



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series II: Harold P. Manson File (Zionism Files), 1940-1949, undated.

Sub-series A: Main Manson File, 1940-1949.

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Weizmann, Dr. Chaim, 1943-1944.



*W. L. Z. M. A. M.*  
COPY

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE  
77, GREAT RUSSELL STREET  
LONDON, W.C.1.

4th January, 1944

Judge Samuel Rosenman,  
The White House,  
Washington, D. C.

I have been anxious to write to you for some weeks now, but have felt it better to wait for a good opportunity.

First of all, I wanted to let you know something of the "Hoskins story", of which you may have heard some echoes in Washington, and I think I cannot do better than send you the account of recent developments at this end which I wrote down from Mr. Sumner Welles in a letter dated December 13th. I attach a copy of this letter, with the enclosure by Mr. St. John Philby. (Mr. Philby, who is a great Arabic scholar and traveller, has been connected with Ibn Sa'ud for many years; he is, I believe, a great friend of the King). Though I addressed the letter to Mr. Sumner Welles, it is, as you will realise, intended for the President, to whom I was anxious to explain that it was not by us that his name had been so gratuitously introduced into the matter of the guarantee. Ibn Sa'ud's change of attitude as reported by Colonel Hoskins, may, I think, be due to the long delay between the original mention of the idea and Colonel Hoskins' visit (the first discussion with Mr. Philby was three years ago); or to the fact that Colonel Hoskins came without the "firm offer" which the King expected; or - in my view very probably - to the intervention of certain representatives of the oil companies which hold important concessions in Saudi Arabia, and which must provide Ibn Sa'ud with a considerable income; the activities of such companies in the Middle East are, in my experience, usually anti-Jewish. In my own view, the sending of Hoskins to Ibn Sa'ud was a serious mistake: he came empty-handed, and quite unprepared - and he is in any event none too sympathetic. I did warn Mr. Sumner Welles about this in a letter which I wrote him before leaving America - of which you can get a copy from Mr. Meyer Weisgal.

I think the letter to Mr. Welles covers the rest of the Hoskins story - so far as it is known to us here. I should perhaps add that the "plan" which Mr. Philby mentioned to the King three years ~~ago~~ since was also mentioned to me, quite independently, and without any knowledge of Mr. Philby's views, by the Prime Minister, and this is why I have always attached considerable importance to it.

Since my return to London I have seen quite a number of people: the Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, Field-Marshal Smuts, and of course the Colonial Secretary (several times) - apart from some other members of the Cabinet. No very precise information was made available to me, but my impression is that there are the following "probabilities" in the air:



1) It seems to be assumed that the White Paper cannot be maintained (though I'm sure that the Palestine Administration would do - and is doing - everything in its power to maintain the White Paper policy), and that something else, at present unspecified, will replace it. It may be that the idea of partition is to be revived. Such a solution at this time would, I believe, be neither just nor final, nor could it be agreed to by the Jewish people. I do not know whether any definite decision has been reached or not, though I gathered from hints dropped by Field-Marshal Smuts that our affairs were discussed at the recent meetings, and no doubt the President was in the picture - which makes me very happy.

2) Hints are also being dropped in various quarters that the decision - whatever it may be, will be "imposed" on both sides, and not previously discussed with us or the Arabs.

The element in the present situation which worries us most is the growing bitterness between the British Administration in Palestine and the Jewish Community. It stems, of course, mainly from the White Paper (to which, as already mentioned, the local officials would like to adhere indefinitely), and from all that has happened to us in the last few years: The Struma, the Patria, the evacuation of refugees from Athlit to Mauritius, the recent trials and searches for arms, with the savage sentences imposed on our people (in striking contrast to the trivial punishment meted out to hundreds of Arabs guilty of similar and more serious offences) - all this, with innumerable small and larger chicaneries over a period of years, has contributed to exasperate the Jewish population. I have done my utmost - not, I believe, without some measure of success - to hold things steady, and have just recently invited delegations from Palestine and from the States to meet in London in order to discuss the whole situation and the possible decisions of which we may be informed. I cannot emphasise too strongly that our most immediate anxiety is to prevent the occurrence in Palestine of incidents which may prejudice any further arrangements. Many Americans returning from Palestine are, I fear (like many of the British) unduly and adversely influenced by the local Administration, and anything which can be done from the American side to counteract this would be of great value. For the last year or so we have been hearing from British and American sources that everything in Palestine is working up for a clash between Jews and Arabs. On the other hand, we understand from many sources that relations between Jews and Arabs - at any rate in ordinary day-to-day intercourse - are improving, and these panicky reports have no real justification. For myself, I am quite sure that talking about clashes is the best way of bringing them about. Uncertainty is also a fertile breeding-ground for unrest: the sooner a definite decision is taken, and a constructive policy announced, the better for everyone. The Prime Minister rightly attaches the greatest importance to correct timing (as you may see from the enclosed note of my talk with him); and we would agree, were it not that we fear that delay may play into the hands of the dark forces operating in that part of the world - forces anxious to provoke a clash, and prevent any constructive solution.

