العدالة لليهود من الدول العربية Justice Pour Les Juifs Des Pays Arabes צדק ליהודים יוצאי מדינות ערב

Report on the Jews of Egypt

Historical and Economic Analysis

Cover Photo: Egyptian friends (Jewish, Christian and Muslim) from high school in Cairo, visiting the Pyramids, May 1944.
Source: Courtesy of Levana Zamir

Disclaimer

This Report on Egypt is part of a series on the history and economic losses when Jews were displaced from 10 Arab countries and Iran. Every attempt was made to locate all relevant statistical data. Although archival research was conducted in six countries, this Report should not be seen as definitive. Research was adversely affected by the fact that this mass displacement of Jews occurred more than 75 years ago and there is no central repository where records of these losses were maintained. It is hoped that additional research will be conducted in the future which would expand upon and refine the financial projections contained in this Report.

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PREFACE

Justice for Jews from Arab Countries (JJAC) has completed a multi-year project to document the historical ethnic cleansing of Jews from Aden, Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria, Tunisia, Yemen.

The eleven Country Reports portray the narrative of ancient Jewish communities indigenous to the Middle East and North Africa for thousands of years; from their plight under the Muslim conquest, to Ottoman rule; then colonial occupation; their persecution under Arab nationalism and Islamism, then their flight from the region. Their story is one of an oppressed minority that was uprooted from their countries of birth and who suffered extensive losses of both personal (homes, businesses, property, etc.) and Jewish communal assets (Synagogues, schools, cemeteries, etc.)

This report is based on extensive personal testimonies and exhaustive statistical data. This process included a thorough and comprehensive review of available documentation, discussions with community leaders and subject-matter experts, the collection of testimonial data, an analysis of each Jewish community's place within their respective country and a consideration of previous valuation attempts.

Extensive archival research was conducted in the following 22 archives in six countries:

Israel: Israel State Archives (ISA), Central Zionist Archives (CZA), Israeli Ministry of Justice archives, Israeli Ministry of Social Equality archives, Yad Ben Zvi Institute, Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), Museum of the Jewish People at Beit Hatfutsot,World Jewish Congress, Israel Archives
Canada: Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa
France: Alliance Israelite Universelle, Paris, Archives Nationale – France, Paris Branch, Pierrefitte Branch, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve
Switzerland: National Archives, Bern, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva
UK: London Metropolitan Archives, National Archives of the U.K.
USA: American Jewish Committee, New York, Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) – New York, National Archives & Records, College Park, Maryland, World Jewish Archives, New York

Research was adversely affected by the fact that records in Arab countries were inaccessible. Moreover, this mass displacement of Jews occurred, in some cases, more than 75 years ago and there is no central repository where records of these losses were maintained. Consequently, this Report should not be considered as definitive.

It is hoped that additional research will be conducted in the future which will expand upon and refine the projections contained in these Reports.

Egypt Executive Summary

Context

Jews are an indigenous people of the Middle East having lived in the region continuously for millennia, fully one thousand five hundred years before the advent of Islam.

In the 20th century, the breadth and scale of the near-total displacement of Jews from eleven Muslim countries in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Gulf region ranks among the more significant cases of mass displacement in modern history.

For over 75 years, the world has ignored the uprooting of Jews from the Arab totalitarian regimes, dictatorships and monarchies. Under Muslim rule, Jews were subjected to a wide-spread pattern of persecution. Official decrees enacted by Arab regimes denied human and civil rights to Jews and other minorities; expropriated their property; stripped them of their citizenship; and means of livelihood. Jews were often victims of murder; arbitrary arrest and detention; torture; and expulsions.

From the 1,000,000 Jews in 1948 based in 10 Arab countries plus Iran, to-day, less than 1% remain. Most fled to Israel, the ancestral homeland of the Jewish people for millennia.

The legitimate call to secure rights and redress for Jewish refugees from Arab countries is not to negate the suffering or the rights of Palestinian refugees. Their claims, however, do not supersede the fact that Palestinians were not the only Middle East refugees.

For peace in the Middle East, truth and justice must prevail.

To that end, eleven Country Reports have been prepared to document the history and heritage, as well as the individual and communal assets lost by Jews displaced from 10 Arab countries and Iran. This third Report is on the Jews of Egypt.

In the spirit of the Abraham Accords, at a time of historic breakthroughs in political and economic ties between Muslim countries and Israel/Jews, the time has come for nations to unite in promoting peace and reconciliation among all peoples in the Region.

History of the Jewish Community of Egypt

Egypt has played a significant role in Jewish history, with a continuous Jewish presence dating back to biblical times. Jewish communities thrived under Hellenistic, Roman, and early Islamic rule, particularly in Alexandria, which housed the largest urban Jewish population of antiquity.

Under Ottoman rule (1517–1798), Jewish immigrants from Spain revitalized Egypt's Jewish community, playing key roles in commerce and administration. However, discriminatory policies, such as the enforcement of distinctive clothing, continued. The 19th-century modernization of Egypt under Muhammad Ali and his successors improved the legal status of Jews, culminating in British rule (1882–1936), which granted Jews full civil rights and fostered economic growth. By the early 20th century, Egypt's Jewish population expanded due to immigration, reaching nearly 60,000. Jews who contributed significantly to Egypt's economy, establishing businesses, banks, and infrastructure.

However, rising Egyptian nationalism, combined with tensions over Palestine, led to increasing hostility toward Jews. The 1945 anti-Jewish riots and Egypt's participation in the 1948 Arab-Israeli war marked the beginning of Jewish expulsion. The 1956 Suez Crisis intensified persecution, with mass arrests, expulsions, and property confiscations. By the late 1950s, most Egyptian Jews had fled.

The Six-Day War (1967) resulted in the imprisonment and expulsion of the last major group of Jews, reducing the community to a few hundred. By the early 1970s, Jewish life in Egypt had virtually disappeared. Today, only a handful of elderly Jews remain, marking the near-total extinction of a centuries-long Jewish presence in Egypt.

Economic Analysis of The Jews of Egypt

One purpose of this project is to provide a detailed and comprehensive appraisal and valuation of individual and communal property left behind by Jews displaced from Arab countries.

JJAC compiled the best evidence available on the scope of lost Jewish assets. This process included a thorough and comprehensive review of available documentation, discussions with community leaders and subject-matter experts, the collection of testimonial data, an analysis of each Jewish community's place within their respective country, and a consideration of previous valuation attempts.

This project's goal was to consider the totality of Egyptian Jews' financial losses, including their rural assets, urban assets, employment losses, moveable assets and private property, business losses and communal losses. The final result below is an aggregate valuation of Jewish individual and community losses from the Jewish community of Egypt:

Total Value per Asset Type According to Valuation Base Year ($,1948)

Asset Type	Total Value
Rural Assets	135,872,213
Urban Assets	55,444,290
Employment Losses	142,703,685
Moveable Assets & Private Property	366,354,053
Business Losses	351,387,840
Communal Losses	95,338,730
Total	**1,147,100,811**

Using a detailed, multi-step methodology involving, among other factors, inflation, interest rates, currency exchange, etc., the Jewish losses were actualized to show a present-day value of all assets under consideration, reflected in 2024 US dollars (USDs).

On the basis of the combined total value of each asset category under consideration and the application of the methodology, the total value for all Egyptian individual and communal lost assets as of December 31, 2024 USD equals **$59,816,315,234.**

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Jewish Refugees from Arab Countries
Legal and Political Context

When the term 'refugees' is mentioned in the context of the Middle East, the international community's singular focus has been on Palestinian refugees.

Yet, within the last 75 years, the world has ignored the mass displacement of some 1,000,000 Jews from the totalitarian regimes, dictatorships and monarchies of Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, Iran, Iraq, Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco Yemen and Aden, as well as Iran.

Neither the mass violations of the human rights of Jews in Arab countries, nor their uprooting from their ancestral countries of birth, has ever been appropriately addressed by the international community.

In reality, as a result of the longstanding conflict in the Middle East, two populations of refugees emerged – Arabs as well as Jews from Arab countries. In fact, there were more Jews displaced from Arab countries (856,000 plus Iran))[1] than there were Palestinians who became refugees as a result of the 1948 Arab Israeli war (726,000)[2]

Asserting rights and redress for Jewish refugees is not intended negate any suffering of Palestinian refugees. It is a legitimate call to recognize that Jews from Arab countries also became refugees as a result of that same Middle East conflict and still possess rights even today.

Jews as an Indigenous People of the Middle East

Jews are an indigenous people of the Middle East having lived in the region continuously from pre-historic times to the present. Jews and Jewish communities proliferated throughout parts of the Middle East, North Africa, and the Gulf region for thousands of years, fully one thousand years before the advent of Islam in the seventh century C.E. . For the next thousand years, Jews lived under Islamic rule as 'dhimmis', a subordinate class, marked by legal inferiority and social humiliation.

Longstanding Jewish Presence in the Region

Throughout the millennia, the Jewish presence endured despite various empires ruling the region, including the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Ottomans, and British. Notwithstanding some periods of exile, descendants of the Jewish people, maintained their unbroken lineage in the Middle East, stretching across millennia.

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1 Roumani, *The Case 2; WOJAC'S Voice Vol.*1, No.1

2 United Nations Conciliation Commission for Palestine p. 18; United Nations, Annual *Report of the Director General of UNRWA*, Doc 5224/5223, 25 Nov. 1952 First estimate as September 1949

Table 1 - Early Jewish Presence in the Middle East and North Africa

Country/Region	Date of Jewish Community	Sources*
Iraq	6th century BCE	Meir, Esther. Iraq and the Jews of Iraq – a General Survey. In Haim Saadoun (Ed.), *Iraq* (Ben-Zvi Institute, 2002), pp. 11-12. [Hebrew]
Egypt	6th century BCE	Ehrlich, Haggai. Egypt and its Jews. In Nahem Ilan (ed.), *Egypt* (Ben Zvi Institute, 2008), pp. 9, 12-14. [Hebrew]
Iran	6th century BCE	Sahim, Haideh. Iran and Afghanistan. In Reeva Spector Simon, Michael Menachem Laskier, and Sara Reguer (eds.), *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in modern times* (Columbia University Press, 2002), p. 368.
Libya	4th century BCE	Goldberg, Harvey. Libya and the Jews of Libya. In Haim Saadoun (Ed.), *Libya*. Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 2007, p. 11 [Hebrew]
Lebanon	2nd century BCE	Schulze, Kirsten E. *The Jews of Lebanon: Between coexistence and conflict* (Sussex Academic Press, 2001), pp. 12-13.
Yemen	1st century CE	Araqi Klorman, Bat-Zion. Introduction. In Haim Saadoun (ed.), *Yemen* (Ben-Zvi Institute, 2002), p. 17. [Hebrew]
Morocco	1st century CE	Bashan, Eliezer. *The Jews of Morocco, their past and culture* (Hakibutz Hameuchad, 2000), pp. 15-16. [Hebrew]
Algeria	1st century CE	Cohen, David. Algeria. In Reeva Spector Simon, Michael Menachem Laskier & Sara Reguer (Eds.), *The Jews of the Middle East and North Africa in modern times* (pp. 458-470). Columbia University Press, 2002.
Syria	1st century CE	Harel, Yaron. *Syria* (Jerusalem, Ben-Zvi Institute, 2009), p. 11 [Hebrew]
Tunisia	2nd century CE	Les Juifs de Tunisie: Quelques repères historiques. *Confluences Méditerranée* 10 (1994), pp. 149-154.

*These time periods are conservative projections, based on archeological and academic sources. Biblical and traditional sources claim earlier presence of Jews in these countries.

The ancient Israelites were among the first inhabitants of the region. Their illustrious history is detailed in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The uninterrupted historical presence of Jews in the Middle East can then be characterized into six periods:

Period One: Ancient Israelite History (See Appendix A)

Period Two: Destruction of the First Temple to The Rise of Islam (See Appendix B)

Period Three: Prophet Muhammed To Colonialism

Period Four: Colonial Period

Period Five: The Rise of Jewish and Arab Nationalism

Period Six: The Founding of The State of Israel

Period Three: Prophet Muhammed To Colonialism.

With the birth of Mohammed in 570, and the advent of Islam, the region was transformed.

Starting in the seventh century, pan-Arab imperialism foisted the Arabic language and culture on indigenous peoples like Assyrians, Berbers, Kurds, Zoroastrians, Maronites, Egyptian Copts and Jews.

Following the Muslim conquest of the region, from the 7th century onward, Jews were ruled by Muslims for years under the Pact of Umar, attributed to the Second Caliph, Umar ibn al-Khattab (634-644 CE). Enacted in 637 CE, the Pact of Umar was a bilateral agreement of limitations and privileges between conquering Muslims and conquered non-Muslims who were declared "dhimmi'. The term *dhimmi*, 'protected,' was a diminished status assigned to Christians and Jews, among others, who were considered a 'People of the Book' (as opposed to atheists or polytheists) and therefore

extended some degree of legal protection, while relegated to second-class status[3]

The most concrete law to which *dhimmis* were subjected was the need to pay a special tax known as '*jizya.'* The origin of this tax is contained in the Qur'an which states: *"Fight against those who have been given the scripture until they pay the due tax [jizya], willingly or unwillingly."*[4]

By paying the *jizya,* Jews and Christians were allowed to practice their faith, maintain personal security and were permitted limited religious, educational, professional and business opportunities. They were also subject to discriminatory restraints.

Restrictions for the *dhimmi* under the Pact of Umar prohibited Jews and other religious minorities from holding public religious ceremonies; and the legal exclusion of Jews from holding public office. The dhimmi could not raise himself above the Muslim nor could his synagogue be higher than the mosques. Non-Muslims could not ride horses, only donkeys and were required to dismount if he passed a Muslim. The Jew was tolerated but barely so [5]

These practices were not uniform within the Arab world and there were even differences in individual countries. [6]

Throughout the countries colonialized by the Muslim conquest, non-Arab and non-Muslim minorities, among the indigenous inhabitants in those regions, remained as minorities in their ancestral places of birth.

Period Four: Colonial Period

European colonialism in the Arab world was partially spurred by the British conquest of India, which led Napoleon to invade Egypt in 1798, in part to disrupt British trade routes. Although the French occupation of Egypt was short-lived, it was not long before the European presence in the Arab world grew. France's colonization of Algeria began in 1830, of Tunisia in 1881, and of Morocco in 1912. Meanwhile, Britain colonized Egypt in 1882 and also took control of Sudan in 1899. And in 1911, Italy colonized Libya.[7]

After World War I and with the fall of the Ottoman Empire, control over the Middle East fell into the hands of France and Great Britain.

Jews fared well under secular, colonial 'European' rule. This period witnessed a gradual erosion of the dhimmi system and a growing integration of Jewish and other communities into the broader societies in which they lived.

Many Jews experienced increased prosperity and opportunities during this era, contributing significantly to many fields such as education, finance, culture, politics, and administration.

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3 Cohen,, *Cresent* p. 52-53

4 Quaran, *Sura* 9:

5 Cohen, *Cresent* 65

6 Yeor, *Islam and Dhimmitude*; Yeor, *The Dhimmi*; Deshem and Zenner; Stillman, *Jews of Arab Land*

7 Arab Center, "The Colonial Legacy in the Arab World: Health, Education, and Politics", Washington DC., Accessed Nov. 10, 2024. https://arabcenterdc.org/resource/the-colonial-legacy-in-the-arab-world-health-education-and-politics/

Period Five: The Rise of Jewish and Arab Nationalism

Arab nationalism emerged in the early 20th century as an opposition movement in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and European imperialism, later evolving into the overwhelmingly dominant ideological force in the Arab world.

It started out as a political ideology asserting that Arabs constitute a single nation. As a traditional nationalist ideology, it promotes Arab culture and civilization, celebrates Arab history, the Arabic language and Arabic literature. It often also calls for unification of Arab society.[8]

Zionism, or Jewish nationalism, is a modern political movement. Its core beliefs are that all Jews constitute one nation (not simply a religious or ethnic community) and that the only solution to anti-Semitism is the concentration of as many Jews as possible in the biblical land of Israel, and the establishment of a Jewish state in their ancestral homeland.

Most associate Theodor Herzl with the founding of the Zionist movement in 1897. While Herzl succeeded in bringing together virtually all Zionist groups under one organizational roof, there was significant Zionist activity even before Herzl came onto the scene.

The history of Zionism began earlier and is intertwined with Jewish history and Judaism.[9] More than 20 new Jewish settlements were established in Palestine between 1870 and 1897 (the year of the first Zionist Congress).[10]

Arab nationalists predominantly perceived Zionism as a threat to their own aspirations.

Beginning with the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and intensifying in the 1930s during the Arab Revolt, tensions between Arab nationalism and Jewish nationalism escalated. From as early as 1922 and into the 1960s, all the North African states gained independence from their colonial European rulers.

In the aftermath of World War II, many regions transitioned from imperial rule to nation-states. Countries like Jordan and Iraq emerged in the wake of colonialism's decline. The Middle East became a focal point for political realignment, with borders redrawn and new Arab governments established. The evolution of Arab, Muslim states did not bode well for its Jewish inhabitants.

The Arab League and Jewish Refugees

To promote Arab unity, the Arab League was established by Pact on March 22, 1945, initially composed of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Transjordan, Saudi-Arabia, and Yemen, according to the Pact, the League has as its purpose to strengthen relations between the member-states, to coordinate their policies in order to achieve cooperation between them, and to safeguard their independence and sovereignty.[11]

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8 Dawisha, Adeed, "Requiem for Arab Nationalism", *Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2003. Accessed Nov. 10, 2024 https://www.meforum.org/middle-east-quarterly/requiem-for-arab-nationalism

9 University of Michigan College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, accessed Nov. 10, 2024 https://lsa.umich.edu/content/dam/cmenas-assets/cmenas-documents/unit-of-israel- Palestine/Section1_Zionism.pdf

10 *Snitkoff, Rabbi Ed "Secular Zionism". My Jewish Learning. Accessed on Nov. 11, 2024* http://www.myjewishlearning.com/israel/Jewish_Thought/Modern/Secular_Zionism.shtml

11 The Avalon Project "Pact of the League of Arab States, 22 March 1945". Yale Law School. 1998.Acessed on Nov. 10, 2024, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/arableag.asp

Over time, these Arab League member states colluded in, and coordinated, a shared pattern of conduct that appeared intended to coerce Jews to leave, or to use them as weapons in their struggle against first Zionism and then the State of Israel. This is evidenced even before 1948 from: (a) reports on multilateral meetings of the the Arab League; (b) statements and threats made by delegates of Arab countries at the U.N.; and c) and strikingly similar legislation and discriminatory decrees, enacted by numerous Arab governments, that violated the fundamental rights and freedoms of Jews resident in Arab countries.[12]

The danger to Jews was well known and even declared publicly in threats made against their Jewish populations by Arab regime officials at the United Nations.

- In a key address to the Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on the morning of November 24, 1947, just five days before that body voted on the partition plan for Palestine, Heykal Pasha, an Egyptian delegate, made the following statement:

> *"The United Nations ... should not lose sight of the fact that the proposed solution might endanger a million Jews living in the Moslem countries. ... If the United Nations decided to partition Palestine, they might be responsible for very grave disorders and for the massacre of a large number of Jews."*[13]

- In an afternoon session of the Political Committee of the U.N. General Assembly on November 24, 1947, the Palestinian delegate to the UN, Jamal Husseini, representing the *Arab Higher Committee of Palestine* to the UN General Assembly, made the following threat:

> *"It should be remembered that there were as many Jews in the Arab world as there are in Palestine whose positions might become very precarious."*[14]

- On November 28, 1947 Iraq's Foreign Minister Fadil Jamali, at the 126th Plenary Meeting of the UN General Assembly stated:

> *"Not only the uprising of the Arabs in Palestine is to be expected but the masses in the Arab world cannot be restrained. The Arab-Jewish relationship in the Arab world will greatly deteriorate."*[15]

Words were followed by actions

In 1947, the Political Committee of the Arab League (League of Arab States) drafted a law that was to govern the legal status of Jewish residents in all Arab League countries. Entitled: Text of Law Drafted by the Political Committee of the Arab League, it provided that "...all Jews – with the exception of citizens of non-Arab countries – were to be considered members of the Jewish 'minority state of Palestine,'; that their

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12 The Text of Law Drafted by the Political Committee of the Arab League was reported on in a front page, May 16, 1948 New York Times article headlined: "Jews in Grave Danger in All Moslem Lands"

13 U.N. General Assembly, Second Session, Official Records, Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question, Summary Record of the Thirteenth Meeting, Lake Success, N.Y., November 24, 1947 (A/AC.14/SR.30). This comment was made at 10:30am.

14 U.N. General Assembly, Second Session, Official Records, Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question, Summary Record of the Thirty-First Meeting, Lake Success, N.Y., November 24, 2947 (A/AC.14/SR.31) This comment was made at 2:30pm.

15 U.N. General Assembly, Second Session, Official Records, Verbatim Record of the 126th Plenary Meeting, November 28, 1947, p. 1391.

bank accounts would be frozen and used to finance resistance to 'Zionist ambitions in Palestine'; Jews believed to be active Zionists would be interned as political prisoners and their assets confiscated; only Jews who accept active service in Arab armies or place themselves at the disposal of these armies would be considered 'Arabs.'[16]

The draft law was a prediction of what was to happen to Jews in the region. It became a blueprint, in country after country, for the laws which were eventually enacted against Jews - denationalizations; freezing of Jewish bank accounts; diverting funds of frozen Jewish bank accounts to pay for the Arab wars against Israel; confiscation of property of "active Zionists"; and Zionism became a criminal offence throughout the region, in some cases punishable by death. Property confiscation of Jews was widespread[17]. The Arab League had accomplished its goal.

Period Six: Jewish refugees and the founding of the State of Israel

There were many factors that finally influenced virtually all Jews resident in North Africa, the Middle East and the Gulf Region to leave: the rise of Arab nationalism; after the European colonialists left, the establishment of sovereign Arab, Islamic states; discriminatory decrees adopted by Arab regimes; the UN moving towards partition; the outbreak of war in 1948; etc. These factors convinced Jews resident in Arab countries that their situation had become dangerously untenable and that it was time to leave.

Following the UN vote on the partition plan in November 1947, and the declaration of the State of Israel in 1948, the status of Jews in Arab countries changed dramatically as six Arab countries – Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Saudi Arabia – as well as the Palestinians, declared war, or backed the war against Israel. This rejection by the Arab world of a Jewish state in the Middle East triggered hostile reactions to Jews by Arab regimes and most of their peoples. Jewish populations in Muslim countries were suspected of dual loyalties and were under assault. For example: After the 1947 United Nations General Assembly Resolution 181 (Partition Plan), rioters, joined by the local police force, engaged in a bloody pogrom in Aden that killed 82 Jews and destroyed hundreds of Jewish homes.[18]

- In Syria, during November 1947 there were pogroms in several cities; synagogues were burned and of Jews were arrested.[19]

- Between June and November 1948, bombs set off in the Jewish Quarter of Cairo killed more than 70 Jews and wounded nearly 200. [20]

In the immediate aftermath of the 1948 War of Independence, hundreds of thousands of Jews were either uprooted from their countries of residence or became subjugated, political hostages of the Arab Israeli conflict.

16 The Text of Law Drafted by the Political Committee of the Arab League was reported on in a front page, May 16, 1948 New York Times article headlined: "Jews in Grave Danger in All Moslem Lands"

17 Ibid

18 Sachar, *A History of Israel*, p. 397-398.

19 Trigano, Samuel, *"Elimination of Israelite Communities in Arab and Islamic Countries*", Outline Presentation, p. 9

20 Sachar, p. 401

Displacement of Jews from Arab Countries

In reality. the displacement of Jews began even before the founding of the State of Israel. It accelerated in the twentieth century when, under Muslim rule, Jews were subjected to a wide-spread pattern of persecution. Official decrees and legislation enacted by Arab regimes denied human and civil rights to Jews and other minorities; expropriated their property; stripped them of their citizenship; and other means of livelihood. Jews were often victims of murder; arbitrary arrest and detention; torture; and expulsions.

As a result of these twentieth century developments, post-World War II life for Jews in Arab countries became dangerous and untenable. Leaving was not always easy – the difficulty varied from country to country. In some countries, Jews were forbidden to leave (e.g., Syria); in others, Jews were displaced *en masse* (e.g., Iraq); in some places, Jews lived in relative peace under the protection of Muslim rulers (e.g., Tunisia, Morocco); while in other states, they were expelled (e.g., Egypt) or had their citizenship revoked (e.g. Libya).

However, the final result was the same - the mass displacement -. the ethnic cleansing - of some 856,000 Jews from some ten Arab countries – in a region overwhelmingly hostile to Jews.

As noted in the Table below, the mass displacement of Jews from Arab countries coincided with major conflicts in the Middle East (e.g. 1948 War; 1956 War; 1967 War; etc.) Each conflict led to major displacements of Jews from Arab countries. The cumulative result was that, over a seventy-five-year period from 1948- until today approximately 99% of all Jews resident in Arab countries and Iran have been displaced.

Table 2 - Country of Origin and Jewish Population Compiled by Justice for Jews from Arab Countries

Displacement of Jews from Arab Countries and Iran:1948-2025

	1948	1958[i]	1968[ii]	1976[iii]	2001[iv]	2024 (est.)
Aden	8,000	800	0	0	0	0
Algeria	140,000	130,000	3,000	1,000	0	0
Egypt	75,000	40,000	2,500	400	100	8
Iran	100,000 +					8,756[v]
Iraq	135,000	6,000	2,500	350	100	5
Lebanon	5,000	6,000	3,000	400	100	50
Libya	38,000	3,750	500	40	0	0
Morocco	265,000	200,000	50,000	18,000	5,700	2,500
Syria	30,000	5,000	4,000	4,500	100	3
Tunisia	105,000	80,000	10,000	7,000	1,500	1,500
Yemen	55,000	3,500	500	500	200[vi]	1
TOTAL	956,000[vii]	475,050	76,000	32,190	7,800	12,817[viii]

i American Jewish Yearbook (AJY) v.58 American Jewish Committee
ii AJY v.68; AJY v.71
iii AJY v.78
iv AJY v.101
v Official Census in Iran; As of 2012
vi AJY v.102
vii Roumani, The Case 2; WOJAC'S Voice Vol.1, No.1
viii Estimates derived in discussions with the recognized leadership of the World Organizations representing Sephardi/ Mizrahi communities from these respective countries

What led to this mass exit and displacement of was a wide-spread pattern Arab regimes instituted legal, economic, political and behavioral processes aimed at isolating and persecuting Jews in their countries. These measures can be categorized as follows:[21]

A) Denial of Citizenship

B) Quarantine and Detention of People

C) Legal Restrictions

D) Economic Decrees/Sanctions

E) Socioeconomic Discrimination

F) Pogroms

21 Trigano, p. 2

The examples listed below are a mere sampling of the actual and extensive discriminatory measures and decrees enacted by Arab regimes against their Jewish populations.

A) Denial of Citizenship

Egypt:

- According to the first Nationality Code promulgated by Egypt on May 26, 1926, a person born in Egypt of a 'foreign' father, (who himself was also born in Egypt), was entitled to Egyptian nationality only if the foreign father *"belonged racially to the majority of the population of a country whose language is Arabic or whose religion is Islam."* [22]

- A mass departure of Jews was sparked in 1956 when Egypt amended the original Egyptian Nationality Law of 1926. Article 1 of the Law of November 22, 1956, stipulated that "Zionists" were barred from being Egyptian nationals. Article 18 of the 1956 law asserted that "Egyptian nationality may be declared forfeited by order of the Ministry of Interior in the case of persons classified as Zionists." Moreover, the term "Zionist" was never defined, leaving Egyptian authorities free to interpret the law as broadly as they wished. [23]

Iraq:

- Law No. 1 of 1950, entitled "Supplement to Ordinance Canceling Iraqi Nationality," in fact deprived Jews of their Iraqi nationality. Section 1 stipulated that *"the Council of Ministers may cancel the Iraqi nationality of the Iraqi Jew who willingly desires to leave Iraq for good*" (official Iraqi English translation).[24]

Libya:

- The Citizenship Act of June 12, 1951, (Section 11/27) places restrictions on the status of non-Muslims (e.g. Jews were not allowed to vote or play any political role).[25]

- On August 8, 1962, the Council of Ministers announced a Royal Decree amending Article 10 of the Citizenship Act, which provided, *inter alia*, that a Libyan national forfeited his nationality if he had had any contact with Zionism. The retroactive effect of this provision, commencing with Libyan independence on December 24, 1951, enabled the authorities to deprive Jews of Libyan nationality at will.[26]

B) Quarantine and Detention of People

Yemen:

- In 1949, Jews were officially banned from leaving the country, an injunction which still exists today. [27]

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22 Article 10(4) of the Code. See : Maurice de Wee, La Nationalite Egptienne, Commentairo de la loi du mai 1926, p. 35.

