



PALESTINE.

Report on Immigration, Land Settlement and Development.

By
SIR JOHN HOPE SIMPSON, C.I.E.

1930.

*Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to
Parliament by Command of His Majesty.
October, 1930*

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To The Secretary of State for the Colonies,

MY LORD,

In accordance with Your Lordship's instructions I proceeded to Palestine in order to examine on the spot the questions of immigration, land settlement and development on which you desired that I should report.

I reached Jerusalem on 20th May, 1930, and at once commenced my enquiry. I was in constant consultation with the High Commissioner, who was thereafter kept in touch with the enquiry as it proceeded.

2. Much information has been obtained from official sources, and, in addition, both Arab and Jewish authorities and organisations have been consulted. Material has been obtained from the most varied sources, and has often been volunteered. In addition, as many tracts and villages of Palestine have been visited as the time available permitted. On Map No. 1, attached to the Report, both the tours and inspection of the villages visited are marked.*

3. In addition to local enquiry in Palestine itself a visit was paid to Trans-Jordan, where the British Resident, Lieutenant-Colonel C. H. F. Cox, C.M.G., D.S.O., very kindly arranged a tour throughout the northern part of the territory. His Highness the Emir of Trans-Jordan also accorded to me the favour of an interview.

4. I desire to acknowledge invaluable assistance received in many quarters. The High Commissioner, Sir John Chancellor, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O., and Sir Spenser Davis, C.M.G., Officer Administering the Government after the departure of Sir John Chancellor, afforded me every possible help, and in consultation the benefit of their knowledge and experience. I had access to the records of all Departments of the Government. The enquiry inevitably entailed upon them heavy additional work, and I express my sense of the obligation under which the Heads and staffs of those Departments have placed me by the information which they collected and supplied.

The Supreme Moslem Council and the Arab Executive gave valued aid in the enquiry. Specially I am indebted to Jamal Effendi Husseini, who accompanied me on tours in some of the Arab villages.

The Jewish Agency supplied a very large amount of information on every subject investigated. I record my gratitude specially to Dr. Ruppin, whose aid was invaluable, and to Mr. Victor Kohn, of the P.I.C.A. These gentlemen arranged my tours through the Jewish settlements.

* See Note on page 3.

Dr. Wilkansky, of the Agricultural Experimental Station at Tel-Aviv, not only placed his large technical knowledge of agricultural matters at my disposal and accompanied me on some of my tours, but has placed me under a particular obligation by allowing me to use the proof-sheets of his book, which is about to appear, on "The Fellah's Farm".

Air-Commodore Playfair, M.C., very kindly arranged for an aerial test survey of the Hill Districts for the purposes of my enquiry. It has been a deciding element in the conclusions which have been reached. To him and the members of the Air Force who carried out the survey, my very sincere thanks are due.

Special recognition is also due to Mr. C. H. Ley, O.B.E., Director of Surveys, and his staff, who not only did a large amount of work in determining the areas but also prepared special maps which are attached to this report.

It is impossible to acknowledge in detail the innumerable sources from which help was drawn. It may be said generally that all concerned united to make my enquiry as complete as was possible in the time at my disposal.

I acknowledge with thanks the courtesy of the "Geographical Review", published by the American Geographical Society of New York, and of Dr. Strahorn, in generously permitting me to use the soil map appended as Map No. 4* to the report.

Finally, I desire to record my deep obligation to Mr. Maurice C. Bennett, who served throughout as my secretary and accompanied me to Athens, where the report was written, and to Mr. C. L. Horton, my assistant secretary. Had it not been for the devoted service and untiring labours of these two gentlemen, the report could not possibly have been prepared by this date.

I now forward for your Lordship's information the Report on the matters included in the terms of reference.

I have, etc.,

J. HOPE SIMPSON.

22nd August, 1930.

NOTE.—The maps referred to in this Report, with the exception of No. 3 (not reproduced), will be published later in the form of an Appendix to this Command Paper.

* See Note on this page.

SYNOPSIS OF CHAPTERS.

Chapter I: Palestine: The Country and the Climate.

(Pages 12 to 20.)

The total area of Palestine—the natural divisions of Palestine—*The Hill country*: its area—its soil and agriculture—irrigation—development—*The Five Plains: The Maritime Plain*—its character—*The Acre Plain*—its area—its character—Haifa Harbour—*the Vale of Esdraelon*—its area—its fertility—results of Jewish settlement—its past—soils—*The Huleh Plain*—its area—its character—its marsh area—*The Plain of Jordan*—its area—its character—*The Beersheba Region*—its area—its possibilities—Palestine—the Rainfall.

Chapter II: Palestine: The Agricultural Land.

(Pages 20 to 24.)

Total area of Agricultural Land—Mr. Jabotinsky's Estimate—Dr. Ruppin's Estimate—Lord Stanhope's Statement in the House of Lords—Estimate of Commissioner of Lands—Estimate of Director of Surveys—Dr. Strahorn's figures in the report of the Experts to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission—the estimate of the Director of Surveys to be accepted for purposes of this Report—Area of Agricultural Land held by Jews—Area available for non-Jewish cultivators.

Chapter III: Palestine: The Population.

(Pages 24 to 29.)

Census of 1922—Population in 1930—Distribution of Population—Vital Statistics—Comparative Infantile Mortality figures—Size of average family of cultivating Fellah—Health—Anti-malarial measures—Ophthalmic Hospital—Government Health Service—Voluntary and Jewish Medical work and probability of extension of Government Action—Necessity for Continuation of Anti-malarial work—Poverty of the population—Jewish Medical Organisation—the extent to which Palestine Health needs are met—Main concentration in towns—the number of Medical Practitioners.

Chapter IV: Land Tenure in Palestine.

(Pages 29 to 38.)

Categories of Land—Mulk—Miri—Waqf—Metruké—Mewat—Mesha'a—Partition—Expense of partition—Unofficial Partition—Partition by agreement—Mesha'a—its extent and effect—Government action in regard to Partition—Partition under Land Settlement—Acceleration of partition—*The Law governing Agricultural*

Tenancies—Landlords—Tenants—Land Transfer Ordinance, 1920—Restriction on sale of land—Complaints against restrictions—Transfer of Land Ordinance, 1920-21—*Protection of Cultivators Ordinance*, 1929—its practical effect—*Occupancy Right*—Position of Jewish agricultural tenants—Its effect—Register of tenants—Palestine Survey—Land Settlement—Land Registration Fees—Land Registers—Maintenance of Record of Occupancy Right.

Chapter V: Jewish Settlement on the Land.

(Pages 38 to 60.)

Agencies of Jewish Settlement—Private Agencies—The Benei-Benjamin—Amount of land held by Jewish organizations :

(i) *The P.I.C.A. Settlements*.—The P.I.C.A.—the Kabbara concession—Pardessana—Benamina—Colonies in Galilee Bitania—Relation of P.I.C.A. colonists with Arabs.

(ii) *The Zionist Settlements*.—The Jewish National Fund—Zionist settlements—Principle of "self-labour"—Expenditure by Keren Kayemeth and Keren Hayesod—Population of Settlements—Area of Settlements—Reserve Area—Emek Colonies and contagious abortion—Experts' opinion as to completion of establishments—Self-supporting Zionist Settlements—the Consolidation Budget—Kfar Yeheskiel—Cost of Settlement—Keren-Hayesod Budget—Influence of Federation of Labour—Kvutsoth Colonies—Small-holding Colonies—Emek and Upper Jordan Colonies—Nahalal—Regulating Societies Kfar Yeheskiel—Degania "A"—Kiryath Anavim—Jewish Rural Population—Zionist Settlements not self-supporting—Excessive cost of Zionist Settlement—Jewish Settlement in Russia—Settlements of Refugees in Greece—Expenditure on Settlement and Effect of non-payment.

(iii) *The Effect of the Jewish Settlement on the Arab*—P.I.C.A. and Arab relations—Zionist Colonization—the P.L.D.C.'s attitude towards Arab cultivators—Government responsibility towards Arab cultivators—the Constitution of the Jewish Agency—Land holding and Employment clauses—Keren Kayemeth Draft lease—Employment of Jewish labour only—Keren Hayesod Agreements, Employment of Labour—Zionist policy in regard to Arabs in their Colonies—The Effect of the Zionist Colonization policy on the Arab—Reasons for the exclusion of the Arab—Policy contrary to Article 6 of the Mandate.

(iv) *Government Lands*.—The question of the Government Lands—Huleh and Beisan—Chiftlik Estates—Only small areas available until developed—Possibility of additional Mawat land.

Chapter VI: The Position of the Fellah.

(Pages 60 to 74.)

Available information—Area of cultivable land occupied by the fellah—"Lot Viable"—Alteration of the "Lot Viable" by means of improved methods of Cultivation—Economic position of the Fellah—Distribution of available areas—The requirements and Standard of Life of the Fellah—The Fellah's capital—The Fellah's plough—The Fellah as a cultivator—The Return from the Fellah's Farm—Deductions from figures supplied by 104 villages—The Fellah's debts—Legal Rate of Interest—Commutation of the Tithe and the result of the fall in prices—Diminution of the size of holdings—Rise in rents—Financial situation of the Fellah—Warrants and imprisonment for debt—Taxation—Tithe—House and Land Tax—Animal Tax—Recovery of taxes—Remedial measures—Government action to relieve the burden of taxation—The Beduin Population.

Chapter VII:—Agricultural Development.

(Pages 74 to 91.)

A. Existing Agencies.—Jewish agencies for Agricultural Development—The Experimental station—the Extension Division—The Hebrew University—the Department of Agriculture of the Palestine Government—Expenditure—Relations with Jewish Agencies for Agricultural Development—Insufficiency of budget allotments—its budget—its Development activities—the Stock-breeding Service—Poultry husbandry—the importance of the Demonstration Plot—Scientific Services—the Distribution of Trees—the Forest Service—Jewish Plantations.

B. Education.—The Jewish Schools—the State Schools—the Budget—the Necessity—its importance to agricultural development—Agricultural Schools—the Village School and Agriculture—Need for additional Expenditure Technical Education in Agriculture—Agricultural certificated schoolmasters—Collaboration between Departments of Agriculture and Education.

C. Irrigation.—The existing waste of Water—the Aujha Concession—Nebi Rubin—The Acre Plain—The Huleh area—the Beisan area—the Beisan Agreement—the Jordan Valley—other possibilities—the Draft Irrigation Ordinance—constitution of a separate Irrigation Service.

D. Co-operation.—The Jewish movement—Information available—Rates of interest on deposits and loans—Activities of certain co-operative Societies—Co-operative Industrial Producers' Societies—Land-purchasing Societies—Membership of Societies—Necessity for extension to Arab population—Treatment of existing debts—Desirability of joint action between Jews and Arabs.

Chapter VIII: Agricultural Produce.

(Pages 92 to 106.)

(a) *Citrus Cultivation*.—Origin of orange cultivation—Area available—Area under Citrus cultivation—Future of the Orange Trade.

(b) *The Grape Fruit*.

(c) *The Banana*.—Area under cultivation—Cost of production and yield—Marketing possibilities.

(d) *Melons*.—Exports to Egypt and Syria—Adverse effect on Export due to imposts in Egypt and Syria.

(e) *Almonds*.—Production and Export figures—Area under Almond cultivation—Replacement of Almonds by Oranges—Pests—Markets.

(f) *Grapes*.—Export of Wine—Exports of Table-grapes—Competition in the markets—Trial consignments to London—Complaints against the Excise duty and Licence fees.

(g) *Tobacco*.—Extent of the Tobacco trade—Local leaf—Necessity for instruction in improvement of methods—Complaints in regard to the Tobacco Ordinance—Minimum area of two dunams—Prohibition of use of home-grown Tobacco.

(h) *Olives*.—Grade of Oil—Methods of culture—Introduction of improved methods—Extension of area under Cultivation.

(i) *Sesame*.—Imports and Exports—Value as a summer crop—Cultivation.

(j) *Barley*.—Export Trade—Possible reasons for reduction of overseas trade—Proposals for revival of the trade.

(k) *Minor Agricultural Products*.—The Silkworm—Present position of Sericulture—Bees—Prevalence of Foul-brood—Expansion of the Industry.

(l) *Dairy and Stock-breeding*.—Contagious abortion—Stall-feeding of Dairy Stock.

Chapter IX: Palestinian Industry.

(Pages 106 to 118.)

Census of Industries—Summaries—Food, Drink and Tobacco—Chemicals and Allied Trades—Cement, Brick, Stone and Clay Trades—Census of Jewish Industry—Principal Industrial Undertakings—"Nesher" Cement Works—Effect of Protective Tariff—Eastern Oil Industries, Ltd.—Tobacco—Messrs. Karaman Dick and Salti—Grands Moulins de Palestine—the Wine Industry—Other Industries—Printing—Smaller Industries—Fancy Leather Industry—Textile Industry—Fruit juice and Fruit Products—The Development of Industry—Industrial enterprises before the War and subsequent Increase—Industry in the past—Small Industries

—Number of persons employed—Future Development of Jewish Industry—Possibilities of an Extension of Industry—Future of Palestinian Industry—Immigration as a solution of Industrial Problems—Progress of Industry—Industries likely to succeed—Danger of Unemployment—Concentration on Industries showing Vitality—Arab Industries—Mineral Deposits.

Chapter X: Immigration.

(Pages 119 to 140.)

Early History—Pronouncement of June 3rd, 1921—Immigration Ordinance, 1925—Categories of Immigrants—Unrecorded Immigration—Procedure in regard to the issue of Immigration Certificates—The influence of the General Federation of Jewish Labour over Immigrants and Immigration—Preparation of Labour Immigration Schedules—Procedure after Schedule approved by High Commissioner—Authorization of visas—Failure of the System—Weakness of and responsibility under the present System—The selection of Immigrants abroad—Government control abroad—Travellers remaining in Palestine—Evasion of the Frontier control—Discouragement of Illicit Entry—Immigration and the General Federation of Jewish Labour—Settlement of cases in which members are concerned—Jewish labour as Key-stone of the Jewish National Home—The sources of Immigration—Immigration and Unemployment—Figures in regard to the number of unemployed—Arab Unemployment—Further Immigration and its probable Effect on Arab Unemployment—Recent increase in Jewish Unemployment—Duty of Government in regard to Immigration—Employment of Arabs in Jewish concerns—"Derived Demand"—Unemployment Statistics and Government Employment Exchanges—Seasonal and Occasional Labour—Importation of other than Jewish Labour—Prevention of illicit Immigration—Arab Unemployment as a political Pawn—Article 6 of the Mandate and its Effect on Immigration—Suspension of Labour Schedule—Preparation of the Labour Schedule—Proposed Change in Method—Formation of a Department of Immigration Labour and Travel.

Chapter XI: Conclusion.

(Pages 141 to 153.)

Land: Land available for settlement—Government Land—Present Agricultural Policy—Jewish and Arab advantages and disadvantages—Compensation of Beduin for loss of grazing rights—Alteration of terms under which J.N.F. purchases and leases Land—Government's duty under the Mandate.

