**Chapter 3 | 1940–1954**

In the shadow of World War II \* The Joint Land Purchase and Farm City schemes \* The United Appeal \* The Birth of the State of Israel \* Water for the Negev \* Developing the Jerusalem Corridor \* Afforestation Projects \* Draining Lake Huleh \* Registering the JNF in Israel

At the outbreak of World War II, the Commission’s offices were evacuated—first to leased quarters shared with the Federation in Oxford and soon afterwards to Schen’s home outside London. The decision to evacuate proved correct as the Germans’ air raids in September 1940 struck all five buildings that the Commission had occupied since 1915. The headline in the *Jewish Chronicle*’s coverage of this misfortune, ‘A Bomb a Day is the JNF Way’, paraphrases the Commission’s slogan.[[1]](#footnote-1) The somewhat lighthearted tenor of the headline—perhaps reflecting relief over the absence of casualties and loss of equipment other than minor damage to the structure—was quickly set aside when it became known that Percy Baker, former secretary of the Federation, a pillar of the Commission and founder of its Philatelic Department, had been killed in the devastating blitz of London together with his wife and son.

Despite the many hardships, the Commission was determined to maintain routine work as far as possible or, at the very least, to project the image of business as usual. The Social Department continued to sponsor social events where short films produced by the JNF, such as *Homeland in the Making,* were shown; promotional lectures were given; and a JNF week was organised. Fundraising in traditional ways continued as well: sales of stamps, recording in the Golden Book (of 600 Britons in 1930–1940), donations for tree planting, and, of course, the Blue Boxes. Even though revenue fell by 20 percent, the grassroots fundraising methods remained highly popular, bringing in some £7,000 in the first year of the war. The Insurance Department, in contrast, failed to attract new customers and the Wills and Legacies Department had to settle for a few donations that brought in a paltry £814.

Striving to create new initiatives that would step up donations, the Commission launched a new campaign for the planting of a forest that would symbolise for posterity British Jewry’s exertions and sacrifices in the war. In its first year, the campaign brought in scanty revenues—only £21[[2]](#footnote-2)—but these grew considerably in subsequent years. The Commission’s fundraising difficulties in the first year of the war also impaired its ability to continue to help fund the activities of the youth organisations. Due to its belief in the importance of these youth organisations continuing to operate, the Commission continued to support them. The *Jewish Chronicle* reported that the Habonim youth movement was at real risk, faced closure, and was managing to hang on only because the Commission funded it with the sum of £500 per year. The Commission did not limit its support of Habonim to financial aid; it also allowed the movement to use its offices.[[3]](#footnote-3) As expected, the first year of the war ended with a steep 37 percent decline in donation revenues, to £40,249.

As the situation in Europe worsened, Schen and Granovsky realised that an attempt had to be made to mobilise private wealth for collabouration with the JNF and proposed to do this by implementing a scheme that they had been working up in detail since the middle of 1938. Initially, the two officials considered marketing the program in various European countries but as they negotiated the terms of the agreement with various potential investors, the war broke out and they decided to concentrate on marketing the program in England only. The way to reach out to wealthy Britons was to promote the program as a joint investment with the JNF (and not a donation). Participation in the scheme was described as a worthwhile economic investment, another way to secure their money, and a path to future resettlement of the donor or a family member if antisemitism in Britain were to escalate.[[4]](#footnote-4) In return, the JNF promised to preserve the value of the land until the time would come to apportion it equitably among the various investors. It also promised to spare the investors from brokers’ fees, prevent them from having to deal with dubious land speculators, and retain the option of returning the land to the JNF and getting their money back.[[5]](#footnote-5) Within the general framework of the agreement between the JNF and the investors, approved by the JNF board in early 1941, the following conditions were spelled out:[[6]](#footnote-6)

* Each investor or group of investors that would partner with the JNF undertakes to purchase at cost a relative share of the land offered for sale.
* Land already parceled and owned by an individual will be immediately recorded in the investor’s name.
* If land not yet parceled is purchased, it will be recorded under joint title of the JNF and the investor (prorated by their respective shares) and be kept in trust by Himanuta, Ltd.,[[7]](#footnote-7) pending parcelation. The investor will receive a deed of trust from Himanuta and, after parcelation, a *kushan* (certificate of title).
* The JNF allows the investor to back out of the investment within two years of the date the land is registered in his or her name. In this case, the JNF will buy the land back and refund the investor’s money in installments over a five-year period at 3 percent interest.
* For his or her share in the partnership, the investor shall make a nonrecurrent cash payment to the JNF immediately upon signing the contract, to an account with the Anglo-Palestine Bank. The minimum sum of participation by a private investor shall be £500.
* \*After the outbreak of the war, a clause was added stating that the investor would receive the land or (if he or she decides to sell) the money only at the end of the war.

Ostensibly, Joint Land Purchase Scheme was not directly associated with the Commission’s activity. However, Schen, who hoped to use the Commission to market the program in Britain, updated the Commission’s directors that participation in the program would be conditioned on the investors’ participation in the Nettler scheme as well. Thus, the two programs were promoted together and linked to each other.[[8]](#footnote-8) Even before marketing of the program (both schemes) began, Schen displayed cautious optimism about the prospects of success. He hoped that keen interest in the joint scheme—largely among non-Zionist British Jews who saw it as nothing more than an opportunity to make a good financial investment—would attract investors to the Zionist idea. Thus, the JNF and Zionism would “kill two birds with one stone”, recruiting both donors and additional sympathisers.[[9]](#footnote-9) Schen’s optimistic outlook, however, infected neither the members of the Commission nor his colleagues at the Federation. Even other Zionist leaders whom he approached refused to take part in promoting its diffusion. Schen wrote back to Granovsky about the unexplained cold shoulder he had received.[[10]](#footnote-10)

Despite this chilly welcome, Schen did not relent and promoted the scheme on his own. In the course of his many promotional trips, he signed more and more investors onto the scheme and by January 1941 built their numbers to seventy-two, most from Manchester, in the total sum of £106,500. These investors had approached the JNF so the Fund would make an effort to obtain A-1 “certificates” (Mandatory Palestine immigration visas), the type reserved for moneyed immigrants. The JNF’s appeal to the Jewish Agency in this matter, however, was turned down because the issuance of “certificates” for people in countries considered secure at the time had been suspended.[[11]](#footnote-11)

The first land set aside for the Joint Land Purchase Scheme was at Wadi Kabani in the Sharon region (Hefer Valley, today near Kibbutz Haogen), the purchase of which was considered the crowning achievement of JNF operations during the “tempestuous” period.[[12]](#footnote-12) Given the success of and the keen demand for participation in the program, it was decided to expand it to additional areas. In less than a year after its inauguration, the scheme managed to record important achievements: with no advertising and despite the war, the JNF received £150,000 from British Jews, with which it purchased 900 hectares at Wadi Kabani, 110 hectares south of Netanya, 150 hectares east of Kadima, and approx. 200 hectares east of Hadera (the Atil lands). Plans for the acquisition of 200 additional hectares were underway as well.[[13]](#footnote-13)

The success of this method of acquiring extensive territory in so short a time was not overlooked by those who had been demonstrably indifferent to it, and the attitude toward it began very slowly to transition to massive support. Weizmann, Henry Mond, and other prominent community leaders spoke at public rallies and encouraged their listeners to enlist in the program as investors. The heads of the Commission also geared up to promote the scheme at this time. Thus, the president, Professor Wright, sent a clear-cut message at the Commission’s annual conference:

The vital political importance of the Joint Land Purchase Scheme is that we must prepare for the Peace Conference after the war is over, when the political future of Palestine will be settled within the framework of the new world order. In that agreement, the strength of the position we shall have built up in Palestine will be one of the determining factors. It is firmly believed that the Joint Land Purchase Scheme will be supported on the boldest scale in this country, an example which will be widely followed in the Dominions and the United States. The Scheme should render possible land acquisition in Palestine on so great a scale as to transform the political and economic situation. It is the duty of every Jewish community in the country to seize this great opportunity.

