

**FOUNDING  
ASSEMBLY  
OF THE  
RECONSTITUTED  
JEWISH  
AGENCY**



**ירושלים  
תמוז תשל"א  
JERUSALEM  
JUNE 1971**

**THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE**  
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**PROCEEDINGS**  
of the  
**FOUNDING ASSEMBLY**  
of the  
**RECONSTITUTED JEWISH AGENCY**

JERUSALEM, ISRAEL  
JUNE 21-24, 1971  
SIVAN 28 - TAMUZ 1, 5731

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## PREFACE

This volume contains the proceedings of the Founding Assembly of the Reconstituted Jewish Agency for Israel. As presented here, these proceedings consist of the addresses, reports and discussions, appropriately edited, in the plenary sessions of the Assembly.

The specific substance of the Assembly was presented and discussed, in breadth and in depth, in various committees and workshops. It would have required a volume many times larger than this to report these discussions in their detail. Their essence, however, we believe to be reflected faithfully in the reports of the chairmen and the resolutions proposed by the committees and adopted by the Assembly. These reports and resolutions are presented in these proceedings.



AN HISTORICAL NOTE  
AND AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

*It has been said by those who attended the Founding Assembly of the Reconstituted Jewish Agency for Israel, and it has been widely reported by the various news media, that this Assembly was an historic event in the history of Israel and the Jewish people.*

*As described by Mr. Pincus and Mr. Fisher in their addresses to the Assembly, this historic event was years in the making. The final phase of reconstitution may be said to have begun with a meeting of a Planning Committee in Jerusalem in August 1970. This Planning Committee began at its very first meeting to establish and give life to the structures which were to become less than a year later, at this Founding Assembly, the official working structures of the Jewish Agency for Israel as reconstituted.*

*Thus, the Planning Committee itself became the Board of Governors, the Implementation Committee became the Executive, the various ad hoc committees began already to lay the groundwork in the specific areas in which these committees were to assume formal responsibility in June 1971.*

*The crowning effort of the Planning Committee's work was this Founding Assembly. Its impact on all who attended and on the Jewish world is the best testimonial to the devotion and efficacy of the committee members' endeavours.*

*Assisting and guiding the Planning Committee, and responsible in greatest measure for the implementation of the Planning Committee's decisions, were the Aides, including legal counsel, and the Secretariat. There efforts are herewith acknowledged:*

- Aides:**        *M. Rivlin, Coordinator, Director General, Jewish Agency*  
                  *I. Bernstein, Executive Vice-Chairman, United Jewish Appeal*  
                  *P. Bernstein, Executive Vice-Chairman, Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds*  
                  *Y. Gileadi, Director General of the Treasury Dept., Jewish Agency*  
                  *G. Hammer, Executive Vice-Chairman, United Israel Appeal, Inc. New York*  
                  *S.J. Kreutner, Director General, Keren Hayesod*
- Counsel:**    *M. Boukstein*  
                  *E. Likhovsky*

**Secretariat:** *Z. Chinitz, Resident Representative in Israel, U.I.A. Inc.*  
*I. Lubin, Adviser, U.I.A. Inc.*  
*H. Rosen, Adviser to the Chairman of the Executive,*  
*Jewish Agency*  
*E. Shavit, Director in Israel of the Israel Education Fund*  
*of the U.J.A.*

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Louis A. Pincus

Chairman, Jewish Agency

I am honored to inaugurate the opening session of the Founding Assembly of the Reconstituted Jewish Agency. There are three hundred of us who are meeting here – the members of the Zionist Actions Committee; the heads of the United Jewish Appeal in America and Europe, South Africa, South America and Australia; delegates from large countries and from small ones, in order to carry out a great idea – the cooperation of the Jewish people as a whole in the upbuilding of Israel.

Those present here include the leaders of Jewish communities who have borne the responsibility of community work in fund-raising, Jewish education, communal service and in the encouragement of Aliya. There is no area in Jewish life from which this group is estranged and to which it has not devoted its attention and activity.

Those present include the leaders of Israel Bonds and the heads of the J.D.C. and of HIAS. There is also present a large delegation of youth from both sides – those who are responsible for work in the Zionist Youth movements and for activities in community centres, and those who already bear responsibility for the work of the United Jewish Appeal in their communities.

I welcome all of you. Let this Assembly form the cornerstone for blessed actions, daring initiatives and for joint work for the strengthening, the prosperity and the progress of Israel.

This festive evening should have taken place in the presence of the President of Israel, Mr. Zalman Shazar. Unfortunately, President Shazar has fallen ill and it has accordingly proved impossible for him to be with us here tonight. Let us convey to him our warmest wishes for a speedy recovery. All of us pray and hope that for many more years to come we shall continue to be inspired by him.

In August 1970 the preparatory committee for this Assembly met in Jerusalem. At that time we initialed the Agreement for the Reconsti-

tution of the Jewish Agency. We did so, and this was more than a symbol, at the President's residence. Until this very day we cherish the words spoken by the President on that occasion about the cooperation which we inaugurate tonight, and about its great significance.

I hereby declare open the Founding Assembly of the Reconstituted Jewish Agency.



## Michael M. Sacher

Chairman, JPA (Great Britain)

I am much honored to be present at this opening session of the reconstituted Jewish Agency for Israel and to have the task of presenting to the Chairman of the Executive the list of delegates. I must say that I have a special interest as I am perhaps the first representative of the second generation to be invited to serve on the Executive, of which my late father was once chairman.

I was pondering after his recent death as to what were the driving forces of his Zionism: certainly imagination, with pragmatism also playing a powerful part – seeing things as they were, not as he would have liked them to be. In 1917 he was writing about the difficulties he foresaw with the Arabs. Even earlier, in 1914, the need to bring Zionist and non-Zionist Jews together, was one of his themes to which perhaps this week's events are a culmination. I hope in any case that I have inherited a sufficiency of both his imagination and his pragmatism to make some contribution to our people through this Reconstituted, and I feel sure, revitalized body.

I hereby certify that the Credentials Committee has checked all records relating to the designation of members of the Assembly, country by country; the members of the Assembly have been designated fully in accordance with the provisions of the agreement which was signed on the same day, and that the members have duly signed the agreement on behalf of their respective designating organizations which are as follows: The World Zionist Organization, U.S.A. – United Israel Appeal, Inc.; Argentina – Keren Hayesod United Campaign; Austria – Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal; Australia – Federal Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal of Australia; Belgium, Antwerp – Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal; Belgium, Brussels – Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal; Brazil – Keren Hayesod; Canada – United Israel Appeal of Canada, Inc.; Central America – Keren Hayesod; Chile – Keren Hayesod Central Committee; Colombia – Keren Hayesod; Denmark – Keren Hayesod Danish Israel Appeal; France – United Jewish Appeal of France; Great Britain – Joint Palestine Appeal; Holland – Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal; Iran – Keren Hayesod; Italy – Keren Hayesod Permanent Association for Israel; Mexico – Keren Hayesod; Peru – Keren Hayesod; Rhodesia – United Israel Appeal; South Africa – South African Zionist Federation's United Israel Appeal; Spain – Keren Hayesod; Sweden – Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal; French Switzerland – Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal; German-speaking Switzerland – Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal; Uruguay – Keren Hayesod Campaign; Venezuela –

Keren Hayesod United Emergency Campaign; West Germany – Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal.

A certified list of the members is attached to this report and I state that the 142 members designated by the World Zionist Organization and the 108 members designated by all other signatories to the agreement are present at this Assembly.



## Louis A. Pincus

Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive

In the name of the World Zionist Organization and the other signatory organizations, I hereby declare that the reconstitution of the Jewish Agency for Israel has now become effective in accordance with the terms of the agreement initialed in Jerusalem on the 25th of Av, 5730, (27th of August, 1970), and signed in Jerusalem on the 28th Sivan, 5731, (21st of June, 1971).

Long live the State of Israel! Long live the Jewish people!

(Mr. Pincus reads in Hebrew from Agreement)

There will be an opportunity for me later in the proceedings of the Assembly to refer at greater length to the person whom I am going to call upon to conduct the remainder of this meeting. All I would like to say now to Mr. Max Fisher and to you is that if it were not for his willingness to understand everything that went on in a world with which he was unfamiliar – I am referring to the Zionist world – and his devotion to the aim, I doubt whether this reconstitution would have become feasible.

Therefore, when I call upon him tonight to preside at this session, I am calling upon a person whose participation has been more than just serious; it has been vital; it has been essential. Here is the Chairman of the Board of Governors Designate – and after all, being a democratic organization, I can only refer to him as such – you will have to elect him or not elect him in due course. But at the moment he is the Chairman of the Board of Governors Designate and I ask him to preside for the balance of the meeting.

## Max M. Fisher – Presiding

Chairman, United Israel Appeal;  
President, Council of Jewish Organizations and Welfare Funds (U.S.A.)

Welcome to Jerusalem, welcome to all from Israel, welcome to you all from so many great Jewish communities throughout the world.

I know I speak for everyone when I say that each of us feel that today is a day in history. We have just opened a new chapter in the story of the great partnership that exists between the people of Israel and the Jews outside of Israel. That partnership was formed long ago in the terrible fires of the holocaust. It was renewed each time we joined forces to rescue Jewish lives from the threat of death, and it was sealed in the agonizing days of May 1967 when the Jews of the world rose as a single man to stand with Israel's people against the would-be architects of the new holocaust. At this moment, each of us carries in his heart the prayer that it will take far more than a single chapter to tell the story of what we mean to accomplish together under the new arrangements to be concluded at this Assembly.

Nearly a year ago we met in this same city. The Jewish Agency, speaking for the people of Israel, then said to us of the outside communities: you have shared our sorrows and our joys. You have given of yourselves and your means. Now sit down and participate equally with us in the day to day decisions that must be made for the welfare of our newcomers. We, who came from the United States, Great Britain and all the other lands represented here, have never been given a greater vote of confidence. That vote of confidence comes from a great and devoted body of servants of the Jewish people. The Jewish Agency is truly a magnificent institution. It has carried forward a lion's share of the present revival of the Jewish nation. History provides no parallel to the Agency, and to the unprecedented responsibilities that it has faced, in undertaking two major obligations: to rescue, to bring in and absorb nearly a million and a half Jews, most of them from places of danger or distress; and simultaneously, to arouse and enlist support for the task of Jewish revival among the great legions of Jews overseas. Has any other people before expanded its population by three hundred per cent through immigration in twenty three years? And done so with so much love and help?

This great task of ingathering was not carried out by the Jewish Agency alone. It is the proud achievement of many hands: the Government of Israel, the people of Israel and devoted Jewish communities overseas, as well as the Agency. But at the center, at the very center, of this holy rescue of Israel's scattered sons and daughters, has been the Agency. No one will ever be able to place a clear value on the love, the

devotion, the courage and the creative “chutzpah”, with which the men and women of the Agency exercised their magnificent passion for saving Jewish lives.

We from the outside Jewish communities, then, can only accept their invitation to full partnership with a sense of deep humility as well as pride. As we do so, we are aware of several things. In the background of this Assembly, there exists the imperishable memory of Chaim Weizmann. It was his vision forty two years ago that there just should be such a partnership, just such an undertaking of equals working together. His dream was not realized at the time, but this time all of us believe it can come true. This time we start from more than a blueprint. Together we have forged the foundation; together we have created a framework; together we can complete the building. Our purpose at this Assembly is just that – to begin the work of completing the building.

In the next several days we shall be looking, and looking hard, at what we must do. The obligations ahead of us are very heavy. But if we have learned one thing in this last historic quarter of a century, the years that saw Israel reborn and come of age, we have learned that we can do great things, and I have no fear that we will find the way to go on doing them. By doing them, by building together, we shall be observing more than our new arrangements. Each and all of us will be fulfilling an earlier and a weightier agreement. I speak of that covenant that has sustained Jews for four millenia since Abraham – the covenant everlasting that confirms that here Jews shall live and multiply and worship and build as free men.



## Rabbi I.Y. Unterman

### Chief Rabbi of Israel

Let the blessing of the Lord be upon you. I am pleased to convey my best sentiments to this Assembly and to wish it fruitful decisions and success in the execution of its resolutions. May the Lord assist the reconstituted Jewish Agency in taking in adequately all our brothers and sisters who immigrate and to find opportunities for their complete absorption in the country.

We hope that in spite of all the difficulties, all those who have (and will) come here will find their full satisfaction in the country, and that they will take an active part in the life of the State, in its privileges as well as in its obligations. Let the blessing of the Torah come true in our time: "Moreover, your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, and your children, which in that day had no knowledge between good and evil, they shall go in thither, and unto them will I give it, and they shall possess it."

We have heard with great interest about the issues on the Assembly agenda. Those include also the education of the next generation. This should most certainly be based on the spiritual foundations of the nation, since it is only due to them that we have been privileged to see the return of the people of Israel to its land. In spite of all the obstacles we see these developments taking place with enthusiasm and they prove that there our eternal strength is deeply rooted in the nation. It is this strength which enables us to overcome all the obstacles, and all those who oppose us in order to reach the holy goal.

We see the vision of a great ingathering of the exiles in Zion; we see the strengthening of the State of Israel. From all corners of the earth people come to it in the conviction that this is the home for all parts of the nation, dispersed as they are.

If this is our goal, we have to find its root and base, particularly with respect to the education of the youth. This must follow the basic and eternal tenets of Judaism. Such an education would wield its wide influence on all aspects of life.

Let us hope that our complete redemption will come soon, that the ingathering of the exiles will be carried out quickly, and that our enemies around us will be disappointed and decimated. The people of Israel, in its country, will grow from strength-to-strength, in body and in spirit. The hopes for redemption which we have carried with us throughout the generations will be carried in their entirety with the help of God, and the Lord will soon inhabit his Temple in Zion. Amen!

## Reuven Barkat

### Speaker of the Knesset

I deem it a great privilege to convey the best wishes of the Knesset.

In 1952 the Knesset enacted the Status Law of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. This law is marked by the moving symptoms of its primacy. The final and well-polished phrases had not yet been formulated and in it there is both the language of vision, reaching out to the far horizons, and the language of day-to-day life, attempting to face reality. I shall refer only to two of the paragraphs of this law as evidence that the convictions which formed its base are now being carried out in our days.

One paragraph speaks about the ingathering of the exiles, which is at the center of the tasks of the State of Israel and of the Zionist Movement in our time. This requires constant efforts by the Jewish people everywhere. Accordingly, the State of Israel expects the participation of all Jews, both individually and collectively, in the upbuilding of the State and in assisting toward the mass-immigration of Jews to it. Accordingly, it recognizes the need of the unification of all Jewish communities for this purpose.

The second paragraph refers to the efforts expected by the State of Israel from the World Zionist Organization so as to carry out such unification. Should the World Zionist Organization, with the approval of the Government and of the Knesset, decide to widen its base, this widened body will enjoy that status in Israel which the law had provided for the World Zionist Organization.

We can congratulate ourselves that the Zionist movement has been able to meet the expectations of the Knesset, and to carry out the principle called for by it.

As far as the Knesset is concerned, the law itself already provides that such approval be granted in advance. Accordingly I have the honor and the satisfaction to convey to this widened framework of the united Jewish people the best wishes of the Knesset.

These are the factors, which guided the movement from its very beginning: unity, responsibility and volunteering.

This unity stands above all definitions that we have been accustomed to. Not partnership, not covenant, not identity, but a deep unity of fate which encompasses all the parts in spite of their differences and distinctions and makes all of Israel into one nation that lives in its conviction, its hope and its confidence in full redemption.

Responsibility means not something with which one charges the other, but comradeship with oneself: the responsibility that a person takes upon himself and carries out through his own efforts.

Volunteering means the desire to serve, to serve the goal, the vision and the community at large.

At the opening of this Assembly we express our firm confidence that these three elements which guided our movement from its very inception will also guide this new body that is being established today, as well as all those who make up its membership, so that all the hopes which we cherish tonight will be carried out.

Finally, let me quote from the words of the greatest architect of Israel's independence, even if at one time or another he conducted a quarrel of love with those elements which today make up the reconstituted Jewish Agency:

“Only if we shall be faithful to the destiny of Jewish history and loyal to its vision, shall we be able to accumulate the necessary intellectual and moral attributes. The small and wondrous Jewish people is no less able than the great nations. In its education we must enhance and cherish these attributes to their very climax for only with them shall we be able to maintain ourselves in a world of competition, hatred, and oppression. It should not be impossible for us to show a new way, a way of peace, justice, freedom and human brotherhood; not through preaching and explaining, but by ourselves serving as an example in our way of life, by the way in which we govern ourselves and in our actions. It is incumbent upon Israel to be an exemplary State and this can only be done in cooperation between the pioneers of labour and spirit.”

In concluding my message tonight let me express the hope that this vision may come to pass.

## **Teddy Kollek**

### **Mayor of Jerusalem**

It so happened that in 1929 I was an orderly at the Zionist Congress and present when the first widened Jewish Agency was constituted. Little did I think then that I would have the privilege, on behalf of the City of Jerusalem, to greet this great Assembly, and to greet you on behalf of a city which crystallizes all the problems that exist in Israel, only a little more so.

Jewish Jerusalem has grown by three hundred and fifty percent in these twenty three years and the vast majority of the new immigrants have come from Asian and African countries. They constitute over sixty per cent of the Jewish population of Jerusalem.

In addition, this was a city divided for a long period. It had to experience many of the frontier and defense problems that Israel has had as a whole. Today, it is the one city in which we are making an attempt for Jews and Arabs to live together and to prove that this can be done in the Middle East.

While security, defense, and foreign affairs problems are uppermost in everybody's mind in Israel, the complicated questions and problems of a more peaceful and normal time are coming to the fore as well; and these are the problems to which you have always addressed yourself. The time has come now when, united and in strengthened unity, you can devote yourself, together with us, to the solution of these problems. In the near future, they will probably occupy a much greater share of our efforts, of our thinking, of our means and of our work than ever before.

It is very auspicious therefore, that at this time this event takes place, and it augurs well for all our future.

## Edward Ginsberg

### Chairman, United Jewish Appeal (U.S.A.)

I cannot tell you how very proud and happy I am to be here tonight in what I consider to be a significant moment in Jewish life. Yet we have to prove that fact by word, by deed, and by doing things leading to great accomplishments.

The historic fact, and the great moment in history was in Basle in 1897; then we might perhaps agree that another historic moment in history was in Zurich on August 11th, 1929. The Zionists and non-Zionists then tried to work out an arrangement which failed. This, perhaps, is a re-enactment and a re-run of that prior arrangement, but I think it rests on a much more solid and a much more firm base. Because we know each other and we share the same goals, the same objectives and the same purposes.

I use the word "significant" moment in history, because I think it is more properly descriptive of what is taking place now. The words Zionist, or non-Zionist, have lost their differentiation. Historically, those words will continue to maintain their meaning, but from this time forward, I think there will be one word that will identify us all, and that word is Jew. Kol Yisrael Chaverim. All Jews are brothers:

This love for one another, this love for Israel, this common heritage, our common culture, and our understanding of what it means to be a Jew – that it means accepting responsibility and obligations – this is what has welded us together and has identified us by the simple word, Jew. When one Jew is in need, all Jews share that need. When one Jew is in trouble, all Jews are in trouble. When Jewish blood is shed, all Jewish bodies and hearts bleed.

And that is why, coming together as one, we have a glorious opportunity to guide, direct and to help build an Israel that will become a nation among nations, a light unto all the nations, and a light unto the world.

Tonight's ceremony is a celebration that is beyond that. It is a commitment and a renewal of faith and of identification. We celebrate the new unity of the Jewish People. This, in and of itself, demands a new commitment.

In terms of joy and of our hopes and aspirations, we must remember that there is a difference. In 1929, there were representatives from Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Lithuania, Poland and many others. All these are now behind the Iron Curtain. There is no representative of Soviet Jewry and this should have a sobering influence on us all, because their freedom and their liberation must be paramount for all of us.

According to Jewish tradition, celebrations are times for sharing and giving. It is easy to give, it is easy to share – but that is not enough. The test is in the doing. It goes beyond that, because having dedicated our lives and our efforts to the upbuilding of our people and in sharing this common cause, we have to accept responsibility. I ask you to take this responsibility and discharge it because when you sit in these sessions, and you are faced with budgetary problems, it is one thing to pay lip service to it; but when you approve something, do it with the knowledge and understanding that you will have the responsibility to raise the sums to implement these programs.

This reconstituted Agency is a logical step forward in forming a great world Jewish community. In terms of fundraising, it should raise a lot of money. I use the word should. I am convinced it should. The question is, will it? That is the challenge that we all face.

1971 has proved something. It proved that we could raise more money than ever was raised before in any single year. It proved that we could raise more money in the United States, and the United States will raise more money than we did in 1967, the year of the Six Day War. This really attests to the maturity of the American Jewish Community. This maturity is going to be tested in the year ahead, and in the years ahead, because our needs will be not less, but will be more; because there is a vast number of Jews who have yet to come, who must come, and will come. If we accept the challenge to work together, to strive together, and act in concert together as one people, united in a common cause, a cause that is right and just, then we shall move forward to greater heights, and we shall reach the summit of our aspirations.

We can become the builders of a great tomorrow for our people. I pledge you, on behalf of the American Jewish community, those here and the thousands and thousands who labor for Israel through the United Jewish Appeal and the Jewish Welfare Funds of America, an untiring effort, toil, sweat, understanding, compassion and money.

If we succeed, and succeed we must, then we will, in fact, give truth to the fact that this is a historic moment.



## Dr. Israel Goldstein

### World Chairman, Keren Hayesod – United Israel Appeal

It is good that we all feel that we are in the presence of an important development in the organized life of the Jewish people. It is good that this feeling has not been desicated as a result of preliminary and prosaic exercises in the structural techniques of setting up an apparatus, and that it has not been sublimated into vague generalities. Fortunately, the architects of this new body have not lost sight of the vision, while planning the fixtures of the tabernacle.

I, too, feel personally privileged to be numbered among the few present here who were present in Zurich in 1929 when Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Mr. Louis Marshall headed the first attempt of this kind. No doubt the architects of the present structure had before their eyes the previous gambits and learned from their consequences what to adopt and what to eschew. Yet more than techniques account for the auspicious character of today's exercise. What the mind cannot perceive, the times achieve. 1929 and 1971 are not only four decades apart, but they are ages apart.

Professor Einstein, on an earlier occasion, remarked in terms of his own scientific vocabulary, that the Jewish people was split into atoms. If he were alive today he would not make this observation, partly as a result of the tragic holocaust which has become a unifying Jewish memory but mainly because of the glorious reality of Medinat Yisrael. We are today a more united people than we have ever been – united even with those who are separated from us by an Iron Curtain.

The non-Zionists, who came into the expanded Jewish Agency in 1929, were eminent Jewish personalities, distinguished in their own right. Those who are coming into the reconstituted Jewish Agency now, while eminent in their own right as individuals, derive their credentials primarily from the great organizations which they lead and which operate effectively for the benefit of Israel and the Jewish People. These organizations are committed to our great mutual covenant. The constituency of the Keren Hayesod is the central framework of the fund-raising activity which embraces these seventy one Jewish communities in the free world.

There are present here community leaders who have a long and distinguished record of practical assistance to Israel before and after its establishment. There are others, some of them very young men – the generation of continuity – who have assumed the responsibilities of leadership in recent years under the impact of the Six Day War. Like the Jewish community in the United States and perhaps in even greater degree, if that is possible, these communities find in the fund-raising

campaigns for Israel and for those who need Israel, more than philanthropic satisfaction but a channel for meaningful Jewish self-identification. Indeed Israel-Diaspora relations at their best are even more than a partnership. For partnerships may be dissolved, but all of us are indissolvable of one another.

It is now just over fifty years since Chaim Weizmann proclaimed the time right for the mobilization of financial resources of the entire Jewish people, to expedite the establishment of the Third Jewish Commonwealth. He and his fellow statesmen created an instrument which they called Keren Hayesod – Palestine Foundation Fund – and set it to work in the process of nation building. From that day, to this, it never ceased to perform the functions for which it was fashioned, albeit most of the time in woefully inadequate measure, until 1967.

The jet age had not yet then burst upon the world. Travel was very often a formidable and even forbidding task, but the leaders and their assistants penetrated to the farthest corners of the world, spreading the message of national redemption, bringing community after community within the orbit of active support of what is today Israel, until at the present time there is hardly a Jewish community in the free world, wherever situated, and of whatever size and importance, that does not have an organization specifically geared to fund-raising for those purposes which fall within the scope of the Jewish Agency.

I speak tonight in the name of these communities, and pledge on their behalf their fullest endeavor to continue this vital task. May the time not be far away when every Jew, who so desires, may dwell within Israel's borders in friendship with his neighbors and in the enjoyment of personal freedom and dignity.

May I say to my fellow Americans that in their association with the leaders of other Jewish communities they will find an enriching experience; even as I am confident that the Keren Hayesod leaders will find in their American colleagues not only largeness of vision and efficiency of methods, but also stalwart Jewish pride, deep Jewish solicitude for Jews everywhere and great love for Medinat Yisrael, the Government and the people of Israel.

What we have here is an attestation of Jewish unity around Israel. Rabbis spoke of the Jewish people as one living organism, in which every part feels the pain of every other part. Yehudah Halevy defined the relationship between Eretz Yisrael and the Diaspora as that of the heart in relation to the limbs. Theodore Herzl said "we are a people – one people." As we terminate one book of Jewish experience and commence another, Diaspora Jewries can afford to say to one another and all of them together to Israel: Be strong, Israel; be strong, world Jewry and let us derive strength from one another.

## Louis A. Pincus

### Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive

I will be pardoned if I express a sense of deep fulfillment this evening, and I am very grateful to all those who have helped bring this about. A sense of fulfillment because this Assembly tonight is unique in its character, unique in its composition. Certainly in the Jewish world today there is nothing to be compared to it. I doubt whether in the history of the Jewish people, that is, in the history of the Jewish Diaspora, there has ever been gathered in one room such power, such idealism, such commitment as represented here this evening. 27 Jewish communities, the World Zionist Organization, and Israel. On the one hand, the World Zionist Organization today can talk in terms of a reaffiliation of over 900,000 individual members. The other section of this great Assembly represents 27 communities and well over a million and a half contributors, in one form or another, to the upbuilding of Israel.

This Assembly, unreservedly committed as it is to the goal we have set out, has one deplorable lack. In that book of many pages that has been prepared, one page has been left blank. That page we believe will be filled one day, and signed one day, as a mark of their final joining of their people. It will be filled by the signature of the Soviet Jewish community.

While I am saying this, let me refer to what is happening in regard to that community. In these days we witness the renewal of the trials, this time in Kishinev. The Kishinev that is engraved in the history of Jewry; the Kishinev of the pogroms. We believed, many of us, that what happened at Kishinev at the turn of the century was an excrescence of a Czarist authoritarian regime and that after 1917, in the Communist regime, anti-semitism would disappear. Today, in that Kishinev, is taking place trials of Jews because they desire and are resolved to come to Israel, because they learn Hebrew, because they desire and resolve to publish and disseminate and read works of Hebrew literature. Now after 53 years of Communist rule, the dream of the disappearance of anti-semitism in that regime, the dreams of giving national cultural rights to every group within its borders, those dreams, as far as Jews are concerned, have turned to ashes.

From this Assembly, and I have every reason to believe that what is said here will be heard sooner or later by the Jews of the Soviet Union, we send them, from all of us, in deep humility for their indomitable courage, we send them a message of hope, a hope that is based on their determination not to rest until they achieve their goals and their rights to live in freedom as Jews and as human beings.

And while we speak of Russian Jewry let us not forget, as we do not forget, that there are Jews in the Arab countries in conditions of imprisonment abhorrent to any civilized mind. Here too, we shall not rest until their situation is remedied.

Having left an honored place to Soviet Jewry, let us return to what we are doing here this evening. We are not here by reason of the formal agreement we have signed. It is not constitutions or written goals that bind Jews one to the other. There is something which transcends all this, undefinable and intangible, perhaps irrational and illogical. That which binds us, in the words of Edmund Burke, is "invisible as air, but as strong as the heaviest chains." That is the only way to describe the inspiration that binds Jews over the generations, and particularly in the decades that preceded and succeeded the establishment of the Jewish State.

I do not decry organizational forms; I do not decry legal precedent; they are essential to ensure continuity, to give efficacy and practical expression to these intangible links. We have heard discussed tonight the meaning of the historic rifts which have beset our past. I know it is very difficult to steer a course between the Scylla of ignoring the past, and God defend the Jews who forget their past, and the Charybdis of too much preoccupation with historical analysis and analogy. In these remarks I shall refer to the past only in order to draw lessons and conclusions therefrom; to avoid the pitfalls that the previous experiment had fallen into, so that we can move into the future with at least that compass by our side. Although the seas are uncharted, we will have learned from our own experience.

When we think back to 1929, and the high hopes, let us remember the final remarks of Chaim Weizmann that were quoted earlier this evening. Weizmann ascribed the failure of the Agency to a number of concrete events, and of course they played their part. The riots of 1929 within weeks of its formation, the death of Marshall within days, the subsequent economic depression that enveloped the United States. But that failure left behind it invisible consequences, the benefits of which we have been able to reap ever since, and which have stood us in good stead in the last years. If today, therefore, we enter this Assembly with sober confidence that we will not be repeating the previous failure. We know we are trying to fashion an instrument of enormous capacity, one measured to the times that demand such an instrument in its unified strength and purpose.

What we are doing is the result of three major events in the life of our people. References have been made to these events, but they bear repetition. Too soon have we forgotten the Holocaust in its massive, incomprehensible tragedy. It united us, but not sufficiently to free its generation of free Jews from the guilt of knowing that greater unity of purpose then, greater unity of purpose expressed with resolution during

those dark days could have saved at least some of those six million. This should leave us with the resolve that as far as it lies within our power we shall not let it happen again. That was the first fact.

The second fact is the long period, or short period, depending on how you look at it of 23 years of statehood, 23 years of a Jewish State which has achieved in remarkable measure some of the goals it set for itself. 1,400,000 Jews, always rushing against time, from the concentration camps, the "Magic Carpet" operation from Yemen, the aliyah from Morocco, from over 100 countries, always with the nightmare feeling that we were fighting time, that what we did not do today might close the doors of exit to the refugees tomorrow.

A second aspect of 23 years of Statehood is perhaps more important to the Diaspora, giving reality to what Marshall had already said in 1929, that the then Palestine had brought about renaissance in Jewish learning and scholarship throughout the world. Today no free Jewish community – I go so far as to say talking of the Soviet Union, no unfree Jewish community – is not influenced decisively by Israel's scholars, Israel's men of letters, by Israel's spiritual leaders. And Jews of the Diaspora are turning more and more to the survival of their own future and Jewish continuity by dependence on Israel and what it can give in respect to their own spiritual survival.

Third is the fact that we built a democracy under incredible conditions, a democracy that bears comparison with much older countries that could afford democracy more easily. We built that democracy on the eternal social and moral values of our prophets, lending dignity to Jews wherever they may be. As far as design and purpose are concerned, and – if we look at it from outside – as far as achievement is concerned, the foundations of social justice and equality in this country have been properly laid.

The last event which bears repetition, although we still do not understand what happened, the Six Day War, had a profound effect which can only be interpreted in poetic language. The Hebrew poet Chernikovsky wrote: "In the flash of those bullets, brother perceived brother." The Golah perceived Israel as it never had before, and Israel perceived the Golah in dimensions and perspective as it had never perceived it before. The Jewish world stood with bated breath, history stood poised in a moment of time. And the relief of victory has expressed itself in fundamental changes; changes of attitude, changes of action. In a free Jewish world, growth *aliyah*, an awareness of Jewish identity, material assistance in unprecedented dimensions; these transcend the mere giving of money. As for the unfree Jewish world, we refer again and again to what is happening in the Soviet Union: the Six Day War was the catalytic agent, the force that freed Soviet Jewry and gave them the spirit and courage to carry on their indomitable, elemental fight for the right of Jews to be Jews. That I have learned in

conversation after conversation with every Jew I have spoken to who has recently come out of the Soviet Union.

