

Trudy Gold | Palestine in the 1920's and 1930's, Part 2

- You tell me when you're ready for me to start, Wendy,

- Trudy,

- if you don't mind.

- Whenever you're ready to start.

- Okay, should we start?

- Start now. Yeah, absolutely. Thank you.

- Okay. Well, good evening from London. And now we're coming to Palestine in the '30s. And I took the advice of one of our group, because I think we're dealing with such complicated issues now, that I think it's quite important that you've got the bullet points. And this is what I hope to be able to cover to a certain extent this evening. And I also want to mention that the Lockdown University's been going for nearly a year, so some of the things that you're asking me about, I have actually taught. But I will be doing a biography of Chaim Weizmann, Jabotinsky, Ben-Gurion, and Begin. I'm going to do a special, because obviously they're all giants in their own way, and they're all so important to what happens in the mandate, and what happens in Israel. And many of their personality traits, and their ideas are of course reflected in Israel to this day. And I also want to say that this is one of the most contentious areas of history that we can possibly deal with.

And I want to point out how the Jewish people are going to be faced with dilemmas that are almost impossible to contemplate. I remember my friend, Anita Lasker-Wallfisch who tragically was in Auschwitz. She said, "Unless you've been in hell, please don't pass judgement ." And I think one of the issues we're going to be dealing with today, is the quarrels within the Jewish community. But the problem was, in the end, I think those problems stemmed from the fact that the Jewish community was actually powerless in the face of appalling events that were going to engulf them. So, I'm going to start in 1929. Now, by 1929, the mandate was a going concern. I talked about the Histadrut. Ben-Gurion had been, somebody asked me, why haven't I mentioned Ben-Gurion? You see, Ben-Gurion, there's going to be so much to say about him, that today, I want to go through the facts of the time. But Ben-Gurion had been one of the founders of the Histadrut. He takes over the Jewish Agency in 1935.

He's very much a left-wing Zionist. And what is happening, is they're building up all the infrastructures of departments that, in fact, would be the state. And I just want to go through the figures of Jews moving into Palestine. The First and Second Aliyah, of course, finished in 1914. There were 65,000 Zionists in Palestine by 1914. Between 1919 and 1923, you have about 40,000 left-wing Zionists, mainly coming from Eastern Europe, because one of the problems

was, of course, that after the Russian Revolution, and the appalling catastrophe in Eastern Europe where upwards of 100,000 Jews were murdered in pogroms by conflicting armies. And when Poland was reconstituted as a state, there was terrible antisemitism, and Jews on the move. And this also ties up with the beginnings of countries really tightening quotas. So, what you have with the Third Aliyah, these are left-wing socialist Jews who come under a dream. Now, the next, the Fourth Aliyah, which lasts from 1924 to 1932, these are, in the main, Polish Jews, who are escaping the increased antisemitism.

They're mainly middle class. They are the most of them settled in the cities. So, you're having a completely different kind of Aliyah. And today, I will be mentioning the Fifth Aliyah, which is 1933 to 1939, and that is, of course, going to encompass many German, Austrian, and Czech Jews. And of course, they completely alter the flavour of the mandate. Later on in the course, I'm going to show you footage of pre-mandate Palestine. Actually, I'm going to show you pictures of Ottoman Palestine, which are fascinating. But if you think about the '30s, those of you who live there, you wander down Gordon Street, you see all the Art Nouveau, the Art Deco buildings. Many of those incredible German architects, artists, writers, and I know this week, Patrick's going to talk about the Palestine Orchestra, they come to Palestine, and they create almost a piece of Europe in the Middle East. So, and it's nearly 200,000 in the end, between 1933 and '39. And that is the backdrop. But the backdrop is against the increased tension within the mandate, tension within the Zionist movement.

As I mentioned yesterday, Jabotinsky actually left the executive in 1923. And what he does is eventually form his own organisation, the World Union of Revisionist Scientists, he creates Betar, his own youth group, and gradually, his people began to come to Palestine under a different dream. The majority of those who are coming over through the regular Zionist organisations, remember, they are left wing. And these are the people who, they're incredible idealists. They set up the kibbutzim, the moshavim. They are people who are really trying to quote unquote "regenerate the Jewish people." And they become more and more distant ideologically. Chaim Weizmann, who is a great man, he really did though believe that the British were honourable, and the British would come through. Jabotinsky had been imprisoned by them, and he had a different view. Who was right? Who was wrong? It's very easy for us to use historical hindsight. I want you to try and imagine what it was like living in Palestine. This was the card that was dealt you. How did you deal with it? And the other point was the appointment of Hajj Amin al-Husseini to the post of Mufti of Jerusalem.

Because the Mufti, it's an important post, he had access to all the Muslim holy places, and he, who had once believed in Greater Syria, once that is over, remember he fought with the army, with the Sharifan army against the French. When that is over, he now realises that what he's going to concentrate on is Palestine. And he doesn't want one Jew in Palestine. As far as he's concerned, it's Arab land. And because he's Mufti, he can call the people to jihad. And he is a very charismatic speaker, so was, of course, both Chaim Weizmann and Jabotinsky. They were both really good in rallying people. Unfortunately, the Mufti is really going to show his colours later on, when he spends the war with Hitler, but I'll talk about that in a few weeks. So, in 1928,

there was a terrible disturbance at the Western Wall. And can we see the first slide, if you don't mind, Judy? Now, the 1929 riots. But in 1928, and the Palestine police have been augmented by the Black and Tans, which were a really tough, rough group. And I already told you that many of the British administrators in Palestine actually didn't like Jews very much at all. So, you've got a problem on that level. You've got the Black and Tans. And what happens is there's a long running dispute over who actually has access and owns the Temple Mount.

Because if you think about it, you have the Al-Aqsa Mosque, you have the, of course, the Western Wailing Wall, and consequently, it's seen as a holy site to the Jewish community, but also to the Arab community. How important Jerusalem is, is something that we will deal with in another lecture. Now. So, in 1928, a mechitza was put up at the Western Wall to separate men and women. It was actually pointed out to Arabs, by a British police officer. And also the British, who were sort of digging on the site, archaeologists, they were very pro-Arab and very anti-Jewish. You know, if you want to be cynical, the Jews made such bad colonials. Anyway, they had a word with the rabbi, and said, "Please take down the mechitza." He didn't. He promised; it didn't. The police went in, there was a scuffle, and the headline in the newspaper was Defamation in Yom Kippur. This was one of the newspaper headings of a Hebrew paper in Palestine. And it became an incredibly, that the Jews were planning to take over the Al-Aqsa Mosque.