Agricultural Development Scheme.—Improvement of the Fella's Methods—Development of Intensive Agriculture—Development of Irrigation—Jewish reserves of Land—Control of Disposition of Land—Powers of Government to purchase Land—Development Commission—Responsibilities of the Development Commission—Available areas in Plains—Cost of Settling a Family—Distribution of Developed Land—Co-operation between Jewish Agencies and the Development Commission—Artificial Inflation of Land Values—Ascertainment of the Number of Landless Arabs—Migration—Its difficulties—Hydrographic Survey—Urgency of Irrigation Legislation—Formation of an Irrigation Department—Occupancy Right—Partition of Mesha'a—Acceleration of Land Settlement—Abolishment of Imprisonment for Debt—Redistribution and Reduction of Taxation—Reduction of Land Registration Fees—Co-ordination of Agricultural Scientific Services—Increase of Department of Agriculture's Budget—Demonstration Plots—Distribution of Trees—Separation of the Forest Service.

Education.—Increase of the budget of the Department of Education—Agricultural Course for Schoolmasters—Co-operation—Encouragement of Co-operation between Arab and Jew in Orange Industry—Constitution of Co-operative Credit Societies—Mr. Strickland's Mission.

Agricultural Development.—Government acquisition of The Huleh Concession—Limitation of Orange Cultivation—Development of other Fruit Crops—Import Duty on Melons in Egypt—Improvement of Grades of Tobacco—Amendment of Minimum area of Tobacco—Improvement of Quality of Olive Oil and Pruning of Trees—Steps to revive the Barley Export Trade—Encouragement of Sericulture and Production of Honey—Possibility of a Canning Industry for Dairy Produce.

Palestinian Industry.—Reduction of Excise on Wines—Position of Industries—Encouragement of Arab Industries.

Immigration and Labour.—Preparation of Labour Immigration Schedules—Immigration Officer at towns abroad—Expulsion of illicit Immigrants—Registration of Unemployment and Labour Exchanges—Constitution of a separate Department of Immigration, Travel and Labour—Part of Expenditure of Development Commission recoverable—Intensive Development of rural Palestine essential—Introduction of Settlers possible if Development carried out—Necessity for joint Endeavour.

GLOSSARY.

Arab Executive	...	...	Moslem and Christian body representing the Arabs of Palestine.
Supreme Moslem Council	...	...	Directs the religious affairs of the Moslems of Palestine.
Fellah	...	...	Arab peasant cultivator.
Effendi	...	...	Arab landlord.
Mesha'a	...	...	Unpartitioned land in customary joint ownership.
Jewish Agency for Palestine	...	...	Body directing the affairs of the Jewish National Home, and formed for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine.
Executive of the Jewish Agency.			Carries out the current executive business of the Agency, with offices in Jerusalem and London.
Keren-Kayemeth	...	...	Jewish National Fund (J.N.F.) The medium of the Agency for purchasing and holding land.
Keren-Hayesod	...	...	Palestine Foundation Fund. The main colonization instrument of the Agency.
Waad Leumi	...	...	National Council of the Jews of Palestine.
Agudath Israel	...	...	The representative body of Orthodox Jewry.
P.I.C.A.	...	...	Palestine Jewish Colonization Association.
P.L.D.C.	...	...	Palestine Land Development Company.
Histadruth	...	...	General Federation of Jewish Labour.
Tnuvah	...	...	Jewish Co-operative selling agency for agricultural produce.
Chalutz	...	...	Chalutzim (p.m.) Chalutzot (p.f)—Pioneer.
Kvutsoth	...	...	Kvutza (pl.) — Communal settlements.
Kushan	...	...	Title Deed.

TABLE OF EQUIVALENTS.

Exchange.

Palestine Pound (LP)	= Pound Sterling (£).
	= 1,000 mils.
	= $97\frac{1}{2}$ Egyptian Piastres (Pt) or 975 milliemes (mm).
Pound Egyptian	= 1,000 milliemes (mm) or 100 Piastres (Pt).
	= Lp 1.02564.

Measures.

Standard or metric dunam	= 1,000 square metres.
	= $\frac{1}{4}$ acre.
	= .000386 square mile.
Turkish or old dunam	= 919.3 square metres.
Acre	= 0.40 hectares = 4 metric dunams
Square Mile	= 2.590 metric dunams.
Mile	= 1.60 kilometres.
Kilometre	= 0.62 mile.

Weights.

Kilogram	= 2.20 lb.
Ton	= 1,016 kilograms = 1.01 metric tons.
Metric Ton	= 1,000 kilograms.
Kantar	= about 3 to a ton = $\frac{1}{3}$ ton.

Measures of Capacity.

Litre	= 1.75 pints.
Gallon	= 4.54 litres.

CHAPTER I.

Palestine: The Country and the Climate.

The total area of Palestine.

Palestine is a small country generally stated to be about the size of Wales. There have been many estimates of its size and varied statements and arguments based thereon. The size of Palestine, and especially the cultivable area of the country, are so highly relevant to the matters under enquiry and to the deductions which must be made, that it is necessary to examine the more important of the statements and the estimates with some care.

The "Handbook of Palestine" prepared by Messrs. Luke and Keith-Roach, puts the total area at 10,000 sq. miles, practically 26,000,000 metric dunams. The Report of the Experts submitted to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission (p. 18) recorded 8,800 sq. miles. They do not offer any information as to the authority for this figure.

On May 20th, 1925, a statement was made by Lord Stanhope in the House of Lords, which has frequently been quoted as authoritative. In that statement he said that the total area of Palestine was approximately 27,000,000 Turkish dunams; this is equal to 8,528 sq. miles.

On July 4th, 1927, the Chief Secretary of the Palestine Government wrote a letter (No. 10,566-27) to the address of Dr. Ruppin, Head of the Colonisation Department of the Zionist Organisation, in which he said that the total area of Palestine was 9,570 sq. miles.

The Statistical Abstract for 1929 published at Jerusalem by the Keren-Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) records the area as 10,170 sq. miles.

Finally, the Director of Surveys in Palestine reported to the Commissioner of Lands in July, 1929, that, excluding the Beer-sheba sub-district and the southern desert, the area of the rest of Palestine was 13,760,000 dunams, and that the area of Beersheba sub-district and the southern desert was 12,398,000 dunams, making the total area of Palestine 26,158,000 dunams or 10,100 sq. miles.

In forwarding this estimate to the Chief Secretary the Commissioner of Lands wrote:—

" I would emphasise in the first place that pending completion of the topographical cadastral survey, any estimates submitted of the cultivable and uncultivable areas of Palestine can be little more than guess-work based on insufficient data."

On the 20th July, 1930, the Director of Surveys forwarded to me the revised area estimate, and wrote in his letter :—

" The estimate for Beersheba is quite unreliable, and any figures must be misleading, since we have no sufficient data and what can be done there in cultivation is entirely dependent on a most unreliable rainfall."

It may be accepted that the total area of Palestine is in the neighbourhood of 10,000 sq. miles. The question of the cultivable area of the country will be discussed later in this Report.

The Natural divisions of Palestine.

The natural divisions of the country are— :

- (a) The hill country of Galilee and Judæa.
- (b) The five plains, including that lying in the rift which contains the Jordan Valley and which, from the north of Lake Tiberias to the Dead Sea, is actually below the level of the Mediterranean.
- (c) The Beersheba area, different in character and population from the rest of the country.
- (d) The desert areas.

The Survey Department has prepared a map showing these divisions of the country. It is appended to this Report as Map No. 2.*

(a) THE HILL COUNTRY.

Area.

The area of this tract is estimated by the Commissioner of Lands at 8,064,000 dunams, of which 5,376,000 dunams are cultivable. The area classified as cultivable was admittedly guess-work, the Commissioner of Lands having accepted that of the total area, two-thirds only were cultivable and one-third uncultivable. By the courtesy of the Officer Commanding the Air Force, a test photographic survey of the Hill country was made for the purpose of this enquiry. The area so surveyed, which covered about one-tenth of the Hill country, is shown in blue lines on Map No. 2 attached to this Report. This survey established that the cultivable area of the hills was not, as had been assumed, 66.6 per cent., but only 40 per cent. The photographs of the aerial survey have been very carefully examined by the Director of Surveys in the latest estimate submitted, which is by far the most reliable estimate hitherto prepared of the hill country in Palestine. It records the total area, including the Hill Wilderness, as 8,862,000 dunams, of which nearly 2,450,000 dunams are cultivable. Excluding the Hill Wilderness the inhabited Hills are estimated at

* See Note on page 3.

6,124,000 dunams. The difference between the figures quoted by the Commissioner of Lands and those of the Director of Surveys, whether the Wilderness is included or omitted, is very large. The estimate of the Director of Surveys, based as it is in part on results obtained by aerial survey, will be accepted for the purpose of this Report.

Soil and Agriculture.

The cultivated land in the Hills varies very largely both in depth and quality of the soil. In the valleys there are stretches of fertile land, which will grow sesame as a summer crop. On the hillsides the soil is shallow and infertile, and the extent of land hunger is evident from the fact that every available plot of soil is cultivated, even when it is so small that the plough cannot be employed. There cultivation is carried on with the mattock and the hoe. The harvest of such plots, even in a favourable year, is exceedingly small—in general it seems doubtful whether such cultivation can pay. On the other hand, even the most rocky hillsides support trees, especially olives, and if capital were available, many of the cultivators of these exiguous and infertile plots would be able to gain a livelihood by cultivation of fruit trees and of olives. These cultivators have, however, no capital, and cannot afford to forgo even the meagre crops obtained, for the four or five years which are required before fruit trees render a return. In the case of the olive, the period before a return may be expected is much longer.

Irrigation.

There is little irrigation in the hill country. Here and there are springs which afford a supply for the irrigation of a small area, but, taken as a whole, the country is arid and the crops depend on rain. It is possible that a hydrographic survey might disclose further water supplies, and scientific treatment might also improve the yield from existing springs. It is stated that during the War the Engineers of the Army of Occupation were able very largely to increase the supply from springs in certain places.

Development.

In the best case, however, it is impossible that the general character of the cultivation in the Hill country can be radically changed, except in so far as fruit can be made to replace grain. Something might be done to improve the soil and to reform agricultural methods, were capital available. The use of manures and provision of better seed would doubtless result in some improvement of the yield. But from the point of view of agriculture, the Hill country will always remain an unsatisfactory proposition.

(b) THE FIVE PLAINS.

1.—THE MARITIME PLAIN.

Character.

A reference to Map No. 2 will show that the Maritime Plain is taken to be the area between the coast and the hills up to the 150 metre contour, running from Rafa in the south up to Haifa in the north. Ordinarily the Maritime Plain is treated as running from Rafa to Ras-en-Naqla, on the Syrian border. The reason for the present division lies in the difference in the class of soil of the plains north and south of Haifa. The latter portion of the plain is the tract which contains the great mass of wind-blown sand, so suitable for orange cultivation. The former is in the main a heavy black soil quite unsuited for oranges.

The Maritime Plain as shown in Map No. 2 is estimated by the Director of Surveys to extend to 3,218,000 dunams, of which 2,663,000 dunams are cultivable. This estimate agrees very closely with that made by the Experts and printed on p. 22 of their Report to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission. They record the cultivable areas :—

Irrigable	...	...	...	...	2,251,500 dunams
Non-irrigable	...	...	...	...	410,000 dunams

giving a total of 2,661,500 dunams. It is true that they estimate the non-cultivable area at a higher figure than that adopted by the Director of Surveys. It is not clear how they calculated this area. In any case the difference has no great importance, for in the uncultivable area no question of development arises.

2.—THE ACRE PLAIN.

Area.

This is the coastal plain lying north of Haifa and running up between the sea and the hills as far as the Syrian border. Its total area is given by the Director of Surveys as 550,000 metric dunams, 379,000 of which are judged cultivable.

These figures differ materially from the analogous figures recorded by the Experts. In the Report of the Experts on p. 22, this plain is divided into the plain north of Acre and the Haifa-Acre plain. The total area of the two amounts to 183,000 Turkish dunams, i.e., 168,000 metric dunams. The cultivable area is shown as 103,000 Turkish dunams, i.e., 94,500 metric dunams. The cultivable area is also shown as all irrigable. It is not known whence the Experts obtained the estimate included in their Report.

Character.

This plain is in the main composed of an alluvial deposit, rather heavy in character. There is a small area of wind-blown sand suitable for plantations, but, generally, the type of developed cultivation will be mixed farming with irrigation. There is ample water from springs and streams. A large area in this plain is held by the Bayside Land Corporation—a Jewish corporation.

Haifa Harbour.

The future of this tract will be advantageously affected by the construction of the Haifa Harbour. Work is already in progress and is advancing rapidly. The harbour will greatly assist the development of the export trade in oranges, and perhaps other agricultural products. It is understood that the question of the pipe-line from 'Iraq is not yet decided, and that there are hopes that it may be constructed to Haifa. If this development occurs the Acre Plain will of course benefit still further.

3.—THE VALE OF ESDRAELON.

Area.

In the division of the plans made by the Director of Surveys and included in Map No. 2, the Vale of Esdraelon has been separated from the Valley of Jezreel, the latter being included with the lands of the plain of the Jordan. The total area of the Vale is reported as being 400,000 metric dunams, of which 372,000 metric dunams are cultivable. Dr. Strahorn, in his report on soils, printed in the Experts' Report, records, on p. 151, that the Plain of Esdraelon has an area of 475,800 Turkish dunams, i.e., 437,400 metric dunams. This is not very far removed from the estimate made by the Director of Surveys.

Fertility.

The evidence as to the fertility of the Vale of Esdraelon and the state of its prosperity in the hands of the Arabs, before the extensive purchases made by the Jews, is conflicting. In his report* on the administration of Palestine, 1920-25, at p. 35, Sir Herbert Samuel wrote :—

" The whole aspect of the valley has been changed. The wooden huts of the villages, gradually giving place to red-roofed cottages, are dotted along the slopes; the plantations of rapidly growing eucalyptus trees already begin to give a new character to the landscape; in the spring the fields of vegetables or of cereals cover many miles of the land, and what five years ago was little better than a wilderness is being transformed before our eyes into a smiling countryside "

* Non-Parliamentary Publication (Colonial No. 15, 1925).

On the other hand, Dr. Strahorn writes in his report, p. 152 :—

" Up to within recent years the land was cultivated from the Arab villages, located round the rim of the Plain. Cereals together with minor garden areas around the villages constituted the Arab cropping system. In very recent years considerable areas of land have passed under the control of Jewish colonies and villages; gardens and orchards are now dotting the former expanse of grain-fields"

Results of Jewish Settlement.

The results of Jewish colonisation of the Vale of Esdraelon are varied. In some villages there are clear signs of success; in others, the opposite is the case. The village of Afuleh, which the American Zionist Commonwealth boomed as the Chicago of Palestine, is a sea of thistles through which one travels for long distances. A plague of field mice, which has done extensive damage to both Jewish and Arab cultivation in the Vale during the present year was officially stated to be due to the fact that 30,000 dunams of the land held by the Jews are derelict and covered with weeds. It is also a fact that in a number of villages the tithes paid by the Jews are considerably below those paid by the Arabs who formerly cultivated those villages.

Its Past.

It is a mistake to assume that the Vale of Esdraelon was a wilderness before the arrival of the Jewish settlers and that it is now a paradise. A very large amount of money has been spent by the various Jewish agencies, and great improvements have been made. The work that has been done, especially in the direction of drainage and the introduction of new and improved methods of agriculture is highly valuable. There can be little doubt that in time, the application of capital, science, and labour will result in general success. It is, however, unjust to the poverty-stricken fellah who has been removed from these lands that the suggestion should continually be made that he was a useless cumberer of the ground and produced nothing from it. It should be quite obvious that this is not the fact.

