed 19% of the total Jewish population according to the Government census of 1931 and 21% according to the Jewish Agency estimate of 1936. But it should be taken into account that a reduction in the import of foodstuffs will be compensated, to a certain extent, by an expansion in internal commerce. At any rate, a small reduction in the weight of the section of the commercial community engaged in one line of trade (foodstuffs) cannot materially affect the general ratio as between the agricultural and non-agricultural population. This proportion, as has been pointed out, is based on a conservative estimate related both to the present weight of the Jewish agricultural population in Palestine, as well as to the situation in other countries.

7. In general the Jewish Agency does not consider that the future Jewish State can, or should, adhere to any fixed proportion as between the agricultural and non-agricultural sections of the Jewish population, and that it should regulate immigration and conduct its development policy accordingly. It may reasonably be assumed that the policy of the Jewish State would be to settle as many Jews as possible on the land as agricultural producers, while at the same time fostering the healthy absorption of Jewish immigrants in all other fields of economic endeavour - industrial, commercial, maritime, etc. The statement made by a representative of the Jewish Agency that for every Jew absorbed in agriculture three more Jews are absorbed in other occupations should be understood as signifying that, in the actual process of development, the absorption of one immigrant in agriculture is, as a rule, accompanied by the creation of at least three openings in non-agricultural pursuits. The same proportion is indicated by the ability of an agricultural family to produce the requirements in foodstuffs of non-agricultural inhabitants. The statement was not meant to indicate any maximum limit to the growth of the Jewish population, in relation to its agricultural base. In fact, no ratio between the agricultural and other sections of the population is regarded by the Jewish Agency as sacrosanct. Possibilities of



industrial, commercial and maritime development will not remain unused merely because the progress of agriculture may, for some reason, fail to keep pace with any given ratio. Nor will agricultural progress be artificially checked in the event of its making possible the absorption in agriculture of more than, say, one-quarter of the Jewish population. Certain deductions may be drawn in this regard from past experience, but predictions as to the future economic composition of the Jewish population would appear to serve no useful purpose. All that can be said is that efforts will be made to promote the sound absorption of Jews in all branches of economic life without necessarily maintaining any fixed proportion between their relative weights in terms of population, but with due regard always to the desirability of having a substantial agricultural population.

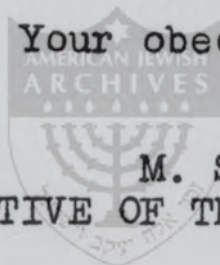
I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok

EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY





CONFIDENTIAL

Pol/108/38

5th July, 1938.

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
Jerusalem.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to the note attached to your letter of the 30th May, 1938, in paragraph 4 of which the following questions were put to the Jewish Agency concerning the future of the citrus industry:

"The Commission would be glad to have the considered views of the Agency on the position of the citrus industry in Palestine generally and in the Jewish area in particular:

- (1) What is their estimate of the future expansion of production from existing citrus plantations (a) in Palestine as a whole, and (b) in the Jewish area?
- (2) To what extent is it the intention of the Agency to increase the existing planted area under their settlement policy?
- (3) What is the maximum production from the Jewish area at which they aim?
- (4) How do they expect to be able to market the increased production?
- (5) What is the present total import of citrus products into the United Kingdom?
- (6) What do they assume to be the probable maximum quantity which they would be able to export to the United Kingdom in the future, assuming no change in the United Kingdom's present fiscal policy towards Palestine?
- (7) Are they assuming, in making their plans, that the United Kingdom Government will be willing to grant them any measure of preference for citrus products?"

With regard to the general position of the citrus industry in Palestine, the Commission's attention is invited to the memorandum on the "Problems and Needs of the Citrus Industry of Palestine",



submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission on behalf of the Jewish Citrus Growers, a copy of which is attached herewith. The Jewish Agency is generally in agreement with the conclusions and recommendations submitted in this memorandum.

To the other questions, replies are given seriatim in the subsequent paragraphs.

1. The total area planted with citrus in Palestine is at present estimated by Government at 295,000 dunams. Of this area about 160,000 dunams are owned by Jews and 135,000 dunams by Arabs. The average production per dunam of citrus grove in full bearing may be put at 100 cases, whilst the average export crop per dunam is about 80 cases. On the basis of these average production and export crop figures, the total production and the total export crop, once the whole existing planted area has reached the full bearing stage (which will approximately be in the season of 1943-44) will probably be as follows:

Total production of Palestine	29,500, 000 cases
Total production of Jewish area (estimated at 80% of the total)	23,600, 000 "
Total export crop of Palestine	23,600, 000 "
Total export crop of Jewish area	18,880, 000 "

The term "Jewish area" is here taken to connote the area assigne' to the Jewish State under the scheme of partition proposed by the Palestine Royal Commission.

2. So long as there is no reasonable certainty of finding satisfactory markets for the whole potential export crop of the existing planted areas, it is not the intention of the Jewish Agency, in carrying out its settlement programme, appreciably to increase the citrus area, beyond such planting as may be undertaken to provide for the settlers' own needs. The Jewish Agency exerts no control over private planting, but it is not its intention to encourage private farmers at present to plant new groves. In this connection, however, account will have to be taken of the progress which may be made in working up citrus by-products as well as of the possibilities of introducing into Palestine new marketable varieties of citrus. With regard to the



utilisation of by-products, important experiments have been and are being carried out at the Daniel Sieff Research Institute and elsewhere, some of which have yielded most promising results.

3. The Jewish Agency has not set itself any aim or objective as regards the maximum possible production of citrus fruit from the Jewish area. This maximum will depend entirely on future possibilities of development and of marketing, as well as upon other economic factors which may have a bearing on the matter.

4. It is assumed that under a regime of a Jewish State efforts will be made to afford adequate marketing facilities by making use of the economic bargaining power of the State and its freedom to conclude reciprocal agreements on the basis of bilateral trade. Such agreements would aim at securing the removal of import quotas, restrictions of foreign exchange, prohibitive duties and import taxes which at present hamper or prevent the expansion of the sale of Palestine citrus fruit in many countries. We would point out, however, that even under the present mandatory regime the Jewish Agency has endeavoured to make possible the achievement of such results by urging Government to obtain a suitable re-interpretation by the League of Nations of Article 18 of the Palestine Mandate, such as would enable Palestine to protect its commercial interests. Should there be a change for the better in the Palestine exports to, and in the exchange restrictions obtaining in, countries other than the United Kingdom, then it should be possible for not less than 50% of Palestine's total exportable citrus crop to go to the former countries because the annual per capita consumption of citrus in these countries is one-half and less of what it is in the United Kingdom. The principal increases of exports to countries other than the United Kingdom in the export season 1937-38 as compared with 1936-37 were as follows:

	<u>1936-37</u>	<u>1937-38</u>
	Cases	Cases
Holland	604,714	1,093,198
Belgium	258,485	517,931
Sweden	310,851	483,354
Poland	307,791	383,592
Czechoslovakia	177,790	280,683



It may be added that, as indicated above, it is expected that the development of the manufacture of by-products will eventually absorb a substantial part of the citrus crop.

5. During the year 1937 the total citrus imports into the United Kingdom were as follows:

Oranges	12,492,789 Cwt.= about 18,700,000 Palestinian cases (at 75 lb. per case)		
Grapefruit	1,318,595 "	2,000,000	" "
Lemons, limes and other un- specified citrus	1,166,377 "	1,750,000	" "

Imports from Palestine during the year 1937 were as follows:

Oranges	4,449,620 Cwt.= about 6,700,000 Palestinian cases		
Grapefruit	762,842 "	1,150,000	" "
Lemons & other un- specified citrus	22,030 "	33,000	" "

6. The Jewish Agency is hardly in a position to offer any forecast as to the probable maximum quantity of citrus which it will be possible to export to the United Kingdom in the future. The consumption of grapefruit in the United Kingdom is continuously increasing; the statistics published by the Imperial Economic Committee give the following figures for the annual consumption of grapefruit per head of the population:

1935	2.2. lbs.
1936	2.6 "
1937	3.0 "

The following are the corresponding figures for oranges:

1935	23.8 "
1936	22.1 "
1937	28.3 "

Whilst, therefore, there is clear evidence of an upward trend in consumption, future development is bound to depend on the improvement of the general economic situation in the United Kingdom. The opinion of the Fruit Trade, both here and in the United Kingdom, appears to be that in regard to the consumption of oranges



and grapefruit, the United Kingdom is still far from having reached saturation point.

7. Numerous representations have been made to the Mandatory Government with a view to extending Imperial Preference to Palestine. It was understood that, while His Majesty's Government was substantially in sympathy with this request, it considered itself precluded from acceding to it by certain legal difficulties. So long as the Palestine Mandate is maintained it will be the endeavour of the Jewish Agency to prevail upon Government to find a way of securing for Palestine the benefits of Imperial Preference. The Jewish Agency does not, however, base its expectations for an improvement of the position of the citrus industry only on the chance of its representations in this regard being successful. In the eventuality of the establishment of a Jewish State, the solution of the question of imperial preference would depend upon the terms of such treaty as may be entered into or the constitutional relationship which may be established between the Jewish State and the British Empire.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY



CONFIDENTIAL

Pol/113/38

7th July, 1938

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
Jerusalem.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Note attached to your letter of the 30th May, 1938, in which the Agency's view was sought on the probable revenue and expenditure of the "Jewish area" during the transition period and in the first two years after the establishment of an independent Jewish State.

2. In our letter No. Pol/83/38 of the 1st June, 1938, we took the liberty of asking for such data as may have been supplied to the Commission by the Government on the estimated budgets of the proposed Jewish and Arab States with an indication of the areas to which such estimates relate. In putting forward this request we based ourselves upon the statement made by the Chairman at the session of the 16th May, 1938, to the effect that there would be no objection to the statistical material, placed at the disposal of the Commission by the Government of Palestine, being transmitted to the Jewish Agency.

3. A reply to our letter was received by telephone, from which it was understood that the Commission had not yet, at the time, received any such data from the Government as those for which we had asked.



4. We assume that the questions put to us regarding the budgetary aspects of the Jewish area, both in the transition period and after the establishment of the Jewish State, have also been addressed to the Palestine Government, and that,, by now the material prepared by the Palestine Government on the subject is already in the Commission's possession. If so, the Executive would be grateful if it could be supplied with a copy of the estimated budgets formulated by the Palestine Government, on which it would be glad to offer its comments. In order to make possible a comprehensive analysis of Government's figures in regard to the proposed "Jewish Area" we submit that it is essential for us to be acquainted also with the estimated budgets of the Arab and Mandated areas.

5. If, for any reason, the material asked for cannot be made available, the Executive of the Jewish Agency would have to consider whether, on the basis of the non-too-detailed data in its possession, it would at all be in a position to form well-founded views on the subject.

6. With reference to the question of statistical data the Executive would like to take this opportunity of adverting to certain figures given by Mr. Waterfield at the twelfth meeting of the Commission (Minutes of Proceedings pp.100-102) with regard to the valuation in terms of urban and rural property tax assessments of Arab property to be included in the Jewish State, the Arab State and the enclave respectively. So far as the Executive are aware, there are no published figures showing the attribution of urban and rural property tax to Arab and Jewish property respectively, and the material on which Mr. Waterfield's calculations are based is not, therefore, in their

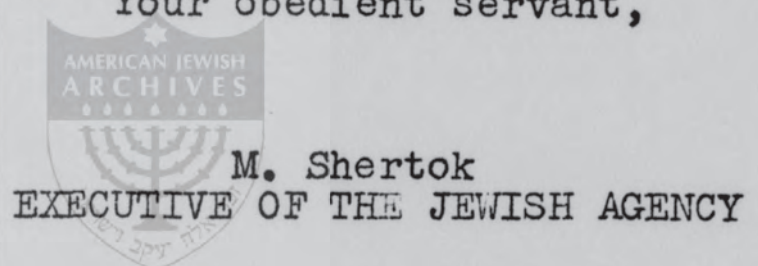


possession. The Executive would be grateful if the statistics on which they presume that Mr. Waterfield's calculations are based could be communicated to them and an opportunity afforded to them of offering any comments which might seem to them to be called for. The matter is of some importance, inasmuch as the allocation of property, in terms of rural and urban property tax assessments between the various proposed territorial divisions was linked up by Mr. Waterfield with the question of the suggested subvention by the Jewish State to the Arab State.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,



M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY



CONFIDENTIAL

Pol/119/38

15th July, 1938

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

I have the honour to request on behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency that Mr. M. Ussishkin may be heard by the Palestine Partition Commission in regard to the general issue of partition.

As the Commission is no doubt aware, when the last Zionist Congress considered whether the Jewish Agency should enter into negotiations with His Majesty's Government in regard to the proposal of the Royal Commission for the establishment of a Jewish State in part of Palestine, a minority voted against this. Mr. Ussishkin acted as their principal speaker in the debates of the Congress. The Executive of the Jewish Agency begs to submit that Mr. Ussishkin be afforded an opportunity of appearing before the Palestine Partition Commission and of explaining to them the grounds on which the opposition to the above-mentioned proposal is based.

In submitting this request I beg to state that Mr. Ussishkin has been an active worker in the Zionist movement for the last fifty-six years, and during most of this time in front rank. He appeared as a representative of the Zionist Organisation before the Peace Conference of 1919. For the past twenty years Mr. Ussishkin has been living in Palestine, having previously visited the country on several occasions. During the whole of this period Mr. Ussishkin has been President



of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund, the principal land-holding agency of the Zionist Organisation. He was President of the last Zionist Congress and is now Chairman of the General Council of the Zionist Organization and participates in the meetings of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in an advisory capacity.

The points on which Mr. Ussishkin would desire to give evidence are stated in the attached note.

The Executive of the Jewish Agency trusts that the Partition Commission will agree to hear the spokesman of those who oppose the partition plan, and that in view of the gravity of the issue involved it will not be precluded by mere formal considerations from acceding to this request.



I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

D. Ben-Gurion  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY.



Note on the points on which Mr. Ussishkin desires  
to give evidence.

