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

Report on the Jews of Algeria

Historical and Economic Analysis

over Photo: Great Synagogue of Oran. Source: Judaica Algeria

Disclaimer

This Executive Summary provides data on the history and economic losses when Jews were displaced from Algeria. Although every attempt was made to collect testimonies and locate all relevant statistical data, this Report should not be considered as definitive. Research was adversely affected by the fact that this mass displacement of Jews occurred decades ago and there is no central repository where records of 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.

This Report was produced by Justice for Jews from Arab Countries, LLC

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.

Algeria Executive Summary

Context

The Jews of Algeria stand as another illustration of a broader historic pattern that unfolded across the Middle East and North Africa,

Jews are indigenous to the region, having lived there for thousands of years - roughly one thousand years before the birth 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.

Under Ottoman rule, Jews faced fluctuating conditions, from oppression to limited

reforms. The arrival of colonial powers to the Middle East and North Africa marked a dramatic turning point for indigenous Jewish communities. Many Jews gained access to education and the ability to contribute meaningfully to the cultural, economic, and professional life of their countries. But this chapter was short-lived.

The rise of Arab nationalism, at times fueled by fascist ideologies, and growing opposition to Zionism unleashed a wave of discriminatory laws, violence, and state-backed repression. While Jews were often victims of violence and pogroms throughout their time in Muslim countries, the situation worsened immediately before and after the founding of the State of Israel in 1948.

What followed was not a mere exodus, but the erasure of ancient Jewish communities, through forced expulsion, flight under duress, or systemic marginalization. With respect to Algeria:

Displacement of Jews from Algeria: 1948-2025

	1948	1958	1968	1976	2001	2025
Algeria	**140,000**	130,000	3,000	1,000	0	**0**

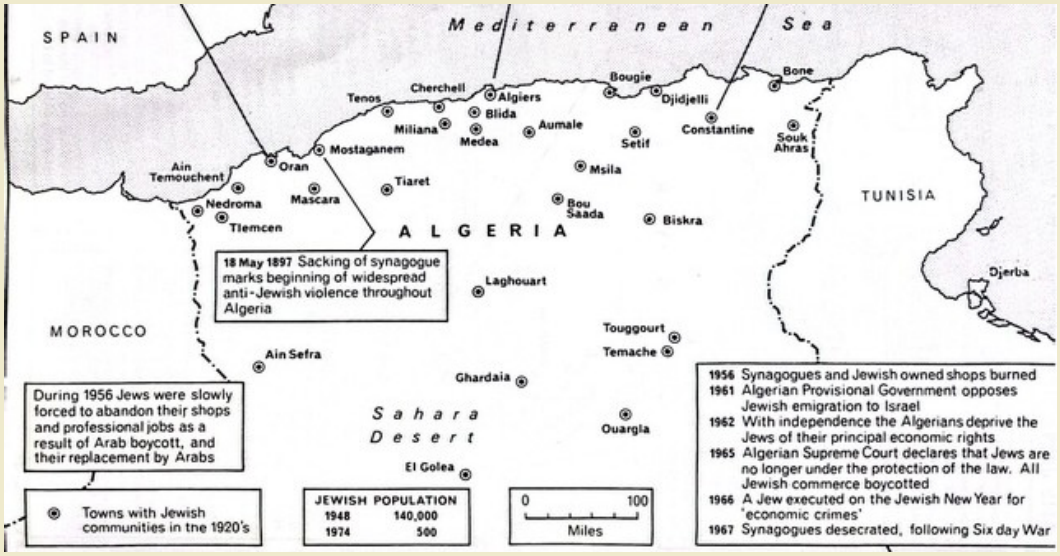
Today, over 99% of the descendants of the historic Jewish communities in 10 Arab countries plus Iran no longer reside in these vast regions.

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

This publication is a sincere call to recognize the rights of Jewish refugees from Arab countries on both moral and legal grounds and to ensure their story is no longer forgotten.

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 and justice, for all can the peoples of the region move toward a future of dignity, healing, and lasting peace.

History of the Jewish Community of Algeria



The Jewish presence in Algeria spans over two millennia, beginning with settlements along the Mediterranean coast in the Phoenician period and expanding through waves of migration from Judea, Arabia, and later Spain and Italy. This long-standing community flourished culturally and demographically in urban centers such as Algiers, Oran, and Constantine.

Following the Muslim conquest of Algeria in the 7th century, Jews were classified as dhimmis under Islamic rule. As dhimmis, Jews were granted protection but at the cost of being placed in a subordinate and humiliating social position. They were required to pay the jizya tax, a tax that marked their inferior status in society, and were subject to numerous legal and social restrictions. Jews could not hold public office, and their rights were limited compared to those of Muslims.

In Algeria, Jews maintained a significant role in commerce, especially in the urban centers along the coast, such as Algiers and Oran, where they were involved in trade and financial services. Despite their economic contributions, they faced social segregation and were treated as second-class subjects. The Jewish community in Algeria also preserved its unique cultural and religious traditions, including its distinct language, Judeo-Arabic, and its relationship with both Arab and Berber populations.

Under Ottoman rule (1525-1830), Jews in Algeria continued to live as dhimmis, subjected to numerous restrictions including discriminatory dress codes, movement constraints, and systemic humiliation. Though local enforcement varied, Jews were often vulnerable to violence and extortion, culminating in episodes such as the 1805 "Black Sabbath" massacre in Algiers.

French colonization (1830-1962) brought both integration and tension. In 1870, the Crémieux Decree granted French citizenship to Algerian Jews, uniquely positioning them apart from the indigenous Muslim majority. This elevated status created resentment among both French settlers and Muslim neighbors. The resulting social friction, coupled with European antisemitism, triggered violent episodes, including the Constantine pogrom of 1934, which left 23 Jews dead.

Under French rule, Algerian Jews played a major role in society, particularly in trade, government, and liberal professions such as law, medicine, and education. From 1920 to 1962, they were active in local politics and civic life.

During World War II, the Vichy regime stripped Jews of their rights, deported many to labor camps, and barred them from education and professions. A Jewish-led resistance aided the Allied "Operation Torch" in 1942, leading to the liberation of Algeria and the reinstatement of the Crémieux Decree (granting French citizenship to Jews) in 1943.

By 1948, Algeria's Jewish population numbered around 140,000. They were urban, French-speaking, and deeply integrated into society. Jews contributed significantly to Algerian culture, in music, in law, medicine, and education. However, the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962) placed the community in an untenable position—caught between loyalty to France and the rising violence of the FLN nationalist movement.

The war's progression saw mounting attacks against Jews. In 1957 Jews were murdered in Oran and Madonna; On December 12, 1960, a synagogue of Algeria was looted. In 1961 a cemetery was desecrated, the famous Jewish musician Raymond Leyris was assassinated in Constantine. On September 2 a Jew was murdered on Rosh Ha'Shana. On July 5, 1962, after independence, widespread killings and exterminations targeted Jews in Oran and other neighborhoods, including assassinations, desecration of synagogues, and extortion. Following independence in 1962, Algeria denied citizenship to non-Muslims, triggering a mass Jewish exodus, primarily to France. Most Algerian Jews chose France because they already held French citizenship under the 1870 Crémieux Decree, which had granted them full rights as French nationals.

By 2007, fewer than twenty Jews remained in Algeria. Today, there are reportedly no Jews remaining in Algeria.

Economic Analysis of The Jews of Algeria

Methodological Benchmarks & Economic Indicators

For the purposes of this report, a total Jewish Algerian population of 140,000 Jews was estimated. The Algerian Jewish population was determined to be 5% rural and 95% urban. It was further determined that the average size of a Jewish family in Algeria in and around the 1948 period was 5.5 people. Therefore, based on a population of 140,000 a total of 25,455 Jewish households was calculated.

Jews in Algeria had a long record of working in trades related to commerce. Relatively speaking, the Jews represented a disproportionately high percentage of educated class and skilled workforce. They held a wide array of professions, mainly focused on the textile and skins trade. They also held positions as professionals in the arts, liberal professions, education, government, and the military. In addition, it was found that only 35% of Jews worked in unskilled labor, vs 65% who worked in skilled labour.

A specific breakdown of the socioeconomic structure and economic experience of Jews in Algeria is not available. However, the vast majority of Jews in Algeria lived in Northern Algeria, in and around the large urban areas.

Asset Categories & Types

This project considers losses suffered by Jews as members of Jewish households, as well as assets that belonged to each Jewish community, respectively. 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. This report does not attempt to account for non-pecuniary damages, such as pain and suffering, nor personal injury or death.

While records do not distinguish between land owned by Jews, and land owned by other Europeans, data indicates that the Jews comprised around 15% of the total European population in 1948. This suggests that the Jewish community of Algeria owned over 4 million dunams of rural land circa 1948. In accordance with the division between Civil and Saharan Algeria, the Jews of each zone had different land ownership practices. Wealthier Jews were often businessmen and owners of large areas of property within the city, while lower urban classes owned urban property but were not known to own rural assets. In comparison, rural Jews living in Saharan Algeria were not known as landowners, but they did own rural real estate. There is also evidence of a high standard of living in rural properties inhabited by Jews in Saharan Algeria.

Reliable testimonial and historical data was not available for Algeria to make any conclusions as to the value of losses. Moreover, many Jews were able to take out some of their assets and others were provided some compensation for their losses by the Government of France. Instead, of exact figures, summaries were carried out for each asset category to provide some historical context.

Summary of Findings

Due to the lack of reliable testimonial and historical data for Algeria, it was determined that the analysis for Egypt, Syria, and Iraq would be used for illustrative purposes. Lost assets found in the first three countries at 1948 values were used to determine the value of lost property per person. This yielded a range, with Iraq providing the lowest value of lost property per person among the three countries, and Egypt being the highest. The low and high values were then multiplied with the population of each remaining country, and a mid-point was calculated from this range. In the absence of “best evidence” to reach accurate and verifiable country-specific values a discount factor of 50% was determined based on precedent discounts and applied across the mid-point value for Algeria. Finally, a compound interest formula which makes use of the principal amount and an average yearly rate based on the ten-year yields on US treasury bonds over a total compound period from January 1, 1949, through December 31, 2024, was applied to the mid-point value for each of the countries on a yearly compounding basis. As there is no internationally recognized, risk free rate, the 10-year US Treasury Yield rate was chosen, as it is an accepted benchmark for the time value of money over long horizons and aligns with established practices in historical asset valuation. The table below illustrates the calculated mid-point of lost assets for Algeria:

Range of Lost Assets ($)		
Algeria	**1948**	**Estimated Present Value ($, 2024)**
Population	140,000	
Estimated – Low Range	680,929,980	
Estimated – High Range	2,141,254,847	
Estimated – Mid-Point	**1,411,092,414**	
Discount	50%	
Estimated – Mid-Point (with Discount)	**705,546,207**	**36,799,992,688**

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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.

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 (<u>See Appendix A</u>)

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

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 bank accounts would be frozen and used to finance resistance to 'Zionist ambitions in

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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.

