David Irving's Research for Churchill's War

Weizmann Archives, Rehovot, Israel
Weizmann's Correspondence with Churchill
16th June, 1937.

Mr. dear Mr. Churchill,

I have not yet had time to write to you since I had the pleasure of seeing you at Sir Archibald’s house last Tuesday evening, but I am anxious to let you know that I have followed your advice, and have made it clear, both to members of the Commission and to Mr. Cranstony-Care (since I saw yesterday), that they should not assume that I am in any way committed to the acceptance of any project of partition which the Government may propose. I think that both the Commission and Mr. Cranstony-Care are under no illusion quite clearly.

The Secretary of State told me something, when I saw him, of your own conversation with him, and from what he told me I gathered that you have pressed very strongly the idea that the Southern part of Palestine should not be incorporated into the Arab State — if and when such a state comes to be set up. This is a point which worries us a great deal, for obvious reasons, and I would like to express to you my heartfelt thanks, both for the advice you gave us last Tuesday, and for all you have done with Mr. Cranstony-Care to endeavour to make that project (if such a project ever off) as acceptable as possible in the circumstances.

I had a long conversation with Mr. Cranstony-Care, the main points of which I intend to embody in a letter to him, of which I should like, if I may, to send you a copy in due course.

With kind regards, and renewed and most grateful thanks for all your help, I am

Very sincerely yours,
24th January, 1938.

My dear Weizmann,

I sent your letter and enclosure to Winston as you requested and have since had a reply from him in which he says that he has not altered his views and still thinks that the best thing is to persevere on the old lines with a strong British Gendarmerie, and keeping immigration within moderate bounds. All the same I think his regard for you is such that if the Government are really determined to carry out their policy and you supported it, his criticism would be kept within moderate bounds.

Yours ever,

L. AMERY
DESCODE OF CABLE FROM DR. WEIZMANN IN JERUSALEM, 26.4.39.

ZIONIBURY LONDON

FOR WINSTON CHURCHILL URGENT

FOR YOUR CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION HAVE SENT FOLLOWING CABLE TO

PRIME MINISTER QUOTE ON MY RETURN PALESTINE FOUND JEWISH COMMUNITY

UNITED RESOLVE DETERMINATION OPPOSE WITH ALL ITS STRENGTH CONTAMINATED

NEW POLICY STOP PROPOSED LIQUIDATION OF MANDATE AND ESTABLISHMENT

INDEPENDENT PALESTINE STATE COUPLED WITH REDUCTION JEWISH POPULATION

TO ONE THIRD TOTAL AND WITH RESTRICTION AREA JEWISH SETTLEMENT TO

SMALL SECTOR COUNTRY ARE VIEWED AS DESTRUCTION JEWISH HOPE AND SURRENDE

JEWISH COMMUNITY PALESTINE TO RULE ARAB JUNTA RESPONSIBLE FOR TERRORIST

CAMPAIGN STOP ADOPTION THESE PROPOSALS REGARDED AS TANTAMOUNT TO ESTAB-

LISHMENT JEWISH GHETTO IN SMALL CORNER OF COUNTRY STOP JEWS ARE

DETERMINED MAKE SUPREME SACRIFICE RATHER THAN SUBMIT TO SUCH REGIME

STOP FEEL IT MY SOLEMN DUTY DRAW ATTENTION OF HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT

TO GRAVE CONSEQUENCES INVOLVED BEFORE INREVOCLABLE STEP ADOPTION AND

ANNOUNCEMENT POLICY IS TAKEN STOP THIS POLICY WILL I AM CONVINCED

DEFEAT HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT'S OBJECT PACIFICATION COUNTRY BUT MAY

COPEL GOVERNMENT TO USE FORCES AGAINST JEWS I WOULD REGARD THIS AS

SUPREME TRAGEDY STOP IT WILL ALSO ENGENDER FURTHER BITTERNESS BETWEEN

JEWS AND ARABS AND DRIVE JEWS WHO HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE ANYWHERE TO

COUNSELS OF DESPAIR STOP APPEAL TO YOU IN NAME OF JUSTICE AND OF

PEACE OF HOLY LAND NOT TO DISREGARD ADVICE OFFERED WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE

OF FACTS AND OUT OF DEEP ANXIETY FOR ALL CONCERNED UNQUOTE PARAGRAPH
HAVE REASON BELIEVE GOVERNMENT CONTEMPLATING ISSUE STATEMENT POLICY
IMMEDIATE FUTURE. CONSIDER WOULD BE CALAMITY FOR ALL CONCERNED
IF AT THIS MOMENT BRITISH GOVERNMENT POLICY IN WORLD AFFAIRS
UNDERGOING VITAL READJUSTMENTS GOVERNMENT SHOULD COMMIT ITSELF VERSUS
ARAB WORLD TO TERMINATION NATIONAL HOME POLICY. IF IMPOSSIBLE
PREVAIL ON GOVERNMENT DEPART COMPLETELY FROM PRESENT PROPOSALS AND
EMBARK INSTEAD ON POSITIVE POLICY DEVELOPMENT WOULD AT LEAST TRY Secure
POSTPONEMENT ONE YEAR TO ENABLE RECONSIDERATION PALESTINE PROBLEM
TAKE PLACE DIFFERENT ATMOSPHERE. WOULD BE DEEPLY GRATEFUL YOUR
ADVICE ASSISTANCE SECURING SUCH POSTPONEMENT.

KINDEST REGARDS

WEIZMANN
COPY OF CABLE FROM JERUSALEM

4.5.79.

FOR TRANSMISSION TO MR. S. R. AND MR. CHURCHILL,

HAVING MADE FINAL APPEAL TO GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE DEAR YOUR ATTENTION

FATAL CONSEQUENCES POLICY CONTAMINATED STOP AT MOMENT WHEN ITALY

MASSING HEAVY FORCES LIBYA OBVIOUSLY FOR INVASION EGYPT DOING THIS

WITH GERMAN COOPERATION AS EVIDENCED BY GORING'S BRAUCHISCH'S SUCCESS-

IVE INSPECTIONS ALSO CONCENTRATING TROOPS CODICANSE ISLANDS PURPOSE

ALL THESE PREPARATIONS BEING BY PINCER MOVEMENT BREAK BACKBONE BRITISH

EMPIRE H.M. GOVERNMENT IS ALIENATING SINGLE GROUP IN MIDDLE EAST WHOSE

LOYALTY ABSOLUTE AND WAR POTENTIAL NOT INCONSIDERABLE STOP URGENT

H.M. GOVERNMENT CAN HOPE OBTAIN BY THIS POLICY IS NEUTRALISE POSSIBLE

ARAB HOSTILITY IN EVENT WAR WHICH OBJECT IS IN ANY CASE ASSURED AS

ARAB STATES SHOCKED BY INVASION ALBANIA AND CONSIDER THEIR INTEREST

WEAKNESS IN FACE TOTALITARIAN AGGRESSION ANXIOUSLY BEARING BRITISH

PROTECTION STOP ON OTHER HAND JEWISH COULD PROVIDE IMMEDIATELY 40,000

FULLY QUALIFIED WELL DISCIPLINED MEN FOR STRENGTHENING BRITISH FORCES

MIDDLE EAST INCLUDING DOCTORS NURSES MECHANICS DRIVERS ALSO ENTERING

LARGE MUNITION SHIPS MANPOWER FROM EASTERN CENTRAL EUROPA AND AMERICA

STOP IT MAY SURE BE TOO LATE AS EUROPEAN COUNTRIES LIKELY PROHIBIT

EMIGRATION MEN OF MILITARY AGE STOP JEWISH PALESTINIANS COULD ALSO BE-

COME IMMEDIATELY CENTRE IMPORT VACANCIES INDUSTRY AS SCIENTISTS MUSLIM

LABOUR AVAILABLE STOP WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD TRANSMIT THIS

APPROPRIATE QUANTITIES WITH VILM TO UrgING GOVERNMENT DECISION FROM SUICI-

DAL COURSE NOW CONTEMPLATED

WELFARE.
SECRET

SHORT NOTE OF TALK AT DINNER WITH W.S.C., 19.9.39, 6.30 p.m.

Present: W.S.C.
PR.
C.G.
Professor L. (taking little part in talk)
Ch.W.

There was a reference to Ch.W.'s visit to the United States, and W.S.C. said that he thought it essential that Ch.W. should go. Ch.W. referred to the difficulties of communication with our people abroad, and W.S.C. remarked that everyone was at present suffering in the same way. B.B. interjected with a reference to a letter addressed to him from the Governor of Jamaica which had been censored at both ends, and subjected to very serious delay.

W.S.C. suggested that Ch.W. should prepare a list of our requirements in this connection, and should consult B.B. with regard to it. He said that he would then see that it was put through. B.B. remarked later to Ch.W. that he was a strong supporter of ours, and would do everything possible with W.S.C.

The conversation then turned to the question of Palestine in general, and W.S.C. asked Ch.W. what the present position was. Ch.W. said that for the time being our problem had been put into cold storage. As indicating the spirit of the Jews of Palestine, however, he mentioned that there were 75,000 young men and women who had recently registered there for national service. W.S.C. asked whether they were armed, and on receiving a negative reply said that he would arm them. If that were done, it would be possible to take away British troops from Palestine. Ch.W. said that the Jews were only too anxious to be of help, and that this had been his own contention all along. Moreover, the numbers who could be made available could be indefinitely increased by the addition of volunteers from Romania, and in so far as it might be possible to get them out from Poland.

W.S.C. again repeated that he attached importance to the idea, and went on to say that presumably we would not need first class arms for these people. Ch.W. said that what was important was to create cadres and establish a military organisation. W.S.C. said that a scheme should be worked out, and suggested that B.B. and Ch.W. should prepare something definite. He added that he believed that once the Jews were armed the Arabs would come to terms with them.

24th December, 1940

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, D.C.L., M.P.
22, Randolph House, S.W.I.

Dear Mr. Churchill,

On the eve of my departure for America, I must write to you once more, firstly to thank you for the encouragement and help which it has been to us to know, through Brendan Bracken, that in the midst of your pre-occupations, and under the severe strain of your present office, you can still maintain your interest in our cause. Secondly, I would like to leave with you my good wishes for your continued health and strength and power in the months which lie ahead. On the other of your office lies the most continuous burden of this war. The military chiefs may have periods of respite; the man who keeps for Britain the Freedom of the Seas can never relax until victory is won.

No one can foretell with any certainty the course of the war in the near future. If it spreads to South Eastern Europe, the Middle East can, I fear, hardly fail to become once more a major theatre of operations. If that is so, the potential
value of local resources in Palestine any difficulty became apparent only to those who have hitherto been raising obstacles in the way of our efforts to please them at the expense of Britain.

But preparation takes time, as you know very well. I wished to begin it, both as regards our scientific and industrial contribution, and our military efforts, as soon as I received the Prime Minister's letter and the outline of the White Paper, in which I declared our desire for a truce in the controversy over the White Paper. It has therefore been a deep disappointment to me that the Colonial Secretary seems to have set his will to prevent our offer being accepted, so far as it is in his power to do so, and by virtue of his office that power is considerable.

If you have time to glance at the enclosed copy of a letter addressed by me to Lord Halifax, you will see my difficulties are acute, urgent, and fully set forth. I may further interest you to read in the enclosed correspondence with the Foreign Office and his representatives, our positive suggestions for a military contribution. In that direction we have made some progress, but there is as yet no assurance that the forces of obstruction will be overcome before it is too late.

It is quite clear to me that, in the present emergency, we cannot expect more than the maintenance of a truce as regards Palestine policy. We have been at pains to observe such a truce, but any new land legislation on the lines now under discussion, or...
any further tampering with immigration — which is already very
difficult itself, would seriously prejudice the future of Palae-
tine, and make matters for the present even worse than they are.
Any such steps would constitute a gross breach of the truce which
we are doing our utmost to observe, — a breach which could be justi-
fied, in our view, neither morally nor politically. May I also express the hope that your watchfulness will prevent any such
calamity from being inflicted on us?

You have been concerned with our affairs ever since the
beginning of our dealings with the British Government twenty-two
years ago. You know that we have always placed our trust in your
understanding of our cause and of our difficulties, and that we
have always tried to show ourselves worthy of your trust.

Once more wishing you God speed in your great task,

I am

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Rebecca
SECRET.

SHORT NOTE OF DR. WEIZMANN'S INTERVIEW WITH THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, ADMIRALTY, DECEMBER 17th, 1939 at 7p.m.

Mr. Churchill was very cordial, and deeply interested in Mr. Weizmann's forthcoming visit to America. He made optimistic observations on the progress of the war ("we have them beat").

Dr. Weizmann thanked Mr. Churchill for his unceasing interest in Zionist affairs. He said: "you stood at the cradle of this enterprise; I hope you will see it through".

Mr. Churchill asked what Dr. Weizmann meant by seeing it through. Dr. Weizmann replied that after the war the Zionists would wish to have a State of some three or four million Jews in Palestine.

Mr. Churchill said: "Yes, I quite agree with that".

COPY

Winston Churchill. Admiralty London

An informed introduction land measures likely almost immediately stop sentiment here in general friendly to allies but highly sensitive stop am deeply convinced. This measure would have most deplorable reactions not alone in Jewish circles. Stop have done level best to explain Britain to people here and leaving by clipper plan March sixth and most earnestly request Prime Minister hold up introduction these measures till have had opportunity seeing him sorry trouble you but gravity of situation impels he to ask your intervention once more.

