RESOLUTIONS

of the 28th ZIONIST CONGRESS

with

A Summary of the Proceedings and the Composition of the Congress

Jerusalem
January 18-28, 1972

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1972

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ההסתדרות הציונית העולמית
WORLD ZIONIST ORGANISATION

בברכת
המחלקה לארגון ולהסברה

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF THE
ORGANIZATION AND INFORMATION DEPARTMENT

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

I. Congress Proceedings 5
II. The Date and Composition of Congress 13

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

A. Political Matters 19
B. Zionist Territorial Organizations 22
C. Legal Matters 27
D. Information and Ideological Problems 28
E. Relationship with Organized World Jewry 33
F. Aliya and Absorption 34
G. Youth Aliyah 39
H. Settlement and Land Development 41
I. Social Problems in Israel 42
J. Youth and Student Affairs 46
K. Education and Culture in the Diaspora 51
L. Budget 55
M. Funds 57
N. Elections 59

TABLES

Table A — Election Results as Confirmed by Congress Tribunal 68
Table B — Allocation of Mandates on the Basis of World Elections 70
Table C — Distribution of Delegates and Groupings as at End of Congress 71

INTRODUCTION

I. CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

The 28th Zionist Congress convened at Binyanei Hooma (National Conventions Centre) in Jerusalem, on January 18–28, 1972. On January 18, prior to the Opening Session, members of the Executive and the General Council, delegates, observers and guests assembled on Mount Herzl where Mr. A. Reiss, Acting Chairman of the Zionist General Council, laid a wreath on the tomb of Theodor Herzl and Dr. C. A. Viterbo and D. Mittelberg, the veteran and the youngest delegates respectively, planted a tree in the name of Congress.

The festive Opening Session of Congress took place in the evening of January 18. Over 3,000 delegates, observers and guests filled the large hall. Among those present were almost all the members of the Cabinet, all the members of the Zionist Executive, members of the Presidium of the Zionist General Council, Justices of the Supreme Court, members of the Congress Tribunal and many other important personages. The Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Zionist Executive, Mr. David Ben-Gurion, the President of the Supreme Court, the Chief Rabbis, the Chairman of the Executive in the United States, the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal, the Mayor of Jerusalem, and the Acting Chairman of the Zionist General Council took their seats on the platform, and when the President of the State of Israel, Mr. Zalman Shazar, entered the hall Hatikva was sung. Psalm 122 and an "In Memoriam" were read. With a choir singing appropriate songs in the background, new immigrants, each one representing a country from which Aliya had come in recent years, and representatives of new settlements founded since the Six-Day War, all carrying flags, began filing down the aisles of the hall to the platform. Congress was then officially opened by the Chairman of the Zionist Executive with the traditional three strokes of the gavel. He welcomed the delegates and guests and the representatives of the Diplomatic Corps. Greetings were extended by the President of the State, the Mayor of Jerusalem, Mr. Teddy Kollek, and Chief Rabbi Itzhak Nissim. Mr. Moshe Rivlin, Associate Member of the Executive, read out several cables of greetings from Jews in the Soviet Union, including six interned in a prison camp. The Chairman of the Zionist Executive, Mr. Louis A. Pincus subsequently delivered his keynote address on "The Jewish People and the Zionist Movement—Challenges and Tasks."

The second session was opened by Mr. Louis A. Pincus the following morning. The Chairman of the Congress Tribunal, Justice Moshe Landau, reported on the elections and on the composition of Congress, and Mr. Anselm Reiss, Acting Chairman of the Zionist General Council, submitted a proposal for the composition of the Congress Presidium: President of Congress—Mr. Louis A. Pincus; Members—Rabbi Dr. Bernard Bergman, Mr. Meir Dotan, Dr. Anna Gelber, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, Mr. Jose Kestelman, Mr. Raphael Kotlowitz, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Prof. Raphael Mahler, Mr. Daniel Monson, Mr. Jacob Tsur, Mr. Herman L. Weissman, Mr. Israel Yeshayahu, Mrs. Esther Zackler, Rabbi Tsemach M. Zambrowsky.

The proposal was approved by Congress.

The Presidium subsequently resolved to coopt the following representatives of various groups in an advisory capacity: Mr. Israel Dunsky, Mr. Elie Eliachar, Mr. Nahum Markovsky (later replaced by Mr. Milton Zaretsky), Rabbi Yaacov Behor Efrima Shvili and Mr. Zvi Yekutiel. Prof. Mahler was later replaced by Mr. Mordechai Blanche.

When the Members of the Presidium had taken their seats on the platform, the Minister of Finance, Mr. Pinhas Sapir, addressed Congress. He was followed by Mr. A. L. Dulzin, Treasurer of the World Zionist Organization.

The Debate on "The Jewish People and the Zionist Movement—Challenges and Tasks" was opened in the afternoon session of Wednesday, January 19. The opening speakers were Professor Abraham J. Heschel and Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Chairman of the Executive in New York, followed by Dr. Joseph Burg, Minister of the Interior, and Mr. Joseph Sapir, M.K. The latter part of this session was devoted to marking the 85th birthday of Mr. David Ben-Gurion. President Shazar honoured the occasion with his presence. Mr. L. A. Pincus spoke of Mr. Ben-Gurion's achievements, while Mr. Moshe Rivlin presented Mr. Ben-Gurion with a Scroll of Honour, and two schoolchildren handed over to him three volumes of signatures of 35,000 pupils in Jewish Schools in the United States and Canada, who sent him their good wishes on his anniversary. The session concluded with a short reply from Mr. Ben-Gurion.

At the fourth session, on Wednesday evening, the steering Committee was elected as follows: Mr. Itzhak Korn (Chairman), Mr. Joseph Bankower, Mr. Pinchas Cruso, Mr. Paul Goldman, Mr. Uri Gordon, Mr. Chaim Herzog, Mrs. Senta Josephtal, Dr. Schneier Levenberg, Dr. Judah Shapiro—Labour Zionist Movement; Mr. Paul Safro, Mrs. Bernice Salpeter, Mr. Sidney Shipton, Mr. Kalman Sultanik, Mr. Melech Topiol—Confederation of General Zionists; Mr. Yigal Cohen, Mr. Simcha Erlich, Mr. Jacques Torczyner—World Union of General Zionists; Rabbi Yehuda Ellinson, Mr. Arieh Handler, Mrs. Ruth Jacobson, Dr. Itzhak Rafael—Mizrachi Hapoel-Hamizrachi; Adv. Raphael

Kotlowitz, Dr. Harry Levy, Dr. Yaacov Eliezer Tavin—Union of Herut-Hatzoar; Mr. Reuben Arzi, Mrs. Chaika Grossman—World Union of Mapam; Mrs. Raya Jaglom—Wizo (in an advisory capacity); Mr. Avraham Tory—Independent Zionist Movement. Representatives of Russian immigrants and of the World Sephardi Federation were coopted in an advisory capacity.

