

## INDEX

- Aaronsohn, Aaron, 75  
 Abadan refineries, 197  
 Abd al-Aziz al-Saud. *See* Ibn Saud  
 Abdullah, king of Jordan: Arab federation proposal and, 106, 108, 110, 111, 112; assassination of, 252; Churchill's perception of, 128–129, 193, 194, 249–250, 252; Greater Syria proposal and, 213; Ibn Saud rivalry with, 193, 198, 204; Palestine and, 103, 225  
 Adler, Hermann, Chief Rabbi, 45, 60  
 Admiralty, 14, 17, 18, 66–67, 69, 171, 175, 184, 186, 190; Churchill's forced resignation from, 74  
 Africa, 12, 17, 101–102; Churchill's racial views and, 13; proposed Jewish settlements in, 56–59, 62, 208, 219, 223. *See also* North Africa; *specific countries*  
 Agadir crisis (1911), 17  
 agriculture. *See* land development  
 air power, 14  
 Aleppo, 185  
 Alexander II, tsar of Russia, 83  
 Aliens Act of 1905, 49–50, 51, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65, 82  
 Allenby, Edmund, 77, 79, 91, 105–106, 112; anti-Zionism of, 126–127  
 Amery, Leo, 129, 134–135, 160, 163, 191, 193, 200; as Committee on Palestine member, 208, 209; as pro-Zionist, 129, 164, 207  
 Amritsar massacre (1919), 81  
 anarchists, 18, 66  
 Anglicanism, 42  
 Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry (1946), 229, 234, 235, 246  
 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty (1936), 251  
 Anglo-Persian Oil Company, 66–67  
 Anschluss (1938), 141, 149, 162  
 Anti-Nazi League, 150  
 anti-Semitism, 6, 38, 39–40, 47–48, 53, 54; Bolshevik Revolution as trigger for, 80, 84, 88; Britain and, 6, 40, 43, 50, 56, 64, 66, 68, 70–71, 80–82, 84, 86, 87, 88, 100–101, 164, 171–174, 179, 180, 185, 191, 208, 232, 240, 243–244; British anti-Zionism as result of, 174, 176; canards of, 6, 40, 81; Christian accusations and, 39–40, 42; Churchill's reactions to, 3, 44, 48–51, 67, 81–84, 87, 88–89, 149, 150; coining of term, 42; Jewish homeland as answer to (*see* Zionism); “Jewish problem” and, 2–3; Nazi ideology and, 142, 148–150, 162, 180 (*see also* Holocaust); Poland and, 150, 162, 228; *Protocols of the Elders of*

- anti-Semitism (*continued*)  
 Zion and, 80–81, 82; Randolph Churchill's countering of, 45; Russian history of, 44, 47, 49, 51, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 68, 80, 83–84, 85, 136, 150, 151; United States and, 193
- appeasement policies, 162, 164, 165, 166, 171, 174, 192, 197, 229, 231–232
- Aqsa Mosque, al-, 143
- Arabia. *See* Ibn Saud; Saudi Arabia; sherifians
- Arabi Pasha, 44
- Arab-Israeli War (1948), 218, 230, 240–241, 243, 244, 246, 251, 252; Palestinian Arab refugees and, 249
- Arab League, 220
- Arab Legion, 240, 250
- Arab revolt (1936–1939), 152, 162–163
- Arabs: anti-Zionism of, 70, 91, 112, 126, 130–131, 204–205, 206, 219–220, 221, 226; Balfour Declaration and, 93, 156; British appeasement/favoring of, 74, 75, 92, 106, 113, 128–130, 132, 162–166, 174–176, 191–194, 200–201, 204, 220–221, 225, 227, 229, 236, 240, 243, 244, 250, 264; British Cabinet Committee proposal and, 210–211; British diminished influence with, 221; British romanticization of, 128, 237, 264; Churchill's relations with, 92–93, 106, 128–129, 195, 219–220; Churchill's view of, 2, 3, 4, 13, 90, 114, 128–129, 145, 155, 185–186, 194, 195, 207, 237–238, 248–249, 264, 265; conquest of Palestine by, 39; as Fascist/Nazi supporters, 154, 160, 169, 193, 197; federation proposals for, 106–108, 163, 172, 194, 196, 197–205, 211, 219, 220, 225, 226, 235; First World War and, 75–76, 126, 127, 129, 146, 154, 168; Israeli war with (*see* Arab-Israeli war); Jerusalem's grand mufti and, 112; London conference (1939) and, 163; nationalist movement of, 105, 226 (*see also* pan-Arabism); Palestine partition rejection by, 230, 243, 244; Palestinian Arabs differentiated from, 249–250; revolts by, 94, 110, 152, 162–163, 192, 194, 197, 238; Roosevelt's statements and, 193, 221–222. *See also* Palestinian Arabs; sherifians; *specific countries*
- Aramco, 220
- Argentina, 58
- Ashkenazi Jews, 117
- Ashley, Edward (Earl of Shaftesbury), 52
- Asia, 13–14, 26, 32, 53, 55
- Asquith, Herbert, 63, 65, 72, 74, 79; anti-Semitism of, 70–71
- Association of Levant States (proposed), 209, 213
- Assyrians, 39
- Ataturk (Mustafa Kemal), 91
- Atlantic Charter (1941), 177, 202
- atomic bomb, 14, 35
- Attlee, Clement, 150, 210, 244; anti-Zionism of, 174, 223, 227, 228–229, 231, 232, 235, 238; Churchill's outlook vs., 31–32, 34, 35, 228, 239, 240, 243; election (1945) win of, 30; Palestine policy and, 233, 237, 241, 251, 252; Potsdam conference and, 224
- Auschwitz-Birkenau, 31, 178, 179, 180; liberation of, 183; proposed bombing of, 172, 181, 182
- Austria, 15, 140, 141, 150, 162
- Austro-Hungarian Empire, 18
- Babylonians, 39
- balance of power, 15, 16, 18, 23, 25–34, 89
- Baldwin, Stanley, 133, 134, 140, 142, 161
- Balfour, Alfred, 50, 56, 76–77, 101, 102, 104, 126, 130, 131, 134, 208
- Balfour Declaration (1917), 2, 6–7, 69, 87, 104, 114, 129, 131, 146; Arabs and, 93, 118, 125, 127, 156; British policy move from, 141, 166, 167, 168, 225; British reversals in favoring, 101; Churchill as implementer of, 99, 102, 137; Churchill's criteria for fulfillment of, 157–158; Churchill's defense of, 118, 133, 137, 153, 157, 207, 249, 254, 260; Churchill's inconsistency on, 78, 90–91, 96, 97, 103–104, 135, 254; Churchill's message on twenty-fifth anniversary of, 202–203; contradictions in, 126; dilution of, 137, 166; issuance of, 76–77, 78; Jewish national home meaning and, 77, 86, 116; Lloyd George

- on, 79; Palestine Mandate and, 78, 133, 158, 195; Transjordan's exclusion from, 111; United States and, 77, 166
- Baltic states, 20
- banking, 44, 56
- Baring family, 44
- Baruch, Bernard, 215–216, 222, 320
- Beaverbrook, Max, 105, 134
- Bedouin, 198
- Beirut provinces, 74
- Belgium, 72, 171
- Bell, Gertrude, 111
- Bendern, Count de, 48
- Benes, Edvard, 162
- Ben-Gurion, David, 144, 158, 160–161, 217; as Israeli prime minister, 244, 256; on Jewish state, 164
- Berlin, Isaiah, 39, 42–43, 88, 123–124, 169, 203, 240; on British abandonment of Weizmann, 242–243
- Berlin bombing raids (1943), 181
- Berlin crisis (1948–1949), 33, 241, 264
- Bermuda conference (1943), 189, 193
- Bernadotte plan (1948), 241
- Bevin, Ernest, 227, 228–229, 234, 235, 238, 241; anti-Semitism of, 243–244, 246–247, 251; Arab relations with, 250, 252, 254; Churchill's attack on, 246–247; Holocaust reaction of, 180; snubbing of Weizmann by, 243
- Big Three meetings, 27–28, 29, 30, 32–34, 179, 193, 206, 215, 216, 219, 223
- Bir Yaakov, 120–121
- Bischoffsheim family, 43
- Black Sea, 187
- Bletchley Park, 177, 178, 200
- blood libel, 53, 54
- Board of Trade (Britain), 17, 63, 106
- Boer War, 48, 66
- Bolshevik Revolution (1917), 21, 77, 80, 81, 82, 84, 88, 264
- Bolshevism/Communism, 6, 18, 19–25, 35, 90; antagonism to Jewish nationalism by, 56, 77, 86; Churchill's view of, 3, 20–23, 36, 70, 82–85, 86, 87, 88–97, 116, 137, 139, 259, 260, 262, 264, 265; Greece and, 218, 238; Hess and, 53, 88; Hungary (1919) and, 82; international revolution ideology and, 20; Jewish im-
- migrants and, 116–117; Jews' reputed link with, 3, 77, 80, 82–89, 96, 100, 116–117, 120, 125, 128, 136, 150–151, 244, 246; Russian Civil War and, 19, 21, 23, 80, 135, 136; Russian-German separate peace and, 78, 80; self-determination and, 90; Zionism as refutation of, 87–88, 117, 139. *See also* Cold War; Russia
- Bonar Law, Andrew. *See* Law, Andrew Bonar
- Boothby, Robert, 231, 242
- Bottomley, Norm, 182
- Bracken, Brendan, 184, 197, 241
- Bridges, Edward, 200, 206, 213
- Britain. *See* Great Britain
- Britain, Battle of (1940), 28, 197, 262
- British Empire: Arabs and, 164; breakup of, 238, 251; as Churchill concern, 12, 25, 26, 31, 34, 68, 90, 95, 119, 128, 142–145, 147, 163, 169, 202, 233, 238–239, 251, 260, 262; as civilizing agent, 7, 12–13, 70, 123, 144–145, 147; Fascist countries' threat to, 152–154; financial commitments to, 101–102; Jewish potential state in, 160; Jews and, 48, 70, 145; Muslim population of, 90; threats to, 25, 90, 141, 152–153, 228; Zionism and, 5, 57–58, 62, 63, 68, 86, 123, 145, 154, 169, 228. *See also* Egypt; Great Britain; India; Palestine
- British Petroleum, 66
- Brook, Norman, 206, 207
- Brooke, Alan, 234
- Bruce, Victor Alexander (Lord Elgin), 59, 60
- Bulgaria, 188
- Burke, Edmund, 21
- Burma, 200, 238
- Butler, Rab, 253
- Byzantine Empire, 39
- Cabinet Committee on Palestine, 207–213, 214, 216, 225; map of plan, 214
- Cadogan, Alexander, 240
- Cairo Conference (1921), 111, 135, 147
- Calinescu, Armand, 150
- Campbell-Bannerman, Henry, 51, 60, 63, 65