The Muslim Supreme Council quote, "Jews aimed to take possession of the mosque on the pretext it is the temple. The revisionist claimed rights over the wall. And boys from Betar kept on going on the march. It became a powder keg." And now we come to the summer of 1929. And you know how hot summers are in Israel. On the 14th of July, there was a huge meeting of the Haganah and Brit Trumpeldor. Actually, because the British have said, "Look, we don't want Jews marching around here. It's Muslim property." So, there's a huge meeting in Tel Aviv. Over 6,000 people went. There was demonstrations from a committee called the Pro Wailing War Committee. 6,000 young Jews were on the march. On the 15th of August, Betar, now this is, remember, Jabotinsky's people, they take a much more aggressive stand than a Haganah. The Haganah at this stage are a clandestine army of self-defense. Betar is joining the Haganah, but soon it's all going to break up, and they want to take a much more militant stand. Most of them were Polish Jews. They were not left-wingers.

And many of them had experienced pogroms, have lost their families in pogroms, and they wanted to take a much more hard line. Now, the executive, Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann asked for restraint. Then there was an Arab flyer. Committee of Holy Warriors of Palestine. We go to Jihad. And then the tinder was lit. A yeshiva boy was murdered. There were then, Betar go on the attack. Jews were murdered, Arabs were murdered, and it gets out of control. There are riots between August the 23rd and August the 29th. 100, and they spread from Jerusalem to Hebron, over 133 Jews were murdered. It was awful. They went on to the rampage in the quarter, they killed, in the main, religious Jews. 200 to 250 injured. 116 Arabs were killed mainly by the mandate police. The Jewish agency had begged the British government to bring in more troops. They knew there was going to be trouble. They didn't, and it really becomes a terrible

situation.

Now, it's at this stage, that the Shaw Commission institutes a report, and that report actually says, "The Arabs are behind it, but the reason for it is the Arabs have total hostility towards the Jews." I'm quoting, "Consequent on their disappointment of the political and natural aspirations, as well as Arab fears of Jewish immigration, not only as a menace to their livelihood, but as a possible overlord in the future." So what happens is the British being the British, they decide to set up a commission and have a white paper. And can we see the next slide please? Thanks, Judy. Yes, now that is Beatrice and Sidney Webb. You'll know about them, of course. They were part of, those of you who studied British history, they were Fabians, they were socialists, and in the early days they had been very sympathetic to Zionism. And now, Sidney Webb has become Lord Passfield. And back in 1917, he'd been a great friend of the Zionists, Labour's commitment to the cause. And in those days, when Jabotinsky was actually creating the 37th and 38th Royal Fusiliers, they were very friendly.

But after 1929, they're now in the government. Ramsay MacDonald is the prime minister. He actually, it's a national government. It's a Labour, he's prime minister, but it's Tory-dominated. And although both of them had visited Palestine, this is what Beatrice Webb had to say. They talk about what they're going to do in Palestine. "Expediency as well as justice demanded the government protect the interest of the Arabs. Unless Britain was prepared to keep an army of occupation in Palestine indefinitely, to defend the settlers against Arab attack, the measures would have to be taken for the protection of the Arab to prevent them from being gradually extruded by economic pressure. And the government also has to consider the feelings of the Mohammedans of India, not to mention Egypt." Now, this is fascinating. When did the issue of Palestine become the issue of the Arab world, and the issue of the Muslim world? And it's a very important situation that's developing here.

When was the issue of the Jews of Palestine the issue of the whole of the Jewish world? And I'll be talking about that, really, post '45, but it's already there. And then this is what her husband says. "The responsibility of this date, of this debate, lies with the fatuous promise of a Jewish national home in Palestine." He's basically saying that the Balfour Declaration was a fatuous promise. And Beatrice went on to say, "Future governments will be grateful that Sidney has forced the Jews to be more considerate and reasonable." On the 21st of October, these are Passfield's own words, "to negate the idea of a Jewish state." What he does, is he basically says, and remember it's now 1929, 1930, 1931, what happens, there is a slump. The Wall Street Crash had reverberations around the whole of the globe, including Palestine. And what he does is he links Jewish immigration into Palestine, to economic absorptive capacity of the whole of Palestine, not of the Yishuv. If it's just the Yishuv, then the Jews can bring other Jews in. But now, if there's an unemployed Arab, Jews can't come into Palestine.

And Weizmann, Weizmann is completely crushed. He's head of the Zionist organisation. He's completely crushed. He feels that he's been incredibly betrayed. But he's got supporters. He's got supporters in England. He resigns. And the Zionist supporters actually in Parliament, and

outside of parliament, really begin to rally to his cause in Britain. Remember, Weizmann's an incredibly popular person. Let me give you an example. There was about to be an election in Whitechapel, and the liberal candidate was Barnett Janner, who was a very staunch Zionist. Those of you who are living in England will know a lot about Barnett Janner. He was an absolute lion. And I'll be referring to him again when we come to the war years. And he was a liberal at the time. And is it possible that the Labour candidate will be defeated? On the 27th of October, Weizmann was invited to speak at a big meeting with over 4,000 people. And the local Labour party was controlled by the transport and General Workers Union. And interesting, Ernest Bevin supported Zionism at this time, and he made clear he would instruct all Labour MPs sponsored by unions to oppose it. Now, the Labour held but only had a majority of 1000. There's a total onslaught. You've got incredible people in the house, people like Josiah Wedgewood. I will be referring to him again. He was an incredible Zionist.

And there's a lot of support. So, in the end, there is a retraction. And the retraction is that economic absorptive capacity will only be linked to the Yishuv. So, Weizmann is asked to come back, and he does. Jabotinsky, after the Arab riots, is not allowed back into Palestine. It's interesting, they allowed him into England, they allowed him into Paris, but they didn't allow him into Palestine. And the other thing that happened, and that I'll be dealing with in much more depth later on, is that a group of Haganah commanders, led by Tehomi and Raziel, incredible stories, incredible people, they broke away from the Haganah to found the Irgun, because they felt very strongly that now they would have to go onto the attack. The lines are drawn. So, that was the situation in 1933, when something absolutely horrific happens. And let me see the next slide please. Okay. Yeah, this man comes to power in Germany. This man is committed to a udenrime Reich. I'll be talking about Hitler on Thursday.