Weizmann. Ambassador Hotel
dated February 23rd/40
29th May, 1940.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P.,
10, Downing Street,
S.W. 1.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Without preface I submit a suggestion for rapidly mobilising whatever resources, economic, military, political and technical, Jewry in Palestine and elsewhere can contribute to the British cause.

As a first step, I beg you immediately to appoint a small Committee with wide terms of reference to deal with this matter. Our war effort has to be undertaken in conjunction with the Colonial Office, the Fighting Services, the Ministries of Supply and Economic Warfare, and the Departments concerned with Intelligence and Propaganda.

Very sincerely yours,

Cloth

Enclosure.
6th August, 1940.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street,
S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Loth as I am to take up your time, the recent has come when I feel compelled to lay before you the claims of Judaism to the right of self-defence in the present situation in the Middle East, and the request of Jews outside Palestine to be allowed to form Jewish units for service with the British Army. I have pressed the mobilisation of Jewish resources and manpower on the Government ever since the beginning of the war. Although in the past three months-speedily and a desire for co-operation have been manifest, the results are not yet apparent, and I should be grateful if you would allow me to put our requests before you personally.

In addressing myself to you, I would urge these requests not only on grounds of British interests, not on account of the strong wish of the Jewish people to be allowed to contribute his maximum war effort to the British cause, but I speak also as the mouth-piece of half-a-million Jews whose hopes, for life, and future are bound up with the defence of the Middle East, and of Palestine in particular.

In a war of the magnitude now proceeding, it is impossible to say what the strategic disposition of the Colonial troops and armies may be before victory is attained. Should it come to a temporary withdrawal from Palestine—a contingency which we hope will never arise—the Jews of Palestine would be crowded to wholesale massacre at the hands of the Nazi’s unbridled and directed by the Nazis and fascists. This possibility reinforces the demand for our elementary demand right of self-defence, which should not merely be denied to the loyal citizens of a country at war. Submission
derry can furnish a force of 50,000 fighting men, all of them in the prime of their strength, trained, armed, and led. If Palestine be lost and the Jewish community be destroyed for lack of the means of self-defence, a grave responsibility will attach to the British Government which refused them.

I hope within a short time to see forth for America. But I do not conceal from you that both my own internal strength and the goodwill of those whom I hope to influence would be immeasurably reinforced if I could leave behind assured that the points of view which I propose to put before you have received recognition, and is being followed by definite action by the British authorities.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
Secret

SHEET NINTH OF MEETING HELD ON WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6th, 1940, at 77,
GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.

Present: Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Ben-Curtin, Dr. Brodsky, Professor Rabiner, Mr. Leckey, Mr. Rosenman, Dr. Linton.

1) Lunch with the Prime Ministers: Dr. Weizmann said that he had invited the previous day with the Prime Minister. There had been present also Sir Herbert Morrison, Sir Walter Layton, and Mr. Robert Boothby, and Mr. Ben-Curtin had joined them towards the end of the lunch. Conversation had been general on the war situation for most of the time, but towards the end of lunch the Prime Minister suddenly said he was in favour of a Jewish Army. Dr. Weizmann replied that everybody—even Lord Bevan—seemed to be in favour of it. The Prime Minister said he had written to the War Office. Mr. Weizmann then handed to the Prime Minister the side-issue which had been prepared, and asked for his approval, so that he might go to the War Office with it. There was a good deal of agreement from the other members of the party when he handed over the side-issue. The Prime Minister read it, and said he was in agreement with it. Dr. Weizmann then asked whether he might go and see General Dill, and the Prime Minister replied in the affirmative. Dr. Weizmann then asked to see Mr. Bredon, and said that he should like to see one of the Prime Minister’s views, because if difficulties arose with General Dill, he would like Mr. Bredon to come along with him. Mr. Bredon agreed to do so. Mr. Bredon then said: If you have a Jewish Army, you ought to have a Jewish Commander. Dr. Weizmann Dr. Weizmann had then mentioned Major Winter’s name.

Professor Rabiner proposed that they should prepare a memorandum for submission to General Dill.

Mr. Ben-Curtin said he did not agree with a suggestion which had been mooted that the cadres should be linked up with the Desert Unit.

Dr. Weizmann said they should first get the agreement with General Dill, and then discuss the points to be made in the proposed memorandum.

Mr. Ben-Curtin suggested that a Committee should be set up to deal with the preliminary steps for the formation of a Jewish unit. Dr. Weizmann said that this question should be discussed after the interview with General Dill. Meanwhile they wished to discuss the following matters, and he hoped that Mr. Ben-Curtin would still be in London for that discussion:

(1) Results of interview with General Dill.
(2) Mr. Weizmann’s journey to the United States.
(3) Dr. Brodsky's interview with the United States.
(4) Meeting with Earl of Northcliffe.

2) Interview with Mr. Portal McWilliams: Dr. Weizmann said that he and Professor Rabiner had seen Mr. Portal McWilliams. He had informed Mr. Portal McWilliams that he would shortly be proceeding to the United States, and that Professor Rabiner would

would deal with the question of supplies during his absence. Mr. Mackilhoon said he would be conferring with Lord Lloyd, Mr. Acheson, and a number of experts on the question, and Dr. Weizmann suggested that perhaps he might be able to be of use if called into consultation. Dr. Mackilhoon said he had broken up
Dr. Weizmann's memorandum into its various sections, so that they might be
dealt with by the various departments concerned.

3) Russian Transit and Bethemarks: Professor Damer said that he had
tried to talk to the Russian authorities and that there was, however, some talk.

4) Israeli Transit Visas: Dr. Weizmann said that Mr. Daniel was now in
London, and he would try to see him the following day. He hoped Mr. Daniel would
be able to arrange for the necessary transit visas to be granted.

5) Jewish Air Pilots: Dr. Weizmann said that Sir Archibald Sinclair was
returning to Britain that day. Sir Archibald had written to say that he would
like to lunch with him. Dr. Weizmann hoped that a date would shortly be ar-
 ranged.

6) Letters of Thanks: It was decided, on the motion of Mr. Locker, that
Dr. Weizmann should send a friendly letter to Mr. Ernest Lloyd, thanking him
for his re-election that the surplus of Jewish over Arab refugees in Palestine
should be transferred to Egypt. It was also decided that Dr. Weizmann should send
a letter of thanks to Lord Lloyd for his intervention with the Manchester Uni-
versity authorities on behalf of Professor Weizman.

London,
June 5.
7th February, 1941.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street, S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I must begin this letter by offering to you my most sincere condolences on the death of Lord Lloyd. He is a grievous loss to his country, and in particular to you to whom he was so loyal a friend and collaborator.

It distresses me to have to add to your burdens at this moment, but it is this very fact of Lord Lloyd's death which compels me to do so. The appeal of men in imminent peril cannot wait, and since the Colonial Office is today without a head, I have no choice but to lay their case before you. We have received a telegram from Jerusalem asking for our help with His Majesty's Government on behalf of Romanian Jews who are now in danger of being massacred. The cable asks us to urge a substantial allocation of immigration certificates for Palestine to be used for certain members of the Romanian Jewish community, and for numbers of young Jews who urgently await assistance. Even if the policy of the White Paper, 1939, is to be strictly adhered to, there are still almost 40,000 certificates available. Many of the young Romanian Jews coming to Palestine at present may be expected to enlist in the Jewish Fighting Force within the British Army.

As you know, mass massacres of Jews have already taken place in Romania, with every circumstance of brutality exceptional even in these days. The number of victims tortured to death or shot out of hand already rises to thousands. What is happening exceeds even the worst scenes witnessed in Germany.
Thousands of Jews in Romania are in a state of despair and panic. The question which is as vital to His Majesty's Government as to the Jewish Agency is whether the stream of refugees, in so far as it turns to Palestine, should be canalised and controlled, or whether every ship-load should become a problem giving rise to painful incidents which we all would wish to avoid.

Were Lord Lloyd alive I should appeal to him. Now I must turn to you direct.
10, Downing Street.
Whitehall.

12 February, 1941.

Dear Dr. Weizmann,

The Prime Minister has asked me to inform you that he has received your letter of February 7 and to thank you for your kind message of condolence in the great loss sustained by His Majesty's Government in the death of Lord Lloyd.

As regards the question of immigration certificates for Palestine for members of the Jewish community in Roumania, with whose unhappy plight Mr. Churchill has the deepest sympathy, it will be necessary to consult the High Commissioner as to whether it would be possible to re-consider the suspension of the quota in view of present conditions in the Mandated Territory. Lord Moyne, who has now succeeded Lord Lloyd as Secretary of State for the Colonies, is being asked ...
asked to take up this matter immediately.

I am to add, however, that, even if it were found possible to grant additional certificates, Mr. Churchill fears that there might be considerable practical difficulties in making the necessary arrangements.

So far as concerns the Jews in Roumania who already hold valid immigration certificates for Palestine (and who would, of course, be admitted into the Territory), Mr. Churchill understands that the Foreign Office have already been in correspondence with Professor Namier about the possibility of finding a ship.

Yours sincerely,

\[
\sqrt{\text{I. R.}}
\]

Dr. C. Weizmann,
The Jewish Agency for Palestine.
SECRET

NOTE OF CONVERSATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12th, 1941, at 3.15 p.m., at 10, DOWNING STREET, S.W.1.

The Prime Minister said that there was no need for him to have a long conversation with Dr. Weizmann: their thoughts were ninety-nine per cent. the same. He was constantly thinking of them, and whenever he saw Dr. Weizmann it gave him a twist in his heart. As regards the Jewish Force, he had had to postpone it, as he had had to postpone many things. He would, however, not let Dr. Weizmann down; he would see the thing through.

---------------------

London,
13.3.41.
ROYAL BATH HOTEL
BOURNEMOUTH

TELEPHONE: BOURNEMOUTH 5555
TELEGRAMS: LUXURIATE, BOURNEMOUTH

[Handwritten note]

[Signature]

[Handwritten note]

[Signature]
ROYAL BATH HOTEL
BOURNEMOUTH

MARCH 15TH. 41

THE MEETING WITH THE P.M. WHICH TOOK PLACE ON THE 12TH ABOUT 3.30 P.M. AT 10 DOWNING STREET CAME AS A SURPRISE. I WAS TALKING TO MR BRENDAN BRACKEN & THEN MARTIN APPEARED AND ANNOUNCED TO ME THAT THE P.M. WOULD SEE ME FOR A FEW MINUTES. THE GIST OF THE CONVERSATION IS RECORDED ON THE MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE, BUT THE MOST IMPORTANT PART WAS NOT REVEALED BY ME TO THE WHOLE OF THE EXECUTIVE. I DID TELL IT TO VICTOR CAZALET, TO BERL LOCKER, TO LINTON & TO YOURSELF NAMELY: AT THE END OF OUR CONVERSATION THE P.M. SAID THAT HE WAS THINKING OF A SETTLEMENT BETWEEN US AND THE ARABS AFTER THE WAR. THE MAN WITH WHOM WE SHOULD COME TO AN AGREEMENT IS IBN SAIUD. HE THE P.M. WOULD SEE TO IT AND WOULD USE HIS GOOD OFFICES. I.S. WOULD BE MADE THE LORD OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES, THE "BOSS OF THE BOSSES" AS HE PUT IT. BUT HE WOULD HAVE TO AGREE WITH WEIZMANN "HE PUT IT THAT WAY" WITH REGARD TO PALESTINE. I WILL SEE YOU THROUGH THE P.M. SAID. I SWEAR TO THE TRUTH OF THIS STATEMENT

CH. WEIZMANN
10th September, 1941.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street,
S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I wish to thank you for the very kind message which you sent me through Mr. Harting. I deeply appreciate it. Still, our position has become so serious (very critical), that I feel I must lay the facts before you by letter if I cannot do so personally.

Two years have passed since, on the outbreak of the war, I offered to Mr. Innes's Government, on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and the Jewish people, the fullest active support of Jews in Palestine and throughout the world. A whole year has elapsed since you accepted my personal appeal to our offer to recruit "the greatest possible number of Jews in Palestine for the fighting services" and to form "Jewish military units abroad for service in the United Nations." But during these two years our readiness to serve has earned us only rebuffs and humiliations. Even in Palestine, where the need for our services was acknowledged, our best efforts endeavours have not received a single word of public acknowledgment. Ten thousand Palestine Jews have fought in Libya, Abyssinia, Greece, Crete and Spain. But our people are never mentioned; our name is shunned; all contact or cooperation with us is kept dark as if it were compromising.

In March last, before I left for the United States, I was given, in a letter from the Colonial Secretary, the assurance that the formation of the Jewish Fighting Forces was reluctantly postponed - but only postponed, at the request of the United States. I knew with what enthusiasm the announcement that it was to be formed at last would be received by our people in Palestine and throughout the world. But this is not to be, even now. Even in Palestine, our people, for whom the defence of their country and of
the British position in the Middle East may be literally a matter of life and death, are permitted to serve only under humiliating limitations and conditions.

Tortured by Hitler as no nation has ever been in earlier times, and assailed by him as his foremost enemy, we are reminded by those who stammer the chances of saving our youth and our flag against wrong those arrayed against him.

