

SESSION OF THE ZIONIST  
GENERAL COUNCIL

JERUSALEM  
4-8 JANUARY, 1976

*Addresses, Debates,  
Resolutions*

Published by the  
ORGANIZATION AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT  
OF THE ZIONIST EXECUTIVE  
JERUSALEM

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THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL convened for its fourth session after the Twenty Eighth Zionist Congress at Binyanei Ha'ooma in Jerusalem, on January 4-8, 1976.

The main themes of the deliberations at the Session were: "The Anti-Zionist Offensive and our Political Struggle" and "The Zionist Movement towards the Twenty Ninth Zionist Congress". The debate on the first theme was held after lectures delivered by Prof. Moshe Maoz, Dr. Ze'ev Katz and Prof. Nathan Rotenstreich. The debate on the second subject followed an address by Mr. Avraham Schenker, Member of the Executive, who also replied to the discussion.

An opening speech was delivered by Mr. Itzhak Navon, Chairman of the Zionist General Council. The Acting Chairman of the Executive, Mr. A. L. Dulzin, described the activities of the Zionist Executive. The Prime Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, greeted the gathering on behalf of the Government and reviewed the political and security situation of Israel following the Arab anti-Zionist offensive. Greetings on behalf of the Capital were brought by the Mayor of Jerusalem, Mr. Teddy Kollek.

Mr. Josef Almogi was elected Chairman of the Zionist Executive by a secret ballot, after his election as a member of the Executive in place of the late Pinhas Sapir.

The main addresses delivered at the Session are published in full, and the speeches of the participants in the deliberations are given in a summarized form. The report also includes the resolutions adopted at the session as well as a list of participants and a list of members of the committees.

THE ORGANIZATION  
AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

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## FIRST MEETING

Sunday, January 4, 1976, in the afternoon

Chairman: ITZHAK NAVON

### OPENING ADDRESS BY MR. ITZHAK NAVON

(Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

When David Ben Gurion first retired from the Premiership and went to live at Sde Boker, he brought several hundred books from his house in Tel Aviv to his new home in the Negev. As we helped him choose the books we came across a little volume entitled "The Collected Sayings of Rabbi Nachman of Bratzlav".

"That is a very important book," he said, "on account of one sentence in it". He thumbed through the pages, found the sentence in question and read it out to us in a loud voice: "A man should never consider himself old. A man should constantly endeavour to renew his youth and to rejuvenate himself." And then he added — "On account of this saying I will take this book with me to the Negev."

And then we began to reflect on the rejuvenation that Rabbi Nachman of Bratzlav wrote about and which David Ben Gurion apparently understood. For although it is impossible to circumvent the laws of nature, or to change the law laid down by the Creator, you can extract the maximum potential they offer only if you are gifted with an indomitable will power, and with the determination to infuse new blood from your own self into your veins and change, as it were, your very being.

Historians distinguish between three periods in the history of nations that form one cycle—growth, maturity and degeneration. The unique quality of Jewish History, according to Rabbi Nachman Krochmal was inherent in the fact that the seeds of the future are already present in the death throes of the past—the germs of rejuvenation are laid up in the process of degeneration—the cycles never cease.

In the 75 years of its existence, the Zionist Movement experienced its own cycle of growth, maturity and ebb. It experienced the pangs

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of formation, the joy at birth of its State as well as the suffering and shame of its decline and old age. We are now witnessing the end of the third period and the appearance of the buds of rejuvenation. A new cycle of life is beginning, and its generating force is the indomitable will of those Jews who have taken upon themselves the heavy burden of being called Zionists. On their shoulders rests the responsibility for the transfiguration of this period from the last glimmer of decline to the splendour of a new glory.

Tomorrow—I hope—we will admit to our ranks the World Union for Progressive Judaism, the Reform Movement, and this will be an event of historical significance. We will admit the great movement which, at the beginning of the last century cut itself asunder from such concepts as the Jewish People, Jewish Nationhood and a Jewish Homeland, and set out on an elliptical course leading to distant planets until at a certain point it halted and began moving back to its point of departure and to the rock from whence it was hewn.

Some one hundred years ago the head of this movement said in Philadelphia: "We no longer regard ourselves as a nation but only as a religious community, and so we no longer lift our eyes to a return to Zion nor to a renewal of any of the laws pertaining to a Jewish State." However, ten years ago this same movement approved the principles of education in its schools and summed them up in the words: "The Jewish school shall become an increasingly vital institution for the formation of a sincere personality among our people, and for the continuity of the Jewish people and its traditions through a stressing of the study of Hebrew as a living language, through a strengthening of the functions of the State of Israel in the curriculum and through an encouragement of aliyah to Israel in all its manifestations—for either a short period of study or service or prolonged visits and permanent settlement."

Indeed, the Reform Movement has traversed a long and winding road. We are now in the final stages of discussion with another great Movement—the Conservative Movement—concerning its affiliation with the Zionist Organisation. In the light of this tremendous growth, the Zionist Movement will be required to carry out, within itself, far-reaching changes in both framework and content.

Several weeks ago at the Conference of Jewish Solidarity we were witnesses to an unusual scene. One by one, Jewish leaders stood up and declared: "I am a Zionist." Following that, they lined up in order to sign the Zionist Declaration. They lifted their hands in affirmation

## I. NAVON

of a series of resolutions which set forth the whole of the Zionist Credo, beginning with the Jerusalem Program and ending with Jewish education, financial investment in Israel, pilgrimages to Israel and so forth. Is the workshop of the Zionist Movement equipped with the necessary implements in order to forge the iron while it is still hot? What shape shall we give it?

Before our own eyes the ideological differences between the Jew and the Zionist are becoming blurred. Today, we are being joined by the Reform Movement, tomorrow, by the Conservative Movement and the day after, by the present-day uncommitted Jews. By what criterion will they continue to distinguish between being supporters of Israel but remaining outside the Zionist framework? How long before they, too, become part and parcel of it? And when they do, what example and model will they see before their eyes? What is the list of duties, the list of practical deeds that those joining the Zionist Movement will be called upon to fulfil? What is our absorptive capacity, and most important of all, what significance would attach to such a large number of hundreds of thousands—perhaps millions—of members of the Zionist Organisation, if we cannot attract 50,000 of them every year, to Israel?

My dear friends we shall be missing the mark if in the coming period we continue to compete with one another only in reviling the resolutions against Zionism passed by the UN Assembly. We are fully aware of the fact that the intention of our enemies is to prepare the ground politically for a military attack on the State of Israel.

In a world that is hostile to us every Jew both in Israel and in the Diaspora expects to hear how the movement that gave birth to the State of Israel will lead the Jewish people to activity; how it conducts its political and ideological struggle; and how it will launch a large-scale aliyah, increase financial aid to the State and foster Jewish education.

We are assembled here at a difficult period for the State of Israel. Great obstacles are being heaved up in its path. It faces critical issues in the field of its external policy and security. In the economic and social sphere we are contending with the most serious problems. Conflicting declarations by politicians here increase perplexity and uncertainty abroad. All these difficulties, however, are not the cause of that heavy feeling in our hearts. Through increased effort we shall succeed in overcoming the economic and political difficulties. There is, however, one phenomenon that allows us no peace and with which

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there can be no compromise—I refer to the crimes against moral conduct and the increase of violence in the State of Israel. It is impossible to hide matters, nor is there any point in trying to do so. Every morning in perusing the pages of our press we stand ashamed and astounded. The reflection that we see in the mirror sends a shudder down our spines. This is not the image that we aspired to mould. We aspired to create an exemplary society of moral rectitude and social justice, that would serve as a source of pride for the Jewish people in particular and a focus of admiration on the part of the non-Jewish world as a whole. Although we may still boast of unique enterprises the fact that the image of some of them has been tarnished disturbs our peace of mind.

Some time ago I read that a Pupils' Council in one of the secondary schools in this country arranged a symposium on "How to Bring Up Youth in a Society in which the Adults Cannot Serve as an Example." I was glad to note both the criticism and the protest. If I had participated in that symposium, I would have said: "We are not all of one uniform image. Model yourself on the conduct of the best among us and combat the actions of the evil among us. Revolt against the evil—don't submit and give in!"

Can it be that we are experiencing what is called the "fatigue of matter?" Has the spring been fully wound up and kept tense for too long a time? Have the economic and security demands made on the citizens of Israel reduced their image somehow? Or is the swing of development being halted through the lack of aliyah? Are we doomed to remain a community of 3 million Jews without the injections of new blood we need so much? Those Jews abroad upon whom fate has bestowed a high standard of living and education, who are in search of ideals and content in life—why have we not succeeded in attracting them hither?

In our scheme of national priorities aliyah must occupy prime place since it has a direct bearing on progress and development in the country in general. We must examine the lack of a satisfactory rate of aliyah and seek solutions. What aggravates the problem is that we have a rich source of youth in Israel waiting to be tapped. Only this week some 150 boys and girls gathered in order to volunteer for service in the development towns. The Yishuv will answer when called upon—can we say the same for Jews abroad? Listen to what I have to say next.

One of the problems that engaged us recently was the awareness

## I. NAVON

(or lack of it) among our youth of Judaism and Zionism. Schools, youth movements and various organizations keep on asking for lectures, talks and meetings. We shall undoubtedly hear about the outcome of such meetings from the Chairman of the Zionist Council in Israel later in the week. But I should like to present you with a representative sample of youth serving in the Israel Defence Forces—of a unit composed of *Gadna* instructors, soldiers aged about 18. This unit spent a whole week in the study of Zionism and Judaism and at the end of that period of study, were called upon to reduce their impressions to writing. One soldier wrote: On the first day, the commander asked: Who does not feel Zionist? Several hands were raised. I almost felt like joining that group myself. Today, I consider myself a Zionist and identify one hundred per cent with the aims of Zionism. If the aims of Zionism are the concentration of the Jewish People in the State of Israel, the establishment of a just society based on the vision of the Prophets of Israel, and the preservation of the Jewish People through the nurturing of Hebrew and Zionist culture—then I am a Zionist.

A girl soldier wrote: Many a time when I asked myself, who am I, and what is my identity, the answer was that I am first and foremost an Israeli. Today, after this course, I believe I am first and foremost a Jewess and only afterwards an Israeli. Before this course I had thoughts about emigration, about living abroad for sometime and only afterwards, perhaps, to return and live in the country of my birth. Now I have removed this thought from my mind. Today, I am prepared to devote much more of myself to the State.

Another instructor, a girl soldier, writes: How great was my surprise to learn that for 18 years I had lived in the satisfied belief that I was a true Jewess. Yet here they ask me to prove that I am Jewish. Here, several points I had paid no attention to in the past because they appeared to be obvious and self-evident have been clarified. This course has led me to an awakening and to a greater measure of identification. I have visited the Museum of the Holocaust at "Yad VaShem" many times and I have seen the film "Let My People Go." This time, however, I wept, and I knew why I wept.

Another wrote that the lecture on Jewry in the United States had clarified many questions for him but he still sought the secret of its support for Israel and wanted to know whether this support would continue.

Yet another wrote that he had always had complaints against those

## FIRST MEETING

Jews in the Diaspora who were living in comfort and who refused to come on aliyah, while we Israelis were shedding our blood for the country. After a visit to an absorption centre and a talk with a new immigrant, he came to the conclusion that we had many things to mend in ourselves, and particularly in the sphere of absorption, so as to encourage the olim.

Another group of soldiers—a select unit—also spent a similar week in study. It consisted of 37 soldiers. At the beginning of the week, four among them defined themselves as Jews first and then Israelis. At the end of the week, their number rose to 16. In answer to the question “What are the three historic events that influenced you in particular” a change set in within the group. To begin with the tendency was towards citing external or general events, such as the creation of the world or the Second World War, although the Yom Kippur War also occupied a prominent place. At the end of the course, the Destruction of the Second Temple, the Holocaust and the establishment of the State rose to the top of the list—in other words, events of Jewish historical significance.

There was one soldier who derived no satisfaction whatever from the course. A waste of time, he wrote. I was not convinced that it is worthwhile being a Jew or a Zionist. He had the idea of stopping aliyah, improving the quality of life in the country, and only then, permitting Jews to come on aliyah to Israel. Many would, he predicted. He was an exception among the participants in the group.

The answer to one question presented difficulties to the lecturers—why the Jews from the affluent countries do not come on aliyah.

All said and done it was abundantly clear to us that there is a thirst among the youth in this country to learn about, and to know our people and that sincere information and intensive education can implant in them feelings of identification and a sense of partnership with the Jewish people throughout the dispersion. What can be done in this sphere here in Israel can also be done abroad. If a one-week course can bring about such results then how much more can be achieved by a longer period of study?

During the past year, Zionism stood at the centre of world interest. On the one hand, it suffered the onslaught of all the enemies of Zion, yet on the other hand, the masses of the Jewish people rallied around it. The attack on Zionism was so fierce that I am inclined to say: Would that we were worthy of such world-wide attention! On the other hand, the Jews expressed their support so vigorously that I would

## J. TSUR

say: Would that we were worthy of such sympathy and knew to direct it along the proper channels! It is by daring, by proper planning, by true devotion and by transcending every day's routine that we shall succeed in achieving our goal.

\* \* \*

At the last session of the Zionist General Council which took place not so long ago, we elected our late colleague, Pinhas Sapir, to the Chairmanship of the Zionist Executive. During the short time that he was with us, he worked with the utmost devotion and then he was tragically and suddenly removed from our midst. Let us honour his memory by rising. Mr. Jacob Tsur will say a few words.

### IN MEMORIAM — PINHAS SAPIR

#### MR. JACOB TSUR

This is the first session of the Zionist General Council without Pinhas Sapir since he took office. In the few months that he headed the Zionist Movement he did not manage, perhaps, to leave his impress on the whole range of its activities. However, he did succeed in carrying his colleagues, both in Israel and the towns and countries he visited abroad, along the wave of enthusiasm and energy that his own thirst for action generated. Activity characterised him throughout his life, and he soon became that unique figure whom we all knew—a legend in the history of the Yishuv and of the State.

There are people who are privileged to die a sudden and painless death. He passed away, just as he lived, in a storm, while he was in the midst of action. In the course of that long and arduous tour of the Negev that he undertook on a hot *hamsin* day, he was not spared to complete his days' duties and to enter his notes in that little black notebook that always accompanied him. His last thoughts must have been given to development plans for Beersheba and to the expansion of Moshav Nevatim which, at that time occupied prime place in his thoughts and cares. Not one detail escaped his attention, not one task failed to be absorbed into the general sweep of his vision.

I knew him for many years. I worked with him and disagreed with him. Irrespective of differences of opinion, however, both friends and rivals alike learned how to value his vision, his far-sightedness, his



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courage which revealed itself in the face of opposition and criticism and his capacity for indefatigable work, that characterised him throughout his life.

Fate had charged Pinhas Sapir with the duty of being the instigator, the director, and the man who shouldered the enormous burden of changing the structure of Israeli society. In the course of only twenty years a pioneering community was transformed into an industrialised state aiming at absorbing, integrating and sustaining millions of people. It is in the shadow of that change and transformation that he lived his last years. Bound up as he was with the educational values of his youth, it was very difficult for him to take this great step forward. But he had no choice. Without large scale activities, without opening the gates of this country to Jewish capital, know-how, and initiative, there would not have arisen those extra sources of livelihood so critical to a great and expanding society with its eye on the future. By dint of his vision of *kibbutz galuyot*, this man, deeply rooted in the Labour Movement, who gave his life to creating water resources and encouraging land settlement activities, was transformed into a financial wizard, motivating and giving an impetus to the work of development. He became a man symbolising the vision of the future State of Israel.

His great merit in the Jewish world lay in the fact that he succeeded in creating new dimensions in the partnership with the Jewish people for the development of the country and in the struggle of the State of Israel. By his inspiration, by his efforts, by his power of influence and conviction, he extracted contributions for Israel from forgotten corners and transformed them into a mighty instrument that forged the partnership and cemented the cooperation. I shall always remember that meeting with representatives of the Jewish communities in Europe at Orly Airport on the eve of the Six-Day War, when Sapir transformed the sense of fear and helpless concern into a manifestation of Jewish unity and indomitable will power. In that way the partnership was created and Sapir became the "travelling salesman" of the people of Israel.

His vision of *kibbutz galuyot* brought him to the Zionist Movement. He opened the gates of this country to large-scale aliyah, and in the attainment of that goal, gave up his status in the State and shouldered the responsibility of the Jewish Agency and the Zionist Organisation.

One might have thought that this task held nothing new for him since he had an intimate knowledge of the Diaspora. Nevertheless, it

## J. TSUR—T. KOLLEK

seemed that he had been cast into an unknown world. Colleagues who worked in close association with him were able to discern the change that had taken place in him. He was no longer the strong headed Pinhas Sapir who had unlimited confidence in himself. From his new vantage point a different canvas of the Jewish people in its struggles and cares unfolded itself before him—the Jewish people that was attracted by the Zionist vision, yet remained rooted in the Diaspora. He saw divisions that he did not know of, he became aware of Jewish ignorance, of galloping assimilation, of threatening unconcern, of good will on the one hand and helplessness on the other. He who had been accustomed to the method of issuing orders and having them fulfilled, and for whom the speed of implementation was critical, came to learn that Zionist implementation is a long drawn-out and painful process and that the shortcut is not always the most efficient. This accounts for the fact that in the last months of his life he devoted himself to Jewish education in the Diaspora, to the affairs of youth and to the opening of Jewish hearts to Zionism.

Sometimes he appeared to be hesitant, to be groping in the dark, to be collecting impressions and attempting to absorb them into one uniform plan of action. He would listen to what people had to say and often refrain from making decisions; he appeared like a student applying himself with diligence and patience to learning his lessons.

We knew the day was not distant when his plan of action would materialize; when the issuing of orders and speed of implementation would, once more, determine his approach. Fate, however, was unkind to him and fate was unkind to the Zionist Movement. His life ended with great suddenness. He fell in the midst of his great battle like a soldier falling in the line of duty.

### GREETINGS FROM MR. TEDDY KOLLEK, MAYOR OF JERUSALEM

We are meeting here for the first time since the anti-Zionist resolutions were passed at the United Nations and in other forums. Allow me to remind you that Zionism is based in Zion; Zion is Jerusalem; and, therefore, Jerusalem lies behind all these resolutions. True, the whole of the State of Israel today is Zion, but when all is said and done, the most difficult and the most serious political struggle will be waged over Jerusalem. Even if we do succeed in finding solutions for the

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other territorial problems, one thing is clear: the practical political answer to the question of the future of Jerusalem is no less remote today than it ever was. We must, therefore, make proper and efficient use of the time available to us in order to strengthen Zion, and to fortify Jerusalem.

The Chairman told us about the Reform Movement that is due to be admitted to the membership of the Zionist Organisation. I recall the day, twenty years ago, when the late Nelson Glueck came up with the idea of establishing an archaeological school in Jerusalem. I proposed then that he should set up a seminary that would make it incumbent upon all students aspiring to the Reform rabbinate, to spend at least one year in Jerusalem. Both these proposals have now been realized. I take it that the very decision of the Reform Movement to become affiliated with the Zionist Organisation is a direct outcome of the fact that for many years now their rabbis have been studying for at least one year in Jerusalem.

Two days ago the non-Zionist body—the Joint—transferred their offices from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. My hope and request is that the Zionist Movement and the Government of Israel will follow in the footsteps of the non-Zionists. This is dependent entirely upon you. Thank you.

## THE ACTIVITIES OF THE ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

ADDRESS BY MR. ARIE L. DULZIN

(Acting Chairman of the Executive)

Zionism is based upon a keen and courageous analysis of Jewish reality. We are therefore obliged to begin our deliberations at this session of the Zionist General Council with a forthright examination of the state of the Jewish nation.

The anti-Zionist and anti-Israel offensive being waged by our foes has placed us in a difficult position. The seriousness of the situation will, of course, leave its imprint on our discussions. Faced with these aggressive attacks, we declare our devotion to the Zionist idea, which expresses the Jewish people's aspiration for liberation and its right to live as a free people in its historic homeland.

The discussions which will take place in our meetings will, therefore,

A. L. DULZIN

touch upon the ideological and organizational aspects of the Zionist Movement, a movement which must enlist its own members as well as the general Jewish public in repelling the attacks against Zionism. This is a time of danger for Israel; and yet, it presents us with the opportunity to emerge strengthened in our Zionist convictions.

Our enemies are conducting their offensive on all fronts. They send murderers across Israel's borders. They malign us from the podium of the United Nations. They constantly spread unbridled calumnies through the communications media and diplomatic channels. The disciples of those unscrupulous planners of the infamous Moscow trials have taught the Arab states the tactics and strategy to be employed in the battle of words against the Jewish people, explaining that slogans such as "the war against 'Zionist imperialism' and 'racism'" are preferable to well-worn anti-semitic slogans which, in the past, served the needs of Israel's enemies. Even those remaining Nazis who have found temporary refuge in the countries in direct confrontation with Israel are hoping, by this means, to ingratiate themselves with authorities equally besmirched with their crimes. The attack upon Zionism seriously imperils the entire free world.

Hatred of Jews is not new. Nor are lies about Jews, blood libels, slanderous statements and utter falsehoods. However, what should put us on our guard is that this evil propaganda is taking root and receiving official sanction in international bodies.

I shall cite one example. Only ten years ago, in 1965, a discussion took place in the United Nations' Agencies about racial discrimination. During the discussion, the Soviet delegate presented a motion labelling Zionism as racism. However, then, in 1965, the member states did not take that vicious slander seriously and the motion did not even come to a vote. In 1976 it was approved in the General Assembly by a majority vote.

Hatred has reared its ugly head and is now being admitted into the chancelleries of governments. For many years after the Holocaust, official bodies did not dare sanction anti-semitism; now, however, our enemies are leaving no room for doubt as to their true intentions. To be sure, the formal word used is "Zionism." But it would be foolish to entertain any illusions. The poisoned arrows are being shot directly at the Jewish people everywhere—both in Israel and throughout the Diaspora. We cannot disregard this fact.

This situation obliges us to take unusual counter measures and to seek new ways and new methods to neutralize the threat. I suggested

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last November to the Prime Minister that he urgently convene the leaders of the Jewish people in Jerusalem under the auspices of the Israel government and the World Zionist Organization. Indeed, there was unanimity of opinion in the government and in the Zionist leadership concerning the need for such an international conference. The organization of the Conference was carried out jointly by the government and the Zionist Executive. The response was wonderful and the leaders of the various Jewish communities, representing all shades of Jewish opinion, participated in the conference, which was held in Jerusalem in early December last year. We called this event the "Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity." We set for ourselves two major goals: to demonstrate before all the nations of the world that the Jewish people stands shoulder to shoulder, united and resolute, against all attacks and machinations aimed against it, and to confer on concrete programmes in five major areas: ideological and educational activities; aliyah, settlement and volunteer programs; "Aliyah L'Regel" (Pilgrimages to Israel); mobilizing financial resources for Israel; and public activity on behalf of Israel.

The joint staff in Jerusalem is now working on detailed plans. Upon completion of this task, these plans will be brought before the Coordinating Committee of the Government of Israel and the Zionist Executive, which will meet next week in Jerusalem to decide on ways and means of implementing the plans. The Jerusalem Conference successfully achieved its first objective. The demonstration of unity and solidarity was exemplary. I am convinced that this was an historic demonstration. It expressed unequivocally our being one people and sharing one destiny—that we are all Zionists. However, the principal test lies in implementing the resolutions and this depends upon us, the Zionist movement. This is our task in the coming year—translating the resolutions into action.

The importance of the conference exceeded, by far, all our expectations. The very fact that all the leaders of the Jewish people gathered together and proclaimed, without exception, that they identify with Zionism and the State of Israel, was an act whose significance was not lost on the Arab countries. They very quickly grasped the importance of the conference and their communications media gave tangible expression to this fact. They understood the meaning of Jewish solidarity in the face of their anti-Zionist offensive. The reverberations of the conference were well publicized within the Jewish communities throughout the world. The activities of the organizations

whose leaders participated in the conference expressed the acute sense of urgency which was aroused by the conference. Many of the resolutions of the conference are already being carried out. It should be emphasized that these efforts are fully supported by Jewish organizations which, in the past, were far removed from Zionism.

I am convinced that in the future the Jerusalem conference will be considered an event of historical significance. This was a world Jewish conference which wholly identified with Zionism without any reservations and it accepted the Zionist resolutions on Aliyah and Jewish education. As a result, the present meeting of the Zionist General Council is faced with the tricky question: If the all-Jewish conference was so Zionist, what is the uniqueness of the Zionist movement? What is our distinctive character? What is our vision, and have we the capability to actualize the vision.

These questions have an obvious reply: The Zionist movement must lead the way by putting Zionist precepts into practice. This meeting will undoubtedly adopt important resolutions, and far be it from me to minimize them. Yet, other Jewish conferences have been adopting resolutions of Zionist content. The distinguishing factor of the Zionist General Council (and I emphasize "Zionist") is that it must spur the members of the Zionist movement to carry the Zionist tasks into their daily lives. We, members of the World Zionist Organization, are now being put to one single test, and that is the test of translating our ideology into action.

### *The Precepts of the Zionist Movement*

Let us begin the test with the precept of aliyah to Israel. Do we need additional resolutions on aliyah? There was a time when the Jews of the Diaspora urged aliyah from distressed countries only; but this is no longer the case. Everyone now accepts the principle that aliyah is required also from the free and affluent countries, and indeed, the Jerusalem Conference adopted clear-cut resolutions in this connection. Because of the change which has occurred in this approach, we can implement the plan proposed by the late Pinhas Sapir during his tenure as Chairman of the Zionist Executive and as Head of the Department of Immigrant and Absorption, i.e., whereby the Jewish communities in the Diaspora would assume direct responsibility for encouraging aliyah.

This change in approach reflects a tremendous accomplishment, and

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particularly, if we compare the present approach to aliyah with that prevalent ten or twenty years ago. The consequence of this change is that the Zionist movement is now confronted with a painful dilemma. On the one hand, there is general agreement concerning the precept of aliyah; on the other hand, it has reached a low ebb. Some people try to console themselves by pointing out the increase, as it were, in the numbers of immigrants. This increase, if indeed it exists in any country, is microscopic, something like 182 immigrants as opposed to 179. What purpose is served by this kind of consolation? The truth is that in the last two years there has been a marked decrease in aliyah. This is the reality and it is the duty of Zionists to draw the necessary conclusions. We are not talking here about those countries where the authorities do not permit the free emigration of their citizens. As Zionists, we are obligated to pay heed to the serious fact that there is no real immigration from countries where there is no inhibiting factor. Furthermore, the social atmosphere is more sympathetic and conducive to aliyah than it has been for some time. If so, why are the numbers of olim so scant? If we Zionists do not set an example by coming to Israel, we shall forfeit the right to make declarations and adopt resolutions on the subject. For a Zionist there is no theory of aliyah, there is only an obligation; a mitzvah and its practice. The free countries contain Zionist organizations whose members number in the hundreds of thousands. Let us take upon ourselves at least a minimal obligation—and I emphasize: on ourselves—that from every Zionist family at least one member should come on aliyah. I am certain that this will spur many others to follow in their wake.

We must become imbued with the feeling that aliyah is something which we are commanded to seriously consider and to act upon day and night. We have absolutely no reason to be content with what we have achieved in the free world. We have not exhausted even a small part of the possibilities.

If we were totally committed Zionists, ablaze with the fervor of Zionist belief, we would not view the figures on aliyah with equanimity. Each and every figure would tug at our heart strings and we would have sleepless nights! But what have we done? We have been content with adopting resolutions and declarations, but we have not felt pain, worry or anxiety. There is no aliyah—and yet, our Zionist world continues to function as usual. And in the meantime, the hour of reckoning has arrived.

*Aliyah — A Factor Stimulating the Development  
of the State of Israel*

Our self examination regarding aliyah would not be complete if we did not pay sufficient heed to the conditions of absorption in Israel. In the twenty-eight years that the State of Israel has existed, we have absorbed more than one million, seven hundred thousand immigrants, and Israel has a population approaching 3 million Jews. During these years there were fluctuations in the rate of aliyah. There were years of mass immigration and there were times when aliyah reached a low ebb. In examining the consequences of these fluctuations it becomes clear that there is a direct, positive correlation between the rate of economic growth in Israel and fluctuations in the rate of aliyah. An increase in aliyah has always been accompanied by an increase in the GNP whereas a decrease in aliyah has always had the opposite effect. It is clear therefore that aliyah is not just a Zionist precept, but also the principal factor responsible for economic growth. The Zionist duty and the national interest go hand in hand.

The Israeli economy today is based extensively on modern technology in order to increase its competitiveness in the world market. This fact highlights the need for a highly skilled work force. This need can be satisfied through immigration from the East and West alike. We have learned this fact from the composition of the aliyah which has arrived in recent years: fortyfive percent of the new immigrants possessed a high degree of specialization in their professions.

Therefore, it is perfectly obvious that economic plans for the State must take the factor of immigration into account. We have an agreement whereby in matters pertaining to aliyah, the government must consult with the Jewish Agency. To my regret, it has been a long time since these consultations have been held. I emphasize once again: aliyah is the very essence of our survival in this Land and everything, therefore, must be examined from the perspective of encouraging immigration and absorption. Anything detrimental to aliyah and absorption is detrimental to the economy itself.

For some time now I have proposed the centralization of all services relating to the absorption of immigrants, by establishing a combined authority of the government and the Jewish Agency, together with other voluntary bodies such as the Histadrut, women's organizations, immigrant associations and the like. In accordance with this suggestion,



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this combined body would constitute an authorized agency which would assume the tasks of dealing with the problems related to absorption. I wish to emphasize that the aim is that this agency should have the requisite executive authority to implement its proposals.

In recent years the handling of immigrant absorption has become more complicated, and as a result more difficult and more cumbersome. The immigrant is shuffled back and forth from one office to another, and his nerves are frayed. This bureaucracy is inefficient, it harms immigrant absorption, and it must be radically changed, once and for all.

Immigration and its absorption will preoccupy us for many years to come and this subject must be dealt with professionally—amateurism and improvisation must be eliminated as much as possible. We should give thought to the setting up of a scientific institute to study and report on problems of immigration and absorption.

We are aware of the fact that the effort invested in encouraging aliyah will not achieve its purpose unless we study the motives. Indeed, initial steps have already been taken in this direction. However, we still lack data enabling us to maintain a constant follow-up on the absorption of the immigrant and the degree of his integration into Israeli society. If we do not equip the agencies responsible for immigrant absorption with current, up-to-date information based on scientific research, they will be hard put to ease the new immigrants' difficulties of absorption.

### *The Problem of Immigration from the Soviet Union*

I want to turn, now, to the issue of immigration from the Soviet Union. Aliyah from the free countries is up to the Jews themselves—and they don't come. The Jews from the Soviet Union want to immigrate—but the Soviet authorities prevent them from leaving. In the last five years more than one hundred thousand Russian Jews came on aliyah and were absorbed. This is no mean achievement. To our regret, the number of immigrants from there has decreased alarmingly in the last year. The Soviet authorities are not granting exit visas to more than 160,000 Jews from the Soviet Union who have filed requests. One must always bear in mind that the very act of submitting such a request is fraught with personal risk, such as loss of one's place of employment, suffering and persecution. There is no doubt that a much greater number would request exit permits if the Soviet regime did not

place these obstacles in their path. At the same time, we are now faced with the unpleasant fact that the number of dropouts from among those leaving the Soviet Union has, in the last two years, reached disquieting proportions. The conditions of absorption in Israel, unfortunately, constitute one of the principal factors contributing to this depressing phenomenon. If conditions here in Israel do not change, we shall lose a significant proportion of these immigrants in the future. We must do everything in our power to overcome the problem of "dropping-out."

With this in mind, we have decided to convene a second world conference in Brussels this coming February in order to renew and strengthen the struggle for Jewish immigration from the Soviet Union. Exactly five years ago, in 1970, we convened the first conference for this purpose. The conference guided the struggle and encouraged Soviet Jewry. This time, too, we wish to mobilize friends and sympathizers, Jews and non-Jews, to intensify the pressure for aliyah from the Soviet Union. We are confident that the Brussels Conference will strengthen the hand of the aliyah activists inside Russia. In spite of delays and procrastinations on the part of the Soviet Authorities, I believe with all my heart, that a great aliyah will come from the Soviet Union. The wonderful, spiritual strength of Soviet Jewry inspires admiration, and I believe that our struggle will be crowned with success.

#### *The Problem of Jewish Education and Zionist Information*

We have just been deeply moved at the courageous posture taken by Jews inside Russia who have been forced to deny Judaism and the Jewish people. There is therefore no escaping the following question: What are Jews to whom all the possibilities are open doing to strike roots in Judaism? What are we Zionists doing on behalf of Jewish education? Is it possible that Zionists will not stand in the forefront of those working tirelessly to broaden and intensify Jewish education? Where are the children of tens of thousands of Zionists? What pretext do these Zionists have who do not give their children a Jewish education?

The Zionist Executive in Jerusalem has begun to develop new programs to broaden the base of Jewish education in South America. In the first stage, we are working in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil with the object of increasing the number of schools and pupils and deepening the content of the curriculum. The Jerusalem confer-

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ence adopted a resolution about the need to set up a large fund in order to promote contact between the Diaspora and Israel by bringing tens of thousands of youngsters and students here to complete their national Jewish education. Zionists must increase their efforts in order to fulfil this highly important Zionist precept.

General Jewish education is, of course, also Zionist education. It is a basic axiom that when we want to engage in Zionist information, we should not limit ourselves to passing events. We must teach the fundamentals of Zionism through the media of education at all grades and levels. Questions regarding Zionist information and education were recently discussed in depth at a special committee which was set up jointly by the Zionist Executive and the Foreign Ministry under the chairmanship of Mr. Yaacov Tsur. This committee has recently concluded its work and has summarized its findings and recommendations—some of which will be presented for discussion at the Committee on Policy and Information at the present meeting of the Zionist Executive Council. We shall hold joint discussions with the Foreign Ministry in order to implement the committee's recommendations without delay.

### *Shlichim*

An essential element of Zionist information is the Shaliach. And let it be said here that the framework of our missions abroad is in need of basic change.

I attach great importance to our missions abroad and I appreciate the dedicated work of the shlichim. Nevertheless, we must make it clear that shlichut is no ordinary function, but a national mission. The shaliach is not just performing a job—he represents the Zionist movement and the State of Israel. Therefore, we must make supreme efforts in order to find the most capable people to fill these positions. It is difficult to be content with the present situation. We must carry out basic reforms. We ought to set new criteria for selecting the shlichim.

A new generation has arisen in the Diaspora, the great majority of which has acquired academic education. Many are knowledgeable in Jewish and Zionist culture. The shaliach must therefore possess both general as well as Jewish-Zionist knowledge. This must be a precondition in determining suitability for service abroad. I wish to emphasize here the need both for Jewish knowledge and attachment to Judaism. The immigration from free countries, especially from the United States, has come in large measure from religious circles. The shaliach must,

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therefore, be a man who shares a common language with these circles.

It is vital that the shaliach should be adept at expressing all that is good and wholesome in the State of Israel. He should represent Israel the Beautiful before Diaspora Jewry. Therefore, it is inconceivable that his selection be based upon influence peddling or political affiliations. It is equally inconceivable that the decision on who to send is made solely by the department for whom he will be fulfilling his assignment abroad.

An advertisement should be put out enabling every Jew to apply for shlichut. In this way the best and most dedicated applicants will be selected with sole regard to their personal merits and abilities. In addition to his personal merits, the shaliach must also be a highly skilled professional in the field in which he will be operating. The need to establish suitable criteria for selection applies to all missions in all our departments. We must institute a basic change in our conception of shlichut and in the selection of candidates for service abroad. I brought this subject up for discussion in the Zionist Executive and we have appointed a committee which is preparing recommendations for criteria in the selection of shlichim.

When we set about establishing these new criteria, the time will be right for initiating a change in the concept of shlichut in the various countries. Until today, it has been customary in every country for a shaliach from a given department to work without necessarily coordinating his activities with the other shlichim. Indeed, an important change has already been introduced in certain countries whereby the shlichim serve more than one department jointly. However, this is not sufficient. We must turn to another method altogether.

The guiding principle must be that the shlichim work within the framework of the Zionist Federation. In each country there should be a group of shlichim headed by a mission leader, and all the shlichim should be working in close coordination and cooperation under his guidance, similar to the relationship between an ambassador and his embassy staff. In this way we shall be able to achieve the two following results: (a) the shlichim will be utilized to the fullest; (b) the Zionist Federation will be reinforced through their work. The time has come for us to broaden the concept of shlichut beyond mere departmental representation.

We must, in short, grant greater authority to the Zionist Federations. Zionist activity must spring organically from local organizations—whereas the shlichim must cultivate and encourage the local people,

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especially young and dynamic individuals in the Zionist organizations and the Jewish communities.

Before proceeding to the last section of my remarks, dealing with the movement's preparations for the Zionist Congress, I would like to say a few words about the activities of the Zionist Council in Israel.

I wish to mention with satisfaction the extensive information and volunteer activity carried on by the Zionist Council in Israel. The Council established, during the past year alone, ten new branches, especially in development towns, which in addition to those already existing in the large cities, hold approximately 7,000 functions a year, including conferences, symposiums, classes, meetings and lectures.

Established four years ago, the Zionist Council has contributed significantly to changing the Zionist atmosphere, especially among school-age youth and students. Testimony to this fact is in the so-called Zionist seminars which were organized throughout Israel dealing with Zionist doctrine, Zionist quizzes and the like. With great satisfaction I can point to the wave of Zionist reawakening among the youth in reaction to the anti-Zionist resolutions adopted by the United Nations and in the wake of the Conference of Jewish leaders. Thousands of pupils and students demonstrated in popular assemblies and in city streets, in protest against the anti-Zionist resolutions and in support of their identification with Zionism and the Diaspora.

The special reaction of Israeli youth is worth mentioning. Our youth expressed its readiness to fulfil the practical Zionist precepts, such as establishing nuclei for settlement, working in settlement towns, greater involvement in new immigrant neighborhoods, and in intensifying Zionist study.

I, myself, participated last week in a national emergency conference of student leaders, where it was decided to establish nuclei for settlement and to make Zionism a required university subject.

Let us, therefore, wish the Zionist Council a continued expansion of its activities.

### *Preparations for the Zionist Congress*

I am convinced that the effectiveness of Zionist information depends in large measure on the organizational resources of the Zionist Federations in the various countries and of the World Zionist Movement as a whole. At this meeting we shall express our satisfaction with the fact that the Reform Movement has joined the World Zionist Organ-

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ization. We are currently engaged in negotiations with the Conservative Movement and I hope that these negotiations, too, will prove successful. Since the last Zionist Congress the World Sephardi Federation and the Maccabi World Organization have joined our ranks. Now we must take the additional step of granting these organizations representation in the Movement's bodies not only in an advisory capacity, but also enjoying full voting rights. This is on the agenda of the current meeting, for discussion and decision.

It is a fact that the organizational structure of the Zionist Organization, whereby exclusive power is in the hands of the parties, has been out of date for a long time now. The fact that world-wide organizations have joined us is a good opportunity to institute change and reorientation in a movement which will become a central and leading force within our people. I therefore appeal to the parties—to all the parties—that we be magnanimous and not stand on legal technicalities. Let us adapt the laws to the new reality, and not vice versa.

This is the hour to open the gates wider, to enable Jewish communities and organizations to join us—not only with obligations, but also with privileges. I do not imply, nor have I ever implied, abolishing the parties within the Zionist Movement. I view the parties which express all shades of Zionist thinking, as an integral factor in the Zionist Movement. However, to our great sorrow, the multiplicity of parties has caused exaggerated conflict over political power instead of indicating Zionist ideology. Abroad, one can hardly discern any difference between one party and another. There is a large public consisting of youth, students, young leadership and intellectuals who are Zionists, but who have no party affiliation. Shall we leave them outside the organized Zionist fold? Is it not our duty to bring them closer to us and to enable them to join the ranks of the Zionist movement, both as individuals and as member organizations?

What I am urging is that the parties themselves be prepared to voluntarily relinquish part of their power in the Zionist Movement. Let us strengthen the Zionist movement so that it will not only be a movement of a million registered members but which will encompass almost all of the Jewish nation. We are called upon to overcome routine, to strive for change and improvement, and above all, to dare to wrestle with new realities.

Since a Zionist Congress is to be convened in Jerusalem at the end of 1976, we shall have to consider introducing the necessary organ-

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izational changes without any additional delay. We must turn to the Jewish people throughout the world immediately and explain to them what the essence of Zionism is. We must explain to hundreds of thousands of young Jews around the world—that Judaism cannot be superficial and skin deep, but that it stems from deep spiritual impulses hidden away in every Jew, and that Zionism is and has been for centuries, an integral part of Judaism, and indivisible from it. 1976 must be a year of reorientation and renewal, a year of great Zionist action, a year in which a reorganized, invigorated, and widely-based Zionist Movement becomes the great lever for bringing the spiritual, cultural and national needs of the entire Jewish people to fruition.

We are living in a period of challenge, when great and fateful trials for Israel and Diaspora Jewry lie before us. The Zionist movement must give a lead to the nation, and show the way with intelligence, insight, faith and a strong and unflinching hand. Our aim is to strengthen the people and the State of Israel. This year, 1976, will mark the 80th anniversary since Theodor Herzl wrote his famous book, "The Jewish State." Herzl's greatness did not lie in the fact that he wrote a pamphlet. His greatness stems from the fact that a year later he produced the instrument for realizing the dream. Herzl taught us that Zionism is a blueprint for action and it is up to us to put it into practice.

Let us remember: Zionism is an unrelenting struggle for our people's liberation. It is the people's war of survival. It is the Jewish people's fight for freedom and independence. Let us stand united and resolute, convinced of the justice of our ideals, and duty-bound as Zionists and Jews to persevere in the path of freedom.

### ADDRESS BY THE PRIME MINISTER MR. YITZHAK RABIN

I have pleasure in bringing the greetings of the Government to this session of the Zionist General Council. I wish to express the hope that its deliberations will strike at the roots of the problems that face us, and by way of constructive criticism, will improve matters and do the things that we all want to be done. The Jewish People everywhere, in the State of Israel, in the countries of stress, and in the Free World, is facing one of the most calculated, dangerous attacks that it has known in recent times. We are witnessing an all-out Arab effort to

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mobilize all the resources at the disposal of the Arab world against the State of Israel and Judaism in general, and in particular against the Zionist Movement, the Movement of National Liberation of the Jewish people in our day.

This attack exploits the politically divided Free World as well as the material weaknesses of its society, which has become dependent on Arab oil and Arab money, in order to extract concessions and surrender to the extremist tendencies in the Arab world.

The purpose of the Arab states, if we are to sum it up in the words of the Arabs themselves, is primarily "to annul the outcome of Israeli aggression in the Six Day War," with the intention of creating the conditions that will subsequently facilitate the liquidation of the State of Israel altogether. Theoretically this goal expresses itself in the demand that Israel return to the pre-Six Day War frontiers, and for the establishment of an Arafat state in Judaea and Samaria in exchange for a false peace that will perpetuate the elements in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

On the practical level we may observe, first, that the combination of military reinforcement together with the resultant and constant threat to renew belligerent activity have become the principal levers for attainment of Arab political objectives in the Free World and in other parts of the world.

Second, the continuation of warfare by means of terrorist activity both within and outside Israel. These activities are intended to maintain a state of international tension conducive to quick surrender to Arab blackmail in its various crude manifestations.

Third, the isolation of Israel in the international political arena, and first and foremost, the effort to drive a wedge between the United States and Israel. Towards that end, the Arabs threaten the economic and political interests of the Free World if it will not give in to the political demands of the Arab world. If the Arab demands are met, so the threat goes, these interests would be secured. Needless to say, as Arab demands are eagerly met, the Arab blackmail increases in intensity.

Fourth, the aggravation of the economic situation in Israel, which is difficult enough as it is. This is achieved by means of extensive activity on the part of the Arab boycott machine with a view to preventing cooperation with economic concerns in the Free World, and blocking financial participation in the economic development of Israel. One may add to this the relatively new attempts by Arab propaganda to demonstrate to the American people, to the American Congress and



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to the Administration, that the burden involved in the aid to Israel which is called for as a result of the political and military situation, is one that will continue for a long time to come. All this is part of a general effort to weaken the friendship between the two nations, and the desire to come to Israel's aid.

All these activities have found political expression in various international forums and their objective is to bring about two principal political changes that the Arab world, and principally Syria and the terrorist organisations, is anxious to attain at the coming meeting of the Security Council. These two changes are, first, to thwart the effort to solve the Arab-Israel conflict by direct negotiation and to transfer the whole matter to the Security Council for decision. In other words, to bring about a superimposed solution of the conflict.

The second change is concerned with the basis that has so far been agreed upon in one form or another by the whole of the international community, for the attainment of a peaceful solution through negotiation. I refer to a change in the Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 by means of highlighting the element of solving the Palestinian question at the expense of the demand for achieving a just and lasting peace behind secure borders.

For these reasons, the Security Council Session and its deliberations may give rise to far-reaching decisions that will most likely block the prospects for peace, lead to a stalemate and from there to much more serious developments, and sooner than many expect. If this campaign cannot be halted, it will increase in intensity.

Israel must, therefore, prepare to meet and to defeat this attack in all its various ramifications. The Government has to perform a dual task to ensure the superiority of our military potential and at the same time to strengthen our economic and social infrastructure, for there can be no security without a sound socio-economic basis. The political freedom of manoeuvre that we seek is a direct outcome of military and economic strength and will be influenced decisively by what will be achieved in these two fields.

As for the increase in our military potential—although one cannot, for obvious reasons, go into details on this matter, I do believe that we possess sufficient strength in order to give the military option full play in our political strategy.

In the socio-economic sphere, there can be no doubt that changing the economic fiscal structure of the State of Israel will provide the key to the reduction of our measure of dependence on outside factors,

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and consequently affect positively our ability to grapple with social problems. What is demanded of us is to roll up our sleeves and to work much harder than we are accustomed to work today, to consume less, to devote greater attention to the social services and do everything necessary so that people in this country will feel they are living in a just society.

I believe that the Government's economic program will succeed if the people realise the seriousness of the situation, and carry out the reforms to the letter. In this connection we have both the capability and the fiscal machinery to change reality, and to do away with concepts that have become hallowed in our midst, but which can no longer serve as directives for our activity and conduct.

A lot has been said here about the quality of living. I believe that the primary condition for the removal of the negative aspects in our life, and they are many, is that we should not shirk the unpleasantness involved in revealing them, even if we are fully aware that such revelation will create banner headlines in the newspapers.

I should like to correct certain impressions that have been created here. The Government has decided that the budget as it has been approved at present, will not serve as a limitation on the growth of aliyah. No man will be happier to present a supplementary budget for aliyah than the Minister of Finance. On the other hand, it is necessary to fix a point beyond which government support ceases and other bodies take over.

As for the strengthening of contacts between Israel and the Jewish people in the Diaspora, there can be no doubt that Zionism created the perfect instrument in establishing the State of Israel for the existence of the State has become not only a source of encouragement and hope for Jewry in the countries of stress, but has also immeasurably raised the stature of the Jewish citizens in the Free World. For that reason, the existence and well-being of the State of Israel is a vital necessity for the Jew wherever he is.

The slowing down of aliyah, both from the free world and from the countries of stress, is a worrying prospect, and calls for a thorough re-examination of some basic concepts. I do not believe that the standard of conditions and facilities granted to the new immigrant is the key to aliyah. There is no other country in the world that grants such generous facilities to its immigrants, and there has never been a period in the history of Zionism when new immigrants were granted all the privileges that are extended to olim in Israel today. The prob-

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lem is not one of incentive, but of motivation, and our success in increasing the rate of aliyah will be a direct function of our ability to generate the required enthusiasm, and to create the proper motivation. Our discussions here should, therefore, focus on the possibility of bringing this about.

In conclusion, I say that we are facing an all-out and unprecedented Arab onslaught which mobilizes all the resources of the Arab world against us. Our reply must be an all-out mobilization of all the resources of the Jewish people on a scale unprecedented in our history. This can be done, and if it will be done, one may say in Herzl's words: If you will it, it is no dream.

## SECOND MEETING

Sunday, January 4, 1976, in the evening

Chairman: DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

### THE ANTI-ZIONIST OFFENSIVE AND OUR POLITICAL STRUGGLE

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

(Chairman)

I appreciate the honor of presiding at this session which is going to deal with the ideological attacks upon our movement.

Speaking as a layman in the midst of academics, and with their permission, I would like to make the following observations. When I see from which quarters the ideological attacks are made upon us, I feel strengthened in my Zionism. The attacks come from those who trample on human rights, some of whom have not even graduated from the age of human slavery, who violate fundamental freedom, and who persecute minority opinions, and who because of their economic or military power intimidate others into bending the knee before the Baal of obscurantism. When I see these reactionary forces intimidating the councils of the nations I am troubled for the future of the United Nations Organization, because I believe with firm faith that what is morally wrong will not endure.

Zionism is the legacy of Hebrew prophecy, of the Hebrew prophets who have given the world the vision of one humanity and of universal peace. The prophet who said, "The Heavens are my throne and the earth is my footstool" also said, "...and in Jerusalem ye shall be comforted." Whether we shall succeed in persuading the world of the nobility of our commitment remains to be seen, but that we shall emerge from this challenge strengthened in our own Zionist dedication, is as clear to me as it is imperative.

The subject tonight is the Anti-Zionist Offensive and Our Political Struggle. The addresses are to be delivered by three members of the

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faculty of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, which is the intellectual capital of the Jewish people. Every one of the participants is an expert in his field. They are rendering us and the World Zionist Movement the world over an important service in educating us on the nature of the attack upon our ideology, and of the way to meet it.

The first of the speakers in this symposium is professor Moshe Maoz whose field is "The History of the Middle East" and who is also the Director of the Harry S. Truman Research Institute of the Hebrew University.

### THE ESSENCE AND MOTIVES OF ARAB RESISTANCE TO ZIONISM

#### ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR MOSHE MAOZ

The Arabs regard Zionism as the arch-enemy, and place it highest on the list of dangers worthy of the most vitriolic denunciations. This attitude is shared by all Arab nations and particularly by the Palestinian Arabs. It finds expression among all section of the Arab public—common people as well as intellectuals—although with different degrees of emphasis determined by social status and socio-political outlook. It is sanctioned in the official documents of Arab states and Arab political organizations.

Thus, the Egyptian National Charter of 1958 defines Zionism as a racist, aggressive movement, and the permanent Syrian constitution of 1973 proclaims that Zionism, together with Colonialism, constitutes "a grave menace to the entire Arab nation."

At an international forum in 1964, an official Iraqi spokesman described Zionism as an "aggressive, reactionary" movement, "with Hitlerite methods," and the Palestinian National Charter of 1968 contains this comprehensive definition: "Zionism is a political movement organically linked with world Imperialism and is hostile to all movements of liberation and progress in the world. It is an intrinsically racist movement, aggressive and expansionist in its aims, Fascist and Nazist in its methods. Israel is an instrument of the Zionist movement and a base for world Imperialism."

Apart from such expressions in official documents, Zionism is also denounced, more than any other foe, by diverse groups among the

Arab public, both right-wing conservative and left-wing radical. It is also defamed in text-books, in literature—both prose and poetry—and in journalistic writings.

Thus, for instance, the moslem Mufti of Lebanon, Hassan al-Haled, speaking at a meeting in 1968, described Zionism as “the enemy of man, of truth and of justice, nay, the enemy of God.” In his latest book, Mohammed Sid Ahmed, a leftist Egyptian intellectual, presents Israel as an “imperialist and colonialist entity,” which, although different from European imperialism and colonialism, must nevertheless be assimilated into the surrounding Arab society.

A Jordanian textbook of 1964, designed for the upper grades of secondary school, contains a long chapter devoted to a repudiation of Zionist philosophy. It includes an attempt to present, in a scientific manner, as it were, the thesis that the Jews are not a nation, because they lack basic common values, such as shared origin, history, culture and territory.

In any analysis of the Arab definition of Zionism, as reflected in the references which I mentioned and also in others, a number of basic elements may be distinguished:

- a) Zionism is an aggressive, imperialist and colonialist movement which has forcibly and treacherously gained control of Arab Palestine, displaced its inhabitants, and constitutes a great threat to the entire Arab nation.
- b) Zionism is a racist, violent and reactionary movement, with Fascist and Nazi characteristics. It is isolationist, exclusivist and arrogant. It is the enemy of humanity and all mankind because it strives for world domination and exploitation. The domineering, destructive influence of Zionism is noticeable all over the world, in politics, in the economy and in the mass media.
- c) Zionism is an anti-spiritual, secular, crudely materialistic movement, which distorts and falsifies the true values of Judaism, and exploits Jews for its devious purposes. It strives, through improper ways, to transform the essentially spiritual-religious character of Judaism into a secular nationality, and the Jews from members of a heavenly universal religion into a barren, artificial nation based merely on a common religious origin.
- d) A further nuance in the definition of Zionism by various groups describes it as being a phenomenon even worse than Israel, since Israel is merely one base, albeit the central base, of world Zionism,

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while Zionism itself threatens the peace of the entire world. This distinction has recently been reflected in the expressions of Arab politicians and thinkers, who claim that they are prepared to accept a non-Zionist Israel, detached from world Zionism and its influence, and based only on the Israeli nation emerging within the State.

In reviewing this Arab attitude, it must be emphasised that the distinctions between Zionism, Israel and Judaism are not always strictly maintained, except in official documents and certain publications. In most other cases, in the various communications media, in speeches by political leaders and intellectuals, and, at times, in school-books as well all three terms are synonymous and interchangeable. This non-uniform attitude on the Arab side towards Zionism, Israel and Judaism stems from inner contradictions, perplexities, dilemmas, and cross-influences to which the Arab public is subjected on these issues. The distinction between Zionism and Judaism is maintained chiefly by radical-leftist intellectuals, who believe in what they consider to be a difference or a distinction between Judaism and Zionism, and by political leaders who create this differentiation for purposes of domestic indoctrination, and for propaganda directed at the the world at large.

On the other hand, the distinction between Judaism and Zionism is blurred amongst the common people, and among certain political and spiritual leaders, either through the influence of anti-Jewish doctrines originating in Islam or Christianity, or else through the realisation that there is in fact an identity between Zionism and Judaism, and that this is what involves the real danger to Arabism. In fact, in a paradoxical way perhaps, the basis of Arab objections to Zionism, from the earliest days on, is to some extent the awareness that Zionism is indeed the national liberation movement of the Jews, which desires to bring them back to their historical homeland and construct there an independent home and a sovereign national life.

The realisation that Zionism aspired to achieve Jewish sovereignty in the ancient kingdom has found expression as early as the beginnings of the Arabs' meeting with Zionism at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of this century. All along, this is found in statements by leading Arab intellectuals, both Moslem as well as Christian.

For example, Rashid Ridah, leader of the Islamic reform movement in Egypt, and Yossef al-Khaledi, a Moslem notable in Jerusalem, stated as far back as the 1890's that they recognized the link between Zionism, Judaism and Palestine, and even expressed admiration for the

national renaissance of the Jewish people after having been scattered throughout the world for centuries.

In the first decade of the 20th century, two Christian writers tackled this issue. Shahiin Macharios, a Greek-Christian writer living in Egypt, described the highly laudable qualities of the Jewish people in his book "The History of the Israelites," and Najib Azuri, an Arab-Christian thinker who lived in Jerusalem, referred to the efforts being made by the Jews, to regain their ancient homeland in Palestine in his own book about the Arab national awakening.

Azuri, writing in 1905, already foresaw a prolonged, fateful struggle between these two national movements, the Jewish-Zionist one, and the Arab one, and like Rashid Ridah, he called on the Arabs to fight the Zionist movement root and branch. Yussef al-Khaledi, by contrast, thought the solution to the Jewish problem could be found elsewhere in the world.

The tacit awareness, even if no explicit admission is made, that Zionism is the national movement of the Jewish people, and that there was an identity between Zionism and Judaism, grew among political and intellectual Arab leaders following the Balfour Declaration and during the British Mandate. This was shared, for instance, by Arab personalities such as the Emir Feisal and Riad al-Sulh, as well as by Syrian and Egyptian leaders who conducted talks with Zionist leaders in the '30s. Even Palestinian leaders such as Mussa al-Alami, and George Antonius were reconciled to the existence of a Jewish national home, although as an autonomous canton at the fringes of a great Arab state.

The identity between Zionism and Judaism found copious expression in Arab literature on the conflict published after the State of Israel came into being. The different Arab thinkers admit that Judaism has always been Zionist, because of its deep attachment to the land of Israel, and in periods long before Herzl was born. Certain Arab writers defined Zionism as "Judaism, under a 20th century cloak" or as "The National behaviour of the Jew and his reaction to other nations throughout history, as crystalized under the pressure of modern western civilization."

These Arab references to Zionism as a Jewish National movement are frequently accompanied by expressions of admiration, and envy for the success of Zionism in attaining its objectives. Zionism is sometimes presented as an object for emulation on the part of the Arabs,



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so that they may study its structure and methods and ultimately triumph over it.

One of the trends in Zionism which evoked imitation and, indeed, competition on the part of Palestinian Arabs, was the profound attachment of the Zionist to the Land of Israel. Among Palestinian refugees, literary and artistic expression of longings to return to the homeland began emerging in the 1950s, and the Palestine scholar Dr. Abdel Latif Tibawi has called this "Arab Zionism."

A more recent example of a similar attitude is found in remarks made by Farouk Kadoumi, one of the leaders of the PLO in an interview given to Newsweek only a few weeks ago. He said that the Israelis argue that they have not forgotten Palestine for hundreds of years, so why should the Arabs forget it after 25 years. The Arabs can also wait a hundred years to return to Jaffa, and Jerusalem. In conclusion, Kadoumi said that this Zionist ghetto, Israel, must be destroyed.

Indeed, the realisation that Zionism is a Jewish National Movement with deep roots in Palestine does not detract from Arab hostility towards it or the fierce ambition to destroy it. Zionism is conceived of as a very strong enemy, against whom the struggle will be prolonged and hard.

At this point it must be stressed that one of the methods employed in this struggle and favoured by parts of the Arab establishment, particularly the leftist-radical segment, is to try and refute the link between Zionism and Judaism, and undermine the identification of Zionism with Judaism and the Land of Israel, which view has gained acceptance among certain other sections of the Arab public as well as among sections of world public opinion.

Thus, for example, a propaganda effort has been made to prove to the Arab public and to the world that the Jews' right to Palestine does not stand the test of history because Jewish sovereignty had existed in the Land of Israel for only a relatively short time. (In the Arab version, between 250-400 years.) By contrast, Palestine had been in Arab hands for 1300 years.

Moreover, the argument is put forth that the Jews of today are not the descendants of the ancient Jewish people, but the offspring of various nations who have converted to Judaism. They do not have a common language, but rather speak a mixture of many tongues, and even the religious attachment of the Jews to Palestine is weaker than the attachment of the Moslems and Christians. In other words,

Arab spokesmen tried to show that Zionism is an alien political movement which invaded the Middle East from Europe, took over Arab lands, and brought along customs and ways of life which cannot be reconciled with the principles of religion and morality in this region. This argument undoubtedly suits the political attitude of the Arab masses, reflects their religious and cultural feelings and helps them to deny Jewish nationality and to struggle against it uncompromisingly.

The creation of the State of Israel in 1948 revived the fears harboured by the Arabs of Palestine, and at the same time, awakened the neighbouring countries to the existence of a political-cultural, non-Arab and non-Moslem entity in the Middle East.

This entity has grown and become stronger, in spite of pan-Arab ideology, which has advocated the unification of the Arab world and an Arab-moslem character for its states. From the point of view of Arab nationalism, the Zionist entity is a wedge between the countries of the **Mashn'k** (the East) and Egypt and the **Maghreb** (West) on the other hand. Therefore, it disrupts unity in the Arab world. It also impairs its territorial integrity and threatens the sovereignty of Arab states such as Egypt and Syria, after having occupied parts of their territories in 1967.

In addition, so goes the Arab argument, the Zionist entity continues to represent an alien, European, culture which is said to harm the values and ways of life of the people of the region. Additionally, this entity also represents technological and military superiority and has caused the Arabs to lose dignity in a series of military defeats, starting in 1948.

At this point, it must be noted that some of the deepest motives of pan-Arab resistance to Zionism converge. On the one hand, Zionism is tangible and continuous testimony to what the Arabs call the aggression of Western Imperialism in this region which has lasted for over 150 years, continuing even after the influence of the West itself has weakened, in the last generation.

On the other hand, the proud Arab nations feel frustration and humiliation in the face of these Zionist Jews who are, as it were, members of their own community, or their own nation, i.e., those Jews who have lived in Arab and Islamic countries as inferior and humiliated subjects for centuries, given to persecution and oppression by the Arab-Moslem population for generations.

From the viewpoint of the Arab-Moslem ideology prevailing among the Arab public, the creation of the Jewish national entity in Palestine consti-

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tutes a dual and unprecedentedly harsh blow: First, under traditional Moslem-Arab conceptions, the Jews are not a nation but members of a tolerated religious community who may live in a Moslem state on condition that they accept political, legal and social constraints. Jews who have exceeded this inferior status conferred upon them by Islam, and have asked for equality, not to speak of political independence—are outlaws, according to Islam, and may be killed with impunity.

Secondly, the crime of the Jews is all the more grave since they have set up an independent political entity on territory considered to be Moslem and Arab in the heart of the Moslem world and they even control the holy mosques in Jerusalem. Furthermore, the Zionist-Jewish entity in the State of Israel is, from the point of view of Islam, an anti-Moslem element rooted in what is termed “Dar al Harb” i.e., the historical war zone or the danger zone, and it is incumbent upon every Moslem to rise against this entity in a Jihad, a holy war.

In this connection, it should be stressed that the damage inflicted by the Zionist-Jewish community upon the Arab-Moslem world has evoked and strengthened within the Arab and Moslem public many anti-Jewish motifs to be found in the Koran and in Islamic tradition, such as the charges that the Jews “bear the curse of Allah and his wrath,” and that they are “avaricious, treacherous, diabolical, and clever enemies of the Moslems and of all mankind.”