And I should mention, I have done a lot of work with many of the group in depth on the rise of Adolf Hitler. And what I'm going to have to do on Thursday, is that, I know a lot of you know an awful lot about him, and his policy towards the Jews, I'm going to have to try and satisfy those of you who know a lot, and also give basic information to those of you who haven't studied this period. But some of you might find this quite extraordinary, but when Hitler comes to power in 1933, he's committed to a udenrime Reich. Hitler is prepared to allow Jews out of Germany, and after the out of Austria. Jews got out up until 1941. One of the problems was, and you've got to remember the Wall Street Crash, and when Phil looked at America, he talked about the tightening of restrictions, countries are imposing quotas on refugees. So, you have a situation where Hitler wants to get rid of the Jews, and in fact, where are they going to go? Now, as far as the Zionists are concerned, and it doesn't matter whether you are a Weizmann, a Ben-Gurion, a Golder who's already now on the executive, a Ben-Zvi, a Jabotinsky, it doesn't matter. What you want to do is to save your people. You don't know exactly what's going to happen.

Because I remember Nahum Goldman's great quote. He said in 1939, "To imagine the inferno." He said, "Even in 1939, you couldn't imagine what would happen." He said, "You needed the soul of a Dante to imagine the inferno. Because," he said, "the truism, it was for him, Gerta, and Shilla, and Bach, and Beethoven." So, this man comes to power enjoined to throw

the Jews out of Germany, and he's going to use all means at his disposal. Remember, it's a total brutal dictatorship. One of his first acts is to set up Dachau as his concentration camp, get rid of any kind of democracy in Germany whatsoever, one-party state, ruling through terror, ruling through fear, and also ruling through seduction. And all we have to do is look at some of the pictures, and you can see the seduction, for many folk, of Hitler. But the Jews from the beginning are targeted. It begins with a boycott. Jews are thrown out of the Career Civil Service. Einstein loses his job. I mean, you know, Einstein and Freud, probably the two most famous refugees in history. So, this is the background, and this is the desperation. And then we come on to a response. Can we see the next slide please, Judy? Now, here's a man called Haim Arlosoroff. And many of you will know that the street, the longest street in Tel Aviv is named for him. Now, who is Haim Arlosoroff? I'm going to give a little bit of background to him. He was born in the Ukraine. He was the grandson of a rabbi.

His family, there was a terrible pogrom in the area in 1905. The family had actually then, they fled, eventually to Berlin. His father went back to the Ukraine on a business matter and died of cholera. He, by the time he's a young man, he's brilliant. He wins a place at the University of Berlin. He's an economist, he's a leader. He joins the Zionist Labour Party, Hapoel Hatzair. He soon becomes one of the leaders. He's a great writer. He attempts to combine socialism with practical approaches. He advocated new methods of financing settlements through international loans. He was also, at this stage, interested in Arab Jewish cooperation. He does his PhD at the university. He's so good that he is offered a lectureship at one of the great universities of the world, age 22. Now, he, however, he first visits Palestine in 1921. He witnesses the Arab riots. He becomes part of the defence of Neve Shalom. And he then decides he's not going to take up the post. He is going to Palestine. And in 1923, he's already got a reputation. He's a great writer. He is a friend of people like Martin Buber. He's very much a man on the move.

He's considered to be one of the new great leaders of the Zionist movement. He's elected, age 24, he's elected to the Zionist Action Committee. And he offers, and in Palestine, he really, he's very involved with Ben-Gurion. In many ways, he becomes his number two. He represents the Yishuv at the League of Nations. He visited the America on a Zionist fact-finding tour. And in 1929, the Arab riots, he had hoped at one stage for cooperation. Now, at the time of the Arab riots, he blamed some of Jabotinsky's followers, particularly a man who went by the name of Abba Ahimeir. He was a poet, a scholar, but he was also very militant, and he blamed the revisionist for provoking the Arabs. So, it's important to remember that after the Arab riots, and the breakaway, Irgun, there is bad blood amongst the Zionists. But in the end, he's very instrumental in the founding of Mapai, which brings together most of the left-wing movements. And he's also a very staunch supporter of Chaim Weizmann. He's a sophisticated Berlin Jew. He gets on very well with the high commissioner. He's a brilliant chess player. He plays chess at the home of the mandate officials. It's an extraordinary story. He's head of the political division at the 17th Zionist Congress, when he's still very, very young.

So, even though he has a friendship with the high commissioner, which made Sir Arthur Wauchope, which made some of the Zionist very suspicious of him, he begins to be worried

about the feasibility of Arab Jewish corporation. And he though, in the letters between him and Weizmann, he is trying to come up with some sort of solution to the problem. Anyway, in 1933, something quite extraordinary happened. There are contacts made. When I said to you before that this is the time of huge decisions, contacts are made between Shaked. Can we see his picture please? Judy? Is that Shaked? He's head of the Reich's bank. He's going to go on trial at Nuremberg. He was a brilliant German economist. Can we go back? I'd rather look at Arlosoroff's face if you don't mind. But that's Shaked. Thank you. There are discussions between the Palestine bank, Arlosoroff and Shaked. Remember, Hitler wants to let Jews go. And the Germans are very short of currency. He's prepared the Hawara the crossing over.

The Nazis are prepared to allow Jews to leave Germany for Palestine, with some of their money, provided they spend it on goods in Germany, which will give the German economy a boost. Arlosoroff goes to Germany to negotiate. The revisionist press goes crazy. And remember, Jabotinsky is out of Palestine. He's not allowed back in. He had no time for Abu Aki Mayor. Yes, he believed in Palestine, both sides of the Jordan, he was much more hard line, but he wasn't in favour of the kind of sabre Rattling of some of his associates. He felt that they were out of control. Anyway, what then happens is there's huge fanfare in the press. People are condemning it. And this is the first of the huge dilemmas. Do you deal with the devil? And I'm going to say this now, because it's going to link up with today. that the Jewish people face today, particularly from the hard left, is that the Zionists did these deals with the Nazis. It comes out of Soviet Russia, and I'll be giving a whole session on it. But it actually says, and it chokes me to say this, that Zionists colluded with the Nazis.