The Debate on "The Jewish People and the Zionist Movement—Challenges and Tasks" was then renewed with the participation of Mr. Aharon Yadlin, M.K., Chairman of the Israel Zionist Council, Rabbi Shlomo Goren, Chief Rabbi of Tel Aviv, and Mr. Moshe Kol, Minister of Tourism. The debate continued through the 5th and 6th sessions in the morning and afternoon of Thursday, January 20, the following taking part: Dr. J. Shapiro, Dr. I. Goldstein, Dr. Y. Raphael, Mr. B. Kochebiesky, Mrs. R. Jaglom, Mr. J. Tsur, Mr. E. Eliachar, the writer Mr. Albert Memmi, Mr. Z. Shuval and Rabbi Dr. B. Poupko.

At the 5th session, the President of the Congress reported that the Congress Presidium had rejected by a large majority Rabbi Kahane's request to be given a hearing at Congress. The minority motion of Herut-Hatzoar, presented by Mrs. Lydia Slovina, was put to the vote and rejected by a large majority. Rabbi Kahane who was present during the discussion and vote thereupon left the hall.

In the late afternoon of Thursday, delegates and other participants attended a reception given by the President of the State in the Knesset Building.

At the 7th session of Thursday evening, Congress elected the following 11 Committees, each composed of 45 members:

Committee on Zionist Federations;
Committee on Relations with the Organized Jewish World;
Committee on Aliya and Absorption;
Committee on Youth Aliyah;
Committee on Social Problems in Israel;
Political Committee;
Committee on Information Matters and Ideological Problems;
Committee on Youth and Students;
Committee on Education in the Diaspora;
Committee on Budget and the National Funds;
Committee on Agricultural Settlement and Land Development.

The Debate on "The Jewish People and the Zionist Movement—Challenges and Tasks" was then resumed with the participation of Messrs. Menahem Begin and Jacob Hazan. Mrs. Golda Meir, Prime Minister of Israel, subsequently addressed Congress.

Friday, January 21, was devoted to Committee work. On Saturday night Congress held a festive session to mark the 75th Anniversary of the First Zionist Congress. A Scroll of Jubilees was recited, in which tribute was paid to the 70th Anniversary of the JNF, the 50th Anni-

versary of Keren Hayesod, the 70th Anniversary of Mizrachi, the 50th Anniversary of Hapoel-Hamizrachi, the 60th Anniversary of Hadassah, the 50th Anniversary of Wizo, the 50th Anniversary of Moetzet Hapoalot and the 50th Anniversary of agricultural settlement in the Valley of Jezreel. The proceedings were opened by Dr. Israel Goldstein and the main address was delivered by Mr. Yigal Alon, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Education and Culture. This was followed by a pageant entitled "The Zionist Movement—Vision and Reality," written and directed by Mr. Yaakov Ben-Herzl.

The Committees continued their work on Sunday morning, January 23. The 9th and part of the 10th sessions in the afternoon and evening respectively, were devoted to a debate on "Education and Culture in the Diaspora." This debate was opened by addresses from Mr. Chaim Finkelsztajn on "Israel, Zionism, and Jewish Education in the Diaspora," and from Mr. Moshe Krone on "The Zionist Movement and Education to Judaism." Speakers in the debate included Messrs. L. Kronitz, E. Blankenfeld, S. Shipton, Rabbi A. Shoshana, Mr. D. Yutan, Prof. M. Feinstein, Mrs. A. Jamitovsky, Messrs. S. Marcus, D. Sitton, E. Saps, Dr. B. Frymer, Mrs. D. Rabinowitz, Messrs. M. Savidor, A. Tsimuki, M. Fidler, Rabbi M. Frydman, Mrs. S. Zehori and the writer Mr. Haim Hazaz; Mr. Chaim Herzog who spoke about the recently published Encyclopedia Judaica, presented a bound volume containing the article on "Zionist Congress" to the Central Zionist Archives.

During the evening session the central theme was "The Plight of Jews in Arab Countries," with Minister Shlomo Hillel as the main speaker.

The 11th session on Monday morning, January 24, reverted to the debate on "The Jewish People and the Zionist Movement—Challenges and Tasks." The speakers included Mr. E. Tucker, Rabbi Kaplan, Mr. M. Kerem, Prof. H. Adelson, Dr. S. Levenberg, Messrs. N. Jacobson, I. Artzi, J. Solvey, Y. Leket, Mrs. Sima Kaminskaya, Messrs. S. Heyman, S. Epstein, Rabbi M. Hanzin.

A delegation of Congress, composed of representatives of all countries and all Congress groupings, visited Yad Vashem. During the ceremony two delegates lit memorial candles. The delegation also visited the permanent exhibition there.

The 12th session began with a statement on behalf of Mapam, criticizing the decision to withdraw the invitation to address the Congress which had been extended to Dr. Goldmann. This was followed by the debate on "Aliya and Klita" which opened with an address by Rabbi Mordechai Kirshblum, and a Statement by the Minister of Absorption, Mr. Nathan Peled. In this debate, which was combined with a debate on "Social Problems," the opening statement was made by Dr. Avner Sciaky, Deputy Minister of Education. The following took part: Mr. R. Balvashvili, the writer Mr. Moshe Shamir, Mr. A. Salmanson, Mr. I. Sherman, Rabbi Dr. B. Bergman, Mr. N. Golan,

Mrs. Ellen Djian, Mrs. Wynn, Mr. U. Oren, Mr. A. Talegawkar. During the afternoon session, a presentation on the "Keren Hayesod—U.I.A." was made by Mr. Ezra Shapiro, World Chairman of Keren Hayesod.

The 13th session on Monday evening took the form of a round table discussion on "The Struggle of Soviet Jewry." For the first time in the history of Congress a Plenary Session was held entirely in Russian. Professor Shmuel Ettinger was Moderator, and the participants included Mr. Elhanan Feldman, Professor Michael Zand, Dr. Itzhak Megarellashvili, Messrs. David Zilberman, Avraham Schukrevitz, Vitali Soliachinsky, David Havkin, Dr. Alexander Gittelson, Mr. Vladimir Levin.

Part of the morning of Tuesday, January 25, was devoted to final Committee work. During the remaining time the Plenary concluded the debate on "Aliya and Klita and Social Problems in Israel," the following taking part: Mrs. G. Landy, Mrs. S. Josephtal, Messrs. M. Maldavsky, D. Sperling, A. Litt, Y. Kesse, Dr. J. Nissim, Mrs. P. Peretz, Mr. R. Pinto. At the beginning of the 14th session, Mr. Haim Teichman made a statement on behalf of the Independent Zionist Movement protesting against the cancellation of the invitation to Dr. Goldmann.

The Chairman of the Executive replied to the Debates on both "The Jewish People and the Zionist Movement—Challenges and Tasks" and "Aliya and Klita and Social Problems in Israel."