- Canada, 58
- capitalism, Jews and, 44, 48, 50, 52, 55, 66, 67
- Carlsbad Declaration (1921), 128
- Cassel, Ernest, 46, 67
- Castlereagh, Lord (Robert Stewart Castlereagh), 15, 16, 28
- Catholics, 39, 42, 80, 82
- Cecil, Hugh, 22
- central Europe. *See* eastern and central Europe
- Chamberlain, Austen, 81, 105
- Chamberlain, Joseph, 56
- Chamberlain, Neville, 22, 140, 142; appeasement and, 162, 165, 171, 231; Baldwin rivalry with, 134; Palestine policy of, 164–165, 166, 167, 168, 172, 184, 227, 247; resignation of, 171. *See also* White Paper (1939)
- Channon, Henry, 231–232
- Chelmno, 172
- Cherwell, Lord, 253
- Chiefs of Staff (Britain), 250
- China, 34
- Christianity, 30, 36, 90; demonization of Jews and, 39–40; evangelicals and, 4, 6, 52, 262; Jewish conversions to, 40, 41, 52, 54; Judaism's links with, 42, 45, 47, 85, 87, 124; millennial vision of, 52, 262; Palestine and, 72, 78, 79, 192
- Churchill, Charles Henry (cousin), 52
- Churchill, Clementine (wife), 27, 65, 121; Churchill's letters to, 19, 25, 29, 32, 145, 152, 231, 259
- Churchill, Jenny Jerome (mother), 28, 43, 46, 47; American birth of, 10, 17, 27; Churchill's letters to, 16, 17, 41, 48; death of, 11, 127; on Jews, 48, 81
- Churchill, Marigold (daughter), 127
- Churchill, Randolph (father), 10, 12, 14–15, 16, 22, 28, 36–37, 49, 51, 52, 58, 141, 239; devotion to Disraeli of, 2, 41, 44, 46, 47; as exchequer chancellor, 134; Jewish friendships of, 38, 43–45, 46, 260–261
- Churchill, Randolph (son), 150, 187
- Churchill, Winston: abdication crisis and, 142, 161; Admiralty and, 14, 17, 18, 66–67, 69, 74, 171, 175, 184, 186, 190; as amateur painter, 112, 136; anti-Bolshevism of, 3, 20–23, 82–85, 86, 87, 88–97, 116, 137, 139, 259, 260, 262, 264; anti-Nazism of, 3, 19–20, 22, 141, 148–153, 173, 259, 262, 264; anti-Semitism and, 3, 48, 49, 81–82, 83–84, 87, 88, 149; background of, 10, 265; birth of, 38, 40; as Board of Trade president, 17, 63, 106; career crash of, 3, 18–19, 69, 74, 169–170; career resuscitation of, 134; Cold War and, 17, 30–37, 195, 228, 233, 236, 241, 246, 260, 264, 265; as colonial secretary, 2, 3, 4, 82, 97, 98–122, 133–139, 147, 153, 168, 184, 235, 263; as colonial under-secretary, 13, 16, 101; contradictory aspects of, 9–10, 137–138, 264–265; Dardanelles disaster and, 18, 23, 28, 71, 72, 74, 75; depressive bouts of, 28, 30, 32, 223, 231, 242, 264, 265; Disraeli as influence on, 2, 12, 41, 63–64, 85, 89, 211, 225, 237, 248, 258, 261, 265; drinking by, 160, 220; Dundee constituency of, 64, 65, 80; early career of, 10, 11–18, 38–64; election losses of, 28, 30, 31, 133, 223, 224; enthusiasm of, 14; Epping seat of, 133–134; establishment's exclusion of, 175; as European union advocate, 236; as exchequer chancellor, 2, 134, 137, 140; father's influence on, 2, 14–15, 16, 36–37, 44, 45–46, 47, 134, 260–261; fatigue of, 227–228, 253; financial losses of, 140; first major Middle East speech by, 101, 104; first statement on Jewish homeland by, 57, 61–62; First World War and, 17, 18–19, 23, 69–75, 78–80, 259, 264; forebodings of, 264; foreign policy perspective of, 22, 26, 32–34, 140–142; historical consciousness of, 2, 35–36, 47, 84, 248, 256, 259, 260, 263, 264, 265; Holocaust response of, 172, 176–182, 196, 208, 226, 236, 239–240, 248; Home Office and, 17, 66; Ibn Saud's dislike of, 220; impressionability of, 4, 105; inconsistency of, 9–10, 137–138, 264–265; “iron curtain” phrase of, 30, 260; Israeli independence statement of, 240–241; Jerusalem's capture and, 78–79; Jewish

- constituents of, 1, 39, 48–50, 51, 57–65, 67, 70, 74, 95, 97, 115, 117, 122, 124, 255, 260, 261; Jewish friendships of, 43–44, 46, 60, 67, 81, 96–97, 261; Jewish sympathies of, 2, 3, 7, 38, 40–41, 45–48, 65–68, 81–82, 85–86, 142, 148–152, 167, 173, 189, 265; Lawrence's influence on, 105, 106, 107; lionization of, 28; maiden public speech of, 12; on mass democracy, 22–23; as munitions minister, 78, 79–80; optimism of, 36, 265; Palestine partition views of, 159–160, 161, 212, 215, 243, 263; as Peel Commission witness, 152–159; policy vindications of, 173; political expediency/pragmatism of, 4, 8, 9, 22, 34, 36, 43, 63, 67, 98–99, 104–105, 131, 134, 265; political isolation of, 3, 7, 21, 25, 133–134, 139, 140–170, 175; post-First World War foreign policy priorities of, 26–27, 98; post-Second World War despair of, 28–32; prescient predictions of, 5–6, 262; as prime minister, 1, 3, 10, 15, 26, 27–36, 171–199, 228, 250–258, 262; prioritization of goals by, x, 7, 260; racial views of, 13–14, 31, 46–47, 138; resignation (1954) from political life by, 36; rhetorical feats of, 103–104; romanticism of, 4, 12, 17–18, 68, 265; Second World War and, 1, 3, 15, 17, 19, 21–22, 26, 27–36, 141, 160, 161, 171–199, 231, 262; short attention span of, 137; special-interest politics and, 64; speech (1921) at Hebrew University site of, 117, 137–138; speech (1921) defending Balfour Declaration of, 103–104; speech (1922) defending Balfour Declaration and Palestine Mandate of, 105, 117, 137; speech (1938) on Zionist improvement of Palestine of, 167–168; speech (1939) attacking Chamberlain White Paper of, 165, 185; speech (1949) endorsing Israel by, 246; as state secretary for war and air, 80, 82, 89–91, 94–95, 96, 98, 101, 108; Territorialism and, 57–59, 61, 68; unpopular causes of, 21, 140–142, 259–260; Victorian ideals of, 4, 5, 11–18, 89, 100, 139, 225, 261, 264, 265; as war secretary, 98; Weizmann's values and, 4, 123–134, 165; White Paper (1922) of, 118–119, 132–133, 137, 235; “wilderness years” of (*see subhead* political isolation of); worldview of, 4, 7, 8, 9–37, 51, 103, 113, 119–120, 121, 165, 190–191, 225, 236, 259–265; writing projects of, 112, 135, 140, 150, 231; Yalta agreement defense by, 179; Zionism and (*see under* Zionism); “Zionism versus Bolshevism” article by, 85–87, 88, 96, 116, 124
- civilization: Britain as guardian of, 26, 28, 142–143; Churchill's belief in progress of, 3, 4, 7, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18, 31, 32, 36, 37, 71–72, 100, 119–120, 123, 125, 138, 146, 155–156, 215, 225, 236, 259, 260, 262, 264; Churchill's perceived threats to, 19–20, 22, 142–143, 167; Churchill's view of Arabs in context of, 155; Jewish Palestinian homeland as protector of, 4, 5, 8, 53, 55, 70, 100, 103, 113, 119–123, 125, 136, 138, 139, 141–142, 145–146, 154–156, 167, 169, 190–191, 195, 225, 237, 248–249, 255, 256, 261–262
- Cohen family, 43
- Cold War, 17, 30–37, 195, 228, 233, 236, 241, 246, 264, 265; Churchill's “iron curtain” concept and, 30, 260. *See also* Russia
- Collins, Michael, 127
- Colombia, 205
- Colonial Office (Britain), 2, 3, 4, 13, 16–17, 82, 97, 98–122, 137–139, 164, 168, 190; anti-Semitism and, 174; anti-Zionism and, 176, 184, 222; Churchill's reliance on staff of, 99, 105–106, 107, 108, 111, 112–113, 135, 137, 175; Jewish immigration and, 183, 186–187, 188; Jewish state plan and, 199; snubbing of Weizmann by, 243
- Colville, Jock, 255
- Comintern, 20
- Committee of Imperial Defence, 164
- Communism. *See* Bolshevism/Communism; Cold War
- Communist International (Comintern), 20
- Como, Lake, 231