In ancient times Esdraelon was the granary, and by the Arabs is still regarded as the most fertile tract of Palestine. The soreness felt owing to the sale of large areas by the absentee Sursock family to the Jews and the displacement of the Arab tenants is still acute. It was evident on every occasion of discussion with the Arabs, both effendi and fellahin.

Soils.

The soil of the valley is generally an alluvial clay, highly suitable to cereal cultivation. Across the Vale at one place there is a belt of residual soil, even heavier than the alluvial of the rest of the valley. Both in the cultivation of cereals and in that of fodder crops the soil responds to high farming.

4.—THE HULEH PLAIN.

Area.

The Huleh Plain is the most northerly part of Palestine, to the east of the country, and lies to the north of the Lake of Tiberias. Its area is reported by the Director of Surveys as 191,000 metric dunams; of this extent 126,000 dunams are cultivable. As in the case of other tracts there are wide variations in the estimates of area. The Experts, in their Report, p. 22, put the area at 150,000 Turkish dunams, i.e., 138,000 metric dunams, and the cultivable area at 120,000 Turkish dunams, i.e., 110,300 metric dunams. Dr. Ruppin has submitted on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine a memorandum relating to the land and agricultural development. In the course of that memorandum he says that the area of the Huleh district is approximately as follows:—

Government land	...	...	...	47,000	dunams
Private land	...	...	...	110,000	do.
Lake Merom	...	...	...	18,000	do.

but does not specify whether the dunams used are the Turkish or metric dunams. As in the rest of the memorandum the Turkish dunam is habitually used, it is fair to assume that he has also employed it here. In that case the estimate, which totals 175,000 (Turkish) dunams, would represent 161,000 metric dunams.

Character.

The Huleh Plain may be divided into three parts. In the north there is rich alluvial cultivable land; south of this there is a large marshy area covered with papyrus reeds, the haunt of the wild boar and the grazing-ground of numerous water-buffaloes which are the property of the Bedu tribes of the neighbourhood. South of this again is the Lake of Merom, through which the Jordan flows southwards to Lake Tiberias. The Lake and marsh are caused by a ridge of basalt across the Jordan Valley. If this ridge were cleared away or the river deepened, the whole valley could be drained and considerable areas of land made available for irrigated cultivation.

Marsh Area.

There are widely varying estimates of the extent of the marsh and of the extent of the lake. Possibly one of the best is that recorded on a French plan dated 1321 Hijra (1903 A.D.) which is attached to this Report as Map. No. 3.* According to that map, the areas of the concession are:—

Marsh	...	...	...	...	36,844	dunams
Lake	...	...	...	...	11,921	do.
Cultivated land	...	...	...	...	1,824	do.
Cultivable land	...	...	...	...	353	do.

* See Note on page 3.

The figures are all Turkish dunams, and, reduced to metric dunams, the areas are :—

Marsh	...	...	...	33,871 metric dunams
Lake	...	...	...	10,958 do.
Cultivated land	...	...	...	1,677 do.
Cultivable land	...	...	...	325 do.

The concessionaire estimates the marsh at 41,400 metric dunams and the Lake at 13,800 metric dunams. Of the former some 9,200 metric dunams are, he says, cultivated by Arabs. In the Experts' Report (p. 154) Dr. Strahorn says that the area of the marsh north of the Lake is not less than 52,000 Turkish dunams, i.e., 47,800 metric dunams.

No survey of the marsh area has been made, nor is one possible, except by air, until the marsh is drained. It will be safe to assume that, excluding the cultivation of the Arabs in that area, there is still an area of some 25,000 to 30,000 metric dunams of marsh land available for reclamation. Were the Lake also drained a further 9,000 or 10,000 metric dunams would be rendered cultivable. The soil of the whole Huleh Plain is exceedingly fertile. It is indeed said to be the most fertile soil in Palestine.

5.—THE PLAIN OF THE JORDAN.

Area.

The Director of Surveys estimates the area of the Valley of the Jordan, in which he includes the Vale of Jezreel (*vide* Map No. 2 attached to this Report) at 1,065,000 metric dunams, of which 554,000 are cultivable. It is very difficult to obtain any comparable figures from other sources. Such as are available are examined in Appendix I.

For the purposes of the present enquiry a committee, consisting of the Government Geologist, the chief Agricultural Officer, the Irrigation Officer and an agricultural chemist, was appointed to enquire into and report upon the extent of irrigable lands in the southern part of the Jordan Valley. They report that there is an area of roughly 100,000 dunams which may profitably be irrigated, in addition to the present irrigated area, between the Dead Sea and the southern boundary of the Beisan area. Of this 28,500 dunams is land included in the Beisan chiftlik. The balance is 71,500. Already some 54,000 metric dunams are under irrigation in the lower Jordan Valley. Adding to this latter area the 71,500 dunams of the Committee's report and the 388,517 dunams of the Beisan Agreement areas, the total cultivable area of the whole Jordan Valley reaches 514,017 dunams.

Character.

The land in the north of the Jordan Valley is very fertile; in the south, with irrigation, it will grow all kinds of tropical fruits, and early vegetables. Properly developed the Jordan Valley might prove a great source of wealth to the country. In ancient times it undoubtedly supported a large population.

(C) THE BEERSHEBA REGION.

Area.—This is estimated at 3,200,000 dunams, of which 1,500,000 are cultivable. The figures are in fact pure guesswork, as is admitted by the Director of Surveys.

Possibilities.—Given the possibility of irrigation there is practically an inexhaustible supply of cultivable land in the Beersheba area. Without irrigation, the country cannot be developed. Up to the present time there has been no organised attempt to ascertain whether there is or is not an artesian supply of water. If there prove to be such a supply the problem of providing agricultural land for the Palestine population and, indeed, for a large number of immigrant settlers, will be easy of solution.

RAINFALL.

The rainfall varies largely from district to district in Palestine. In the Beersheba area it averages six inches and provides an exciting gamble for the cultivators. On the coast from Gaza to Acre its average is from fifteen inches in Gaza rising to about thirty inches at Acre. In the hills of Galilee thirty to forty inches may be expected, in the upper Jordan Valley twelve to sixteen inches, while at Jericho the average is five inches. On the map appended to this Report as Map No. 5* the average fall for the last ten years is shown graphically.

CHAPTER II.

Palestine: The Agricultural Land.

Total Area of Agricultural Land.—In the previous chapter an attempt has been made to provide an estimate of the extent of the Hill country, the areas of the Five Plains and of the Beersheba Tract. It remains to offer an estimate of the total area of agricultural land, cultivable and uncultivable, in Palestine. The whole question of the immigration of agricultural settlers depends of course on the amount of land which can be made available for them. This again depends on the difference between the total area and the area required for the existing agricultural population, Arab, Jewish

* See Note on page 3.

and other. No exact statement as to these areas is possible until the cadastral survey now in progress has been completed. It is, however, essential to the present enquiry that a definite figure, as reliable as possible, should be adopted for this purpose.

Mr. Jabotinsky's Estimate.—Many estimates have been made of the total agricultural cultivable area of Palestine, of which some have been rather in the nature of guess-work than of estimations. Mr. Jabotinsky has stated that the cultivable area is from 16,000,000 to 18,000,000 dunams. It is not known on what facts this suggestion is based nor whether the dunams mentioned are metric or Turkish. It is perhaps founded on a statement published in the Review of the Agricultural situation in Palestine, 1922, in which Colonel Sawyer writes: "We are dealing with a total exploitable land surface not exceeding 4,500,000 acres." Colonel Sawyer pointed out, however, that half of this area had been "written off as uncultivable."

Dr. Ruppin's Estimate.—In his evidence before the Commission on the Disturbances, Dr. Ruppin, head of the Colonisation Service of the Zionist Organisation, gave an estimate of the total area of Palestine as from 25,000 to 27,000 sq. kms., of which 12,500 kms. are cultivable. Of this latter area he described 20 per cent. as entirely uncultivated, that is to say, that in his opinion there are 2,500 sq. kms., or 2,500,000 metric dunams available for settlement. As an annex to his statement he filed a paper showing the total of cultivated and uncultivated land in Palestine. Here again the area described as "tillable but uncultivated" is given as 2,500,000 dunams. The statement was based on the figures quoted by Lord Stanhope in the House of Lords of May 28th, 1925. These dunams were Turkish dunams, and the area was therefore not 2,500 sq. kms. as stated in the body of the statement, but 2,298.4 sq. kms.

Lord Stanhope's Statement in the House of Lords.—Lord Stanhope's statement in the House of Lords, on which Dr. Ruppin relied, was in its turn based on figures submitted by the Palestine Government. It is unfortunate that these figures have been widely quoted and frequently accepted as accurate. They are in fact far from accurate, as there were no statistics available at that time from which anything in the nature of an exact estimate could have been framed.

Estimate of Commissioner of Lands.—Two recent estimates have been made in an attempt to determine more accurately the cultivable area of Palestine. Of these, one was submitted on April 30th, 1930, by the Commissioner of Lands, and in his letter forwarding the estimate, he discusses the question of the meaning of the term "cultivable land." He includes in that term land which is actually cultivated or which can be brought under cultivation "by the application of the labour and financial resources.

of the average individual Palestinian cultivator. This definition would therefore exclude marshes, the coastal sand-dunes between Rafa and Acre, the rocky hills, the wilderness of Judaea and extensive areas in the larger part of the Beersheba sub-district south of Beersheba town." It appears to include the wind-blown sands in the maritime plains which are suitable for orange plantations. On this basis the Commissioner of Lands estimates the cultivable area of Palestine as follows:—

	m.d.
Plain of Beersheba sub-district	1,641,000
Five principal Plains north of Beersheba sub-district	5,216,000
Hill country	5,376,000
	<hr/> 12,233,000

Estimate of Director of Surveys.—The cadastral survey of Palestine is now in progress and the Director of that survey has submitted a careful estimate of the total cultivable area of the country, based in part on the area already surveyed and in part on the results of the aerial survey to which reference has already been made.

He arrives at the following conclusions:—

<i>Type of Country.</i>	<i>Cultivable.</i>	<i>Uncultivable.</i>
	<i>Metric Dunams.</i>	<i>Metric Dunams.</i>
Inhabited hills	2,450,000	3,674,000
Hill wilderness		2,738,000
Five Plains:		
(a) The Maritime Plain ...	2,663,000	555,000
(b) The Acre Plain... ..	379,000	171,000
(c) The Plain of Esdraelon	372,000	28,000
(d) The Huleh Plain ...	126,000	65,000
(e) The Plain of the Jordan	554,000	511,000
	<hr/> 4,094,000	<hr/> 1,330,000
Beersheba area	1,500,000	1,700,000
Southern desert		8,672,000
Total M.D.	<hr/> 8,044,000	<hr/> 18,114,000

Further details of the above areas are given in Appendix 3. The Director of Surveys states that this estimate is based on actual results so far as these have been reached, namely, in an area of 4,047,000 dunams, chiefly in the Maritime Plain. The Director of Surveys has applied to whole cartographic areas as measured on small-scale maps, the same percentage as has been found by large-scale survey in the large fractions of those areas already surveyed.

He also states that the cultivable area in the Hills, which has not yet been surveyed, has been calculated from the percentages

obtained by close detailed examination of aeroplane photographs specially made by the Royal Air Force on cross-country flights over a number of tracts selected as representative. The results have given an average percentage of cultivable land in the tracts photographed which has been applied to the whole area of the inhabited hills as measured on a small scale cartographically. The cartographical measurements of whole areas have necessarily in each case been made upon previously existing maps and the figure so obtained is of course far from exact; nevertheless, it is probably much nearer to the actual than the figures hitherto suggested, which were in fact based on guess-work more or less intelligent.

Dr. Strahorn's figures in the Report of the Experts to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission.—During the enquiry of the Experts who reported to the Joint Palestine Survey Commission, a soil survey of nearly the whole of the area included in the Five Plains was made by Dr. A. T. Strahorn, whose report is found on pages 143-236 of the volume of Reports of the Experts. On page 231 he gives the areas of the Plains, excluding the Huleh and the Beersheba areas and a small portion of the Jordan Valley, viz., that portion lying between Wadi-es-Sherar and Jisr-ed-Damieh. The total area which Dr. Strahorn gives for the plains included in his soil examination is 4,873,354 dunams, of which 490,387 dunams are uncultivable. He uses Turkish dunams. Converting into metric dunams, the cultivable area according to his measurements is 4,029,262 metric dunams. The Huleh area, which is accepted as 80,000 Turkish dunams of which 52,000 dunams are marsh, would give 25,740 metric dunams of cultivable land. The total estimate for the Five Plains, excluding a small area in the narrowest part of the Jordan Valley, would thus be 4,055,002 metric dunams of cultivable land. This compares with the figure of 4,094,000 calculated by the Director of Surveys for the same area, including the portion of the Jordan Valley omitted by Dr. Strahorn.

The estimate of the Director of Surveys to be accepted for purposes of this Report.—For the purpose of this report the estimate of the Director of Surveys will be accepted. The important areas are those of the cultivable land of the Hills and of the Five Plains. The Beersheba region need not enter into consideration for the present. It is not an area in which settlement is possible at the present time. The total area in which settlement might be possible, if there be land to spare, amounts to 6,544,000 dunams in the Hills and in the Five Plains.

Area of Agricultural Land held by Jews.—According to Dr. Ruppin's statement before the Commission on the Disturbances, the total area held by the Jews was at that time 1,200,000 Turkish dunams, of which 1,000,000 was cultivable. Of the cultivable area of Palestine, excluding Beersheba, the Jews therefore held at that time 14.04 per cent. Since Dr. Ruppin made his statement a

further 50,000 metric dunams have been purchased on Jewish account, and, in addition, some 80,000 to 85,000 dunams are under option of purchase. Thus the total percentage either in Jewish possession or under option amounts to over 16 per cent. of the whole cultivable area in these two regions.

Area available for non-Jewish cultivators.—Of this total, which is not less than 1,300,000 Turkish dunams, 20 per cent. may be deducted to allow for areas possibly uncultivable. The balance will be 1,040,000 Turkish dunams equal to 956,000 metric dunams. Deducting from the estimated cultivable area of 6,544,000 metric dunams a round figure of 900,000 metric dunams on account of Jewish holdings, an area of 5,644,000 metric dunams remains available for non-Jewish cultivators at the present time.

Soil Map.—By the courtesy of the "Geographical Review," published by the American Geographical Society of New York, and with permission kindly accorded by Dr. Strahorn, a map showing the distribution of the soils of Palestine is attached to this report as Map No. 4.*

CHAPTER III.

Palestine: The Population.

Census of 1922.—The last census was taken in 1922, and showed the total population as being 757,182, of whom 590,890 were Mohammedans, 83,794 Jews and 82,498 Christians and others. The division between the town and agricultural population was as follows:—

Town areas:

Mohammedans	...	...	...	...	139,074
Jews	...	...	...	...	68,622
Christians and others	...	...	...	...	56,621

Rural areas:

Mohammedans	...	...	...	...	451,816
Jews	...	...	...	...	15,172
Christians and others	...	...	...	...	25,877

Population in 1930.—There has been a very considerable increase of the population since that census was taken. In Appendix 4 are given the figures of population year by year, taken from the records of the Department of Health of the Government. The totals for mid 1930 may be accepted as approximately the following:—

Mohammedans	...	...	...	...	692,195
Jews	...	...	...	...	162,069
Christians and others	...	...	...	...	91,727
					<hr/> 945,991 <hr/>

* See Note on page 3.