I know that this exclusion is not in your own intentions or spirit. It is the work of people who were responsible for the Jewish policy in Europe and for the murder of Palestine. It was sanctioned in order to win over the hearts of Jewish and the friends you were serving earlier in the Middle East; whereas the only thing which can secure the unity of British strength in the Middle East, it has been clearly shown in Iraq.

But are the Jews no utterly unimportant as the treatment of non-Jews that persecute? I have never seen anyone in America, travelling up and down the country, and closely watching the American scene. But over there are many people the position is maintained. There is only one big ethnic group which is willing to stand, to a man, for Jewish rights, and a policy of “all-out-all” for the five million American Jews. From Secretary Hoover, Governor Laramie, Justice Matthews, down to the simplest Jewish worker or farmer, they are conscious of all that this story is against Hitler implies.
It has been repeatedly acknowledged by British statesmen that it was the Jews who, in the last war, effectively helped to tip the scales in America in favour of Great Britain. They are keen to do it - and may do it - again. But you are dealing with human beings, with flesh and blood, and the most elementary feeling of self-respect sets limits to service, however willing, if the response is nothing but rebuffs and humiliations. American Jewry waits for a word - a call - from His Majesty's Government. The format of a Jewish Right is available. Equipment cannot be the determining factor: there will always be some alternative use for whatever equipment is available; and fresh recruits are all the time being called up in the British Commonwealth by their hundreds of thousands, while we are told to wait for one single division because of lack of equipment.

If the spirit of American Jewry is roused, the influence which this will exercise on America's rather sluggish production will return to you that equipment with manifold gains.

Let me feel, Mr. Prime Minister, that our friendship is not spurned on the British side, nor our name obliterated at a time when Hitler is endeavouring to obliterate our very existence.

Yours very sincerely,
10th September, 1941.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, F.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street,
S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I wish to thank you for the very kind message which you sent me through Mr. Martin. I deeply appreciate it. Still, our position has become so serious (may, critical), that I feel I must lay the facts before you by letter if I cannot do so personally.

Two years have passed since, on the outbreak of the war, I offered to the Jewish Agency Government, on behalf of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish people, the fullest active support of Jews in Palestine and throughout the world. A whole year has elapsed since you gave your personal approval to our offer to recruit "the greatest possible number of Jews in Palestine for the fighting services" and to form "Jewish military units abroad for service in the battle front or elsewhere." But during those two years our readiness to serve has earned us only rebuffs and humiliations.

Even in Palestine, where the need for our services was acknowledged, our most zealous collaborators have not received a single word of public acknowledgment. Ten thousand Palestinian Jews have fought in Libya, Abyssinia, Greece, Crete and Syria. But our people are never mentioned; our name is shamed; all contact or co-operation with us is kept dark as if it were compromising.

In March last, before I left for the United States, I was given, in a letter from the Colonial Secretary, the assurance that the formation of the Jewish fighting force was reluctantly postponed - but a very postponed, at the outset for six months. I know with what enthusiasm the announcement that it is to be formed at last will be received by our people in Palestine and throughout the world. But this is not to be, even now. Even in Palestine, our people, for whom the defence of their country is of
the British position in the Middle East may be literally a matter of life and death, are permitted to serve only under humiliating limitations and conditions.

Tortured by Hitler as no nation has ever been in modern times, and avenged by him as his foremost enemy, we are refinced by those who fight him the chance of seeing our name and our flag appear among those arrayed against him.

I know that this exclusion is not in your own intentions or spirit. It is the work of people who were responsible for the English policy in Europe and for the White Paper in Palestine. It was conceived in order to win over the hearts of Jerusalem and the friends who were serving Hitler in the Middle East; whereas the only thing which can secure the Arabs in British strength in the Middle East, as has been clearly shown in Iraq.

But are the Jews an utterly unimportant as the treatment voted out to them suggests? I have spent four months in Britain, travelling up and down the country, and closely watching the American scene. sewer over there are firmly involved; the position is uncertain. There is only one big ethnic group which is willing to stand, to a man, for Great Britain, and a policy of 'all-out-al' for over the five million American Jews. From Secretary Cordell, Governor Lehman, Justice Maltz, down to the simplest Jewish worker or trader, they are conscious of all that this struggle against Hitler implies.
It has been repeatedly acknowledged by British statesmen that it was the Jews who, in the last war, effectively helped to tip the scales in America in favour of Great Britain. They are keen to do it - and may do it - again. But you are dealing with human beings, with flesh and blood, and the most elementary feeling of self-respect sets limits to service, however willing, if the response is nothing but rebuffs and humiliations. American Jewry waits for a word - a call - from His Majesty's Government. The format of a Jewish fighting force would be that signal. Equipment cannot be the determining factor; there will always be some alternative use for whatever equipment is available; and fresh recruits are all the time being called up in the British Commonwealth by their hundreds of thousands, while we are told to wait for one single division because of lack of equipment. If the spirit of American Jewry is roused, the influence which this will exercise on America's rather sluggish production will return to you that equipment with manifold gains.

Let me feel, Mr. Prime Minister, that our friendship is not spurned on the British side, nor our name obliterated at a time when Hitler is endeavouring to obliterate our very existence.

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]
PRIME MINISTER'S STIRRING MESSAGE TO THE
JEWISH PEOPLE.

"None Has Suffered More Cruelly Than The Jew."

Principles of Righteousness Proclaimed by
Jews Will Be Vindicated.

London, November 14 (Palcor Agency).
The Prime Minister has addressed a message of
good cheer to the Jewish people in this country and in
other lands through the "Jewish Chronicle" on the
occasion of the centenary of its publication.

The message, issued from 10, Downing Street,
which is published in to-day's "Jewish Chronicle",
reads as follows:

"On the occasion of the centenary of the
"Jewish Chronicle, a landmark in the history of
"British Jewry, I send a message of good cheer to
"Jewish people in this and other lands. None has
"suffered more cruelly than the Jew the unspeakable
"evils wrought on the bodies and spirits of men by
"Hitler and his vile regime. The Jew bore the
"brunt of the Nazis' first onslaught upon the
"citadels of freedom and human dignity. He has
"borne and continued to bear a burden that might
"have seemed to be beyond endurance. He has not
"allowed it to break his spirit; he has never lost
"the will to resist. Assuredly in the day
"of victory the Jew's sufferings and his part
"in the struggle will not be forgotten. Once
"again, at the appointed time, he will see
"indicated those principles of righteousness
"which it was the glory of his fathers to proclaim
"to the world. Once again it will be shown that,
"though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they
"grind exceedingly small."

(Sgd.) WINSTON S. CHURCHILL
PALESTINE GOVERNMENT'S EXPENDITURE.

Over Ten Million-and-Half Pounds.

Jerusalem, November 10 (Palcor Agency).

According to a special "Palestine Gazette" published here to-day, the expenditure of the Palestine Government for the financial year 1941/42 comprises over ten-and-a-half million pounds. This represents a record sum since the year 1929.

The figure includes the sum of £1,400,000 for railways, while the remainder is allocated for civil Government services. The Department for Police and Prisons will get £2,207,000, while nearly two million pounds are allocated for public works.

THE MURDER OF FAKHRI BEY NASHASHIBI.

Jerusalem, November 11 (Palcor Agency).

The "Palestine Post", in an editorial article dealing with the murder in Baghdad of Fakhri Bey Nashashibi, a moderate Arab leader (a delegate to the Palestine Conferences in London in 1939), says that Fakhri Bey Nashashibi was the latest in the long succession of Arab victims who have fallen to the gunman politicians who have thrown in their lot with the common enemy. His murder was a bitter disillusionment to all concerned with the political progress of the Middle East.

Self-government and independence, the "Palestine Post" writes, could not become a reality unless freedom of opinion was assured and terrorist politicians eliminated.

Jerusalem, November 12 (Palcor Agency).

The funeral of Fakhri Bey Nashashibi took place at midday to-day in Jerusalem in the presence of large crowds.

GOVERNMENT CREATES LOCAL COUNCIL IN AFFULEH DISTRICT.

Jerusalem, November 12 (Palcor Agency).

A Local Council, known as Ezor Yizrael, has been created by the Government in the Affuleh area, situated in the Emek. The new Local Council comprises all the lands belonging to nine Keren Hayesod and other villages, including Balfouria, Genigar, Kfar Gideon, Kfar Yelelim, Mahaneh Yisrael, Moshav Merhavia, Kibbutz Merhavia, Mizra and Tel Adashim.

The area is to be divided into electoral divisions, each of them having separate pollings to elect one Councillor for every seventy-five voters. Both sexes, from the age of twenty years, are entitled to vote.
9th February, 1942.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street, S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

On Thursday I am starting for the United States, and hope to proceed thence to Palestine. Before going I feel I must once more address myself to you personally on the question of the Palestinian Jewish participation in the war effort.

The ebb and flow of the Libyan battle has again brought the enemy nearer to Palestine. With the growing demands on British man-power from all parts of the globe, an additional twenty to thirty thousand Palestinian Jewish soldiers might be a far from negligible factor, which would still further increase in value were the fighting to approach their homeland. In spite of frustration and rebuffs from Mitchell, Cairo, and Jerusalem, the Jewish Agency has been doing its utmost to promote recruiting, though so far Jewish military service is not accorded a national character or public recognition. In spite of this, almost 12,000 Palestinian Jews have enlisted in the British forces. Does not this effort, on the part of the community of 500,000 which has experienced and is experiencing so much bitterness, deserve some response?

But we should like to do much further in our war effort - to the very limit of our strength and even beyond it. To do that, national feeling and enthusiasm must be stimulated. Give the Jews their national name, emblems, and military organisation, and enjoin on the authorities in Palestine a more sympathetic approach to our people. I venture to say this to you, as I know your own attitude towards us.

Yours very sincerely,

Signed......Ch. WEIZMANN.
HOTEL ST. REGIS.
Fifth Avenue and
Fifty-fifth Street,
NEW YORK.

June 25, 1942.

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

On learning of the news of the fall of Tobruk which reached me while I was in Chicago last week, I took occasion to send a telegram to Lord Halifax, the contents of which I hope may have been brought to your attention. I attach a copy and should like to add a few words by way of amplification on one or two points.

The new and critical developments in the military situation in the Middle East impel me to put before you again, as a matter of extreme urgency, the proposal for the organization of a military force, composed primarily of Jews from Palestine, to fight in the Middle East under British Command. Your express approval in September 1940 of a similar proposal, which I then had the honour to submit to you, was for various reasons not acted upon. Today again, the Jews of Palestine are facing a period of supreme danger. It is not only the annihilation of our work but the actual physical existence of nearly 600,000 Jews in Palestine which is at stake.

Approximately 14,000 Jews from Palestine are at present enrolled in various British military and airforce formations. For the most part they are organized in auxiliary technical and pioneer units, in the ground forces of the R.A.F., and in a number of infantry
companies stationed in Palestine. These diverse and scattered units fail altogether to meet the claim of Palestine Jewry to defend themselves through a single, organized military force of their own, fighting under their own flag alongside the armies of the United Nations. At least two and probably three divisions could be raised in Palestine in this way for immediate service.

If I may repeat what I said in the critical days of June 1940, if we go down in Palestine, we are entitled to go down fighting. The Mandatory Power is in duty bound to grant us this elementary human right. I know that I speak for the great mass of Jews everywhere when I say that the refusal to grant this right will never be understood. I most earnestly urge that you, who perceived the wisdom and justice of this claim nearly two years ago, should now see that it is implemented without delay. Speed may make all the difference between life and death for us.

With sincerest good wishes for the success of your mission,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

(Sgd.) Ch. Weizmann.
Dear Namier,

I enclose a copy of a letter addressed by Dr. Weizmann to the Prime Minister at the White House at the end of June, which arrived after Mr. Churchill's departure and was forwarded here through the British Embassy.

No reply has yet been sent, since, as you know, the matters to which the letter relates have been under consideration in consultation with the Departments concerned. The Government's policy has now been announced (in Sir James Grigg's statement in the House of Commons on August 6) and, as Dr. Weizmann will have seen this, I feel that he will probably now expect no answer. In any case I do not know if the letter would reach him before he leaves the United States.

Perhaps at a suitable opportunity you could inform Dr. Weizmann that his letter reached the Prime Minister and was before him when the subject was under discussion?

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Professor L.B. Namier.
April 2, 1943

The Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, M. P.
10 Downing Street
London, England

My dear Mr. Prime Minister, (handwritten)

Some disquieting developments and reports from Palestine
impel me to address myself to you, loath as I feel to add to your burdens.

In the discussions which took place in Parliament on the
question of the rescue of European Jews, both Mr. Stanley and Lord
Cranborne referred to the White Paper of 1939 as the firmly established
policy of His Majesty's Government in regard to Palestine.

In Jerusalem the authorities appear to miss no opportunity in
their contacts with Arabs to nullify the White Paper as permanent and
immutable. The High Commissioner, in a recent broadcast on post-war re-
construction in Palestine, spoke as if the Jewish problem did not exist
at all — as if, as far as Palestine is concerned, it had been completely
solved by the White Paper.

Instead of keeping the way open for a revision of policy, the
road to it is being further and further blocked.

