Immigration to Palestine during the British Mandate (1922-1948)
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By
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# Table of Contents

List of Figures, Tables and Appendices ..................................................... xi
Prologue ................................................................................................... xvi
Preface .................................................................................................... xvii
Acknowledgements .................................................................................. xx
Introduction ............................................................................................. 1

Chapter 1 .................................................................................................. 12
A Short History of Jewish Immigration into Palestine in Modern Times, 1882-1948
  a. Arab reaction to the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, its implications regarding immigration, and the 1919 Paris Peace Conference ................................................................. 17
  b. The second White Paper and the Royal Peel Commission .......... 35

Chapter 2 .................................................................................................. 51
Illegal Jewish Immigration into Palestine - Sea, Land and Aerial Routes
  a. Illegal Arab immigration into Palestine .......................................... 62

Chapter 3 .................................................................................................. 65
Évian-les-Bains Conference and Other Salvation Initiatives

Chapter 4 .................................................................................................. 78
Jewish Immigration into Palestine and the UK, 1933-1939
  a. Background and immigration attempts ........................................... 78
  b. 1939 - A critical year for European Jewish refugees .................... 108
  c. The Kindertransport, 1938-1940 ................................................... 133
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jewish Immigration into Palestine during the Second World War, 1939-1945</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>British policy towards refugee vessels at the beginning of the Second World War</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Hungarian-Jewish communities in danger of annihilation</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Tragedy of the SS <em>Patria</em>, 1940</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Detention of Jewish Refugees on the Island of Mauritius – South-Western Indian Ocean, 1940-1945</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Daily life in the camp</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Volunteers to His Majesty’s Allied Forces</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Diet of the various groups of detainees</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Detainment camp hospital</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Postal services</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>The return to Palestine</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Trinidad and the Philippines as Islands of Refuge and Detention</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Thirteen hundred Jewish refugees from Germany and annexed Austria to the Philippine islands</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Turkey as a Transitional and Temporary Refuge during the Second World War</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The Tragedy and Disaster of the MV <em>Struma</em> – 12th December 1941-24th February 1942</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Reactions of the Palestinian and international Jewish communities to the <em>Struma</em> disaster</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Debates in British Parliament concerning illegal immigration</td>
<td>242</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Wartime Exchange of Palestinian Jews, and Jews Holding British Passports Who Were Mostly Detained in Nazi Ghettos and Concentration Camps, in Return for German Citizens Interned in Palestine</td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>The First Exchange</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>The Second Exchange</td>
<td>263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
c. December 1942 Proposals, and the Third Exchange .......................... 272
d. The expected Fourth Exchange ..................................................... 282

Chapter 12 .............................................................................................. 286
Immigrant Ships – Special Cases
a. The immigrant ship *Colorado* ....................................................... 287
b. The immigrant ship *Tiger Hill* ....................................................... 289
c. The immigrant ship *Pencho* ......................................................... 291
d. The immigrant ship *Andarta - Hannah Szenesh* ......................... 292
e. The immigrant ship *Norsyd-Balboa, Haganah* ............................. 292

Chapter 13 .............................................................................................. 296
Admission of Jews from Two Polish Corps to Palestine

Chapter 14 .............................................................................................. 300
Organisation and Structure of Illegal Immigration and ‘The Barlas Papers’

Chapter 15 .............................................................................................. 319
Britain and the Ever-Growing Problem of ‘Illegal Immigration’

Chapter 16 .............................................................................................. 335
Britain’s Boosted Effort to Stop the ‘Illegal Immigration’

Chapter 17 .............................................................................................. 353
The British ‘Hunt’ for Immigrant Vessels - Arrest of Immigrant Ships on the ‘High Seas’ and in Palestinian Territorial Waters

Chapter 18 .............................................................................................. 383
British, French, Italian, Greek, Czechoslovakian, Polish, Romanian and Bulgarian Relations Concerning Jewish Immigration to Palestine

Chapter 19 .............................................................................................. 402
The La Spezia Confrontation

Chapter 20 .............................................................................................. 408
North American Volunteers of *Aliya Bet*

Chapter 21 .............................................................................................. 417
The Famous President Warfield – Exodus 1947 Zionist Propaganda and International Reactions to the Suffering of Holocaust Survivors
a. Zionist propaganda and international reactions to the suffering of Holocaust survivors ................................................................. 418
LIST OF FIGURES, TABLES AND APPENDICES

Figures

Fig. I-1. Immigration document issued to Zvi Bergmann who emigrated from Cyprus to Palestine at the end of 1927. The official stamp on his passport shows the date when his naturalisation was approved - 19th of March 1928.