Just as I left America I heard, to my great distress, that you were not well, so that I could not see you to say goodbye. I am happy to learn that you are back at work again - the best possible sign of



full recovery.

I send you my very best wishes for a happy New Year, and look forward to hearing from you soon.

With kind personal regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Signed ..... CH. WEIZMANN

B. S. We have been thinking of going to Palestine - but of course it is difficult, things being as they are, to make any definite arrangements any distance ahead.





*W. Weizmann*  
C O P Y

*Confidential File*

London, 4th January 1944

My dear Meyer:

I take it that you have seen the cablegram from Dr. Goldmann requesting that I send a report on our affairs to Sam Rosenman. This I am doing today. I am also sending a copy of all the material to Henrietta Klatz for Mr. Morgenthau and another copy for yourself and the office which you will be good enough to transmit to our people.

There will be no precise or further information until the Prime Minister returns from Cairo and Teheran. Unfortunately his illness will delay matters. I feel, however, that with his return things will begin moving in a certain direction. Therefore it is essential, in view of the various talks that are going on, that an American delegation should come here as quickly as possible. I am anxious that Wise and Silver should be part in addition to the members of the Executive of the delegation. I suppose it is too much to hope that you will be coming along; Vera and I are terribly lonesome for you.

I am greatly mystified by the vague reports about Bergmann. I fear that he must be ill. Please let me know exactly what the situation is. I hear about all sorts of negotiations but have not heard anything definite about him, had not letter from him for nine weeks. I am also anxious to have a "yes" or "no" reply to my enquiries regarding Andre Meyer.

I am planning to go with Mrs. Weizmann to Palestine rather soon. We will probably get there before the winter is over. Of course under present conditions no one can say definitely when that



will occur. I will keep you, of course, informed.

Mrs. Weizmann and I send you our love and to Shirley and the children. Give my love also to Bergmann, Blumenfeld, Blanche and Josef. Please cable me when you receive this letter and the material.

As always,

Affectionately,

CHAIM WEIZMANN





COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Michael Traub  
Commodore Hotel  
New York City

March 3, 1944

Dr. Chaim Weizmann  
The Dorchester Hotel  
London, England

Dear Dr. Weizmann:

I have recently arrived in New York from New Zealand and would like to give you a report of my activities in Australia and New Zealand as far as the Government and public opinion in both Dominions are concerned.

1) Shortly after my arrival in Australia in November 1941, I was received by the Prime Minister, Mr. John Curtin. I gave him an account of our war effort in Palestine and informed him about our political problems in connection with the White Paper, asking him particularly to support our demand concerning a Jewish Army. I also informed Mr. Curtin of the attitude of Field Marshall Smuts, to whom I had spoken shortly before my departure from South Africa. At the end of our conversation, Mr. Curtin expressed in general terms his sympathy with our demands, and his particular interest in the formation of a Jewish Army. The idea that some Australian units who were fighting in the Near East could be replaced by Jewish fighting units, found his approval, and he promised to bring the matter before Cabinet. Mr. Curtin gave me permission to write to Field Marshall Smuts and to inform him that he (Mr. Curtin) was fully in favor of a Jewish Army, and added that he would perhaps at a later stage discuss the matter also with the Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Fraser.

2) On the day following my interview with the Prime Minister, he received a letter from Sir Isaac Isaacs asking him not to pay any attention to our requests, and telling him that by supporting the Jewish Agency he would "endanger Churchillian policy in the Near East." This letter was followed by nearly ten long articles which Sir Isaac Isaacs published in the Jewish press, defending the White Paper and accusing the Jewish Agency of harming the British and Allied war effort in the Near East. At the same time he wrote various letters to prominent non-Jews, including the Premier of New South Wales, Mr. McKell, and others, in an attempt to convince them of the anti-British character of the policy of the Jewish Agency, and warning them not to identify themselves with any Zionist campaign.



March 3, 1944

It is difficult to describe in a letter all the attacks and accusations of Sir Isaac Isaacs, but it may interest you that he resigned as patron of the League of Nations Union when the Union invited me to address them on Palestine. (His resignation was accepted and I was able to address the League of Nations Union.)

3) Despite all these difficulties, I have addressed during the first year of my stay in Australia numerous non-Jewish meetings, and interviewed on several occasions the Premiers of the various Australian states which I visited, as well as various prominent representatives of the non-Jewish community. These interviews, as well as the numerous addresses I delivered at Universities, Churches, Labor Councils and other non-Jewish audiences, prepared the ground for the formation of Pro-Palestine Committees in Australia.

During my stay in Australia, Pro-Palestine Committees were formed in Melbourne, Perth and Sydney along the same lines as in the United States. The Australian Pro-Palestine Committees consist of the most prominent leaders of the Clergy, University and political life of the Commonwealth and include the Primate of the Church of England, Archbishop Dr. Le Fanu of Perth; the Catholic Archbishop of Australia, Dr. D. Mannix; the Premier of Victoria, the Hon. A. Dunstan; the Speaker of the House of Representatives in Victoria; the Lord Mayors of Sydney, Melbourne and Perth, the Vice Chancellors of the Universities, the leaders of the political parties, and others. Enclosed you will find a list of the various members of the Australian Pro-Palestine Committees. Chairman of the Pro-Palestine Committee in Victoria is Professor H. A. Woodruff; Chairman of the Pro-Palestine Committee in New South Wales, the Rt. Rev. C. Venn Pilcher, Coadjutor Bishop of Sidney; Chairman of the Pro-Palestine Committee in Western Australia, the Chancellor of the University of Perth, Professor Walter Murdoch.