According to what we hear, conversations are in progress
—between—
between various British and Arab representatives on the question of Arab unity or federation. In these conversations, the Jewish National Home is treated as a mere chattel. Its existence is either disregarded, or considered as sufficiently safeguarded by the White Paper of 1939, which, as you know, would convert Palestine into a virtually Arab state and doom the Jews to perpetual Arab domination.

Here again, instead of telling the Arabs squarely that Palestine cannot be effectively included in any federal scheme without Jewish cooperation and that, therefore, if they seek Palestine's inclusion, they must meet the Jewish claims, they are actually encouraged to ignore the Jews.

My friends in Palestine and Egypt gather from their contacts with Arabs that the British policy is to urge them to greater political activity in America in order to counteract Zionist propaganda. It might have been thought that the considerable sympathy with Zionist aspirations, which exists in the United States, would have been welcomed by His Majesty's Government as offering a possible way out of the impasse created by the White Paper of 1939. But, apparently, there are some in government circles in Britain who are not at all eager for such a chance and are now trying to nip it in the bud.

The White Paper of 1939 was an application to Palestine of the unhappy principle of appeasement. Not for one moment did I consider the White Paper workable in the long run. Moreover, I felt sure that the abandonment of that principle would, in due course, lead to a complete revision of the Palestine policy on the part of His Majesty's Government. I was encouraged in this belief by the views which you yourself were kind enough to express to me some time ago about the future of Palestine. The new strength and prestige acquired by Great Britain—
Britain and her Allies, as the saviours of the existing Arab states from the dangers of German rule and Italian colonisation, as liberators of further Arab territories, as guarantors of Arab independence and promoters of Arab development in the future, would, I thought, enable them to deal boldly and generously with our problem by assigning Palestine to the Jews.

I refuse to give up this hope. I still believe that the final word of Great Britain in regard to Palestine and the Jews has not yet been spoken. The slaughter of European Jewry can only be redeemed by establishing Palestine as a Jewish country.

The present activities run counter to your attitude. Although I was repeatedly assured in my conversations with Mr. Eden in London that no commitments would be made to the Arabs regarding the future of Palestine, it is clear that the conversations which seem to be going on, in their cumulative effect, will be construed by the Arabs as a new commitment on the part of His Majesty's Government. What has happened as a result of the Hashashin correspondence is a very serious warning.

I appeal to you to arrest the fatal process and open the way for a new dispensation in Palestine.

Yours very sincerely, (handwritten)

Ch. Heizmann (signature)
May 18th, 1943

The Honorable Winston Churchill
The White House, Washington, D.C.

I know that you are here on a mission of the greatest importance, and that you probably find it impossible to receive more visitors; but I have been in this country now for more than a year, and I have gathered impressions and information which may not be without their value.

The situation of the Jews and the general situation which beset the communities here, of late, produced certain phenomena which caused everybody interested in the good relations between England and America a great deal of pain. A word of any kind might be of considerable help.

I therefore hope that you will see your way to grant me the opportunity of a short talk with you, and I beg to remain

Yours sincerely,

I can be reached through my secretary, Mr. Mackinder, at this hotel (extension 1-9).
SECRET

EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF THE 25TH OCTOBER, 1943.

TALK WITH THE PRIME MINISTER:

Dr. Weizmann said that there had been present at the lunch, besides Mr. and Mrs. Churchill, and Major Churchill, Mr. and Mrs. Attlee, Lord Portal, the Dowager Lady Reading, and another Labour man whom Dr. Weizmann did not recognise. Dr. Weizmann sat between Mrs. Churchill and Lord Portal. During lunch, Mrs. Churchill talked about Quebec and Orde and Lorna Wingate, and at one stage Mr. Churchill joined in by saying that he knew Dr. Weizmann had wanted Orde Wingate for Commander-in-Chief of the Jewish Force, but they could not have him because he was wanted for other work.

After lunch the ladies retired and Mr. Churchill had introduced him to the other guests in very complimentary terms. The Prime Minister said it was a long time since he had seen him, and Dr. Weizmann said it had been too long for him. Mr. Churchill then said that after they had crushed Hitler they would have to establish the Jews in the position where they belonged. He had had an inheritance left to him by Lord Balfour, and he was not going to change. Dr. Weizmann said he did not think the Prime Minister would change, but there were dark forces working against them which might force the Cabinet's hand. Major Churchill said they were all only human, and none of them getting any younger; it was therefore necessary to act quickly. Mr. Churchill said they would have to take some chances. Turning to Dr. Weizmann, he said: "You have some very good friends: for instance, Mr. Attlee and the Labour Party are committed on this matter." Mr. Attlee said he certainly was, adding that he thought something should be done about Transjordan. Mr. Churchill said he had been thinking about partition, but Transjordan was a good idea. He knew the terrible situation of the Jews. They would get compensation, and they would also be able to judge the criminals. As regards the position in the Near East he did not take for granted all the information that came from that part of the world. Mr. Attlee said to Dr. Weizmann that some of his people were overplaying their hand: they were sometimes threatening. Mr. Churchill said they should not do that. He personally would prefer one good row. He would advise them not to have a series of rows. What they had to do was to watch the timing. He could not say publicly what he was telling Dr. Weizmann now: there would be questions, and he would have to lose time explaining. They could quote his public utterances, and say that he would not budge from them.

Mr. Churchill repeated that they had a number of good friends: Mr. Attlee was committed, the Labour Party was committed, the Manchester Guardian was friendly, etc. He understood, however,
that there were certain Jews in America who were opposed. He thought Dr. Weizmann should try and win over Mr. Baruch. Mr. Churchill had talked to Mr. Baruch, and had told him that he was wrong, but had not succeeded in persuading him. Mr. Churchill went on to say that he was not going to change his views; he would bite deeply into the problem, and it was going to be "the biggest plum of the war."

When Mr. Churchill mentioned partition, Major Randolph and Dr. Weizmann demurred, and Mr. Churchill replied that he had been against it originally, but now they had to produce something new instead of the White Paper. He had not meant partition in the literal sense — he then mentioned something about the Negev and Transjordan.

Speaking of the Arabs, the Prime Minister said that they had done very little, and in some instances had made things difficult for us. He would remember this when the day of reckoning came. Mr. Churchill added that when the Palestine issue came up, he would speak out, and proceeded to give the headings of his speech. He finished off by saying that Dr. Weizmann need not worry — they had a wonderful case.

At one stage, Dr. Weizmann mentioned that anti-semitism was growing, and the Prime Minister said he thought it was not so, and Lord Portal agreed with him.

Mr. Churchill said they could not yet discuss details. On the subject of the Arms Trial, the Prime Minister clearly did not know the details, but said again that they should not threaten. He suggested that Dr. Weizmann should go to Palestine, adding jokingly that he had freedom of movement throughout the Empire.

At one stage Dr. Weizmann said that March 1944 was approaching, and he feared then to see a notice over the gates of Palestine; "No Jew need apply." From Mr. Churchill's reply it had appeared that they were thinking of carrying forward the balance of certificates after March 1944, and Mr. Churchill asked that in a couple of months or so after that, something else might turn up.

Mr. Churchill quoted, during the talk, the saying that "God deals with the nations as they deal with the Jews." Mr. Churchill also said that of every fifty officers who came back from the Middle East, only one spoke favourably of the Jews — but that he merely went to convince him that he was right.

When the party broke up, and Dr. Weizmann said goodbye, the Prime Minister said: "Not goodbye — au revoir"; and that he would see Dr. Weizmann again. Dr. Weizmann said he was glad to hear that because he had understood that the Prime Minister was not very keen on seeing him, and sometimes urgent things arose which he could discuss only with him.

The lunch and the talk which followed lasted until 5.30 p.m.
4th July, 1944.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street, S.W.1.

Dear Prime Minister,

May I appeal to you to consider once more the question of the Jewish Fighting Force. Ever since our conversation in September, 1939, I have known that we have your sympathy in this matter, and that it has not been for lack of goodwill on your part that the scheme, then approved, was allowed to drop. The disappointment among the Jews, and especially the Palestinian Jews, at being denied their own Fighting Force, national name, and flag, was very great, but such was their determination to take an active part in the war, that in spite of many further discouragements, 20,000 Palestinian Jews have volunteered for military service, and, I understand, have done well.

Now I address to you a double appeal. First, that these men should be gathered into a division of their own, and that that division should be permitted to carry the flag with the Star of David on to the European battle-field.

Victory comes too near to swiftly to leave the Allied arms that I
PRIVATE

10, Downing Street.
Whitehall.

5 August, 1944.

My dear Doctor Weizmann,

I am sorry to find that I have not yet replied to your letter of 4 July, about the question of the Jewish Fighting Force. I can assure you however that I have given my personal attention to your suggestions, with which as you know I myself have much sympathy. They have been under active consideration during the last few weeks and the War Office will shortly be in a position to discuss concrete proposals with the Jewish Agency. I hope it may be found possible to reach agreement on a scheme that will be satisfactory to all concerned.

About the Flag. I should like to know what it looks like before I embark on this contentious ground.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. C. Weizmann.

[Signature]

[Signature: WSC]
The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P.,
10, Downing Street,
London, S.W.1.

5 August, 1944.

My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Your letter of August 5th in reply to mine about the Jewish Fighting Force has given me great encouragement, and I thank you for it most warmly. In the first place it is a renewed assurance of your personal sympathy with the desire of the Jews to fight the Nazis under their own name and flag. Not indeed that I have ever doubted that you would understand our feelings on that subject, but when I consider what matters most occupy your time and thoughts in these days of decisive events, I appreciate more than ever such proofs of your friendship as your letter affords.

The event that the War Office is in a position to discuss concrete proposals, I and my colleagues will be more than ready. In the meantime, I have the greatest pleasure in sending you a sketch of the proposed flag — two horizontal blue stripes on a white background with the Star of David in the centre. It is known to Jews all over the world as their national symbol. You helped us to raise it in Palestine a quarter of a century ago; its meaning has grown with our growth: under your supreme leadership we hope to see our young men follow it into battle alongside of the Union Jack.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]
My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

The Government publishes to-day the announcement about the formation of a Jewish Brigade Group. It has, on the whole, been very favourably received in the Press.

We know how much we owe to you for the consummation of this project, and I would like at once to send you some expression - even if brief and inadequate - of our gratitude, both on my own behalf and on that of my colleagues, for all your help in this matter, as well as for your unwavering sympathy and encouragement in all our struggles. The decision to form a Brigade Group is one of great symbolic significance at this time of stress and strain for the Jewish people. We shall not forget.

With kindest personal regards, I am
21st September, 1944.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street, S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Following on my letter of September 20th, I should still
like to raise the question of the flag for the Jewish Brigade Group.
In my letter to you of August 6th, I enclosed, as asked by you, a
sketch of our national flag. May I now submit to you a suggestion
and a request? It is our conviction that the future of the Jewish
nation is bound up with the British Empire, and this Jewish Brigade
Group (the first self-contained all-Jewish fighting unit since an-
cient times) is part of the British Army. A strong feeling is aris-
ing amongst us that these facts should be expressed through the Jewish
Flag carried by the Brigade being quartered with the Union Jack, as in
the enclosed sketch. Would this meet with your approval? Undeni-
ably, the precedent for it is the flag used by "the Judaeans" in the
last war.

Enclosures.
October 23, 1944.

My dear Dr. Weizmann,

I think it would be better to adhere to the original design for the flag for the Jewish Brigade, which you sent me with your letter of August 10 last.

I am glad to inform you that this design has been approved by the War Cabinet. As a matter of convenient administration, it would be better that the flag should not be flown in Egypt. But authority is being given for the Jewish Brigade to fly it as soon as they land in Italy.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, LL.D.
THE WHOLE OF WESTERN PALESTINE

(short Minutes of Meeting held on November 4th 1944 between the
P.M. W.S. Churchill and Dr. Weizmann at Chequers)

The P.M. had started the conversation by saying that Dr.
Weizmann would not expect him any pronouncement just now. He had
none to make, and would not be able to say anything until the end
of the German war, which might take from three to six months.

The P.M. had said that he had little support in the Con-
servative party. Dr. Weizmann said he had heard that opinion in the
Conservative Party was veering round on the Palestine problem, and
the P.M. replied that it might be so, but it was a slow process, and
he would have to speak to them on the subject. The P.M. added that
he had been rather struck by the opposition among certain Jews in
America, and mentioned the name of Bernard Baruch. Dr. Weizmann had
replied that there might be a few rich and powerful Jews who were
still against them, but they did not know very much about the sub-
ject. He said he would like to repeat to the P.M. what he had once
said to Mr. Balfour: namely that he met the wrong type of Jews. The
P.M. smiled and said that still there were some people who were oppo-
sed to Zionism, and he again mentioned Mr. Baruch. Dr Weizmann re-
plied that those Jews who were against Zionism had also been tho-
se who were against Roosevelt and Churchill. The P.M. said that Dr
Weizmann was right and he knew it.

The P.M. went on to say that if people of this kind started
talking in the same way as the military did, it only hardened his
heart, — but still he would like to have as much support as he could
get.

Dr. Weizmann then asked what truth there was in the rumours
which they had heard about partition, and schemes which would give
them merely a beach-head — or a bathing beach — in Tel Aviv? At
this stage Mr. Martin produced the statement by Mr. Abrahams which
Dr. Weizmann had previously given him. The P.M. said that all these

/ rumours were
rumours were a pack of lies. It was true that he had seen Lord Gort, and had told him how he, the P.M., stood in the matter; but there has been no conference and no discussion on partition.