Fig. 1-1. A cry for help from Christian and Muslim communities of the city of Jaffa.

Fig. 1-2. The 1916 plan for the post-war division of the Middle East.

Fig. 1-3. South African-born field intelligence officer Colonel Thomas Kendrick (1881-1972).

Fig. 1-4. Peel’s Map of Partition.

Fig. 1-5. Maurice Kugel’s drawing of the horror of the Polish pogroms.

Fig. 3-1. Lipman Schalit’s telegram to US President F.D. Roosevelt, 15th of July 1938.

Fig. 3-2. A letter sent by a Jewish solicitor Dr. Gottfried Berger from Liestal (near Basel, Switzerland) to the Évian Conference.

Fig. 4-1. Ha'avara office in Tel Aviv as announced in the Palestine Post of 22nd July 1934.

Fig. 4-2. Schematic plan of Palestine indicating important installations that were used against the illicit Jewish immigration, 1939.

Fig. 4-3. SS Parita driven ashore of Tel Aviv.

Fig. 4-4. A quiet demonstration in Jaffa Street at the vicinity of the British main offices in Jerusalem. ‘Save our parents, save our children, open the gates of the country’ (Jewish Agency).

Fig. 4-5. Construction periods of the vessels used by immigrants on their way to Palestine, from 1934 to the outbreak of the Second World War.

Fig. 4-6. A memorial statute of young forced refugees of the ‘kinder transport’ erected in 2006 at Liverpool Street National Railway Station.

Fig. 4-7. Business card of Recha Freier, President of the Jewish Youngsters’ Welfare, Germany.

Fig. 5-1. Namier’s red and black ink-spotted letter to Colonial Minister Lord Moyne.

Fig. 5-2. A very British answer to a letter from Professor Namier to Lord Moyne: ‘it would, I fear, be quite impossible …’
Fig. 7-1. Plan of Detainees’ Camp at Beau Bassin, Mauritius, as of 7th of November 1942.

Fig. 9-1. German operational map showing German and Soviet submarine activities in the Black Sea during July and August of 1944.

Fig. 10-1. A telegram sent to Lord Wedgwood of the House of Lords by the Organisation of Romanian Immigrants (in Palestine), just one day before the tragic sinking of the MV Struma, basically calling for sympathy.

Fig. 10-2. An internal Jewish Agency letter from Shertok to Berl Locker (both in London) regarding Jewish units within the British Forces, and the situation of the Struma.

Fig. 10-3. German operational map showing German and Soviet submarine operations in the Black Sea, 1941-1944; the sinkings of the Struma and Mefkura are shown.

Fig. 10-4. A proclamation distributed within the Jewish Community of Palestine after the disastrous sinking of the Struma, blaming High Commissioner Harold MacMichael for the tragedy.

Fig. 11-1. An example of a list of people whom the Palestinian Government definitely accepted for the Second Exchange and for whom certificates of identity were sent.

Fig. 11-2. Nominal role of Palestinian citizens repatriated in the First Exchange to Palestine from Germany.

Fig. 12-1. Histogram showing the construction period of the vessels that sailed to Palestine from 1934 up to the establishment of the State of Israel.

Fig. 14-1. Histogram showing type of vessels used by HaMossad l’Aliya Bet from the end of the Second World War up to the establishment of the State of Israel.

Fig. 16-1. Part of Shertok’s Hebrew speech of the 19th of June 1946 on immigration and sabotage that was smuggled by ‘the source’ and later translated into English (CO 537/1716).

Fig. 16-2. A typical report originating at the Palestinian Government describing the arrival of the San Miguel - HaMa’apil HaAlmoni illegal ship.

Fig. 19-1. An urgent telegram from Rabinovich and Mibashan Corfas of the Argentinian Central Zionist Council to Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin demanding “Humanity Justice”. What a naïve group of Jews?

Fig. 19-2. A plaque inaugurated on the 8th of May 1996 at the ‘Zion Gate’ of the La Spezia harbour in memory of the strong solidarity between the city of Spezia and the 1,014 Holocaust survivors who sailed on two
immigrant vessels – “Fede” and “Fenice” to their Father’s Land (Internet).

Fig. 20-1. German free recreation park, just next to the detained Jewish prisoners.

Fig. 21-1. The young SS Exodus victim Zvi Ya’akovovitz.

Fig. E-1. Histogram showing the construction period of the vessels that sailed to Palestine from 1934 up to the establishment of the State of Israel.

Tables

Table 1-1. List of Arab delegates to Jerusalem preparation-conference.

Table 1-2. Jewish migration into Palestine, 1921-1938 (official figures).

Table 4-1. Immigration patrols of HMS based at Haifa, 1939.