And tragically, and you will notice how often Nazi-style language is used to describe Israel. And I'm bringing it up, because this is the first thing they choose. They also, of course, are going to look at many other cases, particularly the Kastner affair. But it's very important that you understand, because this is a terrible dilemma. If you were Weizmann, or Jabotinsky, or Arlosoroff, and there is a deal, and it means you can get people out, do you go ahead with it? It's complicated. It's also going to flare up again when Ben-Gurion, after the state is created, does a deal with Arlosoroff, I beg your pardon, does a deal with Adenai. And that, and then of course, Begin, who is going to become a successor to Jabotinsky, Begin and his group were totally against it. And people died in riots outside the Knesset. Do you deal with the devil? Anyway, Arlosoroff went to Germany to negotiate. When returns to Palestine, he and his wife, and there are lots of good biographies of Arlosoroff I really recommend you read one.

He's a fascinating man. He and his wife were walking along the seafront in Tel Aviv, when he was shot. Who killed Arlosoroff? His wife said he was actually murdered by two young revisionists, Stavsky and Rosenblatt. The British arrested them, and there was problem over identification, et cetera, et cetera. But in the end, Stavsky was accused, with one of the judges, a British court, one of the judges dissenting, and Rosenblatt was acquitted. They were both revisionists. Stavsky was later released by the court of appeal. Arabs, two Arabs, meanwhile, already in custody for another murder, said that they committed the murder. But then one of them said, "It was a put-up job. We were bribed to do so." And this was a sore that was really

the beginnings. Already the seeds are there for the real problems that are going to erupt into her roots and Mapai. But this is one of the really most contentious issues. And as I said yesterday, I'm trying to hold the line. Fascinating that Begin had a commission of inquiry established in 1982. Because Stavsky and Rosenblatt become great heroes of the revisionists. And Stavsky is going to die in an incident called the Altalena. And those of you who don't know about it, look it up in advance 'cause it's fascinating. A tragic incident, and absolutely fascinating. Anyway, what then happens is they're acquitted, but they're released, but the bad blood continues, and it becomes, it becomes very vicious actually. The latest research is the stuff that movies are made of. When Arlosoroff was in Germany, he had a girlfriend called Magda, very beautiful blonde German girl. And when he went back to Germany, he tried to contact her.

The problem was, by that time she'd married Joseph Goebbels, a German historian. His evidence seems to show that Arlosoroff was most likely murdered by German agents in Palestine. As far as I'm concerned, that has the most, for me, I think it's got the most leverage, because can you just imagine Goebbels and Magda, the perfect Nazi couple? Can you imagine if it had come out that she'd had a Jewish lover, because they were lovers back when he was back in Germany. You know, this was a group that really went in, you know, they were left-wing Zionists. They went in for, you know, free love. But can you imagine what that would've done? So, there's still a big question mark over the Arlosoroff story, but I think it's very important because it issues, it's one of the most contentious issues. And it's the question, what do you do when you're in hell? Was he right? Was he wrong? It meant that in the first year, 70,000 German Jews came to Palestine. And I've already mentioned how they changed the mandate. Just think of Cafe Society. Just think of sophisticated German Jews. Now, they weren't Zionists, but they were fulfilling Zionism, because after all, what have the Zionists always said? Think of the words of Leon Pinsker. "Judophobia is a psychic aberration. It is a 2000-year-old disease. It is incurable. Stop being ghosts upon the face of the world." And you've got to remember, even at this time, there were many Jews in Britain, and in America, and in France, who were trying, who were saying, "Look, we are citizens of the countries in which we live. We are first British, we are first French." In fact, the, and it's still a contentious issue, isn't it?

Now, I'm just going to read you something that, Arlosoroff was also a poet. "I am a Jew and I feel strong and proud of my Jewishness." This was a letter he wrote to his professor in 1917. "I feel it in my bones that I am different from a German, and it would never occur to me to deny this. I feel how much the orient is ingrained in me, how much my soul is a product of an inner rift due to rootlessness, and unknown to the racial German. On the other hand, I recognise in myself many other things that the Germans think are his sole property. My soul yearns for the unique ancient Hebrew culture. But I also like my German culture. And perhaps I'm also afraid to admit how great my love is for it." So, basically that was a very, very important development. Now, and let's turn to the Arabs of Palestine. And it has to be said, although the Mufti completely went into a world where we can do nothing but condemn him, there were Arabs who felt that it was their land, there were settled villages, and now you have this huge influx of sophisticated German Jews, on what they considered was their territory. And it all explodes in 1936. Can we please see the next slide, Judy? Because as a response to the influx of German, and German

Jews into Palestine, the Mufti calls the people to jihad, and there are the most terrible riots. The riots are so bad that the British police, they have to call in the British Army has to call in reinforcements. The Mufti's forced out of Palestine. In 1937, he creates the Higher Arab Congress, and he issues a statement to the British from Syria. He said, "In any future war, if you don't think about Jewish immigration, we will act in a way that's contrary to your interests." The Mufti wanted no Jewish settlement in Palestine.

And so you have the Arab riots, that are really going to go on sporadically for nearly three years. The British being the British, they decide on a commission, the Peel Commission. Can we see the next slide, Judy? I'd like to thank Judy, because I am technologically absolutely rubbish. Now, before we come onto that, let me just bring to your attention a British soldier who was a great hero to the Jews. You've got to remember, it's not uniform. Just as they are MPs in parliament, there are many British people who are very sympathetic, particularly because of the situation in Germany is getting absolutely dire. Things are always multifaceted. Now, this was a Bible-thumping brilliant British soldier called Orde Wingate. He becomes a hero of Israel. And he comes to Palestine, and he decides, actually with the permission of the leading British general in Palestine, to actually take young Jews, and teach them the art of night fighting. The person who became his greatest supporter was actually Moshe Dayan. He was a great biblical scholar, and he loved to go to places. He'd read of all the battles in the Bible, just as later on Yadin did. He was an archaeologist, and he knew where the great battles were. And he felt he had a duty to help the people of the book return to their land.

He became such a Zionist, that in the end, the British sent him home, and he finishes up, of course, in the Chindits campaign in Burma in the war. A great, great hero. Now, but the British meanwhile decide that they're going to have a commission. So, can we please see the Peel Commission? Here they come. This is fascinating. They come by, that's Lord Peel, they come by train. Do you remember the old train to Jerusalem? And it's in the summer of 1936, and they're wearing their top hats and their frock coats. They are real British gentlemen. And they're going to debate for a year. They're going to look at the situation, they're going to interview Arab leaders, they're going to interview Jewish leaders. Jabotinsky gives evidence in Britain. And he's, you know, remember he's, I often think that he was probably happier in Belsize Park or in the 14th arrondissement more. And I'm going to read two extracts. Remember it's 1936. The Nuremberg Laws had happened. Antisemitism was on the, you know, you've got the Black Shirts in London, in Paris, you know, the polarised society.