23 Law No. 391 of 1956, Section 1(a), *Revue Egyptienne de Droit International*, vol. 12, 1956, p. 80.

24 Law No. 1 of 1950, entitled "Supplement to Ordinance Canceling Iraqi Nationality," *Official Iraqi Gazette*, March 9, 1950.

25 Trigano, p.3

26 UNHCR Archives, Confidential memorandum to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, dated May 8, 1970.

27 Trigano, p. 3

Libya:

- Law No.62 of March 1957, Article 1 of which provided, inter alia, that physical persons or corporations were prohibited from entering directly or indirectly into contracts of any nature whatsoever with organizations or persons domiciled in Israel, with Israel citizens or with persons acting on behalf of Israel, or with their representatives. [28]

Syria:

- In 1973, communication with the outside world was banned.[29]

Many other measures were imposed in Iraq; Tunisia; Morocco; Iran and Egypt [30]

C) Legal Restrictions

Egypt:

- Promulgation in 1957 of Army Order No. 4 relating to those who administer the property of the so-called people and associations ("Zionist" i.e. Jewish) are subject to imprisonment or supervision.[31]

Libya:

- Law of Dec 31,1958, a decree issued by the President of the Executive Council of Tripolitania, ordered the dissolution of the Jewish Community Council and the appointment of a Moslem commissioner nominated by the Government.[32]

Many other legal restrictions against Jews were imposed in Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, Yemen; Syria; Morocco; and Tunisia;[33]

D) Economic Sanctions

Syria:

- In April of 1950, a 'Jewish property foreclosure Law" allowed authorities to seize Jewish houses, land, and shops in the cities of Aleppo and Qamishli. Palestinian refugees were then allowed to settle in these formerly Jewish neighborhoods. A ransom had to be paid for every Jew leaving the country. [34]

Egypt:

- Law No. 26 of 1952 obligated all corporations to employ certain prescribed percentages of "Egyptians." A great number of Jewish salaried employees lost their jobs, and could not obtain similar ones, because they did not belong to the category of Jews with Egyptian nationality.[35]

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28 Gruen, *"Libya and the Arab League"*, p. 11

29 Trigano, p.3

30 Trigano, p. 3-4

31 *Egyptian Official Gazette, No. 88, November 1, 1957*

32 UNHCR Archives, Confidential memorandum to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, dated May 8, 1970.

33 Trigano, p. 4

34 Ibid, p. 6

35 Laskier, "Egyptian Jewry"

Iraq:

- Law No. 5 of 1951, entitled "A law for the Supervision and Administration of the Property of Jews who have Forfeited Iraqi Nationality," also deprived them of their property. Section 2(a) "freezes" Jewish property.[36]

- There were a series of laws that subsequently expanded on the confiscation of assets and property of Jews who "forfeited Iraqi nationality". These included Law No. 12 of 1951[37] as well as Law No. 64 of 1967 (relating to ownership of shares in commercial companies) and Law No. 10 of 1968 (relating to banking restrictions).

Other economic sanctions were imposed in Iran, Yemen; Libya; Morocco and Tunisia.[38]

E) Socioeconomic Discrimination

Egypt:

- On July 29, 1947, an amendment was introduced to the Egyptian Companies Law which required at least 75% of the administrative employees of a company to be Egyptian nationals and 90% of employees in general. This resulted in the dismissal and loss of livelihood for many Jews since only 15% had been granted Egyptian citizenship.[39]

Iraq:

- In Iraq, no Jew is permitted to leave the country unless he deposits £5,000 ($20,000) with the Government to guarantee his return. No foreign Jew is allowed to enter Iraq, even in transit. [40]

Libya:

- On May 24, 1961, a law was promulgated which provided that only Libyan citizens could own and transfer property. Conclusive proof of the possession of Libyan citizenship was required to be evidenced by a special permit that was reported to have been issued to only six Jews in all. [41]

Other such socioeconomic discriminatory measures were imposed on the Jews in Yemen; Syria; Libya; Morocco; Egypt and, Tunisia[42];

F) Pogroms

Morocco:

- In Morocco, On June 7 and 8, 1948, there were riots against Jews in Ojeda and Jareda.[43]

Egypt:

- In 1954, upon the Proclamation of a State of Siege in Egypt, the Military Governor

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36 Law No. 5 of 1951, entitled "A Law for the Supervision and Administration of the Property of Jews who have Forfeited Iraqi Nationality," *Official Iraqi Gazette*, March 10, 1951 (English version), p. 17.

37 Law No. 12 of 1951, supplementary to Law No. 5 (*Official Gazette*, English version, 27 January 1952, p.32)

38 Trigano, p. 5

39 Cohen, H.J., p. 88

40 *New York Times*, May 16, 1948, front page

41 UNHCR Archives, Confidential memorandum.to to Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, May 8, 1970.

42 Trigano, p. 6-7

43 Trigano, p. 9

of Egypt was authorized "to order the arrest and apprehension of suspects and those who prejudice public order and security." At least 900 Jews, without charges being laid against them, were detained, imprisoned or otherwise deprived of their liberty.[44]

Iraq:

- At the end of 1968, scores were jailed upon the discovery of a local "spy ring" composed of Jewish businessmen. Fourteen men, eleven of them Jews, were sentenced to death in staged trials and hanged in the public squares of Baghdad; others died of torture. [45]

Other pogroms and violence against Jews occurred in, Libya; Lebanon, Iran, Yemen; Syria; Tunisia; and Algeria; [46]

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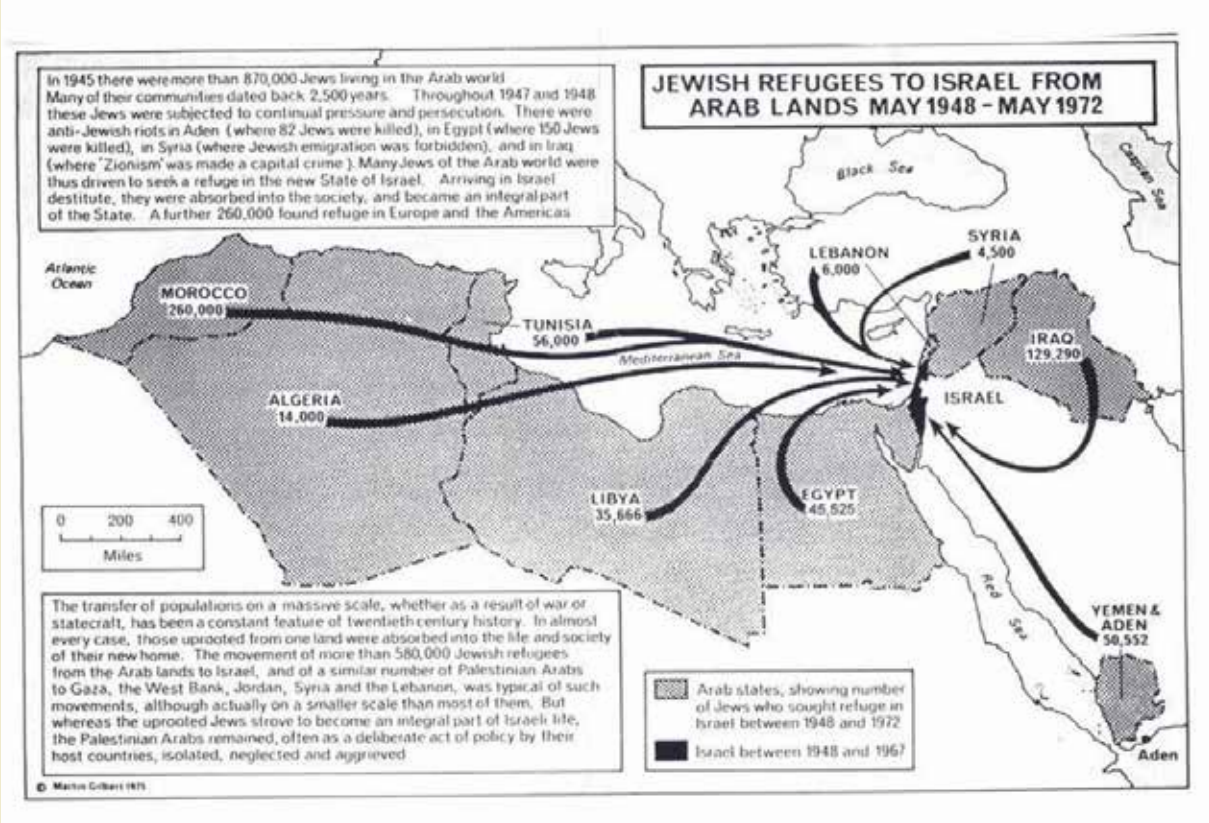
Jews who left Arab countries were not voluntary migrants. They left their home countries neither for economic reasons nor solely for religious freedom. They suffered from harassment and discrimination. They were driven from their homes as a result of the persecution they suffered.

Over 2/3 of all Jews displaced from Arab countries – roughly 650,000 - emigrated to Israel:

Map 1 – Jewish Refugees to Israel from Arab lands May 1948 – May 1972



Source: Martin Gilbert, Jews *of Arab Lands*, p.16 (Egyptian Jewish community leaders claim the number fleeing from Egypt to Israel was significantly higher).

44 Article 3, Paragraph 7 of Emergency Law No. 5333 of 1954.

45 Judith Miller and Laurie Mylroie, *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf*, p. 34.

46 Trigano, p. 7-10

While Zionism motivated most to settle in Israel, an estimated 260,000 people [47] – or about one third - of all Jewish refugees immigrated to other countries (e.g. Britain, France, USA, Canada, etc.). In virtually all cases, as Jews left their homes and their countries of birth, individual and communal properties were confiscated without compensation.

Were Jews Displaced from Arab Countries Legally Refugees

The internationally accepted definition for the term "refugee" derives from the Statute of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that was established by United Nations General Assembly Resolution 319 (IV) on December 3, 1949. The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted on July 28, 1951, by the United Nations Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Status of Refugees and Stateless Persons, which was convened under General Assembly Resolution 429 (V) of December 14, 1950, and entered into force on April 22, 1954. Article 1 of *the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees* states the following:

> *For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "refugee" shall apply to any person who: … (2) As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, unwilling to return to it.…*

This internationally accepted definition of "refugees" applied to many Jews who fled Arab countries who clearly had, a "*well-founded fear of being persecuted.*"

The plight of Jewish refugees displaced from Jews in Arab countries was finally and formally recognized when, on two separate occasions, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) specifically declared that Jews fleeing from Arab countries were indeed refugees "who fall under the mandate" of the UNHCR. The first recognition pertained to Jews fleeing Egypt. In a 1957 statement to the UNREF Executive Committee, Mr. Auguste Lindt, UN High Commissioner for Refugees stated:

> *"Another emergency problem is now arising - that of refugees from Egypt. There is no doubt in my mind that those refugees from Egypt who are not able, or not willing to avail themselves of the protection of the Government of their nationality fall under the mandate of my office."* [48]

The second recognition by the UNHCR that Jews fleeing Arab countries were indeed refugees came in 11 years later in a letter released by the Office of the UN High Commissioner:

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47 Gilbert, *Atlas of the Arab-Israeli conflict.* p. 48

48 Mr. Auguste Lindt, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Report of the UNREF Executive Committee, Fourth Session – Geneva 29 January to 4 February 1957.

> *"I refer to our recent discussion concerning Jews from Middle Eastern and North African countries in consequence of recent events. I am now able to inform you that such persons may be considered prima facie within the mandate of this Office."*[49]

The significance of this second ruling was twofold:

1) Unlike the first statement by the High Commissioner that merely referred to "*refugees from Egypt*" - the vast majority of whom were Jews - this letter referred specifically to "Jews"; and

2) Unlike the first determination that limited UNHCR involvement to "refugees from Egypt", this statement constituted a ruling that Jews who had left *any* of the "*Middle Eastern and North African countries*" - namely: Algeria, Egypt, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Syria, and Tunisia – all fell within the mandate of the Office of the UNHCR.

Do These Former Jewish Refugees Still Possess Rights Today?

The statute of limitations does not apply to the right of refugees to petition for rights and redress. This principle is enshrined in the "*Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law*", adopted and proclaimed by General Assembly on December 16, 2005. It states, in part:

> *6)… statutes of limitations shall not apply to gross violations of international human rights law and serious violations of international humanitarian law which constitute crimes under international law.*

The passage of time does not negate the right of refugees to petition for redress for the mass violations of their human rights as well as for the personal losses. If a refugee left behind assets, including bank accounts and pension plans, they do not lose their rights to these assets, notwithstanding how many years have passed. Therefore, former Jewish refugees have the legal right, under international law – even today - to petition for rights and redress.

United Nation and Middle East Refugees

So, in fact, both Palestinians and Jews from Arab countries were recognized as *bona fide* refugees by the relevant UN Agencies.

The declaration that Palestinians were refugees was made by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) and accepted by the international community. The designation by the UNHCR that Jews fleeing Arab countries were indeed refugees was less known and not publicized.

From the mid 1940's onward, the United Nations was faced with two refugee populations; both emerging from the same conflict; in comparable numbers, both recognized by the UN as *bone fide* refugees; with both still possessing rights today. Nonetheless, there are startling differences in the treatment, by the United Nations, of Arab refugees compared to Jewish refugees. For example:

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49 Dr. E. Jahn, Office of the UN High Commissioner, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Document No. 7/2/3/Libya, July 6, 1967.

With respect to Security Council resolutions, from 1946 – 2024 inclusive, there were a total of 338 Security Council resolutions on the Middle East in general, and 9 resolutions on Palestinian refugees in particular. During that same time period, there was not one Resolution dealing with Jewish refugees.[50]

UN Security Council Resolutions on Middle East Refugees			
	Resolutions on the Middle East	**Resolutions on Palestinian Refugees**	**Resolutions on Jewish Refugees**
SECURITY COUNCIL	338	9	0

With respect to Resolutions of the UN General Assembly,[51] from 1949 to 2024 inclusive, the General Assembly focused much greater attention on the issue of Palestinian refugees – over 21 % of its resolutions – more than on any other Middle East issue.

UN General Assembly Resolutions on Middle East Refugees			
	Resolutions on Middle East	**Resolutions on Palestinian Refugees**	**Resolutions on Jewish Refugees**
GENERAL ASSEMBLY	976	208	0

In contrast to Palestinian refugees, General Assembly resolutions never specifically addressed the issue of Jewish refugees, nor were there any resolutions on other topics that mentioned Jewish refugees from Arab countries.

However, there is one UN Resolution that does refer to Jewish refugees from Arab countries obliquely, while still not mentioning their plight directly.

UN Security Council Resolution 242

On November 22nd, 1967, the Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 242, which laid down the principles for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

Still considered the primary vehicle for resolving the Arab-Israel conflict, Resolution 242, stipulates that a comprehensive peace settlement should necessarily include "*a just settlement of the refugee problem*". No distinction is made between Arab refugees and Jewish refugees. This was the intent of the Resolution's drafters and sponsors.

On Thursday, November 16, 1967, the United Kingdom submitted their draft of Resolution 242 [S/8247] to the UN Security Council. The UK version of 242 was not exclusive and called for a just settlement of "the refugee problem." Just four days after the United Kingdom submission, the Soviet Union's U.N. delegation submitted their own draft Resolution 242 to the Security Council [S/8253] restricting the just settlement only to "Palestinian refugees" [Para. 3 (c)].

50 Urman, Dr. Stanley A., *The United Nations and Middle East Refugees: The Differing Treatment of Palestinians and Jews; Rutgers University, 2010.* Page 134. Analysis derived from United Nations Information System on the Question of Palestine (UNISPAL), Statistics updated to 20.24 from UNISPAL on Nov. 2. 2024. https://www.un.org/unispal/data-collection/

51 Ibid, Page 137. Statistics updated to 20.24 from UNISPAL on Nov. 2. 2024. https://www.un.org/unispal/data-collection/

On Wednesday, November 22, 1967, the Security Council gathered for its 1382nd meeting in New York at which time, the United Kingdom's draft of Resolution 242 was voted on and unanimously approved.[52] Immediately after the UK's version of 242 was adopted, the Soviet delegation advised the Security Council, that "*it will not insist, at the present stage of our consideration of the situation in the Near East, on a vote on the draft Resolution submitted by the Soviet Union*" which would have limited 242 to Palestinian refugees only.[53] Even so, Ambassador Kuznetsov of the Soviet Union later stated: "The Soviet Government would have preferred the Security Council to adopt the Soviet draft Resolution…" [54]

Thus, the attempt by the Soviets to restrict the "just settlement of the refugee problem" merely to "Palestinian refugees" was not successful. The international community adoption of the UK's inclusive version signaled a desire for 242 to seek a just solution for all – including Jewish refugees.

Moreover, Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, the US Ambassador to the United Nations who was seminally involved in drafting[55] the unanimously adopted Resolution, told The Chicago Tribune that the Soviet version of Resolution 242 was "not even-handed."[56]

He went further - pointing out that:

> *"A notable omission in 242 is any reference to Palestinians, a Palestinian state on the West Bank or the PLO. The resolution addresses the objective of 'achieving a just settlement of the refugee problem.' This language presumably refers both to Arab and Jewish refugees, for about an equal number of each abandoned their homes as a result of the several wars…."*[57]

So, it is clear that the intent of UN Resolution 242 requires a "just settlement of the refugee problem" that includes Jewish refugees, as equally as Palestinian refugees.

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Other international Agreements and entities have recognized the rights of Jewish refugees from Arab countries.

Multilateral Initiatives

- The Madrid Conference, which was first convened in October 1991, launched historic, direct negotiations between Israel and many of her Arab neighbors. In his opening remarks at a conference convened to launch the multilateral process held in Moscow in January 1992, then-U.S. Secretary of State James Baker made no distinction between Palestinian refugees and Jewish refugees in articulating the mandate of the Refugee Working Group as follows: *"The refugee group will consider practical ways of improving the lot of people throughout the region who have been displaced from their homes."*[58]

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52 Security Council Official Records - November 22, 1967 - S/PV.1382 - Paragraph 67..

53 Security Council Official Records - November 22, 1967 - S/PV.1382 - Paragraph 117

54 Security Council Official Records - November 22, 1967 - S/PV.1382 - Paragraph 117

55 Transcript, Arthur J. Goldberg Oral History Interview I, 3/23/83, by Ted Gittinger; Lyndon B. Johnson Library. March 23, 1983; Pg I-10

56 "Russia stalls UN Action on Middle East." The Chicago Tribune. November 21, 1967 pg. B9

57 Goldberg, Arthur J., "Resolution 242: After 20 Years." The Middle East: Islamic Law and Peace (U.S. Resolution 242: Origin, Meaning and Significance.) National Committee on American Foreign Policy; April 2002. (Originally written by Arthur J. Goldberg for the American Foreign Policy Interests on the occasion of its twentieth anniversary in 1988.)

58 Remarks by Secretary of State James A. Baker, III before the Organizational Meeting for Multilateral Negotiations on the Middle East, House of Unions, Moscow, January 28, 1992.

No distinction is made between Arab and Jewish refugees.

- The Road Map to Middle East Peace, advanced in 2002 by the Quartet (the U.N., EU, U.S., and Russia) also refers in Phase III to an "*agreed, just, fair and realistic solution to the refugee issue*", language applicable both to Palestinian and Jewish refugees.

Bilateral Arab - Israeli Agreements

Israeli agreements with her Arab neighbors allow for a case to be made that Egypt, Jordan and the Palestinians have affirmed that a comprehensive solution to the Middle East conflict will require a "*just settlement*" of the "*refugee problem*" that will include recognition of the rights and claims of all Middle East refugees:

Israel – Egypt Agreements 1978 and 1979

The *Camp David Framework for Peace in the Middle East* of 1978 (the "Camp David Accords") includes, in paragraph A(1)(f), a commitment by Egypt and Israel to *"work with each other and with other interested parties to establish agreed procedures for a prompt, just and permanent resolution of the implementation of the refugee problem."*

Article 8 of the *Israel – Egypt Peace Treaty* of 1979 provides that the "*Parties agree to establish a claims commission for the mutual settlement of all financial claims."* Those claims were to include those of former Jewish refugees displaced from Egypt.

Israel – Jordan Peace Treaty, 1994

Article 8 of the *Israel – Jordan Peace Treaty*, entitled "Refugees and Displaced Persons" recognizes, in paragraph 1, "*the massive human problems caused to both Parties by the conflict in the Middle East".* Reference to massive human problems in a broad manner suggests that the plight of all refugees of "*the conflict in the Middle East"* includes Jewish refugees from Arab countries.

Israeli Palestinian Agreements, 1993

Almost every reference to the refugee issue in Israeli-Palestinian agreements, talks about "refugees", without qualifying which refugee community is at issue, including the *Declaration of Principles of 13 September 1993* {Article V (3)}, and the *Interim Agreement of September 1995* {Articles XXXI (5)}, both of which refer to "refugees" as a subject for permanent status negotiations, without qualifications.

Recognition by Political Leaders of Jewish Refugees from Arab Countries

Recognition by political leaders has enhanced the credibility of Jewish refugees from Arab countries and strengthened the legitimacy of their claims for rights and redress.

- U.S. President Jimmy Carter, after successfully brokering the Camp David Accords and the Egyptian - Israeli Peace Treaty, stated in a press conference on Oct. 27, 1977:

"Palestinians have rights… obviously there are Jewish refugees…they have the same rights as others do."

- Former U.S. President Bill Clinton made the following assertion after the rights of Jews displaced from Arab countries were discussed at 'Camp David II' in July, 2000.

- *There will have to be some sort of international fund set up for the refugees. There is, I think, some interest, interestingly enough, on both sides, in also having a fund which compensates the Israelis who were made refugees by the war, which occurred after the birth of the State of Israel. Israel is full of people, Jewish people, who lived in predominantly Arab countries who came to Israel because they were made refugees in their own land.*

- Canadian Prime Minister Paul Martin recognized Jewish refugees in a June 3rd, 2005, interview with the Canadian Jewish News which he later reaffirmed in a July 14, 2005, letter:

A refugee is a refugee and that the situation of Jewish refugees from Arab lands must be recognized. All refugees deserve our consideration as they have lost both physical property and historical connections. I did not imply that the claims of Jewish refugees are less legitimate or merit less attention than those of Palestinian refugees.

- British Prime Minister Theresa May spoke at a dinner in London marking the 100th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, on November 2nd, 2017:

We must recognize how difficult at times this journey has been – from the Jews forced out of their homes in Arab countries in 1948 to the suffering of Palestinians affected and dislodged by Israel's birth – both completely contrary to the intention of Balfour to safeguard all of these communities.

Legislation Recognizing Rights for Jewish Refugees from Arab Countries

Unanimously adopted by the **United States** Congress on April 1, 2008, House Resolution 185 affirms that all victims of the Arab - Israeli conflict must be recognized and urges the President and US officials participating in any Middle East negotiations to ensure: "*…. that any explicit reference to Palestinian refugees is matched by a similar explicit reference to Jewish and other refugees, as a matter of law and equity.*"

On March 5, 2014, **Canada** formally recognized the plight of Jewish refugees from Arab lands. The Canadian Cabinet and Parliament accepted a committee recommendation that the federal government *officially recognize the experience of Jewish refugees who were displaced from states in the Middle East and North Africa after 1948."*

The Knesset of **Israel** adopted two Bills, in 2008 and again in 2010, confirming rights - including compensation - for Jews displaced from Arab countries and that their rights must be addressed in any Middle East peace negotiations.

Jewish Refugees and Palestinian Refugees

Emanating as a result of the 1948 conflict in the Middle East, Palestinians are considered as the world's longest-standing refugee population who continue to require significant international protection as well as material and financial assistance.

Their continuing needs, however, do not supersede the fact that, Palestinians were not the only Middle East refugees. During the twentieth century, two refugee populations emerged as a result of the conflict in the Middle East – Arabs as well as Jews.

There is no parallel history, geography, nor demography that could allow for any just

comparison between the fate of Palestinian refugees and the plight of Jewish refugees from Arab countries. Moreover, there is a fundamental distinction in the way the two crises were dealt with:

The newly established state of Israel, under attack from six Arab armies, with scant and scarce resources, opened its doors to hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees displaced from Arab countries, granted them citizenship, and tried, under very difficult circumstances, to absorb them into Israeli society.

- By contrast, the Arab world, with the sole exception of Jordan, turned their backs on displaced Palestinian Arabs, sequestering them in refugee camps to be used as a political weapon against the state of Israel for the last seventy-five plus years.

So, while there is no symmetry between these two narratives, there is one important factor that applies to both: namely, the moral imperative to ensure that all *bona fide* refugees receive equal treatment under international law.

It would constitute an injustice, were the international community to recognize rights for one victim population – Arab Palestinians - without recognizing equal rights for other victims of the same Middle East conflict – Jewish refugees from Arab countries.

The legitimate call to secure rights and redress for Jewish refugees from Arab countries is just as in any Middle East peace proposals, the rights and claims of Palestinian refugees will certainly be addressed. What is important is to ensure that the rights and claims of hundreds of thousands of Jews displaced from Arab countries are similarly recognized and addressed.

As Jews were forced to leave their homes, communities and countries of birth, they left behind assets now estimated at over $263 billion. But the true loss goes far beyond wealth. It was the erasure of a civilization, a rich tapestry of language, faith and identity that helped shape the very fabric of the region.

This publication is a sincere call to recognize the rights of Jewish refugees from Arab lands—on both moral and legal grounds—and to ensure their story is no longer forgotten. The Middle East conflict created two refugee populations —one Palestinian, one Jewish—and both deserve acknowledgment.

In an era of historic reconciliation, inspired by the spirit of the Abraham Accords, the time has come to face history with honesty and courage. Only through truth, justice, and mutual recognition can the peoples of the region move toward a future of dignity, healing, and lasting peace.

In the spirit of the Abraham Accords, at a time of historic breakthroughs in political and financial ties between Muslim countries and Israel/Jews, the time has come for nations to unite in promoting peace and reconciliation among all peoples in the Region.

Chapter 2

Project Overview: Scope and Methodology

The purpose of this project is to provide a detailed and comprehensive appraisal and valuation of property left behind by Jews displaced from Arab countries in the years following the founding of the State of Israel as well as post-Revolution Iran. The breadth and scale of the near-total displacement of Jews from eleven Muslim countries in the Middle East, North Africa, and the Gulf region ranks among the more significant cases of mass displacement in modern history. Moreover, this massive civilizational presence was uprooted over only the course of just more than half a century and transformed into an enormous flow of refugees headed to Israel, Europe, North and South America, Australia and other locations. This report seeks to document this historical injustice and to produce a valuation of assets left behind by Jewish refugees in Arab countries and Iran.

The scope of this project encompasses the Jewish communities of the following ten Arab countries.

- Aden
- Algeria
- Egypt
- Iraq
- Lebanon
- Libya
- Morocco
- Syria
- Tunisia
- Yemen

Also included is Iran.

This Report will deal only with the Jews of Egypt.

This project will bring to light the best evidence available on the scope of lost Jewish individual and communal assets, apply an orderly methodology on the data collected, and arrive at an aggregate valuation of the assets that belonged to Jewish refugees from Egypt.

The research, which was conducted over a period of over five years, was orchestrated by Sylvain Abitbol, Co-President of Justice for Jews from Arab Countries, working with economists, accountants, historians, academicians, Jewish community organizations and Mizrahi Jewish community leaders, utilizing testimonies submitted by Jews displaced from Arab countries

This process included a thorough and comprehensive review of available documentation, the collection of testimonial data, an analysis of the Jewish community's place within their respective country, and a consideration of previous valuation attempts where such attempts have been made. The final result will be an aggregate valuation of Jewish individual and community assets from Egypt.

Section 1 - Technical Premises

For the purposes of this report's valuation exercise, the assumption was that all Jewish assets that belonged to Jews in Egypt were lost over the course of each Jewish community's displacement, unless otherwise noted.

As this valuation report represents a comprehensive effort to collect information on all types of assets that belonged to Jews and the Jewish community of Egypt, whose subsequent governments can be said to be generally hostile to this particular demographic group and the State of Israel, the amount and quality of information available for such an effort was limited.

Section 2 - Loss Types Under Review

This project considers losses suffered by Jews as individual members of Jewish households, as well as assets that belonged to the Jewish community. These losses include urban and rural land, urban and rural immoveable property, personal property and moveable assets, financial assets, employment losses, business losses, and communal losses.