The 15th and 16th sessions in the afternoon and evening of the same day, were devoted to a debate on "The Young Generation in the Zionist Movement," opened by Mr. Mordechai Bar-On. Among the participants were: Mr. U. Gordon, Rabbi S. Bachbut, Messrs. J. Kupfer, M. Debowy, Rabbi M. Z. Neria, Messrs. G. Frank, D. Mittelberg, S. Sharon, M. Blanche, I. Bin-Nun, Professor L. Ashkenazi, Mr. M. Atzmon, Mrs. Szusterman, Messrs. R. Milikovsky, S. Serouya, Rabbi I. Hess, Mr. M. Guvkin, Professor A. Pollack, Mr. B. Carmi, Dr. B. Lehrer, Mr. Kastner, Messrs. N. Solan, S. Elgrod.

Following the unanimous election of Justice Moshe Landau as Chairman of the Congress Tribunal and Mr. Zvi Klementinovsky as Attorney of the World Zionist Organization, Congress was addressed by Foreign Minister, Mr. Abba Eban.

The 17th session, on Wednesday, January 26, began with the deliberations of the various committees followed by voting on these resolutions. The first resolutions to be submitted were those of the Youth Aliyah Committee. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. S. Ariav, reported on the work of his committee, and the deputy chairman, Mrs. R. Matzkin, submitted the resolutions which were adopted unanimously.

At the 18th session in the afternoon of the same day, Mr. L. A. Pincus submitted to the Plenary the recommendation of the Congress Presidium to admit the "World Maccabi Union" and "The World Federation of Sephardi Communities" to membership of the World Zionist Organi-

zation. Following Congress approval, Messrs. I. Bin-Nun and D. Sitton thanked Congress for its decision on behalf of their respective organizations. At the same session, Dr. T. Rosenbaum submitted the draft proposals of the Budget and National Funds Committee, and Dr. M. Nussbaum submitted the draft resolutions of the Committee on Relations with the Organized Jewish World. The resolutions were adopted.

The 19th session which was held in the evening, heard a report on the Jewish National Fund from Mr. J. Tsur, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the JNF. This was followed by an address from Mr. Moshe Dayan, Minister of Defence. The second part of the session was devoted to new settlement activities. Following the opening remarks by Dr. R. Weitz, speeches were delivered by representatives of five new settlements: Mr. Yaacov Ronn of Kibbutz Merom Hagolan, Mr. Yehuda Reines of Meholah, Mr. Shay Ben-Eliahu of Ein Yahav, Mr. Adi Halperin of Dikla and Mr. Shaul Cohen of Ramot Meir. Mr. I. Pinchasi, Chairman of the Committee on Agricultural Settlement and Land Development, subsequently submitted the draft resolutions of his committee which were approved by Congress.

On Thursday, January 27, a Congress delegation headed by Lord Janner, Dr. Anna Gelber and Rabbi Z. Zambrowski, members of the Presidium, visited the Military Cemetery at Mount Herzl and laid a wreath on behalf of Congress.

The 20th session opened with a report by the Chairman of the Committee on Aliya and Absorption, Dr. H. Haniel, on the work of his committee. The draft proposals that he submitted were approved.

The deliberations on the draft resolutions of the Committee on Social Problems in Israel, which were opened by the Committee Chairman, Mr. S. Derech, continued into the 21st session held in the afternoon of the same day. One of the amendments to this resolution gave rise to a furore and necessitated repeated voting.

The same session considered also the draft resolutions of the Committee on Zionist Federations. The Committee Chairman, Mrs. Fay Schenk, reported on the working of her committee, following which the resolutions were put to the vote. The Committee's recommendation that the Zionist Federation of Paraguay be admitted to membership of the World Zionist Organization was submitted by Mr. A. Schenker and was unanimously approved. Mr. S. Kurtz thanked Congress on behalf of the Zionist Federation of Paraguay.

The 22nd and last session of the Congress commenced in the evening of Thursday, January 27, and concluded after a two hours' interval at 7.30 in the morning of Friday, January 28. The session opened with an "In Memoriam" address by Mr. B. Weinstein, following which the Congress continued to deliberate on the draft resolutions of the various committees. The session was a stormy one and was frequently

interrupted by demands for repeat voting, claims that the counting of the votes was faulty and other forms of interference. The working of the Committee on Youth and Students was reported on by the Chairman, Dr. L. Diesendruk who also submitted the draft resolutions. Voting on these resolutions was a long, drawn-out affair.

Lord Janner, Chairman of the Political Committee submitted the draft resolutions which were approved. Statements were subsequently made by Mr. M. Benjamin on behalf of Herut-Hatzohar, and by Mr. S. Marcus on behalf of Mapam in regard to the demonstrations during Mr. Begin's visit to England.

Finally, the resolutions were submitted by the Committee on Information and Ideological Matters. The draft resolutions on Information were submitted by Mr. B. Weinstein and those on ideological affairs by Mr. I. Gothelf, Chairman of the sub-committee on ideological affairs. A series of amendments were submitted. A minority proposal demanding action against Zionist leaders who do not go on Aliya to Israel received lengthy consideration, Messrs. Gil Frank and Avner Epstein speaking in favour of the minority resolution and Mrs. Esther Zackler and Dr. Miriam Freund speaking against the imposition of sanctions. The minority proposal was passed by a small majority. The remaining proposals of the committee were also approved.

The Congress elected the members of the Congress Tribunal, the Deputy Chairmen of the Congress Tribunal and the Deputies to the Attorney of the World Zionist Organization, as recommended by the Presidium.

After a two hour interval, Mr. I. Korn, Chairman of the Steering Committee, submitted its proposals for the election of the Zionist Executive, the Zionist General Council and the Comptroller of the World Zionist Organization. All the proposals were passed.

The Congress closed with the singing of Hatikva.

II. THE DATE AND COMPOSITION OF CONGRESS

a) *Date of Congress*

The Zionist General Council at its session of June-July, 1969, decided to antedate the 28th Zionist Congress (Resolution No. 10). At its session of February-March, 1970, it was decided that the 28th Congress should convene in Jerusalem not later than the New Year of 5732 (Resolution No. 10). However, owing to the prolongation of the Membership Drive, the Zionist General Council saw fit to alter this Resolution and at its session of June-July, 1971, it was decided that the Congress should convene in Jerusalem in January, 1972, and that the Executive in conjunction with the Presidium of the Zionist General Council should decide on the exact date for the opening of Congress. Accordingly, it was decided that the Congress should open on January 18, 1972. It should be noted that even after the date of the Congress had been changed, as stated above, the Resolution passed by the Zionist General Council at its session of 1969, on an earlier convention of the Congress, was complied with. It demanded that the period between the 27th Congress which convened in June, 1968, and the 28th Congress, should be shorter than the four years within which Congress is to meet in accordance with Article 13 of the Constitution.

b) *Number of Mandates*

According to Article 17 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, the number of delegates to Congress, other than those elected in accordance with World Election Lists and those participating in accordance with article 26, Section 3 (WIZO) shall not exceed 500. However, Section 2 of the same article empowers the Zionist General Council to decide on increasing that number by a maximum of 5%. Indeed, the Zionist General Council at its session of June-July, 1971, decided to increase the number of delegates by 5%, bringing it up to 525.