To this were added antisemitic elements of European Christianity, instilled into Arab society over the generations by Christian Arabs and to some extent also through the channels of European culture and by Nazi and Facist agents who were operating in this region in the thirties.

Among these anti-semitic elements, the outstanding ones are “The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” a blood libel against Jews who were said to be consuming the blood of non-Jewish children for Passover, and at times a charge of deicide. The political, military, and religious leadership in the Arab countries has quite rapidly adopted these anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic motifs, and has used them for anti-Zionist indoctrination of the Arab masses and as a propaganda weapon against Israel.

Thus, at a convention of senior religious scholars from the entire Moslem world, held at the religious Al-Azhar university in Cairo in 1968, and in sermons preached since, grave charges were raised against Judaism and Zionism, branding them as “enemies of the Arabs, of Islam and of all mankind,” and Islamic prophetic traditions were cited to the effect that the Jews were “children of death.” One tradition

which I have heard with my own ears, from an Arab radio station, only a few weeks ago, attributed to the Prophet Mohammed, stated: "Come the day of Judgement, the Moslems will rise and kill the Jews who will run away and hide behind trees and stones. But the trees and stones will speak up and say: 'Oh, Moslem, Oh Abdallah, here is a Jew, behind me, come and kill him'." Now, these are the kinds of things being broadcast by the radio stations of so-called moderate Arab states in the 1970s.

An instruction manual of the Egyptian army, issued in 1966, prior to the Six Day War, contains passages from the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" together with other anti-Semitic slanders, supposedly quoted from the Talmud. Another brochure, issued by the Egyptian army just recently, in October 1975, in Cairo, and written in English in honor of the International Symposium of Military Correspondents, states: "The objective which the Zionists want to attain is to obliterate the image of the Jews and of the way in which they wage war. But they wage an unfair type of war... Their weapons are deceit, treachery and the exploitation of other people's tragedies, because their only loyalty is to money... the image of the Jew is that of a money-lender, and money-lenders cannot be warriors... The Israeli leaders are engaged in various maneuvers... and they negotiate in the way that Shylock did in Shakespeare's 'Merchant of Venice.'"

The Egyptian leaders themselves do not refrain from crude anti-Semitic expressions. They are headed by president Mohammed Anwar Sadat, who quoted extensively from "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion" in a book which he wrote in Arabic in the mid-fifties. Since then he has been making quite a few anti-Semitic comments. There is much material to document this. As you may remember, during his recent visit to the United States, Sadat described how the Jews had allegedly been in control of Egypt's economy when he had been a young officer, and claimed that a Jewish merchant would not sell him a radio. He also said that Zionism brought upon the world hatred, bitterness and violence. All of this leads to the regrettable conclusion that the political and spiritual leadership of the Arabs, as it struggles against Zionism and Israel, constructs and develops a new anti-Zionist, anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic ideology, which purports to derive its inspiration both from Moslem tradition and from the Christian heritage, and which aims at implanting in the minds of both the Arabs and the world community the image of a monstrous Zionist Jew, the enemy of mankind and civilization.

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This new ideology finds fertile ground in a diversified Arab public which has been involved in a conflict with Zionism and Israel for over two generations. This public has built up feelings of anger and hostility against the Jewish state and the Jewish people, and these feelings have been constantly nurtured by the Arab leadership, in the name of Moslem and Arab solidarity, and against a background of classical Islamic motifs. The great bulk of the Arab public, which still adheres to Islam and to the values of Moslem tradition, tends to accept almost unquestioningly this new anti-Jewish ideology, which is presented as being rooted in Islam and its tradition. (We know that the ideologists of modern Arab nationalism and Arab socialism also base their teachings on the values of Islam.)

In addition to the Islamic refrain, which serves the moulders of the new anti-Jewish ideology, the political leadership of the Arab world today has at its disposal a diversified apparatus for indoctrination, using written material—books, newspapers, cartoons—and what is just as important, television and radio, which reaches into every home.

Among the most important tools of indoctrination, controlled by the state, are the state educational networks, on all levels, which have been expanding at a tremendous rate in the last generation. In these schools, Arab children are being educated to value Islam and Arabism on the one hand, and on the other hand, to hate Israel, Zionism and Judaism, through teaching materials which contain a plethora of anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist elements.

To sum up, it should be noted that it is already possible to reap the fruits of the anti-Jewish education and indoctrination among Arab youth and young adults, who are found to be devoted followers of the traditions of anger and hostility against Zionism felt by their elders.

All of this is frequently expressed in anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic statements by word of mouth, in meetings and conversations, and in written form, in poetry, stories, and paintings. These popular expressions are fed by the mass media, and feed-back is then created.

The danger involved in this process is that the residue of the previous, older image of the Jew in the minds of the Arabs will recede and disappear. That earlier image was not unequivocally negative, as had been the image of the Jew in Christianity, but rather an ambivalent one: The Arab Moslems had a feeling of affinity and appreciation for the Jews together with a sense of rejection and contempt.

In place of this ambivalent image, a negative stereotype of the Jew is gradually emerging, one that is extreme and absolute and stems

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from a new ideology allegedly founded on a universal cultural heritage, which is Moslem-Arab as well as Christian.

A danger which is just as serious is that this Arab ideology may spread throughout the western world, utilizing both the residual anti-Semitic elements within the Christian populations of these countries, and the oil power of the Arab world.

The Arab world has, in fact, in recent years, become an international centre of the new anti-Semitism, by virtue of its anti-Zionist ideology, and through its economic and political potential. The ideology which it has been spreading in the Middle East and the world at large is designed to prepare the ground and give legitimate sanction to a relentless war against Israel, Zionism and Judaism.

### CHAIRMAN DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

I now have the pleasure of calling upon Dr. Ze'ev Katz of the Department of Russian Studies at the Hebrew University.

### THE NATURE OF THE COMMUNIST ONSLAUGHT ON ZIONISM

#### ADDRESS BY DR. ZE'EV KATZ

To speak of the essence of the Communist onslaught on Zionism means to deal with a subject on which almost everyone in this distinguished audience is a specialist, and yet I would submit that the topic needs further investigation for it is a complex issue, a multi-headed hydra, constantly changing in form if not in content.

I shall first make some remarks about the Soviet role and the Chinese role in the recent anti-Zionist campaign, and then I shall try to deal with some of the deep-rooted concepts of Communist policy on this matter.

There is a curious pattern in the way in which Soviet diplomacy and media are handling the anti-Zionist campaign. The ideological outpourings against Zionism from the non-Communist countries of the Third World bear the unmistakable imprint of Soviet inspiration and phrasing. This should not surprise anyone. The non-Communist

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countries are new in the game and do not have the capability to make anti-Zionism into a logically arranged and philosophically underpinned pseudo-doctrine. In this the Soviets are, indeed, past masters of long-standing and infamous reputation.

Nor is the present Soviet attack on Zionism something new which appeared since the Six Day War because Israel holds territories with a large Arab population. Anti-Zionism has been a tenet of Bolshevism since its beginnings.

The world famous book of Kitchko, with its Nazi-like cartoons, appeared in 1963. The first Soviet proposal against Zionist racism was presented in the UN in 1965. Yet there is no doubt that the actions of the Israeli administration in the territories do add some fuel to the eager fire of Soviet propaganda against Zionism.

Although the Soviets are unmistakably behind the onslaught against Zionism, they have remained relatively quiet and sometimes even in the background on this issue when their propaganda was directed towards the West. So far no Soviet leader has elaborated on the recent condemnation of Zionism.

This time, the Kremlin did not launch a domestic campaign of public meetings, and it did not organise letters of support signed "voluntarily" by leading Jewish citizens as it did on such occasions in the beginning of the '70s. However, the Soviet media for internal consumption did undertake a campaign which holds a record in comparison with similar previous campaigns, in so far as the accusation against Israel was not only of racism but of full-fledged genocide against Palestinian Arabs. In their propaganda directed towards the Arab countries and for the consumption of Arabs they reached a new apex of viciousness. There is no need to wear you out with multiple examples and I am pleased that after all that we heard from the previous speaker I did not prepare a long selection of this kind of invective. But, nevertheless, we cannot do without some examples, so I shall give you only a taste of the kind of things that we hear in Soviet Russia today.

One example comes from the Central Committee journal devoted to culture. It is called *Sovietska Kultura* of November 25, 1975 and is broadcast worldwide by the Tass Agency. I quote: "The entire policy of Israeli Zionists placed in power in Tel Aviv by international Zionism is closely connected with the most reactionary circles of imperialism and aims at the physical elimination of the Palestinian Arabs. For decades, not just since 1967, the Arab minority in Israel has been subjected to oppression and direct extermination, terror and massacres,

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destruction of entire Arab villages and Arab sections in towns. All this cannot be qualified otherwise than as racialism and undisguised genocide." So far for Soviet culture.

The other sample comes from Radio Moscow in Arabic entitled "Lessons of the Nuremberg Trials for Israel" on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of that event. It is also based on an article in Pravda of December 20, 1975. This source says: "The Nuremberg Trials are a warning to all aggressors in present times. What Israel does in the territories is like the Nazi atrocities in World War II, and therefore Israel should take warning at the lesson of the Nuremberg Trials." So far for Pravda which means "truth."

Moscow has been therefore the mastermind behind the onslaught on Zionism at the UN. Having lost its influence in Egypt and being afraid of an expanding American influence in the Arab world, Moscow has been building a second line of defence against being ousted completely from the Arab world and it hopes to mount, in time, a counter-offensive from this second line. This defence line consists of such elements as Syria and the PLO and now the anti-Zionist campaign and the move to solve the Palestinian issue in the Security Council. This has been added to challenge not only Israel, but also to sabotage the growing influence of the U.S. amongst the Arabs.

At the same time, Moscow has been somewhat cautious and has kept in the background both to avoid a detrimental impact of this blatant campaign on the atmosphere of detente and on its relations with the West and also to intimate to Israel that its ideological warfare, vicious as it may be, is a thing apart and should not preclude possibilities of deals with Israel, official or unofficial.

Internally, however, as well as in its propaganda for the Arabs and the Third world, a free hand has been given to the propagandists to lash out against Zionism in the best traditions of the anti-Zionist Protocols of Zion.

Soviet policy as described above is based on the thesis that the interests of the USSR are wholly on the side of the Arabs and against Israel. However, in the wake of the latest developments a question can be raised as follows: Is this thesis as valid as it has been in the past?

If it is assumed that self-interest and not ideology is the ultimate determinant of Soviet policy, one may ask whether the present Soviet strategy which is interested in preventing a reversal of detente and in creating a positive impact in the West is in line with an all-out onslaught on Zionism. If the Soviet Union wants to adopt a low profile on the



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Western front in order to deal with China when an opportunity arises, then it should perhaps soften its attack on Zionism and on Israel.

So far then, it is clear that the attack on Zionism can only aggravate the atmosphere of detente, and create a public confrontation between the USSR and the West. Already, the problem of Soviet Jewry placed a serious obstacle in the path of consummating detente through a Soviet-American trade treaty greatly favorable to Moscow. The Yom Kippur War brought the two super powers to the brink of an atomic confrontation, and the next military conflict in the Middle East may be incomparably more dangerous to the superpowers themselves, not to say anything about Israel and the Arabs.

Under these circumstances, the Soviet policy of supporting the Arab extremism of Syria and the PLO, and the mounting of a vicious attack against Zionism in the UN may not really represent Soviet interests at all. It would be pointless for the Soviet Union to endanger its strategic goals with regard to detente and the West, and a free hand against China, for the doubtful success that they may have with the Arabs.

I now turn to China. Several days ago, a certain figure in the West on his way home after a visit to Peking came to Jerusalem, and related to some Israeli friends the way in which the present Chinese leadership is thinking and how this may touch on relations with the Middle East and Israel. Since both Mao and Chou en Lai are old and ill, and will in all likelihood vacate the scene in 1976 or 1977, the Chinese leaders feel that Moscow is very likely to grasp an opportunity during the struggle for succession in Peking, and move against China.

In their opinion, it is, therefore, imperative for the Kremlin to have the West hypnotized by detente. In this way they will have a quiet Western front in Europe and the Middle East while they are eliminating the Chinese danger on their Eastern front.

In line with this gloomy prospect, the Chinese are making a desperate effort to prepare for an offensive against a possible Russian invasion; an anti-detente international so as to create trouble on Moscow's Western front. Peking's welcoming and supporting people like Strauss and Jackson, Fanfani and Schlesinger, reflects their natural interest under the present circumstances, which recognizes that as long as Moscow does not stop its oppression of Soviet Jews and does not change its extremist policy against Israel there is a certain common ground between China and Israel i.e. in upsetting the Soviet plot against the Jewish People and China. There are no Jews in China nor does it have

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a tradition of popular antisemitism. China has sufficient scapegoats without the Jews or Israel, and the Middle East is not in the immediate proximity of the Chinese borders such that it creates a security problem for Peking.

The Chinese leaders can see that Syria, Iraq and the PLO have become an instrument of Soviet policy and they certainly will not be eager to help Moscow establish herself at the entrance to the Indian Ocean.

Under these circumstances, Israel and the Zionist Movement the world over are performing an important service for China in holding out against Soviet influence in the Middle East and in opposing a pro-Soviet and one-sided detente in the West. Nevertheless, Peking continues its extreme anti-Zionist policy and refrains from establishing even clandestine contacts for common action with Israel.

Now I would like to make a few observations on the roots of Soviet anti-Semitism. These are so well known that there appears to be no need to dwell on them here in detail, although the relationship between them does merit some attention.

One major source is indeed the old-time anti-Jewish prejudice. This is a good reason for a healthy anti-Semitism but not necessarily for anti-Zionism. In fact if the idea is to get rid of the Jews then some support and understanding of Zionism may be expected inasmuch as Israel is primarily interested in removing these Jews to Israel.

Another major source is rooted in Soviet Marxist ideology. This is a powerful motivation for ideological opposition to Zionism and for fostering anti-Semitism. And yet, strange as this may sound, Bolshevism actually accepted many of the fundamental ideas of the Bund and of Zionism.

After 1917, the Jewish Communists in the Communist Party established a specific Jewish organization, within the party. This organization established Jewish schools, newspapers, and theaters. Yiddish was an official language in State institutions, in parts of the USSR, in courts of law and in local Soviets. Moreover, the Soviet leaders and government accepted at various times the idea that the Jews all over the world are a people, one people, and that in order to survive as a people they must settle on a particular piece of territory and become a majority with a distinctive culture.

In 1913 Lenin wrote in a little-known passage that "In order to abolish all national oppression it is extremely important to create autonomous areas, even of the smallest dimensions, each with an in-

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tegral uniform national population towards which the members of the given nationality, scattered in different parts of the country, or even of the world, could gravitate and with which they could enter into relations and associations of every kind." This passage combines elements of Zionist territorialism with Ahad Ha'am's ideas about a national cultural center.

When the Soviet government took the initiative in establishing a Jewish autonomous region in Birobidjan, the then president of the USSR made two crucial speeches, one in 1926 and another in 1934. In these speeches he explained to the startled Jewish communities as follows: "The Jewish People now faces the great task of preserving its nationality against assimilation and national erosion. For this purpose a large segment of the Jewish population must transform itself into a compact farming population in Birobidjan. We have 3 million Jews and they do not have a State system of their own! The Jews in Moscow will be forced to assimilate. The creation of such an autonomous region for the Jews is the only means for the normal development of their nationality." During World War II the Jewish anti-fascist committee in Moscow spoke about one Jewish People the world over when it appealed for help against the Nazi onslaught on the USSR, and Soviet support for a Jewish state in Palestine after World War II is well-known.

To complete my argument I would like to comment briefly on two issues. One is the new dissident movement. While it is ostensibly of the liberal democratic persuasion it includes either directly or indirectly, anti-Zionist, anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic elements. To give an example, just recently we received a copy of a secret Samizdat letter (Samizdat is the dissident publication in Russia) called: "Critical Remarks of a Russian Man about Russian Patriotism." This article criticizes Sakharov and Solzhenitzin as Zionist agents. It reveals to the world that the Jews have now concentrated 80 percent of the riches of America and of the Western world, and that they have a plan to dominate the whole world by the year 2000. Therefore, the only slogan for a Russian national movement, in the USSR is: 'Death to the Zionizing Occupiers.'

A very disturbing thought occurs to one who reads this material. Anybody with illusions about a Russia with no censorship, and, therefore, no anti-Semitism should, perhaps, think again.

The other point I wanted to make concerns so-called "new nationalism" in the USSR. We always speak about the anti-Zionist, anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish attitudes of the Soviet authorities, but in the

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Soviet Union today a new nationalism of the various non-Russian nationalities has arisen and while not being necessarily anti-Semitic, these nationalities now demand those privileges and rights that every other national movement demands.

One of the so-called democratic manifestos of these non-Russian nationalities has a point which says that in the interests of keeping every national republic as national as possible, each one should have the right to apply a quota system against any non-national who requests domicile, or who wishes to participate in public work, in studies and in public office.

To a Jew I do not have to explain what the concept of quotas entails. If for whatever reason it should ever happen that Bolshevism will change to something else, I would not predict an enviable future for Soviet Jewry.

Therefore, to summarize my remarks, I would say that the Soviet Union today is waging ideological warfare against the Jewish people in the Zionist Movement. Are we prepared for this anti-Zionist warfare? Even if there should be a time when there will be a deal with Israel it will go on.

In conclusion, I believe that we should plan ahead and counter attack this ideological warfare because it can have very serious consequences for us.

## CHAIRMAN DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

We have heard what our enemies have got to say, and we are now privileged to hear an address on Zionism today by one who is considered to be the philosopher's philosopher, but at the same time has brought enlightenment to great numbers of laymen and through them has influenced great numbers of Jews the world over. I present to you, Prof. Nathan Rotenstreich.

## ZIONISM TODAY

### ADDRESS BY NATHAN ROTENSTREICH

Doctor Goldstein has already noted that the orientation of my remarks will be different from that of the comments made by my colleagues, Prof. Ma'oz and Dr. Katz. I shall argue that in a certain

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sense we are not prepared for the situation in which we find ourselves, because of an awakening which has failed to occur in Zionist ideology.

Let me start by saying that it was quite natural for the emergence of the State of Israel to be an historical turning point for the Jewish people and for Zionist ideology. When it came into being, many separate elements had already played their part. The Yishuv built the state apparatus, for it believed that in the absence of this apparatus the gates of Palestine would remain closed before Jews anxious to enter and particularly the refugees of the Nazi holocaust. Thus the Jewish persecutions together with the willingness and steadfastness of the response of the Yishuv were critical elements in the march to independence.

The State of Israel would not have come into being were it only the outcome of the struggle of the Jewish population of Palestine. Through the strength of World Jewry and of the Zionist movement, the struggle of the Jewish Yishuv became an overall Jewish national cause, and this makes Zionism different from the national movements of peoples struggling for liberation from foreign rule.

The non-Jewish world, for its part, was ridden with guilt feelings and was prepared, under those circumstances, to help in the establishment of the State of Israel, both materially and by proclamation.

However, after the State of Israel came into being, an important change came about in Jewish existence, and one aspect of this change consists of those problems with which we are trying to cope today. The creation of the State of Israel was absorbed into Jewish existence because of the place which had been allotted to the Jewish people in its state and homeland in the heritage of the Jewish people. All of us contributed to obscuring the division between Zionists and Jews who support the State of Israel.

Today, we have no structure of ideas with which to analyse the place of the Jewish people in this generation and in the world at large. Zionism can be said to be a set of beliefs and views, drawing inspiration from and based entirely on the tremendous strength of Jewish sentiment. But Zionism is not identical with Jewish sentiment. Zionism is an intellectual-analytical system. What is more, within the tremendous, constructive stream of Jewish sentiment, there exists an implicit but distinct difference between Zionists and those who are not Zionists. Permit me to say, in a nutshell, how I see this difference. A Zionist is a person who argues that the State of Israel had to come into being, and is prepared to help it emerge. A non-Zionist is a person who

supports the State of Israel because it already exists, because it is a large Jewish centre, because it is an important sector of Jewish life.

But this difference between a priori and a posteriori, is a crucial difference. It can serve us at this time as a point of departure in an attempt to re-formulate the real problem which we are facing. It is obvious that the establishment of the State of Israel, much as it could and did stimulate the rejuvenation of Zionist ideology, also acted as a constraint on this rejuvenation, since all of us are, quite rightly, conditioned to think that practical Zionism is more important than talk. I regret to say that ideology is, to some extent, talk. Yet, we may, I think, say that although less than thirty years have passed since the establishment of the State of Israel, there is no reality unless it is interpreted. This may be said just as well about the heavens and the moon and the sun: they do not exist unless you understand what they are. This is all the more true in the case of a reality which human beings create, in which they invest ideas, thoughts, and concerning the shaping of which they struggle. Therefore, the existence of the State of Israel is, in fact, an opportunity for a clear definition of Zionist ideology, which brings me to the constructive part of my comments.

Zionism was formulated against the background of Jewish life in Eastern and Central Europe, and was not re-formulated to fit the conditions of the Jewish people at present, living largely in the West, or, for that matter, in the Soviet Union.

If I were to try and make a quick characterization of Jewish life in Eastern and Central Europe, which was the social, religious, historical and psychological background for the formulation of Zionism, I would say that the Jews were in a state of persecution, deprived of an assured standing in the legal systems of the countries in which they lived.

The Jews struggled to attain civil rights, or what was called "emancipation." They did not achieve it, and at best were not convinced that it existed. Therefore, Zionism aimed to set up an independent Jewish nation, something called in Zionist jargon, and only in that jargon, auto-emancipation. It was in a sense compensation for the emancipation which was unattainable, and at the same time was perceived as a kind of shortcut: instead of struggling for local emancipation, let us fight for something more complete, broader, more comprehensive—the independent existence of the Jews in their own state, the auto-emancipation of the Jews.

This short-cut gave Zionism its stimulating incentive, and its driving power. It was instantly accepted as a solution for the problem of the

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Jewish people and its historical existence, and as a solution for the problem of individual Jews struggling to find their place in human society as it existed.

The terrible tragedy of the Jewish people lies in the fact that those who conceived classical Zionism, were not destined to see it come about. This gap in Jewish history can never be filled.

At present, another kind of Jewish people exists, and, significantly, one which needs no emancipation because it has received it. Paradoxically, it has received it not in the way in which the Jews of Eastern Europe pursued it, but by virtue of the character of the societies and states within which they live. Jews have gained emancipation through the constitution of the United States, through the social and political quality of the United States, and they do not need compensation for emancipation in a system of auto-emancipation.

We may say that the essence of Zionism must stand the test of Western Jewry and not of Eastern Jewry, because only the Jews of the West face the question of whether to preserve the historical Jewish people as a factor in world History, while maintaining a parallel and separate existence from that history. In other words, are we content with the relief derived from having the world treat us hospitably, from the fact that there is no need to convert to Christianity in order to get jobs, and from the absence of similar restraints which were characteristic of Eastern and Central European Jewry.

This problem, of Zionism versus emancipated Jewry, must be clearly understood and formulated in all its gravity, because what is at stake now is whether this Jewish people will survive. This question, I think, must be raised now.

Let me say here that in a certain sense we are adapting to the jargon of our environment, and lately we have become used to describing Zionism as a movement of national liberation. Hence, its mandate, as it were, is like that of other movements of national liberation. This is certainly true, but Jewish national liberation is unique, and our national movement is a unique movement. And even if we do use this non-Jewish jargon, when we talk among ourselves, we must also use our own authentic language. From our point of view we are not struggling to expel a foreign power, but are struggling to assure the existence of the Jewish people, as a historical entity. If not, it will be pushed to the sidelines of world history, and at best symbolic patterns of Jewish existence will continue to exist. Observance of the Sabbath and Holidays, if they do not spring organically from everyday Jewish

existence, are only of symbolic value. The question which we are facing is this: Do we want to have symbolic remnants of existence, or do we want existence with full-fledged organic activity and with all the creativity involved? It would appear as if only a clear concept of what is involved in Jewish existence must constitute the essence of any reformulation of Zionist ideology in our day, both in terms of the day-to-day difficulties with which the Jewish state is struggling, and in terms of the infra-structure of Jewish existence, that is to say, in our orientation towards world Jewry.

As a matter of fact, our conflict with the Arab world, a conflict which—as shown by my colleague Moshe Ma'oz—has absorbed the whole range of classical anti-semitic jargon on the Arab sides, is powered and driven not only by the anti-Semitic motive. The Arabs have absorbed all the cliches of anti-Semitism not because they regard the Jews as rivals within their own societies, but because they do not wish to see the Jewish people fulfil an active role in History.

Therefore, we reduce our own intrinsic worth if we view this opposition as just another incarnation of anti-Semitism. This is a new anti-Semitism, feeding on the old, but it must be viewed in all its gravity. The same applies to the Soviet world and its ideology. The awakening of Zionist ideology in the Soviet Union is a fact which challenges every universalistic ideology, because these ideologies claim to have solutions for all problems including the Jewish problem. The re-awakening of Zionism, the re-awakening of Jews through the Zionist idea is an impressive contradiction to any universalistic world view, and represents a potential threat to it.

Now, when I propose to you a reformulation of Zionist ideology, let me also say something about aliyah from the West. First, let me say something from the point of view of a person living in Israel, who agonizes about our own problems: we are living through a difficult time in this country and there is no sense in hiding this fact from colleagues coming from overseas. Undoubtedly we pay a very high price for being exposed to constant tension. Under such circumstances, a person's life-expectancy becomes shorter, and he is in doubt about the future. And if a person is instinctively driven to achievement, a person under pressure is driven to achievement at almost any price. This is the background to this flood of materialism and plain avarice of which we have become the victims.

The more Jews from the West that come to Israel, the greater the likelihood of opening new horizons, and proving to the Israeli that



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the future is open despite the tension. This is an obligation which the Jewish people in the West have, to come to the aid of Israeli society and help all of us in a joint effort to open the horizons of the future.

However, it would be a major Zionist error if we base our demand for aliyah on the service which this immigration will perform for Israel and for its people, be it the most cordial and most spirited service. Aliyah is for the benefit of the Jews of the West, if they wish to live the historic Jewish existence, and if they prefer the struggle for the Jewish people's place in the world to their own very ambitions.

Modern pioneering must get its inspiration from an attempt to cope with the problem of auto-emancipation. The Jews of the West have one important experience which can be of help in this process: they live in countries of affluence and they know that affluence **does** not solve man's problems.

They must not see affluence as their ultimate goal. They can definitely give up some of their "plenty" for service to the **entire** Jewish people. In this respect the daily problems of aliyah, and the attempt to re-formulate Zionist ideology, must necessarily draw inspiration from a new analysis of the condition of the Jewish people at present. As with any idea, renovation is one version of the old, but is **not** identical with it.

### DEBATE ON THE ANTI-ZIONIST OFFENSIVE AND OUR POLITICAL STRUGGLE

MRS. CHARLOTTE JACOBSON

(Member of the Executive; U.S.A.)

I am grateful, as all of you are, for the intellectual feast in which we participated tonight.

The attack on Zionism in the United Nations forced all of us to take a good hard look at ourselves. What alarmed us was not only the dreadful speeches which those of us who live in New York hear so frequently from the UN, but the realization that people, friendly people, did not understand Zionism, but wanted to rally to our support out of a sense of friendship and out of a sense of concern for Israel and the Jewish People. I would like to point to the fact that very recently many of us in this room attended the Jerusalem Conference on Solidarity that was convened by the Prime Minister and the Zionist

Executive, and there we heard the leaders of every single Jewish organization get up and make commitments to Zionism, but none of them were prepared to make commitments to the Zionist movement. I therefore believe that our great weakness lies in the fact that many Jews will accept Zionism as a philosophy, but will not accept the need of belonging to the Zionist movement as evidence of their Zionism.

Unfortunately potential Zionists become disaffected when they see the cumbersome and outmoded machinery of the WZO. When for years, we fought against the antiquated system of Congress elections, pleading that we were fighting amongst ourselves at a time when Zionists should be coordinating their efforts to fight our enemies, we were laughed at, and we were told it just had to be. Why does it have to be? Why does it have to be that in the Diaspora Zionist groups have to stand on platforms and talk things that are absolutely meaningless when we have the wide outside world to face today in our fight.

Now my friends, I suppose that at every single meeting we talk about the need to bring the Jewish youth of the Diaspora to Israel. I think that it is the dream and the ambition of most Jewish parents to want to give their child what we call an Israel experience as their first step towards a tie to the land and to the people of Israel. But what happens when they come here? Why are these programs going down in number every single year? Why is it that year after year we still cannot get the universities of Israel, our great academic institutions to do the right kind of research, and to see to it that the American and other overseas students feel that they are welcome and wanted and that at the end of the year they feel inspired enough to want to stay on? We give research grants for every other subject—why can't we solve the problems that we discuss year after year when we come to these meetings, and go home frustrated without coming up with any of the right answers? I speak as an American Jew, so forgive me if I do not speak of those who come from Europe. But when I think of how the A.A.C.I. struggles in this country in order to be able to do a proper job of helping in the process of absorption, it is a frustrating experience. If this Actions Committee will have the courage that I hope it does it will review our entire budgetary system and allocate funds so that they will solve the problems that we talk about at every single session.

In the past we had thousands and thousands of Christians who called themselves Zionists in the classical tradition. During all of these years of the growth of the State, we just allowed all of these valuable organisations to dissipate. Oh yes, we bring Christians to Israel on

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visits to show them Israel and to get their political support when we need their help with our many problems, but we neglect to teach them Zionism. This is part of our neglect. And so to summarize, if we really mean that we have to go out into the Jewish world again and to sell the story of Zionism, then we have to take an honest look at the movement and not sit here meeting after meeting and go on with the old fashioned way of doing things.

I ask this Actions Committee to do away with the system of elections to a Congress. I ask this Actions Committee to do more for youth work and to bring thousands more for visits. I ask this Actions Committee to take note of the fact that the American Olim in this country feel they are neglected, and I ask this Actions Committee to really take a look at the antiquated structure which is preventing Zionists from wanting to affiliate with our Movement. Only then, when we stop listening only to the intellectual speeches and we follow them through with concrete action, will he be able to go forward with some real evidence of Jewish solidarity for Zionism.

### THIRD MEETING

Monday, January 5, 1976, in the morning

Chairmen: BARUCH WEINSTEIN—RABBI TSEMACH M. ZUMBROWSKY

### CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE ANTI-ZIONIST OFFENSIVE AND OUR POLITICAL STRUGGLE

ESTHER ZACKLER

(Labour Zionist Movement; Israel)

Our task today in the Zionist Movement is not just to redefine Zionism but to make it live again in its original meaning, and to turn the attack upon Zionism which is the sophisticated version of the age old antisemitism, to our advantage.

The Jerusalem Conference was an excellent demonstration of Jewish solidarity. The fact that Jewish leaders proclaimed that they, and those whom they represented, were Zionists, was a very important manifestation of the realization that once again Jews and Israel are targets for vilification and perhaps even worse. It is vital that we exploit this period of the awakening of Jews to their identification as Zionists, to discover the most efficient paths through which to channel the united efforts of Jewry. This is the hour when the Zionist Federations throughout the world should assume their responsibilities in enrolling organizations and individuals into the Zionist ranks.

However, carrying cards, wearing buttons and uttering slogans is not enough. We can increase our membership and still remain impotent and superficial. It goes without saying that intensification of Jewish education with added emphasis on Zionism is one of the paramount tasks of today, along with the complete modernization of our educational tools. This means taking a new look at all previous techniques and materials.

We are living in a period when ideological movements of all types are part of the youth culture, when young people are seeking greater meaning in their lives, and when they are searching for identity, both as

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individuals and even sometimes as Jews. They are adopting all kinds of cults, discarding what they call the trappings of modern civilization, and returning to what they call a more natural, simplistic, and humanistic environment and yet, not finding their way to Zionism.

At the risk of sounding naive and repetitive, may I remind you that in our Zionist dream, we were seeking not only geographical boundaries—we were dreaming of a return to a land from which would emanate once again a rich culture, morality, religion and learning; an Israel that would help bring light into the world and enrich our society by harnessing Jewish genius and creativity for the benefit of all mankind. We dreamt of an Israel that would be unthinkable anywhere else in the world, a unique Israel that would create a new and renewed awareness of Jewish values for those Jews still remaining outside of Israel.

We all know that this dream is far from being realized, but I submit that this dream is still relevant and that the potential for realizing it exists and is at hand, on condition that we can provide the input, not only in terms of funds, but also through aliyah.

In addition, we must find ways of bringing the great challenge represented by Zionism across to young Jews, many of whom equate it with the materialism that they see today—perhaps because of the accent on raising funds at the expense of aliyah. These young Jews are unhappy with what we have given them. They are searching for a meaning to Judaism that we have been unable to provide them with. We must find dynamic and positive approaches to them. We must intensify our presentation of the positive side of Israeli life.

We cannot assume to conduct business as usual. We must revolutionize our thinking and our approaches and we must find ways to debunk the Arab and Communist propaganda with which the youth come into contact. At the same time, we must try to arouse their Jewishness. It must be an intellectual, emotional and national approach by people who understand their mentality, have a common language with them, and are well acquainted with their environment.

Everyone here realize the crucial nature of the hour, but do we have the courage, the vision, the zeal and perhaps even the fanaticism to bring about some of the urgently needed changes and to revolutionize the thinking?

R. ISAACSON

RUTH ISAACSON

(WIZO; Israel)

In the few moments at my disposal I should like to refer to several points raised in the speeches that we heard yesterday. Before doing so, I should like to point out that the International Women's Zionist Organization which functions in 52 countries in the Diaspora never placed Zionism in inverted commas, and for us, removing the inverted commas does not exist as a problem. We do, however, come up against various points that trouble us. The most important among these is the continuity of the Jewish people in the Diaspora. The lack of Jewish education in our opinion proves to be the most serious danger to the continuity of the Jewish people.

There are negative factors which are characteristic of Diaspora Jewry in all countries—both countries of stress and countries of affluence. The first among these is the high percentage of assimilation and mixed marriages. The second, and I am surprised that no one has spoken about it, is the low birth rate both in the Diaspora and latterly, especially since the Yom Kippur War, in Israel. The third is the lack of sufficient Jewish education.

We always keep on mentioning the fact that the Jewish people lost six million of its sons and daughters in the Holocaust. It is essential, however, to bear in mind that among these six million there were no fewer than one million children. Children constitute the future of our people, and that is why every Jewish child is so dear to us.

According to the report of the World Jewish Congress there are about one and a half million Jewish children in the world today who receive no Jewish education whatsoever. The Jewish people faces not physical destruction, but spiritual annihilation.

The way to combat this threat is primarily through Jewish education based on the concept of the unity of the Jewish people, the Jewish land and the Torah of Israel. Jewish and Zionist education are inseparable nowadays. It often happens that the Jewish youth wander away from their people simply because they were not taught the eternal values of the Jewish people. If they had been taught that the principle "love thy neighbour as thyself" was propounded by Hillel thousands of years before Mao tse Tung, and that the vision of peace of Isaiah which is inscribed on the external wall of the United Nations Building

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is regrettably not inscribed on the hearts of those who sit inside, perhaps they would have remained within the fold.

As for conditions in Israel, we most sorrowfully witness a drop in morality and a rise in violence, a pursuit of materialism and a flight from ideology. There is an ever-widening educational and social gap between the various communities who all belong to one and the same people and who are capable of contributing to one another. Through proper education from a tender age, they could be moulded into one people.

We heard several remarks yesterday about immigrant absorption. We are all aware that aliyah is the life-blood of the State of Israel and of greatest importance to the Jewish people as a whole. It were well if our brethren in the Diaspora would evince greater understanding for the situation of the Israeli students who are accused of not receiving their colleagues from the Diaspora with kindness. The average Israeli student is first of all a soldier. He commences his education three or four years later than his counterpart from the Diaspora. He must earn a livelihood, while students from the Diaspora generally don't have to. To be sure, he should receive his colleagues from the Diaspora with kindness and understanding but there must also be some understanding for him. As for students coming over to Israel, they will receive a better Jewish education here than they would in the Diaspora and this will alleviate their process of absorption in the country.

Most of the residents in the State of Israel are themselves new arrivals who were absorbed in the course of the years. It is they who are now called upon to absorb new olim. This however cannot be done in the course of one year or two. It calls for a lot of patience. I hope my colleagues from abroad will not be annoyed if I say that it is preferable by far to experience difficulties in absorption in the State of Israel than to assimilate with ease in the Diaspora.

We keep on hearing constantly that Zionism is the Movement of national revival of the Jewish people. Herzl said that Zionism is the hope of the Jewish people, so let us hope that all of us together—the Jewish people in the Diaspora and our people in Zion—will be able to overcome all the obstacles that face us today for the benefit of the State of Israel and the Jewish people wherever it is.

## I. WARSZAWSKI (VARSAT)

DR. IZAK WARSZAWSKI (VARSAT)

(Confederation of United Zionists; France)

The World Conference on Jewish Unity which took place in Jerusalem recently was undoubtedly a great contribution to the solidarity of world Jewry with the State of Israel. In these critical times when the very existence of the State is threatened and when Zionism is compared to racism and when the clear antisemitic nature of this hatred to the Jewish State is apparent, the conference served as a Jewish reply to the attacks levelled against the Jewish people and as an expression of their readiness to lend unlimited support to the State.

If the resolutions passed by the conference are to be realised, concrete frameworks must be evolved in Israel, which will establish contact with Diaspora Jewry and assist them in realising and in carrying through the resolutions. There must be a permanent address in Israel which will assume responsibility towards questions such as 'Who will receive these pilgrims?' or 'How can one organize these Bar Mitzva celebrations?' Who will look after the technical implementation of all these projects?

As for the political resolutions concerning Zionism, we must consider ways and means of mounting our struggle against the anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish campaign. It is not enough to utter protests or to stage political demonstrations; we must undertake a serious information campaign, make incursions into the intellectual circles of our countries of domicile and recruit their members in support of our struggle for the national rights of the Jewish people.

I would like to state that in a country like France where the political climate is not favourable to the State of Israel, we have succeeded in winning over intellectual circles which evince great understanding for our cause. Increasing numbers of intellectuals have joined our ranks and are extending their assistance to us. Achievements have been reported which we could hardly have dreamt of as possible. University professors have begun taking an interest in the Zionist Movement, and, recently, chairs have been established on Zionism and Jewish knowledge corresponding to the Institute of Contemporary Jewry in Israel.

The Zionist Movement in the Diaspora now has a new function to fulfil. The Executive of the Jewish Agency must increase the authority of the Zionist Federations, and give them greater prestige. Perhaps we have devoted far too much time and effort to the local communities.



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Indeed, they are of importance, but at the present time we must endeavour to strengthen our Federations because they are the most important force for the mobilizing of Jews for Israel. The heads of the various Departments must increase their activities, delegate more authority to the Zionist Movement, and assist them in the struggle to win back prestige for the Zionist Movement. If we succeed in mobilizing the Jewish masses around a strong Zionist Movement, we shall succeed also in winning over the communities and in bringing them to the State of Israel.

RABBI DR. JOSEPH P. STERNSTEIN

(Union of General Zionists; U.S.A.)

The theme of the debate is entitled "the Anti-Zionist **Offensive** and the Political Struggle." Implicit in this title is an attempt to inflame Zionist public opinion and to break new ground. May I therefore suggest at the outset that the first step towards galvanizing Zionist thought would be to alter drastically the way in which the Actions Committee and the Congress meet and the structural set-up of these meetings which are fruitless and abortive. Look at this gathering. The hall is three-quarters empty. The concept of a general debate is anachronistic, old-fashioned, and a waste of time. The time has come to change this procedure, and I trust that it will be implemented quickly.

There are two aspects to the problem of the anti-Zionist offensive and of the political struggle. One is the internal situation, the other is the external situation. Reference was made last evening in the address of Prof. Rotenstreich, to the ideological underpinning of the Zionist movement today. May I offer one or two thoughts with reference to this matter, as it impinges upon our ability to react to this anti-Zionist offensive.

My own feeling is that the equation of Zionism with Judaism is a false, intellectually dishonest and fruitless avenue for Zionist thought. The desire of the Zionist Movement to sweep every movement into its embracing arms, has become a cliché and banality today. The result will be a Zionism one mile wide and one inch deep. We have done nothing to make Zionism what it should be, and the solution to the problem does not lie in the inclusion of more and more organizations which are liable to dilute the movement.

We see an almost systematic effort to bypass Zionist leadership in

J. P. STERNSTEIN—H. SCHACTER

the countries, and certainly in America. When Israeli representatives come to America they tend to deal directly with other non-Zionist institutions, and bypass the Zionist leadership. The result is the diminution of the Zionist program and Zionist activities.

Regarding the external struggle, I view the Zionist as one who must be the most politically aggressive element in the Jewish community. There are those Jews who wish to lower the political profile. When Zionists wish to go out on demonstrations, they are held back by other Jewish organizations, such as the Jewish Welfare Fund leadership and the Jewish community leadership, who do not wish to be militant. The collective Zionist leadership finds itself frustrated and unable to move on the political front. This is a very specific problem that the American Zionists have to face in this political offensive.

Secondly, I would urge that the time has come for the World Zionist Organization to reinstitute its political department. Let the World Zionist organization send its own representatives to African countries and South American countries. The identity of the Zionist must be seen and heard in the world today. Why is it inconceivable that the World Zionist Movement ask for representation at international forums and international bodies?

Internally there is a great battle which must be fought for strength and identity of the Zionist movement. Externally the time has come for the Zionist Movement to appear with its own identity, as Zionists, on behalf of the Jewish People, and let the world recognize and know that Israel is not isolated.

RABBI HERSCHEL SCHACTER

(Mizrachi—Hapoel Hamizrachi; U.S.A.)

Last night we were privileged to hear the Prime Minister's sober and lucid analysis, as he emphasized that the current world-wide attack on Zionism is unprecedented and unparalleled in its viciousness, in its scope and in very obscenity. We must view this savage offensive from a broader historic perspective.

In every generation, throughout the annals of our history, our adversaries always sought to attack us by threatening our most essential values. There are many illustrations. In ancient times the Greco-Syrians, during the Hasmonean revolt, threatened the very existence of the Bet Ha-Mikdash, the Shabbath, Mila and Kashrut; the Romans in their time

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sought to undermine the Torah education of our youth. To jump the centuries to the tragic days of Czarist Russia, we know of the Cantonists.

Today, our adversaries intuitively recognize Zionism as that most precious ideal that unites the Jewish people the world over. Precisely that ideal, that movement more than any other has forged the unity of the Jewish people. So our enemies in the third world, the Arab world, and the Russian world, all advance the obscene lie that attempts to create a dichotomy between Zionism and Judaism. I am amazed at the words of Rabbi Sternstein a moment ago. Judaism and Zionism for us are synonymous. Judaism is the base, the heart, the soul, and the genesis out of which Zionism has grown, and to which Zionism is inextricably bound.

Last night we heard from Professor Maoz about all the vicious propaganda lies that are hurled at us from Arab sources. The fact remains that it is we who have taught the world a terminology that today is coming back to haunt us. For decades much of the Zionist movement preached a doctrine of secular Zionism, of Zionism devoid of religious foundation, ideal and principle.

We firmly believe that Torah and Mitzvot are the foundations of Zionism. We will not substitute Zionism for Judaism. Both are one and the same and therefore, precisely in this day, we must recognize the religious foundation of Zionism and thus strengthen our position in the eyes of the world, to reaffirm the divine promise of Israel and Zion redeemed.

HARRY HURWITZ

(Herut—Hatzohar; South Africa)

This session has to face three main challenges. First, the international attack on Zionism; second, the Palestinian question; third, the forthcoming Brussels Conference.

I propose that this Actions Committee resolves to move from the defensive to the offensive in regard to the international attack on Zionism by means of a political campaign whenever and wherever possible. One of the aims of the infamous resolution passed by the UN is to increase antisemitism, and already there are groupings and parties calling for the endorsement of the resolution, i.e. that Zionism is a racist evil that ought to be destroyed. In this connection, I agree with the remarks of Rabbi Sternstein, that we ourselves must restore the

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paramount position of the Zionist movement in Jewish life instead of denigrating it.

Permit me to address a word of criticism against the leadership of the Zionist Movement. Why was it necessary to convene another body to deal with World Jewry's reaction to the attack on Zionism only three weeks ago when this is the obvious forum that should have dealt with it from the beginning? Why do we ourselves denigrate the Zionist Movement that should have been in the forefront of the Jewish world in this matter?

In the confrontation between Arab and Jewish claims to Eretz Israel, the Arabs are putting the clock back not 28 years but 40 years and more, to the time when the debate "To whom Palestine?" took place. Israel, of course, is in the unique position of being the only Jewish State, and therefore a member of no bloc and of no treaty organization. Therefore, the Jewish people has to answer the resolutions passed by the OAU, by Mexico, and by Lima. We have as much if not much more right to express an opinion in the international forums on the future of Eretz Israel as the Government in Jeddah or Idi Amin. Therefore, this Zionist movement at its last Congress and at the Jewish Solidarity Conference affirmed the right of the Jewish people to Eretz Israel. Let us reaffirm it again. Let us educate our younger generation in that spirit.

Lastly, I come to the question of Brussels. What is the **Zionist movement** going to say at Brussels? I want to summarize it in three slogans: At Brussels, the Jewish people must address an appeal to the Soviet Union as we did five years ago: Let my People Go! The people of Israel must address the appeal to the Jews of the Soviet Union who for a variety of reasons have become disenchanted with the call—My People, Let's go! And we, the Jews of the world have the right to address an appeal to the citizens of this country, to those concerned with integration: Don't Let My People Go! Don't let them become disillusioned. There are in any case but few who get here. Give them every facility, every encouragement, every opportunity to integrate happily and successfully in this country.

If we put at the centre of the Actions Committee these three pillars—the attack and counter-offensive against the UN Resolution, the reaffirmation of the Jewish People's right to Eretz Israel and our Zionist attitude to the Brussels Conference, then this session will not be merely a routine session of the Actions Committee but an extraordinary one, capable of rising to the challenges that face us.

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EZRA SHAPIRO

(Member of the Executive; Israel)

I should like to relate my remarks to the superb analysis offered by Professor Rotenstreich with regard to the motivations and processes which led to the evolution of the Zionist idea and philosophy, the creation of the World Zionist Organization, the establishment of the State of Israel and the early Zionist aliyah movements.

When the learned Professor described the concept of "auto-emancipation," he was obviously referring to the philosophy expounded by Leo Pinsker. When it became evident to Pinsker that the liberation and emancipation of Jews would not be achieved through the "universalist" movements, he came to the conclusion that the only solution to this Jewish problem would be through a process of self-emancipation which would include the creation of a specific Jewish State in some specific geographic area. Professor Rotenstreich's theory is that in connection with aliyah from the free countries such as the United States, Canada, etc., which is so desirable and necessary, we will have to develop a similar process of auto-emancipation, which will animate and give motivation to Jews to make aliyah to Israel. I would like to draw attention to the following facts.

Pinsker lived all his mature life in Odessa in the second half of the 19th century. Until he reached the age of fifty or so, he was completely immersed in the assimilationist-universalist movements and spirit of the times. He was either the editor of or at least a major literary contributor, to two Russian-Jewish periodicals, completely committed to the "enlightenment" movement of the period. When a wave of bitter anti-semitism and pogroms swept over Russia (1860-1870), he became thoroughly convinced of the futility of any expectation on the part of the Jewish community that the universalist movements could provide any relief from this devastating situation. It was then that he came to his philosophy of auto-emancipation. It is obvious that no such situation now exists in the free countries, nor do any of us hope that such a situation will arise.

I therefore suggest that we must look for different factors which may inspire the increased desire for aliyah. There may be many such factors but I want to limit myself to two.

While recognizing that the Zionist movement cannot interfere directly in the affairs of other autonomous Jewish educational institutions which

## E. SHAPIRO

now exist in most of these free countries, there is however every reason for Zionist influences to be felt in these educational systems in the matter of curricula and the spirit in which these educational systems are operated. There should be an intensification of instruction in all aspects of Zionism and Israeli life, leading towards a deeper knowledge and love of Israel, and hopefully acting as a stimulus to aliyah. In the light of the current universal onslaught on the part of the communist countries and the Arab world against Zionism, Judaism, Jewish Peoplehood and the State of Israel, such a new line in Jewish education should and probably would receive universal acceptance.

I now address myself basically to fellow Israelis. There is no question but that we must strive to radically improve the quality of life in Israel and eliminate the many unhappy and sometimes evil developments which have crept into our life style. This is imperative not only for our own good but more importantly for the realisation of the kind of society we all aspire to create in Israel. The achievement of a better life style in our society will also inevitably serve as the requisite attraction for those whom we seek to encourage to make aliyah to Israel.

I come now to the matter of *hasbarah*, or public information, education and propaganda which is to be carried on especially in the free countries and more specifically in the United States. From my own personal experience in addressing non-Jewish groups in the United States, I want to urge that nothing is more telling and convincing of the validity and justice of our cause, than a description of the ugly role which the Soviet Union continues to play in the Middle East conflict, and especially as this relates to the encouragement and financial assistance afforded to the Arab countries and especially the PLO in their attack against the very existence of the State of Israel. Also, in the matter of the Palestinian refugees and the so-called Palestinian rights, it is always telling to relate how miserably Arab refugees have been abandoned by their fellow Arabs, whose annual oil income runs into an excess of sixty billion dollars a year and who refuse to spare a part of even one percent of their income to alleviate the plight of the refugees, and this at a time when Israel is spending tens of millions of dollars for social welfare and educational needs in the administered areas. This kind of information is rarely if ever transmitted to non-Jews, or for that matter to Jewish audiences. Moreover, mention should always be made of the fact that 600,000-700,000 Jews were driven out of the Arab countries, compelling them to leave all of their possessions in their respective places of residence.

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I also recommend that it would be helpful to explode the myth that Jews and Arabs have always lived peacefully in the Arab empire. The stark, naked fact is that for centuries, Arab philosophers, teachers and political leaders enunciated doctrines of hate and incitement to annihilation of Jewish physical existence bordering on genocide. These are some of the items of information which can and should be used effectively in connection with our public relations work.

Finally I would like to consider the complaint uttered by Rabbi Sternstein, the President of the Zionist Organization of America, against the liberal attitude which the World Zionist Organization's Executive and this Actions Committee has revealed in accepting into our fold World Organizations such as the Reform Movement in the United States, the World Sephardi Organization and Maccabi. I reject this point of view. Instead of decrying the inclusion in our ranks of these large and important segments of world Jewry, we should be the first to welcome them particularly in view of their own expressed desire to join our ranks and to accept the Jerusalem Program. Indeed, we await expectantly the application of other important international and national Jewish bodies for admittance to our ranks. This can only strengthen the Zionist Movement and the World Zionist Organization, in all its operations. I should add, as President of the World Confederation of United Zionists, that this development is clearly in line with our philosophy of enlarging the scope and influence of the Zionist Movement and its operations. We feel this strengthens our conviction that in the Diaspora at any rate there is no basis for the continued alliance between the different Zionist organizations and political parties in Israel. The sooner this anomaly will be eliminated or at least diminished in scope, the quicker we may realize a wider-based formal identification with the Zionist Organization on the part of vast numbers of Jews, completely sympathetic to the Zionist idea and movement, but who hitherto have not wanted to formally affiliate with the Zionist organizations because of their excessive involvement with political parties in Israel.

Indeed, in this respect we have a glorious opportunity to enrich and swell the ranks of those affiliated with the World Zionist Organization and its territorial federations.

## D. BAR-NIR

DOV BAR-NIR

(Mapam; Israel)

The deep wound that was inflicted upon us and the insult that was leveled against us by the automatic majority at the United Nations which dubbed us a racist movement had a paradoxical outcome. One might say that "from the sour came forth sweetness." This vile resolution aroused nations, governments and statesmen from their lethargy, and these arose in defence of the most persecuted among people, and its liberation movement.

Now, however, with the sweetening of the first bitter pill, we must rethink our path and plan our action. This vile resolution is a strange mixture of planned enmity and ignorance as regards the historical motivation of the World Zionist Movement. In face of such enmity, we must strengthen ourselves both spiritually and materially and answer back. Materially the Israel Defence Forces and the Jewish people is an impregnable rampart. As regards the ignorance and misunderstanding, our weapon must be of an ideological and informative nature. It transpires that many nations have not yet understood the nature of the Zionist Movement. In order to open their eyes we must counterattack with a mixture of both an ideological and peace offensive, both of which call for perseverance and uninterrupted effort.

A precondition, however, is that we do not continue to repeat to ourselves that "the whole world is against us" so that we do not consciously isolate ourselves the more. Two clear facts must always be kept in sight. It is not true to say that the world was always against us because ever since the inception of the Zionist enterprise, and through landmarks such as the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate system, the support of the League of Nations, the United Nations resolution to establish a Jewish State in Palestine, and down to the end of the Six-Day War, our liberation movement has gained increasing understanding and sympathy. Secondly, it is not true to say that the whole world is convinced that our endeavours are for peace and for peace alone.

I will not enter into the political problem. One thing however is clear to me. It is not sufficient to say "No" to proposals that seek to trap us. It is our duty to spread throughout the world the Israeli "yes" on which our proposals for peace, security and self-determination for all peoples in the region are based.

On the other hand, it would appear to me that we have neglected



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the ideological front insofar as we have not understood in all the 27 years' of Israeli existence that we have still got to convince the enlightened world that we are entitled to live in our own land, develop our own culture and, like all other peoples, gain freedom and independence. The whole world is now speaking in the language of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, and anti-Nazism and, regretfully, we have still to prove that the World Zionist Movement never wanted to hold dominion over any other people and that by its very nature it is not imperialist, colonialist or racist; and that it wants to live by its own effort and to accord to every man full national and civic rights. Internally it would also not be amiss to engage in matters of ideology in addition to practical affairs and upbuilding, for by so doing, we would be able to win over the whole of the Jewish people, and so lead to a renewal of Jewish independence in our own land.

A first prerequisite is that we speak not only to ourselves as we did at the recent Conference on Jewish unity in Jerusalem, or as we do now at the present session of the Zionist General Council. We must go out in order to shatter the rings of ignorance, misunderstanding and isolation that surround Zionism. A second condition is that we do not remain satisfied with an isolated reaction but look upon this campaign as one that will continue for months and perhaps years on end. Thirdly, we must act through all the communications media—the radio, television, press, films, lectures and conventions, as well as by enlisting the tremendous potential of Jewish and non-Jewish intellectuals, writers, scientists and artists, whose voice is heard and who can gain prestige and a willing ear among nations and states. Fourth, we must realise that despite several generations of Jewish and Zionist literature, Zionism is as yet insufficiently known in the world that is known as cultural, and that we must, therefore, disseminate the principles of our belief which, by the way, are not limited to the spiritual realm of the Jewish people but have universal appeal.

Now that many people sport the badge "I am a Zionist" a unique opportunity presents itself. Once again, as in the days of Herzl, Nordau, Sokolov, Einstein, Rabbi Hillel Silver, Stephen Wise and Brandeis, we must attract the best forces among the Jewish people for an information campaign on the nature of the Zionist enterprise. I hope that in the various committees of the Zionist General Council and the Zionist Executive, the proper people, the special budget and the organizational means will be found in order to remove the stigma that has been leveled against us by the supreme forum of the United Nations. There is

much potential sympathy for the Jewish people and its vision. Let us all endeavour to see to it that this is fully exploited so that we emerge from the darkness of misunderstanding to the light of acceptance.

Finally, let us prove to the whole world that the Jewish problem has not yet been solved because it keeps on wandering from one country to another and from one continent to another. Today it might perhaps be dormant, but tomorrow it can arise again. It is already visiting Jewry in the Soviet Union and is casting its shadow on Jewry in Latin America. Zionism is not a luxury but an anchor of refuge for the Jewish people. We must launch a peace offensive which will declare that our sole desire is sovereignty, independence and security for the State of Israel while at the same time maintaining good neighbourly relations with the Arab peoples and the Palestinians.

We must equip the Zionist Executive with a greatly enlarged budget in order to launch a wide offensive so as to gain world public opinion. We must convene world, regional as well as national conferences in which statesmen, heads of governments, members of Parliament, and thinkers in all fields will participate in a mighty counter-offensive against vilifiers of all kinds. We must organize seminars on the teachings of Zionism, organize group visits to Israel, extend tourism, launch a year's-service-to-Israel campaign, and encourage the establishment of chairs in Universities where the problems of the Jewish people and the history of Zionism will be studied.

ANSELM REISS

(Virilist; Israel)

We heard three lectures yesterday and I should like to refer briefly to what was said.

I would be the last to underrate the importance of information activities; I would also be the last to say that one need not make endeavours to strengthen Jewish education or to fight assimilation. But I would mention to those who have "revealed" the attitude of our neighbours towards us, that when we went to Eretz Israel and accepted the precepts of Zionism, we knew full well what was lying in store for us. I should like to remind my audience of what happened in May 1920, or of the events in Hebron in 1939, or during the disturbances of 1936. The anti-Zionists told us even then that we were going out among a sea of Arabs, a sea of hatred. Not only today is the Communist Internation-

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al against us. In those days the whole of the Labour Movement—all the Socialist parties—were against us. And not only the Labour Movements; all the forces that described themselves as progressive were opposed to us. They looked upon us as a nationalist movement at a time when the concept of fascism or of racism was not as widespread as it is today.

Despite all this, however, we did come here because we were Zionists, and because we knew that Jewish continuity is assured here. True, people came here also on account of stress, but it would be an unfounded assertion to say that was the only reason the Jews from Eastern Europe came here. They came on account of their Zionist aspirations, urged on by the desire to live in Eretz Israel and to develop the country.

I do not want to enter into a discussion about the value of the Diaspora, but I believe, and I am sure there will be no differences of opinion among us, that Zionism is identical with aliyah, with the aspiration to live here, and with the aspiration for self-implementation. That is the truth that we must drive home to Zionists and to the Zionist Movement throughout the world.

The period in which we live is a decisive one. There are some who would ask what will be the fate of the State of Israel. While I am thoroughly convinced of its continued existence, one cannot remain unmindful of the fact that we are in need of additional strength in numbers. It is not sufficient to declare: "I am a Zionist." What is needed is that these people should come over here and join us in our struggles here. That will be the best and most telling reply to all the anti-Zionists and to the world that is hostile to us. It will strengthen and consolidate the State of Israel and will ensure its existence and prosperity, which we all have so close at heart.

MOSHE KEREM

(Labour Zionist Movement; Israel)

I should like to refer to the lecture of Prof. Rotenstreich. He distinguished between Zionists and Jews who support Israel. The former are people who thought *a priori* about the establishment of the State. The supporters of Israel, with all the importance attaching to their support, are people who received the State of Israel as a fact and who support it politically, socially, materially and in all sorts of other ways.

The Zionist is a man who has a fixed trend of thought on the basis of which he builds his Zionism. For him things are clear. Zionism ensures Jewish continuity; Zionism is part of Judaism. The supporter of the State of Israel is governed by his sentiments rather than intellect. The Jew who supports Israel always has in mind the plight of the Jews.

I accept this viewpoint, including the concept of Zionism as not only a liberation movement, but also as a movement for the building anew of the Jewish people—a people which has traits that are so different from those of other peoples. Herein lies another difference between Zionist and Jewish friends of the State of Israel. The Zionist actually takes part in the task as an active partner. He does not accept things ready-made for him or supports the State out of sentiment. Admittedly, those who attack us today differentiate between Jews and Zionists, but anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism and the Jews who support the State of Israel are fully aware of this.

People I have known for many years would say to me—"I do more for the State of Israel than all your Zionists put together." When the time came, these people found it necessary to wear the badge "I am a Zionist," but then they whispered into my ear: "OK, I am a Zionist now but what do I do today that I didn't to yesterday?" The test of the Zionist Movement lies in its ability to give these people something tangible to do, something that goes beyond what they did yesterday as non-Zionist supporters of the State. But first of all there is an additional question. Very well, I sport the badge, but in addition to asking, "What do I do now?", they also ask: "What really is it?"

These are the two questions that must be re-formulated in terms of 1976. We must define exactly what a Zionist has to do from the point of view of aliyah and from the point of view of active participation in the State of Israel, over and above the support that he lent to the State in the past.

Now what is a Zionist? A Zionist is one who is prepared to come to the Zionist General Council for 20 years running because he wants to change his country. A Zionist is one who says that the State of Israel is not sufficiently a model state, and is prepared to lend a shoulder to change the model. This is the difference between a Zionist and a Jewish supporter of the State of Israel. A Zionist is he who gives his support because he thinks that it is important. And if he finds that people hailing from his country of origin are not being properly absorbed in Israel, he does something about it; he comes on aliyah himself and personally assumes responsibility for aliyah from his country.

## THIRD MEETING

BARUCH WEINSTEIN  
(Union of General Zionists; Israel)

There is a consensus of opinion among all Zionists that the resolutions passed at the United Nations Organization are not simply a passing political phenomenon, but a long-term offensive the end of which is not in sight, because its roots are deep both in the Arab as well as in the Communist camps. Hence the conclusion: our attack must be not only of a tactical-political nature but must also be ideological insofar as one cannot escape a thorough analysis which may at times turn out to be painful.

It is said that many Jews declare themselves to be Zionists and that the organized Zionists are seeking some sort of identification. Herein lies a tragic confrontation between an encouraging reality outside the Zionist camp and a far from encouraging reality within the camp. It is we Zionists who are to blame for this, since for many years we have abandoned the ideological front. True, we were deeply engaged in other activities, but a dynamic and historical movement with a lot of experience behind it must manage its affairs so that parallel with practical action, the ideological and educational activity continues uninterrupted. We have neglected this activity also in the State of Israel. During the course of the past years we have abandoned national values and absorbed substitutes.

Zionism does not boil down to a declaration that "I am a Zionist." We are now asking justified questions as to what the difference between a Zionist and a non-Zionist is when the Zionists do not fulfil their practical duties and precepts. I want to remind you of the resolutions of the Congress which set forth a whole list of precepts, including that of aliyah, which latter aroused such opposition that legal interpretation was immediately forthcoming to the effect that this proviso is not binding. Prof. Rotenstreich was right in saying that one must transfer the people from their sentimental attachment to an organic attachment, and that one must not regard the non-fulfillment of these practical duties as a mere formal infringement, because it shows that even the Zionists are not spiritually prepared to play their role in the revolutionary process.