Table 3 - Loss Categories and Types - Valuation Methodology

Loss Category	Loss Type
Individual	**Urban and Rural Land**
	Property – Immoveable assets: Urban and rural buildings, houses
	Property – moveable assets: Household and personal items, furniture etc.
	Financial assets: Bank accounts and other securities
Business	**Business assets:** Overall business value, including real estate, inventory, and commercial holdings
Communal	**Communally-owned assets:** All land and property communally owned by the Jewish community, including synagogues, cemeteries, mikvahs etc.

The report does not attempt to account for non-pecuniary damages, such as pain & suffering, personal injury or death. However, in rare cases some of the claim forms filed by displaced Jews and analyzed for the report did include monetary valuations for time spent incarcerated and other such losses associated with mistreatment and expulsion. In these instances, the valuations were included as part of individual losses calculated in the movable assets category.

Section 3 - Methodology: Principles and Rationale

The methodology implemented in this report consists of both preliminary research and a subsequent valuation. The research phase relies on general research and analysis approaches which have been further adjusted to fit the circumstances of Egypt, as well as the amount and quality of information available.

Furthermore, a significant aspect of the research and valuation methodology consists of information collected and analyzed from first-hand testimonials given by Jews displaced from Egypt throughout the relevant time period. This aspect of the research and valuation methodology will also be described in greater detail below.

Research Methodology

The scope of this project requires an assessment of the present value of all individual and communal assets left behind by Jewish refugees from Arab countries and Iran. This task requires a particular methodology both for compiling all the relevant research materials available and for converting those materials into a professional, present-day valuation. Therefore, a research methodology was devised to collect all primary materials that are relevant and available to assessing the particular assets that belonged to Jews and their respective communities in the countries under consideration, as well as supplementary overarching country research, meant to fill the missing pieces in each country.

Considering that no full material accounting of all Jewish property was kept on record, a research methodology based solely on either one of the aforementioned approaches would be incomplete. There is neither a comprehensive, primary accounting of all Jewish property left behind by Jewish refugees from Arab countries and Iran, nor a reliable approach that is able to reflect the particular nuances of Jewish property-ownership in every country under consideration. In light of this complex scenario, it was decided the optimal research methodology would be to combine a number of approaches in order to paint the fullest picture of Jewish property left behind in each country.

Primary research included a preliminary audit of relevant archives and visits to those archives that were likely to contain relevant information. This research phase also included meetings with community leaders from all the relevant countries and subject-matter experts in order to clarify any questions, to pursue further detail in regard to other primary documents uncovered, to ask for any primary materials these community leaders or experts might possess, and to ask for further guidance where necessary. Finally, use was made of a wide selection of secondary sources, including

books, journal articles, reports, websites, heritage/cultural centers, etc. for any other relevant materials that helped produce as comprehensive and detailed an evidence-based assessment of Jewish property that belonged to Jews from the countries under consideration.

The next step of the research methodology seeks to supplement the assessment of Jewish property ownership, to the extent necessary, with a series of calculations taking into consideration the size and relative position of the Jewish community in each country, as well as other factors as the situation demands. There are a number of reasons why the evidence-based picture emerging out of any country will be less than complete, including the fact that these events took place over 75 years ago, some of them in places where government administration was in flux and in places that are inaccessible today. Other rationales include differing colonial administrative practices, as explained below. From this research, reasonable conclusions are drawn from the available information.

Historical Note on Mandatory/Colonial Administrative Practices

This valuation report ultimately rests on the best information and evidence currently available based on multiple sources, including the primary administrative materials collected by the colonial/mandatory powers that directly or indirectly ruled many of the countries under consideration. As such, the administrative habits practiced by these powers (i.e. Great Britain, France, and Italy) ought to be considered for the purpose of illuminating any differences in administrative methods that may have had consequences for the amount and type of information and data available.

As far as the research phase of this project is concerned, the administrative habits exercised by Great Britain during its Mandate over Palestine from 1920 through 1948 ought to be juxtaposed with the administrative habits exercised by French authorities in its role as colonial/mandatory/protectorate authority in several of the countries under consideration (Italy ruled as a colonial administrator in Libya for a shorter amount of time that is relevant to this project). The British administrative record in Mandatory Palestine is interesting in particular, as these administrative habits produced the type of detailed information against which this valuation report must contend as an historical comparison. The historical record on this matter shows a starkly different approach to gathering and recording materials amongst the British and the French that are of major significance to this project.

The historical motives and interests that characterized the British presence in Palestine at the time were such that British authorities had reason to keep meticulous records of developments in Palestine. British authorities were well aware of their commitments to both Jewish and Arab nationalist aspirations in Mandatory Palestine and were sensitive to a future contest for land between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. This reality coincided with Britain's larger geo-political interests in maintaining a stable, long-term presence in part of Mandatory Palestine. The situation required a well-run administration capable of producing and maintaining detailed administrative records for the sake of controlling the eventual clash between Jewish and Arab communities, and for securing the long-term British presence in Palestine. This attitude was reflected in various British policies, including attempts at land reform, tax reform, registration of private and state land, aerial documentation of land throughout the territory etc. All of

these efforts combined produced a detailed accounting of the kind of material that can serve as primary evidence for this sort of valuation project. And indeed, British land records, such as the '1945 Village Statistics' document, served as the basis for various Palestinian valuation reports.

From further research, it is apparent that French administrative habits were different to those of the British, for various reasons. To begin with, French authorities had a different 'ideological' outlook to the British, and this difference animated their administrative habits. French authorities were more determined to disregard the sociological divisions present in the populations they ruled, in an attempt to have their vision of an egalitarian society benevolently ruled by Frenchmen reflected in their administrative records. To this end, French administrative records show less distinctions among the populations over which they ruled, a practice which, for example, makes distinguishing Jewish and Muslim land records, much more difficult.

More importantly, however, is the fact that the French had no overriding interest in maintaining detailed records of the Jewish communities that were part of the territories they controlled. Unlike the British, who were in part dedicated to promoting the collective interest of the Jewish community in Mandatory Palestine and of safeguarding the rights of Mandatory Palestine's Arab residents as well, a situation which forced British authorities to act as a neutral referee of sorts, French records were mainly concerned with recording narrower French interests, to cement their control of lands and economic interests in the territories they ruled. These differences between British and French interests and mindsets were reflected in their different administrative practices. These, in turn, produced different levels of detail and scope regarding the type of documentation necessary for a valuation project of this sort.

Testimonials by Jews Displaced from Arab Countries and Iran

In addition to research materials collected and reasonable assessments deduced per the research methodology described above, information collected from first-hand

testimonials by Jews displaced from Arab countries and Iran was utilized and analyzed. Details of the testimonial collection campaign and analysis can be found in Section 2.6.

The Israeli Government, under the auspices of the registrar of foreign claims department in the Ministry of Finance, began collecting claims of property losses by Jews from Arab countries as early as 1949. By 1950, the registrar had collected claims totaling $54,032,576, as detailed below:

Table 4 - Value of Jewish Property Losses in Arab Countries (including debts owed by Palestinian refugees), Recorded by Israel Registrar of Foreign Claims, 1949-1950 (Based on limited number of claims)

Country	No. of Claimants	No. of Claims	Amount (currency)	Total Amount ($ -1950)
Libya	203	203	£Lib. 629,636,340 £Egypt 19,135 FF 1,248,620	1,065,927
Egypt	153	153	£Egypt 619,473 £Pal. 17,901 £UK 45,287 Rupees 74,357 $US 3,025 FF 107,500	1,977,856
Iraq	1,619	50	Iraqi dinars 709,955 £UK 3,525	1,997,184
Yemen	15	15	£Pal. 15,000 Riyals 167,024 Rupees 116,217	85,512
Syria	121	121	£Syr. 2,453,090 £Pal. 100,902 Gold pounds 4,608 Ottoman pounds 34	1,410,467
Lebanon	74	74	£Leb. 289,946 £Pal. 90,417 £Syr. 2,459 £UK 1,667 $US 253	390,981
Jordan	38	38	£Pal. 3,509,180 £Syr. 1,950	9,826,590
West Bank	1,414	1,284	£Pal. 3,094,294	36,664,023
Palestinian refugees*	111	111	£Pal. 219,015 £UK 998	616,036
Total	**3,748**	**2,049**	**-**	**54,032,576**

* Debts owed to Jews by Palestinian refugees

Source: ISA (130) 1848/hts/9, "Overall Summary of the Work of the Foreign Claims Registration Office as of December 31, 1950."

Subsequently, efforts to document property losses suffered by Jews displaced from Arab countries resumed in the aftermath of new waves of mass displacement. Notably, an effort to document property losses suffered by Egyptian Jews was initiated by the Organization of Victims of anti-Jewish Persecution in Egypt (Association des ex-Victimes des Persécutions Anti-Juives en Egypte) in the wake of the expulsion of Egyptian Jews after the Suez Crisis in 1956. Similarly, following a renewed wave of mass displacement of Jews from Arab countries after the 1967 war, the Israeli Government signed Government Decision number 34 on September 28, 1969, directing the renewed efforts by the Department for the Rights of Jews from Arab Countries, under the auspices of the Head of Legal Assistance at the Ministry of Justice, to register the claims of lost property by Jews displaced from Arab countries (this particular effort concentrated on Jewish property losses in four Arab countries: Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and Yemen).

This responsibility was renewed and expanded both in March 2002, in Government Decision number 1544 relating to the "Registration of claims of Jews from Arab Countries" (expanding the registration efforts to include all Jews displaced from all relevant Arab countries and Iran), as well as on December 28, 2003 in Government Decision 1250 pertaining to the “Rights of Jews from Arab Lands”. Following this renewed emphasis on the matter, testimonial forms were made available for Jews displaced from Arab countries and Iran to document their stories and register any lost property. Later on, in 2009, the responsibility for these efforts was transferred from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Senior Citizens, which was subsequently renamed the Ministry for Social Equality.

Methodological Principles Guiding the Report Preparation

As mentioned above, this valuation report is based on information that is decades old. In addition, the historical circumstances are such that the existing evidence often provides only an incomplete assessment of the property that used to belong to Jews and the Jewish communities in the countries under consideration. That said, the methodological principles that guide the analysis are as follows:

1. **Transparency**: The facts, that the events in question took place so long ago, the difficulty with accessing potentially-useful sources of information, the lack of data and/or the existence of contradictory information in some cases – tend to lend themselves to the necessity to delineate what is known and what cannot be known; what sources were available and which were not, and for the report to be transparent in all of its limitations, assumptions and consequent calculations.
2. **Professionalism and practicality**: In undertaking the project, we were guided by high professional standards at every step, including the research and valuation efforts.
3. **Simplicity and consistency**: This project comprises eleven separate country reports. The sources of information, the cooperation of community leaders, the administrative legacies in each country – all of these presented a complex informational web that had to be standardized for the purposes of this project. Throughout, we strove for consistency in style, structure, scope, and methodology.
4. **Multidisciplinary:** The particular circumstances of this project demand a

multidisciplinary approach that combines historical research, knowledge of the Jewish community in several countries over a lengthy timespan, familiarity with political, social, and economic trends at the time, as well as professional financial valuation expertise and strategic consulting insights that contributed to the problem-solving and analysis aspects of this project. We were guided by the need to fuse these disciplines in a coherent and direct manner.

5. **Trustworthiness:** We have referenced and documented all relevant sources of information and can fully stand behind the assumptions, methodological judgments, and final products in this project.

Section 4 - Level of Evidence

As mentioned above, this project entails an inquiry into the value of assets owned by Jews and the Jewish communities in eleven different countries, over half a century ago. As such, a comprehensive and detailed accounting of all manner of assets is virtually impossible. The testimonials cannot purport to serve as a representative sample of Jews leaving all Arab countries – in this case, Egypt. They do, nonetheless, provide informative and useful data in portraying an uprooted Jewish community and its lost wealth.

In addition to the testimonials, data was derived from a variety of sources including archives, books and interviews. Research was based on the best documentation available, and this evidence was supplemented with the most appropriate and reasonable analysis that could be made on the basis of the available evidence.

Archives in numerous countries were visited and research was conducted seeking relevant files and data:

Israel: Israel State Archives (ISA), Central Zionist Archives (CZA), Israeli Ministry of Justice archives, Israeli Ministry of Social Equality archives, Yad Ben Zvi Institute, Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), Museum of the Jewish People at Beit Hatfutsot,World Jewish Congress, Israel Archives
Canada: Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa
France: Alliance Israelite Universelle, Paris, Archives Nationale – France, Paris Branch, Pierrefitte Branch, Centre des Archives diplomatiques de la Courneuve
Switzerland: National Archives, Bern, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Geneva
UK: London Metropolitan Archives, National Archives of the U.K.
USA: American Jewish Committee, New York, Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) – New York, National Archives & Records, College Park, Maryland, World Jewish Archives, New York

In addition, Jewish community leaders and academic experts from numerous countries were consulted.

Section 5 – Methodology for gathering, processing and analysis of testimonials

In order to organize and standardize the information derived from over 12,000 testimonials processed, a number of procedures were followed.

The testimonial methodology entailed filling out the following information: relevant country, year of displacement, family size, city of origin, year in which the testimonial was given, information relating to lost assets and their value (organized according to asset category: real estate, land, moveable assets, and business losses) and any other relevant information gleaned from narrative accounts written in individual testimonials.

An array of factors influenced the precision of these types of testimonials, and a measure of bias is usually an inseparable aspect of such methodologies. These factors include the following:

1. In many cases, 50 years or more had passed between the events and sums in questions and the recording of testimony/lost property.
2. A lack of representation of the impact of inflationary effects and other macro - economic conditions that might have influenced the real value of property under consideration
3. The age of respondents at the time the testimony was collected (many were children at the time of displacement and only documented their testimony at a much older age).
4. A lack of proper supervision during the documentation of testimony – in some cases, dependents filled out the forms for the relevant respondents.

The following details the testimonial methodology for use in the project, starting with the gathering of testimonials through to their analysis and the adjusted calculation of their values by class group.

The testimonial claims forms for this project were received from three sources:

- Scanned copies of testimonials collected by the Israeli government and various NGOs.
- Handwritten testimonials from the Israeli Ministry of Social Equality's "*And you said to your son*" project.
- Handwritten testimonials from the Israeli Ministry of Justice and Israel State Archives.

The process of analyzing the testimonials comprised three stages:

- Reception and cataloguing of testimonials.
- Manual entry of all testimonials deemed relevant, i.e. containing financial information, into a country-specific Excel spreadsheet for the purpose of data calculation.
- Testimonials underwent full processing, from reception to final analysis as laid out below.

Standard Testimonial Methodology

1. The testimonial documents came in different versions and included close to 10 different form types.
2. All versions of the testimonials were useful for the purposes of this project, with two exceptions:
   a. Some claimants were not instructed to detail their assets in a number of the categories crucial to this project, resulting in a failure to report full holdings.
   b. Some claimants were asked to report the value of their assets in a convoluted manner, which made it impossible to extract reliable data.
3. The following chart indicates the testimonials processed and entered:

Country	Testimonials Processed from All Sources	Testimonials Entered for Calculation
Aden	2	0
Algeria	57	22
Egypt	5,563	676
Iran	223	92
Iraq	5,503	1903
Lebanon	96	0
Libya	233	129
Morocco	328	112
Syria	229	102
Yemen	85	20
Tunisia	175	76
TOTALS	12,494	3,132

Stage 1 - Reception and Cataloguing of Testimonials

All testimonials were classified as “Processed” or “Unprocessed” and catalogued into the categories detailed below.

Processed

All processed testimonials were classified and filed as follows:

Entered: Testimonials which were entered into the spreadsheet for the relevant country. These testimonials were analyzed in order to calculate the average holdings of each class group.

Not Entered: Testimonials which were not entered into the spreadsheet for the relevant country for the following reasons:

a. Testimonials included information on movable assets alone
b. Duplicate versions of testimonial forms already processed
c. Testimonials included communal property alone and as a result, were irrelevant to the calculation of individual holdings but were used elsewhere to calculate communal losses
d. Testimonials that were not relevant to this project were categorized as “NR”. Testimonials were entered into this category if they met one or more of the following criteria:
   - The form was empty or illegible
   - The form did not include information regarding assets in the Movables, Business or Real Estate categories
   - There was no currency type was listed (for example: “Home worth 1,500”)
   - The information contained in the form did not include monetary values (e.g., “We were quite wealthy”)
   - The phrasing of the form itself did not allow for the extraction of reliable data (e.g., “Were it in Israel today, what would be the value in shekels of the property left behind?”

Stage 2 – Entering Testimonial Data

Testimonials were entered into a country-specific Excel spreadsheet created in tandem with the structure of the testimonial forms and the needs of the project, according to the following parameters:

a. Personal Information
a. Real Estate
b. Business
c. Movables
d. Rural Lan

Claimants were instructed to list the value of their assets in the year in which the assets were abandoned. Therefore, as a rule, values were entered into the spreadsheet according to the currency used in the testimonial and the value of that currency in the year in which the claimant left their country of origin.

Exceptional to this are any testimonials for which the analyst was able to conclude that the values were not listed in regard to the year in which the claimant left their country of origin. This was the case in the following circumstances:

a. The form itself instructed claimants to report values for a particular year, regardless of when they left their country of origin (for example: one version of the forms instructed all claimants to list the value of their assets as of 1949).

b. The claimant listed values in a currency which was not in circulation at the time in which they left their country of origin (for example: a testimonial which reports values in NIS or EUR, despite the fact that the claimant left their country of origin in 1952).

c. The claimant explicitly wrote that the values were reported in regard to a different year.

d. In the analyst's judgement, it is not reasonable for the values listed to reflect the year in which the claimant was displaced.

e. Any other circumstance in which the analyst concluded that a year other than the year of displacement should be used.

Stage 3 – Analysis of Testimonial Data

To effectively and efficiently analyze the testimonial data, the following procedures were followed:

Historical exchange rates for the testimonial currencies were identified in the following sources:

a. IMF Tables: "Exchange Rates Selected Indicators." IMF data. Accessed August 28, 2024. https://data.imf.org/regular.aspx?key=61545850

b. IFS – IMF 1950: International Financial Statistics: International Financial Statistics, December 1950. Washington, D.C: International Monetary Fund, 1950, p. 34 & 54

c. Pacific Exchange Rates: Antweiler, Werner. "Foreign Currency Units per 1 U.S Dollar, 1948-2015." PACIFIC Exchange Rate Service, 2016. https://web.archive.org/web/20150512095429/http:/fx.sauder.ubc.ca/etc/USDpages.pdf.

It should be noted that the world exchange rate mechanism from 1944 until 1973 was operated under the auspices of the Bretton Wood agreement. Under this agreement, exchange rates were determined by pegging the countries rates to the gold standard and movements between major currencies were comparatively rare. Changes had to be formally implemented only after an application to the IMF/World bank. There were no constant hourly or daily changes as there are today – indeed rates could remain unchanged for years.

Because different testimonials were submitted at different times, individuals left their country of origin at different times, and values were listed using different currencies, a "base year" was identified and defined as the year in which the testimonial loss values are stated. A "valuation start year" was also identified, based on the circumstances governing each country. In each asset category, the relevant valuation start year is used as a benchmark. Testimonial data for each country was then converted to the valuation start year in two steps.

a. Base year values for each loss category in the testimonial files were converted from the testimonial currency to USD in the base year using the exchange rate data (for example, real estate in Syria with a base year value of 20,000 SL in 1953 was converted to a value of 9,132 USD in 1953).

b. The base year value in USD was then converted to the country's "valuation start year" in USD using the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis Inflation Calculator (Inflation Calculator | Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis (minneapolisfed.org)) (for example, real estate in Syria with a converted value of 9,132 USD in 1953 was converted to a value of 7,617 USD in 1947, as this was the base year for valuation for Syria).

It should be noted that testimonials given in NIS were not used due to the assumed difficulty in recalling and converting values in these cases which would call into question their reliability.

Relevant population data and socioeconomic breakdowns of classes for each country were determined through primary and secondary research materials. Testimonial data was then divided into social classes based on the percent of population per socioeconomic breakdown, using the available data from relevant research materials. Social classes were consolidated into three groups:

d. Wealthy and Upper Middle
e. Middle
f. Lower Middle and Poor

The summary of each country-specific testimonial data yielded a series of values per socioeconomic class. The median of the data in each social class was then calculated and multiplied by the number of households per class to determine the total asset value per class.

Due to the small number of testimonials in several of the categories, the following adjustments were made:

a. The median calculation for each group includes the highest value of the class immediately below. For example: the range for the wealthy and upper middle class begins at the highest value of the middle class and extends to the highest value in the wealthy and upper-middle class group, thus creating a continuous range for calculations

b. In cases where there were less than 10 testimonials in total in a given loss category, the median of all of the data in the category was used rather than dividing the data into the three classes above. The median was multiplied by the total number of households to arrive at a total loss value for the category.

Section 6 - Methodology for present day valuation

The above steps are meant to document Jewish refugees' losses, which include the assets' market value at the relevant benchmark year (or a substitute value based on the best evidence available), plus interest. The final figures should reflect the actualized, present-day valuation of all assets under consideration, reflected in 2024 US dollars (USDs).

Due to the high number of countries under consideration, a preference emerged for a single standard with which to measure all principal amounts. In addition, the fact that the testimonial data had been converted into USDs for base year values and valuation start year values supports the decision to rely on a rate of interest measured in USDs. The choices available are therefore between relying on either nominal or real inflation rates, the US consumer price index inflation rate, or some other relatively risk-free rate, in order to actualize the valuation principles in the most substantive and appropriate manner possible. Judgement was that the latter inflation rates are too reliant on particular economic trends in the United States and are not the best determinants of an interest rate that fully actualizes the value of the assets under consideration. And while there is no internationally recognized, absolutely risk- free rate, it was decided to use the 10-year US Treasury Yield Rate.

Furthermore, it was resolved that a compound interest formula is the most appropriate formula for calculating actualized value plus interest, instead of simple interest, in order to show the present market value of the assets under consideration in addition to compounded interest rates on those assets. $FV = PV\ (1+i/n)^{nt}$. This formula takes into account both inflationary and interest on value effects and thus reflects the most substantial actualized value of the original assets. The compound interest formula was applied on a yearly compounding basis, projected to December 31, 2024.

Chapter 3

Egypt Historical Section

Section 1 – Historical Background

The Origins of the Community

Map 2 - Jewish Communities in Egypt in 1948

Source: Gilbert, Maps

Egypt has held a unique and significant place in the history of the Jewish people. The Bible recounts the early presence of the Israelites in the land of the Nile, starting with Jacob's sons migrating there and later, their departure after generations of settlement[59].

Jews returned to Egypt during the First Temple period. According to the Bible, the prophet Jeremiah and his companions traveled to Egypt after the destruction of the First Temple in 586 BC. They were not the first Jewish community in the area; one

59 Ehrlich, Haggai. Egypt and its Jews. In Nahem Ilan (ed.), *Egypt* (Ben Zvi Institute, 2008), pp. 9, 12-14. [Hebrew]

such community had already been established several decades earlier on the island of Elephantine (called *Yev* in Hebrew) in the Nile, in southern Egypt[60]. This community thrived until the end of Persian rule (399 BC)[61].

The conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great in 332 BC ushered in a period of prosperity for the Jewish community. Alexandria, the new Mediterranean and regional capital, became a flourishing center for Jews. By the third century BC, synagogues had been established in Alexandria and other parts of Egypt. The Jewish population continued to grow, and by the first century AD, Philo of Alexandria reported that the Jews of Egypt numbered about a million[62].

At this time, Egypt became a major center of Judaism. Two of Alexandria's five neighborhoods were predominantly Jewish, and the city hosted the largest urban Jewish community of the era. An important milestone was the translation of the Bible into Greek, known as the Septuagint, initiated by King Ptolemy II (247-285 BC), significantly contributing to biblical studies[63].

Following the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 AD, many Jewish refugees from Judea settled in Egypt. However, after the Jewish rebellion against Roman authorities throughout the Mediterranean, known as the Kitos War or the "Rebellion of the Diaspora,"[64] the Romans brutally suppressed the uprising, effectively destroying the Jewish community in Alexandria.[65]. The Jewish presence all over Egypt diminished.

The Arab conquest of Egypt in 640 marked a new era. Under the Fatimid and Ayyubid empires (10th-13th centuries), the Jewish community experienced a period of relative prosperity. Jews contributed to and were influenced by the surrounding culture. Rabbi Saadia Gaon (882-942), born in Egypt, translated parts of the Bible into Arabic in the tenth century, fostering cultural exchange[66].

Maimonides (1138-1204), one of the greatest Jewish scholars, arrived in Egypt in 1166. He became a prominent figure in Cairo, serving as the prominent Muslim leader Saladin's personal physician and as a philosopher who influenced Muslim thinkers. Maimonides also served as the head of the Jewish community (*ra'is al-yahud*), representing their autonomous rights to the rulers. His descendants continued in this role, known as *Nagid*[67], overseeing judges and religious affairs and ensuring compliance with Muslim discriminatory laws. This institution, originating during the Fatimid period, lasted about five hundred years[68].

During this time, Jews from other countries immigrated to Egypt. The medieval Jewish traveler Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1130-1173) reported that the Jewish population in Egypt numbered about 13,600 across 15 communities, although modern studies suggest there were many more communities with a larger Jewish population.

60 Rosenberg, Stephen G. The Jewish temple at Elephantine. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67.1 (2004): 4-13.

61 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14.

62 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14.

63 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14.

64 Ben Zeev, Miriam Pucci. The Uprisings in the Jewish diaspora, 116–117. In Steven T. Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, Volume 4 (Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 93-104.

65 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14.

66 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14.

67 Goitein, Shelomo. Dov. The title and office of the Nagid: A re-examination. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 53, no. 2, 1962, pp. 93-119.

68 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14.

Connections with Jewish communities in Babylon, Yemen, North Africa, and beyond were established[69].
Despite this prosperity, Jews in Egypt, like elsewhere in the Muslim world, faced discrimination under the Pact of Omar. These regulations required Jews to wear distinguishing clothing, prohibited them from building taller houses than Muslims, banned them from carrying weapons, and imposed a head tax. Occasionally, Jews faced violence incited by rulers. During the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim (985-1021), for example, Jews were forced to wear black turbans, synagogues were destroyed, and some Jews were compelled to convert to Islam or leave the country[70].

The Mamluk era (1250-1517) brought an end to this relatively good period. Faced with the threat of Crusader and Mongol invasions, religious fanaticism increased. The Jews faced various humiliations and violence, such as being required to wear special bonnets, ride donkeys sidesaddle like women, and refrain from building tall houses. Despite these challenges, the institution of the *Nagid* persisted, and some discriminatory decrees were periodically lifted, though the requirement to wear a turban remained[71].

By the late fifteenth century, Jewish visitors estimated that there were about eight hundred Jewish families in Cairo, which comprised the majority of Jews in Egypt at the time. The descendants of Maimonides emigrated to Syria, leaving behind a community without significant leadership capable of revitalizing it[72].

Ottoman Rule (1517-1798)

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 triggered widespread Jewish migration across Europe and the Mediterranean. Some of these immigrants settled in Egypt, bringing with them valuable leadership skills, both spiritual and commercial. Their integration revitalized the Jewish community in the land of the Nile, where the Judeo-Spanish language (Ladino) became one of the main languages spoken by Egyptian Jews, persisting into the twentieth century[73].

The Ottoman occupation of Egypt in the 16th century continued the Islamic tradition of treating Jews as *dhimmis*, subject to restrictions and marked by distinctive clothing, such as the red turban (in addition to the yellow turban from the Mamluk period). However, the Ottomans recognized the economic potential of the Jewish community, and like other rulers throughout history, tried to rely on them because of their dependent position. Many Jews attained key positions in commerce, moneylending, minting coins, gemstones, customs, and tax collection[74].

Under stable and efficient Ottoman rule, especially during the reign of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566), Jews benefitted from new opportunities in foreign trade and connections with other Jewish communities. This economic prominence,

69 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14.

70 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14; Assaad, Sadek Ismail. *The reign of al-Hakim Bi Amr Allah, 386/996-411/1021: A political study*. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 1971.

71 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14; Ashtor, Eliyahu. T*he History of the Jews in Egypt and Syria under Mamluk rule*. Ha-Rav Kook Institute, 1944-1970. [Hebrew]

72 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 9, 12-14.

73 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 14-15.

74 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 14-15; Ben-Naeh, Yaron. Ottoman Jewish courtiers: An oriental type of the court Jew. *Jewish Culture and History 19.1* (2018): 56-70.

however, often provoked resentment among the local population. For instance, in 1675, all Jews were expelled from their roles in administration, commerce, customs, and tax collection[75].