Distribution of population.—In this estimate the Bedu population has been taken at the same figure as in 1922. The local distribution of this population is as follows :—

Urban population	340,962
Rural population	501,968
Tribal population	103,331

The total gives an average population of 94 per sq. mile, and, omitting Beersheba and the Southern Desert, about 155 per sq. mile. In Appendix 2 the figures of Jewish and Arab population have been examined, and it has been calculated that the rural Arab population of the Hills and the Five Plains is 478,390.

Vital Statistics.—The following figures give the average birth, death, and infantile mortality ratios according to religion during the period 1923 to 1929 inclusive :—

	<i>Moslems</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Christians</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Whole country.</i>
Births	56·59	35·54	38·57	49·42	50·97
Deaths	31·24	13·10	18·03	25·51	26·52
Infantile Mortality ...	199·49	110·25	157·99	137·59	185·06

Appendix 5 gives the detail for each year. The figures are interesting and important and that from more than one aspect. In the first place it is noticeable that the excess of births over deaths is most marked (25.35) among the most numerous section of the population, namely the Moslems. The corresponding figure for the Jewish population is 22.44. The next noticeable point is the very low death rate among the Jewish population. This is without doubt in part due to the vigorous and young immigrants, of whom that population is composed to a material extent. Finally the figures of infantile mortality are interesting. The Jewish average for the past seven years is 110.25 per thousand, but during the years 1928 and 1929 the figures were 95.8 and 89.78. In England the corresponding figure for the year 1929 was 74, in Germany 97.

Comparative Infantile Mortality figures.—The following table gives some comparative figures :—

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Country.</i>	<i>Infantile Mortality Ratio.</i>
1926	New Zealand	39·76
1926	Netherlands	61·1
1925	U.S.A.	71·7
1927	Egypt	152·00
1926	Poland	174·75

Size of average family of fellah.—Enquiry has been made as to the size of the average family of the fellah. A return from the various district authorities and the Director of Health indicates that this average is 5.5. Applying this figure, the number of families resident in the Hills and the Five Plains is 86,980 this year.

Fellah families cultivating.—An enquiry has been made by a Commission appointed by the Palestine Government into the economic condition of agriculturists in 104 representative villages. In these villages there reside 23,573 families, of whom 16,633 have holdings and 6,940 have not, that is to say, that there are in these villages 29.4 per cent. of families who live, not directly by cultivation, but by labour either in the village or outside and in other ways. Everywhere there is the complaint that many of the cultivators have lost their land. Doubtless this 29.4 per cent. includes these landless men who previously were cultivators. If a deduction of 29.4 per cent. is made from the total of 86,980 families reached above, the balance is 61,408 families actually cultivating the land in the Hills and the Five Plains. In addition, there are a large number of families which should be, but are not, cultivating the land.

HEALTH.

At the time of the Occupation Palestine was a country saturated with malaria. Since that time much good work has been done, not only by agencies of the country, but also with the help of outside scientific enquirers. The Rockefeller Foundation, the League of Nations, the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee have all rendered invaluable assistance in investigation, in research and in advice. Very much has been done in the drainage of swamps and marshes, in great part by Jewish agency and in great part by the Government. The Supreme Moslem Council has also taken a share, and its work in the drainage of the extensive and very malarial swamp at Wadi Rubin, under the advice of representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation, has been a complete success. A similar work of even greater magnitude which is now nearing completion is the drainage of the Kabbara Swamp by the P.I.C.A. The Zionist Agency was responsible, among other works, for the drainage of considerable areas in the Vale of Esdraelon. The Government Department of Health revolutionised certain areas of the Jordan Valley at comparatively small cost, by draining of marshes.

Much, however, still remains to be done. Huleh is a plague spot. The malaria of that part of Palestine will not be finally overcome until the Huleh Lake is drained and there is a free flow of water out of the Basin into the Jordan River. There are wide areas in the neighbourhood of Acre where drainage is necessary. There are still swampy areas in the Maritime Plain.

The second of the preventable diseases which are common in Palestine is trachoma. This disease is being combated with great vigour all through the Jewish Settlements and in the towns. In the village schools of the Government the eyes of the children are examined periodically by competent physicians. The work of the hospital of the Order of St. John at Jerusalem is famous even beyond the boundaries of Palestine.

Generally speaking, the health of the population of Palestine is the object of more attention than is the case in the great majority of Oriental countries. Once the malarial swamps are drained, and when the Arab villages become more accustomed to demand medical care than is the case at present, the position will be completely satisfactory.

It is the good fortune of the Government that Jewish organisations provide such an effective service for their own people. It would be impracticable for the Government to supply anything on a similar scale with the funds at its disposal. In its report* for the year 1928 on the administration of Palestine, submitted to the Council of the League, His Majesty's Government wrote the following:—"It has been the policy of Government to rely as far as possible on private and Municipal Hospitals and Dispensaries to furnish general medical relief to the population, and to devote Government funds to such services as isolation hospitals for serious infectious diseases, special clinics for trachoma and epidemic ophthalmia, the treatment of the endemic syphilis which exists in many of the villages and of malaria in rural areas. For certain sections of the population, however, such as the Beduin tribes, which would otherwise lack medical attention altogether, Government establish special clinics, and circumstances arise from time to time in which assistance to voluntary organisation for general assistance is necessary."

The country is fortunate that there is so much of voluntary help in Palestine. It is questionable whether with the large growth of the Jewish population, which is proceeding by natural increase, apart altogether from immigration, it will be possible for the Jewish agencies indefinitely to maintain expenditure on its present scale. It will be impossible for the Government ever to undertake medical services to the Jewish population on a scale more liberal than that applied to the rest of the population, but a time will surely come when the services of the Government will be compelled to extend their radius of action, so as to include Jewish settlements as well as Arab villages.

Meanwhile such funds as can be made available will doubtless be applied to the drainage of the malarial swamps which still remain. There is a distinct relation between the economic efficiency of a people and its health. Its vigour is seriously affected by malaria. If the country's agriculture is to be developed, that

* Non-Parliamentary Publication (Colonial No. 40, 1929).

development will be easier and more efficient if the rural population can be freed from the scourge of malaria.

The following is an extract from the report of the Department of Health for 1929, an advance copy of which has been furnished by the Director. It is interesting apart from considerations of health :—

“The Village and Colony population both Arabs and Jews was clearly in financial difficulty. The Arab, though not starving, is beginning to feel the effects of the normal increase in population, which has been so remarkable a feature in Palestine during the last few years. He has no money to spend on his village, and so there has been little public health development. The situation in the Jewish Colonies continues to show a certain stagnation, and the sanitary conditions in the Colonies, particularly those in which the old huts have not given place to masonry buildings, have clearly deteriorated on account of the poverty of the colonists. More especially is this marked in the newer colonies in the Haifa Plain and in the Emek”

In considering the figures for the Jewish population, it should be borne in mind that this section of the population of Palestine enjoys the services of a highly efficient Jewish medical and Health Service in addition to the normal services afforded by the Government. It is served by the Kupath Cholim, a branch of the Jewish Labour Organisation, which maintains dispensaries, a hospital and a convalescent home for the working classes. It is served by the Jewish Hadassah Medical Organisation, which not only maintains five hospitals at various centres staffed by 34 doctors and surgeons, male and female, but also has a very efficient service which takes care of the child from its infancy and follows it through the kindergarten into the school and from the school into the home. The activities of the Organisation are widespread and highly laudable. But some of the credit for the remarkable figures dealing with the health of the Jewish population must be accorded to the children's houses in the Kvutza, the communal colonies, where the care of the child is entrusted to the hands of competent trained nurses. Whatever view may be taken of the principles which govern communal societies such as the Kvutza represent, no two opinions can be held as to the efficiency with which the children are treated in these colonies. In inspecting them one could not but be struck with the obvious vigour and health of the rising generation.

The Health Department of the Government is staffed by a Director, a Deputy-Director, an Assistant Director, six Senior Medical Officers, a specialist surgeon, a Government analyst, 40 junior Medical Officers. There are Government Hospitals at Jerusalem and Haifa, and Municipal Hospitals, assisted and administered by the Government, at Nablus, Gaza, Beersheba and Acre.

In all, including the hospitals administered by the Hadassah and the Government, there are 38 hospitals in Palestine. Of these, five are special hospitals—(two mental hospitals, 117 beds; one tuberculous diseases hospital, 53 beds; one ophthalmic hospital, 45

beds; one leper hospital, 60 beds)—and the remaining 33, with 1,692 beds, are available for the general needs of the population. This gives one bed for 559 persons.

It is noticeable that the main concentration of medical assistance of all kinds is in the towns. Private medical practice does not extend to the Arab villages. These are chiefly dependent on the services of the Government Medical Officers. The Jewish settlements are, however, well provided for in this respect, and that population, probably more than in any other country, has ample medical assistance at its door.

Among the complaints made by Arabs one had reference to the enormous influx of Jewish doctors into the country, an influx which was stated to have deprived a number of Arab qualified practitioners of their practices. The population of Jaffa is about 33,000; of Tel-Aviv, the Jewish suburb of Jaffa, which is now a separate Municipal area, 40,000. In 1922 there were registered 25 medical practitioners in Jaffa and 24 in Tel-Aviv. In 1929 the respective numbers were 32 and 147. That is to say, that for 73,000 people there are 179 medical practitioners, or one to every 408 inhabitants. It is clear that the number of new practitioners cannot but have affected the practice of the existing Arab doctors, the more so as it is very rare for a Jewish family to call in an Arab doctor. On the other hand, it is said that the Arabs have no aversion to the employment of Jewish medical men.

For the whole of Palestine there are 631 registered medical practitioners; of these there are 147 in Tel-Aviv, 140 in Jerusalem and 75 in Haifa.

CHAPTER IV.

Land Tenure in Palestine.

Categories of land.—Agricultural land in Palestine falls into one of five main categories, namely :—

- (1) Mulk.
- (2) Miri.
- (3) Waqf.
- (4) Metruké.
- (5) Mewat.

1. *Mulk.*

Mulk represents English freehold. The absolute ownership rests in the private individual, who can dispose of it as he likes, except for a restriction on disposition by will. The amount of agricultural land held as Mulk is small and for the purposes of this enquiry is negligible.

2. *Miri*.

Agricultural property is commonly held by *Miri* title. *Miri* is property over which the right of occupation or of tenure can be enjoyed by a private person, provided that such right has been granted by the State. The absolute ownership remains vested in the Government, but the grant is in perpetuity, subject to certain conditions. Of these, the chief is continuous cultivation. If the land remains unproductive for three consecutive years it may revert to the State. In that case it may be redeemed by the possessor on payment of the unimproved capital value. If not so redeemed it is sold at auction to the highest bidder (Land Code, Article 68). It is not thought that the area of *Mahlul** land is material. Freedom of disposition is allowed in the case of *Miri* land, with the exception that land of this character may not be bequeathed by will or constituted as *Waqf*.

3. *Waqf*.

The following is abstracted from a note furnished by Mr. Justice R. C. Tute :—

" . . . Both *mulk* and *miri* lands gave rise to dedications known as *Wakfs*. A *wakf* is a transfer of ownership to the Deity for a purpose which is, or may become, charitable or religious. Some *Wakfs* were charitable or religious foundations from the start. The majority however were, and are, made as a means of securing the use of the land to the founder and his heirs along a line of inheritance laid down in the *Wakfiyah* or instrument of dedication. In these *Wakfs* the charitable or religious object does not materialise till the founder's line becomes extinct.

" *Wakfs* are broadly classified into *Sahih*, or true *Wakfs*, and *Ghair-sahih*, or imperfect. The former arise from the dedication of *mulk* property; the latter from the dedication of *miri*. As *miri* property is owned by the State, dedication can only be made by its head. It took the form of setting aside some benefit attaching to the land, generally the tithe, for the use of the object of the dedication. The *mulk* owner had of course the power to dedicate as and when he pleased, and he still retains that power "

The area of agricultural land dedicated as " true *Waqf* " is comparatively insignificant. In the whole of Palestine it is not claimed to extend to 100,000 dunams, and, in fact, the extent is probably much smaller. The revenue from over one hundred villages, in addition to shares in many others, had prior to the occupation been dedicated by or on the Sultan's authority. These fall under the category *Waqf Ghair-Sahih* (imperfect) and the result is that a sum in the neighbourhood of £30,000, representing the Tithe in respect of these village lands, though collected by the Government, is diverted from the Treasury to the *Waqf* administration of the Supreme Moslem Council. The land itself in all cases remains *Miri* and is subject to all *Miri* dispositions.

* *i.e.*, *Miri* land which has reverted to the Government.

4. *Metruké.*

Land left for roads, or assigned as the common land of the village, as, for instance, for pasture, is known as *Metruké*. Such land cannot be sold by an individual nor is any disposition possible.

5. *Mewat.*

Mewat has a certain importance in that its area, which is not yet determined, may be considerable. It is the waste land (which has not been left or assigned to the inhabitants or held by Kushan) at such a distance from the village site, that the voice of a man shouting there cannot be heard. This has been interpreted by judicial decision as one and a half miles. The land is vested in the Government. Cultivation with permission entitles to the issue of a title-deed (Kushan) free of charge. Cultivation without permission under the old Mohammedan law entailed payment of the unimproved value. Now, under the provisions of the *Mewat Land Ordinance of 1921*, any person breaking up *Mewat* land without permission is treated as a trespasser.

The area of *Mewat* will only be finally determined when the settlement operations now in progress are completed.

MESHA'A.

A common feature of the proprietary right in agricultural land is the existence of the system known as *Mesha'a*. In villages where this system prevails, the whole of the property held in the village is held in common. Each shareholder owns a fractional share in the village, but has no separate parcel of land allotted to him in proprietary right. The village as a whole belongs to the body of the proprietors as a whole. The individual's share is usually expressed in terms of various measures; a sharer may own a *fedan* (an area so large that a pair of cattle can plough it in one day), or a *karat*, that is $1/24$ th of the whole, or a fraction of the whole, called a *sehem*. But none of these represent defined plots or parcels of the village; they represent an undivided share of the total.

In the *Mesha'a* villages there is usually a permanent distribution among the *Hamulahs*—the tribal divisions of the village. Within these large areas individual shares are as a rule divided every two years, with the result that no development is at all possible. No cultivator will proceed to manure or improve his holding, which he knows will pass to some other cultivator in the course of the next two years.

This *Mesha'a* system is a constant cause of complaint among the fellahin.

Its partition.—Partition can be made in one of two ways, either by agreement among the parties and acceptance of that agreement by the Courts, or by the Courts themselves. In the former case

there has to be unanimous agreement of all the shareholders. In the latter case the Courts act on the petition of the individual shareholder, but the cost to him is exceedingly heavy, for several reasons. In the first place, it has never been the custom to register changes of title upon transfer of property or succession. Most of the titles now held by proprietors are not actually in their name. Very frequently they are in the name of a father, or a grandfather, or other relation who is long dead. Before partition can be effected it is necessary that the title should be clear.

Expense of partition.—Apart from the difficulty in establishing the title, the registration of the amended title costs 3 per cent. of the value of the property by way of registration fees. Again, before the Courts will proceed to a partition they demand a map prepared by a qualified surveyor. This map has to be furnished by the applicant for the partition. In addition, there are the Court fees for the partition, which are themselves not negligible. In sum, the applicant for partition by action of the Courts is put to very serious expense as a preliminary, and is quite uncertain how long the proceedings may last and what the ultimate result will be.