Dr. Weizmann drew the attention of the P.M. to our memorandum through which the P.M. glanced, and to our arguments against partition. He said that he, too, was for the inclusion of the Negev. If they could get the whole of Palestine it would be a good thing, but he felt that if it came to a choice between the White Paper and partition, then they should take partition. The P.M. again said that America must give active support, and not merely criticism. If he and Mr. Roosevelt met at the Conference Table they would get what they wanted.

Dr. Weizmann then referred to the Arab problem, and indicated the kind of speech the P.M. might make to the Arabs. The P.M. replied that he had already spoken in that way, but that Roosevelt and he would do it again. The P.M. had then referred to the terrorism in Palestine, but had not laboured the point. He then said that Dr. Weizmann could see Lord Moyne in Cairo. Lord Moyne had changed and developed in the past two years.

The P.M. then summed up as follows:

1) Nothing would happen until the German war was over;
2) He was in close touch with America on the subject;
3) Dr. Weizmann would be consulted

The P.M. then asked whether it was their intention to bring in large numbers of Jews into Palestine? Dr. Weizmann replied in the affirmative, and said that they had in mind something like 100,000 or more Jews a year for some 15 years. The P.M. asked whether that meant something like one-and-a-half million Jews? Dr. Weizmann replied that this was so in the beginning; he had then spoken of the large numbers of children in Europe who would have to be brought to Palestine. The P.M. commented that it would be for the Governments to worry about the children, and mentioned financial aid. Dr. Weizmann said that if
the political field were clear then the financial problem would become of secondary importance.

The P.M. had then taken him to his study and repeated the three points already mentioned. He seemed worried that America was more or less academic in its attitude, and that he was not supported in the Conservative Party. The P.M. does not think much of the Arabs and their attitude in the war.

Dr. Weizmann had wanted to show the P.M. a map in order to make his points against partition, but the P.M. had countered by saying that he did not want to study maps with Dr. Weizmann.

At one stage in the conversation the P.M. mentioned that he had a committee sitting on the Palestine problem, on which were "all their friends", Sir Archibald Sinclair, and the Labour people. Generally, it had been a long and most friendly conversation.

Dr. Weizmann thought that two things arose from these talks: (a) they must concentrate on the Conservative Party, and see that as many Conservative M.P.'s as possible should tell the P.M. that supported him on Palestine. (b) after his visit to Palestine he would go to America and see Mr. Roosevelt. He felt that after his talk with the P.M. he would be able to clinch matters with the President.

Dr. Weizmann believed they could get the whole of Western Palestine if America would sponsor it, and would say that they would see to it that such a decision should be carried out. The Americans could say that Lowdermilk's plan or some similar scheme would be applied, and would help to develop the country; and that whatever happened in Palestine as a result would be a model for other countries of the Middle East. He had written a letter to Rabbi Silver giving him the gist of his conversation with the P.M. and telling him that he would like to come to America, and also to have, a committee with Lowdermilk as Chairman to work out a practical scheme. He would also consider the possibility of going to South Africa from Palestine, to see General Smuts.
7th November, 1944.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P.,

25, Downing Street, S.W.1.

My dear Prime Minister,

I can hardly find words adequate to express the deep personal
inflammation and horror which I feel at the murder of Lord Moyne. I
know that these feelings are shared by Jews throughout the world.

Whether or not the criminals prove to be Palestinian Jews, their act
illuminates the ways to which terrorism leads. Political crimes of
this kind are an especial abomination in that they make it possible
to implicates which connivance in the guilt of a few. I can assure
you that Palestine Jewry will, as its representative bodies have de-
clared, go to the utmost limit of its power to put out, root and
branch, this evil from its midst.

Yours very sincerely,

[Handwritten note:]

[Signature]
Message from Mr. Chaim Weizmann to the Prime Minister:

I am deeply grateful for the consideration you have shown to our cause and for your personal reference to me. I fully realize the gravity of the situation. Our cooperation with the authorities in stamping out terrorism is proceeding satisfactorily. Five hundred names of suspects have already been supplied to the Police as a result of which over one hundred have been arrested. Effective cooperation has been tendered also in other forms. It is of course impossible to venture any forecasts in dealing with secret organizations, but it is confidently believed that severe blows have already been dealt to them and that there is every indication to preserve in the campaign until decisive results are achieved. 

7th December, 1944

[Handwritten note: 비전]
12th April, 1945.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street, S.W.1.

My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I must acknowledge, what the pressure must be on your
notice, that I should not have asked you for an interview
at present if it were not that I feel I ought to give
you some account of the position in Palestine as I
left it at the end of my recent visit, and that I
must have been able to learn about the Jewish situation
then in Europe, and to put before you one or two other, ur-
rentent points.

Let me begin with a personal tribute to
Lord Moyne, whose influence, even within the strait-
best jacket of the White Paper, has helped considerably
in improving relations between the Mandatory authorities
and Palestine. Jerry, none the less, political tension
and anxiety exists, and must increase as the moment of decision
imminently approaches. Moreover, the residue of immi-
genation certificates, under the White Paper, will be
exhausted shortly, unless the allocation is deliber-
ately withheld. A stoppage for either reason is bound
to increase exasperation in view of the growing immi-
genation pressure from liberated Europe.
There the Jewish situation demands immediate action. Out of the frying-pan of German persecution they go to the fire of anti-Semitism, fostered by the Nazis and fanned now by the post-occupation crises. All over Europe, even people who at risk of their own lives sheltered Jews from Nazi fury, now feel that they have done their part, and that the Jews should no longer be a problem on their hands. In Poland, Jewish lives are once more in danger, and a Jewish member of the Lublin Government advised Jews who have Aryan identity papers to hold on to them. In Soviet Russia, there are about 250,000 Polish Jewish evacuees whom the Poles do not want back, and whom Russia is not keen to retain, and most of whom wish to have seen the best of both countries. The majority of them want to go to Palestine; a certain number overseas. The same is true of hundreds of thousands all over Europe. I enclose as an example a cable from Burgary received while I write this. Palestine can take them, and many more besides. I undertake to prove it by facts and figures.
I will acquiesce in it. I now come to the last point to which I feel I must draw your attention. It appears certain that at the San Francisco Conference, the question of the future of the Mandates will arise. The remaining "A" mandates are in a class by themselves, and the Palestine Mandate is again unique, incorporating as it does the Balfour Declaration. But we have no guarantee that it will not be included in any general discussion of the mandate system, or that decisions indirectly affecting Palestine may not be taken. If this were to be the case, the Jewish Agency would be at a serious disadvantage; the Arab States will be represented at San Francisco, but not we.

If there were any risk of decisions vital to us being made, I hope you would agree that I should be justified in asking that the Jewish Agency should be heard on the matter and given the best possible assistance in its work.

Enclosure.

The above never crossed my desk. I have been unable to find to-appropriate data, and therefore cannot answer satisfactorily. It is not in my power to provide any useful information in the matter.

Yours very truly,

[Signature]
atures, and it is known to everyone in Palestine. This being so, discouraging replies in Parliament such as that by the Duke of Devonshire on March 29th, do not add to the intense anxiety of Jewry inside and outside Palestine.

The Jewish Agency has refrained from pressing His Majesty's Government for a declaration of a new policy while the end of the German war was still not immediately nigh, but the Arabs have in the meantime been extremely active in the diplomatic field. An Annex to their Pact of Union records that "an Arab representative for Palestine" is appointed as a member of the Council, and "that this will be done until Palestine achieves independence." It is difficult to suppose that such political activities have been carried on without the knowledge and encouragement of some British authorities and officials. Indeed, Harri Pasha has boasted that the Arabs are not lifting a finger without consulting His Majesty's Government. It is impossible for the Jews not to fear that thus attempts are being made in secret quarters to create faits accomplis with a view to undermining our position and prejudicing the solution of our problem. The Jews could never accept the idea that their fate or that of Palestine depends on sickened or any other Arab. We believe, however, that although a Arab consent to a Jewish State is not likely to be obtained in principle, or in advance of the decision of the United Nations, yet, when the Arabs are convinced that Great Britain is in earnest about such a decision, they
9th May, 1945.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street, S.W.1.

Dear Prime Minister,

of this I am first of all, I trust truly, to voice to those of the millions who send you their congratulations and good wishes in this great hour of victory and triumph. This is perhaps of particular interest, and of particular interest, may I then revert to the letter with which I troubled you on April 13th last, and in which I expressed concern lest, pending a decision on major questions of Palestine policy, a “Blue Envelope” might meanwhile be created, and made reference to the discussions on Palestine at San Francisco? We have now seen the text of H.M. Government’s proposals on territorial trusteeship, and they do not appear to us to safeguard the unique position of Palestine in respect of the obligations undertaken by the Mandate Powers to the Jewish people as a whole regarding the Jewish National Home.

I am afraid that unless a specific clause is inserted to remedy this, or general provision made to safeguard any special obligations which may have been contracted by a Mandate Power — e.g. in the case of Palestine, by Great Britain towards the Jewish people — we may find that, if
the proposals were accepted as they now stand, the Jewish question might be
gravedly prejudiced both now and in the future. A letter on this subject
has been sent by the Jewish Agency to the Foreign Office, but the importance
of the matter seems to me to be so great that I feel reluctantly compelled,
in the absence of HR. Econ, to draw your personal attention to it.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

[Signature]

[Address]

Dear [Name],

I hope this letter finds you well. I am writing to inform you of the impending
implementation of [specific issue]. As you know, the situation is complex,
and further details will be provided at our meeting to discuss the
matter further.

Looking forward to your reply and additional information.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

[Date]

[Address]
May 22nd, 1917.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., O.M.,
10, Downing Street, S.W. 1.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I write to express a determination on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which I should have liked to have been able to convey in person, if your engagements and my health had permitted an interview. The Jewish people have waited till the end of the German war, not only for their deliverance from Hitler, but also from the injustice of the White Paper of 1939, which has so ineptly aggravated both their sufferings and the loss of human life.

I recall with gratitude how, in the debate on May 23rd, 1939, the voice of British conscience spoke through you. We have noted how, during the years of war, you have never hesitated to draw into saying anything which could be interpreted as an acceptance of the White Paper. This has enabled me to urge upon my people patience.

But now the German war is over. Under your leadership victory has come. Your word could never carry greater weight than it does now. The White Paper still stands. It is prolonging the agony of the Jewish survivors. Will you not say the word which is to right wrong and set the people free?

The position of the Jews in the liberated countries is desperate, the political position in Palestine is becoming untenable, and so is my personal position as President of the Jewish Agency. The arguments I have been using cease to apply. What remedy does not lose its effect the longer it is delayed? Every passing week, every reply in Parliament...
ment which treats the White Paper as law increases the presumption
of our opponents in that fatal document. This is the hour
to eliminate the White Paper, to open the doors of Palestine, and to
proclaim the Jewish State.

It is my solemn duty to make to you this appeal for action,
and for immediate action, in behalf of the Jewish cause and in
favour of the Jewish people. With pleasure very sincerely, I

[signature]

It is for the Jewish people to decide questions of

Enclosure.
MEMORANDUM.

In its memorandum of October 16th, 1944, the Jewish Agency for Palestine presented its views with regard to the correlated problems of Palestine and the Jewish people. Now the end of the war in Europe opens the way for a final solution. The conditions prevailing both in Europe and in Palestine demand that a decision should be speedily announced, and that its implementation be started immediately. The Jewish Agency begs to submit to H.M. Government the request that Palestine be established as a Jewish State, and that the Agency be enabled to bring in, within the shortest possible time, the first million Jews from European, Oriental, and other countries who desire, and need, to settle in the ancient home of the Jewish people. This request has the backing of the overwhelming majority of Jews everywhere, as is proved by Resolutions put forward in the past two years by the Jewish communities in Great Britain, the U.S.A., Canada, South Africa, and other countries where they can express themselves freely.

Apart from over half-a-million Jews in Palestine, organised Jewish life is now concentrated in the English-speaking world. It is from them that Zionism now draws its main strength, and they voice the demand that the sacred and historical connection between the Jewish people and the Promised Land should now receive more than the international recognition already accorded to it, and reach political fulfilment in the establishment of a Jewish State. The appeal is intensified and made more urgent by the dire need of the remnant of European Jewry, and by the precarious position of the Jews in many other countries. But its roots are in the religious faith and the national consciousness of the people. These are the sources
of the moral strength which is in sharpest contrast with the
physical helplessness of the scattered nation.

Jewish Attitude towards the White Paper.

The Jewish people have never accepted, and never can
accept, the moral or legal validity of the White Paper under
which Palestine has been governed since the summer of 1939.
But they held the fight against Hitler to have first claim
upon their energies. During these years, they have seen very
large numbers of Jewish lives cruelly sacrificed, many more of
which might have been saved had immigration into Palestine been
regulated in accordance with the Balfour Declaration and the
Mandate. Now that the war is over, the Jewish people can no
longer tolerate the continuance of the White Paper, which closes
the door of the Jewish National Home against the survivors of
the Nazi extermination campaign.