- concentration camps, 162. *See also* extermination camps
- Congress of Vienna (1814–1815), 11, 15–16, 23
- Congreve, Walter, 108, 112
- Conservative Party (Britain): Aliens Act and, 49, 50, 51; anti-Semitism and, 1, 81, 82, 100–101; Churchill's move from, 10, 11, 14, 18, 48, 50–51; Churchill's position in, 10, 21, 22, 25, 79–80, 104–105, 134, 135, 230, 231, 241; Churchill's unpopularity with, 99, 133, 140–141, 142, 143, 160–161, 231, 239; coalition governments and, 80, 100, 133, 142; Disraeli and, 42–43, 44, 64; election loss (1929) of, 142; election loss (1945) of, 30, 223, 224; government cost cutting and, 100; Jewish members of, 44, 46, 50–51; Middle East policy and, 95, 103; nineteenth-century imperialism and, 12; return to power of (1951–1955), 32, 33, 228, 250–258; Second World War Palestine policy and, 176; U.S. relations and, 27; Zionism and, 1, 80, 99, 100, 102, 104–105, 142, 144, 173, 185, 215, 228, 231, 232, 247, 250. *See also* White Paper (1939)
- Constantinople, 71, 74, 89
- Convention of 1899, 251
- Council of Europe, 15, 26
- Cox, Percy, 129
- Cranborne, Viscount (Robert Arthur James Gascoyne-Cecil), 176, 191, 208
- Cromwell, Oliver, 150
- Crusades, 39, 79
- Cuba, 16
- cultural Zionism, 3, 255
- Curzon, George Nathaniel, 76, 83, 91, 98; wariness of Arabs of, 106, 107
- Curzon Line, 179
- Cyrenaica, 233
- Czechoslovakia, 22, 162
- Daily Mail*, 104–105
- Daily Mirror*, 65
- Daladier, Edouard, 162
- Damascus, 74, 75, 94, 106. *See also* Syria
- Damascus blood libel (1840), 53, 54
- Daniel Deronda* (Eliot), 52, 61
- Dardanelles disaster (1915), 18, 23, 28, 71, 72, 74, 75
- Darien II* (refugee ship), 187, 191
- democracy, 18, 27, 191, 265; Churchill's view of, 22–23; Israel as, 244
- depression (economic), 134
- détente, 33
- Deterding, Henri, 66
- Dill, John, 202
- displaced-persons camps, 228–229, 249
- Disraeli, Benjamin, 12, 14, 56, 89, 130; as Churchill influence, 41, 44, 45, 61, 63–64, 225, 261; Jewish background of, 41–43, 46–47, 81, 85; on Jews' divine favor, 2, 38, 40, 45, 46, 47, 52, 61, 68, 70, 85, 87, 89, 124, 136, 171, 192, 195, 209, 211, 237, 248, 258, 261, 265
- Dizengoff, Meir, 120, 121
- Dresden bombing, 31
- Dreyfus, Alfred, 47–48, 54, 151
- Dulberg, Joseph, 51, 57, 58, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67
- Dulles, John Foster, 253
- Dundee (Scotland), 64, 65, 80, 102, 133
- Dunkirk evacuation (1940), 192
- Dvorkovitz, Dr., 67
- Dyer, Reginald, 81
- East Africa: Churchill's imperial interest in, 12, 13, 95; Jewish homeland suggested in, 56–59, 62
- eastern and central Europe: Churchill's Russian containment plan for, 16, 29; Jewish immigrants in England from, 49, 56, 67; Jewish immigrants in Palestine from, 53; Jewish refugees from, 182–183, 244, 246; massacres of Jews in, 40, 196, 200; Soviet control over, 223
- Easter riots (Jerusalem, 1920), 126–127
- Eddy, William, 219–220
- Eden, Anthony, 34, 189; anti-Zionism of, 174, 203, 222; Holocaust reports and, 179, 181–182; Middle East policy and, 197, 199, 200, 203–204, 205, 209, 210, 213, 215, 218–219, 250, 251, 253, 254
- Edward VII, king of Great Britain, 40–41

- Edward VIII, king of Great Britain (later Duke of Windsor), 142, 161, 166
- Egypt, 32, 44, 90, 108, 219; British conflict with, 228, 232, 233, 238, 251–252; British troop withdrawal from, 143, 144; Churchill's strategic view of, 25, 95, 99, 104, 123, 141, 144, 145, 147, 153, 163, 197, 228, 233–234; Israel attacked by, 230, 246; Israeli armistice with, 244; Israel's strategic importance and, 254, 255; Nazi threat to, 197, 202
- Egyptian Expeditionary Force, 108
- Einsatzgruppen, SS, 176, 177
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 32, 179
- Elath, Eliahu, 255, 256, 257, 261
- electrification concession, 101, 103, 105, 117, 125, 137, 146, 167, 168
- Elgin, Lord (Victor Alexander Bruce), 59, 60
- “Elijah's Mantle” (R. Churchill), 44
- Eliot, George, 40, 52, 61, 68
- Elliot, Walter, 241
- Engels, Friedrich, 53
- England. *See* Great Britain
- English Zionist Federation, 61, 69, 76.  
*See also* *Zionist Review*
- Epping (Wanstead, Woodford), 133–134
- Eritrea, 189
- eugenics, 13
- European unification, 236
- evangelical Christians, 4, 6, 52, 262
- extermination camps, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182. *See also* Auschwitz-Birkenau
- Faisal ibn Hussein, 92, 93, 106, 108, 110, 194, 199, 221; Churchill's characterization of, 128; view of Palestinian Arabs of, 129
- Fascism, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 36, 168; Arab supporters of, 154, 160, 169, 193; as British imperial threat, 152–154, 160, 161, 169. *See also* Italy; Nazi Germany
- “final solution.” *See* Holocaust
- First World War, 11, 14, 17, 64, 69–80, 83, 244; Arab allegiances in, 75–76, 126, 127, 129, 146, 154, 168; breakup of Ottoman Empire and, 68, 70–75, 77–78, 90–92, 135, 197, 199; British mandates and, 25, 77–78, 158; changed world order following, 18–21, 24–25; Churchill's memoirs of, 112, 135; Churchill's view of, 23, 259, 264; Jewish allegiances and, 75, 86, 124, 136, 165–166, 192; Palestinian Arabs and, 126; pan-Arab concept and, 197, 199; Paris conference following, 19, 23–27, 93, 103, 131, 159; Russia's withdrawal from, 78–79, 80; Zionist movement and, 68, 69, 70, 195 (*see also* Balfour Declaration)
- First Zionist Congress (1897), 4, 38, 55–56, 262
- Foreign Office (Britain), 23, 107, 180–183, 206, 222, 250–251, 253; Anglo-Egyptian conflict and, 252; anti-Semitism and, 174; Arabism of, 243; Jewish Palestinian immigration barriers of, 183, 188; Jewish state plan and, 99, 208, 210; Negev settlement and, 257; outdated policies of, 244; snubbing of Weizmann by, 243; Zionist extremism and, 217
- Forest, Maurice de, 46
- France, 15, 19, 40, 45; Churchill's view of, 13, 21, 26, 92; Dreyfus case and, 47–48, 54; Holocaust and, 178; Nazi invasion of, 171, 192; Palestine claims of, 39, 71, 72, 92, 93, 103, 108, 131; Syria claims of, 71, 72, 74, 75, 111, 200; Syrian mandate of, 77, 91, 92, 93, 106, 194, 197, 199, 200, 209, 218; Zionism and, 92, 93
- Free French, 199, 200
- free trade, 16, 17, 142
- French Congo, 17
- French Revolution, 45, 86
- Gailani, Al-. *See* Rashid ali al-Gailani
- Galilee, 158, 210, 213
- Gallipoli. *See* Dardanelles disaster
- Gardiner, A. G., 9
- gas chambers, 172
- Gascoyne-Cecil, Robert Arthur James. *See* Cranborne, Viscount
- Gaster, Moses, 60–61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 68, 70, 97, 116
- Gaza protests (1921), 126

- genocide. *See* Holocaust
- Gentile Zionists, 1, 3, 4–5, 7, 55, 111, 113;  
British War Cabinet and, 207, 208;  
Chamberlain White Paper and, 164;  
Palestine partition opposition by, 159;  
in United States, 192; view of Arabs of,  
129
- Germany: anti-Semitism in, 53; Balfour  
Declaration's reception in, 77;  
Churchill's view of, 13, 16, 24–25, 26,  
33, 35, 99; First World War and, 18, 19,  
69, 75, 79, 83; Hess's Communism  
and, 53; Jewish Bolshevik leaders in,  
80, 83; Jewish ethnicity and, 75, 77;  
Jewish Reform movement in, 53; oil in-  
terests and, 66; post-Second World  
War and, 29, 33, 35, 36; Russian ties  
with, 19–20, 25, 79, 80; Versailles  
Treaty and, 19, 90; Zionism and, 56.  
*See also* Nazi Germany
- Gladstone, William, 14, 41, 44, 47, 90
- Great Britain: abdication crisis in, 142,  
161, 166; anti-Semitism and, 6, 40, 43,  
50, 56, 64, 66, 68, 70–71, 80–82, 84,  
86, 87, 88, 100–101, 164, 171–174, 179,  
180, 185, 191, 208, 232, 240, 243–244;  
Arab policies of (*see under* Arabs; Pales-  
tinian Arabs); decline in power of, 31–  
32, 36; economic problems of, 94, 101,  
134–135; golden age of, 11–18; Holo-  
caust response in, 176–177, 178–183;  
Jewish historical expulsion from, 6, 40;  
Jewish historical restoration to, 150;  
Jewish immigration barriers and, 49–  
50, 51, 60, 65, 66, 183, 208; Jewish  
refugees and, 188–189; Jewish states-  
men in, 70, 71, 76, 78, 81, 100; Jews'  
status in, 1, 3, 6–8, 38, 40–47, 66, 75–  
76, 85–86, 136; labor strikes in, 94;  
League of Nations and, 26; Middle East  
and, 68, 69–76, 94–95, 101, 103, 106–  
112, 134, 144–145, 221 (*see also* Balfour  
Declaration; Mesopotamia; Palestine);  
Munich agreement and, 162, 165, 231,  
232; political scene (1930s) in, 142–143;  
strategic interests of, 141–142, 152–153,  
161, 163–164, 191 (*see also* British Em-  
pire); U.S. relations with, 17, 26–27,  
29, 34, 165, 166, 175, 196, 233, 234,  
238; war debt and, 27, 32; Weizmann's  
belief in values of, 123–124, 243; with-  
drawal from Palestine by, 230; Zionism  
and (*see under* Zionism); Zionist ex-  
tremist attacks and, 216–217, 232. *See  
also* First World War; Second World  
War; *specific government offices, political  
parties, and political leaders*
- Greater Syria proposal, 93, 106, 209, 210,  
213, 225
- great leaders theory, 14, 22–23, 27
- Great Powers, 11, 15, 16, 17, 23, 26, 28,  
262; Middle East division by, 71–72,  
96; Middle East involvement of, 52;  
post-Second World War and, 30, 32;  
Zionist appeal to, 56. *See also* Big Three  
meetings
- Greece, 90, 103, 193, 197; civil war in,  
218, 238
- Grey, Edward, 70, 71
- Grigg, P. J., 180
- Guatemala, 34
- Guinness, Walter. *See* Moyne, Lord
- gunrunning, Zionist, 131, 137, 219
- Ha'am, Achad, 255
- Haifa, 135, 190, 209, 251, 252
- Haj Amin al-Husseini, 112, 162, 250, 252
- Halifax, Lord (Edward Frederick Lindley  
Wood), 22, 172, 185, 203, 227, 247
- Harrison report, 229
- Hashemite clan, 74, 198, 199, 210
- Hatikvah* (Zionist anthem), 118
- Hebrew University (Jerusalem), 117, 124,  
137, 162
- Hebron, 143
- Hegelian Communism, 53
- Hejaz, 106, 107, 198
- Herzl, Theodor, 3, 4, 54–56, 70, 75, 121,  
130; Dreyfus case and, 151; Zionist ar-  
gument of, 87–88, 255
- Hess, Moses, 53–54, 55, 70, 88, 169
- Hinduism, 228, 237
- Hiroshima bombing (1945), 31, 35
- Hirsch, Lionel, 41, 46
- History of the English-Speaking Peoples*  
(Churchill), 150