Table 4-2. Official monthly total number of illegal immigrants arriving in Palestine – April 1939 to March 1940 – and monthly total of those arrested and those who evaded arrest.

Table 4-3. Number of immigrant ships organised by the different political bodies or agencies during the 1930s.

Table 5-1. 1940s list of suspected illegal immigrant vessels. ‘Summary of the latest information regarding ships and organisations reported to be engaged in bringing illegal immigrants to Palestine’.

Table 5-2. ‘Revised summary of the latest information regarding ships reported to be engaged in bringing illegal immigrants to Palestine’, 1940.

Table 7-1. Classification of Detainees by Nationality in Mauritius Camp as of the 30th of September 1943.

Table 7-2. The deaths of the Mauritius detainees.

Table 9-1. Number of Jews evacuated from Europe landing in Istanbul – October 1943 to September 1944.

Table 9-2. Jewish Refugee Arrivals in Turkey during 1944.

Table 11-1. Position of 1,013 Germans interned in Palestine, as of the 9th of July 1943.

Table 11-2. Breakdown of numbers of Germans vs. Palestinian Jews that were exchanged in 1941, 1942, 1943, and 1944.

Table 15-1. Number of detained illegal immigrants captured on seven ships between the 1st of January 1946 and the first week of July 1946.

Table 16-1. Monthly arrivals of Jewish illegal immigrants in Palestinian waters in 1946 and 1947.
Table 17-1. Particulars of 23 ships suspected of being involved in illegal immigration for Palestine.
Table 17-3. List of 12 deportation and prison ships.
Table 17-4. Grand total of 71 British Navy vessels involved in the shadowing of immigrant vessels and other operations regarding illegal immigration.
Table 17-5. Follow up by MI5 and MI6 of vessels in the USA “SUSPECT SHIPPING” – (Palestine: Illegal Immigration & Warlike Supplies).
Table E-1. The number of casualties caused by the sinking of vessels, people who died during the sailing, or killed by British Forces.
Table E-2. The number of vessels and immigrants (1945-1948) according to land of embarkation.

Appendices

Appendix B. Immigration Ordinance (Palestine) issued by Palestine High Commissioner Herbert Samuel on the 26th of August 1920.
Appendix C. Official classification for certificate of immigration into Palestine (1934).
Appendix D. Palestine (Defence) Order in Council, 1937. Regulations made by the Officer Administering the Government under Articles 6 and 10.
Appendix E. HMS Sutton’s deck log of the night of the 28th of May, 1939.
Appendix F. Greek Government new law regarding illicit transportation to Palestine.
Appendix G. The Supreme Court of Palestine, Jerusalem, Criminal Appeals Nos. 35/39 & 36/39.
Appendix H. Vessels of the ‘illegal immigration’ in pre-war nineteen-thirties: From 1934 and 1st of September 1939.
Appendix I. Immigration Ordinance, 1939 [Palestine].
Appendix J. Haj Amin el-Husseini – abridged biography.
Appendix K. A list of 14 sailings that reached Istanbul from the Black Sea on their way to Palestine during 1939.
Appendix M. Jewish Agency Memorandum – s.s. Struma Disaster.
Appendix N. List of vessels that brought or intended to bring refugees to Palestine during the Second World War.
Appendix O. Ordinary diet of the Mauritius detainees.
Appendix P. A Diary of Arrivals and Clearances at ‘Athlit Detention Camp.
Appendix Q. List of 282 persons who arrived to Palestine on the 10th of July 1944 under the 3rd Exchange Scheme.
Appendix R. Principles on which further information is needed for the investigation on the entire net of illegal immigration.
Appendix U. List of British Operations related to Immigration.
Appendix V. UK National Archives – Public Record Files that were implemented as references. (109 Files).
PROLOGUE

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send those, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me!
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

—1880s inscription on the Statute of Liberty.
This book is dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust survivors who, with their zealous will, wished to leave smoky, unfriendly and sad Europe, crossed frontiers, suffered heavily during their multiple ‘Via-Dolorosa’ voyages towards the embarkation ports, and then perished just before they reached their Land of Dreams – not ‘Promised’ – Palestine.

To the Cypriot Prodromos Christou Papavassiliou – ‘Papa’ – an honourable man and friend of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. He was a man who could not accept that Holocaust survivors were being held in imprisonment behind barbed wire and under searchlight at night for perhaps the second or third time in their lives, and he undertook very dangerous and courageous operations to help them in any way he could.