By the end of the 18th century, there were approximately 3,000 Jews in Cairo, constituting the majority of the Jewish community in Egypt[76]. The prevailing attitude of the Egyptian populace towards Jews in this period was marked by deep hatred and contempt, as evidenced by numerous testimonies. This hostility extended well beyond the obligations imposed by the status of Jews as *dhimmis*[77].

Expressions of hatred towards Jews are evident in chronicles and writings by various authors. Jewish neighborhoods were described as "cursed" or bringing bad luck. Arab authors used phrases such as "meaner than a Jew". A Mamluk Emir at the end of the 18th century was derogatorily nicknamed "Jewish", likely due to his perceived greed. Referring to someone as "Jew" was considered the height of insult. However, some rulers sided with Jews, either out of necessity or to maintain law and order[78].

Muhammad Ali and 19th Century Reforms

The 19th century marked a period of significant developments during which Egypt emerged as a modern country. It began when the French army, led by Napoleon Bonaparte, conquered Egypt in 1798 and declared the equality of all before the law – thus abolishing the *dhimmi* status of the Jews. This declaration, however, was not welcomed by the local Muslim populace: An Egyptian historian of the time noted that a Muslim mob sought to massacre Jews and Christians because some had worked for the French and had become unbearable by riding horses and carrying weapons[79].

The three-year French occupation of Egypt was too brief to significantly alter the status of the Jews. After the French were expelled, Jews (as well as Christians) reverted to their *dhimmi* status once again. They were left vulnerable, facing persecution and extortion from Muslims who viewed them as collaborators with the French[80].

Yet, Egypt was no longer the same. The centralized administration established by the new ruler, Muhammad Ali (1769-1849), introduced law and order into Jewish lives. While Jewish professions became integral to the development boom initiated by the ruler, Jews continued to face discrimination under Sharia law, and Muslim animosity towards them persisted[81].

Muhammad Ali transformed Cairo into the capital of a regional power, earning him the title "founder of modern Egypt." His grandson, Ismail Pasha (1830-1895), aimed to make the new Egypt a central hub in the developing East and a member of the Western nations. He completed the construction of the Suez Canal in 1869, elevated

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75 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 14-15; Winter, Michael. The Jews of Egypt in the Ottoman period according to Turkish and Arabic sources. *Pe'amim 16* (1983), pp. 5-21 [Hebrew].

76 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 14-15.

77 Winter, Michael. The relations of Egyptian Jews with the authorities and the non-Jewish society. In Jacob M. Landau (ed.), *The Jews in Ottoman Egypt* (1517-1914) (Misgav, 1988), pp. 410-412. [Hebrew]

78 Winter, 1988, pp. 410-412.

79 Ehrlich, 2008, p. 15; Cohen, Hayyim J. *The Jews in the Middle Eastern countries*, 1860-1971 (Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1972), p. 18 [Hebrew].

80 Ehrlich, 2008, p. 15; Cohen, 1972, p. 18.

81 Ehrlich, 2008, p. 15.

the Egyptian cotton economy to its peak, and integrated it with the European economy. Parts of Cairo and Alexandria were rebuilt by European architects during his rule. Institutions of higher education, initiated during Muhammad Ali's time, were further developed to create a professional class and modern bureaucratic system[82].

As Western influence in Egypt grew stronger, the legal status and relations of Jews with the authorities improved. Throughout the 19th century, westernization steadily increased, culminating in direct British rule starting in 1882, under which Jews were granted full legal equality. Jews stopped paying the *jizia* even earlier, in 1855, when Muhammad Ali's son, Sa'id Pasha (1822-1863), abolished the special tax[83]. However, it is crucial to distinguish between relations with the authorities and those with the general population, and not to overstate the extent of social transformations[84].

Despite some westernization and modernization, Egyptian society remained largely traditional. The poor and overcrowded Jewish quarter, the common Jewish occupations in financial clerkships, bartering, and money lending, and the impressions of foreign visitors regarding the contempt Muslims had for Jews all reflect a continuity of the conditions prevalent during the Ottoman period[85].

British traveler Edward Lane, who stayed in Egypt from 1825-1835, noted in his writings the following regarding the Jews in Egypt:

> "They are held in the utmost contempt and abhorrence by the Muslims in general… the Jews are detested by the Muslims far more than are the Christians. Not long ago, they used often to be jostled in the streets of Cairo, and sometimes beaten merely for passing on the right hand of a Muslim... they scarcely ever dare to utter a word of abuse when reviled or beaten unjustly by the meanest Arab or Turk; for many a Jew has been put to death upon a false and malicious accusation of uttering disrespectful words against the Kur-an or the Prophet. It is common to hear an Arab abuse his jaded ass, and, after applying to him various opprobrious epithets, end by calling the beast a Jew."[86]

Under the rule of Ismail, the opening of Egypt to the Western world intensified and the expansion of professional education among Jews increased their involvement in the economy and public life, particularly among prominent families in the community. During Ismail's reign, discrimination was significantly reduced, though prosperity and jealousy often went hand in hand[87].

When Ismail was forced to resign under international pressure, riots broke out, culminating in an uprising that signaled the start of modern Egyptian nationalism.

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82 Ehrlich, 2008, p. 11.

83 Raz, Avi. Masters and servants – The Jewish community in Egypt as reflected in Jewish-Egyptian literature in the first half of the 20th century. *Pe'amim: Studies in Oriental Jewry*, Vol. 101-102, 2004, p. 64. [Hebrew]

84 Winter, 1988, pp. 415-416.

85 Winter, 1988, pp. 415-416.

86 Lane, Edward William. *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* (J. Murray, 1860), pp. 554-555.

87 Ehrlich, 2008, p. 15.

Part of the popular protest's anger was directed towards Jews. In May 1882, several synagogues in Cairo and Alexandria were set on fire, prompting many community members to flee the cities. However, within a few months, the British occupied Egypt, and during their rule, the history of the country's Jews took an upturn[88].

British Rule and Impact (1882-1936)

British rule brought significant changes to Egypt. The British, like Bonaparte, introduced civil equality before the law, diminishing the influence of Islamic law on non-Muslims and nullifying institutionalized discrimination against Jews and other minorities. Foreign consular patronage and mixed tribunals, designed to adjudicate disputes between locals and foreigners, came under effective British control[89].

Egypt's economy also fell under British management, strengthening its ties with Western economies and greatly expanding urban economic sectors. New industries were predominantly staffed by non-Muslims, immigrants, and foreigners, who were attracted to this economic boom. Cities such as Cairo, Alexandria, and those that emerged during Ismail's reign along the Suez Canal (Port Said, Ismailia, Suez) experienced rapid growth. This modernizing Egypt attracted Jewish immigrants from across the Mediterranean basin, Eastern and Central Europe, North Africa, and the East[90].

British censuses provide a clear picture of this demographic change. It is estimated that the Jewish population in Egypt in 1861 was around ten thousand. In 1897, however, Egyptian Jews numbered 25,200; by 1907, this had increased to 38,635; and by 1917, it had risen to 59,581. The vast majority lived in Cairo and Alexandria, with their communities being of similar size[91].

Table 5 - Population Estimates in Egypt, 1897, 1907, and 1917

Religion	1897	1907	% Increase	1917	% Increase
Muslims	8,977,702	10,269,445	14.3%	11,623,745	13.1%
Copts	609,511	706,322	15.8%	834,474	18.1%
Other Christian denominations	121,724	175,370	44.0%	191,641	9.2%
Jews	25,200	38,635	53.3%	59,581	54.2%
Total	**9,734,137**	**11,189,772**	**14.9%**	**12,709,441**	**13.5%**

Source: Landau, p. 6. Based on Egyptian census reports

88 Ehrlich, 2008, p. 15.
89 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 15-17.
90 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 15-17.
91 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 15-17.

These years marked a period of great prosperity for Egyptian Jewry. Persecution and rising antisemitism in parts of Europe, along with the oppressive rule of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1908), drove many Jews to seek refuge in Egypt. Jews integrated well into local and foreign commercial enterprises, consular offices, government positions, and financial systems. By the end of the nineteenth century, Jews were prominent among bankers, doctors, lawyers, agronomists, and business owners, both large and small. They also included industrialists and executives in major companies. In the 1860s, wealthy Jews left the Jewish Quarter of Cairo and built the new and ultra-modern areas of Cairo, the Ismaileya and Abbaseya areas, and later the prestigious Garden City, the Gezira (Island) on the Nile, Zamalek, and Guizeh[92].

Alongside these successful individuals, there were also poor Jews, peddlers, shopkeepers, craftsmen, and members of the lower middle class[93].

These transformations created a multicultural Jewish community in Egypt. Many immigrants to Egypt during the eras of Ismail and British occupation came from Mediterranean and European countries (about a tenth from Eastern and Central Europe). Separate religious, educational, and cultural institutions remained, and linguistic differences—French, Arabic, Italian, Ladino, Yiddish, and Hebrew—both connected and separated the Jews. Most spoke several of these languages[94].

Despite the improved economic status of Jews in Egypt, only a minority held Egyptian citizenship. Legal ambiguities, bureaucratic hurdles, and deliberate obstacles left many Jews without the protection of the Egyptian state, effectively rendering them stateless[95]. Some Jews benefited from foreign consular protection, but this support was discontinued in 1937[96].

Following World War I, the Egyptian national movement emerged, rooted in modern concepts and national consciousness. The leading party, Wafd, founded in 1919, drew its strength from the new parliamentary system. In 1923, the country adopted a constitution that lasted officially until 1952. This constitution allowed for relatively free party competition and enshrined individual rights based on modern citizenship rather than ethnic or religious identity. It defined Egypt as an Islamic country with Arabic as its language but ensured equal civil rights for non-Muslims. The inclusive nature of Egyptian nationalism during this period allowed for the incorporation of all residents and citizens, including Jews. The Egyptian national movement was one of the few in the region that welcomed Jews during its liberal flourishing years, marking a golden age for the Jewish community[97].

92 Meital, Yoram. *Jewish Sites in Egypt* (Ben-Zvi Institute, 1995), pp. 62-66. [Hebrew]

93 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 15-17.

94 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 15-17.

95 Shamir, Shimon. The evolution of the Egyptian nationality laws and their application to the Jews in the monarchy period. In Shimon Shamir (ed.), *The Jews of Egypt: A mediterranean society in modern times* (Westview Press, 1987), pp. 33-67.

96 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 15-17; DellaPergola, Sergio. Demography. In Nahem Ilan (ed.), *Egypt* (Ben Zvi Institute, 2008), pp. 33-48. [Hebrew].

97 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 17-20; Jankowski, James. The Egyptian Wafd and Arab nationalism, 1918-1944. In Edward Ingram (ed.), *National and International Politics in the Middle East* (Routledge, 2013), pp, 164-186.

Figure 1 - Egyptian friends (Jewish, Christian and Muslim) from high school in Cairo, visiting the Pyramids, May 1944

Source: Courtesy of Levana Zamir

The economic prominence of Egyptian Jews, particularly in the urban bourgeoisie, reached its zenith during this time. A small, affluent segment of Jewish families, many from the old Spanish aristocracy (including the Mosseri, Cattaoui, Menasce, Cicurel, and Suarès families), thrived in industries such as transportation, banking, foreign trade, marketing chains, and department stores. The Jewish middle class, which comprised about two-thirds of the community, expanded with the growing opportunities and the rise in educational attainment. Jewish professionals integrated into large companies and local businesses[98].

Independent Egypt: The rise of nationalism and the conflict over Eretz Israel

At the dawn of the 20th century, Egyptian nationalism was in its nascent stages, with a unique character distinct from the broader Arab world. Early nationalists, such as those in the Wafd movement under Saad Zaghloul (1857-1927), emphasized Egypt's rich and diverse heritage, spanning Pharaonic, Hellenistic, Roman, and Christian eras. This "Egypt for Egyptians" sentiment, often called Pharaonism, prioritized territorial nationalism over pan-Arabism or pan-Islamism[99].

It fostered a relatively pluralistic society where Jews, among other minorities, played active roles in politics, business, and culture. This is exemplified by figures like Leon Castro, a Jewish lawyer who served as the Wafd party's European secretary and editor of its mouthpiece, the newspaper La Liberté. Even major institutions acknowledged Jewish holidays, with closures on Yom Kippur, Rosh Hashanah, and Passover[100].

98 Ehrlich, 2008, pp. 17-20.

99 Zamir, Levana. Toward the end of Egyptian Jewry in the middle of the twentieth century. In Shmuel Trigano (ed.), La fin du judaïsme en terres d'islam (Carmel, 2018), pp. 58-59. [Hebrew]

100 Kimche, Ruth. Zionism in the shadow of the Pyramids: The Zionist movement in Egypt, 1918-1948 (Am Oved, 2009), pp. 28-32. [Hebrew]

However, the 1930s marked a turning point. The rise of the Muslim Brotherhood, under Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949), injected a more religious and militaristic element into Egyptian nationalism. The ongoing conflict in Palestine further fueled this shift, as the "Palestine problem" became intertwined with nationalist fervor, xenophobia, and rising anti-Zionist sentiments[101].

This changing tide had dire consequences for Egypt's Jewish community. The new wave of nationalism viewed Jews not as fellow Egyptians but as part of the foreign, Western influence that Arab nationalists sought to expel – even though many Jews lived in Egypt for generations and centuries. Groups like Misr al-Fatat (Young Egypt), inspired by European fascism and harboring anti-British sentiment, actively sought to exclude foreigners and minorities, including Jews, from Egypt's economy. Future leaders like Gamal Abdel Nasser (1918-1970) and Anwar Sadat (1918-1981) were members of this movement during their youth[102].

The Arab Revolt of 1936 in Palestine intensified anti-Jewish sentiment in Egypt. While the 1929 events in Palestine had not significantly impacted Egyptian attitudes towards Jews, the revolt amplified existing tensions. The local Arab press grew increasingly critical of British policy in Palestine, and committees were formed to collect donations for Palestinian Arabs[103].

Antisemitic graffiti appeared in 1936 in the Jewish quarter of Port Said, calling for the expulsion and persecution of Jews. In 1938, the Muslim Brotherhood began boycotting Egyptian Jews who traded with Jews in Palestine, and the first anti-Jewish demonstrations, organized by students from Al-Azhar University, took place. During violent demonstrations, voices were heard shouting "Down with the Jews" and "Jews get out of Egypt and Palestine". Arabic translations of Hitler's Mein Kampf and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion began circulating. Bombs were placed in a Cairo Synagogue and in private Jewish homes[104].

The culmination of these trends was the establishment of the Arab League in 1945, with Egypt playing a central role. This solidified the shift towards pan-Arabism and pan-Islamism, further marginalizing those perceived as "outsiders." The once-inclusive Pharaonic nationalism was supplanted by an exclusive Arab-Islamic identity, leaving little room for minorities like the Jews. The combination of anti-colonial struggle, xenophobia, and the escalating conflict in Palestine created an increasingly hostile environment for the Jews[105].

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101 Zamir, 2018, pp. 58-59; Goldstein, Eli. Zionism versus Egyptian nationalism on the eve of the establishment of the State of Israel: De Menasce and Mosseri families in Egypt in the 1940s. *My Heart is in the East* 2, 2020, pp. 11-22. [Hebrew]; see also Beinin, Joel. *The dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, politics, and the formation of a modern diaspora* (University of California Press, 1998), pp. 60-89.

102 Zamir, 2018, pp. 58-59.

103 Kimche, 2009, pp. 28-32.

104 Kimche, 2009, pp. 28-32; Krämer, Gudrun. *The Jews in Modern Egypt*, 1914-1952 (University of Washington Press, 1989), pp. 146-147.

105 Kimche, 2009, pp. 28-32; Zamir, 2018, pp. 58-59.

Demographics

In the first half of the twentieth century, the Jewish community in Egypt was divided into four main groups:

1. The Sephardim: This group held the greatest power, both numerically and in terms of social status. They belonged to the Jewish middle and upper classes. Some were descendants of Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal, while others were immigrants and their descendants from Italy, the Ottoman Empire, and Mediterranean countries. Prominent families from this group led the Jewish communities in Cairo and Alexandria[106].
2. The Mizrahim: Mostly from the lower class, the Mizrahim were poorer and less educated. They lived in Jewish neighborhoods, spoke Arabic, and adopted Egyptian customs. They were local autochthone Jews, although most did not hold Egyptian citizenship, as explained above. Known as baladi (local, in Arabic), they were descendants of Jews who had lived in Egypt for generations. Mizrahi Jews who immigrated from Arab countries—particularly North Africa, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen—before World War I had a similar social status[107].
3. The Ashkenazim: An Ashkenazi community was established in Cairo as early as 1865, but the main wave of Ashkenazi immigrants arrived in Egypt after the pogroms in Russia and Eastern Europe at the end of the 19th century. Most settled in Alexandria. Generally, the Ashkenazim did not speak Arabic. They were generally less religious than other Jewish groups in Egypt[108].
4. The Karaites: The Karaites largely assimilated into their Egyptian environment, speaking Arabic and bearing Arabic or Hebrew names. They lived primarily in their own neighborhood in Cairo. The Karaites maintained a separate community with distinct livelihoods and institutions[109].

Table 6 - Distribution of the Jewish Population in Egypt, 1897, 1907, and 1917

Location	1897	1907	1917
Cairo	8,819	20,281	29,207
Alexandria	9,831	14,475	24,858
Tanta	883	1,104	1,183
Port Said	400	378	594
Mansura	508	522	586
Suez	120	74	157
Ismailia	39	11	95
Others	4,600	1,790	2,901
Total	**25,200**	**38,635**	**59,581**

Source: Landau, p. 8. Based on Egyptian census reports

106 Raz, 2004, p. 65.

107 Raz, 2004, p. 65; Krämer, Gudrun. The rise and fall of the Cairo community. Pe'amim 7 (1981), pp. 4-34. [Hebrew]

108 Raz, 2004, p. 65.

109 Raz, 2004, p. 65; Beinin, Joel. The Karaites in modern Egypt. In Polliack, Meira (ed.), *Karaite Judaism: A guide to its history and literary sources* (Brill, 2003), pp. 417-430.

Jewish Contributions to Egypt

Salvator Cicurel

Yousef Aslan Cattaoui

Yakub Sanua

Leila Mourad

Togo Mizrahi

The contribution of Egyptian Jews to the country's development was particularly impressive, given their small share of the population. They played a crucial role in establishing the foundations of the modern economy across all sectors: agriculture, industry, commerce, and finance. Specifically, they were instrumental in the financial and economic mechanisms that developed Egypt's infrastructure and enhanced its productive capabilities[110].

Prominent Jewish families, including the Suarès, Cattaoui, Menasce, Mosseri, Rolo, and Adda families, were partly or wholly responsible for founding and developing numerous key companies. Their contributions included the Sugar Refinery of Egypt, the Wadi Kom Ombo Company (then Egypt's largest agricultural enterprise), the Delta Railway Company, Cairo's first transport facilities (Suarès buses), the Egyptian Agriculture Company, the Egyptian Mortgage Bank, the Commercial Bank of Egypt, the Agricultural Bank of Egypt, among many others[111].

One of their prominent achievements was the creation of the new and important town of Maadi in 1904, on lands bought by the Mosseri cousins, as a villas' suburb near Cairo in British style, where all the streets bearded their Jewish family names until the 1950s[112].

110 Mizrahi, Maurice. The Role of Jews in Economic Development. In Shimon Shamir (ed.), *The Jews of Egypt: A Mediterranean society in modern times* (Routledge, 2019), p. 85.

111 Mizrahi, 2019, p. 85.

112 Raafat, Samir W. Maadi 1904-1962: Society and History in a Cairo Suburb. The Palm Press, 1995.

Following is a list of some of the most important Jewish personalities in Egypt in the 19th and 20th centuries:

Moreno Cicurel (1820-1919) founded a series of stores in Cairo that would eventually bear his name. His sons, Salomon (1881-1927), Joseph (1887-1939), and Salvator (1893-1975), expanded the business, transforming it into Cicurel Department Stores, the largest and most prestigious chain of stores in Egypt[113]. The Cicurel brothers also made significant contributions in other fields. Joseph Cicurel co-founded Misr Bank[114], which played a crucial role in financing new industries, and he served as one of its administrators. After the deaths of his brothers, Salvator continued to lead Cicurel Department Stores. He also headed the Egyptian Chamber of Commerce for many years and was honored with the title of bey by King Fu'ad[115]. Additionally, Salvator was captain of the Egyptian fencing team at the 1928 Summer Olympics in Amsterdam.

The Suarès brothers Joseph (1837-1900), Felix (1844-1906), and Raphael (1845-1909) were instrumental in establishing numerous enterprises that significantly contributed to the development of the Egyptian economy. Until 1922, a major intersection in the center of New Cairo was named Midan Suarès (Suarès Square) in their honor[116]. Raphael Suarès distinguished himself as both an international financier and a philanthropist, encouraging many entrepreneurs, particularly those of French and British origin, to invest in Egypt. His brother Felix was also renowned for his philanthropic efforts. Felix's death was widely mourned by Cairo's inhabitants of all religions, with shops in the city center closing in respect during his funeral[117].

Yousef (Joseph) Aslan Cattaoui Pasha (1862-1942), an autochthone Jew from the Catta region in Egypt, co-founded Misr Bank in 1920 with the leading Egyptian entrepreneur Tal'at Harb Pasha and Joseph Cicurel, which financed over thirty industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises. Following the 1923 constitution, he was elected deputy for the southern city of Kom Ombo and regularly re-elected. In 1924, he became the minister of finance and in 1925, the minister of communication. He was appointed senator in 1927, a position he held until his death at eighty-one[118].

Aslan Cattaoui Bey (1890-1956), Yousef's eldest son, joined the civil service in 1908 and became the director-general of the State Domains by 1931. After retiring, he entered the Senate and was consistently re-elected until the Senate was dissolved in 1953 with the abolition of the monarchy. He chaired the administrative council of the Suez Canal Company and the national bank, representing the Egyptian government. Aslan also served on the boards of numerous industrial and financial organizations and was a founding member of the steam ship company - Khedivial Mail S.S. Company[119].

René Cattaoui Bey (1896-1994), Yousef's second son, worked with the minister of agriculture for three years before managing the Egypt Sugar Refinery and the Kom

113 Kupferschmidt, Uri M. Who needed department stores in Egypt? From Orosdi-Back to Omar Effendi. Middle Eastern Studies 43.2 (2007): 175-192.

114 Deeb, Marius. Bank Misr and the emergence of the local bourgeoisie in Egypt. *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 12, no. 3, 1976, pp. 69-86.

115 Mizrahi, 2019, p. 86.

116 Shabrawy, Nevine. Streets of Cairo: Midan Suares, Maadi. *Egypt Independent*, December 18, 2011. https://www.egyptindependent.com/streets-cairo-midan-suares-maadi/

117 Mizrahi, 2019, pp. 86-87.

118 Mizrahi, 2019, pp. 87-88.

119 Mizrahi, 2019, pp. 87-88.

Ombo Company. He was elected deputy for Kom Ombo and re-elected to all legislatures until the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved by Nasser. René was also a member of the State Council on Economic Affairs and succeeded his father as president of the Cairo Jewish community[120].

The Mosseri family, renowned for their influential Bank of Mosseri, played a pivotal role in the agricultural and financial development of Egypt. Notable members of the Mosseri family include Nessim Yousef Mosseri, who was elected president of the Mixed Tribunal of Commerce. His son, Yousef Mosseri, also served as a judge on the same tribunal. Victor Moise Mosseri, an esteemed agronomist, was appointed director of the Chamber of Agronomists, Architects, and Chemists by the government. Elie N. Mosseri was another prominent figure in the family, known for reorganizing the Egyptian Cement Company, which had been in a state of disarray[121].

The de-Menasce Family: The leading member of the family, Yaqub Levi de Menasce (1807–1887) born in Cairo in 1807, was the private banker of the Khedive Ismail. Later, he opened the banking and trading establishment of J. L. Menasce et Fils, together with Jacob Cattaoui, with branches in Europe. In 1871, he moved from Cairo to Alexandria with his family, where he built the magnificent Menasce Synagogue and the most advanced 'Hopital Israelite'. In 1876 he obtained Hungarian citizenship and the title of Baron from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for promoting trade between the Adriatic and the Levant. His descendants established many charitable and welfare institutions in Alexandria, and the Menace Schools[122]. His grandson, Jacques Béhor de Menasce (1850–1916), who established important cotton and sugar businesses, served as President of Alexandria's Jewish Community for 25 years. The family was well known for its philanthropy and for promoting arts and culture. Some of their fine art collections are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.

A Jew of humble origins, **Elie Politi** (1900-?) rose to become one of Egypt's most influential businessmen. He was instrumental in developing several key areas, including the new city of Mokattam on the eastern hills overlooking Cairo, the beach and urban area of Ma'moura east of Alexandria, and the transformation of the Montaza Royal Palace into a casino and museum. Additionally, he founded the Egyptian Land and Building Company and the Commercial Insurance Company. As a journalist and publisher, he played a significant role in establishing al-Misri, which became one of the most important Arabic-language newspapers[123].

Joseph Smouha (1878-1961), a British citizen born in Iraq and living in Alexandria, was the visionary behind the construction of Smouha City. This development transformed reclaimed marshland into a residential suburb of Alexandria. Smouha City featured lush lawns, elegant villas, and comprehensive amenities, including its own schools, hospitals, a racecourse, a golf course, tennis courts, synagogues, mosques, and churches. His work turned the area into a vibrant, diverse, and self-sufficient community[124].

The Jewish contribution to Egypt was not confined to financial matters alone. One of

120 Mizrahi, 2019, pp. 87-88.

121 Mizrahi, 2019, p. 89.

122 Zamir, Levana. *The Golden Era of the Jews of Egypt*, 2nd edition (Keness Hafakot and the University of Haifa 2016), p. 12. [Hebrew]

123 Mizrahi, 2019, p. 90.

124 Mizrahi, 2019, p. 91.

the greatest musicians of modern Egypt was the composer Daoud Khidr Levi, better known as **Dawood Hosni** (1870-1937). He was a pioneering Arab composer in the Middle East and composed the first complete Arabic opera, "Samson and Delilah"[125]. Jews also made significant contributions to the development of cinema and theater in Egypt. Among them, **Yaqub Sanua** (1839-1912) was the most influential figure in modern Egyptian theater. Inspired by the works of Molière, Goldoni, and others, Sanua composed his first operetta in Egyptian Arabic, incorporating popular Egyptian songs. During this time, Sanua maintained good relations with his patrons, and Ismail Pasha, who nicknamed him the "Molière of Egypt," supported his endeavors[126].

Sanua was also the founder and first editor of the satirical magazine Abu Naddara Zarqa' ("The Man with the Blue Glasses") during the late days of Ismail's rule. This publication vehemently criticized Ismail's Western leanings, leading to Sanua's expulsion from Egypt after only 15 issues. He relocated the magazine's editorial operations to Paris, where he became a fervent supporter of Egyptian nationalism and an outspoken critic of the British occupation of Egypt[127].

Togo Mizrahi (1901-1986) was a pioneering director and producer in Egyptian cinema, creating 33 full-length films between 1930 and 1945. Renowned as the most successful director of his era, he laid the foundation for comedy and musical films in Egyptian cinema[128]. **Leila Mourad** (1918-1995), often referred to as the "Cinderella of Egyptian cinema" and "the guitar of Arab music," was a Jewish singer and actress whose beautiful voice and precise singing placed her in the pantheon of Egyptian culture. Her songs and the films she starred in are still broadcast today on Arab channels and are considered classics of modern Arabic culture[129].

The Jewish youth in Egypt were known for excelling in sports. The Egyptian Maccabi basketball team won the Egyptian championship several times and were part of the Egyptian Olympic Basketball team. They participated at the Maccabiah in various sports starting in 1932 until the establishment of the State of Israel, and often returned home with trophies, which they presented proudly to Prince Abdel Mon'em, King Faruk's uncle.