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	**856,000[vii]**	**475,050**	**76,000**	**32,190**	**7,800**	**4,067[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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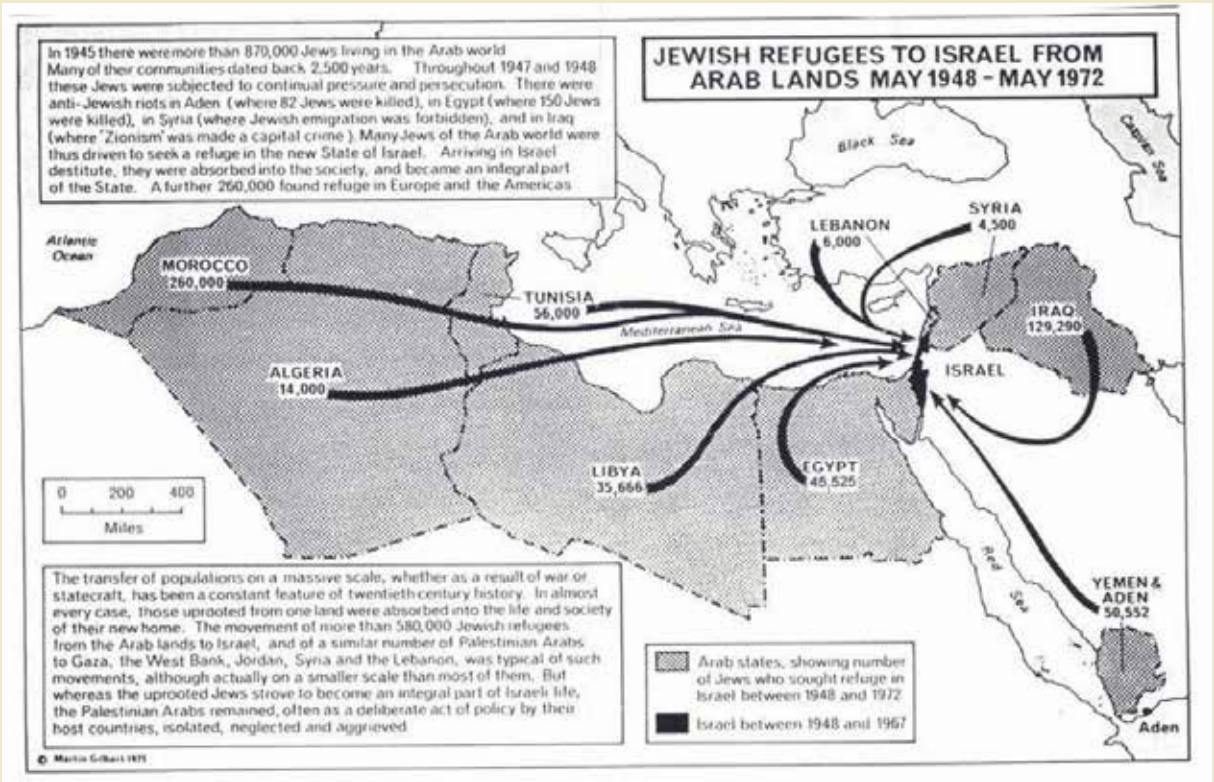
Jews who left Arab countries were not voluntary migrants. They left their home countries neither for economic reasons nor solely for religious freedom. They suffered from harassment and discrimination. They were driven from their homes as a result of the persecution they suffered.

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

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 to produce a valuation of assets left behind by Jewish refugees in Arab countries and Iran.

2.1. Project Scope

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 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 and their communities.

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, comprehensive review of available documentation, the collection of testimonial data, an analysis of each 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 Arab countries and Iran.

2.2. Technical Premises

For the purposes of this report's valuation exercise, the assumption was that all Jewish assets that belonged to Jews in most of the countries under consideration 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 Jewish communities in countries 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.

2.3. Loss Types Under Review

This project considers losses suffered by Jews as individual members of Jewish households, as well as assets that belonged to each Jewish community, respectively. 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	**Total 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 a pain and suffering, nor 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.

2.4. 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 each country under consideration, 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 all countries under consideration 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 any

other 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

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.[59]

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.
4. Throughout, we strove for consistency in style, structure, scope, and methodology.

59 Israeli Ministry of Justice website

5. **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.
6. **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.

2.5. 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; 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.

2.6. Methodology for the 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 on end.

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.

2.7. 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, ending on December 31, 2024.

2.8. Methodology for the remaining 7 country reports

Four reports have been published under this project scope, finding $**166,239,520,930** of lost assets across Egypt, Syria, Iran and Iraq. This project also encompasses seven additional countries:

- Aden
- Algeria
- Lebanon
- Libya
- Morocco
- Tunisia
- Yemen

However, the documentation available for review of these seven countries was not on par with the data collected for the first four. Despite a thorough review of historical sources, discussions with subject-matter experts, and community leaders, as described above, the collection of available testimonial data was insufficient to be relied upon to conclude on the financial value of the Jews' lost assets. Therefore, to estimate financial losses, an updated valuation methodology was used. We note that the resulting conclusions are provided for illustrative purposes only and should not be considered as exact figures.

Due to the lack of reliable testimonial and historical data for the seven remaining reports, it was determined that the analysis for Egypt, Syria, and Iraq would be used for illustrative purposes. Iran was left out of this analysis due to its valuation start year being significantly different than the other three countries (1979). Iran also had very different circumstances in comparison to the other countries reviewed at the time. It was reasoned that the Jewish population's circumstances across the ten countries were similar in many ways, and therefore the lost assets found, at 1948 values, in the first three countries was used to determine the value of lost property per person, as shown in the table below.

Table 5 - Range of Lost Assets for Egypt, Iraq, & Syria ($, 1948)

Range of Lost Assets for Egypt, Iraq, & Syria ($, 1948)			
	Egypt	Iraq	Syria[60]
Total Value ($, 1948)	1,147,100,811	656,611,052	215,562,196
Population[61]	75,000	135,000	30,000
Value per person ($)	15,295	4,864	7,185

This determined the range of lost assets across Arab countries: Jews lost an estimated **$4,864** to **$15,295** per person. This range was then applied to the population of each remaining country and a mid-point was calculated, per the table below.

60 Syria's valuation start year is 1947, therefore it was decided to convert Syria's total assets as of 1947 to 1948 values to properly calculate a range across the three countries (Egypt, Iraq, and Syria). The reported total assets for Syria as of 1947 ($ 200,167,458) were converted to the 1948 USD value ($ 215,562,196) using the Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis' Inflation Calculator (https://www.minneapolisfed.org/about-us/monetary-policy/inflation-calculator).

61 All population figures are based on Roumani population chart, for the year 1948.

Table 6 - Range of Lost Assets for Remaining Seven Countries ($, 1948)

Range of Lost Assets for Seven Countries ($, 1948)							
	Aden	Algeria	Lebanon[62]	Libya	Tunisia	Yemen	Morocco[63]
Jewish Population	8,000	140,000	6,000	38,000	105,000	55,000	265,000
Estimated - Low Range	38,910,285	680,929,980	29,182,713	184,823,852	510,697,485	267,508,206	30,467,470
Estimated - High Range	122,357,420	2,141,254,847	91,768,065	581,197,744	1,605,941,135	841,207,261	336,863,513
Estimated - Mid Point	**80,633,852**	**1,411,092,414**	**60,475,389**	**383,010,798**	**1,058,319,310**	**554,357,734**	**183,665,491**

We note that though this methodology is intended for informative and illustrative purposes only, it is still lacking in that it is based on values found in other countries and is not adjusted to reflect the exact situation of each jurisdiction. Similar to other attempts to value lost assets following wars and other tragedies,[64] this project was predicated on the availability of contemporaneous evidence, historical sources, and testimonial data. The inability to rely on the latter opens the door for inaccuracy, overstatement, and falls below the standard set for this project. Additionally, this method does not consider country-specific considerations such as GDP, the Jews' socio-economic status and their relative wealth as compared to non-Jews, and their ability to take their assets with them when leaving the countries. It also does not reflect macro-economic conditions that might have impacted the value of the property in question.

In the absence of the "best evidence" to reach accurate and verifiable country-specific values, other valuation exercises have applied various levels of discount factors to manage the risk of overstatement created by the methodologies' shortcomings. For example, the United Nations Compensation Commission (UNCC) notes:

> *"For instance, in the case of estimated cost of repair work not yet completed, in the absence of documents such as a quotation or description of damage, a 50 per cent discount factor was applied to the amount claimed. On the other hand, when claimants filed optional documents that had not been required upfront but which could serve to substantiate the claim, this would result in an add back to the adjusted value. The total of all deductions and add backs would result in an assessment score expressed as a percentage and applied to the adjusted value. The assessment score could not be higher than 100 per cent or lower than 0 per cent."*[65]

62 All population figures are based on Roumani population chart, for the year 1948. However, we note Lebanon's population is based on estimates for 1958, as the base year valuation date for the country is 1967, and 1958 is the last population estimate available through Roumani that predates 1967.

63 As Morocco had no state-directed confiscation of Jewish-owned assets, and many Jews were able to divest themselves of their assets and/or bring them out of the country, it was deemed inappropriate to try and project wholesale losses of assets. Therefore, a range based on communal assets of the first three reports was used for Morocco instead.

64 As outlined in IOM's "Property Restitution and Compensation: Practices and Experiences of Claims Programmes" (2008) publication.

65 2008. "Property Restitution and Compensation: Practices and Experiences of Claims Programmes." International Organization for Migration.

To accommodate the issues listed above, it was determined that a discount factor should be applied to the range of values for each of the seven countries. A discount factor of 50% was determined based on precedent discounts and the following:

- To migrate for the risk of overstatement if any evidence fell sort of standards
- To migrate risks due to limited testimonial data
- To account for some countries, such as Morocco, where the Jewish population was able to divest their assets and/or bring them out of the country, limiting total property losses
- To account for other countries, such as Yemen, where the population was mostly rural and poor, and there was a lack of public synagogues
- To account for other countries, such as Lebanon, where some of the Jewish population was able to leave and liquidate their assets in a relatively orderly fashion prior to the outbreak of the civil war in 1975
- To account for other countries, such as Algeria, where some of the Jewish population received compensation from the French government

The discount factor of 50% was applied across the range of values for each of the seven countries, as shown in the table below. This led to a mid-point of **$1,865,777,494** across all seven countries.

Table 7 - Range of Lost Assets for Remaining Seven Countries after discount ($, 1948)

	Aden	Algeria	Lebanon	Libya	Tunisia	Yemen	Morocco[66]
Discount	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%
Estimated – Mid-Point (with Discount)	40,316,926	705,546,207	30,237,695	191,505,399	529,159,655	277,178,867	91,832,746

Finally, using the previously discussed present valuation methodology, each of the seven countries estimated mid-point with discount were brought forward to a present-day value as of December 31, 2024. This led to a total present value of **$96,556,730,734** across all seven countries. See the tables below:

66 It is noted that Morocco's range is based on communal assets only, as many Moroccan Jews were able to divest themselves of their assets and/or bring them out of the country, therefore communal assets were most likely the largest loss category.