To the good-hearted Major Maitland, one of the British officers in the Cyprus camps who showed, through his elegant and clever behaviour with the detainees, the positive and human side representative of so many of the honest British soldiers who were practically forced to capture and detain in terrible circumstances weary Holocaust survivors striving to reach Palestine. Margaret Thatcher, the former British PM, in her visit to Holocaust Museum of ‘Yad VaShem’ in Jerusalem in 1997, confessed: This was not a glorious part on our behalf.

To the activists Passman, Laub, Lowa Eliav, Prof. Shiba, Dr. Falk, Moshe Sneh, Levy Schwartz (Schvet), ‘Ada Sereni, Head of the Italian branch of Aliya Bet, Nahum Shedmi, Head of the Haganah delegation to Europe, Ze’ev Herring, Shaul Avigur, Meir Sappir, Ephrayim Dekel, Mordehai Surkis, Yecheil Duvdevani, Yitzhak Ayalon, Jonah Rosen, Yehuda Braginsky, Shulamit Arlosoroff, Ze’ev Schiend, Ehud Avriel, Yehuda Arazi, Pinhas Kozlovsky-Sapir, and many others.

The author of this book, Yaacov Nir, was partially exposed to many of the historical events described herein. It is a most heroic but overwhelmingly sad story. Thousands of the crucial British documents upon which this book is based were gathered as a consequence of Nir’s research into The Jewish Agricultural Settlements in Cyprus, from 1883-1923. While researching the subject at the British National Archives at Kew, he was asked by Prodromos...
Christou Papavassiliou to gather data concerning both the ‘Illegal Immigration’ and the Cypriot detention camps. Prodromos initially intended to write his own biography with this chapter one of the undoubted highlights of a most interesting and active life. Unable, alas, to complete that undertaking, the extremely challenging task has fallen upon the shoulders of this author, to illustrate and articulate a terrible period in Jewish history and to highlight the enormous courage shown by such dedicated and remarkable people, of whom Prodromos was perhaps the most prominent. Just recently a small paper was published concerning the book ‘Exodus’ by Leon Uris describing his part in this historic event of Cyprus (Mavrogordatos, 2015).

The advantage of this book, in comparison to much earlier books on the subject, is the inclusion of material that had been classified up until the late 1990s. Once declassified (some documents having a 2022 ‘opening target’ but opened much earlier) this material was made freely available at the British National Archives at Kew, in London. Therefore, a great portion of the material included in this book has been brought to light for the first time.

The author has thoroughly studied more than 230 files (besides many more documents found in books, professional journals and so forth) found at the British and the Cyprus National Archives containing information on legal and illegal immigration to Palestine over the 30 years of British rule. Some only contained a few pages, while others a few hundred. Some contained simple documents while most were unique. An analysis of the entire treasure trove at the British National Archives of approximately 640 files dealing with illegal immigration to Palestine would have taken decades, and so the author subsequently decided to concentrate on smaller waters rather than drown in the ocean.

Important Remarks

1. Since the book quotes thousands of documents, books and articles, some mistakes are unavoidable (e.g., unclear or false explanations in certain letters). The author therefore takes full responsibility for any mistakes or discrepancies herein.

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1 Being Palestinian born, the author still remembers that most tragic chapter of Jewish revival history in Palestine and its woeful link to Cyprus.

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5. All bolded letters or sentences do not appear in the original text and were marked by the author.
Sincere appreciation is extended to Dr. Elena Lipsos of the University of Nicosia who did the most important and very hard work of proofreading and improving the language and the editing of this long study. Prof. Laurence Fenton of Cork, Ireland who did an excellent editing, and proofreading preparing the book for publication.

Harry Luck of London who volunteered to dive into this big ocean of data and events and made the story clearer. The complex narrative would not have reached fruition without their devoted work. Ami and Veronica Yeshurun of Nicosia, who helped with advice and were a great help in translating important documents from Greek into English. Hector Kleinot of Estepona, Spain, who helped a lot during the first stages of writing. The devoted staff at the National Archives in Kew, London, did their best and sped up the ordering of the files that form the foundation of this book. The Oxford Centre of Hebrew and Jewish Studies who offered me the use of its unique library. Christakis Papavassiliou, of Nicosia, the son of Prodromos Christou Papavassiliou (‘Papa’), at whose request I have tried to realise his father’s big Dream: the illegal immigration saga of the pre-Israel Palestinian Jewish community. The Palmach House and its staff headed by Eldad Harouvi, who were most helpful going through their relevant archives. Nahshon Sneh of Kibbutz Gat, who opened his unique library on immigration to Palestine to me. Last but not least, Costas, a devoted and most brave taxi driver that served the Palyam people up to the closure of the camps in February of 1949.
INTRODUCTION