According to Section 3 of Article 17 of the Constitution, the number of Congress seats is allocated as follows: Israel—38%, USA—29%, other countries of the Diaspora—33%. The above decision of the Zionist General Council therefore increased the USA representation from 145 to 152, and that of Israel from 190 to 200. However, as regards the ten additional Israeli mandates, the above resolution of the Zionist General Council provided that they should not be added to the ordinary Israeli representation composed, under article 21 of the Constitution, in accordance with the relative strength of the Zionist parties

in the Knesset, but that the allocation of these ten mandates shall be decided upon by the Zionist Council in Israel in accordance with directives to be given by the Presidium of the Zionist General Council. The allocation made by the Zionist Council—four to student representatives, three to youth movements and one each to Sephardim, the Chairman of the Zionist Council and the Secretary of the Council—was approved by the Congress Tribunal.

The Committee for determining the number of Congress Delegates (under Article 18 of the Constitution) had at its disposal therefore not 165, but 173 mandates.

The Committee was set up on the basis of Resolution No. 15 of the Zionist General Council at its session of 1969, by the Executive in conjunction with the Presidium, in accordance with the relative strength of the parties in the Zionist General Council. It held its first meeting on January 16, 1970, and its last meeting on July 17, 1971, since it saw fit to conclude its deliberations only after the termination of the Membership Drive, after having decided that among the criteria laid down in Regulation 2a of the Regulations for the Implementation of the Constitution as regards fixing the number of delegates, special, though not exclusive, importance attaches this time to the number of members enrolled in the Membership Drive.

Despite the provisions of Reg. 2b of the above mentioned Regulations, the Committee did not find it possible to retain a reserve of 5%–10% for the allocation of mandates during the stage of appeals against the Committee's decision.

The most important differences in allocating the number of delegates to the various election areas from the situation obtaining at the previous Congress were the increase of the number of delegates for France from 17 to 23, the reduction in the number of delegates for the Argentine from 26 to 21 and the annulment of the representation of Ireland, Bolivia, Greece and New Zealand.

While in former Congresses appeals against the decision of the Committee for further consideration were lodged with the Committee itself, this time the amendment made in 1969 to Regulation 6c was in force, under which not the Committee but the Congress Tribunal hears and decides on appeals.

Appeals were lodged from nine countries, and they were heard by the Congress Tribunal at its session of November 14, 1971, when it decided to restore the annulled mandates to Ireland, Greece and New Zealand and to increase the representation of Australia, Venezuela and Canada by one mandate each. The appeals from Great Britain, Uruguay and Brazil were dismissed. Seeing, however, that no reserve of mandates had been retained, the Congress Tribunal took the decision to allocate mandates on condition that the Congress or the Zionist General Council decides, by amending the Constitution, and in regard

to the 28th Congress alone, to increase by six the number of mandates allocated to the countries of the Diaspora, apart from the United States. The Zionist General Council at its session of January 18, 1972, indeed, did decide to increase the number of delegates by seven in order to lend force also to the ruling of the Congress Tribunal of January 13, in regard to Iran, which allocated to this country a representation of seven seats instead of six as fixed by the Committee.

The countries of the Diaspora, apart from the United States, were therefore represented at Congress by a total number of 180 delegates.

In accordance with Resolution 43 of the Zionist General Council at its session of June-July, 1971, the Resolution No. 12 of the Zionist General Council at its session of 1964 became applicable to the representation of WIZO at Congress which mutatis mutandis raised the number of delegates from 12 to 20. Hence, WIZO was represented at Congress by 20 delegates.

c) *System of elections*

Whereas elections to former Congresses were held in accordance with a uniform system, under "Rules for the Election of Delegates" enacted by the Zionist General Council (the latest version having been passed in 1964), and applicable to all electoral areas as regards elections to the 28th Zionist Congress, the provisions of article 19 of the Constitution, as amended in accordance with Resolution No. 51 of the 27th Zionist Congress, went into force. This article provides that "the delegates shall be elected in each electoral area (country) in accordance with a method consistent with generally accepted democratic principles.' This basic rule was supplemented by the Zionist General Council through its Resolutions Nos. 12 and 13 passed at its session of 1970, according to which elections are general and secret.

In this wide framework the electional areas had both the right and duty to determine on a system of elections as they saw fit, and in keeping with local conditions, and to draw up election rules accordingly. In order to assist the electoral areas and particularly the smaller ones to draw up their rules, the legal adviser to the Executive issued "Model Rules" to which many countries had recourse.

Regulation 6c of the Regulations for the Implementation of the Constitution provided the possibility of appealing against a decision on the election system, before the Congress Tribunal. One such appeal against the system of elections in the United States was lodged. The Congress Tribunal in rejecting the appeal in general but in accepting it in part, approved the main principles of the proposed system under which polls by mail are conducted for 55% of the number of mandates, whereas the remaining 45% are allocated in accordance with the relative strength of the parties and organizations as revealed in the Membership Drive, with, however, mutually agreed upon changes.

Great importance attaches to the ruling of the Congress Tribunal in regard to the election system in the United States, because it established that polling by mail is not illegal. Many electoral areas made use of this system whether as the sole means of election (France, Germany, Australia, Sweden) or partially, especially in small localities (Austria, Italy, Canada).

The methods adopted by the various electoral areas were many and varied—from election lists, as was in vogue in elections to previous Congresses (Argentine, Austria, Uruguay) to elections on a purely personal basis (Australia, Italy, India). In two countries indirect elections were held (Britain and New Zealand).

Elections by polling were held in a total of 21 countries in which 198,138 voters* elected 282 delegates.** Indirect elections are not included in these figures.

In five electoral areas, which together returned 15 delegates, "uncontested elections" without polling were held. As stated above, also in Israel which altogether had a number of 200 mandates, no polling took place.

In accordance with Resolution No. 3 of the Zionist General Council at its session in 1970, Iran was declared an electoral area in which, for reasons beyond the control of the Zionist Movement and independent of the will of local Zionists, it is impossible to hold elections by polling. The representation of this country was fixed by agreement before the Congress Tribunal.

According to Resolution No. 45 of the Zionist General Council at its session of 1971, a "Central Election Board" was set up by the Council Presidium and the Zionist Executive, which was empowered to deliberate and decide in the case of omissions or difficulties or a deadlock in the preparations for elections in any electoral area. The Central Election Board held two meetings at which it discussed elections in the United States and France.

The World Election Lists were allotted seven mandates from the surplus votes remaining from the elections by polling, in accordance with the "Regulations Concerning World Election Lists," which are still in force.

A breakdown of the results of the elections, by polling or without, is given in Table 1. A breakdown of the distribution of the mandates allocated on the basis of the World Lists is given in Table 2. The composition of Congress according to countries and Congress groupings is given in Table 3.

* Seeing that in Australia, Italy and Germany electors had more than one vote, the number of votes registered in all the electoral areas amounted to 218,899 (exclusive of the votes registered in indirect elections).

** Concerning the United States, see details in note 11 to Table A.

d) *Representatives of Jewish Communities and Organizations*

68 representatives of 28 Jewish Organizations in 24 countries participated in the 28th Zionist Congress. These included representatives of three world-wide organizations: the World Jewish Congress, the World Federation of Sephardic Communities and the Maccabi World Union. These representatives actively participated in the work of the Congress and took part in the deliberations of the plenum and the various committees, particularly insofar as activities in the Diaspora (education etc.) and collaboration between the Zionist Organization and the Jewish communities and organizations are concerned.