Table 8 – Range of lost assets & estimated present values for remaining Seven Countries ($, 1948)

	Estimated Mid-Point with 50% Discount ($, 1948)	Estimated Present Value ($, 2024)[67]
Aden	40,316,926	2,102,856,725
Algeria	705,546,207	36,799,992,688
Lebanon[68]	30,237,695	818,350,236
Libya	191,505,399	9,988,569,444
Morocco[69]	91,832,746	4,789,827,140
Tunisia	529,159,655	27,599,994,516
Yemen	277,178,867	14,457,139,985
Total of Remaining Country Reports	**1,865,777,495**	**96,556,730,734**

Range of Lost Assets for Seven Countries ($, 1948)							
	Aden	Algeria	Lebanon[70]	Libya	Tunisia	Yemen	Morocco[71]
Population	8,000	140,000	6,000	38,000	105,000	55,000	265,000
Estimated – Low Range	38,910,285	680,929,980	29,182,713	184,823,852	510,697,485	267,508,206	30,467,470
Estimated – High Range	122,357,420	2,141,254,847	91,768,065	581,197,744	1,605,941,135	841,207,261	336,863,513
Estimated - Mid-Point	**80,633,852**	**1,411,092,414**	**60,475,389**	**383,010,798**	**1,058,319,310**	**554,357,734**	**183,665,491**
Discount	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%	50%
Estimated – Mid-Point (with Discount)	**40,316,926**	**705,546,207**	**30,237,695**	**191,505,399**	**529,159,655**	**277,178,867**	**91,832,746**
Estimated Present Value ($, 2024)[72]	**2,102,856,725**	**36,799,992,688**	**818,350,236**	**9,988,569,444**	**27,599,994,516**	**14,457,139,985**	**4,789,827,140**

67 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 December 31, 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

68 All population figures are based on Roumani population chart, for the year 1948. However, we note Lebanon's population is based on estimates for 1958, as the base year valuation date for the country is 1967, and 1958 is the last population estimate available through Roumani that predates 1967. We also note that the estimated present value is based on the start year of 1967 for Lebanon, while all other countries are based on 1948

69 It is noted that Morocco's range is based on communal assets only, as many Moroccan Jews were able to divest themselves of their assets and/or bring them out of the country, therefore communal assets were most likely the largest loss category.

70 We note Lebanon's population is based on estimates for 1958, as the base year valuation date for the country is 1967, and 1958 is the last population estimate available through Roumani that predates 1967. We also note that the estimated present value is based on the start year of 1967 for Lebanon, while all other countries are based on 1948.

71 As Morocco had no state-directed confiscation of Jewish-owned assets, and many Jews were able to divest themselves of their assets and/or bring them out of the country, it was deemed inappropriate to try and project wholesale losses of assets. Therefore, a range based on communal assets of the first four reports was used for Morocco instead.

72 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 December 31, 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.

Additional historical context was provided across all loss types under review for each of the seven countries, however additional valuation details were not provided in these sections.

Grand Summary Chart

Lost Assets Across All Countries ($)		
Country	**Base Year Value ($, 1948)[1]**	**Estimated Present Value ($, 2024)**
Egypt	1,147,100,811	59,816,315,234
Iran[2]	5,879,126,747	61,491,251,179
Iraq	656,611,052	34,239,408,861
Syria[3]	200,167,458	10,692,545,656
Subtotal of Comprehensive Reports	**7,883,006,068**	**166,239,520,930**
Aden	40,316,926	2,102,856,725
Algeria	705,546,207	36,799,992,688
Lebanon[4]	30,237,695	818,350,236
Libya	191,505,399	9,988,569,444
Morocco	91,832,746	4,789,827,140
Tunisia	529,159,655	27,599,994,516
Yemen	277,178,867	14,457,139,985
Subtotal of Remaining Country Reports	**1,865,777,495**	**96,556,730,734**
GRAND TOTAL	**9,748,783,563**	**262,796,251,664**

[1] All country base years are for 1948, except for Iran (1979), Syria (1947), and Lebanon (1967). Note for the remaining seven countries (Aden Algeria, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia, and Yemen) the value is based on an estimated mid-point with discount, based on updated methodology discussed in detail within chapter 2.
[2] Note Iran's Base Year is 1979.
[3] Note Syria's Base Year is 1947.
[4] Note Lebanon's Base Year is 1967.

Chapter 3

Algeria Historical Section

Section 1 – Historical Background

Origins of the Jewish Community

Jews lived in the principal towns along the coast of modern-day Algeria already during the Phoenician period (circa 500 BC). Later, during the first century AD, Jews were relocated from Judea, marking the beginning of their dispersion into the territory of modern-day Algeria, where they began to foster connections with indigenous pre-Arab and pre-Muslim Berber tribes[73].

In the 7th century AD, Jews from Arabia, expelled following the ascent of Islam and Muhammad's initial conquests, contributed to the Jewish presence in Algeria. Some Jewish groups traversed the Saharan trade routes, settling in the oases before gradually migrating northward towards the Mediterranean coast. Eventually, the Jewish community became most pronounced in the three metropolises of Oran, Algiers, and Constantine[74].

There exists a legend suggesting that certain Berber tribes might have embraced Judaism, further enriching the cultural landscape. The majority of Algeria's Jewish population, however, traces their lineage to the Sephardim expelled during the fifteenth century from Spain and Italy[75].

Ottoman Rule (1525-1830)

The Ottoman Empire conquered swaths of what would later become the Algerian state by the 16th century. Akin to customary practices in other Muslim lands – part of the pact of Omar – Jews in Algeria faced a series of restrictions and limitations. These included dress codes mandating dark attire, prohibitions against riding horses, and even restrictions on the use of mules or donkeys within city limits. Jews were barred from entering mosques, save for rare instances when they were seeking refuge, albeit under the condition of entering with shoes to distinguish their identity. Jews were compelled to walk barefoot in front of mosques or the ruler's palace[76].

Accounts of Jewish and Muslim interactions during the 16th and 17th centuries in Algeria depict a distressing reality for the Jewish community. They endured a pervasive sense of degradation, with Muslim children exhibiting disdain and hostility towards them. Access to synagogues was severely limited, as Ottoman authorities demanded substantial bribes before permitting the establishment of additional places of worship[77].

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73 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.

74 Cohen, p. 459.

75 Cohen, p. 459.

76 Hoexter, Miriam. The Jewish Community and the Turkish Governmental System in Algiers. *Sefunot: Studies and Sources on the History of the Jewish Communities in the East* (1983): 133-163. [Hebrew]

77 Hirschberg, H. Z. A history of the Jews in North Africa (Bialik Institute, 1965), Vol. 2, pp. 48-49. [Hebrew]

Jews endured arbitrary mistreatment, with invaders freely entering Jewish homes and subjecting them to menial tasks and humiliations. Jews were deprived of the right to carry any form of defense, not even a stick, rendering them vulnerable to exploitation and accusation. Accusations of blasphemy against Islam often led to severe consequences[78].

Enforcement of these regulations fluctuated over time and across regions, and variations existed. In the eastern province of Constantine, Jews occasionally wore turbans and shoes as per Muslim custom. In Algiers during the 1780s, there was a brief allowance for Jews to wear red attire, revoked upon the death of the approving official. A chilling incident in December 1788 saw authorities punishing forgetful Jews by publicly administering 300 lashes each, as a stark reminder of the consequences of disobedience[79].

Movement was heavily restricted for Jews, necessitating a deposit with authorities for those seeking to travel abroad to ensure their return. Stringent regulations dictated specific days and times when Jews could exit city gates, effectively confining them to their homes after dark, as they were obligated to carry makeshift lighting without the protection of a flashlight[80].

Local rulers alternated between protecting the Jews and inciting violence against them. An infamous example occurred during the "Black Sabbath" of 1805, when riots in Algiers, following the removal of the governor of Algiers, resulted in the massacre of dozens of Jews. One of the governor's key advisors was a Jewish Minister of Finance[81].

All of this led the French consul at Algiers to note in 1805, regarding the Jews: “The oppression and abasement which they experience are beyond anything one could imagine.”[82] A schoolteacher in Algeria, Heloise Hartouch, added in 1840: “They wear no shoes on their feet. Those who can afford it are permitted to wear slippers as shoes, but these slippers must be much shorter than the foot in order that the heel is in complete contact with the ground at all times.”[83]

78 Hoexter, pp. 135-136.

79 Hoexter, pp. 135-136.

80 Hoexter, pp. 135-136.

81 Abitbol, p. 12

82 Bensoussan, George. *Jews in Arab Countries: The Great Uprooting* (Indiana University Press, 2019), pp. 15-16.

83 Bensoussan, p. 109.

Figure 1 - Jewish quarter of Ghardaia in the 1920s

Source: Schreir (2010), p. 12

French Rule (1830-1962)

As the Ottoman Empire decayed and began to lose its foothold in the region, European powers began to fill the vacuum. In 1830, the French invaded Northern Algeria and initiated what would become France's most extensive colonial project in North Africa. During the French invasion, the Jewish population in the region was estimated at around 16,000 individuals. Predominantly residing in Algiers, Oran, Constantine, and Tlemcen, these communities formed a small yet notable demographic within the broader Algerian population, which then totaled around 3 million people[84].

Initial reports from French commanders indicate that while the majority of Algerian Jews faced challenging circumstances, a select few within each major city emerged as a local commercial elite. This minority group, despite the broader difficulties, managed to establish significant economic footholds, thereby strengthening ties with European countries and assuming pivotal roles within the local economy[85].

Algerian Jewry was seen by the French colonial rule, on the one hand, as religiously and socially antiquated, portrayed as 'pre-modern' in their political and intellectual stance; and on the other hand, as inherently distinct from their Muslim counterparts, capable of assimilation, and viewed as natural allies of the colonizers. This dualistic view portrayed Algerian Jews as prospective French citizens embedded within a backward societal backdrop, against which colonial governance and the civilizing influence of French efforts could ostensibly intervene[86].

84 Abitbol, Michel. *From Cremieux to Petain: Antisemitism in Colonial Algeria (1870-1940)* (Zalman Shazar Center, 1993), p. 11. [Hebrew]

85 Abitbol, p. 13

86 Slyomovics, Susan, and Stein, Sarah Abrevaya. Jews and French colonialism in Algeria: An introduction. *The Journal of North African Studies* 17.5 (2012): 749-755.

This was the main reason for the different treatment of Algerian Jewry than that of Jews in neighboring Morocco and Tunisia, where the French established Protectorates and not outright colonies. In 1870, Adolfe Crémieux, the French Jewish Minister of Justice, signed a decree which granted full French citizenship to most of Algeria's Jews.

This legislative act marked a profound shift for Algerian Jews, significantly altering their religious and social landscape. Algerian Jews became the only group of Jews in the Middle East and North Africa to be naturalized by a European power, separately from their Muslim neighbors. The 1870 Crémieux Decree marked the genesis of their integration into French culture and society. Mandated attendance at French public schools, conscription into the French army, and subjection to French civil courts became their new reality[87].