The 1948 Arab Israeli war and its consequences

Anti-Jewish sentiment reached one of its peaks after the conclusion of World War II. On November 2, 1945, demonstrations in Cairo marking Balfour Day, which protested the 1917 British declaration supporting a Jewish homeland in Palestine, deteriorated into anti-Jewish riots. The radio and the press called for massive demonstrations to protest British policy. Their appeal drew thousands of people to the center of old Cairo. The crowds broke into the Jewish quarter, looted shops and private homes, and assaulted its inhabitants. They vandalized the nearby Ashkenazi synagogue and set it on fire. The destruction extended beyond Jewish establishments, affecting the Greek-

125 Shiloah, Amnon. Music. In Nahem Ilan (ed.), *Egypt* (Ben Zvi Institute, 2008), pp. 137-138. [Hebrew]

126 Bizawe, Eyal Sagui. Theater and Cinema. In Nahem Ilan (ed.), *Egypt* (Ben Zvi Institute, 2008), p. 162. [Hebrew]; Moosa, Matti. Ya'Qûb Ṣanû' and the rise of Arab drama in *Egypt. International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5.4 (1974): 401-433; Badawi, Muhammad Mustafa. The father of the modern Egyptian theatre: Yaʿqūb Ṣannūʿ. *Journal of Arabic Literature* (1985): 132-145.

127 Ehrlich, 2008, p. 17.

128 Bizawe, 2008, pp. 169-171; Starr, Deborah A. *Togo Mizrahi and the Making of Egyptian Cinema*. University of California Press, 2020.

129 Bizawe, 2008, pp. 171-174.

Orthodox Patriarchate, Catholic churches, and a Coptic school[130].

The riots resulted in four hundred injuries, the death of one policeman, and an estimated £1 million in property damage. New demonstrations planned for the following day were largely suppressed, as Jewish youth formed self-defense units and built roadblocks. In Alexandria, the demonstrations were even more violent, leaving at least five people dead. The Egyptian prime minister blamed the "mob" and the Zionists, who, according to him, had provoked the violent reactions[131].

In the autumn of 1947, public interest returned again to the Palestine issue, which was under discussion at the United Nations. Muhammad Hussein Haykal, head of the Egyptian delegation to the UN, echoed warnings from Egyptian politicians, Islamic religious authorities, and the Arab League, cautioning that a decision in favor of partition could lead to an unprecedented wave of anti-Jewish sentiment in the Arab world. He warned that the spilling of Arab blood in Palestine would inevitably lead to the spilling of Jewish blood in Arab countries[132].

Egyptian-Arab newspapers blurred the lines between Zionists and Jews, declaring all Jews as Zionists. The press condemned Egyptian Jews as Zionists, communists, capitalist exploiters, and corrupt elements. Religious propaganda against Jews as enemies of Islam was prevalent, as well as economic and political accusations. Egyptian nationalism, with its intolerance and chauvinism towards non-Muslims and non-Arabs, targeted Jewish communities as foreigners to be purged, despite their centuries-long presence in Egypt[133].

In July 1947, the Egyptian government banned demonstrations against the British and Jews related to the Palestine hearings at the UN. It imposed a state of emergency on Balfour Day in 1946 and 1947 and increased police protection for Jewish institutions. In December 1947, the government denied rumors that Jews had caused a cholera epidemic by poisoning fountains. In March 1948, it banned all propaganda that could harm intercommunal relations[134].

However, the government failed to prevent serious riots between December 1947 and September 1948. Large-scale demonstrations in early December 1947 protested the UN's decision to partition Palestine, leading to attacks on establishments owned by Europeans, Jews, Greeks, and Copts. The riots mirrored those of November 1945, involving similar targets and perpetrators. The police only intervened when demonstrators attempted to enter the Jewish quarter in Cairo. On December 5, the government declared a state of emergency in Cairo and banned further demonstrations[135].

Even before the State of Israel was proclaimed on 14 May 1948, the government of Fahmi al-Nuqrashi declared a state of emergency on 11 May, followed by martial law on 15 May. On the night of 15 May, hundreds of Jews accused of Zionism, and communists, mainly Jews, were arrested, along with numerous members of the Muslim

130 Krämer, 1989, pp. 162-163.
131 Krämer, 1989, pp. 162-163.
132 Krämer, 1989, pp. 208-210.
133 Krämer, 1989, pp. 208-210.
134 Krämer, 1989, pp. 208-210.
135 Krämer, 1989, pp. 208-210.

Brotherhood, who were then interned in separate camps. Nuqrashi repeatedly stated that "all Jews were potential Zionists, but anyhow all Zionists were Communists." The companies owned by those interned and their private fortunes were placed under the supervision of a special government body[136]. Under Proclamation N26 from May 30th 1948, companies and properties of those interned Jews were sequestrated.

After a detention of more than a year without trial, they were released - part of them under condition to leave Egypt forever, leaving their assets behind, the others were forbidden to leave the country and were under constant surveillance[137].

On 20 June 1948, a bomb exploded in the Karaite quarter of Cairo, killing over twenty people[138]. On 15 July, the Israeli air force bombed heavily populated quarters of Cairo and Alexandria, leading the Muslim Brothers to declare on 16 July that not only Zionists were responsible for these attacks. Jews, Europeans, and even Egyptians who "looked Jewish" were attacked in the streets. Between 19 July and 2 August, bombs were placed in several Jewish-owned cinemas and department stores. On 22 September, bombs exploded in the Cairo Jewish neighborhood, killing twenty-nine people. On 12 November 1948, a bomb devastated the offices of the Jewish-owned Société de Publicité, a long-standing target of radical nationalists[139].

The primary source of the attacks and accusations against Jews was the Muslim Brotherhood, which had large membership and secret apparatus. The Muslim Brotherhood did not distinguish between Jews and Zionists in its propaganda, and its supporters placed some of the bombs and calling for further action. This call was answered by mobs, which did not distinguish between Jews, Zionists, and non-Muslim foreigners[140].

A sense of insecurity was spreading among the Jews, and communities tried to protect themselves by emphasizing their loyalty to Egypt and donating to the war fund. The lower and lower-middle classes faced widespread unemployment exacerbated by the drive to Egyptianize business and administration. Between 1949 and 1951, many of them left Egypt. Between 1949 and 1951, an estimated 15,000 to 20,000 Egyptian Jews left for Israel, accounting for about 20 to 25 percent of the Egyptian Jewish population[141].

136 Krämer, 1989, pp. 211-219.

137 Van-de Bilt, Joyce. The persecution, harassment, expulsion and departure of Egyptian Jews, following the three wars (Tel-Aviv University, 2020), p. 4, 10.

138 Meron, Ya'akov. The explosion in the Karaite Jewish quarter in Cairo on June 19, 1948. *Pe'amim 70* (Winter 1997), pp. 141-156. [Hebrew]

139 Krämer, 1989, pp. 211-219.

140 Krämer, 1989, pp. 211-219.

141 Krämer, 1989, pp. 211-219.

Table 7 - Estimates of Jewish Emigration from Egypt to Different Destination, 1948 -1966

Years	To Israel	To Other Countries	% Emigrating to Israel	Total
1948-1955	14,000	9,000	61%	23,000
1956-1959	15,000	19,000	44%	34,000
1960-1966	1,500	4,500	25%	6,000
Total	**30,500**	**32,500**	**48%**	**63,000**

Source: Ilan, p. 37

The 1956 Suez Crisis: Expulsions and massive anti-Jewish campaign

On October 29, 1956, the Israeli army entered the Sinai Peninsula. Three days later, British and French aircraft bombed Cairo, Alexandria, and Port Said. Within seventy-two hours of this incursion, the Egyptian government issued a series of decrees establishing a state of siege, imposing strict censorship, and providing a judicial basis for mass arrests and the denaturalization of entire groups of Egyptian citizens[142].

Four types of measures affected the rights, status, and very existence of many Jews in Egypt. These measures included police detention, sequestration of businesses and property, expulsion from the country, and the deprivation of citizenship[143].

The Egyptian Emergency Law authorized the government to "order the arrest and apprehension of suspects and those who prejudice public order and security." Under these provisions, hundreds of Jews were detained, imprisoned, or otherwise deprived of their liberty without any charges against them[144].

142 Laskier, Michael M. Egyptian Jewry under the Nasser Regime, 1956-70. Middle Eastern Studies, July 1995, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 573-619.

143 Laskier, 1995, p. 579.

144 Laskier, 1995, p. 579.

Figure 2 - Egyptian Jews arriving by ship in Greece on their way to Israel

Source: Julius, p. xxii

According to the American Jewish Committee, at least 900 Jews had been arrested by December 7, 1956, including women and the elderly. In addition, almost all Jewish families in Cairo and Alexandria had been confined to their homes for extended periods, often without funds, food, or other supplies. They were under surveillance by building concierges who were granted police authority to control Jewish tenants under confinement and were supplied with firearms to enforce this control[145].

A series of directives by the Egyptian government overwhelmingly targeted the property of Jews. Between November 1956 and March 1957, it is estimated that assets from at least 500 Jewish-owned firms were sequestered, and their bank accounts frozen. Additionally, 800 more Jewish-owned enterprises were placed on an economic blacklist, with their assets frozen as well. The affected individuals and firms represented the core of Egyptian Jewry's economic life, encompassing the largest and most significant enterprises. These businesses were also the main financial supporters of Jewish religious, educational, social, and welfare institutions in Egypt. The paralysis of these institutions significantly worsened the impact of the government's anti-Jewish policies, intensifying the pressure on Jews to leave the country[146].

Beyond depriving owners of their properties and income, the sequestration measures indirectly affected the livelihood of a broader circle of Jews, including those employed by firms placed under custodianship. Reports indicated that all sequestered firms were instructed to discharge Jewish employees and complied accordingly[147].

Other unofficial measures further prevented many Jews from earning a living. Jews in

145 Laskier, 1995, p. 579.

146 Laskier, 1995, pp. 579-581.

147 Laskier, 1995, pp. 579-581.

independent private enterprises were often denied trade permits, export and import licenses, foreign currency allocations, and other essential administrative facilities, forcing them out of business. Similarly, a growing number of Jewish professionals, including physicians, lawyers, and engineers, were prevented from practicing their professions through various means[148].

Denaturalization (deprivation of citizenship) also affected Egyptian Jews. The Egyptian nationality law was amended in November 1956, so that only residents of Egypt before 1900, who maintained their residence ever since, were considered Egyptians. This provision was used to retroactively deprive Egyptian Jews of their acquired citizenship, if they left the country even briefly. Additionally, no valid documentation existed in Egypt that could prove the residence of individuals since 1900. This allowed authorities to deny nationality certificates to unwanted applicants and to annul existing certificates retroactively[149].

The 1956 law also imposed special disabilities expressly upon Jews, stipulating that Zionists, traitors, or those who were found to be "disloyal" to Egypt could not be granted with Egyptian citizenship. Since the law did not define Zionism, Egyptian authorities could apply this provision to any Jewish person at their discretion[150].

Direct expulsions and "voluntary" emigration were both used by Egypt to expel its Jewish population. By the end of November 1956, at least 500 Egyptian and stateless Jews had been expelled, excluding a considerable number of Jewish citizens from Britain and France. Most of the expelled individuals were heads of families and were given only two to seven days to leave the country. Because the head of the family typically supported the entire household, these expulsions ultimately forced several times more people to leave Egypt than those who received expulsion orders[151].

By late November 1956, direct expulsion orders ceased, replaced by more subtle and potent techniques of intimidation and psychological warfare against the Jewish community. These pressures, combined with economic harassment, spurred a much larger emigration movement. Jews were "voluntarily" compelled to declare their intent to leave Egypt and to relinquish their Egyptian citizenship[152].

Both formal expulsion orders and "voluntary" pledges to expatriate affected Jews of all statuses—citizens, stateless persons, and foreign subjects alike. The laissez-passer documents issued to them explicitly stated that they would not be permitted to return to Egypt and that they renounced all claims against the country. By the end of June 1957, some 25,000 out of the 45,000 Jews in Egypt were estimated to have left[153].

The large-scale emigration, expulsion, and flight created a chaotic situation. The port of Alexandria and Cairo airfield were overwhelmed with refugees. Customs inspections by government officials were sometimes harsh, with arbitrary confiscation of valuables. The cumulative effects of these official and numerous unofficial measures, along with widespread economic difficulties, created a flight hysteria among Egyptian Jews. Amid the chaos, thousands of Jews left Egypt with little more than the clothes on their

148 Laskier, 1995, pp. 579-581.
149 Laskier, 1995, pp. 582-584.
150 Laskier, 1995, pp. 582-584.
151 Laskier, 1995, pp. 581-582.
152 Laskier, 1995, pp. 581-582.
153 Laskier, 1995, pp. 581-582.

backs[154]. At their arrival in France, these stateless Jews were recognized as refugees and got a 'Certificate of Refugee' from the High Commissioner for Refugees in France, to allow them working until any country agrees to give them citizenship.

In the late 1950s, Egypt enacted laws that explicitly discriminated against Jews. Despite agreements signed between Great Britain, France, and Egypt allowing British and French nationals to return to Egypt to manage their businesses, Jews were excluded from this provision. The Egyptian employment service discouraged business owners from hiring Jews, and Jews were denied import and export licenses. In official statements and in the media, distinction between "Jews" on the one hand and "Israelis" or "Zionists" on the other, disappeared. Added to attacks on Israel and Zionism were verbal onslaughts on "International Jewry" and world Jewry's alleged plots against Egypt[155].

Epilogue: The Six-Day War

Egypt's defeat in 1967 created significant challenges for the remaining 2,500 Egyptian Jews. Few days after the war began, the police arrested the majority of Jewish men. Within a week, 75 Jews with foreign nationalities were released from prison, packed into army trucks, and transported directly from Cairo to Alexandria, where they boarded ships along with other foreigners leaving Egypt or being expelled[156].

Until September 1968, Jews not imprisoned were allowed to leave the country, provided they renounced their Egyptian citizenship and pledged never to return. They were also required to leave all their assets behind. By the end of 1968, only 1,000 Jews remained in Egypt. Jews who remained incarcerated were crowded in prisons known for their harsh conditions, sleeping on cement floors in cells with poor sanitary conditions[157], under physical and mental torture.

By September 1970, the last Jewish men imprisoned in June 1967 were released and expelled from Egypt, followed by their families. At that time, the Jewish communities of Cairo and Alexandria were severely diminished. It is estimated that only 300 Jews remained, with a high proportion of the remaining population being elderly, handicapped, or destitute.[158]

Since then, the long and proud history of Jews in Egypt slowly and inexorably moves toward extinction with the passing of each elderly Jew. In recent years, the Government of Egypt has restored some synagogues, allegedly to mark the rich legacy of Egyptian Jewry but more credibly to draw tourists to the country. Today, only two elderly Jews remain in Egypt.

154 Laskier, 1995, pp. 581-582.

155 Laskier, 1995, pp. 586-589.

156 Laskier, 1995, pp. 609-613.

157 Laskier, 1995, pp. 609-613.

158 Laskier, 1995, pp. 609-613; see also Yeroushalmy, Ovadia. The five long minutes: *Jews of Egypt 1967-1970, arrest and displacement.* Achiasaf, 2017. [Hebrew]

Chapter 4

Egypt Economic Section

Section 1 – Methodological Benchmarks

Based on the information presented above regarding the makeup of the Jewish community in Egypt in 1948, the following dates and figures will serve as a methodological benchmark for different points of analysis regarding the breakdown of different categories of Jewish assets:

Valuation Start Year:

The year 1948 represents a reasonable benchmark regarding the beginning of the Jewish community's gradual departure from Egypt, as well as a reasonable date from which to assess property values, as it predates the downward price- spiral associated with larger waves of Jewish departure in the years following

Conversion to present day valuation:

The methodology for the conversion of the value from a base year of 1948 to December 31, 2024 is explained in Section 11.

Size of the Jewish community:

For the purposes of this report, a total Jewish Egyptian population of 75,000[159] Jews, will be used to value Jewish property.

Distribution of Jewish population:

Based on the information presented below in detail, the Egyptian Jewish population was calculated to be 95% urban and 5% rural.

The distinction between rural and urban communities allows one to draw a simple distinction between vastly different types of communities (in terms of geography, literacy rates and type of education and employment, average size and value of land and property etc.)

Urban areas are widely recognized as larger metropolitan centers and their immediate environs/hinterlands, while rural communities are characterized by their distance from urban centers, their relatively smaller numbers, and an agriculture-centric way of life.

Jewish demographics: As mentioned in detail below, the average size of a Jewish family being utilized for the relevant period covered, is 5.

159 Roumani, Maurice. The Case 2; *WOJAC's Voice* Vol.1, No.1. 1978.

Section 2 – Economic Indicators

The following section is meant to describe the types of activities and occupations that characterized Jewish economic life in Egypt in the time-period under consideration. The data and conclusions from this section will serve as a point of departure for further analyses regarding the Jewish community's economic strength in Egypt.

Population Statistics

The Jewish community in Egypt included a community of indigenous Karaite Jews, Sephardic Jews who settled in the country in waves after their expulsion for Spain in 1492, and other foreign Jews from a variety of countries who flocked to Egypt, for a variety of reasons including economic opportunity, permissive regulations towards Jews[160], and persecution of Jews in their home countries.[161] The Jewish community in Egypt continued to grow throughout the early twentieth century. Official census figures put the number of Jews in Egypt in 1947, one year before the founding of the State of Israel, at 65,639.[162] However, other figures challenging the official census numbers have been mentioned by a variety of sources. Silvera notes a total population of 80,000 Jews in Egypt circa the Arab-Israeli war in 1948.[163] A French analysis of the Jewish community in Egypt between 1948 and 1967 mentions a monograph which places the number of Jews in Egypt in 1947 at about 85,000, or 0.4% of the total Egyptian population.[164] Shamir notes that experts had reason to doubt the figures presented in official census reports, and that the real total was likely higher; Egyptian Jews believed the total number of Jews in Egypt at the time was two to three times as high.[165] Shamir even notes that many Egyptian Jews believed the number of Jews in Cairo was 100,000 and a similar number in Alexandria.[166] Gilbert's analysis of the total number of Jews who fled Egypt for Israel between 1948 – 1972 amounts to 45,525;[167] taking into consideration the number of Egyptian Jews who fled to other locations such as the UK, France, Italy, Canada, Brazil, and Australia leads to a total Jewish-Egyptian population of close to 73,000 Jews.[168] A population assessment of the displacement of Jews from Arab Countries and Iran from 1948 to 2024 was created by JJAC, which notes the total Egyptian Jewish population in 1948 as 75,000.[169]

Jewish Settlement Patterns: Urban vs Rural

Regarding the geographic distribution and urban/rural split within the Jewish community in Egypt at the time, Jews in Egypt tended to congregate in urban settings in coastal regions where they were close to trade routes and commercial centers. While

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160 Landau, pg. 6 – "…in 1858, foreigners were permitted to acquire land, and opportunities were created for the investment of foreign capital in Egypt…investors, many of whom were Jewish, were attracted to Egypt."

161 Ibid., pgs. 3-6 – Landau also notes that the general population in Egypt began to increase significantly starting in the nineteenth century, for both reasons of immigration, of which Jews were a large proportion, and due to increasing health standards.

162 Ilan, pg. 47

163 Silvera, pg. 172

164 Carasso, pgs. 12, 13

165 Shamir, pg. 34

166 Ibid., pg. 63

167 Gilbert, Maps

168 Pohoryles. Based on data found in Beit Hatfutsot: Museum of the Jewish People

169 Roumani, Maurice. The Case 2; *WOJAC's Voice* Vol.1, No.1. 1978.

an overwhelming number of Jews settled in Lower Egypt, closer to the Mediterranean Sea, Jews also settled toward the interior due to the draw of the Nile River. In general, however, most of the Jews in Egypt lived in two major cities, Cairo and Alexandria, well into the mid- twentieth century.

> *During most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the prevalent ecological trend among Egyptian Jews was toward town dwelling. At the close of the eighteenth century, there had been approximately three thousand Jews in Cairo, and this figure hardly varied during the first third of the nineteenth century…The Alexandrian Jewish community, which, at the beginning of the century, probably consisted of a mere few hundred individuals, also grew, and by mid-century numbered about two thousand.*[170]

Table 8 - Distribution of the Jewish Population in Egypt, 1897, 1907, and 1917[171]

Location	1897	1907	1917
Cairo	8,819	20,281	29,207
Alexandria	9,831	14,475	24,858
Tanta	883	1,104	1,183
Port Said	400	378	594
Mansura	508	522	586
Suez	120	74	157
Ismailia	39	11	95
Others	4,600	1,790	2,901
Total	**25,200**	**38,635**	**59,581**

Table 9 - Distribution of Jewish Population in Egypt According to Major Residential Centers, 1927- 1960[172]

Year	Absolute Figures				Percentage			
	Total	Cairo	Alexandria	Other Locations	Total	Cairo	Alexandria	Other Locations
1927	**63,550**	34,103	24,829	4,618	**100%**	53.7	39.1%	7.3%
1937	**62,953**	35,014	24,690	3,249	**100%**	55.6%	39.2%	5.2%
1947	**65,639**	41,860	21,128	2,651	**100%**	63.8%	32.2%	4.0%
1960	**8,561**	5,587	2,760	214	**100%**	65.3%`	32.2%	2.5%

170 Landau, pg. 7

171 Landau, pg. 8. Based on Egyptian census reports

172 Ilan, pg. 40

Landau mentions three reasons behind the majority of the Jews' tendency to congregate in urban centers: first, many Jews remained in the Port of Alexandria, where they first arrived in Egypt. Second, as Jews congregated in either Alexandria or Cairo, immigrant Jews naturally desired to live amongst their coreligionists. Finally, the types of occupations usually held by Jews – bankers, merchants, film producers, accountants, doctors, etc. – increased the likelihood that they would live in urban areas opposed to rural areas. Thus, few Jewish families lived outside of Egypt's main urban centers.[173] Many of those who lived outside of Cairo and Alexandria tended to concentrate in the European quarters of the city: "The Jews of Port Said concentrated in the European quarter of the city. They were originally from Jewish communities outside of Egypt: Yemenites, Turks, Sephardic Jews, and Jews from Russia and Romania."[174]

Given the overwhelming concentration of Jews in Cairo and Alexandria and in the urban quarters in other faraway locations, it was concluded that, for the purposes of this report, 95% of all Egyptian Jews would be considered in the urban category, while 5% would be considered rural dwellers.[175]

The demographic makeup of the Jewish community in Egypt was researched to ascertain the average size of a Jewish family in Egypt. Emigration statistics of Jews from Egypt arriving in Israel show an average number of children per family of 2.4 children, along with 2 parents. This would yield an average nuclear family of 4.4 persons per household.[176] Taking into account the presence of single adults and elderly family members living with their relatives, it was decided to proceed on the basis of 5 persons per household, a simple number which also falls in line with demographic assessments from other countries in the region.

The Abandonment or Seizure of Jewish Assets

Legal measures to seize the assets of the Jewish community in Egypt started as early as 1947, with the promulgation of the Egyptian Companies Law. This law insisted that "at least 75% of the administrative employees of a company to be Egyptian nationals and 90% of employees in general. This resulted in the dismissal and loss of livelihood for many Jews since only 15% of them had been granted Egyptian citizenship."[177] Thus, Jews on all levels of business were made to make way for more 'authentic' Egyptian nationals, who began to replace them.

On May 30th, 1948, "Proclamation N26 subjected to sequestration the property of any person who was interned in Egypt and of anyone residing outside Egypt whose activities were deemed 'prejudicial to the safety and security of the State', as well as that of those who had merely been placed under surveillance…" Over the course of a year, these efforts resulted in "significant Jewish private, commercial and communal assets [that] were seized and placed in the custody of the commissioner of sequestered

173 Landau, pgs. 8, 9 – "During the years of World War I the trend was disrupted. Although migration towards the larger towns continued, some Jews settled in villages, particularly in the Canal Zone, where they could find better opportunities for business with the Allied troops stationed in that area."

174 Ilan, pg. 45

175 Table 2 shows that 4% of the Jewish population lived in other major residential centers outside of Alexandria and Cairo. The Egyptian Census, however, only reaches a total of 65,639 Jews. According to Levana Zamir, those discounted often lived outside major urban centers. Thus, assuming that roughly 3,000 of these Jews lived in rural areas, it was decided to proceed on the basis of a total of 5% rural Jewish population in Egypt.

176 Laskier (1993), pg. 190

177 https://www.justiceforjews.com/egypt.html

property."[178] Laskier writes that "as many as 30 Jewish families were evicted each week from their homes in those parts of Cairo with a radius of one kilometer of King Faruq's residence or places he frequented. According to one report based on information from Egypt, once eviction began, "the Jewish families had to sell their furniture in forty-eight hours at cut-rate prices…. [Those] who had the money paid enormous sums for other apartments…. The poor could do nothing but ask friends and relative to shelter them, this creating difficult situations and hardships."[179]

Immediately after the beginning of the Suez Crisis, Egyptian authorities declared a state of siege and set the stage for another round of mass sequestration and confiscation of Jewish property. First, an amendment was passed to the Egyptian Nationality Law of 1926, stripping "Zionists" of Egyptian nationality:[180]

> *The exodus of Jews from Egypt was given further impetus later in 1957. Starting on November 1, and continuing for almost three weeks, 486 Egyptian Jews were arrested under 'Military Proclamation No. 4.' Their property and assets were sequestered and handed over to Egyptian administrators… In the years that followed, legislation continued to impoverish the Jews who remained in Egypt, forcing many of them to leave. On 20 July 1961, almost eight hundred Jewish–owned companies, banks and industries were taken over by the Egyptian State. That same day, Ministerial Decree No. 1276 nationalised the predominantly Jewish–owned Egyptian Delta Land and Investment Company that had developed the Maadi villa suburb in southern Cairo.*[181]

Itamar Levin, who conducted in-depth research of the confiscation of Jewish property in Egypt during these years, described the efforts conducted at the time to surmise the scope and value of confiscated Jewish property:

> *Research conducted at that time by U.S. experts showed that, according to official Egyptian records, out of 486 properties confiscated within the first few weeks of the new policy, at least 95% were Jewish-owned. It is estimated that between November 1956 and March 1957, 500 Jewish-owned companies were confiscated, and another 800 companies frozen. A few Jews managed to preserve some of their property by entering into 50% partnerships with non-Jewish Egyptians with influence.*[182]

Levin also described attempts by Jews deported from Egypt to salvage their property. Egyptian authorities imposed strict restriction on Jews' ability to extricate their property upon leaving, resulting in "the overwhelming majority of Egyptian Jews [losing] their property overnight."[183] Indeed, some reports told of:

> *Jews who, on exiting Egypt, were required to sign declarations stating they would never return to Egypt, even as tourists, and that they had no claims on the property left behind. Sometimes, citizenship papers and deeds to property were torn up right before their eyes. They were forced to give details*

178 Laskier (1995), pg. 576

179 Laskier (1993), pg. 130

180 Human Rights Violations Against Jews in Egypt, JJAC - Article 18 of the 1956 law asserted that "Egyptian nationality may be declared forfeited by order of the Ministry of Interior in the case of persons classified as Zionists".

181 Gilbert, ch. 17

182 Levin, pg. 104

183 Levin, pg. 114

about foreign bank accounts, and customs officials searched their bags thoroughly, looking for jewellery. The first deportees were allowed to bring a single suitcase with them; others later on were allowed a bit more, but still moveable goods only. Their real estate was left behind and confiscated.[184]

Some Jews, mostly those possessing foreign nationality were able to take some of their property with them upon their departure. One way to save their property was:

via a letter of credit, especially from the Britain's Midland Bank, or Societe Generale of France…Up until June 1957, French banks cashed all travellers checks and letter of credit on presentation in France, but later discontinued the policy, leaving the Jewish refugees stranded with a total of 3.63 million francs in credit. Only after Great Britain and Egypt reached an agreement in early 1959…were most of the letters of credit honoured. Even then, they were not cashed in at full value, but according to a relative value, determined by the agreement.[185]

At the same time, Jews who desired to sell their property were vulnerable both to punitively-low prices and to exorbitant exchange fees and taxes should they decide to transfer their assets abroad:

Were they to leave, about 50% of the value would be lost in selling, and again 50% of the realisation would go in the transfer abroad. Therefore, whatever they would be able to get out of Egypt would be approximately one-quarter of the real value of the assets...If and when eventually Jewish owners are able to recover their properties, the amounts already paid in taxes will be lost completely, and no amount of discussion, whether amicable or judicial, will refund this loss. When a firm is taken over by the sequestrator who administers it without the necessary care or competence, funds become short and liquidation inevitable. If shares in any company are owned by a Jewish person, then the sequestrator often sells these shares to a friend of his, or at any rate, to a Moslem, for a ridiculously low price.[186]

Nevertheless, no comprehensive registration of the property losses of Egyptian Jews was compiled at the time. A few organizations, however, attempted partial assessments of Jewish property ownership in Egypt at the time. One of these partial assessments of property losses was of losses suffered by British citizens, including Jews with British citizenship. These losses were addressed in the context of an Anglo-Egyptian Agreement signed in 1958. Two prominent Jewish families, the Smouha and Ades families, suffered losses that ranked near the highest losses by any British family. Altogether, concerning the loss of British property, "the British Foreign Office drew up a detailed list of British property that had been nationalized or confiscated, with a total value exceeding 178 million Egyptian pounds (£E). The value of property belonging to Joseph Smouha and his family was assessed at 14.3 million Egyptian pounds – the largest private claimant by far…The second, also Jewish, was the Ades family…"[187]

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184 Ibid., pg. 109

185 Ibid., pg. 115

186 CZA, C2/1284. "Arab countries Correspondence and reports concerning Syria; Libya; Iran; Kuwait and Egypt and the situation of Jews in those countries, 1952-1959." Doc. 5: Correspondence between A.L. Easterman and Andre Jabes: Note on Jews in Egypt (April 16, 1958).