Unofficial partition.—There are a large number of villages in which *de facto* partition has been carried out, although no official sanction has yet been given. In the majority of cases these partitions are unsatisfactory from the agricultural point of view. As in all Oriental countries there is in Palestine a universal desire that each shareholder should have a share, however small, of each distinctive class of land. The result is that the plots of individuals are scattered here and there throughout the village, and are frequently either of ridiculous shape or too small for effective exploitation. Cases are known of fields being so divided that a share is 2,000 metres long and $4\frac{1}{2}$ metres broad. There are cases of this kind even where partition has been made by Government officers, as, for instance, in the Beisan area. This is exceedingly unfortunate.

Partition by agreement.—It is desirable that partitions should be made by agreement, in which case the procedure is simple and inexpensive, and the cost of the Courts is avoided. As a preliminary a survey of the area to be partitioned is necessary. In sanctioning these partitions it is essential that the influence of the sanctioning officer should be used to correct the tendency to diffuse and uneconomic partition. It is said that this is difficult. One case has been cited in which the fellahin were persuaded to re-distribute the land so as to amalgamate the holdings, thus constituting economic blocks. It was a long and tedious process, and the officer concerned was of opinion that it had taken three times as long as an ordinary partition case. The matter is of such extreme importance that it is well worth while to spend a large amount of trouble to ensure satisfactory partitions.

Its extent and effect.—A return of the year 1923 showed that of the villages in Palestine at that time 56 per cent. were Mesha'a and 44 per cent. Mafruz (i.e., divided). A return of the present year shows 46 per cent. Mesha'a and 54 per cent. Mafruz. This is an indication of the number of cases in which private partition has been carried out. The majority of these partitions are not final. They will doubtless become so by prescription, after a lapse of a considerable interval of time. This is not a satisfactory position.

Mesha'a is described by the Committee on the Economic Condition of Agriculturists as "perhaps the greatest obstacle to agricultural progress in Palestine." They record that the system misses alike the advantages of individualism and of co-operation; while it remains, they say, it is useless to expect that land will be weeded or fertilised, that trees will be planted, or, in a word, that any development will take place. These opinions are held generally by the Area Officers and District Officers of the Palestine Government and by the fellahin concerned.

Government action in regard to partition.—In the year 1923, a Commission was appointed by the Government to consider the whole question of Mesha'a. It made certain radical proposals, including the recommendation that legislation should be introduced empowering the executive authorities to enforce partition. It suggested the appointment of local committees to carry out partitions, and a reduction of taxation in respect of fees of registration and of survey in partitioned lands. It also suggested that the Werko tax should not be increased on newly partitioned lands until a general assessment of the tax is undertaken.

Nothing appears to have been done as a result of the enquiry and report of this Commission. This is to be regretted, as it is essential that every possible step should be taken to encourage the development of Arab holdings.

Partition under land settlement.—At present there is a settlement in progress, but its proceedings are complicated and difficult and many years will pass before they are completed. The Settlement Officers have power to deal with these cases. It would be advantageous to put on a special staff of selected officers to deal with Mesha'a and partitions, or to empower the Area and District Officers to deal with these cases on the spot. One of the essential pre-conditions of development is that the land shall be partitioned and that partitions shall be effected on reasonable principles.

Acceleration of partition.—The matter should form the subject of immediate and serious consideration by the Palestine Government. In passing legislation it would be well, if at all feasible, to avoid the nomination of committees. These are notoriously ineffective, both as executive or as quasi-judicial bodies. It would be preferable to grant to Area Officers, and, under their supervision and control, to District Officers, the power to enable them to deal with partition cases. Some right of appeal will be necessary in case of

parties who feel themselves aggrieved, but resort to the civil courts should be discouraged as far as possible. It is preferable, if feasible, that appeals in partition cases from decisions of Area Officers should lie to the District Commissioner, from District Officers to the Area Officers.

THE LAW GOVERNING AGRICULTURAL TENANCIES.

Landlords.—Though it is known that very large areas are held by resident and non-resident landlords, the total area cultivated by tenants has not yet been ascertained. It will only be known when the survey and settlement at present in progress have been completed, and if the proposals on this subject contained in this report are accepted.

Tenants.—No occupancy right exists in favour of the Arab tenant in Palestine. As a rule he holds his land on a yearly tenancy, terminable by his landlord at will.

Land Transfer Ordinance, 1920.—Several attempts have been made to improve the position of the agricultural tenant in this respect. In September, 1920, soon after the establishment of the Civil Government, the Land Transfer Ordinance, 1920, was issued. The Preamble of that Ordinance recites :

(a) in order to meet the needs of the people it is desirable that transactions having in view the immediate use and cultivation of land be permitted;

(b) it is necessary to take measures to prevent speculative dealings in land and to protect the present occupants;

(c) a Land Settlement Court is shortly to be established, which will adjudicate all titles, and in the meantime no guarantee of title can be given by the Administration;

(d) it is intended to introduce legislation to secure orderly planning of the towns and the erection of buildings, subject to the control of the Administration;

(e) the Administration is taking measures to facilitate the establishment of Credit Banks in Palestine, which shall have power to grant loans on the security of immovable property; pending the consideration of the establishment of such Banks, it is desirable to continue the prohibition of the sale of land in satisfaction of a mortgage or in execution of a judgment.

Restriction on transfer of land.—The Ordinance then proceeded to provide for the control of all land transactions. To all such transactions the consent of the Administration must be obtained; this consent was given through the District Governor, where he was satisfied that the person about to acquire the property (1) was resident in Palestine, (2) would not obtain property exceeding in value £3,000 or in area 300 dunams, (3) intended himself to cultivate the land immediately. It was also a condition (4) that the

transferor, if in possession, or the tenant in occupation of the property leased, would retain sufficient land in the district or elsewhere for the maintenance of himself and his family.

If an application were rejected by the District Governor, an appeal lay to the High Commissioner, whose decision was final.

The High Commissioner also had the power to consent to the sale of large areas of land, if he were satisfied that the transfer was in the public interest, or he might refer an application for any such disposition to a Commission which existed at that time, and whose duty it was to report upon closer settlement of the land.

Complaints against restrictions.—From the beginning there was general protest on the part of the Arabs against these restrictions on the sale of the land. They alleged that they were designed to impoverish the Arab population and to compel the sale of their land to the Jews at an inadequate price. These complaints were formulated before the Commission of Enquiry which reported on the riots of 1921. That Commission wrote as follows:—

“The Arabs have regarded with suspicion measures taken by the Government with the best intentions. The transfer of Land Ordinance, 1920, which requires that the consent of the Government must be obtained to all dispositions of immovable property, and forbids transfer to other than residents in Palestine, they regard as having been introduced to keep down the price of land and to throw land which is in the market into the hands of the Jews at a low price”*

Transfer of Land Ordinance, 1920-21.—The Ordinance was amended, and was replaced by the Transfer of Land Ordinance, 1920-21. The Director of Lands was constituted as the authority to grant permission for dispositions of land, and he was bound to grant that consent if satisfied that the transferor had a title, “provided that, in the case of agricultural land which is leased, he shall also satisfy himself that any tenant in occupation will retain sufficient land in the district or elsewhere for the maintenance of himself and his family”

This Ordinance in fact remained a dead letter. It was circumvented in one of two ways; either the landlord, who desired to dispose of his land, ejected his tenants as a preliminary operation, and so sold the land with vacant possession to the purchaser, or the landlord or the purchaser induced the tenant to withdraw on payment of compensation. In both of these cases there was no tenant in occupation, and the conditions of the Ordinance consequently failed to operate.

Protection of Cultivators Ordinance, 1929.—The latest attempt to protect the tenant in cases of sale by the landlord is the Protection of Cultivators Ordinance, 1929. This cancelled the provision of the Ordinance of 1921, which required that, on sale, arrangements should be made to provide a tenant in occupation with land in lieu of the holding from which he was dispossessed.

* Cmd. 1540, page 51.

It aims at protecting the cultivator who has been at least two years in a holding, by requiring the landlord to give him a full year's notice before the tenancy can be terminated or before the rent may be increased, and by providing for compensation for the tenant for disturbance and for improvements, which he has carried out himself. It provides further that where the tenant has cultivated a holding for five years or more, the landlord shall pay him as additional compensation a sum equal to one year's average rent.

Its practical effect.—This Ordinance is of little value in preventing the displacement of tenants from the soil. There is no record of tenancies in Palestine, as there is, for instance, of agricultural tenancies in India. It would be extremely difficult for any tenant to establish a tenancy of five years on the same holding. In any case, at its best, the ordinance would only provide money compensation, while what is eminently required is, not compensation for disturbance, but a provision against disturbance.

AGRICULTURAL TENANCIES.

Occupancy right.—One of the requirements of agricultural Palestine at the present time is an effective provision for occupancy right in favour of the tenant. The pressure on the soil is so great that, as will be shown later, rents are rising to a height which threatens to preclude the tenant from producing sufficient from a holding to pay the charges thereon and at the same time to maintain a standard of life that is even tolerable. Under these conditions any provision short of occupancy right is of little value. And if occupancy right be granted it must be secured by a provision preventing the increase of rents except with the sanction of the Courts, otherwise the right of occupancy will prove nugatory.

Occupancy right: Position of Jewish agricultural tenants.—In the case of Jewish tenants conditions are much better than in that of the Arabs. The Jewish tenant of the Keren-Kayemeth (Jewish National Fund) has not yet got any document authorising his holding or specifying its conditions, but it is certain that he will ultimately be furnished with a lease, of which it is intended that the term will be 49 years renewable. There is no question of uncertainty of tenure in this case.

The P.I.C.A. either sells land to the occupant, payment being made by instalments over a long term of years, or provides him with a long-term lease. In fact, the Jewish settlement is in the interest of the occupant of the soil, while the Arab enjoys no such advantage. There is thus no necessity for legislation for conferring the occupancy right on the Jewish tenant. At the same time, legislation providing for the creation of such occupancy right generally would not in any way interfere either with the policy of the Jewish landlord or with the amenities of the Jewish tenant. It is true that the creation of occupancy

right will effect a very radical change in the position of the Arab tenant vis-à-vis his landlord. It will also reduce the market value of land occupied by tenants. It is, however, the only measure likely to arrest the present tendency to divorce the fellahin from the soil.

Register of tenants.—The creation of occupancy right will entail not only the preparation of a register of existing tenants but also the necessary machinery for keeping that register up to date. It is in any case desirable that such information should be available, as it will enable the Government to watch the movement of the agricultural population from the soil to the village or the town. It will provide information as to the course of rents, and so will facilitate periodical revision of any tax on land which may be imposed. It is an essential of any efficient policy of agricultural development. It is desirable that this register of tenants should be prepared by the Settlement staff in the case of settlements now in progress, and I advise that this should be done.

Palestine: Survey.—At the present time a survey of Palestine is in progress, which will afford information, of which the want has always been felt seriously with regard to the areas of the country.

Land Settlement.—The main objects of the Settlement are two; the first is to obtain an exact record of the rights of all proprietors of agricultural land, the second, to provide a basis on which a reasonable system of land taxation can be founded, in order that the antiquated systems of Tithe and of Werko may be abolished.

Land registration fees.—As to the first of the above objects it may be said that the settlement results will prove of strictly temporary utility if the existing fees on registration of transfers and dispositions of land remain in force. One of the chief reasons for the avoidance of registration of title in the past has been the expense which that registration entailed on the applicant. In Appendix 6 the rates of fee for registration of various kinds are detailed. It will be seen that they are in fact very onerous.

Land registers.—It is highly desirable that, once the record of rights prepared by the settlement officers is complete, its maintenance as an accurate record shall be easy. Otherwise the record will very rapidly again become inaccurate. For this reason, the fees to be charged on the registration of changes in the record should be so light that they will not prove to be a serious burden on the person to whom a property has been transferred.

Maintenance of record of occupancy right.—It has been suggested above that the village records should include a record of tenants as well as one of the proprietors. If this proposal is accepted, it will be necessary to have a machinery to keep the tenants' register up to date. The same agency might deal with

the register of owners. Responsibility for application for amendment of the register should not be removed from the shoulders of the proprietor or the tenant, but the official who is charged with the maintenance of the records will be in a position to bring to notice those cases in which that responsibility is not in fact discharged. If a penalty were to attach to failure in this matter of application for amendment of the register, and at the same time there existed an official in a position to know the facts, there should be little difficulty in keeping the registers accurately up to date. An accurate record of this kind will be of great value, not only to the authorities but, and perhaps even more importantly so, to the proprietors and to the tenants of the village.

CHAPTER V.

Jewish Settlement on the Land.

Agencies of Jewish Settlement.—Areas, being Jewish property either of the various colonisation agencies or of private individuals, are shown on map No. 6.*

The two chief agencies of Jewish settlement on the land are the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association, commonly known as the P.I.C.A., and the Colonisation Department of the Zionist Organisation, which is financed by the Keren Hayesod. The former buys land and instals settlers; the latter is purely a settlement agency, the land being purchased by the Palestine Land Development Company for the Jewish National Fund, which places it as required at the disposal of the Keren Hayesod. Before being handed over for settlement, the land is improved by the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth).

In addition to these two major agencies of settlement, there are a large number of land or settlement companies which either dispose of land in small lots to would-be settlers, or prepare and plant the land and sell it, either when planted, or when mature and bearing, to immigrants.

Private agencies: The Benei-Benjamin.—There is also a number of private agencies which prepare land for settlement, as for instance the Benei-Benjamin. This is a society of young Jews, having members both in Palestine and abroad. It has borrowed money and has purchased a tract of 9,000 dunams of land, which it is preparing and planting, for settlement of other members of the Society who hope in time to come to Palestine. It is interesting to observe the difference in policy between a society of this kind and an ordinary commercial society, such as Palestine Plantations, Limited, which has acquired a large area and is developing it as orange plantations for sale to immigrant Jews. The former

* See Note on page 3.

society has its plantations in the village of Nataniya, in the Maritime Plain. It charges its members £85 per dunam for developed orange groves at the end of the fifth year, when the trees are coming into bearing. The trees are all grafted. Tel Mond is the colony where the plantations of Palestine Plantations, Ltd., are situated. It was ascertained from the Company's local manager that for similar groves of the same age the price is £110 per dunam.

Amount of land held by Jewish organizations.—From information received from the Jewish agency in Palestine and from the Palestine Land Development Co., Ltd. (a purchasing agency not only for the Jewish National Fund but for many of the public and private companies), it appears that in June, 1930, Jewish land in Palestine amounted to 1,250,000 dunams. The Statistical Abstract of 1929 gave an area of 1,200,000 dunams. Though this fact is not stated in the Statistical Abstract or in the Memorandum submitted by the Jewish Agency, it has been ascertained that the dunams referred to are not metric dunams, but Turkish dunams.

In addition to this land so held, the various Jewish agencies hold options over a further area of between 80,000 and 85,000 metric dunams.

(1) THE P.I.C.A. SETTLEMENTS.

Of the various Jewish settlement agencies the largest and most important is the P.I.C.A., whose colonies number 34. This association commenced work in 1882, under the designation of the Jewish Colonisation Association (I.C.A.), and its operations since that date have been supported by generous expenditure on the part of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The P.I.C.A. now owns 454,840 metric dunams of land. To the activities of this organisation are due the foundation of the well-known colonies of Petach Tikvah and Rehovoth, which have recently developed with rapid strides. The former was in origin a colony of 28 families settled on 2,000 dunams of land. It has grown into a country town of some 10,000 inhabitants and comprises 25,000 dunams of land, of which considerable areas are owned by private individuals. Rehovoth is also extending rapidly. At the start 20 families were settled on 10,600 dunams; the population of the village is now estimated at 2,800 and the area attached to the colony is 22,600 dunams, also owned in large part by private individuals. This colony was famous for its almond plantations, and still exports large quantities of almonds through its Co-operative Society of Almond Growers. The almond industry is now overshadowed in all this region by the orange, and the area under orange groves is increasing with great rapidity.