However, this newly attained status didn't go unchallenged, nor did it resolve preexisting issues. French colonizers in Algeria adamantly resisted extending citizenship to Algerian Jews, seeing them as inferior and dangerous. Further complicating matters, the influx of foreign Europeans from the 1860s, including Italians, Maltese, and Spaniards, harbored resentment toward the elevated status of Jews. As to the indigenous Arabs, they were bewildered by the social elevation of Jews who were traditionally considered dhimmi. Paradoxically, Jewish integration into French society and culture following their naturalization fueled the flames of political, administrative, and economic anti-Jewish sentiments from all parts of the Algerian society[88].

The result was that Jews found themselves in a delicate predicament, caught between the animosity of French and European colonists unhappy with their new status, and the resentment of the indigenous Muslim population accustomed to Jews occupying a subordinate status. What ensued was a surge of antisemitism in Algeria, primarily among French and European settlers. Instances of anti-Jewish violence erupted, notably in Oran in 1884 and Algiers in 1897 and 1898, the latter coinciding with the infamous Dreyfus Affair in France. This antisemitism was mainly European in nature, reflecting the prejudices imported by colonial settlers[89].

87 Cohen, p. 460.

88 Cohen, pp. 460-461.

89 Cohen, p. 463.

Figure 2 - Algerian Jewish soldiers from Constantine in Lyon, France, during Passover 1916

Source: Laskier (1997), p. 281

Between the Two World Wars: The 1934 Constantine Pogrom

The 1930s marked a notable decline in relations between Jews and Muslims in Algeria. Multiple factors exacerbated these tensions, one of them being the deteriorating relations between Jews and Arabs in British Mandatory Palestine, particularly following the Arab riots of 1929. This period saw the Jewish-Arab conflict become a broader conflict between the Jewish and Arab or Muslim worlds. Algeria's budding national movement aligned itself with Arab struggles against the Jewish *Yishuv*, with some prominent figures even advocating for the boycott of "Zionist goods" in the 1930s[90].

Another significant contributor was the ascent of fascist and Nazi regimes in Europe, notably in Germany and Italy. Propaganda disseminated by the Nazis from Berlin and Stuttgart, as well as broadcasts from fascist Italy, intensified existing anti-Jewish sentiments among the Muslim population[91].

This was the background for the infamous pogrom in Constantine on August 3, 1934. It started on Friday evening with an altercation involving a Jewish soldier who, seemingly inebriated, directed insults towards Muslim worshippers in a mosque, cursing Islam and the Prophet Muhammad. Word swiftly spread through the Muslim quarters, prompting hundreds to surge towards the Jewish neighborhood. Amidst the tumult, Jewish-owned shops were ransacked and pillaged[92].

Community leaders from both Jewish and Muslim factions then convened, disseminating posters citywide urging restraint and announcing a joint procession to

90 Saadoun, Haim. The Jews in their surroundings. In Haim Saadoun (Ed.), *Algeria* (pp. 53-76). Ben-Zvi Institute [Hebrew].

91 Laskier, Michael M. *North African Jewry in the Twentieth century: The Jews of Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria* (New York University Press, 1994), p. 56

92 Abitbol, pp. 145-161.

be led by them after the Sabbath. Yet, dawn on Sunday, August 5, 1934, unfurled a fabricated tale of a Muslim leader's murder at the hands of Jews, stoking the flames of outrage once again. Scores of incensed Muslims, joined by reinforcements from neighboring villages, armed with crude weapons, descended upon Jewish streets[93].

What ensued was a harrowing four-hour ordeal, as marauders rampaged unchecked, assaulting any Jew in their path, laying siege to homes, and ravaging businesses. Despite the chaos, neither military nor police intervention occurred, nor did the European bystanders intervene. Twenty-three Jews and three Muslims perished, with 159 wounded, including 58 Jews, 82 Muslims, and 19 soldiers and policemen. Arson engulfed five buildings, while over 200 Jewish establishments were looted, vandalized, or razed. Not a single assailant faced arrest[94].

The brutality inflicted upon the Halimi and Attali families epitomized the savagery. In one instance, rioters ransacked the Halimi family's trading house before ascending to the attic, where they massacred the occupants. Simultaneously, the Attali family met a similar fate, as French soldiers looked on impassively, failing to intervene as the attackers murdered the family members[95].

There is an agreement that the pogrom wasn't solely triggered by the isolated incident at the mosque on Friday evening. Rather, it was a culmination of various intertwined factors, as testified by the Jewish community. Among these factors were simmering feelings of envy harbored by the Muslim population towards Jews who enjoyed the privilege of French citizenship, exacerbated by the ascent of the Nazis in Germany. Additionally, the propagation of anti-Zionist sentiments through Arab publications – despite Zionism being very weak in Algeria – along with a resurgence of antisemitic propaganda among Constantine's European populace, played significant roles in fueling the tensions that led to the pogrom[96].

93 Abitbol, pp. 145-161.

94 Abitbol, pp. 145-161.

95 Abitbol, pp. 145-161.

96 Abitbol, p. 159.

Figure 3 - Jewish family in Constantine, Algeria, in 1908

Source: Simon, p. 282

World War II and Operation Torch

Algerian Jews were not exempt from the horrors that emanated from Europe before and during World War II. The French Vichy regime, which collaborated with Nazi Germany, enacted the antisemitic legislation called *Les Statut des Juifs*. Discrimination against Algerian Jews included the stripping of their French citizenship (via the abolishment of the Crémieux Decree). In addition, they were required to wear an identifying mark and denied education in Algerian institutions[97].

Under this legislation, Jews could no longer hold administrative positions, work as teachers, or serve as officers in the army. With regards to liberal professions, Jews were free to continue to practice as long as they did not exceed quotas. At the time, despite comprising only 2% of the population, Jews constituted significant portions of medical (37%), law (24%), science (16%), and arts (10%) students. Jews were no longer allowed to work as editors of journals or work in the entertainment industry[98].

The most notable of the Vichy regime's policies, however, was the deportation of Jews to labor and concentration camps. French authorities rounded up and sent 2,000 Jews to labor and concentration camps in Bedeau and Djelfa. Prisoners were forced to work on constructing a trans-Saharan railroad and suffered from difficult work and living conditions as well as torture. Many of the prisoners died from various diseases and wounds sustained during imprisonment[99].

97 Ochayon, Sheryl Silver. The Jews of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. *Yad Vashem*. Accessed April 9, 2024. https://www.yadvashem.org/articles/general/the-jews-of-algeria-morocco-and-tunisia.html

98 Roberts, Sophie B. *Citizenship and Antisemitism in French Colonial Algeria, 1870-1962* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), p. 261.

99 Boum, Aomar, and Stein, Sarah Abrevaya. *The Holocaust and North Africa*. Stanford University Press, 2018.

In response, young Jews led by José Aboulker formed a clandestine resistance group disguised as a sports club. Initially focusing on local tasks such as protecting Jews, procuring weapons, and distributing anti-government literature, they awaited an opportunity for larger-scale action[100].

Their chance came with "Operation Torch," the Allied landing in North Africa on November 8, 1942. Recognizing the need for inside assistance, the Americans enlisted Aboulker's group. In a bold move, the predominantly Jewish group seized control of the French police headquarters and main radio station in Algiers within 15 minutes, using fascist uniforms and forged warrants. Over the next 18 hours, they disseminated misinformation, enabling the Allied landing. Subsequently, an American force swiftly captured Algiers with minimal resistance. This successful operation created a double front against the German Field Marshal Rommel, aiding the Allies in occupying southern Europe and Italy. It is considered to this day one of the most successful operations during World War II[101].

The arrival of allied forces in Algeria provided relief to the Jews, but it wasn't until the summer of 1943, when the Crémieux Decree was reinstated, that all antisemitic legislation implemented by the Vichy regime was canceled[102].

Demographics of the Jewish Community

The Jewish community of Algeria was one of the largest diasporic communities in North Africa. Estimates of the size of the Jewish community in 1948 are fairly consistent, settling around the figure of 140,000[103]. In 1948, this figure amounted to 1.4% of the general population and 13.5% of the non-Muslim population in Algeria[104]. The vast majority of Jews in Algeria lived in Northern Algeria, in and around the large urban areas. A few thousand Jews were also known to have lived in Southern Algeria. By the end of the 1950s, most Jews living North of the Sahara were urbanite, spoke French, had received French schooling, and held middle class professions.

100 Breuer, William B. *Operation Torch: The Allied Gamble to Invade North Africa*. St. Martin's Press, 1985.

101 Breuer, *Operation Torch*.

102 Boum and Stein, *The Holocaust*.

103 Katz, Ethan B. *The Burdens of Brotherhood: Jews and Muslims from North Africa to France*. Cambridge (Harvard University Press, 2015), p. 3.

104 Taieb, Jacques. Demography. In Haim Saadoun (Ed.), *Algeria* (pp. 25-36). Ben-Zvi Institute, 2011.

Table 9 - Algerian Urbanization Population, 1886-1954

Year	Urban Muslim Population	Non-Muslim Urban Population	Total Urban Population
1886	268,000	319,000	587,000
1906	410,500	468,700	879,200
1926	607,600	620,000	1,227,600
1931	730,800	673,100	1,403,900
1936	867,000	743,000	1,610,000
1948	1,329,000	737,000	2,066,000
1954	1,642,000	792,000	**2,434,000**

Source: Kateb, p. 120

Table 10 - No. of Jews Recorded in Major Cities in Algeria (1838, 1941, 1966, and 1970)

Cities in Civil Algeria	Jewish population 1838	Jewish population 1941	Jewish population 1966	Jewish population 1970
Algiers	6,065	25,474	1,500	300
Constantine	3,105	12,961	500	<100
Oran	5,637	25,753	1,000	350
Total	14,807	64,188	3000	650

Source: Kateb, p. 407

Jewish Contribution to Algerian Society

Under French rule, Jews made up over half of the workforce in certain fields, mainly trade or government positions. After World War I, Algerian Jews increasingly became involved in politics. Many professionals from liberal fields were elected to local assemblies and actively participated in political discussions from 1920 to 1962. Additionally, Algeria boasted a significant number of Jewish authors and educators in fields like law, medicine, and humanities[105].

Algerian Jews' influence was especially pronounced in the field of music. The inaugural modern Andalusian orchestra in North Africa, specifically Algerian, predominantly comprised Jewish members. Known as Al-Moutribia, this orchestra was officially founded in 1912 and consisted mainly of Jewish musicians who also served as vocalists. It continued its operations until 1940, with Algerian Jews constituting the vast majority of its core members throughout this period[106].

Raymond Leyris, widely known as Cheikh Raymond, was a celebrated Algerian Jewish

105 Cohen, p. 462.

106 Glasser, Jonathan. Edmond Yafil and Andalusi musical revival in early 20th-century Algeria. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 44.4 (2012): 671–92.

musician renowned for his expertise in Andalusian music from Eastern Algeria, also known as malouf. He was a masterful player of the oud, the Andalusian lute, and possessed an exceptional vocal range as a singer. His talent earned him the revered title of "Cheikh" or elder, a testament to his widespread respect among both Jews and Muslims[107].