Apart from these representatives, invitations went out to the heads of the Zionist Territorial Organizations of South Africa, Argentine, Cuba, Paraguay and Norway.

e) *Participants Without Voting Rights*

In accordance with Article 26, Para. 1 of the Constitution, members of the Zionist General Council may take part in the proceedings of Congress in an advisory capacity; they have the full rights of members of commissions, in the event of their being elected to any of the Congress Commissions.

The Chairman of the Congress Tribunal, the Attorney of the World Zionist Organization and the Comptroller all participate in Congress in an Advisory Capacity, in accordance with Article 26, Para. 3 of the Constitution.

The right of members of the Executive to take part in Congress is based on Article 32, Para. 3 of the Constitution.

A breakdown of those participating in the Twenty-eighth Zionist Congress in an advisory capacity is given below:

Members of the Zionist General Council (including Virilists and past-members of the Zionist Executive)	123
Members of the Executive	20
Representative of Keren Hayesod	1
Chairman of the Congress Tribunal	1
Attorney of the World Zionist Organization	1
The Comptroller	1
	147

f) *Allocation of Mandates according to Groupings*

559 delegates with voting powers who participated in the 28th Zionist Congress, were divided into eight groupings, according to Rule No. 7 of the Rules of Congress, comprising no fewer than twelve delegates. 14 delegates were Independent, 10 of them being appointed by the

Zionist Council in Israel. The table shows the composition of the Congress at its end.

Grouping	*No. of delegates*	*Percentage of total*	*Percentage of parties (without WIZO and the Independents)*
Zionist Labour Movement	161	28.80	30.66
World Confederation of General Zionists	100	17,89	19.05
Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi Organization	88	15.74	16.76
World Union of General Zionists	81	14.49	15.43
World Union of Herut-Hatzohar	49	8.77	9.33
World Union of United Workers Party	33	5.91	6.29
Independent Liberals	13	2.33	2.48
WIZO (Women's Zionist Organization)	20	3.57	—
Independents	14	2.50	—
Total	559	100.00	100.00

g) *Number of Delegates in Recent Congresses*

The following list shows participation in the 28th Congress, as compared with the five previous Congresses held in Jerusalem:

23rd	*24th*	*25th*	*26th*	*27th*	*28th*
446	496	521	529	644	559

RESOLUTIONS OF THE CONGRESS

A. POLITICAL MATTERS

1. Centrality of Israel in Jewish Life

Meeting in Jerusalem, the capital of the State of Israel, on the 75th anniversary of the First Zionist Congress, the 28th Zionist Congress solemnly reaffirms its full identification with the State of Israel in its aspirations, ideals and struggles. The Congress stresses the centrality of the State of Israel in the life of the Jewish people as a whole and in the life of every individual Jew.

2. The Inalienable Right to Eretz Israel

Congress declares that the right of the Jewish people to Eretz Israel is inalienable. In the Six Day War the aggressors were repulsed, the land of our fathers was liberated and Jerusalem became a united city again.

3. Israel's Struggle for Peace

(a) The 28th Zionist Congress fully supports Israel's struggle for secure borders and a just and lasting peace with its neighbours, thus opening a new era of prosperity and creativity for all peoples in the region. True peace can be achieved only by free negotiations between the parties, without prior conditions, and must be based on binding peace treaties providing for agreed and secure boundaries.

(b) The Zionist Congress welcomes the existing cease-fire between Egypt and Israel, convinced that this situation must continue as a pre-condition of progress towards the attainment of a meaningful and lasting peace. At the same time, Congress expresses its concern about the bellicose proclamations and attitudes of the Arab leaders, particularly those of Egypt, which generate a war-like atmosphere.

4. Israel's Defence Requirements

The Zionist Congress declares that in order to secure peace in the Middle East, it is essential to ensure Israel's full capacity for self-defence, in view of Russia's continuing massive supply of offensive arms to Egypt and the intensification of involvement and active military assistance to Egypt and to other Arab states.

The Zionist Congress urges all countries desirous of stability and peace in the Middle East to supply more defensive arms to Israel so as to enable her to prevent and resist aggression.

5. *Freedom of Access and Worship at the Holy Places*

The Zionist Congress affirms the principle of freedom of religion and worship for all peoples. Cognisant of the universal religious significance of Jerusalem, the Congress notes with satisfaction that since its unification, the entire population of Jerusalem has been living in peace and harmony, enjoying full freedom of worship and free access to the Holy Places.

6. *Jews in the Arab Countries*

The 28th Zionist Congress expresses the grave concern of the entire Jewish people for the welfare of their brethren still living in the Arab States. The Congress records its profound alarm at the fate of the remnants of the Jewish communities in these countries, where they are being held as hostages, and are subject to humiliation and oppression, as in Syria.

The severe restrictions imposed on freedom of movement of the Jews, on their cultural, religious and communal life, as well as on their economic activity, the arbitrary arrests, prolonged interrogation and physical and mental torture, to which they are subject, render the life of the Jews of Syria intolerable.

The Zionist Congress declares that the Jewish people, and those who support justice throughout the world, will continue to fight for the human rights of the Jews of Syria and of other Arab countries in which they are persecuted, as well as for the right enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of freedom of exit from any country of residence.

The Congress records its appreciation of all governments and international agencies, as well as of individual leaders in the intellectual, religious and political spheres, who have raised their voice on behalf of our persecuted brethren. The Congress calls upon them to persist in this humanitarian struggle so as to halt all oppression and persecution and to release the victims of this inhuman policy.

7. *Soviet Jewry*

The 28th Zionist Congress records its profound admiration of the struggle of Russian Jewry to return to Israel, their historical homeland. This heroic manifestation of Jewish revival will serve as an example to Jews in all countries. The growth of Aliya from the U.S.S.R. is the result of the concerted struggle of the Jews in the U.S.S.R., as indeed of the entire Jewish people, as well as of the world at large. The Con-

gress expresses its gratitude to the progressive and humanitarian forces in the world who have raised their voices on behalf of justice and human rights in the Soviet Union.

The Congress takes note of the increase in Aliya from the U.S.S.R. in recent months. This development does not, however, indicate that the U.S.S.R. have relinquished their basic policy of denying to the Jews in Russia the right of Aliya to Israel. The Congress appeals to the Soviet Union to respond to the call of the Jewish people—"Let My People Go".

The Congress raises its voice against the anti-Zionist campaign waged by the U.S.S.R. The Congress deplores and condemns the acts of discrimination in the U.S.S.R. against Jews as a people and as individuals.

The Congress protests against the acts of oppression and defamation of the Jews who express a desire to go to Israel, and calls upon the government of the U.S.S.R. to put an end to their practice of dismissal of such persons from employment, and their expulsion from universities. It calls upon the Soviet government to annul the oppressive emigration tax and other difficulties placed in the way of those who wish to leave the Soviet Union for Israel.