They were forced to migrate from countries in which they were subjected to strong political or economic pressure into countries where pressure was less. From that time the migrations of the Jews have become a permanent element of their history. (Arthur Rupin, 1940)

The ‘illegal’ Jewish immigration into Palestine is one of the most heroic chapters prior to the State of Israel. From the First World War and the conquest of Palestine by the British (1917-1918) up until the end of the Mandate in 1948 (resulting from a UN resolution on the partition of Palestine), there had been consistent conflicts between the Palestinian Jewish community (‘Yishuv’1) and British authorities regarding immigration. Changes had been made to the quota of ‘issued’ immigration certificates by the authorities, with the amount depending mainly on the British High Commissioner for Palestine and his advisers – although the British Government almost always had the last say. There is no doubt that London was involved in policy making. The fluctuating strength of Arab pressure on the British Government resulted in the final number of immigration certificates issued being low, compared to the demand for them, in most cases. Even prior to 1933 there was great pressure for immigration by the European Jewish communities, but the refusal of a certificate then was not a matter of life or death. Matters drastically changed with the consolidation of Nazi power in Germany in 1933. Escaping from Germany, annexed Austria (March 1938), and occupied Czechoslovakia (Sudetenland on the 1st of October 1938, and the rest of the country on the 31st of March 1939), became a life-saving necessity for hundreds of thousands of Jews. They sought all means of escape from their ‘Fatherland’ to reach refuge elsewhere.

Escape depended on two main criteria: firstly, the economic ability of the candidate for immigration and if it matched what was needed in the destination country, and secondly, and much more crucially, the goodwill

1 A well-known term then that was also used by the British authorities for the Palestinian Jewish community.
of the global community to accept Jews and their integration. With few exceptions, most countries almost totally refused Jews entry into their territories, including British-controlled Palestine.

This most difficult political, economic, and emotional situation forced the leaders of both the Palestinian and diaspora Jewish communities to bring as many people as possible into Palestine by every means, whether legally or illegally. This is key to understanding the waves of illegal immigration in the pre-war and war-time eras, as well as the efforts of Holocaust survivors during the post-war era.

On the 13th of February 1931 in a parliamentary debate Prime Minister James Ramsay Macdonald replied to Lieutenant Commander Kenworthy regarding the letter sent to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a most appreciated personality in Britain, on that same day dealing with the October 1930 White Paper’s new immigration and land purchase regulations. This letter was a prominent statement as important as the Balfour Decalration of November 1917 on the establishment of a Jewish homeland. Macdonald’s relevant paragraphs are quoted.

There will not be any basic change in Britain’s policy towards the Palestinian Jewish community, declared Macdonald:

“"The White Paper placed in the foreground of its statement my speech in the House of Commons on the 3rd April, 1930, in which I announced in words which could not have been made more plain, that it was the intention of His Majesty’s Government to continue to administer Palestine in accordance with the terms of the Mandate as approved by the Council of the League of Nations. That position has been reaffirmed and again made plain by my speech in the House of Commons on the 17th November. In my speech on the 3rd April I used the following language:

"His Majesty’s Government will continue to administer Palestine in accordance with the terms of the Mandate as approved by the Council of the League of Nations. This is an international obligation from which there can be no question of receding.

"8. We may proceed to the contention that the Mandate has been reinterpreted in a manner highly prejudicial to Jewish interests in the vital matters of land settlement and immigration. It has been said that the policy of the White Paper would place an embargo upon immigration, and would

2 Organisation for international cooperation established at the initiative of victorious Allied powers after World War I on the 10th of January 1920.
suspend, if not, indeed, terminate, the close settlement of the Jews on the land, which is a primary purpose of the Mandate.

“14. Cognate to this question is the control of immigration. It must, first of all, be pointed out that such control is not in any sense a departure from previous policy. From 1920 onwards, when the original Immigration Ordinance\(^3\) came into force, regulations for the control of immigration have been issued from time to time, directed to prevent illicit entry and to define and facilitate authorised entry. This right of regulation has at no time been challenged.

“15. But the intention of His Majesty’s Government appears to have been represented as being that ‘no further immigration of Jews is to be permitted so long as it might prevent any Arab from obtaining employment.’ His Majesty’s Government never proposed to pursue such a policy. They were concerned to state that, in the regulation of Jewish immigration, the following principles should apply, namely, that ‘it is essential to ensure that the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole, and that they should not deprive any section of the present population of their employment’ (White Paper, 1922). In the one aspect His Majesty’s Government have to be mindful of their obligations to facilitate Jewish Immigration under suitable conditions, and to encourage close settlement of Jews on the land: in the other aspect they have to be equally mindful of their duty to ensure that no prejudice results to the rights and position of the non-Jewish community. It is because of the apparent conflict of obligations that His Majesty’s Government have felt bound to emphasise the necessity of the proper application of the absorptive capacity principle. That principle is vital to any scheme of development, the primary purpose of which must be the settlement both of Jews and of displaced Arabs upon the land. It is for that reason that His Majesty’s Government have insisted, and are compelled to insist, that Government control of immigration must be maintained and that immigration regulations must be properly applied. The considerations relevant to the limits of absorptive capacity are purely economic considerations.