I formed a similar Committee during the last few months also in New Zealand, with the Anglican Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Barb Holland as President of the Committee. (See attached list.) It may interest you that three Ministers of the Cabinet (The Hon. A. Nordmayer, Minister of Health, the Hon. Robert Semple, Minister of Public Works, and the Hon. Major C.F. Skinner, Minister of Rehabilitation) joined the New Zealand Pro-Palestine Committee, and that Minister C.F. Skinner, who participated in the North African



campaign and spent a few days also in our settlements in Palestine, became one of its Vice-Presidents.

At meetings of the Pro-Palestine Committees in Sydney, Melbourne, Wellington and Auckland the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"The first meeting of the...Pro-Palestine Committee expresses its horror at the unprecedented atrocities which have been and are being committed against the Jews in Europe in pursuance of the barbarous Nazi policy to exterminate the Jews, and offers its deepest sympathy to the sufferers. It further affirms that the present terrible plight of Jewry has strengthened the need for the full implementation of the Balfour Declaration and asks that in this critical hour the gates of Palestine shall be opened wide to Jewish immigration."

4) The sympathetic attitude of numerous labor leaders in Australia towards our demands found its expression in a speech delivered by the Federal Minister, E.F. Holloway, at the Conference of the League for Labor Palestine in Melbourne in which he associated himself with the resolutions of that Conference. One of the resolutions of the Conference urged "the abrogation of the White Paper and the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated into the structure of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the new democratic world order."

Worth mentioning also is the fact that a combined meeting of the delegates of the Trade and Labor Council and of the Labor Party in Auckland passed after my address two months ago unanimously a resolution demanding the abrogation of the White Paper of 1939 and the implementation of the Balfour Declaration.

5) After my arrival in New Zealand end of June I was received by the Prime Minister, Mr. Peter Fraser, in the presence of Mr. Walter Nash, Minister of Finance, and New Zealand Minister in Washington. Mr. Fraser stressed his sympathetic understanding of our problems and was very interested in the absorptive capacity of Palestine as well as in our post-war immigration program. When I mentioned that despite the opposition of Mr. Churchill, Mr. Avery and Mr. Morrison and many others, and despite the fact that the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations voted against the White Paper, that document became law, the Prime Minister interrupted me and said: "Oh, not law, but accepted policy." This



and similar remarks characterized his attitude towards the White Paper.

At a second interview he agreed to address a public meeting held on the occasion of the first New Zealand Zionist Conference. In his address the Prime Minister said:

"After Fascism and Nazism have been destroyed there will be problems and I hope that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill will share in the solution of them. The spirit of justice which lives in their breasts, and in those of <sup>the</sup> other leaders of the United Nations, will then be translated into fair decisions and just re-arrangements.

"I hope and believe that the representatives from this country who will take part in the Counsels, will stand four-square for justice for the ancient home and the new hope of the Jewish people." (See attached copy of speech.)

The Minister of Rehabilitation, Major Skinner, (who later became one of the Vice-Presidents of the Wellington Pro-Palestine Committee) said in a speech delivered at a Keren Hayesod reception on August 25th:

"If Palestine was handed over to the Arabs, all the work that the Jews have done there would be destroyed in a very short time, and I cannot imagine a country that should be a party to allowing the wonderful work that was done in Palestine to be wasted."

I should like to mention in this connection also the very sympathetic attitude of Mr. Walter Nash, with whom I had several long interviews during my stay in New Zealand. In one of our conversations, he said to me:

"The White Paper put a deadline that may have been valid in times of peace, but the war has changed conditions considerably, and this applies also to the White Paper. I would act as if the date of March 31, 1944 did not exist. That date was fixed when conditions were quite different."

Similar ideas were expressed by other members of the Government whom I have interviewed during the last few months.



March 3, 1944

6) Realizing the sympathetic attitude of several members of the Government and of prominent representatives of public opinion in Australia and New Zealand towards our demands concerning the abolition of the White Paper and the full implementation of the Balfour Declaration, I cabled to the Jewish Agency in London on September 27, 1943 as follows:

"REFERRING PRIME MINISTER FRASERS SPEECH DELIVERED ZIONIST CONFERENCE WELLINGTON AND SMUTS MESSAGE SOUTH AFRICAN CONFERENCE STOP PLEASE CABLE YOUR OPINION REGARDING JOINT DOMINIONS REPRESENTATION FOR WITHDRAWAL 1939 WHITE PAPER STOP IF SOUTH AFRICA TAKES INITIATIVE AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND MAY FOLLOW -TRAUB"

On October 13, 1943 I cabled to the Jewish Agency:

"REFERRING MINE TWENTYSEVENTH PLEASE EXPEDITE REPLY STOP RECEIVED CABLE AND LETTER AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION INDICATING IF SOUTH AFRICAN AND NEW ZEALANDS ATTITUDE TOWARDS JOINT REPRESENTATION FAVORABLE AUSTRALIA MAY FOLLOW STOP SOUTH AFRICAN INITIATIVE DESIRABLE BEFORE SUBMITTING PROPOSAL NEW ZEALAND FRIENDS WHOSE ATTITUDE VERY SYMPATHETIC STOP PLEASE CABLE - TRAUB"

On October 20, 1943 I received the following reply:

"YOURS THIRTEENTH YOUR INFORMATION REGARDING ATTITUDE WELLINGTON SYDNEY VERY USEFUL STOP SUGGEST YOU CONTINUE TENTATIVELY BUT TAKE NO DEFINITE ACTION UNTIL HEARING FROM US FURTHER -- JOSEPH LINTON"

I discussed the idea of a joint representation of the Dominions for the withdrawal of the White Paper with the Executive of our Pro-Palestine Committee in Wellington, and they accepted my proposal to send a delegation of the New Zealand Pro-Palestine Committee to the Prime Minister in order to present to the Government the resolution passed by the Committee at its inaugural meeting, and to ask the Government to make the necessary representations in London on the occasion of the forthcoming Empire Conference.

The delegation consists of members of the Wellington Pro-Palestine Committee and delegates from the other three New Zealand centers and will be headed by the Chairman of the New Zealand Pro-Palestine Committee, the Anglican Bishop of Wellington, Barb Holland.



March 3, 1944

A few days later, in November, I called again on Mr. Nash, informed him officially of the formation of the Pro-Palestine Committee and discussed with him the idea of a joint representation of the Dominions to be made at the Empire Conference in London in favor of the abolition of the White Paper and the full implementation of the Balfour Declaration. I informed him also of the decision of the Pro-Palestine Committee to send a delegation to the New Zealand Government in support of this request. Mr. Nash, who was at that time Acting Prime Minister, told me that Mr. Fraser would gladly receive the delegation; concerning the joint representation the Prime Minister would discuss the matter with the Cabinet. He added: "Yours is certainly a moral issue and in the long run moral issues prevail."

During the following weeks I had several interviews with other members of the New Zealand Government as well as with leading members of the Opposition in the House of Representatives. The delegation was supposed to call on the Prime Minister in the middle of February. I am convinced that their request will be supported by the public opinion in New Zealand and that the ground is well prepared for the intervention of the New Zealand Government in London.

It may also interest you to know that the Australian as well as the New Zealand press gave prominence to our demands during the last year and published a number of articles in support of the abolition of the White Paper and the opening of the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration. Of particular importance was an editorial published by the most influential newspaper in Australia, "The Sydney Morning Herald", under the headline, "A Jewish State." It was for the first time that a prominent Australian paper came out into the open with sympathetic reference to a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Other articles in Australian and New Zealand papers followed, and greatly facilitated our work in both Dominions.

7) Since my departure from Australia I was all the time in contact with our friends there concerning the activities of their Pro-Palestine Committee and steps to be taken with the Australian Government in favor of a joint representation in London. I suggested that a delegation of the Australian Pro-Palestine Committee similar to that formed in New Zealand should call on the Australian Government in support of the above mentioned representation. Shortly before



March 3, 1944

my departure from New Zealand I received a confidential letter from the Zionist Federation, under the date of January 10, which reads in part as follows:

"I hasten to inform you that on Wednesday a deputation waited upon Dr. Evatt; the members of the deputation were: Mr. Saul Symonds, representing the Advisory Board of N.S.W., the undersigned (Dr. J.M. Machover), Mr. S. Steigrad, Mr. H.B. Newman and Mr. N. Freilich. The deputation was introduced by Mr. A. Landa. It was purely/informative and informal affair and we promised that no publication whatever of the talk will take place. The reception was a friendly one. All of us have the impression that our fears that the Australian government is against our movement seems to be unfounded. On the contrary, Dr. Evatt gave us to understand that the Australian Government would support any steps taken by other dominions and democracies on behalf of the Jewish National Home. He referred to the necessity in time of war for diplomatic silence, but said that when the time is appropriate they will not be satisfied with words but will take vigorous action. He of course emphasized that he could not commit the government and promised to discuss the matter with the Prime Minister. Dr. Evatt was particularly interested in our report of New Zealand's attitude and read with attention the cutting reporting Mr. Fraser's speech on the occasion of your address. We understood that Mr. Fraser is coming to Australia shortly and Dr. Evatt said that he will talk the matter over with him. That is particularly the reason why I am so anxious to let you know of our interview without delay, in the hope that you will be able to prepare the ground. It will interest you to know that Dr. Evatt has not been influenced by Sir Isaac Isaacs' published views on Zionism. On the contrary he showed good understanding of the position of the real situation of affairs in Jewish life."

I personally have always hoped that both Dominions will in this and many other respects follow the same line of action, and the Conference between the Prime Minister of New Zealand and the Australian Government which took place in the middle of January in Australia has indeed served the purpose of coordinating the policy of the two Dominions in view of the British Empire Conference in London.