The problem of land purchase in Palestine has been gravely complicated in past years as a result of the unorganised buying of land by private individuals. The latter often entered the land market without any expert knowledge and, regardless of the national interest. Made extravagant bids for land which seriously raised the price to the detriment both of the KKL and themselves. In some cases they actually competed for land for which the National Fund was already negotiating.[[14]](#footnote-14)

The Nettler Scheme also proved successful as soon as it was launched. Renamed the Farm City Scheme, it invited British Jews to contribute £25 to the JNF (in seven annual installments if they wished) in return for the right to a renewable forty-nine-year lease of a quarter-hectare or half of that in a new suburban settlement in the Sharon region, to be earmarked for British Jews of the middle and upper classes. The parcel was zoned for a residence along with agricultural outbuildings (where residents could raise domestic crops as a hobby) and donors were to decide within ten years whether to live in their houses or lease them out. The suburban settlement plan included a synagogue, a school, a hotel, public spaces, a cinema, sports facilities, a shopping centre, and a restaurant, among other things. The location of the first garden city, as the concept was also known, [הוספתי זאת כי המחברת נוקבת בשני המונחים] was designated on the Mediterranean coast south of Netanya, and the planning work was handed over to the architect Alexander Klein. When the scheme was placed on the market in November 1940, those who signed up did so within the framework of local associations that were intended to amalgamate into a national association. The details of the garden city plan received extensive press coverage:

The Jewish National Fund has of late been engaging in further publicity for the ‘Farm City Scheme’, hitherto known as the Nettler Scheme, from its originator, Mr Fred Nettler, Glasgow Vice-President of the Fund. A coastal tract of land in Palestine has been acquired by the Keren Kayemeth for special planning for settlement. Farm City Associations have now been formed in Manchester and Leeds, individual participants have been enrolled in Newcastle and Sunder land, and it is hoped that with the growth of the number of Associations, they will be federated into a National Association.[[15]](#footnote-15)

In the course of promotional encounters for the program, Nettler, an amateur photographer, showed footage from his visits to Eretz Israel, and Schen, recently named the administrative director of the Commission at the Commission’s behest (after receiving Ussishkin’s go-ahead), devoted much time to advancing the scheme in his visits to the Jewish communities in Britain. The Farm City project was adopted as the flagship of the Commission’s activity and received much favourable coverage in the press:

One of the most beautiful coastal districts in Palestine has been chosen for the establishment of the first Farm City Unit mi [טעות במקור?] the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael (Jewish National Fund) The unit is to be built up on a large stretch of land south of Natanya. Natanya’s beach has been compared with that of Biarritz[[16]](#footnote-16) in Europe, and it is the only beach in Palestine which is overhung by high cliffs, which throw a cool shade throughout the hottest day. Here at Natanya many of the intellectuals of Palestine, including Professors of the Hebrew University, have made their homes. The town with its Jewish District Commissioner is the centre for the whole of the Northern Sharon and Emek Hefer [the Hefer Valley], and the surrounding land is extremely fertile, with orange groves and vegetable crops thriving there. It is within an hour’s bus ride of Tel Aviv, and there are several Jewish settlements within easy reach. The town-planning-scheme of the Keren Kayemeth proposes to provide 100 plots of 2.5 and 5 dunams each for the first unit. The rest of the land, cast of the Farm City settlement, will be allocated for the establishment of a new agricultural colony which it is hoped to bring into existence before the “city” is developed. By this means agricultural experts and labourers would be available for guiding and helping the Farm City members in working their own plots of land. As almost 100 people in Great Britain have joined the scheme, the Keren Kayemeth is about to proceed with the parcelation of the land, and plans for the layout of plots and the building of houses are being prepared.

The scheme is a complete departure from precedent on the part of the JNF, as it has never before reserved land for people not yet in Palestine. It is being done now, however, as it is felt that now as never before is it necessary to prepare for settlement in Eretz Yisrael in advance, so that members of the Farm City, or their children, will find their home quite ready for them when they arrive, and will be more easily absorbed into the country.[[17]](#footnote-17)

Since the contracts were signed before parcelation, it was determined that the investors’ and donors’ undertakings would be recorded with the JNF Charitable Trust (JNF CT) until registration could be arranged and that the land the JNF would purchase using these funds would be held in trust by Himanuta, as was the practice in the Joint Land Purchase Scheme.[[18]](#footnote-18)

Due to the large sums that began to flow to JNF CT, for which the Trust was entitled to tax refunds, it became necessary to formalise the relationship between the Charitable Trust and the administration in Jerusalem in an agreement that would explicitly define the role of each side, bringing JNF CT into compliance with the conditions under British tax law for tax benefits. Schen and the administration laboured over the details of the agreement for several months, after which the sides finally signed the deed of trust on 24 September 1941. In the accord, it was specified that the JNF would serve as an agent of the British charitable trust and would follow its guidelines. All funds that the CT would forward to the JNF would be earmarked solely for purposes considered charitable, viz., supporting indigent Jews; building synagogues, schools, and hospitals; developing land for the settlement of this target population; and so on. If the JNF wished to use the money to buy land for the resettlement of refugees from Nazi-occupied countries, it could do so only after obtaining written approval from the charitable trust. This land would be “at the disposal” of the JNF, which would manage it for the British CT, and JNF would have to report to the CT about how the land is being used, its area, and the population living there, whenever asked to. In addition, all income that the JNF would receive from this land (i.e., leasing fees) would be channeled solely to charitable goals.[[19]](#footnote-19) The legal terminology pertaining to the title to the land and the minutiae of the contracting procedure would eventually be the main bone of contention in disputes between JNF UK and the administration in Jerusalem—controversies that boiled over to severance of contact and reciprocal lawsuits, all described at length in Chapter 5.

JNF CT obtained most of its resources from the Central Fund [the Central British Fund for German Jewry?] and from hundreds and, within a few years, thousands of permanent pledges (subscriptions). In March 1941, there were 450 registered permanent subscribed donors to the CT, and their numbers grew to 3,238 by the end of September 1944. The Commission and the administration in Jerusalem adhered strictly to the working method specified in their deed of trust. When the administration found an opportunity to make a purchase that fit its goal, as happened, for example, in Wadi Kabani and Geulim, it applied in writing, by means of Schen, to the JNF CT board so that the directors of the trust would discuss the request. After the JNF CT board gave its approval, including a boilerplate note that the money was intended only for charity, Schen, the authorised signatory, deposited the money in the JNF’s bank account.

Sometimes the board asked the JNF administration to present it with settlement programs and additional details concerning the types of land in the number of families that could be settled on it. In addition, the fund [the Central Fund?] served as a go-between for granting loans to the JNF under special conditions.[[20]](#footnote-20) Officially, the Commission did not interfere with JNF CT’s activities; the two were separate legal entities that pursued different goals. Just the same, from the time the Charitable Fund was established, a report about its financial condition was presented at each meeting of the Commission. As the activity of JNF CT began to stabilise, it was also decided to dissolve the Palestine Land Charities Association, Ltd., and transfer all of that entity’s registered liabilities to JNF CT.[[21]](#footnote-21)

In May 1941, the Commission launched a new initiative, the Palestine Victory Campaign, to raise funds as a sign of British Jewry’s solidarity with the British forces. To set the campaign in motion, the Commission instructed the Young People’s Department to direct its efforts toward obtaining support among the working class and the community. It turned into one of the most successful campaigns that the Commission had known, yielding donations that skyrocketed to £80,000. The campaign included multiple conferences and the dispatch of diverse speakers to all parts of Britain, who described the Yishuv’s mass volunteering for the British Army and enhanced awareness of the importance of supporting Zionism. In the middle of the campaign, Wright, the president of the Commission, sent a letter to Churchill affirming their allegiance to and confidence in him.[[22]](#footnote-22)

Ussishkin died in October 1941 and was succeeded by a triumvirate of members of the JNF administration: Rabbi Meir Berlin, a founder of the Religious Zionist Mizrachi movement; Berl Katznelson, a senior leader of the Zionist Labour Movement and editor of the newspaper *Davar*; and Abraham Granovsky. Ussishkin’s death left a gaping void at a critical moment for the Jewish people and the National Home. At the annual conference held in November 1941, the Commission’s anguish was well in evidence and found expression in remarks delivered at the occasion:

Eight million of our brethren are ground down by the Nazi yoke. Ours is the last free Jewish community in Europe. On us has devolved the supreme responsibility of pressing on with the work of redeeming great stretches of land in Palestine, so that a message of hope may go to the Jews in the ghettoes and concentration camps of Europe. That when this nightmare is over, they will have the opportunity of living a life of freedom and happiness in Palestine.[[23]](#footnote-23)

The advancement of the Commission’s two flagship programs was its focus in 1942. By October of that year, some 300 participants had enlisted in the Joint Land Purchase Scheme, investing a total of £343,000. Despite this smashing success, on 18 October 1942, Schen received a cable from the administration to stop marketing the program immediately (!) due to a radical increase in land prices in the Sharon region [[24]](#footnote-24) The administration was concerned that investors would notice the windfall they might gain by immediately liquidating their investment and selling the land. Since the JNF could not afford to make these purchases, the land would fall into Arab hands. Several successive attempts to revive the scheme failed, and by late 1944, it was clear that it had met its demise.