Therefore let us learn from the failures and the achievements. First, let us cease talking about "partnership". We Israelis know that, when the chips are down, we can rely only on ourselves. But in that concept of ourselves, the free Diaspora is part of that self. It is no longer a partnership. A partnership means that one side or the other can decide to withdraw. The unique relationship of Jew and Jew in the 1970's does not permit that opting out. The indivisibility of our destiny, the reality of Israel, the needs and aspirations, its role in Jewish life have made this common destiny visible and tangible for all to see and touch. That is why all this has become possible. That is why the World Zionist Organization, the sole custodian of the Jewish Agency since 1935 until tonight, has joined with the organized Jewish world as new custodians.

Let me quote one portion of a letter, curiously enough written on the 20th of June, 1929; yesterday, 42 years ago. It is a letter from Bialik, the great Hebrew national poet, to Dr. Weizmann who invited him to come to Zurich. Bialik could not come because of ill health, and he wrote: "I don't have to tell you that I will be with you in spirit at the Congress, and that you will have my blessing from afar. I know with how many thorns your difficult path is strewn. God give you strength to attain your objective in peace and honour."

"The day of the enlargement of the Jewish Agency will be a holiday for me in making us Zionists 50 (and although he wrote it in Hebrew, he wrote 50). In the Agency, you are doubling your strength. May God also increase your strength, so that you will succeed in enlarging our scope to the point where Zionist and Jew become synonymous. Devotedly yours, Chaim Nachman Bialik."

So, beginning in August 1970 when the provisional Agreement was signed and now with the experience of almost a year behind us, we have found a greater number of areas of cooperation. Mutual respect, and you have heard it tonight from Max Fisher, mutual respect for what the Zionist Movement had achieved, and its present role in the life of the Jews, and its continuity and survival.

And on the other hand, on the part of the Zionists, a deep appreciation, not so much for the massive assistance that we always had, but the realization that beyond that massive material assistance, these Jews transcend the role of just fund-raising and are strengthening in all their activities the very sinews of the Jewish community.

Axiomatically, semantically, there may be a problem. The terms "Zionist" and "non-Zionist" will never apply anymore in this organization, as I hope it will cease to apply less and less in the Jewish world at large. The dividing line is growing fainter day by day.

We turn now to the tasks that face us. The rescue of Jews in distress is primary; primary and needed more than ever. I speak first of the Jews

from the Moslem countries. Not a day passes, not an hour passes when those of us who are busy with this are not giving time, attention and work to ensure that in the not too distant future, these Jews, languishing as they are in Moslem countries, will be free to join us and to live again as decent human beings and as Jews.

I have already referred to Soviet Jewry. Let me turn to it from another aspect. The miracle of their coming, the miracle of their desire, after 53 years of Communist rule, not to be assimilated, despite the predictions of the prophets of doom I heard only in recent years — all this must be borne in mind when we say they will come. Love and affection is not sufficient. To come from a non-free, regimented society to a completely free and democratic society as ours is, will demand from the Jews of Israel and the Jews of the world not only money, but the greatest capacity for understanding; so that their absorption, their integration, shall be made as easy as possible.

I repeat, love we have, desire we have; we must add the dimensions of understanding and willingness to change, to adapt, so that we can meet them half way. For, beyond their immediate desire to come here, this immigration means for many, many of them, and particularly for the young people, a complete change in outlook, a complete change in a system of society.

There are millions inside the Soviet Union, and nobody can deny that the numbers, at least if they are given the opportunity, will run into tens and tens and, I believe, thousands and hundreds of thousands, far beyond what we thought possible before this great revolution in Jewish life took place in the Soviet Union.

And there are hundreds of thousands more living in the intermediate world, the great world subject to social change. Without mentioning any country by name, I think it is clear that the vulnerability of the Jew in great social clashes, in economic and social clashes, has been proved again. What we have to do is to see to it that the Jewish Agency is ready in time, is ready in time to make the decisions and to carry out the decisions that will enable the Jews in these countries to seek their salvation as Jews and enable them to come here and live as we Jews live here.

We must be ready. My prayer is that they, too, will see the day ahead in time and they, too, will make themselves ready and not repeat what we Jews have done so often down the generations, wait until the last hour of time. Now, although this is not within the purview of the Jewish Agency, we look with greater and greater astonishment at a miracle no less than other miracles: tens of thousands, now scores of thousands of young Jews from the free world, willing to make their destiny our destiny, in this country. It has direct bearing upon our work here. It can change the society here and give it impetus which otherwise it would not have.

In our work, let us also remember one other thing. That it is this aliyah, this living bridge between Israel and the Jewish communities of the free world that can give a dimension to Jewish life which will enable it to survive under the tremendous impact of the cultural erosion that is taking place in the free world in the seventies.

Let me turn now to Israel, to the tasks, the uncompleted tasks, of yesterday. For years, we have been saying that huge areas of social problems have not been tackled. Under the pressure of events, the Israelis did not do it, and could not do it in proper dimension. Never were there enough means. I don't have to repeat here the old thing we used to say that for every dollar that used to be given from the Diaspora for aliyah and absorption, two dollars had to be paid for by the Israeli taxpayer.

Today, we are paying the price for these years of neglect. And in this explosive situation, let us be honest with ourselves and admit that the Jewish world apparently is attuned to dramatic suffering. It is not attuned to the long haul, to the grave problems that only become visible at the final moment of explosion.

We face the harsh reality of groups in this country who are underprivileged in a society, I repeat, committed to social justice. It is so committed and this realization has been a shock for us.

This explosive situation requires care. It does not require quick emotional and superficial reactions. It requires care, attention, balance, thought, understanding. This morning, by chance, I had a conversation with a member of what is called "The Black Panthers"; their leader, Reuven. I had made up my mind that I would never use that word because it creates the wrong impression. There is no relationship between that word here and how it is used in other parts of the world. There is no similarity in the nature of the problem.

When I heard him say he resented the term, I asked him why do you use it? He was honest enough – maybe naive enough – to say; we wanted to do something to arouse public attention. But, he said, and he said it in regard to a specific incident, "I resent any attempt to demonstrate that we call ourselves 'Panthers' in Israel; that our problem is to be measured by that kind of problem in other parts of the world."

I was impressed by his rejection not only of the term, but of any attempt to draw an analogy. He spoke with great bitterness. But he spoke with a kind of dedication that I did not expect. All he said was: help us to make us one people.

I don't know whether he was speaking this way because we were sitting quietly in my office. However, I got the impression that he and those he symbolizes are waiting, that they are prepared now for the long haul if we can visibly demonstrate that the Jews of the world care in general for Israel, for Israel's survival and for that Israel which is part of the second Israel and is fighting not to be the forgotten Israel.

The members of this Assembly will be dealing with this issue in workshop after workshop, panel after panel. It is easy to be emotionally aroused and to suggest quick remedies. It is an enormous task, one that we had from the very beginning, in the process of bringing in Jews of different levels, of different countries, of different backgrounds and welding them into one people.

The truth of the matter is that we must judge not only by our achievements, and they are many.

Look at the figures in secondary school today as compared to the figures, the absolute numbers ten years ago. Look at the figures of those who qualify in university and are in university with the figures of 10 years ago and five years ago. Look at the ever intermingling between ethnic groups. All these are achievements to be proud of, showing that we moved in the right direction.

But the harsh fact is that the gap remains in too many cases, whether in physical and social consequences of inadequate housing, lack of pre-kindergarten facilities, all the way to the drop-outs at the university level. This harsh gap must be challenged and, to a very large extent, it must be the business of the free Jewish world to supply the means and some of the thinking. It is a question of money, but not only money.

We must face the issues as a process which has to be hastened by the maximum amount of energy, of means and thought that we can put into it, a process built upon adequate communication, not patronage, not paternal attitudes, but by equal dealing, by an honest belief that our job is to weld one people.

Something visible must be done to eradicate the feeling that they, and that is their feeling, are the forgotten Jews.

We must be very careful of one particular point in dealing with this problem. I have heard people, here and elsewhere, put in juxtaposition immigration and the solution of the poverty problem, as if one is at the expense of the other. In any short-term situation it would be, not a sad day for Israel, it would be a judgment that the dream of Israel and its right to existence is being challenged.

The right to existence of a Jewish State is that it shall always give succor and refuge to any Jew who wants to or has to come to these shores. In the long run it means that we will also have to speed up the solutions to the problems of the deprived already here.

What I have said is that something more immediate has to be done against the background of thinking and planning. This country is committed to no discrimination in its leadership of people, in its leadership in government and in its leadership in the Knesset, government and opposition alike; and in its leadership in the major institutions of this country. It is committed not by any formal decision, but because it is *b'nafshenu*, because we know that our fate will be determined by our ability to eradicate any form of discrimination in the Jewish State.

In the Jewish Agency of yesterday, we have always concentrated on the development towns. The truth of the matter is, that while they still have problems, the time has come, given the means, to be concerned with the big cities, as well.

I turn now to the nature of the new responsibility. The difference between this framework tonight and what you were doing yesterday is illustrated by the difference between this Assembly and the Conference on Human Needs in which so many of you participated. The Conference on Human Needs covered much the same ground but in a different way than in the Jewish Agency as reconstituted. There you could give advice and leave it to somebody else either to carry it out or not. There you could do your best in fund-raising; knowing that if there is a deficit, somebody else will have to take care of it. Those days are over.

If there is to be no deficit, that is your responsibility, our responsibility, as the Jewish Agency. If there is a deficit, then the responsibility of what is to be done with that problem is our responsibility, and not of somebody outside the Jewish Agency as a whole.

As a result, you will have to make bitter decisions. It is clear that what we set out as our goals in January will not be achieved, and that there will not be enough money to do the job I have described. This Agency will now have the unenviable job to cut one just request as against another just request; to create one lot of human suffering in order to alleviate another lot of human suffering. And this bitter educational process will have to be learned in the hope that it will galvanize us to greater action, because the days of passing on the burden to the Israeli taxpayer are over. The Israeli taxpayer can accept no greater burden than the one he carries primarily to see that the defense of this country will be maintained, not only by his money, but by his life and his dedication to the Jewish people as a whole.

Therefore, we must take counsel together to see how we can raise our sights in order to meet the problems that are facing us.

Our goal is that not one single human being that can make his contribution to Jewish life in this country dare be sacrificed because we do not get from him the maximum his human resources can give us.

In our Jewish tradition, every human being is an end in himself. Every individual, every child born, must be assured the fullest opportunity to participate in all that men have learned, acquired and achieved. This universal rule applies with even greater force to a Jewish people in its tradition and its moral outlook. In this tradition, the key word for all the work that we have to do is involvement; involvement at all levels.

Money raising is one level; involvement in our problem — identification with our problems, is another level. Understanding of where we are going and decision-making is the third level. Therefore, when we talk of Beit Shean and the development towns and what has to be done

there, or when we talk of the recent social dislocation, the ones that I have already referred to, these will demand of us, in this new form of organization, as the sole custodian of the Jewish Agency, that we understand these problems as our problems; not only Israel's problems but the problems of the Diaspora as a whole.

It will not be done overnight. Impatience to get a job done quickly will not help. A process must be set in motion in which understanding, knowledge, commitment and dedication are all going to play their parts.

And one final aspect; the intangibles, the imponderables, the formal side you have heard. To deal with the grave, grim, practical tasks I tried to give you in precise form; this is the first giant step on a far-reaching goal for over-all Jewish unity.

You have heard from the Speaker of the Knesset what the Law of Status means for Israel in its desire to have a united Jewish world. And therefore in considering the imponderable, the intangible as the new Jewish Agency pushes forward, remember that it is composed of Jewish leadership; it is composed of persons who in their own organizations can together create a new Jewish world in the Diaspora – for Israel, for itself, for the totality of the Jewish people.

I have just returned from Iran, and there I saw that huge fields lay open. If only we can find the concrete form of cooperation among us – the World Zionist Organization, the Joint, Alliance, ORT. It became clear to me that sitting in this gathering are all the people who can influence any one of those institutions. By our personal contacts, we will develop a similar outlook on Jewish survival and Jewish continuity.

The intangible may, in the years to come, be even more important than the immediate tasks that lie ahead of us. I have tried, therefore, to spell out the immediate tasks with some kind of visionary look into the future; with the visionary spirit, whether I've been able to express it or not, that shall animate the work that we have to do.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Jews of the world who are Jews because they want to be Jews have their eyes on us – tonight, in the days and months that lie ahead. Expectations are great. I don't know whether we will disappoint them or not. Beleaguered, embattled Israel. . . You will hear about it from its ministers and from its Prime Minister: what the people of Israel need, what they look to, as part of the total Jewish people and the role that Israel must play for the total Jewish people, not only those who are to be found within its boundaries. You have read the press of this country in the last few days; all the media have taken stock of what we are doing here tonight and in the days that lie ahead. We know what imprisoned Jewry in the Soviet Union and in other countries are expecting from us. Therefore, I know that while time is short and the tasks are enormous, opportunities have never been greater – to be matched only by the great dangers.

We know that we cannot command success; but let us be quite certain at least that we deserve success. I believe that we will achieve success, and this significant gathering will turn into an historic act. And in our own lifetime we will see an Israel secure and at peace, built on the foundations of social justice and equality, and the Jewish People free and equal in the family of nations.

**הסכם לשינוי המבנה  
של  
הסוכנות היהודית לישראל**

**AGREEMENT FOR THE RECONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL**

ירושלים כ"ח סיון תשל"א

JERUSALEM JUNE 21 1971

## AGREEMENT FOR THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL

### PREAMBLE

#### WHEREAS:

1. In accordance with the World Zionist Organization — Jewish Agency (Status) Law, 5713–1952, and the Covenant entered into thereunder between the Government of Israel and the Executive of The Jewish Agency for Israel dated July 26, 1954, the World Zionist Organization (WZO) has undertaken certain tasks set forth therein, and more particularly the responsibility for bringing Jewish immigrants and refugees into Israel and for their resettlement, rehabilitation and absorption in the country.
2. The WZO has for many years acted also as The Jewish Agency for Israel.
3. Jewish communities throughout the free world have with great devotion and selfless dedication evidenced their deep concern for the welfare of their fellow Jews everywhere and have contributed generously large financial means in order to meet the urgent and continuing needs of immigration, resettlement and absorption.
4. The historic task of repatriating to the State of Israel all homeless, persecuted Jews seeking refuge in their historic Home, and their resettlement therein as free and self-supporting human beings, will continue to require ever-increasing efforts on the part of Jewish communities throughout the world.
5. The organizations signatory to this Agreement, which in the past served as the principal instruments through which the financial participation of Jewish communities outside of Israel for the work of rescue, relief and rehabilitation and their resettlement in Israel was channelled, are determined to intensify their service and to secure ever-increasing cooperation on the part of all Jews throughout the world who share a sense of dedication to these tasks.
6. The WZO seeks to obtain the active participation of Jews throughout the world in the work of rescue, rehabilitation, resettlement and reconstruction in Israel and to share with them the responsibility for the planning and the execution of these great tasks.
7. In the firm belief that sharing of responsibility of planning and implementing the aforesaid tasks will strengthen the bonds existing between the Jewish people in Israel and the Jewish communities everywhere and will serve the best interests of all concerned.
8. The WZO has invited the organizations signatory to this Agreement to join with it, and with each other, in the reconstruction of The Jewish Agency for Israel on a broader basis for the purpose of continuing the tasks referred to above, and for the mobilization of the resources required in connection therewith.

#### THEREFORE,

The World Zionist Organization and the organizations signatory hereto have agreed as follows:

- I. THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AND THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL.
  - A. The WZO agrees to the reconstitution of The Jewish Agency for Israel (Agency) in the manner herein provided. From the effective date of this Agreement, as herein provided, "The Jewish Agency for Israel" shall mean the body organized in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement.
  - B. The WZO and its institutions will continue as the organs of the Zionist Movement for the fulfilment of Zionist programs and ideals and, save as hereinafter stated, will continue to perform the functions and tasks enumerated in the said Law of Status and the said Covenant.

## הסכם לשינוי המבנה של הסוכנות היהודית לישראל

פ"ב א

התאגדות

1. ובתאום לחוק מעמד ההסתדרות הציונית העולמית - הסוכנות היהודית לארץ-ישראל - תשי"ג-1952 ולאמנת שנכרתה בשנת 1954 בין ממשלת ישראל לבין המלכה הסוכנות היהודית לארץ-ישראל מיום 26 ביולי 1954 נטלה על עצמה והסתדרות הציונית העולמית (להלן "ההסתדרות הציונית") את המשימות המוגדרות המפורטות באמנת הכנייתה את האחריות להעלאת עולים ומליטים יהודיים ליישובם, שיקום וקליטתם בארץ; וההסתדרות הציונית פעלה מה שנים רבות בסוכנות הקנייה לארץ-ישראל;
2. והקלות יתריות בכל רחבי העולם הערשתי והשינוי באמנת רבה, מסודרת ללא-שינוי ודאגה עמוקה לשלום אחיהם היהודים בכל ארצות מוצאותיהם תרמו ביד רחבה לאורך השנים לפיסק הצרכים הדחופים של העליה, והתיישבות חקלאית;
3. והמשימה החשובה של העלאתם למצבתם של היהודים הסרייבית והדרסים והמקשים בה מקלט ויישובם המסודר בארץ זו כבני-תורה שאינם חלדים בנולדם הצריך בעתיד מאמצים רב-תחושה של קהילות ישראל בכל רחבי תבל;
4. ומגוי תמור עם הארגונים החתומים על הסכם זה, ששמשו בעבר גורמים עיקריים בנושם והעברתם של תושביהם הכפופים של הקהילות היהודיות בתפוצתם לעבודת הצלה, טעו, שיקום התיישבות, לחוק את מאמציהם ולהפסיק שיתוף-פעולה מוגבר של כל היהודים בכל רחבי תבל הדבקים במטרות במשימות אלו;
5. וההסתדרות הציונית שואפת להבטיח את השותפותם הפעילה של היהודים ברחבי העולם, בעבודות הצלה, שיקום, קליטה, התיישבות ופינוי בישראל, ולשתתף באחריות לתיכנון ולביצוען של משימות חיוניות אלו;
6. וההסתדרות הציונית מאמינה באמונת שלמה, כי שיתוף זה באחריות לתיכנון ולביצוען של המשימות הנזכרות יחדק את הקשרים הקיימים בין העם היהודי בישראל לבין הקהילות היהודיות ברחבי העולם לטובתם של כל הנוגעים בדבר;
7. וההסתדרות הציונית פנתה וחזינה את הארגונים החתומים על הסכם זה לשותף פעולה עמה, וכן כינם לבין עצמם, בשינוי המבנה של הסוכנות היהודית לישראל, להשתתף על בסיס רחב יותר, כדי שתמשך למלא את התפקידים הנזכרים לעיל ולציטט את האמצעים הדרושים לכך;
8. ולכן, הסכם הוחתם בין ההסתדרות הציונית העולמית לבין המסדות החתומים משה כדלקמן:

### 1. ההסתדרות הציונית העולמית והסוכנות היהודית לישראל

- א. וההסתדרות הציונית מסכימה לשינוי המבנה של הסוכנות היהודית לישראל (להלן "הסוכנות") בהתאם לנצטר בהסכם זה.
- ב. ומל מיום כניסתו לתוקף של הסכם זה, כמפורט להלן, רואים את "הסוכנות היהודית לישראל" כגוף שנתארגן בהתאם להוראות הסכם זה.
- ג. וההסתדרות הציונית והמסדותיה ימשיכו לשמש מכשירים של המנועה הציונית להגשמתן של התכניות והתעשיית הציונית, והם ימשיכו למלא את התפקידים המפורטים בחוק המעמד ובאמנת הנוכרים לעיל, וכל עם נקבע אחרת בהסכם זה.



Max M. Fisher  
M. M. Rubin  
D. S. Dins  
Thomas F. Schuman  
Israel Miller  
Jack O. Miller  
T. W. Hoffberger  
Merris H. Leamson  
Levi Shein  
Eugene Blum  
Joseph H. Kantor  
Shelby Zimmern  
Louis Berdo  
Sara Breslau  
James Gewant  
Shelby Selts  
Jose Feldman  
Leonard Sherman  
Abraham Dinkelberg





**Louis A. Pincus**

**Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive**

Last night in the name of the World Zionist Organization and each other signatory organization, I declared that the reconstitution of the Jewish Agency for Israel had now become effective. In amplification of that general statement, I now make the following declaration:

Accordingly the Jewish Agency for Israel and the World Zionist Organization will henceforth each carry out the function undertaken by them, respectively, pursuant to the terms of the Agreement. The World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Israel will each be governed and administered by their own respective constitutional and administrative authorities.

The Jewish Agency for Israel will henceforth function through its Assembly, Board of Governors and Executive, within the framework of the Agreement and in accordance with its own rules and regulations as it may from time to time determine, independently of the World Zionist Organization and independently of all other signatories of the Agreement, making it perfectly clear that the bodies in the countries concerned are independent and nothing that is done here in any way impinges upon that independence.

**Paul Zuckerman (USA) – Presiding**

**National Chairman, United Jewish Appeal**

This Assembly marks the beginning of what we hope will be a whole new chapter within a great partnership between the people of Israel and the Jews of other communities.

But before we can write history, we have to make it, and this is where we begin to do just that. There are great problems facing Israel and the Jewish Agency, that now demand our mutual attention and action.

For those of us from overseas, the reconstitution of the Agency has a special meaning. It means simply that being a friend of Israel is no longer a spectator occupation. None of us can pay admission to the drama of building Israel by our contributions and then stand on the sidelines and cheer.

So now we are asked, or in fact, we have been given the privilege to get into the arena and wrestle with the problems that face us. There are problems and opportunities enough for all of us. We have set up nine special working committees to consider those problems at this Assembly. I think that there is gathered here today the most wonderful, sophisticated, intelligent collection, of not only fundraisers from all over the world, but of men and women who have served their community and agencies, who understand the problems and will apply them to this country. This is what I mean by working committees.

## A.L. Dulzin

### Treasurer Jewish Agency

The Budget and Finance Committee of this enlarged Jewish Agency met here in Jerusalem on January 25th and 26th, 1971, together with the Planning Committee. We discussed the proposed budget of the Jewish Agency for the current fiscal year which begins April 1, 1971 and ends on March 31, 1972.

At those meetings in January we presented and approved a Budget of Needs in the amount of \$572,130,000, the highest budget ever presented by the Jewish Agency. This Budget of Needs is based primarily on (1) the immigration and absorption of 50,000 new immigrants, and (2) the needs of some 500,000 people here in Israel who have not yet been fully absorbed and continue to need our help, immigrants who came here many years ago, and the children of these immigrants. These 500,000 include: 250,000 people still living below the poverty line; 45,000 students in our institutions of higher learning; 100,000 youth requiring high school scholarships; 45,000 children in prekindergartens. Of these 500,000 people I would say that 65% are children and teenagers.

Since the Six-Day War we have taken over from the government part of the services which the government supplied to the needy of previous immigrations. We were able to do this because in 1967, in this year of the Six-Day War, our first emergency campaign brought us in the sum of \$346 millions in cash. Yes, this was in time of war, in a time of the gravest concern about the fate of Israel. And the response of world Jewry was to jump from \$60 millions in 1966 to this amount of \$346 millions in 1967. That is why the Jewish Agency could take over those services to the needy of previous immigrations, and these services are and will continue to be our responsibility.

Our income in 1968 went down to \$178 millions, and then increased in 1969 to \$210 millions, and to \$285 millions in 1970. This year, in 1971, we had hoped to be able to double our income, and our goal was set for \$600 millions. This goal was based on the most realistic appraisal of Israel's needs. But it was also based on something else, on the fact that over 90% of the government's total revenue from direct and indirect taxation goes for defense purposes, which means that very little is left over for even the most minimum services which our people in Israel require, to enjoy even the minimum standard of living as it was in previous years.

In effect, in voting such a budget, world Jewry was saying to the government of Israel: "You take care of the Israel of today – the defense burdens, the day-to-day concerns. And we'll assume responsibility

for the Israel of tomorrow. We'll care for the newcomers, the immigrants, the needy. We'll help to build the Israel of the future."

Reflecting this determination, we included in this Budget of Needs, in our responsibility, 68% of the social welfare services of Israel; 59% of health services; 25% of education; 98% of the operating deficits of the institutions of higher learning — practically the entire amount; 84% of immigrants housing; and, of course, youth care and training, including Youth Aliyah which is and has always been our own responsibility.

These were the responsibilities we took over, in addition to those of immigration of newcomers, the absorption of new immigrants, and the continuing work of our Agricultural Settlement Department. These were — together — the items that made up our Budget of Needs in the overall amount of \$600 millions. These were building blocks of the Israel we were and are resolved to help build.

We did not arrive at our goal without full regard for the possibilities of raising it. In an unprecedented step in the history of worldwide campaigning for Israel, we went out and consulted with every country that ran a campaign. We visited and consulted with the largest communities in these countries.

Beginning last September, we visited 63 communities in the United States, communities which represent almost 90% of the United Jewish Appeal Campaign. We met with the top leaders of each community, and with the larger contributors. Everywhere there was unanimous approval of the goal set for each community. The vote to accept this goal came after long and difficult debate. But when the vote was taken, the goal was accepted unanimously.

And we made similar visits in Europe, in England, in Canada, Australia, South Africa, South America. Everywhere we met with top leaders and givers, everywhere we engaged in soul-searching consultation and debate. And everywhere the decision was unanimous: to accept the goals set for the respective countries and communities.

\$600 millions: for the United States \$400 millions, for the rest of the world \$200 millions. An enormous effort, a tremendous target. More than double the previous year.

The effort was made. The target, we now know, cannot be attained. Meeting here in this Assembly, we know more or less what the figures are. We know what the prospects are for the campaigns still to be completed. And we know we will fall far short of the funds we need to cover our Budget of Needs. When the Budget and Finance Committee begins its meetings today, we will present to them a set of recommendations for cuts which will be cuts in flesh and blood.

Let me make clear, my dear friends, that I consider that the campaign has done very well this year. The United States has exceeded the Emergency Campaign of 1967 in pledges and we expect also in cash income. In the rest of the world, many countries have increased con-

siderably. Some of them will double their income over last year – England, for example. But they will not top the campaigns of 1967.

The income of Keren Hayesod will be increased substantially over last year. With the good performance of the United Jewish Appeal, I believe we will be able to report to the Budget and Finance Committee an increase in cash income that will be 30% more than last year. This means there has been a tremendous effort all over the world. I know personally, and by report, of thousands of contributors who doubled their gifts to the campaign, as compared with the previous year. I know many others who tripled, and in some instances gave 10, 20 even 50 times what they gave before, especially in the United States. But still, we are very far from being able to reach the goal we set for this year.

This, therefore, will be a very difficult meeting for the Budget and Finance Committee. I dare say that when you hear their report later in the Assembly you will understand how difficult is their task, how painful and complicated will have been their deliberations.

Let me mention another matter: the assets and liabilities of the Jewish Agency. A special committee has been set up to deal with the assets and liabilities involved in the various companies of the Jewish Agency, its accumulated operating deficit, its borrowings. Yesterday that committee had its first meeting.

At this Assembly, when we begin a new chapter in our work and in our relationships – Israel and world Jewry – it is proper to look at our assets and liabilities of the Jewish Agency in the broader perspective of the role of the Jewish Agency in the history and development of Israel. Since the creation of the State, the Jewish Agency has invested over \$3 billions in Israel. Because we undertook on behalf of world Jewry the responsibility for the ingathering of the exiles, for the immigration and absorption of the Jews for whom Israel, and Israel alone, could be haven and home, the Jewish Agency brought in and carried out the absorption of 1,450,000 olim (immigrants). In these 23 years of Statehood we established hundreds of new settlements. More than 100,000 youngsters were helped to a new life through Youth Aliyah. Schools were built through the Israel Education Fund. Hundreds of thousands of immigrant families were housed. Hundreds of thousands of children received educational aid.

I think we realize now – we realized it then, in fact – that what we did was not enough, and much of those tasks of earlier years remain now for us to complete. But it should be a source of infinite joy and pride to every one of you, as it is to me, to realize that what we see here in Israel today could not have happened without the Jewish Agency, without the Jewish people for whom the Jewish Agency is the instrument for building this land.

Perhaps it is a strange thing for a Treasurer to say, but the fact is that I am not worried about our financial liabilities. I ask you to remember

that these liabilities represent barely ten percent of the total investment we have made in Israel during these past 23 years.

I am far more concerned about our liabilities as they are expressed in human terms. I mentioned previously the 250,000 people living below the poverty line in Israel today. Comparisons are always dangerous, and we should not play the game of comparing our poverty with that in other countries, whether they are underdeveloped, developing, or already highly developed. Let me remind you that even in their present state, the vast majority of these 250,000 are living in better conditions – much better – than they did ten and fifteen years ago, and certainly in much better conditions than in the countries from which they came.

But you will agree with me that there is scant comfort in this knowledge. We are not happy to see these conditions. Indeed, we are most unhappy. Poverty is such a relative thing – I have seen it in all its manifestations in many countries, in the Latin American countries, for example, and I have seen hunger and starvation. There are no hungry people in Israel. There are no hungry children. We are proud that we could bring this desert to produce ample food for all our population, and for those who continue to come.

But there are still 60 to 70 thousand families living in conditions of miserable overcrowding, families as large as 10 and 12 persons living in units of one or two rooms. This problem of housing does not stand alone. Related to it is the problem of the education of children and the conditions in which they can study and learn. Related to it is the problem of the growing up of a whole new generation in Israel. Let us not, then, make comparisons, however favorable, with other countries. What we have achieved makes us proud. What we have not yet achieved makes us sad, and strengthens our resolve to eradicate every last vestige of deprivation.

Yes, we are still confronted with the deprivation and poverty of 250,000 – perhaps 300,000 – of those whom we brought to Israel and for whom we assumed responsibility. This problem is the concern of every person in Israel, of every responsible political party. Nor is it an issue of which any party makes political capital, as happens in other countries. I repeat: it is the concern of every Israeli, as it is the concern of all of us here in this Assembly, of every Jew in the free world. We shall not be content until every one of these Jews who are deprived will enjoy the same privileges and conditions as every other Jew in Israel. This is our goal. This is our task.

That is why this question of budget cuts is so terribly important. Because it affects these people for the most part. I want to drive home this point. We are not dealing with a country in depression, with vast numbers of unemployed. On the contrary, there is full employment in Israel, and acute manpower shortages in many sectors of the economy.

Everybody in Israel who is able to work can find work. That is why immigration is especially crucial, aside from the all-important considerations of rescue. We need immigration, because we need manpower.

But if we cut the housing budget... If we cut the housing budget by \$110 millions, we still have to find housing for the new immigrants. As our Chairman said yesterday, immigration is second in importance only to defense. This is the Agency's top priority, for Israel cannot exist and has no future without continuous immigration. So we will provide housing for the new immigrants — we have no choice.

What then about those 60 to 70 thousand families living in Israel in conditions of dangerous overcrowding? If we do not have the funds, and I can tell you now that we will not have the funds, the government will have to do it. And where will the Minister of Finance find the funds?

There is a program; there is a way. If the State of Israel could build six to seven thousand units a year in slum clearance programs, dealing with the worst conditions first, we can envisage a solution to this terrible problem within ten years. It's a long time for those who must wait and suffer, but it is a possible solution. If...

I said that these budget cuts we will be recommending are flesh and blood cuts. I say it because our budget was a minimal one. It has no extras, no padding. When we cut, we cut vital services for vital human beings.

Take hospitals as another example. We can save \$23 millions by cutting the item for building hospital beds. But today, Israel's hospitals are being run with as high as 135% occupancy! By cutting this item, as we will undoubtedly have to do, we can look forward for many years to come to a situation where beds will line the corridors of our present hospitals.

We can cut — and we will undoubtedly have to do so — \$6.5 millions from employment services and \$10.5 millions from child care services. It will help bring expenditures closer to anticipated income. But two more vital areas of Jewish Agency responsibility will be crippled.

We face a most difficult situation. We are confronted with most painful decisions. On the one hand, as I said, Jews throughout the free world have made a tremendous effort, and I pay tribute to them for this. But, my friends, tremendous as it was, it was not enough. You can see that clearly now. We did not do our job. And as your Treasurer, I can tell you how complex and hard is the task that confronts us as a result.

I simply do not know what will happen when we make those cuts of \$184 millions, how we and the State of Israel will deal with the consequences of those cuts. And you will note that I speak only of \$184 millions, of cuts. You should know that we may find ourselves in a situation where we will have to go out and borrow money in order to

make good even this minimum reduced budget which we shall be presenting to you.