It's not just in Germany. And Jabotinsky gives evidence. And I'm going to read just a little from his report to the Royal Commission. And then I'm going to also read to you what Weizmann said. He uses both Weizmann and Jabotinsky were brilliant men. And what Jabotinsky does, he actually uses the story of "Oliver Twist," the boy who asked for more. And he said, "We are not asking for more. We're asking for what Oliver Twist asked, enough to sustain us." And this is what he said. "We have got to save millions, many, millions." This is '37. "I do not know whether it's a question of rehousing one third of the Jewish race, half of the Jewish race, or a quarter of the Jewish race. I do not know. But it's a question of millions." And he goes on to say that if it

doesn't happen, there will be a catastrophe. But now, Chaim Weizmann, this is heartbreaking, "I told," this is actually his report to the Zionist organisation on his interview. "I told the commission, 'God has promised the land of Israel to the Jews. This is our charter. But we are men of our own time with limited horizons, heavily laden with responsibility towards the generations.' I told the Royal Commission that the hopes of 6 million Jews are centred on immigration.

Then I was asked," I mean it's terrifying, this, but, 'Can you bring 6 million to Palestine?' I replied, 'No, I'm acquainted with the laws of physics and chemistry. And I know the force of material factors. In our generation, I divide the figure by three.' And you can see in it the depth of the Jewish tragedy. 2 million of youth with their lives before him, who have lost the most elementary right, the right to work." So, basically they're both, they're not predicting the Holocaust, even though you have Trotsky in Mexico. He actually wrote in an article of 1938, "The world is divided up into those countries that won't let the Jews in, and those countries that weren't let the Jews live." They're not predicting the Holocaust. Nobody could have done that. But they knew something terrible was happening. And in fact, they're more worried about what's happening in Europe. And ironically, and again, this is another problem, Jabotinsky went to visit the very anti, after the death of Pilsudski, there was a very anti-Semitic regime in Poland. He visited the anti, he visited the Polish foreign Minister, Beck, the Romanian foreign minister. Remember these people, Jabotinsky invites them, both have huge status. They're extraordinary individuals. And he also, so he visits the Hungarian foreign Minister, and they all say that they will help them get Jews out. But the point is, will the British let them into Palestine? Now, after a year's deliberation, can we please see the map? Yes. The Peel Commission decides that the only fair thing to do is to carve up what is left of Palestine. And you've got that little purple bit, which will be for the Jews. Martin Gilbert assessed it to be, those of you who know the geography of England, it's about the size of Cornwall.

The Zionists very reluctantly would agree, but the Arabs said no, because now, remember the Arab leadership has been hijacked by extremism, and they realise that there is nowhere for the Jews to go. So, basically, the British decides they're going to run it from London, because now you know, you've got a real balance. If there's a war, remember what the British did to the Ottomans in the First World War. They persuaded Arabs to revolt against the Turks. If there is another war, and in 1937 it was on the cards, despite all the appeasement, are you actually, are you actually really going to risk upsetting the Arabs? The Mufti's a charismatic leader. Important to remember though, all the Arab leaders hated each other. And I'll explain why later on in the course, because I already mentioned the blood hatred between the Saudis, and Abdullah of Jordan, and Faisal of Iraq. But the Mufti was loathed by the Arab leaders. But the point is, they're going to have one factor that unites them, hatred of Israel. And in the end, the British decide, they have one more go at a conference, But they decide in the end they have no choice but to appease the Arabs.

And again, can we be partisan on this? If you were a British official in Palestine, what on earth would you have to do? What would you have done? Mind you, Neville Chamberlain, at the time

of the white paper, he actually said, "If we must offend one side, let us offend the Jews." He, and this is from a W H Darnie. who is head of the Middle East Department at the Colonial Office. And he wrote in his diary, he regretted that the Jews were not on the other side in this war. Foreign Secretary Eden, "If we must have preferences, let me murmur in your ear, 'I prefer the Arabs to the Jews.'" This is Charles Bateman, the British minister in Egypt. You know, they didn't have very effective shredding machines, did they? "Please don't think I'm pro Arab or anti Jew. I think both of them are absolutely loathsome." So, while this is all going on, and this is important, the Haganah and the Irgun are beginning from May, 1939. The white paper is issued. And what the white paper does, and remember, it's May, 1939, it restricts Jewish immigration to 15,000 a year for five years.

And then whoever has the majority has the state. And that means another Arab-dominated state in the Middle East. So, that was the situation in 1939. And I'm just going to read you what happens, because this is when the Haganah and the Irgun begin the, they'd already started back in '34 when the British introduced us, running illegals to Palestine. And because it was so extraordinary, I'm just going to read you a few of the votes. "On the 29th of July, the Colorado, under a Panamanian flag, 378 refugees were intercepted by the British Navy and arrested, but they made it to Palestine. 19th of August, 840 immigrants make it to the shore. August the 23rd, the Purita, 700 refugees beached at Tel Aviv. 2nd of September, think of the war. Tiger Hill fired on by the World War Navy, two killed. There were 1200 on board. They made it to Palestine. 16th of September, 364 of them made it. The 19th of November, intercepted by a warship, passive resistance." Remember, this is November, 1939.

They were sent to a detention camp. And so it goes on and on and on. Meanwhile, the Haganah are still having a policy of restraints. The Irgun begin to back in, they'd already begun to attack the British. And in 1938, the first Jew, Ben-Yosef,, was hanged by the British. And this of course really seals the appalling blood. And then you have the white paper. Weizmann, his, you know, can you imagine what it did to Weizmann? He had believed in the honour of Britain, and he had friends in Britain. I'm trying to walk that terrible line. Ben-Gurion issues a statement. He says, "We fight the white paper as if there is no Hitler. We fight Hitler as though there is no white paper." Because you realise what it meant. 15,000 a year for five years. He's basically slamming the doors of Europe just as war breaks out. And so one of the issues that you have to consider when you think about politics in Israel, and we think about these matters. Look, we know who the Nazis were.