Of some six million Jews inhabiting the European con-
tinent (outside Russia) in 1939, only some 1,200,000 are reckoned
to remain to-day. Most of them must seek new homes. Their only
salvation lies in immediate transfer to Palestine. Approximately
three-quarters of a million Jews in the Moslem countries of
North Africa and the Middle East are in a precarious position
(vide the Baghdad pogrom during the Hashid Ali revolt, and the
treatment meted out to Jews by Turkey). In all these countries,
the growth of aggressive nationalism and religious intolerance
may at any time lead to acute persecution. But the pressing
need of these people is not the only reason why we ask for the
establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State. Nothing else can
give the Jews, individually and collectively, the status belonging
to all free peoples. Throughout the centuries of the Dispersion,
the root of the Jewish tragedy has been their position as home-
less minorities. Only a Jewish State can give the Jews the
sense of security enjoyed by all who can truly call a land their
own.
own. On the eve of a new world order, the Jews claim this right at the hands of the victorious and freedom-loving nations.

**Conditions in Palestine.**

At the time of the Balfour Declaration, there were only some 58,000 Jews in Palestine, and the growth of the National Home into a Jewish Commonwealth, envisaged by the Lloyd George Government, was bound to be a far-off ideal. Now, Palestine Jewry approaches 600,000, with rich and varied experience in agriculture, industry, and other pursuits suitable to the country, and is capable of undertaking responsibilities and colonising enterprises on the large scale required to meet the need.

Palestine, with its two sea-boards, its vast hinterland, its unlimited mineral riches in the Dead Sea, and a geographical position which links it with three continents, is capable of great development in industry and trade. But the basis of Jewish life in Palestine is agriculture, and will so continue to be. Large-scale Jewish settlement must include a high percentage of agricultural settlers - say at least 200,000 out of a million new immigrants. This pre-supposes:

(a) availability of land;
(b) irrigation possibilities;
(c) capital for investment;
(d) able and skilled settlers who can make use of modern technique and methods of intensive agriculture.

(a) **Land:** Western Palestine covers an area of about 27 million dunams. Some 800,000 dunams are accounted for by the Dead Sea, the Lake of Tiberias, the Huleh, etc. Of the remaining 26 million dunams, about 8 million are at present cultivated, and the greater part of even that area is under very primitive cultivation, capable of great improvement and intensification. Some 18 million dunams remain uncultivated - about two-thirds of the whole area of Western Palestine. This area is distributed as follows:
In the Negev, of a total area of 13 million dunams, 11 million are unoccupied and uncultivated. In Southern Palestine, outside the Negev (sub-districts of Jaffa, Gaza, Ramleh, Jericho, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Hebron), of a total of 6,100,000 dunams, 3,380,000, or 55 per cent., are uncultivated. In Central Palestine (sub-districts of Haifa, Jaffa, Tulkarem and Nablus), of a total of 4,260,000 dunams, some 1,678,000, or 45 per cent., are uncultivated. In Northern Palestine (sub-districts of Beisan, Nazareth, Tiberias, Safed, Acre), of a total of 2,781,000 dunams, some 1,050,000, or 38 per cent., are uncultivated.

The 600,000 Jews occupy so far about 1,500,000 dunams. Many of the 270 Jewish villages were established on land which was uncultivated — and officially regarded as uncultivable. On the experience acquired in Palestine during the last 65 years, Jews claim to be able to cultivate a great part of the lands which both Arabs and Government consider uncultivable, whether in the mountains of Judea or Galilee, on the sandy wastes of the sea-shores, on the steppes of the Negev, or in the valley of the Jordan.

(b) Water: Experts of the Jewish Agency, recently corroborated by two great American experts, Mr. J. B. Hays and Mr. J. L. Savage, maintain that the water resources of Palestine, if fully used by modern methods, are sufficient to irrigate at least 4 million dunams of land — i.e. more than ten times as much as is at present irrigated. Experience shows that an irrigated area of 26 dunams (6½ acres) is sufficient to maintain a Jewish family on a decent European standard of life. On this basis, the irrigation of a further three-and-a-half million dunams would make possible the settlement of an additional 140,000 farm-units (which
means, taking the family unit as 4, an additional purely agricultural population of more than half-a-million on irrigated land alone. In addition, there are still many millions of dunams of unirrigable land, which can absorb many tens of thousands of settlers. According to experience, a family can live on 100 dunams of unirrigable land, which means that for every fresh million dunams of waste land reclaimed, an additional 10,000 farms can be established.

While the above scheme for the agricultural settlement of Palestine, with its concurrent development of industry, commerce, etc., may require some 10 - 15 years (making room for several millions of Jewish immigrants), the Jewish Agency is now concerned with the immediate need for settling the first million. This would meet the immediate needs of European and Oriental Jewry, and at the same time provide the Jewish majority necessary for the normal functioning of the Jewish State.

(c) Finance: The financing of the settlement of the first million Jews will require approximately (at pre-war prices) some £250,000,000, on the basis of £250 a head. These funds would be derived from:

(i) the investment of private capital — most industries and a great part of the building would be financed by this means;

(ii) Jewish national funds (for immigration, agricultural settlement, and social services);

(iii) international financial help by means of loans, grants, etc.;

(iv) reparations from Germany.

Claim for Reparations from Germany.

Since 1933 almost the whole of Jewish property in Europe has been stolen by the Germans. If there is any people who can claim priority in reparations to-day, it is the people who were the first, and the most ill-treated, of Hitler's victims. We submit that, as a first instalment, all German property in Palestine should be used for the re-settlement
there of Jews from Europe, and further, that reparations in kind be exacted from Germany in the form of timber, iron, machinery, livestock, etc.

Further, such priority as against continental nations in claiming reparations from Germany is also justified by the great amount of Jewish property "aryanised" in those countries; and by the property of Jews who have been murdered or have disappeared, for whom no heirs can be immediately found; and by Jewish Palestine taking upon itself the financial burden of the upkeep of Jews broken in health who are nationals of these countries.

External Relations of the Jewish State.

The Jewish Agency is aware that any inclusion in the British Commonwealth is primarily a matter for consideration by the Nations already forming part of it. Nevertheless, they desire to make known their conviction that Jewish Palestine would warmly welcome organic connection with the group of free and independent States which constitute the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Jewish Agency further believes that Palestine would be able to co-operate effectively in promoting the interests of Britain and other peace-loving nations in the Middle East, and to make a contribution to the security and prosperity of that part of the world.

General Considerations regarding Future Policy.

We submit that a clear-cut decision in favour of a Jewish State, taken by H.M. Government and supported by the U.S.A. and Russia, is the way to secure Arab acceptance of the policy. So it was at the end of the last war, when the Arabs accepted the Balfour Declaration through their representatives, the Emir Feisal and the Syro-Palestinian Arab Delegation at Versailles. Their opposition only arose when they thought that H.M. Government was not taking the Balfour Declaration seriously.

Therefore we earnestly submit that no halfway or
ambiguous solution would serve Jewish, British, Arab or any other interest. It could only prolong the state of tension, distrust and suspicion now prevailing in Palestine, and could only intensify unrest.

For similar reasons, no solution which remains merely on paper can be of any value. There should be no interval between the announcement of policy and its active initiation.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine submits:

(a) that an immediate decision be announced to establish Palestine as a Jewish State;

(b) that the Jewish Agency be invested with all necessary authority to bring to Palestine as many Jews as it may be found necessary and possible to settle, and to develop, and speedily, all the resources of the country - especially land and power resources;

(c) that an international loan and other help be given for the transfer of Jews to Palestine, and for the economic development of the country;

(d) that reparations in kind from Germany be granted to the Jewish people for the upbuilding of Palestine, and - as a first instalment that all German property in Palestine be used for the re-settlement of Jews from Europe;

(e) that international facilities be provided for the exit and transit of all Jews who wish to settle in Palestine.

London, 22.5.45.
10, Downing Street,
Whitehall.

9 June, 1945.

My dear Dr. Weizmann,

I have received your letter of 22 May, enclosing a Memorandum on behalf of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. There can I fear be no possibility of the question being effectively considered until the victorious Allies are definitely seated at the Peace table.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Dr. Chaim Weizmann.
15th June, 1948.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street, S.W.1.

My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

I would like to thank you for your note of June 9th, though I confess that its contents came as a great shock to me. I had always understood from our conversations that our problem would be considered as soon as the German war was over: but your phrase "until the victorious Allies are definitely seated at the Peace table" substitutes some indefinite date in the future. I can hardly believe this to have been your intention, because I am sure you realise what the continuance of the White Paper of 1939 is involving for the Jewish people. It bars the doors of Palestine against the surviving remnant of European Jewry, and many refugees have to wander or die, unable as they are to go to Palestine. As regards the 600,000 Jews in Palestine, the continuance of the White Paper means confinement to a territorial ghetto consisting of five per cent. of the area of Western Palestine. They could hardly put up with this during the war; now it becomes unbearable. Every week in which Palestine continues to be administered under the White Paper renders the tragedy more acute. I most earnestly beg of you to bear all this in mind.

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]
29th July, 1946.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
Chartwell House,
WESTERNHAM, Kent.

Dear Mr. Churchill,

I hope you will permit me to give expression to my heartfelt thanks for all the kindness and consideration which I have received at your hands during the momentous years of your term of office as Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. The conversations we have had remain engraved on my memory as a source of comfort and encouragement in these years of tribulation not only for this country and for the world, but for my own people.

It is outside my competence to express any opinion on the change which has taken place in this country. All I know is that, whatever happens, your place in world history - and in our own history - remains secure for future generations, to serve as a glorious example to those who come after us.

With kindest regards, and profound respect,

I remain

Very sincerely yours,
29th October, 1925.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
23, Hyde Park Gate, S.W.1.

Dear M. Churchill,

May I begin by congratulating you on your return to health, and I trust, to full vigour.

I wrote to you while you were still unwell, and when I believed myself to be starting for the U.S.A. within a day or two. Subsequently I postponed my departure until November 5th, partly on account of the delay in the Government’s expected statement on Palestine. But I can wait no longer, and I do not yet know for certain when the statement is to be made.

In these circumstances I venture to make to you a very tentative suggestion. The Government even now may not have finally decided on its policy. We have conveyed to them as emphatically as we can that no proposals based on maintenance of the White Paper of 1939 (making Jewish immigration dependent on Arab consent, and preventing any considerable increase in Jewish agricultural land holdings) can be acceptable to the Jewish people, or form a basis of discussion with the Jewish Agency. Any sign of sympathy and understanding of this point of view publicly given by you before the Government is committed, might be of quite inestimable value. I rely upon your judgment in such a matter, and hope fervently that you will not think it presumptuous in asking you to consider it.

[Signature]
28, Hyde Park Gate,

October 31, 1945.

My dear Dr. Weizmann,

Thank you very much for your letter of October 28. You may be sure that I am considering all this question very carefully, and I do not think there would be any advantage in my taking the action you propose.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Dr. C. Weizmann.
Send the following radiogram subject to the conditions, regulations and rates as set forth in the applicable tariff of R.C.A. Communications, Inc., and on file with the regulatory authorities.

NOVEMBER 23, 1946

RLP
RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL MP
28 KILDARE PARK GATE
LONDON SW 7

21/2
GRATEFUL YOUR LETTER 21/10 WHICH FORWARDED HERE STOP

REGRET STATEMENT AND FOREIGN SECRETARY'S SUBSEQUENT PRESS INTERVIEW EVEN HARDER BLOW THAN PESSIMISTIC FORECASTS LED US BELIEVE STOP WHILST WHITE PAPER CONTINUES ZIONIST IS REDUCED TO REFUGE PROBLEM AND MAIN PURPOSE BALFOUR DECLARATION IGNORED STOP

UNDERSTAND DEBATE TAKES PLACE SOON HOP YOU MAY FIND IT POSSIBLE SPEAK AS ONE WHO WAS INSTRUMENTAL FASHIONING BALFOUR DECLARATION AND HOUSE CONSCIENCE BRITISH PEOPLE IN WHICH I PLACE MY TRUST THAT JUSTICE WILL STILL BE DONE TO US STOP FORGIVE ME FOR TROUBLING YOU AGAIN STOP WITH WARMEST GOOD WISHES

CHAIR WIZMAN

CHARGE TO: JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE 342 MADISON AVE

Full-rate message unless marked otherwise.

[Signature]
April 14th
1946

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
House of Commons,
London, S.W.1.

You will have seen that the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry have concluded their investigations both here and in Europe, and are now in London, engaged in drawing up their report. I understand that it is expected to be ready about the end of this month. It will then be for the Governments of Great Britain and the United States to take decisions which will of necessity be vital for the future of the Middle East, and of Palestine and the Jewish people in particular.

From what I see in the press, I gather that a majority of the British members of the Committee favour the abolition of the Jewish Agency, and the speedy establishment of a "Palestine" (i.e. Arab majority) Government, which would naturally decide all questions of future immigration. This would mean abandoning the National Home policy (and the National Home itself) so far as it now exists, and destroying the last hope of hundreds of thousands of Jews throughout the world. In fact, a destruction of the "Third Temple" built up with so much effort and devotion on the basis of Britain's pledged word. I have, as I said, a

(authentic)
14.4.46.

Two.

authentic information of any kind, if I attach some credence to these press reports; it is because they correspond rather closely to views expressed by some British members of the Committee while they were here. In writing to you, I need not stress the disastrous effects of any such policy, should it actually be adopted. But I confess that, with the memory of our last lunch at 10 Downing Street (and Mr. Attlee's reference to the prospect of extending our work even into Transjordan) still vivid in my mind, I find it hard to believe that his Government would sponsor such a proposal.