It will be for this Assembly to decide what to do. This, I believe, will be our major responsibility. We are living in a time of great Jewish unity. We are living in a time when giving to Israel is no longer seen as a matter of charity. Indeed, Jews are offended if their participation in the building of Israel is called charity. For them it is involvement, it is mutual responsibility.

And for us, members of this enlarged Jewish Agency which is the expression of this new chapter in the life and history of the Jewish people, great burdens and even greater opportunities lie ahead. I do not know how we will tackle these painful decisions with which we are now confronted. But I know that we will confront them, and begin at the same time to consider the job we must do next year. For the present is critically bound up with and affects the future. When we postpone building decent housing for slum-dwellers, when we postpone providing urgently needed hospital beds, when we postpone the expansion of sorely over-burdened educational resources, all I can tell you is that every dollar we are not spending today will cost us two and three dollars tomorrow in cash, not to speak of the human suffering involved.

We turn, then, with realistic understanding and with resolution to the tasks of the future. And the very first question you will ask me is whether in fact we could have raised the \$600 millions we had set as *this* year's goal. You know the answer as well as I: the answer is YES.

One of the key reasons for our failure is unquestionably our failure to reach all the Jews who can give. This is especially the case in our large cities – New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, London, Paris, Buenos Aires. In the small communities we achieve almost total participation in giving. In the large cities we reach only a fraction.

Let me give you an example. I said the United States did a splendid job this year – more than in 1967. However, in the United States 3,100 givers provided 46% of the total UJA campaign. This simple statistic proves what an enormous field there is for expanded activity. Obviously, it is not an easy job. But we should be spurred on by the knowledge that when Jews are approached they give. The job is to reach them, to approach them.

It is clear, then, that we will have to go after next year no less than \$600 million – again. We are far from peace, and if peace will come, in whatever form, we will continue nonetheless to campaign on an emergency basis for many years to come. We will probably hear something about this from the Minister of Finance, but I doubt very much that the defense budget of the Israel government will be less next year and two and three years from now. Israel will have to be on the constant alert, with its defense constantly on the ready, with the people of Israel constantly mobilized.

And there is another factor. We expect to receive here in Israel in the next decade at least a million Jews. They will come from the East, they will come from the West. I do not wish to be specific at this moment, but we believe it. And this means that we must keep Israel running in such a way as to be able to absorb these new immigrants in the most constructive manner. We will need a dynamic economy in which there will be work for every one, and every one will be able to derive satisfaction from his work.

During the past four years we were able to absorb 150,000 new immigrants with relatively little difficulty because we have an economy which requires more and more manpower. But jobs are only part of what is needed. To absorb all those who will come will require more housing and more schools and more hospitals. This is our great worry.

In these next ten years we will probably have to raise from the Jewish people throughout the world at least \$6 billions. This is an effort unparalleled in human history. We have never before set such a goal for ourselves. The great drama of our people is that we can envisage such possibilities. One million new immigrants here in Israel, the financial means to absorb them – this is the goal of this enlarged Jewish Agency, this is *our* goal.



I know that the Jewish world will respond.

I know that there will come a day when we shall have peace here in Israel, and that the Jewish people will show even greater understanding and make an even greater effort in time of peace than in time of war. For we shall be witnessing and experiencing a great joy: hundreds of thousands of Jews coming here from the Soviet Union, the remnants of the Jewish communities in the Moslem countries brought here to rescue and hope.

The sense of mutual responsibility is creating that mood within the Jewish people as we contemplate that happy day. In the meantime, however, we are confronted with immediate and urgent tasks. We must find solutions for immediate and urgent problems.

The Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organizations have always operated on the principle, from their earliest beginnings, that a Jew will never remain where he lives if he wants to come here. Whether or not the funds were available did not count – we brought him regardless. *This* priority, certainly, I can state as we consider what must be done now, and in the future.

My dear friends, I hope that from this Assembly will go forth a call to the Jewish people for a greater effort than ever before, for greater achievements in our campaigns, for greater achievements in the fulfillment of our common responsibilities.

## Pinhas Sapir

### Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industry

The country in which you find yourself today is different from that which you knew a year ago, or even eleven months ago. Security tensions which were then at their height decreased in August, with the commencing of the cease fire at the Canal.

Of course, events such as the criminal attack on the "Coral Sea" increased tension again, as did the shelling of Beit She'an two days ago.

Today Israel is at ease and the horror of those killed does not accompany its inhabitants, day-in and day-out. But in order to remain within the realm of facts and not to move into utopia we have to remember that this calming down has not resulted in the interruption of the strengthening of the other side; quite on the other hand.

It was published recently that Egypt has received since 1967 arms valued at three billion dollars. This is a fabulous sum, and when it is translated into arms it is indeed a cause for concern.

Moreover, the political implications are far-reaching. This is in fact a statement by the vast power in the East, that all its might stands behind Egypt. The last treaty between the two countries can serve as evidence for that.

The conclusion which has to be drawn from this situation is that Israel finds itself in a struggle without shooting, but perhaps more serious than ever before.

I would not have opened my remarks with these statements, but for their decisive influence on the economy. These days security considerations are primary, not only for our foreign policy, but also for our society and our economy.

At the same time we still face three major objectives which we have been trying to achieve since the beginning of the State, in addition to the vast defence effort. We have to work for the development of the economy, for the absorption of immigration, and for the stabilization of the society. All these three objectives are almost equal in their vitality, and everyone is important for all the others.

I shall start therefore with defense – the first among equals, or perhaps the one which is even more equal than the others. It should be enough if I point out that a quarter of our gross national product is devoted to this objective – a rate which is more than three times that of the United States, which still fights a war in Viet Nam, and between four to six times or even more, than that of the countries of Eastern Europe.

You are due to meet today with the Minister of Defense and with the Chief of Staff, and you will probably ask them why we spend so much



during the cease fire period. After you hear their replies you will ask me why we do not spend more.

The cease fire period has not yet resulted in any easing up of the difficult burden. Together with the defense establishment we have been trying at least to postpone any expenditure that can be postponed, for there is nothing that we can do without. I cannot talk to you about saving money – I only know about additional demands.

We should remember that defense expenses, to a large extent, are outside our control. I do not know the details of the recent Soviet-Egypt treaty, and not everything has been published, but we do know that arms are flowing to the other side and we cannot afford to sit pat.

The practical result of the principle of maintaining the balance of arms, and the United States recognizes the validity of this principle, can already be seen in the deterioration of our balance of payments. Already today direct defense imports reach \$850 million, and this sum may still rise if Russia allocates additional rubles to Egypt.

To sum up this chapter, I would like to stress that the mainstay of our defense expenditure has now moved towards commitment for the future, involving outlays on items which we may ultimately not require. However, the future in military terms always means more modern technology and more sophisticated equipment. In our language, it simply means that the sums required will be still larger.

The economic problem which we face revolves around the necessity to bear this frightening burden. The truth of the matter is that had we not grown so rapidly, it is doubtful that we could have faced the burdens forced upon us. Since 1967 the economy has grown considerably, and in each year more than in the year which preceded it. The rapid increase was made possible at the beginning by the return of the unemployed to work and later by additional manpower, both through immigration and now the administered territories, as well as by an increase in productivity and by better utilisation of equipment.

As usual with us, the branch of the economy where growth has been most impressive has been industry. This growth had to answer three needs – two of them old, and one of them new. The first two refer to the supply of local needs, whether for private consumption or for investment. Industrial equipment will this year reach \$3 billion.

The new development refers primarily to defence production. This dates back to the days of the Hagana, but the political situation, more than any economic consideration, has resulted in our placing major stress on our own production. The total amount of defense expenditure today approaches \$1.7 billion. This is a four-fold growth as compared to 1967.

As it happens I have just recently had the chance of visiting some of the plants involved, and I have become convinced that they represent not only a military but also a civilian potential.

I believe that a major part of their products will be able to find their way to the civilian market when that becomes possible. In the meantime, however, this industry requires major financial resources and what is almost more important, it will continue to swallow up a major part of the elite of our technological manpower.

A comparison between Egypt and Israel may be relevant, particularly when we hear the Egyptian statements that Israel is a passing phenomenon. At the beginning of the '60's Egypt's economy was double that of ours. This meant that more than twenty million Egyptians produced to the value of four billions dollars, with two million Israelis producing a little more than half that amount.

A decade has passed and with our population now at about three million, our gross National product now reaches five and a quarter billion dollars. The now thirty million Egyptians, with all the vast economic assistance which they have received from the Soviet Union, primarily by her show plants, only produced about six billion dollars and the day is very near when Israel's GNP will overtake that of Egypt.

This will perhaps demonstrate the benefit that peace can bring, not only for us but for our neighbors as well. In the meantime, all this has an immediate bearing on our very existence, since increased defence expenditures must be more difficult to bear in an economy whose growth is slow.

At the beginning of the previous decade the number of those gainfully employed in the country reached 700,000, and today it is more than one million. Agriculture, which then was primary economical activity, employed 120,000. Today this figure has decreased by one-quarter, while agricultural production has not only not decreased, but has rather gone up as a result of mechanisation and research.

With the decrease in the number of those employed in agriculture, there has been an increase in the number of workers in industry, from 160,000 a decade ago to quarter of a million today.

At the same time, as in all societies whose standard-of-living is going up, services have taken an important share. Although we are trying to limit some of this growth, particularly in the public services, yet if one wants to support industry and rejuvenating society, one cannot interrupt this trend.

Exports have occupied an important place in our order of priorities. I shall not refer to the few millions of exports at the beginning of the State, but in the last decade exports rose from \$200 million in 1960 to \$1,750,000,000 this year, and we look forward to two billion dollars and even up to three billion dollars by 1973.

However, with defense imports as high as they have to be, together with increased imports of investment goods, and of course also growing consumption, all these have resulted in the growth of imports as well and these will reach the gigantic sum of three billion dollars this year.

The gap which ten years ago amounted to \$280 millions, will this year reach \$1,400,000,000, and it might be even more. Only a small part of this is represented by private consumption. Yet we must increase our investments in industry and tourism. This year investment in industry will reach \$230 million and we must increase it substantially.

As a result of all these developments our external debt has grown, and this year it will pass three billion dollars. True, this debt is not uniform and well over one billion is represented by Israel Bonds. There are other debts as well which do not carry an economic interest rate, but the vast majority do carry such a rate, and every year we have to pay \$175 million in interest alone, in addition to \$300 million for the repayment of capital.

I should point out that the economic assistance which we ask from the United States is not large, when compared to the real assistance received by the Arab states, headed by Egypt.

At the beginning of this week one of the leaders of the American administration mentioned the sum of \$300 million as a loan to be granted this year. Apart from the food surplus which we receive, this does not supply an answer to our minimum needs. In addition to these loans we have therefore asked for a grant of \$200 million, and I hope for a positive response.

Yet at the same time we cannot postpone the implementation of two of our other major goals without which Israel would perhaps lose its *raison d'être* — the absorption of immigrants and the shaping of the society.

It is probably superfluous to say that we need to absorb any Jew who wants to come here, with the only limitation that he wants to work if he comes from the West, or that he manages to come out, if he comes from the East. Israel cannot afford to refuse, because of the absence of proper conditions, the family or individual who is ready and able to come.

Speaking minimalistically, the number of immigrants will reach about 50,000 this year, and this means that for this housing alone we shall have to supply about 15,000 apartments. However, the number of immigrants can never be exactly fore-told and if the number will double or triple then the needs will of course be that much larger.

Therefore, even without preparing for additional thousands we shall have to spend the minimum of \$150 million every year for housing, as absolute minimum. While there is nothing like this kind of expenditure in creating inflationary pressures, its importance cannot be over-estimated in terms of absorption. Here the Israel Finance Ministry must accept what is called for by those in charge of Immigration and Absorption, and not pay heed to the economic warnings.

Let me turn to the social services, and primarily to education and health. To my mind our achievements in education represent the

measure of our success in changing the nature of society. Once the emphasis was on primary education, which is free and compulsory. Education is already extended to all and we are now engaged in completing its extension to the 9th and 10th grades.

While worrying about secondary and higher education, we have to supply pre-kindergarten schooling as well. For this purpose alone we shall spend this year about \$20 million, to reach \$25 million in the next four years. We are spending every year \$25 million on construction of buildings for primary education alone, with an additional \$100 million to be spent on the development projects for higher education. Altogether within the next five years we shall spend \$400 million on education alone.

While our health services are of high quality, and this finds its expression in the low percentage of infant mortality and the growing number of old people, the number of beds in hospitals has not kept pace with the growth of the population. The minimalists believe that in the next five years we shall have to spend between \$150-200 million for this item alone. You have to remember that many years pass before decisions and until a hospital is completed. These two examples do not stand by themselves, and I have not discussed the investments needed for increasing the economic infra-structure. There is no full employment without absorption in a growing economy, and there is no more absorption without employment.

We shall therefore have to spend vast sums on communications, power stations and other facilities, but beyond the investments in the advancement of the economy, more important for us is expenditure resulting in human progress. We have to create a society with equal opportunity for all and providing social justice for everybody. We have been engaged in that cause throughout the years, but as is well-known, these issues have been receiving more attention recently.

It is therefore important to recall what we have done so far. In this year's budget, defense expenditure excepted, the share of social services has grown from twenty-five to thirty-one percent reaching an excess of \$200 million. Social welfare payments which ten years ago only amounted to one-third of the average wage have today reached about forty percent. Old age pensions, especially for those who have no other incomes, have increased in particular.

Ten years ago, 10,000 children received free pre-kindergarten education. This year the figure has grown four-fold and more than 120,000 children are receiving, in addition to free education, also complimentary lessons and special instruction because their families are unable to provide them with facilities essential for their educational progress.

More than three-quarters of the graduates of elementary schools will continue on to secondary school this year, as against only one half ten years ago. This addition derives mainly from families of Asian and

African extraction. Over half of those in secondary school receive their schooling free. We want to increase the number of boarding schools for children from families where the surroundings make their progress difficult. Over half of all these students today come from Asian-African parentage.

Among university students the relevant figure is one out of eight. While this represents considerable progress compared with the past, we hope to double this rate within the next few years, and this should prove possible as a result of the expansion of the secondary school systems to which I have referred.

The difficulties turn primarily on social problems, and that means mostly housing. Although half of all public housing has been devoted for these purposes, we must increase the number of units for large families and for young couples, and we are engaged in that right now.

An attempt has been made to establish a confrontation between Aliyah and Israeli society. This attempt is disastrous. I could prove that our society has been built through immigration, and if we devote efforts for the absorption of immigrants, we do so not only because we are a Jewish State, but also as an investment in the future.

At the same time we must always examine the incentives provided for new immigrants in terms of our economic capacity and by way of comparison to the position of other residents. Thus, we shall have to look into the standards of housing provided for new immigrants, and we are doing so right now.

The help of the Jewish people in meeting our goals has never been more important than now. Every single goal could preoccupy a much larger country for a much longer period. Yet we have to do everything at once in the brief period at our disposal.

Immigration alone will bring a million more Jews to us in the next ten or twelve years – this I believe – and together with the natural increase, we may reach five million Jews in the first part of the 1980's.

Without entering into political arguments, I believe that the non-Jewish population living in Israel will reach one million, so that our total population will amount to about six million. This is a considerable addition even if we assume that our economy already supports, in fact, four million people, including those now in the administered territories. This means an addition of two million people, or again as many as have been added since the establishment of the State. There is no doubt that the absorption of such masses in such a short period will cause very serious difficulties. Yet we have already faced such problems in the past and things may well be easier in the future. The foundation is strong enough to support whatever expansion occurs, and although improvement is always possible, the necessary means exist as well. There are those who regard so many simultaneously occurring challenges as an

affrontery, but I believe that this is precisely what gives us our special flavor.

In facing all these challenges, I believe that the loyal partnership between ourselves and the Jewish people, strengthened as it has been in the last few years, will enable us to face challenges which any objective observer would term impossible. I believe that because of these factors, our partnership has become firmer. This Assembly is yet another step toward turning today's impossibilities into tomorrow's reality.

**Abba Eban****Minister for Foreign Affairs**

The Conference that I have the honor to address has a special quality. I say this with the practiced eye of one inured to conference diplomacy. A conference has once been defined as a meeting called for the purpose of deciding when the next meeting will be held. And if this criticism is valid about a great deal of conference transactions, surely this particular occasion merits a far more specific and particular description.

It is a milestone in the consolidation of the Jewish unity. The concept of an enlarged Jewish Agency carries us back in memory to the days before the establishment of the State, when efforts were made to give organizational expression to the inherent unity and solidarity of all Jews in the cause of their nation's central interest.

We are all aware of the undisciplined, anarchic, dispersed factors in Jewish history which have been recalcitrant to organizational unity. It is therefore very moving to find that many of these factors of dispersion and fragmentation and division have been overcome to the extent reflected in the reconstitution of the enlarged Jewish Agency.

Behind the organizational achievement which I should like to salute, there lies a deeper historical truth. The truth is that for millions of Jews throughout the world, and not only for those organized within Zionist organizations, Israel's security, Israel's honor and Israel's progress are causes held worthy of every responsibility, of every effort, and of every sacrifice. Therefore, the classic distinction between Zionists and other Jews has been obliterated in the positive sense, and the surge of solidarity for Israel's cause can no longer be exhausted by reference to the Zionist framework alone. Whatever can be done to express in organizational form a broader unity, a closer solidarity, a more passionate cohesion, is of acute relevance to the subject we shall discuss this afternoon, namely, Israel's fortunes in the world, its dialogue with other nations, which is part of the dialogue of the Jewish people with the non-Jewish world.

I therefore believe that this conference falls outside the normal routine. It deserves the credit which the Israeli people has attributed to it, and it may perhaps, in the future, be regarded as one of the turning points in fashioning a united Jewish resolve on Israel's behalf.

Now, our subject is Israel and its relations to the world. The background is the fourth anniversary of Israel's emergence from peril and solitude into security and victory. We have now entered the fifth year of the post-war period, the new era fashioned and formed by the events of the unforgettable summer in 1967.

It is, I think, useful for us to remember in what spirit we entered that period. We entered it haunted and obsessed by memory; by memory of twenty-three years during which Israel had been subjected to a campaign of harassment, of siege, of defamation, of boycott, of attempted strangulation such as no sovereign state in contemporary history has been called upon to endure.

No nation has been born; no nation has developed; no nation has fought for survival in conditions such as these.

The second memory was the climax of danger and solitude and peril which we knew in the summer of 1967. We carry that memory forward into the post-war age. A determination to conserve the recollection of that danger; an utter resolve to avoid its repetition; an irrevocable decision that Israel's security shall not again be subjected or exposed to such peril – these were the central elements of the political attitudes which have inspired us throughout all of those four years.

There is a tendency for legend to weave a web of forgetfulness about the recent past. I was far in the depths of another continent when I read the ritual literature that is published every fifth of June concerning the memories of 1967.

I found that there were many who have convinced themselves that in the days immediately after the fighting there was a general conviction that peace was at hand. I can only bear witness for myself that I believed no such thing on the morrow of the fighting in June 1967.

Assiduous research has revealed that those who now claim to have believed that there was a strong prospect of peace in June 1967, did not share that belief with others, or with the public, in 1967 itself.

My own feeling was that we were never further away from peace than on the morrow of the fighting because the prospect of peace would not come into view until a central obstacle had been removed. What everybody in Israel and in the Jewish world was asking himself in 1967, in June, after the fighting, was not whether peace would be achieved that month but whether we would be successful in avoiding a converging international pressure resulting in our expulsion from all the territories occupied in the course of our self-defense; whether, in fact, there would not be produced a compulsion for withdrawal without peace.

Peace, of course, depends largely on a transformation in Arab attitudes. The unanimous Arab attitude in the summer and autumn of 1967 was not that peace was essential. Their unanimous belief and conviction was that they could bring about Israel's immediate and unconditional withdrawal. They not only wanted that — they believed that it could be obtained. They used to mention dates by which it would be achieved. Some thought it would be achieved by September; others by the end of 1967.

The Soviet Union and others who sustained them in their political struggle encouraged them in that belief. So ardently did they cherish that belief that they were not prepared to pay any price whatsoever for this total withdrawal. Not a cent, not a penny would they pay for complete withdrawal. They thought it could be achieved free of charge.

It was suggested to them that they could achieve complete withdrawal at that time by accepting a joint proposal by the major powers under which they would make an announcement that all states in the Middle East, without the fatal word Israel being mentioned, should have a right to live in peace.

If they had then been prepared to say that innocuous thing, then they would have been insured of a unanimous international support for complete withdrawal. They were not prepared for that condition. It was exorbitant in their eyes.

Their view was that the withdrawal should be immediate, unconditional, unlinked with any change of their attitude. The more militant amongst them even made an engaging proposal for Israel to pay compensation. I shall never forget the sardonic humor of that proposal. The Soviet Union really suggested that since in attempting to strangle Israel, the fingers of the Arab states had been slightly dislocated, Israel should make financial remedy in order to enable their complete recuperation. That was the mood of those days.

It was obvious to me then, and it is now, that before there can be hope of peace, there must be despair about withdrawal without peace. The psychological road to peace, therefore, has certain landmarks: they cannot be transcended or evaded. We must generate in the Arab mind despair and hope — despair about the prospect of our withdrawal without peace, and hope that in a genuine political dialogue, they could gain advantage, including the advantage of a territorial compromise.

I do not think that the hope will dawn unless the despair about withdrawal without peace becomes sincere and realistic. To that extent, I think that progress has been made. Nobody in the Arab world believes, although everybody in the Arab world still desires, that there will be withdrawal without peace.

Therefore, in 1968 and in 1969 we find, for the first time, a reluctant understanding that if the Arab states want to bring about an un-freezing of the situation created by the 1967 campaign, it will be

necessary for them to embark on a modification of their classic posture. This reluctant realism has not yet made sufficient progress to bring a peace settlement within view, but there is an understanding that there will not be a mere rehearsal of the previous situation.

The knowledge that the ceasefire lines and the ceasefire position have an inherent stability; that they have their own dynamic; that they cannot not be merely disintegrated at will; that if they are to be changed, they can only be changed as part of a total transformation in the relations between Israel and the Arab states – this is realistically grasped today by many who would rather not have to grasp it but who at least understand the elements of stability in the ceasefire situation.

This then is the first result of tenacity. Tenacity does bring about a change of heart. I have often been told that for Israel to fortify itself in the ceasefire positions, to declare that it will not move unless there is peace, is a static or defensive attitude. I'm told that the words 'offensive initiative' cannot be ascribed to such a principle.

I must confess that for me the relevant part of a policy is not the word applied to it but whether or not the policy is correct. Having achieved our positions in June 1967, the reinforcement of them, the obdurate refusal to move from them without peace became valid principles of policy. I believe that they have dynamic effects. Tenacity sometimes does have dynamic effects.

We virtually said to the Arab world – look, if you want to change the present situation you will not succeed in changing it without a far-reaching modification in your attitude towards us. Therefore if you want to change the situation presented by this brick wall of our tenacity, you must change your direction.

This process has not occurred at the speed that many might have hoped for. The transition of the Arab mind from a refusal to recognize Israel's roots in history, in reality, and in destiny towards a perception of Israel's permanence, requires a very far-reaching psychological change. Yet psychological change, by definition, can only be gradual and slow and the pace cannot be forced. But nothing has happened to change our conviction that the road to peace must include this stage of constructive despair. We must bring about their understanding that we will not move except in peace, and even in peace we will move not to the old fragile armistice situation, but to a peace situation, to a peace map, to a negotiated system of relations.

What else do we have to show for these four years of effort? One thing that we have to show is the maintenance of our strength. There were many in the Arab world who believed that Israel could maintain its position, if at all, only against the background of a constant erosion of its relative power, and that by reason of demographic superiority, through the operation of the Soviet alliance, the Arab states would reach military predominance and exercise a policy of intimidation.

This hope began to come to expression in August 1967. If there were those in the Arab world who believed in the compulsions of peace, they were soon reassured by the visit of the Soviet leaders in that month. The Soviet leaders said to them plainly – you do not have to make peace, you do not have to resign yourself to this balance of forces created by failure in war. There is another alternative. The alternative is spectacular and concentrated re-armament. We offer you that alternative. In a year or in two years you will be as strong as you were before, even stronger. At that point, your options will expand. You will either be able to make successful war or, if to negotiate, you will be able to negotiate from the intimidatory position of preponderant military strength.

Therefore, during these four years, the destiny of the balance of power has been the central theme of international diplomacy concerning the Middle East. It is still the most important preoccupation before us. It is more important than the advice we are given in international conferences. It is more important than the opinions which governments exchange about each other when they come together in international or regional assemblies.

The balance of strength is the determinant issue concerning the possibility of avoiding war and the larger prospect of promoting peace.

We therefore report to ourselves and to the world that despite enormous difficulty, most of which should not have been put in our path, we have maintained our balance of strength.

There exists today a situation in which an attempt to change the ceasefire lines by force would meet with no greater success than did the campaign of encirclement, siege and blockade against us in June 1967.

This achievement should not be taken for granted. Let me mention some of the obstacles against which it has been realized. The first obstacle was the unexampled pace and liberality of Soviet re-inforcement. Israel, at no stage in its international career, has had a supplier as uncritical, as unrestrained, as indulgent as the Soviet Union has been in its supply relationship with the Arab states.

Another obstacle was that those who had once grasped the validity of the balance of power as the key to peace, suddenly fell away from their understanding of that logic. The physical expression of that change is, of course, the famous 50 Mirage aircraft which are still in Paris.

A third difficulty was that even those who were prepared to reinforce Israel, felt themselves obliged to act under restraints and inhibitions which have never applied to the Soviet Union in its relations with the Arab states.

Whereas the Soviet Union maintains an intimate dialogue and relationship with the Arab states, irrespective of Israel, the United States maintains a constructive and trustful relationship with Israel, but has

never written off the need to develop or establish relationships with part of the Arab world.

Therefore there has never been a complete symmetry between the Soviet relationship to the Arab states and the relationship of any other power with Israel.

In spite of these obstacles, to which I must add the exorbitant financial and economic effects of Israel's reinforcement, we have come through into the fifth year of the post-war period in a posture and a mood of confidence about our capacity to defend our nation's vital interests and legitimate rights.

Our vital interests include the maintenance of the ceasefire lines until they are replaced by an agreement for peace. Our vital interests include the capacity to protect our maritime traffic to and from the Gulf of Eilat.

Despite the massive reinforcement of our neighbors, despite the sudden indifference to the balance of power of those who had once been its most fervent antagonists, despite the inhibitions under which our friends in the world have assisted us, this balance of strength has been maintained.

This is, of course, Israel's shining achievement. I would not like to ascribe the credit to Israel alone. I've never pretended that modesty is the most salient of our national virtues. Nevertheless, I believe that Israel's own tenacity and self-help have been the main features in this stability. We would certainly not have been able to maintain our present balance of strength if the government of one of the Great Powers had not adopted and effectively implemented the concept of a balance of strength.

Therefore, the doctrine expounded by the United States and carried forward into action to the effect that a disturbance in the balance of strength would bring about war and therefore the maintenance of that balance is not simply an act of chivalry or indulgence or generosity or friendship to Israel, although these elements do exist in the public opinion of the United States and of the world; but that the maintenance of the balance of strength is a central international interest based upon the maintenance of the international equilibrium and the avoidance of war. This doctrine and the steps taken to put it into operation have been effective in maintaining and thereafter in restoring, and more recently in stabilizing the ceasefire.

The future development of the military balance remains the central theme of our international concern. Shall we manage in the fifth and sixth year to create a situation in which an assault upon us would manifestly fail? I speak to you at a moment when this matter is, as always, under operative discussion.

My own feeling is that the consensus which has enabled the United States and Israel to cooperate in maintaining the military balance still

prevails, and that probably after many stages of acute nervous anguish and suspense, we shall, as always, reach valid agreements. I have no reason to think that the basic assumption that the balance of strength is the central principle of Middle Eastern peace has been abandoned on either side of this partnership or by either member of the dialogue; but it is essential, if this hope is to be fulfilled, that there should develop a cross-world opinion and especially amongst Israel's friends in the world an eloquent preoccupation for Israel's security; a vigilant reaction to the aggressive drive which now threatens Middle Eastern peace.

Before I leave this subject of the military balance as a central issue in our mind and in our preoccupation, I want to refer to the new context, against which the military balance has to be envisaged.

There is a disposition in some places to underestimate the significance of the Cairo Treaty. Of course, most of the elements of the cooperation between the Soviet Union and Egypt, referred to in that Treaty, existed before; but there is a difference between an ad hoc, empirical relationship, subject to constant review and discussion, and a contractual relationship consolidating a policy of rearmament and of military predominance of a great power as a permanent element in a nation's policy through a principle, under which, if a change were to be envisaged, the other signatory could object to the change. The formalism, the permanence, the solidity, the duration, the contractual solemnity, these do add a new dimension to that relationship.

It would be mere self-delusion to deny it. The capacity to face uncomfortable facts has not always been one of the qualities of the democratic mind. But free nations must learn even to face unpleasant facts. The Soviet hold on Egypt has passed into a new and more committal stage.

The problem of bringing about a true analysis and understanding of this development lies before us, as it lies before all who wish to seize world opinion of the Middle Eastern reality. Now and again we do hear amidst the general atmosphere of complacency a salutary voice of lucidity and of alarm. It is true, as Secretary Laird of the United States said the other day, that the main objectives of Soviet penetration in the Mediterranean are not related to the Arab-Israel conflict at all, or exclusively. This is an attempt to change the international equilibrium on a strategic plane. I believe that there are three aspects to this new development. One of them affects the Middle East, the other affects Europe, the third affects Africa.

The Middle East is affected because the Soviet engagement to Egypt is unaccompanied by any assertion of peace between Israel and Egypt as one of the aims of that treaty. The Soviet-Egyptian alliance certainly constitutes a further obstacle to Middle East peace. The Egyptian rhetoric, since the visit of Mr. Podgorny to Cairo, has become more virulent, more militant, less respectful of peaceful ideas, even than it was

before. There has been a reinforcement of Arab militance, even beyond its previous point.

A second effect is on Europe. There is clearly at work an effort to outflank the European defense system by creating a Soviet predominance in the Mediterranean, thus annulling the hope of European nations to build their free community immune from the intimidatory effects of Soviet domination. Turning aside from an attempt to dominate Europe from the East, realistically respectful of the barriers constituted by the system of European alliances and by the complexities of Berlin, the Soviet designs concerning freedom in Europe now express themselves southward in the Mediterranean. What becomes a weakening of security in the Middle East is also an enfeeblement of European security.

There is also, as will become evident soon, an African aspect. African liberation was illustrated and symbolized by the simple fact that in the 1960's for the first time in history there were no armies of any of the great powers on the African continent. Now this achievement has been annulled by the fact that there is in a country that is both part of the Middle East and a part of Africa, a military force of one of the great powers. This is the paradox in the liberation struggle in Africa. Having dismissed 10,000 British troops in a struggle for national liberation, we find the Egyptians inviting into Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean some 15,000 or more Soviet troops who might prove to be a little more adhesive and tenacious, and a little less indulgent to suggestions for their repatriation.

Thus, European security, Middle Eastern peace and African liberation are all compromised by this event. The fact that the victims of this design do not show a very great alertness about their danger is depressing but familiar. Awakening to realities usually lags behind the development of realities themselves. But we have no other course but to explain to world opinion that this Soviet penetration as exemplified in that treaty, and perhaps in other treaties that will follow it, is not a mere episode but is the central theme of the Middle Eastern, the European, and the international predicament today. There is not the kind of vigilance or understanding about that event which are the first conditions for resisting its further development. But at any rate, to have maintained Israel as a military power, capable of self dependence, able to resist any attack in the light of this international constellation — that is an achievement which Israel shares with all those who have helped us to bring it about.

Another achievement of the past four years has been its resistance to siege. Siege is a very important concept to understand if we want to seize the nature of Arab policy toward Israel. There are two special objectives which our adversaries have had in mind. If possible, they would of course like to reduce the Israeli fortress by direct assault.