March 3, 1944

I wrote to Mr. Fraser shortly before my departure and sent him also some literature which he confirmed in a letter which I had received on the day of my departure.

Summing up, I may state that the Prime Ministers and several other members of the Australian and New Zealand Cabinets, as well as the most prominent representatives of the non-Jewish community in both Dominions realize the urgency of our claims and the political and moral issues involved in the abolition of the White Paper and the full implementation of the Balfour Declaration. Australian and New Zealand soldiers fought together with South African and other Imperial troupes in the Near East, defending Palestine, and they strongly feel that they should have a moral say in all matters concerning the Near East. I am convinced, therefore, that the expected participation of Australia and New Zealand in the Empire Conference in London will give additional weight to the validity of our claims.

I have informed Dr. Silver and Dr. Israel Goldstein (before his departure for London) about this matter, and have discussed it fully with Mr. Meyer Weisgal, who was of the opinion that you would be interested to have an account of my activities in Australia and New Zealand, and of the attitude of the leading members of their Governments and representatives of public opinion towards our cause.

I shall stay in New York until the end of this month and intend to go from here to Argentina.

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Michael Traub



הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

## THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE.

TELEPHONE: MUSEUM 3815 (6 LINES).

TELEGRAMS: "ZIONIBURO, LONDON."

CODES: BENTLEY'S AND MOSSE'S.

77, GREAT RUSSELL STREET,

In reply please address the Secretary:

and quote the following Reference No.:

1st May, 1944.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
c/o American Zionist Emergency Council,  
342 Madison Avenue,  
NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

LONDON W.G.1.	
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MAY 22 1944	
ANSWERED	

My dear Silver,

I was very glad to receive your letter of the 3rd March; thank you very much for it. Mrs. Weizmann joins me in warmly reciprocating your good wishes.

I am sorry to hear that the existence and work of the political office of the Jewish Agency should be causing you personal embarrassment. Everything possible must certainly be done to overcome any difficulties which may have arisen. I have heard with great pleasure of the increased activities of the Emergency Council: full reports were given to us here by Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Goldstein, and we follow the work of the Council closely from the press cables and cuttings which reach us from America. It is quite possible that with the present tempo and set-up of the Emergency Council we might not have decided to set up a separate office of the Executive. On the other hand, it was generally felt at the time that such an office had to be established, and now that it exists and is working, it seems to me that we are likely to lose more by abolishing it. You yourself say that there is a great deal of work to be done in the South American States, which can be done by the Jewish Agency office. But there are also spheres of the work in New York and Washington where you may find it very useful that whatever action may be necessary should be taken in the name of the Executive of the Jewish Agency rather than of the Emergency Council. Similar considerations also apply in regard to Canada.

I do agree, however, that there should be the fullest co-ordination between the Emergency Council and the Agency office, and I am convinced that, with goodwill and harmony between you and Dr. Goldmann, this can be arranged. I know I can rely on you and other friends of the Emergency Council to do everything possible to smooth out difficulties and ensure friendly co-operation.

I saw Mr. Stettinius the week before last and had a friendly talk with him. I urged the need for an immediate decision rather than postponement till  
/the



the war is over, and pointed out the dangers of delay. At luncheon last week I found myself by chance sitting next to Mr. Wallace Murray, but beyond expressing our opposition to partition, I had little opportunity of speaking to him about our affairs.

I, too, had hoped to see you here with the delegation, but the course of events did not follow quite the line we had anticipated. We cannot see daylight yet, but it is possible that circumstances may arise which will necessitate the presence in London of yourself and other friends. I shall try and give you as much notice as I can when the time comes.

With all good wishes and personal regards, and looking forward to seeing you, I am

Yours ever,

*Ch. Weizmann*



# *Interest in the Jewish National Home in Palestine*

*"Whatever can be done to help the persecuted Jewish people shall and must be done to the utmost of the ability of all right-thinking men."*

—The Right Hon. Peter Fraser.

▼

**On the occasion of the First New Zealand Zionist Conference the Prime Minister, the Right Hon. Peter Fraser, delivered at a public meeting held at the State Theatre in Wellington on July the 25th, 1943, the following address:**

"It was a great privilege to be here to-night and to hear that inspiring speech from Dr. Traub. As he was speaking, my thoughts and your thoughts must have tried to picture the terrible scenes that he drew for us in a few vivid words. We know that this war has brought terrible suffering to millions, but when we think of the two and a half millions of Jews killed as a result of bestial persecution in this war, we can understand what Dr. Traub means when he says that beyond all peoples of the world the Jews have suffered the greatest number of casualties in this war. These two and a half million Jews—almost one million more than the total population of New Zealand—have been murdered in the most brutal way. One just wonders if the whole tragedy is nothing more than a terrible nightmare which has descended on the world, and surely everyone will vow that according to our ability and resources we will do our utmost to wipe from the world for ever this beastly, brutal thing called Nazism and Fascism.