There is another important factor to which I would refer briefly. We very justly demanded that the centrality of the State of Israel should be accepted not only as a principle but that it should wield

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influence on the life of the people and leave its impress on Jewish education in the Diaspora. People from the Dispersion come and say: "Set us an example." And there is none. We in the State have not withstood the Zionist test on the spiritual-educational level. It is no mere coincidence that we witness the appearance of all sorts of Israeli groups, and not only the "Canaanites." This is the outcome of the fact that no ideological-educational guidance is forthcoming from the State of Israel.

PROF. SEGISMUNDO DRESNER  
(Labour Zionist Movement; Argentina)

The Zionist Movement must strengthen its Judaism, renew its ancient foundations, and base the present on all that was created in the past.

When we take a look at the Jewish world and in particular at the Jewish communities in the Northern Hemisphere, we find there submission to the establishment, a negation of the centrality of Israel and Jews who celebrate Christmas.

The situation of South American Jewry is equally dangerous and serious. We must all of us devote the most serious attention to the discussion of this problem.

DR. NAPHTALI EILATI  
(Mizrachi—Hapoel Hamizrachi; Israel)

We heard some very interesting addresses last night on the Communist and Arab offensives against us. I should like to add that when one speaks of anti-Semitism, be it racial, religious or economic, the basic problem remains as to whether we are still a strange element in the eyes of the Nations. Max Nordau expressed it very well when he said that West European Jewry was prepared to give up its national identity in return for an entrance ticket to European society, but did not succeed.

Jews may learn the language of their country of domicile, and become assimilated but they are never absorbed into the society of that country because the gentiles will always look upon them as strangers. The same problem arises in regard to Zionism. The basic problem facing us today, in view of the attack against us, is proof that we are not a strange element in the Middle East.

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Now how can we prove this? Gentlemen, there is no need for new formulas. Zionism is the movement of the return to Zion. That is the basis of Zionism. Hence the great importance that attaches to our Law of Return which states that every Jew is entitled to return to his homeland because in Israel he is not a stranger. But how can we see to it that the Jews do, in fact, return to this country? It is only by expanding the original religious form of education, which has proven itself throughout the generations down to this day. One must educate our people first and foremost to be Jews. Without Jews there will be no Zionists, and whoever tries to differentiate between Judaism and Zionism aims at the soul of our nation, because no difference exists between Jews and Zionism.

Sokolow in his time gave a fine definition of Zionism when he said: The Zionist Movement begins with the first Jew—our Patriarch Abraham—and continues down to our own day. Throughout the generations the link between the Jewish people and their land has never been severed. There have always been Jews in this country and the Jews in the Diaspora always prayed that they may witness the return to Zion. Then came the "Hibbat Zion" Movement which gave what were till then mere aspirations a more tangible form—the upbuilding of the country. Then came the Zionist Movement which acted according to the principle of a State in the making.

In conclusion, I should like to remind you of what Usishkin once said: "I don't recognize a movement known as Friendship or Love for Zion; I don't recognize a Zionist Movement; I am a member of the Movement of Redemption, because the Zionist Movement is the Movement of Redemption of both the People and the Land."

We have succeeded in redeeming the land. Let us now exert the greatest effort to redeem the Jewish people through Jewish education so that our brethren will return to their ancestral homeland.

LORD JANNER  
(Virilist; England)

Let us be frank about the position. We are faced today with a development of an extremely serious nature in the political world at large and not only at the United Nations. I happen to be concerned rather deeply with the Interparliamentary Union which is not an organization consisting of government representatives but of individual parliamen-

LORD JANNER—A. SCHINDLER

tarians who passed, in spite of all our objections and a powerful speech by Abba Eban, very similar resolutions to those that are being passed by the U.N. and other international bodies. We feel that this is an attack not only against Israel and the Zionist Movement, but against the Jewish people of the world, and no Jew today can discard what is the essential feature of Judaism and Jewishness which is Zionism itself. Evil forces are attacking Zionism! They are trying to put a wedge in between those whom they call Zionists and others whom they describe as Jews.

About a month ago, in addressing the House of Lords I said that the recent resolutions of the United Nations have caused me, as a Jew, and thus a Zionist very considerable concern indeed, particularly in view of what I had seen happen in my own lifetime. Why can't we all accept the fact that whether we like it or not we have been driven into a position where in fact the attack is directed towards the destruction of Israel.

To whom was the Balfour Declaration given? The Balfour Declaration was given to an eminent figure in the Jewish Board of Deputies which is the representative body of the Jews in Great Britain. It was not to be handled by him but to be given by him to my illustrious predecessor, the then president of the Zionist Federation.

Let me tell you how I think, in my own humble way, we ought to be going about changing the situation. First of all, I think we are mistaken in that we do not go to the expert public relations professionals and ask them for their help. A large number of them are Jews, and I am sure very many of them would be prepared to help in a voluntary capacity as experts, just as experts in other fields are doing.

Number two, why don't we investigate what has happened at the Genocide Convention? Do you realize, that the provisions of the Genocide Convention have been broken and are being broken daily by our antagonists?

The resolutions which have been passed by the United Nations are also an act of genocide, because the intention is clearly to kill off a people.

RABBI DR. ALEXANDER SCHINDLER  
(World Union for Progressive Judaism; U.S.A.)

I speak now to thank you, principally because I do not want you to interpret my silence tonight to be in any sense an expression of disin-



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terest. I am vitally interested in our joining this organization. I know that this association will be good for us and I only hope that we on our part will be able to make a contribution towards the advancement of that work which is sacred to us both, to all of us, indeed to all Jews everywhere.

I know that many words have been spoken here and I do not intend to add very much to them. Certainly I will not enter into the debate of what a proper definition of a Zionist is. I was much struck by what Dr. Rotenstreich said last night, although I honestly think that the distinction which he made between the Zionist and the non-Zionist is really a difference of degree rather than a difference in kind.

My own conception of Zionism, you ought to know, is far more existential than it is conceptual. It is felt rather than spoken. And, intriguingly enough, it involves the City of Jerusalem even more than it does this land as a whole. For when I am away from this city, and land, I feel myself rootless, fragmented, even lost. But when I come here I feel myself whole. Away from here I feel as if I were standing on shifting ground, with whirlwinds of change raging about. When I come here I feel myself anchored to an earthly structure which is fixed, which is firm, even while I experience an uplift in spirit. This is what Zionism means to me. I cannot express it further.

To focus a little bit more sharply on the subject of our discussion the Anti-Zionist Offensive and the Political Struggle. I thought it would be helpful if I were to tell you just briefly what my impression of the mood of America is.

Insofar as the American people as a whole is concerned, there simply is no doubt that there has been no perceptible erosion of support for Israel among them. I base my assertion not just on my intuitive perception nor do I base it only on those polls which reassure us. We Jews who have a sense of Jewish history always question these polls and look for some erosion, especially when we consider that America has just undergone a period of political upheaval unmatched in its history and that it has undergone some serious economic crises as well. And so our instincts lead us to believe that the Jew should become the scapegoat for the problems which America faces, and yet we have not been made such a scapegoat.

As I said, I do not base my positive estimate of American public opinion only on polls but rather on what I see, on the actions of Americans. Consider, if you will, the matter of Mexico. You ought to know that the travel boycott of Mexico, if you will call it such, was not called

## A. SCHINDLER

for by the leadership of the American Jewish community. American Jews as individuals led the way and the leaders followed after them. As a matter of fact, the American Jewish Congress, which arranges many tours to Mexico, finally made its decision not to have such tours on the day the former President of Mexico and now the Minister of Tourism, Alleman, came to New York, and this decision was intended in order to intensify that damage which Mexican tourism had already suffered. The people led, and what is more to my point, Americans of all faiths joined Jews in their protest.

I received letter after letter from organizations whose membership and whose leadership does not consist of Jews telling me that they have cancelled their conventions originally scheduled for Mexico. I know a non-Jewish travel agent in Chicago who moves 60,000 Americans annually to Mexico but who nonetheless decided to cancel without any prodding on the part of American Jews. The American people in this instance demonstrated once again their profound sympathy for Israel and their profound affection for its people and its moral traditions which they find similar to theirs. America's non-Jews continue to be our friends—the friends of Israel and of the Jewish people.

In this connection, let me say this—we have to be **their** friend too. We cannot be silent on issues which concern American non-Jews generally. We can't merely knock on their door every two or three months and ask them to make some kind of public statement for us, without expressing our continuing awareness of those problems which confront and concern them at the same time.

Let me give you a direct case in point. One of the first speeches at the United Nations against the obscene resolution backed by Russia and the Arab nations, was made by one of the members of the American delegation, a man by the name of Clarence Mitchell who is a negro, and who is one of the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

One of the great leaders of that association was a Jew, a man by the name of Kivie Kaplan who was also on our Board. Kivie Kaplan was a unique human being. He encompassed within himself the union of the universal and the particular. He fought for blacks but he also fought for Jews, and he gave us magnanimous support.

Now when Clarence Mitchell gave his dramatic and effective speech at the United Nations, I immediately sent him a cable to thank him. What was his response? His response was this: "Before I rose to speak"—he wrote—"I did not check with the head of my delegation—I had

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no instructions whatsoever—but I saw the image of Kivie Kaplan in my mind, and I could not do otherwise.” There should be, as Shlonsky once put it, a mezuzah on the door of the Jew. But that door must always be kept open to the world.

What is the mood of American Jewry? This is a question which would not have been raised some years ago but it is being raised today. A week or so ago, when Golda Meir was in New York she asked us this question and it shocked us! Has there been any erosion in the support for Israel on the American Jewish scene? We were so stunned that we could not even give a reasoned answer. One man said ‘yes’ another ‘no.’ I’ve been thinking about that question since then and I now feel that the only proper answer is this: There has been no erosion of love for Israel and no erosion of our determination to support Israel on the American scene. But there is an **erosion of confidence** in Israel. There simply is no doubt about it. Many **more** questions are being asked today. How could it be otherwise? **Diaspora Jewry**, after all, is but a mirror image of the Israeli scene. **And so** questions which are asked here are certainly questions which are going to be asked in America by American Jews.

My greatest source of fear is the impact which the world economic situation is likely to have on support for Israel in the American establishment. There is a great thirst for petrodollars in America, and that thirst has to be satisfied and will be justified in ideological terms, not by the American people as a whole but by those who hold power and who are ready to wield it. In short we are fighting not just a gigantic public relations machine; we are fighting the tempting prospect of billions of dollars, and that is an entirely new game. This game is not quite as difficult as we dreaded it would be only a year ago because the economic crisis was not as critical as we feared, but I am very much afraid that in the interim period, rather than in the long-term, this will be the greatest problem which confronts us.

Let me end on a note of hope. Phil Klutznik, who spoke at the Solidarity Conference some weeks ago, heartened us all when he quoted from that study on the geo-political structure of the world, which ranked Israel 12th among the nations. And the factor which made for this high rating is the national will which is manifested in Israel to a greater degree than anywhere else.

Will is very important. It is important for organizations; it is assuredly important for individuals too. For where there is will and where there is purpose the future is not something that is encountered by

## M. MOLDAVSKY

accident around the corner: that future is created, it is fashioned, it is given shape by men of will.

What we do, then, but more important, what we are, will make the ultimate difference. If we despair, despair will be the harvest. But if we stand by our ideals and our goals, resolutely pledged to affirm them, then we will indeed have that future all of us dream to have.

### DR. MIGUEL MOLDAVSKY

(Union of General Zionists; Chile)

I come from Chile where the Jewish community truly identifies itself with the State of Israel in face of the danger that threatens its future. However, that feeling of identification is accompanied by a feeling of another kind, a feeling of deep concern, that the Jewish community in Chile, like other communities in Latin America, fails to understand the policy of Israel and the activities of those who are responsible for such policy.

I cannot answer the question put by newspapermen, intellectuals, and members in government in Chile who ask: What does Israel actually want? Why is there no uniformity of opinion in its government? Why does one not put an end to the scandals that have a deleterious effect on morale and that lead to *yeridah*, the dimensions of which are on a par with *aliyah*? Why do you, who call for the unity of Jewish people in the Diaspora, not serve as an example in setting up a national unity government to embrace all the existing shades of opinion in Israel? Why do you subjugate the great and important interests of the state to the small, petty interests of the parties?

## FOURTH MEETING

Monday, January 5, 1976, in the afternoon

Chairmen: BUNIM SHAMIR—DR. YAACOV ELIEZER TAVIN

### CONCLUSION OF THE DEBATE ON THE ANTI-ZIONIST OFFENSIVE AND OUR POLITICAL STRUGGLE

DAVID SITTON

(World Sephardi Federation; Israel)

Since the last Congress, when the World Sephardi Federation was admitted to the Zionist Organization, it has undertaken extensive activity amongst Sephardi communities throughout the world in order to strengthen Zionist work among them.

I can point out with great satisfaction that in cooperation with the Zionist Organization and with the special department that was set up at the last Congress, we have begun setting up the framework of the new organization. However, the road ahead is still long and arduous.

We have witnessed a return of both young people and adults who had been far removed from any Zionist framework and who are now active in Zionist work. For the first time in the history of Zionist activity among the various communities we are currently holding a series of seminars in Israel attended by people from communities that have never before had any connection with the Jewish people. In recent years we have had groups of young people coming over from all parts of the United States, Canada, France, and South America. They have become part and parcel of the organization of Zionist youth throughout the world.

We are now mobilizing new forces so as to be able to join the struggle to save our brethren in Syria, Iraq and in other parts of the world. Thanks to the Zionist Federations of the United States and France, a series of protest meetings have been arranged for the purpose of directing the attention of world Jewry to the fate of these com-

D. SITTON—M. MAISLOS

munities. I am glad to be able to say that in common with the other sections of the Zionist Movement our activities for the rescue of Jewry in the Arab states have become an integral part of the activities of the Zionist Movement.

We are hopeful that following the resolution to grant the Sephardi Federation equal status to that of other bodies admitted to the Zionist Organization, we shall be able to take our proper place in the Zionist Movement as equals among equals—something we have been precluded from doing until now.

I hope that through these few words I have succeeded in drawing the attention of this Assembly to the activities that we are engaged in. I hope that the Zionist General Council and all the other sections of the Zionist Movement will join us in our efforts to continue the awakening among the Sephardi section of the Jewish people and to attract it more closely to the activities of the Zionist Movement.

MAXIMO MAISLOS

(Aliyah Movement; Argentina)

I represent the Aliyah Movement that was established in the Argentine in 1969. Since then the movement has grown and it now embraces 13 branches with 1300 members of whom 500 are active workers. The number is not large because our members undertake to go on aliyah to Israel, so that the membership at any one time does not reflect the relative strength of the movement.

Latterly, aliyah has decreased, because our youth are turning away from joining Zionist frameworks and are increasingly attracted to the leftist groups. There is a two-fold reason for that. The Jews lack proper information about Judaism and Zionism, and in addition—and this is still more important—Zionism fails to set them a challenge. The leaders who preach aliyah are the same leaders who were active 15 or 20 or more years ago, and who do not set a personal example.

That is why we go out to the public and announce that Zionism means aliyah, and that there can be no Zionism that is acted out in armchairs by an establishment that is not prepared to set an example. We present to the Jewish community the only possible answer to the Jewish problem.

At the same time we lay stress on educational and information acti-

## FOURTH MEETING

vities in connection with the Zionist idea and the possibilities of absorption in Israel. We carry on this work through the medium of seminars, courses, lectures, house circles, and the screening of films, etc., with the view to raising the standard of Jewish and Zionist consciousness.

The great paradox is that we, the movement that actually implements Zionism, lacks proper representation and our presence here is made possible only on the level of observers. We call upon the Zionist General Council to right this wrong by granting the Aliyah Movement proper representation in the Zionist Movement.

### SHLOMO DERECH

(Labour Zionist Movement; Israel)

The Zionist Movement is facing a serious onslaught from without, and vital challenges from within. The Jewish people and the Zionist Movement have answered through protests, through a great awakening, and by impressive manifestations of ideological and moral identification. We must not, however, allow ourselves to be overcome by these manifestations of sympathy and awakening because they will represent a passing phase if we are unable to seize the opportunity and transform them into permanent organizational activities, so that every Jew who wore the badge: "I am a Zionist" may know what his duty towards his people is, what this badge demands of him and what change is taking place in his daily life.

Zionism is both an idea and an act of implementation and we must set an example in each of these spheres. As an idea, Zionism must launch an extensive ideological and information campaign; it must emerge from its defensive role. Modern history does not know of a movement that is more humane and more progressive than the one that was guided by Zionism.

It is not we who are racist; it is not we who refuse to recognize the right to existence of other peoples and it is not we who deprived other nations and other countries of a life of peace and of good neighbourliness.

The ideological campaign of Zionism is vital not only for the need to uniform enlightened public opinion all over the world. It is vital in the first place in order to wage a struggle for the soul of the Jewish youth cut off from its people and estranged from the State of Israel.

In this struggle one must spread the banner of Zionism as represent-

## S. DERECH

ing the movement of return to Zion and of the national social and spiritual revolution of the Jewish people striving for a radical change in its fate by returning to its homeland. Zionism must also forge stable organizational forms in order to capture and exploit passing waves of identification; to turn passive attachment into a factor for active participation; and to set concrete objectives for every Jew seeking identification.

The time is opportune for the transformation of the masses of amorphous sympathizers into an organized movement. Every Jew can and must be a Zionist. But there is still no identity between them. A Zionist is he who regards himself as responsible for the fate of his people, who believes in the rights of the Jewish people to political independence and who wishes to participate actively in the creation of such independence.

Zionism is an act of implementation. The Jewish reply to the wicked accusations that are now being leveled at Zionism cannot be of a purely informative and organizational nature. It must be anchored in acts of implementation which will show that no malicious lie or expedient voting will prevent us from continuing our efforts to implement fully its aims and goals.

It is imperative that the Zionist Movement adopts an operational plan in the fields of both aliyah and settlement, and round such a plan we should concentrate our greatest efforts for the coming period. First of all in the sphere of aliyah, an additional several hundred thousand Jews in Israel can prove the most effective reply to the campaign of vilification. It would basically change the situation of the state and of the Jewish people in the dispersion. An operative plan for the settlement of another hundred thousand Jews from countries of the west in the period of the coming five years is not too difficult a task to carry through.

In the sphere of implementation, the crying need for settlement is called for by the present emergency situation. The government has submitted to the Conference on Jewish Unity a program for the establishment of 70 new settlements in various parts of the country. The Zionist Movement should adopt this plan and stand firmly behind it. Together with this effort one must also examine the possibility of organizing more nuclei of new immigrants for concrete settlement objectives approved by the authorized institution. The Jewish reply to the vilification of Zionism must be transformed into a fillip for the advancement of settlement on a large scale. Such settlement activity



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must be carried out not through demonstrative acts, but only in the framework of authorized planning and with the sanction of the relevant authorities.

The present period is one of great challenge to the Zionist Movement. The movement must call upon all sections of the Jewish people and upon humane people throughout the world to identify themselves both ideologically and morally with it, but first and foremost it must evince tenacity of purpose by undertaking acts of implementation on a large scale and with the utmost speed.

FAYE SCHENK

(Member of the Executive; U.S.A.)

The subject of my few words is Territorial Zionist Federations. The very nature of the subject suggests practical performance, although the ideological is implicit in the work of Federations. Indeed the ideology of Zionism is the very bedrock upon which the activity of Zionist Federations is based.

I have heard forceful statements from this platform as to the important need for the promotion of Zionist information and education. There has also been criticism of the fact that the Zionists are being bypassed by Israeli leadership who turn to non-Zionist identified community leaders and organizations at the expense of the Zionists.

It was at the 28th Zionist Congress that Territorial Federations were created, with one Zionist Federation in each country to be composed of the individual Zionist organizations, and each separate grouping was to preserve its own way of life. What then was the purpose of setting up the parent body? In fact, it has been carefully written into the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization that the Federation was to be the voice on education and information.

When leaders of Zionist organizations, both party and non-party affiliated, criticize the lack of recognition of the Zionist Movement in the golah; when they deplore the tarnished image of Zionism, I would suggest that they take the time to look inward, and recognize that they themselves are contributing largely to this deplorable situation. For example, they prefer to promote their own special brand of party Zionism and withhold their support from the Territorial Federation in fear that it will detract from their autonomy and prestige.

Can Zionist Federations be made to work? My answer is a cate-

gorical "Yes". But it requires as a *sine qua non* a recognition of the indispensable activity of a united federation that pools the thinking of its divisible yet indivisible parts, and supplies a community of Jews and non-Jews with good solid progressive Zionist education and information which in turn is the necessary instrument for the enactment of those Zionist tasks to which we all subscribe—aliyah, aliyah leregel, solidarity, and concern for and participation in the strengthening and enduring qualities of the Land of Israel and its people.

MATHILDA GUEZ

(Labour Zionist Movement; Israel)

This morning Rabbi Sternstein suggested setting up an organization that would arise in reply to the PLO, and say: "We too, are in existence and we, too, are represented in all the institutions of the United Nations and at Geneva." The initiative was in fact taken by a group of Jews in Israel hailing from Arab countries. They organized themselves into a body that held its first meeting in Paris on the 24th of November. It was at that meeting, attended by representatives from 14 countries, that world public opinion was both aroused and informed that Israel had absorbed hundreds of thousands of Jews from the Arab countries, so the Arab states should learn a lesson and absorb their own refugees.

I was one of those Jews absorbed by the State of Israel. We left behind a vast amount of property—both public property such as Scrolls of the Law, synagogues, old age homes, maternity hospitals, general hospitals, and private property which we were forbidden to take with us. For that reason we demand our proper place as an organization equal to that of the PLO. We, too, must be represented at the U.N. We too have something to say, we also have demands to make on the world and we deserve understanding in the same if not greater measure than the PLO. I ask the members of the Zionist General Council who are convened here to lend us their support and to strengthen this demand of ours. We ask for their assistance in achieving our demands to become a recognized organization. Wherever the PLO is represented—in the organizations of the U.N., at the Geneva Conference, we too want to be present. I hope that this call which is directed to our brethren throughout the world will receive a proper response.

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DR. BERL FRYMER

(Labour Zionist Movement; Israel)

The greater the influence of Zionism and the deeper its impression on friends and foes alike; the wider will be the Jewish masses that accept the basic thesis of the Zionist Movement, and, therefore, the greater the complexity within the movement itself.

I disassociate myself from the thesis of the representative of the Reform Movement that the difference between a Zionist and a non-Zionist inheres only in the intensity of activity, because it is possible to be even more devoted than a Zionist in certain spheres of action.

Similarly, I cannot accept the confused concept that we heard here of Judaism and Zionism. Not all Jews are Zionists, but there can be no Zionism without Judaism. The movement must be sufficiently crystallized in order to create a common yet clear denominator, but on the other hand, it must also be wide enough in order to allow for different ideological trends and outlooks within it.

I fail to understand why attempts are made even at this time to drive a wedge between new parties and bodies that join the movement. I welcome the affiliation of the Reform Movement and very soon will welcome the affiliation of the Conservatives, for I am fully aware of the tremendous intellectual contribution that they are likely to make to the Zionist Movement. I do not, however, look upon them as competitors with, or successors to the Zionist parties.

I am surprised that Mrs. Jacobson has spoken here of what she termed the "stupid elections." Not only is the expression unfortunate but it is also incorrect in essence. It is strange that the opposition to elections comes from the United States which is the country of elections. No one has yet come forward to tell me what can take the place of elections. If we want to freeze the Zionist Movement, then the abolition of elections is one way of doing it.

The value of elections can be felt in the present session of the Zionist General Council. Just see the tension, the wakefulness and the interest that has been aroused by the election of the Chairman of the Executive.

In conclusion, I would say that the strengthening of ideology; the expansion of our framework while at the same time preserving the ideological content, is the only means of consolidating the Zionist Movement.

J. BRONNER

RABBI JOSEPH BRONNER

(Mizrachi—Hapoel Hamizrachi; South Africa)

I would like to refer to the very profound and thought-provoking address which was delivered last night by Prof. Rotenstreich. He gave us a very lucid picture of the development of the Zionist idea and of the Zionist Movement. He explained that this movement arose because the Jews of Eastern Europe, primarily, were striving for emancipation. They soon realized that they could not achieve emancipation—and therefore they attempted another solution—Zionism.

In our own day, there is no need for emancipation because in the Western world everybody can express himself freely. This is the cause of the malaise of the Zionist Movement. This is the cause of the decline of the Zionist Movement and that is why aliyah is not progressing as it should.

How can we solve this problem? Prof. Rotenstreich suggested the idea of auto-emancipation. The slogan and the Zionist ideal in future should be "to serve the Jewish people." I would like to say that I consider the statement of Prof. Rotenstreich as an admission of the failure of secular Zionism, because, as he explained, the secular Zionist idea strove only for emancipation, and when emancipation had been achieved, that was the end of the Zionist idea and we find ourselves today in a position of not knowing exactly where we are heading.

Had the secular Zionists understood that on secular ideals alone you cannot build the continuity of the Jewish people; had they introduced into their Zionist ideal the idea of the sanctity of Israel, of the eternity of the Jewish people, of the sanctity of the land, and of the eternal bond between Israel, the Torah and Eretz Israel, we would not have been in the situation in which we are now.

It is not too late to change the course of the Zionist Movement. I would like to ask Prof. Rotenstreich one question: when he says that the ideal should be for young people to come forward and serve their nation—how do you inspire the young people to come forward? Before this can be done, a young man or woman has to understand why he is a Jew. He has to have a connection with the Torah; he has to understand the legacy of the Jewish people. He must want to remain a Jew. If he has this background and this appreciation then he can come forward and say "I am proud to be a Jew." When he has achieved this, then perhaps he can become influenced to serve the

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nation. Thus the problem of the continuity of the Zionist Movement is a problem of Jewish and religious education. I say, therefore, that the Zionist Movement should give greater attention to the values of Torah and Zion.

I would like to mention in this connection that the aliyah of today from America is comprised of a majority of religious olim, and the majority of yordim are non-religious. This proves to us that an education of Torah and Zion has had success as far as the Zionist Movement is concerned.

In conclusion I would like to make one practical suggestion. The Zionist Movement is quite successful in its efforts in Jewish education, which is mostly given through the medium of Jewish day schools the world over. The age group is limited up to the end of high school. I would make an appeal that the work of the Zionist Movement in Jewish education should be extended to include the 20-35 age group. That generation is also searching for values, and needs spiritual guidance. And we can give it to them. My appeal is that there should be a department for this age group. Shlichim should be sent to various countries to deal with this generation. The university students and the young marrieds need guidance. They need organization and they need inspiration. If we can provide this, I am sure we will have greater success in the future.

SAUL PATRICH

(Union of General Zionists; Argentina)

It has been said here that being a Zionist and being a Jew is one and the same thing. Reality in Latin America, however, is different. Jews in the thousands are far from regarding themselves as Zionists, but the resolution at the U.N. has brought them back to reality. However, many still ask themselves: what does it mean to be a Zionist? To be a Zionist in Latin America means to run various risks and many people are afraid of running such risks.

I therefore suggest changing the structure of the Zionist Federations in Latin America so that they should reflect not only the parties, with all the importance attaching to them, but also the Jewish masses who shy from joining the parties, and who have not been reached by the Shlichim.

There is need for more *hasbarah*, more initiative and more activity.

One must direct **hasbarah** also to the non-Jewish public. The resolution at the U.N. calls for changes in our work. Conditions obtaining at the present day in Latin America are not stable, and the changes that may come are unpredictable in their effect. The Jews are living in fear, and it is only Zionism that can provide the answer to their situation. One must attack the atmosphere of unconcern. Every Jewish family must face reality and look upon Zionism both as a better future and as a way of life.

PROF. BERNARD BLUMENKRANZ

(Mapam; France)

Ever since yesterday we have been questioning ourselves about the nature of Zionism. Allow me to change the subject somewhat and to ask: "What is the Zionist Movement?" The answer to this question has been given long-since, and it still holds good: "The Zionist Movement, or rather the World Zionist Organization, is the Jewish State in progress." Today after the emergence of the State this definition has not changed in essence. If one wants to abolish the parties in the Zionist Movement, one has to abolish them in Israel itself, and then one would arrive at one-party rule—which reminds us of the situation obtaining in a number of neighbouring countries. Arie Dulzin promised us many thousands of new members if we would abolish the party frameworks in the Zionist Movement, but the reverse would be correct. Many important personages have joined the Zionist Movement in France, such as the universally famous thinker and sociologist George Friedman. Such people would not have joined the movement if they thought it was fickle and dormant.

JACOB TSUR

(Chairman of the Joint Committee on Zionist Information  
of the Zionist Executive and the Ministry for Foreign Affairs)

I hope to have the opportunity of submitting to the Committee on Information and Political activity the findings of the Joint Committee on Zionist Information set up by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Zionist Executive. I shall also submit the practical conclusions on that occasion. However, in the few minutes at my disposal now,

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I should like to state to the Zionist General Council, and through it to our fellow members of the Zionist Movement throughout the world, that I fully realize the importance of the present discussion in face of the anti-Zionist attack that we are now experiencing.

It is patently clear to all of us that the State of Israel and the Zionist Organization cannot let the world be flooded with lies and false accusations. We do, however, have at our disposal a vast reservoir of manpower. If we ourselves are a movement of 900,000 or 1,000,000 members, and if we include the affiliated organizations the number is even larger than that—then Zionists are to be found everywhere. Among them are young people and veterans, people of experience and of know-how who are capable of conducting a campaign which cannot be valued in terms of money. The attack that has been launched against us may become a blessing for the Zionist Movement if it will awaken us from our illusions, and if it will open our eyes to the forces aligned against us.

In the first place, we must realize that this is a political war waged by Soviet Russia and by the Arab states for positions in the Middle East. It is directed against the State of Israel, and the attack on the ideology of Zionism serves only as a weapon in this war. For that reason, any attempt made to prove the justice of Zionism is a waste of effort. What is necessary is not defence but counter-attack.

Secondly, the time has come when we must cease believing in "Zionism or else," regardless of whether the condition is a demand for more money or else Israel might be destroyed, or whether it is that we must reach a peace settlement with the Arabs at all costs, or else our end will be a bitter one. The same applies to Jewish survival which fundraisers are so very fond of referring to. The time has come for this phrase to be deleted from our vocabulary. Most certainly there is need to introduce changes in the formulation of the teachings of Zionism and to adapt it to present day use, but we must be positive in approach—we represent after all, one of the greatest ideological movements in the present day world. We have not yet reached perfection and we all view with considerable pain the shortcomings in our society, but Zionism is nevertheless not governed by "or else" and success can be achieved by patient positive effort.

Present day reality forces us to seek and enlist the Zionist ranks for action. One of our colleagues told me this morning of a man who sports the badge "I am Zionist" on his lapel, but asks "And what do

J. TSUR

I have to do now?" We still recall the time, after the first Zionist census, when hundreds of thousands of Jews were counted. Those among them who came on aliyah came over, and those among them who were ready to contribute money did so. All the rest remained just Zionists—Zionists in name only. Such a thing must never happen in a movement like our own, and particularly in a period like the one in which we are living now.

That is the intention of one of the proposals raised at the Jerusalem Conference, which I will submit to the committee. It is the resolution concerning the signature campaign. This campaign is not necessary to prove that Jews are Zionists. We know that they are Zionists. But the mass enlistment through the youth, students organizations and house-to-house campaigns, means the creation of Zionists. In order that a man may convince others he must first of all convince himself. For that purpose we must train information workers, and set up a cadre of keyworkers. For this purpose the Zionist Movement must throw open its ranks and create the nucleus of a new leadership. I do not in any way wish to disparage or underrate the value of the veteran leadership. But the veteran leaders are few in number; they remain tucked away in their own corners, and they do not have enough strength in order to carry through this great enterprise.

Let me say a word or two about emissaries. I have seen many emissaries, and I have followed their work. In general, I must say that they are worthy of commendation. But, as in every public, there are effective and not-so-effective Shlichim. The greater majority among them, however, are working loyally and are doing good work. The great fault in our emissary system, however, lies in the fact that the emissaries work alone. This fact has already been mentioned by the representative of South America who spoke before. We must be aware that the primary function of the shaliach is to find and direct the people locally. A shaliach who does not leave someone to take his place, who does not train a local leadership, has not succeeded in doing anything. Most certainly, we shall not succeed in expanding the ranks of the movement by such methods, because our goal is to create a militant movement, a movement that brings conviction, a well-knit political force in the Jewish world. We shall be unable to lead unless we have at our disposal well-trained people from among the local communities, who are prepared to do the work.

I regard the present hour as a moment of truth for the Zionist Movement. I feel sure that if we know how to withstand the attack



#### FOURTH MEETING

that is launched against us, the Zionist Organization will be transformed into a militant movement and will not remain satisfied with routine work only.

#### JACQUES TORCZYNER

(Member of the Executive; U.S.A.)

The United Nations Resolution equating Zionism with racism of November 10th rendered a great service to the Zionist Movement. Zionism hit the headlines and generated a tremendous upsurge of enthusiasm among the Jews. The enthusiasm has, however, very quickly dwindled. While I appreciate fully the wonderful support that the non-Jews and the Government of the United States and its brilliant spokesmen at the United Nations gave to the issue of Zionism, I want to caution you. At the same time the very distinguished American Secretary of State was drafting what is called the Saunders Memorandum. Thus, while it is important to fight for Zionism, let us not forget that the main issue before us in the year ahead is the fight for Israel and her political struggle.

The separation of Judaism and Zionism is artificial. There is one Jewish People with one historic past. However, the effectiveness of those like Elmer Berger and the Arabs who maintain that you can be a Jew without being a Zionist must not be underestimated or neglected.

I feel that at this moment there is no erosion of goodwill for Israel in the United States, and even in Congress. But I fear that it will be very difficult next year to get the same two and a half billion dollars of aid and loans for Israel from Congress, because we are living in very difficult economic times, and there is another Jewish community in New York that is in financial trouble.

Therefore we have to redouble our propaganda. Ambassador Herzog complained in November that the Jews of America were not militant enough, that their voice was not being heard. And why didn't we hear the voice of American Jewry until August 1975? Because we were asked to be silent. That was a mistake. The time has come when the American Jewish community has to make its voice heard. It is an independent Jewish community and serves Israel well. There are people in this Community who take a more militant and more aggressive political position than the Government of Israel itself.

I deeply regret that a planned Madison Square Garden meeting

J. TORCZYNER

to be addressed by Prime Minister Rabin in a few weeks has been cancelled. It is important that the Prime Minister of Israel meet with the masses of American Jews and non-Jews when he visits and I hope that he will reconsider this decision.

In the United States itself there is a change in the attitude of the Jewish community towards Israel. It has become more critical. People ask questions. People want to know what is going on in Israel, and I think that this interest is healthy. However, they don't always understand what is going on here.

Continuing statements made by the President of America and his Secretary of State on the one hand, and the Government of Israel and its individual ministers on the other, only bewilder and confuse.

We have an election year coming up in America and many naive Israelis believe that policy making can be postponed until after the presidential elections. Don't live under that illusion.

On the contrary, because this is an election year and because America had so many "victories" in Greece, Turkey, Angola, Portugal, Vietnam and Cambodia, this administration will concentrate all its efforts on pressuring Israel and the only way you can stop that is if the American people will pressurize its government during 1976.

We have witnessed this year a very remarkable experience of the relationship of the Diaspora with Israel and what the existence of Israel means to world Jewry today. Rabbi Schindler referred to Mexico. I participated in all the events concerning the vote of Mexico at the U.N. The American people reacted automatically and instinctively. Nobody asked them not to go to Acapulco, but the non-Jews and the Jews understood and knew that they must show the world how they felt. The Jews of Mexico were worried; in Israel, the Foreign Minister invited the Foreign Minister of Mexico for a discussion, yet what they decide we don't know—at any rate they certainly forgot to inform the ambassador at the United Nations.

If there is one lesson to be learned from the U.N. resolution of November 10th, it is that Zionism has to return to what it was—a political movement that will lead Israel and the Jewish people to a better future.

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SALOMON FRIEDRICH

(Herut—Hatzohar; France)

The resolution passed at the United Nations was not altogether unexpected. For many years now Israel's enemies have prepared this provocation, and we know that from day to day the enemies of the State become more numerous in the UN Assembly. However, we have not taken steps in order to counteract the roots of this evil.

The Zionist Movement still has to conduct a struggle against the world in order that Israel will be recognized as an equal partner among nations. The recent conference on Jewish Unity in Jerusalem passed a unanimous resolution similar to one passed years ago by the Knesset, to the effect that the historical rights of the Jewish people to Eretz Yisrael are unquestionable. This must be introduced as the basic truth in Zionist education. We must show Jewish children throughout the world the meaning of the historical rights of the Jewish people to Eretz Israel, and the significance of our struggle for Jewish continuity.

On this occasion I should like to mention the fact that there are professors in Israel who have become professional propagandists for pro-Arab elements and enemies of the State. One of them is Prof. Shahak who has recently published a book entitled "The Racism of the State of Israel." When I ask responsible people in Israel what they propose doing against Professor Shahak, I am told that this is the price we must pay for democracy. But I have never heard that the price for democracy involves condoning crimes against the security of the state. By what right can Prof. Shahak continue to be a professor at the Hebrew University to which the whole Jewish world contributes and which receives allocations from the State? Can it not dismiss the professor? I would urge the Zionist General Council to call on the Hebrew University to suspend Prof. Shahak. He is unworthy to educate Jewish youth!

I will now turn to my colleagues in Mapam. From time to time I read articles by Amon Kapeliuk in "Al-Hamishmar", which are no better than those in the Parisian "Le Monde", which is pro-Arab. His articles are couched in the language used by Prof. Shahak. He defends the Arabs of Israel against the "occupation" and the "oppression" by Zahal. The same applies to the Israeli lawyer Felicia Langer. However, she is a member of Rakah and has always been a Stalinist. But "Al-Hamishmar" is a Zionist newspaper. How is it that Kapeliuk writes in "Al-

S. FRIEDRICH—I. NAVON

Hamishmar"? My call to the Zionist General Council is to remove the enemies of Israel from our midst.

ITZHAK NAVON

(Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

I take the liberty of asking for a few minutes of your time in order to make one or two remarks. In 1953 a rumour spread in Egypt that Hitler was alive and in hiding somewhere. An Egyptian weekly by the name of "Al-Maswar" invited a number of Egyptian personalities to draft a letter to Hitler. The present-day President of Egypt, who was then a member of the Egyptian Revolutionary Council, wrote as follows:

Date: Sept. 18, 1953:

My dear Hitler,

I salute you from the bottom of my heart. Even though you may be regarded as vanquished, you are in actual fact the true victor . . . Germany will be revived again despite the desire of the Great Powers in the West and in the East . . . So much for the present and the future. As for the past, I think you made several mistakes in that you fought on too many fronts at one and the same time. However, your faith in your own people covers up all these mistakes. You may be proud of the fact that you have become the immortal leader of Germany. We shall certainly not be surprised if you reappear in Germany or if a new Hitler arises in your wake."

You are undoubtedly aware that in World War II President Sadat assisted the officers of the Nazi Wehrmacht to set up a radio station in order to maintain contacts with the German army in all capitals. He was captured by the British and imprisoned. Some psychologists believe that the radio is deeply implanted in his subconscious and because of that he related the story of his unsuccessful attempt to purchase a radio from a Jewish merchant.

Politicians both in Israel and in the United States ask me: "Look here, you entered into an interim agreement with Egypt. You know them well and you supported this agreement. Do you really believe them?" My answer is that this is not a question of confidence or a lack of it. There is no provision in the agreement between us that calls for confidence. The evaluation is that there are interests that dictate such a line of conduct and no other, primarily because from the

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military point of view, the Yom Kippur war was a tremendous victory for the Israel Defense Army, and Sadat knows this full well. It was the Egyptians who asked for a cease-fire.

The Americans claim that Sadat is moderate and that he wants a peace agreement. I am not opposed to our making efforts to reach an agreement. But there is a certain euphoria of rapprochement that exists between the United States and Egypt and I would like to say a few things to the Americans.

When Hussein came to Egypt, Sadat announced that Hussein represents the Palestinians. Several weeks later, when Assad and Arafat came to Egypt, he turned round and said that it was they who represented the Palestinians. He entered the war against Israel together with Assad as his ally. Nevertheless, when he felt it was in his interests, he wriggled out of the war without consulting Syria. He only sent Assad a telegram which was published recently, in which he said: Sorry to tell you that I am leaving the war because I cannot bring myself to see a fresh destruction of the Egyptian Army. My heart bleeds when I write this, but I am prepared to face the judgment of history.

Is this how one behaves with an ally? Take the Russians. Egypt owes everything to Russia. The Russians built the Aswan Dam, Russian pilots physically defended the skies of Egypt, Russia sent first class arms, ammunition, and economic aid of all kinds. Nevertheless, one clear day when it appeared to Egypt's rulers that it was in their interests to cut off relations with the Russians and turn to the United States that is precisely what they did. Tomorrow, their interests may be different and they will turn their backs on the Americans and face a different direction. When the common denominator in relations between states is not mutual respect but self interest, I say to the Americans—just see what will happen to you. There is a tremendous difference in dimension in the relations between the United States and Israel—there are common values, common concepts as to what human values are, what democracy is, what freedom of speech is, what freedom of meeting means; there are common concepts as to form of government—these concepts cannot be exchanged so easily or so quickly.

And now to the question as to who is responsible for the Arab refugees. You know full well that our official argument is that on the eve of the War of Liberation the Arab governments demanded that the local Arabs leave when the war broke out, promising them that they would invade the country and prove victorious; when they could

## I. NAVON—S. LEVENBERG

return. But every time we are told to prove this. Well, I want to furnish you with one small document.

There was a Prime Minister in Syria at the end of 1948 and the winter of 1949, by the name of Khaled el Azem, a famous Arab politician who wrote his memoirs which were published in Beirut in 1973. I read from pages 386–387 of the first volume, where he analyses the Arab defeat in 1948. "The fifth factor is the call addressed by the Arab governments to the residents of Palestine to evacuate the country and to leave for the neighbouring Arab states, on account of the fear that was implanted in their hearts by the Dir Yassin affair. This collective flight proved useful to the Jews for their situation became stabilized without any effort on their part. Just imagine for a moment that if the Palestine Arabs who then numbered over one million had remained in the country, what a fifth column they would have made, what a constant threat their presence would have constituted to the government of the Jews. We are demanding the return of the refugees to their places of residence ever since 1948, but we encouraged them to leave the country.

"We brought destruction upon a million refugees by calling upon them to leave their lands, their homes, their work and their businesses. We transformed them into displaced persons, and accustomed them to ask for charity and to make do with the pittance that the U.N. organization distributes among them."

Again, I repeat, my intention is only to supply documentation and argument for our information activities.

DR. SCHNEIER LEVENBERG  
(Labour Zionist Movement; England)

The subject of the present debate is our political struggle, not education, ideology, or the Zionist Federations. Last night Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin appealed to the Zionist Movement and world Jewry to realize the seriousness of the situation. The question is—what is our reaction? What is our response to the appeal which Mr. Rabin made? I would like to say right away that my suggestion to the Actions Committee and to the Executive is that we strengthen our public relations and political machinery, and I will explain why.

In the first place the whole world is involved in the Middle East struggle. In view of this, and if we are to take our discussions seriously,

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there should have been a very thorough analysis of the international situation insofar as it relates to the Middle East.

Secondly, reference was made to the two famous resolutions, 242 and 338. Let me recall that when Resolution 242 was adopted unanimously, about eight years ago, there was no reference to the problem of the Palestinians, but only to a just solution of the Arab refugee problem. I took the trouble to study all the various drafts presented to the Security Council eight years ago. Not one of these drafts contains a reference to the Palestinian problem. What happened during these eight years? How has the Palestinian issue suddenly become an international issue?

The Zionist Movement must be politically conscious. It must engage in political analysis; it must educate its own members, and it must adopt a political line.

Reference was made here to the Jerusalem Conference. It was a very successful gathering and practically every important Jewish leader from every part of the Jewish world said that he was a Zionist and that he was prepared to work for the cause. The question is: where is the organizational expression of this very deep sentiment that was manifested at the Jerusalem Conference? Has the Zionist executive acted to organize and exploit this spontaneous feeling?

MARTHA JACOBSON

(WIZO; Australia)

The crisis in the Zionist Movement existed long before the United Nations Resolution attacking Zionism. It may have taken the United Nations Resolution to bring it into the open but from the debate I doubt that we have read any lessons from this tremendous threat. I don't feel at this conference any urgency amongst the delegates to do anything about the Zionist Movement. There is a great deal of talk about the old historical role of the Zionist Movement, but very few practical suggestions regarding whether we intend to do anything to strengthen the Zionist Movement or to change its existence. Mr. Torczyner has welcomed the United Nations resolution because it has given us some new incentive, yet I have not felt this at the meeting today.

One looks around this forum hoping to see some new faces, yet we have not brought into the Zionist Movement any new personnel, neither in the leadership nor in the ranks. Secondly, we have some

M. JACOBSON—M. ARBEITMAN

900,000 members of the Zionist Organization throughout the world, 700,000 of whom are women. One would expect to see more women in this forum, and their absence is an example of how undemocratic the Zionist Movement is.

The Zionist Movement has always been an elitist movement and even today, we are making restrictions on those that we are going to bring in, and we are not making them welcome. There is talk about no distinction between Zionist and non-Zionist. We Zionists created the distinction. We said, we are the elite, and you are non-Zionist. We did not give the non-Zionists the opportunity of coming into the Zionist Movement even when the last Congress decided that the membership drive was an important function of the Zionist Movement, and that we should widen our ranks. Anyway how can party Zionists bring in non-party Zionists when it is against their principles? Mr. Tsur said that we must go from door to door, knocking for membership. Who will go knocking for membership? The women go, the parties do not go. They want members for their own parties alone. We should widen our ranks and bring in those who have all the qualifications and are prepared to accept every part of the Zionist program, yet we don't let them in because we have no structure that can absorb them and no program to offer them.

I think a declaration must go out from this conference to the Jewish world that the Zionist Movement is prepared and anxious to accept all those who want to work for the State of Israel and for Zionism on the basis of full participation within the Zionist Movement. We should not increase the numbers of delegates to congress but redefine them to allow for those who are non-party members to join the ranks of the Zionist Movement and play a fruitful role.

MORDECHAI ARBEITMAN

(Maccabi World Union; Brazil)

Our people is so unique that it always requires an impulse from outside to remind it of its nature. Thus the 1967 war came to awaken Jewry and the Zionist Movement throughout the World. Similarly the Arabs and the Communist world have joined forces in order to remind us that Zionism and Judaism are synonymous. In this way we have been reminded of the fact that we are actually one people and that the Diaspora is



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dependent upon Israel. Our thanks are due to those who have seen to it that we are constantly reminded.

I think our movement must urgently be provided with a new structure. If, so far, the parties have been the sole constituents of the Zionist Movement in the Diaspora, the time has come when the young people and the intellectuals who do not belong to any party should be allowed to join the Zionist Movement. There was a time when young people were affiliated to the Zionist Movement through the Pioneer Youth Movements, but the situation has changed. We must enable organizations, cultural institutions and sports clubs, etc., to bring Zionism to the masses.

Throughout the world the understanding has grown among young Jews at present that there is great need for Zionism. We must seize this opportunity and throw open the doors of the Zionist Movement to them so as to transform it into a true movement of Jewish National Liberation.

PROF. EZRA SPICEHANDLER

(World Union for Progressive Judaism; Israel)

It is so difficult to disagree with the central thesis propounded by Prof. Rotenstreich that it is urgently necessary to reformulate Zionist ideology in view of the fact that it was originally formulated as a solution to the problems besetting East European Jewry—Jews who not only had not gained emancipation but despaired of the possibility of ever gaining it. Present day Jewry on the other hand is composed of communities enjoying emancipation. For that reason, theories propounded to solve the problem of East European Jewry will not hold water when it comes to Jewry in affluent countries. To this thesis one may also add a sub-thesis which is that it is equally necessary to reformulate a new Zionist ideology for Israelis, for here, too, there has been a radical change due to two separate causes:

- a) The Israeli sabra was born in a free Jewish state. His mentality is entirely different from the mentality of the early settler and the generation of the builders of the State.
- b) Almost half the population of Israel originates in Islamic countries where Jewish experience was entirely different from that of Jewry in Eastern Europe.

## E. SPICEHANDLER

Of course, such reformulation requires, first of all, a thorough grasp of the spiritual-psychological as well as of the political-economic problems of those three components of the Jewish triangle, as the Prime Minister put it—Jewry in the State of Israel, Jewry in the affluent countries, and Jewry living under stress.

As for the affluent Jewish communities, I think it is necessary to make an effort to reformulate in the direction of the Zionist thinking of Ahad Ha'am, Buber and Gordon and others who are the fathers of spiritual Zionism. For the main concern of this Zionism is the concern for the spiritual existence of the individual Jew within a strange culture, and the spiritual need to withstand the allurements of assimilation. For this reason, the inclusion of the Reform and Progressive wings of Judaism within the Zionist Movement is a step in the right direction, for who knows better than they do the thin dividing line between their Judaism and the danger of assimilation. As for ourselves, Israelis in the State of Israel, the time has come when we should be mindful of the fact that classical Zionism was not created to solve the problems of the State of Israel, but those of Diaspora Jewry. It follows therefore that we have entered upon a fresh Zionist era.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake on the part of the Israelis to overlook the Jews in the Diaspora, for if we can transform Diaspora Jewry into an instrument to serve the State of Israel, it is possible that several hundred olim will be prepared to come over in order to develop the Jewish State. However, olim will come only if they can see in the state a solution to their own problems of identification whether they be physical (the problem of the Jews) or spiritual (the problem of Judaism).

For that reason the foundation of every new Zionist theory is a reply to the question: "How will Zionism affect my identity as a Jew?" From a practical point of view, the ideology of Diaspora Zionism must be formulated there and not here.

The transfer of aliyah affairs to the offices of the Zionist Movement in the Diaspora would be clearly advantageous. There is no better way of getting rid of bureaucratic rust than by closing existing offices and by filling new ones with fresh manpower.

The call to youth in the Diaspora to come to Israel must be made in constant consultation with people who are familiar with the nature of that particular youth. The non-compromising "Israeli-ism" of emissaries and the obvious failure of the Israeli shaliach to understand the

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needs and the mentality of the Jewish youth in the Diaspora, has only exaggerated this problem.

It is strange that we have failed to induce American youth who live in communes to set up kibbutzim in Israel. At a time when thousands of Jewish youth flock to the American Peace Corps, we have missed the opportunity to establish a Jewish Peace Corps. I say "Peace Corps" and not a volunteer movement; a Peace Corps and not a reserve corps, because according to the mentality of the Jewish youth in the affluent countries, there is no greater value than peace.

But above all, the malicious attack on Zionism at the U.N. Assembly has given us the real possibility of attracting thousands of Jews to the ranks of the Zionist Movement. On no account should we miss this opportunity. It would be a good idea to reintroduce the Zionist shekel, declare a mass census among Jews, and address the call to every Jew to declare that he will not allow our enemies to introduce a wedge between Jews and Zionism. We must address the call to them: Arise! Be counted! Announce: I am a Zionist! Such a census will have significance only if it is followed by elections to the Zionist Congress and if it can create a new Zionism, both theoretical and practical at one and the same time.

MOSHE EREM

(Virilist; Israel)

I want to concentrate on one subject only—the difficult political struggle that has been forced upon us. We are faced by a neo-Nazi triangle that has been created by Arab nationalism, and that is steeped in chauvinism and a deep hatred for everything that is Jewish. The components of this triangle are—the pathological anti-Semitism of the Arabs complemented by blood-thirsty terrorism, the Communist world, and the free Western world which has a radically different image than it had in the days of Chamberlain. And even in the Jewish world a basic change has taken place. A strategic foundation for the Jewish people has been laid. Despite its struggles, the State of Israel stands firm, populated by a proud straight-backed, militant Jewish people, firmly attached to its land and to the Zionist Movement that gave birth to it.

Ben Gurion once said that we possess two weapons—the Israel

B. POUPKO—M. SAFRAN

Defense Army, and faith in the justice of our case. And only if we can forge the State into a country that will serve as a model to other nations, will we have faith in the justice of our cause.

RABBI DR. BERNARD A. POUPKO  
(Mizrachi—Hapoel Hamizrachi; U.S.A.)

Mr. Navon in his opening remarks yesterday mentioned the chassidic sage of Bratzlav who suggested that one must always renew his youth and never give in to the laws of nature that relate to old age. I would like to quote from the Kotsker rebbe, who said that any person who prays today as he prayed yesterday is a charlatan, because today is a new challenge, and the prayers to meet that challenge must be different.

One of the ways to meet the challenge is to speak of Zionism as a national fulfillment movement and not as a national liberation movement. Zionism is the fulfillment of the sacred dream of our people. Zionism cannot and should not be equated with any other national political movement in the world, because just as the Jew is unique, so is his Zionism totally different. Only Zionism could reach out and pierce the Kremlin walls.

Let us remember that Moscow has emerged as the center of a virulent anti-semitism for the entire world. Let us remember that the Kremlin now is a virtual center of racism, and in a way they are overdoing their predecessors in Germany. As one who receives some 28 publications daily, weekly and monthly from the Soviet Union, I can tell you when you analyze the cartoons and the editorials and the columns, that nothing and no one can match the anti-Semitic propaganda of Moscow. When anyone says that Judaism is one concept, and Zionism another, he is only assisting the arch enemy. In conclusion, let me say, Zionism is not so much a national liberation movement as it is a national fulfillment movement.

MURRAY SAFRAN  
(Aliyah Movement; U.S.A.)

I am President of the American Aliyah Movement, and I am coming on aliyah. There are four aliyah leaders here. We have no votes at the Zionist General Council; we sit merely as observers. The irony is evident.

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If aliyah is the essence of Zionism, then let us make that very clear and evident. First, give the aliyah movements all over the world representation in this council. Secondly, give the aliyah movement in your own country primacy and visibility. Thirdly, show that you really are sincere about aliyah by coming on aliyah yourself. Lastly, support us. Those of us who make aliyah are living links between Israel and our countries of origin. Pinhas Sapir of blessed memory recognized this. One of the tasks he was working on at the time of his death was to have the Jews in the Galut take direct responsibility for the absorption of their brothers and sisters into the life and fabric of Israel. We must finish that task. I urge you to examine the conflicts that arise within you when aliyah is on the agenda, and recognize that though you are not making aliyah the paramount work of Zionism is aliyah. We must all participate in that work.

### DR. ISRAEL PELED

(Maccabi World Union; Israel)

In all sincerity, I ask myself who are we addressing here. When I look around and see all the empty seats I wonder where our public life is tending. I think that as a fourth generation settler in this country and as the son of a family that came over with the Hovevei Zion I have the right to speak as a Zionist. Mr. Tsur said that there is no ground for despair but I want to say, as a man born and living here, and as a person who has weathered all the wars of Israel, that I look with apprehension at the future of the Jewish people, and at what is happening in the State today.

The enemy around is growing in strength while the hatred for Judaism, and not only for Zionism, is becoming intensified even in friendly countries. Society in the State of Israel is being weakened and undermined and at times, it seems as if it is crumbling. But we are doing nothing to change things or to reorganize.

The Zionist Movement numbers about one million people out of a total of 15,000,000 Jews, with 12 million of them living in the Diaspora. Less than 8% of world Jewry belongs to the Zionist Movement and less than one percent is prepared to give thought to the idea of aliyah. These facts have got to be examined. I think that one of the reasons for this situation is the fossilization of thought among us, and the fact that we are not seeking new and more dynamic ways

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in order to adapt ourselves to new developments and new events in the world.

Why do we distinguish between Zionists and Jews? Is there room for such differentiation? Every Jew, even if he goes to synagogue once a year and says: "And may our eyes behold Thy return to Zion," every Jew who thinks about Zion, even though he does not go on aliyah, is a Zionist. We can differentiate between active Zionists and passive Zionists; we can draw a distinction between Zionists who are prepared to implement their Zionism—and regrettably they are few—and Zionists who are prepared to assist materially through donations. But today there is no ground for distinction between Jews and Zionists. We are in need of the assistance of the whole of the Jewish people in order to come to the aid of the State of Israel. To our deep regret, we stand alone in battle.

In the past two years I have visited many Jewish communities in the Diaspora and I have come to realize how great are the dimensions of assimilation because we have not learned how to provide Zionist education or Jewish education. And whoever has received a Jewish education will in the end turn out to be a Zionist.

There are Jewish communities and there is Jewish and Zionist activity among the youth. We must, however, find the way to reach the heart of the Jewish youth, by whatever method is most suitable. Sometimes we can reach them through sports activities, and sometimes through pioneering. But I think that we are not making an effort to find these new approaches.

I can say only one thing: I stand here before you as a representative of the Maccabi Movement. This movement is prepared to do a lot if it is provided with the necessary means. It is prepared to do a lot, and it is doing a great deal among Jewry in South America, in South Africa and other countries. It is carrying out work in Jewish education, sports activities, and communal organization of one type or another. The main purpose is to bind the Jewish youth to Judaism, to Israel and to Zionism.

I think the time has come for new approaches. I think that we have to speak to the Jewish youth in the Diaspora in their own language. I think that we have to allow the young generation to have its say, and that we should seek ways and means of doing so. We shall be unable to accomplish this if we continue our routine activities, and we shall be unable to accomplish this if we speak to empty chairs.

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MORDECHAI ELKAYAM

(World Sephardi Federation; Israel)

I want to refer to the address by Prof. Maoz, and to add a few remarks from my own experience as a Palestinian Jew, who was born and brought up together with the Palestinians, who studied in the same school with them, who lived in the same street with them and who to this day maintains contact with Israeli Arabs. Even Arafat himself was one of our neighbours because I used to make my purchases in the grocery shop run by his father.

What I have to say is not my own opinion but that of groups of Arabs who visit my home. They express surprise that I do not tell them what I really think. They ask whether I have forgotten that the Palestinians have never spoken the truth and that their mentality is based on falsehood. We must study this mentality and the language that they speak. I have not yet seen an Arab appearing on television or writing in a newspaper or speaking from any platform, who actually speaks his own mind and tells us what he really thinks. He always says what he wants the Arabs to hear because he is afraid that if he speaks his own mind he will be killed. This was true of Nasser as it is true of Sadat, Assad and Hussein. They are all built of the same stuff and open to the same pressures.

If you travel through the length and breadth of the country you will find twenty or thirty times more Arabs speaking Hebrew than Jews speaking Arabic. You will find pupils learning Hebrew in school and students in the University whom we are preparing for leadership. We think that we are the greatest democrats in the world and are giving them an opportunity to study so that we will be able to make ourselves understood to progressive Arabs. But progress, gentlemen, calls for culture. And this it takes several generations to create. Culture cannot be created overnight.

We must begin a serious offensive against the charge that we are racists. The Arabs are in the habit of pinning their own worst faults on others. We must launch an offensive that will reveal their real image, that will teach the world to know them, and to understand what they really are.

Recently we undertook an investigation into 50 years of agreements with the Arabs in the Middle East—agreements with foreign

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countries and agreements among themselves. It transpires that only 5% of these agreements were adhered to and the remaining 95% were broken. Can we rely on such people? Can we entrust our fate into their hands? The Americans are pressuring us into retreating in order to arrive at a peace settlement. They suggest that we talk with the PLO as the organization representing the Palestinians. But do you know who the PLO are? The PLO are a group of gang leaders, of hired swords. Each state has a gang of its own because it fears its neighbour. They are maintained by them and lie to the world that they represent the Palestinian. Ask the Israeli Arabs here, in private, without witnesses, whether they are prepared to be under PLO rule, and their answer will invariably be: God forbid! But if you speak to them before a television camera or before a microphone or before a group of newspapermen, they will swear that they are Palestinians and that they want a state of their own.

If you pay a Palestinian living in the State of Israel a million pounds to leave, he will refuse to do so. On the other hand, when I was in Jericho, they were prepared to pay hundreds of pounds for a Jerusalem identity card, so that they could pass over to visit Jewish Jerusalem in security. If we know how to speak to them in the proper fashion, and to approach them in the proper way, they will tell you that they prefer Israeli rule to the rule of any Arab country.

We must set up an institution to reply to this utterly false Arab propaganda which the Arabs themselves do not believe, and we must act quickly, for only when they realize that we are strong, will they seek our friendship.



## FIFTH MEETING

Monday, January 5, 1976, in the evening

Chairmen: ITZHAK NAVON — ROSE MATZKIN

### ELECTION OF MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE IN PLACE OF THE LATE PINHAS SAPIR

#### CHAIRMAN ITZHAK NAVON

We have many items on the agenda this evening. In the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization Article 43, section 2, we read that if in the period between Congresses the place of one of the members of the Executive is vacated for one reason or another, the Zionist General Council shall elect another in his place. On the death of Mr. Pinhas Sapir his place on the Executive was vacated and the party which he represented now proposes that Mr. Josef Almogi be elected a member of the Executive in his place. I now place his candidacy before you to be voted upon. Those who support Mr. Almogi's election to the Executive will please raise their hands. There is no one against, so Mr. Almogi has been elected unanimously.

I wish Mr. Almogi every success in the new functions that await him, and I hope he will derive satisfaction from the work he will engage in.

#### JOSEF ALMOGI

Thank you for your good wishes. I also thank the members of the Zionist General Council for the confidence they have placed in me. I wish to assure them that I will exert every effort in order to justify that confidence.

#### ITZHAK NAVON

The next item on the agenda is the proposal of the Committee for the Amendment of the Constitution regarding the right of international Jewish bodies in the institutions of the Zionist Organization.

A. SCHENKER

PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE AMENDMENT  
OF THE CONSTITUTION ON THE RIGHTS  
OF INTERNATIONAL JEWISH BODIES

AVRAHAM SCHENKER

(Member of the Executive and Chairman of the Committee)

As chairman of the Committee for the Amendment of the Constitution of the Zionist General Council, I have the honour to submit to you a proposal for the amendment of the Constitution concerning the representation of international Jewish bodies.

As you are aware, the Committee has been considering an amendment of the Constitution ever since 1972. In this period it has done important work on various subjects, including basic changes concerning the affiliation of international Jewish bodies to the Zionist Organization. Some of the findings of the Committee have already been approved by the previous session of the Zionist General Council.