Cheikh Raymond was assassinated on June 22, 1961, with a fatal gunshot to the neck while shopping in Constantine's Souk El Asser during the Algerian War of Independence. His death is believed by some to have influenced the decision of many Jewish Algerians, including his nephew Enrico Macias, to move to France[108].

The End

The Algerian War of Independence officially commenced on November 2, 1954, when the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN) initiated widespread attacks across Algeria, swiftly gaining control over significant territories[109]. In fact, the first victim of the FLN was a Jew, Georges-Samuel Azoulay, a 28-year-old taxi driver in Oran, murdered by his clients at the end of his night shift.[110]

Algerian Jews faced a profound dilemma. On the one hand, they were deeply intertwined with French society, and proudly identifying themselves as French in all aspects. On the other hand, they also shared strong ties with the Muslim population, including linguistic, cultural, and emotional connections to the country[111]. Supporting the Algerians meant betraying gratitude owed to their emancipators, while siding with the French risked being seen as traitorous by Muslims[112].

Both factions – the pro-independence FLN and the pro-French – insisted that the Jewish community declare their clear allegiance to them. Recognizing the risks associated with taking a stance either way, the official representatives of the community opted for neutrality. However, many were primarily concerned about the potential consequences of independence, including the risk of losing French citizenship and facing life as a minority in an Arab Muslim nation.

Meanwhile, the situation on the ground continued to deteriorate. For instance, the city of Medea, located in the Algiers department, once housed a vibrant Jewish community of approximately a thousand people. However, by 1957, only seven families remained. This community faced multiple organized attacks, resulting in fatalities among its members, including the assassination of Rabbi Yaakov Choukroun on the steps of the synagogue[113].

This was also the case in larger communities. Beginning in 1956, Jewish merchants and community leaders received threatening letters from the FLN telling them to finance the revolutionaries, and specifying that they would pay with their lives and those of their families if they refused[114].

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107 Dicale, Bertrand. *Cheikh Raymond: Une histoire Algérienne.* Editions First, 2011.

108 Dicale, *Cheikh Raymond.*

109 Chouraqui, Andre N. *Between East and West: A history of the Jews of North Africa* (Varda Books, 2001), pp. 271-277.

110 Lledo, Jean-Pierre. La judéophobie musulmane en Algérie avant, pendant, et après la période française. In Joëlle Allouche-Benayoun and Geneviève Dermenjian (ed.), *Les Juifs d'Algérie - Une histoire de ruptures* (Presses universitaires de Provence, 2020), p. 181.

111 Chouraqui, pp. 271-277.

112 Chouraqui, pp. 271-277.

113 Laskier, Michael M. The emigration of the Jews from the Arab world. In Abdelwahab Meddeb and Benjamin Stora (Eds.), *A history of Jewish-Muslim relations from the origins to the present day* (Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 424.

114 Laskier, 2013, pp. 424-425.

Attacks in the city of Nedroma in 1957 left seven Jews dead, including three children.

In Médéa, the Chief Rabbi was killed near the synagogue. In Constantine, in May, grenades were thrown into the Jewish quarter. In the lower Casbah of Algiers, David Chiche was doused with gasoline in the street and burned alive. In 1958-1959, grenades were thrown into synagogues in southern towns of Algeria. In Boghari, during *Sukkot* service, one person was killed and eleven were injured. In Bou Saada, on the eve of *Yom Kippur*, the rabbi's granddaughter was killed.[115]

A dramatic turning point came on December 12, 1960, when the FLN seized the Great Synagogue of Algiers, desecrating it with antisemitic symbols and planting their nationalist flag atop its ruins. Similar attacks on Jewish sites in Oran and the targeted assassination of Jewish leaders signaled the collapse of the Jewish community in Algeria[116].

Numerous Jews fell victim to the terrorist attacks orchestrated by the FLN. In Oran, the Jewish cemetery was desecrated in 1961. On Rosh Hashanah, September 2, 1961, a Jewish traveling barber was fatally stabbed on his way to the synagogue. This incident ignited tensions between the Muslim and Jewish communities, although the perpetrator remained unidentified[117].

During the peace negotiations between the French government and the FLN in 1961, there was a suggestion that due to their deep roots and assimilation into French culture, Jews could play a unique role in future Algeria, ensuring a French presence and acting as mediators between France and Algeria. However, the FLN rejected this proposal, asserting that Algeria should be a single nation on its territory[118].

On March 18, 1962, the Evian Agreements were signed, marking France's recognition of Algeria's independence. French citizens unwilling to remain in Algeria were granted the option to return to France, including the Jewish population. Following this, a significant exodus of Algerian Jews to France took place, likened to a flood in the Sahara. From late May to July 1962, French residents from all communities hastily departed, leaving their belongings behind, seeking refuge across the Mediterranean. The prevailing sense of panic reinforced the belief among many that exile was their only viable option[119].

The Algerian Republic declared its sovereignty and independence on July 3, 1962. Two days later, a large-scale massacre took place in Oran, with some seven hundred people recorded as dead or missing, more than a hundred of whom were Jews. That massacre was a message to those who had not yet left, as well as to those who, having fled in panic, might have considered returning. Oran was home to the largest Jewish community in Algeria, and their neighborhoods were particularly targeted.[120]

The citizenship law passed in 1963 by the National House of Representatives in Algeria stated that only individuals of Muslim origin were eligible for Algerian citizenship by

115 Lledo, p. 182.

116 Chouraqui, pp. 271-277.

117 Ayoun, Richard. From emancipation to the brutal deportation of Algerian Jews. In Shmuel Trigano (Ed.), *The end of Judaism in Muslim lands* (Carmel, 2018), pp. 140-141 [Hebrew].

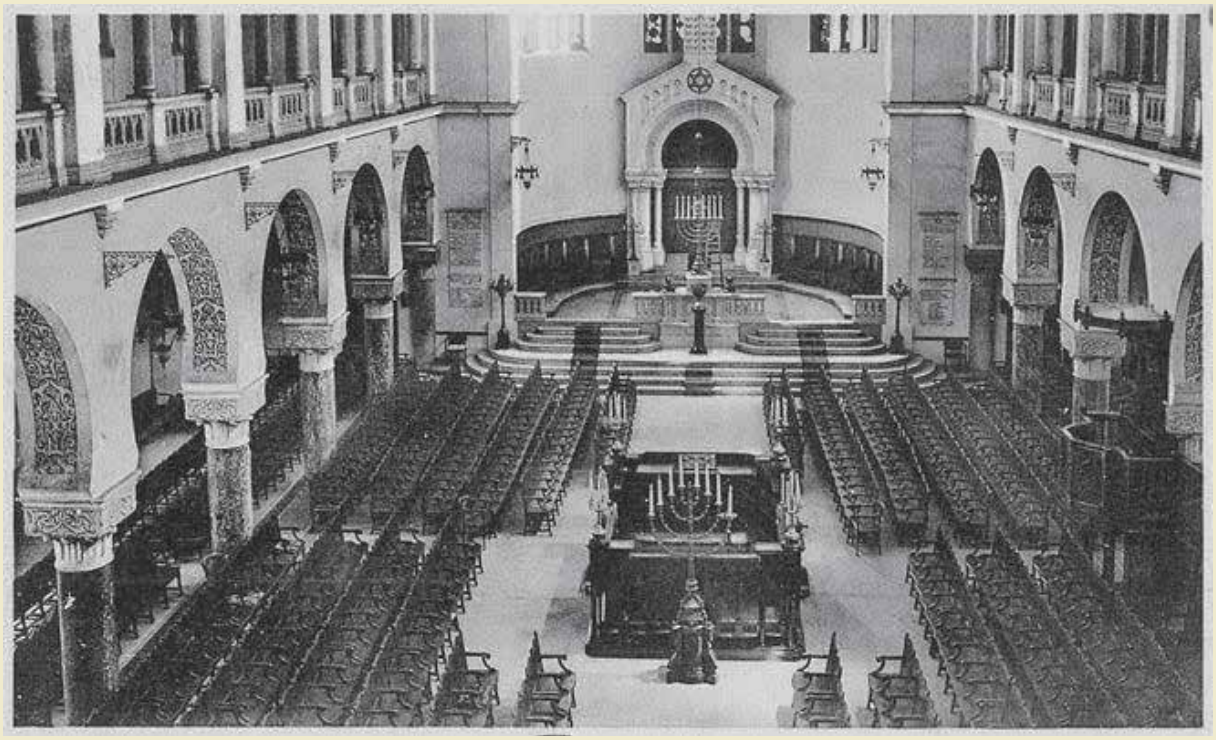
118 Ayoun, pp. 140-141.

119 Ayoun, pp. 140-141.

120 Lledo, p. 183.

birthright. By the fall of 1971, the Jewish population in Algeria dwindled to around 1,000 individuals. This number further declined to less than two hundred by 1982, fewer than one hundred and fifty by 1984, less than fifty by 1992, fewer than thirty by 2000, and less than twenty by 2007[121].

Figure 4 - The main synagogue of Oran, inaugurated in 1918



Source: Schreir (2010), p. 94

121 Ayoun, pp. 140-141; Chouraqui, pp. 271-277; Laskier, 2013, pp. 424-425; Cohen, p. 470.

Chapter 4

Algeria Economic Section

Section 1 – Methodological Benchmarks

Based on the information presented above regarding the makeup of the Jewish community in Algeria 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 Algeria, 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

Size of the Jewish community:

For the purposes of this report, a total Jewish Algerian population of 140,000[122] Jews, as supported by Roumani, will be used to value Jewish property.

Distribution of Jewish population:

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

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 5.5.

Section 2 – Economic Indicators

The following section is meant to describe the types of activities and occupations that characterized Jewish economic life in Algeria 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 Algeria.

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

Jewish Participation in Algeria's Economy

Prior to French colonization, many Jews in Algeria were well connected to broader economic networks, both through trans-Saharan trade routes and European trading networks. Prominent Jews living in the urban coastal cities in Algeria became part of the mercantile, property-owning elite.[123] One example serves to illustrate the prominence of Jewish economic strength in one of Algeria's main coastal cities: "Although one could describe late Ottoman Oran as a Mediterranean and Arab Islamic city, the influence of powerful Jewish merchants in the orbit of precolonial Oran, in terms of commerce, population, and property ownership, suggests that the city was simultaneously a Jewish one. It remained so into the colonial period."[124]

Like in other North African coastal cities, Jewish merchants relied on strong trading relationships with Livornese Jewish families in Italy. "Jews in Algeria were a diverse lot, ranging from Haketia-speaking refugees from Morocco to local Arabic-speaking artisans to wealthy merchants from Livornese families."[125] While Jews operated largely in apparel, textiles, jewelry, and other artisanal professions, the Algerian Jewish community had a relatively high propensity to engage in, and trades related to commerce.[126]

Jews were also considered instrumental in financing French institutions in Colonial Algeria, "(R)ecords suggest that local North African Jewish wealth and property actually helped define and even subsidize French colonial institutions and practices."[127] Francois-Marc Lavie and his family became one of the five richest families in Algeria.