This, however, to put it mildly, is a technique in which they have not revealed spectacular success. Some of them seek a refuge from failure by describing Israel as the secret weapon of forces beyond Israel and superior to it. Whatever the rationalization, the understanding that Israel is not to be swept away in a single heroic assault does seem to have won adherence in the neighboring world. Therefore, the alternative concept of siege is raised. Israel will be reduced or eroded or brought low not in the swift rush of single assault but in a progressive siege. Israel will be paralyzed, obsessed, surrounded, cut-off until it will wither away. In Arabic literature and journalism this concept of siege plays a very prominent role. Our task in the past four years has been resistance to siege. And this I think will also be our task in the years ahead.

The effort to besiege us has, of course, many aspects. One is the hope that we shall become militarily inferior. This hope has not been realized. Another hope is that we will become isolated from the entire fabric of international relations. That is to say that Israel, even if not militarily weak in the first case, will dwindle through lack of contact and sustaining support from the world outside. Every effort to impose a siege does have some tactical successes. Obviously Israel's international position cannot be the same as if there were not fourteen Arab states and twelve Moslem states and the Communist world arrayed against it. Of course, such an alignment must have its effects upon Israel's international assets and international position. All we can say is that Israel's network of international relations has not been sundered. Israel has not been cut off from the world. Through its communion, sometimes difficult, sometimes tormented, but nevertheless its communion with the hundred states with whom it has political relations; with the ninety eight states with whom it has commercial relations; with the sixty countries with whom it has special development relations; with the regional bodies in Europe, America, and elsewhere with whom it is developing a closer association; even in a certain expansion in the past four years in the range of its diplomatic relations; through its trade; through the enormous increase of pilgrimage to Israel – all these demonstrate the complete failure to strangle Israel's communications with the outside world. The lines of Israel's connections with the outside have been kept open. We are not an ostracized, cut-off, abandoned, unvisited, unfrequented backwater, to say the least of it. I, who spend so much of my life at Lydda Airport, know how little of the consolations of isolation are available to us.

This is of extreme importance. There are, and have been, societies in history which can exist in isolation. Israel is not one of them. Israel isn't an Outer Mongolia, surrounded by a fortress of mountains. Israel is not one of the island republics. Sometimes I hear them with envy – friendly island nations which say to us: 'You know, our nearest neigh-

bor is 500 miles away.' They ought to see the look of wistful nostalgia on my face. That is not our destiny.

History and geography have put Israel at the crossroads. We are at a kind of a Times Square of history. All the movements of human thought and enterprise and action flow across this land. It enters the historical conscience as a caravan center. It remains in history as a small piece of land across which, from which, and towards which there converge and there branch out all the central developments of human action and of human thought. That is what Israel is. We cannot have any other destiny. Therefore, if it is true, as I think it is, that 1971 will be the record year in what is called tourism, that is not simply an economic fact. The word tourism does not really do credit to the importance of this matter. The question is whether Israel is an organism that can draw breath and vitality from its contact with the world, from the governments and peoples of the world, or whether through being cut off, it will wither and dwindle and die. Therefore the question whether we are a focus of preoccupation, of pilgrimage, of visit, of affection, of curiosity and of fascination or whether we shall be dark and lonely, remote from all international contact, that is a very central question. Well, we have not been cut off.

We confess that the Arab efforts to besiege us does here and there have a tactical success. As a universal strategy however, it has failed. Israel has more relations with more countries, is trading more, is visiting more, is being visited more, is exporting more, is importing more, is in closer and more intimate dialogue, whether of argument or of harmony, with the world, than it was four years ago.

The other aspect of siege is one that affects you and us directly and closely. The effort to besiege us included a desire to bring about a situation in which Israel would be so obsessed and paralyzed by the need for survival that it would not have time or energy for anything else. That is a very grave danger, spiritually, psychologically, economically and politically.

If Israel were doing nothing except defend itself, we would not be Israel in the true and deeper sense of the term. An Israel which was not building and plowing and sowing and reaping and sending out its roads into the wilderness and establishing its institutions and enlarging its society, embarking upon its creative and original enterprises in social organization, in scientific educational and technological advancement, such an Israel would be moving apart from its central purpose.

Israeli enterprise is, in essence, a genius for growth. I do not say that an Israel that is not growing would be condemned to death; it would certainly be condemned to becoming something other than Israel. If this people does not give expression to this creative impulse of growth, its entire character would be transformed. To put it metaphorically, Israel has not become Sparta. We have not become Sparta and we have

not become Prussia. I really cannot think of anything less Prussian or Spartan in the world than this free and voluble and somewhat undisciplined and anarchic interplay of forces within Israeli democracy.

Historians tell us that Sparta developed nothing except the military virtues. It therefore collapsed in the military arena, as well, because you cannot, in the long run, develop military capacity without a sustaining vision of a society to the defense of which military heroism is dedicated.

It is, I think, Israel's achievement that during these four years that it has had to be a fighting nation, it has not become a warrior state. Its democratic vocation, its social impetus, its particular intellectual destiny, its instinct for freedom – all of these have been maintained and even developed against attempts to strangle them.

I think that we have also been successful, in spite of all difficulties, in maintaining a positivist concept of human life. The nihilistic currents which now sweep across contemporary culture and especially across contemporary youth do not as yet dominate Israel.

In Israel, I claim that it is still more important to build than to destroy. Affirmation is still more important than protest. It is what men are for and not only what they are against which counts in their lives. This perhaps makes us a rather unfashionable phenomenon. You can see eccentric things in Israel today. If you are not careful you can even see a university in which professors are giving lectures with students listening to them. There is something in the historic tension of Jewish survival which has not allowed us to fall into the nihilism, into the cynical despair, into the philosophy which says that smashing is itself a certificate of progressive political orientation.

These then are some of the things that we have done together. I say together because neither the avoidance of peril nor the promotion of our affirmative aspiration would be possible through the unaided efforts of the Israeli national community alone. It is, therefore, not insignificant if we were to complete the balance of these four years, especially the last two years, we would have to include two of the most moving developments in the epic of Jewish survival.

The first of them is the awakening consciousness of Soviet Jewry and a larger understanding in the world of the inevitability of its liberation.

The second one, smaller in scale but no less poignant in intensity, is a greater engagement of the Jewish and the universal conscience on behalf of the remnants of Jewry in Moslem lands.

What has happened in Soviet Jewry in the last year or two is so momentous that time might be necessary before we seize its full import. First of all, we see enacted here the noble mystery of Jewish identity against the most overwhelming obstacles conceivable. Fifty-four years have passed since the Communist revolution. For fifty-four years the concept of Israel, of Zion, of Hebrew, of Jewish faith have

been pushed by arbitrary force into the underground area of forbidden thoughts and forbidden activities. A generation has grown up which has never been free to contemplate the Jewish heritage face to face.

And yet despite all these efforts at alienation, at separation, we find the new Soviet generation of Jews firmly and lucidly aware of what its historic destiny is. It is inspired with no hostility to the Soviet regime, but penetrated with an understanding that there is a Jewish people; that it is one; that it is, in the last resort, indivisible; that it has a common origin and a common destination. The triumph of this ideology in Soviet Jewry is a momentous expression of the rectitude and the power of our Zionist faith.

Another development has been a wider international understanding of the necessity for a constructive Israel solution of the problem. I have noticed that the international protest against the Leningrad and other trials was not restricted to the humanitarian motive, but was also based on the assumption that in the long run, or perhaps even in the short run, there will be no course but to allow a free assertion of the rights and the desires of Soviet Jewry to be reunited with the central stream of Jewish history.

Similarly, I cannot liberate from inhibitions and restraints the description of all that is going on in the efforts of the remnants of Jews in Eastern lands to save themselves and to seek their destiny with us. Here, too, our common efforts have brought to the forefront of international opinion something that was buried and forgotten and reduced almost to oblivion. In other words, these four years, and especially the last two years, have been years of a growing sense of Jewish consolidation in support of central Jewish interests and mainly in support of Israel's reinforcement and security.

I understand that on detailed matters I am in any case going to be subjected to your interrogation, which I am certain will be both comprehensive and implacable. I will, therefore, say at this stage only a word about the two main issues: the quest for a general peace settlement and the prospect of a stage leading to a peace settlement.

Let us fully understand why the dialogue about permanent peace is at a standstill. It has been at a standstill in spite of us, and not because of us. If, in February, the Egyptian Government, instead of asking us to sign its territorial proposals, had invited an independent Israeli statement concerning secure and recognized boundaries, and had then sought to harmonize its position with ours, we would, of course, have put our proposals forward.

What happened in February has something of the nature of an optical illusion. On the one hand, President Sadat said that he wanted a peace agreement with Israel, and in the next sentence he said: I will have a peace agreement with you, provided that I can write all the provisions of the peace agreement, especially its territorial provisions.

The Israeli contribution to the peace agreement shall be its signature on the dotted line.

The great pageant of national freedom which had illuminated the last two decades is something which is now undermined by a conscious servility; by a voluntary subordination of the national interests of Middle Eastern states to forces outside and beyond the Middle East.

That is why in the dialogue in January and February which opened in a promising way, instead of asking Israel for its views and for its contribution, we found Egypt asking others to impose Egypt's views on Israel. All I can say is that we are ready for a negotiation. We are not ready for a dictated settlement. If there is not now a negotiation of a total settlement, it is because Egypt has refused to negotiate with us the meaning and the possibilities of the words 'secure and recognized boundaries'.

Whether there is the possibility of a limited agreement will, in any case, emerge in the coming weeks. I will only say this about an opening of the Suez Canal. The whole balance of advantage lies with Egypt. It is they who would benefit from opening the Canal; it is they who would be its economic masters; it is not they who would suffer any disadvantageous change to themselves in the location of the ceasefire line; it is they who would inherit the international results of being able to bring that international asset into operation; it is the Soviet Union that would benefit globally through the curtailment of its lines of communication.

If, nevertheless, Israel accepts the concept of such a settlement, it is because of its possible accompanying advantage: disengagement, stabilization of the ceasefire, military separation, the creation of an economic reality, the very existence of which might be hostile to the opening of the fire.

The fact remains that even on the terms that Israel has laid down, the balance of visible, tangible, advantage would lie with Egypt.

If an agreement could be secured on this pragmatic issue, then there would be created a new momentum for other agreements. It is false to say that if we reached such an agreement, the result would be stagnation and status quo. The opposite would be the case.

The scepticism about the possibility of any agreement between Israel and an Arab state would be replaced by a new sense of hope and of conviction. Therefore, the partial agreement would have a salutary, positive and animating effect on the quest for total peace.

But I am afraid that we must also say the contrary. If even on an issue such as this in which the balance of advantages is so clearly in their favor, if even on such a matter the time is not ripe, or if their position is not ripe for an agreement, how much less realistic it is to think that we could reach an agreement of a utopian character on all the complex issues at stake, most of which are rather less circumscribed and more intricate, than the one before us.

Therefore, although we are discussing what is called a partial settlement, it is a test case, it is a pilot plant. The discussion on the possibility of a Suez Canal agreement is a kind of laboratory test on the strength of which, we ought to get knowledge of whether even gradual progress towards a peaceful reconciliation is feasible.

I understand, temperamentally, that those who accepted good offices in this are not willing to acknowledge defeat. I do not suggest that they should, or that we should. If anybody thinks that there is still a breath of life in this, we are prepared to accept it and to say that we hope that the speeches made on the subject are not the last word.

The proposals of President Sadat, under which the Canal would be opened are that his forces would come over and Israel would promise to vanish across the most distant horizons. I would describe that as a proposal for dividing the advantage of a Suez Canal agreement in the following proportion: a hundred per cent advantage to Egypt; zero per cent to Israel. That does not conform even to our most moderate conceptions of mercantile pragmatism. There will have to be an equilibrium of interests if an agreement is to become valid. Anybody who suggests this division of 100:0 cannot really be serious and if he is serious, then the situation is much more grave than I thought.

Perhaps rationality forbids us to imagine that there can be a real feeling in Cairo that that sort of distribution of advantage and sacrifice is feasible. Nevertheless, we are not going to disengage ourselves from the idea if there are those who think a discussion is feasible.

Now if the horizons that we have discussed are very complex, I think that the moral is plain at this meeting. I can almost feel that we no longer have to articulate it.



I have a sentiment that the conventional peroration about Jewish solidarity has become superfluous because it is self-understood. The fact that things speak for themselves does not usually prevent orators from speaking a great deal about them. I still think that we would do well if we were to take for granted that we are engaged together in an enterprise of a unique scope and of an overpowering challenge; that we have carried it forward across many vicissitudes and obstacles; that the obstacles do not decrease in the measure that we make progress; but that the history of the past four years bears witness to the ability of Israel and the Jewish people around it to flourish in peace, if possible; to flourish without peace if necessary; not to lose the aspiration of peace from its mind; but to show a capacity in all conditions to plant, to grow, to develop, to flourish and, above all, to be itself. Because the basis of our existence here in this country is the implacable decision of the Jewish people to be itself, to conserve and maintain the particular identity which is the exclusive grace of the Jewish people in history.

It is, therefore, to a very large destiny that your reconstituted Jewish Agency addresses its efforts and sacrifices in future years.

**David Ben Gurion**

I want to express my deep satisfaction with what the Zionist Executive has done at this meeting. The attempt to accomplish this aim was made already some forty two years ago but it did not succeed. Those who worked at it at the time wanted that not only the Zionist movement but all Jews should help in the building up of the country of Eretz Yisrael. But they did not succeed. I am glad to know that this time the Zionist Executive has succeeded and I wish all of them, Zionists and non-Zionists all the best because a Jew alone is really enough without the necessity of further definitions.

I am glad you succeeded in doing what a great Zionist failed to do forty two years ago. You know I mean Dr. Weizmann. But it has been done.

Since the destruction of the temple and for two thousand years every day Jews have been praying to bring us back to our country – to rebuild the Kingdom of David and to build Jerusalem. But prayer alone did not help. In the nineteenth century there were Jews who understood that in order to rebuild the Jewish State, they must do something real. The most remarkable things were done by three French Jews – the most assimilated Jews that we had then – and they have done more than anybody else since for the rebuilding of the Jewish State. What was done in the last years is of course also of very great importance, but these three laid the foundation of the Jewish State.

I will only say a few words about these three men. One was born at the time of the French Revolution. His name was Cremieux. He was twice a member of the French Cabinet. As you know the French were the first to give Jews equal rights. But in his time, in 1814 when in Damascus, Syria, a Jesuit disappeared, he found that his colleagues believed that the Jews had killed him, because Jews allegedly are obliged to drink Christian blood. This story was spread in Europe.



Then two great Jews, Montefiore from England, and Cremieux from France went to Egypt, because then Syria and Palestine were under the rule of an Egyptian leader. He was a Moslem and since the Moslems do not believe in the stories that Jews drink Christian blood, they were able to convince him that they were lies. He accepted their explanations and gave orders to free all the Jews. But many Jews had already been killed and many had everything taken away from them.

Montefiore went back to England and there only very few Englishmen would believe the story that Jews drink Christian blood. Yet when Cremieux returned to France, he was amazed. The entire French cabinet, with the Prime Minister at its head, had believed the story that Jews drink Christian blood.

So he said to himself: France was the first country to give Jews equal rights. What will happen in countries where Jews do not have equal rights? He came to the conclusion that he must rebuild the State of Israel. Accordingly he called in a friend who knew something about the land and told him to go to Israel and see what could be done there so that Jews could come and settle and rebuild their country. This man came to Israel and had a meeting with the Jews in Jerusalem. Most of the Jews in the country then lived in Jerusalem and there were not many of them at the time – about 60,000. He said that we must rebuild the Jewish State because otherwise we are in danger everywhere, in all countries of the world.

But most of the Jews then were against it. They said that we must wait until the Messiah comes and then everything will be in order. Only a small minority did agree. Accordingly his colleagues sent him to the Sultan of Turkey because by then Turkey had managed to retrieve Palestine and Syria. The Sultan gave him a few thousand dunams of land without payment, in order to establish an agricultural school, because it seemed to him that the main objective called for was for Jews to go into agriculture. He then came back and built the school which is now called Mikveh Yisrael on the four thousand dunams of land near Jaffa that the Sultan had given to him.

This was the beginning of the Jewish State. Yet I must tell you that the kind of Jewish State which we need, does really not yet exist. There is a beginning but it is not yet the kind of Jewish State which we want.

Firstly I must point out that in this century a lot of new states have arisen – mostly in Africa and in Asia. For hundreds of years they had been under the rule of great empires: England, France, Germany and others. Now they have become independent. But this is not what happened to the Jewish State. In all these states people had been living in the country before they became free, before the empires had freed them. They had been speaking the same language which they speak now. These are normal states. Take for instance, India. India had been for a long time under British rule, but England gave India freedom

almost at the same time as the Jewish State was proclaimed. No change was needed except there was no foreign government now but an Indian government. This is not what happened here, in what we call the Jewish State of Israel. There are three matters which, if we shall not have them, then the state will not flourish. Firstly we must have more Jews in Israel. I don't think that the Jews will come to Israel only when the Messiah will come. When the Jews who came to the country in the eighteen eighties saw what was needed, they went back to work the land. At that time, in very few countries, were there any Jews working the land. All the Jews, for hundreds of years, had been far away from it. Now the Jews who said we must build a country, knew to build that country they must go back and work the land. They got money from their fellow Jews, and they built an agricultural school. This was the beginning.

When the state was proclaimed, twenty three years ago, there were 650,000 Jews in the country. This was a few years after six million Jews had been murdered by Hitler. There were still more than thirteen million Jews in the world. But here, in our country, there were only 650,000 Jews – not more. They had to fight thirty million Arabs, because when the United Nations, with the support of the two greatest powers of the world – America and Russia – voted for a Jewish state, the few Jews who were here tried to establish their state and had to defend their own decisions against the Arab attacks.

Eight years after the school was built (in 1870) thirty Jews built the first modern Jewish village. Four years later, Jews from Russia and Europe built three more villages; and when the state was proclaimed in 1948, there were already three hundred Jewish villages in Israel. This was the most important contribution to the building of the Jewish state.

Now we have a little more than two and a half million Jews in Israel but I do not know of any state in the world where the majority of its people do not live in their own country – I do not believe you can call this a completely Jewish state now, if only a small part of the Jewish people live in it. When the state was proclaimed, we were three percent of the Jews, and now we are less than seventeen percent. So that we can truly call it a Jewish state we must have at least another six million Jews here.

I think we can do it because when the three French Jews worked for the beginning of the state, there were only 16,000 Jews in this country. When the state was proclaimed, we had only 650,000. Now we have a little more than two and a half million. But two and a half million is only a small part of the Jewish people.

The Zionist organization, today, is not quite as we planned it forty two years ago. Yet, in reality, you have the support of Jews now, with the exception of a few Jews in America. This happened after what had

been done twenty three years ago, and 650,000 Jews had to fight against thirty million Arabs. And the Arabs had great armies – and all the generals in the world were saying that in ten days not a single Jew would remain alive. The French army, for instance – was certain that the Jews would be destroyed in twelve days and the opposite happened when the few Jews, 650,000, were defeating the thirty million Arabs; they began to admire them and they became our best supporters. When the war ended, Israel got from them all the equipment it needed. Yet, the only country that had helped us twenty years ago was Russia. They were our friends then. In a way what Russia did for us twenty years ago was even more than what the United States did at the time. The United States imposed an embargo; but Russia supplied us with the necessary arms.

Unless we bring a great part of the Jewish people to live in this country and to build this country, we cannot say yet that the state is fully built. But seeing what has been going on for the last century, and especially in the sixty five years that I have been privileged to live here – we can be proud. Incidentally, in my first years in this country I would have been happy with only half a million Jews living in Israel, because during those five years nothing had been done; no new settlements had been established, and not many Jews were coming in. There were only 65,000 Jews when the British came after World War I.

The question now is whether to give back any of the territories we gained after the Six Day War. There are two parties: those who say the main issue is peace, and if peace means giving back everything, we ought to do that. The others say that all of this is Israel, on both banks of Jordan – this is our country and we cannot give back anything. I agree with both of them. We need peace so that every Jew who wants to can come to live here, while the Arabs who have been living here for hundreds of years are entitled to live here also. But this is not an Arab country, because the Arab peoples have never done anything productive here, but those that lived here are of course entitled to continue to live here. When the state was proclaimed and we made the laws, we declared complete equality and both Jews and Arabs have the same rights.

The second problem is – and I take the country as it was before the Six Day War; I do not want to go into the territories problem – only less than twenty percent of that area was cultivated and eighty percent was a desert. It is not only the major part of the Negev which is desert – and the Negev alone occupies sixty percent of the area of Israel – but even as you travel from Tel Aviv to Haifa, and look on both sides, you see desert. Can a Jewish state exist, especially with so many enemies, if only twenty percent of its area is settled?

The third problem – is peace with our neighbors. I know there are different views about that, and I am not going to discuss them. I am out of politics and I do not belong to any party.

Since 1870, when the first agricultural settlement was built on the advice of French Jews, we have been attacked by the Arabs. They not only attacked us, but they attacked each other. There was a complete anarchy in the land and one village fell into the other; the Bedouin quarrelled with the peasants, people in the towns quarrelled with peasants and Bedouin, and they attacked Jews as they attacked each other. Nobody wrote about it, because these things happened in a country which no one knew. Yet now the whole world is occupied with the troubles of Israel, and the world press knows everything which is going on.

We must have peace. But peace has two sides to it. Peace cannot be made by one side only. Peace can only be made by two sides.

In the last few weeks U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, came to see me, although I am not a member of the government, and he told me that he had talked to President Sadat and that Sadat had told him that he wants to have peace. Yet I was not so certain about that and so I am not certain that we can have peace this year, and I doubt that we can have peace soon. But I have reason to believe that in the next eight to twelve years, we shall have peace. I shall give you the reason for my belief. There is now a large number of Egyptians, intelligent people, who have studied in universities in Egypt, as well as in England, France, America, Russia, and other countries. The majority of them went to the university to get a good job, but I cannot imagine that among the more than 120,000 persons in Egypt who graduated from universities there are not many who do not care for their own people.

In Egypt today people still live as they did in the Middle Ages in Europe; the majority are peasants. But now there is not a single other country in which the majority of people are peasants – not in Europe, and not in America. But in Egypt, the large majority are peasants, and the peasants are very poor. Every year they have more children than they had before, but they do not have more or better land. So they get poorer every year. More than sixty percent of the peasants suffer from bad health and they have no education.

The great mistake President Nasser made in the last fifteen years was to concentrate on trying to destroy Israel. He said so on every occasion. But last year he changed his mind. He began to realize that the position of the majority of the people in Egypt was very poor and he tried to raise their standards of living. I asked myself as to why he accepted the Rogers peace initiative, after so many years of saying that we must destroy Israel. I recently saw an American writer, who had been for about three months in Egypt and had had long talks with Nasser. When Nasser died, he came to Israel, and he told me that what Nasser had said to him was this: "Now I realize that for all my life I have been making a terrible mistake by not helping our peasants to a better education, to a better way of working the land, but instead saying all the time that I

must destroy Israel. Now I must devote all my energy to helping the people.”

I’m not certain that the present President feels the same. Secretary Rogers told me that Sadat wanted to have peace. I doubted it, when he told me that and I doubt it now. Perhaps it is true, but even if it is not true, and Sadat will make war – and that is quite possible – I cannot imagine that the many intellectuals in Egypt and in other Arab countries will not understand that the main problem for Egypt is how to improve the conditions of the peasants. Once they do, then I believe we shall have peace.

So these are the things that we must do in order to ensure the existence of a living and progressing Jewish state. Another six million Jews – it can be five or seven, and the more it will be, the more we shall rejoice and then the majority of our people will live in our own country.

Secondly, the deserts which occupy more than eighty percent of our country as it was before the Six Day War – of course, if you add the new territories, it is much more – must be settled. I know it can be settled. I know that when the state was proclaimed some people said we must rebuild the desert, some said not; it has been a desert since creation and it cannot be changed. But there were people who were a little crazy – I was among them – and we established settlements and new cities in the desert and we found that the whole desert can be settled. In order that the Jewish state should exist, this desert must be settled.

Then I think the third event will come and this is a promise from the Psalmist. He promised, in the name of G-d, two things. This must be said in Hebrew, as it was written in Hebrew. At that time Jews did not yet speak English. He said, “Adonai yeetain oz l’amo – adonai ye-varech et amo. b’shalom.” In English, “G-d shall give strength to his people.” This was done. The whole world knows that our army has strength. But the second part “G-d shall bless his people with peace”, “Adonai ye-varech et amo b’shalom”, has not yet come and peace is not just one-sided. Peace has two sides to it. The other side should also have peace. This has not yet been done by G-d, but I believe it will be done.

Only when the Jewish State will rest on these three things: having the majority of the Jewish people living in Israel; settling the majority of the country which is ours; then we will also have peace. Only then will the Jewish state be a fact which will exist, and then too I am sure our great prophecy will be fulfilled. There was one of our prophets who said when we shall bring back the Jews they will be “a light to the nations.” The Jews are capable of being “a light to the nations” but only if the state will be there, the majority of the Jews will be there and we shall have peace. This is what our prophets wanted, and this can be.

**Ehud Avriel — Presiding**

**Chairman, Zionist General Council**

I would now like to thank the Chairmen of the committees, their deputies, the consultants and all the members of the committees for the faithful job which they have done in the last few days.

In the life of any Parliament, such as this Assembly, the most vital jobs are sometimes done when the plenary divides up into smaller groups, which, away from the spotlight and from the stage, discuss the problems in depth.

After these discussions have been completed the members of the Parliament as a whole meet again in order to sum up the discussion, and to adopt resolutions.

A very serious job has been done by all the committees and all of you are entitled to our thanks.

We shall now ask the chairmen of the committees to mount the rostrum, one after the other, and report to us. Thereafter, we shall have time for questions and for a short discussion.

After these are completed we shall vote on the resolutions.

## Jack D. Weiler (USA)

### Chairman, Housing Committee

Next to aliyah, housing is one of the highest priorities, and in 1970-71, thirty percent of the entire Jewish Agency budget was allocated for this one item. It will be higher still for the coming year of 1971-72. One matter that became crystal clear was the lack of dollars or pounds for the job. We commend the Ministry of Housing for the excellent job it has done, in spite of inadequate financial resources.

One of the items that was put before the Committee again and again was the question of priorities in housing, as between young couples, individuals with large families, particularly slum dwellers, and of course the new immigrants. The committee, while obviously sympathetic to every point of view expressed, felt that it was not sufficiently knowledgeable to make any specific recommendations, at this time, with respect to priorities.

The Ministry of Housing is seriously concerned about all of these problems and it intends to do its utmost to relieve the situation in all these areas. Let me just quote from words of the Director-General of the Ministry, Mr. Sharon: "There should not be a visible gap between housing conditions of the new immigrants of today as against the new immigrants of yesterday. We have to check the priorities of 18,000 young couples each year; there are 15,000 families still living in barracks and asbestos huts and 100,000 families living in a density of four to eight persons per room. They all have a right to proper housing. One of our priorities lies with the city of Jerusalem, to make Jerusalem big and beautiful. We shall not economize on this city which was, is, and will be forever, the very heart of the Jewish people."

The Committee supports the Ministry of Housing in this endeavor and hopes that conditions will be alleviated for these groups. The Committee has spent a great deal of time in what is the most important area, namely, financing.

The housing needs are tremendous and it is obvious that large sums of outside capital are necessary to augment the resources of the Jewish Agency. It became crystal-clear that, with respect to financing, serious problems are encountered by the Israelis who desire to purchase a home; and that the rates of interest are so high as to be a deterrent.

There is undoubtedly not enough mortgage money available in this country at a modest interest rate that would encourage the purchase of housing. A major recommendation of our Committee is that there be established some type of mortgage loan association, like the savings and loan associations in the United States. Individuals throughout the world should be encouraged to invest their savings in such an endeavor, with a

rate of interest sufficiently fair to be attractive to investors, and yet nowhere nearly as high as the rates that are currently being charged.

The essential element in such a savings association, which would be helpful to individual investors, would be the establishment of some form of guarantee by the State of Israel, similar to that which exists in the United States, known as the FHA, Federal Housing Administration.

With respect to financing, several methods were proposed by the members of the Housing Committee. These will be explored thoroughly when we return to the States.

Another item that occurred in the discussions was the lack of rental housing, and the large rentals that are charged by the developers. The thought was expressed that some tax incentives might be required. A plan should be developed for the benefit of the developers so as to encourage them to move into low-cost housing and lower rentals.

We recommended very strongly the development of very close relationships between the Ministry of Housing and other ministries, such as the Ministry of Social Welfare. There is an intrinsic relationship between inadequate housing, poverty, physical planning and all aspects of the problems that need to be acted on together, if we are to make any real inroads in such areas as slum clearance. Provision for adequate housing is a first and basic step in diffusing the dynamite of the slum areas.

A very important recommendation was made by one of the members of the Housing Committee, Mr. Dan Katzman, in his presentation about mobile type, factory built, homes.

In the United States, there is a national housing market of two million. In 1970 mobile type factory built homes covered thirty-one percent of this market, namely over 400,000. In Israel, nothing at all has been done in this direction. These are two and three bedroom homes consisting of sixty to seventy square meters, fully furnished with refrigerators, stoves and all appliances. They can be built here for 21,000-25,000 pounds. This is over fifty percent less than current price. In Israel, for 40,000 pounds, you only get a two-bedroom home with bare walls.

Mobile factory built homes are not practical in the cities. Because of land costs and land availability, they have to be situated in outlying and sparsely populated areas. In the State of Pennsylvania, in the United States, excepting the major cities, forty-five percent of all homes built today are mobile, factory built homes. In states like Vermont, Maine, etc., the percentage is over fifty.

I believe the Ministry of Housing has been impressed by this presentation. By the way, Mr. Katzman is one of the big builders of these homes. He offered his services in order to follow through matters in the United States, to show the Ministry how things should be done. The factories, of course, have to be built right here, in this country.

If we just accomplish this one item, we would consider the work of this Housing Committee as very successful. I also want to be very hopeful that we shall accomplish some major steps in financing.

The Committee also held intensive discussions with regard to the latest technological developments, especially with regard to modular type apartment buildings.

One of our experts, Mr. Al Ratner, a representative of one of the famous families in Cleveland, gave a discourse on modular homes. I hope that the Ministry of Housing will take advantage of Al Ratner. I am convinced that they will accomplish many things if they do.

Finally, the Committee specifically recommended that there be established a standing Housing Committee. This would develop appropriate sub-committees which would, in turn, call upon expertise in the field of housing, both in and out of Israel. The Housing Committee feels that it will then be in a position to study and make specific recommendations, through the Jewish Agency, on housing problems in Israel.

*Comment:* What has to be done is the necessary follow through in Israel. This has not always happened. With all the major cooperation that people here are ready to undertake – and I think that all the major builders and developers in the world who are Jewish who would contribute projects, or build projects – I think the follow-through here in Israel is more important than anything else.

*Comment:* I sat on the Agricultural Settlement Committee. The problem of housing is not urban only, there can be rural slums as well. We have the very urgent need to disperse the population throughout the country and to keep people in the areas once they are settled. I would urge, therefore, that housing in rural areas be given urgent consideration, as well.

*Reply:* This is why we recommended so strongly these mobile type factory-built homes. They are only good for rural areas. They can be built in less than one third of the time, not only saving more than half the money, but also two thirds of the time! This can have an immediate impact.

*Comment:* I wonder if housing in kibbutzim was dealt with by your Committee. In kibbutzim there would be no problem with the cost of land. Very often the problem of taking in new olim into kibbutzim is tied up to apartments and housing.

*Reply:* Definitely that was one of the major items on our agenda.

*Comment:* I think it was made pretty clear to the Ministry of Housing that the factory-built homes are one of the types of housing that could be used on the kibbutzim, because they have the ground available. It is a cheap method of housing, and very quick to erect. This is one of the things that the Ministry of Housing has accepted. Their only worry concerned border settlements and they have discussed this with the Ministry of Defense.

*Reply:* These are not cheap homes! These are beautiful homes. Those who have been in the mobile park homes know what a beautiful thing these can be. They are as nice as anything that you have in Israel and they are good enough for 400,000 Americans every year.

*Question:* What can be done here in Israel to make it possible for some control to be kept over the cost of housing, specifically if you are recommending much greater private investment in housing?

*Answer:* We are not recommending much greater private investment in housing because it already reaches roughly fifty percent in this country. We are only recommending that more should be done because more homes and more financing can be generated through private investment, through mortgage commitments, etc. How do you control inflation? I wish to know.