- Hitler, Adolf, 27, 29, 148, 162, 166; Arabs and, 154, 193; Jewish extermination and, 152, 176, 177, 180, 208, 256; rise to power of, 19, 25–26; U.S. entrance into war and, 188. *See also* Nazi Germany
- Hoare, Samuel, 134
- Holocaust, 3, 6, 152, 171, 172, 176–183, 196, 200, 207, 226, 227, 236, 239–240, 248; British intelligence about, 176–177, 200; Jewish state as redemption of, 185, 208, 256; world's awareness of, 179, 188; Zionist intensified response to, 203. *See also* refugees, Jewish
- Home Office (Britain), 17, 66, 207
- Hoskins, Harold, 205, 206, 219, 220, 222
- Huleh salient, 210
- Hull, Cordell, 166, 193
- Hungary, 82; Jewish deportations from, 179, 180, 181, 182; Jewish refugees from, 191
- Hurley, Patrick, 205
- Husseini. *See* Haj Amin al-Husseini
- Hussein ibn Ali, 74, 75, 92, 93, 106, 107, 108, 110, 198, 199
- hydraulic power, 101
- Ibn Saud, 74, 107, 128, 193, 194, 195, 252; anti-Zionist/anti-Jewish stance of, 204–205, 206, 220, 221, 225; Arab federation proposal and, 196–204, 225, 226; Churchill's meeting with, 219–221, 223, 227, 243; Churchill's tribute to, 237–238, 265; Greater Syria proposal and, 210, 213; Roosevelt's relations and, 204–205, 221–222
- immigrants. *See* Jewish immigration and immigrants
- independence movements. *See* nationalism; self-determination
- India, 89, 200; Amritar massacre and, 81; importance to Churchill of, 13, 16, 25, 31, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147, 153, 163, 197, 202, 233, 260; independence of, 228, 238; Jewish governing officials in, 100; Muslims in, 76, 90, 92, 237; partition of, 238
- Indonesia, 247, 248
- Inquisition, 41
- internationalism, 18, 26
- “international Jews” concept, 86, 87–88, 96
- Iran (formerly Persia), 94, 95, 197
- Iraq (formerly Mesopotamia), 90, 91, 154, 221; Arab uprising (1920) in, 110; Arab uprising (1941) in, 192, 194, 197, 238; British high commissioner of, 129; as British mandate, 10, 25, 77, 93, 94, 95, 102, 105, 107; Churchill's policy toward, 134; ethnic/religious differences in, 110; Israel attacked by, 230; oil production in, 135; proposed Arab rulers of, 106, 110, 112, 128, 129; Shiite majority in, 110; Turkish threat to, 103
- Iraqi National Assembly, 129
- Ireland, 99, 105, 112, 117, 127, 130, 153
- Irgun, 213, 232, 242
- “iron curtain” concept, 30, 260
- Isaacs, Rufus Daniel (Lord Reading), 100
- Islam, 72, 74, 75, 154; Churchill's imperial policy and, 90, 92, 237; Churchill's view of, 4, 13, 125, 128, 155, 200; India and, 76, 90, 92, 237; Jerusalem violence and, 143; Jews and, 41, 96, 129–130, 205, 219, 221; Sunni/Shia division in, 110; Wahhabis and, 128, 225, 265. *See also* Arabs; sherifians
- Ismay, Hastings, 211, 212, 218
- isolationism, 27
- Israel, State of, 93; ancient history of, 39; Arab defeat by (1948–1949), 218, 230, 240, 241, 243, 244; Britain's role in founding, 6–7; Churchill's defense of, 243–244, 246–250; Churchill's groundwork in founding, 137; Churchill's prescience about, 5–6, 262; Churchill's view of, 1, 63, 228, 240–241, 251–258, 260–261; Cold War and, 250; as democracy, 244; diplomatic recognition of, 218, 244; founding of, 56, 230, 240; as haven, 256; land gains by, 244; map (1949) of, 245; military power of, 252, 253; Palestinian Arabs and, 249; population doubling in, 256; Transjordan and, 250; U.S. backing of, 228, 244. *See also* Arab-Israeli War; Palestine

- Italy: bombing of Palestine by, 190;  
Churchill's view of, 19, 20, 21; Jews' historical expulsion from, 40, 42; as strategic threat to Britain, 27, 141, 150, 152–154, 160, 161, 165
- Jabotinsky, Vladimir, 75, 91, 145, 158
- Jaffa violence (1921), 113, 116, 120, 126–127
- Japan, 26, 28, 30, 35, 153, 188, 201, 223
- Jedda, 75
- Jerome, Jenny. *See* Churchill, Jenny  
Jerome
- Jerusalem: Arab-Israeli war and, 240, 241, 242, 250; Arab riots (1920) in, 91, 126–127; British conquest of, 78–79, 135; British continued mandate in, 158; British high commissioners in, 108; Disraeli's trip to, 52; division of, 244, 255, 256; Jewish ancient sovereignty in, 39; Jewish-Arab violence in (1929), 143; Jewish sacred sites in, 143, 255; Ottoman Empire and, 74; as proposed Big Three meeting site, 216; as proposed British-controlled state, 209, 210, 213; sherifian activity in, 126; Zionist terrorism in, 232
- Jerusalem, mufti of, 112, 143, 154, 193, 194
- Jerusalem conference (1921), 111–112
- Jewish Agency (Palestine), 144, 145, 187, 188, 217
- Jewish Chronicle*, 49, 50, 62, 64–65, 87, 88; Churchill's Holocaust-recognition message to, 177–178; on Churchill's inconsistency, 138; Churchill's opposition to partition plan and, 159; on Churchill White Paper, 133; editorial praise for Churchill in, 66, 217
- Jewish immigration and immigrants (Britain), 48–50, 51, 58, 63, 66, 67, 68, 208
- Jewish immigration and immigrants (Palestine), 1, 52–54, 68, 93, 111, 114–115; Anglo-American Committee and, 229, 234; Arab objection to, 151, 166, 221; barriers to, 183–184, 228–229; Bolshevik ties attributed to, 116–117, 120, 244; British curtailments of, 162, 163, 164, 166, 175, 224, 230; Churchill's reversal on, 235–236; Churchill's views on, 114–116, 118, 137, 138, 153–157, 163, 166–167, 172, 173, 185–188, 191, 219, 232, 242, 249; Churchill White Paper on, 132; disasters and, 186, 187–188; “economic absorptive capacity” phrase and, 235; expected annual numbers of, 130, 131; harsh treatment of, 186–188; humanitarian basis of, 167, 185, 186, 188; illegal, 131, 183, 186, 187–188; Israeli population increase from, 256, 257; MacDonald government's backing of, 144; from Nazi persecution, 152, 166, 185–186; Palestine partition plan and, 215; Passfield White Paper's suspension of, 143; Peel Commission proposed limit to, 158; pioneer settlements of, 120–121; Roosevelt's appeal for, 221; Russian border closure and, 134; Samuel's suspension of (1921), 114, 127, 132, 137; U.N. recommendation for, 229; War Cabinet policy and, 208; Zionist extremists and, 217; Zionist projections for, 131. *See also* refugees, Jewish
- Jewish immigration and immigrants (United States), 54, 68, 183, 246
- Jewish national homeland: as asylum from persecution, 38, 167, 196; Balfour Declaration on, 76, 78, 116; as British long-term objective, 115–116; British officials' opposition to, 174; British support for, 62, 69, 71; British understanding of, 77, 132; Churchill's avowed commitment to, 207, 254; Churchill's definition (1922) of, 132–133; Churchill's time frame for, 131, 194; Churchill's view of, 1, 3, 39, 61–62, 68, 113, 115–117, 132–133, 139, 145, 190–191, 196, 232, 236–237, 247, 262; English historical interest in, 51–57, 68; Herzl and, 54–55; Hess and, 53–54; as Holocaust response, 196; Jewish center vs., 115–116; Jewish opponents of, 71; Jewish state vs., 56, 70, 76–77, 86, 131, 157, 204; Palestinian Arab rights and, 146; Peel state proposal and, 158–160; as political Zionist goal, 2–3; Territorialist proposal for, 56–59, 68; Victorian re-