The Congress appeals to the Jewish people in Israel and the Diaspora, as well as to the world at large, to continue and step up its struggle for the right of every Jew in the U.S.S.R. to go to Israel, and not to rest until all Jews imprisoned on account of their wish to go to Israel, have been released.

Congress sends a message of solidarity and encouragement to all Jews languishing in prisons on account of their courageous struggle for Jewish rights, and pledges its unceasing support of the "Prisoners of Zion" in their struggle for justice and freedom.

8. Extension of Restitution Payments from Germany

The 28th Zionist Congress urges the government of the German Federal Republic to include within the framework of personal restitution such Jews as were persecuted by the Nazis during their occupation of Europe, but who only recently received permission to leave.

The Congress believes that the Jews who suffered persecution and who, despite all their efforts, did not succeed in emigrating until 1965, should not be denied their rightful claims. It is only right that they should also benefit from the payment of personal restitution as provided by the government of the German Federal Republic to the other persecuted Jews.

9. External Relations Activities

The 28th Zionist Congress calls upon the Zionist Executive:

(a) actively to support all to Israel Friendship Leagues, both in Israel and in other countries, to promote the establishment of new Friend-

ship Leagues in countries where they do not already exist and to widen the scope of activities of the Leagues already in existence;

(b) to maintain contacts and collaborate with non-governmental international bodies and organizations in order to widen the scope of information on Israel and Zionism;

(c) to cooperate with representative groupings in Israel in the professional, educational and cultural fields, as well as with service organizations which maintain active contact with parallel institutions and kindred organizations abroad, thus strengthening the relationship between Israel and other countries;

(d) to extend the activities designed to explain the significance of Zionism and Israel to ecclesiastical groups of all denominations, to promote in every possible way the special publication activities conducted in various countries by the Friendship Leagues and other pro-Israel circles.

10. Information Activities of Zionist Territorial Organizations

The Congress calls upon Zionist Territorial Organizations:

(a) to establish special committees, wherever they are not already in existence, in order to widen the scope of information on Israel and Zionism available to non-Jewish groups and including intellectuals, writers and artists, academicians, politicians, and pro-Israel organizations;

(b) to increase the efforts already being made in acquainting the clergy of all religious denominations with the nature and meaning of Zionism and Israel.

B. ZIONIST TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATIONS (FEDERATIONS)

11. Tasks Incumbent on Zionist Territorial Organizations at the Present Time

The 28th Zionist Congress takes note with a sense of deep satisfaction of the manifestations of renewed Zionist democracy as expressed through the world-wide Membership Drive, carried through in 44 countries in which upwards of 900,000 members were enrolled in the ranks of the Zionist Movement. It furthermore expresses gratification at the fact that for the first time in many years, democratic elections for the Zionist Congress were conducted in 21 countries.

This new situation makes it incumbent upon the Zionist Territorial Organizations and their affiliates in all countries to do everything within their power to turn the large number of sympathisers with Zionism into full and active members of the Zionist Movement to fulfil taks incum-

bent upon them in the various important fields of activity of the Z.T.O., so as to make the Zionist Movement a central force in the life of the Jewish people as a whole and in the life of every Jewish community, thus turning the Movement into an effective medium for the implementation of the Zionist idea.

The Zionist Territorial Organizations embrace Zionists in their respective countries, who subscribe to the Jerusalem Programme and pay a membership fee to the Z.T.O. whether directly or through their constituent organizations.

The Zionist Territorial Organization is the unified comprehensive framework within which all organizations and institutions cooperate in planning and carrying out their Zionist functions.

12. Programme for the Strengthening of the Zionist Territorial Organizations

(a) The Zionist Congress calls upon the Zionist Territorial Organizations to re-examine, strengthen and improve their structure, organization and methods of work. Each organization must draw up and implement short and long-term plans of activity, in the implementation of which the Zionist Executive must extend its full assistance.

(b) The Congress reiterates the duty of each Zionist Territorial Organization to convene territorial conferences at fixed intervals, of not longer than two years, and set up governing bodies (such as territorial councils, executive committees, etc.) in keeping with local conditions and requirements, and introduce elections to such institutions. In addition to the affiliated Zionist organizations, suitable representation must be given to the National Funds, the Aliya Movement, and affiliated organizations of youth and students, the young adult generation and the young adult sections of the parties, youth movements, women's organizations and similar bodies.

(c) Each Zionist Territorial Organization should set up regional and local branches wherever possible, so as to carry out the programmes of the Z.T.O.'s in their respective communities. All organizations and institutions shall cooperate in planning and implementing the Zionist duties that they hold in common.

(d) All Zionist Territorial Organizations and affiliated organizations shall conduct periodically Membership Drives in their respective countries, utilizing all the media of Zionist ideological information. Such Membership Drive shall be conducted whether through the medium of organizations affiliated to the Federations or directly by the Zionist Territorial Organization.

13. Relations Between the Zionist Territorial Organizations and the Departments of the Zionist Executive

(a) Each Zionist Territorial Organization which shoulders responsibility for the implementation of the functions of the Zionist Movement in its respective country shall be recognized by the Zionist Executive as the central and authorized institution in all matters affecting Zionist activities. The Congress hereby decides that the functions and activities of the W.Z.O. shall gradually be transferred to the Zionist Territorial Organization in the various countries. Discussions with the Executive on this point shall commence forthwith, and the Executive shall report to the following session of the Zionist General Council on the progress of the implementation of this resolution.

(b) In each Zionist Territorial Organization there should function committees (departments) charged with functions parallel to those of the Departments of the Zionist Executive. Members of the Territorial Organization Executive shall act as Chairmen of the various committees, assuming responsibility for the sphere of activity of each committee.

(c) The emissaries of the Departments of the Zionist Executive shall regard themselves as part of the Zionist Territorial Organization and shall participate in the work of the committees of the Z.T.O. concerned. The principal emissary of each department shall be responsible to the Chairman of the committee to which he is attached. It is recommended that he act as coordinator of such a committee and as director of the relevant department of the Z.T.O. and participate ex officio in the meetings of the Executive of the Z.T.O. in an advisory capacity.

(d) Wherever a number of emissaries function, they shall constitute a team, headed by the representative of the Zionist Executive accredited to the country concerned. The representative of the Zionist Executive will maintain regular contacts with the Chairman of the Z.T.O. and attend meetings of its Executive in an advisory capacity.

(e) The Executive's Departments shall decide on the annual budget for their activities in each country, in consultation with the Executive of the Z.T.O. and the principal emissary. The Executive shall ensure full coordination insofar as allocations of the various departments for their activities in each country are concerned. The Z.T.O. shall receive full information on the budget and its implementation.

(f) The Zionist Executive, in consultation with the Z.T.O., shall determine when the above proposal shall become effective, taking into consideration organizational conditions in each country. The Executive shall issue guidelines for the implementation of the above

arrangements in stages, in accordance with conditions prevailing in each country.

(g) The Executive should consult with the Zionist Territorial Organizations concerned in all matters relating to contacts and cooperation with local Jewish Organizations.