1. In the Palestine Mandate the League of Nations has recognised the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine in its entirety and not merely with one part of it. The Jews cannot be required to renounce this historic right.
2. Both in the Balfour Declaration and in the Mandate an undertaking was given to assist in the upbuilding of a Jewish National Home in Palestine without this being qualified by any geographical limitations.
3. The catastrophic condition of the Jewish people throughout the world compels large masses of Jews to immigrate to Palestine. The area open to Jewish immigration should not be limited by a partition of the country in the form proposed by the Royal Commission.
4. The Arabs who are settled in Palestine have not suffered either economically, politically or culturally by Jewish immigration. On the contrary, they have benefited in every respect.
5. The implementation of the Mandate both in letter and in spirit, though not easy, is practicable. If this has met with difficulties it is due in some measure to the way in which effect was given to its provisions by the Palestine Administration.
6. The Jewish problem cannot be solved by the establishment of a Jewish State in part of Palestine. Partition would deprive the Jews of the larger part of the country and



of the historical and holy sites to which the Jews have remained attached throughout the long history of their dispersion. Moreover, the area proposed for the Jewish State is so small that there is no hope of solving the Jewish question by establishing therein a Jewish National Home, or a Jewish State. Furthermore, under the conditions which prevail today and in view of the relations which at present exist between Jews and Arabs, the peace which both the Mandatory Power and the Jews desire will not be brought about by the proposed solution. The economic basis of such a tiny state would not be sufficient for the erection of any viable political structure. From the strategical point of view it is much easier to defend a whole country than a tiny state like the one proposed which will be surrounded on all sides by Arab States.

7. The Jews in general, and Zionists in particular, strive for the establishment of <sup>a</sup> Jewish State, but not in part of Palestine but in its historic entirety. Until this can be achieved the country should continue to be administered by the Mandatory Power so as to enable a sufficient number of Jews to be brought into the country and adequate land to be acquired so that the future Jewish State will be a healthy and well-founded political structure and a State not merely in name.

Jerusalem,  
17.8.1938



CONFIDENTIAL

Pol/120/38

18th July, 1938

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

On behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, I have the honour to address you on certain questions of procedure which the Executive think it desirable to raise at the present juncture.

1. Part (ii) of the Partition Commission's terms of reference deals with a number of financial and cognate questions of great importance but of a highly technical character. I refer more particularly to the subject matter of paragraphs (a) to (h). Many of the questions raised are of such a nature that, as the Commission will doubtless agree, the Jewish Agency cannot reasonably be expected to take the initiative in submitting proposals on its own account, since the necessary financial and technical data are not - and in the nature of the case cannot be - in its possession. Not only so, but, so far as paragraph (a) in particular is concerned, it is submitted that before any detailed allocation could usefully be attempted, it would be desirable, as a first step, to establish the principles on which the allocation was to be made - a procedure which, so far as the Executive are aware, has in practice been followed where analogous questions have arisen. Since the precise nature of the problem, in the form in which it actually arises in this case, is known to the Commission but unknown to the Jewish Agency, the Executive ventures to express the hope that the Commission will in due course give the Jewish Agency an opportunity of expressing its views, first on the principles which the Commission would propose to apply, and then on the proposed application of those principles.



Since the necessary expert advice is not fully available in Palestine and is not obtainable at short notice from elsewhere, the Executive would be glad to be informed whether they are right in thinking that, so far as concerns both paragraph (a) and also paragraphs (b) to (h), the Jewish Agency may count upon an effective opportunity of submitting its views in London.

It may be that the Commission proposes to examine the more technical matters mentioned in Part (ii) of the terms of reference after it has cleared the ground by disposing of certain other questions. The Jewish Agency does not, of course, presume to express any opinion as to the stage at which any particular point should be discussed. It asks only that it may be in due course given suitable facilities for taking part in the discussion of each point as it is reached.

2. With regard to paragraph (f) of Part (ii) of the terms of reference, the Executive have been requested by the Commission to express their views on the budgetary prospects both of the Jewish area during the transitional period and also of the Jewish State after that State has been established.

In my letter of 1st June, 1938, I explained that without certain figures which were not in the possession of the Executive, but which they thought likely to be in the possession of the Palestine Administration, it would hardly be possible for them to deal with some of the questions put to them by the Commission, of which that relating to budgetary prospects was one. I enquired whether these figures might be placed at the disposal of the Executive. They are, no doubt in preparation, but up to the present they have not been received.

In a further letter dated 7th July, I renewed my request for material relevant to the consideration of budgetary prospects and at the same time ventured to enquire whether the Executive might be given further particulars of certain figures referred to by Mr. Waterfield at the twelfth meeting of the Commission (Minutes of Evidence, pp 100-102) with regard to the value of Arab property in Palestine, in terms of urban and rural property tax, and the distribution of that property between the three



proposed areas. So far as the Executive are aware, no such figures have been published, and the Jewish Agency has no information either as to their source, as to the period to which they relate, as to the basis on which they are computed, or as to whether "Arab" property includes all property which is not Jewish. It might - to take one illustration - be material to know whether in such towns as Jerusalem and Haifa, where immovable property of considerable value is owned by public bodies and trading companies, and by individuals who are neither Jews nor Arabs, such property is classified as Arab by reason merely of the fact that it cannot be classified as Jewish. The Executive venture respectfully to suggest that they should have an opportunity of testing the reliability of the figures and the validity of any conclusions sought to be drawn from them, and that they should also be furnished with corresponding figures (if they exist) for Jewish property.

3. There is a further question which the Executive think it right to raise in the discharge of their duty to those whom they represent, and whose vital interests are at stake. They recognise that a large number of points have been fairly put to them and fully discussed. The Commission will, however, appreciate their anxiety to be assured that no part of their case will be allowed to go by default. They have already laid before the Commission their own criticism of the Royal Commission's scheme of partition. On the other hand, it may be that the Commission has had or will have before it suggestions for modifying that scheme to the disadvantage of the Jews. The Executive trust that if any such suggestions have been or should be put forward, the Jewish Agency will be placed in a position to offer its comments and will be supplied with sufficient information as to the nature of the suggestions to enable it to do so effectively. In general, the Executive hope that they are right in assuming that they have been or will be given an opportunity of dealing, to the best of their ability, with any proposals which, if adopted, would adversely



any  
affect Jewish interests and with/contentions carrying  
weight with the Commission by which such proposals are  
sought to be supported.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY.





CONFIDENTIAL

POL/121/38

21st July, 1938

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission  
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to the discussion on procedure which took place at the first meeting of the Commission with the representatives of the Jewish Agency on the 16th May, 1938. The Executive of the Jewish Agency begs leave to revert to one of the questions raised by its representatives on that occasion.

2. In paragraph 5 of the Despatch embodying the Commission's terms of reference, the Secretary of State refers to the announcement already made "that a further special body will be appointed to visit Palestine, and to submit to His Majesty's Government, after consultation with the local communities, proposals for a detailed scheme of partition". It appears to the Executive that what is meant is that the proposals to be submitted to His Majesty's Government are proposals on which "the local communities" have been consulted - not necessarily, of course, proposals to which they have agreed, but proposals which have, before being submitted to His Majesty's Government, been put to them for an expression of their views. This reading of paragraph 5 is, it is thought, in harmony with the relevant parts of the statement made by Mr. Eden to the Council of the League of Nations on the 14th September, 1937. This statement was expressly referred to in the Council's resolution authorising



2.

a further study of the policy of partition and is reproduced in the White Paper containing the Commission's terms of reference. Mr. Eden said (CMD 5634, page 10):- "All I ask at this stage is that His Majesty's Government be given authority to proceed forthwith to work out the details of such a scheme, if possible in cooperation with representatives of both Jews and Arabs ... The procedure that His Majesty's Government have in mind ... is to appoint a further special body to visit Palestine, to negotiate with Arabs and Jews and to submit to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom proposals for a detailed scheme of partition."

3. It will be seen that the word used by Mr. Eden is "negotiate". The Executive respectfully submit that if paragraph 5 of the Secretary of State's Despatch be read together with Mr. Eden's statement, the inference is that the proposals to be submitted to His Majesty's Government by the Commission are proposals reflecting the results of something which can properly be called negotiation. This view appears to the Executive to be fully consistent with the further statement in paragraph 5 of the Despatch that the functions of the Commission "will be confined to ascertaining facts and to considering in detail the practical possibilities of a scheme of partition". It seems clear that one of the material facts must be whether the Jews or Arabs, as the case may be, are prepared to work a particular scheme, and that this must have a direct bearing on its practical possibilities. The Executive fully recognise that the final form of the report is for the Commission alone to decide; but they desire, with all due deference, to represent



once more that if, in framing its proposals so far as they affect Jewish interests, the Commission could see its way to take the Jewish Agency into consultation at the proper stage, this would not only be in the spirit of the statements made by His Majesty's Government but would have important practical advantages.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY





CONFIDENTIAL

28th July, 1938.

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

I have the honour to submit in the enclosure a map showing the boundary line between Jaffa and Tel Aviv as proposed by the Jewish Agency, for which a request was made by the Commission at their seventh session.

2. In drawing the boundary between the two cities the Jewish Agency has followed the recommendation of the Royal Commission according to which it should take the form not of a dividing line but of a strip of territory constituting a section of the mandated corridor. It would appear from the Report of the Royal Commission (p.385) that what was contemplated was that at a certain point east of Jaffa the corridor should bifurcate in a fork-like fashion, its two arms to embrace Jaffa on the north and on the south respectively. The corridor with its ramifications is marked on the attached map by a yellow strip, the thickness of which indicates approximately the proposed width of the corridor.

3. For reasons set forth in paragraph 35 of the Memorandum of the Jewish Agency dated the 23rd May, 1938, it is considered essential that from Sarafand westwards the corridor should be as narrow as possible. As it would appear desirable that it should include the railway line from Jaffa to Jerusalem, its section west of Sarafand has been drawn mainly along the railway. It is assumed that the building of a road along the railway line within the corridor - to be linked up, at a certain point, with the present road to Jerusalem - will be a fairly easy proposition.



It will be observed that the present railway track follows a rather devious route in approaching Jaffa, running right through the area of Tel Aviv. The corridor could not possibly follow this line. Its proposed alignment, drawn more or less in a straight line, is, therefore, such as to necessitate the construction of a new section of the railway line which would deviate from the existing track at a point opposite Mikveh Israel. The railway to Jaffa would thus run from that point in a straight line reaching, by a short-cut route, the present Jaffa station which, it is suggested, should be comprised in the corridor.

4. The present municipal boundaries of Jaffa and Tel Aviv are shown on the map in green. The new corridor boundary aims not only at straightening out the now much-broken southern boundary of Tel Aviv - a line particularly unsuitable in view of the fact that it is to serve also as a State boundary - but also at including, within the area of Tel Aviv and the Jewish State, the Jewish quarters which are even now to all practical intents and purposes part and parcel of Tel Aviv, as well as certain other areas the joining of which to Tel Aviv appears to be imperative on grounds of rational town planning.

5. Jewish-owned land, to a large extent built-over, in the section of the Jaffa municipal area bordering on Tel Aviv, has been marked on the attached map in blue. It should be pointed out, that in the main area of the Jaffa municipality, extending from the limitrophic zone southwards, the areas and buildings belonging to Jews have not been so marked. A large section of the area to the south of Tel Aviv, which, it is proposed, should be



added to that city, appears on the map almost entirely blue. This is a more or less compact area of Jewish urban settlement, comprising the well-known Jewish quarters of Jaffa and containing the bulk of the Jewish population of that town. The question of their joining with Tel Aviv has formed the subject of prolonged negotiations with Government, which began long before the question of partition was mooted and were continued quite irrespective of that eventuality. A memorandum on the subject, addressed in February 1938 to the District Commissioner, Southern District, with an accompanying map, is attached herewith.

6. The area which it is proposed to add to Tel Aviv on the south-western side is of wedge-like formation. The wedge is formed by the sea on the western side and the area of Tel Aviv on the east; its thinner end in the north is encased in Tel Aviv on three sides. The latter area is known as Kerem Hateimanim or the Jewish section of the Karton quarter. As is evident from the map, the area is practically wholly Jewish. It is one of the inexplicable curiosities of the situation that it has not long ago been municipally joined to Tel Aviv. Most of the arguments adduced in the attached letter to Mr. Crosbie in regard to the quarters on the southern fringe of Tel Aviv apply with equal force to Kerem Hateimanim.

7. The remainder of the Jaffa area, which is wedged in between the sea and Tel Aviv is for the most part owned and inhabited by Arabs. It moreover contains a mosque. Nevertheless, the grounds for its inclusion in Tel Aviv appear definitely to outweigh those for its retention as part of Jaffa. Firstly, the present circuitous



boundary is extremely awkward as between two cities; a fortiori it would be so between two States. By drawing the line as proposed on the attached map the boundary problem in that area would be greatly simplified and a marked saving in police expenses would be effected. Secondly, a proper town-planning development of the southern section of Tel Aviv requires it to be based on its own sea frontage, from which it is now shut off by the Arab "wedge". Even now, the drainage of that part of Tel Aviv runs through the narrow strip of Jaffa territory into the sea. A glance at the map will show the street system of the south-western section of Tel Aviv, aiming at meeting the sea-shore at right angles, is thwarted by the incongruous pattern of the streets in the adjoining part of Jaffa. Thirdly, the position of the narrow Arab strip itself cannot, in the long run, be regarded as a very enviable one.

8. The transfer of the area in question to Tel Aviv is by no means likely to cause a financial loss to the Arab owners of property in it. An arrangement might be devised for the exchange of Arab house and land property in the "wedge" area against the houses and plots owned by Jews in the areas which would remain parts of Jaffa. Even if such an exchange were to prove impracticable, the Arab house and land owners would be able to dispose of their property to Jewish buyers at prices far above what it would fetch today among Arabs, since there would be no lack of capital for investment in the complete reconstruction of that area. The moneys thus realised would no doubt be invested in new and better buildings in other parts of Jaffa, so that the loss of rateable property caused to the Jaffa municipality by the cession



of the "wedge" would be more than offset.