Let me give you one instance. Between 1962 and 1964 a group of Americans financed 12,000 homes for immigrant housing, throughout the entire vast area of Israel, in every little hamlet and every city. The cost of these homes at that time was sixteen million dollars. I have met with the Minister of Finance and we are now talking of 10,000 more homes. I hate to tell you what the projection of the cost of those 10,000 homes will be for 1971. It is well over double.



## Morris Levinson (USA)

### Chairman, Agricultural Settlement Committee

We have had an excellent meeting, a meeting in which people participated, they argued, they discussed, and it was attended by a whole variety of people of whom I am proud to have met. Yet, despite the fact that we had varied backgrounds we have been dealing with one basic commodity, and that was people.

The agricultural settlements are one of the great achievements of the State of Israel. Thousands upon thousands of people have been settled in rural areas. Thousands have been taught to be farmers; people who came from ghettos, mellahs; people who were tradesmen, carpenters, shoemakers and suddenly, not overnight, but within a short space of time, they have learned how to farm.

However, there are still problems in the agricultural settlements.

The first problem is that of consolidation, which simply means economic viability, leadership, and the solving of social problems. There are problems other than economics. There are problems of the second generation returning to the kibbutzim and moshavim. There are problems of building up better agricultural products, from an economic point of view. Discussions also went deep into the problem of growing for export.

The very vital problem of hillside settlements was discussed thoroughly and it ran through almost every topic we touched. These are the least viable settlements, as a rule. Established in many cases for security reasons – in areas like the Jerusalem Corridor, the Galilee and some in the Negev – they cannot grow citrus because they have not got the proper land. In many cases, it is too arid; in many cases, it is too hilly. How do we make these groups of very courageous people entitled to the independence everyone gets, and secure in their relationship to their work and with their townships?

The problem of absorption of new immigrants ran through all our discussions. Tied in with that is the problem of population dispersal – how do we get people from the city to the country?

The agricultural settlement department has created 484 settlements since 1948; 255 of these are now consolidated, and 229 are still dependent. This is a serious loss in human and economic resources, and things must be done in order to make them viable from an economic point of view. This means an economic investment in agricultural equipment, in water, and in land. The social problems involved in transforming settlers to farmers, to make them happy to want to stay there, to make them realize that they are part of the country, are all present in these unconsolidated settlements. Organization and the need for

leadership in these settlements are very urgent problems in many of them.

When these problems – economic, social, and organizational – are satisfied, we shall then have an opportunity to remove these settlements from economic problems. This is an urgent matter and it takes money. Their locations cannot be changed. They are there for security and nothing can be done about it. We have got to solve their problems there; we cannot just suddenly say, “We are going to move you to make matters economically viable”. This is going to take a great deal of money. The longer we wait, however, the more it is going to cost, both in dollars and in manpower. We cannot afford to let these settlements continue year in and year out, without becoming viable. We must put in enough money to do the job that has to be done.

Particularly in the hillside settlements, it is not only a question of agriculture. It may take more. It may take industry; it may take a combination of outside work, industry and farming.

Another problem is the question of the second generation returning from the army, or from school. Their parents want them to stay on the farm. However, there is only one owner to a moshav unit; it can only be left to one child. What are we going to do with these children, who are not children any more – they are eighteen, nineteen, twenty and up to twenty-two. Are we going to let them drift to the cities? Are we going to let families break up? Are we going to take the chance that the families themselves will leave the farm, because the children are going to the cities? We will compound most of their social problems if we cannot hold them on the farm. There will be some suggestions from our Committee on how to do this. But we are still a long way from the answers.

It was pointed out that in the last few years the absorption of immigrants on the farms has been minute. Only about 12,000 new families have been absorbed in agricultural settlements since 1967. They were good people and two-thirds were easily adaptable to farm work. Most of them went to kibbutzim. But the amount is insignificant, only six or seven percent of the people who came in. To those of you who heard Mr. Ben Gurion last night and his discussion of the problem of getting more Jews to live in the country, you know what the problem of new immigrants and population dispersal means.

One of the things that came up in order to help consolidate some of the settlements was the question of producing certain kinds of crops for exports. They have been selling flowers in Europe, in the off season of growth, and doing that very successfully. Believe it or not, there are some places in Europe where you think of nothing but Israeli flowers in the winter – roses particularly. This is very profitable, but requires a great deal of tedious work. There are, however, moshavim and kibbutzim who are asking for help in this area. They need hothouses, and they

are not cheap. We are investigating the possibility of plastic ones, for this is a great opportunity to make these settlements viable and ready for consolidation.

Certain fruits – mangos, avocados – are very good for off-season sale in Europe. Vegetables have been increasing in the winter season growth in this country. This again requires investment in resources in order to increase this kind of growing. There is a proposal that will be presented to invest in this program so as to increase the viability of 2,000 families in fifty settlements.

Another economic area turns around predicting changes. There has been a drastic increase in the world prices of meat and dairy products. The prices of meat have gone sky-high throughout the world. Israel has a particularly difficult problem: the import of meat itself is very expensive and it requires great subsidies and help in importing. The Israel government has decided to increase poultry production – turkeys and chickens – as a way of getting around the need for both subsidy and in order to meet the demand for meat products. Increasing poultry production is particularly adaptable to the hillside settlements, because there you can build chicken coops, you do not need flat land and there is no water or drainage problems. This is a great idea for helping these hillside settlements to consolidate rapidly. The committee is going to recommend that projects be started immediately that will enable these settlements to increase their poultry and dairy production so as to take advantage of present market conditions.

The balance of our session was spent in philosophical discussion. We came up with no answers, but with many challenges. The question raised was, what is the structure of the rural areas in the coming generation? This structure affects the second generation of people. It affects the dispersal of population; the industrial settlements; the new immigrants. What is the philosophy that Israel should follow in the coming years? Shall we continue to tie down to the land, to have feeling of roots, or shall we grow four large cities, and let the rest of the people shuffle for themselves? Shall we follow the world trend of a rural exodus and an urbanization increase? This has created problems in the rest of the world that we would hope Israel would not be subjected to. Yet how does Israel avoid what the rest of the world is suffering from? There are great things at stake. How can we envisage our civilization in the days ahead? Shall we be a technologically advanced society, over-urbanized with all the problems that we see; or can Israel build a new kind of civilization in an industrial world which is not over-urbanized and which can avoid the highly complicated city problems?

This is not a question that can be easily answered. It requires research and experimentation. If a solution can be found, the early Zionist philosophy will again come into the picture. We will no longer see the continual growth in the cities; we shall see people in the coun-

try. It is a really exciting adventure, but how it is going to be done will require a lot of thought. Some of the questions that come up are: What kind of industry can be moved into rural areas? Must it be tied to agriculture? Some obviously can. Or shall they be separate? What kind of services could be moved to these areas? Can we put computer centers in rural areas? We could be fifty miles away from Tel Aviv and do computer work for dozens and dozens of industries or governmental centers in Tel Aviv, or even in Jerusalem. Why do we have to have all our schools located in the urban areas? Why can they not be dispersed. Let them be part of the agricultural settlements, in so far as they can afford an opportunity for social work that is needed in these settlement areas? They can provide an opportunity for the children of these settlement areas to study, instead of concentrating them all in the large cities. Tourist and recreational facilities, all of these might be able to be moved to the agricultural areas. Shall we start rural towns for industry? Shall they be separate from agricultural settlements? Shall they be tied to them? Shall these industries be cooperative? Shall the settlements own part of them? Shall the workers own part of them?

I do not know the answers, but they could make a great deal of difference in avoiding the problems of people not showing up for work as we see in America, or in people not being interested in the quality of the production. It could very well be that we could start a new kind of cooperative industry set-up in Israel that could be a model to the world. I think it is urgent that a planning committee be set up and we are recommending that the Agricultural Settlement Department set up such a committee to research these problems. Hopefully we shall have an experimental project or two that will report back to the Assembly a year from now.

*Question:* Did your committee discuss the effects of the European Common Market upon the development of agricultural export?

*Answer:* There is a definite conclusion that there will be an effect of about four to five percent in the prices of agricultural products coming from Israel. However, since this concentration of exports is in the higher profit items, we hope this increase can be offset.

*Question:* Did the discussion center around transportation from the outlying districts to the major cities? Because one of the big problems of young people who might want to live in the countryside is how to get into the cultural areas.

*Answer:* We didn't discuss this. Frankly I had not known that this was a real problem. There seems to be a very good bus system going to the largest cities and towns, and every settlement seems to be near to roads.

*Question:* Did your commission discuss the possible challenge of taking in more children from socially deprived areas in order to give them a healthier and better education?

*Answer:* We did so only in relation to the dispersion of the population from the urban areas, which we thought was very vital.

*Question:* May I come back to the question of the Common Market. How will this affect citrus? Citrus is a large export item.

*Answer:* It is thought that it will affect citrus at about four to five percent. However, a very definite attempt is being made to switch the citrus, as much as possible, from competitive items, like oranges, into grapefruit, which is much less competitive and much more profitable. There is no question that there will be some effect on the prices due to the Common Market, but by switching over to grapefruit, it is hoped to offset some of this.



## Baroness Alix de Rothschild (France)

### Committee on Youth Care and Training

Our Committee has to deal solely with the problems of Youth Aliyah which was established 37 years ago and is engaged at present in three major programs. I can tell you that the problems are manifold and we could not get to all of them.

These major programs now care continuously for 10,000 children. They are: bringing immigrant children without their families and educating them; children of new immigrant families; children of immigrant families still in the absorption process and trainees in youth centers. There are about 2,000 immigrant children without their families; 4,000 children of new immigrant families; 2,000 children of immigrant families still in the absorption process and some 2,000 children trainees in Youth Centers.

These programs deal with bringing in the children unaccompanied by parents and helping the children of new immigrant families to integrate into the culture through educational institutions, and they involve the rehabilitation of children from disadvantaged backgrounds.

However, I would like to stress that the main task of Youth Aliyah, for the moment, is still bringing children to Israel from the four ends of the world. It therefore must be ready at all times, as it has been in the last thirty-seven years, to adapt its programs to the changing needs of the youth and to the changing needs of Israel society.

The Committee felt strongly that in order to meet these changes of the 1970's, special attention should be given by the Jewish Agency to better coordination between Youth Aliyah and the Government services as well as between Youth Aliyah and other private institutions caring for immigrant and Israeli youth.

It also felt that Youth Aliyah should revise and adjust its existing programs to the new realities. The discussion in the Youth Aliyah workshop focused on the need for this constant revision and adaptation of Youth Aliyah's current programs. It was strengthened by awareness of the fact that Youth Aliyah is ready and capable of changing these programs in that light.

We heard how education in youth villages and kibbutzim assists newcomers in the process of integration; in acquiring the Hebrew language and in overcoming the very traumatic effect which accompanies the problem of integration and which is really the result of any kind of immigration.

We also realized that these youth aliyah graduates who come without parents do not now have the same rights as immigrants, or as children who come with their parents. I would like to stress that there is a

problem of a child coming without a parent that wants to study and has not the same rights as a child that comes with his parents as a new immigrant.

We also realized that there were very serious budgetary problems. One of them is that Youth Aliyah's existing budget provides only for fifty to sixty percent of the real costs of maintaining children in residential institutions – that means youth villages – and less in maintaining them in kibbutz youth groups. This is a very important question and it was raised by many of us as to what could be done so that these children can go to kibbutzim? All the institutions have now reached a financial crisis at present and prefer to absorb private students; children of well-to-do families who can afford to pay the full cost.

Our Committee came to the conclusion that it was most important that these facilities, the kibbutzim and other institutions to whom Youth Aliyah sends its wards, should have the means to take them in and to give them first priority so that they need not necessarily cater only to the children of parents who can afford the cost. It is that section of the population that is really most in need and that cannot be looked after if the maintenance fees are not raised to the standards of the possibilities of the kibbutzim and other institutions.

We also heard that most schools, dormitories and laboratories of Youth Aliyah were built hastily during the years of mass immigration and do not fit the purpose any more.

Furthermore, there is an acute shortage of facilities for new candidates. Yet we can only hope that there will be many more candidates. I would like to tell you that we already have in Youth Aliyah institutions, perhaps half of all the Russian children that have come. We hope that many more will come, and many more from all other countries. Listening to Mr. Ben-Gurion yesterday, you will all agree that it is very important that these youth should come to Israel and should have the possibility of living in institutions that are capable of looking after them.

We have heard of the various services that Youth Aliyah renders to its maladjusted children in order to smooth their absorption into their peer group; and also services rendered to the socially and culturally deprived children to raise the level of their intellectual functioning.

The members of the Committee felt that Youth Aliyah should be supported adequately in its difficult task of adapting the children to the fast changing society in Israel. It was felt that Youth Aliyah should expand its program and facilities for bringing children from the diaspora; and most of all that it should participate more in solving the problem of Israeli children from disadvantaged social and cultural backgrounds.

It was recommended that Youth Aliyah be helped in establishing youth day centers in development towns and big cities. It was felt that

Youth Aliyah should be given the means to establish many more facilities in Youth villages, residential institutions, and the kibbutzim, so that it can cater to the needs of its candidates according to the desired standards. The workshop felt also that an educational institution can not possibly be expected to cater to the needs of its children under the existing structure of maintenance fees, and that accordingly Youth Aliyah be given the means to remedy this regrettable situation.

I would like to add that we can assure you that Youth Aliyah's children will neither be Spartan nor Prussians, but just human beings and good Israeli citizens; but we must give all children in Israel, regardless of whether they arrive today, tomorrow or yesterday or if they are there already more than three, four or five years, the same educational opportunity, regardless of their background. That means that Youth Aliyah will honor the Hebrew term, *Tseduz*, not in the sense of charity, but in the sense of justice.

*Question:* Are the youth care centers in urban areas day institutions?

*Answer:* There is great need in the big towns and in certain new development areas for day centers which could care for children that remain with their families, but whose conditions are such that there is a risk that they will drop out from school, will not be looked after properly and will be in the streets. This is one of the greatest needs; the need for day centers.

*Question:* For what ages of children are these intended?

*Answer:* Youth Aliyah is mostly concerned with children from the ages of twelve to seventeen. We do not like to separate children from their parents before that age, and the children that come alone from different countries of the diaspora seldom do so before the age of thirteen.

*Question:* How are children placed in kibbutzim schools by Youth Aliyah?

*Answer:* Youth Aliyah has three of its own children's villages, but it places large groups in other institutions; for instance, in WIZO, Hadasah, and other institutions and also in kibbutzim. Yet the fees that are paid by Youth Aliyah for these groups of children are no longer sufficient to cover the costs borne by these institutions and even more so, of the kibbutzim. Therefore these organizations prefer to take in children where the parents pay a full fee.

There are also other reasons why kibbutzim cannot always take in groups of children. Sometimes they are groups that have difficulties in

adjusting, and this means a lot of problems. Up to now the kibbutzim have always been ready, and it is in the kibbutzim that these children's groups have really done best, especially the maladjusted children.

*Question:* I would like to come back to the question of the kibbutzim. I know that in the past few months the kibbutzim have expressed their regret that the number of Youth Aliyah wards has declined. They want very much to come back and to be in the forefront of Aliyat Hanoar. They have complained that the amount of money, per capita paid to them, is less than the amount of money that Aliyat Hanoar is spending per capita, in its own institutions.

*Answer:* This is true.

*Question:* I think a wrong impression may have been created, that the social organizations that take in Youth Aliyah children are refusing admittance because of cost. I think that no Youth Aliyah child has ever been refused admittance into any WIZO institutions or other organization because of the question of full payment.

*Answer:* I know that WIZO and Haddasah and WIZO Canada and all other institutions have great numbers of children of Youth Aliyah, but there is a certain problem about maintenance fees. I quite agree with you that there has never been a refusal.

*Question:* Did the Committee receive any information about the impact made by these institutions on children from the Soviet Union who come from such a different background?

*Answer:* We did not discuss this problem, but the aim of Youth Aliyah has always been to integrate children of different backgrounds, of different cultures and of different countries. That is one of its main tasks, and also, one of its successes.

*Question:* What really has happened in the last few years is the diminishing role of the kibbutzim in the absorption of Youth Aliyah. I know there is a Committee looking into this, but nevertheless I was rather shocked to hear that the real disparity is between something like four times the maintenance rate for children outside the kibbutzim, compared to those who come to the kibbutz.

The kibbutz has different problems in absorbing Youth Aliyah: they now have children of their own, and the conflict between the new immigrants and teenagers in the kibbutz must raise problems. In order to help absorb these immigrants it is essential to establish that the maintenance rate be equal to both the organisations and the kibbutzim.

*Answer:* With regard to the maintenance of Youth Aliyah wards in the institutions of the voluntary women's organizations, I would like to say on behalf of the Pioneer Women, Moetzet Hapoelot, and Mizrahi Women, as well as of WIZO and Hadassah, that the problem of maintenance exists in all of our institutions, and that whatever moneys are lacking toward the budgetary needs for Youth Aliyah institutions, are lacking in our institutions as well. When the budgets are made up and the allocations are distributed, the problem of the voluntary women's organizations should be kept in mind also. Although children are not refused, the problem makes the fund-raising activities of these organizations unbearably difficult.

*Question:* Should Youth Aliyah take upon itself to provide at least a partial solution to the problem of big families with many children? I would like to know whether there is a plan that Youth Aliyah should offer the growing children of large families? Is it only an issue of organization and financing, or also a psychological question of how to convince such families to give up their children to the care of the Youth Aliyah?

*Answer:* One cannot generalize. There are families, especially the newly arrived family of eight to nine children, who are very glad if Youth Aliyah takes at least two of the children immediately. But there are also the problems of families that are already three years or more in Israel. Take for instance a family which arrived with ten children, including a boy that was six at the time. When he is twelve, he is really no more an immigrant child. In our workshop we said that Youth Aliyah should be able to take those children in as well, widening its facilities and its dormitories. So far we have not been able to take children that no longer have the status of olim, though we had day centers and other facilities for them, we could not take them into a youth village, or into an institution. One of the things we would like to see is the children of these families, irrespective of the date of their arrival, helped and educated by Youth Aliyah.

**Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson (USA)**

**Chairman, Committee on Health and Welfare**

What did we discuss in our Committee? Probably the same question that all of us discuss in our own countries at home: manpower shortages, mental health, shortage of hospital beds, ecology, the chronic sick and the aged, mother and child. Yet if every department has budgetary problems, then the problems of this department are certainly overwhelming because we believe that basic to the absorption of any aliyah is the provision of adequate health facilities.

Those of you who remember the early days of aliyah to this country will remember that one of the things that attracted people to settle in border areas and in development towns was the knowledge that they would have the health facilities necessary to provide for their families. It is therefore basic to the whole concept of Israel to provide good health care to all its citizens. When dealing with this problem we must bear in mind that during these last years Israel has had a rise in its population from two exciting sources: one from large aliyah, which has greatly increased the population of the country, and the second, — a very interesting reason — internal aliyah or the increase in the birth rate since 1967. Apparently an impetus was provided which caused people to have larger families in this country.

In the field of manpower, the problem that plagues the world, plagues Israel, but to an even greater extent. That is the problem of nurses. Israel will need 5,000 nurses in the next five years and everyone must face the fact that today the nursing profession is not attracting the intelligent young woman as this profession did in the past. There are many reasons for that. After the young woman finishes her nurses training and enters into the profession and marries, she finds it is not profitable for her to stay in the nursing profession and to pay for someone to take care of her children at home. Therefore one of the first recommendations of our committee is that close to each hospital there should be established kindergarten facilities for married nurses in order to encourage them to return to their profession.

The second reason for the lack of applicants in the nursing profession is that today a young woman who takes three years to get her R.N. — a registered nursing degree — feels that she wants an academic degree at the same time. In the United States almost all good registered nursing schools have combined their program into a longer one, giving both the R.N. and the B.S., the Bachelor of Science degree. We are recommending, and there are already starts in this country in this direction, that these incentives be provided for those in the nursing profession here as well.

We think, too, that during Army service, the military could do much more to encourage young women to enter the medical and the para-medical professions, and to fill the very great vacancy in this country in these particular areas. The same thing holds true, of course, for social workers.

There are four schools in this country. There is no lack of candidates. There is a lack of places. Here we felt again that wherever people are interested in coming to Israel we should point out to them the great need in those areas in which there is unlimited opportunity. Take, for instance, doctors. There are some fields of medicine in which Israel has an ample supply, but there are others in which the shortage is desperate; psychiatrists, as an example. Here we feel that the medical schools in the country are not playing a sufficient role in convincing their students to enter into those branches of medicine for which Israel is desperate, instead of providing a surplus in those disciplines for which there is already a very ample supply.

We believe that much more could be done in providing an incentive factor along these lines. We considered, of course, the problem that every country faces – why there is an over-abundance of physicians in some areas and no doctors in others. While we do not, of course, dare to suggest any plan that would seem to take away freedom of choice, we do strongly recommend that some incentives be put forth which will make it more attractive for doctors to go to the rural and settlement areas, even for shorter periods of time, in order to fill the great shortage of manpower there.

While Israel has unusually fine standards of medicine, there are also some appalling gaps. Israel has one of the lowest hospital bed-to-population ratio of any of the developed countries in the world. It has to be realized that it takes at least eight years from the day a decision is made until a hospital bed is put into use for the community. Therefore advance planning is a necessity. We are talking about filling a *backlog* of beds and of anticipating the needs of the aliyah that will be coming over the future years.

It is not enough to be sympathetic. If the plans are not started today, there will be no extra hospital beds eight years from now.

The greatest lack in this country is the shortage of beds for mental patients, together with the shortage of psychiatrists. We asked; Does Israel have a higher percentage of mental cases than other countries? The answer was obvious. In a nation where the population consists of people coming in as immigrants from so many problem areas of the world – whether from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Latin America, or the United States – the stress and strain for people to become adjusted and used to a new way of life makes it inevitable that there should be a larger indication of mental disease than there would be in more stable populations.

One of the proposals made was to start clinics for ambulatory treatment during the day, with patients allowed to go home at night.

Although pollution, ecology and all their related problems are really not part of the review of the Jewish Agency, it is interesting to note that Israel inherited from the British Mandatory period a very primitive sewage system, and that until this day the cities and the nation are doing their best to correct it. To rebuild sewage disposal systems and to take care of water treatment is one of the most costly of enterprises.

Israel has one advantage over the rest of the world. It is only starting its industrial revolution. Therefore seeing the problems of the United States and of other parts of the world, they can start now to think of what the hazards are of developing industry that will affect the health of the country. It is our recommendation that special committees be formed and strengthened to anticipate those problems which are already plaguing the more developed western part of the world.

Israel has always considered itself a young nation, and a young people. But, time catches up with a nation as well as with individual people, and it is projected that in the year 1980 there will be 300,000 people in Israel over the age of sixty-five. The age group of sixty-five and over is the greatest consumer of health needs and unless the plans are made now for the chronic sick, the disabled and all the long-term treatments that people require as they advance in life, this problem by 1980 will be overwhelming.

Without the backlog, without the terrible shortage, Israel will need, just to take care of the aliyah and the increase in population, four hundred new hospital beds a year. At today's market price, which does not hold true for next month, it is estimated that it costs 100,000 pounds for each hospital bed to *build*, not to maintain. This will explain the great need for increasing wherever possible, the allocations for the field of health.

One of the great manpower shortages in this country is that of dentists and pharmacists. We are sad to report that in the field of dental work for children which is so basic to their health, preventive dental medicine is on a very low level. Many schools have no such program at all, and indeed the shortage of dentists by itself has made this field inadequate. It must get increased attention over the years.

We hope that in all the countries of the world – and today, everyone is approached by people interested in aliyah – an effort will be made to tell dentists and pharmacists that the opportunities in Israel are unlimited. It is not a question of finding out what one can do after coming to the country – the door is wide open for opportunities in these areas. We believe, therefore, that we shall be able to solve some of these problems of manpower shortages by education during army service, by better information abroad in the aliyah centers, by better education in the medical schools, in order to get people to go into the

disciplines in which they are needed and by doing much more for the social worker and the nurse in order to get them to stay in their professions.

In discussing social welfare, we must also talk about the effect of inadequate housing. But I would like to report that we felt that providing larger apartments for large families will take care of only part of the problem. If that family is not educated how to take care of a new apartment it will become a slum in a very short period of time. Here many of us pointed to the experience we have had in the United States where low income groups were taken out of poor areas and put into new and better housing. But because no education program accompanied these measures, within two or three years the new housing was in an appalling condition. Therefore we recommend that as soon as a family gets an opportunity to move into a larger apartment this must be tied in with some of the social service aspects in order to upgrade them, not only in their physical environment, but in their total approach.

One of the things that we found is that there is a greater need for coordination in many of the services that are offered *both* to the citizen and to the new immigrant. If a family has a great number of problems, instead of each one of these issues being referred to another Ministry, and each solving one little problem, we would urge, particularly in the field of health and social welfare, that there be greater coordination in tackling the problem of the family as a whole.

Since social welfare touches on every area, we talked about education too, although there is an Education Committee. The need for education in a family that needs social welfare is obvious, and if our Committee were given the right to vote on the choice whether Israel should increase its free education by adding one year at the tenth grade or beginning a year earlier, our Committee was unanimous in the belief that it is more important to start the child at three than to add to the top. From the social point of view, it is essential, as we call it, to give a "head start" to the children in this area.

We believe that there is a need for more social clubs for young people, not just in development towns, which have received attention, but also in some of the large cities. The young people who do not have any place to go in order to give expression to their energy should have a club. We are not satisfied, though, with providing a club alone. It has to provide a directed program in order to engage these young people in thoughts as to how to improve their own educational standards.

I would venture to predict that there is not any problem that does not come to the social welfare department. We pointed out that in the United States even rabbis today are taught some aspects of psychiatry because everyone in the long run faces some form of social problem. We therefore feel very strongly that these aspects of health and welfare which have been so long on the drawing boards should be implemented

and carried forward in the year or two ahead, unless we want to face a crisis of the proportions that we are facing today in the terms of housing. We urge respectfully that this be implemented with as much financial support as can be provided.

*Question:* Did your Committee deal with the community health problem; that is, with preventive medicine?

*Answer:* Indeed we believe that this is the one aspect that must be expanded above all, because preventive medicine is the cheapest form of medicine. It prevents all the hospital care and all the long-term care that is needed later. It is one of the strong recommendations of the Ministry of Health itself that this program be strengthened and enlarged throughout the country.

*Question:* Did you take into account the experience of "head start" in the United States when you suggested that it would be better to lower the school age? The evaluation of "head start" is not uniformly favorable. There have been many studies made which indicate that starting earlier is not necessarily significant.

*Answer:* I have participated myself in "head start" conferences in the United States, and it was found that the failure did not come from the age level. The failure came because of the resistance of certain communities to the kind of education and program that was geared to help the child at the age of three.

In Israel, society is quite accustomed to putting their children in kindergarten or day centers at an early age. It is receptive to educational programs at that level. The issues are quite different and we want Israel to learn from them and not to repeat the mistakes that were made in the "head start" program in the United States.

*Question:* Did you discuss the possibilities of counselling? This would perhaps provide a solution for all the students of psychology all over the world?

*Answer:* We discussed this in the context of the para-medical needs of the country. There are great needs for people in this area. The problem is one of budget and manpower.

*Question:* Did you discuss services for the handicapped, i.e. the blind, the deaf, etc., in terms of specialists and of preventive care — that is, retaining life's quality and the establishing of day centers for the elderly and handicapped, sheltered housing and integration.

*Answer:* In each of the major cities there is a program of screening all the children for early detection of handicaps so that at a very early age they will be detected. As a matter of fact, there are some very exciting research programs going on in Israel along these lines.

From the point of view of the people who are handicapped, there are some of the same programs that we know of in the United States, providing them with sheltered workshops. There are special facilities for the blind, for the deaf, and there are also special pensions given to handicapped people who have no other source of income.

Yet, everything is on a very inadequate scale. It is not that Israel lacks the knowledge and the know-how. Indeed, when it comes to know-how, Israel can hold its own with any country in the world. The medical genius here is fantastic and the know-how is that for which the Jewish people have always been famous. What is lacking here is the opportunity to implement this genius into practical terms, both for lack of budget and for lack of manpower.

*Question:* Prostitution by young girls has been a very serious and acute problem in Jerusalem, since the unification of East Jerusalem with West Jerusalem. Many girls in very early teens, and even before that, have had so much temptation put in their way by our neighbors that they went astray. WIZO has decided to put up a very large preventive school for the type of girls who might fall into that trap.

*Answer:* I very carefully avoided giving credit to the many wonderful voluntary agencies and their programs in the United States because if I did I think you would be overwhelmed by what is being done by WIZO in Israel; you would be overwhelmed by what is being done by MAL-BEN, the Kupat Cholim, Hadassah, Mizrahi Women, Pioneer Women, etc. They really form the background of all the social service and health work that is done in this country. Let it be recorded that there is in this country a vast core of voluntary agencies which are performing a very essential role.

## **Rabbi Israel Miller (USA)**

### **Chairman, Committee on Education**

Education is not a privilege but a necessity, and yet we had to have certain parameters for our discussion because it could not have covered the entire area.

We dealt only with pre-school and with elementary and secondary education in a formal sense; higher education being left to the Committee which was set up to deal with this subject specifically. Yet our discussion ranged to the broad areas of leisure time, of informal educational activities and the need for taking into account the whole person and the whole environment.

We, for example, included in our discussion, questions concerning the free, lunch meal program at schools, through which 250,000 out of the 450,000 young people in the formal educational system of this country receive meals and forty percent of these children receive these meals without any cost whatsoever. They are on welfare rolls, they are new olim and children from large families. Interestingly, in this country, some of the children who are better provided for and who might go home for lunch, stay with the other children for the social atmosphere.

Formally we dealt only with those areas for which the Jewish Agency has assumed partial or complete responsibility, recognizing that portion of education which is mandatory in Israel today. From kindergarten through the ninth grade education is compulsory. Grade nine is free and will become compulsory in two years. In several more years the tenth grade will be in that same category.

We dealt with what is assumed within the Jewish Agency budget, namely the non-mandatory elements of education such as pre-kindergarten school facilities, scholarships, community and youth centers, etc. In all of our deliberations, we were particularly cognizant of the pressing social and cultural challenges of the cultural gap which today afflicts the body politic of Israel as well as the soul and the consciences of its citizenry and world Jewry.

Education is a major item in the budget of the Government of Israel, and it is a major item in the budget of the Jewish Agency. This is, as it should be, for Jewish tradition has always stressed the importance of education.

The fact that 60% of the children of Asian and African origin attend the first grade and only 26.9% of the same children attend the twelfth grade demonstrates the existing cultural gap. Our committee puts particular stress upon the need for the expansion of the pre-kindergarten facilities for the three and four year olds who are not subject to compulsory schooling.

We did take into account the problems of the "head start" program and yet we felt that here in Israel this should be given priority. Interestingly, this does not stop at the school room or the facility itself. We found a great stimulus when we learned that there are para-educational personnel that go into the homes – perhaps not enough of them – but this is the direction in which Israel is moving in order to try to teach the parents as well as the children.

We did not have statistics in terms of how many mothers here work, but there is a much greater proportion of women at work here in Israel than in the United States. We are dealing only with the facility, and not with a baby-sitting service. The experience of the kibbutz in terms of the younger children was particularly useful in terms of the educational process of pre-kindergarten children.

You will be surprised to learn that the Ministry of Education is now experimenting with schools for two-year-olds. We were impressed with this as we were impressed with the sending of para-professionals into the home to the parents.

Yet our stress was on the three and four-year-olds. Some sixty percent of the four-year-olds, some 38,000 children, are in the pre-kindergarten program in this country – some 32,000 three-year-olds out of 50,000 attend pre-kindergarten and 38,000 of these children are underprivileged and *totally exempt* from the payment of fees. That is where we come in – the Jewish Agency.

We dwelt at length on secondary education, where there is a significant drop in the school population after the first eight grades. We dealt with it in terms of whether it was the economic condition of the family and the student which kept him or her from attending secondary school.

There are really two explosions: the population explosion and the knowledge explosion. The population explosion: in 1948 there were 10,000 who studied in the secondary schools of this country and only 1,000 in vocational schools. In 1972 it is anticipated that there will be 150,000 students in secondary school and in vocational schools. This certainly shows the great growth of knowledge about what education is for and how it can close the gap. It is planned that in 1972 sixty percent of the young people will be in vocational schools, and forty percent in academic training. There are 200 vocations – everything from carpentry to computing.