In the city of Oran for example, the Jewish economic activity was extremely prominent. Certain industries were dominated by Jews. Given that Oran was a port city, and many of the Jews were merchants operating in imports, their presence was notable to say the least, as can be seen in the quotes below:

> *(I)in the summer months of 1825 all of Oran's imports were on Jewish accounts. It would not be an exaggeration to say that imports were a Jewish business in Oran on the eve of the conquest.*[128]
>
> *…Directly following the arrival of the French, General Pierre Boyer lamented that not a single French businessmen could operate in Oran because its commerce was "dominated" by a group of Jews. Early French efforts at counting and categorizing Oran's inhabitants suggest that Jews were the largest religiously defined group in the city.*[129]
>
> *Hardly marginal or isolated, Jews such as Lasry served as agents to the beys or in other official positions; they made high stakes deals with leaders, invested in property, and drew on British consular support to back their export ventures.*[130]

123 Schreier, (2010) pg. 12 & Prochaska, pg. 66
124 Schreier, (2017), pg. 155
125 Schreier, (2010) pg. 4
126 Prochaska, pg. 168
127 Schreier, (2017), pg. 138
128 Schreier, (2017), pg. 57
129 Ibid., pg. 65
130 Ibid., pg. 5

The economic opportunities afforded to Jews expanded significantly with the arrival of the French and the application of Cremieux Decree. At the same time, the traditional social hierarchy that characterized relations between Jews and the majority-Muslim population started to change due to the increasing presence of the French and other Europeans.

> *Jews have not only detached themselves definitively from the Algerian community socioeconomically, but that they are now competing with the Europeans on their own ground. Different from both, the Jews constitute clearly a "stranger" economic group thriving as commercial intermediaries between the Algerians and Europeans.*[131]

> *A number, essentially from liberal professions, were elected to the local assemblies and took an active part in political debates between 1920 and 1962. Algeria also had numerous Jewish authors and instructors of higher education (law, medicine, and the humanities).*[132]

The 20th century saw a continued elevation in the socioeconomic status of the Jews. "With the exception of some merchant families such as the Bacris and the Busnachs, most Jews were craftsmen. Later, under the French they were employed in trade or government service, comprising more than 50 percent of the working population."[133] The following table displays the percentage of the community participating in different kinds of employment between 1931 and 1958:

Table 11 - Employment Distribution of Algerian Jews, 1948[134]

Jewish Employment by Sector	1931	1948[135]	1958	1963
Unskilled/Manual Labor	53%	47%	40%	10%
Commerce/Small Business	33%	32%	30%	50%
Civil/Clerical	5%	13%	20%	25%
Liberal Professions/Freelancers	9%	10%	10%	15%

Relatively speaking, the Jews represented a disproportionately high percentage of the educated class and skilled workforce, as shown by the following statistics from 1941: While only comprising 2% of the general population in 1941, Jews made up 13% of all high-school students. In universities, the proportional representation was even higher. Jews made up 37% of all students of medicine, 26.4% of all students of law, 16.8% of the science students, and 10% of the humanities students.[136]

In addition to the data presented above, research has also pointed to the presence of very wealthy Jews in colonial Algeria. In Oran, for example, a Jewish businessman named Jacob Lasry, was the largest single landowner in the city.[137] In 1855 alone Lasry

131 Prochaska, pg. 172

132 Simon, pg. 462

133 Ibid., 462

134 Saadon, pg 21; Laskier (1997), pg. 323, Israel State Archives -File 951/6.

135 In order to obtain the percentage of Jews employed in each sector in 1948, an average of the years 1931, and 1958 was calculated.

136 Saadon, pg. 21

137 Schreier, (2017), pg. 58

owned property that earned him 85,000 francs in annual revenue. In that year, a worker in France earned less than 5 francs a day."[138] Additionally, the Lavie family, of Bone, headed by businessman Francois-Marc, became one of the five richest families in Algeria.[139] The following quote describes the prominence of Jewish currency traders serves as an additional indication to the position of the wealthy Jews within the Algerian economy and their notability.

> *Correspondence of French generals reveals deep concern about the close relationships that certain rural Muslim tribes held with urban Jewish community leaders, the trading alliances that formed between Maltese fisherman and Jewish shopkeepers, and the ever-frustrating ability of Jewish currency traders in western Algeria to maintain the Spanish Duro's pre-eminence over the Franc.*[140]

Such wealth cannot be associated with any of the employment categories described in above, as it refers to wealth that is far beyond what could be achieved by traditional employment, even by someone in the highest category, a 'Liberal Profession'. Rather, such individuals, who made their fortunes through business, belong to a category of their own. Although there is a lack in data regarding the size of such a category within the entire Jewish population, due to the extreme relative wealth of these individuals.

Regarding the economic participation of the Jews in the economy of urban Algeria, Jews held a wide array of professions focusing mainly on commerce, and most specifically in the textile and skins trade. In the city of Bone for example, between 1876-1911, a study was conducted comparing professional practices among Berbers, Arabs, Jews, Europeans, naturalized French citizens, and native French citizens found that the Jewish community had the highest percentage of traders and professionals in the general commerce industry (30.1%).

In addition, the Jewish community ranked second in its percentage of professionals in the arts, liberal professions, clergy, education, government and the military. In all of these categories, the only group with a higher performance rating than that of the Jewish community, was the native French population. The Jewish population also had the lowest percentage of unskilled workers, and workers in the agriculture, food, and food preparation industries.[141] In addition, it was found that only 35% of Jews worked in unskilled labor, vs. 65% who worked in skilled, low white-collar, and high white-collar labor and that relatively, the Jewish community had the highest percentage of high white-collar workers. All in all, it can be concluded that Jewish employment practices were most similar to those of the native French population.[142]

Overall, although they made up less than 2% of the general Algerian population, Jewish representation in the economy was disproportionally high. The following figure accurately depicts the Jewish position within the Algeria, Libyan, Tunisian, and Moroccan economies.[143]

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138 Ibid., pg. 150
139 Prochaska, pg. 66
140 Schreier, (2010) pg. 4
141 Prochaska, pg. 168
142 Ibid., pg. 171
143 Issawi, pg. 9

Figure 5 - Depiction of Jewish economic placement relative to Europeans and Muslims in Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco

Source: Issawi, pg. 9

Figure 6 - A nineteenth-century Jewish Algerian wool spinner

Source: Simon, pg. 29

Demographics of the Jewish Community

The Jewish community of Algeria was one of the largest diasporic communities in North Africa. Estimations of the size of the Jewish community in 1948 are fairly consistent, settling around the figure of 140,000.[144] In 1948, this figure amounted to 1.4% of the general population and 13.5% of the non-Muslim population in Algeria.[145] The vast majority of Jews in Algeria lived in Northern Algeria, in and around the large urban areas, as will be discussed below. A few thousand Jews were also known to have lived in Southern Algeria.

Map 2 - Jewish Communities in Algeria Before 1948

Source: Gilbert, (epub), pg. 803

144 Katz, (2017), pg. 3

145 Saadon, pg. 32

Section 3 – Land Distribution

This section will discuss the Algerian land tenure system as well as subsequent changes to land registration practices instituted by French authorities in the era of French colonialization and their relevance to Jewish landownership in Algeria.

French Colonization of Rural Lands in Algeria

While Algeria's traditional land tenure system existed according to largely informal registration practices, the arrival of the French in Algeria brought with it the almost immediate colonization of large tracts of Algerian land. In order to better understand the volatility in Algerian landownership in the 19th and 20th centuries, it is important to understand that the goal of the French at this time was to move as much land as possible from Algerian to French hands.[146] Indeed, the French government implemented a large-scale expropriation of Algerian lands. Pre-colonization, much of Algerian land was religiously endowed, the French put a stop to this in 1830, issuing a decree by which all Ottoman properties, (state properties, properties personally owned by state officials, and religious and communal properties) were immediately transferred to the hands of the French.[147]

This strategy continued in 1843, making these lands available for purchase by Europeans. More steps were taken by colonial powers to acquire more land: tribal groups were confined to smaller areas while the lands they previously occupied were converted into colonial farms; and Muslims were granted permission to individually sell communal or family property to French settlers.[148] These practices, initiated and implemented by the French, were done so with the intent of advancing French civilization at the cost of displacing the Arabs, who were seen by the French as backward and stagnant.[149] The colonization of rural Algerian lands forced the migration of much of the rural population to the cities.[150]

Jews and Rural Land Distribution

Over the course of colonial Algeria, the French both took over and acquired large amounts of land. By 1900, Europeans held 17,000,000 dunams, and by 1940 the French settlers in Algeria owned 35%-40% of Algerian land, amounting to 27,000,000 dunams,[151] an increase of 250,000 dunams annually. At the time of Algerian independence in 1962, European settlers still owned 27,000,000 dunams.[152] No data was identified showing European land ownership at the base date for this report, however, based on the aforementioned data, it can be assumed that the European settlers owned 27,000,000 dunams of Algerian land in 1948. While records do not distinguish between land owned by Jews, and land owned by other Europeans, data indicates that the Jews comprised around 15.18% (140,000 divided by 922,272) of the total European population in 1948.

146 McDougall, pg. 94
147 Ibid.
148 Lapidus, (epub)
149 Choi, (2016) pg. 16
150 Lapidus, (epub)
151 Ibid.
152 Country Studies, n.d.

Section 4 – Rural Assets

4.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

This section discusses the scope of rural land and property ownership by Jews in Algeria. Given the available information described in the sections above, a certain picture emerges of the possible scope of Jewish rural landholdings in Algeria.

4.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

European land ownership circa 1948 surpassed 25 million dunams. Furthermore, European settlers owned 40% of the arable land in Algeria at this time. Given the fact that Jewish economic practices and attainment mimicked those of the French[153] and that the Jewish population made up 15% of the European population, it was assumed that Jews owned 15% of European-owned arable land, or 6% of the arable land in Algeria at the base date for this valuation, in 1948.

However, research shows that there is no comprehensive registrar listing Jewish rural land ownership in Algeria and that all data collected did not distinguish landownership on a religious or national basis, but mostly reflected land owned by European settlers. The previous chapter indicated that Jews were most likely the owners of over 4 million dunams in Algeria circa 1948. Assuming that arable land generally refers to rural land, the conclusion follows that the Jewish community of Algeria owned approximately 4,098,573.96 dunams of rural land.

Furthermore, in accordance with the division between Civil and Saharan Algeria, the Jews of each zone had different land ownership practices. For example, while wealthier urban Jews were often businessmen and owners of large areas of property within the city and while lower urban classes nevertheless owned urban properties of various scale and value, they were not known to own assets in rural Algeria. In comparison, rural Jews living in Saharan Algeria were for the most part, petty artisans, jewelers, cobblers, tanners and small shop owners. They were not known as landowners per se.[154] But they did own rural real estate. For example, there is evidence of a surprisingly high standard of living in rural properties inhabited by Jews in Saharan Algeria: "the majority of Jewish homes in Ghardaïa had running water, showers, and toilets by the 1930s—three decades earlier than many apartments in Paris, where communal facilities remained common at midcentury."[155]

It was concluded that Saharan Jews were owners of rural properties which was lost upon their departure from Algeria. Information regarding the value of such rural properties, however, was not identified. Research shows that there is no comprehensive registrar listing Jewish rural land ownership in Algeria and that all data collected did not distinguish landownership on a religious or national basis, but mostly reflected land owned by European settlers.