9. It may be of interest to compare the position of Jaffa with that of Tel Aviv in regard to the density of population which would obtain when all the above adjustments had been carried through. The present area of Jaffa is 6,200 dunams and that of Tel Aviv (including two blocks on the north-east of the town which have not yet been officially incorporated in the Tel Aviv municipal area), 6,600 dunams. After the re-adjustment Jaffa will comprise 4,560 dunams and Tel Aviv 8,245 dunams. The population of Tel Aviv would then be about 170,000 (150,000 present inhabitants with about 18,000 Jewish transferees from Jaffa) while the population of Jaffa would be 55,000, on the assumption that the Arabs now living in the quarters to be annexed to Tel Aviv would migrate to Jaffa. The density rate of persons per dunam would thus be 20 for Tel Aviv and 12 for Jaffa which means that the possibilities of urban expansion within the present municipal areas would be much larger in Jaffa than in Tel Aviv. To this should be added that Jaffa need not provide for any large-scale immigration such as is in store for Tel Aviv.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

Enc.



CONFIDENTIAL

31st July, 1938.

The Secretary  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
Jerusalem.

Sir,

At the Twelfth Meeting of the Partition Commission the attention of the Jewish Agency was drawn to certain figures relating to the Urban and Rural Property Tax Assessments (see Minutes of Evidence, Twelfth Meeting, pages 100-102, 103, 104, 105).

The figures cited were as follows (pages 100-102):-

(1) Aggregate Amount of Urban & Rural Property Tax:

Arab State	LP.148,000
Jewish State	468,000
Enclaves	140,000

(2) Urban & Rural Property Tax on Arab Property:

Arab State	LP.118,000
Jewish State	138,000

(The areas referred to are those proposed in the Peel Report).

2. On these figures the point was put to the Jewish Agency that "there is included in the Jewish area actually the greater part of property owned by Arabs in Palestine" (page 103). It seems clear that this must be an over-statement, even if the figures be assumed to be statistically correct.

In terms of tax assessments, the value of Arab immovable property in the Jewish State is given as LP.138,000, and if this represents the greater part of the Arab owned property, the whole of that property must be represented by a figure not exceeding, at most LP.275,000. But the Jewish State (LP.138,000) and the Arab State (LP.118,000) are stated to account between them for LP.256,000, leaving only LP.19,000,



at the most, for the enclaves. In relation to the figure given for Arab property in the other two areas, a figure of LP.19,000 for the enclaves seems clearly to be too low. If, however, the true figure for the enclaves, computed on the same basis, is (as seems probable) substantially more than LP.19,000, it cannot be the case that the greater part of the Arab owned property in Palestine is included in the Jewish State.

3. Nevertheless, the figures, if correct, show that a considerable proportion of the Arab-owned property in Palestine, measured by tax assessments, does fall within the Jewish State. The suggestion put to the Jewish Agency was that, this being so, the Jewish State ought to pay a subvention to the Arab State (pages 100-102). Alternatively, it was suggested (page 105) that the areas should be so arranged that "what the Arabs owned would form part of the Arab State" (page 105).

4. Before discussing the inferences to be drawn from the figures, it is necessary to consider the figures themselves. Since no such figures are to be found in the statistical or other publications of the Palestine Government, the Jewish Agency has asked whether it might be informed of their source. It has been referred to in reply to "Village Statistics". In "Village Statistics" there are figures from which it is possible to calculate the Rural Property Tax payable by Jews and non-Jews respectively on the basis of the classification of land as at the 1st April, 1935. But, as the Jewish Agency has already ventured to point out to the Commission, in its letter dated July 26th, 1938, the total amount of Rural Property Tax assessed on the basis of the figures contained in "Village Statistics" has been officially stated to be LP.221,694, whereas



the tax assessments put to the Jewish Agency amount in the aggregate to LP.756,000. It appears to follow that well over two-thirds of the aggregate assessments must be accounted for by Urban Property Tax, and so far as Urban Property Tax is concerned, "Village Statistics" are of no assistance. There exist no published figures showing the distribution of Urban Property Tax between Jews and Arabs respectively, and, so far as that tax is concerned, the Jewish Agency is still without any information as to the source of the figures put to them or as to the basis on which they have been computed.

5. One question which remains obscure is whether "Arab" means Arab or whether it means non-Jewish - a point on which the Jewish Agency has not yet received a reply to the enquiry which it ventured to make in its letter of July 18th. Is property owned by trading companies or other bodies corporate, or by individual traders or others who are neither Arabs nor Jews, classified as Arab property merely because it cannot properly be classified as Jewish? So far as Urban Property Tax in particular is concerned, the distinction may be material. Of the Urban Property Tax stated to be payable on "Arab" property in the Jewish area, (which is taken to include Haifa - see Evidence, pages 100-102), it is reasonable to conjecture that a large proportion is accounted for by Haifa, which is much the largest town in that area with an Arab population. According to information carefully compiled for the Jewish Agency and believed to be reliable, the position as to the ownership of land is, in terms of area, as follows:



Owned by	Municipal Area	Town Planning Area
Jews	43.78 %	64.65 %
Arabs	26.36 "	12.99 "
Other private owners	19.20 "	11.45 "
Government	10.66 "	10.91 "

If these figures are even approximately correct, the inference is that it may make a very material difference whether "Arab" means "Arab" or merely "non-Jewish". The figures relate to areas, and the Jewish Agency has no access to information as to the corresponding Urban Property Tax assessments. But it seems reasonable to suppose that the average value, for tax purposes, of land owned by Arabs is not conspicuously higher than that of land owned by non-Jews generally. If this be so, and if the figure given above can be taken to be at least roughly correct, the attribution to "Arabs" of all Urban Property Tax not paid by Jews will materially affect the calculation, in terms of tax assessments, of Arab owned property in Haifa.

6. For the reasons already stated, the case of Haifa is of special importance, but similar questions arise with regard to Urban Property Tax generally. It is possible that they may also arise, though on a smaller scale, in relation to Rural Property Tax. It is believed that a certain quantity of rural land will be found to be owned by bodies or individuals not properly to be classified either as Jewish or as Arab, though the Jewish Agency has no information as to how much Rural property Tax is in fact paid in respect of land so owned.

7. The Jewish Agency is not in a position to say to what extent the figures as a whole, in so far as they relate to Arab property, would require to be modified in the event of its appearing that what is described as "Arab" property includes



all property not owned by Jews. But it seems clear that some modification would be called for, and that the difference might well prove to be appreciable. It is submitted, therefore, that the figures should not be assumed to be statistically correct until they have been tested in the light of the foregoing observations.

8. There is a further point which ought, it is submitted, to be borne in mind. The figures put to the Jewish Agency relate to value. But the value attributed to Arab owned property in the Jewish area, as reflected in the tax assessments, is in large measure a value created by and dependent upon the presence and activities of the Jews. The Peel Report clearly brings out the close connection between Jewish enterprise in Palestine and the increase in the value and productivity of Arab land.\* As to urban values, the Royal Commission has pointed out\*\* that "broadly speaking, the remarkable urban development in Palestine has been Jewish", and that development has automatically brought with it a rise in the value of Arab urban property. One main reason why Arab property in the Jewish area attracts Urban Property Tax at the level of the existing assessments is precisely because that property is in a Jewish area. If that property were to pass into the possession of an Arab State in which there was, ex hypothesi, no Jewish enterprise, its value would immediately depreciate. It is, therefore, misleading to discuss the figures put to the Jewish Agency on the footing that the

\* See Report, Chapter V, paras. 24, 26, 32 (pages 126-129).

\*\* Report, Chapter V, para. 4 (page 115); see also figures given in Chapter V, para. 32(7), page 129.



values assigned to Arab properties are fixed values which go with those properties as a natural attribute irrespective of whether they are in a Jewish area or not. It would be a curious paradox if, because Jewish activities have put large sums of money into the pockets of Arab landlords, the Jews were, for that very reason, now called upon to subsidise the Arab State.

9. The principle on which it is suggested that a subsidy should be paid is, indeed, by no means clear. It would be rash to assume as a self-evident proposition that the Arab owners of immovable property in the Jewish area would prefer that that property should be in the Arab State, even at the cost of a considerable depreciation in its value. But let it be supposed, for the sake of argument, that they would in fact prefer their property to be included in the Arab State and are aggrieved at its being excluded. It is not clear why it follows that, because of their grievance (assuming that they have one), a payment from which they derive no benefit, and to which, on the contrary, they themselves may have to contribute, ought to be made to someone else, viz. the Government of the Arab State.

10. An alternative view is that the grievance is that of the Arab State in being deprived of the revenue which it would have had if all Arab-owned property in Palestine had been included in its territory. The inhabitants of the Arab State can hardly be considered to have a grievance on this score without reference to the wishes of the property-owners concerned; and, as already suggested, it is open to doubt what these wishes would be. But there is a further point to be considered. The suggestion appears to be that the Arab State ought to be placed in approximately the same position as that in which it would be



if it commanded the whole of the Urban and Rural Property Tax attributable to Arab-owned property in Palestine. In other words, the picture by reference to which a subsidy is to be paid is that of an Arab State drawing revenue from the whole of the Arab-owned property in Palestine. But if this be so, the picture must also be that of an Arab State providing for the whole of the Arab population of Palestine. On no view can justice be supposed to require that, for the purpose of considering the Arab State's claim to a subsidy, it shall be credited with all the revenue from Arab property but debited with only a fraction of the Arab population.

11. The question which then arises is as follows: What would be the revenue of the Arab State (so far as Rural and Urban Property Taxes are concerned), if that State were entitled to revenue per head of its population on the same per capita scale as the revenue which it would have had if it had been able to tax the whole of the Arab-owned land in Palestine and had had to provide for the whole of the Arab population?

12. It is believed that, if a calculation is worked out on this basis, Arab-owned property being restricted to Arab property correctly so called, the result will be found to be a figure very slightly, if at all, in excess of the Rural and Urban property Tax revenue which will fall to the Arab State on the basis of the territorial division proposed in the Peel Report.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY.



CONFIDENTIAL

Pol/132/38

31st July, 1938

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

On behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a memorandum on the treatment of minorities as requested by the Commission at its Sixth Meeting.

2. The Commission has intimated its desire that the memorandum to be submitted on this subject should be available for publication. It will be appreciated that such a memorandum would have to be cast in the form and framed in the language appropriate to a formal public statement on matters which are in some cases of a certain delicacy. On the other hand, it was clearly intended that the memorandum should discuss the various questions raised by the Commission with regard to the treatment of minorities as fully and frankly as they were discussed at the oral hearings. There is some difficulty in reconciling these requirements. The distinction is one of form rather than of substance, but it will be recognised that it exists and cannot be disregarded.

3. The Executive have come to the conclusion that at this state at all events they would prefer to furnish the Commission with a full expression of their views for its own information. Accordingly, in submitting the memorandum which I have the honour to transmit herewith the Executive beg leave to request that it may not be published without previous consultation with the Jewish Agency.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok

EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

enc.



## MEMORANDUM ON THE TREATMENT OF MINORITIES

### I.

The Partition Commission has invited the Jewish Agency to furnish it with a memorandum\* on the "treatment of minorities, particularly of the Arab minority - politically, administratively\*\* and economically."

2. The word "minorities" has acquired in modern usage a well understood connotation. Religious and racial minorities properly so called will, indeed, exist in the Jewish State. They will include certain non-Arab groups, such as the Druzes and Bahais. They will also include the Christian group among the Arabs and the several communities into which the Christians, in turn, are divided. In relation to these groups minority questions of the ordinary type will arise. But it seems clear that a distinction must be drawn between the minority groups properly so called which will exist within the Jewish State, and the Arab population of that State, which, regarded as a whole, will constitute a considerable proportion of its citizens. In this memorandum the expression "minorities" is sometimes used in a broad sense in conformity with the language of the Commission's terms of reference, but this must not be taken as meaning that in relation to the Arabs it is regarded by the Jewish Agency as strictly appropriate.

3. It is assumed that what is at present required of the Jewish Agency is a general statement of its views and not a full

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\* The Jewish Agency has been asked for a memorandum for publication. As to this; reference is requested to the letter accompanying this memorandum.

\*\* It has been explained that the word "administratively" refers to employment in the public service; see Minutes of Evidence, Sixth Meeting, p.52.



discussion of every point which may eventually have to be dealt with. Accordingly, no attempt will be made in this memorandum to provide for every possible contingency, nor will legal precision be aimed at in the choice of language. The Jewish Agency believes that at this stage it will best meet the Commission's requirements by indicating in general terms its attitude on certain salient points.

## II.

4. The attention of the Jewish Agency has been drawn by the Commission to that part of the Balfour Declaration which requires that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine", and also to the words "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced" in Article 6 of the Palestine Mandate. The Jewish Agency has been asked for its views as to the acceptance by the Jewish State of like obligations.

5. The form of words used in Article 6 of the Mandate was discussed at some length in the memorandum submitted by the Agency to the Palestine Royal Commission in 1936\*. It will be found, when closely examined, to be obscure and ambiguous; indeed, one of the reasons why it was so fully considered in the 1936 memorandum was that it had in some quarters been suggested that the "position" of "other sections of the population" would be prejudiced if Jewish immigration were allowed to endanger their numerical preponderance. Even in the case of the Balfour Declaration attempts have been made to argue that the "rights" of the "non-Jewish communities" may include the right of keeping Jews

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\* Paragraphs 70-87.



out of Palestine - a suggestion of which a faint echo is to be found in the proceedings of the Palestine Royal Commission.\*

6. It would clearly be impossible for the Jewish State to accept any formula capable of being construed as tying its hands in the matter of immigration. As is emphasised both in the Peel Report and in the White Paper of July 1937, one of the main advantages claimed for partition is that it will enable the Jews to facilitate Jewish immigration into the territory of the Jewish State to the fullest extent which they themselves consider practicable. So far as immigration is concerned, the Jewish State must have an unfettered discretion. On this point there is no room for equivocation or compromise. On the other hand, this being clearly understood, the Jewish Agency readily agrees that it will be incumbent upon the Jewish State, not only to respect the civil and religious rights of its non-Jewish citizens, but also to safeguard and, to the best of its ability, to improve their position.

### III.

7. Before dealing with specific points, the Jewish Agency thinks it desirable to begin by propounding certain general principles governing the relations between the Jewish State and its non-Jewish citizens.

(1) The first is the elementary principle of non-discrimination. There can be no question of any citizen of the Jewish State being at a disadvantage by reason of his race or religion.