We were not only impressed with the vastness of the problem but also by the extent of the progress and by the innovation program. There are boarding schools, although not enough to accept all the children that could come from the homes of large families and families who are deprived. Yet one of the heartening statistics is that eighty percent of those who go to these boarding schools go on to higher education after the secondary school. Since it is now being proposed that tuition

in the secondary schools be raised, it was a filling of our own cultural gap, to learn that only a quarter of the students in this country pay full tuition, about half are on complete scholarship based upon their per capita income and a quarter on graded tuition.

The scholarship program is our responsibility. While being impressed with it, I think we also recognize that there is a great job for us to do. We were impressed by the activities of the Israel Education Fund, particularly in the development areas. Yet, interestingly, it no longer considers development areas to be places like Dimona, Katamon and the Hatikvah area in Tel Aviv are also considered development areas, requiring the building of comprehensive schools, of libraries, of centers and of kindergartens.

We spoke about the expansion and the establishment of community and youth centers for study extension or a place where a young person can do his homework. We spoke about an educational enrichment program, not just clubs, but the kind of learning that takes place in an informal atmosphere both for young people and for older persons.

In our discussions we did not stay just with the youth range of pre-kindergarten or secondary schools, but we also dealt with what we in the United States felicitously call the "senior citizens" or the "Golden Age" group – the family members of all age levels who are engaged in cultural and recreational pursuits. Therefore we called for an intensification and enlargement of the activities of the Israel Education Fund, giving due recognition to its past accomplishments, and hoping that it would be permitted to continue or to start in all over again and, hopefully, raise the sums of money that are necessary for these facilities.

We also discussed voluntary, vocational agricultural and nautical training opportunities which are given in the pre-high school age to prepare young people to enter professional schools. These agricultural and vocational schools are of course of the utmost necessity.

We also discussed the great work of the voluntary organizations within the total educational effort. We did not even attempt to name all of the voluntary organizations but we thought that their activities ought to be maximized and coordinated.

*Question:* Was there any discussion on the curriculum in Israel which might strengthen understanding and coordination with Diaspora Jewry in the sense of history and tradition, so that the children of Israel might have a better appreciation of the children, and the work and the life of Diaspora Jewry?

*Answer:* We did not go into curricular matters at all but we did hear a report about the three goals of education here in this country. These

relate to the past, the present and the future. The test has to do with the history of the Jewish people, and with using that history in order to relate the children to the Jewish community throughout the world.

In terms of the present, the aim is to create responsible citizens. In terms of the future, the aims involve technology and science.

*Question:* Did your committee have any report as to when compulsory education through secondary schools would be implemented?

*Answer:* The report was that the ninth year which is now free, would be compulsory in two years and in 1976 the tenth year. We did not go beyond that projection.

*Question:* It has come to my attention that there has been a growing interest lately on the part of many retired people in Israel to volunteer even outside the present institutional frameworks in order to serve in voluntary capacities. Did this come up at your meeting?

*Answer:* It did not come up at our Committee but since it is now on the record, I hope that we will be able to take it up at some future date.



## Irving Blum (USA)

### Chairman, Committee on Higher Education

The Committee on Higher Education has completed its assignment.

Our primary focus was obviously on problems. Unfortunately, little time was expended on emphasizing the areas of effective effort and perhaps it is a measure of our sense of accomplishment that the Committee ended with a much deeper respect for the substantial progress that had been made.

Though our participation was extensive, ranging in total over a broad spectrum of concerns, the exchange of views was both active and fruitful. I would make the unhesitating judgement that the process initiated in these meetings laid a very sturdy foundation for a potentially significant future development; namely, the increased awareness and understanding on the part of the delegates from the overseas communities of the complexities, indeed of the frustrations involved in a creative solution to the problems of higher educational institutions in Israel.

I think that all of us gained a more sensitive insight into the role played in this emergent society by institutions of higher education, particularly so when viewed as a society whose needs and demands seem constantly to rise in geometric progression while the resources available are, despite persistent and very dedicated individual and collective effort, moving only arithmetically. At the same time, needs are compounded by aggravated social conditions, as well as by rising levels of expectation.

In spite of the overwhelming pressure and difficulty which these beneficiary institutions face in matching capability and needs with resources, I am confident that their representatives came away with a feeling that our overseas communities have a deep and abiding interest in their problems, and that they are willing and even anxious, to be interpreters of these problems to their constituencies in a most positive and constructive way.

I earnestly hope that they will assess correctly the overseas communities as an important pool of experience available to them in the future. That experience arises out of the intimacy of involvement, represented in our communities. It is rooted in deep conviction of the enduring importance to Israel of an effective and competent institutional system of higher education, and of its indispensibility in a creative and progressive society.

The Committee recognized that it was meeting under a number of constraints. First, the realities of the budgetary problems. Secondly, the highly technical nature of the subject matter and the necessity to limit the deliberations to matters of broad principle. Thirdly, the recognition

of the consultative process serving as a beginning in a new dimension of dialogue between Israel and Diaspora Jewry.

The principle areas of concern on which we dwelt extensively were the following:

First: planning and financing of institutional operations. Here we noted the dramatic increase in student population from 2,700 in 1950-51 to 45,000 currently, and the even more dramatic increase in government and Jewish Agency subventions from almost nil in 1950-51 to some 260 million Israeli pounds in the financial year 1971-72. National priorities and central planning were discussed within the framework of the conflicts of academic freedom and state and agency support, as well as the conflict of standards of excellence and the imperative of broader access to advanced education.

In the second instance we looked at the much-discussed cultural gap. In the twenty to twenty-five year group, young people of Asian and African origin comprise forty-five percent of the total population, yet the proportion of students from these communities in institutions of higher learning is only twelve percent, including new immigrants.

The need for compensatory action is obvious. It was equally obvious that the solution lies not alone in the institutions themselves, but transcends into many other spheres of activity. Subsidy in funds, in effort and in technique is needed in *very* substantial measure.

Thirdly, we addressed ourselves to different forms of post-secondary education. The Committee was informed about, and discussed developments in planning post-secondary education through community colleges, technological education and pre-academic courses of study. It was evident that these techniques are only now coming to the fore, after having had earlier, significant beginnings.

Fourthly, teacher training. The importance of, and the present lack of better qualified teachers were seen as substantive factors in the future educational development. Definition was made of the additional burdens on all academic institutions pursuing from the need to train more teachers for secondary and post-secondary institutions, particularly in mathematics, the natural sciences and technical subjects. Additional scholarship support as well as other types of support are well merited.

Five: overseas students. In a discussion of this subject the Committee was mindful of the service performed by the Israeli university system to the Jewish people as a whole. It was impressed by the manner in which the situation was being handled. It suggested that aid to overseas students should be viewed not only from the perspective of the overall needs of the Jewish people but also from those of local students and the financial ability of overseas students or their communities, to pay for their studies.

Finally, research: considering the evolving and shifting nature of the

needs and the consequent necessity of continuous investigation of new and more effective methodology, the Committee was made acutely aware of the budgetary implications of the research component. It recommends consideration of this matter by the appropriate authorities particularly in view of the possibility of decreased overseas support in the future.

To suggest these topics is merely to attempt to synthesize what was an extremely extensive discussion. The discussions and deliberations of the Committee were by no means as limited as this list suggests, even though it is quite extensive.

*Comment:* The figure of 260 million pounds for the year 1971-72 as the subsidy for the operating budgets of the institutions of higher learning do not include the subsidy that is given to the institutions for campaigning. This amounts to about another four million pounds.

I would also like to add that there was no discussion with respect to the capital needs of all of the institutions of higher learning, which are enormous.

**Samuel Rothberg (U.S.A.) – Presiding**

**General Chairman, State of Israel Bonds Campaign**

I am the general chairman of the State of Israel Bonds Campaign, and for this group to have the confidence to invite the chairman of the Bonds Campaign, to elect him as a member of the Board of Governors and to ask him to chair a panel session, shows that this must work, that we are one Jewish people, that we have one objective and that objective is to see that Israel remains strong and that Israel continues to be able to take in the people that have to come in.

## Louis Stern (U.S.A.)

### Chairman, Committee on Absorption and Immigration

In 1970 there were 50,000 immigrants of whom 10,000 were Americans. Would you like to make a projection as to what the number of new immigrants will be in 1972 and from where? From Russia, from the Moslem countries, from South America and from elsewhere? You could create an infinite number of permutations and combinations in trying to work out their number as well as the sources of origin. I do not think it is possible for us to do this at the moment, but it's the Committee's view that there are two *vital* functions of the Jewish Agency in this respect.

The Jewish Agency needs to sharpen up its early warning system. It needs to know well in advance what is happening in the kind of troubled world in which we live and where the next trouble spot is going to be. Under no circumstances must we be caught unaware. At the same time we need to be prepared to deal with the problem, no matter what its nature and no matter what its size.

I am not suggesting to you that this is the most effective and efficient way to run the Jewish Agency; but that is not what is called for. If we want to serve those who need our help when they need it, this is the line we are going to have to follow.

We received some material from the economic section of the Ministry for Absorption which startled me and may startle you too. We shall require in this country 80 to 100,000 *new* citizens in order to maintain the level of economic growth, and we shall need at least 70,000 to maintain the demographic balance.

If we are going to need that many people, we are going to *need* an aliyah effort at the top of its performance. We are going to need an absorption program which does not make any mistakes. We can not afford to lose a single friend and we cannot afford to lose a single one of the olim, after they come. This requires an almost superhuman operation, but if this is what is required, this is what will need to be done.

When we talk about 50,000 immigrants, we cannot talk about that as an abstraction, or even merely as a figure. If we talk about 50,000 eggs and they are all about the same shape and they are all about the same color, we can put them into cardboard boxes at a dozen to a box, and then wrap them up and ship them. Or let us talk about potatoes, which are not quite the same. Each is a little different in size and a little different in weight. Still, what do we do with them? We throw them in a bag and we sell them by the kilo.

But here we are not talking about this kind of problem. We are

talking about individuals. We are talking about a husband who is concerned about his job and his future; we are talking about a wife who is concerned about a home and her children and the well-being of her husband. We are thinking about children who are asking, Where will I make new friends? What kind of schooling will I get?

All of them are asking what kind of a life they are going to live, what kind of a society are they are going to be in? What will their next door neighbor be like? Will there be a place where I can go to a concert or hear a lecture?

This is what is involved. We cannot deal with this problem even in terms of age – old, young, educated, rich, poor, professional, laborers. No program of immigration and absorption can be effective unless it meets the needs of each one of these people on his or her terms – not ours, but theirs.

I think we need to bear in mind that for all these people the moment for decision for aliyah is a dramatic moment. The experience itself is a traumatic psychological experience. At the time when they go through this process they see themselves as the only person in the world; they do not care about what is happening to anybody else. If we are to deal with them successfully we must do so in these psychological terms. Unless we deal with them creatively we shall not solve their problems.

We talk about immigration and absorption. The phrase flows very mellifluously, yet if we reverse it, it does not sound so good and it sticks on your tongue. It is a question of the time sequence. Absorption does follow the immigration, but it is a very obvious fact now that unless the absorption process is thoroughly planned and competently executed, there will not be any immigration. What happens is that the immigrant, before he comes, wants to know where the jobs are; where is he going to live, in what kind of housing and in what kind of community; what kind of life is he going to live and what kind of a society is he going to move into.

This is why the process of absorption becomes energetically vital. We had a very spirited discussion with our South American friends.

We keep looking at this point to the East – to Russia – for the next wave of aliyah. Yet it may very well be that the next wave will not come from the East or from the West, but from Latin America.

The proposal has been made that there be an intensification of the aliyah efforts in South America; that instead of one, or one and a half emissaries, there be eight or ten who came in on a mass kind of basis to interpret the problems and the opportunities and even set up facilities of Hebrew education, which would stand them in good stead on the day they decided to move. There emerged a whole series of specific programs and projects for individuals and groups which made sense in terms of the needs in the field of absorption. These programs were both imaginative and creative.

We looked at the social welfare needs as they are dealt with by the Agency and the staff. Our first reaction was that they are under-staffed. Yet this is not a rare experience. I know of no country in the world which can say that it is adequately staffed in terms of its social welfare people, my own country included. Accordingly, there has been the suggestion, and I think it needs to be pursued, to examine the use of volunteers in the solution of some of the social welfare problems.

The first and most chronic is in the development towns. There we have had a highly constructive experience — on a very simple basis with limited expenditures of effort and resource, but great expenditures of thought and imagination. We did produce constructive useful results. We are now ready to take a next step.

There is available now a sketch of a program for Beit Shean which requires a massive infusion of new people, new ideas of schooling and other efforts. We heartily endorse the concept.

There is the problem of the single young man and young woman who come to this country and find that there is really no housing built to serve their needs. It should be possible to conceive of housing programs *not* for individual young men and women but for two or three — living room, bedroom, etc. — preferably in a unit in which there is a number of these kinds of apartments because these people will want to live together. What are their needs: housing at a price they can pay and equally important, a social life because many of them, whether they express it publicly or not, want to find a mate. These are the most mobile of our olim. We must solve their problems, or they will go.

There is the housing issue but I am sure the problem is not one of housing alone. It is also a problem of the income level, the problem of finding a job with an adequate salary for the head of the household and for those members of the family who work. This is part of the problem. It is obvious that what is required here is a series of governmental actions in terms of subsidies for large families whether in terms of income tax reduction or direct subsidy, which will produce an income level which will make it possible for these people to live in some degree of comfort.

Another problem which startled us was that already at the age of forty to fifty employment becomes increasingly difficult. The problem which we see in the States at the ages of fifty five and sixty develops here at the ages of forty to fifty. At the age of fifty it is already a serious problem. I don't need to describe to you the impact on a man who comes from some other part of the world at forty three, the age of full physical vigor and in full possession of his mental faculties, when he discovers that he is unemployable. How do we change the climate in the country in this respect? Yet the effort needs to be made.

There is the issue of job training, and more particularly job re-training. People who have transferable skills, whether they are the

neurosurgeon or the laborer with a pick and axe, only have a minimum of problems. Yet unfortunately there are not too many people who meet that kind of classification. There are coming into this country a great number of people with fine minds who are either trained or trainable. People with high intellectual capacity and with fine manual skills who just have not been able to make it because nobody has found the answer to their particular problem.

This is an enormous social and enormous economic waste. Yet there is even something more serious. There is a Jewish grapevine. When the word gets out 4,000, 5,000, 6,000 miles from here that we shall get you here, but when you get here it is not certain that you are going to be able to find a job that you will like and that will keep your body and soul alive, and this kind of news travels fast, it is fatal in terms of any kind of an aliyah program.

Then there is in organizational life a kind of even-handed indifference which borders on unconscious cruelty which in my country is driving many people to look for a simpler life pattern. I would suggest to you that this is not an American phenomenon. I think it is true here too. Most of us have built the kinds of resistances and shells that we need in order to live with this kind of thing.

But for the man who comes here on aliyah, who is at the moment of his lowest resistance emotionally, to have to live through this kind of process is a dreadful experience. We should *try* to find for him a welcome hand, a kind word, a smile and an understanding of his problem no matter how petty it seems as well as a concern for solving it. It means, that somehow or other the red-tape has to be cut, and we have to do our share in cutting the red-tape.

In conclusion let me say this: those of us who have listened to the presentations and who have for some time been watching what has been going on, are convinced that the Jewish Agency does a good job. Yet we are also convinced that doing a good job is just not enough any more, and that the next ten years are going to require a much better job than most of us ever dreamed of or have thought possible. I am certain that we shall meet the challenge.

## **Gordon Brown (USA)**

### **Chairman, Committee on Fund Raising**

In his report to our Committee, Dr. Israel Goldstein noted with justifiable satisfaction that the countries of the Keren Hayesod have achieved results in 1971 which are ten times greater than their achievements in 1966, and which constitute a thirty one percent increase over 1970. This is a singular tribute to the inspired leadership of this respected Jewish world leader and his colleagues. Keren Hayesod has increased, or will increase, its campaign staff in accordance with the needs of the various countries. It has promoted a number of study missions to Israel, which reached a total of thirty in the last twelve months – and that takes quite a lot of handling. Keren Hayesod is devoting much time and energy and effort to improving methods and so strengthening these to the communities in every one of the sixty five countries it services, and to discovering ways whereby they may be of greater service to the communities in assisting with the advancement of their historical task.

A comprehensive report of the 1971 campaign in the U.S.'s leading states was given by Edward Ginsberg, the chairman of the Jewish Appeal. He delineated the techniques used in the 1971 campaign, which were successful in achieving dramatic campaign increases. He voiced the concern of the American Jewish leadership with reference to the problems of contemporary youth, and their lack of positive orientation toward Israel. He outlined the role which the UJA is playing in the attempt to resolve this serious problem. Mr. Ginsberg stressed that the achievement of unprecedented increases in the goals is predicated in the disciplined and the orderly conduct of the campaigns in all communities.

Arising from two days of intense and sometimes heated deliberations by our Committee, came draft resolutions which cover the following important areas of concern.

1) Our committee has called upon the Assembly to reaffirm the centrality and primacy of the United Jewish Appeal and Keren Hayesod campaigns and to chart a course of action to reach the ever increasing goals in order to meet the budgetary requirements of the reconstituted Jewish Agency.

2) The creation of a permanent committee on fund-raising.

3) The evaluation of campaign goals in each country and/or community which raises amounts in excess of one million dollars.

4) The utilization of lay leadership for campaigns in other countries, in addition to their own countries.

5) The establishment in Israel of an institute for training professionals and lay leadership and for the provision of refresher courses; to enlarge the participation of Keren Hayesod leadership in national United Jewish Appeal conferences and in Council assemblies.

7) To invite community leaders to participate in Keren Hayesod and UJA missions to Israel and other critical areas of the globe.

*Comment:* I wish to reinforce the point of having both professional and lay people come to Israel for training in regard to the campaigns. This will really bring a new dimension to the whole problem of creating a knowledgeable group of specialists, both laymen and professionals. The seminars that we have had here, and the reports that are coming from here, indicate to us how important this kind of a concept is.

*Comment:* Has the time not come to discover an old word in our Jewish history and throw it into the campaign? A word sometimes has a psychological connotation and brings a certain goal into the mind of a person, gives him a measurement by which to measure himself. I refer to the biblical word of Maaser meaning ten percent.

The Mormons in the United States have been doing this successfully over decades. I would very much like to see the term introduced into the campaign for 1971 and 1972.

**Nat Lipson:** I have already set aside twenty five percent of everything I have for Israel when I die, and I want everyone here to consider doing the same.

## Melvyn Dubinsky (USA)

### Chairman Budget and Finance Committee

You know that a budget of some \$500 million was set for the campaign purposes in December of last year.

In January of this year a group of people who acted as an interim budget committee came to Jerusalem and for several days went over this budget line by line.

We came out with a budget of approximately 573 million dollars.

The Budget Committee met for a second time in New York in April. They granted an interim authorization of \$120 million, so that work could be carried on in Israel for the first four months.

The sad fact is that the present Budget Committee had to adjust itself to the proposed and projected income in cash that we can expect in 1971. This meant cuts. When we adjusted the original budget in January to the full figure, even at that point there were needs that were not being met. Having to cut this budget further is really very sad, because it means that there will be more unmet needs.

The grand total of all our cuts and reductions amounted to \$184,714,000. Out of this total, health services came to \$40,000,000 — this includes allocations to hospitals for over \$17,000,000 and the building of hospitals for almost \$23,000,000. Education: pre-kindergarten: \$5,495,000 meals in schools: more than \$2,080,000 vocational training: more than \$6,050,000. We are forced to cut maintenance of children's institutions by more than \$5,700,000; Construction of institutions: \$4,800,000. In agricultural settlements, there was a cut of \$11,428,000 — that represented new water projects. Immigrant housing: construction of apartments for immigrants: almost \$110,000,000.

We made some adjustments, on a line by line basis, in two cases, within the same departments. For example — under agricultural settlements, we talked about construction in the moshavim and kibbutzim. Their allocation in the budget is more than \$11,000,000. There were people who felt there might be a possibility of reducing this item and using the funds in some other department or in that same department. But many of the new immigrants are going into the new settlements, and there are veterans returning from the front lines and they need homes. We realize also that these settlements are the first defence lines of the state of Israel, and without this defense line you don't have an Israel. Realizing all this, how can we cut the \$11,000,000 out of the budget? Many of these people have large families with five and six and seven children. When a family has had addition after addition, and they need additional room, how can we eliminate that from the budget?

There was lengthy discussion about the cut in the construction of apartments for immigrants – \$109,700,000. We all read the press. We know what is happening in the cities of Israel today. We are extremely sympathetic and understanding. Yet even after cutting the budget by \$109,000,000, our budget today is three and a half times what was actually allocated in the years 1969 and 1970. We have added considerably to this item but we cannot solve the whole problem. It just cannot be done by the Jewish Agency under our present ability to raise funds. So the cut was imperative and not much could be done about it. It was either that or cut something else.

I am only sorry that we could not have answered the problem with more resources, so that we would not have had to cut this budget. I think that we all realize that we did a good job in 1971, and probably raised the most money we ever did. But we are going to have to go out and do a better job in 1972. This was the general reaction. It is my reaction, and I only hope and pray that it is your reaction.

Our original budget proposal in January 1971 was \$572,100,220. Our recommended reductions totalled \$184,714,285, which means a budget of \$387,415,935. Income by the United Israel Appeal was \$210,000,000; Income by the Keren Hayesod \$70,895,715; income on account of Youth Aliyah: \$2,857,143; income on account of immigration; \$340,000. Heirless property: \$285,714; debt collection and sundries: \$3,125,224; Israel Education Fund: \$5,000,000 – for a total of \$292,803,796. To that we are adding loans and borrowings to the amount of \$94,612,139, which brings it to \$387,415,935.

The allocations to the departments are as follows: immigration and absorption – \$35,902,461; social welfare services – \$36,744,285; education – \$37,630,771; institutions of higher learning – \$82,553,519; youth care and training – \$11,892,687; agricultural settlement – \$30,931,428; immigrant housing – \$83,178,572; general administration, \$2,721,914; and other items – \$33,168,912. This again totals our proposed budget of \$387,415,935.

*Comment:* When we go back to our countries we should put the position in front of our contributors so that we can make every effort in the remaining five or six months of this year to raise additional money. Perhaps then we shall not have to make all the cuts which we have had to introduce.

*Reply:* What you have expressed is incorporated in the motions that will be read for your approval and action.

The budget is unanimously approved by the Assembly.

**Melvyn Dubinsky:** The cash that we have allocated in this budget represents the actual sums that we anticipate in the year 1971. It is dangerous to make a prophecy in June 1971 for the year that ends on December 31st. We believe, however, that in the United States we shall raise between \$265 million and \$275 million in pledges. Many of the pledges are not paid until the following year, so that we have to work on a cash basis.

The Keren Hayesod has indicated that its pledges will probably amount to \$100 million. It has the same problem that we have in America – not all the pledges are paid within the same year. Therefore, we can only prepare a budget based upon the cash that we have received.

It should also be recalled that in the United States, we reduce the gross amount raised by the United Jewish Appeal by some \$35 million in order to take care of the budgetary requirements of the Joint Distribution Committee.

The amount, \$94,612,000, that represents loans, is going to have to be made available to the Jewish Agency in order for it to meet the budget that has just been passed on. The Board of Directors and the Finance Committee will act on this in the months to come.

There have been some discussions that have taken place about the possibility of the Jewish Agency borrowing this money with a guarantee from the Government of Israel, whereby the Government would not only be the guarantor but would also pay the interest. These discussions have not been concluded.

The budget which has just been approved included receipts and expenditures in respect of the period which commenced on April 1, 1971, up to the date of this meeting. The Planning Committee has requested the Jewish Agency Executive to administer, as of April 1 to this date, the activities and operations of the Departments which now become the business of the reconstituted Jewish Agency. Accordingly, the approval of the budget for the current fiscal year April 1, 1971, to March 31, 1972, serves as ratification of the expenditures of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in respect of the operations of the reconstituted Jewish Agency for the period April 1, 1971 up to the date of this meeting, as though they had been conducted by the reconstituted Jewish Agency.

Between meetings of the Assembly, the Board of Governors has, under the terms of this Agreement, wide authority to deal with the budget in the light of events as they occur. The Board of Governors and the Executive will administer the budget which was adopted by the Assembly in accordance with the powers vested in them, respectively.

A statement of assets and liabilities of the Jewish Agency, as of March 31, 1971, was reviewed by the Committee. A detailed study of the assets of the Jewish Agency is being prepared by a special com-

mittee designated by the Board of Governors for this purpose. The report of this Committee will be submitted to the Board of Governors as soon as it is ready.

Any indebtedness or other obligations and commitments of the Jewish Agency for Israel anywhere in the world which are outstanding as of this date, continue to be binding, in accordance with their respective terms, upon the Jewish Agency for Israel as now reconstituted. It is recognized that these evidences of indebtedness, obligations and commitments were heretofore issued as a result of the activities conducted by the Jewish Agency for Israel in the past in connection with the relief, rehabilitation, resettlement, welfare and education of the victims of discrimination or persecutions, or persons in threat of discrimination or persecution, and other needy persons.

Under the terms of this Agreement, the Board of Governors has full authority to deal with this matter and may delegate such authority, as it sees fit, to the Executive.

This should be reported for the record.

**Louis A. Pincus:** We started the year 1971 with a budget of needs. By the time we came to this Assembly, it became clear that the needs remain, indeed in many senses they have been intensified, particularly in regard to what we call the cultural gap. Costs have gone up, the purchasing power of the dollar has gone down, so that in absolute terms, the needs in figures have gone up.

It is very relevant that when you go back to your own countries you tell them about not only the needs of tomorrow in Israel or of today, but also that however large the back-log was in previous years since cash has not reached at the level which we had hoped it would reach, we have increased that back-log. Unless you are going to do that, this will be just an exercise in bookkeeping and nothing else beyond that.

As I gather the spirit of this Assembly it is not your purpose to sit here and just see whether the bookkeeping, the additions or the amount of electricity used are all in order.

After you are satisfied as to the authenticity of the needs and the reasonable efficiency of the operation, we have to go back in the middle of 1971 and say that what we have done to date is not going to meet the needs as they will exist by the end of the budgetary year. Each community will be expected, within its powers, to try to devise ways and means of increasing the amount of cash that we are to get.

As far as borrowing is concerned, there is no unlimited right or power to increase the debt. It is not because we cannot borrow – the credit of the Jewish Agency was strong, and now it will be even stronger. Yet debt servicing could reduce us to a powerless instrument over any period of years. While we can renew debts, interest, as it falls due, has to be paid and that comes only out of current income.

Whether we borrow and how we borrow, is not a matter for the Assembly. These are tricky financial operations with banks and other institutions but I must add my definite conviction that there is no point in borrowing from the government of Israel which it in itself by the end of this year will be owing three and a half billion dollars in foreign currency.

*Question:* Can we know what the debt is now?

*Answer:* The Jewish Agency debt is about \$235 million; and the United Israel Appeal in New York owes approximately \$90 million. Together this amounts to about \$325 million.



## Judge Israel Maisels (So. Africa)

### Chairman: Resolutions Committee

We have been most concerned to insure that the Agency did not impinge on areas which were not rightly its own, and that we recognized to the fullest extent the distinction, and indeed the dichotomy, between the functions of the Government of Israel and the World Zionist Organization, and of the Jewish Agency, as now reconstituted. In addition there were also additional considerations that had to be taken into account for final wording of the resolution. Having heard the reports of the Committees it must be appreciated more than ever, that the resolutions now to be submitted, reflect only in a most distilled, and possibly too concise form, the effects of the decisions and the workings of the Committees.

The general resolution will embody, within it, some of the resolutions passed by the respective Committees. In editing the draft resolutions submitted by the various Committees, the Resolutions Committee has endeavored to keep in mind the following requirements:

Firstly, the need for brevity. With so many resolutions to be presented, we have therefore summarized wherever possible.

Secondly, the need to omit platitudes. Fortunately, the resolutions were singularly free of them.

Thirdly, the avoidance of plaudits for each department and service. The praise extends generally to the work of the Agency and is contained in the general resolution.

Fourthly, limitation of the resolutions to the responsibilities of the Agency. We could not undertake to instruct the Government or other bodies.

Fifthly, we appreciate that the cold wording of the resolutions cannot at all adequately reflect the depth and warmth of the discussions and recommendations of each Committee.

## RESOLUTIONS

### Immigration and Absorption:

1. With due regard for the unpredictability of the volume and sources of immigration, because of the changing situation in the countries of origin and other factors, we recommend that wherever possible, long-range preparation be made in Israel and abroad, to facilitate the immigration and absorption of potential immigrants by programs in language instruction and other elements.

2. We take note of the enormously complex and difficult absorption requirements in Israel because of the great difference among the immigrants in various parts of the world, the extraordinary needs of new immigrants, as well as the back-log of requirements of previous immigrants.

3. To speed absorption and social and economic independence, there is need for more absorption centers and hostels, increased flexibility and diversification of services within these installations, and accelerated deployment of personnel familiar with the background and language of people in such centers. To assure the continued progress of the absorption process, we also recommend intensification of a program already under way for continuing contact with immigrants after their departure from absorption centers.

4. We take special note of the large number of people who present particular absorption problems, requiring extensive care; particularly the elderly, for whom unique programs are required, including re-training for employment; and young single people, whose main problems are housing and social integration.

*Resolutions unanimously adopted.*

## Development Towns

1. We present the Beit Shean project to develop a model program for that development town and region, both to help overcome their problems and meet their needs, and as a step in a basic program of the Jewish Agency, to do all in its power to help bring the development towns generally to social and economic liability, in fullest cooperation with other resources which carry essential responsibilities to achieve these purposes.

2. We recommend that the Jewish Agency extends its activity, as reflected in the Beit Shemesh and Netivot demonstration projects, to involve local citizens in community efforts to expand and raise the level of services in their communities.

*Resolutions unanimously adopted.*

## **Agricultural settlements**

1. The Assembly extends its warmest greetings to the border settlements which continue their vital productive work in the cultivation of the land, while guarding the security of Israel.

2. We understand the importance of accelerating the economic and social consolidation of the agricultural settlements, for the benefit of the settlers and the nation's economy.

3. In view of the promising beginnings made by Israel in taking advantage of its special capacity to market fresh agricultural products in Europe, the production of these export products by the agricultural settlements should be increased. We recommend that the Jewish Agency give special attention to speeding this development.

4. In order for the hillside settlements to achieve economic viability and consolidation, we recommend that they undertake especially increased production of poultry and dairy food, as approved by the Government of Israel, and to do so as quickly as possible, in order to take advantage of present market demands and world conditions.

5. We further recommend that the Executive instructs the Agricultural Settlement Department to develop a plan for the introduction of additional appropriate industries into the settlements and rural areas. This plan should aid in the absorption of new immigrants, in the distribution of the population, in increasing the economic viability of settlements in rural areas and in providing adequate opportunity to the sons and daughters of agricultural settlers, including returning veterans.

*Resolutions unanimously adopted.*

## Youth Care and Training

1. We recommend the Agency's re-examination of the programs, services and costs of the Youth Aliyah Department, necessitated by the changes in the character and increased volume of immigration of youth to Israel, and the changing problems and increasing needs of youth already in Israel.

2. We urge that the Agency give special attention to help in coordinating the variety of services to youth.

3. The Jewish Agency has a special responsibility for dealing with the problems of culturally and socially deprived youth, particularly those who have not finished elementary school. Their dropping out of education creates lifelong barriers to the ability of these youth to support themselves and to make contributions to the country. Of special importance in this responsibility is the expansion of Youth Aliyah's Day Care Program in areas of cultural and social deprivation, both rural and urban. Therefore, we urge the Executive to make every effort to add at least ten such centers.

4. Many thousands of socially and culturally deprived Israeli children require Youth Aliyah services. We recommend that every effort be made to meet their needs.

5. The building of thirty five additional dormitories and renovation of existing facilities, to bring them up to minimum standards, is a pressing need.

6. We ask the executive to re-examine the fees structure of rental and other payments for the care of Youth Aliyah in residential institutions and kibbutzim, to help assure adequate operation.

*Resolutions unanimously adopted.*

## Higher Education

1. The Assembly is gratified with the growing cooperation among the institutions of higher learning and the progress towards increased planning and coordination through the Council on Higher Education of the State of Israel.