Now we have to consider an amendment to Article 5, Section 4(a), which reads:

“The Congress or, during the Inter-Congress period, the Council, may, upon the proposal of the Executive, decide to admit as Members or Associate Members of the World Zionist Organization Jewish International Bodies and lay down special conditions for their participation with all rights, except the right to vote, in the Congress, the Council and other bodies of the World Zionist Organization.

(aa) Compliance with the following conditions shall be a prerequisite for the membership of a Jewish National or International Body (hereinafter called ‘applicant’):

- 1) The request for membership must be submitted by the governing body which is empowered to do so according to the Constitution of the applicant.
- 2) The applicant shall undertake to discharge certain Zionist obligations.
- 3) An International Body applying for membership of the World Zionist Organization shall encourage its territorial branches to join the Zionist Federation of the country concerned.”

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This is the text of the amendment which was approved by the Zionist General Council.

In the intervening period, the Executive conducted negotiations with important bodies well-known throughout the Jewish world, and came to the conclusion that it should recommend to the Constitution Committee a further amendment which reads as follows:

In Article 5, Section 4(a) the words "or associate members—with all rights except the right to vote" to be deleted, with the following sentences added:

"1. No representative of a Jewish international body shall take part in elections to the governing bodies of the WZO nor vote on matters of candidature. Therefore, without prejudice to the generality of the aforesaid, such representatives may not take part in elections according to Article 14(e) to (h) and Art. 32(1) and (4)."

The paragraphs mentioned are those setting forth all the offices for which elections are held in the Zionist Congress. For example, paragraph 14(e) says:

"elect the President of the World Zionist Organization, Chairman of the Executive, members of the Executive, members of the Council and their deputies, Chairman of the Congress Tribunal and his Deputies, Judges of the Congress Tribunal, Attorney of the World Zionist Organization and his Deputies, the Comptroller, and, if necessary, his Deputy."

The intention of the amendment is as follows: until now, the Executive was in power to conduct negotiations with all international bodies subject to the absolute limitation that it cannot accord such bodies voting rights. Now the Constitution Committee proposes that we remove this limitation, in other words, that we empower the Zionist Executive to negotiate with all international bodies, and to grant voting rights as it sees fit.

However, these rights are subject to the absolute limitation regarding the prohibition of participation in the elections to the institutions of the World Zionist Organization. I would like you to know that this limitation was proposed and approved both by the Executive as well as by the International Organizations.

I would like to add another proviso which the Constitution

A. SCHENKER—R. KOTLOWITZ

Committee thought to be of importance concerning the affiliation and representation of international organizations:

“2. The representatives of Jewish International Bodies in the Congress, the Council and other bodies of the WZO, shall be, personally, members of a Zionist Federation or of an organization affiliated with the Zionist Council in Israel.”

Clearly, international bodies accept the Jerusalem Program and the other conditions of affiliation with the Zionist Organization as collective bodies. They do not bind all their members to join the Zionist Movement.

However, we found it fit and proper to ensure that the representatives of these organizations in the Zionist Congress are members of the Zionist Federation in their respective countries, or, in the case of residents of Israel, members of organizations affiliated to the Zionist Council in Israel. I would also like to draw your attention to the paragraph which says that one of the conditions of affiliation of an international body to the Zionist Organization is that it undertakes to encourage its territorial branches to join the Zionist Federation in their respective countries.

This is the draft amendment of the Constitution that I submit to you on behalf of the Committee. In the course of the deliberations there were two vota separata regarding the proposed amendment that I read to you. One was by Mr. Kotlowitz, a member of the Committee, who is of the opinion that the proposed amendment should not be made and that the paragraph remain unaltered, namely, that the Executive should not be empowered to accord voting rights to any international body joining the Zionist Organization.

Mr. Kotlowitz may give reasons for his opinion if he so wishes.

RAPHAEL KOTLOWITZ  
(Herut — Hatzohar; Israel)

Although our party expressed certain reservations, in view of the fact that we want to see the Zionist Movement thrown open to all people that have Zion at heart, we remove our objection and hope that by so doing the Zionist Movement will be strengthened.

## FIFTH MEETING

AVRAHAM SCHENKER

I thank Mr. Kotlowitz for removing his objection. There is another objection tabled by the Attorney of the Zionist Organization, Mr. Klementinovsky, who is also a member of the Constitution Committee.

CHAIRMAN ROSE MATZKIN

We have a slight problem here. Mr. Klementinovsky is at the Congress Court along with Mr. Navon, so it is not possible for him to present his objection personally. I do not know whether it is correct for Mr. Schenker to read out the minority proposals in his absence—we have a rule from the Acting Chairman, Mr. Dulzin, that if he is not here that is his bad luck, so we are not going to call on him.

DR. A. L. KRONITZ: I maintain that this is unfair to Mr. Klementinovsky on two counts: (a) Because he is away on business of the Council; and (b) Because we will not deal with all the amendments tonight anyway. There is another meeting of the Constitution Committee on Wednesday morning, and I therefore suggest that we postpone the decision on this matter until then.

Chairman ROSE MATZKIN: I am afraid you are out of order. It is for the agenda today to deal with those amendments and if there are any vota separata or minority proposals, they are to be brought this evening, otherwise we cannot proceed with the business.

MENACHEM GELEHRTER (Secretary of Presidium): The procedure is as follows. If anyone who tables an objection is absent from the hall for one reason or another, then the decision made by the Acting Chairman of the Executive in the matter is binding. However, while the person who tabled the objection is not a member of the Zionist General Council, he is the Attorney of the Zionist Organization, who enjoys special status, and one cannot, therefore, remain oblivious of his stand in this matter.

EZRA SHAPIRO: May I respectfully suggest that we ask the Chairman of the Committee to please state Mr. Klementinovsky's position as fairly as he can and then move on to the business of the night.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I am sorry that Mr. Klementinovsky is not present here. I will try to submit his opinion in the matter as I understand it. The amendment says that a representative of an international body must either be a member of a Zionist Federation or of the Zionist Council in Israel.

Mr. Klementinovsky's opinion is based on the principle that all representatives voting on any subject at the Zionist General Council must be elected in democratic elections in the various countries. This is the only way in which we can assure democracy in the institutions of the Zionist Organization. Therefore, although he supports the affiliation of international bodies to the World Zionist Organization and he agrees that they should be members of a Zionist Federation, he thinks they should not receive the right to vote.

ROSE MATZKIN: Is there anyone who served on the Constitution Committee who disagrees with the interpretation of Mr. Schenker? If so, we will permit that person to take the floor. Then, Mr. Klementinovsky's objection having been placed fairly before you, we will ask Mr. Schenker if he wishes to reply to his own interpretation of the objection. We also invite any other questions in connection with the Constitution.

ABE KRAMER: My questions are not connected with Mr. Klementinovsky's objection. I have never quite understood what an "associate member" is. I have read it in the Constitution and I do not recall a decision to delete the term.

The other point I would like to make is this. I understood Mr. Schenker to say that the article as amended confers upon the Council or Congress the right to admit an international body with full voting rights subject to the limitation regarding candidacy of the institutions of the World Zionist Organization. Would it not be more appropriate to say "with such rights as may be granted according to the discretion of the Council or Congress"?

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: Apparently Mr. Kramer was absent when the decision was taken to eliminate the phrase 'associate members'. In 1960 the Congress decided to invite communities and other groupings to join as associate members. When it became quite clear that the organizations were not prepared to come in as associate members

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at that time, we dropped the idea and changed the Constitution in 1968 to provide for collective membership.

Regarding the other matter that you raised, Mr. Kramer, I can only respond by saying that the authority to recommend is in the hands of the Executive. The Executive negotiates with the organizations and is therefore free to decide on what terms it will recommend acceptance of any body to the General Council.

**CHAIRMAN ROSE MATZKIN:** Are you ready for the vote on the minority proposal? Those for? Those against? The proposal is unanimously opposed. We will now put to the vote the proposal brought by Mr. Schenker. Those for? Those against? The proposal is unanimously carried.

## GRANTING THE RIGHT TO VOTE TO THE MACCABI WORLD UNION AND THE SEPHARDI WORLD FEDERATION

**ARIE L. DULZIN**

(Acting-Chairman of the Executive)

Having regard to the decision taken in regard to the amendment of the Constitution, I have the honour to propose that the World Maccabi Union and the Sephardi World Federation be accorded the right to vote in place of the consultative capacity that they now enjoy. I submit this recommendation in the name of the Executive.

**AVRAHAM SCHENKER**

(Chairman of the Committee)

For the benefit of the record, I would urge that the exact text of the proposal be read before any vote is taken.

**ARIE L. DULZIN**

“By virtue of Resolution 23(24) of the 28th Zionist Congress and in accordance with Article 5, section 4 of the Constitution, the General Council takes note of the change in the agreement reached between

A. L. DULZIN

the Executive and the Maccabi World Union and the Sephardi World Federation regarding their representation on the governing bodies of the WZO".

This is the official proposal.

CHAIRMAN ROSE MATZKIN

This resolution pertains to their rights, not to their admission.

ARIE L. DULZIN

I want to take this opportunity, before passing over to the next recommendation, to congratulate Mr. Josef Almogi, as the new member of the Executive. It goes without saying that I wish him every success in fulfilling any function that the Zionist Executive may impose upon him.

On this occasion, I should also like to congratulate three members who represent the World Jewish Congress as observers, in accordance with the agreement entered into between the Zionist Organization and the World Jewish Congress. They are: Rabbi Wolf Kelman, Dr. Gehrhard Riegner and Dr. Nathan Lerner. On behalf of the members of the Zionist General Council I extend our congratulations to you.

ADMISSION OF THE WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE  
JUDAISM TO THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

ARIE L. DULZIN

I now wish to read the next proposal:

1. In accordance with Article 5, section 4 of the Constitution of the WZO, the General Council resolves to confirm the agreement between the Executive and the World Union of Progressive Judaism and to admit the latter to membership of the WZO.
2. In accordance with Art. 5, section 4 of the Constitution, the General Council resolves that the World Union for Progressive



## FIFTH MEETING

Judaism shall be represented on the governing bodies of the WZO as follows: 15 delegates to the Zionist Congress, with voting rights, 5 members of the General Council, with voting rights, 1 member of the Executive, with voting rights, 1 member of the Executive in an advisory capacity in New York. Representatives with voting rights shall not be entitled to participate in elections of functionaries in the World Zionist Organization or to vote in matters of candidature for office in any respect.

This is the recommendation that I submit to you on behalf of the Zionist Executive.

**MOSHE LEDERMAN:** I understand that individual members of the Reform Movement are not obliged to accept the Jerusalem Program. What is the reason for this?

**A. L. DULZIN:** The provision in our Constitution is very clear. With respect to World Jewish Organizations who wish to join the World Zionist Organization, the governing bodies of those organizations have to accept the Jerusalem Program. This is the only provision. By officially accepting the Jerusalem Program, they are entitled to apply for membership of the World Zionist Organization, subject to the conditions which we stipulated.

**ABE KRAMER:** As I pointed out at the Constitution Committee meeting, this Council is being asked to agree to definite numbers of delegates to Congress, or to members attending Council, and that can only be done under the provisions of section 4(d) which reads as follows: "If a national or international body has been admitted as a member of the World Zionist Organization in accordance with the provisions of A and B of this section, the Executive should determine its representation in Congress, within the limits of the total number of delegates allocated by the Council to Jewish national and international bodies."

As yet, there is no decision regarding the total number of delegates allocated by the Council. How, then, can we pass this resolution?

**AVRAHAM SCHENKER:** Mr. Kramer will remember that the Constitution Committee decided to take up this matter at its forthcoming meet-

A. KRAMER—A. SCHENKER—A.L. DULZIN

ing and since this was clearly accepted by all the members of the Constitution Committee I do not understand why he raises the question now.

ABE KRAMER: All I am trying to say is this. There is no provision at the present time whereby the Council can admit or agree to the admission of so many delegates for any particular body until they have made the decision as to the maximum number of members who can be so admitted.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I can only suggest to Mr. Kramer that the members of the Constitution Committee are fully aware of their responsibilities, that they felt that no matter what we decide today, it will not begin to reach the maximum number of delegates they had in mind, and that they are therefore, ready to accept the proposal pending decision at the next meeting.

CHAIRMAN ROSE MATZKIN

We shall now vote on the proposal. Who is in favour? Are there any opposed? The proposal is carried.

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE  
WORLD UNION FOR PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM

ARIE L. DULZIN

(Acting-Chairman of the Executive)

On behalf of the Zionist Executive I would like to congratulate the Reform Movement on their affiliation with the Zionist Movement. We look upon such affiliation as an important achievement both for the Reform Movement as well as for the Zionist Movement. Today we have taken an important step forward when we voted to accord voting rights to world organizations. Although such voting rights are limited, I still believe that the day will come when such organizations will receive voting rights without any limitations whatsoever. I have no doubt that by so doing, the Zionist Organization and the Zionist Movement will be strengthened and expanded.

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ITZHAK NAVON

(Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

I am not a Reform Jew, nor have I ever been one. I was brought up in a traditional Jewish home and I have always loved the Judaism I absorbed there.

When we learned about the Reform Movement at school I was amazed that there actually were Jews who professed such an attitude to the *halacha*, to Zion and to Jerusalem. However, what is needed is some historical perspective if we are to evaluate properly what took place in the last 150 years. I spoke about this yesterday, and I will not repeat what I said. I do recall, though, what my teacher who was a very broadminded man said: "The whole of Israel has a share in the World to Come, even as it is written—and thy people, they are all of them righteous and they shall forever inherit the earth . . ." There are Jews like these and just as not all people are alike, so their views and outlooks differ.

Before the emergence of the Zionist Movement was brought on by persecution, the Jews believed that the age of emancipation and equality of rights was in fact the Messianic era, when all those concepts about nationalism and a Jewish homeland were no longer relevant. The sun was shining over the whole of humanity and the Jews advanced hand in hand with the whole world. Out of the fever generated by the new universalist ideas about humanity arose the Reform Movement and its attitude to Zion. But it would not be fair to say that the Reform Movement has always held this attitude toward Zionism. Some 50 years ago Stephen Wise said: "Zionism is not a question, it is an answer." There were people like Rabbi Hillel Silver and many, many more who were Zionist leaders and hailed from the Reform Movement.

There are differences of opinion with the Reform Movement over many questions concerning *halacha*. A short while ago I read about a survey which revealed that an astonishingly small percentage of the members of the Reform Movement have *mezuzot* in their homes. We all know what the situation is as regards mixed marriages, circumcision and the process of conversion. Hand in hand with their return to concepts of Jewish nationhood and of the Jewish homeland, there is also a change in attitude towards *halacha*. The Reform Movement is not homogenous and numerous debates on these matters are being conducted.

## I. NAVON—R. HIRSCH

The dialogue with the Reform Movement must continue. I have no Karaite leanings of the type that have been discerned in certain stages of this movement, and yet I do want to say something about its contribution, with all the differences of opinion that I entertain towards it. There is in particular a certain positive concept of mission which derives from the prophecy that Israel be a light among the nations. Reform Judaism felt the urge to spread this light. They did not know then what Einstein said many years later, and before his theory was universally accepted. He was born in Bavaria, brought up in Switzerland, expelled from Germany, and died in the United States. He said: "If my theory is proven correct, the Germans will say that I am a great German and the French will say that I am a great man. But if my theory is proven false, the Germans will call me a Jew and the Frenchmen will say—he is a German! The only place in the world where our achievements will be ascribed to us as Jews, good or bad, is the State of Israel."

The State of Israel is now beset by difficult problems and the quality and nature of our society is always foremost in our debates. When we claim that we are in need of aliyah and olim arrive with a sense of mission, who lay stress on original Jewish values and who are prepared to act for the general social good, then the gates should be opened wide.

I heartily welcome the new members of the Zionist Movement.

### MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE RABBI RICHARD HIRSCH (World Union for Progressive Judaism)

"May Zion rejoice in the ingathering of her children." These words resound in every marriage ceremony. On behalf of the world-wide family of Reform Judaism, I welcome all who have come to participate in this marriage ceremony between the groom... the World Zionist Organization, and the bride... the World Union for Progressive Judaism.

This ceremony comes after a long engagement period. Reform Judaism and Zionism have carried on a romance for many years. How fortuitous it is that we join the World Zionist Organization during the year when our enemies attempts to create a dichotomy between Judaism and Zionism have reached a new height of perfidy.

We have agreed to the marriage terms, we have signed the marriage contract and we have declared to one and all that everything is valid

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and binding. The success of this marriage will be determined by the day-to-day shared relationships of the new couple, but for our part we are already prepared to acknowledge that the match is a good one.

In the past the couple's relationship was often stormy. Detractors claim that the family of the bride intended to negate the Jewish heritage and even to propel Jews away from their Judaism. But those who know our history know that the opposite was true. The early founders of the Reform Movement were motivated by the objective of bringing those who had become indifferent or alienated back to their Jewish roots.

Like every reformist movement, our movement also evolved ideas which subsequently proved false, but we know that "where repenters stand, even the completely righteous have no place." No teacher is more effective or cruel than History. The bloody events of the 19th century, culminating in the Holocaust, dashed some of the illusions of the founders of our movement. The Emancipation demanded of the Jew, so he thought, that he had to dilute his peoplehood and to clothe himself in the garb of religion in order to be accepted into enlightened society. But that very same enlightened society continued to prosecute the Jew not on the basis of his new-found definition as a member of a faith, but on the basis of the old definition of people.

The tenets of Zionism were validated. And we learned that in order to assure our continued existence as Jews, only we and not others, had to define ourselves in our terms, and on our terms, on the basis of our needs and traditions. Zionism is the movement which restored the right of self-definition to the Jewish people and the State of Israel is the instrument for achieving that self-definition.

Therefore, let our in-laws judge the bride not by her ideas in the distant past, but by her deeds in the present and by that which she aspired to do. We have recognized the fact that "not the study about Zion, but the deed in Zion" is primary:

- a) We have transferred the international headquarters of the world movement to Israel.
- b) On the campus of the Hebrew Union College — Jewish Institute of Religion, and in partnership with it, all institutions of our movement, including the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis will erect a World Educational Centre.

R. HIRSCH

- c) We have expanded our educational programs in Israel for youth and adults throughout the world.
- d) We have required every student for the rabbinate and every student who is studying to serve as a Reform Jewish educator, to spend his first year of study at the Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem.
- e) We have established and continue to support the Leo Baeck Senior and Junior High School in Haifa.
- f) We have established new congregations and have begun to educate a generation of Israeli students for the Israeli rabbinate.
- g) We have formed *Garinei Nahal* in Israel and *Garinim* in the Diaspora and with God's help, in 1977, we shall establish in the Negev the first Kibbutz of our movement.
- h) And this evening, we formally affiliate with the World Zionist Organization.

All these deeds are only the beginning.

"We have come to Eretz Yisrael to build and to be built." The upbuilding of the land is an integral part of the upbuilding of the people. Eretz Yisrael is the setting in which Jewish destiny will be determined and Jewish character shaped for generations to come. For us, Zionism is an authentic expression of Jewish faith. Just as the people of Israel and the State of Israel are inseparable, so are Zionism and Judaism one. Just as we commit ourselves to full participation in the constant process of renewing Judaism in the Jewish State, so do we insist on full recognition as a religious movement in Israel. Parenthetically, is it too much to hope that this marriage ceremony will not be the last one in which a Reform Rabbi will participate in the State of Israel?

We make a covenant with our fellow sons of the covenant: May we labour as one to fulfil the vision of the prophet Isaiah (Isaiah 62):

"For Zion's sake will I not hold my peace and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her triumph go forth as brightness. And her salvation as a torch that burns. And the nations shall see thy triumph and all kings thy glory.

Thou shalt be called, my delight is in her, and they land shall be espoused. For as a young man espouses a virgin, so shall thy sons espouse thee. And as the bridegroom rejoices over the bride, so shall thy God rejoice over thee."

## FIFTH MEETING

DR. ISRAEL FELED

(Maccabi World Union; Israel)

On behalf of the Maccabi World Union I want to thank all the delegates, and in particular the members of the Executive for having made possible the affiliation of the Maccabi Union to the World Zionist Organization with full rights, subject to the limitations mentioned.

I think we need not have waited so long for this affiliation. Our Movement bears the name of the historical fighters for Israel's freedom and independence. Our members have always played an active role in all activities for the State of Israel, and many of them died in her wars of survival. The apex of our activities is the World Maccabiah and Jerusalem Day its crowning glory. A movement so rich in Zionist activity should not have waited so long in order to have its affiliation with the World Zionist Organization ratified. But, as people say, better late than never. We wish to thank you for having made this affiliation possible, and we will contribute our utmost to the development and flourishing of the Zionist Movement, particularly among the Jewish youth in the Diaspora.

MORDECHAI ELKAYAM

(Sephardi World Federation; Israel)

In the Sephardi World Federation we do not have the feeling that it is only today that we joined the Zionist Movement. Our forebears, like Rabbi Judah Alkalai, were among the Fathers of Zionism. My own ancestors and many like them who settled in Eretz Israel 180 years ago were links in a silent chain of uninterrupted aliyah since the destruction of the Second Temple. They left their countries of domicile laden with riches, but arrived in dire poverty because they were mercilessly robbed on the way. However, for the privilege of living in Eretz Israel, it was worth it.

For this reason, we Sephardim never regarded ourselves as non-Zionists; we were never aloof from Zionism and we do not have the feeling that on our entrance to the Zionist Movement we are beginning our life as Zionists.

After the War of Liberation, 60 per cent of the Sephardim throughout the world came on aliyah, and today they are living in the State of

Israel. They established upwards of 100 moshavim, many development towns, and went out in their masses to defend the State of Israel with their lives. That is why we have the feeling that for us, our affiliation to the Zionist Movement is a formal and official step—a strengthening of our link with the movement, and our total identification with the World Zionist Organization.

Before the 28th Zionist Congress we were still outside the Zionist framework. At that Congress we asked to be admitted, and were accepted. I still recall the words of the late Louis Pincus, who said: "Today the Zionist Movement embraces the whole of the Jewish People." Whether we have full voting rights or not is immaterial. Whoever has reached thus far will reach further.

Today, together with the whole House of Israel, we join forces to share all the tasks, to face the great problems that beset us within and without, to defend the State of Israel, and to call upon our brethren to join us in Israel and to increase its strength. May I pronounce the traditional *shechechyanu* for having made it possible for us to complement one another and to strengthen our ranks in order to build a better and more glorious future.

RABBI PROF. EMANUEL RACKMAN

(Member of the Executive; U.S.A.)

The *mechutanim* to whom my good friend Rabbi Hirsch referred includes me, and although I cannot identify with the movement which he has the honor to represent, nevertheless, in all fairness to the movement which I represent, the Religious Zionist Movement, it should be said that we behold this event as partial fulfilment of a dream that we have cherished from the very first day that traditionalists identified with the Zionist Movement. For three-quarters of a century we have worked side by side with all those who felt that the unity of the Jewish People and the rehabilitation and re-establishment of the Jewish People in the land of their fathers was a goal to which all Jews must ultimately commit themselves. In view of this fact, I would like to say that we are just as happy as anyone else, that a very large group of Jews has returned to Zionism.

From the very beginning, and Rabbi Hirsch and others know it, we have felt that it is part of our function as Zionists, to bring every Jew into the movement and we hope, finally, to the totality of our commit-



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ment. We are patient. We have sat with Mapai and Mapam for much longer periods, and perhaps we have less in common with them than with Liberal Jews. I am not going to make that judgement now. The fact remains that tonight a Zionist goal has been achieved and we rejoice as much as anyone here in its attainment. Yet there is perhaps one remark to which I want to reply, with a bit of charm. At least, I hope that you will take it that way.

Rabbi Hirsch, I am praying for a better day yet, not for a day when you will be able to officiate at weddings in the land of Israel, but a day when neither you nor I nor any Rabbi will be needed to officiate at a wedding because, as in the words of the Prophets, every Jew will know the **halacha** and be committed to it, and they will know how to become wedded by themselves without the necessity for any Rabbi.

## SIXTH MEETING

Tuesday, January 6, 1976, in the morning

Chairmen: JOSEPH BUNKOWER — AVRAHAM TORY

### ISSUES AND CHALLENGES— TOWARDS THE 29TH ZIONIST CONGRESS

ADDRESS BY MR. AVRAHAM SCHENKER  
(Head of the Organization and Information Department)

The Zionist General Council, the highest authority of the Zionist Movement between Zionist Congresses, is charged with the annual evaluation of the activities and the situation of the Zionist Movement. The current session's evaluation, probably the last before the forthcoming Zionist Congress, is actually a preliminary stage in the process of crystallizing the content and the agenda of the 29th World Zionist Congress. This periodic evaluation has two constant components: the one, to evaluate our Jewish-Zionist situation as it really is; the other, to trace our public state-of-mind.

While the first component appears at first glance to be objective, and the second subjective, Prof. Martin Buber has taught us that in large measure the vision and self-image of any public are also objective in that they establish facts in the field no less than those things that are regarded as solid and external. A revealing analogy is contained in the comment by Rashi on the report brought back to the Israelites in the desert by the spies sent to scout the Land of Canaan. It will be recalled that they said of the people of Canaan that they were giants and that in comparison the spies regarded themselves as grasshoppers. Said Rashi—with a subtle psychological distinction—in order to understand their statement, one must change the order of the words: "Because we were as grasshoppers in our own eyes, so we appeared in the eyes of our opponents."

Thus, the self image of the Zionist Movement affects the image that it projects. The process continues to find expression in the fact

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that this self-image and its tacit or explicit acceptance by Jewish public moulds the status of the Movement. In large measure, the status of the Movement is determined by its deeds, by its achievements as well as by its failures. To no less an extent, however, the status of the Movement is determined by the public temper. It is to these two aspects that I will devote the initial part of my remarks.

The Zionist General Council is not intended to serve as a committee that supervises the implementation of resolutions passed at previous sessions. However, it would be well to draw up an honest balance-sheet with ourselves. I have chosen to focus my review through the lens of the Jerusalem Program which was adopted by the Zionist Congress in 1968 and whose guidelines express the broad consensus of opinion in our Movement. Yet every program stands in need of periodic evaluation and reinterpretation from time to time. Much has happened in our world since then; at times it would appear as if its very foundations have been rocked. Therefore, such an appraisal is doubly important.

The first paragraph in the Jerusalem Program of 1968 emphasizes the "unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life." This objective received striking expression at the Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity in December, 1975. The Conference heard enthusiastic declarations from the speakers' rostrum by representatives of organizations which only a short while ago were anti-Zionist or had consistently ignored the Zionist Movement. On this occasion, the heads of world Jewish organizations pointed to themselves and to the members of their organizations as "lovers of Zion." One declared that "Zionism is beautiful!". Another pointed out that there is no escape from "identifying oneself with Zionism, since every Jew is a Zionist unless he expressly dissociates himself from the community." We witnessed outbursts of wrath and anger on the part of Jews in many countries and mass demonstrations, following the shameful anti-Zionist resolutions by United Nations bodies. Yet the wearing of lapel-badges with the words "I am a Zionist," which gives vent to the feelings of the wearer and even renders encouragement to all of us, cannot compare with the commitment implied by membership in the Zionist Movement.

Let us not underrate the political importance and the historical dimensions of those moments in the Chagall Hall in the Knesset building in Jerusalem. But beyond the significance of these declarations for the outside world, we must view them with the "inner-eye," in the late Chaim Greenberg's phrase, the eye that examines implications beyond what is visible to the naked eye. Such an inner-eye would have dis-

## A. SCHENKER

cerned that what was actually meant was: "We express our identification with the State of Israel." How does such declared identification with the State of Israel differ from the act of affiliation with the World Zionist Organization by individuals, and particularly by leaders of mass organizations? May we say that in this lies the difference between "the centrality of Israel in Jewish life" on the one hand, and support of the State of Israel on the other? The difference is between commitment and sympathy, or if you like, between actual help and the encouraging words of a friend. Let us not dismiss those friends. But it is the painful fact of contemporary Jewish life that one can always mobilize friends (and especially donors and fund-raisers) in times of crisis, yet despite all the crises it has not been possible, until now, to consolidate these friends into a popular, permanent, crystallized and disciplined movement. To avoid any misunderstanding, I do not believe it desirable to create an obligatory framework capable of imposing authority and identical with the State of Israel as such. The Zionist Movement as the movement of national liberation of the Jewish people, is legitimate only in a voluntary framework, and even then only when the authority and the attachment to it are generated not by a sovereign state, but by the Zionist idea and deed.

Not long ago, the editor of the prestigious monthly "Commentary" wrote an article stating that today we are all Zionists. "Instant Zionism" he called it. According to this version, since all the ideologies which competed with Zionism in finding a solution to the Jewish problem have failed, and Zionism alone has remained, it follows that the whole of the Jewish world has been carried along on the wave of Zionism. Indeed, today, every Jewish organization uses the rhetoric and engages in the activities that generally are no different from the expressions and the activities of Zionist organizations. Today, it would seem that the Zionists are generally no more outstanding, in theory and in practice, than the "Instant Zionists." By way of analogy, it is like instant coffee (*ness* in colloquial Hebrew) that captured the world and is found in every household. All you have to do is take a spoonful of love for Israel, pour hot water (or lukewarm water if you will, and in summer even cold water) and there you have the *ness* (Hebrew for 'miracle' or 'banner')! It is not the same *ness* that we find in the old Zionist song—"Seu Ziona Ness Vadegel" ("Carry the banner and flag to Zion"), but it does serve as a sort of stimulating drink, never harmful and relatively cheap.

Indeed, both of the striking events in the history of our people

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since the Holocaust and the emergence of the State—the Yom Kippur War and the anti-Zionist resolution of the U.N. Assembly—have mobilized enthusiastic and large-scale support among the Jewish public throughout the world. Regrettably however, in these two extreme instances we succeeded in reaching only a part of the Jewish world. True, there were street demonstrations, advertisements in the press, spontaneous expressions of sympathy and anxiety. Among the most prominent activists, there were many who had never taken part in any Jewish event. Yet, as Zionists, we lament both those whom not even the most dangerous of situations succeeds in extricating from their anonymity and those to whom anxiety is the sole component of their Jewish identity.

For Zionism stands for continuity and constant momentum beyond temporary crises and calls for unceasing activity and identification with the process of radicalizing the Jewish people. In recent times, Zionism has been commonly described as a movement of national liberation. This definition is both relevant and recognized in the lexicon of our day. We should not, therefore, abandon the permanent and the immutable in the definition of Zionism, i.e. the perpetual demand for revolution in the spiritual make-up, in the manner of thinking and in the paths of action of the Jewish people. This revolution, notwithstanding the fact that its foundation and basis is 'aliyah,' is nevertheless, neither geographical nor migratory in its essence. The Zionist revolution aspires to change the life of the Jewish people wherever they may be.

Much distortion and many deviations from the focus of the Zionist revolution are inherent in a simplistic conception of the first commandment of the Jerusalem Program regarding the centrality of Israel in Jewish life. I believe that the Zionist renaissance will not be possible if it affects only that part of the Jewish people which is already in Zion or on the road to it. True, my historical outlook over the long run, is even more pessimistic than that of Jacob Klatzkin. But for the foreseeable future, I am more in agreement with the approach of Yechezkel Kaufman, who in his book "Golah ve Nechar" says that the revival of the Land, is interdependent with revival in the Diaspora. From this stems the close relationship between the fate of our rebirth in the Land and the fate of the Diaspora. When we contemplate the negation of the Diaspora in connection with Jewish rebirth this implies negation of the redemption in general, and, conversely, the affirmation of our redemption is inconceivable without an affirmation of the revival of the Diaspora.

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It follows that a true Zionist devotes his energies to the redemption of the Jewish people wherever they live. Redemption is indivisible. Herein lies the difference between Zionists and friends of Israel as well as those who are concerned with the security and rights of Jews everywhere. Jewish defence organizations arrive at their world-outlook from an essentially negative motivation—the fight against anti-Semitism.

The recent attacks on Zionism which have the express purpose of undermining the very existence of the State of Israel, have given rise to renewed manifestations of anti-Semitism towards Jewish communities throughout the world. This may be the motivating factor behind the reaction of Jewish communities on an unprecedented scale, transcending in proportion the reactions that we witnessed after the Yom Kippur War. Yet these reactions do not reflect a yearning for self-liberation, but only a desire for quiet and security.

The second paragraph in the Jerusalem Program speaks of “the ingathering of the Jewish people in Eretz Israel, its historical homeland, through aliyah from all countries.”

Many Jewish organizations, on the surface at least, have endorsed this second requirement of the Jerusalem Program calling for aliyah to Israel. By so doing they appear to be fulfilling this precept no less than full-fledged Zionist organizations. At times, moreover, it seems that there is a “danger” of their stealing the show. Statistics concerning aliyah from the affluent countries point to a surprising phenomenon.

A considerable percentage of immigrants from the Western world had never belonged to the Zionist movement. May we conclude that Zionists, while accepting in principle the Jerusalem Program with its demand for aliyah, leave the actual implementation to others?

Thus, the question asks itself—what is the difference between a Zionist and a sympathizer or even a fervent supporter of Israel, who arrives in the country and at the time of his ‘ideological customs examination’ states that he doesn’t carry even a single ounce of Zionism among his belongings? Is he less of a Zionist than a Jew who is permanently resident abroad, but sincerely and truly declares himself to be a Zionist? We have been taught that Judaism does not pry into a person’s private opinions and beliefs but rather lays stress on his deeds. Are things different as far as Zionism is concerned? It seems to me that Zionism also puts practice at the core, and theory, with all the importance attached to it, forms the outer cover. This is not merely a theological or ideological question, but one of the basic questions of Zionism in the 1970’s.

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The youth of the movement have pondered this archimedean point and declared that they regard it as the touchstone of Zionism, both for the individual Zionist as well as for the movement as a whole. Their lack of patience has upset the veteran elements among us, but they have grasped the principle and have sounded the alarm! If the Zionist Movement wishes to preserve its uniqueness as a movement of action and achievement, a movement that changes the facts of life, it cannot preach where it fails to practice. If so, it will emulate all those other movements characterized by non-action that are ridiculed for giving merely verbal support to some idea, no matter how lofty. The young people have said, and rightly so, that many among them refrain from joining the Zionist Federations because their image is not credible.

The Zionist Council in Israel recently became aware of the need to bring the young Israelis to an understanding and articulation of their own pioneering achievements, for only after reaching such a stage will they be able to transmit the message to their fellow Jewish youth overseas. The other side of the coin is the bringing of young people from abroad to the understanding that man does not live on awareness and rhetoric alone. He is called upon to act. One of these acts is to join the World Zionist Organization and its territorial federations. The discovery that a large proportion of the present membership does not fulfil the precepts of Zionism is not an excuse for not joining.

In order to be fair we must point out that many of the children of Zionist leaders have settled in Israel, not against the will of their parents but rather with their consent and proud encouragement. Moreover, the list of Zionist leaders who have themselves fulfilled the precept of aliyah is constantly growing.

Let us not denigrate the importance of the Zionist youth movements and organizations who form an integral part of the movement, even though they dissociate themselves from the Zionist "establishment" and have often antagonized the leadership with their outspoken statements and occasionally their actions. Despite their weaknesses and their modest numbers among Jewish youth, they serve as a personal example in the Zionist Movement, particularly in the sphere of aliyah.

As we shall see, the article in the Jerusalem Program dealing with aliyah is in large measure dependent upon the implementation of the next two articles.

The third paragraph calls for "the strengthening of the State of Israel which is based upon the prophetic vision of justice and peace."

What does the "strengthening of the State of Israel" mean? What

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is the special role of the World Zionist Organization in the strengthening of the State? Isn't that the responsibility of the Government of Israel and in particular of its Minister of Defence? Even if we expand the concept to the economic field, we have the Minister of Finance as well as donors and investors from abroad. What part is to be played by the rank and file of the Zionist Movement?

It is the latter part of the sentence that lends force to the first part and saves it from being a mere slogan. The strengthening of the State of Israel does not boil down to fortifications nor to an additional well-trained fighting unit nor to buffer zones. The defence posture of Israel was well defined by the Prophet Isaiah when he said "And righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins" (XI, 5). If the State of Israel will be like any other state, it will cease to attract. The immigrants from the affluent countries are not searching for a society with greater affluence, but rather a framework in which to create—and in the social and spiritual sense.

The Zionist duty to create a just and peace-loving society based on the vision of the prophets is not just a 'gimmick' or a phrase aimed at making Israel seem more attractive. The justification for the financial, intellectual and other efforts needed to achieve this vision lies in the hope of every Zionist that the Jewish state will be true to its goals. Is there a degree of hubris in the thought that the Zionist Movement must play the role of the prophet vis-a-vis the king? There is no king who is not in need of a prophet — not necessarily in order to reprove him, but in order to strengthen the latent inclinations for justice and peace that other considerations may overshadow. If and when the Zionist movement returns to its role as a moral authority in the life of the Jewish people and in the Jewish state, only then will it again be the movement which draws the best of our people to become 'olim' to Israel.

The fourth paragraph in the Jerusalem Program is possibly the most decisive of all. It calls for "the preservation of the uniqueness of the Jewish people through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew education and of Jewish spiritual and cultural values".

Here, too, is a direct and organic connection. Indeed, young people who may be described as being in the post-assimilationist stage, have been arriving in Israel. They are the return swing of the pendulum, and they come to Israel in search of their Jewishness. However, such examples are exceptional in Jewish society in the Diaspora. The Zionist movement must devote itself to education, culture and spiritual values



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in the Diaspora as well as in Israel for two reasons. Firstly, because in the foreseeable future the majority of the Jews will continue to live in the Diaspora and not in Israel. Secondly, there is no assurance that in another generation or two, we will be able to speak to one another, and we will certainly not be capable of common cultural activity. Therefore, whoever is concerned about the spiritual unity of the Jewish people must exert special efforts to equip it with the proper tools. The Zionist Movement must launch an unprecedented educational operation and not just pay it lip service as in the past.

Let there not be a single Zionist home whose members have not reached the stage of using at least five hundred Hebrew words. This may appear to be a utopian objective but it is also a realistic one. Churchill once said that the English and the Americans are two peoples divided by a common language. It has been decreed that, our aspirations notwithstanding, we are one people, united in consciousness but divided in reality. Let us take the first tangible step within the Zionist movement by fostering the Hebrew language as a second language for every Jew in the Diaspora. Without going into detail about education and culture, it is clear beyond all doubt that it is vitally necessary for the future of Jewish unity to have at our disposal the valuable instrument of a common language both for the pioneers of the Jewish people who live and create in Zion and for the rest of the Jewish people scattered throughout the world. We must take this specifically Zionist task upon ourselves and implement it through existing schools and ulpanim as well as through others that we must yet establish, develop and expand.

We have concluded that Zionism is a revolutionary movement in Jewish life. An important aspect of that revolution was to focus itself on Jewish life in the Diaspora. We decided to put an end to the division between the Jew in "his own tent" and his emergence as a human being in public. The radicalization of Jewish life was to remove the need for maintaining a double set of standards in education, in politics and in spiritual-intellectual life. It may be that most Zionists in the Diaspora will find it possible to continue their lives as non-schizophrenic Jews while leaning upon the Achad Haam idea of the spiritual center. For myself, I have doubts about its feasibility. But certainly, a part of the Jewish people will feel that its life is incomplete, even if they do not lead split lives and even if they are not apologetic about their Judaism, but carry their Jewishness with pride based on the knowledge and understanding of the two worlds that they inhabit.

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Nathan Rotenstreich writes: "Diaspora Jewry is by its very nature a dual entity, because on the one hand it lives in the Jewish world and on the other, beyond the Jewish sphere. By its very nature, such a Jewry cannot create a world wholly Jewish, for if it succeeded in doing so the duality would disappear and with it the Diaspora itself. It is impossible for Diaspora Jewry to maintain a fully Jewish world and simultaneously participate in the march of historical events. Only where the Jewish sphere is at the same time also the human sphere; or in other words, only within the Jewish State is it possible to maintain a Judaism that is open, absorbing influences, and free, without thereby becoming undisciplined". In short, a Jew who aspires to unity in his life will seek and find the way to implement it in Israel.

We have seen how the various parts of the Jerusalem Program constitute a whole which is strengthened through the interdependence of its parts. The time has come to formulate an experimental definition that will help us to distinguish between Zionists and friends of Israel. We have seen that the centrality of Israel, aliyah to Israel from all parts of the world, its strengthening through the implementation of the vision of justice and peace and the fostering of spiritual and cultural values through Jewish education, continue to complement and mutually strengthen each other throughout the course of Jewish living.

Before the existence of the State of Israel, the definition of Zionism was relatively simple, because the central objective overshadowed and outstripped all the other objectives. Today, at the beginning of the second quarter-century of the renaissance of the State it is possible to define Zionists as those charged with the developing of a special bond with it. They are responsible for creating mutual relationships through suitably mature and prestigious channels for the Jewish people that live in Zion and those who reside elsewhere. Both of them aspire to a true Zion, not a mere focus for tourists or pilgrims or of people "complacent" in Zion. The challenge facing the World Zionist Organization is to try and create a basis for significant contacts—and I stress, two-way contacts—between Israel and the Diaspora. We are faced with a choice of being a small and restricted sect or of creating the broad base upon which other organizations will be able to build. Are we able to combine our being both a structure for ourselves and an infrastructure for the others? How are we to accomplish this? I believe that the way to achieve this is by placing the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora on a continuum rather than on a bridge between opposite

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poles. Whoever affirms the centrality of Israel must make certain that he does not imply that the Diaspora is marginal or inferior.

Zion is an aspiration for wholeness and not just a place name. The Zionist in Israel knows that he must endeavour all his life to make Israel more Zionist than it is, and to turn himself into a Zionist, not by a one-time act but through a continuous process of self-realization. The same applies to the Zionist in the Diaspora, for whom this aspiration and continuity calls for perhaps greater effort than for the Zionist in Israel. In my opinion, a Zionist is a person who has undertaken an internal struggle with himself for the implementation of the Zionist idea. No person can conclude that struggle and arrive at a measure of peace with himself and his Zionism at the age of twenty. The immutable foundation of the struggle for Zionist realization is a Zionist consciousness stemming from a deep and intensive Jewish yearning for aliyah. To my mind, no one can call himself a true Zionist so long as he has not sincerely asked the decisive question: "Is not my place in Israel?" This question is the natural outcome of the continuous Zionist aspiration for wholeness that I just mentioned. We cannot underrate those who arrive at the positive conclusion of immigrating to Israel on emotional grounds alone, or on the basis of an existential decision. By the same criterion, we should not accord them any preeminence over those in whom the urge for aliyah grows, fed by their historical consciousness and their Jewish education, whether secular or religious.

A Zionist is one who looks upon the Jerusalem Program as a supreme command for maximum implementation in his own life. A Zionist is one who views the Jerusalem Program as a personal obligation and not only as a public manifesto. In this, he diverges from the friend of Israel who supports Israel solely on the basis of the last point in the Jerusalem Program. Many of these friends of Israel, organizations as well as individuals, have offered, in truth, unconditional but limited support on the basis of "the protection of Jewish rights everywhere". In addition to the struggle for Jewish rights in the Soviet Union and in the Arab lands, they principally support the struggle of the Jews living in Israel. While this is a rare phenomenon, nevertheless, it is legitimate to ask where these friends will stand when, one day, peace will hopefully be established in the Middle East.

Yet it may be that 'virtue' may rise from 'necessity' and this is the opportune moment for the Zionist movement. Instead of checking the credentials of Jewish defence and philanthropic organizations, we should bring them closer to us. When the World Zionist Organization

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becomes a movement which implements its objectives consistently, it will set the example so typical of officers in the Israel Defence Forces. A good officer does not have to say. "Follow me!" His deeds testify to his faith and his values, and it is these that rally his soldiers around him.

DEBATE ON THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE  
29th ZIONIST CONGRESS

JACOB KATZMAN

(Labour Zionist Movement; U.S.A.)

First of all, may I express my sincere congratulations to Avraham Schenker on his thoughtful and studied address to us this morning.

We are meeting here two months after the resolution of the United Nations which was directed against Israel, against Zionism, but primarily against the Jewish people everywhere.

We must realize that this is not an act in isolation, but only one more reflection of the sad state in which the world finds itself today. It was Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the representative of the United States at the United Nations, who called attention to the fact that democracy as a whole—that freedom, liberty and progress in the world as a whole—are on a steady decline. He was able to number only 28 or 29 nations that can still pretend to any measure of democracy in the running of their own internal affairs. Most nations that have recently achieved sovereignty, have one by one, joined the forces of totalitarianism, oppression and retrogression.

It is at a time like this, that not only the Zionist movement but the Jewish people as a whole is called upon to mobilize all of its resources on the side of whatever forces exist in the world to combat the attack upon human freedom. And we are not alone. I strongly object to the attitude that is so widely accepted here in Israel of "*mir iz gut, ich bin a yosem.*" We're not *yesomim*. There are forces in the world that are disposed in a friendly way towards us and that are prepared to stand with us in the common struggle for the restoration of human freedom and human dignity.

Gathered at this meeting of the *Vaad HaPoel*, we have a duty to see how we can make a contribution, and, indeed, how we can take

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the initiatives that are required of us in order to mobilize the full resources of the Jewish people in this very critical struggle.

A few weeks ago the Jerusalem Conference on Jewish Unity took place here in Jerusalem. It was a grand demonstration of Jewish solidarity and not for one moment would I minimize its significance. Important resolutions were adopted. The question is—how are they to be implemented, by whom, and through what agencies?

We talk about the Jewish People, but how is the Jewish people organized? How is it constituted? Has not the time come to create the entity called the Jewish People? And is it not the function of the Zionist Movement to take the initiative in this direction?

Zionist Federations in certain countries have tried to open their doors to all who would join with us in our endeavour. But we have to face the reality of the situation. Very little was achieved by bringing in forces other than those that have long formed the Zionist Movement. Must we, then, not rethink the whole matter? Must we not continue to seek the ways in which, together with others, we could begin to crystallize the Jewish people into an entity country by country?

I do not pretend to have the answers to these questions. I pose them because it seems to me that today, faced with the challenge that has been hurled at us, we cannot afford to meet in session and go on with business as usual. I, for one, am terribly distressed that this session should be preoccupied almost entirely with the questions of internal organization—even one as important as the election of the chairman of the organization—and that it does not concern itself in greater depth with the real questions and issues to which we must address ourselves.

I suggest that the time has come for the Zionist Movement to proclaim to the Jewish people the need for its constitution as a people. I believe sincerely that what I have suggested is the demand of the hour. As we prepare for the coming Zionist Congress, let us give thought to this and seek ways to bring it to fruition.

ROSE MATZKIN

(Confederation of United Zionists; U.S.A.)

I have been a member of the Actions Committee for eight years. I have attended every one of the meetings and they bear a frightening similarity to one another.

## R. MATZKIN

Eight years ago we were talking about the necessity for turning this into a practical session, into a meeting which would go immediately into commissions, which would discuss problems, which would produce directives and plans for action, and which would attempt to implement the various proposals which had been brought through the commissions. Instead, at a time when business as usual is the very last thing in which we should be indulging ourselves, we meet once again with the same program: a general debate, orations, beautiful speeches that contain pious hopes and impractical beliefs, and a screaming inability to grope with reality.

I was one of those fortunate enough to be present at the Solidarity Conference. We are deluding ourselves if we think that just because there was a conference on solidarity there is now agreement amongst the Jewish people regarding the direction in which it should go, and the tasks which lie before it.

I am tired of hearing that one of the presidents of a great Jewish organization said that Zionism is beautiful. We are still waiting for any of the organization's entities in the countries in which they exist to become affiliates of the Zionist Federations of those countries, to associate themselves with the practical work being done, to plan common enterprises and to implement the common tasks which lie ahead of us.

At that conference it was stated that it was of the utmost importance to bring more Jews as tourists to Israel, yet there is no opportunity at this meeting of the Council to discuss ways and means of implementing that decision. At the convocation here in October, fifteen hundred people came from the United States, more than two-thirds of them coming to Israel for the first time. If this can be achieved at any time, then we should have devoted at least two hours in Committee to ideas on how to implement the Year of Aliyah P'Regel and to bring people over in large numbers.

We have had two outstanding evening sessions and one afternoon session. These are the only sessions about which people are still talking and at which everyone was present. The rest of the time should be devoted to going into Committee, to grappling with concrete problems, and to the producing of directives and some clues to the answers. I am not claiming that after meeting in Committee for two days we will solve all the problems which face us now, but to sit here and engage in general debate without generating concrete solutions to concrete problems is to waste our time and energy.

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The women of the organized Zionist world represent more than half of the total of avowed Zionists. Where are the men and what do we do about enrolling them in the Zionist Movement? I am distressed that we still meet as though nothing had happened in the six months since we last met. These have been six crucial months not only in Jewish life but in the life of the world. If you will forgive for being a bit factious, while I do believe that the word shall come from Jerusalem — in our case, words are not enough!

JACQUES ORFUS

(Union of General Zionists; France)

A few weeks ago we met here in Jerusalem at the Conference on Jewish Unity after the Resolutions passed at the UN in November. We sat for three days and we had a double task; on the one hand to demonstrate our solidarity with the State of Israel and with the Zionist Movement, and on the other hand, to delineate a plan of activity for the coming few months and to start work.

Here in Israel, a coordination committee was set up, composed of representatives of the Government and of the Jewish Agency, for the express purpose of issuing instructions as to how to implement the resolutions passed by the Conference. A month has passed since then but we are still impatiently awaiting the directives for the activity to be undertaken. I do not have in mind long term plans such as seminars and educational work but rather immediate plans for the year 1976. Regrettably, we learn that the coordinating committee has not yet begun to function and that we are still far away from receiving directives. The flame that was kindled a month ago is dying out. I am therefore very happy that for the first time the question of a convention was raised. From this platform I want to state that we Jewish people in the Diaspora want to work, we want to be active, but we are still awaiting instructions from the Committee that was set up for the specific purpose of telling us how to go about it.

Last night we admitted three large Jewish organizations into the Zionist Movement—the Reform Synagogue, the Maccabi Union and the World Sephardi Federation. We are all happy with this union, but the question forces itself: in what way will the affiliation that took place last night express itself in our countries of domicile? Will these three organizations be integrated into the Zionist Federations? Will

they carry through actions designed to make them part and parcel of the Zionist Movement? Will they be charged with an intensification of their existing fundraising campaign? I would like to know, before we disperse from this convention, what practical conclusions have been reached.

We created the slogan "I am a Zionist," and every Jew today feels that he is a Zionist, but in what practical way must this declaration express itself? The moment has arrived when the Zionist Movement must be on the lookout for people seeking to join it. However, the impression is created that the Zionist leaders in the various countries have become an establishment which seeks to preserve power and is afraid to relinquish it. Such a situation will not attract the hundreds of thousands of Jews who seek to join forces with the Zionist Movement. The time has come when we must conduct an election campaign for the Zionist Congress. Such elections will lead to a revival of the Zionist Movement, and to lively Zionist activity. Elections lend a democratic character, and make it possible to represent the Zionist Movement effectively throughout the world.

YEHUDAH PAZ

(Labour Zionist Movement; Israel)

The agenda of the forthcoming Congress, is simply this: what is to be the response of the Zionist Movement above and beyond that of other organizations, to the challenges facing Israel and the Jewish people?

The challenges which we now face are not ordinary ones, and little needs to be added to their detailed description by the Prime Minister. Basically these challenges appear on two levels: the level of survival, and that of renewed creativity. For Israel, the challenge at the survival level is posited in brutally clear political and military terms, while the massive inroads made by assimilation and the dearth of Jewish content in the life of so many Jews pose survival-level challenges for world Jewry.

Creativity for Israel implies the shaping of a more-than-merely-ordinary-nation-state, of a society characterized by social justice and equality, productive of economic well-being and cultural advance, rich in moral virtues and Jewish creation. Only limitations of time and not of passivity, of lack of awareness, or of self-satisfaction, prevent me from dealing with the lacunae of problems that characterize the current status of our attempts to achieve these aims.



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For the Diaspora, renewed creativity implies the shaping of a rich and meaningful Jewish life, at whose core lies the attachment to Israel; and the making of it into the goodly and accepted heritage of the younger generation.

These are, indeed, to quote Tom Paine, times which try men's souls. Adequate response to these challenges commands the mobilization of the very root-sources of the Jewish life-force. It demands that we grow beyond our present stature, that we become, in our own lives and by our own actions more than we presently are. To be frank (and I cannot more heartily agree here with Rose Matzkin) this meeting, at least, is not an exemplar of that kind of response.

If the Zionist Movement is indeed characterized by the deeper personal commitment of its members; if it is indeed a revolutionary movement of national liberation; if it is indeed the dynamic core of Jewish life, then it cannot formulate a response whose essence is merely "more," or even "more and better of the same". If it seeks to be the national point of thrust, in precept and example, in theory and in concrete action, this simply will not do. In terms of our previous analysis that sort of response cannot but challenge the very relevance of the Movement to the present-day situation. This issue, and it alone, constitutes our real agenda today and at the Congress.

Organizational expansion, and administrative reform, cannot of themselves constitute that "growing beyond ourselves" which is called for. The formulation of an adequate response demands qualitative change in the Zionist Movement.

Brevity compels but an outline of the sort of change to which I have referred. While it constitutes an integrated and comprehensive whole, we can perhaps most adequately approach it by considering its three constituent elements. These are: theory, structure, and practice.

Ideology has two tasks: on the one hand it must critically analyze and evaluate present reality; on the other hand, it must project normative goals of social change, and describe the appropriate means to their achievement. Zionist ideology, as presently formulated, is not wholly adequate to either task. We must therefore urgently address ourselves to the question of "what is Zionism," as a theory and as an ideal; in terms of a Jewish world whose contours, whether in the United States or in Argentina, in France or in the Soviet Union, are markedly different from those extant when Zionism was formulated. We need such theoretical recasting as directive and as vision, without which, as the prophet says, the people will surely perish. We also need it if we are

to draw Jewish youth to us and away from false gods and misleading would-be messiahs.

Turning to structure (in terms of the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora) that, too, is badly in need of overhauling. What is required, in a word, is the replacement of an inadequate "pipeline" model, whose main function is to ensure the vitally needed flow of funds, by a model based on dynamic and creative interaction. The suggestion that aliyah be made the responsibility of world Jewry which in turn should be granted a major role in klita is an apt one in this regard. The same interactive approach must be extended, in appropriate form to other areas such as economic activity, cultural life, and within limits, even to certain political issues.

The third element is that of Zionist praxis, the **mitzvot** of Zionism. These clearly include political activism and willingness to stand up and be counted, fundraising, pilgrimage and the like. These are vitally necessary but are not sufficient.

Zionist praxis and Zionist **mitzvot** must include service to Israel, for a year or more, by young people and not only by them. This too is important but this too is not enough. At a deeper level there is Jewish education whose critical significance cannot be exaggerated; but it too does not wholly suffice. In its most basic, crucial and only wholly sufficient form, Zionist praxis, the Zionist **mitzvot** par excellence, are aliyah and settlement.

Let me be blunt: if the Zionist Movement is not prepared, in the face of whatever severe difficulties, and also in view of today's near parity between aliyah and yeridah, to mobilize at least 100,000 olim from the West over the next 5 years (less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  of 1 percent, 0.0025 per annum of Western Jewry) its response is inadequate. I need not tell you what even this very small number of olim will mean to Israel, and not only to its economic life, its science, technology, culture and welfare, but above all to the morale and self-confidence (now so bitterly challenged), of those who dwell in Zion.

The creation of an operative program to this end must be a self-imposed task of the Zionist Movement. In undertaking its fulfillment the Movement will take on new stature, it will re-discover its essence. May I add that this task cannot be achieved without true leadership on the part of the movement and its leaders and this can only exist where personal example stands as indisputable proof of the validity of stated principle.

Settlement constitutes the second element. I speak of **hityashvut** not

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as adventure but as commitment for life, not as demonstration but as a concrete and disciplined expression of national policy and government decision. Let the Zionist Movement now declare its unequivocal support for the government's program of establishing 30 new settlements and demand its immediate realization; let it stand ready to mobilize all its powers to this end, and for the furtherance of additional settlement projects.

This then is our agenda. While it demands adequate preparation and careful thought, so that it can be forged into an operative program and not merely a set of pious declarations, the times will not wait upon our deliberations. The **mitzvot**, particularly the central ones of aliyah and **hityashvut** must be undertaken at once by the Movement. Anything less is simply not adequate either to the challenges we face or as response to the attacks on Zionism, or as effective utilization of the groundswell of Jewish support and identification they called forth, or to the very nature and being of this Movement. And today, we dare not be inadequate.

RAYA JAGLOM

(Member of the Executive; Israel)

If Hadassah, the strongest American Zionist organization, has 340,000 members and we, the Women's International Zionist Organization, have 250,000 members, which means that together we have 65 percent out of 900,000 members of the Zionist Movement, where I ask, is the democratic representation of women reflected here in the hall?

If we really believe that the Zionist Movement is a necessity and that the Zionist Movement must be strengthened, consolidated, enlarged, and play a part in the life of the Jewish people, our main focus must be the youth. We have to see to it that the parties include young people in their ranks, not only by name and figures, but in the Executive of each party and in each country.

We have nearly 400 "Aviv" groups in our Women's International Zionist Organization composed of young women whom we are educating to become Zionist leaders. We have groups of young women in each Federation and in every country with a representative in the Executive of that specific WIZO federation, and they are the future and the continuity of our movement. I wonder whether this is the procedure in the Zionist political parties in each country.

R. JAGLOM

I would also like to refer to the question of affiliation to the Zionist Federations. It was a struggle to persuade our WIZO federations to become affiliated to the Zionist organizations. Last month when I went to one of the European conferences, they voted against it. With a little bit of influence and persuasion on my part, we had a second vote and after having explained why we must join the Zionist Federations the result was reversed. This is what happens if you really want something and you really know how to influence your members to do what is right. Today every Zionist group in every country must join the Zionist Federations if they want to strengthen the Zionist Movement.

The United Nation's resolution which equated Zionism with racism has done us an enormous service; it has suddenly reminded us that anti-Semitism is alive, and that it represents a threat to the existence of the State of Israel and the Jewish people. We should exploit this as a talking point with Jews who are good Jews, who are contributing to Israel, who are active in UJA and other groups, but who are not Zionist enough to know that Zionism today means survival.

I completely disagree with the proposal to convene the Congress once in six or eight years. What will happen in the period between Congresses? Let me tell you that Congress will be dealt a fatal blow. If it's a question of money we should realize that every good business needs a good investment. If we call the delegates every six to eight years, they will be lost to us. Therefore, I hope that all of us here will oppose such a postponement. I would rather make the period in between shorter; to bring more Jews here. We should call Zionist meetings more often in Israel and not vice-versa. If we have 500 Jews who come to a Zionist Congress, the 500 Jews who go back and talk about it may get through to those who did not come and encourage them to appear at the next one.

I think we should not be so desperate, so negative and so pessimistic; we have achieved great things at this Council meeting. We have new members to welcome from the Reform movement, the Sephardim, and Maccabi, and we look forward to their affiliation as a great event which we hope will lend an example to other groups to join us too.

Finally, the struggle for Soviet Jewry. I would like to suggest, with all due respect to the other resolutions which are also important, that one major resolution must be made here—that we demand freedom for the Jewish people from Soviet Russia to emigrate to Israel.

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EVELYN SCHREIBER

(Mizrachi — Hapoel Hamizrachi; U.S.A.)

I think we are wasting too much time in general debate when we need to be discussing the serious problems that face us today. In terms of what American Mizrachi women are doing for aliyah may I be allowed to boast that among the women's Zionist groups we have the largest record of olim and many more are coming daily.

I have heard many lofty ideological discussions today but I think that it is time to pay more attention to a basic root problem which I wish to elaborate upon. We are concerned with Zionism and anti-Zionism. We heard that we should live Zionism, but before Zionism there was Judaism and we need to be concerned with Judaism. Living Judaism will give us living Zionism.

Our session opened with a sharp comment on the state of morality especially among the young people. What are we doing about it? In American colleges young people are asking why they shouldn't help the Arabs. Intermarriage is close to 50 percent, which means 50 percent lost to Judaism and Zionism. What are we doing about it? Why are so many young Israelis leaving the country.

Yesterday we picked up a soldier who told us that when he leaves the army in another two months he plans to go to Canada or Australia. When I asked him what he would do about his social life, where he would meet Jewish boys and girls, he immediately answered, "So what, I'll marry a shiksa." What are we doing about it?

Where we have failed in our entire effort is with our own children and where we need to start is with our own children. Each of us from this platform, and in recent years from every platform in the Zionist world, preaches the need for Jewish education as the key to Jewish survival. However, Jewish education will be ineffective unless it includes precepts of justice, morality, love of *Am Yisrael* and *Eretz Yisrael*. It must also stress the role of the home as the hot house of the heritage and tradition of our people. It's time to go back to fundamentals and to communicate to our children the joy of living Judaism.

In today's troubled world young people are looking for something to cling to, something to believe in, something of basic value. If Jewish education is the key to Jewish survival we must do something about it here and now. Each one of us in Israel and in the golah must make

## L. I. RABINOWITZ

a personal, earnest and dedicated contribution to this struggle for Jewish survival.

### RABBI LOUIS ISAAC RABINOWITZ

(Virilist; Israel)

According to the agenda, this discussion was to be on the Zionist Movement towards the 29th Zionist Congress. I have not heard much in the preceding debate which dealt with that specific point. It has been a general debate ranging over a whole host of subjects and I am going to try to confine myself to Mr. Schenker's address and to the subject of the Zionist Movement towards the 29th Zionist Congress.

Those of you who have come up here have come here as Zionists, and whatever Zionism may mean to you, you are committed to something, yet you come here only to find yourself the subject of scathing criticism—"Why do you not live in Israel?"—I reject that completely. It only has the effect of sending you back with a feeling of guilt that you are not fulfilling your Zionist ideals. I want to state quite clearly that as far as I am concerned, a person who joins the Zionist Movement, who accepts the ideals of the Zionist Movement, who works for and who devotes himself to them, is a Zionist even if he does not come to settle in Israel and in this connection I want to refer to that sorry and pathetic resolution that was passed at the last Zionist Congress, without a single dissenting voice. Every single delegate to the Zionist Congress hereby takes upon himself that one member of his family shall come on aliyah. When I got home I sat down and wrote a satire. It was of a delegate coming back and calling together all the members of his family, and saying, "We have to make a sacrifice. I undertook that one of the family would go on aliyah and now we must decide who will be the *korban*." They cast votes, the *akeda* falls upon Isaac and the delegate says: "Go my son, you are my sacrifice to Israel."