A newspaper article published in Israel in 1968 mentioned that Algerian Jews left their property and were not compensated for it. The newspaper mentioned specifically one Jewish family who left vineyards of 15,000 dunams in size, valued at $1,000 per dunam

153 Prochaska, pg. 172
154 Stein (2014), pg. 71
155 Stein (2014), pg. 83

(USD 1968).[156] While this article is a reputable source, it was decided not to use this value in the calculation of Algerian rural land owned by Jews for two reasons. First, $1,000 per dunam is a comparatively high number, especially in relation to comparative values discovered for similar North African land. Second, the article grants monetary value to the vineyard as a productive business, and not solely to the value of the land. It is the opinion that it is incorrect to apply the value of profit-yielding cultivated land to all the rural lands owned by Jews.

Section 5 – Urban Assets

5.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

This section will carry out a summary of urban land and urban property owned by Jews in Algeria.

5.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

The Jewish community of Algeria was for the most part, an urban population, residing in coastal cities. Relevant literature points to the existence of prominent Jewish businessmen in several of these cities, many of whom owned significant amounts of property. For example, in the city of Oran, a Jew named Jacob Lasry, was known as the single largest property owner of the city, "By the time the colonial authorities attempted to regularize property records in the 1840s, Jewish merchants held a great deal of the property in and around Oran, with Jacob Lasry possibly holding the honor of being the largest single landowner."[157] In addition, Lasry was also the landlord of properties used by the city of Oran itself.[158] An additional wealthy Jewish Merchant named Ben Zuawawa is described below:

> *The first Spanish governor, Don Diego, who was later given the title Marqués de Comares (the Marquis of Comares), built a fort on the site of several storehouses of a wealthy local Jewish merchant, Ben Zuawawa, who reputedly conspired with him. The Spanish gave the building the name Castillo de la Mona, but the locals baptized it, according to the alleged act of treason, Bourg al-Yahudi, "The Jew's Fort."29 Apart from the period of Ottoman rule between 1708 and 1732, Oran would remain in Spanish hands from 1509 until 1792.*[159]

Unfortunately, French censuses available at this point did not contain more specific data regarding wealth or property[160] and so this report cannot assess urban land ownership based on French archival materials. With the majority, (95%) of the Jewish population residing in urban cities and towns circa 1948, a picture emerges regarding the makeup of the urban Jewish community. "Some Jews who left found that they were unable to sell their property before departure. Shmuel Sellam, owner of a capacious textile shop in Ghardaïa, was rumored to have simply left the keys on the counter before walking away."[161]

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156 Maariv Newspaper 1968, (retrieved from Eretz Yisrael Museum)
157 Schreier, (2017), pg. 58
158 Ibid., pg. 135
159 Ibid., pg. 31
160 Stein, (2014) pg. 129
161 Stein, (2014) pg. 129

Furthermore, a number of these Jewish merchants were aware of the growing value and importance of Oran's real estate, and many of them invested their earnings in buildings and land in and around the city of Oran, with prominent merchants also becoming landowners.[162] "The major part of [Oran's] population is made up of rapacious Jews," who "controlled the better part of commerce." These "rapacious Jews," it turned out, had also invested extensively in local real estate."[163] In the city of Bone for example, where Jewish participation in the local economy spanned across several sectors and industries, it was said that, "[f]or what is most striking about the Jews is that they are far more likely to be proprietors than any other group in Bone."[164]

The following quotes serve to illustrate the losses suffered by the French citizens upon their abrupt departure from Algeria. While they do not refer specifically to Jews, given that for all intents and purposes, Jews were counted as French Europeans and that Jews also attained similar level of French economic status in Algeria, it was assumed that Algerian Jews lost their property in the same fashion:

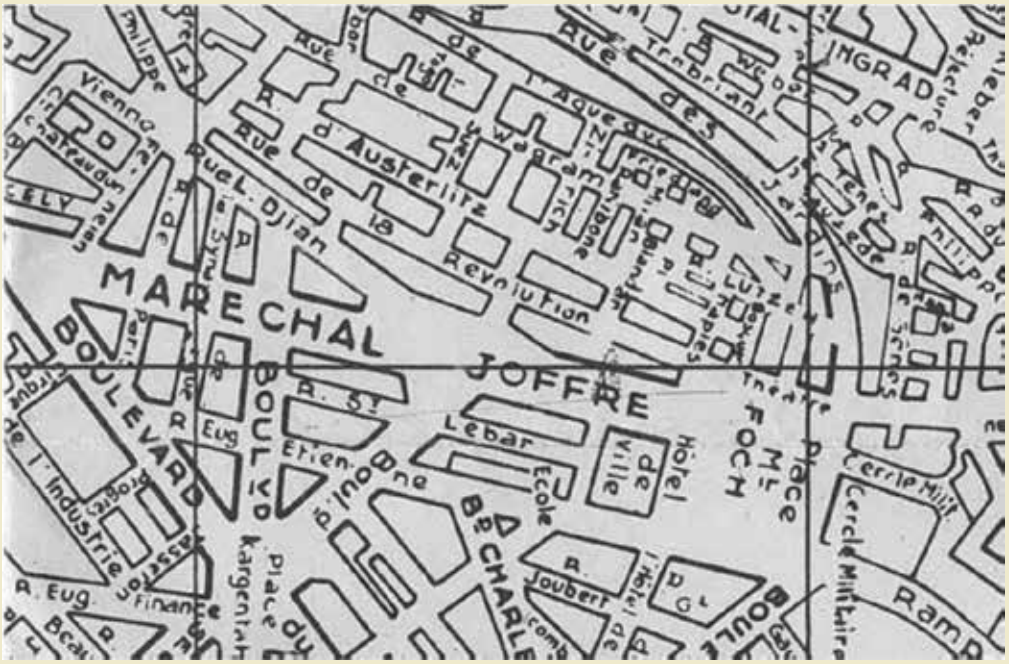
As one woman who had arrived at the age of three would recount: "We weren't rich in Algeria, we lived in a rental apartment, but we lived normally ... we left everything behind there![165]

As you know, we are repatriates, we have lost things – a home, a 5-piece (3 bedroom) villa, a job, car, furniture, which I hear still remains unsold…[166]

The information above leads to two important conclusions. First, urban Jews were owners of urban property to the extent that they were noted as proprietors in the cities in which they lived, often owning disproportionately high amounts of property. And second, that Jews, along with the rest of the European/French settlers, lost all their property upon their abrupt departure from Algeria in 1962.

162 Schreier, (2017), pg. 58
163 Ibid., pg. 132
164 Prochaska, pg. 174
165 Choi, (2016), pg. 62
166 Ibid., pg. 90

Map 3 - Jewish Quarter of Oran, Algeria



Source: Schreier, (2010), pg. 18

French Compensation and Reparation Efforts

Upon arrival in France, efforts were made by the French government, on behalf of its citizens, to compensate and repatriate French citizens who lost property upon exile from Algeria. While these efforts were not made specifically on behalf of the Jewish community, the Jewish Algerian community residing in France were part of the repatriated population.

Initially, the general opinion was that French citizens who left Algeria did so entirely voluntarily and so they were not considered victims or refugees. With their arrival to France, efforts were made to integrate expatriates professionally as soon as possible as to discourage them from blaming the French government for any loss or difficulty. In 1962, a Commission of Coordination for the Reinstallation of Overseas French Citizens was established to deal with the claims of the repatriates. It was said this body's real purpose was to fix the terms of aid to the repatriates, so that legal demands for indemnities for lost property would not be successful in the future.[167] In the late 1970's there was a small change in attitude when the French government recognized indemnities as a necessary extension of the rights of expatriates and decided to take a more serious approach towards recovering losses however it did not bear fruit.[168]

Further research in the archives of Israel[169] found an unsigned and undated agreement between the Government of Israel and the French Government regarding the rights of people from North African countries who moved to France and later immigrated or

167 Choi, (2016), pg. 84
168 Ibid., pg. 94
169 File No. 951/6

would immigrate to Israel. Under the agreement, the French government would have paid all eligible persons to whom the agreement applies amounts specified in the agreement (for employees, the self-employed, travel expenses).

According to a subsequent Israel newspaper article by Dov Goldstein, negotiations between Israel and France on this issue subsequently came to nothing as the Jews affected were expected to receive compensation from France. According to the director of the Jewish Agency's Aliyah Department, Jews who went to France received adequate compensation, such as a grant of about $150 (probably per month - it is not clear whether this was for a person or a family), a special grant for rehabilitation, housing, free professional training, free medical care and loans.[170]

The Jewish community further established its own fund, Fonds Social Juif Unife (FSJU), which provided financial relief for its members.[171] Jews also applied for and received assistance from the Muslim non-governmental organization SAM.[172]

All in all, however, it was said that France's efforts to compensate and recover losses of their citizens fell short of expectations.[173] "(M)any of the French repatriates from Algeria openly discussed the properties and assets they had left behind in Algeria if primarily to emphasize the government's inability to help them retrieve their possessions.[174] "we believed the promises made by the government in the December 1961 Repatriate Law. We believed we would be provided subsidies, benefits and premiums, and you know all this was false, at least for those who are not Algerians!"[175]

170 Maariv - February 27, 1964
171 Naylor, pg. 44
172 Katz (2015), pg. 1-3
173 Naylor, pg. 41
174 Choi (2016), pg. 62
175 Ibid., pg. 90

Figure 7 - Postcard from Rue d'Austerlitz in the Jewish neighborhood of Oran, early 20th century

Source: Schreier, (2010), pg. 18

Section 6 – Loss of Employment

6.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

This section will carry out a summary of employment and labor for Jews in Algeria.

6.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

Jews primarily suffered loss of employment in Algeria under the Vichy regime. Jews were removed from administrative positions,[176] quotas were placed on the number of Jews in liberal professions, and they were forbidden from owning commercial property.[177] However, in 1943, with the reinstation of the Cremieux decree, the Jewish community succeeded in returning to its previous employment practices. In fact, the socioeconomic status of the Jews seemed to progress and elevate up until their mass departure in 1962.[178]

By 1958, the majority of Jews were skilled professionals, whereas only 40% worked in unskilled labor or were small business owners. In addition, the Jews that post their displacement arrived in France were mostly owners of small businesses or artisans.[179] Having left Algeria almost overnight, small business owners, (which made up approximately 30% of the Jewish workforce in 1958) lost their businesses and their livelihoods. Upon their arrival in France, large parts of the Jewish community requested assistance from an organization called SAM (Service for Muslim Affairs). Although this organization was mandated to help Muslims arriving in Algeria, several Jews requested their assistance too.[180]

In 1958, 35% of the Jewish workforce worked in manual/agricultural labor or were small business owners. In 1960, the majority of the European agricultural workers, (which included the Jewish population), earned more than 100 Francs a month.[181] In other words, it can be assumed that the Jewish manual laborers and small business owners, earned more than 100 Francs a month.[182] The manual/agricultural laborers make up the lowest economical class of Algerian Jewry, the 'Poor' category of approximately 10%.