- mantichization of, 38–39, 40, 52, 68;  
 and White Paper (1939) proposal of  
 Arab state, 164. *See also* Israel, State of;  
 Zionism
- “Jewish problem,” 2–3, 6, 40
- Jewish state: in Arab federation proposal,  
 196–205, 219, 220, 226; biblical her-  
 itage of, 255; British Cabinet Commit-  
 tee proposal for, 207–213, 225;  
 Churchill’s changed position on, 170,  
 172, 196, 197–199, 200–201, 202, 204,  
 208, 210; Churchill’s detachment to-  
 ward, 223, 227, 240; as Churchill’s dis-  
 tant goal, 194; Churchill’s prediction of,  
 262; Churchill’s promotion of, 219–  
 220; as Holocaust redemption, 185,  
 208, 227; Ibn Saud’s opposition to,  
 204–205; national home vs., 56, 70,  
 76–77, 86, 131, 157, 204; Peel proposal  
 for, 158–160; proposed population of,  
 201, 207; Weizmann’s call for, 223;  
 White Paper (1939) vs., 164, 183–184;  
 Woodhead proposal for, 162–163. *See  
 also* Israel, State of
- Jewish State, The* (Herzl), 54–55
- Jewish Territorial Organization, 57
- Jews: anti-Zionists among, 67, 71, 75, 76,  
 215–216; Arab hostility to, 142, 204–  
 205, 221; assimilation of, 40, 55; in  
 Baghdad, 110; biblical heritage of, 255;  
 Bolshevik/Communist reputed ties of,  
 3, 77, 80, 82–89, 96, 100, 116–117, 120,  
 125, 128, 136, 150–151, 244, 246; British  
 alien legislation and, 49–50, 51, 58, 60,  
 63, 64, 65, 82; British government  
 posts of, 70, 71, 76, 78, 81, 100; British  
 historical treatment of, 6–7, 38, 40–41;  
 as British troops, 75, 86, 180, 190;  
 businesses open on Sunday and, 63;  
 Christian conversions of, 40, 41, 52, 54;  
 as Churchill’s constituents, 23, 39, 48–  
 50, 57–60, 61, 63–65, 67; Churchill’s  
 view of, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 13, 38, 40–41, 43–  
 48, 60, 65–68, 80–82, 85–86, 96–97,  
 124–125, 135–136, 138, 142, 148–152,  
 156, 167, 173, 189, 248, 261, 265; as civ-  
 ilizing agents, 4, 5, 8, 70, 136, 138, 261;  
 demonization of, 39; Disraeli’s dictum  
 about, 2, 38, 40, 45, 46, 47, 52, 61, 68,  
 70, 85, 87, 89, 124, 136, 171, 192, 195,  
 209, 211, 237, 248, 258, 261, 265; his-  
 torical displacement of, 38, 39–40, 119;  
 historical suspicions about, 125; inter-  
 nal divisions among, 61; “interna-  
 tional” vs. “national,” 86, 87; mass  
 murders of, 39–40, 152, 162, 176–183  
 (*see also* Holocaust; pogroms); Muslims  
 and, 41, 96, 129–130, 205, 219, 221;  
 Nazi scapegoating of, 142, 148–150, 151,  
 152, 153, 162, 169, 207; perceived as  
 revolutionaries, 86, 87–88; perceived  
 power of, 75–76, 77, 80, 81, 82, 85, 89,  
 145, 153, 191–192; political emancipa-  
 tion of, 38, 40, 42, 44–45, 75–76; racial-  
 ized view of, 41, 42, 46–47, 53, 70, 81,  
 85, 138, 156; United States and, 145,  
 149, 153, 166, 185, 189, 191–193, 229,  
 255. *See also* anti-Semitism; Zionism
- Jews’ Free School, 45
- jingoism, 25
- Jordan (formerly Transjordan), 93, 103,  
 131, 134, 158, 207, 210, 221; Abdullah’s  
 rule of, 111, 112, 198, 204, 249–250,  
 252; Arab federation proposal and, 108,  
 196, 204; Churchill’s policy toward,  
 252–253; Greater Syria proposal and,  
 209, 211, 213; Israel attacked by, 230,  
 240, 249–250, 256; Israeli skirmishes  
 with, 254; Jerusalem control and, 244,  
 255; Muslims in, 90; Palestinian Arabs  
 and, 243, 249; separation from Pales-  
 tine of, 108, 111–112, 135; Sunni major-  
 ity in, 110
- Jordan River, 101, 108, 125–126
- Joynson-Hicks, William, 64, 78
- Judenstaat, Der* (Herzl), 54–55
- Kedourie, Elie, 40, 107, 111–112, 196
- Kemal, Mustafa (Ataturk), 91
- Kerensky, Alexander, 84, 103
- Kerr, Philip (Lord Lothian), 175
- Khedive Tewfik Pasha, 44
- King David Hotel bombing, 232
- Kitchener, Horatio Herbert, 71, 74
- Kook, Avraham Yitzchak, 117
- Koran, 219, 221
- Kristallnacht (1938), 162
- Kun, Bela, 82

- Kurds, 110  
Kuwait, 107
- Labor Zionists, 130–131
- Labour Party (Britain): Churchill's defeat by, 30, 223, 224; Middle East and, 200–201, 215, 244; policy problems of, 244, 246; White Paper (1939) on Palestine and, 164; Zionism and, 173–174, 185, 227, 228–229, 232, 238, 239, 240, 241, 243. *See also* Attlee, Clement; Bevin, Ernest
- land development: British anti-Zionist curbs on, 143, 164, 191; Churchill's belief in, 5, 121, 147–148, 191, 248–249, 265; Israeli success with, 256–257; Palestinian Arabs and, 125–126, 146, 155, 248–249, 261; proposed Jewish state and, 209, 210; Zionist success with, 4, 6, 115, 120–123, 136, 138, 155–156, 161, 191
- Laski, Harold, 184, 208
- Laski, Nathan, 49–50, 60, 63, 64, 65, 67, 169, 208
- Latin America, 183
- Law, Andrew Bonar, 21, 79–80, 101, 102, 133, 208
- Law, Richard, 208, 210
- Lawrence, T. E. (Lawrence of Arabia), 93, 108, 126, 129, 199, 237; as Churchill influence, 105–106, 107; myth of Arab Revolt and, 75
- League of Nations, 21, 135, 159; Churchill's view of, 26, 27; Middle East mandates and, 78, 104, 109, 126, 173, 195, 209, 232, 234; Palestine Mandate ratification by, 133; Permanent Mandates Commission of, 164
- Lebanon, 93, 174, 197, 200, 209, 213, 220, 253; attack on Israel by, 230
- Lenin, Vladimir, 20, 77, 83, 88
- Leviticus, 5
- Liberal Association (Dundee), 102
- liberalism, nineteenth-century, 4, 6, 17, 30, 36, 37, 82
- Liberal Party (Britain): Balfour Declaration and, 99; Churchill's disfavor with, 133; Churchill's move to, 10, 14, 18, 21, 48, 50–51, 57, 78, 80; coalition government and, 80, 100, 133; Jews and, 44, 48, 51, 56–57, 59, 60, 63–65, 81, 100; Middle East policy and, 95, 200–201; Ottoman breakup and, 70, 71, 89; White Paper (1939) and, 164; Zionism and, 80, 185, 215, 247
- Libya, 219
- Litvinov, Maxim, 82
- Lloyd, George, 175, 186
- Lloyd, Selwyn, 252, 253
- Lloyd George, David, 18; Arabs and, 128–129; Churchill and, 16, 21, 80, 105, 106, 107, 130, 142, 144, 224, 259; Jews and, 56–57, 81, 82; Ottoman policy of, 89, 104; Palestine and, 71, 72, 76, 79, 94–95, 99, 104, 114, 131, 247; Transjordan and, 111, 135
- Lod airstrip, 209, 241
- London conference (1939), 163
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 178
- Lord George Bentinck* (Disraeli), 45, 87
- Lothian, Lord (Philip Kerr), 175
- Lytelton, Oliver, 187
- Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 264
- MacDonald, Malcolm, 167, 169
- MacDonald, Ramsay, 142–143, 144, 147
- MacMichael, Harold, 216
- Madison Square Garden rally (1942), 178
- Malenkov, Georgi, 33
- Manchester. *See* North-West Manchester
- Manchester Guardian*, 49, 122
- Marlborough, Duke of, 10, 22, 43, 148
- Marsh, Edward, 62
- Martin, John, 196, 202, 215, 217
- Marx, Karl, 53
- mass democracy, 22–23
- Mauritius, 183, 186, 187
- Mazzini, Giuseppe, 53
- McMahon, Henry, 74, 108
- Mecca, 74, 75
- Mediterranean area, 152, 153–154, 197
- Meinertzhagen, Richard, 91, 105–106, 112, 129, 232
- Meir, Yaakov, 117
- Melchett, Henry, 160, 181, 213

- “Memorandum upon the Pacification of the Middle East” (Churchill), 135
- Mesopotamia. *See* Iraq
- Middle East: British costs in, 94–95, 101, 103, 107, 134; British diminished influence in, 221; British mandates in (*see* Iraq; Palestine); British regional approach to, 106–112; Churchill’s anti-Bolshevist policy in, 89–97; Churchill’s detachment from, 112, 218; Churchill’s lack of expertise on, 99–100; Churchill’s strategic approach to, 4–5, 107–108, 134, 144–145, 160–161, 172, 191, 195–199, 233, 250–251; First World War and, 68, 71–72, 74–75, 77–78, 90–92, 135, 197, 199; Great Power involvement in, 52; Israel’s strategic importance in, 228, 246, 250; Second World War and, 165, 195–201; Soviet Union and, 218; Sunni-Shia division and, 90, 110; United States and, 104, 222, 223, 224, 229, 237, 243. *See also* Zionism; *specific countries and regions*
- millenarianism. *See* Second Coming
- Molotov, Vyacheslav, 182
- Mongols, 30
- monotheism, 45, 47
- Montagu, Edwin, 71, 76, 81, 100
- Montefiore family, 56
- Moors, 155
- Moran, Lord, 253, 254
- Morgenthau, Henry, 101
- Morocco, 17
- Morrison, Herbert, 174; Palestine partition plan and, 208–215, 216, 217, 219, 225, 229, 232, 234, 235; pro-Zionism and, 207
- Morrison-Grady plan (1946), 229, 232, 234
- Moses, 169–170
- Mount of Olives, 52
- Mount Scopus, 117
- Mount Zion, 38
- Moynes, Lord (Walter Guinness), 174, 187, 191, 194, 200, 202, 208; assassination of, 216–217, 222, 225
- Muhammad, prophet, 154
- Munich Agreement (1938), 162, 165, 231, 232
- Muslims. *See* Islam
- Mussolini, Benito, 20, 152, 153–154, 161, 162, 193
- Nahas Pasha, 251
- Najd (Arabia), 74
- Napoleon I, emperor of the French, 14, 22–23, 29
- Napoleon III, emperor of the French, 81
- nationalism, 3, 24, 53, 54, 150–151; Arabs and, 105, 226 (*see also* pan-Arabism); India and, 237. *See also* Jewish national homeland; Zionism
- Nazi Germany, 3, 6, 27, 29, 35; Anschluss and, 141, 149, 162; appeasement of, 162, 165, 231, 232; Arab supporters of, 154, 192, 193, 194, 197; bombings of Britain by, 28, 197, 262; Britain as sole opponent of, 192; British politicians’ early view of, 22, 25–26; Churchill’s strategic view of, 152–153, 160, 165, 199; Churchill’s warnings about, 141, 142, 148–153, 161, 166, 168, 173, 259, 262, 264, 265; invasion of Poland by, 171; Jewish extermination policy of, 176–183; Jewish persecution in, 142, 148–150, 151, 152, 153, 162, 169, 207; Soviet Union and, 19–20, 22, 28, 176, 177, 195. *See also* Second World War
- Negev desert, 158, 159, 198, 208, 210, 213, 215, 241, 248; Israeli development of, 256–257
- Neguib, Mohammed, 251–252
- New Zionist Organization, 144
- Nili spy ring, 75
- Noon, Firaz Khan, 200
- North Africa, 190, 193, 197, 202; proposed Jewish settlements in, 189, 208, 219, 223; refugee camps in, 189
- Northern Arab Army, 75
- North-West Manchester: anti-pogrom protest in, 47, 58; Churchill as MP from, 1, 2, 39, 48, 49–50, 51, 57–65, 67, 70, 74, 95, 97, 115, 117, 122, 124, 255, 260, 261; Territorialism and, 57–58
- Norway, 26, 171