“16. His Majesty’s Government did not prescribe and do not contemplate any stoppage or prohibition of Jewish immigration in any of its categories. The practice of sanctioning a ‘Labour Schedule’ of wage-earning immigrants will continue. In each case consideration will be given to anticipated labour requirements for works which, being dependent on Jewish or mainly Jewish capital, would not be or would not have been undertaken unless Jewish labour was made available. With regard to public and municipal works falling to be financed out of public funds, the claim of

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\(^3\) Immigration Ordinance (Palestine) issued by Palestine High Commissioner Herbert Samuel on the 26\(^{th}\) of August 1920 (see appendix B).
Jewish labour to a due share of the employment available, taking into account Jewish contributions to public revenue, shall be taken into consideration. As regards other kinds of employment, it will be necessary in each case to take into account the factors bearing upon the demand for labour, including the factor of unemployment amongst both the Jews and the Arabs. Immigrants with prospects of employment other than employment of a purely ephemeral character will not be excluded on the sole ground that the employment cannot be guaranteed to be of unlimited duration.

“17. In determining the extent to which immigration at any time may be permitted, it is necessary also to have regard to the declared policy of the Jewish Agency to the effect that in ‘all the works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the Agency it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed.’ His Majesty’s Government do not in any way challenge the right of the Agency to formulate or approve and endorse such a policy. The principle of preferential and, indeed, exclusive employment of Jewish labour by Jewish organisations is a principle which the Jewish Agency are entitled to affirm. But it must be pointed out that if in consequence of this policy Arab labour is displaced or existing unemployment becomes aggravated, that is a factor in the situation to which the Mandatory is bound to have regard” (House of Commons Debate, 13 February 1931, vol. 248 cc751-7W).

Almost nine years later, as a result of hard and permanent pressure exerted by the Palestinian Arab community, who were worried, as always, of a demographic change by a flood of Jews into Palestine, the British authorities executed a new anti-Jewish policy. This policy prevented, among other limitations, any immigration beyond the official quota that had been declared by the infamous third White Paper of May 1939. This White Paper was prepared by Secretary of State for the Colonies Malcolm MacDonald, and was intended to limit the number of approved immigration certificates to as low as less than 1,000 a month.

Resulting from the limitations in Palestine, Jews sought other options for refuge, as with the well-known case of the SS Saint Louis. Six months before the Second World War, the MS under its brave Captain Gustav Schröder headed towards Cuba with 937 middle class Jews with official

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4 “Section 14 - 1): For each of the next five years a quota of 10,000 Jewish immigrants will be allowed ... (apart from a special quota in the near future of 25,000 refugees) as a contribution towards the solution of the Jewish refugee problem ... 14 - 3): After the period of five years no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it.”

5 Served from the 16th of May 1938 to the 12th of May 1940.

6 Screw Steamer.
Cuban visas. Upon their arrival, due to internal politics (between Cuban Chief of Staff P. Batista and President Federico Laredo Bru who initiated anti-immigration laws in May 1939), the Cuban authorities cancelled their visas and they were refused disembarkation. Moving on to Florida’s harbours, they were ignored and refused landing once again. The SS Saint Louis was then forced back toward Europe and some of its passengers were granted temporary shelter in England, France, Holland, and Belgium. Out of the 937 passengers approximately 230 did not survive the war!

Due to the effective vigilance of British authorities back in 1935, it was estimated that ‘very few, if any, attempts are made to land illegals direct on the shores of Palestine from specially chartered boats, the risk being great.’ The authorities could not have imagined in those early days how mistaken they were (CO 733/276/6).

Those seeking refuge numbered more than ten times as many as the outlined monthly limit. Although the Allied countries were engaged in war with Nazi and Italian forces around the world, Jews were being murdered, slaughtered, burnt, and gassed, and next to nothing was being done to save them. Badder (1967) describes the sad situation as follows:

‘Besides a huge and successful rescue when the German-Russian war started [22nd June 1941], and while hundreds of thousands of Jews were evacuated from Poland to Russia, the world was divided into two: the first that annihilated us, and the second that was watching how we were destroyed.’