(2) The Jewish State cannot rest content with establishing a formal equality of status between Jewish and non-Jewish citizens. At present two different standards of life co-exist in Palestine:

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\* Minutes of Evidence, page 252, questions 4007 ff.



that of the bulk of the Arab population and the higher one introduced by Jewish and other European settlers. It will be incumbent upon the Jewish State in its own interests, as well as in those of the Arab population, to do what can be done in order gradually to bring about a greater measure of real equality in education and standards of life.

8. In the light of these principles it is now proposed to deal seriatim with a number of questions on which the Jewish Agency's views are understood to be desired.

#### IV.

##### Representation in Legislature and Executive:

9. It follows from the principle of non-discrimination that the right of taking part in elections for any representative Legislature which may be set up in the Jewish State will be open to Arabs (or other non-Jews) on precisely the same terms as to Jews. The Jewish Agency is of opinion that the franchise should be granted on the principle of adult suffrage with neither a literary nor a pecuniary test.

10. Elections held on so liberal a franchise might reasonably be expected to result in the fair representation of all sections of the inhabitants. It is recognised, nevertheless, that there is a case for the introduction of some form of proportional representation designed to ensure that elections shall result in Arab voters being represented in the Legislature in proportion to their numbers.

11. The Jewish Agency desires to see the Arabs represented in the executive organs of the Jewish State as well as in the Legislature. The precise character of such representation



cannot, it is thought, usefully be discussed in the abstract, without reference to the actual constitutional machinery of the Jewish State. It is not possible at this stage to say precisely what that machinery will be. It is assumed that the Jewish State will be established on the basis of a Constitution or Organic Law, which will, according to precedent, be required to be worked out and approved before the termination of the Mandate.

## V.

Nationality:

12. On the subject of nationality the Royal Commission made the following recommendation:\*

"All persons domiciled in the Mandated area (including Haifa, Tiberias, Safad and the enclave on the Gulf of Aqaba, as long as they remain under Mandatory Administration) who now possess the status of British protected persons would retain it. But apart from this, all Palestinians would become the nationals of the States in which they are domiciled."

The Royal Commission assumed that certain towns assigned to the Jewish area will remain for a period under Mandatory administration and proposes that during that period persons domiciled in those towns who possess Palestinian citizenship shall retain that status. Subject to the point thus raised, to which further reference is made below, the effect of the Royal Commission's proposals, as applied to the Jewish State, would be that on the establishment of that State Palestinian citizens then domiciled in its territory would cease to be Palestinian citizens and would obtain ipso facto the nationality of the Jewish State. The Jewish Agency does not dissent from this recommendation, which is in accordance with the well recognised

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\*Chapter 22, paragraph 32, page 388.



principles applied (for example) in Article 21 and Articles 30-33 of the Treaty of Lausanne.\* The Royal Commission recommends (page 393 of the Report) that during the transitional period no Jewish immigration shall be permitted into the area assigned to the Arab State. If so, it is assumed that during that period there will be a like prohibition of Arab immigration into the Jewish area.

13. Palestinian citizens habitually resident in the Jewish State who did not desire to become nationals of the Jewish State would, of course, be entitled to opt for another national status with the consent of the State concerned, but subject to the usual condition that they would not be entitled as of right to remain in the territory of the Jewish State while declining its nationality.\*\* It is hardly necessary to observe that the normal application of the accepted principles governing national status where territory changes hands is in no way connected with compulsory transfer.

14. While the Jewish Agency, as already stated, does not dissent from the Royal Commission's recommendation, it would, so far as it is concerned, be prepared to consider as an alternative an arrangement under which there was not, on the establishment of the Jewish State, any automatic acquisition of its nationality by Palestinian citizens domiciled or habitually resident in its territory, but every Palestinian citizen was allowed a period of (say) two years in which to elect whether

\* For text see Appendix I.

\*\* See Treaty of Lausanne, Article 33. Cf. Report of the Committee of Experts on the question of Alexandretta, para. 22:- "The Committee also considered that persons repudiating Sandjak citizenship should be required to leave the Sandjak" (League of Nations Documents, C.233, 1937, page 3).



he would or would not accept the nationality of the Jewish State, it being clear that if he elected not to do/<sup>so</sup>he would not be entitled as of right to remain in the territory of the Jewish State and might be required to transfer his place of residence elsewhere. At the expiration of the time-limit persons having the right of option who had not elected to decline the nationality of the Jewish State would be considered to have become nationals of that State. While the option period was running, Palestinian citizens who had not elected one way or the other would be considered to remain Palestinian citizens.

15. Nothing said above should be interpreted as implying the acceptance by the Jewish Agency of the Royal Commission's proposal that Haifa and certain other towns assigned by it to the Jewish State shall remain for a period under Mandatory administration. The Jewish Agency reserves the right to discuss this recommendation on its merits. On the hypothesis that it is adopted, the Jewish Agency takes the view that persons domiciled, or habitually resident, in the towns in question should, as to their national status, be in the same position as persons domiciled, or habitually resident, in any other part of the territory of the Jewish State.

## VI.

### Administrative Questions:

16. The principle of non-discrimination requires that no citizen of the Jewish State shall be at a disadvantage as a candidate for public employment by reason of his race or religion.

17. The principle is fundamental, but it is recognised that, however conscientious its application, the practical necessities



of the case may, for a period at all events, demand something more. In a memorandum submitted by the Jewish Agency to the Palestine Royal Commission in 1936, the view was expressed that "in a country in which two races are living side by side, there ought in principle to be some attempt to maintain a reasonable balance between them in the distribution of employment by the State".\* The Jewish Agency adheres to that view, from which it follows that it will be incumbent upon the Jewish State to ensure that Arabs shall in fact have a fair share of the employment available in the public service and in works carried out at the cost of public funds. As to what is meant by a fair share, the Jewish Agency does not think that at this stage it would serve any useful purpose to lay down hard-and-fast rules. What has been said is sufficient (it is thought) to indicate the Jewish Agency's approach to the problem, for which a solution must be sought, not in any rigid arithmetical formula, but in the application, in good faith, of a well understood principle.

18. The questions arising, in the case of official appointments, with regard to a knowledge of the official language are discussed below under that head.\*\*

## VII.

### Land:

19. As a background to what is about to be said, it will be convenient to begin by recalling certain statements which have been made on the subject of the land question in Palestine:-

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\* Memorandum submitted to the Palestine Royal Commission on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, page 230.

\*\* See Page 12.



"It may, I think, be regarded as common ground that a comprehensive scheme of development is called for in the interests of both the Arabs and the Jewish communities." (The Accredited British Representative, Dr. Shiels, at the Twentieth Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission).\*

"A methodical scheme of agricultural development should be thought out and undertaken, which will ensure the use of the land of the country to better purpose than has been the case hitherto." (Hope Simpson Report, Cmd. 3686 (1930), p.143).

"There can be no doubt that systematic and methodical development over a period of years will change the whole aspect of agriculture in Palestine and admit of a largely increased population." (ib., page 144).

20. In the light of these statements and of many others which could be cited to the same effect, it is clear that if "a methodical and systematic development" of the land resources of Palestine has been held to be an obligation of the Mandatory Power, it must a fortiori be one of the paramount duties of a Jewish State which will have to find room for new Jewish settlers and which will also be concerned to improve the position of its existing inhabitants.

21. It is recognised that there is more than one method of attempting to discharge that duty, and that the method to be avoided is that of arbitrary and unsympathetic interference with the less advanced section of the population. No such interference is contemplated. The Jewish State will exert itself to ensure that the occupiers of land, whether Jews or

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\* Minutes of Twentieth Session of the Permanent Mandates Commission, (1931) page 74.



Arabs, shall cultivate it to the best advantage, but in doing so it will rely, not on coercion, but on persuasion, example and the provision of practical advice and assistance. It will not expect a spectacular transformation, but will recognise that progress must be gradual and at a pace which must vary with local conditions, with the capacities of the various classes of cultivators, and with the financial resources from time to time at the disposal of the State for the encouragement of agriculture. It is impossible to give an unqualified undertaking that in no circumstances will the State exert its authority. If (for example) it is seen that water is being wasted or unused, a point may be reached at which the general interest demands that the State shall no longer refrain from intervention. Again, the evils of the Musha'a system have been emphasised by every expert who has investigated agricultural conditions in Palestine, and if the parcellation and consolidation of holdings in a given area should be found to be essential in the general interest and to be incapable of being brought about by agreement, here again it is conceivable that the State might eventually be compelled to take action. But while it is clearly impossible to give an assurance that under no conditions will the State intervene, the policy will be to restrict such intervention to a minimum.

22. One of the advantages expected from the gradual intensification of agriculture is that it will enable land to be released for new settlers, while leaving existing cultivators with holdings amply sufficient for their requirements and calculated to yield them better incomes than they at present obtain from the uneconomic working of larger areas. The Strickland Report\*

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 \*Report by Mr. C.F. Strickland on "The Possibility of Introducing a System of Agricultural Cooperation in Palestine", (1930), page 39.



expresses the view that "there is in general much to be said for encouraging the fellah to sell a part of his irrigable land through the agency of the Loan Fund Committee (i.e., the Committee administering the Government Loan Fund proposed in the Report) and to repay the reasonable claims of his creditors from the sale proceeds, and develop the remainder of his irrigable land with such additional money as the Fund will advance." But the Strickland Report does not contemplate expropriation, nor is it contemplated by the Jewish Agency, save, possibly, in connection with some such balanced rationalisation scheme as is favourably considered by the Royal Commission at pages 247-252 of its Report, and under the conditions there laid down, of which the first is "that there is land available and a general willingness to sell". The principle of non-expropriation, as stated above, will be applied in good faith, but this is not, of course, intended to exclude expropriation on equitable terms where land is bona fide required for the purposes of frontier defence or for other public purposes, and expropriation would be generally agreed to be reasonable and in conformity with the normal practice of civilised States.

23. With regard to the position of cultivating tenants, it is intended that where land changes hands, sitting tenants shall continue to be safeguarded by legislation embodying the principle of the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance now in force. Like the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance, that legislation will not relate specifically to Arabs as such but to cultivating tenants generally. It is desired to make this clear because an impression seems to exist that unless Arabs as such are accorded special protection in this regard, they will be deprived of some advantage which they now enjoy. This is not in fact the case.



24. This memorandum is concerned with the treatment of minorities, and nothing contained in the foregoing paragraphs should be interpreted as tying the hands of the State in the matter of any agrarian reform which may at some future time be demanded by a majority of the population as a whole after the stage has been reached at which the racial division between Jews and Arabs has ceased to possess its present significance.

## VIII.

Labour:

25. While Jewish immigration has, as the Peel Report points out,\* had a favourable effect upon the Arab workers' wages and standard of living, they still remain, generally speaking, well below the Jewish level. A permanent division between low paid Arab labour and better paid Jewish labour would on a long view be in the interests neither of the Arab nor the Jewish workers nor of the healthy development of the Jewish State. There can be no doubt as to the demoralising situation which may develop where two races are represented in the same labour-market by two groups of workers with widely different standards of life.

26. It follows, that, while recognising that there can be no immediate closing of the gap, the Jewish Agency would desire to see it narrowed as rapidly as circumstances permit. It will be the policy of the Jewish State to do whatever can be done without unduly forcing the pace to accelerate that process both by labour legislation, by its own example as an employer of labour, and - indirectly - by the provision of improved facilities for Arab education. While the existence of different scales of wages for

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\* Pages 127-129



Jewish and Arab labour respectively cannot be contemplated with satisfaction as a permanent state of affairs, the Jewish Agency is not unaware of the difficulties of minimum wage legislation and recognises that any such legislation would have to be cautiously framed. So far as working conditions are concerned, the Jewish State will desire to place itself as soon as possible in a position to enforce the minimum standard of working conditions generally accepted in civilised countries.

27. It is recognised that the Jewish State may find itself in this dilemma - that if it does not exert itself to improve the condition of the Arab workers, it may be charged with neglecting them and living on cheap Arab labour, while if it does improve their condition, it may be said that it is depriving them pro tanto of the competitive advantage of cheapness. A gradual levelling up will not, it is believed, involve any serious dislocation and will, in the long run, create much healthier conditions than those at present prevailing in the labour market. A situation in which Jews and Arabs exercise their combined bargaining power in a labour organisation knowing no distinction between them will clearly be preferable to one in which the Jews are undersold by the Arabs and Jews employ Arab labour, so far as they do employ it, solely because it is cheap.

#### IX.

##### The Language Question:

28. Hebrew will, of course, be the language of the Jewish State as such, but Arabic will have full recognition as the language of an important section of its citizens. No attempt will be made to force Hebrew upon the Arab public. Arabic will



be the language of instruction in the Arab schools; official notices will be issued and official business transacted in Arabic in areas in which this is required for the benefit of an Arabic-speaking population; Arabs will be entitled to address the Government in Arabic and to receive replies in that language. These are merely examples designed to illustrate the general principles to be applied.

29. On the other hand, a knowledge of Hebrew will be required, generally speaking, of officials, though this rule will not be enforced until the expiration of a liberal time-limit.

30. There are a variety of connected questions which will require to be considered, but it does not seem necessary at this stage to deal with the subject exhaustively and in detail. Enough (it is thought) has been said to indicate the general nature of the policy which the Jewish Agency would favour.

X.

#### Religious questions:

31. Paragraph (ii)(j) of the Partition Commission's terms of reference, which relate to the provision of safeguards for minorities, refers specifically to "the protection of religious rights and properties". There is no reason to think that any difficulty will arise as to the provision of satisfactory safeguards for the religious rights and properties of the non-Jewish population and the various religious communities comprised within it. The relevant articles of the Declaration made on behalf of Iraq on the occasion of the termination of the Mandate\* are as follows:-

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\* See League of Nations Official Journal, July 1932, pages 1347 ff.)