Richon-le-Zion, with its famous cellars, and Zichron-Jacob are other well-known P.I.C.A. colonies.

The Kabbara concession.—The P.I.C.A. has two important projects in course of completion, both in the Maritime Plain. In

1921 the Association obtained a concession for the manufacture of salt at Athlit, for the drainage of the Kabbara swamp and for the development of the Caesarea sand-dunes. The first of these projects has been transferred to a company which is producing salt in considerable quantities. The drainage of the Kabbara swamp and the irrigation canals which will cover this area are now approaching completion. The total extent of land included in the Kabbara concession was 5,170 dunams, and in addition the P.I.C.A. already owned 2,300 dunams adjoining. The whole area has been reclaimed and rendered cultivable. At the time of my visit a large part of the area was carrying rich crops of linseed. The drainage work has proved particularly difficult, owing to the existence of springs in the bed of the swamp for whose drainage subsidiary arrangements are necessary. At one place 126 of these springs were discovered in three and a half dunams of land, less than an acre. The drainage of all these springs has added much to the cost of reclamation, and £92,000 has already been spent on the work.

Pardessana.—The second project is the development of the Pardessana colony, south of the Kabbara swamp, and lying among the undulating sandy hillocks of the Maritime Plain which are so favourable to the growth of the orange. The preparation of the land for that colony, which will provide holdings for 450 families, besides 1,000 families of workmen, has almost been completed. Wells have been and are being sunk, electric current has already been provided, both for power and light, and the town site has been laid out. The individual lots have been marked on the map, and in the case of the few colonists who have already arrived, also on the ground. The work reflects the greatest credit on those responsible for it, and, given the possibility of creating a sufficient market for the largely-increasing supply of Jaffa oranges, the future of this colony is most promising.

A feature of Pardessana is the provision of small lots for families of the labouring class. An area of 5 dunams, with cow-house and poultry-house, is attached to each of the workmen's dwellings, which are composed of two rooms and a kitchen.

Benjamina.—Similar provision is made for the labouring class, in this case Jews from Georgia, in the colony of Benjamina, lying south of Pardessana. In that colony a perfume factory has been started successfully, and both the colonists and the labourers have been encouraged to reserve a small area for jasmine, and have been instructed in the method of cultivation and in that of plucking the flower. The produce of the factory is stated to be of good quality, and to sell for high prices in France or in England. The actual profits to the grower are not large, as cultivation and plucking absorb much labour and occupy much time. The industry is, however, well suited for allotment holdings such as those with which the labourers are provided.

Colonies in Galilee.—Apart from its colonies in the Maritime Plain the P.I.C.A. has established a number of settlements in Upper and Lower Galilee. These are chiefly of the old-fashioned kind, with somewhat extensive holdings, and grow principally cereals and other country crops. In some of the colonies the settlers are acquiring cross-bred cattle of a superior type, which provide an income from dairy produce. In most of these colonies Arab labour is employed.

Bitania.—One of the P.I.C.A. settlements, named Bitania, in the Upper Jordan Valley, deserves special mention. It contains an experimental area in which fruit of various kinds, and the more valuable vegetables—tomatoes, cucumbers, egg-plant—are being cultivated. It has been found that the land of this colony, which lies to the north of the Jordan Valley and not far from the Lake of Tiberias, is specially suitable for the cultivation of grape-fruit and bananas. The grape-fruit of Bitania is first-class in quality, almost seedless, with the minimum of pulp, of fair size and thin-skinned. Its flavour is excellent. It has been ascertained by experiment that the fruit can be stored and kept in good condition at least until the month of June. These results of the experimental cultivation of the grape-fruit are most important, for the soil is unsuited to the orange and the grape-fruit provides an even more valuable crop.

Relations of P.I.C.A. Colonists with Arabs.—The relations of the old P.I.C.A. colonists with their Arab neighbours and with their Arab workmen were excellent—a mutual advantage to both communities. Had the P.I.C.A. policy of friendship and conciliation with the Arab been permitted to continue, there is no doubt that in the neighbourhood of their colonies none of that bitterness which is now so prevalent need have arisen.

(ii) THE ZIONIST SETTLEMENTS.

The Jewish National Fund.—The Jewish National Fund holds approximately 270,000 metric dunams. According to a statement submitted by the Jewish Agency and reproduced as Appendix 7 to this Report, there are 20 co-operative groups, 16 smallholders' settlements, 5 girls' groups, 4 Yemenite settlements, 2 agricultural settlement stations and 2 experimental stations. In addition, there are 9 settlements described as "supported". On the other hand, the statement submitted by the Jewish National Fund (Keren-Kayemeth) records the following:—

"The types of settlement on the land are as follows:—

18 smallholders' settlements;

27 co-operative group settlements;

7 Yemenite settlements;

Agricultural experimental station and its branches."

Zionist settlements.—The settlements of the Zionist organisation have not been in existence for as long a time as those of the P.I.C.A., and they work on different principles. The outstanding principle is "self-labour", which implies that no settler shall have more land than the area he is able to cultivate by the unaided labour of himself and his family. In the case of the co-operative group, the area is determined by the amount which the group is able to cultivate without assistance. Notwithstanding the fact that the settlers receive a certain agricultural training as "chalutzim" (i.e., pioneers) before arrival in Palestine, they are not by early training agriculturists. They are drawn from all walks of life. There is no lack of ardour or enthusiasm, and there can be no doubt that in time the settlements will be able to support the cultivators, especially in those districts where plantation is possible. Meanwhile, there are few if any, of the settlements which are truly self-supporting, and there appear to be none in which any payment has been made in respect of the outlay by the Jewish National Fund or the Keren-Hayesod.

Expenditure by Keren-Kayemeth and Keren-Hayesod.—The amounts spent by these two agencies have been formidable, and it is quite impossible that they will ever be repaid in full. In the former case no question of repayment arises, as the land is not to be sold to the settlers. Yet it is certain that no adequate interest in the form of rent could be paid by the settlers on the outlay of the Fund on their holdings. In the case of the Keren-Hayesod also the outlay has been lavish, and the whole of the colonies are so over-capitalised that it will prove essential both to write off a considerable amount of the outlay and to fix the rate of interest on the balance at an uneconomic level if the outlay is to be liquidated. The Jewish National Fund and the Keren-Hayesod have very kindly submitted consolidated statements of their expenditure, which are printed as Appendices 8 and 9 to this Report. In the former, excluding the items "Urban Land", "Urban Buildings", and "Lands", the sum of £1,545,659 appears to have been spent on agricultural colonisation. In the latter, the items "Urban Colonisation", "National Organisations", "Investments", and "Jewish National Fund" do not appear to be expenditure on colonisation in the country. The balance is £3,345,531. Adding these two sums together, the total cost of agricultural colonisation by the Zionist Organisation appears to have been £4,891,190.* The number of persons actually settled for this sum is shown in Appendix 10—a statement submitted by the Jewish agency.

Population of settlements.—The total population of the Zionist settlements in 1930 (included therein being the "supported settle-

* The whole of this sum has not been expended on families actually settled. It includes an amount spent on land still in reserve.

ments") consisted of 4,408 adults, and 2,364 children under 15 years of age. The cost of colonisation of a family has thus been very large.

Area of Zionist settlements.—In Appendix 11 is reproduced a statement submitted by the Jewish Agency as to areas held. This shows that included in the settlements belonging to the Zionist Organisation are 129,466 dunams of land, in addition to 14,758 dunams belonging to settlements described as "supported". These latter are settlements belonging to other agencies for whose continuance the assistance of the Zionist Organisation is required. Of the 129,466 dunams actually the property of the Zionist Organisation, and included in the settlements, 15,137 dunams are leased to others, 11,958 dunams are shown as fallow, and 7,390 are "idle, fit for cultivation", i.e., in all 34,485 dunams, or 26.6 per cent. of the total of the cultivable area of these settlements was for one reason or another not cultivated during the last year by the settlers themselves.

Reserve area.—As has been recorded, the total area of land held by the Jewish National Fund is 270,000 metric dunams. From the statement in Appendix 11 it appears that, excluding the settlements called "supported" only 114,329 dunams were cultivated. This implies that of the land held by the Fund over 155,500 dunams are in reserve. The Zionist Organisation has been engaged in colonisation work since before the War, though only since the War has development been rapid. It has now a reserve of land sufficient for a programme for a number of years. This is satisfactory, in that it will enable a general programme of development to be worked out for the country without interference with the work of Zionist settlement.

Emek colonies and contagious abortion.—A large number of the Zionist colonies are in the Emek. They tend more and more to be based on dairy produce, poultry, and fruit. The price of milk is now falling. The Zionist colonies have large herds of fine cows, many of them being pure-bred Holsteins, or the Holstein-Damascus and the Holstein-Gaulan cross. They are heavy milkers. It is unfortunate that with the cows has also been imported Bang's bacillus, and that contagious abortion is present in the large majority of the stall-fed dairy herds. The matter has been taken in hand by the Department of Agriculture, and it is hoped in time to eradicate the disease. Meanwhile, its appearance cannot but affect the estimates of the cost of settlement and throw back the date at which the dairy settlements will definitely become self-supporting.

Experts' opinion as to completion of establishment.—On page 40 of their Report the Experts wrote as follows:—

" that no expenditure for planting new colonies should be made unless the development of existing colonies has been completed, or the money required for their full development has been provided. The amount required for this will absorb the probable normal income of

the Colonisation Department for several years to come. Delay in providing settlers with needed equipment and improvements is now causing serious losses and disappointments. It is lowering the efficiency of the settlers, it is the cause of large deficits, even in the older colonies, and is placing on the Zionist Organisation, rather than on the settlers, the responsibility for making the colonies self-sustaining"

These remarks are still applicable. The colonisation settlements in the Emek, which were examined by those Experts, are still not fully equipped. Indeed, it is stated that the sum of £300,000 is necessary for expenditure during the next two years if these colonies are to be a success.

On July 2nd, 1930, an article appeared in the English supplement of the Jewish Labour paper, "*Davar*," the organ of the General Federation of Jewish Labour, and published by that Federation. The article is entitled "At the Bottom of the List." Referring to an article in the Hebrew issue of the paper on the consolidation of the Zionist colonies, the writer says:—

"A detailed plan adopted in 1927 by the Zionist Colonisation Department placed the investments still needed to make all settlements self-supporting at £499,029. It was resolved to complete the process within two years and it was with this understanding that the above sum was fixed. The Labour Movement submitted to the necessity of letting consolidation take precedence over all other activities The plan was sound, but what of its fulfilment? The two years have passed, the third year is nearing its close, and the goal is yet to be reached. In 1927-28 a sum of £136,000 was expended; in 1928-29 another £78,000, and 1929-30 yet another £130,000. This makes a total of £344,000, which, being subtracted from the original total, leaves an arithmetical balance of £155,000 still outstanding. But the economic balance is much greater. In the development of a farm there is a tremendous difference between obtaining the budget in cash so that it can be invested productively at once, and having to wait for windfalls, meanwhile living from hand to mouth. The present position is that instead of £155,000, not less than £300,000 will in all probability be needed to complete the equipment, and again on the understanding that the balance will be forthcoming during the remainder of the present year and the following one Now that the time has come for the preliminary drafting of the Agency budget for the next Jewish year those responsible should know that the patience of the Emek settlers is finally exhausted, and that they insist upon means being found to complete the equipment of their farms during the present year"

Self-supporting Zionist settlements.—In the Memorandum submitted by the Jewish Agency, at page 24, the following is written:

"Those settlements which have received their full equipment from the Keren-Hayesod are now self-supporting. The other settlements that have not yet received their full settlement loan are most of them by now very near to the stage of being 'self-supporting.' In this connection we mean by the term 'self-supporting' that the ordinary farm expenditure and living expenditure, including renovation, but not including depreciation, nor repayment of settlement loan, nor rent (which is not yet payable), are covered by the ordinary farm income. In this sense the following settlements in the valley of Esdraelon are already self-supporting, viz., Nahalal, Ginegar, Balfouria, Kfar Yeheskiel."

The Consolidation Budget.—By the courtesy of Dr. Ruppin, statements were submitted bringing up to date the information contained in Table I printed on page 72 of the Experts' Report. This table gives, among other information, the amount of the "Consolidation Budget," that is, the amount still necessary to complete the settlement of each colony. From the statements it appears that for Nahalal (which is described in the Memorandum as "self-supporting") a sum of £10,000 is still required, for Gin-egar the sum is £23,000, for Balfouria, £3,500.

Kfar Yeheskiel: Cost of Settlement.—Only in the case of Kfar Yeheskiel can the colony be said to be self-supporting, and in the modified sense of that word used in the Memorandum. This colony contained 59 families in 1930. In the statement on p. 72 of the Experts' Report, the cost of the land for this colony and its amelioration was shown at \$342,090, say £70,389. In the statement now submitted the cost of the equipment is shown as £63,935 in addition. The total expenditure of settling 59 families is, therefore, £134,329, an average of £2,277 per family.

Keren-Hayesod: Budget.—In view of the continuing necessity for expenditure on existing colonies it is remarkable to find that in the year 1928-1929 the budget of the Keren-Hayesod for agricultural colonisation fell from £167,090 of the previous year, to £93,123, while at the same time the expenditure on urban colonisation rose from £4,747 to £91,949.

Further, there is at present a plan in preparation with the object of placing one thousand families of labourers on the land. The following is an extract from the Report of the Palestine Jewish Agency, published in the "Palestine Weekly" of July 4th, 1930:—

" It is also a matter of common knowledge that at the last meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency, which took place in London, it was resolved to settle one thousand families of workers, by means of extra budgetary funds, in the vicinity of the big plantation colonies. The plan is still in the preparatory stage"

Influence of Federation of Labour.—A second criticism of the Experts was directed to the submission of the colonisation authorities to the influence of the General Federation of Jewish Labour, and the tendency to use the Zionist colonies as a method of forwarding the Federation policy of social reform. This tendency is still strongly in evidence, and will be discussed later.

Kvutzoth Colonies.—A third criticism is directed against the Kvutza, the communal colonies. In those colonies land is held in common, and the community lives in one or more large communal houses, one, or sometimes two, rooms being allowed to each couple. For the children there is a separate children's house, where they are cared for by nurses specially detailed to this duty.

The work of the settlement for the next day is distributed each evening among its members by the community in meeting after the

evening meal, and it is understood that each member takes his or her turn at all the domestic or agricultural duties of the group. The employment of paid labour is against the principles which govern such communities. At the time of writing, however, parties of boys belonging to the junior branch of the Federation of Labour have been deputed to some of the Kvutzoth colonies in the Emek to assist in harvesting the grapes. It was explained by one of the officials of the labour executive that, on the one hand, the employment of labour for this purpose would be too expensive for the means of the colony and that, on the other hand, the outing was in the nature of a holiday for the children and that it had the additional effect of stimulating interest in agricultural pursuits. This Kvutzoth system is still in full vigour and new colonies of this type for the labourers are being constructed to-day.