"Over the centuries there have been many pogroms and persecutions of the Jews, but

never in the history of man has there been such a deluge of blood as has been the case since Nazism came into power. From then on there has been not one pogrom, not one murder, but a deliberate cold-blooded scientific plan for the complete annihilation of the Jewish people in Europe. The Nazi hordes swept through Poland, Belgium, Holland, Yugo-Slavia, Greece—indeed, to the very gates of Alexandria, and almost to the shores of Britain, and just as a Power greater than man repelled these threatening hordes, so will the Jewish people be delivered from the horror threatened by their persecutors. Whatever can be done to help the persecuted Jewish people shall and must be done to the utmost of the ability of all right-thinking men.

"Naturally and rightly, the Jewish people want to go back to their ancient homeland. Unfortunately, I did not see much of Palestine myself, but when I flew over that great land I saw the marvellous city of Tel-Aviv, and I could realise the work that was done there when I saw the buildings of the city and cultivation of the soil. I have also listened to the stories of our boys who have just come back. Some of them have been to Palestine on leave, and they told me how interested they were in the economics of the country and in the co-operative settlements, and how wonderful Tel-Aviv is. There, in Palestine, they said, there is the birth of a nation, and as Dr. Traub told us



—there is dignity of labour, of work by brain, and work by hand. The Jews in Palestine utilised the resources of a country which was desert before they went back there. Now, it is a great country—and it would be a loss to mankind if all the effort, all the work, and all the inspiration that had gone to transform Palestine into its present stage, were to go in vain.

“Dr. Traub said that he was not blaming the Arab masses, and indeed there should be no antagonism nor misunderstanding between the Jewish and Arab peoples, as everyone living in Palestine would naturally benefit from what the Jewish people have made out of a land which was once desert, until the desert blossomed as a rose. Palestine is very akin to the ideals of New Zealand except that the Jewish people went to Palestine with a tradition of privation.”

Concluding his address, the Prime Minister said:—“After Fascism and Nazism have been destroyed there will be problems and I hope that Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill will share in the solution of them. The spirit of justice which lives in their breasts, as in those of the other leaders of the United Nations, will then be translated into fair decisions and just re-arrangements.

“I hope and believe that the representatives from this country who will take part in the counsels will stand four-square for justice for the ancient home and the new hope of the Jewish people.”

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**The following are extracts from an address delivered by Major the Hon. C. F. Skinner, Minister of Rehabilitation, at a Reception of the Palestine Foundation Fund held on August 25th, 1943, in Wellington:**

“... I first took an interest in Palestine when I was in Greece. There I met a number of Palestinian labour units and I got to know a large number of these men and to appreciate the work they were doing. When

later on I went to Palestine I spent several nights in Jewish settlements. Nothing I can say can describe eloquently enough what I saw there. There is much in these settlements that reminded me of New Zealand. I spoke to the settlers and was amazed to see the way in which they are building up the country and the progress they have achieved in a very short time under difficult conditions. . . .

“What amazed me most of all was the terrific drive behind the movement. I have never seen such enthusiasm as the enthusiasm displayed by Jews in Palestine. If we could only get a part of that drive and energy behind the work done in this country, New Zealand would become the finest country in the world.

“There is a tremendous difference between old Palestine and Palestine of today. I saw land where they told me there had been sand and swamp not so long ago, and I pictured the tremendous work that must have gone into that task. It is incredible to me that this work was done partly by students and professional men who were unused to doing this kind of work, and made a great job of it.

“I have a friend who . . . after having visited the country and spent a few weeks in Jewish settlements, can talk of nothing else but of the work that is being done there. He says, and I agree with him, that the enthusiasm of these Jewish settlers in Palestine is incomparable. . . .

“If Palestine was handed over to the Arabs, all the work the Jews have done there would be destroyed in a very short time, and I cannot imagine a country that should be a party to allowing the wonderful work that was done in Palestine to be wasted.

“Palestine is a monument to those Jewish men and women who have built up the country, and I greet you all as members of a movement who have done all this grand work.”



***Leading Australian and New Zealand newspapers have not only expressed sympathy with the movement but have given it definite support. Here are some typical examples of editorial comment:***

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## **The Sydney Morning Herald**

FRIDAY, JUNE 11, 1943

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### **A JEWISH STATE**

In due course the whole question of Jewish settlement in Palestine must be reviewed, for the temporary plan outlined in the British White Paper of 1939 has been rendered entirely obsolete by the events of the war. Dr. Traub, a delegate from the Jewish Agency for Palestine, now pleads for a Jewish National State, adequate for not merely hundreds of thousands, but millions of settlers. Two developments will doubtless help Dr. Traub's case. The terrible Axis persecution of Jews in Europe, with its avowed aim of extermination, is one of them; retribution against those responsible, and sympathy for the victims, will not be enough without practical help for the refugees. Secondly, the Arabs, those old contestants against a separate Jewish Palestine, can scarcely expect their objections to be treated with quite the same deference as in 1939, in view of the Arab States' record of indifference, if not open hostility, to the Allied cause during the darker days of the war. The new Zionist Palestine proposal is for "a Jewish Commonwealth within the British Commonwealth of Nations." The proposal might twenty years ago have disturbed even the equanimity of Earl Balfour, but in the "New Order" of the post-war period an improved League of Nations might not exclude Dr. Traub's idea.