187 Levin, pg. 123

Figure 3 - Smouha City

Source: Twitter Post, accessed May 8, 2019 - https://twitter.com/hashtag/Smouha_City?src=hash

Figure 4 - Joseph Smouha posing with King Fuad I

Source: Twitter Post, accessed May 8, 2019 - https://twitter.com/hashtag/Smouha_City?src=hash

Some of these losses were eventually addressed by the Egyptian government in the context of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement. The Smouha family, for example, received £3.1 million, though the family still "lost more than £10 million in 1960s terms, or over £100 million in current values [in 2004]."[188] For the most part, however, Egypt did not engage in claims for compensation:

> *…Egypt did not permit the return of British and French Jews who wanted to come back to look after their assets or for other reasons, although treaties had been signed with both Britain and France which ensure the right of expellees to return. In fact, in August 1958, a Franco-Egyptian*

188 Levin, pg. 125

agreement was concluded in Zurich, providing for de-sequestration of, or reimbursement for, properties and businesses of French citizens expelled from Egypt. A similar agreement was signed in February 1959 with Britain. We also know of an Egyptian-Italian agreement regarding assets of Italian citizens. Stateless Jews who left or were expelled were in a worse situation, since no government could or would present their case or negotiate on their behalf.[189]

Partial Compensation Under Agreements with Britan and France

Besides the efforts of Jewish organizations and the Israeli government to register property losses suffered by Jews displaced from Egypt, information regarding the scope and value of property losses suffered by Jews in Egypt is available via compensation agreements signed between Egypt and France as well as Egypt and Great Britain. Both European countries boasted large expat communities and a significant percentage of these communities included Jews with French or British citizenship.[190]

France and Egypt signed a bilateral agreement in 1958 in part to make it possible for Egyptian expats livings in France to return to Egypt and submit claims to have their property de-sequestered. After the agreement was signed, however, Egyptian authorities did not issue travel visas to Jews who formerly resided in Egypt, making it impossible for these Jews to reclaim their sequestered property.[191] One year after the agreement was signed, for example, "no claims had been settled regarding the release of confiscated Jewish properties."[192] Great Britian and Egypt signed a similar agreement in February 1959 and compensation was paid to Great Britain by Egypt on the basis of 4,442 claims collected by the British Foreign office. Here too, the Egyptian government forbade Jews with British citizenship from returning to reclaim their property, and properties formerly owned by Jews with British citizenship that were already sold were not subject to any compensation.[193]

Previous Valuation Attempts

Throughout the years, there have been efforts to evaluate the total property losses suffered by Jews. However, many of these efforts had limitations, including but not limited to, narrow timeframes, undefined property categories, and geographical factors. Therefore, a comprehensive accounting of all types of property and asset losses suffered by Jews over the entire span of Jewish departure from Egypt could not be fully captured. These losses have been discussed in depth by Fischbach and Levin, who have noted several efforts, such as the attempts of British and French governments to document the scope and value of their citizen's property and assets confiscated and nationalized by Egyptian authorities after Suez,[194] and the collection of testimonials

189 Laskier (1995), pgs. 586, 587
190 Fischbach, pg. 152
191 Ibid., pgs. 152, 152
192 Levin, pg. 139
193 Levin, pg. 139; Fischbach, pg. 154
194 Levin, pgs. 104, 105

and claims by the State of Israel and Egyptian Jewish organizations, including:[195]

- Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Israel's Finance Ministry's Foreign Claims Registration Office (1951 to 1956),[196]
- B'nai B'rith organization (November 1956 to January 1957),
- Israeli government's special commission (1957 to 1958),
- The Central Registry of Jewish Losses in Egypt (June 1959),[197]
- The Association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution (1971), including various memorandums.[198]

Egyptian Economic Development

Beginning in the nineteenth century, Egypt set off on a path of economic modernization and expansion. The reign of Muhammad Ali (1805 – 1849), the unofficial founder of modern Egypt, ushered an age of local economic development. As for the Jews, they "continued to be oppressed, but they and their property were protected by law. This personal and financial security led to an increase in their numbers and changes in the nature of their livelihood."[199]

The Jewish community, though never a large component of Egyptian society, was an early and significant contributor to Egyptian economic growth.[200] Prominent Jewish families would play crucial roles in expanding Egypt's urban landscape, industrial base, banking and financial systems, transportation system, media and cultural production, and more.

A strong marker of Egypt's opening to a wider world of trade and of an enhanced economic position was the opening of the Suez Canal. For Jews, the opening of the canal was a sign of economic and social opportunity:

> *After the Suez Canal was opened in 1869, Ismail Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt, made an added effort to encourage outsiders to settle in the country as a way of developing its economy… The age–old restrictions and humiliations of dhimmi status were set side, and those Jews who responded to the Khedive's call were granted special privileges in return for their skills and expertise… Jewish enterprise flourished in the favourable conditions established by the Khedive. The Egyptian business world, the cotton trade, and manufacturing and retailing all gained in turn by the Jewish influx. In April 1888, Khedive Tewfik awarded a contract to build, operate and manage a new Cairo–Helwan railway to a consortium of three Jewish bankers–Jacob Moise Cattaui, Felix Suares and Baron Jacques Levi Bohor de Menasche. Ten years later, members of the Cattaui dynasty helped to*

195 Fischbach, pgs. 47, 48; Levin, pgs. 136, 137

196 ISA (130) 1848/hts/9, "Overall Summary of the Work of the Foreign Claims Registration Office as of December 31, 1950."

197 CZA C10/3449, Central Registry of Jewish Losses in Egypt, Bulletin No. 2 (December 3, 1957); CZA C10/3449, Central Registry of Jewish Losses in Egypt, Bulletin No. 2 (June 9, 1959), as found in Fischbach, pg. 149

198 Memorandum regarding the Israeli Organization of Anti-Jewish Persecutions Victims from Egypt, 16 March, 1960 ; Memorandum to Prime Minister Menachem Begin regarding total value of lost property belonging to Egyptian Jews, 24 September, 1978

199 Landau, pg. 3

200 Laskier (1995), pg. 573

found and then direct the National Bank of Egypt. Among them was Baron Jacques, who also sat on the board of directors for the Egyptian Delta Light Railway and owned mercantile enterprises in Manchester, Liverpool, Paris and Istanbul. Another Cattaui family member was Felix Suares, who helped to finance agricultural development in the Nile Delta as a board member of the Agricultural Bank of Egypt, and who transformed a bankrupt company into the country's largest sugar production enterprise.[201]

Jewish prominence in Egypt was tied to the country's economic development and the period from the late-nineteenth century through the early twentieth century represented a sort of golden age for Jews in Egypt. The French had come and gone, leaving behind a sentimental attachment to French and Western culture. Afterwards, in 1882, the British declared a Protectorate status over Egypt. The Egypt that flourished under these conditions was relatively liberal, open, and tolerant. By the 1920s, prominent Jews achieved positions of high status and influence in the country. For example, another member of the Cattaui family, Joseph Aslan Cattaui, was made Finance Minister; he later became a Senator as well.[202] Emanuel Mizrachi, another Egyptian Jew, "was in charge of the royal estates of King Fuad…In 1937 he played an important part in securing Egypt's financial independence, helping to negotiate the Montreux Convention, whereby Egypt was to be freed from the Capitulations and Mixed Courts imposed by twelve European nations fifty years earlier."[203] Moreno Cicurel, a Jewish immigrant from Izmir, founded the famous Cicurel department store. The store became one of the "largest and most fashionable retail chain[s] in Egypt." The fate of the Cicurel store is described below:

The Cicurel store in Cairo was firebombed during the 1948 Palestine war, probably by supporters of the Muslim Brothers, and it was burned a second time as a symbol of European influence during the Cairo fire of January 26, 1952. Both times the store was rebuilt with the support of the government. A memorandum submitted to the ministry of commerce in 1948 described the Cicurel firm as "one of the pillars of our economic independence." Nonetheless, the Cicurel store had a European cultural character because of its largely Jewish staff, its expensive and largely imported merchandise, and the use of French by employees and customers on the shop floor. Even many of the Egyptian- born Jewish members of the Cicurel staff did not hold citizenship papers and were classified as "stateless." Cicurel's contradictions could not be balanced indefinitely. At the outbreak of the 1956 Suez war, unlike in 1948, the Cicurel firm was placed under sequestration. The Cicurel family soon ceded its majority holding to a new group headed by Muslims, and in 1957 Salvator Cicurel left Egypt for France.[204]

201 Gilbert, ch. 8
202 Ibid., ch. 10
203 Ibid., ch. 11
204 Daly, pgs. 331, 332

Figure 5 - The entrance floor of Cicurel Department Store

Source: Courtesy of Levana Zamir

The accounts of several other Jewish families underline the significance of Jewish economic scope and strength in Egypt in the twentieth century:

The Menasche (Mawas) Family

The patriarch of the Menasche family was Baron Jacob de Menasche. Baron Jacob, was "an Alexandria merchant claiming roots in Central Europe" who caught Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph's attention during the latter's attendance at a ceremony inaugurating the Suez Canal.[205] The Austrians thereafter granted special protections to Jews in Alexandria, and the young merchant took advantage of the opportunity. Jacob was thereafter ennobled by the Emperor, which swiftly lifted Baron Jacob to the social and economic elite in the city. The Menasches, cousins of the aforementioned Cattaui family, who were themselves one of the most economically significant Jewish families in Egypt and who were based in Cairo, assumed a similar position in Alexandria.

> *In 1904, the Cattauis and the Menashes, together with two influential British Financial Advisors to the Egyptian Government Sir Auckland Colvin and Sir Elwin Palmer formed the Egyptian Delta Land & Investment Company which created in 1907 the suburb of Maadi along the Bab al-Louk - Helwan railway line…Delta Land was but one of several urban and agricultural venture capital companies owned by the same business elite of Cattauis, Suares, Menashes and Rolos. Later, it was joined by Elie Mosseri whose accumulated wealth surpassed the richest of his relations making him the undisputed taipan.*[206]

205 Raafat - Historical Society of Jews from Egypt - http://www.hsje.org/Egypt/TheHouse-ofYacoubCattaui.html

206 Raafat - Historical Society of Jews from Egypt - http://www.hsje.org/Egypt/TheHouse-ofYacoubCattaui.html

Descendants of the Menasche family, like in other prominent Jewish families at the time, continued to play crucial roles as part of Egypt's social and economic elite. The grandson of Baron Jacob de Menasche, for example, served as an early director of the National Bank of Egypt, which opened in 1898.[207]

After the events in question which led to the dissolution of the Jewish community in Egypt took place, the Menashe family and the assets they owned, were not spared from the Egyptian government's sequestration and confiscation decrees. Indeed, Jacques Felix Mawas, heir to Menasche family line, wrote US President George W. Bush a letter, after 30 years' worth of legal proceedings, on the subject of "Enforcement of Judgments issued in Egypt in favor of U.S. Citizens of Jewish Origin" after an Egyptian court recognized the ownership rights of the Menasche family (now Mawas) over a part of their properties, and ordered mandatory compensation worth $160,565,303.[208] The Jewish community leadership has since reported that this order was promptly ignored by the Egyptian government.

The Mosseri Family

The Mosseri families was one of the most significant Jewish families in Egypt. The Mosseri's established the first bank in Egypt,[209] and played a major role in the country's agricultural and financial development.

> *The origins of this famous banking family date back to one Nessim Mosseri in 1750, and many of his scions went on to distinguish themselves in the economic life of Egypt, in finances, industry, agriculture, and the liberal professions.*
>
> *Among the notable personalities of this family one can mention Nessim Yousef Mosseri, who was elected president of the Mixed Tribunal of Commerce. His son Yousef Mosseri was nominated judge of the same tribunal. Also noteworthy is Victor Moise Mosseri, an acclaimed agronomist, who was appointed by the government to the position of director for the Chamber of Agronomists, Architects, and Chemists. He made a significant contribution to the development of cotton growing and particularly to the spread of plant protection, as well as to the growth of the sugar industry. He was a member of numerous scientific associations in Egypt and Europe. Elie N. Mosseri reorganized the Egyptian Cement Company, which had previously been in a state of absolute disarray. He was a renowned financier, and major companies sought his participation on their boards of directors.*[210]

207 Ibid.

208 Mawas letter to President George W. Bush. Courtesy of Levana Zamir.

209 Julius, pg. 62

210 Mizrahi, pg. 89

Figure 6 - Advertisement for Bank Mosseri, 1943Source: Ilan, pg. 57

Figure 7 - Edward Mosséri and Bella Belbel wedding at Sha'ar Hashamayim Synagogue, Cairo (1941)

Source: Courtesy of Levana Zamir

The Bigio Family

The Bigio family represents another case of a Jewish family acquiring an "assemblage of warehouses and manufacturing buildings sprawled across 10,000 square meters"[211] and turning them into profit centers. In this case, the "Bigio family had come to Egypt in 1901 from Aleppo. Raphael Nissim Bigio set up a number of factories in Heliopolis. In the 1930s, the Egyptian branch of Coca-Cola rented one of the factories and set up the company's first production line in Egypt."[212] The plant was confiscated in 1961 and was nationalized in 1964. By 1965, "realizing there was nothing more for them in the land of their birth, the Bigio family emigrated to Canada."[213] A member of the Bigio family, Raphael Bigio (grandson to Raphael Nissim Bigio), filed a lawsuit against the Coca Cola Corporation in 1988. "Bigio demanded $100 million in compensation for damages and

211 Edwin Black, Banking in Bahgdad, 2004

212 Levin, pg. 158

213 Ibid., pg. 156

emotional distress."[214] Repeated hearings have led to the dismissal of the complaint in US courts. The Bigio's filed numerous petitions all the way up to the United States Supreme Court, to no avail. .[215] In addition to these prominent Jewish families who played such an outsized role in the economic development of a modernizing Egypt, there arose a culturally sophisticated urban middle class:

> *There were artisans, jewellers, seamstresses, and tailors. In the 1920s and 1930s, Jews occupied a pivotal position in the film industry. There were celebrated Jewish actors like Leila Mourad, Nagua Salem, and Beshara Wakim; directors and producers like Togo Mizrahi, the Frenkel Brothers, and Robert and Raymond Hakim; leading film distributors like Zaki Bonan of Behna Films, Jacques Cohen of International Film, and Elie Israel of Mathatheia Films. In addition, Jewish men who came of age in the 1940s and 1950s joined the ranks of a rising professional class, the effendiyya. This class comprised educated men who practiced professions such as law, medicine, engineering, pharmacy, and journalism. In this upwardly mobile urban society, most Jews could be counted among the striving middle classes: those who hoped to improve and make more secure their lives and the lives of the families in their care. Among Egyptian Jews, some were fellahins who cultivated the land, and others were overseers who administered it. There were also poor Jews who lived in urban enclaves like the various haras. The history of Egyptian Jewry in the last two decades of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth attests to their diversity and to the Jewish community's confidence, strength, and vitality. They were, as David Maslowski so rightly says, "A minority on the rise".*[216]

Another indicator of the Jewish community's strength in Egypt is represented by their economic and philanthropic activities in the Jewish community in Palestine, that would become the State of Israel. Levana Zamir described some of these efforts:

> *In 1933, a group of Jews from Alexandria raised £E15,000, purchased a large plot of land in Eretz-Israel in the sum of £E13,000, and donated the land for the purpose of founding a new settlement for German- Jewish refugees. This is 'Kfar Yedidyah' which was inaugurated in 1935, and which continues to flourish until this day. In 1944, British authorities in Egypt were amazed at the size of donations sent by the Jewish of Cairo and Alexandria to Jewish Appeal, totaling £E100,000, for the purpose of sheltering refugees from Europe in Eretz-Israel. This was the largest donation received from any of the Jewish communities throughout the Mediterranean Basin.*[217]

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214 Ibid., pg. 158

215 https://url.usb.m.mimecastprotect.com/s/cLZXCVJz18TD8lxrfGf2UEN-u1?domain=casetext.com

216 Israel-Pelletier, pg. 13

217 Zamir, pg. 15

Jewish Socioeconomic Breakdowns

The Jewish community in Egypt was relatively wealthy compared to its counterparts in other parts of North Africa. The above-mentioned contributions by prominent Jewish families to the Egyptian economy throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century give an indication of their socioeconomic strength. In addition, a healthy Jewish middle-class was well established by 1948.

Various sources describe the Jewish community's overall socioeconomic conditions differently. Carasso divides the community into "notables, bourgeois, [and] poor."[218] Zamir, citing figures from Krämer and the Egyptian census report, notes the following socioeconomic breakdown: "Based on statistics from 1901, 20% of Jews were wealthy (8% of them millionaires), 60% aspiring middle-class, 20% poor. By 1947, according to the Egyptian census, the unemployment rate amongst Jews declined to 5.4% (besides children and the elderly). The makeup of the Jewish community resembled that of an onion, with a wide middle."[219] Levin, citing statistics of Jewish refugees who had fled Israel, provides the following description:

> *A breakdown of the refugee population by profession demonstrates why they could not be counted on to fund their own emigration. According to a report prepared by an Israel-based Association of Emigrants from Egypt, the poor comprised 10% of the entire Jewish community before 1956 and were supported by community funds and the wealthy. The middle class, meaning tradesmen, businessmen, and clerks, constituted 40%; craftsmen and professionals, such as doctors, pharmacists, engineers, architects, machinists, nurses, and social workers made up another 20%; the well-to-do, who owned large enterprises or were factory partners, also comprised 20%; and 10% were rich, (this group included 40 millionaires.)*[220]

The clearest picture that emerges from this data is that unlike other Jewish communities in North Africa where the poor and lower-middle classes made up the majority of the Jewish population, the Jewish community in Egypt includes a robust middle and upper-middle class as well as a fairly large wealthy class. Therefore, it was concluded that the socioeconomic breakdown to be used for the purposes of this project, combined with aforementioned conclusions on the size of the average household (5 persons) and the urban-rural divide (95% vs. 5%), would be as follows:

218 Carasso, pg. 30

219 Zamir, pg. 18

220 Levin, pg. 114

Table 10 - Jewish Socioeconomic Breakdown in Egypt, Distribution of Households per Class, 1948[221]

Executive Summary	Percentage of Jewish Households	Total No. of Households per Class	No. of Urban Households per Class	No. of Rural Households per Class
Wealthy	10%	1,500	1,500	-
Middle Class	80%	12,000	12,000	-
Poor	10%	1,500	750	750
Total	**100%**	**15,000**	**14,250**	**750**

This breakdown, relying on the description used by Levin above, relegates the petty "tradesmen, businessmen, and clerks" as well as other "craftsmen" to the 'Lower-Middle' class while professionals, such as doctors, pharmacists, engineers, architects, machinists, nurses, and social workers" constituted the 'Middle-Class'. Owners of large enterprises and the like constitute the 'Upper-Middle Class.' The 'Wealthy Class comprises rich households of significant wealth, including a class of 40 millionaires, as mentioned by Levin.

Furthermore, in a report written by Israeli government officials meeting with an Egyptian delegation describing the socioeconomic status of those Jews arriving in Israel, the range of savings per socioeconomic group is given:

> *...it can be assumed that a large percentage of these families possessed between 200 - 500 Egyptian Liras per family. The authorities allowed each emigrant to take 300 Liras in cash and jewellery up to a certain weight... The younger class (small shop owners etc.) who make up the majority of Egyptian Jewry, have approximately 3,000- 10,000 Liras. The middle class (corporate managers bankers, medium shop owners etc.), 100,000 Liras; there are also a few millionaires (bank owners, lands, buildings and retail stores).*[222]

Jewish Occupations

Examples of the types of occupations held by Jews have already been mentioned above: financiers, owners of large companies, professionals, craftsmen, and artisans. Depictions of Jewish occupation in Egypt in the early nineteenth century tended to focus on their professional acumen as "financiers, moneychangers, moneylenders and pawnbrokers."[223] By the second half of the nineteenth century, as Landau explains, alongside the spread of education in the Jewish community, Jews began to hold a wider variety of jobs than they traditionally held:

221 Source: Testimonial data

222 CZA, S20/553, "Condition of Jews in Egypt (1949-1950)." Report on Meeting with Egyptian Delegation, 15/5/50.

223 Landau, pg. 9

Fewer Jews became bakers and apparently none servants or washerwomen; more became clerks in local and foreign commercial enterprises; they were also employed in the consulates and in the Egyptian civil service. There were Jews in the highest positions in the Ministry of Finance…they also became senior officials in this and other government ministries…Toward the end of the nineteenth century more Jews became physicians (including famous specialists), lawyers, agronomists, and members of the other liberal professions. Apart from the western-oriented intelligentsia, and the clerks, merchants, artisans, and peddlers, there gradually developed, from the late nineteenth century onwards, a stratum of businessmen, whose money, diligence, and connections made a considerable contribution to the Egyptian economy.[224]

As Landau continues to write, the "large majority were still artisans and traders, or accountants and agents of banks and commercial enterprises."[225] Similarly, Gudrun Krämer estimated that "15% worked as clerks, 15% as artisans, 30% as traders, and 5% in liberal professions. Though the credibility of these figures is not absolute, this information does somewhat balance the overemphasis on Jews as rich bankers and large traders."[226] In 1937 and 1947, the Egyptian census reported the distribution of Jewish employment as follows:

Table 11 - Distribution of Total and Jewish Employment in Egypt, 1937

Occupation	Non-Jews (%)	Jews (%)
Agriculture, Fishing, Mining	67.0	0.6
Artisanship and Industry	7.2	21.1
Construction	2.5	-
Media	-	2.4
Trade	8.4	59.1
General Administration and Public Service (transportation, storage, media)	3.0	10.4
Private Services	11.9	6.3
Total	**100.0**	**99.9**

Source: Ilan, pg. 64. Based on Egyptian census reports

224 Ibid., pgs. 11-13
225 Ibid., pg. 15
226 Ilan, pgs. 63, 64

Table 12 - Distribution Jewish Employment in Egypt, 1947

Occupation	Jews (%)
Agriculture, Fishing, Mining	0.4
Artisanship and Industry	18.1
Construction	1.0
Media	2.5
Trade	58.9
General Administration and Public Service (transportation, storage, media)	12.2
Private Services	6.9
Total	**100.0**

Source: Carasso, pg. 39

Nevertheless, Jews continued to represent a significant portion of the Egyptian elite. As Egypt's economic importance grew into the late nineteenth century, "Jews were members of almost all of the most significant companies, from banking and financial companies, real estate companies, transportation and shipping, cotton-weaving factories, food, and chemical products (such as salt and soda companies). The Jewish presence in the stock market was so large that the stock market in Alexandria was not active on Yom Kippur."[227] On the other end of the socioeconomic scale, native Egyptian Jews, as opposed to those with more immediate foreign origins, stuck to more traditional, local occupations:

> *Jews native to Egypt were goldsmiths who made gold jewellery and silver tools, pharmacists, tailors, opticians, silk dyers, and chair builders. They were also movers, butchers and holders of other professions. Among them, the Karaites also dealt in goldsmithing and petty trade. In 1948, many of them were still gold and silversmiths though only a few made "modern jewellery" … It appears that few native Egyptian Jews moved to modern professions such industry or specialized imports during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.*[228]

Moving up the socioeconomic ladder, the Jewish upper-middle class continued to be well-represented into the 1940s and 1950s. "Statistics compiled by Thomas Philipp… indicate that in the 1940s, when Jews made up less than 0.5 percent of the Egyptian population, they occupied between 12.6 and 16 percent of all the directorships of Egyptian joint stock companies."[229] This meant that although Jews represented a small minority of the total population, they were a significant business presence as directors of large companies and members of the board of directors.

227 Ila., pg. 59
228 Ilan, pg. 59
229 Beinin., pg. 260

Table 13 - Total Number and Jewish Share of Directors and Directorships of Egyptian Joint Stock Companies, (1943, 1947-48, 1951, 1960, 1961-62)

Year	Directors		Directorships	
	Total	Jews	Total	Jews
1943	728	112 (15.4%)	1,626	262 (16%)
1947-1948	1,103	140 (12.7%)	2,411	305 (12.7%)
1951	1,248	111 (8.9%)	2,749	264 (9.6%)
1960	1,399	7 (0.5%)	1,886	8 (0.4%)
1961-62	950	-	-	-

Source: Beinin, pg. 260. Based on Thomas Philipp's figures found in the Stock Exchange Year-Book of Egypt

Another way to ascertain the Jews' prominence, as Beinin notes, was "from the listing of names in Le Mondain égyptien: L'Annuaire de l'élite d'Egypte (The Egyptian Who's Who). In the 1954 edition, there were 715 Jewish names out of a total of 4,632 entries. By this indicator, Jews made up over 15.4 percent of the Egyptian elite in 1954."[230]

Section 3 – Land Distribution

This section will discuss the Egyptian land tenure system, the structure of landownership in Egypt in the mid-twentieth century, and the share of land that may have been owned by Jews at the relevant time.

Trends in Egyptian Land Distribution

Until the mid-nineteenth century, agricultural production in Egypt was mainly produced for subsistence purposes. A series of land laws were passed in 1847, 1855, and 1858, though it is unclear to what extent they changed the status quo. Following the reign of Muahmmad Ali, and Egypt's integration into the global economy and its prominence in the cash-crop economy, a "landed rural notability" emerged.[231] Later on, in the 1870s, "formal, documented, full-fledged private land ownership was created" whereby the khedive (viceroy) "granted full ownership in return for advance payment of six years of land taxes, to be cut in half later."[232]

> *This process was enhanced under the British, so that by 1907, 75 percent of the land was owned by 147,000 large and medium holders, while the remaining 25 percent was held in small, often fragmented, plots by 1,120,000 land owners. At the same time, 21 percent of rural Egyptian families were landless, 70 percent of them held some property, but less than the five faddans required for subsistence, while only 9 percent owned more than five faddans, including here very large, medium, and small holders. Among the landowning class, there was a growing number of European companies.*[233]

230 Ibid.
231 Daly, pg. 272
232 Ibid.
233 Ibid.

At the same time, up until 1940 or so, an agrarian landowning elite developed, at the top of which stood the Egyptian King and the royal family. This landowning elite consisted of about 2,000 large estate holders.