Clearly, however, the next few weeks will be of decisive importance for us, and this is why I venture to trouble you again with our affairs, though I know that your thoughts and energies must be all too fully occupied elsewhere.

I assume that the report, when completed, will fall broadly under two heads: immediate and long-term policy. Immediate policy concerns mainly the arrangements to be made for the "Displaced Persons" not languishing in the various Camps in Germany and elsewhere in Europe; long-term policy, the solution of the Palestine problem generally, with which I believe is linked up the future of the Middle East as a whole, and of Great Britain's position and interests there. It is not for me to speak of the last-mentioned problem, but I believe you have always shared our view that a Jewish Palestine is
14.4.46

Three.

the surest of all available bulwarks for British power in this part of the world. Nor did I compare Arab and Jewish contributions to the Allied Cause in the last war - from my conversations with you I know how well you understand our feelings on this subject, and on the consequences, to Arabs and Jews respectively, of the international arrangements which have so far emerged.

We have submitted, both to the Palestine Administration, and later to the Anglo-American Committee, detailed figures showing that some 100,000 refugees from Europe (including 25,000 children) can forthwith be absorbed in the existing economy of Jewish Palestine. I sent you a copy of the same memorandum a year or more ago. President Truman, basing himself on independent investigation by his own envoy in Europe, has made a similar suggestion. But apart from the immediate emergency, we are assured by distinguished American (non-Jewish) experts - and the Committee itself must, I think, have been convinced by its own observations here - of the feasibility of absorbing the next 1,000,000 Jewish immigrants in agriculture and industry in Palestine within a comparatively short period of years - given the requisite political conditions.

But the appropriate political conditions are indispensable. We cannot, as a people, be saved vicariously. Development on the scale and of the type, necessary - something on the lines of the USA schemes - is only possible if
the responsibility is entrusted to those most vitally concerned. Moreover, I am convinced that it is only when we have the status and authority we need for this work that we shall be able to reach a modus vivendi with the Arabs.

You will know that conditions here are difficult. My friends and I are doing everything in our power to keep things quiet, in spite of the very great strain under which the Jewish population is labouring. But our power dwindles as time goes on. We deeply deplore some of the things that happen, but we know them to be no more than the product of the black despair which is overwhelming our people. I am confident that, with the emergence of anything like a positive solution, these phenomena will disappear, and that co-operation with Britain which has always been the firm basis of our policy, will be re-established.

I hope you will realise that I am appealing to you in extremis — as to an old friend with whom it has been my privilege to work for nearly thirty years. You know what is at stake in the coming critical weeks. And I believe that, just as you took the helm in the hours of darkness and storm that followed the Chamberlain policy of appeasement, and brought the British ship of state safe to port, so now you will lend your powerful aid to another people — old and proud, as your own, but to-day worse than decimated, weak, defenceless — in the hour of its supreme need.
11.4.46.
Five.

need. Now is the time when our friends can help us, and I know you to be the most generous, understanding, among them.
2nd August, 1946.

Mr. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
38, Hyde Park Gate, S.W.1.

My dear Mr. Churchill,

Please accept my deep gratitude and appreciation of your speech in the House of Commons yesterday, and my warm personal thanks for your most kind and generous references to me: they will always be a source of pride to me, and come as some compensation for the travails and tribulations through which I have had to pass of late. I wish indeed that Fate had allowed you to handle our problem; by now it would probably all have been settled, and we would all have been spared a great deal of misery.

The present situation in Palestine, and indeed throughout the Middle East, bristles with difficulties and stresses. It is about this that I wanted to talk to you— I have been out there for the last five months. If the present trouble is not settled quickly, 

/and
and the tension reduced, I tremble to think of the consequences — not only in the Middle East, but also to relations with the United States.

I am still anxious to have a word with you about all this at your convenience. I shall be in Town from Tuesday morning (the 6th) until the following Tuesday, then I am afraid I have to go into a nursing-home for another operation on my eyes.

With renewed thanks, and many kind regards from us both to you and Mrs. Churchill, I am very sincerely yours,
2nd August, 1946.

The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
28, Hyde Park Gate, S.W.1.

My dear Mr. Churchill,

Please accept my deep gratitude and appreciation of your speech in the House of Commons yesterday, and my warm personal thanks for your most kind and generous references to me: they will always be a source of pride to me, and come as some compensation for the travails and tribulations through which I have had to pass of late. I wish indeed that Fate had allowed you to handle our problem; by now it would probably all have been settled, and we would all have been spared a great deal of misery.

The present situation in Palestine, and indeed throughout the Middle East, bristles with difficulties and stresses. It is about this that I wanted to talk to you — I have been out there for the last five months. If the present trouble is not settled quickly,
and the tension reduced, I tremble to think of the consequences - not only in the Middle East, but also to relations with the United States.

I am still anxious to have a word with you about all this at your convenience. I shall be in Town from Tuesday morning (the 6th) until the following Tuesday; then I am afraid I have to go into a nursing-home for another operation on my eyes.

With renewed thanks, and many kind regards from us both to you and Mrs. Churchill, I am

Very sincerely yours,

PERSONAL

DORCHESTER HOTEL
W.1.

16th August, 1946.

The Right Hon. Winston S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
28, Hyde Park Gate, S.W.7.

Dear Mr. Churchill,

I am going into the nursing-home this afternoon
for an operation on my eyes, which have been giving
me some trouble lately, and as I understand that you
will be leaving shortly for Switzerland, there may not
be an opportunity for us to meet in the near future.
I am therefore writing to let you know the latest de-
velopments with regard to Palestine, knowing as I do
how keen an interest you take in it.

The Jewish Agency Executive decided that the plan
outlined by Mr. Morrison in the House of Commons at
the opening of the Palestine Debate could not be regarded
as a basis for discussion with HMG. After much
heart-searching, they came to the conclusion that a
basis for discussion would be afforded if the estab-
lishment of a viable Jewish state in an adequate area
of Palestine fell within the scope and purpose of the
Conference. It was not an easy decision, because, as
you know, large sections of Zionist opinion are, for
one reason or another, opposed to partition. We had,
however, reached an impasse, and the federal scheme,
which had all the disadvantages and none of the ad-
vantages of partition, opened no road to a fresh ap-
proach.

After the decision about partition, a member of
the Executive, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, visited Washington
and had conversations with Mr. Acheson, the Acting
Secretary of State, to whom he outlined a scheme for
the division of Palestine into two states, Jewish and
Arab, - the Jewish State to comprise the Peel Scheme
area plus the Negev. Special arrangements were to be
made
made for Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and other Holy Places; and in the brief interim period before the two states became fully independent, the control of immigration into the area destined to become the Jewish State, and the election of its administration, would be in Jewish hands. I understand that Mr. Acheson, and subsequently President Truman accepted this scheme, and have transmitted it to HMG with their recommendation.

On his return to Paris, Dr. Goldmann saw Mr. Bevin, and reported to him on his Washington visit. Yesterday, together with two colleagues, I saw Mr. Hall at the Colonial Office, and we discussed the possibility of the Jewish Agency taking part in the projected Conference on Palestine. We explained that we could only do so if the establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate area came within the scope and purpose of the discussions. We shall no doubt hear from the Colonial Office in due course about this and other points raised at yesterday's meeting.

Here at last we have a plan which has received the support of the US Government, and which the Jewish Agency Executive could discuss; if not whittled down, it would probably be acceptable to the majority of Zionists and Jews. Partition as a solution to the Palestine problem has of late been increasingly under discussion: Colonel Stanley referred to it in the recent Debate, and the more influential daily and weekly papers have been advocating it. The scheme propounded by Mr. Morrison did not exclude partition as the eventual outcome of cantonisation, though it also envisaged /that
that at some future date the Jewish and Arab Pro-
vinces might federate.

All this being so, it seems to me that the time is now propitious to attempt a lasting solu-
tion of what has come to be regarded as a difficult, and almost insoluble, problem. I can only pray that the opportunity may not be missed.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Very sincerely yours,
To
THE RIGHT HONORABLE WINSTON CHURCHILL
H plunged the gates
LONDON

Street and No.
Care of or
Apt. No.

Place

AS YOUR OLD FRIEND AND ADVISER I AM SENDING YOU AT THIS HISTORIC
MOMENT TO WHICH YOU HAVE CONTRIBUTED SO MUCH SINCE THE EARLY
EVENTS, I WISH YOU HEARTFELT SUCCESS AND GOOD HEALTH AND
HAPPINESS.

IN WHICH MY WIFE JOINS STOP TO ALL YOUR HISTORIC EVENTS YOU
HAVE AND THIS ACHIEVEMENT AND THE CRESTING OF AN ANCIENT RACE
STOP SPOKE TO RANDOLPH YESTERDAY AFFECTINGLY

CHAIRMAN

ROOM 553

(Signed)

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for wire. Pay Western Union clerk for subscription or when billed by publisher.
RT. HON. WINSTON CHURCHILL
HOUSE OF COMMONS
WESTMINSTER, LONDON

ON EVE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON PALESTINE QUESTION I VENTURE TO CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO FOLLOWING CONSIDERATIONS STOP FIRST ASSEMBLY RECOMMENDATION UNDOUBTEDLY REFLECTS MORAL JUDGMENT OF WORLD STOP NEXT TO AMERICAN RUSSIAN AGREEMENT MOST IMPORTANT INITIATIVE CAME FROM BRITISH DOMINIONS ALL WHO SUPPORTED RESOLUTION TOGETHER WITH FRANCE SCANDINAVIAN WEST EUROPEAN SOUTH AMERICAN COUNTRIES STOP SOME PRESS REPORTS WHICH I HAVE SEEN SUGGEST ASSEMBLY'S RECOMMENDATION ARTIFICIALLY PRODUCED BY VARIOUS PRESSURES BUT SUCH REPORTS PARASITE IN VIEW OF WEIGHT OF IMPARTIAL JUDICIAL OPINION EXPRESSED MANY QUARTERS STOP SECOND AS FOREMOST ARCHITECT OF UNITED NATIONS YOU WILL CERTAINLY PREFER IMPLEMENTATION OF ASSEMBLY RECOMMENDATION TO ITS VIOLATION STOP ASSERTION OF ASSEMBLY'S AUTHORITY VITAL FOR FUTURE PRESTIGE AND EFFICACY UNITED NATIONS STOP CHARTER MUST BE UPHOLD AGAINST MENACE AND INTIMIDATION STOP THIRD AS ONE OF ORIGINATORS NATIONAL HOME POLICY AND ITS DEFENDER IN DARKEST DAYS YOU MAY BE GRATIFIED AT INTERNATIONAL ENDORSEMENT THAT POLICY AND PROVISION MADE FOR ITS REALISATION STOP FOURTH WHILE OFFERING JEWS SOME COMPENSATION THEIR TERRIBLE SUFFERINGS THIS SCHEME ALSO OFFERS BENEFITS TO ARABS STOP ANOTHER UNIT OF ARAB INDEPENDENCE IN ADDITION TO SEVEN EXISTING STOP ON ORIGINAL AREA PALESTINE MANDATE TWO ARAB STATES TRANSJORDAN AND ARAB PALESTINE NOW ESTABLISHED THEREFORE
ARABS HAVE NOT DONE BADLY AND SENSE OF GRIEVANCE QUITE UNJUSTIFIED STOP THIRTY MILLION ARABS INDEPENDENT NOT ENTITLED BEGROUDED SMALL AREA OF FREEDOM TO JEWS STOP MYSELF AND FRIENDS WILL STRIVE FOR HARMONIOUS RELATIONS ARAB WORLD STOP AS MANDATE ENDS I PRAY FOR RESTORATION OF NOBLE BRITISH JEWISH PARTNERSHIP WHICH YOU AND COLLEAGUES BUILT THIRTY YEARS AGO AND WHICH REMAINS ESSENTIAL FOR STABILITY PROSPERITY MIDDLE EAST. CORDIAL REGARDS

CHAIN WEIZMANN
DRAFT. January, 1948.

Dear Mr. C. [H.V. CHILL]

I hope that you will forgive me for breaking in upon your richly deserved rest with a request for your serious attention. The matter seems to me so vital and so urgent, and at the same time is one which used to be, and I hope still is, so near your heart, that I did not feel justified in leaving it until your return to England. The matter, as no doubt you will have conjectured, concerns Palestine and the future Jewish State. While naturally, I warmly welcome, with the rest of my people, the great act of historic justice with which the nations of the world have restored the claims of the Jewish people to a free national existence, I could not but regret the ambiguous, not to say unfriendly attitude of some of the representatives of H.M.G. to the granting of this charter of Jewish liberty. Neither I nor my people will ever forget the noble part played by Great Britain in general, and by such statesmen as the late Lord Balfour, Sir. David George, and yourself in particular, in our struggle for nationhood, and I have taken care to stress this over and over again in my addresses before various UNO committees and elsewhere, not always (I need hardly add) with the unqualified approval of the extremist elements of my own party. But this is not a matter of my personal private feelings and loyalties. The bonds which unite the Jewry of Palestine and the world to Great Britain, - and to the great dominions too, particularly after their unanimous support of our cause at Lake Success - still exist, and will, I firmly believe, survive the rising tide of bitterness which at present seems to blind the vision of some of the best Englishman and Jews alike.