## **The New Zealand Herald**

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1943

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### **FUTURE OF PALESTINE**

Amid the preoccupations of the war the problem of Palestine has been lost to view. Yet Dr. Traub's address . . . dealt with a topic of world importance—the question of a national home for the Jews. When peace comes to the Middle East the question will call for an answer. When Hitler's dungeons are broken open and the truth of the pogrom shocks the world, the Jewish question will pose itself afresh in emphatic, urgent terms, and that, apart from other considerations, will place Palestine high on the agenda of peace. It is not impossible that the task will be simpler than it once appeared. The future will see no Lord of Islam in Rome fermenting Moslem hate throughout the East. No radio from Bari will lie to Arab Palestine night by night. It is possible, too, that the passing of time will have created obligations and cancelled old ones. It is undoubtedly a fact that the Arab world will have fewer claims upon the victors than it had in 1918. Lawrence's guerillas, whose daring deeds hastened, but by no means produced, the victory in Palestine, were handsomely rewarded with territory to house Arab freedom, twenty-five times the area of Palestine. Their services have not been used in the present conflict. Indeed, the independent Moslem world is suspect. The story of Egypt, which, if not an Arab State, is Islamic in both faith and culture, has yet to be told. It is likely that it will be coloured with little heroism. Iraq, when the Germans were beating at the gates of Syria, cost the Empire, still fighting alone, the casualties and embarrassment of a difficult campaign. Iran, linked like Egypt with Arab culture, was not occupied for its loyalty. The Arabs, in sum, can hardly expect to be numbered among the most favoured nations.



The urgent necessity for a home for the Jewish race may be taken as granted. An ancient passion living in the hearts of 16,000,000 people cannot be lightly thwarted. It was brought to life by the great dispersion, twenty-six centuries ago, in the years of massacre and deportation, when the brutal kings of Nineveh and Babylon were anticipating the tyrant of Germany. As dispassionate a Jew as Disraeli felt its power. In one of his novels he makes a Jew of Jerusalem say: "The English will take this city; they will keep it." The policy which, born in the same astute brain, secured Cyprus and Suez for the Empire, may even have had this further end in view. Indeed, it is connected with Imperial security, and if that would have appealed to Disraeli, how much more carefully should the users of Iraqi oil regard it? Napoleon was neither the first nor the last of the conquerors to realise that Palestine will always be the strategic key to the Near East. It must be occupied by a friendly people—ready and anxious to form part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The interests, therefore, of the Empire's security agree with the aspirations of the Jewish people. Their problem cannot wait. Fostered by the Hebrew Scriptures, the yearning for "returning west" has coloured the history of the race. Only Palestine can satisfy it. As Weizmann himself remarked when confronted with a proposal to build a Jewish State in East Africa, would banished Englishmen, in a distant century, accept as a substitute for home permission to "return" to Calais?

The Arabs, of course, will still be there. The admitted urgency of a solution of the Jewish problem will not destroy a historical fact. What is to be done with them? The Partition Scheme was as absurd as the Danzig Corridor, and is quite as dead. It might be argued that the Arab is richly rewarded. The fact that Jewish colonisation has lifted large areas of Palestine from poverty, disease and degradation to well-being, health and cleanliness is not to be disregarded. There is a market for Arab land and labour. There is nothing to prevent similar Arab enterprise, and, indeed, the moral paralysis of the Moslem faith has not quite precluded its establishment in both agriculture and industry. It is inevitable that some of the original owners, who left the land a wilderness for centuries, should clamour for a yet greater share in

the unearned increment, but there is little justice in their case. A possible solution of the difficulty would be by a planned transference of part of the Arab population of Palestine to Irak, with adequately financed settlement schemes in that spacious, rich and undeveloped territory. The imperative need is that a solution should be found. Anti-Semitism will not die with Hitler and Rosenberg. A disturbing by-product of Hitlerism is a spread of the disease. Europe can never again be the Jews' home, nor do the British Dominions seem able to give them a refuge. Their suffering will close their ranks the world over, and accentuate afresh their deep distinctiveness. Jewish nationhood is the solution, and the finger of history points to Palestine.

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## **The Auckland Star**

THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1943

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### **THE JEWS AND PALESTINE.**