May I say with all respect, and I hope without too much offence, that to me there is something insensitive if not impertinent when so many who live from Zionism criticize those who live for Zionism.

If they are right; on the establishment of the State, the World Zionist Organization should have closed down, because all Zionists should be in Israel. If they are right where are the Zionist societies of Kfar Saba, Petach Tikva and Rishon LeTzion to say nothing of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Zionism fulfills itself with aliyah, but there is a task for

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Zionism before aliyah, and does the duty of coming on aliyah now fall on the million-odd members of the Reform movement, the Sephardi movement, and the Maccabi movement? I think it is time that this unrealism should cease.

I want to say to those Zionists who remain in *chutz l'aretz*. You are going to face a difficult time, you are going to face furious onslaughts. It will no longer be easy to be a Zionist. We have been condemned by the world and between now and the next Zionist Congress you will have to be clear in your own minds and decide exactly where you stand. In most of the countries of the world Zionism is equated with racism. It will not be sufficient to be on the defensive, we shall have to go on the offensive.

And here I come to the main point that I want to make, concerning the sorry, miserable, pitiable information which is being given out by the Zionist Organization. I want to know what is going to be done from now to the next Congress to strenghten the hearts and reinforce the minds.

At the last meeting of the Zionist Council I caused something of a sensation by reading an incredible paragraph, which appeared in an official publication of the Zionist Organization, "Dispersion and Unity." I did not know to what extent I was being a prophet. Ladies and gentlemen, that publication was the first statement that I saw in print that equated Zionism with South African racism and said so in so many words. Let me read it to you again:

"Behind the tanks of Zahal, behind the border units and the military administration came the groups and individuals who settled in Kiryat Arba, Pit'hat Rafiach, the Jordan Valley and the Golan Heights in line with the best colonial traditions . . ." and it ends with this glorious sentence: "State halutzit has been transformed into halutzit à la South Africa and Rhodesia." So what do you want from the UNO? What do you want from the nations of the world if the official publication of the Zionist Organization equates settlement on the Golan Heights and in Pit'hat Rafiach and Kiryat Arba with South African racism.

I am a member of a committee which has been set up in order to evolve a new ideology for Zionism before the next Zionist Congress. I have attended most of its meetings until now, and I am almost in despair and thinking of resigning. Every single party representative, including myself, simply lays down his own party program and the

## L. I. RABINOWITZ—A. TORY

chairman calmly concludes that there can be no possible hope of reaching a consensus of opinion as to what Zionism stands for.

I think the time has come from now until the next Congress to state what Zionism does stand for. It stands for the rebirth of the Jewish people in Israel and without Zionism there is no future for the Jewish people or its national home.

This organization must come out with a clear message, and a clear re-statement of our position. Leave politics to the politicians. Zionism stands for the revival of the Jewish people and its survival. Its survival can be assured only through the land of Israel as the home of the Jewish people. To that we devote ourselves and to that we commit our lives.

### AVRAHAM TORY

(Independent Zionist Movement; Israel)

Yesterday we all welcomed the admission of three world Jewish organizations to the Zionist Movement. I personally am pleased over the affiliation of the World Maccabi Union which I served as under-secretary for many years. It is good that this movement which accompanied the Zionist Organization since its inception has at long last found its place in the World Zionist Organization.

We are living in a period of emergency for the Zionist Movement. The rate of aliyah has dropped and the number of emigrants exceeds that of the arrivals. In a period like this we cannot lose sight of the goals of Zionism.

As a survivor of the extermination camps and the ghettos I regard it as a duty to point out that even when we were locked up in the ghettos we did not want to die with feelings of self pity. We maintained a heroic stance and endeavoured at all times to keep our heads above the water that threatened to engulf us every minute. During the Holocaust we fought with faith and the expectation of redemption, and when we were liberated from the camps we rejoined the Zionist effort to attain the ultimate goal—to achieve Jewish independence and to live a life of freedom in our own country.

As for the vilification of Zionism at the present time we must bear in mind that ever since the first Zionist Congress at the turn of the last century we had to contend not only against Russian Czarism but later on against Bolshevism which exceeded even the oppressive methods



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of Czarist Russia. In the '30s of this century this persecution was in turn exceeded only by Hitler's henchmen who devised the final solution—the total extermination of the Jewish people.

Already in the '30s the Arab rulers were loyal partners to this campaign of extermination for they regarded Zionism as the arch-enemy of Pan-Arabism and Islam. In a speech delivered by Sadat on April 25, 1972, the Egyptian President stressed the fact that the most splendid act of the Prophet Muhammad was that he expelled the Jews from the whole of the Arabian peninsula.

The Arab states have become a mighty international force by virtue of their oil resources, but they themselves do not possess the strength to vanquish. Moscow is behind this anti-Zionist attack, and represents the militant force behind all the Arab wars against Israel. The Soviet Union provides the arms and the military experts and, most important of all, prevents any peace agreement between Israel and her neighbours. The Soviet Union is therefore Public Enemy Number One, and conducts the ideological war against Judaism, against Zionism and against Israel.

We are now engaged in a debate with the whole world which questions our right to a homeland and to independence. Time and again we are called upon to justify what we have succeeded in creating in this country. We must, therefore, reorganize the framework of the World Zionist Organization and mobilize all those sections of the people that have not yet assimilated. A world emergency force must be set up consisting of Zionists and non-Zionists—of Jews whose hearts are with Judaism and with Zion. Only through the setting up of such bodies will we be able to combat successfully the vast forces that threaten our very existence.

We must plan a long way ahead and see to it that the plans drawn up are brought to the knowledge of Jews everywhere. For this purpose, the World Zionist Organization must freshen up its leadership, activate the intellectuals, the students and the younger generation, and the rank and file in the Zionist Federations in all countries. The attempt to vilify Zionism through the anti-Zionist resolutions of the UN has aroused an unprecedented, spontaneous opposition among all sections of the Jewish people. The Zionist Organization must transform this revolt against the vilification of Zionism into action so as to bring about unity among our people and identification with the State of Israel.

We must strengthen Zionist information and Zionist knowledge

among the youth through educational enterprises. Zionism must be introduced as a subject in all Jewish schools in the Diaspora as well as in Israel, and wherever possible, in universities. One must strengthen the "Shnat sherut" among the Jewish youth in the Diaspora and their volunteering for service in the Israel Defence Forces, in Nahal outposts, in hospitals and in development towns. This is a challenge to the Jewish youth in the Diaspora—a youth that is growing degenerate for lack of activity and Zionist teaching.

We must step up our work in preparation for the 29th Zionist Congress. A Congress year has always been a motivating factor in the Zionist Movement. In this year when Zionism has been described at a UN commission as a danger to world peace and as an imperialist and racist movement, we must mobilize in order to constitute an effective force. The Zionist Movement must play a role of primary importance, as defined by the First Zionist Congress, and serve as the vanguard of the Jewish people in warding off the dangers to Jewish existence.

I have implicit faith that we are possessed of both the ability, the desire and the strength to liberate our brethren from slavery in the Arab lands, to deliver the prisoners of Zion from the Russian concentration camps, and to save our people from degeneration and assimilation.

MOSHE KAGAN

(Mapam; U.S.A.)

The three sub-topics which are listed today for discussion are clear: (1) The situation in the Federations; (2) Programs and activities for the coming year; and, (3) Preparations for the Congress. I want to speak about the American experience as it relates to each one of them.

What is the experience in the United States with regard to Federations? Enough has been said about the challenge facing us and I do not have to repeat it. We all appreciate the struggle in which we are involved. But what have we done in the last four years to implement the resolution passed by the Zionist Congress which proclaimed unequivocally that each Territorial Federation will be the sole voice of Zionism? What have we done in the United States to achieve that goal? What have we done to provide the Federation in the U.S. with the image, the tools, and the instruments required to cope with a situation which we all agree here is critical? It is intolerable that,

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for instance, members of the Executive should belittle the Federation and its work and yet we are witness to such statements.

If we are serious about what we are saying we have to start converting our words into deeds. The Federation in the U.S. is capable, and can be more capable. However, a vicious circle is created when one says "We will give you the task only after you have proved yourself," for we only prove ourselves by performing the task.

I appeal to the World Unions to take the initiative in this matter. They should realize that only they can provide the weapons required to implement the resolution. The World Unions, and not the parties in the U.S. which are the constituent organizations of the Zionist Federation, have the responsibility to fulfil the resolution of Congress, that the work of the Zionist Movement in the U.S. be in the hands of the Federation. If we have set a task for ourselves to strengthen the Federation, we must make sure we do so.

As for the preparations for Congress. We talk a lot about elections, yet I don't see the elections as an issue. The issue is, will the Zionist Movement be capable of conducting an internal debate which will rejuvenate it? Only the strength of each constituent element within the Zionist Federation can strengthen the Zionist Movement in its totality.

We talk a lot about youth. I am not among those who believe that we stand in the way of the young people to reach positions of leadership. On the contrary, I think the way is wide open; youth can come in and occupy any position it wants. But it is not important what we think. It is important what youth thinks. And they think they cannot. And unless we provide the opportunity we will have failed. Therefore we must make every effort to provide for a permanent, mandatory representation, be it 25% or 30% or more, which all the parties must adhere to. This representation of youth should be to all the Zionist bodies, be it the Zionist Congress, the **Vaad HaPoel**, or the Zionist Federations. Unless we provide that possibility to the youth and make them feel that they can come in, their belief that the Zionist Movement remains petrified will persist and all our good intentions will remain just intentions which are meaningless unless they lead to the desired results.

H. GRYN

RABBI HUO GRYN

(Union for Progressive Judaism; England)

I have listened today with respect and admiration and also with a touch of bewilderment. The organization itself is a little bewildering to many of us. Since the question was raised here earlier this morning: "Has anything or will anything happen to the Reform Movement because they have now joined the World Zionist Organization?", let me assure you that since we first started our discussions with Mr. Dulzin at a Conference in London two years ago, a great deal has happened.

In our discussions with the Zionist Federation in England, our people found themselves completely bewildered. We are not good at politics—maybe in time we shall learn—but we were confused by the differing parties and interests, and we are not all that naive. We have, in our community, and it is not very different from the other European communities, the Federation, JIA, Board of Deputies, JNF, and the Soviet Jewry Committee. I would ask you to consider sending without any delay, a shaliach who could help to pull us together, because we are not basically united. We certainly do not speak with one voice. And on the subject of Zionism we need to speak with one voice.

I listened as several speakers referred to the United Nations resolution as being some kind of a blessing in disguise. I don't see it that way at all. I see it as an unmitigated problem, and it affects us in at least two very worrying aspects. First of all, and particularly in Britain, we are already exposed to the very biting winds of Arab propaganda. It is shrewd and it will have cumulative and damaging effects. This coming spring, there will be a World Festival of Islam in England. We simply do not have the resources to match the huge program which is now being planned and which will last for a period of some three months.

The Plenary is not the place to discuss this in detail, though I very much hope that there will be opportunity in the appropriate committee to do so, and perhaps to bring back to the Plenary some recommendations that could be agreed upon, which in turn would be an important element to feed into the program of the forthcoming Congress.

The second worrying aspect of what is happening is the special vulnerability of young people: they feel at many of our universities that they are under a siege. They cannot cope with anti-Zionism. They cannot cope with the fact that they are identified as Zionists by virtue

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of their being Jewish. We have to teach the teenagers and the university students the **aleph-beth** of Zionism. I ask you to produce at least that which could be considered the **aleph-beth** of Zionism and see to it that every one of our young people will know it by this summer so that they can understand themselves as well as us, and then, maybe, the one voice can come out of this gathering.

DR. SYDNEY WAX

(Labour Zionist Movement; Canada)

In reply to the question "What is Zionism" and "What is the Zionist Movement," I would like to suggest four main themes that we can develop in response to the need for propaganda, public relations, discussions, seminars, debates, public declarations and study programs.

Theme Number One: The Zionist Movement is based on an historical claim and this may be summarized as the realization of a two-thousand year old dream; the 'redemption' of biblical prophecy.

Theme Number Two: The Zionist Movement is an authentic, political, economic and social expression of national liberation, and an authentic cultural and spiritual expression of national fulfilment.

Theme Number Three: The Zionist Movement and Zionism created a sovereign Jewish state, given full expression by international mandate through the General Assembly and Security Council of the United Nations, and given full statehood and national sovereignty by a majority decision of this World Body.

Theme Number Four: Zionism and the Zionist Movement embrace the highest ideals of Western democratic tradition, tempered by the egalitarian social vision of the founding pioneers, and born of the loftiest precepts of prophetic Judaism.

Speaking then of Zionism today, let us begin by stating that pragmatic Zionism has a somewhat negative quality insofar as it is considered the resultant of forces of persecution or intolerance, or deprivation of economic, political, social and religious rights. The Jew, having no other alternative, looks to Zionism for survival and very often he is running for his life. Positive Zionism, however, should be defined as a personal choice, arising from consideration of the needs of self and nation. Contemporary, positive Zionism enables a Jew to look to Israel, not for survival but for salvation; not for national security, but

A. AM-SHALOM—S. SHUKROUN

for spiritual renaissance; not for daily bread, but for the sustenance of his entire being.

ADI AM-SHALOM

(Mizrachi — Hapoel Hamizrachi; Israel)

Israel has absorbed the great majority of Jews from Arab lands. This should be the foundation on which our information activities regarding the Palestinian Refugees are conducted. There is need to set up an organized and well-informed brainstrust which will examine all the arguments and draw up a program for information work. We must continually stress the fact that we have absorbed Jews from the Arab lands in our country and that there is such a thing as an exchange of population. Whoever wants to receive compensation should either receive compensation in his present place of domicile, or in any other place of settlement that may be suggested.

I am not putting forward an entirely novel idea. A call must go out from here for the setting up of an official committee on information so that our information work will not be improvised but carefully integrated.

DR. SARELL SHUKROUN

(World Sephardi Federation; Canada)

I want first of all to thank Mr. Schenker for his address. In my opinion that in itself constitutes a program for activity. I should like, however, to raise certain points that Mr. Schenker did not touch upon.

If it is true that the attitude of a number of countries concerning the vote at the UN on Zionism is serious, the attitude of certain Jews appears to be doubly serious. Let us admit that more and more Jews declare themselves to be anti-Zionists (which anti-Zionism is much more serious than that of the Gentiles). The aloofness of a large section of the Jewish youth which has been trapped by the charm of "universalist" theories is an example of this worrying phenomenon. The problem becomes much more serious when we realize that those same young people were at one time attracted to Zionism. Why have they abandoned it now? The reason, in my opinion, is to be sought in the disappointment with the social-political image of Israel. I think that

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it is the duty of the Zionist leadership to attempt to change Israel's negative image.

As Mr. Schenker pointed out in so many words, the Zionist Federation must cease to constitute a circle of "Free Masons" which is open only to certain people. The Federations must become much more popular movements.

Today, the deliberations must give priority to the quality of Israeli life without reference to differences in origin, and as a Sephardi, I cannot remain unconcerned by the serious problems which face Jews of Oriental origin in Israel. I should like people to stop talking about Sephardi departments in various organizations. In some measure, they remind me of "children's departments" in European colonies, or of the department for "Indian Affairs" in Canada and the United States. Let us once more remind you of the fact that the Zionist Movement is the Movement of National Liberation of all the Jews, and as such it must answer the aspirations of all Jews wherever they be.

### DECISION OF THE CONGRESS TRIBUNAL ON THE REQUEST TO POSTPONE THE ELECTION DATE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

ITZHAK NAVON

(Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

I will first of all read out the gist of the decision of the Tribunal and, afterwards, its opinion in full. I shall begin at the end and then turn to the beginning.

"Our reply to the question submitted to us is as follows: It is impossible to postpone the session of the Zionist General Council which has on its agenda the election of the Chairman of the Zionist Executive (beyond a feasible intermission, as is usual in conducting the meetings of the Zionist General Council), either by a regular majority of voters or by any other majority. Such postponement would be in contravention of Article 43 of the Constitution."

I shall now read the findings of the Tribunal, right through from the beginning.

## I. NAVON

### THE CONGRESS TRIBUNAL

Before:

Moshe Landau, Chairman of the Tribunal

Dr. David Meretz, Deputy-Chairman of the Tribunal

Yaacov Yinon, Deputy-Chairman of the Tribunal.

### DECISION

On January 4, 1976, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Zionist General Council applied to the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal, in the name of the Presidium, asking that the Congress Tribunal shall, in accordance with Article 49(a), Section 1a, interpret Article 43 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, which reads:

“If during the inter-Congress period the post of the Chairman of the Executive becomes vacant for any reason whatsoever, the Council shall, at its next session, elect a new Chairman from among the members of the Executive. Pending his election, the functions of the Chairman shall be carried out by one of the members of the Executive elected by majority vote.”

The post of Chairman of the Executive became vacant through the death of the late Pinhas Sapir, and on the agenda of the present session of the Zionist General Council, which is the first session to be held after his death, there appears the item “Election of Chairman of the Zionist Executive” scheduled for the meeting to take place at the end of this day, January 6, 1976. According to the same agenda, the present session of the Council is due to end on January 8, 1976. The question relating to the interpretations that the Congress Tribunal is called upon to give, was formulated in the above-mentioned letter by the Chairman of the Presidium of the Zionist General Council as follows:

It is likely that during the session of the Zionist General Council which was opened today, the suggestion may be put forward that the Session be divided into two meetings—one to take place this week and another to take place in a few months' time, and that the Chairman of the Executive be elected not



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at the first meeting but rather at the second meeting which will be called sometime in the summer.

The Presidium is interested in a clarification of the question as to whether Article 43 of the Constitution . . . permits the Zionist General Council to take a decision regarding the division of the session into two meetings, and the postponement of the election of the Chairman of the Executive until the second meeting in few months' time."

The application submitted by the Presidium of the Zionist General Council was by letter from the Attorney of the Zionist Organization to which were attached two other letters, one from Advocate I. Rotenstreich (dated 19.12.75) and the other from Advocate A. Gizelter (dated January 2, 1976). They advanced the view that it is possible to postpone the continuation of the session of the Zionist General Council (called for the election of the Chairman of the Executive) to some other date, and that a decision to do so requires only an ordinary majority, since it is a decision affecting a procedural matter.

In order to deal with this request, the Congress Tribunal instituted a Court of three Judges which had the approval of all relevant parties (cf. Article 50, Section 1(a) of the Constitution and Rule 6(b) of the Rules of Procedure of the Congress Tribunal). At the meeting held last night the Attorney appeared before us and he took no stand regarding the legal question at issue, but rather pointed to the difficulty involved in the election of the Chairman of the Assembly of the Jewish Agency, which will be referred to below; Mr. Itzhak Navon, Chairman of the Presidium of the Zionist General Council, Mr. Moshe Rivlin, on behalf of the Zionist Executive, who also didn't take up any stand on the matter at issue, Mr. Mordechai Daian and Rabbi Dr. Joseph Sternstein, on behalf of the World Union of General Zionists, on whose initiative this application was made to the Congress Tribunal, Advocate Dr. S. Peled and Mr. Dov Tsamir on behalf of the Labour Zionist Movement. Mr. Moshe Keller was appointed Secretary of the Congress Tribunal.

At the outset, we wish to express annoyance at the fact that those who initiated this application delayed it so far as to prevent the Congress Tribunal from adhering to the time fixed by the Rules of Procedure and it was forced to convene the meeting in a hasty fashion.

## I. NAVON

Article 43 of the Constitution which is under consideration has already been quoted above. Article 36 of the Constitution reads:

“The Presidium of the Council may, by a two-thirds’ majority of its members, after hearing the Executive, decide to postpone a session of the Council by reason of the existence of special and extraordinary circumstances. The provision of Article 16 shall apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to such a decision.”

(Article 16 concerns the postponement of Congress and entitles Council members so desirous to submit an objection to the Congress Tribunal about the decision to postpone the Congress.)

Concerning the extension of the time allotted to the Session of the Zionist General Council, there is Section 8 of the Standing Orders of the Zionist General Council which reads:

“After the opening of the session, its duration may be extended by a resolution in the presence of at least two-thirds of the members of the General Council entitled to vote by a majority of two-thirds of those present entitled to vote.”

We are of the opinion that Article 36 of the Constitution refers to the postponement of the session of the Zionist General Council only before the session begins. This we learn from the fact that the authority to postpone a session is vested in the Presidium of the Zionist General Council. If the Article covered the postponement of a meeting after the session convenes it would have been fair to assume that the authority in question would have been delegated to the Council itself.

Section 8 of the Standing Orders of the Zionist General Council deals with the extension of the duration of the session. It is our opinion that this section in the Standing Orders deals with the prolongation of the duration of the session by the convening of additional meetings of the session beyond the number fixed in the agenda. However, it does not make provision for an intermission of the session for a number of months beyond a feasible intermission for a short period only. We found no other directive concerning the postponement of a session of the Zionist General Council, neither in the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization nor the standing Orders of the Zionist General Council. Even Article 63 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization which allows for the fixing of emergency regulations does

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not refer to the postponement of a session of the Zionist General Council. (See end of Article 36 which refers to the provisions of Article 16, and see Section 3 of Article 16).

Advocates Rotenstreich and Gitzelter advanced the view that it is possible to postpone the election of the Chairman of the Executive not by postponing the session of the Council but rather by postponing the meetings of the session, in such a way that an additional meeting be held in a few months' time when the Chairman of the Executive would be elected. We do not concur in this view.

Indeed, in Section 17, Para. 1(c) of the Standing Orders of the Zionist General Council it states that the Zionist General Council may resolve "to postpone the voting on a motion to another date," but the binding implication of Article 43 of the Constitution, which is the supreme law governing the World Zionist Organization which states that if the post of Chairman of the Executive falls vacant during the inter-Congress period, the Council shall, at its next session, elect a new Chairman from among the members of the Executive, takes precedence over the provision in the above-mentioned Section 7 of the Standing Orders of the Zionist General Council. In Article 43, the intention of the legislator is clear, that in view of the central importance of the function of the Chairman of the Executive the period during which the Executive shall function without an elected Chairman shall be narrowed down as far as possible. This intention is clearly evident also when a comparison is made between Section 1 of Article 43 with Section 2 of the same article, which states that if during the inter-Congress period, the place of one of the members of the Executive becomes vacant for any reason whatsoever, the Council shall elect another member in his stead. Here it does not state that he shall be elected "at its next session," because such election appears to be less urgent than the election of a new Chairman of the Executive.

The idea of splitting the meetings of the session of the Zionist General Council so that an additional meeting would take place only in several months' time would lead to a circumvention of the express instructions contained in Article 43 of the Constitution. We have seen above that once a session of the Zionist General Council has commenced, it must continue uninterrupted and there is no possibility of either interrupting it or extending it

## I. NAVON

except in the manner prescribed in Section 8 of the Standing Orders of the Zionist General Council. Once, therefore, a session has commenced, it must proceed right to the end. "The postponement of a meeting" for a period of several months is no more than the postponement of the session as a whole using different terminology. Such postponement can be effected only through the convening of a new session of the Zionist General Council, but such a new session will no longer be "the next session" as implied in Article 43 of the Constitution.

For that reason our reply to the question submitted to us is as follows: It is impossible to postpone the meeting of the session of the Zionist General Council which is listed on the agenda, for the election of the Chairman of the Executive (beyond a feasible intermission, as is usual in conducting the meetings of the Zionist General Council) either by a regular majority of the voters, or by any other majority. Such postponement would be in contravention of Article 43 of the Constitution.

True, the election of the new Chairman of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization in an inter-Congress period (and even his election at Congress itself) is likely at times to cause difficulties in coordinating the time with the election of the Chairman of the Assembly of the Jewish Agency who serves, under the agreement for the change of structure of the Agency, also as Chairman of the Agency Executive. According to Article 3 of the Addendum to the agreement concerning the reconstitution of the Jewish Agency for Israel, there is the understanding that the Chairman of the Zionist Executive shall serve also as Chairman of the Assembly and Executive of the Agency. But such difficulties cannot in any way change the proper interpretation of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization. It is neither our task nor have we the authority to interpret regulations concerning the institutions of the Jewish Agency for Israel. If difficulties of coordination should arise after the election of the Chairman of the Zionist Executive, there is no doubt that the institutions of the Zionist Organization in cooperation with the institutions of the Jewish Agency will make an effort to overcome these difficulties.

Given this day, January, 6, 1976,

*Moshe Landau, Chairman of the Tribunal*

*Dr. David Meretz, Deputy Chairman of the Tribunal*

*Yaacov Yinon, Deputy Chairman of the Tribunal*

## SIXTH MEETING

Accordingly, Gentlemen, the election of the Chairman of the Zionist Executive will take place at the meeting which will commence at 8:30 p.m. this evening.

I wish on your behalf to thank the Congress Tribunal for having worked for long hours both last night and today, in order to submit this legal opinion.

Mr. Dulzin, the Acting Chairman of the Zionist Executive, would like to make a personal statement.

ARIE L. DULZIN

(Acting Chairman of the Executive)

I ask to be allowed to make a personal statement. In the past few days the rumour went round that I was interested in postponing the election. I want to state what actually took place. A leading lawyer in Israel expressed the view that it is possible to postpone the election of the Chairman of the Zionist Executive by a simple majority. On the other hand, Dr. Zwergbaum, the Legal Advisor of the World Zionist Organization, was of the opinion that this calls for a two-thirds majority. So the Attorney of the Zionist Organization, Mr. Klementinowsky, was asked to give his opinion.

Last Thursday, I met with the Chairman of the Zionist General Council and I said to him: "On no account do I want this matter to be submitted on Tuesday evening before the election, because it is likely to give rise to a commotion, we would then have to submit the matter to the Congress Tribunal and someone may just interpret that as a trick on my part in order to sabotage the evening session." I told him that on no account would I allow that, and that the election must take place in an orderly fashion. If there were differences of opinion in the matter, I insisted that they be clarified before the session. Since from a practical point of view it was possible to submit the matter only at the last moment, I said to the Chairman that if the opinion of the Attorney should be received by then, then I am for the transfer of the matter to the Presidium and the Presidium would consider it at the right time. This is what actually happened. The opinion of the Attorney of the Zionist Organization was submitted on Sunday, and the Zionist General Council and its Presidium acted as it did. Yesterday, I was informed that the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal wants the agreement of the three parties—the Presidium of the Zionist

A. L. DULZIN

General Council, the Attorney of the Zionist Organization, and the Executive of the Zionist Organization, before dealing with the matter. I said that the Executive would not interfere, because it was not a party to the dispute. The Presidium was in agreement and the Attorney of the Zionist Organization was in agreement, so it remained for the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal to decide on the matter. Today, we have received his ruling and we all abide by that ruling.

I am very glad that the matter has been decided upon before the election, as I had wished it to be. I do however want to state that there was no intention whatever on my part to manœuvre things so as to postpone the election. We are an honourable movement, governed by laws and by procedures and it is good that matters arise which need clarification and we have succeeded in clarifying the matter right to the end.

I ask all members of the Zionist General Council to regard the matter as closed. We shall now proceed with the agenda. The election this evening will be conducted in honourable fashion as befits the Zionist General Council and the Zionist Movement.

## SEVENTH MEETING

Tuesday, January 6, 1976, in the afternoon

Chairmen: IZHAK DE-VRIES — MORDECHAI DAIAN

### CONTINUATION OF DEBATE ON THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE 29TH ZIONIST CONGRESS

ENRIQUE WELTMAN

(Aliyah Movement; Brazil)

The Zionist Congress in 1968 defined the functions and goals of the Aliyah Movement. Today, aliyah is not a flight from persecution and from difficulties, but must be based on ideology and recognition. In working towards this goal we ask for the support of the Zionist Organization, because we aspire to reach the majority of its membership.

Seeing that Jewish schools are the principal medium for the spread of Judaism, we have opened schools in order to contribute our share to the knowledge of Israel and to the dissemination of aliyah as a goal and objective of the Zionist Movement.

We also endeavour to attract the youth. Our work is being carried on with the support of the Zionist Federation and with the assistance of the shlichim of the various movements. Within the framework of our activities we have set up ulpanim at Sao Paulo, at Rio and at Porto Alegre. We organized seminars on Israel in which Israeli students participated. We lend our support to the Documentation and Information Centre and we even reach over to the non-Jewish public with our Zionist information activities.

We lay stress on Jewish identity and maintain contacts with our people who went on aliyah to Israel. We also ask for the support of the Zionist Movement for the Organization of Brazilian Immigrants in Israel since this body is of great importance for the absorption of the new arrivals.

One should not expect a mass exodus of Jews from Brazil, but rather an aliyah that is the outcome of ideological conviction. We must

concentrate our main effort on the youth. The dimensions of aliyah today are in direct proportion to the number of students going to Israel. It is they who attract additional olim.

The *galut* mentality can no longer maintain Judaism. Aliyah is the only answer to the new generation. Our movement has been active in Brazil since 1970. We work in full cooperation with the Zionist Federation yet at the Zionist General Council we have no right to vote.

RABBI MEYER FRYDMAN

(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi; England)

The discussion before this session, is about what are we going to do until the next Congress. How are we preparing our future policy and what will be the program. I think we should follow our Calendar which is divided into *parashiot*, which I am sure every Jew knows. As it happens, this week's *parasha* is called *Bo*, "come, to Pharaoh." We have been accustomed to being attacked by the whole world. It is nothing new to us, since during the whole of our history even before we had Eretz Israel, we were the scapegoat of the world.

Before we entered the Land of Israel we had *matan Torah*, and this Torah must not be excluded from Zionist ideology; because it is a part of the Jewish people. If we are now concerned with the malaise affecting our people, with the indifference in the Jewish camp and with our youth who are not following us, we religious Zionists can explain why. When our Movement decided seventy years ago to work together with the Jewish people in order to preserve its unity, we believed that this Jewish people would apply and live by the Torah. Our way of life has never failed the Jewish people the whole of its history. Can one imagine, without the schools that we have built here, without the youth that we have developed here, without the religious university that we have created here, what Eretz Israel would have been like? Even socialists and leftists must agree that in the final analysis nothing will save the Jewish people but its own cultural heritage. Other cultures cannot save the Jewish people.

Prof. Rotenstreich posed the question: Do we want to preserve the Jewish people? Eastern Jewry tried together with the religious movements and they created the means for realizing the Jewish State. But how can Western European and American Jewry preserve this structure. The religious Zionists have great achievements to their credit



## SEVENTH MEETING

in the B'nei Akiva Movement and in the B'nai Akiva Yeshivot. We have got a youth which is devoted to Israel and rooted here. I, myself, have got children who came on aliyah because I brought them up so that they should feel that Eretz Israel is the home of the Jewish people. It is time that the Zionist Organization as a whole should learn something from the experience that we have had.

Learn from us and give content to Judaism. Do not talk loosely about a Zionism which has no historical continuity. Within Torat Israel and its cultural ramifications you have its Torah of Zionism. A Judaism true to its origins is the natural breeding ground for Zionist ideology.

URI GORDON

(Labour Zionist Movement; Israel)

Wherever one goes one hears self-castigation. We are experiencing difficult days and even our colleagues from the Diaspora are fully aware of what is taking place here. As for myself, I am optimistic because I have implicit faith in the vitality of the Jewish people.

I remember a similar state of affairs in the period immediately preceding the 1967 War, but we emerged from it successfully. Whatever happens in this country naturally reflects upon our brethren in the Diaspora. Indeed I would say that the Zionist Movement must commence working in the Jewish State itself, otherwise the identification of our brethren in the Diaspora with the centrality of Israel will be questioned.

The Zionist Movement in the life of the Jewish people is of fateful and decisive importance, yet we have been transformed from a movement into a machine. We are afraid of innovations; we do not set personal examples, neither in implementation nor in aliyah. What hurts me most is the fact that there is no reason whatever to keep on wailing and to raise our arms in surrender. Things have got to be done and I want to suggest several examples of what can be done. The question is whether we have the strength to fight against the routine that has taken hold of us.

The Prime Minister and Mr. Dulzin invited Jewish leaders in the Diaspora to a Conference which expressed solidarity with the State of Israel. We all said that this conference would be tested by the concrete acts that it would generate. I ask myself today why the Zionist Movement cannot act as a catalyst in such situations. Why can't we go out

to communities and say that each community should send ten of its members to the State of Israel in order to celebrate Independence Day with us. I simply cannot understand why we do not set an example in this respect. All great endeavours turn out to be very simple after they have been carried through. Youth from Israel and the Diaspora were sitting together and we said that in view of the situation, the time had come for the establishment of a "reserve force" among the Jewish people. I cannot for the life of me understand why in 1936 and 1937 Jews went out to Spain to help in its struggle, while now, when we are facing a difficult period, the Jewish youth are not with us.

Why can't the Zionist Movement adopt a slogan such as: "Devote a year of your life to the Jewish State," and fill it with content. I was born in this country yet I would be the last to preach to Jews about aliyah to Israel. It hurts me therefore to be sitting with young Jews and to hear them preach to us that because Israeli society is still imperfect they want us to improve it before they come. What do they mean by "improving Israeli society"? Why should that be my task alone? I believe that we can improve the State of Israel only if more Jews arrive and awake us from the lethargy into which we have sunk. If large numbers of young people would come here, it would be possible, together with us, to change Israeli society.

Zionism does not mean contributions to the State of Israel, even though we stand in dire need of those. With me, Zionism means aliyah to Israel. Why should it not be possible to set up a reserve force among the Jewish people? Why should it not be possible for us to demand of the youth to devote a year of their life to the State of Israel?

The Zionist General Council ends with the same resolutions year after year. What significance do these resolutions have? Who is moved by them? Which Jewish community in the Diaspora and who in Israel looks forward with any measure of excitement to these resolutions? While things are ablaze both in the Diaspora and in Israel, we are all given to routine.

Let me quote another example. People say there is nothing to do, yet four years ago I proposed at a session of the Zionist General Council that a Convention be called, under the patronage of the Zionist Movement, for young Jewish leaders everywhere. Why should there not be such a forum where young leaders both from Israel and from the Diaspora, who will have to shoulder the responsibility of the Jewish people in the future, can meet in Israel and sit together, think together, talk together? One does not have to agree to everything. The

## SEVENTH MEETING

young Israelis, for example, do not necessarily have to agree to what is said by the young leadership in the United States, but they should know what a young Jew from the Diaspora thinks about the Jewish state. We have no opportunity as yet of doing this. Why doesn't the Zionist Movement undertake the organization of such a conference? Four years ago the Zionist General Council passed a resolution about the convening of such a conference, but nothing has been done about it since.

Who says there is nothing to be done? I could quote examples galore. We all speak about shlichim, and about strengthening the Zionist Federations, yet where is the forum to debate these matters in depth? Personally, I think that Jewish education is of greater importance today than aliyah emissaries, and you know very well what great importance I ascribe to aliyah, yet where is the forum where I can express my views and where they can be questioned? The fact is that such a forum does not exist—we all keep on talking in generalities, and this is a system which must be done away with once and for all.

The Zionist Movement is weak because we have weakened it. If we are a Movement then there is need for a Congress. If a Movement exists, then new people must keep on flowing into it. If there is a flow of new people, there is renewal and refreshment. If there is renewal there is commitment to ideals. If all this is impossible then we shall remain weak federations full of eloquent speeches but without any substance.

The most worrying fact is that we don't seem to have the strength to break out of the routine that has taken hold of us. Every new idea presents difficulties but if we are resolved, something will come out of it. To begin with there will be 15,000 or 20,000 young people ready to implement the slogan: "Give one year of your life to the Jewish State!" if we can only set the operation in motion, if we can only begin to solve the theoretical problems involved. I began by saying that these are difficult days for us, yet I remain optimistic. We shall emerge from these difficulties, but only on condition that we launch activities that are out of the ordinary.

ABE KRAMER

(The Zionist Federation; Great Britain)

I wish to deal with some of the practical problems which I think are an essential part of the work of this meeting of the Council.

A. KRAMER

I was rather struck by some words used by my friend Avraham Schenker during the course of his address, when he said: Are we going to be a universal movement or do we just intend to go on living in our ivory tower. That must have emphasized to many of us the fact that regardless of the many years of activity on the part of the World Zionist Organization and on the part of the federations throughout the world, we still do not seem to have achieved that kind of dialogue with Jewry as a whole, which we should have achieved many years ago. I do not believe that we need a new ideology for Zionism, or that the changing years or even the changing facts call for a change in the principles upon which the ideology of this movement is founded. But quite obviously with the vast changes that have gone on throughout the world, and much more so since the establishment of the State of Israel, we must treat our own organization, and utilize our own organization in a very different way from that which we have up to now.

I would have thought that one of our essential tasks was to achieve the maximum impact and to utilize our forces to the maximum. How are we going to do that? I believe that in the first place, this Movement of ours must step out of its rather hidebound structure based upon parties, and think in terms of providing a new structure for the World Zionist Movement! I don't mean that we throw everything overboard. What I do mean is that our structure should demand that it should be the federations which sit around the tables and liaise between the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and the Jews in the Diaspora. We should have a structure with an obligatory role for youth, and a given number of places for the international organizations which we talked about in the previous session.

Last night we welcomed the Progressive Synagogues into the councils of the World Zionist Organization. The Chairman of that Session referred to the fact that under the amended Constitution, such organizations could be admitted into the Zionist Organization with limited rights, and that one of the things that they should do, is to use their best endeavours to persuade their national affiliates to join the Zionist Federations. However, in the two or three years since world movements have come into the World Zionist Organization, I have not seen any evidence of the fact that these world movements are demanding of their affiliates that they explore ways and means to join their local Zionist Federations.

I would like to mention two other things in this connection. The Jewish National Fund, which is a part of the World Zionist Organ-

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ization, and which has affiliates throughout the world, is not part of the organized Zionist Movement. Why not? However much we talk on the subject, we are unable to persuade them to say that their rightful place is in the Zionist Movement of the country in which they live.

Finally, I put forward a proposal last year that the representatives of the Jewish Agency should be required to work alongside the Zionist Organizations in the country in which they are operating, and that they should in turn regard themselves as part and parcel of the Zionist Movement. I believe we should take the initiative here in bringing this about.

It is a primary function of the Zionist Movement throughout the world to engage itself in the work of education, for children in day schools and for adults. We referred to the fact that in England we have a system of schools which is controlled and organized by the Zionist Federation. I would like to see something more like that done in other countries. I would like to be able to share experiences like that with people in other countries. I would like to know how we are going to finance these projects, because a reference was made to funds for this purpose. We cannot beg and borrow in order to run our schools they should be regarded as the principal activity of our Movement, and should be financed directly by it.

A number of the things which I referred to here are of practical importance and represent tasks that can be performed. This is not the place to engage in ideological debate. Our ideology is known. Lets get on with the job.

### ENRIQUE SHOR

(Chairman, Zionist Federation in Mexico)

It is difficult to define the conditions of Jewish life in Mexico in general and of the Zionist Movement in particular. On the one hand there is the aloofness of the young people from Jewish problems, and on the other, there are people who are active in Jewish education, in Zionist information work, and in fund-raising, both for Zionist and local purposes. The Jewish community in the country does not engage in political activity.

The present attack on Zionism is no more than an outbreak of anti-Semitism because the world will not accept that the Jewish people possess the elementary right to live and to develop.

The Zionist Movement must find a way of differentiating between the internal politics of Israel and the activities of the Zionist Movement as a whole. This year we undertook a Zionist membership drive and the prospects are good. This drive must not, however, have in mind the sending of delegates to Congress. The various departments must have better means at their disposal in order to encourage the activities of the Zionist Federations so as to bring about better results in Zionist information, in Jewish education, aliyah, *shnat sherut*, and fund-raising.

The Zionist Federations are built on the principle of party-affiliation and the Zionist parties keep on losing their influence because of this. The Zionist Federations must regain their prestige in Jewish social life and influence Jewish education which should be regarded as one of their most important functions. Jewish education in Mexico will serve as an instrument to arrest the trend of assimilation and mixed marriages. This can be done through the assistance of shlichim. But these must be chosen people in the fullest sense of the term and completely devoted to the Zionist idea. Let us hope that the committees at this session will establish facts in the field from resolutions on paper, that will act as living bridges between the Diaspora and the State of Israel.

MARCEL LIPSKIER

(Aliyah Movement; France)

The Jewish community in France numbers about half a million and is the third largest community in the Diaspora after the United States and the Soviet Union. I should like to remind you that about 300,000 Israelis originate from this community, a full 50% of the French-speaking Jewish community in the world. If aliyah from the Jewish communities in the United States and the Soviet Union would reach a similar percentage, Israel's population at present would be over four and a half million. Today, however, the circumstances that attended the mass aliyah of French-speaking Jewry, particularly from North Africa, no longer obtain, and the number of olim from France does not exceed a thousand a year. This is an outcome of the swift process of assimilation, and its causes are well-known—the loss of Jewish religious and moral values.

Concerning the Aliyah Movement that I represent here, I can state with satisfaction that the number of active workers who came on aliyah is most impressive—almost a full 100%. The Aliyah Movement has

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been in existence for only three years and it can count to its credit the foundation of Moshav Talmei Eliahu. It also created the concept of an "urban nucleus" composed of people who have decided to implement their aliyah in the same town or city. The Movement has also organized a large number of vocational seminars composed of students and groups of young workers and volunteers to the kibbutz. These activities are carried on with very meagre means, and thanks to the devotion and authority of a handful of people as well as with the assistance of the Aliyah Department of the Jewish Agency. I would like to thank this Department for its understanding and efficiency.

As regards the communal institutions in France, I can only say that their assistance and efficiency is negligible, not to speak of their enmity that we sometimes encounter. Such opposition is insufferable and cannot continue for long without doing harm to the good name of the community and to aliyah from France. The time has come when our activities must be brought to the notice of people with authority, and means, in the sphere of culture, politics, and finance.

CHAIM TEICHMAN

(Observer, Executive, Israel)

The problem facing us is how to stop talking and begin acting. We have heard some wonderful addresses as to how to transform all this talk into action. Zionism in its daily work can be reconstituted with the assistance of the State of Israel. The problem however, is how to emerge from the routine of the many years since the emergence of the state, so that Zionism may begin to give expression to what it is called upon to do, following the UN Resolution.

We have been speaking about the centrality of Israel in Jewish life but one cannot maintain the centrality of Israel without the centrality of Zionism in the daily life of both Israel and the Diaspora. Zionism must be the instrument that will impress the centrality of the state upon the consciousness of the Jews throughout the world. For Zionism must engage in Jewish education, in the war against assimilation and in the war against anti-Semitism. Zionism must be the instrument of the State because without Zionism one cannot hope that world Jewry will accept the centrality of the State.

We must admit that following the resolution passed by the United Nations we have reached the moment of truth, which is that Zionism

has known how to explain the State, while the State, throughout the years of its existence, has not succeeded in explaining Zionism.

The emergence of the State was an event that carried world Jewry off its feet, but in one matter it proved disappointing and much against its own will. We thought, as Nordau in his time did, that with a Jewish State in existence, anti-Semitism would, if not entirely disappear, at least be reduced to insignificance. Regrettably this has not happened. Anti-Semitism today is more widespread than it was even before the days of Hitler, while assimilation has assumed alarming proportions. This has brought us disappointment and it cannot be overcome without a strong and renewed Zionism. Throughout the years of Israel's existence, Zionism remained in the shade of the strong light that the State radiated, and particularly because we thought that the problem of anti-Semitism and assimilation had been solved.

The time has come to renew the challenge to the Jewish youth throughout the world to seek their political aspirations in the framework of Zionism, and to renew the fight against anti-Semitism.

ENRIQUE KATZ

(Herut-Hatzohar; Argentina)

On November 15, 1975, the newspaper "Clarín" appearing in Buenos Aires, published an open letter expressing support of the anti-Zionist resolution passed at the United Nations. The letter was signed by a group that defines itself as "Nationalist Argentina in support of the Third World," and was intended to sound the reaction of the Jewish Community in the Argentine—but no reaction was forthcoming. On December 15, 1975, another open letter was published in the same newspaper, signed by Ikof, the Pro-Communist Jewish Organization, which declared that "Judaism is not Zionism," and violently attacked the Zionist Movement. All this happened in a community with a large potential for aliyah, and in which an erroneous policy is being conducted by the Organization and Information Department.

It is likely that many shlichim, who are members of Mapam, are carried away by their own views and transmit them to the youth. The work of the Organization and Information Department is particularly difficult and of a delicate nature, but the analysis that is offered to the youth is not sufficiently clear. The Zionist Movement is undergoing a crisis which is in the main a crisis of credibility. In other



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words, the defence of the Jewish people and the solution of the problems facing the Zionist Movement are possible only with the aid of a movement that represents the pure Zionism of Herzl, Jabotinsky and other great figures in modern Jewish history and that is liberated from foreign and particularly leftist influences.

The Organization and Information Department is far too important for its work to be done by too many people of mediocre ability. It is preferable to have fewer people of greater ability and so be in a position to utilize budgets for more worthwhile purposes. The Department must reach over to the masses and put across to them that Zionism is the answer to all their problems as Jews living away from Israel. The Department should not be run solely by Mapam which professes an ideology that is not supported by the Zionist majority. The Department must cease to supply material that will induce the youth to call itself socialist or leftist first, and only afterwards Zionist. One must bring into the Department a team representing the whole range of Zionist thinking.

NAHUM SOLAN

(Mapam; Israel)

We must explain Zionism through the concepts of justice and peace. The former Chairman of the Zionist Executive, the late Pinhas Sapir, was right when he said that one cannot differentiate between Zionism and peace. If we have no peace in the State of Israel, we shall have no aliyah, and if we have no aliyah there will be no peace. The two are intermingled. Everyone knows that we can achieve peace only through compromise and we must bring our ideological compromise, as a Zionist Movement, to the notice of the world as a whole.

The Arabs are conducting a two-edged policy. On the one hand they have Sadat who appears as a moderate leader prepared for compromises, prepared for political agreement and the acceptance of Israel as a fact; on the other hand we have the Arab League which equates Zionism with racism and Zionists with international criminals.

In my opinion, there are young Jews today, to whom we must open our doors and put into positions of leadership where they can make decisions, before it will be too late.

D. SILK—D. YUTAN

DONALD SILK

(Confederation of United Zionists; England)

For two days we have been harangued, cajoled, admonished and warned of the dangers, and what panaceas are we given? Elections. At a time when one should think differently, when we should say that which unites us is greater than that which divides us, we are indulging in the infighting which characterizes Zionist elections. At a time when economy is the watchword, when funds for education and youth work are cut, we are spending enormous sums which we have not got. We have no government to enforce regular elections. I estimate the cost of elections in Britain must lie in the region of a hundred thousand dollars, and that is for one little island. What it will be in the Argentine, in America, in Canada, I just tremble to think. I reject the specious argument that only in this way can new people come to Congress. It really is very simple. All the older ones should allow new people to come in their place, if these people exist.

The second panacea was mentioned in passing, that every country must have a Territorial Federation of one kind and one kind only. My friends there is not one Diaspora; there are many Diasporas, each one different, each clothed with the character of the country where it finds itself, but nevertheless each country must force itself into the strait jacket called the "territorial federation" that Jerusalem prescribes.

Students of history tell us that rigid bureaucracy and stultified forms of government are a prelude to senile decay and collapse. Unless we are prepared to allow freedom and flexibility to our Zionism in the various Diasporas, whether in the questions of forms of election or in the question of territorial federation, *rigor mortis* will have set in.

DAVID YUTAN

(Union of General Zionists; Israel)

I think that we should not call ourselves the World Zionist Organization, as appears on all our memoranda and documents, but rather the World Zionist Movement which, of course, must have a strong organization behind it. We are an ideological movement and we maintain a political struggle on account of certain circumstances that exist in

## SEVENTH MEETING

the world. However, if we want to approach the world and particularly Jewish youth, we must appear as an ideological movement with serious content.

Jewish youth are devoted to progressive ideology. We know from Jewish history that young Jews gave more to other social revolutions than to their own people and to Zionism. If then, we want to win them over to our idea and to Eretz Israel, we must convince them that there can be no greater task than to work among the underprivileged youth of Israel.

That is why I propose that we should organize and set on foot a great Zionist Movement. In my opinion the danger looms large, and today when more than at any other time in the past, we are fraught with ideologies and arguments that speak to the heart of the Jewish youth which is not equipped and strong enough to withstand them. Our youth goes out to pasture in strange fields simply because there are more colourful banners there. That is the danger.

If the Zionist Movement can only find its way to the hearts and minds of the Jewish youth, I have no doubt that although we will experience difficult times and we will have a difficult struggle in front of us, we will also have a great future to look forward to.

## APPROVAL OF COMMITTEES AND THEIR COMPOSITION

### MENACHEM GELEHRTER

(Secretary of the Presidium)

The Presidium of the Zionist General Council has decided to recommend to the Council to elect the following four committees: (1) The Zionist Organization Towards the Congress; (2) Political Activities and Information; (3) Aliyah and Absorption (4) Education, Youth and the Young Generation.

The Presidium has decided that each committee shall be composed of 32 members, constituted as follows:

Zionist Labour Movement — 8 members; World Confederation of United Zionists — 5 members; Mizrahi-Hapoel HaMizrachi — 5 members; World Union of General Zionists — 4 members; Herut-Hatzohar — 3 members; World Union of Mapam — 2 members; WIZO — 1 member; Independent Zionist Movement — 1 member;

World Sephardi Federation — 1 member; World Union for Progressive Judaism — 1 member; Maccabi World Union — 1 member.

The representatives of the parties have submitted to the Presidium the names of their members in the various committees, and they have been approved by the Presidium. The Zionist General Council is called upon to elect the committees and approve their composition.

The Presidium's proposal has been approved.

The list of members of the committees is printed at the end of this report.

## CONCLUSION OF DEBATE ON THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

ARNOLD R. GINSBERG

(Union of General Zionists; U.S.A.)

I have heard it said here that the UN resolution was a blessing in disguise, but I disagree completely. The UN resolution against Zionism was a disaster for Zionism, a disaster for the Jewish people and the sooner we understand that the better. We are in deep trouble. And when the leadership of Zionism throughout the world comes to Israel for a plenary session of the Actions Committee, and we spend hours and hours discussing what I consider to be trivia, I say that Zionist leadership and the Jewish people do not understand that what is happening today can lead to another holocaust.

What happened in the United Nations is not a blessing in disguise, but it is a very serious, a very grave challenge, to the Zionist Movement. Our enemies in the world, the enemies of decency, the enemies of democracy, the enemies of freedom, attack Zionism. Zionism is the cement, the thread, the life blood of the Jewish people that our enemies fear. Out of this Actions Committee session should come in addition to whatever elections or whatever organizational business we have, not the usual kind of resolutions that we might expect from the various committees, but declarations of principle, definitive pronouncements, and eloquent appeals to those who believe in decency. I have heard it said here that the government of Israel does a disservice to Zionism, when it fails to recognize the Zionist leadership outside of Israel. Be that as it may, we sit together these days in these plenary sessions, not

## SEVENTH MEETING

as Israelis, not as Americans; we sit here as the Zionist leadership of the world. Let us not blame the Israeli leadership, if we Zionists cannot produce a lead.

I disagree with my friends who think that general debate has no place in plenary sessions of the General Council. It would be better if in advance of our sessions position papers were prepared and circulated and if the work of our commissions were refined and crystallized for us in advance, so that we really could spend just a couple of hours and come to conclusions.

One thing that we Zionists have done is that we have permitted non-Zionists to take over the leadership of the Jewish people. However, now that Zionism has become the main issue on the world scene, we must declare to the world that Zionism is the voice of decency, that Zionism is the voice of morality, and that Zionism does express all of the aspirations and hopes of the Jewish people.

### REPLY TO THE DEBATE ON THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

BY AVRAHAM SCHENKER

I regret very much that we used terms at this meeting without more care. I think that there were many words used in the debate which, if people were to think twice they would have hesitated to use. I say this because I am sure that anyone who is a leader in the Zionist Movement would not denigrate ideas. Anyone who thinks that the attack on Israel which was mounted at the United Nations is purely political in nature, and does not as yet understand that it is precisely the shift from political issues to the far more dangerous level of ideological issues that threatens us, is missing the entire point of the anti-Zionist resolution. Therefore, those who claim that ideological debate becomes general debate which, in turn, becomes business as usual, do not understand what has been going on in recent months and the kind of battle in which we are involved.

We do ourselves an injustice by this kind of talk. I am convinced that the Zionist Movement has shown remarkable resource in going to the governments in the various countries and in initiating the appropriate actions in many different forms. I beg of you all—have some respect for the work that you are doing in your countries. The criterion of a successful session is not whether one department or an-

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other department is going to present a good, well-prepared program to any particular committee on how to bring more Jews to Israel, or how to better organize Zionist Federations, important as those things are. I suggest that this session of the Zionist General Council, has been on a much higher level than the previous session in terms of the debate, in terms of the quality of the addresses, in terms of whatever else has been said here and in terms of all that we have been trying to evolve in our work.

There are two different conceptions at work here. Rose Matzkin forgets that while Hadassah is one of the great creations of the Zionist Movement, it is not the same as the Zionist Movement. Anyone who wishes to convert our activities, the forms of our debate, and the system of our elections into what is acceptable in Hadassah, is doing damage to the Zionist Movement.

As I listened to Rabbi Louis Rabinowitz, I could not make out whether he was agreeing with me or debating with me on the question of the central role of Zionism in the State of Israel. He claimed that Zionism fulfills itself when someone comes on aliyah. I think that is only part of Zionism. I believe that we have to establish a mutual relationship between Zionists in Israel, the Zionist State, and a Zionist Movement which sees as its principal task the Zionization of Jewish communities around the world. Whoever attempts to interfere with this continuous circle of influence is doing an injustice to our situation, to our activities and to our function.

Rabbi Rabinowitz attacked the Ideological Committee. I cannot really understand him. The Ideological Committee is representative of all the groupings in the Zionist Movement. It has already succeeded in reaching agreement on one subject, and is working on a second. It has sent out material to Zionist Federations around the world, some of whom have put the material to work in practice already. The formulations were unanimously accepted after weeks of debate and discussion. Yet Rabbi Rabinowitz claims, I don't quite know how, that the Ideological Committee cannot find a single common denominator and that the chairman is throwing up his hands in futility. While I cannot say that I am entirely satisfied with the work of the Ideological Committee or with its image in the Zionist Movement around the world, I do believe that a good foundation has been laid over these past several years.

One would imagine from Rabbi Rabinowitz' Comments about an article that appeared in "Dispersion and Unity" in 1973, that it was

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responsible for the resolution proposed by the Arabs and the Communists in the United Nations equating Zionism with racism. We held a special session of the Zionist General Council in February, 1974, and we debated this question. I said what I had to say at that time, and so did the Executive and the Actions Committee. It would appear as if Rabbi Rabinowitz does not read, or ignores what he does read in "Dispersion and Unity" in 1974 and in 1975. I can prove that more and more intellectuals and academics around the world are reading "Dispersion and Unity" in the four languages in which it is published, and that they are pleased to read it and write to us about it. That is a brief resumé of the State of one of the best publications in the Zionist Movement, and I am proud that it comes out of my Department in the name of the entire Zionist Executive.

Mr. Katz also found it necessary to attack the Organization and Information Department, this time on the grounds that its publications are intended to transmit my private opinions, as a Mapamnik. He also used a phrase that I do not understand: "pure Zionism without contamination!" My dear friends, the Zionist Movement is a pluralistic Movement. The ideas that we all separately represent are the legitimate ideas of the Zionist Movement. There is no such thing as "pure Zionism without contamination." There is only the totality of a Movement which represents a spectrum of ideas from right to left, and from secular to religious, all of them together creating the consensus which constitutes Zionism, and which is the secret of its strength.

Many people talked about the Zionist Federations. My friend Mr. Kramer would like to place the Federations at the focus of our activities. I am all in favour of this suggestion. Indeed, you may recall that in my address this morning, I even turned to my colleagues on the Zionist Executive and very gently chided them for not having moved fast enough in transferring functions to the Zionist Federations. But I also want to emphasize that the Zionist Federations have some very important responsibilities. One of their responsibilities is to make sure that young people move into positions of leadership in the Zionist Federations, so that we can achieve those aims we all talk about.

Mr. Kramer further suggests that while we have brought in world wide organizations, no progress has been made in the affiliation to the Zionist Movement of branches of the Sephardi Federation or of Maccabi at the territorial level. This is still a problem in his own country—in Great Britain. I would remind him that in Argentina, in Chile, in Uruguay, in Canada, in the United States, in South Africa and in

other parts of the world, branches of the World Sephardi Federation and of Maccabi have affiliated with the Zionist Federations, and have encouraged their individual members to become direct members in the Zionist Federations. What has happened since the Zionist Congress in 1972, when these organizations joined, until today, shows that the approach of the Zionist Executive was correct, because step by step we are reaching new people and new groups, who are coming into the Zionist Federations after discussion and negotiation. Until recently, we were not even talking to most of these organizations.

A word to Mr. Patrich of Argentina, who said that we must not only build on political parties. May I remind him that it was in Argentina that he and others refused to allow the *Tnuat Aliyah* to join the Zionist Executive, and who refused to allow the *Irgun Horim*, the organization of parents of children in the Zionist-run schools, and the Confederation of Zionist Youth, a place on the Executive. It is very easy to claim that we should be an organization which is open, but when the chips are down, and you are in your community, and the *Tnuat Aliyah* requests a place on the Executive, you refuse because they will not toe the party line. What do you want from the World Zionist Executive? What do you want from the Zionist General Council which changed the Constitution to make such affiliation possible? Let us pursue in our own countries the causes we so enthusiastically support when we speak from this platform.

Enrique Weltman and Murray Safran, who represent the *Tnuat Aliyah* here, said that they want a vote for their representatives. I would tend to support them, except for one problem. The *Tnuat Aliyah* started out as a movement whose members commit themselves to aliyah within three years, but they have allowed this time-limit to extend over a much longer period. If the *Tnuat Aliyah* will, indeed, commit every one of its members to aliyah within three years, believe me, not only I, but the entire Executive will fight for its place in the leadership of the Zionist Federations in each country.

My friend Donald Silk of Great Britain talks about flexibility in the Zionist Federations. Flexibility in England—in the one Zionist Federation that has not changed one iota in its structure? It has done and is doing a great deal of important work. It does some things that no other Zionist Federation does. But please don't talk about flexibility if you are a representative of the British Zionist Federation, which is comfortably enclosed in its own organizational strait-jacket. Please don't make yourself "holier than thou" in facile comparisons with



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other Zionist Federations that are honestly trying to come to grips with their many problems.

A word to my friends from the Mizrahi. I appreciate all that they are saying, and listened to Rabbi Bronner yesterday and to Rabbi Frydman today. Yet when Rabbi Bronner says that secular Zionism is at the core of all that is wrong with Zionism, I am afraid he is misreading history. It is as simple as that. He is misreading the history of the Zionist Movement, and furthermore if being Jewish is the private concern of only religious Zionists, I regret to have to tell him that he is all wrong. I, as a secular Zionist, know what it means to be proud as a Jew, and I am ready to compare any member of HaShomer HaTsair with their good friends in Bnei Akiva in terms of their pride as Jews. I beg you to stop talking in these exclusivist terms. We are a pluralistic movement; we are a movement that embraces many different view points and if we will not have respect for each other and for the difficult work which we are doing, we will only undermine ourselves.

Dr. Shukroun representing the Sephardi Federation, said something which was a bit startling for me. He said that the Departments of the World Zionist Executive look upon the Zionist Federations in the various countries as "colonial outposts" to which they have to bring the true word. There is something in that statement. The truth is that the directors of the departments and their representatives, the schlichim, should be working as equal partners with the Zionist Federations and not as superior beings who come to teach the "true word" to the "natives" in the colonies.

I would ask all of us to give special attention to a particular problem. Do we want to have Zionist Federations which will be able to carry out the job that Prof. Rotenstreich spoke about at the opening night of our meeting, of ensuring the continuity of the Jewish people, or do we think that we can do it better by being splintered into so many different elements? We must find some kind of balance. We are a movement which has to find the means to bring about an understanding between ideological groupings and territorial organizations. We cannot choose between one and the other.

Finally, in my address this morning, I tried to underline what has to be our agenda during our preparations for the next Zionist Congress. We will not be able to avoid or postpone certain questions. First of all, the status and position of the Zionist Movement in the Jewish world

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and in the eyes of the Government of Israel and the representatives of Israel. We must achieve a clear, or at least a clearer formulation on this matter. Mr. Am-Shalom, in the debate, proposed a unified and defined program of *hasbarah*. Mr. Tsur told us yesterday that for the last several months the Zionist Executive and the representatives of the Foreign Ministry have been discussing that very question, and working out a program of action. This work has been fruitful and the report of this joint committee, chaired by Mr. Tsur, will be brought to your knowledge shortly. It still has to be approved by the Zionist Executive and by the Foreign Office, but I think that you should know that this work has been going on, and with a considerable amount of mutual understanding and agreement.

We will have to deal with the relationship between the departments of the World Zionist Organization and of the Zionist Executive and the Zionist Federations in the various countries. We will have to deal with the question of aliyah from the Western countries. This question is the touchstone of our work and of our very being. We will have to deal with the nature of the delegations that come to the 29th World Zionist Congress. Do we finally open our ranks to that degree that young people are an integral part of our work and not just an object to be worked on, instead of with?

These are some of the questions which will determine how strong the Zionist Movement is, because I have a great deal of faith that our history can easily withstand any resolutions passed by the United Nations. I believe that the Zionist Movement has not by any means reached the end of the road in terms of its potential. We must deal with the long-range problems and the immediate problems simultaneously. The purpose of our discussions in this Actions Committee was two-fold and we dealt with two subjects: the attack on Zionism and our counter-offensive, and the preparations of the Zionist Movement towards its Congress, to plan its future, its continuity and the work that it has to do in the long run.