During the German Wehrmacht’s success over Britain in February 1942, and while most of Central Europe was under occupation or collaborating with Germany, the British War Cabinet considered it a high priority to deal the ‘question of releasing internees of the [refugee ship] Darien.’ Although it was strongly urged that in view of the long period of their detention (disembarked at Haifa on the 18th of March 1941 and detained at ‘Athlit clearance camp), there was a strong case for releasing them and that many of them might become soldiers or workers on the land or in industry (ADM 116/4659 – 18th February 1942).

This simple strategic decision was very possibly taken by the Palestinian High Commissioner in future decisions.

Despite the above recommendation, the Minister of State in Cairo sent a telegram to the War Cabinet on the 26th of February 1942. After discussions
Introduction

with the Palestine High Commissioner Harold MacMichael they both agreed that:

"the release of 'Darien' internees would be most unwise. Their detention is a test case of the ability of the Palestinian Government to enforce its own laws and thus of the determination of His Majesty’s Government to prevent illegal immigration. Release would put the Palestinian Government in a most invidious and difficult position and I trust there will be no question of it being approved so long as the Middle East is a theatre of war. On the other hand, why shouldn’t we exploit those with special qualifications outside Palestine (e.g. Persian Gulf or Erythrean projects) [so long as it is clear] that they have no right to subsequently return and reside in Palestine” (ADM 116/4659).

At an earlier War Cabinet meeting held at Downing Street, on the 16th of February 1942, the pressing issue was whether illegal immigrants into Palestine should be diverted to Mauritius. The solution was not simple:

"Owing to the absence of shipping to take them to Mauritius, a number of illegal immigrants, brought to Palestine in the DARIEN, had now been detained in an internment camp in Palestine for 11 months."

Not for the first time Winston Churchill showed his greatness and generosity towards the immigrants:

"THE PRIME MINISTER raised the question whether these internees should not now be released. At the time when the War Cabinet considered this matter in November, 1940, it had looked as though we might be subjected to a wave of illegal immigration. But now that the whole of South-Eastern Europe was in German hands this risk must be greatly diminished."

Nonetheless, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Moyne, rejected the idea: 'On security grounds alone, any relaxation of the War Cabinet decision on this matter was open to strong objection. Further, any weakening of our attitude in this matter would afford encouragement to the very undesirable immigration into Palestine' (ADM 116/4659).

In December of that year some 1,750 illegal immigrants were deported to Mauritius where they were detained for approximately 5 years.

Once the war ended and the Labour Party came to power in Britain, the Yishuv had high expectations, based upon Labour’s earlier promises regarding immigration. Former policy did not change, however; if possible, it became worse. Prime Minister Clement Attlee and the stubborn Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin showed little empathy if any, and executed a hard to
explain policy towards Holocaust survivors who wished to emigrate to Palestine.

Winston Churchill, although not officially in government at this point, wrote an interesting letter to Prime Minister Attlee in July of 1946, just as deportation plans were being drawn up and the prospect of immigration capacity to Palestine was being considered.

“I should however make my position to you. Terrorism is no solution for the Palestine problem. Yielding to terrorism would be a disaster. At the same time I hold myself bound by our national pledges, into which I personally and you also and your party have entered, namely the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, with immigration up to the limit of “absorptive capacity”, of which the Mandatory power is the judge. I might hope we should agree upon this. Several of my friends are far from abandoning Partition, and I am very much inclined to think this may be the sole solution.”

Attlee’s reply to Churchill’s letter was quite laconic:

“We shall not accept any solution which represents abandonment of our pledges to the Jews or our obligations to the Arabs or which jeopardises our great strategic interests in the Middle East (CO 537/1714).”

From mid-1945 various-sized vessels began illegally disembarking Holocaust survivors along the Palestinian coast. Many were caught by the British police and army and placed in the Palestinian detention camps of ‘Athlit, Sarafend (near Rishon le Zion – present day Tzriffin – approx. 20 km ESE of Tel Aviv), and ‘Akkko (Acre), while others were sent back to Europe. The number of illegal immigrants (ma’apilim in Hebrew) in overcrowded prison camps in Palestine grew and reached a few thousand. As a result, the British authorities decided on the implementation of an ‘old-but-new’ policy, that of deporting all captured immigrants to detention camps around the British colonies, and in particular to Cyprus. This idea of detention outside Palestine had been debated already in the summer of 1939. Although not officially declared, the intention was probably to cause as much damage as possible to the Jewish ‘Yishuv’ in Palestine and make life for refugees there as difficult and hellish as possible, in order to dissuade further immigrants from setting sail for Palestine. British authorities however had not taken into consideration the sad fact that these refugees had already been through a terrible experience and that a hard life was not a strong disincentive.
Most books that deal with this subject are in the Hebrew language and are based upon documents, witnesses, memoirs, and diary accounts. This particular publication has the advantage of including new information found in declassified files from the British National Archives in London and the Cyprus State Archives in Nicosia (SA), mostly data that was not dealt with before (most were released to the public from the mid-nineties and on), as well as from Cypriot British language newspaper the *Cyprus Mail* and some other sources.