The reported decision of the Zionist General Council to refuse to co-operate in any post-war reconstruction scheme in Palestine, if based on the British Government White Paper of 1939, sharply draws attention to a political problem of major and pressing importance—the problem of the future of the Jewish people, and of what opportunities are to be opened to them in the Holy Land. The White Paper cruelly blighted their hopes by restricting immigration for the following five years to 10,000 a year, plus 25,000 refugees—a total of 75,000. No more were to be admitted without the acquiescence of the Arabs. Regulations subsequently issued restricted Jewish rights to purchase land in the larger part of the country. This policy, which is still the British policy in Palestine, was adopted in extraordinary circumstances. There were persistent and serious disturbances in the country, and the conference of Jews and Arabs called in London in February in the hope of finding a way out of the impasse had dismally failed. Moreover, the war was impending, and any Government could be excused for adopting an expedient that was perhaps designed to check the further development of a dangerous situation in an area of great strategical importance. However, the fact of greatest relevance is that the White Paper policy did have a strong



flavour of expediency and of impermanence. All that could be said for it was that, for the time being, it was decisive, after years of temporising and drifting. It should be remembered also that up to 1934 there was peace and prosperity in Palestine, and that the deterioration in subsequent years was directly attributable to the advent to power of Adolf Hitler and his anti-Jewish policy. His evil influence was felt in two ways. First, his persecution of the Jews led to a great increase in the number entering Palestine, which increase alarmed the Arabs. Secondly, German and Italian propaganda assiduously fomented that alarm into resentment, bitterness and hatred. They saw to it that a small fire became a blaze. The British Government, pursuing a general policy of appeasement, was in effect trying to fight the fire with one hand tied.

Great as were the needs of the Jews in the years of undeclared war, they have since become incomparably greater. The task of those who would spread comprehension of the magnitude and depth of their tragedy is made difficult, not only because war numbs sensibility and satiates conscience, but also because the scale of the atrocities perpetrated against the Jewish people in German-dominated lands almost baffles comprehension. . . . It is in consequence of these happenings that the eyes of the Jewish people are to-day fixed on Palestine with passionate intensity. Projects for establishing Jewish colonies in Madagascar, or Brazil, or West Australia, for them have no practical meaning in present circumstances. They are, at the best, post-war dreams. The Jews are being exterminated now.

For present as well as for historical reasons Jews in every country feel that in Palestine there exists the opportunity for a great and fruitful settlement of the oppressed of their race. Some have a vision of its becoming a Jewish State within the British Commonwealth, a State in which the rights of the Arab inhabitants would be specifically and solemnly guaranteed. They point, as they are entitled to do, to the successful establishment of the existing Jewish colony as proof that they would know well how to grasp a larger opportunity. That there are grave difficulties none would deny, but those who would dwell upon them might, instead, reflect upon the priceless blessing which would be won by overcoming them. As General Smuts recently re-

marked, the whole of Jewry cannot live in Palestine, but they must have a national home of their own where they can live their own lives without interference from anyone. For the achievement of that great object there is need for the British Government, which holds the key, to approach the problem with greater energy and imagination than it has so far shown.

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## The Evening Post

WELLINGTON, N.Z.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 27, 1943

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### THE HOPE OF ZION

No more terrible and heart-rending story has emerged from the war than the merciless persecution of members of the Jewish race in Germany and in the German-occupied countries of Europe. Not only have the Jews been expelled from their homes and deprived of every right, but there has been a systematic Nazi attempt to exterminate them completely. Their sufferings have won the sympathy of all those who cherish the principles of freedom and justice. They have also been responsible for drawing attention to the hope of the Jews that the ideal of a national home, where the race can find a true and lasting expression of its aims and aspirations, will be fulfilled. There may be those who will ask why the Zionists, through their spokesmen, of whom Dr. M. Traub, now visiting New Zealand, is one of the most distinguished, should have chosen the present time, when the leaders of the United Nations are fully occupied with the pressing problems of the war, to bring the question so prominently forward. There is a reason for this. Under the terms of the British White Paper of 1939 Jewish immigration to Palestine was limited to 15,000 a year for five years, with the possibility of its complete cessation after March 31, 1944. The Zionists are naturally afraid that, unless their case is stated and understood now, their hopes for the creation of a national home in Palestine, and their immediate need for finding not merely a temporary refuge but a permanent home for persecuted members of their race, will be dissi-



pated. Their case is strengthened by the fact that the policy enunciated in the White Paper was adopted against the judgment of Mr. Churchill and others who now hold prominent positions in the British Government.

The development of Palestine as a home for the Jews under the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was proving successful until the unfortunate disturbances with the Arabs in 1936. As Dr. Traub has made abundantly clear, the Jews make no complaint against the Arabs; they place the blame for the disturbances at the door of German and Italian intrigue. With the removal of Nazi and Fascist influences, it is claimed that differences between Jews and Arabs could be amicably adjusted under the guidance of friendly Powers, and the progress that was being made in restoring to the Jewish race its pride in the soil could be continued. New Zealand's sympathy with the aspira-

tions of the Jews was expressed by the Prime Minister (Mr. Fraser) when he spoke at a public meeting in Wellington at the weekend, and his statement that whoever went to the Peace Conference from New Zealand would stand four-square for justice for the ancient home and new hope of the Jewish people will be generally endorsed. New Zealand, of course, has not the means to itself offer a solution of the problem. That must remain very largely an Imperial responsibility. New Zealand's part will be to offer her most sincere support, based upon admiration for what the Jews have already achieved in Palestine and practical sympathy for their terrible sufferings, towards the working out of a solution which Mr. Churchill and the British and American leaders assuredly desire. Thus the aspiration for a national home may be realised.

### THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Issued by the British War Cabinet, November 2, 1917, and signed by Arthur James (later Lord) Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:

**"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."**