- nuclear weapons, 14, 35  
Nuremberg Laws (1935), 148, 154
- Office of Strategic Services (U.S.), 205
- oil supply, 197, 198, 219, 220, 221, 222, 226; Egyptian tanker blockade and, 251, 252; Iraq production of, 135; prices of, 66–67, 82
- orange groves, 120, 122
- Ordnungspolizei, 177
- Ormsby-Gore, William, 100
- Ottoman Empire, 39, 41, 52, 55, 56, 68, 69; Arab supporters of, 75, 126, 127, 129, 146, 154, 168; Balfour Declaration's reception in, 77; breakup of, 68, 70–75, 77–78, 90–92, 135, 197, 199; Churchill's strategic interest in, 89–96, 99; Liberal Party's view of, 89; as Sunni, 110. *See also* Turkey
- Pakistan, 238
- Pale of Settlement, 54
- Palestine: Arab federation proposal and, 196–199, 226; Arabian sherifians and, 93, 107–108, 110, 111, 137; Arab-Jewish radicalization and, 144; Arab population of (*see* Palestinian Arabs); British commitment to Jewish homeland in (*see* Balfour Declaration); British financial concerns and, 101, 134–135, 229; British high commissioner in, 113–116, 127, 129–130, 133, 174, 176, 187; British high commissioner's departure from, 230; as British mandate, 25, 77–78, 126, 133, 135, 145, 152, 156–158, 161, 163, 168, 173, 184, 195; British strategic interests in, 86, 141–142, 144, 152–153, 159, 160, 161, 163–166, 169, 191, 229, 233–234, 262; chief rabbis of, 117; Churchill as colonial secretary in, 2, 3, 5, 98–100, 137, 147, 194–195, 235, 263; Churchill's fascination with, 147–148; Churchill's hopes for Arab-Jewish relations in, 15, 130, 137, 161; Churchill's limited knowledge of, 263; Churchill's memoirs on, 135; Churchill's pro-Ottoman policy and, 90–91, 95–96; Churchill's proposed arming of Jews in, 172, 175–176, 189–190, 207, 208; Churchill's proposed relinquishment of, 224, 232–233, 234, 237; Churchill's self-defined role in, 194; Churchill's visits to, 119–125, 126, 136, 161, 248, 261; Churchill's vs. British policy on, 142, 163, 195; demographic balance in, 70, 76, 115, 130, 132, 151, 152, 157, 163, 164, 166, 167, 194; Disraeli's romanticization of, 40, 52, 68; eastern border of, 108; economic crisis in (1926–1928), 134; electrification concession in, 101, 103, 105, 117, 125, 137, 146, 161, 167, 168; evangelical Christians and, 4, 6, 52; French claims to, 39, 71, 72, 92, 93, 103, 108, 131; Ibn Saud's claim to, 204–205; Iraqi oil pipeline to, 135; Jewish-British armed clashes in, 228, 229, 231, 232, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240; Jewish development of, 5, 6, 115, 120–123, 125, 136, 138, 146, 155–156, 161–162, 167–168, 191, 248, 261, 265; Jewish historical claim to, 38–40, 52–56, 59–62, 113, 118, 145, 154; Jewish military strength in, 190; Jewish population (1917) in, 76; Jewish population (1922) in, 130; Jewish population (1932–1935) in, 152, 157; as Jewish sacred place, 119, 255–256; Muslim population in, 90; Mussolini's bids for, 154; Ottoman control of, 39, 68; pan-Arabism and, 107–108, 163, 210; partition plans for (*see* Palestine partition); as Roman province, 155; Second World War and, 172, 175–176, 189–190, 199–207, 227; self-government and, 108, 127, 151, 156; Transjordan's separation from, 111–112; violence in, 91, 113–114, 116, 120, 126–127, 137, 143, 144, 147, 152, 162, 163, 218, 229, 231, 232, 236, 237, 238, 240. *See also* Jerusalem; Jewish immigration and immigrants; Jewish national homeland; Jewish state; Zionism
- Palestine partition: British Cabinet Committee plan for, 209–211; Churchill's views on, 161, 193, 196, 237, 243, 263; Morrison plan for, 207–215, 216, 217, 219, 225, 235; Peel Commission on, 152–162, 168, 196, 207, 209, 210; Soviet support for, 246; U.N. plan for,

- 229–230, 240, 249; Woodhead Commission on, 162–163
- Palestinian Arabs: as anti-British, 126, 141, 145, 146, 154, 160, 168–169, 194; as anti-Zionist, 70, 92, 93, 126, 137, 176, 205, 223, 226; Arab federation plan and, 196, 199, 225, 226; British Balfour Declaration commitment and, 99, 127, 156; British Cabinet Committee partition proposal for, 210–212; Chamberlain's White Paper and, 164; Churchill's encounters with, 118–119, 122, 130, 131, 132; Churchill's imperial outlook and, 103, 144, 260; Churchill's Jewish state proposal and, 198; Churchill's moderated view of, 237; Churchill's negativity toward, 4, 100, 103, 114, 115, 122, 125–128, 139, 141, 142, 145, 146–147, 154, 155–156, 159, 167, 168–169, 172, 185–186, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 207, 212, 239, 243, 245, 248–249, 261, 264, 265; Churchill White Paper (1922) and, 132, 133; as differentiated from other Arabs, 249–250; election boycott by, 133; Faisal's view of, 129; Fascist leanings of, 154, 160, 169, 194; Ibn Saud and, 225; Jewish antipathies of, 129–130, 154; London conference (1939) and, 163; as majority, 70, 76, 115, 130, 132, 151, 152, 157, 163, 164, 166, 167; as minority in potential Jewish state, 157, 194; Ottoman government and, 75, 126, 127, 129, 168; partition plans and, 158–160, 210–212, 230, 243; Passfield White Paper (1930) and, 143; proposed Palestinian governments and, 106, 115, 127, 156; radicalization of, 144; as refugees, 249; revolt (1936–1939) of, 152, 162, 163, 194; Roosevelt's proposal for, 185; Transjordan's land takeover from, 243, 249; violence and, 91, 113, 116, 120, 126–127, 137, 143, 144, 145, 147; Zionist land development and, 3, 120, 122–123, 125–126, 146, 155–156, 191, 248–249, 261
- Palmerston, Lord (Henry John Temple), 52, 56
- pan-Arabism, 107–108, 163, 194, 196, 197–199, 200–203, 210, 220–221, 226, 264
- Pan-European Union, 236
- Paris Peace Conference (1919), 19, 23–27, 93, 103, 131, 159
- Passfield, Lord, 143; White Paper (1930), 143–144
- Patria* (refugee ship), 186, 187, 194
- Pearl Harbor attack (1941), 28, 188, 201
- Peel, Robert, 152, 156, 157
- Peel Commission (1937), 152–160, 161, 168, 196; partition proposal, 158–160, 162, 207, 209, 210
- Persia. *See* Iran
- petrodollars, 220
- Philby, Hugh St. John, 196, 205
- pogroms: Polish post-Second World War, 228; Russian, 44, 47, 49, 51, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 68, 80, 83, 84, 85
- Poland, 15, 19, 20, 223; extermination camps in, 31, 172, 176, 178, 179, 181; Nazi invasion of, 171; plight of Jews in, 150, 162, 228
- Polish Air Force, 181
- political Zionism, 2–3, 4, 54–56
- Portal, Charles, 181
- Portugal, 42
- Potsdam conference (1945), 30, 223, 224, 235
- Primrose League, 12, 14, 44
- progress, belief in. *See* civilization
- Protestants, 39, 70
- Protocols of the Elders of Zion, The* (forged text), 80–81, 82, 87
- Prussia, 15
- Punjab massacre (1948), 31
- Puritans, 150
- Quebec Conference (1943), 206
- racial hierarchy, 13–14; Anglo-Saxons' place in, 13, 31; Churchill's view of Arabs and, 264; Jewish identity and, 41, 42, 46–47, 53, 70, 81, 85, 138, 156
- Radek, Karl, 88
- Rashid Ali al-Gailani, 194, 197, 238
- Reading, Lord (Rufus Daniel Isaacs), 100
- refugees, Jewish, 182–183, 186–189, 190–191, 192; Churchill and, 215; in displaced-persons camps, 228–229; feared Communist ideology of, 244,