2. We call attention especially to the following specific problem areas: a) Increased special pre-University education and related programs, to make possible greater qualification and enrollment of students from Jewish communities of African and Asian origin, in institutions of higher learning. Among these programs, the successful efforts of the universities and the Israel Defence Forces, in giving pre-academic training, should be intensified. b) The shortage of qualified teachers for secondary and post-secondary institutions, especially in mathematics, the natural sciences and technical subjects. This will require scholarships and other types of support to strengthen the University training programs for this purpose. c) Community colleges, technological institutes and other post-secondary programs are an indispensable extension of Israel's higher education system, providing greater flexibility and diversity, and helping to meet the specific needs of the expanding Israeli economy. d) Career counselling programs should be intensified at secondary, post-secondary levels, as well as in the armed forces, taking into consideration the primary prospects and needs, as well as the ability and aspirations of the students. e) We recognize the value to Israel of the enrollment of students from overseas in Israel's universities as well as the value to the countries from which they come. Aid to such students should be related to their financial ability to meet the full costs of their education and maintenance, and to the ability of their communities to meet those costs. f) We recognize the special problems of financing research in the light of decreased international participation in such financing, and recommend particular attention to this problem.

*Resolutions unanimously adopted.*

## Education

With recognition that education is a major instrument in attaining the skills required for self-sufficiency in a modern technological world, and the means of bringing together people of divergent cultural backgrounds with great praise for the tremendous achievements of the past, but with full cognizance of the needs of the future, we find the major educational needs of concern to the Jewish Agency to be:

1. The expansion of free kindergarten facilities and programs to provide head-starts for the adjustment of children at an early age, particularly from disadvantaged backgrounds, to the cultural life of Israel.

2. The increase in scholarships for secondary education and stipends for boarding schools to meet the special needs to those unable to pay and to encourage children and students from culturally disadvantaged families to continue their formal education.

3. Expansion of the establishment of community and youth centers for study extension; for educational enrichment programs for students and older persons seeking educational advancement; recreational activities and integration of youth and other family members of all age levels and from different backgrounds.

4. Intensification and enlargement of the activities of the Israel Education Fund, with due recognition of its past accomplishments, to provide the many facilities still required for formal and informal education, cultural and recreational activities, including pre-kindergarten, special vocational schools, libraries, community colleges and centers.

5. Furthering additional vocational, agricultural and nautical training opportunities to provide careers to many persons and to help meet the nation's manpower needs. This should be initiated with guidance at the pre-high school level.

6. Coordinating the activities of all the organizations, in a total educational effort.

*Resolutions unanimously adopted.*

## Social Welfare

1. In spite of substantial rises in the level of welfare grants, additional funds are required to assure that thousands of deprived families and individuals will not live below the minimum, decent subsistence level.

2. The Jewish Agency should join with other agencies, voluntary and public, in a cooperative and coordinated expansion of its educational, recreational and work projects for youth below the age of army service, in order to provide constructive opportunities for these youth today, and prepare them for the future.

3. Despite the great number of graduates of Israel's professional schools, there is still a serious shortage of qualified trained personnel in social services and related fields. The Jewish Agency should share in stimulating, and making possible, additional retraining programs for new immigrants, and recruitment from abroad, to help meet these needs.

4. Social and health problems, complex and inter-related, are provided by a great number of agencies, public and private, to assure the most effective use of these resources. We urge the Jewish Agency to help strengthen coordination and planning on both local and national levels.

5. The problems of Israel's growing aged population requires special attention, in order to provide the necessary additional facilities, new and devised programs and increased support. This is one of the areas in which the reconstitution of the Jewish Agency can obtain early benefits, by taking advantage of the experience of other countries, where innovative programs have been developed to serve the aging.

*Resolutions unanimously adopted.*

## Health

1. With shortages of man-power central to the problem of providing adequate health services, the Jewish Agency should examine the practical opportunities for the Agency to help overcome these shortages, particularly for nurses and other para-medical personnel; by financial grants to programs of these purposes; by initiating appropriate training programs in youth aliyah schools, and by other means.

2. The Agency should encourage a thorough study by the appropriate bodies, of possible means to reduce the need for construction of hospital beds of all types, in view of the great expense of such construction. We recommend for the inclusion in such a study of the several elements brought to the Assembly by the Health Committee, including multiple uses of facilities, extension of non-institutional community services, specialized care for the chronically ill and other possibilities for the same purpose.

3. The Agency should encourage and assist in the expansion of mental health resources and upgrading the quality of physical facilities.

*Resolutions unanimously adopted.*

## Housing

The need for additional housing for new immigrants, young couples and for large families, is of the utmost urgency. Equally pressing is the need to rehabilitate and rebuild the slum-housing and areas where immigrants who came many years ago still live. The time available to this Assembly was too short for the Housing Committee to bring to the Assembly specific recommendations on how further to strengthen the vast and complex programs to solve these problems. Therefore, we support the earnest recommendation of the Committee, that there be established immediately a Standing Committee of the Jewish Agency, which will study in depth the housing situation in Israel, utilizing the resources from Israel and overseas, to define the problems, to draw up recommendations for implementation by the Jewish Agency, especially in the area of finance, or for referral to the Ministry of Housing or other appropriate agencies.

*Comment:* The budget for the fiscal year 1971-72 makes no provision for housing to alleviate the terribly acute problem of the needy in Israel's big cities. The Committee dealt with the problem but it did not find it possible, and it did not think that it was within its competence, to decide on any tangible allocation of funds to meet this problem. I feel that at least an appeal should go on record at this plenum to the Board of Governors, to find the ways and means, or at least some funds within this fiscal year, to help solve a great human need and a problem that may well engender growing social discontent.

*Reply:* Israel Bonds plays a roll, and I am sure that this area will not be neglected.

*Resolution unanimously adopted.*

## Budget

The Committee on Budget and Finance recommends that the Assembly approve the amended budget in the amount of \$387,415,935 for the fiscal year April 1, 1971, to March 31, 1972, as submitted by the Treasurer of the Agency, and that the Board of Governors be authorized to make some changes in the budget during the course of the fiscal year, as it seems necessary.

2. Cognizant of the fact that the approved budget involves a budgetary deficit, the Committee on Budget and Finance recommends that the Board of Governors be empowered to take such action which, in its opinion, will be conducive in minimizing the deficit.

3. The Committee on Budget and Finance recommends that the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency appoint a standing committee on budget and finance, consisting of members of the Board of Governors as well as members of the Assembly, who are not members of the Board of Governors.

4. The Committee recommends that this proposed standing committee on budget and finance conduct its proceedings in such a way that it will be in a position, well in advance of the meeting of the next Assembly, to have at its disposal, and to make available to the members of the Assembly, all such information that may be necessary for the construction of the budget for the ensuing fiscal year.

5. The Committee on Budget and Finance desires to point out to the Assembly its awareness of the fact that in approving expenditures of \$387,415,935, it has not provided for all the needs which were covered in the proposed budget. The Committee was compelled to eliminate a number of important vital items. The Committee is concerned that insufficient funds are available to satisfy all the essential needs which come within the purview of the activity of the Jewish Agency, and desires that this concern be made a part of the record.

*Question:* Can we say publicly, and see to it that everybody who contributed to the fund raising institutions, from the highest to the lowest level, will get the following information; that we were forced to cut our budget by approximately one third; that in addition to that, we raised only one-half of the original budget which means that we have to provide loans for twenty two to twenty three percent cash income of the reduced budget; can we also show in visible form what the original budget was, what was cut from it and what would have to be cut in addition if we did not take that easy remedy of borrowing \$98 million?

*Answer:* This information will go back to each country. It will be up to you in your country to see to it that this information be circularized so that you can best make up the deficit.

*Comment:* It would appear that the greatest problem is the fact that pledges are not paid during the year in which they are made. If we could get the people making the pledges to pay them now, and not attempt to have a further campaign at this stage which will only affect next years Campaign and really cause trouble, then we might be able to do without borrowing. In America alone there must be \$100 million worth of pledges unpaid. In proportion, that applies to the United Kingdom and to every other country. If we leave here determined to see that that money is paid this year, and not next year, perhaps we might not have to borrow the \$98 million.

*Resolutions unimously adopted.*



## **Marginal Youth**

The deep concern of the Jewish Agency for the problems and needs of Israel's marginal youth; this youth's economic, social, cultural, educational and vocational problems, has been prominent in the discussions of virtually every committee of this Assembly. We recognize that various official bodies and institutions, such as government ministries, municipalities and welfare agencies have extended many programs to try to cope with these needs.

We understand, too, the importance of the efforts undertaken by a number of voluntary organizations. As the Assembly of the Jewish Agency, we take special note of the responsibilities which the Agency carries to help overcome these problems, and to do all in its power to help achieve the most effective programs that can be developed.

We recommend, therefore, that the Agency extend its service, especially by leadership and coordination of the efforts of voluntary organizations and institutions, to help bring about more systematic planning in order to achieve the maximum mobilization and the utmost success of the voluntary programs for these purposes.

*Resolution unanimously adopted.*

## Fund Raising

Viewing with deep concern that in the fifth year after the Six Day War, the people of Israel have not yet achieved peace with their neighbors; noting with alarm the ongoing and mounting social welfare needs of Israel; encouraged by the reality of new and long-hoped-for beginnings of immigration from the Soviet Union to Israel's shores; taking cognizance that achievements in the 1971 campaigns obtained new heights in many countries; while at the same time noting with regret that overall global targets were not met by world Jewry, the members of this Assembly are resolved that even greater tangible results must be forthcoming from campaigns in 1972.

We therefore,

1. Reaffirm the centrality and primacy of the UJA, Keren Hayesod and UIA, on behalf of Israel's human needs.

2. Call upon the Jewish communities of the world to conduct campaigns on behalf of the UJA, Keren Hayesod, UIA and all other Israeli-based institutions with the discipline and cooperation required to assure their primacy.

3. Urge that the goals, timing, and procedures of all campaigns be properly cleared and coordinated through the office of the appropriate central fund-raising agencies for this purpose.

4. To help assure the required continuing maximum income for the Jewish Agency in the years ahead, we recommend that a Permanent Committee on Fund-raising, responsible to the Executive, be established by the Jewish Agency; having due regard for the autonomy and special responsibility of the Keren Hayesod and the UJA, and taking due account of the differences among the various countries, to concern itself with the following:

a. raising of sights and campaign goals in each country, commensurate with its fund-raising possibilities;

b. the utilization of lay leaders for campaigns other than in their countries of residence as speakers and/or solicitors, wherever deemed feasible;

c. development of women's young leadership divisions wherever feasible;

d. the training of professional staffs for campaigns through an institute in Israel responsible to and administered by the Executive and for training of professional staff in the United States through the UJA and the Council of Jewish Federations. This practice should also become mutual through seminars in the United States and elsewhere for the staff of other central Israeli fund-raising agencies, as well as of the UJA and Keren Hayesod;

e. strengthening lay leadership through the participation of Keren Hayesod leaders in UJA National Conferences and the CJF assembly and of UJA leaders in selected Keren Hayesod meetings, as well as by lay leaders of the central Israeli fund raising agencies and through institutes and seminars;

f. involvement of community leaders of various countries and Keren Hayesod and UJA missions in Israel and elsewhere.

*Comment:* Do I understand that the goals, timing and procedures of campaigns of other independent organizations, raising funds for Israel, must be cleared? If we talk about goals and procedures, we remove the independent action of institutions or organizations that have been in operation for a long time and have enormous commitments of their own in Israel. I would question that, and ask that those words be deleted.

*Comment:* The resolution as worded would be much more acceptable if the word “goals” were removed and the word “conduct” was substituted, with the word “procedure”.

In addition to saying that the timing of campaigns should be properly cleared and coordinated, the Resolution also says that this be done “through the offices of the appropriate central fund-raising agencies for this purpose”. It does not say that an appropriate central agency should be appointed, but rather it refers to such an agency although it already was in existence. We do not know what is meant by an “appropriate central fund-raising agency”, nor is the purpose stated.

It would be much more preferable to refer the responsibility of clearing the timing of campaigns to a control committee appointed by the Agency. The functions of such control were previously exercised by the Jewish Agency/American Section in the United States. If there is to be a new agency, it should be appointed by the reconstituted Jewish Agency, giving it jurisdiction to control matters affecting the timing and conduct of other campaigns.

*Comment:* I also have objection to this word, particularly in connection with the institutions of higher learning about which we adopted a resolution. There are now 44,000 students in the institutions of higher learning as against 2,000 in 1950 – the student body has increased more than twenty-fold, while the population of the country has increased four-fold; demand for space and for students is continuing.

I suggest that this word be left to the Executive Committee.

**Louis A. Pincus:** I want to remind this Assembly that it sits as the Assembly of the Jewish Agency, and not as a federation of representatives of various bodies no matter how worthy those bodies may be.

Let us assume that there is an organization whose program required that it should raise X million dollars. Yet in all its publicity it says that it is going to save all the refugees and it has got to have \$100 million, or in fact twenty times X. That is a statement of a goal, which in its very definition denies the commonly accepted primacy of either the UJA or the Keren Hayesod, depending on the country.

This is to be a year in which we are trying to go way above what we did in 1971. Despite all that has been said about 1971, it was a better year than 1967. Now we are saying that we should do something extraordinary – in a dimension that we have not contemplated yet. We cannot say that and also believe that business must continue as usual.

1971 was a year in which a total ban was put on the raising of money for institutions of higher education. Accordingly, certain compensations, over and above those that appear in the budget had to be made.

If there is no total ban this year, a new situation arises. How do they conduct their campaigns? When do they conduct them? How do they present them? No case can be presented for any institution without involvement in its goals.

In the light of the fact that the bulk of the running budget of the institutions of higher education has to come out of the money that we raise in the general campaign and in the interest of the institutions themselves, there must be some kind of order, agreement and understanding. We must not put the donor into the position of saying that in the light of what he is told he will give the money but that under these circumstances could not contribute to the central campaign. Our object is to be most effective in the central fund-raising campaigns, and this is in the long run for the benefit of every institution functioning in this country, whether or not it enjoys direct allocations from our budget.

If it was intended to put out of business the various institutions so that we should have a monopoly – I would not have to wait for anybody from the floor to object to it, and I would object to it myself. I happen to believe as a philosophy, and sometimes I quarrel even with my friends who are campaigners of other countries, that we can object to the procedures of some organizations, we can object to the way that they are timed, or that they interfere with the campaign that is going on, but there is no campaign that I know of that I would like to see go out of existence.

In the long run if properly controlled and coordinated both in techniques and in aims – the sum total will be the strengthening of Jewish life, and more money for Israel in the overall picture.

But that does not mean a license for everybody to go head-long to ask for maximums; to present a picture which could confuse a potential contributor as to the primacy either of the Keren Hayesod or the JPA or the UJA or whatever else it is called in any particular country.

This resolution is essential, having regard to the fact that we shall have to go into even a higher level of campaigning. We cannot do that with exactly the same ease with which we have conducted overall coordination so far. My plea therefore is that you accept this resolution, having full regard to the fact that the intention is to raise the maximum amount for Israel and give viability to the various institutions to which reference has been made.

*Comment:* If I understand the English text correctly, the word “goals” does not mean how much money you intend to raise but rather it refers to slogans to be employed. I understand that the financial goal signifies a sum that you have to reach in order to attain whatever you want to attain. Every institution asks for contributions for its task and for what it has to accomplish. There is absolutely no objection that there should be coordination and agreement, but we should not add concepts that were not discussed.

*Comment:* The word “goal” is an essential definition which has to be used in this particular resolution.

The document received from the Committee says that it “urges that all campaign goals and timing be properly calendarized”. We altered the word “calendarized” because we did not think it was proper form. But the word “all campaign goals” was part and parcel of the resolution submitted to the Resolutions Committee. Speaking as a South African fund-raiser, this is exactly what we want.

*Comment:* We all agree with the centrality of fund-raising of the United Jewish Appeal and of all the other institutions which have been mentioned. We do believe, however, that great respect is due to the efforts of other Jewish and Zionist organizations who have helped to build the various segments of work in this country. They were the ones who determined their goals and nobody else did.

Therefore, for us now to decide that we are the ones who will check their goals and that we, and not they, will decide whether those goals are good for Israel, is not a situation which is really feasible. We have to have proper timing and we should have control over the propriety of the campaigns so programs not be announced which are not realistic.

Therefore, the conduct of the campaigns and their timing should be in our province, but we should not assign to ourselves the impossible task of controlling the goals of other organizations.

*Comment:* The word “goal” was not used, but the words “amount of money” were used.

Many Americans who are involved in fund-raising thought that there should again be a moratorium on all separate campaigns. Many people

think it is a mistake to lift the moratorium, because if we go to the American Jewish community and talk about emergency needs and primacy, then we have to mean it. In all fairness to the campaigners what we did this year was right – it set the climate. We told the American community that it was so serious that there were going to be no splinter campaigns to interfere with the all out effort to raise money for Israel.

We are not opposed to institutions. We are all here for one purpose – to help Israel and to raise the maximum amount of money.

It is our judgment that the moratorium should be lifted, but with self-imposed discipline. I have just read in the papers about a campaign in the United States for fifty million dollars by one organization. If they come into a community that has a goal of two or four million dollars for the UJA, and ask for ten million, where is the primacy? If this institution can say that they are going to run a campaign for ten million, and the UJA allocated goal is four million, then we have lost credibility.

Who is it that helps the institutions raise money? By and large, it is the same people who help raise the money for the UJA and who help sell the Bonds. All that we are saying is that there ought to be discipline.

What is wrong with coordination? We are talking about a coordinated cohesive effort of putting all our energy where it will do the most good.

When there is control of a campaign as to the amount from a community, as to when it is to be conducted, as to the nature of the publicity and as to the manner of the campaign, then we have to have discipline, and only then can we get the maximum results.

*Comment:* I would like to propose that this particular resolution be referred back to the Resolutions Committee, so that the two conflicting viewpoints can be reconciled, and there can be unanimity on this particular resolution.

*Comment:* I want to elucidate my position. The word “procedure” is rendered better in the Hebrew version by the word “conduct.”

What is meant by an appropriate central fund-raising agency? I suggest that this be made definite by establishing a control committee to be appointed by the Jewish Agency.

The word “goals” is something that may be taken into account in clearing time and procedures, but is also ambiguous in this context because it seems to invest beyond the legitimate power in this newly to-be-designated committee.

*Comment:* What the resolution does not make clear is which is the body that would be making the decisions in relation to the campaigns.

What we mean is that such a body should be set up in the country if it does not exist, or else that a body that exists should be so nominated if that body is satisfactory.

This complex of problems should be referred to the Executive for it to handle with full authority.

When, at the meeting of the Board of Governors or the Executive, we come to the conclusion that there must be a commentary to the words themselves, so as to remove any ambiguity – that could be left to either of those two reasonably representative bodies.

They lost considerably as a result and we are now in effect putting them back to where they were before, and we are not even giving them an opportunity to make up what they lost.

This will have to be settled on a local level, community by community. Where there is active leadership helping to raise money for the UJA, that leadership should be given consideration with respect to its institutions. Where the leadership is not active, and where the leadership does not participate in the overall campaign, there is going to be trouble anyway.

*Resolutions unanimously adopted.*

**Michael M. Sacher**

**Chairman, JPA (Great Britain)**

I am very pleased to perform the function which has been assigned to me. The recommendations of this committee come to you unanimously. This is not a pro-forma series of recommendations, but rather it springs from a basic recognition of the pattern on which the Assembly is based, plus the credentials of those whose names are being submitted to you.

For the office of Chairman of the Assembly, the Nominations Committee brings you the unanimous recommendation of a man without whom this new structure would never have been assumed bone and flesh, Louis A. Pincus.

For Treasurer we propose the experienced Treasurer of the Jewish Agency, Leon Dulzin.

Members of the Board of Governors: Louis A. Pincus, Mordechai Bar-On, Ezra Shapiro, A.L. Dulzin, Dr. Ra'anah Weitz, Mrs. Raya Jaglom, Andre Narboni, Haim Finkielsteyn, Rabbi Mordechai Kirshblum, Joseph Klarman, Moshe Krone, Rabbi Israel Miller, Avraham Schenker, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson, Dr. Ben Halpern, Dr. Arthur Hertzberg, Mr. Sam Rothberg, Rabbi Leon Feuer, Dr. Emanuel Rackman. These are the members of the Assembly who are the designees of the World Zionist Organization.

Those who are the designees of organizations other than the World Zionist Organization: Mr. Edward Ginsberg, Mr. Max Fisher, Mr. Paul Zuckerman, Mr. Melvyn Dubinsky, Mr. Jack Weiler, Mr. Victor Carter, Mr. Robert Russell, Mr. Albert Adelman, Mr. Morris Levinson, Mr. Dewey Stone, Mr. Louis Stern, Mr. Joseph Meyerhoff, all of the United States. From other countries: Mr. Michael Sacher of Great Britain, Mr. Hyam Morrison of Great Britain, Mr. Michel Topiol of France, Dr. Tibor Rosenbaum of Switzerland, Judge Israel Maisels of South Africa, Mr. Leon Pfeffer of Brazil, Mr. Leon Mirelman of Argentina, and Mr. Gordon Brown of Canada.

**Max M. Fisher (USA)**

**Chairman, Board of Governors**

The nominating committee of the Board of Governors nominated the following for the Executive of the Jewish Agency, and these candidates were elected. The names are: Mr. Louis A. Pincus, Chairman; Mr. Leon Dulzin, Treasurer; Rabbi M. Kirshblum, Associate Head of the Department of Absorption and Immigration; Mr. J. Klarman, Head of Youth Care and Training; Ra'anan Weitz, Head of the Department of Agricultural Settlement; Melvyn Dubinsky of the United States; Max M. Fisher; Edward Ginsberg, General Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal; Michael M. Sacher of Great Britain; and Ezra Shapiro, Chairman of the Keren Hayesod.

We also elected, for a period of one year, as Associate Members of the Executive, Gottlieb Hammer, Executive Vice-Chairman of the United Israel Appeal and Philip Bernstein, Executive Vice-Chairman of the Council of Jewish Welfare Federations.

For Director General, who will also serve as Secretary we elected Moshe Rivlin. As Comptroller, we elected, subject to the confirmation of the Assembly, Ben-Zion Meiri.

Mr. Meiri's appointment was unanimously approved.

## Tribute to Dr. Israel Goldstein on his Seventy Fifth Birthday

**Samuel Rothberg:** The Hebrew University, in recognition of the more than fifty years of service, that Dr. Goldstein has rendered to the Jewish Communities, is awarding him an honorary doctorate. The award will be made on July 5.

**Louis A. Pincus:** There is no phase, either in Jewish life as a whole, or in American Jewish life, or in American Zionist life, or in Israeli life, that is untouched in one aspect or another by Dr. Goldstein's long and meritorious career.

I want to refer to just two aspects of that period. He was an American Zionist leader in those grim and critical days prior to the United Nations resolution, recognizing the right of the Jews to have their own state. He was among that band of American Zionist leaders which demanded nerves, thinking, balance, and no panic. All those qualities belong to Dr. Goldstein.

Dr. Goldstein was the treasurer of the Jewish Agency in 1949. That was a period in which hundreds of thousands of Jews poured into the country and he saw to it that money would not be an obstacle in assisting Jews who have to, or want to come to this country. He was true to the principle before the creation of the state, and he remained true to it after the creation of the state. His principle was that no Jew will be kept out for lack of money, even if we shall have to pledge generations to come in order to see that what has to be done today, will be done today.

My close contact with him began when I joined the Executive. I was impressed by his meticulous care for details, by his devotion to duty, over and above the call of that duty. No matter was ever too small for him to attend to. He was concerned with the end result, and therefore the smallest detail could engage his full attention. He has been animated throughout by an overwhelming passion for the cause of rebuilding Israel.

During 1966, the whole of the Keren Hayesod income was fifteen million dollars – I think that was pledges and not cash. Today, in 1971, we are talking about \$120 million in cash. That has not just been done by an organization running on even keel. It means an ability to adapt oneself to a world that has changed completely between 1967 and today. It required tact, understanding, guiding, not directing. Dr. Goldstein showed himself able to adjust to the changing circumstances, which meant not only changes in degree, but changes in quality beyond all recognition.

But I want to talk about his qualities as a human being; his qualities of innate dignity, arousing respect from others because he always gave

respect to others; his transparent and natural consideration for what the other man felt, for what the other man thought. His seeking to see the better side of the other man's character and behavior has stood him in good stead. He would always preface his remarks by saying that if he were giving rabbinical advice he would say: lower the profile, see the other side, understand him a little better, or understand the situation a little better. Whether or not he believed that I took his advice, whether or not I showed him so, there were numerous occasions when I thought to myself that it is better to deal with this matter with a profile a little lower, than the one I had intended to use at the beginning.

Yet, this humility and respect was never an alternative for weakness. He could be obstinate and immovable when he thought there was a principle at stake; a principle of ideas of ideology or a principle that he thought must affect the real work of the Keren Hayesod. These qualities of his character never came in exchange for an ability to perceive deep principles, and then stand firmly by them.

There are many signs of a great human being. There is the way he conducts himself when he sits in the seat of power, and Dr. Goldstein has sat in many such seats. Being the head of Keren Hayesod, is not to be without power, without public acclaim or support without public respect. Yet he never indicated anything in his behavior.

The other sign is the dignity with which a human being relinquishes his position of power and the manner of that relinquishing, by insuring that no harm will be done to the institution which he serves but never ready himself to believe that he and the institution are identical, and therefore the survival of the institution is imperiled because he no longer serves there. From the time that Dr. Goldstein first told me of his final decision to relinquish his position, he concentrated his care that nothing would harm the institution.

There is another aspect of the same quality – the care with which he smoothed the path of his successor. Ezra Shapiro's enormous talents are known to the whole Jewish world. But judged by any standard, he is going to have his hands full to measure up to the standards of his predecessor.

These are the qualities by which we test a human being. It is not when the going is smooth, and not when you are all-powerful, but when you have power and respect the other man. And when you leave, you leave with dignity, ensuring that your successor will benefit from the experience of your period of office.

We shall miss Dr. Goldstein on the Executive and on the Board of Governors. We shall miss his wisdom, his innate kindness, his experience, his moral sense of right and wrong, his perception of public thinking, whether in Israel or in the Diaspora. The decision that he has taken is his decision; there has been no prompting from outside. He is not going to idle; he is not going out to pasture. It is important that the

record of his full and rich life should, in his words, be passed on to posterity and we look forward to the writings that will be the fruit of his age.

I know that he will be at our service for anything we may require. His love for his people is the overriding, dominating impetus in his life. We wish him good health and long life. We think of him with deep affection and admiration, knowing that, in a very real sense, this is not an end but a new beginning.

**Mrs. Rose Halprin (U.S.A.):** We go back as colleagues in the Zionist world for many years. Seeing the work that he did, I have learned a lot. In the measure of his devotion to each job, I learned to admire a leader and a worker, and he always was that.

On the American scene he was a distinguished Zionist, an American, and a Jew. He was president of the Zionist Organization of America; he was president of the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemet. He was chairman of the United Palestine Appeal before there was even a United Jewish Appeal. He was a co-chairman of the United Israel Appeal, before it got active.

Yet, let me hasten to add that never did Israel Goldstein accept a title without doing the work that was inherent in the position. He always paid in work for any title that he assumed.

He went far beyond Jewish interests too. I think he was one of the first American Jews active in the Negro struggle for rights. He was then a rabbi of a great congregation. The oldest Ashkenazi synagogues in New York had as its rabbi Israel Goldstein for forty two years and he Zionized that congregation.

I remember other things. Those who had a seder with him, went to an ecumenical table. There was Jew and Christian, black and white and yellow. They all rejoiced with the Jew on the Passover service, and they all stood together in the love of justice for all mankind a truly ecumenical approach.

As chairman of Keren Hayesod he went to every continent, to every Jewish community, large and small, to say what he had to say, to educate as well as get money for the job. In every city where there was a Jewish gathering – in Jerusalem, in London, in Paris – I saw this happen: Jews would come and extend their hands and say, “Dr. Goldstein, we met you here; we knew you there.”

He was not a leader who had talked to them from a platform. He had an uncanny gift of making contact with “*amcha*” and that is not always true of Zionist or any leadership. To meet the simplest Jew as man to man, to love him and have him love you, this is what I saw as a result of every trip he took.

When he came to this country as new immigrant and he built a house, he made a home for us. There was never a time when there was

not the feeling that here we were welcomed to a home and not to a house.

Those who have not had him as a guest or who were not a guest in his home, have missed something else: he can tell a joke, he can recount a story. It is perhaps one of the greatest things in Jewish life that a leader, a chairman, can also tell a story and appreciate a joke.

As co-chairman with you in the Confederation of General Zionists for twenty years, I look back on the road that has not been stormy. It has been smooth with only a few conflicts. It was his judicious temperament and slowness to anger that made it possible for the two of us to go hand in hand in peace in such a complicated task, as was ours.

I speak for the men and women who know you all over the world. We wish you well. We hope that you will find fulfillment and you will find satisfaction in the task that you set for yourself.

## Scroll of Honor

### Presented to Israel Goldstein

On reaching your seventy-fifth birthday, and in recognition of your blessed activities throughout the years as a Zionist leader and a spiritual guide, this scroll is presented to you on behalf of our colleagues in the World Zionist Organization, the Executive of the Jewish Agency in Israel, and on behalf of all those who collaborated with you in your fruitful actions in Israel and all over the world.

You have faithfully borne the burden of public life for fifty years; you have imprinted your personality on all facets of life in Israel and on communal life in the United States and all over the world.

While residing here during the last decade as World Chairman of Keren Hayesod – the United Israel Appeal – you have contributed greatly to the historic partnership between Diaspora Jewry and Israel;

As Rabbi and author, as founder of Brandeis University and as Chancellor of institutions of higher learning in Israel, you have put Jewish education in the forefront of your interests and you have received universal honor and acclaim;

You are worthy of your people and its admiration is worthy of you;

Accordingly, we congratulate you that you may be granted many more fruitful and blessed years, and that the tabernacle of peace be spread over Israel for ever.

*Louis A. Pincus*

*Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive*

*Jerusalem, the 5th of July 1971*

*The first day of the month of Tammuz 5731*

## Dr. Israel Goldstein

### World Chairman, Keren Hayesod – United Israel Appeal

I shall not pretend that I have not been deeply moved not only by the words that have been spoken but also by the caliber of the gathering in whose presence and on whose behalf this tribute has been bestowed.

The business which you and I share has been the greatest to which any Jew in our time could possibly have been wedded – the translation of the Zionist dream into a reality.

May I be personal for a few minutes. It fell to my lot to be a Zionist “Macher” at the age of twelve, when the late Gershon Agron and I organized the Hatikva club in Philadelphia for boys of our age.

In my college years, I was obliged to defend the Zionist idea in the face of classmates, who felt that it was a trifling preoccupation as compared to the great winds of radical, social reconstruction which were blowing through the world and which found their embodiment in the Communist revolution in Russia. It did not impress my antagonists that I insisted that Zionism had in it also the vision of reconstruction.

When Dr. Weizmann came to the United States in 1921, to head the first Keren Hayesod campaign of which Emanuel Neuman was the Executive Director, I threw myself into that campaign as the young Rabbi of an old congregation consisting mostly of German Jews who had misgivings about this deviation. Yet this congregation allowed itself to be educated and soon became a tower of strength to the Keren Hayesod and later to the United Jewish Appeal.

Then, as the area of my activities expanded, and I became involved in the problems of the American society and the world community, I had occasion, more than once, to feel the truth of what Brandeis once said, that a Jew who is a Zionist is a better American for it, because the espousal of an ideal lifts the human quality of a person who feels it and works for it. Brandeis could have enlarged the scope of this definition beyond the boundaries of the United States to include the full dimension of a program: “*Letaken Olam be-Malhut Shadai*”, to improve God’s world. This was total Zionism as I understood it from the Hebrew prophets who integrated nationalism and universalism, as I learned it from Hess and Herzl, A.D. Gordon and Borochof, and as I learned it from Brandeis and Weiss.

At the age of 75, one should face up to one’s past. I shall select three brief reminiscences, which seem most relevant to this broadly constituted company.