14. Financing of Activities of the Zionist Territorial Organizations

It is the duty of Zionist Territorial Organizations to make very effort to finance activities from their own resources, including membership fees payable by all members.

15. Staff of the Zionist Territorial Organizations

Congress calls on the Zionist Executive to assist Zionist Territorial Organizations in providing professional and ideological training programmes for their staff, both in Israel and in the countries concerned.

16. The Young Generation in the Zionist Territorial Organizations

Congress makes it obligatory upon the Zionist Movement in all countries to employ all possible means—informational, organizational and constitutional—in order to attract and make possible the participation of new forces from among the young generation in Zionist activities. Emphasis should be laid on gathering these new elements from among the young adult generation and enlist them for Zionist activity within the framework of the Zionist Territorial Organizations and other Zionist bodies so as to enable them to fulfil responsible functions in the executive institutions of the Zionist Territorial Organizations.

Cognisant of the fact that the cooperation of the young adult generation is vital for the future of the Zionist Organization and its territorial branches, Congress instructs the Executive to strengthen and develop activities in this field and to see to it that the necessary means for such activity are placed at its disposal. The Executive is instructed to report to the forthcoming session of the Zionist General Council on progress made in this direction. Congress calls on the Executive and the Zionist Territorial Organizations to set up a suitable framework so as to serve, encourage and guide the activities of the young adult generation and the young adult sections of the Zionist parties, and to place adequate budgets and emissaries at their disposal.

Congress requests the Zionist Executive and the Zionist Territorial Organizations to consult with the representatives of the young adult sections in all matters pertaining to the promotion and expansion of activities in this field.

17. The Functions of the Zionist Territorial Organizations in Jewish Communal Life

The Zionist Territorial Organizations shall make efforts to ensure the regular course of communal life; the inculcation of a Zionist spirit into the cultural and educational activities of the community; the strengthening of ties with the State of Israel and the centrality of Israel in the community's life.

18. Participation of Members of the Zionist General Council in Zionist Activity

Every member of the Zionist General Council is obliged actively to participate in the work of the Zionist Organization in his country of residence. Congres recommends that the various groupings shall see to it that their representatives on the Zionist General Council be Zionists who play a leading role in the activities of the Zionist Territorial Organizations.

19. Duties of the Individual Zionist

The following obligations stem from the tasks and functions embraced by the Jerusalem Program, as well as from membership in the Zionist Organization:

(a) To implement Aliya to Israel.
(b) To be an active member of the Zionist Territorial Organization.
(c) To endeavour to implement the programme of the Zionist Movement.
(d) To study Hebrew, to give one's children a Jewish education and bring them up towards Aliya and Zionist self-fulfilment.
(e) To contribute and to be active on behalf of the Zionist funds and to actively participate in the consolidation of Israel's economy.
(f) To play an active role in the life of one's community and its institutions, and to endeavour to ensure their democratic nature; to strengthen Zionist influence within the community, and to intensify Jewish education.
(g) To work for the defence of Jewish rights in the Diaspora.

The Z.T.O.s shall make every effort to inculcate a consciousness of these duties in their members and to demand from Zionist leaders to set a personal example in their implementation.

20. Admission of New Member to the W.Z.O.

In accordance with Art. 5, Section 1 (a) of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, and on the proposal of the Executive, Congress resolves to admit the Zionist Organization of Paraguay to membership of the World Zionist Organization.

C. LEGAL MATTERS

21. Appointment of a Committee for Amendments to the Constitution

The 28th Zionist Congress resolves to charge the Executive with the appointment, after consultation with the Presidium of the Zionist General Council, of a committee consisting of public personalities and legal experts, for the purpose of examining the Constitution, and the Regulations for its implementation, in view of the developments and requirements of the Movement following the drawing up of the Constitution, and of drafting proposals for amendments to the Constitution and the Regulations.

In particular, Congress recommends that this committee shall consider the matter of determining Israel's representation in Congress.

The committee shall submit its recommendation to the Zionist General Council for deliberation and decision.

22. Authorization of the Zionist General Council to amend the Constitution

In accordance with Articles 15 and 64 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, Congress authorises the Council to decide on amendments to the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization.

23. Admission of the Maccabi World Union to Membership of the World Zionist Organization

In accordance with Art 5, Sec. 4 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, Congress resolves to admit the Maccabi World Union to membership of the W.Z.O. and in accordance with Art. 15 of the Constitution, Congress authorises the Executive to determine the conditions for the participation of the Maccabi World Union in the Congress, the Zionist General Council and other bodies of the W.Z.O., including the nature of its representation and the number of its representatives.

24. Admission of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities

In accordance with Art. 5, Sec. 4 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, Congress resolves to admit the World Federation of Sephardic Communities to membership of the W.Z.O. and in accordance with Art. 15 of the Constitution, authorises the Executive to determine the conditions for the participation of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities in the Congress, the General Council and other bodies of the W.Z.O., including the nature of its representation and the number of its representatives.

25. Representation of the Israel Zionist Council in the General Council

Congress instructs the Executive and the Presidium of the General Council together to determine the representation of the Israel Zionist Council in the General Council.

26. Number of members of the Congress Tribunal

Congress resolves, in accordance with Article 64 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, that the maximum number of the members of the Congress Tribunal, under Article 47 of the Constitution, shall be 30.

D. INFORMATION AND IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

27. Information Activities

(a) For information to be effective, it must be carried out in close collaboration with organizational measures. The ideological evaluation and the membership drive that preceded the 28th Congress have shown that the enlistment of new members and the activation and consolidation of the Zionist Organization can only be achieved by cooperation between its information and organization agencies.

(b) Zionist information should also be extended beyond the organized ranks of the movement to embrace those who are searching for their Jewish identity as well as Yeshiva and Synagogue circles, in order to bring them into the Zionist fold.

(c) To ensure the continuity of Zionist leadership, priority should be given to programmes designed for the younger generation and more intensive information campaigns should be conducted among scientists, students and members of the liberal professions.

(d) The Zionist Territorial Organizations together with the Organization and Information Department and other Departments concerned should set up research and information centres on matters relating to the Jewish people, organize seminars for lecturers and various circles, religious and lay, and maintain contact with those who shape public opinion.

(e) The experience of the numerous seminars held for youth movement delegates, students and university people in Israel under the auspices of the Departments of the Zionist Executive in collaboration with the Zionist Territorial Organizations has shown that these seminars are a most effective information medium and that the relevant programme should be expanded.

(f) Congress stresses the need to promote and increase the circulation of the Zionist press in the Diaspora and the periodicals published in Israel for the Diaspora. Encouragement should be given to the press catering to the younger generation and to student programmes and the Zionist Territorial Organizations are called upon to intensify their contacts with representatives of the Jewish press. Congress approves of the publications issued by the Organization and Information Department in collaboration with other Departments, such as "Dispersion and Unity," "Sources of National Thought," "Confrontation," Zionist paperbacks and others, and recommends the continuation and expansion of this literary programme.

(g) In view of the growing importance of the mass communications media, the Zionist Organization is urged to develop modern information programmes including various audio-visual programmes (films and exhibitions).