Schen, who understood the blow that this would cause to the JNF’s image in Britain and the activity of the Commission, did not conceal his displeasure with the administration in Jerusalem as to the implications of communicating the disappointing news to the investors, which would significantly harm the JNF’s image in Britain.[[25]](#footnote-25) He and Aron Wright worked hard to minimise the damage and placate the participants in the program. By the end of 1947, all the investors got their money back and the Joint Land Purchase Scheme was put to rest. Even though the investors were bitterly disappointed, the capital that flowed into the JNF exchequer at that critical moment allowed the Fund to make extensive land purchases. Foremost among the acquisitions was Wadi Kabani, termed by Yosef Weitz, director of the JNF Lands Department, the crown jewel of JNF operations during the “tempestuous” period. Subsequently, Weitz reported the following about the scheme in his diary:

This partnership with private capital for land acquisition purposes […] became a way to open and widen a path. […] For three years, British Jews made some P£300,000 available to the JNF for land purchases. During that time, this partnership figured importantly in the territorial operations of the JNF, which managed to buy 3,000 hectares in the Sharon region. […] This act of combining private capital with national capital to redeem the land was as abundantly helpful and beneficial at its end as it was at its start.[[26]](#footnote-26)

Unlike the Joint Land Purchase Scheme, which was nipped in the bud, the Farm City program appeared to be heading for a promising future. Demand for plots soon exceeded supply, prompting the JNF to set aside another 120 hectares for ‘Garden City 2’, east of Netanya on the Haifa–Tel Aviv road.[[27]](#footnote-27) By the end of October, some 400 participants had signed up for the program under an association that they had formed to set up a nationwide Palestine Farm City Association headed by Nettler. It was proposed to the participants that Rassco, a company under the control of the Jewish Agency, would build houses comprising three rooms, a kitchen, and a bath, at £350 per house. At the annual final conference for 1940, this program was central among the topics reported to the delegates:

All the 280 plots in the first Farm City have been taken up, and the second Farm City Scheme is making splendid progress, and already 125 plots have been taken up. A Farm City Association for Great Britain has been formed under the Chairmanship of Mr Fred Nettler, who originally put forward the proposal, and undoubtedly the Association will have an important part to play in the future.[[28]](#footnote-28)

The success of the Farm City Scheme displeased the Keren Hayesod Committee and reignited the festering tension between it and the Commission. Consequently, the Keren Hayesod Committee repeatedly turned down the Commission’s offers to establish a united appeal in memoriam of the recently deceased Ussishkin, even though the JNF and Keren Hayesod administrations in Jerusalem had already worked out the principles of such an appeal. The Keren Hayesod Committee was so vehement in its resistance that it approached the General Secretary of the Federation, Lavy Bakstansky, and asked him to intervene. Bakstansky, in turn, cabled the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem and protested the joint initiative that had been imposed on them and expressed his opposition to the Garden Cities scheme.[[29]](#footnote-29) Concurrently, the Keren Hayesod Committee wielded its influence with Weizmann and Simon Marks, chair of Keren Hayesod–UK.[[30]](#footnote-30) These two officials, even though they had promised Schen to speak favourably about the Farm City program at a special conference on Zionist activities in Palestine, avoided all reference to the program in their remarks and mentioned the Joint Land Purchase Scheme only.[[31]](#footnote-31)

The main criticism of the Farm City Scheme concerned the fear that it tricked British Jews into thinking they were making a financial investment and not a donation. Another critique related to the minimum compulsory donation, set at £250 even though the price of the land was one-fifth of that. Bakstansky also protested the recording of the donations via the Charitable Fund even though they had nothing to do with charity. He feared not only that the British tax authorities would veto the procedure but also that it would bring the doings of all Zionist institutions in Britain under suspicion. The Commission heeded these arguments and Schen established a committee to look into them. Even though that panel found no fault with the scheme, Schen advised the administration in Jerusalem that the participants in the program must be advised that they were making a donation, not an investment.[[32]](#footnote-32)

As the war continued, the Commission’s routine activity dwindled and was replaced by campaigns associated with heroism and rescue along with various ideas that were raised in an attempt to maintain diversity and interest. An example of the latter was the announcement of a prize competition for the redesign of the certificate of registration in the Golden Book. Lady Fitzgerald’s Jewelry Fund was also re-opened to donations and collabouration with WIZO was established under the leadership of Lady Rebecca Sieff, for a special appeal for goods such as kitchen implements, ornamental objects, and books, that were resold for donation purposes.

Another campaign, aimed at reclaiming 13,500 dunams (1,350 hectares), corresponding to the number the Jews who were serving in the British or Allied forces in the Middle East, was meant to demonstrate solidarity with the Yishuv.[[33]](#footnote-33) The first committee that took part in it was that of Hendon, which undertook to reclaim 100 hectares of homestead land that would be named for it—a new JNF initiative that proposed to honour the large private organisations or donors who raised all the sums for the reclamation of homesteads, groves, and forests. This committee was also the first to honour its commitment to raise £10,000 over three years for land that had been acquired near Gaza.[[34]](#footnote-34) The older youth [alumni of the youth movements?] also demonstrated their strength by participating in a special mobilisation after a decision was made to donate a day’s pay to the campaign on one of the September festivals.

Despite the prodigious efforts, it was hard to make plans and maintain routine activities. The ghastly plight of European Jewry and the masses of oppressed refugees who had barely managed to escape from the horror had a dampening effect. When help could not be given, all that remained were symbolic acts of empathy. Thus, for example, after the sinking of the illegal immigrants’ vessel *Struma,* which carried 768 Jewish refugees who had escaped from Fascist Romania aboard—an event considered the greatest disaster in the history of clandestine immigration to Eretz Israel and one of the largest disasters involving the sinking of a civilian vessel in World War II—the alumni of the Habonim movement decided to donate funds for the planting of 768 trees to commemorate the casualties.

On the occasion of the seventieth birthday of the Chief Rabbi of Britain, Rabbi Dr Joseph Hertz, the Commission launched an appeal for the planting of a forest in his name in the hills of Hanita. Community leaders across the political and ideological spectrum (regarding Zionism) attended the festive dinner where the campaign took place. Even though the Commission’s fundraising activities coincided with special appeals and campaigns of the Funds and additional organisations, the Commission managed to finish 1942 with record revenues of £130,657—double the previous year’s income and 20 percent of JNF’s total revenue that year, £682,500.[[35]](#footnote-35)

At the eighteenth annual conference, held in November 1942, Aron Wright, brother of Professor Samson Wright, was elected the Commission’s new president. In the course of the gathering, the possibility of cooperating toward a united appeal with the Keren Hayesod Committee was broached again. The chair of the Liverpool committee shared with the conferees the achievements of the collabouration that had been attained in Liverpool and Manchester, yielding revenues that exceeded expectations and enlisting additional pledge subscribers. In response, Wright noted that the Commission welcomed the chairpersons’ cooperation provided it would indeed lead to an increase in income. He reminded the committee chairs, however, that the Commission was a branch of the Jewish National Fund and, as such, took its orders from the board of directors in Jerusalem, which frowned on the cooperative arrangements that had been made in the peripheral cities. Even though independent action is a positive thing, he concluded, the committees belong to a comprehensive organisation and, therefore, must obtain prior approval for their activity.[[36]](#footnote-36)

Another cooperation that the Commission did find satisfactory was an agreement worked out in October 1942 with the Mizrachi Organisation in Britain to open a Machleket Hacharedim (Orthodox Department) at the Commission. The Department was inaugurated five years after the JNF administration in Jerusalem had set up a Charedim Department of its own (August 1937); the idea was to lure conservative forces in the community to donate to the National Fund. The Mizrachi movement’s condition for the accord was that the donations of the Orthodox be earmarked exclusively for land where religious pioneering settlement would take place.[[37]](#footnote-37) In the meantime, demand for homesteads under the Farm City Scheme grew apace. The JNF responded by allocating an additional area of 87 hectares for a third garden city, this time in the Zebulun Valley in Haifa, on land that it had acquired jointly with the Palestine Economic Corporation—the same land in the Haifa Bay area that the JNF had bought with Schen’s help. Here, too, the plots were snapped up quickly and within half a year (May 1943) additional land for a fourth garden city was set aside at a location where four villas built before the war already stood.[[38]](#footnote-38) The fourth garden city comprised 450 plots in an area that abutted Kefar Vitkin on the south and the Alexander watercourse on the north (today, a neighbourhood in Kefar Vitkin North). As this project evolved, the commercial potential of the area was given strong emphasis at the request of the participants themselves.[[39]](#footnote-39) The industries that were planned for this location were meant to take advantage of the strengths of the surroundings—proximity to the Alexander watercourse and the Mediterranean—with the focus on activities associated with marine development, such as the construction of a bathing and marine recreation site, developing the fishing industry, building boats, putting riverbank mud to medical use, and extracting clay for a ceramics or brick industry.[[40]](#footnote-40) By the end of 1943, 1,154 participants had signed up for the four future garden cities and demand continued to climb until Schen prodded Granovsky to keep up with it and earmark more and more land for the program: “This Schem [כך במקור, או שמא טעות הדפסה?] is becoming more and more popular. It will be a death blow to our work if we fail to catch up with demand and allocate more and more areas for it”.[[41]](#footnote-41)

The year 1943 saw the introduction of new fundraising methods and new challenges to the Commission’s future revenues. The Insurance Department struggled to generate perceptible activity. The possibility of shutting it down was considered but, due to the insistence of the administration in Jerusalem, a decision to keep it alive was made, provided its activity was separated from that of the Commission and conducted at a different address.[[42]](#footnote-42) The truly historical event in the Commission’s activities that year, however, was the execution of a cooperation accord with the Keren Hayesod Committee for the establishment of a United Palestine Appeal. Admittedly, the agreement was drawn up for various peripheral cities and omitted the capital, London, but it paved the way to a comprehensive accord. The reader will remember that several attempts had been made to put forward a joint agreement between the JNF and the Federation, WIZO, and the Keren Hayesod Committee, but the last-mentioned entity dashed them intransigently and the Federation itself was in no hurry to implement one.[[43]](#footnote-43) In May 1943, the intensive talks that Schen, representing the Commission, had undertaken with Bakstansky, representing the Keren Hayesod Committee, matured, and the agreement was signed on 30 May 1943. A central element in the document was the decision that the two funds in Britain would divide the revenues equally except for income from legacies and wills, loans, subscriptions (including those from the council for the refugees [the Central British Fund for German Jewry?] באיזה מועצה מדובר?]), and the Joint Land Purchase Scheme. As for the garden cities program, it was decided that £75 (30 percent) of the participant's £250 donation would accrue to Keren Hayesod.[[44]](#footnote-44)