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### ZIONIST ACTIVITY IN ISRAEL

ARYEH ZIMUKI

(Chairman, Zionist Council in Israel)

Last week in Jerusalem on the initiative of the Zionist Council, two conventions were held—of heads of Student Organizations in Israel as well as of key workers of the Organization of Young Volunteers in Israeli secondary schools, known under the name of “Noar LaNoar” (Youth for Youth). These conventions were held under the slogan: “Israel’s Reply to the Anti-Zionist Resolution.”

I would suggest that the Zionist General Council adopt the resolutions passed by the Student and Youth Convention. They are:

- a) an appeal to the educational institutions in Israel to introduce compulsory lessons on Zionism in secondary schools and to introduce the subject also in the matriculation examinations;
- b) an appeal to the institutions of higher learning in Israel to make a study of Zionism compulsory in all the universities;
- c) that the mobilization of Jewish youth for the establishment of settlement nuclei and the activities of the Israeli students and the Israeli youth serve as a fitting reply to the anti-Zionist resolution.

It should be pointed out that the Israeli press and the other communications media evinced small interest in these two conventions which, in my opinion, mark a point of departure in the attitude of Israeli youth to Zionism in recent years, particularly since the Yom Kippur War.

I should also like to bring to your notice the fact that for the first time a Zionist quiz will be held among the youth, on the initiative of the Shazar Institute in cooperation with the Ministry of Education. So far, about one hundred and fifty secondary schools in all parts of the country have registered and I think that the champion will be elected on Lag BaOmer. The purpose of this quiz is to encourage a more widespread and intensive study of Zionism, to establish Zionist circles, and to strengthen the attachment of the youth to the Zionist Movement and its activities.

Ever since its establishment, the Zionist Council has regarded it as one of its tasks to serve as a leader for the inculcation of Zionism into

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the consciousness of the Zionist public. This will not be possible unless a sympathetic attitude towards it is created in the Israeli public. It has always been our view that one cannot expect a strong Zionist Movement in the Diaspora unless there is a Zionization of the State of Israel. Let us hope that in the light of the experience to be gathered from the Zionist Quiz in Israel, we shall be able to plan additional Zionist quizzes among the Jewish youth throughout the world along the lines of the World Bible Quiz.

The Zionist Council itself maintains three Zionist institutes—one in Jerusalem, at the Dr. Israel Goldstein Youth Village, a second one established two months ago at Kfar Galim in cooperation with the Haifa Municipality, and a third which is being established in cooperation with the Teachers' Council of the Jewish National Fund in Tel-Aviv.

Since January, 1975, over 6,000 pupils from 40 secondary schools in Jerusalem have attended a Zionist political seminar held at the Dr. Goldstein Youth Village. It is with a sense of great satisfaction that I draw your attention to the measure of interest evinced by these young people in subjects connected with the problems of the relationship between Israel and the Dispersion.

In the past year alone, the Zionist Council arranged about 5,500 functions in secondary schools for youth movements and working youth clubs.

May I be permitted to submit to you the findings of an enquiry instituted by the Institute for Applied Social Research on the subject "The Student Youth and Zionist Consciousness." Pupils of the higher forms in secondary schools were asked:

- a) To what extent is it important that the youth in Israel should know something about the following subject?
- b) Do you feel that you possess sufficient knowledge on the following subjects.

In answer to the question relating to the history of the Zionist Movement, 87% replied that the subject is important or very important.

In answer to the questions on the history of the Jewish People, 92% replied that the knowledge is of the greatest importance.

In regard to the situation of the Jews in the world, 90% pointed out that the subject is important or very important.

On the subject of Jewry in countries of stress, 94% replied that it is very important.

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As for the support of the Jewish people in the Diaspora extended to the State of Israel, 93% indicated that it is of great importance.

It is interesting to note that 97% of the young people look upon the theme: "The Israeli-Arab Conflict" as a most important subject. About 75% of the pupils indicated that they would like to receive information on Zionist topics on Television; 84% wanted lectures on the subject in schools; 91% advocated study tours of the country; 77% wanted to receive written information material and 79% advocated regular lessons on Zionism as part of the regular school curriculum.

This survey, therefore, shows that the young people in Israel evince very great interest in subjects connected with Zionist consciousness but there exists a great discrepancy between their interests in these subjects and their actual knowledge of them.

We have heard people advocating the holding of special conventions for a clarification of Zionist themes concerning the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora, and ways of Zionist implementation etc. Round about Passover time, a world convention of students and young Jewish leaders from Israel and the Diaspora to last 5 days will be held in Jerusalem, when these problems will be deliberated on. This meeting will be arranged jointly by the Zionist Council, the Youth and Hechalutz Department of the World Zionist Organization, the Bureau for the Adult Young Generation and the Student Union in Israel. Similar, but more extensive conventions will be held within the coming year.

A committee of University lecturers headed by Prof. Joseph Nedava has been set up in order to draw up a program for these study days, intended to widen the knowledge of various matters engaging the attention of the Jewish world in its ideological struggle against those heading the anti-Zionist or anti-Jewish campaign throughout the world. These study days or symposia will serve as a basis for a comprehensive clarification of Zionist problems and will contribute their share to the ideological equipment of Jewish key-workers throughout the world.

## EIGHTH MEETING

Tuesday, January 6, 1976, in the evening

Chairman: ITZHAK NAVON

### ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE

CHAIRMAN ITZHAK NAVON

I am glad to notice that it would be slander to claim that no one in Israel takes any interest in Zionist affairs. We have before us on the agenda, the election of the Chairman of the Executive. Let us first of all deal with the formal side of the election. Article 43, Section 1 of the World Zionist Organization reads:

“If during the inter-Congress period the post of the Chairman of the Executive becomes vacant for any reason whatsoever, the Council shall, at its next session, elect a new Chairman from among the members of the Executive. Pending his election, the functions of the Chairman shall be carried out by one of the members of the Executive elected by them by majority vote”.

Section 18, Paragraph 6 of the Standing Orders of the Zionist General Council says: “Voting shall be by roll call or by secret written ballot if so requested by 20 members of the General Council entitled to vote or by the Presidium or by the Executive.”

I have received a list of over 20 members of the Zionist General Council requesting a secret poll. The election shall therefore be secret.

I shall read out to you the procedure of the election. In the first place, two members of the Executive have submitted their candidature. They are, in alphabetical order, Mr. Josef Almogi and Mr. Leon Dulzin.

1. The form of election: The Secretary of the Zionist General Council, Dr. Eytan, who is sitting beside me shall read out the name of every member with voting rights, in alphabetical order.
2. Every member with voting rights whose name has been called out shall approach the ballot committee and identify himself with

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his membership card of the Zionist General Council. Such a member will receive an envelope bearing the seal of the Presidium from the ballot committee.

3. The elector then enters a closed booth set up near the table of the ballot committee where he will find three kinds of ballot papers. Two of these papers each bear the name of one of the candidates, while the third is blank.
4. The elector places one such ballot paper in the envelope and then seals it. One may not place more than one ballot paper in the envelope. If more than one ballot paper should be found, the vote will be invalidated.
5. He returns with the envelope to the election committee table, and drops the envelope into the ballot box, following which he returns to his seat. If he should find it impossible to remain quietly in his place he may walk out of the hall where he will find an attractive exhibition of books on Zionism, as well as a buffet.
6. When all the members have voted the ballot commission will count the votes, and sum up the results of the election which it shall transmit to the Chairman of this session who will announce the results to the Zionist General Council.

(Dr. Reuven Eytan, Secretary of the Zionist General Council, calls each member by name to come forward and vote.

The chairman announces a break, for the counting of the votes.)

## RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS

### CHAIRMAN ITZHAK NAVON

I have the honour to reopen the meeting and I want to read out to you the results of the election as, submitted to me by the ballot committee. There were 110 members with voting rights. All the ballots were found in order. The results are as follows:

Mr. Almogi — 67

Mr. Dulzin — 42

One ballot paper was blank.

I have the honour to announce that Mr. Josef Almogi has been elected Chairman of the Zionist Executive.

## I. NAVON

The members of the ballot committee were:

Rabbi Yehuda Ellinson, Chairman;

Dr. Berl Frymer and Mr. Nathan Jacobson, Deputy-Chairmen;

Mr. Shlomi Levy and Mr. David Yutan, Members.

Allow me to say a few words.

There were no grounds to fear that the elections would have a disruptive influence on the Zionist Movement. Elections are clearly a democratic act in all elected public bodies.

I believe that public interest in the affairs of the Zionist Movement rose very high throughout the elections, and I estimate that it will be increased in the future and that we will remain at the focus of public interest.

The election campaign lasted over several months—I think it was conducted by both parties fairly and properly, and that there was nothing that was likely to lead to a split or to misunderstanding between the two candidates which is of the greatest importance for their close collaboration in the future.

Allow me now to say a few words to Mr. Dulzin. In Mexico they used to say that Mr. Dulzin "es un grand caballero". The great ability that is inherent in you, your great humanity, your indefatigable devotion and your vast experience have always placed you at the centre of affairs of the Jewish people and of Zionism and will continue to do so in the future. Your moral right to preach Zionism is unquestionable because you have implemented your Zionism. In the name of all the members of the Zionist General Council and those who supported you and those who supported the other candidate, I wish you long years of fruitful work in the Zionist Movement.

While Mr. Dulzin who is well-known for his work in the Zionist Movement needs no introduction, I will take the liberty of saying a few words about Mr. Almogi. He came to Israel at the age of 20 and worked as a labourer in the construction industry and in the citrus groves. He played a leading role in the Haganah and in the Jewish Defence during the period of the Arab onslaught on the yishuv, and when World War II broke out he joined the Palestinian units in the British Army to fight the Nazi enemy. During the four years in a German prisoner of war camp, Almogi became the leader and spokesman of the Jewish prisoners, and laid great stress on maintaining the pride of the Jewish detainees and on their right to maintain a Jewish form of life, including the erection of a synagogue. When the Germans



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withdrew from Greece, he marched to Germany at the head of that famous "death march" over 900 kilometers and at a temperature of 30 degrees below Zero.

When the War ended he returned to this country and entered the affairs of the Jewish labour organizations, the Histadrut and his own labour party. He served as a Cabinet Minister and latterly as Mayor of Haifa.

This is, of course, an incomplete biography. Mr. Almogi is gifted with sound logic and with a warm heart. He has great organizational ability and possesses true pathos—and it seems to me that these two traits are most needed today by the Zionist Movement. He also has an inexhaustible capacity for work. He has the ability to concentrate on one matter with all the devotion at his command. The members of the Executive will find him first of all to be a loyal colleague.

A chapter has ended with this session of the Zionist General Council and a new chapter commences in the Zionist Movement. With concerted effort, and despite differences of opinion, we shall carry the movement forward, consolidate the State of Israel and strengthen the Jewish people.

ARIE L. DULZIN

(Member of the Executive)

First of all, many thanks to Mr. Navon for his encouraging and kind words. I should like to congratulate Mr. Josef Almogi on his election as Chairman of the Zionist Executive, and I wish him great success in the execution of his task. I should also like to thank those who voted for me. I also want to thank all the members of the Zionist General Council who made this election exemplary and democratic in character.

Since I was responsible for the conducting of the affairs of the Zionist Organization in the interim period, I am proud of the fact that they were handled satisfactorily. I also wish to take this opportunity to announce that at the forthcoming meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive I shall tender my resignation as Acting Chairman of the Jewish Agency. I think that this session of the Zionist General Council has succeeded in enhancing the honour of the Zionist Movement. The debate was conducted on a very high level and there was sincere concern for the problems and challenges that face both the Zionist Movement and the Jewish people. I hope that we shall continue to grow

A. L. DULZIN—J. ALMOGI

more consolidated, much stronger and imbued with greater faith, and that we shall overcome all the difficulties that lie before us. Let us continue on our path with faith in the justice of our cause. I hope that the Jewish people is fully Zionist today, and that we all live in a Zionist period and not in a post-Zionist period. As Zionists, we shall not allow anyone to introduce a wedge between Jews and Zionists because we are all Zionists. We shall continue to exert all our power for the strengthening of the Jewish people and the consolidation of the State of Israel.

JOSEF ALMOGI

(Chairman of the Executive)

I am quite overwhelmed by the task that faces me; as well as by the confidence that you have placed in me.

I want to thank Mr. Dulzin and to congratulate him on the manner in which he conducted his campaign and on his unblemished public record. I also want to congratulate him on the fact that so many people voted for him. I want to believe that the friendship that exists between us will be strengthened through the joint work that faces us in the Zionist Organization and in the Jewish Agency in the future.

Members of the Zionist General Council, it is with a deep sense of responsibility that I shoulder this task which some of the greatest men in Jewry fulfilled in the past. I am very sorry that my old friend Pinhas Sapir, who left his impress upon the Movement and who brought it some of his stormy spirit, was taken from us before his time. Personally, I am fully aware of the situation in which we all find ourselves, and I hope to speak about this at the conclusion of the session of the Zionist General Council. I can only say this: I am accustomed to taking an oath of allegiance in the Knesset. Here, this evening, I take an oath to devote all my energies to the encouragement and intensification of Zionist thought, and to the strengthening of Jewish unity. I believe that all of us present here this evening, representing 14½ million Jews throughout the world, will, together, be able to withstand the onslaught against us and to overcome it.

## NINTH MEETING

Wednesday, January 7, 1976, in the evening

Chairman: DR. BERL FRYMER

DR. BERL FRYMER

(Chairman)

We are now beginning the practical stage of the Session of the Zionist General Council, when summations and draft resolutions are submitted for approval.

The first item on today's Agenda is the Report including the findings of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee of the Zionist General Council, and the resolutions regarding Report No. 18 of the Comptroller.

### PROPOSALS OF THE PERMANENT BUDGET AND FINANCE COMMITTEE

YEHOShUA LEVY

(Chairman of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee)

According to the Standing Orders of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee, it is necessary to submit a report in writing to the Zionist General Council on the activities of this Committee. We have done so, and this report is to be found in the General Report submitted by the Executive. However, following the deliberations that we had in the Committee, which devoted many hours to discussion, several subjects have arisen which we have submitted to the Chairman of the Presidium, and to the Zionist Executive. We should like to bring them to the knowledge of the Zionist General Council.

The first matter is that the Standing Committee on Budget and Finance, in accordance with the Constitution, functions from one Congress to another, and at the meetings of the Zionist General

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Council an additional Finance Committee is elected which submits the Budget for the approval of the Plenary of the Zionist General Council. This has led to some duplication in activity, since some members of the Permanent Committee that worked throughout the year in co-operation with the directors of the various departments and with the Treasury Department, and are fully conversant with the issues, did not participate at all in the discussions on the budget at the Zionist General Council, while those members from abroad who did not sit in the Permanent Committee were not in a position to discuss details of the budget. The result was that the deliberations were superficial and not thorough. We therefore propose to the Zionist Executive a change in the Regulations, so that there should be only one Standing Committee for Budget and Finance which will function permanently from Congress to Congress and which will report to the Zionist General Council on its work and submit the budget for the approval of the Council.

The Treasurer of the Zionist Organization accepted this proposal and transmitted it to the Constitution Committee. I hope that at the forthcoming Congress the Constitution Committee will be able to carry through the necessary amendments that will make possible a regular functioning of the Standing Committee throughout the period between Congresses and that its findings will be submitted to the Zionist General Council for wider and more thorough deliberation.

The other matter that I should like to bring to your notice is the fact that in view of our deliberations on the various budgets we have reached the conclusion that it is necessary to centralize information activity. We cannot acquiesce in that information work is carried on by every department separately. Some centralization must be effected in the name of efficiency, coordination and better application of available funds. I hope that the Executive will give its consideration to this matter and will accept the proposal that we have submitted to it.

A third matter: We have already begun work on the Budget for the year 76/77 even though we have not yet received the draft budget. In view of the lot that is being said about expanding Jewish education in the Diaspora we held meetings with the relevant Departments, and we wish to recommend to the Executive that when it comes to discuss the budget it should take into consideration the special needs of Jewish education in the Diaspora, see to it that the budget be commensurate with these needs, and mobilize the necessary resources.

A fourth matter: while we are the Finance and Budget Committee

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of the Zionist Organization, its budget constitutes less than 10% of the total budget of the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. In view of the separation of functions between the Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency, we asked that the Finance Committee of the Jewish Agency should act as a Standing Finance Committee in which members of the Standing Finance Committee of the Zionist Organization would participate, and that this Committee should function throughout the year and not only when the Jewish Agency Assembly meets to discuss its budget. We should have been involved in the formal deliberations on the approval of the budget, and not only at the time when the deliberations are summed up, but throughout the discussions on the last budget of the Jewish Agency. The members of the Jewish Agency agreed to this. The Executive also agreed, but the plan has not yet been implemented. We ask that the Executive see to it that resolutions passed should be carried out so that we may officially be involved in the discussions on the budget of the Jewish Agency.

Now with regard to the budget—although this matter has not come up for discussion at the present session—and in connection with the report of the Comptroller—according to the Constitution, the Permanent Committee receives the Report of the Comptroller together with the comments of the Executive thereon. It must consider these and make recommendations to the Executive as to the practical steps to be taken in order to carry out the Comptroller's recommendations. The Finance Committee set up a special sub-committee to study the Comptroller's Report, to clarify matters with all the individuals and/or the departments mentioned in the Report, and to report back to the Committee. The Committee, in turn, studied the report, and, to begin with, held discussions with two Departments—the Organization and Information Department and the Young Leadership Division. It has reached conclusions which we have submitted to the members of the Zionist General Council. These findings relate to the Report of the Comptroller. I should like to point out that we must receive the Comptroller's Report in time so that it may be possible for us to study it at length because our deliberations are thorough and require a lot of time.

In the light of disclosures made in the newspapers, the Presidium of the Zionist General Council saw fit to focus its deliberations on other Departments which the Committee had not sufficient time to deal with in detail. In deference to the Presidium's request, we heard what the various Departments had to say and I should like to submit to the Zionist General Council the first conclusion of the Committee. After

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having considered the Comptroller's Report, we have found that the remarks of the Comptroller notwithstanding, there was nothing to reveal any improper conduct in any of the Departments of the Zionist Organization. There was no paragraph in the Comptroller's Report which referred to a criminal act having been committed by anyone in the Zionist Organization. I think that the staff of the Zionist Organization fulfill their functions with sincerity and devotion, and that the Departments carry out their missions to the full. If there are any drawbacks, according to the Report of the Comptroller, they have to do with procedure and these have to be corrected. The Executive will have to ensure that these improvements are made. In the Report that we have submitted to you, we draw the attention of the Executive to three points:

- a) that the Executive ensure that the faults are corrected;
- b) that a special person be appointed to ensure that the remarks of the Comptroller are acted upon and that he report every six months on the implementation of the findings of the Comptroller;
- c) we also suggest that the Comptroller should not wait until the whole of the Report is completed but that whenever each section of the Report is finished, it shall be submitted to the Executive, to the Department in question, as well as to the Committee, so that we may have sufficient time to discuss and deliberate on the problems arising.

Finally, activities have expanded and new departments have been set up. We think that a detailed discussion must be held about the functions and aims of such departments as the Organization and Information Department and the External Relations Department of the Executive. In view of present-day conditions, very extensive activity is being carried out, but such activity must also be adapted to present-day limitations. The director of the Young Leadership Division with whom we conducted several discussions, asked that the Zionist Executive devote a thorough examination to the tasks incumbent upon the Adult Young Generation, and to place the necessary means for activity among this section of the community, at the disposal of the Division.

The same applies to the External Relations Department which works mainly among non-Jews. It has been in existence since 1954 and has done very important and wide-ranging work. It has cemented ties with non-Jewish organizations who have become very staunch friends of ours. However, its activities are conducted on a limited scale, and there are no general directives as to its functions and objectives. The means required for such activity are by no means small. We will

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suggest that the Zionist Executive devote a thorough discussion to this matter.

With your approval, I will read the draft resolutions that we are submitting to the Zionist General Council.

(Mr. Yehoshua Levy reads the proposals.)

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** This Permanent Committee of the Zionist General Council has the same authority as any other committee appointed by the Council and a certain procedure. Am I to understand that there are no amendments? If so, the resolutions have been carried unanimously.

**ELAZAR GOELMAN:** May one make a remark on a point of style?

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** One may, but a Drafting Committee has been elected, so we will not deal here with matters of style.

We will vote twice. First we will vote on the budget and then we will vote on the Comptroller's Report.

We shall now vote on the proposal concerning the budget. Who is for? Who is against? The resolution has been passed by a large majority.

I shall now put to vote the draft resolution of the Comptroller's Report. Are there any amendments? Who is for? Who is against? The resolution has been passed by a large majority. 39 for, 2 against. (See resolutions at the end of this report.)

**PAUL SAFRO:** There is total confusion concerning this resolution, and the reason is plain if you look at the Agenda, for the report of this Committee has not been listed. I would like to know why not.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** Strictly I would have to rule you out of order. These remarks are being made after the Report was presented and accepted by a majority vote. You had every opportunity to raise the issue before. However, I think that these are matters which call for a little bit of deviation from the usual procedure. I give the floor to the Treasurer.

**A. L. DULZIN, Treasurer:** It is true that everything has been decided and voted upon, but I consider this a very legitimate question, and I ask Mr. Levy to answer it.

M. KAGAN—Y. LEVY—I. NAVON

MOSHE KAGAN: There is a sentence in the resolution saying that we show appreciation to the Comptroller. I have no quarrel with the rest of the resolution. But I read the Report and there are glaring inaccuracies. There has been some carelessness, and I feel that the comptroller should have a comptroller of his own. Therefore, I think we should delete the showing of appreciation.

Y. LEVY, Chairman of Committee: Allow me to explain. The item on the Agenda is the Comptroller's Report. The Zionist General Council does not elect a special Committee to consider the Comptroller's Report. According to the Constitution, the Report is submitted to the Standing Committee on Budget and Finance. This Committee has to consider the Report and submit its findings. We did this, and this forms part of the item entitled "Report No. 18 of the Comptroller." We reached conclusions that we submitted to you in accordance with procedure and regulations.

CHAIRMAN B. FRYMERS Well, we have now finished with this item. Thank you Mr. Levy.

ELECTION OF A MEMBER TO THE PRESIDUM  
OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

ITZHAK NAVON

(Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

In accordance with Article 35 of the Constitution, the Zionist General Council elects Mrs. Rachel Ruth Jacobson as a member of the Presidium of the Zionist General Council in place of a member of the Presidium who resigned. Mrs. Jacobson was President of the Mizrahi Women. I ask the Council to approve this election.

BERL FRYMER

(Chairman)

I understand there is no opposition.



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### ELECTION OF MEMBERS TO THE CONGRESS TRIBUNAL

ITZHAK NAVON

In accordance with Article 55 of the Constitution, the Zionist General Council in accordance with the recommendation of the Chairman of the Tribunal submitted after consultation with the Presidium of the Zionist General Council, elects Judge Abraham Malter and Mrs. Mildred Devor as members of the Congress Tribunal in place of members of the Tribunal who died.

BERL FRYMER

(Chairman)

I take it that this proposal is accepted.

In this connection there was a remark made by Mr. Klementinovsky. Perhaps he will repeat what he said.

ZVI KLEMENTINOVSKY

(Attorney of the W.Z.O.)

Section 55 of the Constitution lays down that if in the inter-Congress period, the place of any member of the Congress Tribunal is vacated, the Zionist General Council may elect someone else to fill the place rendered vacant, in accordance with a proposal submitted jointly by the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal and the Attorney. While I support the election, I would like to announce that since it was not carried out in accordance with the Constitution, I shall from now on abide strictly by the letter of the law and will in no way depart from it.

DR. AARON ZWERGBAUM

(Legal Advisor)

There is a minor misunderstanding here. The learned Attorney did not read the section properly. The relevant article in the Constitution reads:

“If during the inter-Congress period the place of one of the members

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of the Tribunal or the post of the Attorney or of one of his Deputies becomes vacant, the Council may, upon an agreed proposal of the Chairman of the Tribunal and of the Attorney, or upon a proposal of one of them (as the case may be), such proposal having been made after consultation with the Presidium of the Council, appoint another person to the vacancy."

I submitted the matter to the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal, and since the case in question did not concern the Attorney but rather the substitution of one of the members of the Tribunal, the Chairman of the Tribunal thought that in this case his consent alone was sufficient.

PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE  
ON ALIYAH AND ABSORPTION

ITZHAK PERETZ

(Chairman of the Committee)

Allow me to say a few words on the work of the Committee. I am pleased to inform you that all the members of the Committee contributed to its efficient functioning and that the work was done in good spirit thanks to the clarifications of the Head of the Aliyah Department, the Director General of the Aliyah Department and the Director General of the Ministry of Absorption. I should like to congratulate all the members of the Committee, and particularly the members of the Drafting Committee who spent many hours on their work.

I shall begin by reading out the Draft Resolutions.

(Mr. Peretz reads the first five proposals on: the Aliyah Movement, Encouragement of Aliyah, Aliyah from the USSR, Housing, and Employment.)

ITZHAK PERETZ: There are two amendments to Paragraph 5, submitted by Herut-Hatzohar. The first amendment concerns employment, and reads as follows: "The Zionist General Council calls upon the Government of Israel and the General Federation of Jewish Labour (Histadrut) to change the principle of "last to come, first to go," in regard to the dismissal from work of new immigrants. This principle serves as a serious deterrent to the absorption of immigrants to Israel." This is the first amendment.

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**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** We shall now hear the reasoning behind this amendment.

**ITZHAK PERETZ:** Perhaps it would be beter to hear the two amendments together?

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** Yes, that would be desirable. We can hear the reasoning afterwards.

**ITZHAK PERETZ:** The amendment runs as follows: "In planning immigrant absorption the solution of housing should be linked to employment possibilities."

**LEA SLOVIN:** Regarding the first amendment, that "The Zionist General Council calls upon the Government of Israel and the Histadrut (the General Federation of Jewish Labour) to alter the principle of: "last in, first out." At the Session of the Zionist General Council last year a similar resolution was passed. There would have been no need to pass this resolution today if a solution had since been found. I want to add that the late Mr. Sapir commenced work in order to bring about this change and the Director General of the Ministry of Absorption has announced publicly on many occasions that his Ministry believes that this change must be brought about.

A few words as to why I think this must be done. In the first place, the "last-in first-out" principle is deleterious to the economy because it leads to inefficiency and most people know that the industrialists in the economic plan that they submitted to the Government, proposed a change of this principle. In other words, the change is for the good of the country, the economy and the general population, and not only for the good of the immigrants, who, incidentally are the worst hit by it. Immigrants from the Soviet Union suffer the most because the authorities there hold up immigration for years. It is not the fault of the immigrant that he could not arrive in the country, say four years ago. He comes whenever he is allowed to leave and commences work. He works well, his productivity is good and if he is dismissed, it is only because the Soviet Authorities held up his aliyah.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** Mr. Narkis will reply, but his statement does not come in place of the reply of the Committee.

UZI NARKIS (Director, Aliyah and Absorption Dept.): I want to say in regard to the point of "last in, first out" concerning dismissal, that the Jewish Agency Assembly at its last session dealt with this matter in the Committee on Absorption, and decided that everything possible should be done to persuade the Histadrut to abolish this principle with regard to new immigrants. The late Mr. Sapir held talks with the Secretary General of the Histadrut and with many other people in this connection, and about three months ago the Central Committee of the Histadrut decided that there is ground for the abolition of this procedure, as far as it concerns new immigrants. Consequently when this matter came up before the Committee which deals with the encouragement of aliyah from the West, it was proposed that no stress be laid on this point, because it has practically reached solution.

CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER: And now the Chairman of the Committee will give his reply.

ITZHAK PERETZ: We have two amendments here. As for the first, concerning the principle of "last in, first out"—we did not include this in the draft amendment because it was suggested that it may adversely affect the immigrants insofar as various workers' committees would protest the decision, and ill will between the Israelis and the new immigrants would result.

As for the second amendment concerning the linking of housing with employment possibilities we have this to say. Resolution number 7 of the Committee reads: "The Zionist General Council adopts the resolution of the Convention of Jewish leaders in Jerusalem for the setting up of a special, independent committee to examine the whole question of aliyah and absorption." In view of this we felt that we could not pass resolutions so long as this independent committee has not yet been set up, since it could possibly reach different conclusions.

CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER: We shall now vote on the first amendment concerning the abolition of the principle "first in, last out."

ADI AM-SHALOM: Is there any possibility of adding some explanations, as chairman of the Drafting Committee?

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**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** As much as I would like to permit that, it would be unfair to the party proposing the amendment. We will act in accordance with procedure. The Chairman may empower you to answer in his place.

**ADI AM-SHALOM:** I ask for such authority.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** But he has already replied.

**ADI AM-SHALOM:** But he has not gone into detail. I hear remarks being made that indicate that the paragraph has not been properly understood.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** I am very sorry, but I have to put to the vote the first amendment concerning the principle of "last in, first out." Result of the vote: 32 against 15 for. The resolution of the Committee has been passed and the first amendment is rejected.

**ITZHAK PERETZ:** We now come to the second amendment which reads: "In planning immigrant absorption the solution of housing must be linked to possibilities of employment."

**REUBEN ARZI:** I suggest that we do not regard this as an amendment but that we include it in the draft resolution. The Ministry of Absorption and the Immigration Department have often requested that when offering housing one should take employment possibilities into account. This matter, therefore, must be included in the draft resolution and not in an amendment.

**ESTHER ZACKLER:** I want to protest against the conduct of several people here. We all sat in committee for about nine hours and put in a lot of effort. I think we all deserve the credit that we thoroughly discussed this matter. I protest against this conduct.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** Your remark is accepted by all.

The resolution is passed unanimously and no votum separatum is presented.

(Mr. Peretz reads proposal 6 on preventing emigration and proposals 7-8 on the adoption of the Jerusalem Conference on Jewish Solidarity.)

## I. PERETZ—L. SLOVIN

ITZHAK PERETZ: There is an amendment to paragraph 7. The amendment reads: "One has to set up a supreme authority for aliyah and absorption affairs, to concentrate the required authority, to lay down an aliyah and absorption policy and to implement it."

CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER: Mrs. Slovin, you have first of all to give reasons for your amendment.

LEA SLOVIN: This is not intended to be an amendment to paragraph 7. I accept paragraph 7 as the Chairman read it out. My proposal is not connected with any paragraph in the resolution.

There was a lot of talk about duplication in the Jewish Agency and the Ministry of Absorption, and a Coordination Committee was set up. Let us hope that this Committee will prove effective.

When I speak of a "Supreme Authority" I want everyone to understand that I am referring to the lack of authority in this field and not to the necessity to avoid duplication. I am not concerned with the relationship between the Jewish Agency and the Ministry of Absorption.

As much as it wants to, and I believe that it does, the Ministry of Absorption can never contend with the problems of immigrant absorption in the country, because it can only be a mediator; it has no authority to decide and implement matters that fall within the authority of other Ministries in the Government. For that reason I feel that there should be a Supreme Authority composed of representatives of all the relevant bodies which shall have the absolute authority to determine policy and to carry out decisions on all problems of absorption. As for paragraph 7, the recommendations of the independent commission should be submitted to the Supreme Authority which will decide which recommendations to accept and which not, what should be done and how.

ITZHAK PERETZ: When the Committee heard your reasoning, where you added that you would like this Authority to be like a Government body it came to the following conclusion. The Jerusalem Conference did not take place two years ago but only a month ago. If that Conference decided on a resolution calling for an examination of the whole set-up of aliyah and absorption which includes employment and integration and whatever other associated business there is, it may just reach the conclusion to set up the Authority or special

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commission to which your resolution refers. In addition, we felt that since there is a Coordinating Body there are sufficient parties dealing with the situation. We are interested in simplifying processes and not in making them more cumbersome and that is why the Committee opposed this proposal.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** Who is for Mrs. Slovin's amendment?

39 for the resolution; 14 for the amendment. The amendment has been rejected.

**ITZHAK PERETZ:** There is an amendment to paragraph 8, calling for the addition of: "To the development Zones in Eretz Israel intended for speedy population—the Galilee, Sinai, the Golan, the outskirts of Greater Jerusalem, Ma'ale Edomim, Ofra of Judea, Kiryat Arba, and of Samaria—Kadum."

**YITZHAK SHMUELI:** I propose that when speaking about the mobilization of volunteers and of new immigrants one should give details of the regions and the settlements in question. In particular, I stressed that the areas under discussion are in line with Government decisions.

When I speak of Sinai, I have in mind the town of Yamit, which is in accordance with the plan for development of the Rafiah Enclave. There is certainly nothing to add about the Golan. I ask that you regard this proposal with favour.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** Are you putting that to the vote?

**ITZHAK PERETZ:** It is inconceivable that the Committee should begin spelling out the localities where activities should be carried on and where not. That is why we said: "In all regions of the country, in settlement outposts, in accordance with the resolutions." By so doing, we will avert unnecessary debate, and surely we are all agreed on that.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** If that is the case, I should like to avoid a vote if possible. I ask for this amendment to be deleted and that there should be no vote on the matter. However, it will be recorded as any other statement—we have taken note of it.

I. NAVON—B. FRYMER—M. FRYDMAN

**ITZHAK NAVON:** Just one remark. When we say "We have taken note of this" it means that we approve it. And if we say "We have noted it down" it means that the Zionist General Council has approved it. If that is your intention, perhaps it were better to take a vote.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** I would ask you in this instance not to make use of Knesset terminology. As I said, we have noted the matter, just as we record all things said here. It does not mean to say that we have approved or rejected anything.

**ITZHAK PERETZ:** Continues to read the proposals.  
(See resolutions no. 32-35 at end of the volume.)

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** I have two procedural remarks. One should not include resolutions of a general nature in the resolutions of any one department. While you speak here in the name of all the departments, who empowered your Committee to do so? The resolutions do not belong in the realm of Aliyah and Absorption.

**RABBI MEYER FRYDMAN:** I would add another small paragraph: The Zionist General Council demands the establishment of religious absorption centres in localities where there is absorption of religious aliyah. I speak from experience. There are religious families coming from the West, and there is not one religious absorption centre in the whole of the country.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** Without entering into the matter, and with full understanding for your feelings, I must repeat the law. This has not been submitted to the Committee, and in the plenum of the Zionist General Council there are no proposals from the floor. We cannot therefore vote on this matter.

**GEULA HAVKIN:** I am surprised that the resolutions did not begin with a call for aliyah in the light of the resolutions at the United Nations. I should like to suggest here that the Zionist General Council declare that it regards mass aliyah to Israel as the reply of the Jewish people to the resolution at the UN.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** I take it upon myself to pass this matter on to the Political Committee.



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**ESTHER ZACKLER:** I should like to draw your attention to the fact that the majority of the members of the Committee are either new immigrants or representatives of the Jewish Agency and of the World Zionist Executive. It is a shame that not many people from the United States participated in the deliberations of the Committee, not one from Canada, very few from other countries and very few representatives of the political factions in the Diaspora. It would seem to me that at this critical period in Zionism and in the history of Israel, it is a pity that those among us who are responsible members of the Zionist Movement did not see fit to participate in the deliberation of the Aliyah Committee. The same thing happened at the Jerusalem Conference, although the reason given there was that the participants were representatives of World Jewry and were not necessarily Zionists. I think that this reflects a very sad situation.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** Chairman of the council, you have heard Mrs. Zackler's remarks and so have we. We have taken note of what you have said.

**ITZHAK NAVON:** The Chairman addressed his remarks to me. If the composition of the Committees was my responsibility I would pay serious attention to this very disturbing remark. As you are very well aware, it is the Parties that select their representatives. At any rate, I would suggest that one should circulate this remark to all the Parties. There is a lot of sense in it.

**CHAIRMAN B. FRYMER:** We shall try to do so. I addressed myself to the Chairman because he represents all the Parties constituting the Zionist General Council. It is he who must call their attention to these matters, as I am sure he will.

Well, I take it that all the resolutions which had amendments and were voted upon, will be duly passed. This I think suffices in order to give legal confirmation to the excellent work done by the Committee.

(The resolutions are printed at the end of this report—Section C.)

## TENTH MEETING

Thursday, January 8, 1976, in the morning

Chairman: BARUCH WEINSTEIN

### PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, YOUTH AND YOUNG GENERATION

RABBI HERSCHEL SCHACTER

(Chairman of the Committee)

I am here to report on the work of four departments: the Department of Education and Culture in the Diaspora, the Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora, the Youth and Hechalutz Department, and the Young Leadership Division.

We spent all day in discussion, covered a great deal of ground, and afforded all the members of our committee who so desired, an opportunity to speak. The head of each department reported fully on the work of the department, as well as on specific plans and programs for the immediate future.

The fact that we were able to combine in one session the work of these four apparently disparate departments is in itself a very healthy omen—the beginning of an era of cooperation among departments that have so much in common. We were very careful to avoid any political problems and attempted honestly to arrive at a consensus which was achieved with some minor exceptions.

The mood that pervaded our discussions and deliberations is one that I would like to share with you this morning. The discussion was held under the influence of the recent Solidarity Conference. Everyone felt that this is, in fact, the year of Zionism and, with it all, there was a very real expression of pain and of frustration on the part of all who participated in our deliberations. Viewing the world in which we live with all that is happening and has happened, after the holocaust and the glory and the challenge of Israel, there persists a realization and recognition of the erosion of Jewish identity. There is

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so much ignorance and apathy, and far too many young people around the world who minimize, or ignore, or tend to deny their identity as Jews. How do we reach these tens of thousands of young Jews at different age levels? How do we bring to them the gallant and heroic drama of Israel reborn?

While all the committees deal with vital matters, we felt that our subject, the programs for education of youth, and young leadership, are areas that obviously represent the soul, the very future of our movement, of Israel and of our people the world over. And yet I repeat there was a feeling of futility. Somehow the problem seems so overwhelming, and there appear to be no ready solutions.

We came up, of course, with the same resolutions, and the feeling that was expressed and frequently went unexpressed as to how to find something that is new, something that would really be startlingly different.

We must understand, however, that ultimately, education is a slow process and at times a tedious process. We cannot rely on that which is fashionable or immediately attractive. It is a slow, difficult and persistent process that requires great deliberation and constant loyal work.

The question that really agitated us is, how many qualified, concerned and responsible community leaders are really devoting their time, their energy and their means, to Jewish and Zionist education.

We emphasized over and over again the need to teach Zionism. Many of us feel very strongly that Zionism, to be taught properly, must be based on the totality of the religious and cultural experience, the heritage of our faith and of our people. There were those who maintained that we should not treat Zionism like any other subject. Zionism, based upon the totality of our religious and cultural heritage, must permeate every aspect of Jewish life, and of Jewish education.

We have educational programs. We have teachers. We even have fine Israeli shlichim. The desperate need, however, is still felt for teachers and guides who are imbued with the ideal of Jewish survival, of Jewish growth and with dynamic Jewish values. We need to emphasize the role of the Jewish home. We need over and over again to strengthen the commitment to Eretz Yisrael, to Am Yisrael, and to Torat Yisrael in this year of Zionism. We must strengthen the bond between Jewish youth and Jewish identity, by means of properly rooted education, and aliyah to the city, to the kibbutz, to the university, and to the yeshivot. Just as we heard some criticism of the work of the departments under the purview of our committee, the department

## H. SCHACTER—Z. AMIDROR

spokesmen who participated in our deliberations did not hesitate to express their criticism of the Zionist Organization and the Zionist Federations for not cooperating more fully with them in their work.

Surely neither the State of Israel nor the World Zionist Organization nor the Jewish Agency, can possibly do the job alone. The Zionist Federations and Jewish Communities around the world must bear the burden which is not only a financial one, but one of concern and interest. We must recognize the mutual responsibility of the Zionist establishment, the State of Israel, the WZO and the Jewish Agency, together with the local work performed in each and every Jewish community around the world.

I shall now turn to the resolutions that resulted from our deliberations, but not before. I express my personal gratitude to all the members of the committee who sat through the day in what would have been a very cold, drafty room, had the spirit in the room not kept it very warm. I also wish to express my gratitude to the deputy chairmen Mrs. Carmel Weber and Mr. Israel Avidor, and especially to Mr. Avidor who acted as the Coordinator of the Resolutions Committee.

The first resolution is historic in a sense because both the general Department on Education and Culture and the Torah Department united in presenting one joint resolution that reflects their interests in this field. It is the kind of resolution that means something to each department yet it is one resolution: I will now read the resolutions: (Rabbi Schacter reads the proposals on Education.)

**RABBI H. SCHACTER:** We have an amendment by Herut-Hatzohar which reads: "The Zionist General Council calls upon the Education Department to implement the resolution of the Zionist Congress and to include in the literature that they publish, the history of Etzel and Lehi in addition to the material on the Haganah and the Palmach."

**ZILA AMIDROR:** In actual fact this is not so much an amendment but a protest against the fact that the Education Department has not abided by the resolution of the 27th Zionist Congress, and I demand that the Zionist General Council implement this decision which reads: "The Congress charges the Department for Education and Culture to include in the study syllabi in seminars and in Diaspora schools chapters concerning the heroism and devotion manifested by members of the underground movements in the period of the British Mandate, the Palmach, Etzel, Lehi, those who were executed by the

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Mandatory authorities, and the Israeli soldiers in this country in all battles against our enemies.”

This resolution has a history. It began with the wording “the underground,” but since that generally implies the Haganah and the Palmach, I fought against it and it now reads “underground movements.”

In 1967, after the liberation of Jerusalem and other parts of our homeland, the names of Etzel and Lehi were officially accepted, and in this resolution of the Congress it was agreed expressly to include these names. Since then eight years have elapsed but no actual change has taken place. If we glance at the catalogue issued by the Publication Department we find that out of 42 books there is only one chapter from Yaacov Meridor’s book “Long is the Road to Freedom,” which tells about the deportees to Kenya. The catalogue also includes a book about the people executed in Iraq. Why should there be nothing about those executed in this country?

There is a book by Dr. Joseph Nedava—an excellent book—from which the youth can learn about the remarkable heroism displayed by those fighters sentenced to death for having fought the British Authorities here. Why is there nothing about the detention camps and the arrest of mothers, of women, of fathers and sons in this country during the British rule? Why is there nothing about the illegal aliyah movement, documented by Haim Lazar? The list is long. I ask why these books have not been included in the list published. They can only lead to a love of the Jewish people and Eretz Israel. Our youth know about Jean-D’Arc, why shouldn’t they know anything about our heroes who mounted the scaffolds? I ask that a resolution should be passed by the Zionist General Council, calling upon the Department for Education and Culture to implement the Congress resolution.

I called upon the head of the Department for Education and Culture, Mr. Finkelsztajn, to declare before the Committee, that he accepts this proposal. He said that he would look into it. Seeing that his examination has taken several years already, I appeal to this forum. I ask for a resolution to be passed calling for the implementation of the resolution of the 27th Zionist Congress.

**ISRAEL AVIDOR:** This amendment by Mrs. Zila Amidror was submitted to the drafting committee as well as to the Committee as a whole but we found no reason for the Zionist General Council to deal with the

H. FINKELSZTAJN—B. WEINSTEIN

matter. It should be addressed directly to Mr. Haim Finkelsztajn who will deal with it within his department.

**HAIM FINKELSZTAJN:** At yesterday's meeting, I explained that I regretted the fact that there was no discussion in Committee on the work of the various departments and on publications. Only one subject was discussed, namely, special programs as a result of the resolutions of the Jerusalem Conference. I said that I will look into the matter and there is no reason whatever why anyone should regard this as prejudicial treatment. At any rate I do not think that this matter calls for a debate in the plenum of the Zionist General Council.

**CHAIRMAN B. WEINSTEIN:** In that case the amendment is struck off the agenda. I put to the vote the draft resolutions of the Committee, as submitted by Rabbi Schacter. Who is for? Who is against?

The draft resolutions on education have been adopted.

(See resolutions at end of this report.)

(Rabbi Schacter reads the proposals on Youth Affairs.)

**RABBI H. SCHACTER:** There is a votum separatum by Herut Hatzohar: "The Zionist General Council calls upon the Jewish youth in the Diaspora to accept the principle of a year's compulsory service to Israel under the motto: 'Give a year to Israel', as a moral obligation to come for at least one year".

The Zionist General Council calls upon the Zionist Executive to carry through an educational-propaganda program immediately in order to implement this resolution.

The Zionist General Council calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department to organize the absorption of the young people arriving in the country within the framework of this program".

**ERIC GRAUS:** I find it extremely depressing at a time like this, when we are under fire from all the Arab countries and many other countries in the world, to find that the Zionist leadership cannot rise to the occasion, and that I have to put this resolution in the Plenum.

I am referring to *shnat chova* (a year's compulsory service). Many explanations were given as to why it wasn't necessary. Some people said we already have *shnat sherut*; some people say we cannot tell the youth what they have to do. I fail to understand all these explanations. I am not talking here about just another scheme or project, but about

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ideology, about responsibility of Jewish youth abroad to play its part together with the youth in this country. Why should it be that by accident of birth, a child who is born in Israel has to serve three years in the army, while a Jewish child born abroad has no obligation at all? It is about time we faced our responsibilities! It is about time that we told the youth abroad that they too have a part to play.

I am not asking a lot from them—just one year in Israel. They can spend it in any way they like—they can work on a kibbutz, they can work on the railway line in the Negev, they can go to a yeshiva, they can go to university—but the important thing is that they come here, learn the language, know the people, and spend one year in Israel. We talk about aliyah, yet this is the only way we will attract aliyah from the free world. If at least they come here there is a chance they will stay, or that a great percentage of them will come back.

I think that *shnat chova* is extremely important and especially in this Year of Zionism. Why do we have to discuss it at all? It should be obvious. Is there anything that anybody can say against it? Some people object to the word “chova”—but we have a duty to our parents, to our children, to our people and to our country! Do we volunteer to bring up our children? Do we volunteer to do our duty? We have to do our duty. Similarly it is the duty and moral obligation of Jewish youth abroad to serve the State of Israel for at least a year in whatever way they choose.

I ask this Vaad HaPoel to pass this resolution unanimously. I think it was mentioned on the radio last night and I think it would be a tremendous shame if we only churned out the old platitudes and resolutions without accepting something which is perfectly obvious.

I ask you to pass this resolution and to think big. You may say this is a dream. But Zionism was a dream. When Herzl envisaged a Jewish State, did anybody imagine it would become a practical possibility? Perhaps *shnat chova* is also a dream but we can make it a reality. Our youth need a challenge—let us give it to them.

MORDECHAI BAR-ON: In my opinion there is no question whatever, whether in Committee or in this hall, regarding the desirability of an idea of this kind if it is at all possible to carry it through. I also believe there can be no debate about the moral force of the ideas expressed by Eric Graus. We all agree with them. In Committee two

problems were raised: one concerned the political implications included in a dramatic declaration of this nature in several countries; the other—to what degree is there any prospect of implementing this idea on a large scale.

I do not propose that the Zionist General Council vote against this welcome suggestion. For that reason, I would recommend that Mr. Graus be satisfied with the fact that I, as Head of the Department, declare that we shall make every effort to carry through this program, and that we shall issue a call, bearing in mind the particular conditions obtaining in each country, to implement this idea and to intensify the Zionist identification of the youth with Israel through the spending of one year in the country.

We might perhaps add that it is the duty of the Zionist General Council, that is, of the representatives of the Federations and of the various movements to exert the maximum effort to ensure that their youth implement this idea. If Mr. Graus is satisfied with this, I think it would be best to close the matter at this point.

RABBI H. SCHACTER: I will now read an amendment tabled by the Mizrahi-Hapoel-HaMizrahi:

“In view of the situation in Israel and the needs in the field of settlement, the Zionist General Council charges the Youth and Hechalutz Department with the duty of maintaining a *chalutzic garin*, the members of which shall both organize and constitute part of the existing settlement program. This *garin* will function in coordination with the various *chalutzic* Movements. Emissaries on behalf of the various settlement projects shall go out to the Diaspora in order to organize such *chalutzic* activity.

The Zionist General Council recommends that the Youth and Hechalutz Department be furnished with the necessary means in order to implement this resolution.” Mr. Goelman will explain.

ELAZAR GOELMAN: I submitted a proposal to the Committee that the Zionist General Council decide on a renewal of the *chalutzic* movement. It appears that in Eretz Israel a *chalutzic* youth has arisen not under the auspices of any existing movement, but one which nevertheless implements *chalutzic* work. This youth acts out of no other incentive but a love for the country and a love for their people and the utmost devotion to their ideals and to divine commandments. They knock upon the gates of Judea and Samaria. Among them there



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were also those who revived Kfar Etzion. This youth brings a spirit of revival and rejuvenation which constitutes not only a new idea but a new message to the people. The Zionist General Council, which meets at a time when such a serious situation exists in the country, when there is a lack of pioneers to strengthen the settlements on the Golan Heights and of people willing to join us in this splendid work, must offer its assistance and its heart to the idea of strengthening pioneering work in the country.

I proposed therefore, in the Committee on Education and Youth Affairs, that this time we do not remain satisfied with the Congress resolution about chalutzic activities because it is too general a resolution and is not as binding as a chalutzic movement, the strength and deeds of which we are fully aware. I believe that the light kindled by the youth in Israel can kindle many chalutzic bonfires in the Diaspora.

In my resolution—and this is not an amendment but an addition to the draft resolution—the Zionist General Council should call upon this youth through its personal emissaries, who can serve as an example of pioneering spirit, to organize and to bring over the youth in the Diaspora, and share these chalutzic deeds with them.

I deeply regret the unnecessary sensitivity when one mentions the name of Gush Emunim. This sensitivity should play no part in the Zionist General Council. I ask the Council to vote for this addendum which can only add to the honour of the Movement.

**MORDECHAI BAR-ON:** I ask to be permitted to speak in order to provide some information in this matter. The reply to the proposal will be submitted by the Committee. I do not want to debate the proposal; I only want to say that within the framework of the chalutzic movement and during the past two years, about 20 new nuclei have been organised, in addition to existing kibbutz nuclei.

Within the framework of the chalutzic movement and over the past two years, we are in the process of establishing two kibbutzim in the Arava, one affiliated to the Young Judea Movement under the auspices of Hadassah, and the other to the Reform Movement. The establishment of a cooperative moshav by the Mizrahi Youth in the Rafiah Enclave is also in process. A cooperative moshav has been established by the Massada Movement in the Segev region of the Galilee. A kibbutz has arisen in the Golan Heights, established by Habonim; and Kibbutz Gezer has been revived by young people

from America. There is a nucleus known as the Golan Nucleus, whose objective has not yet been finally fixed, but as its name implies, it will settle in the Golan.

The ideal of the "Jewish Chalutz" has also given birth to another type of pioneering less spectacular from the press point of view, but in my opinion, more important, such as for example the Betar nucleus at Beth Shean, the Bnei Akiva nucleus at Netivot, and the Sherut L'Am nucleus at Kiriath Shmoneh and Hatzor.

Seeing that the proposal suggested sending out people from these newly established settlements in order to enlist chalutzim, I wish to point out that this is an accepted technique, which we are employing at present and shall continue to do so in the future. In another few days, people from the Arava will be going to the United States on behalf of the Aliyah Department in order to carry out activities of this kind. There is nothing to stop anyone from doing what Mr. Goelman wants to do within the framework of the Jewish Chalutz. I wish to inform you that the framework is fully operative and affords encouragement to settled kibbutzim, and to moshavim, as well as to those settlements due to be set up as part of the accepted settlement plan.

**ISRAEL AVIDOR** (deputy-chairman of the Committee): The Committee cannot agree to the proposal tabled by Mr. Goelman. Furthermore—we generally refrain from mentioning specific localities or settlement operations in the Committee on Education, or, for that matter, in any other Committee. The late Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, Mr. Pinchas Sapir, said that settlement operations were the sole concern of the Israeli Government. That is why we cannot accept Mr. Goelman's proposal and we ask that a vote be taken.

**CHAIRMAN B. WEINSTEIN**: We shall now vote on the amendment. There are 33 against; 16 for. The proposal has been defeated.

We shall now vote on the draft resolutions as submitted by Rabbi Schacter.

(See end of this report.)

(Rabbi Schacter continues with the draft resolutions on the young generation. The resolutions were passed unanimously and are printed at the end of this report.)

## TENTH MEETING

### PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND INFORMATION

BERNICE SALPETER-TANNENBAUM  
(Chairman of the Committee)

I wish to express my thanks to the following persons: Mr. Dov Barnea, co-chairman, who served as chairman of the sub-committee on resolutions; and Avraham Tory and Daniel Monson, co-chairmen, who took over the chair when emergency calls from the sub-committee called me away. Let me also express my appreciation to the coordinators Amnon Hadari and Tirza Gur, and the members of the Resolutions sub-committee who served with Mr. Barnea—Shlomo Derech, Rose Halprin, Aba Bornstein, Miguel Modlovsky, Harry Hurowitz and Joan Comay.

Of the eleven world confederations or movements represented at the committee, almost all of the 3 delegates accredited to our committee attended the sessions. Although there were times of the day when attendance dropped off, there were several peak hours when it seemed as though half of the delegates to the entire Zionist General Council were sitting in the room and vying actively for the floor.

Mr. Jacob Tsur presented a very forceful and cogent explanation of the work done by his committee. There was an unfortunate misunderstanding on the part of some delegates who thought that Mr. Tsur was reporting in connection with the immediate work at hand or in response to the United Nations decision on racism. In fact, the Tsur Committee, as it has become known in Jerusalem circles, began its work before the United Nations attack and is about to present its conclusions to the two bodies that empowered it, the Foreign Ministry and the WZO. Mr. Tsur's address to the committee dealt with the philosophy of *hasbarah* and some of the practical conclusions that derive from it. At one point, he made one very forceful comment that we should all pay particular attention to. He paraphrased John F. Kennedy's remarks in his inauguration speech—Do not look constantly to Jerusalem every time there is a crisis or an unexpected attack from some quarter, hoping to get processed directives, but develop the resources you have been working with, so that you can swing into action immediately and in the firm belief that you are informed and knowledgeable and therefore can present the case of Israel effectively.

## B. S A L P E T E R - T A N N E N B A U M

Mrs. Schenk, President of the American Zionist Federation, reiterated the position that it is the Zionists and the Zionist Federations who must come to the fore notwithstanding the complementary activities of the embassies and consulates.

There were reports by the representative from England, Dr. Levenberg, and the representative from France, Mr. Friedrich, who concentrated on the political climate in their respective countries and also on what their respective Zionist organizations were doing, rather than on *hasbarah* activities.

Although more reports were to be given by the representatives of South Africa, South America and Australia, we could not, unfortunately, hear them, due to the fact that people decided to use this committee for general debate.

The sub-committee on resolutions and I would like to make a suggestion. We ask that drafts be prepared and ready for the opening day of the Actions Committee deliberations, and that the resolutions committee be appointed immediately and begin to work at once, so that by the time the committee meets there are acceptable drafts ready on which we could deliberate with a lot more efficiency and a lot less pressure. In our present situation—particularly in a committee which deals with sensitive political issues, the burden on sub-committee members is great. The entire committee, therefore, could not be present when these drafts were completed, and as soon as they were, they were grabbed from the sub-committee, rushed to the committee, and not really enough time was given to pure deliberation as a result. Finally, as time ran out we decided to invite everybody who was then present in the evening to be part of the sub-committee and therefore we had an enlarged sub-committee meeting that lasted until midnight.

The composition of the committee was most comprehensive and I feared that as a result of this there would be great difficulty in reaching a concensus. In fact, despite the diversity of our opinions, there is only one *votum separatum* that was recorded. I believe this is quite an achievement.

I think that an excellent address was given by Moshe Yager, head of the Department of Information of the Foreign Ministry, who dwelt on some of the practical aspects of his Department's activities, and how Zionists abroad could exploit them. Interestingly enough his theme was: If I am not for myself, who will be for me? He made this statement as a life-long Zionist and as a life-long professional. In response to many questions and some complaints, Mr. Yager answered in a

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forthright and dignified manner, neither side-stepping the issue nor making excuses. I also thank Mr. Max Yaron, also of the Foreign Office, who stayed with us throughout the day and was invaluable in offering guidance.

Mr. Benjamin Jaffe of the External Relations Department spoke about the excellent work of his Department amongst Christian clergy and non-Jewish lay persons.

I think that Mr. Avraham Schenker's report was fascinating; you have already heard him. For us he outlined the methodology and devices that are now being employed throughout the world, and his report was supplemented by Moshe Gilboa of the same Department.

As I said before, the major problem was a tendency to create a general debate and there was also a desire to turn the Committee into one for making political decisions rather than one to initiate political action based on governmental decisions. Basically, however, everyone realized that our purpose was to create a Zionist *hasbarah* counter offensive, that we had to make use of all the available resources to achieve this goal, and that a pluralistic yet unified and organized approach is vital if we are to succeed in dispelling the myth of Zionism as racism.

For the first time we began to see a Jewish triangle emerging—the Zionist Movement, the Government of Israel and other Jewish organizations around the world, working harmoniously on the difficult political situation into which history has thrust us at this moment in time. We know we have a fight on many fronts and that we are fighting for an idea which is under attack, and this created a unity of purpose which generated constructive discussion despite the heated exchanges, the lack of time and too extensive an agenda. May I respectfully suggest while on the subject, that the next time this Committee meets the agenda be cut by at least half, so that we could, possibly, complete the task given to us.

I thank all the participants for their understanding and for their perceptive and pragmatic reactions to the major problems with which we must grapple in the days ahead. In this spirit let me present the resolutions which are before us but first, I shall read a preamble.

(Carried. See Resolutions at end of this report.)

(Mrs. Salpeter reads the proposals on: "The situation in the Middle East" and "Jews in Arab countries". Carried. See end of this report.)

(Mrs. Salpeter continues with the proposal on Soviet Jewry.)

S. LEVENBERG—B. SALPETER—R. HALPRIN

DR. S. LEVENBERG: I am afraid that there are two factual errors in the Resolution on the Soviet Union. One is "The Declaration of Human Rights to which the Soviet Union is a signatory." The Soviet Union did not vote for the declaration of Human Rights in 1948, although it supports the Declaration, so I suggest it should be "The Declaration of Human Rights which the Soviet Union supports."

The second is . . . "and the Helsinki Agreements obligate the Soviet Union to abrogate the decrees against the Jewish citizens." There are no such decrees or laws in the Soviet Union directed against Jewish citizens. Therefore, I suggest it should be stated ". . . and the Helsinki Agreements which have to be observed." This would be factually correct. Obviously the Resolutions Committee will deal with matters of style, as indicated by the Chairman of the Commission. I suggest that we correct these two factual errors.

BERNICE SALPETER: If Dr. Levenberg could have been in the room when the Soviet Jewry resolution was brought to the Committee, we would have incorporated these changes then.

(The resolution of the Committee has been adopted. See end of this report.)

BERNICE SALPETER: Now the following are more or less implementary resolutions. We have finished with the so-called foreign policy aspect of our resolutions.

(Mrs. Salpeter reads the proposals on Friendship Leagues, the Information Drive, and activities.)

ROSE HALPRIN: Some changes that we made last night in the paragraph which reads: "The Council resolves that the month beginning with Passover, our people's holiday of freedom, shall be declared 'Victory over Racism and the Rebirth of Israel Month,' to mark the 31st anniversary of the liberation of prisoners of the concentration camps and the rebirth of the State of Israel three years subsequently" do not appear here. For example, 'the Rebirth of Israel Month,'—I myself opposed that expression. I do not know what the 'Rebirth of Israel Month' means. We talked about the concentration camps as well. With your permission, Mr. Chairman, and with that of the chairman of the committee, would you let us correct this paragraph so that it more accurately reflects what we said last night!

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BERNICE SALPETER: We decided this was very awkward phrasing, and we will change the language.

(Mrs. Salpeter reads the proposal "The Political Dimension of Aliyah").

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I have nothing against the content of this resolution, but I would only suggest that we do not employ the words "political dimension of aliyah" because the resolution speaks about what aliyah implies.

CHAIRMAN B. WEINSTEIN: You propose that we delete the word "dimension" from the heading?

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: Drop the word "political". It should read: "present-day dimension of Aliyah."

BERNICE SALPETER: If it is OK with the members of the sub-committee and the members of my committee, I will accept this.

(The resolutions have been adopted. See end of report.)

MRS. B. SALPETER: We now come to the item "Special Activities".

These are the changes. We take out the words "Women's Solidarity Conference" and we begin—"The Zionist General Council endorses the WIZO proposal accepted by the Solidarity Conference and therefore calls upon all the women's organizations affiliated with it to convene Women's Solidarity Conference in Jerusalem. It is hoped that this conference will be attended by non-Jewish and Jewish representatives from the more than 50 countries where the Zionist Movement operates its special women's division".

CHARLOTTE JACOBSON: I was the chairman of this Committee at the Solidarity Conference when WIZO made the proposal for an International Women's Conference. There was no intention that this should be convened by the Zionist groups or by WIZO, because that would defeat the purpose. The whole idea was that it should be convened by local solidarity groups, and I have a feeling that this is being forgotten.

BERNICE SALPETER: We did not mean to imply that this Conference would be convened by WIZO. It is to be convened as a Women's

J. COMAY—R. HALPRIN—A. SCHENKER

Solidarity Conference by all the women's organizations connected with the World Zionist Movement—that is the real intent.

JOAN COMAY: All we are saying in this resolution is that we endorse the suggestion of WIZO. We are simply reiterating a decision that has already been made.

ROSE HALPRIN: The fault lies in the preparation for this Vaad HaPoel. We are meeting one month after the Solidarity meeting and instead of receiving or presenting us with a plan, we got absolutely nothing, except for a pile of resolutions, none of which are particularly intended for action.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I appreciate what Mrs. Halprin has just said. I am sorry that the former Acting Chairman of the Zionist Executive is not in the room because he would answer for the Executive, but I think that Mrs. Halprin is mistaken. The Zionist Executive extracted those proposals from the general conclusions of the Jerusalem Conference which it thought were of the greatest importance, interest, and concern to the Zionist General Council.

It is true that because our partners in the Jerusalem Conference are somewhat busy these days with various matters relating to the Security Council and other important international institutions, we were not able to hold the meeting of the Coordination Board of the World Zionist Organization with the Israel Government.

For that reason we were unable to bring before the Zionist General Council detailed agreed proposals. The Zionist Executive happens to be prepared. Each of the departments prepared proposals, together with all that is needed to implement them. Apart from that, the appropriate departments have brought specific proposals to all the committees and these have been brought before you by the various commissions.