- Article 2 (2) - (Freedom of worship)
- Article 5 - (Right to maintain religious, etc. institutions)
- Article 6 - (Family law and personal status)
- Article 7 - (Protection of places of worship, pious foundations, etc. establishment of Communal Councils in "important administrative districts" for the administration of pious foundations, etc. facilities for establishment of new religious or charitable institutions)
- Article 8 - (Equitable share of public funds provided for religious, etc. purposes)\*

32. These provisions of the Iraq Declaration appear adequately to cover the ground and it can be taken for granted that the Jewish State would be prepared to enter into corresponding undertakings for the benefit of non-Jewish religious communities. Since the Religious Courts are not expressly mentioned in the Iraq Declaration, it may be desirable to make it clear that the Jewish Agency contemplates that in the Jewish State the Moslem Religious Courts and the Courts of the several Christian communities will continue to exercise the same jurisdiction as at present. It may safely be assumed that the Jewish State would be ready to undertake that no change of any kind should be made in the jurisdiction now exercised by any Moslem or Christian Religious Court save at the instance of an overwhelming majority of the community concerned.

# XI.

## Minority Questions Generally:

33. In the Iraq Declaration already mentioned the protection of minorities forms the subject-matter of Chapter I. Reference has been made above, under the head of Religious Questions, to those parts of Chapter I which relate specifically to the position

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\* For text of these Articles see Appendix II.



of religious minorities. The remainder of Chapter I, deals mainly with matters already covered by earlier sections of this memorandum, but a general assurance can be given that in relation to the treatment of the non-Jewish population and of minorities forming part of it the Jewish State would undertake to apply, so far as applicable, all the provisions of the Iraq Declaration so far as they are concerned with the protection of minorities.



Jerusalem,  
31.7.1938



CONFIDENTIAL

Pol/133/38

1st August, 1938.

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

At the sixth session of the Commission the Jewish Agency was asked to furnish the Commission with a memorandum containing the Jewish Agency's estimate of the agricultural absorptive capacity of the following areas:

- (1) Galilean hills;
- (2) the portion of the maritime plain included in the Jewish State as outlined by the Royal Commission;
- (3) the Huleh plain, distinguishing between the area within the concession and the area outside the concession;
- (4) the portions of the plains of Esdraelon, Jezreel and Beisan included in the Jewish State as outlined by the Royal Commission;
- (5) the portion of the Beisan plain not so included; and
- (6) the area south and south-east of the Jewish areas in the plain, referred to in para.29 of the Memorandum of the Jewish Agency dated 23rd May, 1938.

2. The Executive of the Jewish Agency have the honour to enclose herewith two tables containing the required information, together with a map showing the several zones. The Executive beg leave to add the following observations:-

(1) Table I. is based on the best available information as to total areas, cultivable areas, water resources, and types and methods of farming, but it is impossible to be certain that that information is in all respects accurate and complete. The estimates of total areas are based on official figures. The estimates of cultivable areas and water resources are those



furnished by the Jewish Agency experts in their evidence before the Royal Commission.

(2) The table should not be taken to be more than it purports to be, viz. an estimate of the agricultural population which the several areas are respectively capable of supporting on the hypothesis that their agricultural resources, as at present known, are developed and fully utilised at the highest level of efficiency. This hypothesis is theoretical in so far as it disregards not only the factor of human inertia, but also various difficulties of a financial, legal and political nature which may in practice have to be taken into account.

(3) Against this must be set another incalculable factor, viz. the possibility of improvements in agricultural technique and of favourable changes in the quantity or type of agricultural products demanded by the home or the foreign market. These possibilities exist, but no allowance can be made for them in any estimate which may now be attempted.

(4) For the purpose of preparing the table, it has been necessary to sub-divide the zones into areas and to adopt a standard farm-unit for each area by reference to the possibilities of irrigation. The starting point of the estimate is that agricultural development will proceed on the basis of the "Organic Mixed Farm", and that the standard size of such a farm may be put at 25 dunams in the area in which water is plentiful enough to allow of the entire agricultural area being irrigated, viz. the Huleh region (Zone 3) and certain sections of the maritime plain (Zones 2b, 2c and 2d). Where water resources are less abundant and only partial irrigation is possible, every dunam



of irrigated land has been reckoned as the equivalent of five dunams of unirrigated land. In the uplands of Lower Galilee (Zone 1c) it has been established that water will be available only for 7 per cent. of the total cultivable area. The unit has accordingly been fixed at 80 dunams, of which five are irrigated - the equivalent of 100 dunams of unirrigated land. In the southern portion of the coastal plain (Zones 2a and 6) and in the plains of Esdraelon, Jezreel and Beisan (Zones 4 and 5) the unit area similarly varies, according to the estimated availability of water for irrigation, from 38 to 70 dunams. In the hill region (Zones 1a and 1b) the unit adopted is 40 dunams. It has been assumed that farming in this region will be entirely unirrigated, based mainly on fruit-growing - olives, figs, vines, deciduous fruit, etc. - with poultry, sheep-raising, vegetable-growing and the sowing of some cereals and of fodder for use on the farm as subsidiary branches. A unit of 40 dunams is estimated to be the optimum figure, as a larger area would exceed the capacity of a single farmer to put the land to the best possible use by terracing, levelling and rational cultivation. In addition to the agricultural zones enumerated, a certain total allowance has been made for the possibilities of agricultural absorption in forest and grazing lands in the hills (Zone 1d) based on the raising of cattle and sheep, with some planting of carob and other forest and fruit trees. On such lands the unit has been fixed at 300 dunams.

(5) The total figure given for each zone under the head of "agricultural absorption" relates to the total number of farm-units, each representing five persons, which it is estimated



that that zone could support. An estimate, based on Table I. of the total number of agricultural settlers who could be absorbed by way of addition to the existing agricultural population appears in Table II. The deduction made on account of the existing population is not a deduction of the entire figure shown under the head of "present rural population", but of that part of it only which refers to the agricultural, as distinct from the rural, population. In the case of the Jews, the census taken by the Jewish Agency in 1936 shows that the agricultural population forms 56 per cent. of the rural population. In the case of the Arabs, the corresponding figure, according to the official census of 1931, is 65 per cent. The results of a calculation on this basis are shown in Column E of Table II, it being understood that they must be considered in the light of the foregoing observations as to the nature of the accompanying estimate as a whole.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

Enc.-



Table I

Z O N E	Total Area (Metr.dun.)	Cultivable Area (Metr. dun.)	% of irrigable land	Area of Farming Unit (Metric dunams)		Total	Agricultural Absorp- tion: Number of Units. (Unit = 5 persons)
				Irrigated	Non irrigated		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. GALILEE HILLS							
a) Hills of Western Galilee	1,010,000	632,000	nil	nil	40	40	15,800
b) Mount Carmel and Hills of Eastern Galilee	1,009,000	618,000	nil	nil	40	40	15,450
c) Uplands of Eastern Galilee	365,000	332,000	7	5	75	80	4,150
d) Grazing and Forest lands on hills and uplands	-	802,000	nil	nil	300	300	2,670
T o t a l	2,384,000	2,384,000					38,070
2. MARITIME PLAIN							
a) Beer Tuvia to Wadi Zarqa	1,404,000	1,169,000	58	22	16	38	30,760
b) Wadi Zarqa to Haifa	86,000	79,000	100	25	nil	25	3,160
c) Haifa to Acre	122,000	100,000	100	25	nil	25	4,000
d) Acre to Ras an-Naqura	220,000	198,000	100	25	nil	25	7,920
T o t a l	1,832,000	1,546,000					45,840
3. HULEH PLAIN							
a) North of concession area	113,000	111,000	100	25	nil	25	4,440
b) Concession area	57,000	52,000	100	25	nil	25	2,080
c) South of concession area	69,500	69,000	100	25	nil	25	2,760
T o t a l	239,500	232,000					9,280
4. PLAINS OF ESDRAELON, JEZREEL AND BEISAN (North)							
a) S'deh Yaaqov to Ein Harod	317,000	304,000	16	10	50	60	5,065
b) Ein Harod to Jordan	112,000	101,000	49	21	22	43	2,345
T o t a l	429,000	405,000					7,410
5. BEISAN PLAIN (South)	109,000	96,000	50	25	25	50	1,920
6. SOUTHERN AREA							
a) Beer Tuvia to Majdal	264,600	215,000	48	17	18	35	6,140
b) Majdal to boundary	478,600	430,000	20	14	56	70	6,140
	743,200	645,000					12,280



T a b l e II

Z O N E	Present Rural Popu - lation		Present rural population less: estimated non- agricultural population		Estimated Total Absorption: Farm Units x 5	Excess of Column D over Column C
	Arabs	Jews				
	A	B	C	D	E	
1. Galilee Hills	116,700	3,030	77,552	190,350	112,798	
2. Maritime Plain	86,500	79,020	106,501	229,200	122,699	
3. Huleh Plain	10,450	750	7,212	46,400	39,188	
4. Plains of Esdraelon, Jezreel And Beisan(North)	11,300	13,500	14,905	37,050	22,145	
5. Beisan Plain (South)	7,510	204	4,995	9,600	4,605	
6. Southern Area	24,500	-	15,925	61,400	45,475	



CONFIDENTIAL

Pol/136/38

10th August, 1938.

The Secretary,  
Palestine Partition Commission,  
c/o Colonial Office,  
Downing Street,  
London.

Sir,

I have the honour to refer to your letter  
No.P/17/10a/38 of the 26th June, 1938, in which the  
considered views of the Jewish Agency were sought on  
a memorandum, enclosed with your letter, on the subject  
of the economic consequences of large-scale immigration  
into the proposed Jewish State.

A memorandum embodying the views of the Jewish  
Agency on the subject is submitted herewith for the  
Commission's consideration.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

M. Shertok  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

Enc.



M E M O R A N D U M

on the

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF IMMIGRATION

submitted to the  
PALESTINE PARTITION COMMISSION

by the

JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

Jerusalem  
August 1938



## ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF IMMIGRATION

The Partition Commission has been good enough to invite the comments of the Jewish Agency on a memorandum dated the 26th June, 1938, on the subject of certain economic problems which appear to the Commission to arise in connection with immigration into the proposed Jewish State. It is explained in paragraph 10 of the memorandum that the relevance of the questions raised is considered to lie in their bearing upon the prospects of budgetary stability in the Jewish State.

The Jewish Agency desires to offer the following observations on the memorandum:

### I.

(1) The memorandum is based on certain assumptions as to the financial and other details of a plan which the Jewish Agency is taken to have put forward. The argument, in the form in which it is built up from these premises, will be examined in due course. But before approaching it more closely, it will be convenient to begin with a few general observations.

(2) As is noted by the Royal Commission\*, Jewish immigration into Palestine was already in progress before 1914. It was on what would now be considered to be a very small scale, but it was large enough to result in a perceptible increase in the Jewish population. Under the more favourable conditions created by the British Mandate, immigration proceeded at a greatly accelerated pace. The hopes of the Zionist Movement were not fully realised in literal conformity with its most sanguine forecasts; but neither did there turn out to be any

\* Report, page 13.



Justification for the scepticism of those who were convinced that the absorptive capacity of Palestine was fixed by immutable laws which forbade, and would continue to forbid, any large scale settlement. The results achieved in the first twenty years fell short of the maximum expectations of 1918, but no one would suggest that they were, therefore, not worth achieving. The increase of the Jewish population by well over 300,000 proved that the Jewish National Home was no chimera, and that the Zionist Movement was right in believing that a change of regime, coupled with a determined Jewish effort, would enable the absorptive capacity of Palestine to be substantially enlarged. However difficult it may be to say precisely on what scale and at what rate immigration could be absorbed by a Jewish State, there appears to the Jewish Agency to be nothing fanciful in the belief that the movement which began long before 1914, and after the close of the war was renewed on a much larger scale when more favourable conditions were created, would receive a still further impetus from the establishment of a Jewish State having the absorption of Jewish immigrants as a paramount purpose.

(3) So far as the methods to be employed are concerned, it must be borne in mind that what is in prospect is not an entirely new enterprise with no roots in the past. Jewish immigration into Palestine has been in progress, first on a small scale and later on a much larger one, for something like sixty years. The visible results which have been achieved are generally considered to be not unimpressive, and the accumulated experience thus acquired will be at the disposal of the Jewish State and the Jewish colonising institutions. On the establishment of a Jewish State it is not anticipated that there will be



s sudden and spectacular change in the economic processes by which the Jewish National Home has been brought to its present stage of development. There will not be a clean break and an entirely fresh start. What the Jewish Agency does anticipate is that the economic processes already at work will be stimulated by the active encouragement to be expected from the State under changed conditions.

(4) The Jewish Agency, while fully appreciating the weight of the considerations advanced in the memorandum, is not quite clear as to the conclusions intended to be drawn. If the inference is that it cannot be predicted with certainty that the Jewish State will be able within a fixed period of (say) twenty years to absorb a predetermined number of immigrants (say 1,200,000), the Jewish Agency would agree. If the memorandum is intended as a warning that, should the Jewish State adopt an active immigration policy, it must expect to encounter set-backs and to pass through periods of depression, again the Jewish Agency would agree. But there is no difficulty in accepting these propositions and at the same time holding - as the Jewish Agency does hold - that there is a reasonable prospect of a Jewish State (provided that its frontiers are drawn with due regard to its needs) being able successfully to absorb immigrants in numbers amply sufficient to justify its existence. For the reasons about to be stated, the Jewish Agency sees no reason to believe that a Jewish State will be faced with the dilemma that it must either take unwarrantable risks, or, so far as immigration is concerned, achieve nothing worth achieving.

grants (say 1,200,000), the Jewish Agency would agree. If the memorandum is intended as a warning that, should the Jewish State adopt an active immigration policy, it must expect to encounter set-backs and to pass through periods of depression, again the Jewish Agency would agree. But there is no diffi-



## II.

There appears to be some misconception in the reference (see paragraph 1 of the memorandum) to a plan for continuous immigration at a normal rate of 60,000 a year for twenty years. The actual scale and tempo of immigration will be determined, as the situation develops, in the light of experience and of the conditions actually prevailing from time to time. It would serve no useful purpose to propound a mechanical twenty-year plan, and the Jewish Agency has never intended to do so.