When the central campaign for 1943 was launched, focusing on extensive land purchases for the settlement of the masses of refugees who would reach Eretz Israel at the end of the war, Schen set out for Eretz Israel to receive updates from the administration, visit the sites of the future garden cities, and examine various settlement models. In the course of his tour, he was invited to Kefar Masaryk and to a cornerstone-laying ceremony at the first Anglo-Baltic kibbutz, Kefar Blum, founded by alumni of Habonim in the UK. Another purpose of his visit was to locate land for the establishment of a fifth garden city. When he scouted out Kiryat Amal, a workers’ neighbourhood that abutted the old Jewish settlement of Beth Shearim, 16 kilometers from Haifa, he was impressed by the beauty of the location and decided then and there that the new city would be established in the hills of the Kuskus and Tubaun lands. The JNF administration set up a meeting at its offices in Jerusalem between Schen and the building engineer Dov Patishi, founder of Kiryat Amal and chair of its governing [הוספתי] committee, who aspired to boost the neighbourhood’s population and establish a middle-class garden city, a private initiative and with private capital, to its north. Patishi hoped that the garden city and Kiryat Amal would eventually become an independent town with a balanced budget.[[45]](#footnote-45) Subsequently, Schen would write in his memoirs that the talks had taken place ‘with great enthusiasm’. [תרגום שלי—לא מובאה ממקור אנגלי].

The JNF offered Schen 35 hectares, but he considered that too small and asked for additional land with 300–600 parcels of 1–2 hectares each. At the end of the meeting, Schen invited Patishi to visit Britain to help market the garden city, which by then had acquired the name “Garden City 5 Kiryat Amal” or Beth Shearim Hatzefonit (Beth Shearim North).[[46]](#footnote-46) Due to the war, Patishi had to postpone his trip pending permission to enter Britain. Schen, who had returned to England in some roundabout way, presented the Commission with a detailed report about his visit.

Prompted by the auspicious results of the agreement between the JNF and Keren Hayesod in the peripheral towns, the two funds found a way to apply the accord at the countrywide level, realising that parallel appeals by different Zionist funds were confusing the community and impairing the revenues of all Zionist organisations in the community. The historical agreement was reported at the English Zionist Federation [כן?] conference in February 1944. It merged the appeals in Britain of the large Zionist institutions—Keren Hayesod, JNF, Mizrachi, WIZO, Po’ale Tsiyyon, and Youth Aliyah—each receiving representation in the organisational structure of the United Palestine Appeal in Great Britain. Simon Marks was elected honorary president of the United Appeal and Aron Wright, president of the Commission, was seated at the helm of the board of directors. The target established for the first United Appeal was £1 million. The JNF Commission and the Keren Hayesod Committee agreed to accept 39.5 percent of the revenues each; the rest would be divided among the other participating institutions.[[47]](#footnote-47)

The launching of the first national appeal was set for 15 March 1944, at a large-scale kickoff event where Weizmann spoke. The campaign ended in the middle of November of that year with £750,000. The Commission, which received its share, ended the year with record revenues of £209,116. Greater proceeds had been expected but the focus on the success of the united appeal impaired almost all other fundraising mechanisms of the Commission and ongoing activity was hindered by additional air raids on London that forced the Commission to vacate its offices temporarily. Given these constraints, it was a historic year for the Commission, which for the first time managed to surpass the revenues of the South African Commission and place second, after the United States, in the JNF donation standings. With this great success, it was decided that the format of participation in the united appeal would be repeated the next year.[[48]](#footnote-48)

In March 1945, Dov Patishi finally managed to enter Britain. In the ensuing half-year, he and Schen crisscrossed the country and built support for the Farm City 5 program, an effort that paid off handsomely. Unlike the agreements surrounding the previous garden cities, the donors who signed up for the fifth round undertook to build their homes at once, based on plans that the architect Alexander Klein had submitted. The participants in the scheme were assured that an outside firm would handle the building inspection, mediate among them, and represent their interests vis-à-vis the JNF. Within half a year, the venture had 100 participants. Farm City 5 was the first that was planned and, subsequently, the only one of the five garden city schemes that was actually implemented.

In 1945, under Wright’s leadership, the Commission activity reached new heights and broke its previous revenue record by bringing in £226,132 (including JNF CT income). As in the past, the most reliable indicator of the JNF’s strength and popularity in the community was income from the Blue Boxes. On the eve of the war, some 9,500 boxes had been distributed around London, but in the aftermath of the blitz and the evacuation of civilians, some 2,000 of them had been destroyed and the collection of their proceeds was nearly completely paralyzed. During the last year of the war, the Commission managed to replenish the inventory of Blue Boxes and distributed them to almost the pre-war level of 9,100 in London in September 1945. Under a new rallying cry—“3d. a Day is the JNF Way” (which never really caught on in the community) the Commission moved firmly to restore the regular methods of managing the boxes, including *inter alia,* calling each box holder on the phone three times a year. These actions propelled Blue Box income to a record level, twice as large as shortly before the war. Registrations in the Golden Book were also impressive—318 persons newly registered, many under a new project initiated by the Commission in honour of Weizmann by recording his name in the Golden Book. Donations for tree planting also went well: 31,292 trees, twice as many as in the previous year.

In London alone, twenty-three different committees were in operation and another ninety or so functioned in the communities of peripheral towns. That year, a new group of young people called the JNF Fellowship came together to help the Commission do its work in organising events and raising funds. The most conspicuous group that joined that year was a committee of textile merchants (in furs, shoes, etc.), of which many members attended the central annual event in honour of Weizmann, held at the Dorchester Hotel, that brought in more donation income than any a single event had before. The Advertising Department, tasked with publishing the weekly *JNF News,* locally printed leaflets, pamphlets, posters, and certificates for tree planting donations and registration in the Golden Book; it also produced a Hebrew-language JNF Diary that was distributed in some 30,000 copies. Further, the Department was in charge of advertising in the press and even produced films, such as a twenty-minute vehicle called *This Is the Way,* which presented materials from Eretz Israel and photographs from Britain that told the story of the Habonim movement in England and the establishment of Kibbutz Kefar Blum.

The restoration of momentum after the war was also manifested in the reactivation of the Orthodox Department after its paralysis during the war, fundraising during the September festivals, and planting the Meir Forest in the Etzion Bloc in honour of the leader of the Mizrachi movement, Rabbi Meir Berlin. The Wills and Legacies Department, established in 1930 but slowly withering due to lack of activity, also rebounded with an upturn in interest and revenues from this avenue of donating. The fifteen donors that year generated income ranging from several tens of pounds to hundreds and thousands. At JNF CT, 800 new subscriptions delivered a total yield of £4,038. In addition, the income from social events was earmarked for the CT. Participation in the United Appeal, held for the second time between May and October, brought in (a rather disappointing) total revenue of £540,000, which was apportioned among the participants as agreed.[[49]](#footnote-49)

Another entity that had geared up for emergency activity during the war was the Commission’s Education Department. It pursued one major goal: strengthening the young generation’s connection with and commitment to Zionism and Eretz Israel and reaching out to them for these causes. Before the war, this mission manifested mainly in promotional activity and sundry endeavours in schools together with the pupils’ teachers. During the war, the activity was adjusted to the new realities of life, especially given the evacuation of the children from London and the large peripheral towns during the blitz.

The Education Department staff visited the evacuation areas and equipped the evacuated children with pamphlets for plays, songs, stories, pictures, and games. Ahead of Rosh Hashana, it distributed 5,500 copies of a calendar for children titled “Moledet” (Homeland). Ahead of Shavuot, 3,000 copies of a special pamphlet were distributed to child counselors and teachers, containing scholastic materials and aids that would enrich pupils’ experiential learning with contents relating to Passover, Shabbat, Simhat Torah, Lag Ba’Omer, and Sukkot. For Tu Bishvat, festivities related to bringing the first fruit to the Temple took place; one such event, held in Stepney, was attended by 1,500 youngsters from all over London. Plays about Tel Hai and Purim, promotional pamphlets about the life of the national poet, Chaim Nahman Bialik, and the seer of the Jewish state, Theodor Herzl, were also distributed. A seventy-page pamphlet for Hanukkah was distributed in 5,000 copies.

Throughout the war, the Education Department maintained continual contact with teachers and child counselors. Among the 600 teachers who were on the mailing list for promotional materials, about half responded to and collabourated with the Commission. In 1943, the Department launched a new initiative titled the Children Conference, held at the Royal Hotel. One hundred girls and boys took part as delegates and representatives of their schools and youth movements. The success of the initiative gave rise to similar events in Manchester, Birmingham, and additional locations in London, with hundreds of youngsters taking part.[[50]](#footnote-50) The Education Department also initiated fundraising among children in support of and empathy with the young of the Yishuv and for planting a ‘children’s forest’. Some 20,000 trees were donated in the course of the war to a forest that had been planted in 1943 in the vicinity of Ma’ale Hahamisha, not far from the Forest of the Jewish Soldier.[[51]](#footnote-51) Various activities such as these transformed the Commission into a central disseminator of Zionist education in Jewish schools and the community; those who carried them out were keenly aware of the importance of the Jewish festivals and rituals as a unifying social factor that bolstered Jewish identity.