BERNICE SALPETER: I support Mr. Schenker's point of view because when I first came I received a list of some 30 resolutions. Amongst those were many which we decided not to present here and it was the sub-committee's responsibility to examine them and to bring only those that they felt were important to this body. Mr. Barnea, the chairman of the sub-committee, is sitting here, and it was with



## TENTH MEETING

the consent of everybody in that sub-committee that these resolutions are being brought to you.

**ESTHER ZACKLER:** I have a question about the wording. If you say that you are only reiterating the resolution of the Jerusalem Conference, then the latter, if I recall correctly, simply stated that such a conference would be called, or would be planned. The resolution before us here is considerably more specific, since it speaks of organizations and countries. Why limit support to 50 countries?

**BERNICE SALPETER:** I said before that there was one *votum separatum*. It will be presented by Mr. Harry Hurwitz of Herut-Hatzohar.

**HARRY HURWITZ:** I bring this *votum separatum* as a member of the Vaad HaPoel and of the Political and Information Committee, and in my professional capacity as editor of a newspaper which receives material that is distributed from Israel. It is my belief that in the post-United Nations anti-Zionist resolution period, *hasbarah* must become one of the major tasks of the Zionist movement throughout the world. It is our considered opinion that the Organization and Information Department as presently constituted and operating is inadequate to face this challenge.

I also wish to record the view that much of the material that is sent out by this Department is unsatisfactory, often unprofessional and sometimes even wrong in concept. There are other Departments in this Executive that also distribute information material of a general political nature, and there is, therefore, a certain overlap and duplication in the work.

Accordingly, I propose that the Information and Organization Department of the Zionist Organization should be made into two separate departments since the information work warrants the creation of a separate department. I realize that we cannot do this now at this session, and therefore I propose that the Executive should set up a commission to investigate the information activities of various Departments of the Executive to ensure coordination, and to publish its findings separating the two Departments in time for Congress.

**BERNICE SALPETER:** This *votum separatum* was not brought to the full Committee. It was turned down by the sub-committee, because the meeting had already adjourned.

Y. LEVY—A. SCHENKER

YEHOSHUA LEVI (Chairman, Permanent Budget and Finance Committee): A resolution has already been tabled by the Permanent Committee on Budget and Finance to the effect that we believe it necessary to concentrate information activities. We shall leave it to the Zionist Executive to consider how to implement this resolution. I do not feel that we can pass a negative resolution concerning any department. That is not the function of the Zionist General Council. I therefore propose that this votum separatum be struck from the Agenda. There is another procedural reason—this votum separatum was not even submitted to the Committee as a whole, but only to the smaller committee.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I do not wish to debate the remarks of Mr. Hurwitz, who, despite his professional standing, has not really investigated in any great detail and certainly has not discussed with me, any of the material put out by the Department of Organization and Information. His complaints as to the unprofessional incorrect and inadequate material could easily be put right by allocating more funds to the Organization and Information Department so that it could gear its work to the needs of the time.

I do not believe that the solution lies in a separation of Organization and Information. Anyway, the question of size or organization of departments is not within the authority of the Zionist General Council, but is a matter for the Executive acting upon the decisions of the Zionist Congress.

As regards the second part of the votum separatum—I wish to inform Mr. Hurwitz, if he does not already know, that the Executive informed the Zionist General Council about this at its previous meetings, and a *hasbarah* Committee of the entire Executive, including all the Departments that are involved in *hasbarah*, was set up at the request of the Zionist General Council meeting in February 1974. It has carried on activities, it is doing precisely what Mr. Hurwitz has been talking about and it reported at the last General Council meeting, and I think it is out of order to come back again and again with the same proposals which were turned down at previous meetings of the Zionist General Council. Therefore I would suggest that this votum separatum is completely out of order.

CHAIRMAN B. WEINSTEIN: I strike the votum separatum from the Agenda.

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ERIC GRAUS: Mr. Chairman, you cannot do that. May I say that the explanation given by Mr. Schenker is completely out of order. The results speak for themselves in England where you see what is happening with *hasbarah*. I think it is very important that the *hasbarah* department is separated from the Organization department.

CHAIRMAN B. WEINSTEIN: For many reasons, both formal and factual, I propose to delete the votum separatum from the Agenda, especially after having heard the Chairman of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee, and the explanation of the member of the Executive concerning an Information Council.

Who is for the votum separatum? Who is against?

28 for; 53 against.

The votum separatum has been defeated.

BERNICE SALPETER: We have an addendum. Dr. Tavin came to the Political Action Committee on behalf of the Permanent Committee on Finance, and on behalf of the Sub-Committee on the Comptroller's Report of the WZO. The Chairman of the Presidium of the Actions Committee ruled that a short statement be made during the period when we consider the political resolution. Therefore I am asked to introduce Dr. Tavin for some very brief remarks.

DR. E. Y. TAVIN: The Permanent Budget and Finance Committee of the Zionist General Council and the Sub-committee on the Report of the Comptroller of the World Zionist Organization has asked the Committee on Information and Political Activities to recommend the concentration of the political information media of the Zionist Organization among non-Jews to maintain unity in the WZO in order to avoid duplication and to preserve the Zionist content of our information work.

BERNICE SALPETER: This was simply a statement, and does not require any action.

I wish to close by thanking you for your attention and I hope you will take seriously my proposals concerning the agenda and the need to prepare draft resolutions in advance. I believe that this is the time when we should move with resolution and determination to the great challenges which lie ahead of us.

## ELEVENTH MEETING

Thursday, January 8, 1976, in the evening

Chairmen: DR. SCHNEIER LEVENBERG — ITZHAK NAVON

### PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AND THE 29TH CONGRESS

DR. A.L. KRONITZ  
(Chairman of Committee)

From my experience as Chairman of similar committees, this was a good Committee and its members applied themselves seriously to all the matters under discussion. The subjects were serious in content and at times the debate was lively.

I would like, first of all to thank the two Deputy Chairmen of the Committee—Messrs. Raphael Kotlowitz and Donald Silk, and to say a special thank you to Mr. Avraham Schenker, Member of the Executive and Head of the Organization and Information Department, who was with us all the time and was of great assistance in the Committee's deliberations. I would also like to thank Dr. Aaron Zwergbaum, Legal Advisor of the Zionist Organization, who participated in all the meetings of the Committee; Miss Yocheved Sussman who coordinated the work of the Committee and did an excellent job of that; Mr. Yigal Halamit, Secretary of Committee; and Rabbi Moshe Edelman, who coordinated the Committees and their staff. Our thanks are due, also, to the Secretariat of the Zionist General Council and to Miki Salomon who saw to it that the members of the Committee who sat until late in the night, got home safely.

There were several topics on the Agenda of the Committee:

a) The Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity and its outcome and the things to be done after the Conference; b) The Membership Drive; c) The Problem of updating the membership card index in all localities; d) The affiliation of International Jewish organizations.

On a separate page, you will find Item e) — The strengthening of

## ELEVENTH MEETING

the Zionist Federations. In addition, there were also draft proposals on legal matters.

I also want to thank Mr. Kotlowitz who served as Chairman of the Sub-committee on Legal Matters and Professor Ezra Spicehandler who was Chairman of the Subcommittee for the drafting of the Resolutions.

The first item—the Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity. Regrettably I was prevented from attending that Conference but I have heard that it was an important Convention, that it aroused much interest and wielded great influence. The Conference, however, has ended and the question forces itself, "What next?"

You know that according to Jewish law, a boy becomes Bar Mitzvah on attaining the age of 13 and one day. Now why that additional day? My explanation is that on his Bar Mitzvah day every Jewish boy is a good Jew. The question is what will be the case the day after his Bar Mitzvah. The Jerusalem Conference was a very fine Convention but what afterwards?

(Dr. Kronitz reads the draft resolutions on: The Jerusalem Conference; the Membership Drive; the updating of Membership card index and the affiliation of Jewish Organizations. The resolutions were passed unanimously, and will be found at the end of this volume.)

**DR. A. L. KRONITZ:** We now come to Section 5: The strengthening of the Zionist Federations. We devoted a lot of time to this question. All the members of the Committee expressed the view that the Zionist Executive and the World Zionist Organization have to strengthen the Zionist Federations.

I should like to add that we received a report to the effect that all the World Unions devoted many months of work to this matter and reached the conclusion that it is within their power to strengthen the Federations. The Committee (in paragraph a) expressed deep appreciation of those who devoted much effort in this direction.

I will now read paragraph (b) of the draft resolution:

"The General Council instructs the Zionist Executive to complete implementation of Resolution No. 13 of the 28th Zionist Congress on "Relations between the Zionist Territorial Organizations and the Departments of the Executive," and particularly paragraph (a) which requires the World Zionist Organization, "gradually, to transfer its functions and activities in the various countries to the Zionist Federations."

J P. STERNSTEIN—A. L. KRONITZ

DR. J. P. STERNSTEIN: (Makes a remark in connection with paragraph (b). He calls upon the Congress to consider this problem. He draws the attention of the Chairman and of the members of the Zionist General Council to the fact that he asked to speak from a public platform, and that in paragraph (b) there should be parentheses where reference was made to certain countries—and for obvious reasons.)

DR. A. L. KRONITZ: There was no dissension among committee members regarding this matter. All that appears here is almost a full quotation from a resolution of the previous Zionist Congress which is to be found in the Congress Report and is available for everyone to read. As far as we understood, and we sought the advice of a legal expert—the resolution is drafted in such a general form that neither members of the Committee nor those whose advice we sought had any doubt whatever—there was nothing to fear. I therefore suggest that the Zionist General Council pass the resolution in the form as presented by the Committee.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Will all who support the Committee's proposal raise their hand? Who is against? There is no opposition. One person has abstained. The resolution has been passed.

DR. A. L. KRONITZ: I now propose that you turn to the draft resolutions on Legal Affairs:

*"Increase in the Number of Congress Delegates*

a) The Zionist General Council resolves in pursuance of Art. 17, sec. 2 of the Constitution to increase by 5% the total number of Congress delegates as laid down in Art. 17 sec. 1.

b) The 25 additional seats obtained by this increase shall be distributed according to the provisions of Art. 17, sec. 3 as follows:

Israel 10, USA 7, other countries of the Diaspora 8.

c) The 10 seats of Israel shall be allocated by the Zionist Council in Israel according to guidelines to be determined by the Presidium of the Zionist General Council. The Congress delegates and members of the Zionist General Council appointed in accordance with the aforesaid shall not join any grouping of the Congress or Council."

I suggest that you pass this resolution.

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**ARIE ZIMUKI:** I am afraid the Paragraph included here will reinforce a situation which I regard as distorted and injurious to the Zionist Council. I know that decisions were made even in the Executive of the Zionist Movement to the same effect. The present number was fixed when the Zionist Council began to function four years ago and had only two branches. At present, it has four branches. The number was fixed when the Zionist Council registered only 250 activities a year. At present it registers about 7,000 activities a year. Today it is almost the only Zionist body in Israel that fosters Zionist consciousness and that promotes Zionist activity. I think, therefore, that this paragraph will freeze a situation which everyone knows is distorted already. I therefore ask that this paragraph be deleted.

**DR. A. L. KRONITZ:** It is impossible to accept proposals here because there were no amendments to that effect in the Committee. According to the usage of the Zionist General Council, if there were no amendments in the Committee then one cannot consider the matter in the Plenum.

**AVRAHAM SCHENKER:** I would like to clarify matters so that there should be no misunderstanding in regard to the part played by the Zionist Council in Israel.

There was a proposal in the Committee, which was left undecided and was not voted upon, to increase the number of mandates accorded to the Zionist Council. However, the legal position today is that the five percent that one proposes to add to the number of Congress Delegates must be divided proportionately according to the distribution under the Constitution. In other words, if we say 5% of 500—that is, 25—then 10 go to Israel, 7 to the US, and 8 to the remaining parts of the world, in accordance with the present division. We had no possibility of increasing the 10 that go to Israel, because there is no Constitutional provision for it. Nevertheless, I propose that the matter be referred to the Executive which will seek ways and means of giving the Zionist Council in Israel proper representation at the forthcoming Congress.

**DR. A. L. KRONITZ:** Which Chairman of any Committee can fail to agree to a proposal coming from a member of the Executive? We shall accept this proposal. I cannot, however, agree with Mr. Zimuki that the intention was to do something detrimental to Israel's

D. SILK—S. LEVENBERG

best interests. We are all anxious to add to Israel's strength. I am not sure whether what you said was right or wrong, but I am sure you will agree, and I hope that the Zionist Council will agree, to leave the matter in the hands of the Executive which will make the final decision.

DONALD SILK: We are all well aware of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, and the Constitution of the Zionist Congress, whereby a proportion of the seats are allocated to Israel, according to the division in the Knesset; a certain proportion to America, and a certain proportion to the rest of the Diaspora. It is obviously in accordance with the Constitution, since we must follow the rule of law, that these extra seats should be allocated on the same basis. However, we have heard from this rostrum again and again, and from every shade of political opinion, requests addressed to the Zionist Movement calling for de-politicization, in other words, more forces brought in from outside the political parties. Those of us who were privileged to be present yesterday afternoon were disappointed at just how few were present to hear the report from Mr. Zimuki about the Zionist Council in Israel.

I would like to say to the political parties in Israel: you have an opportunity to show that the words used by your representatives from the rostrum were not empty words and were not merely said for the record. If you will allocate only part of the 39% of the 500 seats that are allotted to Israeli political parties; if you will voluntarily give only some of those seats (which may arithmetic tells me is 195) to the Zionist Council in Israel, I will regard this as an expression of faith. What your representatives said from this rostrum was true, and not just mere empty words. I believe it is up to the Zionist political parties to help Mr. Zimuki to bring people into the next Zionist Congress who are Zionists without party affiliation.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: You have made your point and now we have to vote. Who is for the proposal on the increase in the number of Congress delegates? Who is against? 3 against. Passed by a majority.

(Dr. Kronitz reads the Draft Proposal concerning the Central Elections Board and the representation of WIZO at Congress. The two proposals were passed unanimously and appear at the end of this report.)



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DR. A. L. KRONITZ: I will now read the paragraph on the Date of the 29th Zionist Congress:

“In pursuance of Articles 13 and 16 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, the Zionist General Council resolves that the 29th Zionist Congress shall meet in Jerusalem in the month of Teveth 5737 (December 1976.) The precise date of the opening of the Congress shall be fixed by the Executive together with the Presidium of the General Council.”

AVRAHAM TORY: I proposed that instead of the words “the precise date of the opening of the Congress” we should have “the precise date of the Congress.” The problem is not only of the opening but rather of the date of the Congress. From what date until what date, and not only the date of the opening. I also believe that was what we had in mind anyway. At any rate one has to fix the date of the Congress in accordance with the Zionist Constitution.

S. L. SHIPTON: I wish to raise a point of order in connection with this resolution. It appears to me that there is, or may be some conflict between the wording of this resolution and some of the discussions which have taken place in the Constitution Committee whose report I assume will be following immediately afterwards. In that report various matters have not yet been discussed and have been postponed. Under these circumstances, it may be inappropriate or indeed out of order, for this resolution even to be put. I ask for a ruling from the Chair, and possibly from the Legal Advisor.

DR. A. L. KRONITZ: The Committee accepts Mr. Tory's proposal but not the point of order raised by Mr. Shipton. I am surprised that Mr. Shipton has raised this matter at all. He was a member of the Committee; the subject was discussed; the Legal Advisor was consulted, and in the opinion of experts the matter is in order, and there is no conflict here with the resolution of the Committee on Constitutional Matters. I therefore suggest that the Zionist General Council pass the resolution as presented by the Committee.

RAPHAEL KOTLOWITZ: As Chairman of the Committee on Legal Matters, I wish to point out that the matter came up for discussion in the Subcommittee. I announced both before and after the resolution was passed that in the event of the need arising to change the

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resolution, or to hold further discussions following the deliberations in the Constitution Committee which were due to take place the following morning, we would summon another special meeting of the Subcommittee.

There was no room for further deliberation and this resolution stands. I hope that all the members of the Committee agree to this.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: We will now take the vote. Will all who agree with the date of Congress raise their hands? With their membership cards, please.

Who is against?

Forty five for, five against. The resolution has been passed.

DR. A. L. KRONITZ: I have now concluded the report of the Committee. Again, I want to thank the members of the Committee, and I thank the members of the Zionist General Council.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: I want to thank the Chairman of the Committee on the Affairs of the Zionist Organization for the good work that was done. Thank you, Dr. Kronitz.

We will now go on to the Proposals of the Committee on Constitutional Matters.

S. L. SHIPTON: Is it possible to raise a point of order? I am sorry to be insistent, but a point of order is always admitted.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: You are out of order anyway, but I don't want to be formal. Go ahead.

S. L. SHIPTON: Is it in order for only two resolutions to be placed before this Zionist General Council, when to my knowledge, in the Constitution Committee of which I am a member, there are numerous other matters, including one in particular which relates to elections in Israel, concerning which I have a votum separatum, which I assumed would be coming up this evening. I would like an answer.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Mr. Schenker will explain the situation.

## ELEVENTH MEETING

### PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

AVRAHAM SCHENKER  
(Chairman of the Committee)

We are about to deal both with the amendments to the Constitution of the Zionist Organization as well as with the Regulations governing the implementation of the constitution. I ask patience and concentration on the material because the matters are complicated and include many items.

First of all some words by way of introduction. As you are aware, the Constitution Committee is a permanent body for constitutional affairs of the Zionist General Council. It is in session not only at the time when the Zionist General Council meets, but sits during the course of the year and submits its findings directly to the Zionist General Council.

The Committee on the Amendment of the Constitution began its work three and a half years ago, and part of its decisions have already been submitted to the Council, approved and implemented. Meanwhile, we have had four sessions of the Constitution Committee which deliberated on matters which are not only of a technical and constitutional nature. I want to point out that in my opinion the constitution is the very soul of the movement and of the democratic nature of the Zionist Movement. Despite the constitutional problems facing us; despite the changes that we introduced and despite the fact that the Committee itself is fully aware of the fact that the process is long and still incomplete, I wish to thank most sincerely, all the members of the Constitution Committee who participated regularly in its meetings.

As you are aware, the Constitution Committee has three components. This composition is somewhat unusual for committees set up by the Zionist General Council. There are representatives of the World Unions, and in addition there are representatives of the various Federations who participate in all the deliberations, but who have been invited specially to participate in matters pertaining specifically to the Federations. There are also professional advisors, such as judges and lawyers, who participate regularly in the work of the Committee and who assisted us in many matters. Apart from the Legal Advisor of the World Zionist Organization, the meetings are also attended by the Attorney and the

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Deputy Attorneys of the World Zionist Organization who make great contributions to the Committee's work.

I will now pass over to the work in front of us, beginning with the regulations concerning the membership drive. As you see the regulations were adopted at the meeting of the Constitution Committee on June 21, 1973. I quote:

1) Every Zionist Federation (hereinafter: Federation) shall set up a Territorial Membership Committee (hereinafter: Territorial Committee) for planning and implementing the Federation's membership drive in the country concerned as an ongoing activity, in coordination with membership drives of organizations affiliated with the Federation.

2) All Zionist parties, organizations and groups nationally affiliated with the Federation (hereinafter: Zionist bodies) shall be represented on the Territorial Committee, the composition of which shall, as far as possible, reflect the relative strength of the Zionist bodies within the Federation.

3) The Governing Executive Body of the Federation may unanimously decide on a different composition of the Territorial Committee or appoint a Membership Officer in its stead".

These three paragraphs speak for themselves. There were no amendments to the first two, but there is one to the third. Just a word of explanation and then I will call upon the person who tabled the amendment to give his reasons.

I should like to explain that the term "Zionist organizations" in the paragraph is a Constitutional term employed by us. A differentiation is made here between Zionist organizations that oblige their members to be members of the Zionist Organization, and between bodies or branches of international organizations that do not oblige their members to belong to the Zionist Organization. Whenever we read "Zionist organizations" therefore we refer to organizations that make personal membership mandatory.

I will now read the amendment to the third paragraph:

"A decision on a different composition of the Territorial Committee or on the appointment of a membership officer shall be passed unanimously—rather than by a 2/3 majority".

The Constitution Committee adopted by majority vote the paragraph that says that the governing Executive body of the Federation

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may, by a two-thirds majority, decide on a different composition of the Territorial Committee. The amendment wants a unanimous decision rather than a decision by a 2/3 majority. The amendment was tabled by Mr. Kotlowitz and he will now explain the reason for his amendment.

**ROSE MATZKIN:** Since matters pertaining to membership drives and to Federations and to the elections really apply only to the Diaspora—there are no elections to the Congress in Israel—could we conduct this particular discussion in English?

**RAPHAEL KOTLOWITZ:** Yes, thank you for the suggestion. I think we shall comply with it.

Paragraph says "all Zionist parties shall be represented on the Territorial Committee". Paragraph 3 says that the governing Executive body of the Federation may by a two-thirds majority, decide the different compositions of the Territorial Committee. Now this is a very far reaching step which gives arbitrary powers to the governing Executive body by a majority of two-thirds. In other words, knowing the composition of Federations and of Territorial Organizations as we do, and knowing the way in which a number of big organizations dominate the membership committee, we should ensure that a change should be made only if "unanimously agreed upon". I think this proposal would be far more fair than the one proposed.

**CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG:** I shall now ask Mr. Schenker to explain the point of view of the Committee.

**AVRAHAM SCHENKER:** The point of view of the committee was very simple. We felt that since the membership drive was a primary responsibility of the Zionist Federation in each country, and since the Executive body of the Zionist Federation was the body responsible for carrying on the work of the Federation, we could depend upon it to make any changes in its own composition with a reasonable majority, which we felt was a two-thirds majority. We felt that anything which required unanimity in an organizational matter lends itself to the kind of difficulties which will simply impede the possibility of implementing an efficient membership drive.

S. LEVENBERG—A. KRAMER—A. ZWERGBAUM

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: I think the situation is fairly clear now. Will all those who support Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment please raise their hands? Who is against Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment? For Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment—36; against, 27. Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment is accepted.

ABE KRAMER: I wish to make a point of order. There is not a two-thirds majority, and therefore the proposal has not been carried.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment was accepted by a majority of 36 to 27. Dr. Zwergbaum, the Legal Advisor, will speak.

DR. AARON ZWERGBAUM: In this case there is no need for a two-thirds majority because it does not involve a change of the Constitution, but simply regulations which can be accepted by a simple majority.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: I am advised by the Secretary of the Presidium of the Council that there is no need for a recount, and I shall follow his advice, because it is backed by experience.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I am reading No. 4 of the Regulations: "A person shall be deemed to be a member of the Zionist Federation if: (a) he accepts the Jerusalem Program and (b) pays membership dues either directly or through a Zionist body affiliated to the Federation!"

This seems to be quite clear. You will recall that before the last Zionist Congress we adopted temporary regulations which included these two conditions but which were never embodied in the Regulations.

Mr. Tory has a votum separatum on this regulation but before he comes up to explain his point, I would like to read No. 5 as well, because I believe that since both deal with the acceptance of the Jerusalem Program, it will be helpful if the vota separata, both on four and on five are presented simultaneously.

No. 5 reads: "Acceptance of the Jerusalem Program shall be signified by (a) signing its text, or (b) joining a Zionist body or renewing membership in a Zionist body, provided that its form of membership application or of renewal of membership, includes the full text of

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the Jerusalem Program and indicates that membership of the Zionists body entails membership of the Federation”.

The meaning, I think, is quite clear. The situation during the last membership drive was that many organizations which have membership dues paid to them, simply send out a membership card to the member in return. We have made provision in this paragraph 5 to recognize only membership cards which carry the full text of the Jerusalem Program, and are signed by the members, and that membership application forms or membership renewal forms indicate that they are joining the Zionist Federation of that country. On these two paragraphs there are vota separata.

Regarding paragraph 4, Mr. Tory suggests a further clause regarding the acquisition of membership of a Zionist Federation be added, saying: “expresses his desire to join the Federation”.

AVRAHAM TORY: I believe that it is not sufficient to say: I accept the Jerusalem Program, and pay a fee. One should have to sign an application to join the Federation. I think this is a common rule whenever one wants to join an association or a company. In Paragraph 5, there is mention of an application. This is exactly what I say is missing in Paragraph 4. If you don't rule that applications should be signed, then Paragraph 5 is senseless.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I think if Mr. Tory had understood why I read 4 and 5 together, he would realize that what he is suggesting is superfluous. Regulation No. 4 simply describes what is required of the person that affiliates with the Zionist Federation while Regulation No. 5 stipulates how that should be done. Since both are part of the same membership drive regulations, I think that fulfills Mr. Tory's request.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Mr. Tory do you agree with Mr. Schenker's explanation? If you do not, then we shall have to vote.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: Before you vote, let me read the other votum separatum of Mr. Kotlowitz which reads: “The Zionist Program must be accepted by signing it—no other form of acceptance is permitted.” Now the provision in the regulations which was passed by the majority of the Committee, says that if the membership application form which carries the Jerusalem Program, or the member-

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ship card of the organization which carries the Jerusalem program is signed by the member, that will constitute acceptance of the Jerusalem Program by the person who has joined. However, Mr. Kotlowitz did not see it that way and therefore he introduced his votum separatum.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Let us first of all tackle Mr. Tory's amendment. Who supports Mr. Tory's amendment? Who is against?

Mr. Tory's amendment is defeated.

Mr. Kotlowitz do you now want to explain your own amendment. Mr. Schenker explained the point of view of the Committee.

RAPHAEL KOTLOWITZ: I think the purpose of my amendment is to do away with a lot of vague and nebulous wording. It must be perfectly clear that a member must sign the Jerusalem Program. The proposed Paragraph 5 says: Signing its text or—and then goes into all sorts of possibilities. You can have any type of form and with small print too. The purpose must be made clear—the member must sign the Jerusalem Program.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Who supports Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment about signing the Jerusalem Program, please signify. Who is against? 20 votes for Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment and 41 against.

Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment is defeated.

Who is for the resolution of the Committee? who is against?

The resolution of the Committee is accepted.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: No. 6: "Only a person who has reached the age of 18 in the year of the membership drive may be accepted as a member of the Federation".

No. 7: "The Federation shall itself fix the membership dues at a reasonable amount, taking into consideration the economic position of the Jewish community, of the country concerned, subject to the right of the Executive to intervene if, in its view, the amount fixed appears to be inadequate".

On No. 7 Mr. Kotlowitz has a votum separatum, which reads as follows: "Each Zionist Federation shall be independent in fixing the membership dues, the Executive having no right to intervene, therefore the last clause of Reg. 7, beginning with the words subject to, shall be deleted".



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CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Mr. Kotlowitz, do you want to explain?

RAPHAEL KOTLOWITZ: I think the purpose is very clear. It seeks to give the Federation the final word in the question of determining the membership dues.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: The majority felt that there has to be somebody who can intervene in the event of a Zionist Federation fixing a membership fee which is so low as to be meaningless in terms of either expressing membership or indicating at least a symbolic act. Therefore, I suggest that Mr. Kotlowitz's proposal be dropped.

RAPHAEL KOTLOWITZ: After further consultation I yield.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: We are grateful to Mr. Kotlowitz for his cooperation.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: May I read No. 8? "These regulations may be amended by the Congress, the Zionist General Council, or a body authorized by either of them."

Mr. Chairman, would you please put to the vote the entire list of regulations for the membership drive.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Who is for the full text of the regulations as submitted by the Chairman of the Committee?

Who is against?

No opposition, the Regulations are accepted.

ITZHAK NAVON: In order to simplify the deliberations which, at the present rate, seem to be taking a lot of time, I want to make two suggestions, concerning the amendments to the rules governing election to the Zionist Congress. As far as I can see, there are three amendments to these rules. To paragraph 1, there is an amendment by Dr. Harry Levy; to paragraph 2 there is an amendment by Herman Weisman and Harry Levy, and to paragraph 13 there is an amendment by Mr. Kotlowitz. I wonder if the 3 persons tabling the amendments would agree to transfer the matter to the Executive for decision. Subject to the approval of the Legal Advisor, this is possible, and would save time in reading the material and in dealing with the amendments.

I. NAVON—S. LEVENBERG—H. LEVY

Seeing that Mr. Kotlowitz has already shown an example in this respect, he may possibly want to continue in that direction and encourage his other two colleagues to do likewise.

The second matter: insofar as there are resolutions for decision, I think it were advisable to begin with the amendments so that we can finish them off quickly.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: I take it that you all understood Mr. Navon's proposal. I would like to explain. If those who submitted the amendments agree that the issue should go to the Executive, we don't need to have a further debate at this late hour. It could be transferred to the Presidium of the actions Committee or to the Executive. Dr. Levy will you please explain your proposals?

DR. HARRY LEVY: My two proposals were made to help us avoid misunderstandings at the next Congress. The first dealt with the fact that on behalf of the Congress Tribunal, and after a long discussion and a difficult and painful procedure we finally got a verdict which was announced here with a clear laying down of rules to be followed by the Federations. All that I wanted to achieve for the next Zionist Congress is that we should be able to avoid going through a painful procedure of the same nature.

I think that the proposal of our Chairman will answer this need because my proposal is, after all, based on a decision of the Court. Therefore I am withdrawing it from discussion here.

As to the second, all that I wanted to achieve was this: as far as we Zionists are concerned, I wanted to be sure that everyone of us individually has signed the Jerusalem Program. I now understand that in one form or another, either on the application to the Federation, or on the application to the party or on the party card, such a signature will appear. This being so, I withdraw my second proposal.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: I want to thank Dr. Levy for his cooperation. I would like to mention that there is a proposal by Mr. Klarman, member of the Executive, that this should go to the Presidium of the Actions Committee, which he believes is more widely representative. I don't really want to put it to a vote, but I think there seems to be a division of opinion. Would you accept the wording "to the Executive and the Presidium?" Thank you.

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Mr. Kotlowitz, are you prepared to accept the same procedure as far as your amendment is concerned?

RAPHAEL KOTLOWITZ: The answer is No. Not with regard to clause No. 3, rule 13—"Method of Elections". For us this represents a method which impinges on principle. We have always said we are for proportional representation. We cannot therefore leave it to the Executive which may or may not decide on proportional representation. Therefore I cannot accommodate you in this respect.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Mr. Schenker will you explain the point of view of the Committee.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: The only way I can explain the point of view of the Committee is by reading Rule 3.

As you know, the Rules provide for a number of methods of holding elections. There is election either personally or through the mail; and there are what we call indirect elections; and there is also a fourth method which is voting for individual candidates and not on the basis of party or organizational lists. The election rules provide for all of these possibilities and the adoption of whichever method is to be left to discretion of the parties concerned. Rule 13(a) of the election method says that "the Executive Governing Body of the Federation shall determine the election method no later than 6 months before the opening of the Congress".

Then it provides in (b) "All groups and lists represented at the preceding Congress or desirous of being represented at the present one may appeal against the decision on the election method to the Central Election Board within one month of its adoption and against the decision of the Central Election Board to the Congress Tribunal within a further month".

Accordingly, we have made provisions for the Executive body of the Zionist Federations to decide on the election method, and for those groups who want to appeal or protest we have provided a machinery by which they can do so. What Mr. Kotlowitz is proposing is actually to rule out anything but proportional elections. I can only suggest that, given the variety of situations, given the variety of communities, given the variety of Zionist Federations, given the fact that there are many Zionist Federations which

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have neither parties nor other organized groupings and arrange their elections on an individual basis, Mr. Kotlowitz's suggestion is too inflexible and therefore impractical.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Who supports Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment? Who is against?

For Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment, 22; against 37.

Mr. Kotlowitz's amendment is defeated.

Who is for the proposals of the Committee? Against?

The proposals are adopted.

I take it now that in view of the fact that all the other proposals were accepted by the Committee unanimously, and in light of Mr. Navon's proposal, all this material will go to the Executive and the Presidium. This concludes the first part of tonight's session.

A. L. KRONITZ: I would like to make another proposal following the one made by the Chairman of the Zionist General Council. If the members are agreed, I have intentionally set aside only those sections which have amendments to them in order that we may deal with them first. I also suggest that we do not read out all the resolutions but only those which have amendments. I also request that material concerning the amendments should be submitted at this stage. I must admit, there are things that happened two years ago and over, and I simply do not remember the material. It would be of great assistance if I could receive it at this stage.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I am sure the remainder of the material can be dealt with quickly because there are very few amendments.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: I made it clear that we shall deal only with the amendments. Mr. Schenker needs another minute or two. Please go ahead.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: This is a June 1975 proposal for resolution of the Zionist General Council.

"Members of the Assembly of the Jewish Agency designated by the World Zionist Organization".

There is a votum separatum by Mr. Kramer to the section which says: "Persons appointed by the General Council together with the Executive insofar as additional representatives on behalf of the WZO

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are required in order to attain the number laid down in the Constitution of the Jewish Agency." But first let me say that the purpose of this section was to regulate the representation of the World Zionist Organization in the Assembly. Until now we had to go through a cumbersome process each time, sending out a referendum by wire and asking every member of the Actions Committee to approve the members of the Zionist General Council to be members of the Assembly. The purpose of this amendment to the constitution is to expedite this matter by stating clearly who represents the World Zionist Organization in the Assembly: the members of the Executive, the members of the Zionist Council with voting rights and persons appointed by the Presidium together with the Executive to arrive at the number laid down in the constitution of the Jewish Agency—that is the fifty-fifty requirement.

JACOB TSUR (Chairman, Jewish National Fund): In paragraph 1 (a) we read: "All members of the Executive". This does not include the Chairman of the Jewish National Fund who sits on the Executive but is not a member of it. I want, however, to ensure that the Chairman of the Jewish National Fund should be considered a member of the Executive. If you would agree, I would suggest that the wording read "members of the Executive including the Chairman of the Jewish National Fund" or any other similar wording that we may choose.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: No objections?

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: Alright. We will add "the chairman of the World Jewish National Fund".

Now, there is a votum separatum by Mr. Kramer, who represents the Zionist Federation of Great Britain on the Constitution Committee, with regard to the additional persons who could be appointed by the Presidium and the Executive to the Assembly. His opinion is that priority should be given to chairmen of Zionist Federations participating in an advisory capacity in the session of the Council, rather than any one else whom the Executive and the Presidium might decide upon.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: What is the view of the Committee?

A SCHENKER—A. KRAMER—A. L. DULZIN

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: The view of the Committee was exactly as I read it. Persons appointed by the Executive together with the Presidium, without spelling out who it should be.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Mr. Kramer, do you want to explain your amendment?

ABE KRAMER: I have been trying together with some of my colleagues on the Constitution Committee to provide for the representation of the Zionist Federations *per se* as distinct from people representing parties at sessions of Congress and sessions of the Council. An amendment to the Constitution passed at the June 1973 meeting provided that as of right, a certain number of chairmen of Zionist Federations should have the right to attend in an advisory capacity both at Congress and at Council. Now we do not know the exact number, or delegates or persons who will be appointed by the Council to attend the Assembly—it was anticipated that there would be a surplus of vacant places.

All I am asking and I think it is a modest request—is that chairmen of the Zionist Federations ought to be able to take part in the Assembly in the same way as they take part in the work of the Council. It seems nonsense that we should be debarred from meetings of this kind since they are of fundamental importance to the Federations.

I am told that the new world bodies are appointing individuals who will appear at the Council and as of right, go to the Assembly. If that is the case, then chairmen of Zionist Federations who have a very important role to play, should also be at the Assembly if there are vacant places. I think my amendment ought to be accepted by everybody.

A. L. DULZIN: In my opinion the wording of the resolution presented by Mr. Kramer is absolutely acceptable, and I support it, because it says: "While appointing representatives mentioned in section (c) the Presidium and the Executive shall as far as possible give priority to the chairmen of the Zionist Federations participating in an advisory capacity in the sessions of the Council." I think we should accept it. It is fair.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Who is in favour of the amendment? Who is against?

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It is clear that the majority favours Mr. Kramer's amendment. The amendment is passed.

Mr. Schenker will continue.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: "The procedure for the amendment of the constitution". There is no *votum separatum* here, but I think it is important that every one should know what was adopted here. There is a change in the procedure. Until now, an amendment could be adopted by a two-thirds majority. However the Constitution said that this will only apply if the amendment is presented to the members of the General Council, or at the Congress, at least sixty days before the session. If an amendment is presented at the last minute it requires a 75% majority in order to be passed.

This was the change that was made and adopted unanimously by the Constitution Committee. I am sure there will be no objection to it.

(See resolutions, No. 16 (e) printed at the end of this report.)

I now have the matter of "The determination of the representation of Israel at Congress", and there is a *votum separatum* here.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Will you explain the *votum separatum*?

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: The Constitution Committee had a detailed and lengthy discussion on this matter, and it decided that the article as presently in the Constitution, shall remain in force. It states that no elections shall be held in the State of Israel, and the Area Elections Committee shall appoint the delegates in accordance with the relative strength of the Zionist parties in the last Knesset elected prior to the opening of the Congress, and details shall be laid down in regulations for the implementation of the Constitution.

The minority proposal by Mr. Shipton says that in Israel direct elections with polling shall take place for the Zionist Congress in accordance with the general provisions *mutatis mutandis*, etcetera.

I want to make it quite clear that the majority, in fact the overwhelming majority, as Mr. Shipton was the only supporter of his amendment, felt that given the regularity of Knesset elections, and the fact that it would obviously not make any significant change in the representation of the parties if elections were held, that the present arrangement was the best that could be followed.

S. L. SHIPTON

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Mr. Shipton, will you please explain your amendment?

S. L. SHIPTON: I think that the last remark of my friend Avraham Schenker was probably made with tongue in cheek, so I will resist the temptation to reply in kind.

For many years, at Actions Committees and at Congresses, we discussed Zionist elections to the World Zionist Congress. We discussed democracy in the Zionist world and we even got so far at times as to suggest that democratic Zionist elections were an imperative for the Zionist Organization.

We passed resolutions this evening and we passed regulations in great detail with regard to elections in the Diaspora. Surely it is paradoxical and inconsistent and illogical in these circumstances to allow the situation to remain that delegates to the World Zionist Congress from Israel should be selected as they are today in accordance with article 21 of the Constitution which reads as follows: "No elections to Congress shall be held in the State of Israel."

According to Dr. Zwergbaum in a booklet that he wrote on the Development of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, the last real direct Zionist elections held in Israel were held in 1951. And I quote from him: "They were not exactly a success." This of course is, if Dr. Zwergbaum will forgive me for saying it, a British understatement at its best.

Of 181,231 votes cast out of the then Jewish population exceeding one million, twenty five seats were cancelled by the Congress Tribunal for irregularities. I do not think I need to comment further on that. Today, we have a Zionist Council in Israel. Nevertheless, since 1951, no democratic Zionist elections have been held here.

I emphasize this because I believe that national Knesset Governmental elections are not equivalent to voluntary Zionist elections, because to base Israel's Congress representation on Knesset elections is inconsistent with direct Zionist elections throughout the Diaspora. If we conduct membership campaigns with regulations in great detail throughout the Diaspora, why can we not conduct Zionist membership campaigns in great detail in Israel as well?

To coin a phrase from a popular song of sometime ago, you cannot have one without the other. To base Congress representation on Knesset elections means in my opinion mathematics and calculations taking the place of Zionist democracy.



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I will not raise the matter of those parties in the Knesset which are not represented in the Zionist Congress, nor will I mention the fact that non-Jews and perhaps non-Zionists vote in Knesset elections. I ask this Vaad Hapoel to consider how many of Israel's Jewish electorate are in fact committed Zionists who have signed the Jerusalem program. If we in the Diaspora have to sign the Jerusalem program, I would suggest that perhaps our fellow Jews in Israel should do so as well.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: I think, Mr. Shipton, that you have made your point.

S. L. SHIPTON: Just a few more words. I hope I will be allowed the courtesy to speak uninterrupted by my friends of Herut, just as I accorded them the courtesy of listening to them without interrupting or clapping or banging the table.

I ask if every Jew in Israel has signed the Jerusalem program. I ask if every Israel citizen is a member of the Zionist Council in Israel. If so, I would be delighted. But I am afraid this is not so. The World Zionist Organization, unlike the Knesset, is a voluntary world-wide body, an organization and not a national government body.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: I think the point which you are making is perfectly clear. If you wish to conclude, please go ahead. I do not wish to interrupt you, but your point is perfectly clear.

S. L. SHIPTON: I will conclude, but I do believe that this is a vitally important matter of principle and I am sorry that the matter has been raised at such a late hour. I ask this Vaad Hapoel in its heart of hearts to consider exactly what I have said about democratic Zionist elections in Israel.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Thank you very much for your cooperation. Mr. Schenker, will you dispense with a reply?

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I would be prepared to.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Who supports Mr. Shipton's amendment? Who is against?

I. NAVON—S. LEVENBERG—A. SCHENKER

It is clear that a large majority is against the amendment which is thus defeated.

(See resolution No. 16 (b) at end of this report.)

ITZHAK NAVON: I would like to announce that I approached Mr. Kotlowitz and he agrees that his objection should be made to the Presidium and the Executive.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: We are grateful to Mr. Kotlowitz. So there remains only one amendment. Mr. Schenker, please continue.

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: I wish to record that we have adopted proposals for the election of members of the Congress Tribunal and have set an age limit of seventy and a time-limit of two consecutive terms.

(See resolutions No. 16 (c) at end of this report.)

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: The last item is the "Eligibility of Officials of the National Institutions and Zionist Federations for Membership in the Council." Here the proposal has only one votum separatum.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: Is this Kagan's amendment?

AVRAHAM SCHENKER: Mr. Kotlowitz wants to make a statement, so let me just tell you first what the situation is.

The situation presently is that Article 32, section 2 says that people who are senior officials of the World Zionist Organization may not be elected to the Zionist General Council. We discovered with the passage of time that a number of senior officials had been elected as members of the General Council and also, of course to the Zionist Congress. We also discovered that a number of senior officials of Zionist Federations had been elected to the Zionist Congress and to the Zionist General Council.

According to our Constitution and until now, this was not a proper procedure and therefore the Constitution Committee amended, or rather proposes an amendment, which states that the present situation will be maintained except that it adds that at the time of adoption of the Constitution—meaning this meeting of the General Council in 1976—all those who are members or had been elected

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to the General Council shall remain in office and shall have the opportunity of being elected again.

This means that in the future, senior officials of the World Zionist Organization, the National Fund, the Jewish Agency for Israel as well as senior officials of Zionist Federations, will not be eligible for election to the Zionist General Council.

Now Mr. Kotlowitz wants to make a statement.

**RAPHAEL KOTLOWITZ:** I make this declaration with a good deal of trepidation. It is not an easy statement for me to make, but I have to do so. We feel that the prohibition of officials of the Zionist Organization or Zionist Federations or the National Funds to be members of the Zionist General Council, should not apply to those who are officials and at the same time members of the Zionist General Council as well.

We have agreed to pass this matter on to the Presidium, because of the delicacy of its nature and because we think that it ought to be considered by a closed body and not by a large general assembly.

**AVRAHAM SCHENKER:** I am perfectly willing to have it passed on, but what does Mr. Kagan think about Mr. Kotlowitz suggestion?

**MOSHE KAGAN:** I am willing to pass it on. I would simply like to explain in just two minutes why I presented a votum separatum.

I just wanted to point out that if we do accept an amendment tonight you have the totally absurd situation where an official who became an official yesterday, will be eligible, but one who becomes an official tomorrow will not be eligible. I would like to make this clear, although I do agree to pass it on to the Presidium.

**CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG:** Mr. Schenker, is there anything else you want to say?

**AVRAHAM SCHENKER:** The only remark I would like to make is that I don't think it is a problem of yesterday and tomorrow because we are talking about elected officials. It takes an election to elect somebody and that just doesn't happen from today to tomorrow. Nevertheless, since it is being passed on to the Presidium, I have no objection.

With that, I have completed the presentation of the Constitution

Committee. I would only suggest that in the future the Constitution Committee material should have first place on the agenda, since it is not the problem of a current committee but a previous committee.

CHAIRMAN DR. S. LEVENBERG: I would like to thank Mr. Schenker for his presentation of the Committee report. I have also to put on record for formal purposes, in accordance with the request of the Legal Advisor, that over 50% of the members of the Actions Committee were present and that two-thirds of the members took part in the various votings. This completes my task and I would like to thank all the members of the Actions Committee for their cooperation. We had a very difficult meeting, but I think we managed to complete our task. I now invite Mr. Navon, the Chairman of the Actions Committee, to take over the chair.

#### EXPRESSION OF THANKS BY THE CHAIRMAN ITZHAK NAVON

Until the president arrives, I would like to refer to several matters that I feel obliged to mention.

In the first place, I want, on your behalf, to express our thanks and appreciation to many people who laboured in order to make this session a success, and first of all, to Dr. Eytan, Secretary of the Zionist General Council, who was responsible for organizing the present session, and to the Secretary of the Council Presidium, Mr. Menachem Gelehrter. Thanks are equally due to the Staff and Secretariat, headed by Mr. Moshe Edelman, who also acted as Coordinator on the various Committees, and Miss Esther Katz who worked efficiently, and for many hours behind the scenes. Both of them displayed devotion in this nerve-wracking work.

I would also like to thank the Directors of the various Departments, the Head of the Organization and Information Department, Mr. Schenker, and the members of his Staff, and the Director General, Mr. Rivlin. I would also like to express my thanks to the members of the other Departments who were in charge of the services for this Session—transportation, security, minutes, stencilling, the distribution of materials, and information.

I should like to express thanks to the Coordinators and Secretaries of the various Committees and in particular, to the Press Bureau and its staff, to the translators of the material, and to those in charge of

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simultaneous translation—(I hope they are translating what I am saying).

My appreciation is extended to all those outside the Department who supplied vital services to the Council session—the administration of Binyanei Ha'umah, the members of the staff and those responsible for technical arrangements, such as the recording of proceedings, and the amplifying system. I should also like to mention the buffet services and all those workers without whose services it would have been impossible to function, whether in this hall or in the various Committees.

Our special thanks are due to the communications media—the Press, the Television and the Radio who accompanied the proceedings of this session. Since I was myself engaged all the time in this session, I cannot judge the measure and form in which the proceedings were reflected in the communications media, but people tell me that the coverage was good.

I am fully aware that there are, sometimes, negative aspects to the Council Sessions as well, but I hear that these negative and none too favourable views were expressed by members of the Zionist General Council interviewed on radio and television.

I now see that the President has arrived, and I want to express a hearty welcome to him. Mr. President, you have entered the hall just as we were engaged in voicing appreciation and thanks to various people who helped us organize the present session. I also wish to thank those who organized the beautiful exhibition of books published by the Zionist Library. Whoever managed to see this exhibition would surely know how to appreciate it. Our thanks should go also to the editors of the report of the Executive which this time appeared in original and beautiful format.

Our thanks go out to all these people whom I have mentioned and I hope that you join me in these sentiments.

I now call upon Mr. Josef Almogi, Chairman of the Zionist Executive.

### ADDRESS BY MR. JOSEF ALMOGI (Chairman of the Zionist Executive)

This is the first time that I have actively participated in the deliberations of the Zionist General Council. As a person who has had experience in democratic institutions, having been a member of the

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Knesset for 21 years, I am filled with admiration for the members of the Zionist General Council who raised the discussion to such a high level, both in expression and in content.

There were moments of great drama at this Session and we are fully entitled to laud ourselves on its success.

In the course of the past six weeks representatives of the Jewish people and representatives of the Zionist Movement convened in Jerusalem in order to sit in council, deliberate and devote thought as to how to meet the all-out attack of our enemies against us. During these past weeks, in the Conference on Jewish Solidarity and in the Session of the Zionist General Council, we have passed wide-ranging resolutions. All those who came to Jerusalem were aware of the special situation in which we find ourselves and they discussed subjects concerning every aspect of our life; a lot of thought was put into the deliberations and the resolutions were carefully worded. What remains to be said at the conclusion of the Session of the Zionist General Council is what remains to be done, and that is the implementation and application of the resolutions made here.

I read the resolutions passed by the Jerusalem Conference; I participated in the deliberations of the present Session of the Zionist General Council and I am filled with both trepidation and hope. After all if we are anxious to attract the young generation to Zionism and to relieve the world Zionism of its inverted commas we should ensure that our resolutions do not remain on paper alone. If we wish to be regarded as the representatives of the Jewish people, and to be taken with the utmost seriousness, this can only be accomplished if we will not remain satisfied with words alone, but only with deeds.

And I am deeply concerned. Allow me to give you several examples. We are in the month of January now. We are approaching Yom Haatzmaut—Independence Day. The Jerusalem Conference decided to transform Independence Day 1976 into a mighty manifestation of the Jewish people for Israel. Will we manage to do so?

We said that we would encourage the arrival of from twenty to thirty thousand volunteers to Israel in 1976, for if we succeeded in doing so, these alone would supply us with 10,000 potential immigrants from the Western World. Will we manage to do that?

However, I am also hopeful and it is in this spirit that I accepted office. I hope that we will manage to roll up our sleeves and concentrate on a total effort not only in thought and speech but also in deed and implementation.

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And now, I would like to refer to several things that we mentioned. First of all, the internal situation of the Zionist Movement. The central problem facing us is how to make the Zionist more Zionist and how to bring more Zionists to Zionism, how to impose the duties of Zionist implementation upon Zionists and how to expand our movement. For just as Zionism without true Zionist fervor is of little consequence, so a Zionism without Zionists is meaningless. To the best of my belief, we have it in our power to expand the Zionist Movement by hundreds of thousands. We must not make do with protest Zionism but we must turn to everyone in order to register. We must come to every Jew and say "Join us in any form that you deem suitable—though parties, through direct membership of federations or through organizations." In particular, our call must be directed to the young generation—the adult young generation.

Many of those among us here decry the situation of the Zionist Movement. There is a great measure of truth in this and a great measure of guilt devolves upon us. We are called upon to retrieve the prestige that the Movement once enjoyed and we must do that. We must evince a greater measure of initiative in the Jewish communities, for prestige is not freely bestowed—it is painfully acquired by hard work in every direction—in education, information, and aliyah, and in every organization and in every community.

The Jewish people now number about 14,500,000 and the composition of the Jewish people is heterogeneous. Economically, we have been considerably strengthened. Among the eleven and a half million Jews in the Diaspora we have a tremendous intellectual, scientific and technological force. Can we afford to relinquish whole sections of Jews? I shall mention here only two or three of them.

Throughout the world, we have at the present time some one hundred thousand Jewish lecturers in Universities and about half a million Jewish students, not to mention members of the liberal professions. Of course, in all our communities and in all our organizations, we have intellectuals and we have scientists, but this force is not crystallized—we have no contact with it. This is a very serious matter and a great loss to us. It is of the greatest importance, therefore, that we in Israel set up a special Council of thinkers and scientists, writers and people engaged in the Arts, whose task it will be to set up similar councils in all countries and to conduct a dialogue with this latent Jewish potential.

There is another element with which we have no contact and that

is the Jewish rank and file. There are still such people in the Diaspora, people of the lower middle class whom our fund-raisers do not reach. Nor have we succeeded in reaching out to all the synagogues and particularly the Orthodox synagogues where the status of Zionism is weak. Why should we abandon these rich sources? Why should we not search for ways and means of establishing contacts with them? This must be the principal function of the Zionist Movement which from its inception based itself on the rank and file. It was Herzl who said that he was loth to reveal that in actual fact he represented only a group of beggars.

Now as for aliyah, there is no ideological motivation and the attractive force of Israel has somewhat waned. The absorptive capacity of the country has been impaired. But I have implicit faith in that despite all these factors, there is still the possibility of finding an aliyah potential in the countries of the West. I do not believe that organizational means alone will be of avail. Aliyah cannot be encouraged by pathetic speeches nor by organizational means. It is a very complex subject. However, since we have millions of Jews, we have to find new ways to them and consolidate the new paths that we have discovered. I am not revealing anything new to you. The time has come when our policy must be based on new lines. As far as aliyah is concerned, work must be done in communities that are ripe for it, as well as among organizations prepared for it. In Israel we must plan and create thousands of absorption programs. As a former Minister of Labour and of Housing and Development, I know that aliyah needs not only ready-prepared projects but also capital investment.

The next matter is that of volunteers. I think we should launch a vast enterprise for the erecting of structures for volunteers in all localities, in cooperation with local authorities and municipal institutions because volunteers are an excellent aliyah potential.

Regarding education, I should like to add two things. Firstly, I wish we could implement even part of our resolutions.

Secondly, we Israelis in recent years and particularly after the Yom Kippur War, have been given to a large degree of self-blame and masochism. Why do we decry assimilation and mixed marriage abroad when the percentage of Jewish children attending day school in the United States comes up to only three or four percent? It is of the greatest consequence to us to expand the educational infrastructure of the Jewish people and the time has come for us Israelis and Zionists to undertake this central task. In addition to fund-raising, of which we



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stand in dire need, let us look upon education as a central objective, for herein lies our future.

Agricultural settlement in Israel supplies three Zionist answers. First of all, the settlement of Eretz Israel. We could supply an unambiguous answer to the attack upon us at the UN if we were able to settle the Galilee and the Negev. We would also achieve an important addition to our society and bring back to it some of its former great values. Finally, everything I have said in connection with aliyah and settlement is in keeping with government policy. We heard the Prime Minister say that, come what may, no economic obstacle will be placed in the way of aliyah.

There is another thing that I would like to refer to and that is the closing of the social gap. I think that we are the only people in the world who cannot afford a sharp social polarization. If we want a society based on social values in this country we have to invest greater effort in solving the housing problem—the problem of the slums. We have to solve the problems of social stress which still exist in Israel, despite our efforts throughout the years.

I should like to add a word or two in regard to the youth, and should like to conclude with the words of David Ben-Gurion, one of the greatest Zionist leaders. In the 19th Zionist Congress, in August 1935, David Ben-Gurion said that if the historic faith in the vision of redemption would not have pulsed in the heart of the Jewish people, Zionism would never have emerged and would never have captured the imagination of the people. But Zionism is not only a hope and a faith which is not binding, which does not direct the will of the people and which is not connected with anything happening in the Jewish and general world. The great innovation of Zionism lies in its will to implementation. It succeeded in bringing down visions from the heavens of yearning to the earth of deeds and implementation. Only he who is imbued with a deep faith and with the ability to implement what he believes; only he who has the iron will and the readiness to place himself unconditionally at the service of implementation with all his heart and soul, is worthy of shouldering this great responsibility and of possessing the title of Zionist. If the great Zionist leaders had remained satisfied with resolutions and had not set the State itself at the centre of our lives, we would not have reached the present stage.

We are now living in a period of great stress when large sections of the world are fighting an outright battle against us, both on the economic and on the ideological plane. In face of this attack, we

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must enlist every ounce of Jewish spirit for a renewal and a strengthening that will forge the three-fold cord which constitutes the essence of our lives—the Zionist Movement, the Jewish people and the State of Israel.

### SUMMING UP AND CLOSING REMARKS BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL MR. ITZHAK NAVON

We are now nearing the end of the present session. First of all, however, I have to discharge a number of duties. I was in the midst of doing so when the President entered the hall. And there are a number of people whom I must not overlook in expressing my thanks. I want to thank the Chairmen of the various sessions who conducted the meetings with such marked ability. Only a person who has had experience in conducting meetings can appreciate the difficulty of this task.

I want to thank the Legal Advisor, Dr. Zwergbaum, who worked tirelessly in unmeshing many tangled legal problems. I want to thank the Attorney for his good advice, and hearty thanks go out to all those whom I have forgotten to mention by name.

It was pointed out that I had thanked the Reform Movement in my opening remarks but not the Maccabi nor the Sephardim. As for Maccabi, seeing that they were already in the Movement, I did not look upon them as new members, but it is never superfluous to offer a word of thanks. So, once more, I welcome Maccabi—and seeing that I remember when Maccabi played basketball against Maccabi-Cairo here in Jerusalem, I want to wish them, and to wish ourselves, that we may witness the day when a Jewish or Maccabi sports team will compete here in Jerusalem with an Egyptian basketball team or any other sport group.

I did not congratulate the Sephardim because it is rather difficult for a person to be congratulating himself. I congratulate the Sephardi Federation. They appear rather too few in number here, and I should like to see many more of them among the various parties. The parties can shake off this duty by saying that there is a Sephardi Federation in the Zionist Movement, but don't allow them to use you as a pretext for not including Sephardi representatives in their ranks.

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One last remark—many things are being said and heard about this session. It all depends on what a person who comes here expects. Whoever expected the messianic era to emerge from this session must certainly have been disappointed. Maimonides said that the only difference between the present era and the messianic era lies in the fact that in the latter we will have gained independence. The independence which we enjoy does not prove sufficient.

Following the Jerusalem Conference on solidarity, it is obvious that people expected from this session resolutions that would implement the resolutions that were passed at that Conference. The Jerusalem Conference passed resolutions which we would have passed if we had not been preceded by it. There exists some misunderstanding in this country generally and even among the members of the Zionist General Council as to the nature of this institution. After all, this institution is a parliament. People say that parliament is derived from the French “parler”—to talk. This, then, is the place where people discuss and thrash out things. People from all parts of the world, near and far come to consider various problems. In the light of past experience we have cut down the general debate and concentrated our work in the committees. Today I hear that things in the committees did not go as they should. Perhaps new ways have to be found. I take it that we shall never achieve perfection in this respect. However, when I speak of expectations that I personally had, I think that this session achieved a high standard. Many members participated in the deliberations for hours on end.

I listened to the speeches with attention. I think most of the addresses were to the point. I sat for hours in the various Committees and I saw people doing some hard work. We also had interesting and dramatic moments. It depends, of course, on how much we will be able to implement when everyone returns to his country of domicile and there will be no supervision, and everyone will be alone with his own conscience.

In this respect I should like to say two things.

I wish we did not engage in matters pertaining to Israel as a matter of daily routine to which one has grown long accustomed. We have a President, we have a Prime Minister and things are taken for granted but thirty years ago we would have given fortunes to an assistant to a vice-consul to issue us with a passport. We have to place this picture constantly before our eyes. It must not be taken for granted. It is a

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miracle that repeats itself every day. One has constantly to remind oneself of it.

Secondly, I have already said this many a time—if the State of Israel had arisen not in 1948 but ten years previously, in 1938,—ten brief years in the history of a people that goes back thousands of years—we may possibly have saved millions of our brethren who had been destroyed in the Diaspora. But one never knows when such a vital ten years will reoccur. I personally feel that we approach matters as though we have a lot of time at our disposal. But I don't know who is prepared to shoulder this great responsibility and assume that we have time to implement everything tomorrow and the day after. There are things which, unless you do them today, may never be accomplished at all.

I know that this sense of time has always pursued us ever since the State came into being. I remember the great resolutions that were made. I remember the decision taken by Ben-Gurion with regard to aliyah from Iraq when there was a three-months time-limit placed on the exodus of 150,000 Jews. The question then was, should we admit them or not. We all knew that unless we brought them over we might never be able to bring them over again. The decision was very difficult but we knew that it was the right one to take. I would say that we should approach every matter as though we had no time at our disposal; as though this were the year 1938—not from the point of view of an impending Holocaust, heaven forbid, but out of a sense of the importance of time.

We were privileged to be the last generation of subjugation and the first generation of redemption. May we prove worthy of this great privilege.

Thank you all. The session is now closed. I hope to see you all at the next session.

## RESOLUTIONS

### A. POLITICAL MATTERS AND INFORMATION

#### 1. *Preamble*

The Zionist General Council of the World Zionist Organization, meeting after the infamous resolutions passed by a majority of the United Nations and other international bodies, vehemently and categorically rejects the equation of Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, with racism. This vicious act is an endorsement of anti-Semitism, directed against the Jewish people and the very existence of the State of Israel.

The world dare not make light of these manifestations of enmity. Past experience has shown that lies and libels can pave the road to the most savage acts of violence even unto genocide. No nation has suffered so much from racial discrimination as the Jewish people—and this historic fact is well known to all those governments that instructed their representatives at the United Nations to vote for these evil resolutions. By their attack on Zionism, these nations have in fact attacked Judaism, that gave the world its great moral principles, universal values and ideas of social justice.

We proclaim to all the nations of the world that the inalienable right of the Jewish people to its own land and sovereignty is part of the universal right of man and of the self-determination of all nations.

We declare that the evil attacks on Zionism have fortified our resolve to reinforce our Zionist activities and our efforts to strengthen the State of Israel.

We call upon all nations, all people of good will, to denounce these resolutions of the UN which undermine the foundation of international morality and justice.

Proudly and resolutely, we reaffirm our faith in the noble and inspired Zionist ideal and in the justice of Israel's cause.

#### 2. *The Situation in the Middle East*

- (a) The Zionist General Council reiterates its fullest support for the State of Israel in its struggle for a just and lasting peace.

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The General Council hopes that such a peace, based on the desire for cooperation by all sides to the dispute, will open a new era of advancement and creativity for all peoples of the region.

- (b) The General Council expresses its opposition to converting the Security Council into a substitute for negotiating procedures between consenting sovereign states within the framework of the Geneva Conference.
- (c) The General Council expresses its utmost abhorrence at the criminal activities of Arab terrorists and their deeds of cold-blooded murder, whose victims are innocent civilians. The Council condemns those Arab States that share responsibility for these atrocities, in that they support the Arab terror organizations militarily, politically and aid and abet them by providing them with shelter.

The General Council calls upon public opinion and the heads of states in the world to condemn these murderous attacks in the halls of the United Nations.

### 3. *Jews in Arab Lands*

- (a) The Zionist General Council is grievously concerned over the fate of Syrian Jews held hostage. They are subject to persecution, discrimination, and other degrading handicaps in every area of life, in defiance of the UN Covenant of Human Rights.
- (b) The General Council calls upon the Jewish people to step up its struggle for the liberation of Syrian Jews, so that they may be enabled to emigrate.
- (c) The General Council expresses its deepest gratitude to governments, international bodies and committees for the rescue of Jews from Arab lands, to public figures in the world who head this humanitarian campaign, and expresses the hope that their efforts shall bear the fruits that are so avidly sought. The General Council notes that there has been some success, in that a number of Jews from Arab States have been set free.