I recall gratefully my great fortune in having served for ten years as the President of the Jewish National Fund of America; in having participated in the founding of the United Jewish Appeal as representative

of the United Palestine Appeal; in having served as one of its Associate Chairmen in the dramatic year of 1948; in having proceeded immediately thereafter for a year's service in Israel as treasurer of the Jewish Agency Executive; and most of all, in having been privileged since 1960 to find fulfilment in Aliyah at the side of my valiant Zionist life-partner, and in contributing by service, through the Keren Hayesod, to the building and strengthening of Israel. It was Keren Hayesod, with which I commenced fifty years ago, and with which I conclude today.

This is luck. My luck has always exceeded my merits, including the crowning privilege of receiving this tribute at the Founding Meeting of the Assembly of the Reconstituted Jewish Agency.

I shall cherish this scroll. Perhaps scrolls should be given as a summons to careers of public service, rather than as a seal upon them. For me it is too late to be the beneficiary of my own suggestion. Yet, I shall consider it a daily reminder, not only of finished business, but also of unfinished business, that to which I am retiring, viz. a little more contemplation, a little more study, and a little more writing.



Louis A. Pincus, — Presiding

Chairman, Jewish Agency Executive

I herewith open the last session of the Founding Assembly of the reconstituted Jewish Agency.

I would like first of all to welcome the new immigrants who are present with us tonight and who are now in absorption centers. They have come from the following countries: Soviet Union, United States, Canada, the Argentine, Uruguay, Brazil, Peru, Chile, England, France, Belgium, Holland, Romania, Iran, India and the Arab countries.

I welcome them specially because they find themselves for the first time among organized world Jewry who is interested in them and worried about their problems, as indeed world Jewry worries about all the problems of the Jewish people.

I would also like to welcome the representatives of agricultural settlements throughout the country, and particularly those from the border areas. I would like to stress that a major part of the deliberations of this Assembly has been devoted to your special problems.

A few moments ago, I welcomed about 500 immigrants who arrived in Israel within the last few months, and who are now in absorption centers. They come from almost every corner of the globe, from the Soviet Union, from South America, from America, from Europe and also from the Arab lands. I bring to them a special greeting, because it is about them and perhaps less about them but about those who are to come after, that we have been concerned these last 4 days.

I want now to give the highlights of what we have discussed in this Assembly the spirit in which we discussed it, and the consequences of our discussions.

This Assembly was built upon two pillars; Aliyah is one: what we are to do about it today so that tomorrow will be a little brighter than today. The other pillar I call absorption in depth: this is not only the initial integration, such vitally important issues as housing and jobs.

When we talk about absorption in depth, it means the things that we have not achieved. And when I say "we", I mean Israel and the Jews of the world. Working for absorption in depth means that working for the day when the burning social problems of inequality gaps, social and cultural, will no longer be a phenomenon of Israel society.

This is the spirit in which the discussions took place, in the plenaries and, much more in depth, in the committees.

I wish I could give to those that did not participate, to the public at large and to you, Mme. Prime Minister, the spirit of these discussions: enthusiasm coupled with compassion and understanding, and the desire to translate this great emotional experience into practical pragmatic ways.

I take as an example the workshop on housing. It exemplifies what we are trying to do and what hopes we can have for the future, built upon these discussions. We all know the role that housing plays. We all know that it is inextricably bound to the social problems which ran like a thread through every discussion. Out of this workshop came the request, which the Assembly agreed to, that a permanent committee on housing be set up. That committee will have on it the best brains and the best pragmatists in the housing world that the Jewish communities will provide. And they made it clear that they want to make available all their experience, all their expertise to the Ministry of Housing. They know that beyond these there is a financial problem over and above the campaigns.

It is a problem related to finances, it is a problem related to investment, it is a problem related to understanding, and these gentlemen are prepared to make all this available by study, by understanding, by bringing their own experts, by exchanging ideas with the Ministry of Housing experts, so that this problem can be solved.

Take another workshop: youth care and Youth Aliyah. Youth Aliyah is not prepared to be bound any longer by the rigid frameworks within which it has achieved such marvelous results over the decades, in light of today's problems of the alienated youth, of the problems that are arising out of a youth which is more than alienated, that feels itself forgotten. Youth Aliyah has been discussing how to make available, in abundant measure its accumulated experience, its understanding of what absorption of young people means, the various techniques and institutions developed by it.

In my opening remarks I referred to the hill settlements. I remember, it was a year or maybe two years before the Six Day War, being told that perhaps this whole business of agricultural settlements is no longer a matter for the Jewish Agency, and at any rate the hill settlements are not viable and cannot be viable. Today we listen to a report from its Chairman, who admitted that he was very urban in upbringing and in outlook. But it was the hill settlements that attracted his attention and

that of his colleagues in the workshops they have come forward with suggestions, practical suggestions, partly to be carried out abroad, partly to be carried out inside Israel, so that these hill settlements, although they start with enormous economic disadvantages (their main purpose is to be found in another field), nevertheless can be made viable economically, and those people can feel the dignity of living by the sweat of their own brows and by the product of their own work.

The fourth example is education. We know that education is *the* instrument, the paramount instrument, that in the long run will bring about the real welding of one people. In the course of time, this education will have one content, but for many years it must deal with Jews that come from so many different countries.

We listen to a report on education in which the best of what could be obtained out of the experiences overseas could be applied to what we have to do here.

Above all those figures of 63% children of Oriental families in the primary schools, 26% in the secondary schools and 12% in the universities (I am talking about enrollment, not about graduates, because that situation is even worse): those figures were used to demonstrate that the problem cannot be overlooked; moreover, it is not only a problem of money.

We listened to discourse after discourse which put the whole problem in its proper perspective, starting with pre-kindergarten and dealing with illiteracy in the older generations. They are all part of the total problem. They are not to be solved by one particular instrument alone.

And then, of course, the debate on Aliyah. Not only did we talk about those that are coming in – and hopefully more and more will come from those countries in which we have no control of the situation – the Soviet Union Jews or Jews from Arab countries or the Jews from countries living under discrimination.

But for the first time, instead of issuing a generalized call for immigration, there were discussions in detail:

How do we prepare for those whom we know, judging by every geo-political and economic development, will be the Olim of tomorrow (I am not talking about those that come of free choice, their stream will continue)? How we are to prepare here in Israel and what steps we are to take to prepare them in their country of origin, so that the ultimate absorption will be easier, whether it be re-training even outside Israel, whether it be teaching them Hebrew in order to enable them to integrate more quickly, but what makes this discussion stand out is that for the first time we are not dealing with this as a static problem or under pressure; for the first time there is a request, difficult as it may be, that we begin taking steps when we have come to the conclusion that the hour is late and may be even too late – even if the community itself is not ready for the judgement that we, sitting outside, are more com-

petent to give because we see the truth much more clearly than those who are living inside.

But friends, the golden thread, as I said earlier, that runs through all the workshops, and it bears repeating again and again: the anguishing discussions in relation to the cultural gap:

If I speak with some passion on this, I am reflecting first of all the Assembly, but I am reflecting also the views and the feelings of every responsible Israeli on this subject.

We, who have proved to the world that we can defend ourselves with courage, we will prove to the world that we can create something from nothing. We cannot and dare not permit the growth of the cancer which this gap can become. If we do not take steps in time, that growth could destroy the very fabric of our social life built as it is upon the moral principles to which I referred the other evening.

It is not sufficient, in the opinion of this Assembly, to recall, as they did with the deepest admiration, what has been achieved in this direction. Great things have been achieved. Take those figures about schools to which I referred a few moments ago: look back but 10 years, and you will find today's figures encouraging, because the movement is upwards.

I want to tell you that in every field this is so. I can tell you, for example, that in the highest echelon of the army, there is a growing number of high officers coming from those deprived communities, also a transformation and a change worthy of record and worthy of praise. But that is not sufficient. Nor is it sufficient to say that history did it, that Israel did not create it. This is a society that history forced upon us when we took in everybody that had to be taken in, and nobody in this country with the slightest sense of history or responsibility is not proud of the fact that we took in and evacuated total Jewish communities from these areas. They included the sick, the uneducated, the unskilled, and in Israel they regained their hope. But it is no excuse to say that history did this to large sections of our Jewish communities.

We are determined that this tiny cloud on our horizon, growing in the future if nothing is done, shall be tackled in its entirety.

And, Mme. Prime Minister, this Assembly – and I say it measuring my words – accepted the responsibility, certainly in respect of the raising of money. There was deep discontent at the fact that the budgetary needs which we stated at the beginning of this year would not be met by the cash that will come in, despite the fact that the 1971 campaign will turn out to be better than the 1967 campaign. It still does not measure up to the needs that have grown and to the problems that have become so much more acute.

And when this Assembly accepted its responsibility, it was not content merely with passing a budgetary resolution. The feeling was that there is an obligation, a primary obligation on every one to go back to

his community and to ensure that the gap between needs and money will also grow narrower.

They also accepted another kind of responsibility: responsibility in cooperation – and it could not be any other way – to give of their best in brains and ideas, to give their service and their manpower in cooperation with the Government. Not that the dialogue should take place once a year when we meet, the Government will listen, Israelis will listen and the people from overseas will listen. But that the real dialogue will be an ongoing dialogue, that will enable the Jews of the diaspora to develop the power of their skills and techniques and knowledge and know-how to be put at the disposal of the people of Israel.

This cooperation with the Government is not meant to rely upon the dry words of the lower stages to which the speaker of our parliament mentioned in the opening session.

We could claim the right to cooperate in this way. But it shall be different, because the expression of this spirit came from every chairman of every workshop, from members of the government – ministers and high officials – who had to work with the chairmen. They displayed an interest, a willingness to listen, a willingness to make themselves heard as true, joint persons in a joint effort, with only one goal (you will notice that I refuse to use the word “partnership” any further.) And this is my hope, that, apart from money, quite apart from participating in decisions, quite apart from understanding what tremendous burden is placed in this historic moment upon the free Jews in relation to what Israel has to do for itself and for the Jews that have to come, I hope that we will grasp this opportunity, we from Israel, government, other institutions, and enable this cooperation to take a pragmatic, practical form.

I believe that it has overriding implications for the Jewish people as a whole and for the centre of this people: Israel. And therefore, in conclusion, I would say: the Assembly has started well. Tonight I can talk with greater assurance. The spirit is there. The job of the elected institutions, the Board of Governors and the executive, will be to see to it that we do not allow this spirit to weaken, and we shall do it by constant communications, by constant involvement, not only in knowledge, but in practical activity.

I think that the dream of a united Jewish people, with a flourishing Israel, despite all the problems that are around us, is a little nearer today than it was a week, a month, a year ago.

Fate has given this generation an opportunity that it has given very few generations, that directly affects our own future and our own history.

Let us grasp this fate, not in the language of the poet, that we will shatter it to bits, because the Israel we have, the achievements that we have, are too precious to even want to destroy one iota of the positive

upbuilding that we have accomplished on the basis of our own moral past. But let us try to remold it nearer to the heart's desire. That desire to remold this Israel in the spirit of our history, in the spirit of our needs, that was the spirit that animated everything that we did these last 4 days. Let it animate the work that we have to do tomorrow, as each one goes about his and her appointed tasks.

With that spirit, I have no doubt that the obstacles today which seem overwhelming, will disappear, and we will have the courage of faith and achievement to overcome the new obstacles we will encounter. That is the spirit, that is the blessing, at the close of this session, that I could bring as a message to the public of Israel, to the leaders of Israel, and to the delegates themselves.

I am sure that my confidence is well-founded and will move even to greater heights in the years to come.



## Henry Krongold

President, Federal Keren Hayesod – UIA (Australia)

On behalf of Australian Jewry, I wish to express my gratitude for the honor bestowed upon us in assigning to me the task of presenting to this historical convention, and through it to the whole of the Jewish world, the primary resolutions of the reconstituted Jewish Agency.

We are deeply conscious of the fact that here have gathered representatives of the most important Jewish institutions in the world. Indeed, a world Jewish parliament has come into being.

I have profound confidence that as a result of this historic event of founding the Assembly, and as a result of the work to follow, the great needs of Israel will be met more adequately than in the past. We all hope that our brethren from Russia and other countries, for whose signatures we have left an empty page in the agreement, will join us shortly and thus be able to become parties in our labor.

I now present the primary resolutions of this Convention:

The first Assembly of the reconstituted Jewish Agency for Israel, having convened from the 21st to 24th of June 1971 in Jerusalem, the capital of the State of Israel, and the spiritual capital of the Jewish people, terminates its sessions with an ardent message of greeting and encouragement to the peoples of Israel and to the Jews of the world.

This Assembly, consisting of the designees of the World Zionist Organization and of the organized Jewish communities in the free world, is privileged to assume the responsibilities undertaken in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement for the Reconstitution of the Jewish Agency for Israel.

It asserts the common destiny of the Jewish people and reaffirms the partnership of the Jewish people everywhere with the people of Israel, in ensuring the achievement of an Israel which will be free, secure, fully viable and open to all the Jews.

This Assembly places on record its admiration of the fortitude and steadfastness of the people of Israel. It greets the soldiers at the front and the security forces, whose unobtrusive courage and efficiency have held off the enemy at the gates, and prevented the disruption of civil life by terror and the threat of terror.

It greets the men, women and children in the cities, in the villages and in the settlements, who with quiet calm, determination and energy, have endured the pressure and met the challenge of the past four years; have achieved an unprecedented growth in the economy of the State; built and maintained a democratic society and above all, in spite of their immense difficulties, have continued to receive immigrants, re-

maining true to the principle that the gates of Israel shall remain open to every Jew who desires or requires to enter this country.

This Assembly expresses great concern for the plight of those Jews in Arab states who, for the sole fact of being Jews, are suffering persecution, degradation and gross deprivation of human rights and are prevented from leaving for freedom. A number have been savagely imprisoned under subhuman conditions.

This Assembly sends greetings to our brethren in the Soviet Union who, with extraordinary courage against extreme pressures, are struggling for the preservation of their Jewish identity; for the continuity of their Jewish heritage and for a link with the Jewish people in Israel and in the Diaspora. In particular, it records its continued admiration for those Jews who, risking and suffering under great hardship, are openly struggling for their right to join their people in their historic homeland, Israel.

This Assembly calls upon the Soviet authorities to allow every Jew who so desires to live as a Jew, and to permit their immigration in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This Assembly condemns the demonstrative trials of the Jews in Russia, who are threatened with imprisonment solely for asserting their natural right to identify themselves with their people, its language and culture.

It expresses its deep sympathy for the past victims of such trials and for those undergoing the present ordeal at Kishinev.

The Jews of the free world are determined that the Jews of the Soviet Union and of the Arab States shall not be forgotten, nor will they of course be neglected.

At the outset of its work, this Assembly places on record its profound recognition that the responsibilities which the reconstituted Agency assumes have for many years been borne by the World Zionist Organization, with the support of the organizations abroad which now enter into the new framework of the reconstituted Jewish Agency.

This Assembly pays tribute to the leadership, initiative and inspiration that have emanated from Jerusalem during all these years; to the practical work in Israel, which has been directed by the officers, institutions, departments and officials of the World Zionist Organization, and to the vital role which the cooperating organizations have had in helping to make this possible.

This first Assembly of the reconstituted Jewish Agency for Israel has reviewed the practical requirements in the fields of the Agency's responsibility, mainly: immigration to and absorption of immigrants in Israel; social welfare services; health services in connection with immigration and absorption; education; institutions of higher learning and research; youth care and training; absorption in agricultural settlements and immigrant housing.

It recognizes the prime necessity of a continuing flow of Aliyah in order to sustain the dynamism and to pressure the essential character of Israel. The tremendous responsibilities imposed upon the people of Israel by security needs and the economic and social strains aggravated thereby, underscore the utmost urgency of the Agency's message; social welfare and absorption services.

This Assembly calls upon the Jewish people to respond with the full understanding and unprecedented support which these historic responsibilities require.



## Max M. Fisher

### Chairman, Board of Governors

We came here to begin no ordinary enterprise. We came to correct history; to refresh our own inspiration and to find new ways of achieving great things for our people.

I am deeply moved, therefore, that you have elected me Chairman of the Board of Governors in the reconstituted Jewish Agency. I think I understand something of the importance it encloses, and I am moved by a confidence that I can fill it. There is only one way in which I can make good that trust. You have my assurance and my pledge that I will do all in my power and that I will make full use of whatever abilities I have, to meet the duties of this high office and carry forward the great work to which we are all committed.

We have just passed through an important stage. All of you joined in the work. You gave it your enthusiasm and your best thinking; you spoke what was on your mind and in your hearts. You had a chance to agree and disagree and you did both. In the end, we found ourselves speaking with a single voice for our united cause.

What we began here, at this Founding Assembly of the reconstituted Jewish Agency, is of the greatest importance in continuing the revival of the Jewish people.

First, we formally recognize the vital relationship that already exists between the people of Israel and the Jews of the free world. We gave it new form and, I believe, a more effective structure.

Second, we re-examined the goals for which we are working, and set some pressing priorities.

Finally, we each did something for ourselves; we re-renewed our own individual vision and our personal understanding of the great central task that has been given to our generation to do.

At the opening of this Assembly I noted that there was ever present in the background of our meeting the memory of Chaim Weizmann.

Let me quote a few extraordinary words he spoke in Zurich on August 11, 1929, at that first attempt to draw up the policy for the Jewish Agency towards Jews from Israel and the outside:

“The Zionist Organization has taken the required political steps to obtain the recognition by the nations of the Jewish right to a home in Palestine, but we never wanted Palestine for the Zionists, we wanted it for the Jews.”

The Palestine Dr. Weizmann wanted is here, it exists. Today's Israel *is* for the Jews; it is for the Jews of Israel and for the Jews everywhere, and it is here because of the Zionists; because of the very great men and women who bear that title and who threw themselves into the struggle

to reclaim the homeland. To them, all honor and no words of mine are needed to add to their glory.

But Dr. Weizmann's Palestine is also here because the Jews, millions of men and women throughout the world, came to realize that they had to be in Israel and they worked to make it possible.

The truth of this has been understood for some time. We did not discover it at this Assembly. Here at this gathering we simply took that truth and underscored it.

The test for admittance to this Assembly was simple enough: does one carry the welfare of Israel at his heart? There is no one here that does not carry that badge of admission. The ties that bind us all may be very intangible, but they are very real.

Let the Jewish heart beat faster in Jerusalem because of danger, and the Jewish pulse rate rises all around the world. Our ties are rooted in a past of glory and sorrow. They stem from all recent memories of incredible horrors and more incredible victories. They rest on great hopes and great goals for tomorrow. But most of all they are ties born and strengthened in a give-and-take work that must be done now, today, this month, this year, and the years immediately ahead.

This concern for the work that must be done now, has been the second great feature of this Assembly.

Meeting here in the City of Peace, it was not easy to remember that this is still a land in war, with an even flow of normal, daily life. Yet, behind the outward calm, there is the grim and simple fact that Israel and its people, are now in the fifth year of the Six Day War.

This Assembly concluded that it is the first duty of each of us to make it clear and plain to our home communities, that there can be no weakening in our concern.

We have re-learned here that the great human needs which the Agency calls upon us to meet will not be less next year, nor the year after that, nor even the years after that.

Finishing the work of the agricultural settlements, going ahead with youth care and training, working for health care and social welfare, and above all, carrying forward the sacred work of Aliya — all of these, and many other things, must be done now, and they must be done by us, by the World Jewish Community, through the Jewish Agency.

Even if Israel's people would not find themselves under the terrible economic strain of the war, we would be required to increase all we are committed to do.

Our work is meeting human needs, but behind that term, we have a goal far more important than the title suggests. It is to build human resources. The greatest resource of this old-new land, perhaps its only resource, is its people, and the quality and the spirit of that people.

Consider this: a land of milk and honey and not water; a land set in the Middle East overflowing with oil and very little oil; a land where

every tree seems to achieve birth through a certificate; every piece of farmland has to be rescued after 2,000 years of neglect.

Yet, with all these handicaps, this is a land that is vibrant with purpose; that grows and advances even in the face of war; that builds and creates and amazes the world by progress and courage. Looking at this phenomena we know that only one thing makes all the difference: it is people, and the quality of this amazing and inspired people.

Do I need to say then, that the very future of this land depends upon maintaining the high quality of its people; and that where there is a gap in the economic and educational level of different groups this gap must be overcome.

We know from our meetings here that there is just such a gap. Perhaps it cannot be closed entirely for the first generations, but it cannot be tolerated when it shows signs of persisting in the second – in the children. It cannot be tolerated because these youngsters are just as precious to us as any other Jewish youngsters. It cannot be tolerated, because of its hidden threat to Israel's future.

The leaders of Israel understand very well that their goal must be to try to lift up the entire youth in this country, each to its highest possible educational level, and so to create a broad highly educated society.

Our first priority is and remains Aliyah, but almost as pressing is the challenge we must meet in education. We must try to provide greatly increased access to higher education and training for Israel youth, especially for those young people that lack the means to continue their studies.

Paul Samuelson, the distinguished economist and Nobel Prize winner, has called education in the United States a growth industry. In Israel, it is more than a growth industry, it is a survival industry.

There are other obligations which this Assembly decided must have our best attention. Let me refer to two:

One is housing. If we are concerned that there should be one Israel, not two, as it must be, then we must try to find the way to provide better housing, especially for those who came in the first waves of Aliyah. We could not do more then, but we must do more now.

The other obligation, of course, is our greatest goal: immigration. In a quarter of a century, we hope to bring nearly a million and a half Jewish men and women and children to freedom, from some of the darkest corners of the world.

Now we stand at the threshold of a whole new era. A door which seemed locked has opened just a crack and through it are beginning to come Soviet Jews we thought we would never see. Their numbers are not large, but they are larger than we dared hope. Behind that door thousands of others are waiting, hoping and insisting that they, too, be permitted to leave for Israel.

We shall welcome every one, and rejoice. They face great risks; they desire to meet Jews; they crave in their demand that they be allowed to be Jews. These immigrants must be absorbed as soon as possible, and we must provide assistance to this end.

To sum up: Our overriding commitments to this Assembly are more than trying to meet human needs; we must put our best efforts behind trying to build human resources; we must help those we will bring in and have brought in already to help themselves in the shortest time and in the most effective manner possible.

What is it that we have said for years? Our aim is to save and build lives. By building lives this way, we are giving true meaning to the actual saving.

Each of us understands the underlying change which has taken place here. Until now, we in the communities had one basic responsibility; it was to raise the largest amount of funds we could. We left it to the members of the Agency Executive to make the agonizing decision.

Now, when there are such decisions to make, we too will have to make them, and we will only have ourselves to blame because we could not raise the funds which could have made those decisions unnecessary.

We also have a legacy: the great debt which the Agency has accumulated. In those many times when we in the free world never raised our poor goals, The Agency had but one single course: it was to borrow, if and when it could. Now, we also share responsibility for trying to find an answer to liquidating that debt.

Those are some of our obligations. Now let me talk about our opportunities. Americans, Canadians, Britons, South Africans, those from France and other European countries, from Latin America and other lands — I believe that we can all bring skills of our own to the Agency's work. We are an extra human resource. Many of us have been privileged to meet problems in our own home countries which are similar to certain problems here. The members of the Agency from Israel are looking to us to bringing an expertize and know-how in meeting such problems and thus adding to the Agency's strength.

We have another pleasant opportunity and a duty: to keep in touch, to stay involved. The business of the Jewish Agency cannot and must not be transacted by absentee managers. Keeping in touch, we will have a chance to know each other better and draw on each other's strength for the Agency's greater gain.

Our opportunity is simply to make the most of the incredible privilege that has been put into our hands. To our generation has been given the task of building life, Jewish life, where only a few short years ago there was death. To our generation has been given the chance to make real again the homeland, where for almost 2,000 years, there was no homeland. From this great work, each one of us can draw great inner strength. With each task we perform, ordinary or extraordinary, we pay

homage to twenty centuries of our people, saying: "We remember, we remember". With each project that we build, we help generations still to come; knowing they will be able to build even higher.

Out of this land once came a great message to the world: justice, freedom and human dignity. And we Jews choose to believe that out of this land will yet come another such message.

To be given a chance to make our contribution to that goal; to be able to do our part by re-establishing our people; to build for the peace that will surely come; to have a small share in creating that Israel that will shine again as a light unto the nations — all this is a privilege beyond price.

Soon each of us will depart this great Assembly. We shall be leaving for our homes to bring the message of what we learned here. That message has been set before us long ago and set more beautifully. I quote the sayings of the Fathers: "The day is short, the labor is great; the Master of the House is pressing; we may not see the completion of the work, but neither are we free to desist from it".



**Louis A. Pincus**

Thank you, Mr. Fisher. Before I call upon the Prime Minister, I want to make an announcement: I have been asked by the new immigrants from the Soviet Union who are here in the hall to tell you that as an act of solidarity with those persons in Moscow, Kishinev and other places that are maintaining a hunger strike, that tomorrow they will begin a hunger demonstration. They will demonstrate outside the Finnish Embassy, because it is the Finnish Embassy that represents Moscow's interests in this country, not because they have anything against Finland. They are doing this as an act of solidarity to demonstrate their identity. Maybe, these acts will arouse not only the enlightened world, but will bring the leadership in the Soviet Union to realize that they cannot dampen the human spirit. It will go on.

I now call upon the Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, to address you.

**Mrs. Golda Meir**

**Prime Minister of Israel**

Mr. Chairman, friends. I know that you have heard our Minister of Foreign Affairs Abba Eban; I know that you have heard many other speeches during these few days and now I feel a little bit as I imagine an "Afikoman" feels at the end of the Seder. And since we all know with what great appetite we eat the Afikoman, I do not want to put myself into that position.

All of us are interested in this meeting that has taken place as a result of long negotiations and very thorough planning between the Jewish Agency and the various Organizations whom all those sitting here represent. One of the most important, vital factors in the situation of Israel today is the cooperation that must come as a result of this meeting, together with cooperation internally in Israel. The question before us is how strong will we be in every phase of our life, not only militarily. How united will we be, how wholehearted will be the cooperation from all groups, without anybody feeling that he is not getting what is due him.

The strength of Israel itself is, I think, our most important asset. The Six Day War ended with an outstanding, fantastic victory, but this is now the fifth year after this victory and there is no peace. We have now had almost eleven months of cease-fire. Between the cease-fire and the Six-Day War, we knew another war, under another name: it was called the War of Attrition. It was not exactly of the same character, but what happened during the War of Attrition, was what happens in any war: shooting, with the results that shooting brings — casualties, deaths, and maiming.

And now for the last ten months we have had no shooting. There is a cease-fire. We in Israel rejoice and are thankful for every hour of cease-fire. But the fact still remains that there is no peace. Not because we don't want peace. I don't think there is anybody here that needs any information as to what is happening now and what happened a year, two years, and three years ago. It was always Israel that was challenged to act for peace. We were constantly urged to give up something, move somewhere, do something. Some things we did. Some concessions we could offer. Some basic demands which involve our existence cannot be bartered. So, we have war and threats of war from our enemies.

With our well wishers, there is sometimes an argument, sometimes a misunderstanding, sometimes an attempt at persuasion. I need not repeat here that the United States is the best friend of Israel; hence I heartily support what the Minister of Defense said concerning the United States Government, to the President of the United States, and as

to what the United States Government has done for Israel, and what I hope it will do in the future. I refer to an interview that the Secretary of State had in London a few weeks ago. He was asked, is the United States ready to pressure Israel? And the Secretary of State, I am glad, said, no, I don't like the word 'pressure', I like the word persuasion.

Certainly, it is a much nicer word; it puts both parties on an equal basis. The process is mutual: the United States will try to persuade Israel, and on the other hand, we will not pressure the United States, we will only seek to persuade her. This means that there are legitimate differences of opinion. As long as there is a friendly discussion with an understanding for the needs of Israel, there is no harm in differences of views. But we must be realistic and we Israelis must be frank with our friends. And naturally with you.

We must have the sense that there are certain things which we cannot possibly give up. There are certain conditions which are not luxuries, they are absolutely essential. All that we are so stubborn about, actually flows from one single point: we refuse to do anything which we believe will make it easier for the next war to take place. I assure you it is as simple as all that.

All the criticism that you hear about expansionist Israel has no basis whatsoever. We think geography *is important* because if we overlook the importance of borders, we'll have a situation such as we had before the Six-Day War on the Golan Heights. We also think that in the matter of shipping, Israeli boats should be under our control, because all other measures previously tried failed.

I don't want to again count one by one what are our absolute necessities as Israel sees them. You know them, you discussed them with us over and over again. It is not only necessary that we be united, so that we don't weaken, but I think that our power of persuasion will also depend on the situation of Israel. Is the economic situation such that we can take it, is the society in which we live so organized that it is a strong decent society, able to endure without grumbling? Is it an Israel that is developing, despite the war and despite the terrible, terrible expenditures, not only in manpower but in money? Or will you, watching from afar, see an Israel about which you think: the development has stopped, they are struggling among themselves, they are weakening, there is no unity among them, a little bit longer and they will give in. We must be and are, an Israel that despite the war, despite the burden, goes on building, developing, growing; that is not only prepared, but anxious for more and more olim, now and in the future. An Israel of that kind is one which Egypt will hesitate to attack again; I don't suppose anyone of you believes that the War of Attrition stopped merely because Nasser was asked to agree to a cease-fire. He agreed because he knew he was losing and couldn't take it any more.

And if Sadat is not attacking us again, it is because he is realistic and knows as well as we do, and as well as anybody else who knows the situation here, that he cannot win.

An Israel that cannot be defeated, an Israel that is strong within, an Israel that is growing economically, growing in the number of olim, growing in institutions of education, growing in the strengthening of its foundations, of its social order, an Israel of this kind is not only an Israel that will discourage those that want to attack it physically, but the dialogue between such an Israel and its best friends, will take on an altogether different character and tone.

This dialogue must go on. We know that the United States and other friends want peace in this area and want Israel to be strong: of that we are sure. And yet, all nations in the world have learned a bitter lesson which nobody knows better than we: it is not good to be a weak people, I didn't say a small people. You can be a small people and not be weak, you can be a big people and be weak. A weak people, dependent entirely upon others is not a happy people.

As you go home, remember this: we must bear in mind two things simultaneously: despite the fact that our neighbours really show no desire for peace, despite the fact that our neighbours are constantly being strengthened with more modern weapons in almost limitless amounts, despite the fact that Israel thankful for everything that it received in order to be able to defend itself, must constantly go into discussions as to the balance of power and consider whether a position has already been created where the balance of power is seriously against Israel and must immediately be corrected, despite all these factors,



remember that we must do everything we possibly can, and look for every opportunity for real, honest, lasting peace with our neighbours.

At the same time, because for ten months there has been no shooting, (and nobody has to explain to us how wonderful it is that there is no shooting), we must be aware of the dangerous illusion that this is really peace. Not yet. If it depended upon us there would be no shooting until there was peace, just as now. But nobody can foretell how the situation may develop. It does not depend upon us. Therefore we must constantly put effort and thought towards two objectives: 1. To look for every opportunity to discover if something can be done, so that peace could come about earlier. For instance, we consented to a special arrangement for the opening of the Suez Canal, we are prepared to help, but not to the detriment of our security, and we are still prepared to negotiate on this point, to do everything we can in order to bring about a situation where peace negotiations can begin. But this does not depend on us alone.

At the same time, we must do everything that is possible so that Israel preserves its strength, that the balance of power between us and our neighbors is not disturbed, because one of the best guarantees that shooting will not start is a strong Israel. One of the best incentives for an earlier peace, is an Israel that is strong.

The best thing to preserve peace after it comes, is an Israel strong enough to defend its borders. We want friends all over the world. There is no country to which we say we don't want your friendship. We want to cooperate with every country in the world. But for our security, for our safety, we cannot depend upon anybody else in the world, except on Israel itself.

My friends, these are very simple, elementary principles: we must do everything for peace, we must do everything so that Israel be strong, and we must remember always that the one power that we can really depend on for our defense, when it is necessary to defend ourselves, is Israel itself.

## Louis A. Pincus

Thank you very much, Madam Prime Minister, for these hearty and encouraging words, what you had said will certainly be borne in mind in the days to come.

Delegates to the Assembly, we have not finished our official business. We will go home, the work will be carried on, we shall meet again and again, until the job is done.

Lehitraoth, lehitraoth ba'aretz. The balance of the program will be one for your entertainment. Thank you.





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