In contrast, the wealthy Jewish property owners of Algeria were earning upwards of 85,000 Francs annually, (as of 1855): "Oran authorities noted that Lasry owned property that earned him 85,000 francs in annual revenue in 1855, a time when a worker in France earned less than 5 francs a day."[183]

No information was identified indicating the income of the remaining three categories of Algerian Jewish employment, 'Commerce and Small Business Owners', 'Civil and Clerical positions', and 'Liberal Professions'.

176 Choi (2016) pg. 131
177 Stein (2014) pg. 98
178 Saadon, pg. 21; Laskier, (1997) pg. 323
179 Katz (2015) pg. 1-3
180 Ibid., pgs. 1-3
181 Choi (2016) pg. 27
182 Choi (2016), pg. 27
183 Schreier, (2017), pg. 150

Section 7 – Personal Property & Moveable Assets

7.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

This section will carry out a summary of personal property and moveable assets owned by Jews in Algeria. 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

For the purposes of this report data collected from firsthand testimonials made available by an Israeli government entity was relied on. In the case of Algeria, such testimonials did not provide an indication of the private property and moveable assets lost by the Jewish community of Algeria.

Only limited information regarding the type, scope, and value of moveable assets owned by Jews in Algeria in 1948 was available. Therefore, the main source of primary supporting evidence of the scope and value of personal property and moveable assets owned by Jews in Algeria comes from the testimonials of Jewish refugees from Algeria, stored in Israeli archives at the Ministry for Social Equality. However, In the case of Algeria, such testimonials, did not provide a complete indication of the private property and moveable assets lost by the Jewish community of Algeria.

Section 8 – Business Losses

8.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

This section will carry out a summary of businesses owned by Jews in Algeria and business losses.

8.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

Within the Algerian Jewish community, there are two groups which suffered business losses. The first are the those who fall into the 'Wealthy' category, who were inter alia proprietors of land and businesses. The second category are those who fall into the 'Lower-Middle' class, who were small business owners. It goes without saying that the losses suffered by these two categories differ greatly.

Of the 'Wealthy' class it can be said that their losses were significant. While the quote below is from a century before the base date for evaluation, it speaks of the position of such wealthy Jews in the industries in which they operated.

> *In 1848 he moved to Heliopolis between Bòne and Guelma, where he obtained a large amount of property. By the time he died in 1863 François-Marc Lavie had firmly established his family throughout the province. His son Pierre took over the family's operations in Constantine. His son Louis took over the family business in Guelma and added a printing shop. The third generation was no less successful. One grandson continued the family business in Constantine and became one of the leaders of the Opportunist Republican party there. Another grandson was a manufacturer in Bône and married the daughter of one of the city's twentieth-century mayors.*[184]

By 1963, a year after the departure of the bulk of the Jewish community, these places of commerce, along with financial firms, manufacturers, mining companies, and other types of business were claimed by the Algerian government (by virtue of their vacancy) and placed under the control of public officials.[185]

Small business owners also suffered. Of the 3,000 Jews who remained in Algeria in 1966, many small business owners remained in an attempt to liquidate their assets.[186] The majority of Jews left in 1962, many unable to sell their businesses before departing,[187] and abandoning their property.[188]

184 Prochaska, pg. 67
185 Choi (2016), pg. 81
186 Laskier (1997), pg. 343
187 Stein (2014), pg. 129
188 Mendelson, pg. 97

Section 9 – Communal Losses

9.1 Objectives and Scope of Work

In addition to private ownership by Jewish individuals throughout Algeria, the Jewish community owned communal assets that belonged to the Algerian Jews as a whole. This section will carry out a summary of communal assets owned by the Jewish communities in Algeria. Such assets include synagogues, cemetery land, and other communal assets such as mikvahs, schools, hospitals, community centers, and Zionist organizations.

9.2 Research Analytical Conclusions

The most indicative and illustrative source of the scope of Jewish communal properties in Algeria was in the Alliance Israelite Universelle Library, in an April 25, 1963, letter from the Association des juifs originaires d'Algerie. [189]

189 Fischbach pages 155-156

Table 12 - List of Algerian property[190]

Department	City	Synagogue	Cemetery[191]	Land	Community buildings	Schools	Mikva	Sport or culture Centre	Stores
Algiers	Algiers	16	2	13.3 Ha	1	2			
	Blida	1	1		1	-			
	Medea	3	1			1			
	Orleansville	1	1						
Constantine	Constantine	11	1		1	1			1
	Guelma	1	1		1				7
	Bone	1	1	0.8 Ha					1
	Setif	2	1	3 Ha	1				
Oran	Oran	11	1		1	3		1	
	Tlemcen	3	1		5		1		7
	Mascara	4	1		1			1	
	Sidi el Abbes	6	1		1			1	
	Ain Témouchent	2	1		1				
	Témouchent	2	1		1				1
Oasis	Guardaïa	1	1				1	1	3
	Laghouat	1	1			1			
	Saoura Colomb Bechar	6	1					1	
Total		**72**	**18**	**17.1**	**15**	**8**	**2**	**5**	**20**

190 Alliance Israeliite Universelle Library Fondes Jacques Lazarus, R 02, Dossier 6; Fischbach pages 155-156

191 1 cemetery per town assumed unless otherwise noted

Figure 8 - The Jewish quarter of Constantine, Algeria, 1910

Source: Laskier (1997), pg. 281

Figure 9 - Synagogue of “Randon” Square, Algiers

Source: Judaica Algeria

Figure 10 - Interior of Great Synagogue of Algiers

Source: Judaica Algeria

Figure 11 - Great Synagogue of Oran

Source: Judaica Algeria

Section 10– Present Day Valuation

Over 75 years have passed since the baseline date for evaluating the property left behind by Jews in Algeria. 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 Algeria. 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 Findings

A thorough review of historical sources, discussions with subject-matter experts, community leaders, and available testimonial data was conducted. However, due to the lack of reliable testimonial and historical data available for Algeria, it was determined that the analysis for Egypt, Syria, and Iraq would be used for illustrative purposes. Lost assets found in the first three countries at 1948 values were used to determine the value of lost property per person. This yielded a range, with Iraq providing the lowest value of lost property per person among the three countries, and Egypt being the highest. The low and high values were then multiplied with the population of each remaining country, and a mid-point was calculated from this range. In the absence of "best evidence" to reach accurate and verifiable country-specific values a discount factor of 50% was determined based on precedent discounts and applied across the mid-point value for Algeria (and the six other countries).

Table 13 – Range of Lost Assets for Algeria, ($)

Range of Lost Assets ($)	
Algeria	**1948**
Population	140,000
Estimated – Low Range	680,929,980
Estimated – High Range	2,141,254,847
Estimated - Mid Point	**1,411,092,414**
Discount	50%
Estimated – Mid Point (with Discount)	**705,546,207**

A compound interest formula which makes use of the principal amount and an average yearly rate based on the ten-year yields on US treasury bonds over a total compound period from January 1, 1949, through December 31, 2024, was applied to the mid-point value for each of the countries on a yearly compounding basis. As there is no internationally recognized, risk free rate, the 10-year US Treasury Yield rate was chosen, as it is an accepted benchmark for the time value of money over long horizons and aligns with established practices in historical asset valuation.

Table 14 – Periodic Compounding Table for Algeria, ($)[192]

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%	6,739,644,315
1948		**705,546,207**	1987	8.38%	7,304,707,327
1949	2.31%	721,844,324	1988	8.85%	7,950,869,563
1950	2.32%	738,591,112	1989	8.50%	8,626,560,961
1951	2.57%	757,572,904	1990	8.55%	9,364,131,924
1952	2.68%	777,875,858	1991	7.86%	10,099,996,624
1953	2.83%	799,889,745	1992	7.01%	10,808,006,387
1954	2.40%	819,100,430	1993	5.87%	11,442,796,629
1955	2.82%	842,171,759	1994	7.08%	12,252,946,631
1956	3.18%	868,973,875	1995	6.58%	13,059,190,519
1957	3.65%	900,669,697	1996	6.44%	13,899,984,735
1958	3.32%	930,534,403	1997	6.35%	14,782,981,265
1959	4.33%	970,857,561	1998	5.26%	15,561,182,037
1960	4.12%	1,010,824,530	1999	5.64%	16,438,313,998
1961	3.88%	1,050,069,793	2000	6.03%	17,429,407,346
1962	3.95%	1,091,503,796	2001	5.02%	18,303,927,860
1963	4.00%	1,135,191,236	2002	4.61%	19,147,891,467
1964	4.19%	1,182,717,909	2003	4.02%	19,916,679,310
1965	4.28%	1,233,367,803	2004	4.27%	20,767,951,378
1966	4.92%	1,294,090,612	2005	4.29%	21,658,896,492
1967	5.07%	1,359,744,142	2006	4.79%	22,696,718,615
1968	5.65%	1,436,513,030	2007	4.63%	23,747,387,548
1969	6.67%	1,532,340,420	2008	3.67%	24,618,125,091
1970	7.35%	1,644,941,902	2009	3.26%	25,419,855,365
1971	6.16%	1,746,256,615	2010	3.21%	26,236,891,883
1972	6.21%	1,854,699,151	2011	2.79%	26,967,807,963
1973	6.84%	1,981,606,941	2012	1.80%	27,453,902,701
1974	7.56%	2,131,366,885	2013	2.35%	28,099,298,197
1975	7.99%	2,301,609,815	2014	2.54%	28,813,254,532
1976	7.61%	2,476,800,682	2015	2.14%	29,428,657,627
1977	7.42%	2,660,558,653	2016	1.84%	29,970,635,405
1978	8.41%	2,884,311,635	2017	2.33%	30,668,951,210
1979	9.44%	3,156,662,762	2018	2.91%	31,561,417,690
1980	11.46%	3,518,416,314	2019	2.14%	32,238,147,088
1981	13.91%	4,007,857,343	2020	0.89%	32,526,409,853
1982	13.00%	4,528,945,596	2021	1.44%	32,995,603,315
1983	11.11%	5,031,885,004	2022	2.95%	33,969,523,540
1984	12.44%	5,657,767,634	2023	3.96%	35,313,867,434
1985	10.62%	6,258,811,149	2024	4.21%	**36,799,992,688**

192 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.

On the basis of the illustrated mid-point of lost assets for Algeria and the application of the aforementioned periodic compounding formula, the estimated value for all assets at December 31, 2024 USD equals **$36,799,992,688.**

Range of Lost Assets ($)		
Algeria	**1948**	**Estimated Present Value ($, 2024)**
Population	140,000	
Estimated – Low Range	680,929,980	
Estimated – High Range	2,141,254,847	
Estimated – Mid-Point	**1,411,092,414**	
Discount	50%	
Estimated – Mid-Point (with Discount)	**705,546,207**	**36,799,992,688**

Appendix A: Period One: Ancient Israelite History[193]

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

193 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[194]	
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

194 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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