Activities involving older adolescents figured importantly during the war. The connection with these young people was established through the youth organisations and movements. The boys and girls served the Commission by participating in the regular annual tree planting appeal, which took place during the days of repentance between Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. Jewish neighbourhoods took on a festival appearance at that time and the young people contributed by organising dance and other festive events. The teens’ promotional material was locally produced leaflets, pamphlets, wall newspapers, and so on, such as a pamphlet titled *Unknown Pioneers,* in which remarks by Moshe Smilansky in Hebrew were quoted. Pamphlets such as these were also in demand among commissions in other countries, chiefly Anglophone ones. In a special campaign conducted in March 1945, the young people were asked to set a personal example and enlist family members in self-taxation. They were also recruited to raise funds for continued plantings in the thousand-tree Freedom Forest. They sold JNF stamps and participated in special conferences that Department held, attending lectures by veteran activists in the Commission in the fields of welfare and the armed forces. The youth organisations’ flagship activity was participation in summer camps, where members did farm labour and received pocket money. The Commission and the youth organisations worked out an agreement by which an inconsequential share of the youngsters’ salaries would be donated to the JNF. The Commission mobilised and organised the youth organisations and movements to take part in demonstrations in matters pertaining to Eretz Israel. The Habonim movement hired a half-time worker to link its activities with those of the JNF. Indeed, Habonim—the largest youth organisation in the UK—brought in more revenue for the Commission than did any other youth movement. [כן?] The Young People’s Department was so successful that models of its initiatives were adopted by various national commissions that were in continuous contact with their counterpart in the UK.[[52]](#footnote-52)

**Table 1: Commission Income from Youth Movements and Organisations, 1945**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Habonim** | **£2,288** | **Hehaluts** | **£194** |
| **Zionist Youth Federation** | **£1,645** | Religious Pioneers Alliance | £142 |
| **Hashomer Hatzair** | **£736** | Bar Kochba | £117 |
| **Bnei Akiva** | **£767** | Po’ale Tsiyyon Youth | £29 |
| **Torah Va’Avoda** | **£284** |  |  |

In September 1945, Abraham Granovsky (Granot), Ussishkin’s right-hand man, was elected chair of the JNF board. Two months later, he received Nettler and Schen at his office in Jerusalem to jointly work out the conditions for the formation of a housing and mortgage company that would contract with the JNF to build the fifth garden city. In their meeting, it was agreed that Schen would head the company once it was established, Nettler would serve on the board of directors, and Patishi would be appointed building inspector. After the Mandatory Government approved the construction of 110 houses and gave assurances for the construction of ninety additional ones,[[53]](#footnote-53) the cornerstone-laying ceremony for the Beth Shearim Hatzefonit garden city took place on 23 December 1945. Schen was honoured with laying the first spade of concrete at the spot set aside for the construction of his own home,[[54]](#footnote-54) and he gave an emotional speech about British Jewry’s yearnings for Eretz Israel and made a promise: ‘The day will come when they will make aliya with their families to the corner that may be one of the loveliest in the country’. Beth Shearim Hatzefonit was described as ‘a project of the Jewish National Fund in Britain’,[[55]](#footnote-55) and at the ceremony, the founding scroll, signed by Schen on behalf of the Commission and the heads of the JNF administration, was read out. The fifth garden city evolved into the beautiful Kiryat Tivon. In practice, most houses on JNF land that were owned by British Jews were leased out or sold to recent immigrants through the mediation of Kereth, Ltd., which Aron Wright, president of the Commission, joined as a partner. Nettler and Wright, like Schen, built homes in Kiryat Tivon that they and their families would use largely for vacation purposes.[[56]](#footnote-56)

In the year following the end of the war, the United States and the UK intensively debated how to resolve the Palestine question and the problem of displaced persons in Europe. Various investigative commissions and missions visited the country and the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry presented recommendations (the Morrison–Grady Plan) that were either received or spurned. The Jewish and Arab populations were agitated by the various ideas that were broached, like possible revisions of policy on selling land, allowing immigration, and, in the main, partitioning the country into autonomous regions. The Jewish Agency and the JNF realised that to influence the international players’ decision about the future partition map, a toehold had to be established in areas that would affect the borders of the future Jewish autonomous area or state. To this effect, they expanded their grip in the Negev by buying land and settling it in eleven new localities in October 1946.

The idea of settling the Negev rose to the forefront of the consciousness of the community. The urgency of delivering funds to the Yishuv in view of the various partition proposals much expressed in the community’s press, propelling the Commission’s revenues to a record £300,529 in 1946 (around 10 percent of all JNF income that year). Of the total income, the Orthodox Department raised £7,745, half of which was diverted to planting the Meir Forest. At the twenty-second annual conference, held in November 1946, Elias Epstein divulged to those present that 80 percent of all JNF revenue was generated by Anglo-Saxon countries, foremost the U.S. the UK, and South Africa.[[57]](#footnote-57) The conference concluded with the setting of the coming year’s financial target for the coming year at £350,000.

That year, Schen wound up his service as the representative of the JNF to the British Empire and turned most of his energy to Kereth Housing and Mortgage, Ltd., which the Jewish Agency had commissioned to build low-cost immigrant housing in the Tivon garden city. Schen and his family left the UK and immigrated to Eretz Israel, as did Bernard Cherrik, secretary of the Commission since 1942, who was placed in charge of the Organisation and Advertising Department of the Hebrew University and subsequently became the vice president of that institution. No replacement for Schen was appointed; instead, he and the JNF administration in Jerusalem agreed that he would establish a company in Britain that would represent the investors in the Joint Land Purchase and Farm City schemes. In May 1947, Schen registered the Palestine Securities and Agencies, Ltd., in the UK and recorded its official address as that of the Commission. Six of the seven members of the new company’s board were also board members of the Commission.[[58]](#footnote-58)

The dominant event in the budget year 1947 was the decision of the three smaller partners in the United Appeal—WIZO, the Mizrachi movement, and Youth Aliyah—to secede from the agreement because their demands for a larger portion of the revenue had not been requited. Three years of United Appeal activity in the UK had the following outcome: £1,739,311 was collected, of which more than £1,500,000 was forwarded to Eretz Israel as follows: JNF Commission £690,703; Keren Hayesod Committee £519,467; Youth Aliyah £175,733; WIZO £117,050; and Mizrachi UK £40,880.[[59]](#footnote-59) After the three partners seceded, the Keren Hayesod Committee and the JNF Commission carried on together as the United Palestine Appeal. The official kickoff of the United Appeal was a “blue-and-white gala” that took place at the Royal Albert Hall and attracted the entire who’s who of the community. The event became an annual tradition, observed for many years, in which all proceeds accrued to JNF CT.

Even as it participated in activities surrounding the United Palestine Appeal, the Commission and the committees in the peripheral towns kept up their efforts to raise donations for sundry projects. The West Ham committee celebrated raising £11,300 for the acquisition of a 100-hectare parcel near Kibbutz Be’erot Yitzhak in the Negev. Following suit, the Dublin committee announced the launching of a campaign to obtain land in its name. The youth movements and organisations set out to raise funds for the support of settlements in the Negev, and a new appeal was instigated for the planting of a Yizkor Forest near Jerusalem in memory of the six million Jews who had perished in the Holocaust. To its surprise, the Commission also benefited from private gestures, such as that of Lina Halper, who, moved by her first visit to Eretz Israel, raised funds among the passengers aboard the *Kedma,* on which she had arrived; their names, including those of the captain and the crew of the vessel, were recorded in the Golden Book.

In April 1947, the Commission decided to establish a separate public company named KKL Executor and Trustee Company, Ltd. (hereinafter: KKL ET) to serve as a trustee and executor of wills and legacies. The Commission held a 50 percent stake in the equity of the new firm, which Schen, Wright, and Nettler sat on the board. By the end of the year, the first united appeal brought in £550,000 in total income, perceptibly lower than the target that the two funds had set.[[60]](#footnote-60) As a result, the Commission ended the year with a mild decrease in income, to £275,000.

The 1947/48 budget year began with a modest gesture by WIZO, by means of the Commission, to plant a grove of 1,000 trees in the King George V Forest as a gift from the organisation upon the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Philip Mountbatten on 20 November 1947. The young royal couple would yet be honoured with several additional honorary gestures from the community by the Commission.

Nine days after the royal nuptials, the Jews of the Yishuv and those around the world celebrated the UN resolution of 29 November 1947 in favour of terminating the British Mandate for Palestine and establishing two states—one Jewish, one Arab. The day of the decision found the Commission members in the middle of their twenty-third annual conference, with 270 delegates—activists, heads of committees in the peripheral towns, and representatives of various organisations—participating. Two days before the General Assembly’s fateful pronouncement, rumours already began to arrive that the requisite two-thirds majority [תיקון שלי—נפתלי] in favour of partition would be found. In a spontaneous eruption of joy, it was decided on the spot to record in the Golden Book all the countries that voted in favour of the resolution. The deliberations continued in the shadow of the excitement and the tension, which, as stated, crested when the outcome of the voting became known.