Edwin Samuel’s 1970 book, *A Lifetime in Jerusalem – The Memoirs of the Second Viscount Samuel*, reveals more information and figures concerning the nineteen-thirties immigration. Samuel served as deputy Head of the Department of Immigration and Travel from 1934, during the most critical years for Central European Jews. It is another excellent source of information for those years.

Some relevant information is found in Avidov’s ‘*Obscured Routes*’ (1955), which outlines the entire history of un-official Jewish immigration from Asia, Europe and Africa. A few interviews with people who worked at the camps, and many memoirs from the *Palyam* people collected at *Bet-HaPalmach* in Tel Aviv were added to this intricate material and published in 2001 (*Palyam*: an acronym for *Plugot HaYam* - ‘Sea Company’, or the naval arm of the *Palmach* established in 1943). A most comprehensive book by Yehuda Braginsky (1965) covers the entire time span of 1934 to 1948, with its various complications, history, internal Jewish political conflicts, and immigration. ‘*The Book of the Immigrants – 1934-1946*’ was edited by Basok (1947) who gathered documents mainly from newspapers and other sources. It is a book that covers and represents the spirit and feeling of the Jewish community of Palestine of the time.

Detention Camps, The Essential Research Guide undoubtedly will soon become the ‘Wikipedia’ for all future researchers on the Cyprus detention camps (see also the Bibliography).

The author decided to concentrate on mainly British and foreign resources for this study, rather than local Hebrew books and newspapers. These resources expose (and in many cases for the first time) much data and provide many solutions for plenty of ‘unsolved historical questions’, although many will, undoubtedly, remain unsolved forever!

This work represents and is based upon thousands of documents originating from 109 files from the British National Archives at Kew, London. It also draws and on previous books, newspapers, publications, and contemporaneous articles as given as addenda to the Bibliography. The sources of information that are the base of this work are so varied and crucial for further studies also. Therefore, I decided to uncover and publish them, as I could not afford to neglect such multiple sources of basic, and to some extent, what until recently was obscured material (see Appendix V).

As mentioned above, the author began this research as just a ‘representative’ of Prodromos C. Papavassiliou, but as time went on and the research progressed the author decided to extract as much as possible out of the opportunity.

It is worth quoting Jules Crevaux, the 19th century French naval surgeon, as he explored the Amazon River:

“A rushed journey is a waste of time; you can see nothing… I must take advantage of it, for I shall never return to these waters again. Instinct tells me to let myself drift with the swift current. Reason stops me: for an explorer, hurrying through an unknown land is like running away from the enemy.”

This has been the author’s philosophy whilst undertaking this research and writing.

Important Remarks

1. The subject of illegal immigration into Palestine and the Cyprus detention camps has been dealt with by many writers. Hundreds of articles, books, and other means of publication deal with this glorious chapter of the Jewish Zionist history.
2. The exact and accurate number of illegal immigrants will remain obscured and unknown forever. Registration on the immigrant vessels was inaccurate. The actual number of Haganah and Palmach\(^7\), opposed to the official British numbers, remains unconfirmed.

3. The names of the vessels used during the 16 years of illegal immigration covered in this book (1933-1948) were several times mistaken and misspelled in documents and publications. The original vessel names were kept up until 1945 and new ‘political’ names were given by the Haganah from 1945 onwards.

4. Most ‘top secret’ British files carried an important security notice:

   “Special care should be taken to maintain the secrecy of the documents on this file. They should be locked in a steel press overnight and circulated by hand at all stages.”

5. This book uses the term Middle East, although the term Near East supposes to be more precise. Due to traditional use, the term Middle East denotes the same territories: Arabian Peninsula, Cyprus, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon, Palestinian territories, Syria, and Turkey.

6. Drastic geographical and political changes resulted from the Second World War, and the end of the Communistic Regimes in Europe. The present work uses the original names of that Era.

7. List of the immigrant ships that arrived after ‘Yagur’ (13th August 1946) is given in Appendix S, and in more detailed form in a second book that is concentrated on Cyprus as a land of refuge, and its famous British Detention Camps for illegal Jewish Immigrants (Nir, in preparation).

8. The cited parts were copied ‘as is’.

9. Any missing references are the fault of the author.

\(^7\) Palmach – The Shock Troops.