Smallholding colonies.—These differ, of course, from the smallholding colonies, in which each family has its separate dwelling (in almost all cases surrounded by a garden) and its separate agricultural lot. In these, family life is preserved. In some there is an aversion to the employment of paid labour, and much work is done in common, as, for instance, the threshing of the grain at harvest. Many of the smallholders' colonies are highly attractive in appearance and show signs of progress. This is specially the case in the Maritime Plain, where the orange has proved a great source of wealth, but there are also attractive colonies of this kind in the Plain of Esdraelon, where farming is of the mixed type, the main branches being dairy, and vegetable and fruit cultivation. Even in the smallholders' colonies there is a keen communal feeling, and during the inspection of one of these a complaint was made that one of its members, who had failed financially and left the village, had sold his agricultural outfit to a stranger, without consultation with the village Council. The members of the colony expressed no objection to the new-comer, who was in every way satisfactory. Objection was rather to the manner of his coming among them.

Emek and Upper Jordan Valley Colonies: Nahalal.—Among the Zionist settlements probably the most successful and the most attractive are some of those in the Emek and in the Upper Jordan Valley. Nahalal is the outstanding instance of a progressive colony of smallholders. Founded ten years ago, with 80 families, it now has 75 agricultural and 35 non-agricultural families. The colony has been well laid out. It is not yet completely equipped and housing will require a considerable outlay, but progress is substantial. The colony commenced as a grain-growing colony, but has since changed over to more intensive methods, specially to dairy farming and poultry keeping. All the grain produced is used as fodder for birds and animals, and no grain is now sold. In 1922 the colony had 38 cows. It now has about 500 and the income from the sale of animals this year has been £1,500. The colonists also own over 30,000 fowls.

The average holding is 100 dunams. At present it is not more than is sufficient to maintain a family, but it is anticipated that water can be pumped for irrigation and that when this is done there will be room for a few further settlers.

"Regulating Societies".—One feature of the colony is what are described as "regulating Societies", which afford help to colonists who suffer from sickness or from poverty. The members arrange among themselves to cultivate the land or tend the animals of a sick member, charging him with the cost. If it is found that the colonist cannot pay, the debt is carried forward to the following year. Some bad debts are made, but the Societies put aside a sum every year to meet such losses.

It was reported that some of the colonists are putting money into their farms. This argues an income in excess of that necessary for the maintenance of the family. The colonists have not yet begun to repay any of the money due to the Keren-Hayesod for installation, nor is rent being paid to the Keren-Kayemeth.

Kfar Yeheskiel.—Another successful colony in the Plain of Esdraelon is Kfar Yeheskiel. Here the average lot is 85 dunams, but six of the 40 cultivating families have additional land in a neighbouring village. In this colony also the basis is dairying. The colonists own 300 cows and live by selling the milk and the young stock. In addition many fowls are kept and 20,000 eggs are sold on the average each month. Some of the colonists are specialising in fruit and it has been found by experiment that the grape-fruit will flourish. The colonists estimate that the net income in cash is £60 per family. Repayment to the Keren-Hayesod and payment of rent have not yet commenced. The total number of families in this village is 60, of whom 20 are engaged in trade or in work other than agriculture.

Dagania A.—Of another type is the Kvutsoth colony Dagania A in the Upper Jordan Valley. This colony was founded 20 years ago. The area was stated by residents on the spot to be 7,000 dunams, of which 800 are irrigated by pumps worked by electric power. There are 255 residents, of whom 116 are children. The industries of the village are dairying and fruit, and the gross produce was said to be £20,000 per annum. Bananas are the staple fruit of the colony and do well. This colony is certainly prospering, but here also no payments are being made in respect of debt or of rent.

Kiryath Anavim.—A colony which is looked upon by the Zionist Organisation as a great success is the hill colony Kiryath Anavim, a few miles distant from Jerusalem. It is a dairying and fruit colony, with a small area under cultivation. The fodder for 40 Dutch cows comes up by lorry from colonies near to Jaffa, and the settlers stated that its cost was met by the

income from the manure of the cowhouses. The milk is sold in Jerusalem. The adult population of the village is 70. Enquiry was made on this point, but it was not explained how this large number of colonists was occupied with work on a dairy farm with 40 cows and on a small area of fruit. The colony was described as paying its way, and a profit of £164 was stated to have been made in 1929. It appeared, however, from further enquiry that the sum of £1,080 was earned as wages of labour in Jerusalem and elsewhere, that £400 is still required for consolidation, that the outlay of the Keren-Hayesod on establishment of the colony was £23,015, that the accumulated deficit is £5,115, and that nothing has been paid towards the debt, or for rent. This settlement cannot seriously be characterised as a financial success.

Jewish rural population.—It is somewhat difficult to ascertain how many Jews have been settled on the land. The Report* of the Commission on the Disturbances, at page 8, records the Jewish rural population as 35,000, distributed over 135 settlements. On the other hand, the Vaad-Leumi, in a Memorandum submitted to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, says that the rural Jewish population is 46,000. The exact numbers will not be known until the census of next year, but there can be little doubt that the figure contained in the Memorandum of the Vaad-Leumi is exaggerated, as the total of the detailed statements for each settlement submitted in the course of this enquiry by the Jewish Agency with their Memorandum is 38,777. This figure, again, may not be exactly accurate, but it is as near the truth as can be ascertained at the present time. It is estimated by the Vaad-Leumi that there were 10,000 Jews in Jewish colonies in 1919 and that since June, 1921, and up to the end of 1929, 89,926 Jews immigrated into Palestine. If the figure of the Jewish Agency's Memorandum be accepted, the increase of population in the colonies since 1921 is certainly not greater than 28,777, that is to say, that of immigrant Jews less than 1 out of 3 is settled on the land. The immigration movement is in major part a movement of immigration to the towns.

Zionist Settlements not self-supporting.—Of the agricultural settlements it may be said that none of the Zionist settlements are self-supporting in the sense that they would be able to maintain themselves without further assistance and pay back to the Keren-Hayesod a reasonable amount towards satisfaction of their debts, and to the Keren-Kayemeth an economic rent. It is indeed admitted that no such consummation is anticipated. Many Zionist settlements would cease to exist if further support were not forthcoming. The P.I.C.A. colonies include in their number several old colonies which are radically established, and which will unquestionably flourish in the future. Even of the P.I.C.A. colonies, however, there are a number, including some of the older

* Cmd. 3530.

colonies, which still require support and in some cases reorganisation. I understand that this reorganisation is in progress.

Excessive cost of Zionist settlement.—The system adopted by the Colonisation Department of the Zionist Organisation is immensely costly; it demands very little from the settler himself. Indeed however hard a settler may work, and however desirous he may be to pay back sums that the Fund expended on him, by no possibility can he arrive at that result. The debt which he owes cannot be repaid by any effort on his part.

Jewish settlement in Russia.—It is interesting to compare the principles and cost of Jewish settlement on the land in Russia with the corresponding cost and principles which obtain in Palestine. Jewish colonisation is proceeding on a large scale in Southern Russia, under the auspices of the Joint Distribution Committee, known in its colonisation activity as "Agro-Joint." Conditions are of course different, as the Russian Government supplies the necessary land free of charge. Apart from the land, it is costing £150—£200 to settle a family on the land in Russia. This includes preparing the land (tractor operations and well-sinking) though in a number of cases the digging of the wells is done by the settlers themselves. Of the total expenditure on settlement 82.25 per cent. is described as "returnable expenditure." The balance represents expenditure on what is called "agricultural extension" and on administration. The latter item amounts to the remarkably reasonable percentage of 6.64 per cent. of the total expenditure. It is recorded in a report for 1926 that the new settlers of the 1923-24 season were already paying their debts.*

In a report on the work in Russia by J. Billikopf and Dr. Maurice B. Hexter, written in 1926, the following occurs:—

"It is to be noted that nothing is donated outright to the settler except technical instructions and medical assistance; other than technical and medical aid all else is charged to a settler's account, of which the colonist has current information."

Settlement of refugees in Greece.—Similarly, in the case of the Greek refugee settlement, all the money spent on settlement by the Refugee Settlement Commission was repayable. It has recently been arranged that the actual overhead expenses of administration shall not be repaid by the agricultural refugees, nor the cost of construction of certain major works of public utility, as for instance an irrigation canal and arterial roads, but that, as a general rule, all other expenditure on the settlement of the individual family, including the price of the land, shall be recovered. Repayment is actually in progress. The cost of settlement of the agricultural refugees in Greece amounted on

* Report by Joseph A. Rosen, Director of the Agro-Joint, submitted to the Chicago Conference of the United Jewish Campaign, October, 1926.

the average to less than £80 per family, but this sum did not include the price of the land, and about half the houses were provided by the Government, being houses evacuated by exchanged Turks and Bulgarians. These houses, however, required radical repairs.

Expenditure on settlement and effect of non-repayment.—It is undesirable, from the point of view of ordinary morality, that colonists should be allowed to benefit by the large expenditure which has been made for their settlement and yet to escape payment of the amounts spent upon them. Nothing could be worse than that the Jewish immigrants should feel that they have the right to be established in Palestine at the expense of others. There is a danger that this view will prevail and that settlers will look upon what is described as the "inventory," this is, provision for their settlement, as a right. If a strong, healthy and self-respecting peasantry is desired in the Jewish colonies in Palestine, it should be made quite clear to the settlers that they are under the obligation to repay the outlay which has been made on their behalf.

(iii) THE EFFECT OF THE JEWISH SETTLEMENT ON THE ARAB.

P.I.C.A.'s relations with the Arab.—In discussing the question of the effect of Jewish Settlement on the Arab it is essential to differentiate between the P.I.C.A. colonisation and that of the Zionist Organisation.

In so far as the past policy of the P.I.C.A. is concerned, there can be no doubt that the Arab has profited largely by the installation of the colonies. Relations between the colonists and their Arab neighbours were excellent. In many cases, when land was bought by the P.I.C.A. for settlement, they combined with the development of the land for their own settlers similar development for the Arabs who previously occupied the land. All the cases which are now quoted by the Jewish authorities to establish the advantageous effect of Jewish colonisation on the Arabs of the neighbourhood, and which have been brought to notice forcibly and frequently during the course of this enquiry, are cases relating to colonies established by the P.I.C.A., before the Keren-Hayesod came into existence. In fact, the policy of the P.I.C.A. was one of great friendship for the Arab. Not only did they develop the Arab lands simultaneously with their own, when founding their colonies, but they employed the Arab to tend their plantations, cultivate their fields, to pluck their grapes and their oranges. As a general rule the P.I.C.A. colonisation was of unquestionable benefit to the Arabs of the vicinity.

It is also very noticeable, in travelling through the P.I.C.A. villages, to see the friendliness of the relations which exist between

Jew and Arab. It is quite a common sight to see an Arab sitting in the verandah of a Jewish house. The position is entirely different in the Zionist colonies.

Zionist colonisation: the Arab.—In the Memorandum submitted by the Jewish agency attempts were made to establish that the purchase of the villages in the Esdraelon valley and their settlement by the Jews had not had the effect of causing the previous tenants to join the landless class. A list of the ejected tenants was submitted as an annex to the Memorandum, giving the subsequent employment of each one of these tenants in so far as they could be traced. The annex dealt with 688 tenants. The following is an extract from the Memorandum :—

“ Very few traced belong to the landless class; 437 are continuing farming—58 as harraths; 89 are shepherds—they were all shepherds before the evacuation, farming being with them a merely subsidiary occupation; 4 are craftsmen, 14 are merchants; 50 are urban labourers; 4 are vegetable vendors; 10 are camel drivers; 2 are milkmen; 37 died; 41 whereabouts unknown. In addition, out of the 688 not less than 154 have become property owners—that is, they now possess a house and lot of their own.”

In explanation of the above statement it must be pointed out that a “ harrath ” is a farm servant; he is not a tenant farmer. The real result of this enquiry is to establish that of 688 Arab families which cultivated in the villages in the Vale of Esdraelon which were purchased and occupied by the Jews, only 379 are now cultivating the land. Three hundred and nine of these families have joined the landless classes. In the cases described as “ died ” it is not the family that is extinguished, but the head of the family who has died. Presumably, the descendants are still alive and earning their bread in some other walk of life than agriculture. It is also to be recorded that the number, 688, does not by any means include all the families who were displaced. According to the records of the Area Officers at Nazareth and Haifa, the number of “ farmers ” displaced from those villages was 1,270, nearly double the number accounted for in the Memorandum. In addition to farmers, there are, of course, many other residents who, though not in occupation, have interests in the land. With reference to these the District Commissioner, Northern District, writes :—

“ It appears quite clear that the persons who claimed, or at any rate who received compensations, by no means included all those who had interests in land, who according to the census figures amounted to 4,900. The census figures are usually taken as being about 20 per cent. below the truth, owing to the objections to a census which was connected with military service ”

Government responsibility towards Arab cultivators.—The Jewish authorities have nothing with which to reproach themselves in the matter of the Sursock lands. They paid high prices for the land, and in addition they paid to certain of the occupants of those lands a considerable amount of money which they were not

legally bound to pay. It was not their business, but the business of the Government to see to it that the position of the Arabs was not adversely affected by the transaction. In Article 6 of the Mandate it is the duty of the Administration of Palestine to ensure that the rights *and position* of the Arabs are not prejudiced by Jewish immigration. It is doubtful whether, in the matter of the Sursock lands, this Article of the Mandate received sufficient consideration.

P.L.D.Co.'s attitude towards Arab cultivators.—The question of the treatment of Arab cultivators on the lands purchased by Jewish agencies for development and settlement is already one of importance, and will become increasingly important as further purchases are made. It is a question which intimately concerns the good government of the country, and one to which the Administration of Palestine will doubtless direct its attention. The importance of the question was brought forcibly to notice by Mr. Hankin, an agent of the Palestine Land Development Company. In a letter dated 14th July, 1930, he writes :—

" Had we desired to disregard the interests of such workers of the land as are dependent, directly or indirectly, upon lands of the landlords, we could have acquired large and unlimited areas, but in the course of our conversation I have pointed out to you that this has not been our policy and that, when acquiring lands, it is our ardent wish not to prejudice or do harm to the interests of anybody. We feel it our duty to settle the workers and enable them to continue their agricultural occupation, either in the same place or elsewhere. But we have the possibility of acquiring 100,000 dunams without having to make any settlement for the tenants, since the acquisition of such an area will not cause harm to anybody and will not oust anybody from his lands; only after this area has been acquired we shall have to see to a proper settlement for the tenants"

The above is a translation from a Hebrew letter sent subsequent to an interview, of which the note records that Mr. Hankin said : " it is possible still to make arrangements for settling Arabs off 100,000 dunams which we may purchase but not after that. Then it will be necessary to make arrangements for the Arabs, as for the Jews, on the land purchased. They will have to be colonised, as the Jews, but it will be cheaper. For the Arab worker, £150; for the fellah, £300; for the Jewish worker, £300; for the Jewish cultivator, £600 to £700"

At a later stage of this report the question of the sufficiency of land for Arab cultivators will be examined. It is sufficient at this stage to record the fact that Mr. Hankin, who has probably a more intimate knowledge than any other Jewish representative of the facts regarding agricultural land, is of the opinion that the balance of new land available for settlement at the moment is 100,000 dunams at the outside.

The effect of the Jewish colonisation in Palestine on the existing population is very intimately affected by the conditions on which the various Jewish bodies hold, sell and lease their land.

The Constitution of the Jewish Agency: Land Holding and Employment Clauses.—The Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was signed at Zürich on 14th August, 1929. Article 3 (d) and (e) read as follows :—

“(d) Land is to be acquired as Jewish property and subject to the provisions of Article 10 of this Agreement, the title to the lands acquired is to be taken in the name of the Jewish National Fund, to the end that the same shall be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people.