But I did not venture to disturb your peace in order to express such pious hopes, however sincere. It seems to me that the UNO decision has radically transformed the political and economic future of the Middle East; a period of scald in frustration is about to yield to a more heroic, but also more perilous, situation: the fate of the Jews will be at stake, and this will affect intimately the relations...
Great Powers; that despite the blunders and misunderstandings of recent years, the peace and happiness of this part of the world, and therefore of Europe and beyond - directly depends upon the closest association of the new Jewish establishment with Great Britain and the British Commonwealth, and that this is appreciated by some of the most clear-sighted and responsible men in the United States and France no less than in Palestine. It is my firm belief that unless a close association between Britain and Palestine, whatever its political or even constitutional form, is firmly established, the consequences will be disastrous to all men of good will and lovers of freedom. It is my fervent belief - the endeavours of a whole lifetime are surety of its sincerity - that even this hour is not too late for the creation of Anglo-Jewish relations based on deep sentiment and principle, as well as on considerations of mutual interest, and without sacrificing any vital or legitimate interest of the British Empire in its relations either with the Arab world or with the U.S.A.

I am persuaded that what will occur in Palestine within the next year will, for ill or good, profoundly affect the relations of the Powers, and so the immediate future of Europe, perhaps of the world. Because I see the problem as both urgent and critical, and because I profoundly believe that, despite the voices of those who seek to, or cannot help but, darken counsel, British and Jewish interests coincide in this matter, both in the short and in the long run, and because of my faith in the deep insight, sympathy, and magnificent courage which, if I may say so, you have always displayed in guiding the British people, in this as in so many other matters, I venture to write and say how deeply I would appreciate an opportunity of giving you a more detailed exposition of my proposals in a personal interview. I am proposing to leave for Palestine (by air via Geneva) on January 25th.

I feel sure that more than any other great national leader with whom it has been my good fortune to deal, you will understand the anxiety and twofold devotion, to Palestine and England, which prompt my request.

I hope the sea and air of Marrakesh have proved thoroughly enjoyable and salubrious.
Mr. Meyer W. Weisgal,
16 East 66th Street
New York 21, N.Y.

My dear Meyer,

I was very happy to receive your letter, which as usual is full of news. I read with a certain amount of scepticism your remark about Eban's intention to write a long political report. This has become a stereotyped formula which a) is never carried out and b) I detest.

Usually it ends in a copy of a letter to Mr. Goldmann and I have to pick up the crumbs from his table. This is also true for the gentlemen in Israel and I shall have to change all that. I would be delighted to see McDonald and I am not so sure that questions of protocol are involved. However he knows best. Thank you for giving me all the information about the foundation and I have nothing but to express my satisfaction regarding it.

About the plan of creating a memorial for Michael I am in full agreement with it in principle, but as you rightly say, the form of it will depend largely upon the amount of money which will be available when the book appears. Incidentally, I would like to ask you, whether there is much in the book concerning Mr. Churchill, His relations with us and particularly with me personally. I am asking this question, because Mr. Churchill's book has just appeared and there is not a single word in it either about Zionism or about Palestine or about his various negotiations with me throughout these years. It is no doubt a studied omission; possibly something may appear in his other volumes, but I doubt it. Should my supposition be true, I think I ought to say something about it in the epilogue. It will no doubt produce an outburst on the part of Winston, but I really do not care. Please advise me on the matter.
I have naturally not received Mr. Robinson's formula and that is gone the way of all the promises. Will you please point out to Aubrey with all my respect and affection, that I rather will have no promises at all than broken ones. They are not a stable Government yet. Still they have learnt the art of breaking their word, as if they were very old established Governments. It would be excellent, if you could come over for a few days here before definitely going over. You must bear in mind, that we shall be moving on to Israel at the end of September.

Regarding the acknowledgments I think they could best be covered by a few sentences in the preface. When do you want the preface written?

The question of my transport to Palestine is a very serious one. You have read recently, that the Egyptians have attacked a boat, which was carrying food to Palestine and nobody seems to protest against this piracy. I would certainly advise our people to raise it with the State Department. Therefore I am somewhat worried about my own transport. Dave Ganzburg, when he was here, told me something about corvettes, which we are supposed to have in the Mediterranean manned and armed. One could either go by them or they could accompany any ship carrying us. But I have no knowledge of any details and it may be as well to ascertain them and let me know. There is not too much time to waste.

And will you kindly get in touch with Dave, who will be back in the States by now. Find out the details and whether such a corvette could meet me in Marseille. Otherwise one would have to make other arrangements. Bear in mind, that I cannot fly.

I am troubling you with these questions, which is really the business either of Aubrey or of Elihu. But I am sure, that they are too highly placed for my liking and I prefer to deal with a common citizen.

My love to you and Shirley and to the children from both of us as ever yours

[Signature]
29 July 48

My dear Chain,

Thank you so much for your letter, which I was greatly pleased to have. This letter is on a different subject.

I was recently talking to Winston, and mentioning the fact, which I had heard from 17 in Johannesburg, that he had sent us a message to you. "Send him," said Winston "my warmest personal regards."

But this Palestine position now, as concern Great Britain, is simply such a hell-disease that I cannot tolerate it any longer.
my efforts of twenty years. It is a situation which I myself cannot help in, and must, as far as I can, put out of my mind. But and Wigman himself, my warm regards.

I thought you would wish to know his present feelings. He respects the mishandling of Palestine by the present Government as simply astonishing. But he is conscious of possessing only a limited amount of energy now, and feels the necessity of concentrating it where it can have effect. His phrase "she'll disaster" was very expressive. It is his view of position where only injury, and fruitless execution of spirit, will result from
in attempt to retrieve what has been done.

Meanwhile, the Jewish State is coming into being, as we saw it, worked for and fought for. How much might have been achieved if it would have been brought about then! But there was no general agreement at that time—so true it is that the best is the enemy of the good.

Well, anyway, though much is taken much remains. If Rome had broken through at Alexandria—
and it was a very new thing - the whole prospect would have gone for ever. Meanwhile, I think there is a

wonderful prospect of your sitting under your own voice and fig-tree before very long has passed - or perhaps, to be more

strictly accurate, I should say of walking beside your own hedges and gooseberry-bushes!

As N. says to me you are better than you have been for years which is excellent news. Kindest regards to Vera. I hope she keeps well. Yours very sincerely

[Signature]

[WA.LTR ELLIOT]
I was more than delighted to receive Mr. Walter Elliot's message from you. This emboldens me to address these few lines to you. I meant to write before but I somehow felt instinctively that you do not wish to enter into a discussion of Palestine affairs. I quite understand and respect this sentiment and have no desire of raising these problems in this letter. I would like however to say that I wholeheartedly agree with your definition of the situation as a "hell-disaster".

My mind goes back to the time when British statesmen like Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour and yourself had laid the foundation of the Jewish National Home, and in spite of many vicissitudes and very serious difficulties it has progressed and can enjoy the privilege of statehood. It is a small country surrounded by many enemies and will have to ward off deadly perils, but the major part of the Jewish population of Palestine are men of courage, vision and integrity, and they face an enemy who may be numerical far superior but possesses no stamina and no courage. The headlong flight of hundreds of thousands of Arabs from Palestine at the mere approach of the Jewish Army and the very poor military performance of Egypt in spite of its wealth and equipment testifies to the quality and the spirit of the Arab world; this is the spirit we have been hearing so much about for the last twenty-five years.

It is a matter of deep distress to me, who laboured for a quarter of a century for the cooperation between the Jewish and the British peoples to see this work at any rate temporarily jeopardized. Instead of making the new State a friendly outpost
of Great Britain in the East, the present Government prefers to
build on the quicksands of Arab loyalty.

I shall not weary you with an examination of the causes
which have produced such a tragic situation. I pray that it may
prove merely a temporary aberration, and that the tradition of
friendship which began with Cromwell and continued for so many
years will revive under the pressure of realities.

Permit me to say, that you as practically the only survivor
of this great group of architects in the British Isles might
find it possible some day to overcome your present understandable
reluctance, and speak to us as only you can do, about the ways
we have to tread.

I have very little to say for myself. A heavy burden not of
my seeking has fallen on my shoulders and I intend to do my
best in guiding the first steps of the young State on the path
of peace, integrity and good intelligence with the world at large.

I have little hope at present that our Arab neighbours will
change their attitude. Only when they see that their fellow
Arabs in the Jewish State are treated on equality with the
Jewish citizens may they possibly change their minds.

Already at Lake Success I was approached by the Indian and
Burmesse Delegations about cooperation between their countries
and Palestine in the intellectual and scientific fields.
This is the first case of a great Eastern Power seeking such
cooperation with us.

I have always believed that Providence selects the small
countries to dispense its most precious gifts to humanity.
Athens was merely one small city and Palestine was always a poor
country subjected to pressure from North and South; yet what
they gave to the world is still the bedrock of human civilisation.
It is thrilling to think, that after a desert in time of two
thousand years, the ancient glories of Jewish culture may be
revived again in a modern form.

But I am afraid I have let myself go too much and I would
like to conclude by once more expressing my profound gratitude and asking you to forgive the length of the letter and submitting the request that if you feel like it, perhaps you might send me a word at your convenience.

I remain, dear Mr. Churchill, with all my affectionate good wishes for your health,
DRAFT

RIGHT HONOURABLE WINSTON CHURCHILL MP  HOUSE OF COMMONS
LONDON

EMBOLDENED BY YOUR RECENT STATEMENT HOUSE AND ENCOURAGED
BY PROGRESS RHODES NEGOTIATIONS WOULD URGENTLY APPEAL YOU
USE YOUR AUTHORITATIVE INFLUENCE VIEW LESSENING PRESENT
UTTERLY UNWARRANTED ANGLO ISRAEL TENSION AND AVERTING
ACTS OF INTERVENTION WHICH MAY PRODUCE GRAVE CONSEQUENCES
STOP DESIRE REAFFIRM TO YOU MY RECENT STATEMENT TIMES
THAT ISRAEL HAS NO AGGRESSIVE DESIGNS WHATEVER ON ANY
OF ITS NEIGHBOURS AND IS MOST ANXIOUSLY CONCERNED FOR
SPEEDY AND ENDURING ALL ROUND SETTLEMENT . STOP
PLEASE FORGIVE MY INSISTENCE WHICH IS PROMPTED BY REAL
CONCERN GENERAL SITUATION STOP  KIND REGARDS

CHAIM WEIZMANN
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

July 18, 1949.

The Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill, M.P.,
House of Commons,
London, S.W.1.

Dear Mr. Churchill,

I have much pleasure in introducing to you by these lines Dr. Mordecai Eliash, the first Minister of the State of Israel at the Court of St. James.

Dr. Eliash, before assuming his present mission, was a distinguished member of the Palestine Bar. He is also an eminent Jewish and Oriental scholar. He has undertaken the worthy, if difficult task of rebuilding the old bridges and renewing under the new conditions the friendly associations between Zionism and Great Britain, which were so tragically disrupted in recent years. He will need all the help he can get from those who stood for that earlier tradition, among whom I count you as one of the foremost. That is why I commend him to your wise counsel and informed guidance.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

[Signature]

[Handwritten text in Hebrew]

[Handwritten text in Hebrew]

[Handwritten text in Hebrew]
2 June 1950.

My dear Weizmann,

It was with very great pleasure that I received, through Sir Simon Marks, your kind letter of May 7. I am so much interested to know your views on these terrific events which are taking place in your country. I am told by people who have recently visited Israel of the many signs of hard work, courage and foresight on the part of your fellow-countrymen, and of the great progress which is being made in the agricultural and industrial life there.

As always I follow your fortunes with keen interest, and I take this opportunity of sending you my warmest regards and my good wishes for your continued health and strength. I feel that it is under your leadership and guidance that Israel will enjoy prosperity and happiness.

Yours sincerely,

Winston S. Churchill

Dr. Chaim Weizmann.
5th November, 1951

Dear Mr. Churchill,

May I extend to you my personal greetings and heartfelt good wishes on your re- assumption of office. I pray that you may be given health and strength to carry the heavy burden and that you may be able to write another great page in your unparalleled record of public service.

We all hope that your tenure of office may result in further strengthening the good relations that have developed during the last few years between Great Britain and our young State. We are going through a period of great strain. The task which we have taken upon ourselves of providing homes for all Jews who cannot or do not want to remain where they are is taxing all our resources. We need help and sympathy from old friends and I know that we may count you among these, as one who has shown fearless support in the most difficult times for the Jewish National Home.

I am looking forward shortly to receiving your newly-appointed Minister to Israel who I hope will continue the fine work done by Sir Knox Helm. I should like to add a word of warm commendation for Mr. Blath who represents us in Great Britain and of whose presence here I am availing myself to send you this letter.

With sincerest regards to Mrs. Churchill and yourself, in which my wife joins me,

Yours very sincerely,

The Rt. Hon. W.S. Churchill, P.C., M.P.,
10, Downing Street,
London
10, Downing St., Whitehall.

14 November, 1951.

My dear Weizmann,

Thank you so much for your letter and good wishes. The wonderful exertions which Israel is making in these times of difficulty are cheering to an old Zionist like me. I trust you may work in with Jordan and the rest of the Moslem world. With true comradeship there will be enough for all.

Every good wish my old friend.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

Immediate [Signature]

President Weizmann.