### 4. *Soviet Jewry*

- (a) The Zionist General Council notes with great concern the deterioration in the situation of Soviet Jewry. This deterioration finds its expression in the abuse of the judicial system, in discriminatory employment practices, and in other acts of harassment of Jews who wish to go on aliyah; and, most especially, in the drastic reduction in the number of emigration permits.

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- (b) The General Council views with apprehension and concern the anti-Semitic propaganda being conducted by the Soviet Government, whether it be covert or in outspoken attacks on the Government of Israel. The Declaration of Human Rights which the Soviet Union supports, and the Helsinki agreements, obligate the Soviet Union to comply with their provisions. The Council insists that the freedom of Soviet Jews be reinstated, including their unimpeded right to aliyah, the prompt release of all prisoners of Zion and respect for their rights to religious and cultural life.
- (c) The General Council calls upon the Jewish people in the diaspora to give a renewed impetus to the struggle for these rights of our brothers in the Soviet Union and expresses its appreciation to the Committee for Soviet Jewry, to the many public figures, Jewish and non-Jewish, and to governments that have dedicated themselves to this campaign.
- (d) The General Council notes with satisfaction that in the near future the second World Conference for Soviet Jewry will convene in Brussels.

The General Council sends its heartfelt greetings to our brothers in the Soviet Union and supports those in the Jewish and non-Jewish public in the world who, at the convention in Brussels, and in the light of the decisions that will be taken there, will renew this humanitarian effort.

### 5. *Information Drive*

- (a) The Zionist General Council resolves that the coming year shall be declared an Emergency Year, rallying Jewish forces all over the world around the banner of Zionism, the centrality of Israel, and our rights to Israel. It calls upon Zionist Federations, organizations and individuals to cooperate in the following activities for this purpose:
  1. *Mass Meetings* shall be held in all centers of Jewish population, both in Israel and abroad, with special emphasis on Yom Ha'Atzmaut.
  2. *Declaration of Solidarity with Zionism*  
The General Council proposes that during this solidarity campaign, the following declaration be signed by the masses of the Jewish people all over the world:

"I protest the evil incitement against Zionism, which is the liberation and self-determination movement of the Jewish people.

## RESOLUTIONS

I see the anti-Zionist campaign as an expression of anti-Semitism, which attacks the Jewish people as well as its spiritual, religious, and cultural heritage.

I hereby express my solidarity with Zionism and with the State of Israel."

(b) *World Conference and Seminars*

Furthermore, the General Council proposes that:

1. In cooperation with all other major Jewish organizations, a World Conference be convened of Jewish intellectuals, educators and community leaders concerned with Jewish education. This conference should convene in 1976 in Jerusalem.
2. A world conclave of Jewish youth, comprising students, members of youth organizations, and graduates of yeshivot and universities, should take place in 1976 in Israel.
3. A series of world seminars on Judaism and Zionism for rabbis, professional community executives, and lay leaders from all countries should be convened in 1976 in Israel. The purpose of these seminars shall be to impart knowledge, and to share views. It is also hoped that the participants will act so that their organizations' national conventions meet in Israel.
4. Seminars for Jewish writers and academics from all countries should be organized in 1976 in Israel.

(c) *Ideological Clarification*

Regional conferences shall prepare the background for a worldwide Ideological Conference to be held in Jerusalem. At this conference, Zionist theory and practice shall be examined with a view to deepening commitment in light of the realities of Jewish life in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

### 6. *Information Programs*

- (a) The Zionist General Council commends and appreciates the tireless efforts of Zionist Federations, organizations and individuals in information campaigns about Zionism in the wake of the UN resolutions condemning Zionism, and urges full cooperation between the Zionist movement's efforts and those of major Jewish organizations and relevant agencies of the State of Israel.
- (b) The General Council calls upon the departments of the World Zionist Organization to broaden existing programs for training speakers, to initiate new ones and to prepare programs for educational Zionist content.



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The Universities in Israel and especially their Institutes for Zionist Studies, Contemporary Judaism, and Teacher Training, shall be approached to assist in the following: curricula, sample lesson plans, and material for seminars on Zionism.

- (c) The General Council affirms that there is no better way to spread the Zionist faith than familiarity with the classic texts of the Zionist movement. It calls upon those departments of the World Zionist Organization charged with responsibility for education and information activities to make these texts available to as wide a public as possible.

### 7. *Present-Day Dimension of Aliyah*

The Zionist General Council sees in mass aliyah to Israel the appropriate answer of the Jewish people to the UN resolution equating Zionism with racism, and calls upon Jews everywhere to arise and realize the Zionist ideal through aliyah to Israel.

The General Council calls upon Jewish communities all over the world to see this task in its historic perspective.

### 8. *Israel Friendship Leagues and kindred Organizations*

- (a) The Zionist General Council expresses deep appreciation to the Israel Friendship Leagues; parliamentary pro-Israel groups; Christian action groups for Israel; Christian-Jewish societies; individuals and public bodies that have expressed their abhorrence of the anti-Zionist resolutions of the United Nations.
- (b) The General Council calls upon the External Relations Department and the Zionist Federations abroad to intensify their efforts and extend their encouragement to the friendship leagues and the institutes for cultural relations abroad in their important activities. It urges them to continue and expand them in every possible way. It calls for an increase in visits to Israel by friends and well-wishers in order to deepen their understanding of Israel through seminars, study tours, and "Weeks for Israel".
- (c) The General Council calls upon the External Relations Department to support Christian-Jewish organizations for cooperation in the field of Zionist knowledge and to support the important action started to improve the ties between the State of Israel and the Christian world.

### 9. *Special Activities*

- (a) *Women's Solidarity Conference*

The Zionist General Council endorses the proposal of WIZO, passed by the recent Jerusalem Solidarity Conference, and calls

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upon all women's organizations affiliated with the World Zionist Organization to convene a Women's Solidarity Conference in Jerusalem. This conference should be attended by non-Jewish and Jewish representatives.

(b) *Maccabiah*

The General Council recognizes the Maccabiah as a unique expression of the unity of Jewish youth. The Council recommends that the Tenth Maccabiah Games, scheduled for next year, be made an instrument to inculcate Jewishness, Zionism, and a love of Israel through sports.

(c) *Israeli and Jewish participation in International Sport*

The General Council views with utmost gravity the attempts by representatives of the same forces that act against Israel and Zionism at the United Nations to oust Israeli and Jewish sportsmen from international sports. The Council draws the attention of the world community to this danger, and calls on all who love sport to ensure that politics be kept out.

## B. ORGANIZATION

### 10. *Conference of Jewish Solidarity*

- (a) The Zionist General Council expresses its gratification that the Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity, convened in the wake of the infamous resolution passed by the Assembly of the United Nations equating Zionism and racism, unanimously affirmed the insoluble bond between the Jewish People and Zionism. It hails the declaration to this effect signed by almost 200 Jewish leaders representing world Jewry and their expression of identification with Zionism and with the State of Israel.
- (b) The General Council instructs the Zionist Federations to take the initiative in their countries, in coordination with all other organizations present at the Solidarity Conference, towards implementing the resolutions of the Conference. The members of the Federations are called upon to play a leading role in these activities.

### 11. *Strengthening the Zionist Federations*

- (a) The Zionist General Council expresses its deep appreciation of the Zionist World Unions for their intensive efforts devoted to strengthening the Zionist Federations everywhere.

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- (b) The General Council instructs the Zionist Executive to complete implementation of Resolution No. 13 of the 28th Zionist Congress on "Relations between the Zionist Territorial Organizations and the Departments of the Zionist Executive," and particularly para. (a), which requires the World Zionist Organization gradually to transfer its functions and activities in the various countries to the Zionist Federations.
- (c) The General Council calls upon the Zionist World Unions to concentrate their efforts in the year 1976 on strengthening the Zionist Federations everywhere.
- (d) The General Council calls upon the Zionist Federations to intensify their activities within the communal organizations and their institutions.

### 12. *Membership Drive*

- (a) The identification of World Jewry with the Zionist cause in the wake of the adoption of the anti-Zionist resolutions in the UN makes it imperative to proceed to an intensive recruitment of members to the Zionist Movement. Zionist Federations should, therefore, immediately carry out large-scale membership drives.
- (b) Particular importance attaches to the enrollment of young people who have reached the age of 18 years since the last Zionist Congress, of members of the territorial branches of International Jewish bodies which are members of the World Zionist Organization, and also of members of National Jewish bodies affiliated to the Federation—as individual members of the Zionist Federation.
- (c) Zionist Federations shall actively participate in the Signature Campaign proclaimed by the Jerusalem Conference and simultaneously enroll new members.
- (d) An extensive information campaign for the dissemination of Zionist ideology should be conducted at the same time. Zionist Federations should make every effort to intensify the Zionist consciousness of their members.
- (e) The Zionist General Council recommends that the Executive make available the necessary funds for the membership drive.

### 13. *Up-Dating of Membership Card Index*

- (a) Zionist Federations should up-date their membership card index. Federations which have not yet established such a card index should do so. A complete, reliable register of members will, in due course, serve as a Register of Voters for the elections to Congress.

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- (b) Pursuant to Resolution No. 8 of the Zionist General Council at its Session in 1973, according to which "members of Zionist bodies are individual members of the Zionist Federation" (Article 3 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization), the Council instructs the World Unions and all their branches in the various countries to implement the above Resolution.

### 14. *Affiliation of Jewish Organizations*

The Zionist Executive shall continue its efforts to widen Zionist ranks through the affiliation of International Jewish Bodies with the World Zionist Organization. The Zionist Federations, for their part, shall intensify their efforts to enroll the territorial branches of International Jewish Bodies which have joined the World Zionist Organization or are going to join the WZO, and also National Jewish bodies as corporate members of the Federation. We urge individual members of such organization to enroll as full-fledged members of the Zionist Federation.

### 15. *Date of the 29th Zionist Congress*

In pursuance of Articles 13 and 16 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, the Zionist General Council resolves that the 29th Zionist Congress shall meet in Jerusalem in the month of Teveth 5737 (December 1976). The precise date of the opening of the Congress shall be fixed by the Executive together with the Presidium of the General Council

## C. LEGAL MATTERS

### 16. *Amendments to the Constitution*

- (a) *Representation of International Jewish bodies in the WZO.*  
In Art. 5, section 4(a) of the Constitution the words "as Associate Members" and "with all rights except the right to vote" shall be deleted. After the end of the section, the following sentences shall be added:
1. "No representative of a Jewish international body shall take part in elections to the governing bodies of the WZO nor vote on matters of candidature. Therefore, without prejudice to the generality of the aforesaid, such representatives may not take part in elections according to Article 14(e) to (h) and Art. 32(1) and (4).

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2. The representatives of Jewish International Bodies in the Congress, the Council and other bodies of the WZO, shall be personally members of a Zionist Federation or of an organization affiliated with the Zionist Council in Israel.
- (b) *Determination of the Congress Representation of Israel*  
Article 21 of the Constitution shall remain in force unamended.
  - (c) *Election of Members of the Congress Tribunal*
    - (1) In Art. 14(e) the words "subject to the provisions of Art. 27, section 2" shall be inserted before the words "Chairman of the Congress Tribunal and his Deputies, Judges of the Congress Tribunal."
    - (2) Art. 27 of the Constitution shall be numbered section 1 and a new section 2 shall be added, reading as follows: "Notwithstanding the provisions of the foregoing section, the term of office of a member of the Congress Tribunal does not come to its end as stated before, but only after an additional Congress Period. The term of office of a member of the Congress Tribunal also comes to its end with the completion of his 70th year of age."
    - (3) This amendment shall come into force with the election of members of the Congress Tribunal at the 29th Zionist Congress.
  - (d) *Members of the Assembly of the Jewish Agency designated by the World Zionist Organization*
    - (a) Article 14(a) shall be deleted.
    - (b) Article 30A shall be deleted.
    - (c) A new Article 38A shall be added.  
"Unless otherwise determined by Congress—or in inter-Congress periods by the General Council—the following shall be members of the Assembly of the Jewish Agency on behalf of the WZO:
      - (a) the members of the Executive
      - (b) the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the KKL
      - (c) the members of the General Council with voting rights or in their place those deputy-members who were empowered to deputize for a member in accordance with Art. 32, section 4 and 7.
    - (d) persons appointed by the Presidium of the General Council together with the Executive insofar as additional representatives on behalf of the WZO are required in order to attain the number laid down in the Constitution of the Jewish Agency. As far as possible priority shall be given to the Chairmen of the

## RESOLUTIONS

Zionist Federations participating in an advisory capacity in the sessions of the Council.”

- (e) *Procedure for the Amendment of the Constitution—Art. 64*
- (1) The present text of Art. 64 shall be marked section 1 and a section 2 shall be added as follows:  
Section 2: “The Congress or the Zionist General Council shall not deliberate on an amendment to the Constitution unless a formulated and reasoned proposal for the amendment was submitted to the Presidium of the General Council and its members and to the Zionist Federation at least 60 days before the date of the deliberation”.
- For special and exceptional reasons, the Executive may propose in the Congress or the General Council an amendment to the Constitution, even though the above provision was not complied with. In such case, the decision on the amendment shall be valid if it has been adopted in the presence of the majority of the Congress delegates or members of the General Council entitled to vote by a majority of 75%.
- (2) This amendment shall come into force upon the close of the 29th Zionist Congress.

### 17. *Increase in the Number of Congress Delegates*

- (a) The Zionist General Council resolves in pursuance of Art. 17, sec. 2 of the Constitution to increase by 5% the total number of Congress delegates laid down in Art. 17, sec. 1.
- (b) The 25 additional seats obtained by this increase shall be distributed according to the provisions of Art. 17, sec. 3, as follows: Israel 10, USA 7, other countries of the Diaspora 8.
- (c) The 10 seats of Israel shall be allocated by the Zionist Council in Israel according to guidelines to be determined by the Presidium of the Zionist General Council. The Congress delegates and members of the Zionist General Council appointed in accordance with the aforesaid shall not join any grouping of the Congress or Council.

### 18. *Central Election Board*

- (a) In accordance with Art. 31 of the Constitution and in pursuance of Resolution 12(a) of the General Council of March 1970, the General Council authorizes its Presidium and the Executive to set up together a body for dealing with matters of elections to the 29th Zionist Congress (hereinafter Central Election Board).
- (b) The Central Election Board shall be composed similarly to the

## RESOLUTIONS

Central Election Board which had been set up before the 28th Congress in pursuance of the Resolution of the General Council No. 45 of 1971.

- (c) The Chairman of the Central Election Board shall be a member of the judiciary of Israel and be appointed by the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal.
- (d) In addition to the powers enumerated in the above Resolution, the Central Election Board shall also fulfill the task set out in the "Rules for Elections to the Zionist Congress."
- (e) The provisions of the above Resolution shall apply to the right to appeal against decisions of the Central Election Board.

### 19. *Representation of WIZO at the 29th Zionist Congress*

In accordance with Art. 26, sec. 4 of the Constitution of the WZO, the Zionist General Council resolves to confirm the agreement between the Executive and the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), according to which WIZO is allocated a representation of 20 delegates at the 29th Zionist Congress, while all other provisions of the former agreement, as embodied in Resolution 12 of the General Council, March 1964, and confirmed in the Resolution of the Zionist General Council No. 43 of 1971, remain in force, mutatis mutandis.

### 20. *Representation of the Maccabi World Union and of the Sephardi World Federation on the Governing Bodies of the World Zionist Organization*

By virtue of Resolution 23(24) of the 28th Zionist Congress and in accordance with Article 5, section 4 of the Constitution, the General Council takes note of the change in the agreement reached between the Executive and the Maccabi World Union and the Sephardi World Federation regarding their representation of the governing bodies of the WZO.

### 21. *Admission of the World Union for Progressive Judaism as Member of the WZO*

- (1) In accordance with Article 5, section 4 of the Constitution of the WZO, the General Council resolves to confirm the agreement between the Executive and the World Union for Progressive Judaism and to admit the latter to membership of the WZO.
- (2) In accordance with Art. 5, section 4 of the Constitution, the General Council resolves that the World Union for Progressive Judaism shall be represented on the governing bodies of the WZO as follows:

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15 delegates to the Zionist Congress, with voting rights, subject to the provisions of Art. 5, section 4a  
5 members of the General Council, with voting rights, subject to the provisions of Art. 5, section 4a  
1 member of the Executive, with voting rights, subject to the provisions of Art. 5, section 4a  
1 member of the Executive in an advisory capacity in New York.

### 22. *Regulations for Membership Drives*

The Zionist General Council adopts the following Regulations for membership drives:

- (1) Every Zionist Federation (hereinafter — Federation) shall set up a Territorial Membership Committee (hereinafter — Terr. Committee) for planning and implementing the Federation's membership drive in the country concerned as an ongoing activity, in coordination with membership drives of the Zionist parties, organizations and groups nationally affiliated with the Federation (hereinafter: Zionist bodies).
- (2) All Zionist bodies shall be represented in the Terr. Committee, the composition of which shall, as far as possible, reflect the relative strength of the Zionist bodies within the Federation.
- (3) The Governing Executive body of the Federation may unanimously decide on a different composition of the Terr. Committee or appoint a Membership office in its stead.
- (4) A person shall be deemed to be a member of the Zionist Federation if:
  - (a) he accepts the Jerusalem Program and
  - (b) pays membership dues either directly or through a Zionist body affiliated to the Federation.
- (5) Acceptance of the Jerusalem Program shall be signified by:
  - (a) signing its text or
  - (b) joining a Zionist body or renewing membership in a Zionist body, provided that its form of membership application or of renewal of membership includes the full text of the Jerusalem Program and indicates that membership of the Zionist body entails Membership of the Federation.
- (6) Only a person who has reached the age of 18 in the year of the membership drive may be accepted as a member of the Federation.
- (7) The Federation shall itself fix the membership dues at a reasonable amount, taking into consideration the economic position of



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the Jewish community of the country concerned, subject to the right of the Executive to intervene if, in its view, the amount fixed appears to be inadequate.

- (8) These Regulations may be amended by the Congress, the General Council or a body authorized by either of them.

### 23. *Rules for the Election of Delegates to the Zionist Congress*

The General Council resolves to authorize the Executive and the Presidium of the General Council to deliberate and decide upon the proposal of "Rules for the Election of Delegates to the Zionist Congress," submitted by the Committee for Amendments to the Constitution, and the Regulations for the Implementation of the Constitution.\*

## D. ALIYAH AND ABSORPTION

### 24. *Aliyah Movement*

- (a) The Zionist General Council considers the Aliyah Movement to be an important instrument towards making the Jewish public in Western countries aliyah-conscious, and it considers aliyah circles a suitable method of preparing potential olim for their life in Israel.
- (b) The General Council calls upon all Zionist Federations to carry out the Resolutions of the 27th Congress in connection with the Aliyah Movement.
- (c) The General Council calls for the establishment of groups of young people within the framework of the Aliyah Movement in order to encourage the aliyah of students, university graduates and young couples, and to prepare them to meet the challenge of development towns, through the formation of aliyah nuclei and other social frameworks for urban settlement.

### 25. *The Encouragement of Aliyah*

- (a) The Zionist General Council notes with satisfaction that Jewish communities in the United States and Canada have begun to

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\* The Executive and the Presidium of the General Council jointly discussed the above proposal on March 22, 1976 and approved the "Rules for the Election of Delegates to the Zionist Congress" in the version appearing as the Annex to this booklet.

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organize for the encouragement of aliyah. The General Council calls on various Jewish organizations, and first of all on Zionist organizations, to expand this activity and to raise the means for regional housing and employment projects.

- (b) The General Council considers the involvement of various communities and organizations in the encouragement of aliyah and of all types of settlement projects an important method to bring members of such organizations closer to life in Israel. The General Council notes with gratification the cooperation between the different departments and Jewish organizations in the Diaspora for the encouragement of Aliyah and for different types of settlement projects. It calls for the intensification of this Cooperation and expresses its hope for closer ties in this context.

### 26. *Aliyah From the U.S.S.R.*

The Zionist General Council calls on the Zionist Movement, Jewish organizations and international associations to intensify their struggle for free emigration of all Jews who wish to leave the Soviet Union.

The General Council calls on all institutions connected with absorption to intensify their efforts for the integration of olim from the Soviet Union, and to make every effort possible to reduce the number of those who leave.

### 27. *Housing*

- (a) The Zionist General Council considers a suitable solution to the housing problems of new olim a most important element in their integration in Israel, as well as a basis for promoting aliyah from all countries.

The lack of suitable housing for single persons and young couples has more than once caused them to leave the country; consequently, this is a major problem and a solution should be found.

- (b) The General Council insists that housing projects be developed for single persons and young couples, including the provision of facilities for Youth Aliyah graduates. Unless this problem is solved, it will remain a handicap to aliyah.
- (c) The General Council demands that the Ministry of Housing take every step to catch up on the lag in immigrant housing, and to assure a sufficient number of housing units for the absorption of immigrants in various parts of the country.

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### 28. *Employment*

- (a) The Zionist General Council calls on all concerned to increase their efforts so that suitable employment be provided for all olim, particularly in view of the expected economic slowdown.
- (b) In view of the fact that most immigrants from Western countries are university graduates, and that they also constitute a very large proportion among immigrants from the East, the General Council calls on the Government of Israel, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and the institutions of higher education to prepare programs and to establish study and working groups to find jobs and promote projects for immigrant absorption.
- (c) Due consideration is to be given to the problems of educating children from various ethnic groups, and the creation of special educational frameworks to prevent their dropping out.
- (d) The General Council calls for increased activity abroad to encourage Israelis living there to return. They should be confronted with the challenges of life in Israel, such as settlement in development areas, or the creation of new village and urban communities in accordance with Government decisions.
- (e) The General Council takes note of the activity of the Committee for Returning Residents and calls for the extension of its authority.
- (f) The General Council appeals to the Government of Israel and to the General Federation of Labour (Histadrut) to change the employment Rule "last hired, first fired" with regard to olim, because this has a most adverse effect on the absorption of immigrants.

### 29. *Prevention of Emigration*

- (a) The General Council expresses serious concern at emigration from Israel, which also involves young families and single persons. It calls on the Government to do all in its power to prevent this serious trend, which affects the economy, national defense, and morale. The prevention of emigration must be assigned top priority. The General Council calls for decisive action in the spheres of housing, employment, and social service in order to check this trend.
- (b) The General Council calls upon the Government to set up a central agency which will assume responsibility for this most important task.

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### 30. *Committee for the Examination of the Aliyah and Absorption System*

The General Council endorses the Resolution of the recent Jerusalem Conference for Jewish Solidarity which called for the establishment of a special independent committee to examine the aliyah and the absorption system.

### 31. *Twinning*

The Zionist General Council endorses the Resolution of the Jerusalem Conference for Jewish Solidarity, which called for the conclusion of "twin city" agreements between Jewish communities and organizations in the Diaspora and settlements or areas in Israel, in order that the Diaspora organizations and communities are encouraged to send volunteers and olim to the areas and settlements with which they are twinned.

### 32. *Aliyah Encouragement Month*

The Zionist General Council welcomes the cooperation of Zionist Federations and organizations in the encouragement of aliyah and in arranging special months for this activity.

### 33. *Selection of Emissaries and Religious Needs of Communities*

The Zionist General Council recommends that the Aliyah Department, in choosing candidates for "schlichut" abroad, pay due attention to the special religious needs of the various communities.

### 34. *Involvement of Volunteer Organizations*

The Zionist General Council calls on the Aliyah Department and on the Ministry of Absorption to involve volunteer organizations like immigrant associations and women's organizations in a coordinated effort for social absorption and for enhanced aliyah consciousness among all strata of the veteran Israeli population, stressing the value of aliyah for economic development, national defense and Israeli society.

### 35. *Periodic Reports*

The Zionist General Council requests all departments dealing with aliyah and absorption in any form to submit periodic reports to the General Council.

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### E. EDUCATION

#### 36. *Implementation of the Resolutions of the Jerusalem Solidarity Conference 1975*

The Zionist General Council adopts the Resolutions of the Jerusalem Solidarity Conference and charges the Zionist Executive with the implementation of the following programs and objectives:

- (a) To expand Jewish education in the Diaspora, by means of:
  - (1) increased activity to enlarge the enrollment in Jewish educational institutions and expand their facilities,
  - (2) developing educational frameworks for families, parents and the general adult public with a view to transmitting Jewish values, the Hebrew language and Zionist consciousness.
- (b) To achieve a more profound Jewish and Zionist education in the Diaspora by means of:
  - (1) expanding long and short-term training programmes in Israel for students, teachers and adult groups by broadening absorption possibilities and granting a large number of scholarships for those needing them. The Executive is requested to fix uniform criteria for the selection of the participants in these training programmes,
  - (2) increasing the number of Israeli educators sent to the Diaspora to implement special educational programmes,
  - (3) taking suitable steps for the incorporation of Eretz Israel studies as a discipline in the Jewish school in the Diaspora, with special content to be infused into Independence Day and Jerusalem Day, both within the school and in the general community,
  - (4) enhancing Jewish training provided for Diaspora teachers through local training programmes, correspondence courses, and one-year programmes of study and educational work in Israel, and by improving their status and material remuneration,
  - (5) developing central institutes for the preparation of curricula, textbooks and educational aids, and enlarging the centres for pedagogic material existing in various communities.
  - (6) allocating the appropriate place to the spiritual heritage of the Sephardic, Mediterranean and Oriental communities in textbooks and educational material published by the Departments for Education and Culture of the Zionist Organization.

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- (7) intensifying the mutual relationship between educators in Israel and the Diaspora through joint Conferences for the advancement of Jewish education and of Zionist values in the programs of studies.

### *37. Cooperation with Zionist Federations*

The Zionist General Council appeals to the Zionist Federations and Jewish communities in the various countries to assist, to the best of their ability, in the advancement of these programmes and objectives.

### *38. Inclusion of the JNF as a Topic in Educational Activities*

The Zionist General Council appeals to Jewish educational institutions and youth organizations in the Diaspora and Israel to incorporate the topic of the Jewish National Fund into their educational activities.

## F. YOUTH

### *39. Framework for the Visits by Diaspora Youth in Israel*

The Zionist General Council calls on the Zionist Executive to increase the number of participants in study frameworks, tours and long-and-short term volunteer work for Jewish youth and young adults ("Dor HaHemshech") and to find ways and means to facilitate the visits of a greater number of young people than in previous years.

### *40. Settlement and Youth*

The General Council welcomes settlement throughout Eretz Israel and commends the effective measures taken for the rapid and easy absorption of the settlement groups ("garinim"). The General Council calls for the establishment of new groups and "garinim" to be directed to all forms of settlement throughout Eretz Israel.

### *41. Activities of Youth Movements*

- (a) The General Council singles out for praise the commendable activity of the Zionist and Pioneer youth movements in the Diaspora, in educating their members towards aliyah and self-fulfillment in Israel and regards their activities as most important.
- (b) The General Council appeals to general Jewish youth organizations to consider the State of Israel as the centre for their activity and to educate their members towards aliyah.

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### 42. *Seminars and Conventions*

The Zionist General Council calls for a campaign to intensify Zionist consciousness throughout the Diaspora by means of numerous and varied seminars for young Jews, in Israel and abroad.

It welcomes the initiative of holding conventions of youth and young adults in Israel and the Diaspora to voice their solidarity with Zionism.

### 43. *Anti-Zionist Propaganda on Campuses and Assimilation*

In view of anti-Zionist propaganda being spread on university campuses, and of assimilation which is destroying the identity of Jewish youth and students, the General Council calls upon the Zionist Executive to find the appropriate ways and means to cope with this emergency.

### 44. *Zionist Work of Israeli Students Abroad*

The General Council requests the Youth and Hechalutz Department to establish a committee for the coordination of the various agencies which encourage Israeli students at foreign universities to take part in Zionist and community work in their host countries.

### 45. *Jewish Chalutz*

The General Council welcomes the implementation of the "Jewish Chalutz" program and calls for its further reinforcement, in view of the condition of the Jewish people and the needs of the State of Israel.

### 46. *Education as a Means for Increasing Aliyah*

As Jewish and Zionist education in the Diaspora guarantees an increase in aliyah, the General Council calls on the Zionist Executive to revise the allocation of resources given to the Departments of Education, Youth and Hechalutz, and to the "Dor Hahemshech" (Young Adults) division, in order to reinforce Zionist education activities among Jewish youth.

### 47. *Zionist and Jewish Education in Youth Clubs and Centres*

Considering that a large number of Jewish young people attend youth clubs and community centres in the Diaspora, the General Coun-

## RESOLUTIONS

cil requests the Executive to seek new ways of bringing Zionist education and Jewish values to this public, numbering tens of thousands, in order to attract them to Judaism, Zionism and Israel.

### G. "DOR HAHEMSHECH" (YOUNG ADULTS)

#### 48. *The Framework for the Young Generation and Young Leadership and its Activities*

The Zionist General Council notes with satisfaction that the Zionist Executive has carried out the Resolution of the Zionist Congress to establish a framework for the "Dor Hahemshech".

The General Council welcomes the expansion of "Dor Hahemshech" activities, the development of young leadership, the strengthening of Zionist consciousness, the intensification of Jewish identity, and the creation of solidarity and contact between the young generation abroad and its counterpart in Israel.

#### 49. *World Conference of Young Leadership*

The General Council requests the "Dor Hahemshech" division to carry out the previous Council's Resolution to convene in the Summer of 1976 a world conference of leaders of the Jewish young generation.

#### 50. *Representation of the Young Generation on Zionist Bodies*

The General Council calls on parties and organizations to bring more young people into Zionist activity and to ensure their representation as such in the Zionist Movement and its institutions.

#### 51. *The Task of "Dor Hahemshech" in Social Absorption*

The General Council requests the Zionist Executive to develop the "Dor Hahemshech" absorption circles, active in social absorption, and to intensify the joint project of the Youth and Hechalutz Department and the "Dor Hahemshech" division aimed at closer ties between Jewish students from abroad studying in Israel and their Israeli counterparts.



## RESOLUTIONS

### H. FINANCES AND CONTROL

#### 52. *Authorization of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee*

The Zionist General Council empowers the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee to discuss and decide on the draft budgets for the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish National Fund and Keren Hayesod, which will be submitted to it during the period between this and the coming session of the Zionist General Council or the 29th Zionist Congress, whichever is first.

#### 53. *The Comptroller's Report*

- (a) The Zionist General Council has taken notice of the Comptroller's 18th Report, of the Executive's comments thereon and of the conclusions drawn in respect of that Report by the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee.
- (b) The General Council endorses the recommendations of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee and requests the Executive to take, as soon as possible, all steps necessary in order to assure the implementation of the Comptroller's recommendations.
- (c) The General Council requests the Executive to take all necessary steps to follow up the implementation of those recommendations and to appoint an official for this purpose.
- (d) The General Council expresses its appreciation to the Comptroller, the Director of the Comptroller's office and their staff, as well as to the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee for their extensive work in connection with the Comptroller's 18th Report.

### I. ELECTIONS

#### 54. *Election of a Member to the Executive*

In accordance with Article 43, section 2 of the Constitution, the Zionist General Council elects Mr. Josef Almogi as Member of the Executive, to replace the late Mr. Pinhas Sapir.

#### 55. *Election of the Chairman of the Executive*

In accordance with Article 43, section 1 of the Constitution, the Zionist General Council elects Mr. Josef Almogi as Chairman of the Executive, to replace the late Mr. Pinhas Sapir.

## RESOLUTIONS

### 56. *Election of a Member to the Presidium of the Zionist General Council*

In accordance with Article 35 of the Constitution, the Zionist General Council elects Mrs. Ruth Jacobson as member of the Presidium of the Council, instead of Rabbi B. Bergman, who resigned.

### 57. *Election of Members of the Congress Tribunal*

In accordance with Article 55 of the Constitution, the General Council, upon the proposal of the Chairman of the Tribunal, made after consultation with the Presidium of the Council and the Attorney of the WZO, elects two members of the Tribunal to the seats of two judges who passed away:

Judge Abraham J. Multer, in lieu of Nathaniel Rothenberg

Mrs. Mildred Debor, in lieu of Dr. Hannah Gelber.

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### RULES FOR THE ELECTIONS OF DELEGATES TO THE ZIONIST CONGRESS

#### RULE 1

##### *The Establishment of the Area Election Committee*

(In areas in which a Zionist Federation [hereinafter Federation] is in existence.)

- (a) The Governing Executive Body of the Federation may serve as Area Election Committee (hereinafter AEC) in accordance with Art. 20, Sec. 2 of the Constitution, provided that all Zionist bodies and groups functioning in the area concerned are represented on it.
- (b) Unless the Governing Executive Body of the Federation has assumed the functions of the AEC in accordance with the provisions of the preceding section, the Governing Executive Body of the Federation shall set up, no later than 10 months before the opening of the Congress, an AEC in which all Zionist bodies and groups operating in the area concerned at the time of the establishment shall be represented. The Governing Executive Body shall determine the total number of members of the AEC.

(In areas in which no Federation is in existence.)

- (c) The Governing Executive Bodies of Zionist Territorial and Inter-territorial Associations shall set up no later than 10 months before the opening of the Congress, an AEC in which all Zionist bodies and groups operating in the area concerned at the time of its establishment shall be represented. The Convening Executive Bodies shall determine the total number of members of the AEC.

#### RULE 2

##### *The Composition of the AEC*

- (a) In areas represented at the preceding Congress by two or more delegates and where the tasks of the AEC are not discharged by

## ANNEX

the Governing Executive Body, the AEC shall be composed in accordance with the composition of the delegation of the electoral area concerned at the preceding Zionist Congress subject to modifications in accordance with the findings and/or rulings of the Congress Tribunal.

However, every Zionist Body and group which has duly submitted nomination lists or nominated candidates shall have one representative on the AEC in an advisory capacity, even if such body or group was not included in the delegation at the preceding Zionist Congress. WIZO shall have one representative in an advisory capacity.

- (b) In areas represented at the preceding Zionist Congress by one delegate, the Governing Executive Body of the Federation shall assume the functions of the AEC.

However, every Zionist body and group which has duly submitted nomination lists or nominated candidates shall have one representative on the AEC in an advisory capacity, even if it was not included in the delegation at the preceding Zionist Congress. WIZO shall have a representative in an advisory capacity.

- (c) Notwithstanding the provisions of the two preceding sections, no body or group shall be entitled to more than 50% of the seats on the AEC.

### RULE 3

#### *Chairman of the AEC—Intervention of Central Election Board*

- (a) The AEC shall elect a Chairman from among its members.
- (b) If no AEC has been duly set up, the Central Election Board shall appoint an AEC or an Election Commissioner with the powers of an AEC.

### RULE 4

#### *The Functions and Members of the AEC*

- (a) The AEC shall be responsible for preparing and carrying out Congress elections in the respective electoral area including establishing and operating Local Election Committees and Polling Stations Committees, and for reporting on the elections to the Executive, the Central Election Board and the Congress Tribunal.
- (b) Only persons entitled to vote and to be elected to Congress in the electoral area may be members of any Election Committee.

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### RULE 5

#### *Right of Vote*

(In areas in which a Zionist Federation is in existence)

Every Jew who has reached the age of 18 in the year of the opening of the Congress and is a member in good standing of the Zionist Federation shall be entitled to vote to Congress as set out in the Regulations for the membership drive (Resolution 23 of the General Council January 1976).

(In areas in which no Zionist Federation is in existence)

Every Jew who has reached the age of 18 years in the year of the opening of the Congress and is a member in good standing of a Zionist Association recognized as a member of the WZO as set out in the Regulations for the Membership Drive (resolution 22 of the General Council January 1976), shall be entitled to vote to Congress.

### RULE 6

#### *Eligibility*

Every person entitled to vote in Congress elections who has reached the age of 21 in the year of the opening of the Congress and proved to the satisfaction of the Zionist Federation or the Zionist Association, as the case may be, that he has fulfilled his obligations towards the Keren Hayesod—United Israel Appeal or the United Jewish Appeal in the U.S.A. and to the KKL shall be eligible for election as delegate to the Congress.

### RULE 7

#### *Register of Voters*

Every person entitled to vote in Congress elections shall be registered in the Register of Voters drawn up in accordance with Regulations enacted by the Central Election Board. Only a person registered in the Register of Voters may vote in the election to Congress.

### RULE 8

#### *Candidates*

- (a) Subject to any other legal provision any resident of a certain election area and registered in its Register of Voters may be a candidate in elections to Congress in that area.

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- (b) Each candidate for delegate or deputy delegate shall sign the following declaration:

“I hereby declare that I have agreed to be nominated in the elections to the . . . . . Zionist Congress on the nomination list (name of list) . . . . . in the (name of the electoral area) . . . . .”

### RULE 9

#### *Announcement of the Date of the Elections*

- (a) The AEC shall publicly announce the date on which polling is to take place no later than 4 weeks prior to the elections.
- (b) The elections to the Zionist Congress shall take place no later than 6 weeks before the opening of the Congress.
- (c) The AEC may change the above dates, subject to the approval of the Central Election Board.

### RULE 10

#### *Nomination Lists and Nominations to Stand as Candidates* (Common provisions for any election system)

- (a) The nomination lists or nominations of candidates shall be submitted to the AEC within a time fixed by it.
- (b) Those submitting a nomination list or a nomination to stand as candidate (“sponsors”) shall enclose a declaration of assent by the candidates.
- (c) The nomination lists of a party and organisation, or of a group which is not a constituent body of the Federation concerned, or any nomination to stand as a candidate, shall be signed by persons entitled to vote in the elections to Congress figuring in the Register of Voters in the following numbers:
- (1) in areas in which the number of persons entitled to vote does not exceed 1,000—50 signatures;
  - (2) in areas, in which the number of persons entitled to vote is between 1,000 and 10,000—100 signatures;
  - (3) in areas, in which the number of persons entitled to vote is between 10,000 and 100,000—300 signatures;
  - (4) in areas, in which the number of persons entitled to vote is between 100,000 and 250,000—500 signatures;
  - (5) in areas, in which the number of persons entitled to vote exceeds 250,000—1,000 signatures.
- (d) The signatories shall indicate their full names and addresses.

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- (e) No person shall sign more than one nomination list or a nomination to stand as candidate. If he has signed more than one, all his signatures become invalid.
- (f) The nomination lists and nominations to stand as candidate shall be published in all polling stations, in the Jewish press and in any other way which may be decided.

## RULE 11

### *Nomination Lists* *Special Provisions for Proportional Elections*

- (a) The nomination lists shall bear the name of the party or group to which the candidates belong. If the nomination list is attached to a world election list, this attachement shall be indicated.
- (b) The nomination lists shall contain the names of a number of candidates not exceeding the number of delegates to which the electoral area is entitled and the names of a number of candidates for deputy delegates not exceeding twice the number of candidates for delegates. If an elected delegate has not assumed his function or resigned his mandate after assuming it, he shall be replaced by a deputy delegate in the order in which their names appear on the nomination list.
- (c) Nomination lists may be combined for a joint distribution of seats. Notice about combining nomination lists shall be given to the AEC at the time of their submission and be publicly announced by the AEC. Joint nomination lists shall be considered as one single list for the distribution of seats. Within the joint nomination lists, seats shall be allotted according to the terms laid down in the agreement when the lists were combined.
- (d) Any nomination list, including combined lists, may be withdrawn within a time limit fixed by the AEC, but no later than 15 days before the election date.

## RULE 12

### *Nominations to Stand as Candidates* *Special Provisions for Personal Elections*

- (a) In electoral areas electing one delegate only and in areas electing two or more delegates in personal elections, nominations shall contain the name of one candidate for delegate. Those submitting the nomination are entitled—but not obliged—to add the names of one or two candidates for deputy-delegates.

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- (b) Those submitting nominations are entitled—but not obliged—to indicate the affiliation of the candidates for election as delegates or deputy-delegates with a party or organization.
- (c) If the affiliation to a party or organization was indicated as stated above, those submitting the nominations are entitled—but not obliged—to attach such nominations to a World Election List. If a nomination is attached to a World Election List, this attachment shall be indicated therein.
- (d) If an elected delegate did not assume his function or resigned his mandate after assuming it, he shall be replaced by the first deputy-delegate. If this deputy-delegate too resigns or is unable to assume his function, he shall be replaced by the second deputy-delegate.

## RULE 13

### *Election Method*

- (a) In accordance with Article 19 of the Constitution and Regulation 6 of the Regulations for the Implementation of the Constitution, the Executive Governing Body of the Federation shall determine the election method no later than 6 months before the opening of the Congress.
- (b) All groups and lists represented at the preceding Congress or desirous of being represented at the present one may appeal against the decision on the election method to the Central Election Board within one month of its adoption and against the decision of the Central Election Board to the Congress Tribunal within a further month.
- (c) The Executive Governing Body may decide on indirect elections (Electoral College) or introduce voting by mail as an exclusive form of balloting, or in addition to voting in polling stations. If the Executive Governing Body has taken such decision it shall enact Rules for indirect elections or voting by mail, as the case may be, within one month from the adoption of such decision and submit those rules to the Central Election Board for approval.

## RULE 14

### *Election Regulations*

- (a) On the basis of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, the Regulations for the Implementation of the Constitution and these Election Rules, each AEC shall issue detailed Regulations for holding elections, and publish them no later than two



## ANNEX

months before election day. Such Regulations shall include provisions for at least the following:

- (1) the right to elect and be elected;
  - (2) the form of nomination lists or nominations to stand as personal candidates and the place and time for submitting them;
  - (3) the system of elections and provisions regarding the election of deputy-delegates;
  - (4) the process of balloting in polling stations, voting outside the locality where the voter is registered—if permitted by the AEC—and doubtful votes;
  - (5) method of voting and calculator of the election results;
  - (6) polling records and election returns;
  - (7) appeals against election results, form of the appeal and time and place for lodging it.
- (b) The Executive of the World Zionist Organization shall be entitled to issue Election Regulations for areas in which the AEC has not published such Regulations within the prescribed time, after having been requested by the Executive.

### RULE 15

#### *Form of the Elections*

The ballot shall be personal, and secret; only a person whose name appears in the Register of Voters is entitled to vote. No one may vote on behalf of another person.

### RULE 16

#### *Polling Records and Local Election Returns*

- (a) The polling records drawn up by the Polling Station Committee and the election returns drawn up by the Local Election Committees shall be signed by the Chairman of the Committee concerned and by at least two members of the Committee belonging to different parties or lists. Any dissenting votes shall be recorded.
- (b) The Elections Regulations shall include provisions for further details with respect of the polling records and local election returns.

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### RULE 17

#### *Results of Proportional Elections*

The AEC shall determine the results of the voting as follows:

- (a) the total of valid votes cast for all nomination lists in the whole electoral area shall be divided by the number of delegates to be elected and the resulting figure shall be the "election quota";
- (b) each list shall receive a number of seats equal to the figure resulting from the division of the votes cast for the list by the election quota;
- (c) the "remaining votes" accruing to each list shall be determined as follows: the figures resulting from the multiplication of the election quota by the number of seats that the list received according to the aforesaid, shall be deducted from the total of the votes cast for the list concerned; the nomination lists shall be entitled to one additional seat each, in the order of the size of the remaining votes insofar as any seats are left which have not yet been distributed according to the provisions of sec. (b).

### RULE 18

#### *Result of Voting in Personal Elections*

- (a) The AEC shall ascertain the result of the elections as follows: it shall count and write down the number of valid votes cast for each candidate;
- (b) it shall make a list of the totals of valid votes cast for each candidate in the order of their magnitude;
- (c) it shall declare as elected the candidates occupying in the list of the results (section (b) ) the number of first places corresponding to the number of mandates allocated to the electoral area concerned.

### RULE 19

#### *General Election Report*

The AEC shall draw up a general election report on the basis of the local election returns and according to its own findings. The general election report shall be drawn up in at least two copies; one, with copies of local election returns and polling records, original nomination lists, declarations of assent by the candidates and confirmation about having fulfilled their duty towards the National Funds,

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evidence that the date of the elections and the terms for submitting lists of nomination were published, as well as nominations to stand as candidate and appeals, if any, and other relevant documents—all of these shall be forwarded to the Organisation and Information Department of the Zionist Executive for the Congress Tribunal—so that they arrive at least 4 weeks before the opening of the Congress. The general election reports shall be signed by the Chairman and at least two members of the AEC, belonging to different parties or lists. Any dissenting votes shall be recorded.

### RULE 20

#### *Elections without Polling Owing to the Submission of one Nomination List Only*

If within the time limit for submitting nomination lists or nominations to stand as candidate only one nomination list or nomination conforming to the requirements of these Election Rules and the Election Regulations of the area concerned has been submitted, no voting shall take place and the appropriate number of candidates shall be declared by the AEC as elected delegates and the same number of candidates following on the list as their deputy delegates.

### RULE 21

#### *Annulment of Representation Owing to the Absence of a Valid Nomination List*

If no nomination list or nomination to stand as candidate was submitted or if one or more were submitted which do not conform with the requirements of these Election Rules and the Election Regulations of the area concerned, the electoral area shall not be represented in the Congress.

### RULE 22

#### *Elections without Polling Owing to External Circumstances*

Elections by polling shall not take place in electoral areas with regard to which the Presidium of the General Council has decided by 75% majority, on a proposal by the Executive, supported by a 75% majority of its members, after consultation with the Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation and the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal, that owing to urgent reasons beyond the control of the Zionist Movement

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and independent of the will of local Zionists, electoral polling cannot take place. If in such electoral areas an agreement on a united list of candidates has not been reached, the Congress Tribunal shall decide how to allocate the seats of the Electoral area concerned.

### RULE 23

#### *Complaints*

VERSION A — for countries with a Zionist Territorial Judicial Body

Every voter and everybody who claims to be entitled to vote may lodge a complaint with the Zionist Territorial Judicial Body concerning any instruction issued by the AEC or its interpretation of the Election Rules. Decisions of the Zionist Territorial Judicial Body may be appealed within seven days to the Congress Tribunal.

VERSION B — for countries without a Zionist Territorial  
Judicial Body

- (a) The authorized representatives of nomination lists or nominations to stand as candidate which have been accepted or rejected by the AEC or at least a quarter of the number of voters required to submit a nomination list or a nomination to stand as candidate (Rule 10) may lodge a complaint with the Attorney of the WZO concerning any instruction issued by the AEC or its interpretation of the Election Rules.
- (b) Notwithstanding a complaint lodged with a Zionist Territorial Judicial Body or the Attorney of the WZO, the election procedure shall go on unless the Judicial Body or the Attorney, as the case may be, decide to stay it on the grounds that otherwise the complainant would suffer irreparable harm.

### RULE 24

#### *Lodging of Appeals*

- (a) Appeals in election matters shall be submitted in writing in seven copies within two weeks from the date of the elections to the Organisation and Information Department of the Executive which shall forward it to the Congress Tribunal. A copy of the appeal shall be simultaneously submitted to the AEC for its reply.
- (b) Each appeal shall be signed by the authorised representatives of a nomination list or nomination to stand as candidate which had been accepted or rejected by the AEC or at least a quarter

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of the number of voters required to submit a nomination list or a nomination to stand as candidate. (Rule 10)

- (c) Each appeal shall include a statement of the facts on which it is based, a description of the evidence to be reduced; as far as possible, written testimonials (affidavits) and other documents shall be enclosed.

## RULE 25

### *Grounds of Appeals*

An appeal may be lodged on the following grounds:

- (a) In the conduct or the course of the elections a defect was revealed which was liable to influence the results of the elections or the number of votes or the distribution of seats; or
- (b) the allocation of seats was not legal.

## RULE 26

### *Special Provisions Regarding Appeals*

- (a) If an appeal was lodged with regard to the allocation of seats or the determination of remaining votes the AEC may, in accordance with the appeal itself rectify the election results.
- (b) If an appeal was lodged with regard to the instructions to the AEC it may comply with the appeal and change the instructions.
- (c) The AEC shall in either case inform the Executive of such decision without delay.

## RULE 27

### *Exceptions to the Election Rules*

In special circumstances the Central Election Board may on proposal of the AEC grant exemptions from, or change, certain provisions of the Election Rules provided such exemption or change is not prejudicial to any party, organization or list contesting the elections in the area concerned.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS IN THE SESSION,  
JANUARY, 1976

1. THE EXECUTIVE

CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE

Mr. Josef Almogi

MEMBERS

Mr. Mordechai Bar-On, Israel	Mrs. Faye Schenk, U.S.A.
Mr. Arie L. Dulzin, Israel	Mr. Avraham Schenker, Israel
Mr. Hayim Finkelsztajn, Israel	Mr. Ezra Z. Shapiro, Israel
Rabbi Dr. Arthur Hertzberg, U.S.A.	Mr. Kalman Sultanik, U.S.A.
Rabbi Richard Hirsch, Israel	Mr. Jacques Torczyner, U.S.A.
Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson, U.S.A.	Dr. Ra'anana Weitz, Israel
Mrs. Raya Jaglom, Israel	Mr. Moshe Rivlin (Associate Member), Israel
Rabbi Mordechai Kirshblum, Israel	Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, U.S.A.
Mr. Joseph Klarman, Israel	Dr. Chaim Teichman (Observer), Israel
Mr. Moshe Krone, Israel	
Mr. André Narboni, Israel	
Dr. Allen Pollack, U.S.A.	
Rabbi Prof. Emanuel Rackman, U.S.A.	

2. PRESIDUM OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

CHAIRMAN

Mr. Itzhak Navon, Israel

MEMBERS

Mr. Joseph Bankower, Israel	Mrs. Rose Matzkin, U.S.A.
Mrs. Miriam Ben-Porath, Israel	Mr. Bunim Shamir, Israel
Rabbi Yehuda Ellinson, Israel	Rabbi Dr. Joseph P. Sternstein, U.S.A.
Dr. Israel Goldstein, Israel	Dr. Yaacov Eliezer Tavin, Israel
Mrs. Ruth K. Jacobson, U.S.A.	Mr. Michel Topiol, France
Lord Janner, England	Adv. Avraham Tory, Israel
Mr. Moshe Kerem, Israel	Mr. Baruch Weinstein, Israel
Adv. Raphael Kotlowitz, Israel	Rabbi Tsemach Menachem Zambrowski, Israel
Dr. Schneier Levenberg, England	

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### 3. MEMBERS OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

#### *Virilists*

Mr. Yeshayahu Bernstein, Israel  
Mr. David Beit-Aryeh, Israel  
Mr. Abba Bornstein, England  
Mr. Eliahu Dobkin, Israel  
Mrs. Judith Epstein, U.S.A.  
Mr. Moshe Erem, Israel  
Mr. Jacob Halevy, England  
Mrs. Sara Kafri, Israel  
Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Israel  
Dr. Ludwig Pinner, Israel  
Rabbi Prof. Louis Isaac Rabinowitz,  
Israel  
Mr. Anselm Reiss, Israel  
Dr. Maurice Sage, U.S.A.  
Mr. Shlomo Zalman Shragai, Israel  
Prof. Arieh Tartakower, Israel

#### *Former Members of the Executive*

Rabbi Israel Miller, U.S.A.  
Dr. Emanuel Neuman, U.S.A.  
Mr. Sam Rothberg, U.S.A.

#### *Labour Zionist Movement*

Mr. Israel Appel, Canada  
Mr. Israel Avidor, Israel  
Mr. Shimon Avizemer, Israel  
Mr. Boris Blinder, Brazil  
Mr. Hanania Dahan, Israel  
Mr. Shlomo Derech, Israel  
Prof. Leon Diesendruck, U.S.A.  
Mr. Meir Dotan, Israel  
Prof. Segismundo Dresner, Argentina  
Dr. Berl Frymer, Israel  
Mr. Uri Gordon, Israel  
Mrs. Mathilda Guez, Israel  
Mr. Jacob Katzman, U.S.A.  
Mr. Itzhak Korn, Israel  
Dr. Leon Kronitz, Canada  
Mr. Mordechai Lerman, France  
Mr. Yehoshua Levy, Israel  
Mr. Shmuel Shores, Israel  
Mr. Barney Singer, South Africa  
Mr. Szmul Szejner, France  
Mr. David Tabacznik, Israel  
Mrs. Esther P. Zackler, Israel

#### *World Confederation of United Zionists*

Mr. Morris Borsuk, South Africa  
Mrs. Beatrice Feldman, U.S.A.  
Dr. Miriam Freund-Rosenthal, U.S.A.  
Mrs. Rose Halprin, U.S.A.  
Mrs. Ethel Lozabnick, U.S.A.  
Mrs. Helen Lusterman, U.S.A.

Rabbi David Monson, Canada  
Mrs. Bernice Salpeter-Tannenbaum,  
U.S.A.  
Mr. Sidney L. Shipton, England  
Mr. Donald Silk, England  
Mr. Leon Tchimino, Chile  
Mr. Izak Warszawski (Varsat),  
France

#### *Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi*

Mr. Adi Am-Shalom, Israel  
Mr. Hyman Bessin, Canada  
Mr. Aharon Cohen, Israel  
Dr. Naphtali Eilati, Israel  
Mr. Elazar Goelman, Israel  
Rabbi Bernard A. Poupko, U.S.A.  
Mr. Benyamin Sayade, France  
Mrs. Evelyn Schreiber, U.S.A.  
Mr. Akiva Werber, Israel

#### *World Union of General Zionists*

Mr. Marcos (Mordechai) Daian,  
Israel  
Mr. Bernard Ferster, Australia  
Mr. Arnold R. Ginsberg, U.S.A.  
Mr. Leon Ilutovich, U.S.A.  
Mr. Jack Lefkowitz, U.S.A.  
Dr. Miguel Moldavsky, Chile  
Mr. Daniel Monson, Canada  
Mr. Shimon Orenstein-Avieli, Israel  
Mr. Jacques Orfus, France  
Mr. Saul Patrich, Argentina  
Mr. Itzhak Peretz, Israel  
Mr. David Yutan, Israel

#### *World Union of Herut-Hatzohar*

Mr. Salomon Friedrich, France  
Mr. Harry Hurwitz, South Africa  
Mr. Enrique Katz, Argentina  
Dr. Harry Levy, U.S.A.  
Mr. Shlomi Levy, Israel  
Mr. Rafael Rafalin, Mexico

#### *World Union of Maḥam*

Mr. Reuben Arzi, Israel  
Mr. Dov Bar-Nir, Israel  
Prof. Bernard Blumenkranz, France  
Mr. Avery Fisher, Israel  
Dr. Isaac Icekson, Chile  
Mr. Moshe Kagan, U.S.A.

#### *W.I.Z.O.*

Mrs. Neri Judith Bloomfield, Canada  
Mrs. Martha Jacobson, Australia

## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Dr. Genia Kanowitz, Israel  
Mrs. Carmel Webber, England

### *Independent Zionist Movement*

Mr. Oscar E. Glasserman, Israel  
Mr. Asher Nathan, Israel

### *World Sephardi Federation*

Mr. Mordechai Elkayam, Israel  
Mr. Zeev Grego, Israel  
Mr. Claudio Leon, Brazil  
Mr. Sarell Shukroun, Canada  
Mr. David Sitton, Israel

### *World Union for Progressive Judaism*

Rabbi Joshua Haberman, U.S.A.  
Rabbi A. Assabi, Israel  
Mr. D. Saunders  
Dr. Moshe Chaim Wyler, Israel  
Prof. Ezra Spicandler, Israel

### *Maccabi World Union*

Mr. Mordechai Arbatman, Brazil  
Mr. Louis Gecelter, South Africa  
Dr. Israel Peled, Israel

## 4. DEPUTY MEMBERS WHO PARTICIPATED IN PLACE OF MEMBERS ABSENT FROM THE WHOLE OR PART OF THE SESSION

### *Labour Zionist Movement*

Mr. Leon Rubinstein, U.S.A.  
Mr. Moshe Salzman, Israel  
Mrs. Charlotte Stein, U.S.A.  
Dr. Sydney Wax, Canada  
Mrs. Shoshana Zehori, Israel

### *World Confederation of United Zionists*

Mrs. Julia Berlove, U.S.A.  
Mrs. Fanny Cohen, U.S.A.  
Mr. Osias Davidovich, Argentina  
Mr. Francisco Gotthilf, Brazil  
Mr. Nathan Jacobson, Australia  
Mr. Paul Safro, U.S.A.

### *Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi*

Rabbi Joseph Bronner, South Africa  
Rabbi Meyer Frydman, England

Mr. Brian Gutkin, Israel  
Mr. Moshe Lederman, England  
Mrs. Dvora Rabinowitz-Mazovetzky,  
Israel  
Rabbi Herschel Schacter, U.S.A.

### *World Union of General Zionists*

Mr. Arie Even, Israel  
Dr. Marcus Levinson, U.S.A.  
Mrs. Zita Linker, Israel  
Mr. Samuel Wigder, U.S.A.

### *World Union of Herut-Hatzohar*

Mr. Eric Graus, England  
Mr. Yeshayahu Lichtenstein, Uruguay

### *World Union for Progressive Judaism*

Rabbi Hugo Gryn, England

## 5. REPRESENTATIVES OF LEGAL AND FINANCIAL BODIES

### *Legal Officers*

Justice Moshe Landau, Chairman of  
Congress Tribunal  
Adv. Zvi Klementinovsky, Attorney of  
the World Zionist Organization

### *Financial Bodies*

Mr. Shimon Ben-Shemech, Keren  
Kayemeth Lelsrael  
Mr. S. J. Kreutner, Keren Hayesod

Dr. Ernst Lehman, Otzar Hityashvut  
Hayehudim

### *Comptroller*

Mr. Meir Benzion Meiri

### *Zionist Council in Israel*

Mr. Yedidyah Cohen  
Mr. Zeev Shikler  
Mr. Aryeh Zimuki



## LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### 6. OFFICIAL GUESTS AND OBSERVERS

#### *Heads of Zionist Federations*

Mr. Sam Ben-Rubi, Greece  
Dr. Walter Czenstochowski, Venezuela  
Mr. Menny Klausner, England  
Mr. Abe Kramer, England  
Mrs. Wilhelmina Kurzer, Holland  
Mrs. Iride Schwarz, Italy  
Mr. Enrique Shor, Mexico

#### *Aliyah Movement*

Mr. Marcel Lipskier, France  
Dr. Maxim Misslov, Argentina

Mr. Murray Safran, U.S.A.  
Mr. Enrique Waltman, Brazil

#### *World Union of Jewish Students*

Mr. Ilan de-Beer, Switzerland  
Mr. Jev Golin, U.S.A.  
Mr. Ephraim Rudenski, Israel

#### *World Jewish Congress*

Dr. Wolf Kelman, U.S.A.  
Dr. Nathan Lerner, Israel  
Dr. Gerhard M. Riegner, Switzerland

COMMITTEES OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

COMMITTEE ON THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION  
AND THE 29TH CONGRESS

Chairman: Leon Kronitz

Deputy-Chairmen: Raphael Kotlowitz, Donald Silk

Shimon Avizemer  
Hyman Bessin  
Julia Berlove  
Boris Blinder  
Joseph Bronner  
Marcos Daian  
Leo Diesendruck  
Naphtali Eilati  
Miriam Freund-Rosenthal  
Salomon Freidrich  
Meyer Frydman  
Oscar E. Glasserman  
Geula Havkin  
Leon Ilutovich  
Martha Jacobson  
Moshe Kagan

Itzhak Korn  
Raphael Kotlowitz  
Leon Kronitz  
Claudio Leon  
Harry Levy  
Jacques Orfus  
Saul Patrich  
Israel Peled  
Maurice Sage  
Bunim Shamir  
Sidney Lawrence Shipton  
Donald Silk  
Fzra Spicehandler  
Charlotte Stein  
Szmul Szejner  
Leon Tchimino

COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL ACTIVITIES AND INFORMATION

Chairman: Bernice Salpeter-Tannenbaum

Deputy-Chairmen:

Dov Bar-Nir, Avraham Tory, Daniel Monson

Dov Bar-Nir  
(Chani Bergman)  
Bernard Blumenkranz  
Abba Bornstein  
Aharon Cohen  
Morris Borsuk  
Shlomo Derech  
Salemon Friedrich  
Berl Frymer  
Louis Gecelter  
Francisco Gotthilf  
Rose Halprin  
Harry Hurwitz  
Nathan Jacobson  
Ruth Jacobson  
Jacob Katzman

Schneier Levenberg  
Miguel Moldavsky  
Daniel Monson  
Bernard A. Poupko  
Leon Rubinstein  
Bernice Salpeter-Tannenbaum  
Shlomo Zalman Shragai  
Barney Singer  
David Sitton  
Joseph P. Sternstein  
Yaacov Eliezer Taviv  
Avraham Tory  
Sydney Wax  
Baruch Weinstein  
Shoshana Zehori

## COMMITTEES

### COMMITTEE ON ALIYAH AND ABSORPTION

Chairman: Itzhak Peretz

Deputy-Chairman: Akiva Werber

Reuben Arzi  
Yeshayahu Bernstein  
Osias Davidovich  
Bernard Ferster  
Eric Graus  
Mathilda Guez  
Isaac Icekson  
Sarah Kafri  
(Carmela Kesse)  
Moshe Lederman  
Jack Lefkowitz  
Mordechai Lerman  
Yeshayahu Lichtenstein  
Ethel Lozabnick

Helen Lusterman  
David Monson  
(Yehuda Paz)  
Itzhak Peretz  
Rafael Rafalin  
Anselm Reiss  
Benyamin Sayade  
Adi Am-Shalom  
Shmuel Shoresh  
Sarell Shukroun  
David Tabacznik  
Akiva Werber  
Samuel Wigder  
Esther Zackler

### COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, YOUTH AND YOUNG GENERATION

Chairman: Herschel Schacter

Deputy-Chairmen: Carmel Webber, Israel Avidor

Israel Appel  
Mordechai Arbaitman  
Israel Avidor  
Fanny Cohen  
Hanania Dahan  
Meir Dotan  
Segismundo Dresner  
Mordechai Elkayam  
Beatrice Feldman  
Avery Fisher  
Arnold Ginsberg  
Elazar Goelman  
Uri Gordon  
Eric Graus  
Baruch Gutkin  
Enrique Katz

Moshe Kerem  
Marcus Levinson  
Shlomi Levy  
Asher Nathan  
Shimon Orenstein-Arieli  
Dvora Rabinowitz-Mazovetzky  
(I. Rosenblatt)  
Paul Saftro  
Moshe Salzman  
Rabbi Herschel Schacter  
Evelyn Schreiber  
(Nahum Solan)  
Carmel Webber  
Chaim Moshe Wylar  
David Yutan