They were the perpetrators, never ever forget that, along with collaborators from many different countries. What role did the British play in all of this? And I'm not coming down one side or the other, because I think as my friend Anita said, "We're in hell now. And when we're in hell, how on earth do you pass judgement?" Please don't forget, and it's something I'm going to look at next week, after Kristallnacht. many countries took in Jewish refugees, children. British took in children, the Swedes, the Belgians, the French. They did take in the children. True, the Jewish community had to sponsor them. But again, Anita said, "Why didn't they save the parents?" But then you're back to the issue of refugees. And there was a depression, and there was a lot of

instability. Do you take in refugees if they're threatened in their own country, if you have economic problems in your own? And I don't have to tell you that when times are insecure, economically, politically, socially, we do seem to become tribal, don't we? These are universal themes. But I want to finish on a speech of Churchill's. Churchill made this speech at the time of the white paper. So, you have the statement of policy. "I find this a melancholy occasion. Others may feel that the burden of faith weighs upon them heavily. Some may be pro Arab and some may be anti-Semitic. None of these motives offers me any means of escape. Because I was from the beginning, an advocate of the Balfour Declaration.

As a person, immediately and responsibly concerned in the early stages of Britain's Palestine policy, I couldn't stand by and see solemn engagements into Britain, to which Britain has entered before the world set aside for reasons of convenience, or it would be a vain hope for the sake of a quiet life. I would feel personally embarrassed in the most acute manner if I lived myself by silence, or in inaction to what I regard as an act of repudiation. Now, there is a breach, there is a violation of the pledge. There is an abandonment of the Balfour Declaration. This is the end of the vision of the hope and the dream. What will our friends say? What will be the opinion of the United States? May we lose more? And this is a question to be considered more naturally, in the growing sympathy and support of the United States, what will our potential enemies think? What will those who have been stirring up the Arabs think? Would not the Arab agitators themselves not be encouraged? This is another Munich. We are asked to submit to agitation, which is inflamed by Nazi and fascist propaganda. The vote was 268 to 179 in favour of the white paper." So, that was the situation in 1939 on the eve of war. And the British are going to keep to the quota throughout the whole of the war.

So, it's something we will come onto. I've tried terribly hard to keep a balance here. And I know from many of the comments I had, I know a lot of you feel very passionately about this, from one side to the other. Look, I'm a historian, and whatever I feel personally is frankly what's inside me. And I really am trying now, having said there's no such thing as objective history, what I'm trying to do is to steer the course. We're now moving into a time, one of the most acute times in Jewish history, of course. And isn't it interesting that some of the things that happened in Palestine then, they're still with us. They're still with us as a people, and they're still with the government of Israel, and it's relation, I believe, it's relationship with the outside world. So, I can see that we have a lot of questions, Wendy. Shall I start taking questions?

- [Wendy] Yes, please go ahead, Trudy.

Q&A and Comments:

- Thank you. Okay. Oh.

And this is Ellie. "My parents came to Palestine in 1935 from Berlin. In '48, my father and uncle were amongst the first Israeli police officers."

This is from Judith. This, you know what I love about this group? There's so much history coming through. "An anecdote from my family's history. In December '36, my maternal grandfather travelled from Manchester to Tel Aviv to visit cousins who had orange groves just outside Tel Aviv. He spent Christmas in Portside before sailing to Haifa."

This is from Linda Goldshire. "'The Palestine Post' by Daniel Chertov." Yes, I'm not actually recommending any books at the moment, Linda, and I'll tell you why. Because there are hundreds of them. Please don't ask me to recommend one book on the Arab Israeli conflict on the Middle East. What I prefer to do now, I read biography. Weizmann wrote "Trial and Error." There are so many brilliant biographies. Read the autobiographies. Read the biographies. You know, one of the problems with history, all we have is the sources. People need to tell their stories.

Yes, Mervin, "The Arab claim to the Temple Mount is contradicted in the guides authored by the Muslim high Council that is recognised the sight of Solomon's temple." Yes, Mervin, this is a very, very contentious issue.

A question on the attitude of Christian Palestinians towards the Jews and Muslim Palestinians. Depends who you're talking to, frankly. It's a very complex issue. Don't forget the German Templers in Palestine.

Q: "What about the antisemitism, romantic attachment of the British, in tandem with anti-Jewish doctrines of Islam?"

A: Be careful about Islam. Yes, there are anti-Jewish doctrines, but the blood libel was never there. It was never, if you want the whole sad history of the Jews under monotheism, it was never as bad in the Islamic world as it was under the Christian world. There were horrible incidents. But this is a period I've studied a lot. And of course there were many British who took a far better view of the Arabs than the Jews. But then you have Orde Wingate, Lawrence of Arabia. Although he was an arabist, he was also a great friend of the Jews.

"The Jewish community," yes, thank you, "the Jewish community in Palestine before the establishment of the state." Brilliant, thank you, Howard, for defining for me. Oh, I love this group.

Interesting immigrants are seen as taking jobs away from the locals, and not as entrepreneurs. Yes, you see, people's attitudes don't change, do they?

Q: Now, Monty, "Without the Balfour Declaration, could a Jewish state come into existence? Was the Balfour Declaration just part of a be nice to the Jews Week? And with all those Arabs around, it would never come about. The 1948 War was fought because the Arabs didn't accept the Balfour Declaration. Is present day Israel the fulfilment of the Zionist dream?"

A: What are you wanting? Me to write a thesis? It's a very interesting question, Monty. I cannot begin to answer it on the hoof. And it's very important. I've already had some lawyers contact me. There's a lot of lawyers on this group. What is the actual, what is the justification for the Jewish state legally? If there are any lawyers, I'd love that question answered by a few of them.

Yes, "Shlaw Dotan in the history of the Communist Party suggests that Arlosoroff was murdered by the Communists." Yes, there's lots and lots of theories. I happen to go with the German theory, 'cause to me it makes most sense.

"The Mufti sold land to the Jews." Yeah.

Q: "Isn't Israel facing the same dilemmas with respect to making peace with Saudi Arabia? And it's the atrocities?"

A: Yes, yes, there are so many issues. You know, the people who created Israel, I'm talking about Weizmann and Ben-Gurion, and Jabotinsky, and Begin, love them or hate them, they were all idealists. But then, is utopia possible? When you become a state, what rules do you have to live by? There was a man called Machiavelli who wrote a very interesting book on state craft. The duty of a state is not the duty of a private individual, discuss. Now, that's a great question for you.