(2) Dr. Weizmann's statement at the Sixth Meeting of the Commission was as follows:-

"The boundaries which are adumbrated by this (the Jewish Agency's) memorandum, I would say, in order to give a figure, to indicate the order of things, over and above the existing population, would probably enable us to bring in in the next twenty years  $1\frac{1}{2}$  million people. In the boundaries of the Royal Commission's Report, without transfer as contemplated by the Commission, probably half that number - three-quarters of a million. I hope you are not going to tie me down to these figures or to draw any particular conclusions from them. I am only giving these figures in order to indicate the order of things."\*

(3) It will be seen that Dr. Weizmann was not formulating a twenty years' programme of immigration, but was expressing, in quite general terms, an opinion as to the total number of immigrants capable of being absorbed in a given area over an extended period of time. This is not equivalent to a statement that the Jewish Agency, looking twenty years ahead, has decided that during that period a fixed number of immigrants shall be brought in at a predetermined rate. The Jewish State will admit, as it is intended that it should, as many immigrants as its maximum efforts can enable it to absorb; but in indicating the order of magnitude of the immigration which is hoped for, the Jewish Agency should not be taken to be laying

\* Minutes of Evidence, Sixth Meeting, pages 55-56.



down a programme to be rigidly followed under unforeseeable conditions.

(4) When the absorptive capacity of the Jewish State comes to be tested, experience will show whether it has been exaggerated by the Jewish Agency, or whether those who take a less sanguine view have under-estimated it in the same manner as those who, twenty years ago, doubted whether Palestine could absorb any appreciable immigration at all, or those who, some ten years later, pointed gloomily to the depression which then prevailed as evidence that the days of large-scale immigration were over. However that may be, an estimate of absorptive capacity is not a programme of immigration. There is no reason to doubt that the immigration policy of the Jewish State at any given stage will in practice be framed with due regard to the relevant features of the financial and economic situation as it then exists.

### III.

(1) Paragraph 2 of the Memorandum appears to envisage an initial period of a year or two, during which immigrants will be admitted in exceptionally large numbers and provided with employment financed by the mainly non-productive expenditure of an exceptionally large amount of capital. For the reasons about to be stated, the Jewish Agency cannot recognise this as an accurate picture of its intentions.

(2) "Exceptional" is a relative term. What is meant by an exceptionally large amount of capital is not stated, but it is explained (see paragraph 2(a) of the Memorandum) that an exceptionally large immigration means immigration at a rate



considerably in excess of 60,000 a year. The Memorandum (1b) further makes it clear that the reference is not to immigrants in the aggregate, but to immigrants requiring employment. The argument would appear, therefore, to proceed on the footing that the Jewish Agency is committed to a plan providing for the introduction, in the initial period, of immigrant workers alone at a rate considerably in excess of 60,000 a year, exclusive of immigration of other categories, which in 1933-37 accounted for over 72 per cent. of the total Jewish immigration. The Jewish Agency has been unable to find in the oral evidence given on its behalf with regard to the initial period any passage in which such a plan is propounded - still less any passage in which the future of the Jewish State is staked upon the execution of such a plan.\*

(3) Nothing stated above should be interpreted as derogating from the fundamental principle that it will be a paramount purpose of the Jewish State, not only during the initial period but throughout, to facilitate Jewish immigration to the maximum extent which may from time to time be practicable. But it does not follow that the Jewish State must be taken to be irrevocably committed to the introduction at all costs, and regardless of consequences, of some fixed number of immigrants either in the initial or in any subsequent period. The volume of immigration to be admitted at any given time will, so far as immigrant workers are concerned, fall to be determined by

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 \*So far as the Jewish Agency is aware, the only relevant passages are as follows: Fifth Meeting, page 37 (the figures mentioned amount in the aggregate to 50,000), Sixth Meeting, page 32, (65,000 within six months, "if you mean for the first year" - but this is not equivalent to a programme of immigration in the initial period at the rate of 65,000 per half-year); Sixth Meeting, pages 32-33 (the figure mentioned is 50,000); Twelfth Meeting, page 39 (same point as Sixth Meeting, page 32).



reference to the openings for employment; which are in sight and to the resources available for financing such employment.

#### IV.

(1) In paragraph 2 of the memorandum the assumption that considerably more than 60,000 immigrant workers will have to be provided with employment in the first year, or in each of the first two years, is coupled with two further assumptions, viz.:

- (a) That such employment will be mainly provided by undertakings which will be uneconomic and to a large extent unproductive, and, further, that such undertakings will continue to be largely relied upon for the employment of immigrants entering at a later stage:- paragraph 2(b) appears not to relate specially to the "exceptional" immigration of the first year or two, but to the employment of immigrants generally.
- (b) That these undertakings will be financed by an exceptionally large expenditure of capital, which, so far as not imported by immigrants, will be provided by a foreign loan, evidently meaning a loan to be raised by the Jewish State.

Reasons are given below for questioning both these assumptions.

(2) As to the first assumption, it is no part of the Jewish Agency's proposals that employment shall be provided by a continuous succession of uneconomic public works together with a series of large scale investments in unremunerative industrial undertakings. What the Jewish Agency does anticipate is that as the Jewish State proceeds to develop the resources of its territory, a considerable amount of employment will be provided by various classes of preparatory work to be carried out under the auspices either of the State or of one or other of the Jewish national institutions,\* including, in particular,

\* i.e. the Jewish National Fund, the Palestine Foundation Fund, and allied institutions.



the preparation of land for cultivation and settlement, and the execution of urgently needed housing schemes. The Jewish Agency takes the view that it is natural and proper that such work should be undertaken as an indispensable preliminary to further progress, and that, far from being uneconomic, it will lead to the creation of new assets of permanent value.

(3) Turning now to the points specifically raised in the Memorandum, the reference to "public works such as the construction and improvement of roads and other non-productive services" is difficult to reconcile with the assumption underlying such statements in the Peel Report as (for example) that "hundreds of miles of road were laid (by the Palestine Administration)... In these and other ways a vigorous beginning had been made in 1925 in providing backward Palestine with the material equipment of a modern State".\* — There is here no suggestion that roads and other public works are to be regarded as "non-productive" merely because they do not show a direct return in cash. Further progress has been made since 1925, but not so much that the Jewish State will be merely carrying out unproductive relief works if (to take only one example) it provides badly needed feeder roads in the citrus area, thus reducing the cost of transport and the wastage of fruit, to the advantage both of the fruit trade and, in the long run, also of the State.

(4) Reference is also made in paragraph 2 (a) to the raising and training of a national defence force. If a Jewish State exists, it seems clear that it will be expected to make some provision for its own defence; indeed, it may well be required to do so as a condition of its coming into existence. If so, it is not clear why such provision as it may be found necessary

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\*Report of the Palestine Royal Commission, page 45.



to make for this purpose should be regarded as artificial or abnormal, and the defence force placed, in effect, in the category of relief works. It may be added that in the estimate of the budgetary prospects of the Jewish State prepared by the Palestine Administration it is anticipated that L.P. 225,000 a year will be available towards the cost of defence from ordinary revenue.

(5) As to Paragraph 2(b) of the memorandum, the development of land by irrigation or otherwise as a preliminary to closer settlement is precisely the kind of work contemplated in the development scheme proposed in the Hope Simpson Report and approved by His Majesty's Government. It is not clear why work of just the same character should, if undertaken under the auspices of the Jewish State or of a Jewish national institution, be considered to be uneconomic. It will not yield an immediate cash return, but neither did the operations which in many parts of Palestine have already turned wastes and swamps into farms and plantations yielding income to the cultivators and revenue to the State. Though some of the capital thus invested will, in all probability, have to be treated as irrecoverable and written off, a considerable part of it, with interest at a moderate rate, will, as in the past, be repayable by the settlers over a period of years. Ever since the War, the cost of settlement has tended to decline, owing to improvements in the technique of colonisation, the more economical purchase of materials, plant and equipment, and the fuller utilisation of capital works already executed and available to serve the needs of new settlers or settlements as well as those for whose benefit they were originally provided. As colonisation progresses, the amount of capital required to be written off per settler may



be expected to show a further reduction.

(6) It is further suggested in paragraph 2(b) of the memorandum that, in addition to expenditure of the character already mentioned, it is possible that large amounts of capital may also be consumed in "writing down the capital cost of establishing industries in the Jewish State". The Jewish Agency has been unable to find in its oral evidence any proposal answering to this description. It is not quite clear whether what is meant is that the Jewish State will directly provide capital for new industries, or that it will guarantee industrialists against losses or, again, that the writing down is to be done and the losses borne by the industrialists themselves. In the last case it would merely come to this - that some immigrants might lose some of their capital in unsuccessful industrial undertakings. This would be unfortunate, but it would not be unprecedented in the building up of an under-developed country - a process invariably involving risks, of which some invariably become losses. If Jewish immigrants with capital come to Palestine under abnormal conditions which make them disposed to accept rather <sup>more</sup> than the ordinary measure of risk in establishing new industries, this, it is thought, should be regarded as an advantage and not as a disadvantage to the Jewish State. It may be, however, that the situation intended to be described is one in which large amounts of capital provided by the State, or borrowed on its credit, are unprofitably invested and lost. It is quite possible that in the Jewish State, as in other States, some measure of financial assistance from public funds may be given to certain undertakings on grounds of public policy without the expectation of a direct financial return. But there is no reason to



suppose that if this were done, it would be done so imprudently or on so large a scale as to imperil the financial stability of the State.

## V.

(1) Consideration must now be given to the assumption made in the memorandum as to the sources of the capital by which undertakings providing employment are to be financed.

(2) Two such sources are mentioned, viz. immigrants' capital and a foreign loan, but no reference is made to another source, and an important one, viz. the moneys provided by the Jewish National institutions, notably the Jewish National Fund and the Palestine Foundation Fund, and in a different category, the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association and the various organisations for the settlement of Jewish refugees. These and kindred bodies are already providing very considerable sums for the purposes of Jewish settlement in Palestine, and a still larger contribution can reasonably be expected from them in the presence of more liberal facilities for immigration. It is to be observed, in this connection, that in the oral evidence given on behalf of the Jewish Agency it was made clear that such institutions were expected to play an important part in the settlement of Jews under the regime of the Jewish State.\*

(3) This last point is relevant to the question of the foreign loan. There does not appear to be anywhere in the oral evidence<sup>given</sup>/on behalf of the Jewish Agency a proposal

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\* See Minutes of Evidence, Sixth Meeting, page 33 (proposed labour camps to be financed by the Jewish Agency); Twelfth meeting, page 23 (land to be bought mainly by funds collected from Jews); of Twelfth Meeting, page 60 (Jewish Agency or Jewish community to assist in financing voluntary transfer of Arabs to Transjordan).



that a foreign loan shall be raised by the Jewish State for the purpose of providing employment for Jewish immigrants. The nearest approach to it is Dr. Weizmann's statement at the Fifth Meeting:\*

"If there is a Jewish State in the future, after three, four or five years from the time the decision is taken.... I believe we would raise a loan; indeed, I am going out to America now to raise a loan".

Then follows an allusion to the loan raised in the United States by Mr. de Valera:

"De Valera said: Give me money ... and when I have a State I will pay you back".

This might be taken to suggest that, though the loan will be raised in the first instance on the credit of the Jewish Agency, the Jewish State will be expected eventually to repay it to the extent to which it is outstanding when the State comes into existence and is represented by assets to be taken over by the State. There is another reference by Dr. Weizmann to a loan - clearly the same loan - at page 33 of the Minutes of the Sixth Meeting. The material passage is as follows:-

Q. "... One would have to consider, when we come to finance, whether the loan would be a charge on the Mandatory Government during what we have called the transitional period or whether it would be one for which the Jewish Agency would be responsible." A. "I think the Jewish Agency would be responsible".

These would appear to be the passages in the evidence from which it is inferred that immigration, so far as not financed by immigrants' capital, is to be financed by a foreign loan. It will be seen that the loan in question turns out to be a loan to be raised by the Jewish Agency,

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\* Minutes of Evidence, page 41.



though there is a vague suggestion that at the end of the transitional period the loan, or a part of it, may be taken over by the Jewish State. It would seem that a loan so raised, even if the Jewish State should at some future time become responsible for it, is not likely to be of such dimensions as to imperil the financial stability of the State, this being the point to which the Memorandum is ultimately addressed.

(4) It remains to refer to the importation of immigrants' capital, which is mentioned in paragraph 2 of the Memorandum as one of the main sources from which the undertakings there described are to be financed. Immigrants' capital will belong to the immigrants and not to the State. It is not clear why it is assumed in paragraph 2 that such capital will be used on (it would seem) a considerable scale for a variety of public purposes, and that, so far as it is not so used, some of the balance may be expected to be applied to writing down the capital cost of establishing industries. It seems more probable that private capital brought into the Jewish State will be invested by its owners, in the ordinary manner, in enterprises selected by themselves as likely to prove remunerative. Some of it may be lost, but it is reasonable to suppose, and experience supports the supposition, that a fair proportion will eventually fructify in private enterprises providing permanent employment, and, together with settlement on the land, playing their part in the absorption of labour.

## VI.

(1) Up to this point it does not appear to the Jewish Agency that there is anything in its plans, as actually propounded by itself, from which it follows that a situation must



dévelop of the character described in paragraph 3 of the memorandum. Even where there are real analogies to serve as a guide, such predictions cannot be made with mathematical certainty, and in this case the prediction is in terms more appropriate to a highly organised industrial society than to one in which the economic structure is such as actually exists in Palestine or will exist in the infant Jewish State. Nevertheless, it may be the case that some such situation as is described in paragraph 3 might be expected to arise if the Jewish State were to begin by providing employment at the cost (or largely at the cost) of public funds, including a substantial proportion of loan funds, on the immense scale apparently assumed in paragraph 2(b). But as has already been seen, this is not a true picture of the opening years of the Jewish State as the Jewish Agency conceives them,,and it is thought that the distinction is sufficiently material to affect the validity of the argument.

(2) The Jewish Agency does not, however, deny the Jewish State must expect to pass through periods of economic depression, nor, again, does it deny that in a country which is in process of development and is increasing its population by the admission of immigrants there may, more especially in the earlier stages, be expected to be periods of particularly difficult and even painful re-adjustment to changing economic conditions. Such has been the common experience of nearly all the overseas States which have been built up by a process of development stimulated by and stimulating immigration. Palestine itself has already suffered more than one set-back, but on each occasion up to the present it has shown recuperative powers which have falsified pessimistic predictions as to its future; "Palestine has had a series of disturbances since 1920 and has shown that its economic



structure is both plastic and resilient".\* In the Jewish State, as elsewhere, the tide will advance and recede, and the recession will involve the State in difficulties. In this respect the Jewish State will be no exception to the universal rule; but the Jewish Agency can see no reason to suppose that it will be an exception in its inability to recover.