The day after the resolution saw the onset of attacks by Arab inhabitants of Eretz Israel, effectively launching Israel’s War of Independence. In one stroke, delight was overtaken by anxiety about the Yishuv’s survival. To confront the threat, approximately 1,000 male and female members of the community who had military experience or vital skills decided to leave their families, jobs, and schools and respond to the urgings of the leaders of the Yishuv to go there and volunteer for the defense forces in the Mitnadvei Chutz la Aretz (Machal – volunteers from abroad( program. The United Appeal transformed ad hoc into an emergency appeal and managed within a few months to raise unprecedented sums. As the British prepared to leave the country, all of the Commission’s activities throughout the British Isles took place in the shadow of the conflict and with concern for the future.

On the last day of the British Mandate for Palestine, 14 May 1948, David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the establishment of the Jewish state—the State of Israel—and the second stage of the War of Independence began the next day as Arab armies joined the fighting in support of the local Arab forces. In response to reports about the deadly events in Israel, the Commission called an emergency meeting with the heads of the United Appeal. Held on May 23, the meeting was attended by some 900 volunteers and activists from all over Britain, who resolved to set the annual fundraising target of the United Appeal at £5 million. The participants also urged His Majesty’s Government to stop funding the Arab forces and sent a message of solidarity and encouragement in the name of British Jewry to the chair of the Provisional Council of State, Ben-Gurion; the president-elect, Dr Chaim Weizmann; and the defense forces.[[61]](#footnote-61) Two weeks after the conference, the Commission received the dismaying news of the death of the Habonim alumna Sylvia Beyrack, who had served as secretary of the Education and Youth Department and had gone to Israel as a Machal volunteer. She had joined the Hagana, served in a wiretapping unit that operated in Jerusalem—and was killed by a Jordanian shell on her way to her base.

At the practical level, ongoing efforts to increase donations for the Yishuv gained intensity and, accordingly, boosted revenues to £718,780 (!) by the end of that year. This total included the incomes of the Commission, JNF CT (with its approx. 7,500 subscribers), and KKL ET. The United Appeal recorded an unprecedented peak of slightly more than £2 million in donations and 31,438 new subscribers—a remarkable achievement indicating that, on average, one of every three households in the community had answered the Appeal.[[62]](#footnote-62) Apart from fundraising for tree planting, which contracted considerably relative to the previous year because no specific afforestation project had been determined for the year, all paths of revenue generation showed impressive upturns in the Commission’s budget: social events, Blue Boxes (reinstated under an updated slogan to a one-shilling donation per week: “A shilling a week is the least we seek”), recording in the Golden Book, the Book of State, [במה מדובר?] the Children’s Book (523 records), and legacies.

The dramatic increase in revenues also found expression in tax refunds on account of donations recorded with JNF CT and earmarked for aid in resettling refugees in Israel. New committees came into being, and several, such as that of East London, refreshed their ranks with the thrill of the proclamation of statehood. Long-standing Jewish charitable and relief associations and new entities such as the Paramount Aid Society, headed by Rossar Chin, a future president of the Commission, abetted fundraising for JNF CT by organising social events. All departments of the Commission mobilised to boost donations. This included the Orthodox Department, which continued to raise money for land purchases among religious circles and raised £5,500 in all. Most of these proceeds were pledged to planting the Biriyya Forest; a forest in memory of Rabbi Dr Hirsh Hurwitz, one of the community’s most important leaders and another in honour of the women of the Mizrachi movement. These were the Orthodox Department’s swan songs; once they ended, the Department ceased to be active.

At the twenty-fourth annual conference that concluded 1948, the Commission shared with those in attendance the challenges that the JNF faced—foremost, helping to integrate the million or so indigent immigrants who were expected to reach Israel in its first decade. The JNF would need to invest much capital in them: preparing land, developing settlements, installing road and water infrastructures, and, of course, continuing to plant forests. Realising that the support of the Diaspora commissions in the enormous economic challenges was more important now than ever, the Commission set the revenue target for the coming fiscal year at £1 million and chose two major targets: first, to raise £200,000 for the installation of infrastructure along 86 kilometers of water pipes in the Negev; and second, to stimulate donations by providing a new incentive—planting “individual forests” in commemoration of individuals or associations, at the cost of a £3,500 donation for 10,000 trees, the JNF providing matching funds for 10,000 additional trees.[[63]](#footnote-63)

**Table 2: Afforestation donations, 1947–1948**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Yizkor Forest | £15,716 | General tree planting | £1,284 |
| Freedom Forest | £7,366 | King George V Forest | £1,000 |
| Dublin Forest | £4,049 | Bnei Akiva Forest | £922 |
| Biriyya Forest | £3,143 | Glasgow Forest | £801 |
| WIZO | £2,264 | Rabbi Hurwitz Forest | £806 |
| Mizrachi Women Forest | £2,087 | Aronowitz Forest | £412 |
| King Christian of Denmark Forest | £2,387 | Mothers Forest | £300 |
| General Wingate Forest | £1,488 | Hertz Forest | £22 |

From an organisational standpoint, the Commission reached almost every Jewish community in the UK. In London alone, fourteen different committees were represented on the Commission by means of the ‘London Council’. [במי מדובר?] Outside London, the Commission had offices in five major cities and many smaller communities—even if they had only a few Jewish families—a representative was found who acted on a volunteer basis to promote the JNF’s goals and raise funds for them.

**Table 3: Deployment of Commission committees, offices, and missions in the UK, 1948**

[טורים משמאל לימין]

Communities represented by mission

Provincial committees

London committees



**Table 4. Land purchased with JNF CT funds, 1939–1948**

**[הוספתי את כיתובי הטורים. כותרת הטור האמצעי: הניחוש שלי—נפתלי]**

| **Location** | **Dunams (1 dunam = 0.1 hectare)** | **Price paid** |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Not noted | 452 | £3,503 |
| Wadi Kabani | 1,000 | £10,000 |
| Geulim (northeast of Kadima) | 2,600 | £32,500 |
| Safed | Not noted | £38,660 |
| Matsuva | Not noted | £22,340 |
| Hukok | 4,000 | £30,000 |
| Asluj (Revivim) | 14,408 | £58,561 |
| Beersheva | 4,765 | £28,500 |
| Safed | 2,295 | £4,000 |
| Meron | 5,000 | £25,000 |
| Gezer | 2,137 | £27,812 |
| Kubab | 733 | Not noted |
| Madhil, Zahara, ‘Ein Fit, and Khirbet Suman | 3,661 | £65,898 |
| ברגהיאט [??] | 2,473 | £49,460 |
| Kedesh | 3,900 | £39,000 |
| Khiam al-Walid | 3,796 | £37,960 |
| Eilon | 2,000 | £22,340 |
| Unspecified | Not noted | £143,500 |
| Tirat Zvi | Not noted | £34,010 |
| Sede Eliyahu | Not noted | £38,700 |
| Neve Eitan | Not noted | £29,580 |
| Maoz | Not noted | £52,800 |
| Avuka | Not noted | £22,500 |
| Nir David | Not noted | £23,560 |
| Kefar Ruppin | Not noted | £2,850 |
| Not noted | Not noted | £9,000 |
| Not noted | Not noted | £168,612 |
| Total |  | £1,020,646 |

With the end of the Mandate and the establishment of the State of Israel, the JNF was about to begin a new era in its history, with roughly 100,000 hectares of land in its possession. In this new reality, the administration began to examine, discuss, and draw up legal memoranda concerning the need to transform the JNF, organisationally and legally, from a British company into an Israeli one.[[64]](#footnote-64) The Chair of the Commission, Adv. Wright, was summoned to Israel for consultations on the topic, and when he returned to London in October 1948, he shared with the Commission the decision that the JNF would remain an autonomous entity and would not become part of the government apparatus.[[65]](#footnote-65) This process of change in legal status was an intricate and complex one that lasted several years, with the directors of the Commission playing a central role.

The War of Independence effectively ended in January 1949. After it was over, the government of Israel approached the JNF and sold to it another 100,000 hectares of state land as well as land abandoned by Arabs, at the price of £5 million (in installments). Israel’s first years saw a new chapter in defining the JNF’s mission. The objectives moved away from land acquisition to the preparation of land for use and the development of water and road infrastructure for new settlements, neighbourhoods, and new localities in the Negev, the north, the centre, and frontier areas. These were established with the goal of strengthening the country’s borders and in preparation for the arrival of the hundreds of thousands of immigrants who were planning on settling in the nascent state. Even though 1947/48 was a record year in JNF revenues (some £2 million), this alone did not suffice to meet the many challenges that JNF now faced.