> *This elite and a second stratum of agrarian notables comprised some 12,000 families holding fifty faddans or more, equivalent to about 40 percent of the cultivated land. During the same period, the number of smallholders of five faddans or less increased from 760,000 to 2.64 million, while the area of their holdings only doubled. The average size of a small peasant-holding declined from 1.46 faddans to 0.8 faddans between 1900 and 1952, while the landless rural population increased…234 By 1939 over 90 percent of rural families were landless or owned less than three faddans, the minimum required to support a household of four. Many peasants lived as sharecroppers on estates ('izbas) where, in exchange for cultivating the landlords' cotton and other cash crops, they were permitted to grow food. Official statistics document the pauperization of the rural majority and the social structure of rural life.*[235]

The trend toward the concentration of cultivated lands in the hands of a landowning elite culminated in 1952 on the eve of the Officer's Coup which deposed the king. One of the central tenets of the new ruling clique's policy platform was land reform. At the time, about "0.1 percent of owners possessed one-fifth of the land and 0.4 percent controlled one-third, in contrast to the 95 percent of small owners with only 35 percent of the land. In addition, 44 percent of all rural inhabitants were landless."[236]

Table 14 - Egypt's Land Tenure System, 1914-1965

Year	0-5 feddans		6-10 feddans		11-50 feddans		50+ feddans	
	Holdings		Holdings		Holdings		Holdings	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1914	1,414,920	91.37%	75,044	4.85%	46,160	2.98%	12,480	0.81%
1936	2,242,000	92.49%	85,000	3.51%	85,000	3.51%	12,000	0.50%
1952	2,642,000	94.32%	79,000	2.82%	69,000	2.46%	11,000	0.39%
1961	2,919,000	94.13%	80,000	2.58%	91,000	2.93%	11,000	0.35%
1965	2,033,000	91.95%	78,000	3.53%	90,000	4.07%	10,000	0.45%

Source: Adapted from Mayfield, pg. 94

234 Daly, pg. 321
235 Ibid., pg. 322
236 Metz, pg. 182

Jews and Rural Land Distribution

Ilan, provides insight into Jewish land distribution below:

> *In the nineteenth century, there were no Jewish fellahin [peasant; farmer], despite the Jews having interest in agriculture. The Egyptian economy was based on agriculture, so it made sense for wealthy Egyptians and permanent residents to invest in land. Several companies were established for this purpose, especially toward the end of the nineteenth century, when it was possible to establish companies in the framework of the stock market. The founders of these companies and their stockholders largely included members of foreign origin: Jews, Armenians, and Greeks. In the years 1888-1911, 15 large companies were founded that dealt in purchasing land and agricultural development; 7 additional companies were founded after World War I. The securities company "Wadi Kom-Ombo" was the largest land company. Most of its owners were Jews. In 1946 the company's board of directors was replaced with an all-Egyptian board, in accordance with the new Company Law. In 1961 the company was expropriated and nationalized. The government took control of all stocks, worth 1,755,000 Pound Sterling.*[237]

One anecdote illustrates one family's enormous landholdings in Egypt. Joseph Smouha, a wealthy Egyptian Jew with British citizenship who made his fortune in the cotton business and later translated his wealth into new enterprises in Egypt. In the early 1920s, Smouha invested in what was then a large area of swampland and transformed the area into an upscale neighborhood in Alexandria which was later given the nickname Smouha City. The area reportedly amounted to approximately 700 acres and was worth upwards of 12,000,000 Pounds Sterling before it was confiscated by the Nasser regime in 1956.[238]

Section 4 – Valuation of Rural Assets

4.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

In this section, the condition of rural land and property ownership by Jews in Egypt is discussed.

4.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

As shown above, the structure of landownership in Egypt at the time was for the most part distributed between a small elite of agrarian notables, including large landed estates and corporations, who owned holdings consisting of at least 11 feddans, and the majority of small landowners and landless peasants who maintained subsistence-level holdings of between 0-5 feddans.

Neither Egyptian census reports nor any other official administrative sources provide a comprehensive assessment of specifically Jewish landowners, though previous research shows the broad outlines of landownership in the country in the mid-twentieth century, as detailed above. This data does not provide specific information for 1948; however, data does exist for a period of 16 years, from 1936 to 1952, and it indicates

237 Ilan, pg. 56

238 Jewish Telegraphic Agency (1961), and Levin, pg. 123

landownership trends for four different landownership categories. This data is able to support an estimation of landownership in 1948, and more specifically, of Jewish landownership, however the figures for 1952 reflect post-Revolution land reform totals.

Based on landownership trends between 1936 and 1952, as shown above in table 9, a plausible scenario of Jewish landownership in Egypt in 1948 can be estimated. The above table indicates that landless peasants and small landowners increased between 1936 and 1952, expanding from 94.3% of holdings from 92.5% of holdings. While the largest landowners decreased from 0.5% to 0.4%.

Table 15 - Egypt's Land Tenure System, Trends between 1936 and 1952

Year	0-5 feddans[239]		50+ feddans[240]	
	Holdings		Holdings	
	No.	%	No.	%
1936	2,242,000	92.49%	12,000	0.50%
1952	2,642,000	94.32%	11,000	0.39%
Difference	**↓ 400,000**	**↑1.83**	**↓1,000**	**↑0.11**

Source: Adapted from Mayfield, pg. 94

Based on the table above, the mean number of holdings belonging to the wealthy landowning elite in Egypt between 1936 and 1952 was approximately 11,500 holdings of 50 feddans or more. Therefore, a plausible scenario of Jewish landownership in Egypt in 1948 is estimated at 11,500 holdings of 50 feddans or more. These holdings were held by approximately 2,000 landed elites and corporations and comprised approximately 40% of all of Egypt's cultivable land at the time.[241] This proportion translates to 5.75 holdings of 50 feddans or more per landowning elite. Wealthy Jews comprised approximately 15% of this landed elite[242], therefore approximately 300 wealthy Jews were part of Egypt's wealthy landowning elite, who in turn owned approximately 1,725 holdings of 50 feddans or more. Given that there is no average size per holding for this landowning class, a decision was made to assign an average size per holding for this category of plausible Jewish landowning. To ascertain this figure, reliance was placed on the aforementioned descriptions of the largest lands owned by Jews in Egypt, such as Smouha City, which totaled 700 acres.[243] This was very likely an outlier in terms of its large size. Thus, the assumption was made that the average figure per Jewish holding larger than 50 feddans was closer to the minimum limit. Without more specific information, a conservative average holding size of 50 feddans to Jewish landowners in this landownership category was assumed, as this was the minimum amount of land to be considered as belonging to the landowning elite class. This rate yields a total of 86,250 feddans owned by the Jewish landowning elite in Egypt in 1948.

239 Landless peasants and small landowners
240 Largest landowners / wealthy landowning elite
241 Daly, pg. 321-322
242 Based on best estimates
243 Jewish Telegraphic Agency (1961), and Levin, pg. 123

Table 16 - Total Scope of Jewish-Owned Rural Land in Egypt, 1948

Year	Socioeconomic Class	Total Holdings	Jewish Share of Large Holdings	Total Area of Rural Land Owned by Jewish Landowning Elite (feddans)[244]	Total Area of Rural Land Owned by Jewish Landowning Elite (acres)
1948	Wealthy Landowning Elite	11,500	1,725	86,250	89,528

Besides the estimation of Jewish landownership calculated above, previous valuation estimates conducted closer to the mass departure of Egyptian Jews post-Suez in the late 1950s and early 1960s did offer assessments of the total scope and value of land owned by Jews in Egypt at the time (though these assessments did not make a distinction between rural and urban land). These estimates include £E27 million in land seized by Egyptian authorities from November 1956 through January 1957 estimated by B'nai B'rith organization, well another estimate indicated the loss of 101,255 feddans of land (approximately 105,100 acres.[245]

Furthermore, several individual anecdotes, some of which have already been mentioned above, offer personal witness accounts of Jewish rural landholdings. These include, Victorina June Levy-Garboua's testimony of her father's landownership size in Egypt as rivaling that of the King.[246]

The Cattaui family, mentioned above, was a large landowner who reportedly owned 120,000 dunams[247] of land upon which the family built "Wadi Kom-Ombo," the largest lands company in the country.[248] This family, along with the Suarez and Mosseri families, reportedly owned thousands of feddans of land in Egypt, and were among the founders of Maadi, a prosperous Cairo neighborhood for the upper-middle class.[249]

These examples illustrate the larger end of Jewish rural landholdings in Egypt circa 1948, while the estimation above as well as previous valuation estimates attempt to calculate a plausible total for all landowning Jews in Egypt at the time. To complete this valuation testimonial data by Jewish refugees from Egypt was used to estimate a price per feddan of rural land in Egypt in 1948. Based on this data, it was concluded that a feddan was valued at $1,575.33.[250] Thus, the total value of Jewish-owned rural land in Egypt in 1948, based on the analysis of the scope and value of rural land, was $135.87 million.

244 A feddan is an Egyptian unit of area, which is equal to approximately 1.038 acres ; Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. "Feddan." Accessed January 31, 2025 via https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/feddan

245 Fischbach, pgs. 47, 48

246 Testimony from Victoria June Levy-Garboua

247 A unit of land used especially in the state of Israel equal to 1000 square meters or approximate ¼ acre ; Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. "Dunam." Accessed March 13, 2025 via https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/dunam

248 Zamir, pg. 19

249 Ibid., pgs. 20, 21

250 Source: Testimonial Data.

Table 17 - Total Value of Jewish-Owned Rural Land, ($, 1948)

Year	Total Area of Rural Land Owned by Jewish Landowning Elite (feddans)	Value per Feddan ($, 1948)	Total Value of Jewish Rural Land in Egypt, ($, 1948)
1948	86,250	$1,575.33	$135,872,213

Source: Testimonial Data

Section 5 – Valuation of Urban Assets

5.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

This section will carry out a valuation of urban assets owned by Jews in Egypt.

5.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

As mentioned previously, Jews who arrived in Egypt from Europe and other parts of the Ottoman Empire tended to settle in either Cairo or Alexandria, and many of those who settled in smaller communities tended to congregate in the more modern European quarters. Until the mid-nineteenth century or so, most of the Jews who chose to live in the cities were nevertheless concentrated in the Jewish neighborhood, the Harat al-Yahud. At this time, Jews from different socioeconomic background lived in the neighborhood, until more disparate levels of wealth allowed wealthier Jews to move to more upscale neighborhoods, usually populated with the local upper class and wealthy Europeans:

> *The internal stratification of the community resembled that of the general Egyptian population: a majority of people with basic living conditions, and a small, rich circle of families (of Sephardic decent), who formed the elite. Economic status notwithstanding, the rich and poor of the community lived in close proximity. As the new neighborhoods grew, affluent families began leaving the Jewish neighborhood situated in the old nucleus of Cairo. They favoured neighborhoods that had a majority of non-Muslim foreign residents – or at least enjoyed a reputation as such. Yet, patterns of habitation did not break entirely, as the Jewish population tended to cluster together in specific areas and often even in specific buildings, following family members and friends.251*
>
> *…Jews began to leave the Hara to live in more modern suburbs in which Europeans also lived such as Abbasiya [and] Sakakini [...] People began working in new professions, opened shops, were in the stock exchange market and banks, and in the cotton trade. This required them to exit the [neighborhood].*[252]

251 Alon, pgs. 22, 23

252 Ibid., pgs. 24, 25

In terms of the urban Jewish community's economic strength and the Egyptian society in general, the Jewish community in Egypt boasted a fairly robust and prosperous urban population that included all levels of the socioeconomic scale, including the poor and the richest of Egyptians. A description of urban society in the early 19th century by Gudrun Krämer illustrates this point:

> *Urban society was broadly split into the landowning elite of absentee landlords, merchants, and high officials of diverse origin at the one end, and the mass of the urban poor at the other. This lower class included a high percentage of recent immigrants from the countryside, many of whom were only temporarily employed, or not at all. Between the elite and the lower class ranged the lower-middle class of petty bureaucrats, craftsmen, office workers, teachers, and shopkeepers, comprising about 10 percent of urban society, and the upper-middle class of well- to-do merchants, higher officials, and professionals, a "nascent bourgeoise", which was largely recruited from either the urban elite of Turko-Egyptian origin or the rural middle class of village notables.*[253]

Though there are no official Egyptian reports available to confirm the above with specific data, it is more than likely that the urban Jewish community had a similar distribution and that the higher Jewish socioeconomic classes owned significant amounts of urban assets. This is supported by several pieces of data indicated above and anecdotal information describing the breadth and strength of Jewish economic power in Egypt in the mid-20th century. This assumption is further emphasized through specific anecdotes of Jewish ownership of significant urban assets. For example, Levin describes the situation of Itzhak Liskowitz, who served as head of Cairo's Ashkenazi Jewish community, who needed to pay Egyptian authorities to release his son-in-law, a Zionist activist, from prison: "…Liskowitz sold his villa, worth 25,000 Egyptian pounds, for a mere 5,000 Egyptian pounds and received permission to transfer the money to Switzerland."[254]

Lastly, the scope and value of lost Jewish urban assets, as with the section above, has been mentioned in previous valuation estimates conducted closer to the mass departure of Egyptian Jews post-Suez in the late 1950s and early 1960s (though these assessments did not make a distinction between rural and urban land). Once such estimate indicated the loss of 2,807 buildings, worth £E24,200,000.[255]

Another anecdote, concerning cables sent between the Communications Department of the Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Legal Advisor to the Director of Diaspora Affairs, depict an example of the plausible size and scope of one wealthy Jewish property-owner in Egypt. The cables mention that the Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram, published a series of articles discussing Jewish property left behind by Jews who de-

253 Krämer, pgs. 117-118

254 Levin, pg. 98

255 Fischbach, pgs. 47, 48

parted/were deported from Egypt in the wake of the Suez and Six Day wars. The second article in the series mentions built-up property in luxury neighborhoods (Heliopolis and Matareya) totaling 9,714,000 square meters reportedly worth a billion Egyptian Liras. The property was said to belong to a handful of Jewish owners, though their ownership was not verified by the Israeli authorities.[256]

For this purpose, the most relevant and comprehensive information regarding the scope and value of urban assets owned by Jews in Egypt in 1948 is drawn from testimonial data collected from Jewish refugees from Egypt over a larger number of years than the claims report discussed above. These testimonials were drawn from Jews fleeing from Egypt beginning in 1948 and were collected both in the period of mass departure and many years afterwards as well. The summarized data is presented below:

Table 18 - Value of Jewish-Owned Urban Assets in Egypt ($, 1948)

Socioeconomic Class	Median Value of Urban Assets	No. of Urban Households per Class	Total Value per Class
Wealthy & Upper Middle	8,343	4,500	37,544,895
Middle	2,500	3,000	7,501,020
Lower Middle & Poor	1,541	6,750	10.398,375
Total	12,384	14,250	**55,444,290**

The weighted average value of urban assets per Jewish household across all socioeconomic classes as per the data analyzed is $3,891.

Section 6 – Valuation of the Loss of Employment

6.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

In this section, a valuation of the total employment losses of employed Jews in Egypt was produced, proceeding from the premise that employed Jews in Egypt are entitled to compensation for lost income based on their yearly wages for a determinate amount of time after a baseline date.

6.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

In order to evaluate the total income of Jews in Egypt, the Jewish population was classified according to its distribution on the socioeconomic scale and assigned an average income to each socioeconomic class based on available information. Furthermore, the average income per class was calculated on the basis of one representative income per household. For example, the 'Poor' class was said to be mostly unemployed and to rely on charity. The average income of a member of the 'Wealthy' class is informed by an anecdote concerning Moussa Shaoul, one of Egypt's wealthiest Jews, where it was estimated that Moussa Shaoul's annual income amounted to

256 ISA, 8384/6, "Jews of Egypt Including Community Property and Search of Relatives." Jewish Property in Egypt. (1983).

£E6,000. His nephew Charles assessed the value of Moussa Shaoul's personal property at £E2,900 and the value of equipment at two stables owned at £E1,367.[257] A representative sum for the 'Middle' Class is informed by the annual income of a Jewish accountant in Egypt named Joseph Levi-Castro: "Another claim on lost wages… Levi-Castro earned 125 Egyptian pounds a month, and in his last year of work was awarded a bonus of 110 Egyptian pounds, in all, 1,610 Egyptian pounds."[258] While it is acknowledged that these are single, or few, points of reference it should be noted that according to a World Bank Review not much information relating to income distribution prior to the 1950's is available for Egypt.[259] Accordingly, it was decided to utilized these best available projections, with mid-points between each class's adjacent income points, used to consider 'Lower-Middle' and 'Upper-Middle' classes. The 'Poor' class is assumed to represent unemployed Jews, therefore the cumulative number of Jewish households representing income-generating Jews is 13,500, or 90% of the Jewish population. Thus, the overall structure of income generated by Jews in Egypt in 1948 appears as follows:

Table 19 - Average Annual Income for Jews in Egypt per Socioeconomic Class[260]

Socioeconomic Class	Total No. of Households per Class	Average Income per Class (£E, 1956)	Average Income per Class ($, 1948)[261]	Total Income per Class ($,1948)
Wealthy & Upper Middle	4,500	9,805	8,672.03	39,024,135
Middle	3,000	1,610	1,423.96	4,271,880
Lower-Middle[262]	6,000	805	711.98	4,271,880
Total	**13,500**	-	-	**47,567,895**

As with previous iterations of this section in previous country reports, in order to complete the valuation of lost employment, losses are calculated for a period of three years by multiplying the total employment losses as of 1948 by 3 for a total of **$142,703,685**.

257 Levin, pgs. 132, 133

258 Ibid. pg. 128

259 The Political Economy of Poverty, Equity, and Growth – Egypt and Turkey, Page 24 -Brett Hanson ©1991 The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development / THE WORLD BANK 1818 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20433, U.S.A.

260 Average annual income for the upper-middle and lower-middle classes were determined by taking the midpoint between £E6,000 and £E1,610 for the upper-middle class, and the midpoint between £E1,610 for the lower-middle class. It was assumed that the poor were unemployed and did not have any income, so there was no poor category.

261 The average annual income was converted to the 1956 USD value based on the 1956 exchange rate of 2.87 USD to 1 Egyptian Pound (£E) per the IMF Table for Egypt, then converted to 1948 USD value using the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis' Inflation Calculator (https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator).

262 It was assumed that the poor were unemployed and had negligible income, therefore 1,500 households or 10% of the Jewish population (75,000) were not included within the Lower-Middle & Poor socioeconomic class. Consequently, the total number of income generating households is 13,500 or 90% of the Jewish population in Egypt.

Section 7 – Valuation of Personal Property & Moveable Assets

7.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

As part of the aggregate valuation of all Jewish-owned assets in Egypt in 1948, we have conducted a valuation of the total scope of personal property and moveable assets that were owned by Jews in Egypt. For the purposes of this report, personal property and moveable assets include cash, gold and silver, jewelry, private vehicles, commodity stocks, clothing, household goods and furniture.

7.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

The scope and value of moveable assets and private property owned by Jews in Egypt that was left behind has been mentioned in previous valuation estimates conducted closer to the mass departure of Egyptian Jews post- Suez in the late 1950s and early 1960s. As described above, several of the previous valuation attempts specifically mentioned ownership of moveable assets.

The B'nai B'rith organization estimated Egyptian authorities seized £E14 million in moveable property from November 1956 through January 1957. They also claimed the Egyptian government was auctioning £E500-3,000 worth of seized Jewish furniture and households weekly.[263] The following personal anecdotes provide further insight on individual instances of personal property confiscation in Egypt.

Lucette Lagnado describes her family's flight from Egypt and their method of smuggling out gold in tins of canned goods:

> *My mother's ring had been hidden inside a tin of marmalade and sealed within the factory itself so that it was indistinguishable from any you would find at a grocer's. The gold ingots had been similarly stashed inside different cans of preserves. It seemed a perfect way for us to smuggle at least some of our wealth out of the country.*[264]

Lagnado goes on to describe an incident in which other Jews were caught hiding valuable personal assets on their way out of the country:

> *We had heard terrifying stories about the customs inspectors, and how thoroughly and ruthlessly they searched everyone who left, especially Jews. One woman, a seamstress, had hidden her engagement ring in a small iron she used to press hems. Then, in a touch of ingenuity, she had taken gold coins, covered them with cloth so that they looked like ordinary buttons, and affixed them to a dress. As she prepared to leave, an inspector had examined the iron and found the hidden ring. Minutes later, he had stripped the phony buttons off the dress. He proceeded to tear through nearly every item of clothing, even ripping the shoulder pads off her husband's fine, hand-tailored suits, in search of hidden jewels. Miraculously, she had still been allowed to leave, albeit with none of her valuables.*[265]

263 Fischbach, pgs. 47, 48

264 Lagnado, (epud) pg. 332

265 Lagnado, (epub) pg. 332

Gilbert describes the experiences of Suzy Vidal, whose family and others faced deportation from Egypt after 1956:

> *As the expulsions continued, Suzy Vidal watched as her community of friends and family began to shrink and disappear. One of her father's cousins was deported after being accused of spying. All Egyptian Jews who were French and British subjects were given a maximum of ten days to leave, and were each allowed to take with them only two suitcases and ten pounds. Suzy Vidal later wrote: 'My childhood friend Jacqueline and her family were in that "enemy group."' The result was a pitiful sight: 'One after another of the friends and families that had survived 1948 and 1952 left, preferring two suitcases and £10 to the constant threats and uncertai*nty for the future.'[266]

Likewise, Levin describes the scene of hundreds of Jewish deportees from Egypt who had already arrived in Greece, setting sail for Israel, carrying an average of four suitcases per family:

> *Hundreds of new immigrants sailed on the Hermes from Greece to Israel in the spring of 1957. The 126 families who arrived in March had 500 suitcases – an average of four suitcases per family. A few months later, 85 families arrived carrying 300 suitcases – an average of three and one-half suitcases per family. Even assuming the figures refer to very large suitcases or trunks (the term used in the original documentation is "accompanied baggage," which gives no indication as to weight or size), there is no doubt the travellers came with only the basics: clothes, books, games, momentos, and the like. There were limits to the amount of financial assets one could take…and furniture, naturally could not fit into ordinary baggage.*[267]

Similarly, Laskier describes the chaotic situation that resulted from the hurried deportation process, leaving many bereft of the valuables they planned on taking with them overseas: "In the bedlam of this situation, thousands of people left with hardly more than the clothes on their backs."[268]

For this purpose, the most relevant and comprehensive information regarding the scope and value of moveable assets owned by Jews in Egypt in 1948 is drawn from testimonial data collected from Jewish refugees from Egypt over a larger number of years than the claims report shown above. As previously mentioned, these testimonials were drawn from Jew fleeing Egypt beginning in 1948 and were collected both in the period of mass departure and many years afterwards. The average value of moveable assets per class is drawn from the data based on the aforementioned testimonial methodology described above. The summarized data from these claims is presented below:

266 Gilbert, ch. 17

267 Levin, pgs. 114, 115

268 Laskier (1995), pg. 582

Table 20 - Value of Jewish-Owned Moveable Assets in Egypt ($, 1948)[269]

Socioeconomic Class	Median Value of Moveable Assets	No. of Households per Class	Total Value per Class
Wealthy & Upper-Middle	57,429	4,500	258,431,603
Middle	19,185	3,000	57,555,150
Lower Middle & Poor	6,716	7,500	50,367,300
Total	83,330	15,000	**366,354,053**

The analysis of moveable assets across all socioeconomic classes per Jewish household shows a weighted average value of moveable assets per household of $24,424.

Section 8 – Valuation of Business Losses

8.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

This section carries out a valuation of the business losses suffered by Jews in Egypt. For the purposes of this project, business losses will rely on the overall value of each business, as specific revenue streams are currently unavailable.

8.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

As discussed above, Jews played a significant role in Egyptian economic development in general, and corporate growth in particular. One study found that close to half of cotton exporting companies in Egypt, before the Officer's Coup in 1952, were owned by Jews:

> *Roger Owen conducted a thorough research on cotton in Egypt, and counted only one exporter of Egyptian origin out of thirty-five companies that dealt in cotton between 1882-1918. This number only rose to two by 1950. All the other companies were owned by foreigners. Another research of Jewish-Egyptian background, Morris Mizrahi, confirmed these findings. Before the nationalization of companies in Egypt following the Officers coup in 1952, there were forty-five companies that dealt in cotton export in Alexandria, and twenty-five of them were owned by Jews…Many worked as local middlemen between farmers in the villages and European customers.*[270]

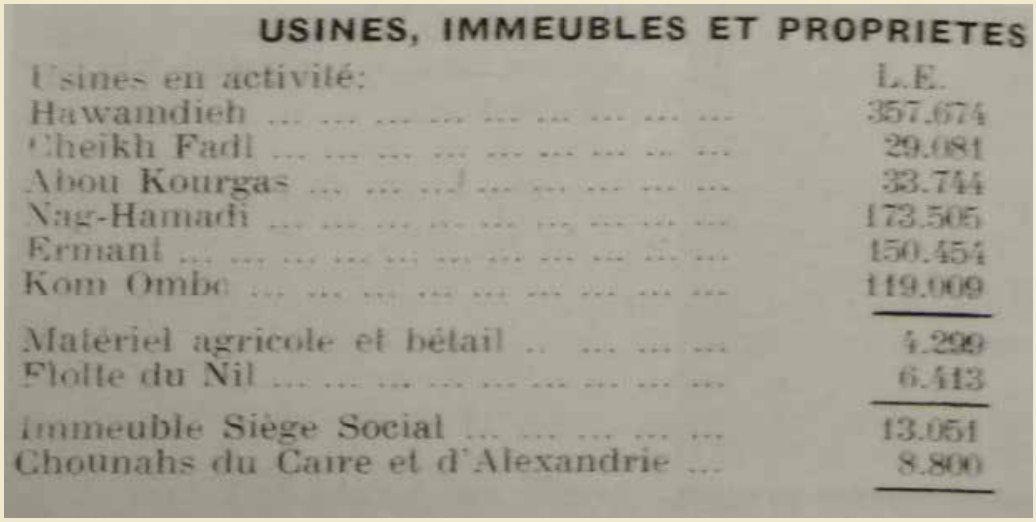
A few pieces of evidence were assembled of Jewish-owned businesses and their revenue to support an assessment of the scope and value of Jewish business losses in Egypt. This includes a copy of a revenue report for various commercial companies,

269 Source: Testimonial Data

270 Ilan, pg. 58

including Wadi Kom-Ombo, in 1943. This report shows that Wadi Kom-Ombo took in £E119,009 in 1943, or approximately $491,269.[271] Wadi Kom-Ombo was one of the largest companies owned by a Jew in Egypt[272] and its revenue in 1943 serves to illustrate its potential value.

Figure 8 - Revenue Report for Various Commercial Companies in Egypt, 1943



USINES, IMMEUBLES ET PROPRIETES	
Usines en activité:	L.E.
Hawamdieh	357.674
Cheikh Fadl	29.081
Abou Kourgas	33.744
Nag-Hamadi	173.505
Ermant	150.454
Kom Ombo	119.009
Matériel agricole et bétail	4.299
Flotte du Nil	6.413
Immeuble Siège Social	13.051
Chounahs du Caire et d'Alexandrie	8.800

Source: Ilan, pg. 55

In addition, Levin provides two instances in which Jews who had lost their business in Egypt elaborated on their annual profits and revenues, thus providing an example of what small-to-medium sized business may have been generating at the time: "In a damage claim filled out by an Egyptian Jew who worked for the British Consulate in Ismailia and who owned a one-quarter share in a family clothing store "whose annual sales were 4,000 Egyptian pounds and annual profits were 1,000 Egyptian pounds."[273] In the second instance, Levin provides details concerning the revenues of a horse training enterprise: "The heirs assessed its annual revenues, just prior to confiscation, at, 7,500 Egyptian pounds."[274]

Another example is found in correspondence materials located in the Central Zionist Archive (CZA) which documents various attempts by Egyptian Jews to transfer their assets out of the country. In this case, a wealthy Jewish family with a large business is described: "The Yurdun family, who made Aliyah from Egypt, are transferring their property for the purpose of setting up a glass factory. They were already approved to transfer equipment valued at half a million dollars. In addition, they have 10 million medical ampouls accessible to them..."[275]

For this purpose, the most relevant and comprehensive information regarding the scope and value of urban assets owned by Jews in Egypt in 1948 is drawn from testi-

271 Based on the 1943 exchange rate of 4.128 USD to 1 Egyptian Pound (£E) ; "International Financial Statistics: International Financial Statistics, December 1950." Washington, D.C: International Monetary Fund, 1950, pg. 34

272 Ilan, pg. 56; Zamir, pg. 19

273 Levin, pg. 127

274 Ibid., pg. 132

275 CZA, S20/582. "Moving money abroad (1949-1951)." Correspondence.

monial data collected from Jewish refugees from Egypt over a larger number of years than the claims report discussed above. For the purpose of valuing this section, reliance was based on data collected from the aforementioned testimonials:

Table 21 - Value of Jewish Business Losses per Class in Egypt, ($, 1948) – Population 75,000

Socioeconomic Class	Median Value of Urban Assets	No. of Urban Households per Class	Total Value per Class
Wealthy & Upper Middle	55,732	4,500	250,792,290
Middle	20,100	3,000	60,301,410
Lower Middle[276]	6,716	6,000	40,293,840
Total	82,548	13,500	**351,387,840**

Section 9 – Communal Losses

9.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

In addition to private ownership by Jewish individuals throughout Egypt, the various Jewish communities in the country owned communal assets that belonged to the Jewish community as a whole. This section is meant to assess the extent and value of assets owned by the Jewish communities in Egypt. Such assets include synagogues, cemetery land, other communal assets such as mikvahs, schools, hospitals, community centers, Zionist organizations, as well as holy books and other moveable assets. Similar to other sections, the extent and value of Jewish communal property in Egypt will be calculated on the best evidence available.