- refugees, Jewish (*continued*)  
 246; Roosevelt and, 205–206; Zionist concerns about, 203. *See also* Jewish immigration and immigrants
- refugees, Palestinian Arab, 249
- religious Zionism, 3
- “Retribution” (Longfellow), 177
- Revisionists, 143, 144, 158
- revolutions of 1848, 87
- right-wing Zionists. *See* Revisionists
- Rishon Lezion (Zionist settlement), 4,  
 120, 121–122, 123, 124, 136, 138, 261
- ritual murder charges, 6, 40
- Roman Empire, 11, 39, 155
- Romania, 150, 187
- romanticism, 4, 12, 17–18, 52, 53, 68, 265
- Rome and Jerusalem* (Hess), 53
- Roosevelt, Franklin: Churchill’s relations with, 27, 29, 177, 188, 204, 206, 216, 219; Ibn Saud and, 204–205, 221–222; Jewish political power and, 192–193; Palestine policy and, 166, 185, 193, 195, 197, 204, 205, 206, 211, 213, 215, 216, 226; plight of European Jews and, 172, 178, 189, 205–206
- Rothschild, Alfred, 43
- Rothschild, Edmond de, 121
- Rothschild, James de, 117, 178–179
- Rothschild, Lionel de (Lord Rothschild), 46
- Rothschild, Lionel Walter de (Lord Rothschild), 76
- Rothschild, Nathaniel de (Natty) (Lord Rothschild), 43, 44, 46, 50, 51, 56, 58, 67
- Rothschild family, 43, 44, 52, 56
- Royal Air Force, 246
- Royal Dutch Shell, 66
- Royal Navy, 66, 67
- Russia (later Soviet Union), 41, 63; balance of power and, 15, 16, 25, 27, 29–34, 63, 90; Balfour Declaration’s reception in, 77; Bolshevik Revolution and, 21, 77, 80, 81, 82, 84, 88, 264; border closing by, 134; Churchill’s view of, 13, 19–22, 25, 26, 29–33, 89–90, 98, 103, 153, 165, 179, 181, 182, 195, 223, 224, 228, 233, 241, 253, 263, 264, 265; First World War and, 18, 20, 24, 27, 69, 75; First World War withdrawal by, 78–79, 80; Jewish immigration and, 54, 120–121, 138, 183, 244, 246; Jews and, 44, 47, 49, 51, 54, 56, 57, 58, 59, 68, 80, 83–84, 85, 86, 87, 100, 136, 150–151, 151, 244, 246; Nazi Germany and, 19–20, 22, 28, 176, 177, 195; nuclear weapons and, 35; *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* forgery and, 81; Turkey and, 71, 72, 103; U.N. Palestine partition plan and, 229, 246; Zionism and, 56, 218, 244. *See also* Bolshevism/Communism; Cold War; Stalin, Joseph
- Russian Civil War, 19, 21, 23, 80, 135, 136
- Rutenberg, Pinchas, 101, 103, 120, 146, 167, 168; Churchill’s defense of, 105, 117, 125, 137
- Rutherford, Watson, 67
- Samuel, Harry, 50
- Samuel, Herbert, 70, 71, 77, 78, 86, 106, 107, 111, 117; Arab federation/Jewish government plan of, 196, 199; Churchill’s partition opposition and, 160; Churchill White Paper drafted by, 118, 132, 133; Jewish immigration limits and, 114, 127, 163, 235; Jewish national home meaning and, 132; as Palestinian high commissioner, 113–116, 127, 129–130, 133, 176
- Samuel, Marcus (Lord Bearsted), 66, 67
- Samuel, Samuel, 67
- San Remo agreement (1920), 77–78, 90, 102
- Sassoon, Reuben, 41
- Saudi Arabia (formerly Arabia), 173, 198, 230; British relations with, 92–93, 94, 104, 106–107, 112, 203–204, 219–221, 225, 265; founding of, 128; independence of, 77; Nazi support by, 193, 194; oil reserves of, 198, 220, 221, 226; Ottoman Empire and, 72, 74, 75; Palestine’s exclusion from, 108. *See also* Arabs; Ibn Saud; sherifians
- scientific advancement, 5, 11, 14, 35, 36
- Second Coming, 4, 52, 262
- Second World War, 27–36, 171–226; appeasement and, 162, 164, 165, 166, 171,

- 231, 232; Arabs and, 193, 194, 197, 198, 237–238, 264; atomic bomb and, 14, 35; Battle of Britain and, 28, 197, 262; Big Three and, 27–34, 179, 193, 206, 215, 216, 219, 223; British anti-Semitism during, 171–172, 173, 174, 179, 180; British bombing proposals and, 172, 181, 182; British Jewish brigade and, 180; Churchill on lead-up to, 17, 19, 21–22, 141, 160, 161, 164; Churchill's envisioned peace conference for, 32, 223; Churchill's leadership during, 1, 3, 15, 27–36, 171–199, 262; Churchill's memoirs of, 231; Churchill's pessimism following, 29, 31–32; Churchill's Zionist identification and, 170, 195–196, 260, 263, 264; displaced persons and, 228–229; Jewish refugees and, 182–183, 186–189, 190–191, 192, 203, 205–206, 215, 244, 246; Middle East and, 165, 195–201, 218; Nazi expansion and, 28, 162, 195; North Africa and, 197, 202; Palestinian Arabs and, 154; Palestinian Jews and, 165–166, 172, 176; United States and, 28, 188, 192, 201; White Paper (1939) policy continuance during, 184–185; Zionism and, 2, 172–175, 195, 224–225, 240. *See also* Holocaust; Nazi Germany
- secret diplomacy, 24
- self-determination, 18, 20, 24, 25, 27;  
Churchill's view of, 90, 128, 159, 202, 228, 260
- Sephardic Jews, 60, 117
- Seventh Zionist Congress (1905), 57
- Sèvres, Treaty of (1920), 90
- Shaftesbury, Earl of (Edward Ashley), 52
- Sharet, Moshe, 256
- Shaw, George Bernard, 10
- Shell Oil, 66, 67, 82
- sherifians, 92–93, 94, 103, 105, 198, 221;  
British Palestinian administration and, 126, 137; Churchill's view of, 128–129; First World War and, 154; proposed Arab federation and, 106–112, 199
- Shia Muslims, 110
- Shuckburgh, Evelyn, 250
- Shuckburgh, John, 132, 164, 201
- Sidebotham, Herbert, III, 114, 122, 131
- Sidney Street saga, 66
- Sikorski, Wladyslaw, 181
- Silverman, Sidney, 236
- Simpson, Wallis, 142
- Sinclair, Archibald, 160, 182, 207
- Skoda military factories, 162
- Smith, F. E., 83
- Smuts, Jan Christian, 76, 166, 191, 208
- Soames, Christopher, 242
- Socialist Party (Britain), 11, 25, 26–27, 142, 144, 147, 173; ebbing of Zionist support by, 222–223
- socialist Zionism, 3, 144, 244
- Social Revolutionary Party (Russia), 54
- South Africa, 16, 43, 76, 166, 191
- Soviet Union. *See* Cold War; Russia
- Spaatz, Carl, 182
- Spain, 40, 41, 42, 155, 189
- Spears, Edward, 174, 202, 204
- Stalin, Joseph, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33, 162, 193, 195, 206; Churchill policies and, 179, 181, 182, 223; purges of Jews and, 150, 151; Zionism and, 218, 246
- Stanley, Oliver, 174, 188, 206–207, 208, 224
- Stanley, Venetia (later Montagu), 71
- State Department (U.S.), 191, 203, 222, 229
- Steevens, G. W., 10
- sterilization, forced, 13
- Stern Gang, 216–217, 222
- stock market crash (1929), 134, 140
- Strang, William, 252
- Strategic Air Forces (U.S.), 182
- Struma* (refugee ship), 187–188
- St. Stephen's Club, 44
- Sudan, 13, 16, 123, 125, 251
- Sudetenland, 162
- Suez Canal, 44, 103, 197, 221, 233, 234;  
Egyptian blockade of, 251, 252
- Suez War (1956), 253
- suffrage, universal, 22, 23
- summit conferences, 32–34, 195. *See also* Big Three meetings
- Sunday commerce, 63, 65
- Sunni Muslims, 110
- Supreme Moslem Council, 112
- Sverdlov, Jacob, 83
- Sykes-Picot agreement (1916), 75, 93

- Syria, 74, 75, 154, 174; Arab federation proposal and, 196, 199; Arab independence movement and, 93; British Cabinet Committee proposal for, 209, 210, 213; Churchill's independence proposal for, 197, 200; as French mandate, 77, 91, 92, 93, 106, 194, 197, 199, 200, 209, 218; Greater Syria proposal, 93, 106, 209, 210, 213, 225; Israel attacked by, 230; Palestinian Arabs and, 185; sherifians and, 106, 111
- Syria Palaestina, 39, 71, 72, 106
- Tancred* (Disraeli), 70
- tank warfare, 14
- Tartars, 39
- Tchitcherin, George, 82
- Tehran conference (1943), 206
- Tel Aviv, 120, 190, 209
- Temple, Henry John (Lord Palmerston), 52, 56
- Ten Commandments, 45
- Territorialism, 56–59, 60, 61, 62, 68
- terrorism, 216–217, 222, 231, 232, 242
- Times* (London), 81, 110, 111, 114, 178, 242
- Transjordan. *See* Jordan
- tree planting, 120, 136, 155
- Tripolitania, 189
- Trotsky, Leon, 83, 86, 87, 88
- Truman, Harry, 30, 223, 229, 255
- “Truth about Hitler, The” (Churchill), 148–149
- Turkey (post-1919), 197, 238; British troops in, 94; Churchill's strategy and, 104, 126; Greek conflict with, 103; Jewish immigration barriers in, 183, 187–188
- Ukraine, 80
- Uncle Give Us Bread* (book), 21
- United Nations, 32, 35, 233; Palestine partition plan of, 229–230, 240, 243, 244, 249
- United States: anti-Semitism and, 193; Arab-Jewish policies and, 205, 221–222, 246; Balfour Declaration's reception in, 77; British Labour government and, 241, 246; British Palestine policy and, 234–235; British strategic interests and, 165, 166, 175, 196, 233, 234, 238; Churchill's pro-Zionism and, 173, 196, 256, 257; Churchill's view of, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 22, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33–34, 36, 145, 153, 165, 166, 180, 188, 191–192, 196, 197, 228, 235, 254–255, 256; Fascist Italy and, 20; First World War and, 18, 26, 27, 69, 75; Holocaust reaction by, 171, 181, 185; Israel's relations with, 228, 230, 244; Jewish immigration and, 54, 68, 183, 246; Jewish refugees and, 189, 229; Jews' perceived influence in, 145, 149, 153, 166, 185, 191–193, 255; League of Nations and, 26; Middle East and, 104, 222, 223, 224, 229, 237, 243; neutrality of, 27, 28; nuclear weapons and, 35; Second World War and, 28, 188, 192, 201, 206; U.N. Palestine partition plan and, 229, 243; Zionism and, 70, 91, 145, 185, 196, 197, 201–205, 215–216, 226, 251. *See also* Roosevelt, Franklin
- universal suffrage, 22, 23
- V-E (Victory in Europe) Day, 29, 30
- Versailles, Treaty of (1919), 19, 90, 102, 146
- Vichy France, 194, 197
- Victoria, queen of Great Britain, 11, 12, 40
- Victoria Jewish Hospital, 65
- Victorian era, 4, 5, 11–18, 20, 22, 25, 32, 36, 89; characteristics and beliefs of, 11–12, 130, 264, 265; Jewish identity and, 38–39, 40, 41–44, 45, 46–47, 52, 68, 85; Zionists as sharing values of, 100, 119, 121, 138, 139, 141–142, 225, 261
- Vienna, 162
- V-J (Victory over Japan) Day, 30
- V-2 rockets, 28
- Wahhabis, 128, 225, 265
- Wailing Wall (Jerusalem), 143, 255
- Wales, 66, 240
- Wallace, Henry, 192, 194, 204
- Wannsee conference (1942), 176
- War Cabinet (Britain): anti-Zionism and, 172–173, 175, 190, 191, 201, 208; Arab relations and, 198, 219–220; Balfour Declaration and, 76–77, 79; Churchill's