Yes, Corinne Faber's brought up the Kastner Affair. Now, I got, I've taught the Kastner Affair about six months ago, and I spent a lot of time on it. Please read up on the Kastner Affair, because of course, we will be dealing with it again when we talk about Hungarian Jewry. And again, Corrine, you brought up an important point.

No, I can't go any further, 'cause it's a long, long story, but we will be dealing with it again. Barrington Black, "Crazy as," and Barrington is a lawyer, yes, a judge, "Crazy as it may sound, if Ken Livingston had to answer the charge of calling Hitler a Zionist, before a jury at Crown Court late on a hot Friday, he might get the verdict."

Whoa, Barrington. I, ugh, ay, ay, ay. Hitler wanted a udenrime Reich. For one, over one issue, the Zionist wanted to save Jews. Hitler wanted to get rid of them. Does that make Hitler a Zionist?

"Jabotinsky in his time was considered a prophet." Yes, so was Weizmann.

Yes, "Martin," thanks, Rochelle, "Martin Gilbert produced a book of maps from Biblical times." Wonderful, clear maps. Yes, I've already said this to you, if you have children or grandchildren, please have Martin Gilbert's maps in your house. And I hope that one of the things that really pains me is how many, how so many of our kids and grandchildren don't know any Jewish history. And maybe it's our job to begin to teach them.

Yes, Martin Belman has asked about Golder. I did mention Golder. And Golder comes to Palestine in 1921 from America. I'm going to do some biographies. Now, the reason I don't mention so many women, let's get real, and this is, I'm going to have to say this as a woman, unfortunately, even though in the communist and left-wing movements, women had a much stronger place than they did in normal bourgeois society, it's still mainly a male-dominated society. Golder comes to Palestine, she becomes very involved with Ben-Gurion, and is involved in the Histadrut. She becomes, later on, she negotiates with Abdullah, and later becomes the first ambassador to Russia. Fascinating woman.

"You never mentioned Hawaran. Yes, that's what, I did. That's what I was talking about. The Hawara agreement was the Lazarov agreement. It means crossing over. Wonderful.

"You mentioned, nevermind Ken Livingston, 70,000 new citizens, many young have made a huge back. Then, will you follow up?" I don't understand that question, Jack. I don't know about this. "The Coptics of Egypt."

This is Robert Turner. "I heard that the Coptics of Egypt were helpful in providing arms to the Jews in Palestine." I don't know, but that's very interesting. You've got a project.

- [Judy] Woo

Q: Okay, that was Wendy. "Why didn't church"-

- Sorry.

- "reverse the white paper, and become, becoming prime minister?"

A: That's a very, very, very good question. Martin Gilbert was the main historian who dealt with him. And the problem you face, is that he, remember he was Churchill's biographer. He adored Churchill. So, there were many things Churchill could have done. He did some. But remember, Britain was fighting for its life. So, shall I go on with questions, Wendy?

- Trudy, yes. If you've got the time, yes, please. But I would just also, just like to remind our participants about Sunday, the "Orchestra of Exile" will be shown.

- Yes, please.

- Yes, I just wanted to say, we've been very lucky to have Josh Aronson, the director of "Orchestra of Exile," share his documentary, and do a presentation for us. But you do need to register. He's very clear about that. If you don't register, you will not have access to the documentary. So, I just wanted to give you a heads up on that. And it is also all the information is on the schedule that Judy sent out to you last Sunday. So, if you go back to the schedule, you'll find all the necessary information. That's the first thing. And the second thing is just to

remind everybody that we have Jeremy Rosen after you. And Trudy, thank you very much. If you've got time, you know-

- I'll do another five minutes, so that then they can have a snack-

- Perfect.

- Before Jeremy.

- And then, alright, okay. And then when you're ready to terminate, then you just say, "That's it."

- Okay, thanks.

- You're the boss.

- Thank you, darling.

- Thank you.

- God bless. Okay, I'm going to have to switch up to the, I'm sorry, Mya. I had my buttons at the top. Let me get there to where we were, ba-ba. Thank you. Yes. You think I struck a balance? Thank you. It's a nightmare teaching this subject.

"December, 1940, the British deported over 1500 Jewish refugees to Mauritius, where they were." Yes, yes, yeah, Ellie, of course you're right.

Q: Romi Wolfson. Thank you. Did the British ever acknowledge their role in preventing Jews from immigrating to Palestine? And what about compensation like Germany to Israel?

A: That's a very interesting question. Because I'm no, 'cause I'm a completely free agent, I used to be on the ITF, which is now IHRA, representing Britain. And I'll never forget at the time, there was a, the Patria was torpedoed in Istanbul Harbour. And at one stage, it was thought the British were behind it. And I got a phone call from the foreign office, "Please tell us about it. We think we better apologise." It later turned out it was actually Stalin. But, you know, this is the nature of things.

Do I know "Land of Promise?" No. Look, there are so many books on the Middle East.

No, I'm not related to Nilly Gould.

Trudy, I'm not visible. That's not a bad thing.

Q: How might history have been different if the Arlosoroff lived?

A: I love the ifs and buts of history. He certainly was a formidable character. He would've had a very, very strong place in Ben-Gurion's government. And because Ben-Gurion was much older, he could well have been the future leader.

Yes, "thank you for trying to, I would like to hear more about the Arab populace. Yes. I think the problem, look, let me hold that, because many of the questions you're asking me is so huge.

Angela Landow, "Isaac Adler has just written about his book, about his time in Mauritius, from a baby to five years old." That will be interesting.

Oh, "I am Judith Dalio, great-granddaughter of Viscount Herbert Samuel, living Tel Aviv." Wonderful. Lovely to have you on board, Judith. It's so, I just love this course. Lost True.

"My mother," this is from Martin Tannon. "My mother came to Palestine with her immediate family in 1944, and was interned by the British in Atlit."

Yes. Helen Toman. "My dad and granddad left Prague, and went from Trieste to Haifa illegally, on the SS Galilee in November, 1939." Wow, that's late. That's wonderful.

Q: "Weren't the Templers interned?"

A: Yes, of course they were, Joan, because of course, because they were working for the Germans. The Templars are fascinating.

Oh, Michael, there was a blood libel in Baghdad. Yes, I know there was a blood libel in Baghdad. I haven't got to it yet. It's in 1941 and we will be talking about it.

This is from Leila. "Lawrence of Arabia stayed with my partner's Jewish family in Baghdad," wow. I hope you're all writing these stories down.