## VII.

(1) As regards paragraph 5 of the Memorandum, it is a fact that during the past few years individuals of the independent means category have formed about 10 percent. of the total number of Jewish immigrants. It is also a fact that the scale on which Jewish private capital is imported has been shown by experience to have an important bearing on the amount of employment available for Jewish workers. It may be doubted whether the available data enable the relationship to be expressed in a simple arithmetical formula of permanent validity. It is suggested in paragraph 5(1) of the memorandum that the average cost of settlement may be expected to rise, with a corresponding rise in the amount of capital required to provide for any given number of immigrants. On the other hand, past experience does not support this view. During the past twenty years it has been found that as settlement progresses, the cost per head is reduced for the reasons mentioned in an earlier section of this memorandum (see Section IV, paragraph 5). But as a general proposition it is undoubtedly true - and it has,

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\* Government of Palestine, Department of Migration, Annual Report, June 1936, page 21.



indeed, never been questioned- that the total volume of immigration does tend to rise and fall with the importation of Jewish private capital.

(2) It is clearly not possible to predict that such capital will continue for a given period to flow regularly into Palestine at a given rate, nor does the Jewish Agency stake the future of the Jewish State on any such assumption. If the flow of private capital should contract, it may well be the case that it would become necessary for the time being to cut down immigration. Regrettable as this would be, it has already been explained that it is not regarded as vital to the existence of the Jewish State that it should year by year absorb immigrants on a scale precisely conforming to a rigid formula.

(3) Reasons are given below (paragraph 6) for thinking that the picture drawn in paragraph 5 of the memorandum may be unduly pessimistic. But if the true picture of the opening years of the Jewish State be assumed to be as described in paragraph 2 of the memorandum, and the true picture of the succeeding period as described in paragraph 3, the Jewish Agency agrees that it is quite possible that the next phase might be as suggested in paragraph 5. Even so, it is still material to consider whether the hardships to which the recently arrived immigrants will on this hypothesis be exposed, and the reduction in the standard of living to which they will have to submit, will be more or less than they would have suffered if they had stayed where they were. The conditions prevailing in the countries from which the immigrants are drawn are sufficiently well known, and there is, unhappily, little doubt that they are destined to grow worse. It is hardly credible that, even



under the conditions described by the memorandum, the immigrants will be in a worse position than if they had remained behind to face the fate which would then have awaited them. If this be so, the argument would appear to lose some of its force in so far as it lays stress upon the personal hardships which may be expected to be caused by the depression and the ensuing process of re-adjustment. In a Jewish State the immigrants will at least be under a Government which is not actually waging war on them.

(4) It is true that, apart from its effect on individuals, such a depression as is envisaged in paragraph 5 of the memorandum would also be reflected in falling revenue. It may be that the real point of the argument is not so much that individuals will suffer as that a depression on the scale foreseen will endanger the financial stability of the State. In considering to what extent there are grounds for such apprehensions, it must be borne in mind that the case will not be that of a State built up on borrowings abroad and burdened with onerous foreign obligations. Reference has already been made to the real nature of the loan referred to in paragraph 2 of the memorandum. The Jewish State will be required to take over its proper proportion of the foreign debt of Palestine, but that debt is small. It would require a somewhat determined pessimism to foresee a situation arising not long after the establishment of the Jewish State in which the State will be unable to meet its foreign commitments. It may be added that not only is the foreign debt of the Jewish State likely to be small, but so also will be its foreign commitments in a wider sense. As the Royal Commission has pointed out,\* "the most singular feature in the economy of

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\* Report, page 212, paragraph 16.



Palestine is the vast amount of capital which has been invested in the country, for which no remittance abroad 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 colonisation and are burdened by charges on the capital obtained from overseas for their development."

(5) If the depression had been preceded by a boom on the scale apparently contemplated in paragraph 3, it is not unreasonable to suppose that even a comparatively short period of exceptional expenditure largely from imported private capital, marked industrial activity and rising profits, as described in that paragraph, would have enabled the State to put aside some reserve. In the two financial years 1934-35 and 1935-36, the accumulated surplus shown in the financial returns of the Palestine Government rose from LP 2,511,000 to LP 6,268,000 - an increase of LP 3,757,000. It is not suggested that the Jewish State can count upon an expansion of revenue on any such spectacular scale, but there is no reason to assume that it will be left with no reserve at all at the end of several years of economic activity so intense as to be almost inevitably followed (as the memorandum assumes) by a very serious recession.

(6) The Jewish Agency desires to add certain observations on the basic assumptions of paragraph 5 of the memorandum as to the prospects of a shrinkage in the importation of Jewish private capital and as to its effects, should it occur:-

(a) It is possible, as suggested in paragraph 5(ii) of the memorandum, that restrictions on the export of capital may make it increasingly difficult for immigrants to bring



their capital with them, or even such part of it as will be equal on the average to the average per capital amount of the immigrants' capital imported in recent years. On the other hand, it seems reasonably certain, in the light of the Evian Conference, that a serious international effort will be made to procure better facilities for the export of capital by prospective Jewish immigrants from Germany and Austria. The fact is not overlooked that the German and Austrian Jews seem to be threatened with something approaching confiscation, but it is not clear that it ought to be assumed in advance that the steps intended to be taken as a sequel to the Evian Conference are foredoomed to total failure.

(b) The removal of the fiscal disabilities imposed by Article 18 of the existing Mandate will give the Jewish State a bargaining-power which Palestine does not possess in pressing for the removal of restrictions on the transfer of capital from a number of countries which at present impose such restrictions.

(c) It should not be forgotten that a considerable amount of Jewish capital has already been got out of Germany and is at the disposal of refugees now resident, but not necessarily permanently resident, in various parts of Europe. Some of these refugees may be expected eventually to settle in Palestine, and they will not, as a rule, have any special difficulty in transferring to Palestine the capital which they have already salvaged from Germany. There are also cases in which Jews still resident in Germany have succeeded in transferring part of their capital abroad.

(d) Paragraph 5(ii) of the Memorandum suggests that, if the economic situation should develop on the lines forecast in paragraph 3, capitalists, qua capitalists, will be indisposed



to migrate to Palestine. Reasons have already been given for thinking that the picture presented by paragraph 3 may be overdrawn; but even if a severe depression should set in, it is unlikely in the extreme that capitalist immigration will be brought to a standstill. The conditions at present prevailing in Palestine are unattractive; yet even under those conditions many applications for permission to immigrate are in fact being received from persons of the capitalist class.

(7) Important as is the part played by private capital in the economic life of Palestine, it must be borne in mind that it does not represent (subject only to the hypothetical foreign loan) the whole of the financial resources which may be expected to be available for the maintenance and development of the Jewish National Home. It is a distinctive feature of Jewish settlement in Palestine that capital which would in a normal case have to be raised on commercial terms by the State is in this case provided on a considerable scale by the voluntary gifts of contributors seeking no commercial return. There are, in addition, various Jewish institutions which, though run on business lines, have been formed, not primarily with an eye to profit, but for the express purpose of facilitating Jewish settlement in Palestine. It may reasonably be anticipated that from both these sources the Jewish State would be able to look for support in mitigating the effects of any depression which might result from a contraction in the supply of private capital.

#### VIII.

(1) Before discussing the main substance of the argument in paragraphs 6-9 of the memorandum, it will be convenient to interpose some observations on the point raised in paragraph 6



the  
as to part to be played in the economic development of the Jewish State by the establishment of a substantial export trade in various industries. This point is clearly considered to be important, since the remainder of the memorandum is mainly devoted to demonstrating that it is doubtful whether any such export trade can be hoped for.

(2) It is not part of the Jewish Agency's conception of the Jewish State that it will be a successful competitor in the world market as a producer of staple manufactures. What the Jewish Agency does believe to be a practical possibility is that the Jewish State will supply the Middle Eastern market with a part of its general industrial requirements and the world market with certain specialities.

(3) Though there are not as yet any large exports of manufactures, industry has already made some progress in Palestine as is shown by the fact that between 1921-22 and 1937 the estimated annual out-put of Jewish industrial enterprises\* rose in value from L.P. 500,000 to L.P. 8,310,000. It is anticipated that the industrial development already noticeable will gain momentum with the growth of the home market for manufactured goods and the more effective protection made possible by the removal of the disabilities imposed by Article 18 of the existing Mandate,\*\* which are generally recognised as placing Palestine at a disadvantage in protecting its industries from strangulation by dumping. The expansion of the home market for

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\*The Palestine Electric Corporation and Palestine Potash are not included. For the figures see D. Horowitz, "Economic Survey of Palestine", 1938, pages 81, 91.

\*\* See Report of the Palestine Royal Commission, page 217.



local manufactures will, it is thought, create a broader base for the gradual development of an export trade in certain lines. But while it is anticipated that the production of manufactures for export will come in course of time to provide a fair amount of employment, industrial employment is not necessarily employment in industries catering for and dependent upon the foreign market. The Jewish Agency believes that there is, and will be for some time to come, ample scope for the replacement in the home market of imported by locally produced manufacturers, protected, where necessary by tariffs. The exact point at which that process becomes, on balance, uneconomic will be no easier to decide in the Jewish State than it is elsewhere. It is recognised that the choice of a tariff policy invariably faces Government with dilemmas such as that propounded in paragraph 9(ii) of the memorandum. These and similar problems which arise whenever a tariff has to be construed admit of no ideal solution, but the difficulties which they present are not usually found in practice to be insurmountable.

(4) It follows from what has been said that the Jewish Agency, while attaching importance to the expansion of industrial exports, does not take the view that, if industry is to provide any considerable measure of employment for new immigrants, the creation of a substantial export trade in manufactured goods will be a paramount and immediate necessity.

(5) On the other hand, the Jewish Agency believes, as already stated, that there is a reasonable prospect of the Jewish State establishing a position for itself as an exporter of certain classes of industrial products. The Jewish Agency ventures to doubt whether it is altogether true that industry in the Jewish State will start with no advantages and must rely for such competitive power (if any) as it may be able to develop



on its ability to cut down the wages-bill. This view seems to give insufficient weight to the following considerations:

(a) Jewish immigration is making available in Palestine a considerable amount of special skill and experience, both technical and managerial, in various branches of industry - a point to which attention is called in the Report of the Palestine Royal Commission.\*

(b) The Royal Commission also refers\*\* to the availability of hydro-electric power and to the advantage which may in the future be derived from the presence of the pipe-line.

(c) The facilities for scientific and technical research are of a high order and already equal to those available in many European countries. As the Jewish State develops, these facilities are likely to be still further improved.

(d) So far as the Middle Eastern market is concerned, the manufacturer will, as compared with his European competitors, have the advantages of closer proximity to and more intimate knowledge of the market, and of lower transport costs.

(e) So far as the larger world market is concerned, it is not expected, as already explained, that the Jewish State will enter the field as an exporter of staple manufactures, but it does not follow that there are no specialities for which it will be able to establish a demand. There is, for example, some reason to believe that favourable conditions may be found to exist for the development of chemical industries and of industries concerned with the utilisation of citrus and citrus by-products.

(f) Industries will, ex hypothesi, be financed mainly by

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\* Page 212, paragraph 15.

\*\* Ib.



immigrants from their own capital. It will not be weighed down by a heavy burden of fixed charges and remittances abroad. Reference has already been made to a relevant passage in the Report\* of the Palestine Royal Commission.

(g) As to paragraph 8 of the memorandum, it is not really a case of "lowering" the ratio of man-power to production in the sense of discharging hands as a sequel to the introduction of labour-saving machinery. It is not a case of the supersession of antiquated industries already in existence but of the establishment of new industries. It may be said that it still remains true that Jewish industry will not be able to employ as many hands as it could have employed if the competitive production of a given article absorbed more labour than it actually does. But this proposition also seems to be questionable. The Jewish Agency ventures to doubt whether it can be correctly regarded as a misfortune for the Jewish State that for the purpose of maintaining an export-trade it will have to make full use of labour-saving machinery. Quite apart from the export trade, experience shows - and the principle is being acted upon in Palestine - that even in a protected home market the intelligent use of labour-saving machinery results in cheaper production, a wider demand and, in consequence, a larger aggregate employment of labour than would be possible if old-fashioned methods were retained. In the Jewish State, as elsewhere, the material question will be how much labour the industry can employ in the aggregate and not how much labour it can employ per unit of goods produced.

(6) The Jewish Agency ventures, therefore, to doubt whether - as the memorandum seems to suggest - the prospects of the Jewish State as an industrial exporter are disposed of by the proposition

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\* Page 212, paragraph 16.



It is submitted that without resorting to highly specialised methods of agriculture, but merely by introducing such elementary improvements as crop rotation, fertilisation and a rational exploitation of the water resources, room can be found in al-Jezireh alone for well over 100,000 additional agricultural families.

#### IX. The Plain of Amuk.

34. Another section of Syria of which particular mention may here be made is the Plain of Amuk. This region comprises some 850,000 dunams, of which 90,000 form the area of the Lake of Antioch while 220,000 dunams are swamp land. The swamps are caused by the torrential rivers, the Kara-Su, the Murad Pasha and the Afrin, which inundate the plain. Considerable study has been made of the problem of draining these swamps and it is estimated that if a proper drainage scheme were undertaken it would be possible to reclaim the entire area of 220,000 dunams which now lies waste under water. If, after such drainage, a proper irrigation system were introduced, it is held that some 500,000 dunams of land which are at present uncultivable could be put under the plough. (Almanach Francais 1934, Editions de l'Imprimerie Catholique, pp.213 to 216). This would mean that with effort and the expenditure of capital it would be possible to make available for new colonisation in the region of the Plain of Amuk an area sufficient for the settlement of some 10,000 agricultural families.

14 JUN 1938



# CONFIDENTIAL

Pol/168/39

13th September, 1938.

The Commissioner for  
Migration & Statistics,  
Department of Immigration,  
J e r u s a l e m .