- appointment to, 171, 172, 184;  
 Churchill's pro-Zionist plea to, 193,  
 195, 199, 207; Committee on Palestine,  
 207–213, 217–218, 225; First World War  
 and, 69, 72, 79, 80; Jewish extermina-  
 tion reports and, 178; Jewish Palestin-  
 ian immigration and, 183, 187, 188;  
 Middle East and, 200, 201, 206; White  
 Paper's enforcement and, 184–185;  
 Zionist extremists and, 217  
 War Council (Britain), 71, 72, 95  
 War Department (U.S.), 206  
 Warsaw uprising (1944), 179  
 Washington Press Club, 254, 257  
 Wauchope, Arthur, 147  
 Wavell, Archibald, 186, 193–194  
 Webb, Beatrice, 143  
 Webster, Nesta, 86  
 Wedgwood, Josiah, 158, 160, 164  
 Weizmann, Chaim, 70; American Jews  
 and, 191, 192; background of, 60; on  
 Balfour Declaration's weakening, 132;  
 British rejection of, 242–243; British  
 response to Palestinian Arab violence  
 and, 143, 144; British values of, 4, 123–  
 124, 129, 138, 175, 191, 223; Churchill  
 and, 4, 60, 74, 96–97, 108, 123, 124,  
 130, 133, 160, 163, 165, 169, 174, 175,  
 176, 180, 181, 190, 191, 192, 196, 198,  
 201–204, 209, 213, 215–216, 222, 232,  
 240, 257, 261; Churchill's avowed com-  
 mitment to Zionism and, 171, 184,  
 202–203; Churchill's distancing from,  
 218–219, 223, 230, 242; Churchill's eu-  
 logy for, 255–256; on Churchill's im-  
 pressionable temperament, 105; on  
 Churchill's "soundness," 152; Churchill  
 White Paper (1922) and, 132, 133; Holo-  
 caust response and, 180, 181, 182, 208;  
 Jewish immigration and, 114, 131, 186;  
 Jewish state and, 76, 196, 199, 200,  
 202–203, 208, 209, 211; militant Zion-  
 ists vs., 144; Palestine partition pro-  
 posal and, 158, 160, 213, 215; Palestin-  
 ian Arabs and, 93, 122; Palestinian loan  
 and, 135; as president of Israel, 240,  
 255; United States and, 196, 197, 201,  
 202, 203–204, 205, 216; Zionist ex-  
 tremists vs., 217  
 Weizmann, Jack, 215  
 Weizmann, Vera, 203  
 Welles, Sumner, 203  
 Wertheimer family, 43  
 West Bank, 158, 243, 250  
 Western Wall (Jerusalem), 143, 255  
 West Germany, 35  
 White Paper (1922), 118–119, 132–133, 137,  
 235  
 White Paper (1930), 143–144  
 White Paper (1939), 164–165, 166–167,  
 175, 188, 219, 242; as barrier to Pales-  
 tinian Jewish state, 183–184; Churchill's  
 moderation on, 235; Churchill's opposi-  
 tion to, 166–169, 172–173, 183–184, 185,  
 192, 195, 207, 230; continuance under  
 Churchill of, 184, 189, 194; extension  
 discussions on, 193; Morrison plan as  
 repudiation of, 208, 212; postwar con-  
 tinuance of, 224; Weizmann's plea  
 against, 223  
 White Russians, 21, 80, 83, 84, 89  
 Wilhelm II, kaiser of Germany, 16, 18  
 Wilson, Woodrow, 18, 23, 24, 90  
 Winant, John, 205  
 Windsor, Duke of. *See* Edward VIII  
 Wise, Stephen, 202, 219, 222  
 women's suffrage, 23  
*Wondrous Tale of Alroy, The* (Disraeli), 52  
 Wood, Edward Frederick Lindley. *See* Hal-  
 ifax, Lord  
 Wood, Kingsley, 207  
 Woodhead Commission, 162–163  
*World Crisis, The* (Churchill), 112  
 World War I. *See* First World War  
 World War II. *See* Second World War  
 xenophobia, 49, 50, 68, 174  
 Yalta conference (1945), 29, 30, 179, 193,  
 216, 219, 231  
 Yemen, 163, 230  
 York massacre (1190), 6, 40  
 Young, Hubert, 105  
 Younger, George, 100  
 Zaid (sherifian prince), 106  
 Zangwill, Israel, 6, 57, 58, 59, 61, 67  
 Zionism: Arab opposition to, 70, 91, 112,

Zionism (*continued*)

- 126, 130–131, 204–205, 206, 219–220, 221, 226; Arab sherifians and, 93, 106, 107, 108, 111; background of, 2–3, 4, 38, 51–56, 262; as Bolshevism antidote, 87–88, 117, 139; Bolshevik attacks on, 77, 86; British policies and, 6–7, 8, 50–59, 68, 75–76, 80, 99, 100, 104, 106, 112, 113, 126, 131–132, 141, 143–144, 152–154, 160–161, 163–164, 172–174, 175, 183–184, 185, 191, 195, 206–207, 212–213, 215, 222–225, 228–229, 231, 235, 242–243; Churchill's anti-Bolshevism and, 84–89, 91, 92, 98–99, 136; Churchill's defense of, 133, 136, 152–161, 167–168, 171–182, 184, 190–216, 207, 219, 224, 226, 228, 246–249, 250, 254–255; Churchill's detachment from, 69–70, 72, 74, 78, 79, 80, 95–96, 97, 100, 102–103, 108, 112, 113, 132–135, 137, 175, 218–219, 222–223, 227, 230, 231, 232, 235, 241, 257, 260; Churchill's evolved belief in, 1–8, 9, 11, 36–37, 39, 40, 47, 54, 57, 58–63, 67–68, 113, 115–122, 125, 130, 138–139, 141–142, 169–170, 195, 225, 231–232, 254, 255, 260–265; Churchill's inconsistency on, 95, 97, 113, 137–138, 195, 230–231, 234, 235, 236, 241–242, 243–244, 254–255, 257, 265; Churchill's prescience (1908) about, 262; Churchill's rejection of violent acts of, 213, 216–217, 232, 236, 239, 242; Churchill's strategic interests and, 93, 144, 145–146, 160, 239; civilizational value of, 4, 5, 6, 70, 100, 103, 113, 119–123, 125, 136, 138, 139, 141–142, 145–146, 154–156, 167, 169, 190, 191, 195, 225, 237, 248–249, 255–258, 261–262, 264; extremist violence and, 186, 196, 212–213, 216–217, 222, 232, 236, 238, 239, 240, 242; first permanent agricultural settlement and, 4, 120, 121; First World War and, 68, 69, 70, 195; gunrunning and, 131, 137, 219; Herzl's concept of, 4, 54–56, 190–191; historical basis of, 100, 118–119, 136, 138, 145, 155, 169, 191, 195, 248, 256, 257, 260, 262, 264; Holocaust and, 176, 178, 181, 182–183, 196, 200, 203, 208, 248; humanitarian basis of, 54, 68, 100, 113, 118–119, 138, 142, 151–152, 167, 169, 186, 189, 195, 196, 200, 225, 235–236, 256, 257; international sympathy for, 227; Jewish opponents of, 67, 71, 75, 76, 190–191; key arguments for, 138; London conference (1939) and, 163; mid-1920s foundering of, 134; Passfield White Paper and, 143–144; as political dynamite, 231, 235; political goals of, 2–3, 4, 54–56; Protocols of the Elders of Zion forgery and, 80–81; right-wing (Revisionist) faction and, 143, 144, 158; Roosevelt and, 205–206, 222, 226; satellite settlement proposals and, 189, 208, 219, 223; Second World War and, 2, 172–175, 182–183, 186–189, 190–193, 195, 196, 212, 224–225, 240; Territorialists and, 56–59, 62; U.N. partition acceptance by, 230; U.S. opponents of, 205–206, 215–216, 222, 226; U.S. supporters of, 145, 203; Weizmann's values and, 123–124, 223. See also Jewish national homeland; Jewish state; Palestine “Zionism versus Bolshevism” (Churchill), 85–87, 88, 96, 116, 124
- Zionist Association, 146, 207
- Zionist Congress (1939), 164
- Zionist Executive (Palestine), 144
- Zionist Federation. *See* English Zionist Federation
- Zionist Organization, 114, 115, 133, 134
- Zionist Review*, 78, 87, 97, 125
- Zion Mule Corps, 75
- Zola, Emile, 48