In June 1949, Sigmund (Aviezer) Gestetner, son of the inventor of the stencil duplicator, was named JNF Treasurer. Amid the organisation’s unceasing attempts to develop its donation programs, some projects were less successful. An example was the idea of opening a club called the Blue-and-White Theatre at the Adelphi Theatre in the West End, where performances, parties, and community events took place on Sundays. The Commission hoped that 20,000 members of the community would join the club, but this was quickly proved to not be the case and the project became a money-loser. It was shut down at the end of its inaugural year.[[66]](#footnote-66)

Another source of trouble for the Commission was the disgruntlement among participants in Garden Cities programs 1–4, which failed to progress when the implementation of the garden cities schemes began. Lacking any choice, Wright informed the remaining 600 or so participants in the program that they would be unable to exercise their eligibility for parcels of land for reasons beyond JNF’s control, including the War of Independence, Israel’s expulsion from the sterling bloc, and multiple legal problems in registering title to the land. From this stage on, several years of negotiations with the Farm City national association ensued to work out an accord that would satisfy both sides as to the amount of compensation for the participants and the financial mechanism by which it would be delivered.[[67]](#footnote-67)

Apart from these two difficulties, the Commission’s work appeared to be thriving; one of the reasons for this was a new campaign for the planting of a Chaim Weizmann forest. After the president greenlighted the gesture, the fundraising drive was opened, lasting about a year and a half and attracting so many donors from the community that the previous year’s record momentum in proceeds continued in 1949, at £720,000.

The Commission’s two main sources of income were the appeal [the United Appeal?] and the new consulting company for legacies and wills, KKL ET, which brought in £100,000. In December 1949, KKL ET forwarded £120,000 to the JNF, the largest transfer to the Fund to that date from any Diaspora community. It originated in the estate of Isidor Michelson of Wales, who had passed away in 1931 and willed his property to his wife. After her death, the estate was handed over to the JNF through the Commission. Funds for several loans in the service of JNF activities were withdrawn from the estate during her lifetime. Another unique donation, of £20,000, was raised by the Young People’s Committee for the establishment of the Yemin Orde Youth Village, named for Orde Charles Wingate, the passionate British Zionist military officer (known as ‘the Yedid’, the friend), who in 1938 initiated the formation of the Special Night Squads to defend the Yishuv against terror attacks during the great Arab Rebellion.

The target for the United Appeal, now joined by the Po’ale Tsiyyon Party in the UK, was set at £2 million for the 1949/50 budget year. This sum far exceeded previous years’ donation proceeds after the Government of Britain succumbed in February 1952 to pressure from the leaders of the Appeal and announced that it would raise the ceiling of charitable donation funds that could be transferred to Israel from £1.5 million to £2.25 million per year.[[68]](#footnote-68) Despite energetic campaigning, the United Appeal fell short of the target that year and total Commission incomes came to £750,000—a mild increase relative to the previous year.

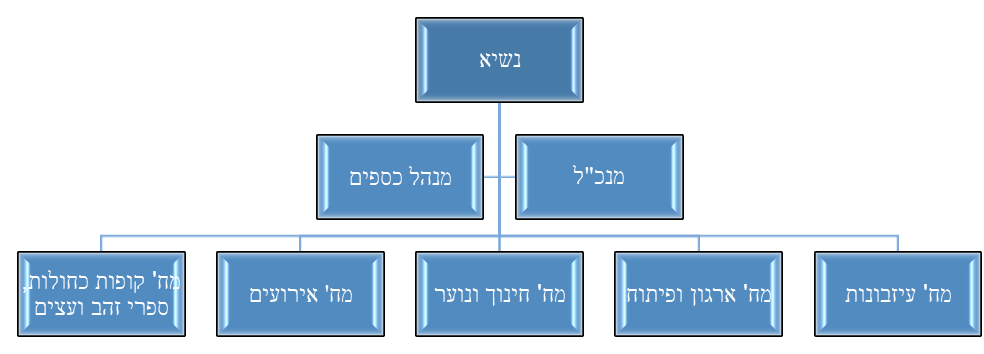
The fiftieth-anniversary celebrations of the JNF and the UK Commission began with the twenty-sixth annual conference, held in December 1950 and attended by many notables from the community and Israel—foremost Abraham Granot, chair of the JNF. In the course of the conference, the president, Wright, announced his resignation after twenty years of service and his intent to immigrate to Israel. Gestetner, the incumbent treasurer, was named president and was succeeded as treasurer by Michael Sacher, son of the attorney Harry Sacher, a close friend of Weizmann’s. Max Weiner, the new JNF emissary to the UK, also joined the Commission’s board. To mark the JNF golden jubilee, it was announced that the central campaign would focus on raising £300,000 for the preparation and development of 200 hectares of land in the Jerusalem Corridor, to be called Chevel Simon Marks (the Simon Marks Region) in appreciation of Marks’s endeavours. This project squared with the JNF strategy of developing and afforesting the hilly corridor for the resettlement of immigrants from the Balkans, Turkey, Yemen, and northern Africa.[[69]](#footnote-69)

In the four-year 1947–1951 period, JNF UK forwarded some £2 million to Keren Kayemeth Leisrael, 5 percent of the estimated £44 million in worldwide JNF income during that time.[[70]](#footnote-70) Throughout the first half of the 1950s, the level of revenue remained stable at around £700,000 per year. Around 15–20 percent of the sum remained in the UK for operating expenses, events, promotional materials, and subsidising the youth movement; the rest was forwarded to the JNF administration in Jerusalem.

**Figure 1: Organisational structure of the JNF-UK Commission in the early 1950s**

President  
CEO Treasurer

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Wills and Legacies Dept. | Org. and Dev. Dept. | Education and Youth Dept. | Events Dept. | Blue Box, Golden Book, and Trees Dept. |



In April 1951, the president of the JNF, Gestetner, visited Israel along with a delegation of dignitaries. Their purpose was to take part in the dedication of the President’s Forest, planted at Eshtaol in the Jerusalem Hills, in the presence of the heads of the JNF and the wife of the president of Israel, Vera Weizmann. Gestetner’s visit had another important goal: to discuss with the heads of the JNF the complicated matter of transferring the legal title and assets of Keren Kayemeth Leisrael, Ltd., the British company, to Keren Kayemeth Leisrael, the Israeli one. For this purpose, Aron Wright, the former chair of the Commission now serving as honorary president of the Commission, was recruited as a legal advisor because he and Gestetner were recorded as the directors of JNF CT, which owned the land that was registered in trust with Himanuta, the JNF subsidiary—real estate that was also associated with the arrangement of transferring title.[[71]](#footnote-71)

With the passing of King George VI on 6 February 1952, his daughter Elizabeth succeeded him on the throne. To mark her coronation in June 1953, the Commission sought her permission to plant a forest in her honour at Kefar Hahoresh. After she gave the go-ahead, a special committee was organised under Herbert Samuel, Lord Nathan [Lord Nathan Rothschild?], and Gestetner to carry out a special campaign for the planting of the forest next to a forest that the Commission had planted in 1935 in honour of her grandfather, King George V. This project was not undertaken by the Commission and was not registered as income in its books; instead, it was run directly by Keren Kayemeth Leisrael. [כן?] Even so, the Commission placed its fundraising mechanisms at the service of the organisers. The gala kickoff event, held at the Guildhall in London in the presence of Prince Philip and the mayor of London, attracted large donations from all Jewish communities in the Dominions.

Aside from the large-scale fundraising projects, a major effort in development (through KKL ET) led to large donations. Concurrently, efforts continued to streamline the mechanism used to distribute and empty the Blue Boxes, which remained the grassroots medium most identified with the National Fund. In the middle of 1952, 45,000 Blue Boxes were scattered around Britain; this number reflected the surging popularity of the JNF in the community. The large number and wide dispersal of Blue Boxes required an efficient and inexpensive collection mechanism, particularly due to the great potential of the boxes—they had entered the homes of the community and served as daily reminders of the importance of donating and maintaining the connection with the State of Israel. The Commission did not belittle the power of the metal boxes and the little coins that were inserted into them. Assuming £2 per year per box, this vehicle, despite its great administrative complexity, could also generate serious income for the Commission if correctly managed.

The greatest challenge that the Commission faced, however, had nothing to do with ways of emptying Blue Boxes or ideas for new campaigns. More than anything else, it had to justify the importance of remaining autonomous and separate from the Keren Hayesod Committee. It was increasingly argued in the press and even among the Commission’s functionaries that the two entities should merge since the Commission derived most of its income from the activity of the United Appeal and that the National Fund had effectively finished its mission—purchasing land in Eretz Israel and transforming it into national land—when the sovereign State of Israel was established.[[72]](#footnote-72) The only way to mediate with the community (and even with themselves) was to emphasise the unique and exclusive role of the National Fund in coping with the challenges of the fledgling State of Israel.

In late 1953, Max Weiner concluded his mission and was succeeded by Louis Harris. It was the emissary’s principal role to coordinate joint activity and shuttle up-to-date and current information between the Commission and the administration in Jerusalem. This enabled both of these bodies to pursue the same interests and national priorities and send uniform and consistent messages that would tap the community’s sentiments. A case in point was the massive JNF project to drain the marshes of the Huleh Plain, adding 6,000 hectares of fertile farmland to the fledgling state. To mobilise the community for this operation, the messages to the community emphasised the advantages of the project and the way it would improve the quality of life of the men and women pioneers from the UK who had been trained by the youth movements in Britain and had settled in kibbutzim near the Huleh marshes, including Kefar Blum, Kefar Hanassi (Habonim), Lavie (Bachad—Brit Chalutzim Dati’im, Religious Pioneers Alliance), Yasur (the first kibbutz established in Israel by the English branch of Hashomer Hatzair), and others. The JNF had continued to assist these collectives with visits by the president, Gestetner, and by allocating economic resources for agricultural development of areas adjacent to them. The Jewish Sportsmen in Manchester[[73]](#footnote-73) also mobilised for the project and, together with the Glasgow committee, raised £25,000 in donations for the excavation of drainage ditches.[[74]](#footnote-74)

Even as fundraising for the Huleh project continued, so did donations for the development of the Simon Marks region in the Jerusalem Corridor. The Finchley committee donated for two homesteads and many additional committees and associations followed its lead by developing homesteads, planting forests, or undertaking special projects of their own in the region. The Southend and Westcliff committee donated for the establishment of a tree nursery at Moshav Eshtaol, which grew millions of saplings for JNF afforestation projects and provided employment for recently arrived immigrants. The committee’s donation was made in honour of Leon Feitelson, head of the Commission, and his wife.