“(e) The Agency shall promote agricultural colonisation based on Jewish labour, and in all works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the Agency, it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed”

Keren-Kayemeth draft lease: Employment of Jewish labour only.
—I have been favoured with copies of the draft of the lease which it is proposed to execute in respect of all holdings granted by the Keren-Kayemeth (Jewish National Fund). The following is Article 23 of this lease :—

“ The lessee undertakes to execute all works connected with the cultivation of the holding only with Jewish labour. Failure to comply with this duty by the employment of non-Jewish labour shall render the lessee liable to the payment of a compensation of ten Palestinian pounds for each default. The fact of the employment of non-Jewish labour shall constitute adequate proof as to the damages and the amount thereof, and the right of the Fund to be paid the compensation referred to, and it shall not be necessary to serve on the lessee any notarial or other notice. Where the lessee has contravened the provisions of this Article three times the Fund may apply the right of restitution of the holding, without paying any compensation whatever.”

The lease also provides that the holding shall never be held by any but a Jew. If the holder, being a Jew, dies, leaving as his heir a non-Jew, the Fund shall obtain the right of restitution. Prior to the enforcement of the right of restitution, the Fund must give the heir three months' notice, within which period the heir shall transfer his rights to a Jew, otherwise the Fund may enforce the right of restitution and the heir may not oppose such enforcement.

Keren-Hayesod Agreements: Employment of labour.—In the agreement for the repayment of advances made by the Keren-Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) to settlers in the colonies in the Maritime Plain the following provisions are included :—

“Article 7.—The settler hereby undertakes that he will during the continuance of any of the said advances, reside upon the said agricultural holding and do all his farm work by himself or with the aid of his family, and that, if and whenever he may be obliged to hire help, he will hire Jewish workmen only.”

In the similar agreement for the Emek colonies there is a provision as follows :—

“Article 11.—The settler undertakes to work the said holding personally, or with the aid of his family, and not to hire any outside labour except Jewish labourers.”

Zionist policy in regard to Arabs in their colonies.—The above-quoted provisions sufficiently illustrate the Zionist policy with regard to the Arabs in their colonies. Attempts are constantly being made to establish the advantage which Jewish settlement has brought to the Arab. The most lofty sentiments are ventilated at public meetings and in Zionist propaganda. At the time of the Zionist Congress in 1921 a resolution was passed which "solemnly declared the desire of the Jewish people to live with the Arab people in relations of friendship and mutual respect, and, together with the Arab people, to develop the homeland common to both into a prosperous community which would ensure the growth of the peoples." This resolution is frequently quoted in proof of the excellent sentiments which Zionism cherishes towards the people of Palestine. The provisions quoted above, which are included in legal documents binding on every settler in a Zionist colony, are not compatible with the sentiments publicly expressed.

The same remark applies to the following extract from the Memorandum submitted by the General Federation of Jewish Labour to the "Palestine Commission of Enquiry" (i.e., the Commission on the Palestine disturbances of August, 1929):—

"The Jewish Labour Movement considers the Arab population as an integral element in this country. It is not to be thought of that Jewish settlers should displace this population, nor establish themselves at its expense. This would not only be impossible both from the political and economic standpoint, but it would run counter to the moral conception lying at the root of the Zionist movement. Jewish immigrants who come to this country to live by their own labour regard the Arab working man as their compatriot and fellow worker, whose needs are their needs and whose future is their future."

The effect of the Zionist colonisation policy on the Arab.—Actually the result of the purchase of land in Palestine by the Jewish National Fund has been that land has been extra-territorialised. It ceases to be land from which the Arab can gain any advantage either now or at any time in the future. Not only can he never hope to lease or to cultivate it, but, by the stringent provisions of the lease of the Jewish National Fund, he is deprived for ever from employment on that land. Nor can anyone help him by purchasing the land and restoring it to common use. The land is in mort-main and inalienable. It is for this reason that Arabs discount the professions of friendship and good will on the part of the Zionists in view of the policy which the Zionist Organisation deliberately adopted.

Reasons for the exclusion of the Arab.—Attempts were made to ascertain the reasons for these drastic provisions directed to exclude every Arab from the land purchased. The Executive of the General Federation of Jewish Labour were perfectly frank on the subject. They pointed out that the Jewish colonies were founded and established by Jewish capital, and that the subscriptions of

which this capital is composed were given with the intention that Jews should emigrate to Palestine and be settled there—that these subscriptions would never have been given had it been thought that they would be employed to support Arab labourers—that it was the business of the Zionist Organisation to cause immigration into Palestine of as many Jews as possible, and that, if Arabs were employed, posts would thus be filled up for which Jews might have immigrated—that the position of agricultural labourer in the colonies, when occupied by a Jew, serves as a training for the immigrant and prepares him to take over a holding himself at a later date—and, finally, that if these posts were left open to the ordinary competition of the labour market, the standard of life of the Jewish labourer would be liable to fall to the lower standard of the Arab.

Policy contrary to Article 6 of Mandate.—All these arguments are thoroughly logical, and have a basis in fact. They are, however, irrelevant, in view of the provisions of Article 6 of the Mandate. The principle of the persistent and deliberate boycott of Arab labour in the Zionist colonies is not only contrary to the provisions of that article of the Mandate, but it is in addition a constant and increasing source of danger to the country. At the moment this policy is confined to the Zionist colonies, but the General Federation of Jewish Labour is using every effort to ensure that it shall be extended to the colonies of the P.I.C.A., and this with some considerable success. Great pressure is being brought to bear on the old P.I.C.A. colonies in the Maritime Plain and its neighbourhood—pressure which in one instance at least has compelled police intervention. As a symptom of that pressure may be cited the construction of a labour Kvutsoth (communal colony) on the outskirts of the P.I.C.A. village of Ness-ziona. It is certain that the employers of that village will not be able to resist the arguments of the General Federation, reinforced by the appeals of the vigorous labour colony at its gates.

That this replacement of Arab labour by Jewish labour is a definite policy of the Zionist Organisation is also evident from the following quotation, taken from "A Guide to Jewish Palestine", published by the Head Office of the Keren-Kayemeth Leisrael—The Jewish National Fund—and the Keren-Hayesod, at Jerusalem in 1930 :—

" up to the end of the war the old plantation settlements employed practically only Arab workers. The transfer of Jewish labourers into the old villages has been a source of constant care of the Zionist Executive, which latterly succeeded in placing approximately 6,500 workers in these centres, chiefly in the form of Havuroth, i.e., closely organised groups, which contract with farmers for specific pieces of work, and are themselves settled on small farms. Under this category come also the Yemenite settlements near the plantation villages"

It will be a matter of great regret if the friendly spirit which characterised the relations between the Jewish employer in the

P.I.C.A. villages and his Arab employees, to which reference has already been made, were to disappear. Unless there is some change of spirit in the policy of the Zionist Organisation it seems inevitable that the General Federation of Jewish Labour, which dominates that policy, will succeed in extending its principles to all the Jewish colonies in Palestine.

The present position, precluding any employment of Arabs in the Zionist colonies, is undesirable, from the point of view both of justice and of the good government of the country. As long as these provisions exist in the Constitution of the Zionist Organisation, in the lease of the Keren-Kayemeth and in the agreement of the Keren-Hayesod it cannot be regarded as desirable that large areas of land should be transferred to the Jewish National Fund. It is impossible to view with equanimity the extension of an enclave in Palestine from which all Arabs are excluded. The Arab population already regards the transfer of lands to Zionist hands with dismay and alarm. These cannot be dismissed as baseless in the light of the Zionist policy which is described above.

(iv) GOVERNMENT LANDS.

The question of the Government lands.

The Jewish Agency, and the Jewish community in general, are insistent in pressing their claim to all lands in the ownership of the Government. A list of these lands, and of other lands to which Government lays claim, or to which it has laid claim in the past are entered in Appendix No. 12 and their position is shown on Map No. 1.*

Huleh and Beisan.

The lands fall into various categories. The question of Huleh and of the Beisan lands is discussed at length in another portion of this report. In both of these cases the position is a "fait accompli". If the Government wishes to obtain proprietary possession of the former Government lands in the Huleh Basin, it will either have to await the problematical chance of the denunciation of the concession, or to purchase the rights of the concessionaire. In the case of the Beisan Chiftlik lands, the Government can only regain possession by purchase, or by expropriation on payment of compensation. These were the two most important and valuable areas of Government property, and are still those to which the eyes of the Jewish organisations are turned with longing and with invincible expectation.

Chiftlik Estates.

Of the areas still remaining, there is a class of property, which the Government has leased to the Arabs on the spot. The Government claims ownership. These Arabs have been in actual possession for very many years, and in certain cases claim that they

* See Note on page 3.

have rights, and have made application to be treated in the same manner as the tenants with whom the Ghor Mudawwara agreement was made in 1921. The following is the list of properties of this kind, with their areas :—

(1) Mansourah	area 2,500 dunams
(2) Kokab	area 3,750 do.
(3) Zalafieh	area 2,700 do.
(4) Tel-el-Dahab	area 2,400 do.
(5) Deir Ghazaleh	area 2,700 do.
(6) Mazra'a el Hamra	area 11,300 do.
(7) Akrahenieh	area 960 do.
(8) El Farush	area 1,656 do.
(9) Sajad	area 7,000 do.
(10) Hamadiéh	area 500 do.
(11) Zeita	area 5,350 do.
(12) Jaladiyeh	area 4,143 do.
(13) Kofakha	area 9,200 do.
(14) Muharraka	area 4,580 do.
(15) Rafa	area 90,000 do.

The Government share in the village of *Kokab* is 3-24th in an undivided village. If this share were to be transferred the other sharers would have the right of pre-emption.

A part of the *Rafa* lands was offered to the Jews, but for financial reasons was refused. The same is the case with *Tel Arad*. Part was offered to the Jews for settlement by ex-service men, but attempts to find water were not successful and the offer was not accepted.

In the general development of agricultural Palestine which will be recommended as the only solution of the present difficulties, the whole of these properties will doubtless be examined in detail and will fall into the appropriate place in the scheme which must be prepared. It is obvious that unless development is undertaken as a preliminary to closer settlement, the Arabs who are now existing on these properties can neither have their holdings reduced, nor can be expelled in order to make room for Jewish settlers.

Jazzair, which extends to about 418 dunams, is leased to an Arab tenant of long standing for 20 years.

Hassaniyeh, for which demands have been made, lies in the Safad sub-district. The claim of the villagers to this property has been recognised and it is no longer State Domain.

Dahnuneh and Mubarakeh, also in the Safad sub-district, have been settled with a Jewish Co-operative Society on a 50 years' lease. Their area is small.

Tob-Alti, at Acre, is largely occupied by the Agricultural Station, and by sites reserved for the Central Prison and for the Men's Elementary Training College. The balance consists of building

sites, many of which have already been sold under a scheme initiated by the Ottoman Government.

The property of *Subeih*, in the Nazareth sub-district, was of the same class as the group of villages on which the Arab tenants are allowed to remain on payment of 10 per cent. of the gross produce as rent, which have been detailed above. The total area is 9,000 dunams. Of this, 2,000 dunams have been taken for the Jewish Agricultural School to be founded from the Kadoorie Bequest. The Government has agreed to sell the remaining portion of the village to the Arabs who are settled thereon and have been for at least the past century. There are reported to be 140 families, of whom 70 are actual cultivators and the rest graziers or workmen. Parts of the boundaries of the village lands are in dispute and the case is before the court.

The Government property in *Rakayik* has been leased to a Jew.

The *Acre Sands*, 12,225 dunams, have been reserved for exchange and lease to the Haifa Bay Development Company (now the Bay-side Land Corporation)—a Jewish concern. When the Haifa Port is developed these lands are likely to become exceedingly valuable.

The *Kishon Lands* consist largely, if not entirely, of wadi beds drained by the Government, the work being done as a relief work for the Jewish unemployed in 1926-27. These lands are only 450 dunams in extent and should assuredly be reserved by the Government, in view of the keen demand for land in that neighbourhood, both for Government and other buildings on the completion of the Haifa Harbour works. The Jewish community already holds a large area of land in Haifa itself and in the immediate neighbourhood.

The *Rushmia* property, 3,385 dunams, occupies a large area on the Carmel ridge, and is in the immediate neighbourhood of Haifa. An application for a lease to the Jewish National Fund is under consideration. In view of the outlook for Haifa, this again will be a property of rapidly increasing value. It is fair that the enhanced value which results from the Government's expenditure at Haifa should redound to the financial advantage of the Government. This property is not an agricultural property in the ordinary sense. It will rapidly become a suburban property. The wiser course would seem to be to split up the property into blocks and dispose of these on long lease to individuals. If this land is leased to the Jewish National Fund, the result will be that no Arab can ever hope either to occupy a portion of the land or possibly to be employed thereon as a labourer or workman.

Athlit, *Kabbara* and *Caesarea* have already been granted to the P.I.C.A. under a concession. *Cherkaz* and *Hudeidoun* are occupied by the same organization. The two latter are small areas.

The *Toubas lands*, in the Nablus sub-district, are 41,700 dunams in extent and are occupied by Arab cultivators who have never

acknowledged the Government claim to proprietary right. The Arabs have never paid rent and do not do so at present. It is reported to be very questionable whether the claim of the Government has any basis.

Bassat el Yaraki is a swamp. The total area is 2,500 dunams. The right to cut reeds in the swamp is sold annually. There are claims to grazing rights by certain Arab stock-breeders. It is stated that the swamp is not capable of economic drainage.

Basset el Mulabbis is already leased to the Jewish colony of Petach Tikvah.

There is litigation in progress on the subject of the *Jaffa sand-dunes*, which cover an area of 35,000 dunams. These are, of course, largely uncultivable. An area of 21,000 dunams is earmarked for lease to the Jewish colony of Rishon-le-Zion, subject to the result of the action in court.

The *Ahata* property, 15,000 dunams, lies on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, in the ravines of the Judaeian Hills. The ownership is disputed. The whole area is uncultivated and the major portion uncultivable.

There is a large area of land in the *Jericho Chiftlik* and *Es Suwaideh*, *Gharabeh* and *Jahayyer* lying between the Dead Sea and Jericho. Apart from the area irrigated from the Ain Sultan, there is only a small area of this land at present cultivable, and considerable development will be necessary to render any portion of it fit for cultivation. Irrigation is essential.

Of this area, 11,000 dunams were offered to Jewish organizations, but were refused as unsuitable.

Ain Feshka, on the Western shore of the Dead Sea, is uncultivable. The land is highly saline.

Near *Gaza* there are 6,000 dunams of sand-dunes, included in the list of Government properties. There is at the moment an action in Court on the question of ownership. These sand-dunes are in the main uncultivable and the tract is the site of the New Gaza.

The above deals in detail with all the Government properties to which the Jews have laid claim. Had different action been taken in the case of the Huleh Basin and the Beisan Lands, doubtless some portion of the demand could have been met. It is clear, however, that of the land which remains with the Government at the present time the area is exceedingly small, with the exception of tracts which, until developed, are required in their entirety for the maintenance of the Arabs already in occupation. It cannot be argued that Arabs should be dispossessed in order that the land should be made available for Jewish settlement. That would amount to a distinct breach of the provisions of Article 6 of the Mandate.

There will be an addition to the area of Government lands, and possibly a material addition, as the settlement proceeds and areas