Sir,

We have the honour to submit hereunder, on behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, a memorandum on Jewish labour requirements for the period October 1938 to April 1939, and to apply, on the basis thereof, for labour immigration certificates as follows:

Men	3,450
Women	<u>1,175</u>
Total	4,625

2. The continuing economic depression which, as far as the Jewish population is concerned, is chiefly due to the state of political uncertainty, rules out for the time being the building trade and the manufacturing industries as spheres of absorption for unskilled immigrant labour. It is noteworthy that the deposits from abroad which entered the Anglo-Palestine Bank during the period of May to July 1938 amounted to £1,476,000, as against £853,000 in the same three months of 1937, or £1,187,000 for the preceding four months of 1938. This shows a marked increase of capital potentially available for investment, but in the present state of suspense there can be little hope that the next few months will witness a revival of the investment market and of building and industrial activity.

3. Experience has shown, however, that concurrently with the general state of depression which causes considerable unemployment in certain industries there is often a process of expansion in other branches of economic life creating new opportunities of employment. This is in fact now the case with regard to Jewish agriculture in Palestine, the two main sections of which - mixed farming and citriculture - are in a state of organic growth, calling for a fresh supply of man-power which can only to a small



extent be provided from the local reserve of unemployed labour. The main trends of development in this respect have been ascertained as a result of the joint inquiry carried out in the usual way by an official of your department and a representative of the Jewish Agency.

4. The outstanding feature characterising the position of mixed farming is the steady progress of irrigation. Despite the disturbances, over 200 borings for water have been made since April 1936 by Jewish interests, public and private, in various parts of the country, of which only about 15 were unsuccessful and 30 are still in progress. In the labour settlements, the irrigated area under intensive cultures - apart from that under citrus - rose from 15,398 dunams at the end of the summer of 1936 to 20,150 dunams in 1937, and to about 27,000 dunams in 1938. The irrigated area under similar cultures in other settlements is estimated at 9,000 dunams. Even more marked progress in irrigated farming is expected in the near future. The Mekorot Company, which operates in the Haifa Bay area and in the Kishon Valley, has laid main pipes to the length of 17 kilometres and undertaken next year to supply water from its wells for a hitherto unirrigated area of 13,000 dunams in over 20 settlements, to be increased at a later stage to 20,000 dunams. Work is also in progress on new irrigation schemes for settlements in the Jordan Valley, at Emek Hefer and elsewhere.

5. A few figures may illustrate the progress of mixed farming in terms of production, as a result of both increased irrigation and otherwise. The potato crop of the Jewish settlements rose from 660,000 kgs. in the first five months of 1937 to 792,000 kgs. in the same period of 1938. Jewish-grown bananas sold by the Tnuva amounted to 430 tons in the agricultural year 1936-37 and 1,200 tons in 1937-38. Deciduous fruits sold by the Tnuva increased from 42,300 kgs. in 1934-35 to 91,000 kgs. in 1935-36, to 173,000 kgs. in 1936-37, and to nearly 200,000 kgs. in 1937-38. Their sales of honey in the last three years were 95,000, 106,000 and 140,000 kgs. respectively. The sales of eggs were 26 millions in 1935-36, 39 millions in 1936-37 and 21 millions in the first five



3.

months of 1938 as compared with 18 millions in the same months of 1937. It may be noted that the import of eggs from abroad, which has decreased in a marked degree, was still 36 millions in the first half of 1938.

6. This general increase in production has been reflected in the rise of membership of the agricultural settlements. During the period from September 1937 to July 1938 the working members of the 42 older communal settlements (those established before 1936) increased by 318, while those of the 36 settlements of the smallholders' type by 234 - a total increase of 552 men and women. It has been calculated, on the basis of detailed returns, that in the coming half year these settlements will require an addition of 350 members.

7. Since January 1936, twenty-nine new settlements have been established, now numbering over 2,000 members in the aggregate. The total investment of the colonising agencies in twenty-two of these settlements has so far amounted to £161,000. At least ten of them have already brought their produce to the market. In a number of them permanent buildings have been erected. For the coming agricultural year further considerable funds have been appropriated to finance the development of these young settlements by the provision of buildings and irrigation plants and the carrying out of the reclamation and plantation works, all of which will necessitate an increase of man-power. Most of these settlements have been established by the Jewish Agency on the land of the Jewish National Fund. It has been estimated that fifteen of them will require an addition of 585 members in the next half year. The total of 29 settlements comprises three founded by the Rassco Company - created by the Jewish Agency to promote the agricultural settlement of middle class immigrants from Germany on privately owned land - which are also in the process of expansion. According to the plans of the Rassco Company, these three settlements will absorb 90 additional members in the coming schedule period.

8. In addition, it is expected that a number of new settlements for which land is available will be established in the course of the coming half year by the Jewish Agency and the PICA. The



allowance under this head is 200 for the settlements of the Jewish Agency and 150 for those of the PICA. Altogether £370,000 has been appropriated by the Jewish Agency and its associated bodies, by the PICA and by the Nir Company for colonisation and development works in the next half-year.

9. Following past practice, a special application is made for the admission of immigrants from Germany and Austria, most of them trained in agriculture, for permanent absorption in existing settlements, to be financed with funds provided by the Council for German Jewry. The Council has undertaken this time to provide funds for 200 such immigrants at the rate of £125 per immigrant.

10. The allocations in the proposed schedule under the head of Mixed Farming are thus as follows:

(a)	For the increase of membership of the older 78 settlements	350
(b)	For bringing the newly established settlements up to the required strength:	
	(i) 15 settlements of the Jewish Agency	585
	(ii) 3 settlements of the Rassco Co.	<u>90</u> 675
(c)	For settlements to be established:	
	(i) By the Jewish Agency	200
	(ii) By the PICA	<u>150</u> 350
(d)	For the absorption of settlers from Germany with the funds of the Council for German Jewry	<u>200</u>
		1,575

11. Jewish citriculture is likewise showing a need for additional labour. In the coming season 30,000 dunams of orange and grapefruit will reach the fruit-bearing stage and it is estimated that the Jewish citrus crop will exceed ten million cases, of which 8-8,500,000 will have to be exported. In the four months of the picking season some 20,000 workers will be required to handle the Jewish citrus crop. At present 10,000 Jewish and 1,500 Arab labourers are employed in the Jewish orange groves. Allowing for 2,000 packers who appear in the orange labour market only during



the season, 1,000 women usually engaged only for picking, 1500 now seasonally unemployed in the colonies who will then find work, and 1,000 unemployed (mainly bachelors) whom it should be possible to transfer from the towns, there will still be a deficiency of 3,000. In view of the exodus of Arab labour from the Jewish colonies which has been proceeding for some time under the pressure of the terrorist campaign, it is difficult to assume that at the utmost more than 1000 Arabs, in addition to the 1,500 already taken into account, will turn up for picking in the Jewish orange groves, so that there will still remain a deficiency of 2,000 to be faced.

12. Such additional employment as is available only during the picking season would not in itself justify the admission of immigrants. Quite apart, however, from this seasonal increase in the demand for labour, more workers will be required in the coming agricultural year for permanent cultivation works. Within the first decade of their existence orange groves require a steadily increasing amount of cultivation as they grow older, until they reach the maximum of 25 man-days per year per dunam. On the basis of the scale fixed by experts, it has been estimated that the regular cultivation of the Jewish orange area will in the coming agricultural year absorb 150,000 additional man-days, apart from the increase of work caused by picking, packing and transport of fruit. This number of man-days will provide employment for 1200 men during the six months following upon the picking season. At present it is estimated that the Jewish orange area of 150,000 dunams which is cultivated by hired labour requires an annual average of 13,500 workers (leaving out of account the peak of the export season). If an allowance be made for 2,000 Arab workers who until recently worked more or less regularly in Jewish orange groves (it has been seen that this number has now gone down to 1500), the labour force available at present in the orange colonies, including the 1500 temporarily unemployed, will be found to be barely sufficient for the needs of the current year. The increment of 1,200 labourers for next year will thus have to be supplied from outside. On the basis of this figure, an allowance of 1000 has been included in the proposed schedule in respect of citriculture.



13. In previous schedule memoranda full description was given of the mechanism of the transition of workers from hired labour to independent farming, and the consequent release of employment for the absorption of new immigrants. This dual process is continuing. It is impracticable, save in exceptional cases, to recruit, from among the unemployed in the towns, candidates for new settlements, which have to go through a period of hard pioneering life. New settlers are for the most part recruited from the ranks of agricultural workers who have for years worked for wages in the orange belt. At present a number of camps built to accommodate kibbutzim (communal groups) in the orange colonies are vacant because their members have settled on land as independent groups. Unless there is a fresh influx of labour into the orange belt, which only immigration can supply, the reserve of man-power for new agricultural settlement will be seriously depleted.

14. The last item under the head of agriculture is 1,200 permits for the admission of agricultural trainees from Germany, Austria and Italy. The question of creating in Palestine centres of regular agricultural training for young immigrants from Germany and Austria has already been discussed with you, and representations on the subject have also been made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Italy has now been added to the list, as refugees from the former two countries admitted at a certain time to Italy for the purpose of training are now under notice to quit. The Council for German Jewry is prepared to provide £60 for the maintenance of each of such trainees in Palestine for the period of one year. Of this amount £25 will be expended on the provision of accommodation and other initial outlay, and the remainder will be devoted to maintenance. It is proposed to create a network of such training centres in the well-established agricultural settlements, each containing from 25 to 40 trainees. In each settlement two experienced members will devote their whole time to agricultural instruction and the supervision of the trainees' work. The Jewish Agency will appoint a few inspectors to tour the training camps with a view to ensuring proper standards of instruction and living. The execution of this project would



bring salvation to 1,200 Jewish boys and girls whose future is otherwise completely doomed, while at the same time preparing good human material for the agricultural development of Palestine.

15. It has already been stated that so far as industry is concerned, it is not proposed to include any allowance in the present schedule for unskilled labour. There is, however, a constant need for experts and specialists, both for the existing industrial establishments and for such new factories as are being opened from time to time. It may be pointed out in this connection that, according to the information of the Jewish Agency, over 100 factories and workshops have, in response to the needs of the market, recently varied their production or adapted themselves to the manufacture of new articles. This process of adaptation has been largely sponsored by the Technological Section of the Trade and Industry Department of the Jewish Agency. It may also be of interest to note the activities of the Foreign Trade Institute, established by the Jewish Agency and other bodies, in finding new openings abroad for the products of Palestinian industries, as a result of which a number of commodities of Palestinian make have, for the first time, been placed on foreign markets. Among the articles which are now being exported through these channels are cotton goods, electric wires and appliances, safety razors, buttons, medicines, etc. It is noteworthy that in the first four months of 1938 the value of industrial machinery imported was £244,000 as against £111,000 for the corresponding period of 1937. It is a well-known corollary of the present position of Jews in certain countries that high industrial skill can now be acquired by Palestine industry at a very reasonable rate of remuneration. According to detailed information received from the Manufacturers' Association and other sources, it is estimated that 250 permits will be needed during the coming schedule period for immigrants of this category.

16. In addition to the skilled personnel for industry, an allowance of 100 has been made for specialists of other categories. The Jewish Agency has on record numerous applications from various institutions and organisations for the admission of persons of out-



standing academic and professional attainments or high technical skill whom they are anxious to engage. Among these are university professors, pedagogues, physicians, artists, musicians, athletes, etc. Candidates for admission under this category would, almost in every case, be persons who occupied eminent positions in their countries of residence and whose existence has been ruined by the ruthless regime of anti-Jewish persecutions.

17. A special item of 500 permits has been included in the present application for the express purpose of alleviating Jewish distress in Austria, Germany and Italy. These permits are being applied for with a view to their being allotted to persons of working age whose relations in Palestine are anxious and able to maintain them by taking them into their businesses or workshops or into their domestic service. Numerous cases of extreme hardship, where relief could be forthcoming through such absorption, have been brought to the notice of the Jewish Agency. Such relatives, if admitted, would not be ousting anyone from employment as their would-be supporters are not offering them positions for which they would otherwise engage paid employees, but would simply accommodate them in Palestine at their own expense even if it meant reducing their own standard of living.

18. The schedule applied for is thus as follows:

I. Agriculture:

1. Mixed Farming	1,575	
2. Citriculture	1,000	
3. Trainees	<u>1,200</u>	3,775

II. Industry: Experts 250

III. Various Specialists 100

IV. Relatives: 500

Total 4,625

19. The above schedule proposals have been drawn up on the basis of an estimate made of the economic capacity of the country to absorb new immigrants, whether that capacity has been created by the normal process of economic development or by special efforts undertaken to provide economic absorption in Palestine



for Jews in distress. In submitting these proposals the Jewish Agency begs to express its earnest hope that having regard to the ruin which is facing the Jewish communities of certain countries, and to the severe strain imposed upon the human resources of the Jewish population of Palestine in the present trial, Government will see its way to granting a labour schedule of a size fully corresponding to the opportunities which Palestine even now offers for Jewish immigration.

20. On behalf of the Jewish Agency we hereby guarantee the maintenance for a period of one year of the immigrants who will be maintained by the Executive in case of their being unemployed.

We have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servants,



AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

M. Shertok I. Gruenbaum  
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY



APPENDIX II.Extracts from Iraq DeclarationArticle 2 (2)

All inhabitants of Iraq will be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

Article 5.

Iraqi nationals, who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities will enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Iraqi nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to maintain, manage and control at their own expense, or to establish in the future, charitable, religious or social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 6.

The Iraqi Government undertakes to take, as regards non-Moslem minorities, in so far as concerns their family law and personal status, measures permitting the settlement of these questions in accordance with the customs and usage of the communities to which these minorities belong.

The Iraqi Government will communicate to the Council of the League of Nations information regarding the manner in which these measures have been executed.

Article 7.

1. The Iraqi Government undertakes to grant full protection, facilities and authorisation to the churches, synagogues, cemeteries and other religious establishments, charitable works, and pious foundations of minority religious communities existing in Iraq.
2. Each of these communities shall have the right of establishing councils, in important administrative districts, competent to administer pious foundations and charitable bequests. These Councils shall be competent to deal with the collections of income derived therefrom, and the expenditure thereof in accordance with the wishes of the donor or with the custom in use among the community. These communities shall also undertake the supervision of the property of orphans, in accordance with law.
3. The Iraqi Government will not refuse, for the formation of new religious or charitable institutions, any of the necessary facilities which may be guaranteed to existing institutions of that nature.



Article 8 (2)

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Iraqi nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities will be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