Afforestation and smaller tree planting operations in the memory of various personalities and organisations became a highly popular way to raise funds. Donations for the Negev were solicited by the Paramount Aid Society under Rossar Chin, which [who?] [ז.א. מי היתה פעילה בזה: האגודה או רוסר?] was highly active in producing social events that became fundraising traditions, such as the annual Balfour Ball ["נשף בלפור"] held every November to mark the Balfour Declaration and centering on a public auction. The proceeds of these events were recorded to JNF and were used to lay water pipes to new settlements in the Negev. When Gestetner visited Ben-Gurion in Sede Boker, the latter asked him to convey to the Jews of the UK his appreciation and gratitude for their donations.[[75]](#footnote-75)

On 11 August 1954, the most complex legal challenge that the heads of the Commission and the JNF administration had been dealing with for several years reached a successful conclusion—signing an agreement that would transfer lands within the State of Israel from the British association, Keren Kayemeth Leisrael Limited, to the new Israeli company, Keren Kayemeth Leisrael.[[76]](#footnote-76) The accord related to lands recorded in the JNF books as having been acquired using JNF CT funds; they were included in the transfer accord in separate sections. Two weeks later, Keren Kayemeth Leisrael signed a new trust agreement with JNF CT, in which, too, the opacity surrounding the ownership of land acquired with JNF CT money remained in effect.[[77]](#footnote-77)

Photos from various activities of the Commission in the 1950s (from the ANF photo archive)

1. *JC,* 27 September 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. National Library, PV6048, Commission final activity report for 1940/41 (undated, apparently November 1941). [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. *JC,* 12 December 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Katz, *BaHazit HaKarka,* p. 196, and CZA, KKL10, minutes of JNF board meeting, 27 September 1943. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. CZA, KKL5/1786, Mohilever to Granovsky, 1 August 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Ibid., essence of the Joint Land Purchase, 26 January 1941; see also *BaHazit HaKarka,* [נתתי תעתיקים של כותרות המקורות בעברית עד שתתקבל החלטה אחרת—המתרגם] pp. 196–197. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Himanuta was a JNF subsidiary founded in the summer of 1938 as a legal instrument that would allow the JNF to purchase land and hold it in trust until it would put it up for sale or parcel it and record it in its owners’ name. This enabled the JNF to circumvent its fundamental injunction against selling land in its possession. For further on Himanuta, see Alexander, *Yisuda shel Hevrat Himanuta,* pp. 80, 92, and Katz, *BaHazit HaKarka,* p. 58. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi [כן?] Archive, G59, summary of board meeting, 6 May 1940, and CZA, KKL5/11791, Schen to Granovsky, 7 May 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. CZA, KKL5/11791, Schen to Granovsky, 10 May 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. CZA, KKL5/11789-24-26, Schen to Granovsky, 27 January 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. CZA, KKL5/11786-11, Jewish Agency to JNF Head Office, 17 June 1941, and Granovsky to Jewish Agency, 9 June 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. On the legal complexity of the purchase of Wadi Kabani, see Duchan-Landau, *Wadi al-Kabani,* and Yosef Weitz, *Hitnahalutenu BeT’kufat HaSa’ar.* [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. CZA, KKL5/11786-2-3, Mohilever to Granovsky, 1 August 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. National Library, PV6048, JNF UK annual report for 1940/19, p. 10. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. *JC,* 29 November 1940, and Katz, *BaHazit HaKarka,* p. 204. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Biarritz is prestigious resort city on the French Atlantic coast. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. *JC,* 6 December 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. CZA, KKL5/11792, Granovsky to Weitz, 30 December 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G67/1, Deed of Trust, signed in 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G61, from minutes of Board of Directors meetings, 3 July 1940, 3 October 1941, 8 January 1945. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G1/5, summary of meeting, 16 April 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. *JC,* 18 July 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. National Library, PV6048, Report 1940–1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. CZA, KKL5/12691, Mohilever to Schen, 18 October 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. CZA, KKL5/13883, Schen to Head Office, 27 March 1945. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Weitz, *Hitnahalutenu,* pp. 109–111. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. CZA, KKL5/11023-33, 17 December 1940. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. National Library, PV6048, JNF-UK annual report for 1940/41, pp. 3–6. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. CZA, KKL5/12688, Weitz to Mohilever in reference to a cable from Schen, 18 January 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Simon Marks (1888–1964), a close friend of Weizmann’s, served as chair of Keren Hayesod-UK, vice president of the Zionist Federation, a member of the Zionist Executive, and president of the United Appeal. He was a co-owner of the Marks and Spencer clothing chain, one of Britain’s largest. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G59, summary of board meeting on 6 November 1941, and Tuten, *Between Capital and Land,* pp. 143–144. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. CZA, KKL5/12688, summary of discussion on the Farm City and Joint Land Purchase schemes, 1 February 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G1/7, 9 June 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. *JC,* 2 March 1945. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. *JC,* 4 December 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. *JC,* 27 November 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. For more on the JNF Orthodox Department, see Sklar, *Hagut or to’amlanut?* [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. One of the villas was evidently owned by the barrister Solomon (Shalom) Horowitz, who had immigrated to Eretz Israel from Britain in 1921 and had become one of that country’s leading attorneys, initially in partnership with Adv. Sacher and afterwards with S. Horowitz and Assoc., which is considered to this day one of Israel’s leading commercial-law offices. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. CZA, KKL5/12688, Schen to Granovsky, 1 May and 19 August 1942. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G59, summary of board meeting, 13 February 1944. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. CZA, KKL5/12689, Schen to Granovsky, 29 January 1943. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G1/7, 11 June 1943. [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G59, summaries of meetings on 6 January 1940, and 3 December 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G59, summary of meeting on 2 June 1943. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. [Iris] Graicer, *MeHaShekhuna el HaShikun,* p. 303. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G59, report from Schen to directors about his trip to Palestine, 31 January–14 April 1944. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. *JC,* 4 February 1944, and Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G59, meeting of 19 January 1944. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. *JC,* 1 December 1944, and Hakibbutz Ha’artsi Archive, G59, meeting of 22 November 1944. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. National Library, PV6048, summary of 1944–1945 activity report. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. National Library, PV6048, summary of 1944–1945 activity report. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. *Ha’aretz,* 5 April 1943. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. National Library, PV6048, summary of 1944–1945 activity report. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. KA, G1/11, summary of meeting on 14 February 1946. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. *Hatzofe,* 10 January 1946. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Patishi, *Kirya BeTsel Alonim,* pp. 210, 214. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. For elabouration on Kereth, see Lilach Barak, thesis. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. *JC,* 6 December 1946. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. KA, G1/11, summary of board meeting, 20 May 1947. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. *JC,* 7 February 1947. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. *JC,* 31 January and 14 November 1947. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. State Archives [הלא הספריה הלאומית?], PV6048, Commission annual report for year 5708 (1947/48); *JC,* 28 May 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
62. *JC,* 8 October 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
63. State Archives [??], PV6048, Commission annual report for year 5708 (1947/48); 28 May 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
64. On the reasons for the establishment of Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael and the legal complex city of transferring title of properties from Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael, Ltd., to Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael, see Katz, *MeAnglia leYisrael.* [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
65. *JC,* 15 October 1948. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)
66. KA, G1/11, summary of Administrative Committee meeting, 14 March 1950. [↑](#footnote-ref-66)
67. Barak, *Leopold Schen,* p. 67. [↑](#footnote-ref-67)
68. *JC,* 10 March 1950. [↑](#footnote-ref-68)
69. CZA, KKL6/94, summary of annual conference, 10 December, 1950. [↑](#footnote-ref-69)
70. CZA, KKL6/94, final annual report for budget year 1950/51. [↑](#footnote-ref-70)
71. See above, p. \_\_\_\_ [בעברית: 194] [↑](#footnote-ref-71)
72. *JC,* 7 November 1952. [↑](#footnote-ref-72)
73. A social club of local businesspeople. [↑](#footnote-ref-73)
74. CZA KKL6/95, final annual report for budget year 1953/54. [↑](#footnote-ref-74)
75. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-75)
76. CZA, KKL9/229, deed of transfer, 11 August 1954. [↑](#footnote-ref-76)
77. KA, G67/5, Trust Deed 1954. Apart from minor changes, the document essentially ratifies the trust deed concluded between JNF and JNF CT in 1941. [↑](#footnote-ref-77)