Do I know anything about Levy Billig, a Hebrew Arabic translator assassinated during the mandate? No, Carol, I don't. I'd love to.

Mike Lanar, a doctrine nurse, came to Palestine in 1933 from Frankfurt. "My father, still in Germany, used their money to buy x-ray equipment to them and was allowed to send it to Rehovot. My uncle became the private doctor of Weizmann and had the first telephone there." Oh, that's wonderful information.

Thank you. Bernard, I don't know the answer.

Did Lawrence write a second book? I don't, I'll find out.

"Arlosoroff's son is in his 90s now. They live in Tel Aviv. Friends of mine." Oh, that's incredible, Susie. Find out more.

"The Arab country is now reconciling with Israel on making economic peace. Several never were at war with Israel." It's fascinating. I love your term, "Economic peace," Joan.

Barbara Fix, "San Remo is the legal vote of the leading countries of the world, that's a defining legal document for the Israel state." We need lawyers on this. I know some think of the San Remo Peace Conference. Others think of '47. We need an international lawyer. I hope there's one.

"Herbert Samuel's son, Edwin, married Hadassa. They made their home in Jerusalem. So did my father, professor David Samuel, a brain scientist in the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot.

This is from Danny, "The Canadian Jack Gaultier has a thorough and unchallengeable thesis on Israel's legitimacy." Be careful, Danny. All I would say is nobody knows it all.

No. I've got to the stage in life now where I think I prefer nuance.

"A very good documentary was made about the Kastner affair." Yes, I know, and I know the person who made it. It's very good. Yep. Yes, a lot of you from Canada are talking about this Dr. Jacque Gaultier.

Jonathan, "Someone described Begin as the only Jewish Peer and prime minister of Israel. Begin rarely talked of Israel, but mostly referred to the Jewish people." Yes. Interesting, Jonathan.

Isaac and Arhoov. What about the Jews of the Arab countries are affected by the immigration of Europeans to Palestine. This will be covered later on, and it will be covered by experts on the Arab world, which is not my field of expertise.

I hope you've noticed when I'm bringing in other historians for other subjects. How do you register? You get in touch with Judy.

Hitler wanted to take over-

- Trudy, you register by going back.

- Oh, I'm sorry darling. I'm being, of course. I'm sorry. I thought you meant for, sorry. Yes, you heard what-

- No, no.

- You heard what Wendy said.

- No, no, if you're really struggling, then get in touch with Judy, but if you go back to your participant, to the registrar that you said,

- Schedule.

- the schedule, thank you. That, sorry. I've got too, so many things going on here. If you get back to the schedule that Judy sent you on Sunday, all the details are there.

- Right, I'm just going to answer one question from Joan. One more question, because it's very, very important question.

Q: Hitler wanted to take over the world. He thought he could catch up with the Jews everywhere eventually. This is a very interesting point you've made. Did Hitler always want to murder the Jews?

A: And it's one of the big debates in history. Certainly, when we get to the Wannsee Conference, well, look, when we get to the invasion of Russia by the summer of 1941, yes, he had decided on genocide. And we do know that this is research from 2007, that there was an, you've got to remember, a lot of the archives were in East Germany, and after the collapse of communism, so many historians have been able to do far more research. There was an Einsatzgruppen and that if Rommel had won, they would have swept into Palestine.

Yes, that is certainly true. The Kastner Incident. K-A-S, somebody wants to know how to spell it, K-A-S-T-N-E-R. Look it up. Rudolph Kastner.

Melvin, "Britain did what suited its own interest, as most countries would." Yes, you see, this is the problem. Smart's relationship with, that's some huge question. You're giving me such big questions. Oh, these are wonderful. So many of you are telling me.

Now, this is from Ms. Baxter. Magda Goebbels, according to LeBret was of Jewish origin. Maybe had a Jewish father, no, a Jewish stepfather, he said. Oh, this is Lawrence of Arabia. This is. You know, if I don't know something, somebody online will. Lawrence of Arabia wrote another book, which is "The Mint," about his time in the Indian Army.

Thank you very much for that. Robert, "What would you say is the moral justification for the creation of Israel?" Oi, oi, oi. Oi, again, you're asking a huge thesis on this. Why don't we, look, these are the kind of questions that you have to work out for yourself.

Q: How much influence did Bialik have on Herzl?

A: Wow. Bialik, Not so much on Herzl. And Herzl, remember, Bialik has another story, right?

Judith Hayman is giving us a rather nasty comment. "When I started teaching in the '70s, a fellow teacher told me her father was a British soldier in Palestine. She told me, 'My father said it was a shame we didn't make lampshades from you.'" Ay, ay, ay. Presumably your father was there between '45 and '48 when certain elements within the community in Palestine went to war with the British. British soldiers were killed, you know? There were terrible incidents in England.

So, we've got, we will get to that period, but I'm, and I promise you, I've been discussing it with my colleagues, because when we get to the shower both Patrick, David, and Dennis, we're all going to teach in tandem. So, because we think it's so important. And we will be spend, I've discussed it with Wendy, we'll be spending at least a month on '45 to '48, because it's so important. And don't forget, we've got to look at the Arab world and we'll be bringing in experts for that. But anyway, I think I'd better go, 'cause you'll need a snack before this evening. Wendy has given you very clear instructions. Do you want to give them again, Wendy, because we're not like, if you don't mind.

- [Judy] Wendy, may I just repeat them for you? Just that, because I've had a couple of emails since you've announced that, and people are saying they don't how to register.

- Okay.

- [Judy] So, for those of you that have received the schedule, if you look on Sunday the seventh of March, it says please pre-register. And there's a link there that says please click the link below to register for the webinar. So, the information is on the schedule. Just scroll down to Sunday the 7th of March, and you'll see the information.

- Judy? Judy?

- Mm hmm. Would it be an idea just to send the link out with a separate email, just with the link?

- [Judy] I will do that this evening. That's a great idea, thank you. I will send out another email today.

- Just with the link.

- [Judy] Just with the registration information.

- Yeah, there you go. Let's simplify it.

- [Judy] Thank you, Wendy.

- Okay. Alright, well, thank you. Thanks, Jude. Thanks, Trudy. Another incredible presentation. Thank you very much.

- Right, take care and speak to you very soon. God bless you.

- Yeah, speak to you very soon.

- Bye-bye.

- See you soon. Thanks everybody for joining us. Thank you.

- Bye-bye.

- Take care.

- Bye.