9.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

In the past lists of communal property that belonged to the Jewish community in Egypt have been compiled. Levana Zamir has documented these properties and they have been sent to UNESCO for future preservation efforts. These properties included:[277]

- At least 60 synagogues,
- At least 4 cemeteries; 1 in Cairo and 3 in Alexandria,
- At least 25 Jewish school; 10 in Cairo, 14 in Alexandria, & 1 in Tanta,
- At least 9 yeshivas and clubs,
- 3 Jewish hospitals, 1 in Cairo & 2 in Alexandria,
- 1 clinic,
- 2 orphanages,
- 4 nursing centers,
- 2 community centers & Rabinnates,
- 2 youth centers,
- Real estate investments (dozens of large buildings belonging to the Jewish community in Cairo & Alexandria)

276 Members of the "Poor" class were not counted as business owners

277 Zamir, pgs. 81-87

Figure 9 - Eliyahu HaNavi Synagogue at Alexandria, Egypt

Source: Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/49/

Figure 10 - Service at the Eliyahu Hanavi (Nebi Daniel) Synagogue, in the heyday of the Alexandria community (Nebi Daniel Association)

Source: Julius, pg. 16

Figure 11 - Shaar Hashamayim (Adly St.) Synagogue at Cairo, Egypt

Source: Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/83/ - "The synagogue was designed by the architectural firm of Maurice Cattaui & Edward Matasek and was the scene of many Cattaui weddings and funerals."

Figure 12 - Shaar Hashamayim (Adly St.) Synagogue at Cairo, Egypt

Source: Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/83/

Figure 13 - Shaar Hashamayim (Adly St.) Synagogue at Cairo, Egypt

Source: Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/83/

Figure 14 - Etz Haim (Hanan) Synagogue at Cairo, Egypt

Source: Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/236/

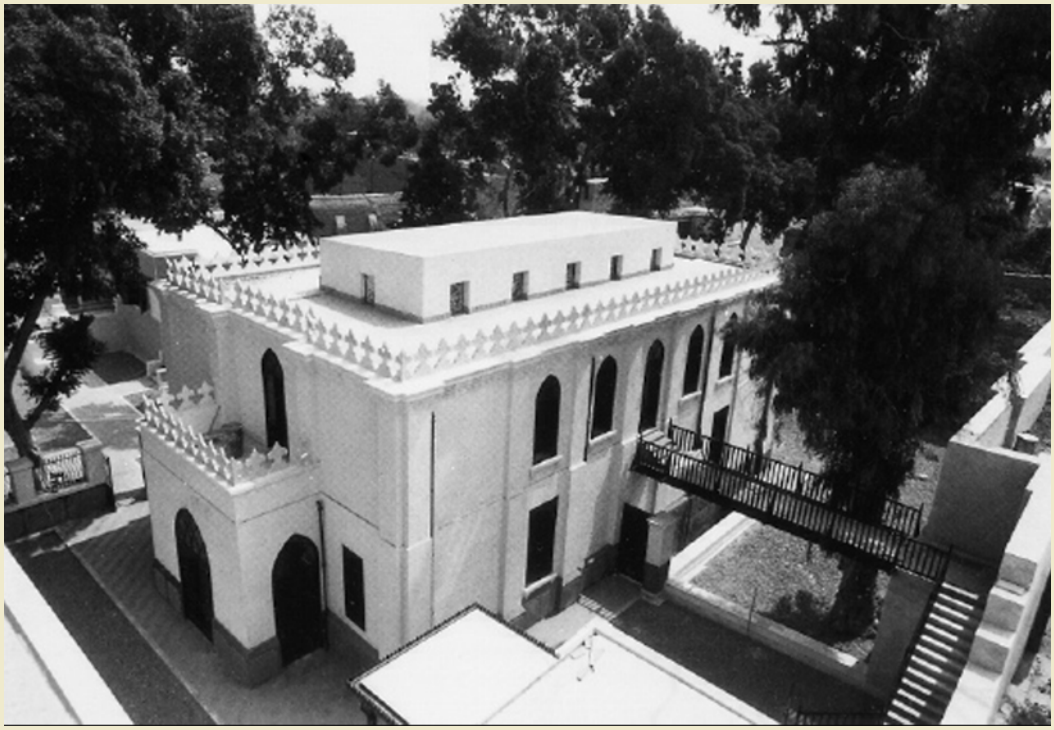
Figure 15 - Temple Menasce (Menashe) Synagogue, Alexandria, Egypt

Source: Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/1177/

Figure 16 - Temple Menasce (Menashe) Synagogue (founded by the Menasche family), Alexandria, Egypt

Source: Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/1177/

Figure 17 - Ben Ezra Synagogue at Cairo, Egypt



Source: Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/84/

Figure 18 - Vitali Madjar Synagogue at Cairo, Egypt

Source: Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/2763/

Figure 19 - Hospital of the Jewish Community in Alexandria, Fondation Bekhor de Menasce (founded by the Menasche family)

Source: Courtesy of Levana Zamir

Many of these community properties were sold off under emergency conditions during the years of massive Jewish departure from Egypt, however, the Jewish community was able to hold on to a number of properties well into the 1960s and beyond. For example, the "Cairo community possessed seventy properties by the early 1960s, including eighteen synagogues (twelve of which were in the old Jewish Quarter), an old age home, a social center, a free lunch center for the poor, and three schools."[278] By the 1990s, however, as the Jewish community in Egypt continued to dwindle, many unused properties were sold off.[279]

As previously described prior valuation assessments of Jewish communal property in Egypt has also been done in one form or another, including:[280]

- Lost property valued at $300 million in communal religious property, and $200 million in religious artifacts,
- Value of communal property at between $92.92 and $72.53 million in Alexandria, $13.39 million in Cairo, and the remainder in Tanta, Mansoura, Damanhur, and Port Said, and
- Value of a Jewish hospital in Alexandria at $20 million (the most value piece of community property)

In addition, the Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution presented a breakdown of communal property values per Egyptian community in 1948, which included:[281]

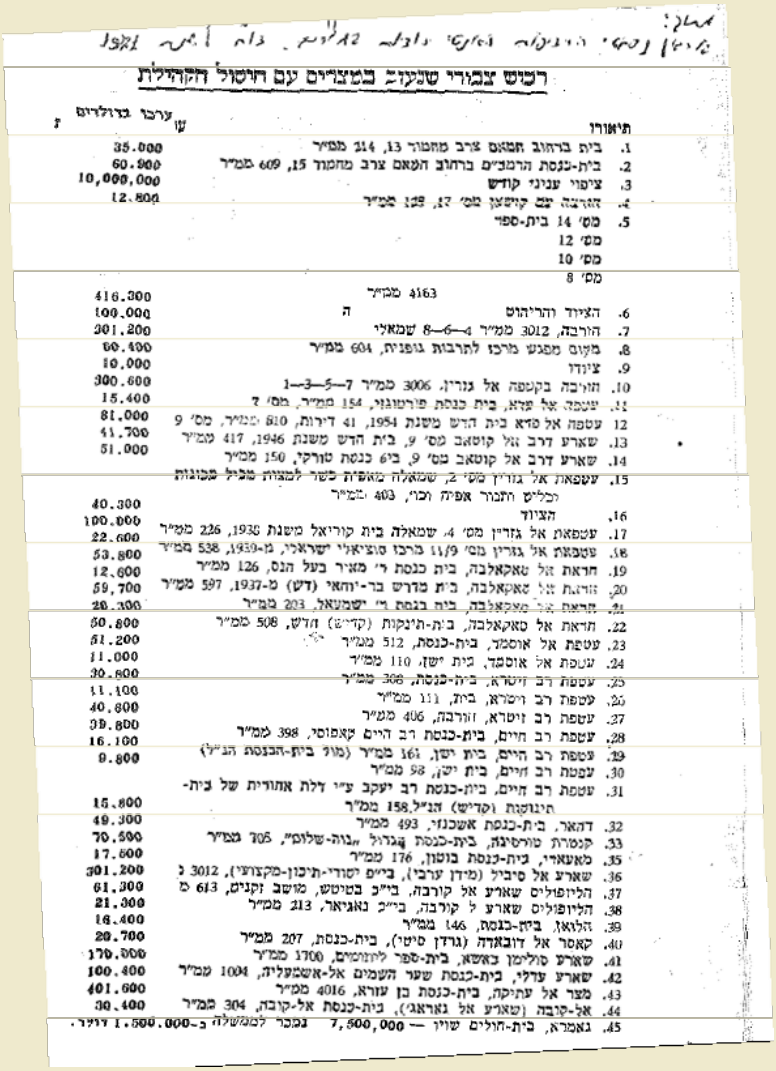
278 Fischbach, pgs. 198, 199
279 Ibid., pg. 199
280 Levin, pgs. 136, 137
281 Association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution (1973), pg. 15

Table 22 – Communal Property Values per Egyptian Community in 1948

Community	Value ($, 1948)
Cairo Community	13,394,900
Alexandria Community	74,530,000
Tanta Community	2,000,000
Mansoura & Damanhur Communities	500,000
Port Said Community	2,500,000
Total	**92,924,900**

An example of the association's listing of Jewish properties and breakdowns, mostly synagogues and other communal properties, is available below:

Figure 20 - Listing of Communal Jewish Properties Sold in Egypt, 1947/48



רכיש צבורי שנעזב במצריים עם חיסול הקהילה

	תיאורו	ערכו בדולרים
1.	בית ברחוב חמאם צרב מחמור 13, 214 ממ"ר	35.000
2.	בית-כנסת הרמב"ם ברחוב המאם צרב מחמור 15, 609 ממ"ר	60.900
3.	ציפוי עניני קודש	10,000,000
4.	הזרבה עם קיטצון מס' 17, 129 ממ"ר	12.800
5.	מס' 14 בית-ספר	
	מס' 12	
	מס' 10	
	מס' 8	
	4163 ממ"ר	
6.	הציוד והריהוט ה	416.300
7.	הורבה, 3012 ממ"ר 4—6—8 שמאלי	100.000
8.	מקום מפגש מרכז לתרבות גופנית, 604 ממ"ר	301.200
9.	צינדן	60.400
10.	חזיבה בקטפה אל גנרין, 3006 ממ"ר 7—5—3—1	10.000
11.	עטמה של עזא, בית כנסת פורטוגזי, 154 ממ"ר, מס' 7	300.600
12	עטפה אל סדא בית הדש משנת 1954, 41 דירות, 810 ממ"ר, מס' 9	15.400
13.	שארע דרב זל קוטאב מס' 9, בית הדש משנת 1946, 417 ממ"ר	81.000
14.	שארע דרב אל קוטאב מס' 9, ביא כנסת טורקי, 150 ממ"ר	41.700
15.	עטפאת אל גזרין מס' 2, שמאלה מאפית כשר למצות מכיל ממגזות	51.000
	הכליש חתבור אפית וכו', 403 ממ"ר	
16.	הציוד	40.300
17.	עטפאת אל גזרין מס' 4, שמאלה בית קוריאל משנת 1936, 226 ממ"ר	100.000
18.	עטפאת אל גזרין מס' 11/9 מרכז סוציאלי ישראלי, מ-1939, 538 ממ"ר	22.600
19.	חדאת זל שאקאלבה, בית כנסת ר' מאיר בעל הנס, 126 ממ"ר	53.800
20.	חדאת זל שאקאלבה, בית מדרש בר-יוחאי (דש) מ-1937, 597 ממ"ר	12.600
21.	חדאת אל שאקאלבה, בית כנסת ר' ישמעאל, 203 ממ"ר	59.700
22.	חדאת אל שאקאלבה, בית-תינוקות (קדיש) חדש, 508 ממ"ר	20.300
23.	עטפת אל אוסמד, בית-כנסת, 512 ממ"ר	30.800
24.	עטפת אל אוסמד, בית ישן, 110 ממ"ר	31.200
25.	עטפת רב זיטרא, בית-כנסת, 306 ממ"ר	11.000
26.	עטפת רב זיטרא, בית, 111 ממ"ר	30.800
27.	עטפת רב זיטרא, חורבה, 406 ממ"ר	11.100
28.	עטפת רב חיים, בית-כנסת רב חיים קאפוסי, 398 ממ"ר	40.800
29.	עטפת רב חיים, בית ישן, 161 ממ"ר (מול בית-הכנסת הנ"ל)	39.800
30.	עטפת רב חיים, בית ישן, 98 ממ"ר	16.100
31.	עטפת רב חיים, בית-כנסת רב יעקב ע"י דלת אחורית של בית-תינוקות (קדיש) הנ"ל, 158 ממ"ר	9.800
32.	דהאר, בית-כנסת אשכנזי, 493 ממ"ר	15.800
33.	קנטרת טורסינה, בית-כנסת גדול "גוה-שלום", 705 ממ"ר	49.300
35.	מאעאדי, בית-כנסת בוטון, 176 ממ"ר	70.500
36.	שארע אל סיביל (מידן ערבי), ב"ס יסודי-תיכון-מקצועי), 3012 מ	17.600
37.	הליופוליס שארע אל קורבה, ב"ס בטיטש, מושב זקנים, 613 מ	301.200
38.	הליופוליס שארע ל קורבה, ב"ס נאגיאר, 213 ממ"ר	61.300
39.	הלואן, בית-כנסת, 146 ממ"ר	21.300
40.	קאסר אל דובארה (גרדן סיטי), בית-כנסת, 207 ממ"ר	16.400
41.	שארע סוליימן באשא, בית-ספר לחנוכים, 1700 ממ"ר	20.700
42.	שארע עדלי, בית-כנסת שער השמים אל-אשמעלית, 1004 ממ"ר	170.000
43.	מצר אל עתיקה, בית-כנסת בן עזרא, 4016 ממ"ר	100.400
44.	אל-קובה (שארע אל נאראג'), בית-כנסת אל-קובה, 304 ממ"ר	401.600
45.	גאמרא, בית-חולים שוין — 7,500,000 נמכר לממשלה ב-1.500.000 דולר.	30.400

Source: Association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution (1971), pg. 12

Figure 21 - Listing of Communal Properties and their Values in Egypt, 1947/48

	בדולרים:
קהילת אלכסנדריה:	
בתי-הכנסת	200.000
קאסטרו מוהרמבי	300.000
גרין מוהרמבי	10.000
מרזוקו, רח' סתסה	200.000
סמוחה, רח' סמוחה	
ששון, רחוב בטוס	20.000
ספורטין	800.000
אנזורות, כמסתאזרי	300.000
יחומים בשבי	1.500.000
אליהו הנביא, נביא דניאל	5.000.000
רדל, מידן	200.000
מנשה, חפר שלי	1.000.000
פרכז הקהילה ברובע העממי:	
מאסית המצות	
לשכת הסעד, ובשיה	1.500.000
חברת קדישא	
בית-הכנסת	
קנסה-חולים, נצח ישראל	
בתי-הקברות:	
במזריא רמלת	
שטבי 1	
שטבי 2, לאזכור	
שטבי 3	
בתי-ספר:	
אנריאון, רח' נביא דניאל	5.000.000
מנשה, תיכון	2.500.000
האחוד היהודי, רמלה	2.000.000
בתי-חולים:	
ספורטינג (כללי) בית	
הרבנות	20.000.000
מרפאת עיניים	5.000.000
	74.530.000
רכוש קהילת שנטה	2.000.000
רכוש קהילת מנצורה ודמנהור	500,000
רכוש קהילת פורש-סעיד	2,500,000

Source: Association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution (1971), pg. 13

The Karaite Jewish community also tallied its communal assets and sent a conclusive list of its assets to the Association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution in 1952. The total value of Karaite Jewish communal assets reports by the community in 1952 amounted to £E847,000,[282] which is equivalent to approximately $2,201,260 in 1948.[283]

Beyond the communal properties listed above that have already been documented and valued by the association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution, information on Jewish cemeteries that belonged to the Jewish community in Egypt was collected. Based on historical documentation, a total of 4 Jewish cemeteries were documented, the most prominent of these being the Bassatine Cemetery, the oldest Jewish cemetery in Cairo. The Bassatine Cemetery is said to be the second oldest Jewish cemetery in the world. It was established in the 9th century and served Cairo's Rabbinic and Karaite populations for centuries.[284] The cemetery was said to span over 120 feddans.[285] In addition to this cemetery, Cairo also boasted a number of private cemeteries that belonged to prominent Jewish families, such as the Ades, Cattaui, Levy, Mosseri and Sapriel families.[286]

282 National Committee of the Jewish Karaite Community in Israel; Memorandum to the Association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution (27 August, 1972): "Detailed list of Karaite Jewish property in Egypt in 1952." – This document was included in scanned testimonial forms provided to us by the Israeli Ministry of Social Equality

283 The reported communal assets (£E847,000) were converted to the 1952 USD value (2,430,890) using an exchange rate of £E 2.87 to 1 USD per the IMF Table for Egypt, then converted to 1948 USD value using the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis' Inflation Calculator (https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator).

284 Diarna - http://archive.diarna.org/site/detail/public/224/

285 International Jewish Cemetery Project - https://www.iajgsjewishcemeteryproject.org/egypt/cairo.html

286 Ibid.

Alexandria had 3 Jewish cemeteries – Chatby 1, Chatby 2, and Mazarita, – which together comprised an area of 15 feddnas.[287] Likewise, smaller cities such as Tanta and Suez were said to contain Jewish cemeteries, though these were often unwalled and referred to as mass graves marked by communal plaques.[288] These small, private cemeteries will not be included as part of the calculation of Jewish communal property in Egypt.

Relying on the price per feddan of rural land as mentioned in Section 5 ($1,575.33/feddan), the total value of Jewish cemetery land in Egypt at calculated at $212,570 USD in 1948.[289]

Figure 22 - The Jewish Cemetery of Cairo, 2016

Source: Philipp Breu - http://www.philippbreu.com/2016/07/29/the-jewish-cemetery-of-cairo-egypt/

287 Egyptian Streets - https://egyptianstreets.com/2018/12/30/alexandrias-famed-jewish-cemeteries-to-be- registered-as-antiquities/

288 Zamir, pg. 96

289 Calculated based on $1,575.33 USD in 1948 per feddan and multiplied by 135 feddans (Bassatine Cemetery, Chatby 1, Chatby 2, & Mazarita).

Figure 23 - The Jewish Cemetery of Cairo, 2016

Source: Philipp Breu - http://www.philippbreu.com/2016/07/29/the-jewish-cemetery-of-cairo-egypt/

Figure 24 - The Jewish Cemetery of Cairo, 2016

Source: Philipp Breu - http://www.philippbreu.com/2016/07/29/the-jewish-cemetery-of-cairo-egypt/

Figure 25 - The Jewish Cemetery of Cairo, 2016

Source: Philipp Breu - http://www.philippbreu.com/2016/07/29/the-jewish-cemetery-of-cairo-egypt/

Figure 26 - The Jewish Cemetery of Cairo, 2016

Source: Philipp Breu - http://www.philippbreu.com/2016/07/29/the-jewish-cemetery-of-cairo-egypt/

Figure 27 - The Jewish Cemetery of Cairo, 2016

Source: Philipp Breu - http://www.philippbreu.com/2016/07/29/the-jewish-cemetery-of-cairo-egypt/

The total value of the communal assets of the Egyptian Jewish community in 1948 is as follows:

Table 23 - Total Value of Jewish Communal Assets in Egypt ($, 1948)

Type of Communal Assets	Total Value per Asset Type ($, 1948)
Jewish Communal Assets recorded by Association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution[290]	92,924,900
Karaite Jewish Communal Assets[291]	2,201,260
Jewish Cemeteries[292]	212,570
Total	**95,338,730**

290 Association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution (1973), pg. 15

291 National Committee of the Jewish Karaite Community in Israel; Memorandum to the Association of Jewish Victims of Egyptian Persecution (27 August, 1972): "Detailed list of Karaite Jewish property in Egypt in 1952." – This document was included in scanned testimonial forms provided to us by the Israeli Ministry of Social Equality ; The reported communal assets (£E847,000) were converted to the 1952 USD value (2,430,890) using an exchange rate of £E 2.87 to 1 USD per the IMF Table for Egypt, then converted to 1948 USD value using the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis' Inflation Calculator (https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator).

292 Calculated based on $1,575.33 USD in 1948 per feddan and multiplied by 135 feddans (Bassatine Cemetery, Chatby 1, Chatby 2, & Mazarita).

Section 10 – Present Day Valuation

Over 75 years have passed since the baseline date for evaluating the property left behind by Jews in Egypt. As mentioned in our methodology in Chapter 2 of this report, we argue that a truly compensatory approach to valuating the aggregate assets left behind by Jews demands that this value be actualized to reflect present-day value. Thus, we rely on a compound interest formula which makes use of the principal amount, an interest rate based on ten-year averages of the ten-year yields on US treasury bonds, over a total compound period of 76 years, from January 1st, 1949, through December 31st, 2024:

$$FV = PV\ (1+i/n)nt$$

10.1 Benchmark Values

As mentioned above, 1948 represents a reasonable benchmark regarding the beginning of the Jewish community's gradual departure from Egypt. The present day valuation will assume a valuation start year of 1948.

10.2 Application of Compound Interest Formula

The compound interest formula, FV = PV (1+i/n)nt was applied on the basis of a combined set of total values per asset category, all valued in 1948 USD, for a period of 76 years.

The formula is analyzed as follows:

FV = Future Value

PV = Present Value

i = Interest rate

n = Number of periods

t = Number of years in the period

The formula was applied using ten-year units with corresponding ten-year US treasury bond average yields. This methodology yielded the results as outlined in Section 12 below.

Section 11 – Summary of Aggregate Values

11.1 Summary of Findings

Table 24 - Total Value per Asset Type According to Valuation Base Date ($,1948)

Asset Type	Total Value
Rural Assets	135,872,213
Urban Assets	55,444,290
Employment Losses	142,703,685
Moveable Assets & Private Property	366,354,053
Business Losses	351,387,840
Communal Losses	95,338,730
Total	**1,147,100,811**

Table 25 – Periodic Compounding Table for Egypt, ($)[293]

Year	LT Govt Bond Yields: 10-Year for US (FRED) + 10-Year Treasury [[RLONG (Robert Shiller)	($) Balance	Year	LT Govt Bond Yields: 10-Year for US (FRED) + 10-Year [Treasury [RLONG (Robert Shiller)	($) Balance
1947			1986	7.68%	10,957,540,960
1948		**1,147,100,811**	1987	8.38%	11,876,239,457
1949	2.31%	1,173,598,840	1988	8.85%	12,926,791,806
1950	2.32%	1,200,826,333	1989	8.50%	14,025,353,662
1951	2.57%	1,231,687,570	1990	8.55%	15,224,521,401
1952	2.68%	1,264,696,796	1991	7.86%	16,420,915,041
1953	2.83%	1,300,487,716	1992	7.01%	17,572,021,185
1954	2.40%	1,331,721,096	1993	5.87%	18,604,084,563
1955	2.82%	1,369,231,240	1994	7.08%	19,921,253,750
1956	3.18%	1,412,807,024	1995	6.58%	21,232,072,246
1957	3.65%	1,464,339,160	1996	6.44%	22,599,063,831
1958	3.32%	1,512,894,206	1997	6.35%	24,034,669,361
1959	4.33%	1,578,452,955	1998	5.26%	25,299,894,414
1960	4.12%	1,643,432,602	1999	5.64%	26,725,965,129
1961	3.88%	1,707,238,873	2000	6.03%	28,337,318,110
1962	3.95%	1,774,603,673	2001	5.02%	29,759,143,046
1963	4.00%	1,845,632,185	2002	4.61%	31,131,287,533
1964	4.19%	1,922,902,653	2003	4.02%	32,381,208,728
1965	4.28%	2,005,250,959	2004	4.27%	33,765,235,558
1966	4.92%	2,103,976,148	2005	4.29%	35,213,764,163
1967	5.07%	2,210,717,871	2006	4.79%	36,901,090,363
1968	5.65%	2,335,531,317	2007	4.63%	38,609,303,337
1969	6.67%	2,491,330,719	2008	3.67%	40,024,977,793
1970	7.35%	2,674,402,005	2009	3.26%	41,328,457,903
1971	6.16%	2,839,122,882	2010	3.21%	42,656,823,421
1972	6.21%	3,015,432,412	2011	2.79%	43,845,171,427
1973	6.84%	3,221,763,375	2012	1.80%	44,635,480,642
1974	7.56%	3,465,248,142	2013	2.35%	45,684,786,399
1975	7.99%	3,742,034,838	2014	2.54%	46,845,560,680
1976	7.61%	4,026,866,056	2015	2.14%	47,846,103,780
1977	7.42%	4,325,625,960	2016	1.84%	48,727,269,525
1978	8.41%	4,689,411,104	2017	2.33%	49,862,614,905
1979	9.44%	5,132,208,747	2018	2.91%	51,313,616,999
1980	11.46%	5,720,359,869	2019	2.14%	52,413,866,470
1981	13.91%	6,516,109,597	2020	0.89%	52,882,533,792
1982	13.00%	7,363,312,446	2021	1.44%	53,645,364,342
1983	11.11%	8,181,008,294	2022	2.95%	55,228,796,680
1984	12.44%	9,198,589,375	2023	3.96%	57,414,476,309
1985	10.62%	10,175,786,186	2024	4.18%	**59,816,315,234**

293 Rates from 2024 to 1954 are from "Interest Rates: Long-Term Government Bond Yields: 10-Year." Federal Reserve Economic Data. 2024 rate represents average interest rate through September 30, 2024 based on available data. Retrieved from https://fred.stlouisfed.org/graph/?id=IRLTLT01USQ156N ; Rates from 1954 to 1948 are from "An Update of Data shown in Chapter 26 of Market Volatility." R. Shiller, Princeton 2015. Retrieved from http://www.econ.yale.edu/~shiller/data.htm. R. Shiller notes that pre-1953 rates are government bond yields from Sidney Homer A History of Interest Rates.

11.2 Final Tally of Losses by Egyptian Jewry

On the basis of the combined total value of each asset category under consideration for Jews in Egypt and the application of the aforementioned periodic compounding formula, the total value for all assets at December 31, 2024 USD equals **$59,816,315,234.**

Appendix A: Period One: Ancient Israelite History294

The illustrious history of the Jewish people in the region is detailed in the Bible and in the Dead Sea Scrolls. These dates are derived from Biblical references.

YEARS – BCE	NOTES
2000-1750	Old Babylonian period
1813-1452	The life of Abraham; begins period of Jewish forefathers
1280- 1240	Exodus from Egypt, Entry into the Land of Israel
1200-1050/1000	Period of the Judges in Israel
1000-587	Monarchical period in Israel
900-612	Neo-Assyrian period
722/721	Northern Kingdom (Israel) destroyed by Assyrians; 10 tribes exiled
587/586	Southern Kingdom (Judah) and First Temple destroyed

294 Jewish Virtual Library, "Timeline for the History of Judaism: Ancient Israelites" accessed on Nov. 6, 2024 https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/timeline-for-the-history-of-judaism

Appendix B: Period Two: From the destruction of the first Jewish temple to the rise of Islam 587 – BCE – 683 CE

In the years after the destruction of the Jewish Temple, the "Babylonian Exile" dispersed the Jews throughout the region. During this period, Mesopotamia became the preeminent center of Jewish life between the third and sixth centuries C.E. the Jewish communities in exile played a pivotal role in the development of Judaism. A prime example is the Babylonian Talmud, a foundational text of Rabbinic Judaism, composed between the 3rd and 5th centuries in present-day Iraq. This work, second only to the Hebrew Bible, serves as the primary source of Jewish law (halakha) and theology.

The Sages of Babylon also established the tradition of reading the Torah in an annual cycle, a departure from the triennial cycle practiced in ancient Israel.

Throughout the period of exile, there always remained a presence of Jews in the land of Israel.

PERIOD TWO: FIRST TEMPLE TO THE RISE OF ISLAM[295]	
YEARS – BCE	**NOTES**
541	First Jews return from Babylon to rebuild the city
538-333	Persian Period.
520-515	Jerusalem ("Second") Temple rebuilt.
333-63	Hellenistic (Greek) period.
63	Rome (Pompey) annexes the land of Israel.
YEARS – C.E.	**COMMON ERA**
70	Destruction of Jerusalem and the second Temple.
132-135	Bar Kokhba rebellion (Second Jewish Revolt
368/426	Jerusalem Talmud compiled. Babylonian Talmud compiled.
570	Birth of Prophet Muhammad

295 Jewish Virtual Library, "Timeline for the History of Judaism: Ancient Israelites" accessed on Nov. 6, 2024 https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/timeline-for-the-history-of-judaism

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Archives and Institutions

AJCA American Jewish Committee Archives.

CZA Central Zionist Archives.

DIARNA The Geo-Museum of North African and Middle Eastern Jewish LifeIJCP International Jewish Cemetery Project.

ISA Israel State Archives.

JIMENA Jews Indigenous to the Middle East and North AfricaJJAC Justice for Jews from Arab Countries.

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