28. Israel's Broadcasts to the Diaspora and to Israel

(a) The Congress conveys its appreciation to the Broadcasting Authority on establishing immediate contacts with the Jewish people in the Diaspora by means of various foreign-language broadcasts. The broadcasts to the U.S.S.R. will go on record as a historic achievement.

(b) Congress considers the expansion of the broadcasts a matter of paramount importance and urgency. The expansion should apply to French-language broadcasts for French-speaking Jews and to the broadcasts to Latin America. The Congress recommends that the resources required for this purpose be assured.

(c) Congress attaches importance to the broadcasts of "Kol Zion Lagola" dealing with the inculcation of Jewish traditional values, especially in those countries where Jewish educational activities have been outlawed. Congress recommends the establishment, at the Zionist Organization, of a special committee to draw up detailed proposals for the implementation of this project.

(d) Likewise the Congress attaches special importance to imparting Jewish and Zionism values to the residents of Israel by means of the Israeli broadcasting network, special emphasis being placed on programmes for the younger generation.

29. The Jewish Press

The 28th Zionist Congress notes with appreciation the role played by the Jewish newspapers in the Diaspora, which render loyal service to the cause of the nation and the State by combating assimilation, promoting Jewish education and preserving the national cultural and community values of the Jews in the Diaspora.

Congress expresses its regret at the fact that the Jewish daily "The Tog Morgen Journal" closed down after having for seventy-five years served the largest Jewish community in the world and expresses concern at the dangers that threaten the remaining Jewish press.

Congress recommends that the Executive of the World Zionist Organization take steps to ensure the appearance of the Jewish and Zionist press.

30. Ideological Guidelines for Information Work

(a) The Zionist Movement is the national, social and spiritual liberation movement of the Jewish People. The establishment of the State has given an enormous impetus to the realization of Zionism. But as before, the mobilization of the whole Zionist camp is needed to strengthen the process of ingathering of the exiles and help in the development, advancement and consolidation of Israel.

(b) Its principal aims are immigration and settlement in Israel and the implementation of the "Jerusalem Program" for the concentration of the Jewish nation in Eretz Israel, its historical homeland. The informational and educational tasks of the Zionist Organization in the Diaspora and in Israel have thus gained redoubled importance.

(c) From the outset, the information programmes will be in the spirit of Herzl's injunction "Return to Judaism precedes the return to the Land of Jews," in an endeavour to enhance the attachment to our spiritual heritage and the national and universal yearning for redemption, in the spirit of Israel's prophets and the great preceptors of its Zionist revival.

(d) Zionist information in the seventies will be carried out as follows:

1) Against the background of the present condition of the Jewish nation throughout the world, the danger of the spread of anti-semitism (at times in the guise of anti-Zionism) in the East and the West, growing assimilation and increased mixed marriages, lessons of the holocaust, the physical or spiritual survival of the Jewish people in the Diaspora is at peril.

2) In cognizance of the fact that solutions to the Jewish Question and the ensuring of our national survival have one after another come to naught, both in the East and the West, both under dictatorial as well as liberal regimes, where Jews are facing persecution, national annihilation or spiritual decline and extinction.

3) In face of the open gates of Israel which needs millions of additional Jews in order once and forever to safeguard the future of the Jewish nation and the security of the State.

(e) Zionist education and information in the Diaspora shall be based

on the religious, national and historical rights of the Jewish people to Eretz Israel.

(f) The Congress reaffirms that the paucity of ideas and the dichotomy between the declared ideological principles and actual practice, have seriously hampered the Zionist Movement and detracted from its influence and credibility among the people as a whole and the younger generation in particular. It accordingly urges the revival of the Zionist Movement as a revolutionary national, social and spiritual movement both in theory and in practice. This movement will be free of illusions concerning eternal exile, and the Congress wishes to state that the Jewish problem cannot be solved in any other way except through the ingathering of the exiles.

(g) To inculcate the idea of the singularity of the Zionist Movement it is essential to define the duties and rights of Zionists as compared with those of friends of the State of Israel. Zionists must make it their duty to link their own fate with that of Israel as potential olim; they are required to learn Hebrew and to educate their children in the Jewish-Zionist spirit so as to prepare them for Aliya; to assist all Aliya movements and Zionist and pioneering youth organizations. Their activities in the communities must be directed toward increasing the influence of Zionism and the development of the Hebrew schools. They must be ready to defend the State of Israel and the rights of the Jews wherever they may be; and contribute themselves and solicit from others contributions designed to strengthen the State of Israel and enhance its absorption capacity. On the other hand, Zionists are entitled to a privileged position among the Jewish Organizations in the Diaspora and should be given the right to express an opinion in regard to the shaping of Israel's external and internal politics.

(h) The effectiveness of Zionist information will be tested by the Zionist credibility of the leadership and Zionist workers in the various countries. They must set an example for every Zionist by implementing their ideals and coming to Israel themselves. If they do not go on Aliya within two terms of office they cannot continue to hold office.*

(i) The Congress maintains that in view of the many distortions and falsifications of Israel's image and the vicious attacks by antagonists and enemies of the country, it is incumbent upon the Zionist Organization to intensify the information drive about Israel as a country aspiring to live in security and true peace and upholding the principles of democracy despite the present state of emergency. Without remaining oblivious of undesirable manifestations which have to be eradicated, Zionist information may point to Israel's

* See footnote to resolution No. 91.

numerous achievements—as a spiritual centre of the Jewish nation, in the ingathering of the exiles, the revival of the nation's culture, the reduction of social gaps, and the disparity among the communities, the extensive development of agriculture and industry and the shaping of a pluralistic society as well as the establishment of a diversified economy comprising publicly, privately and collectively owned enterprises. Israel is laying the foundations for a regenerated life based on social justice in the hope of continuing to develop towards the attainment of its specific mission. This gives us the authority to tell the young generation in the Diaspora, which is straying in alien fields, that the paths towards pioneering action and the reconstruction and regeneration of society lead to Israel.

31. Standing Committee on Principles of Zionism and Ideological Conference

(a) The 28th Zionist Congress decides to establish a Standing Committee which will examine the principles of Zionism and will formulate, before the end of 1972, a proposal for the basic principles of Zionism and a definition of the obligations of the Zionist and their implementations.

(b) The Congress resolves that a World Ideological Conference shall be convened this year, in which intellectuals and members of ideological movements will participate. This conference will attempt to clarify and work out Zionist ideology. Within the framework of this conference discussions with representatives of the younger generation should be included.

32. Information Activities of the Zionist Council in Israel among the Youth

The Congress views with concern the apathy and confusion prevalent among a section of the younger generation in Israel with regard to Judaism, Zionism, the image of Israeli society and the tasks which they have to fulfil in all these spheres.

This apathy and perplexity may be traced to several sources such as: the inadequacy of purposeful Jewish and Zionist education; the lack of a carefully cultivated attitude to Diaspora Jewry and their problems and the undermining of national and social values in Israeli society.

With the help of the Youth and Hechalutz Department, the Israel Zionist Council must continue to be active in this sphere, to make the youth aware of these problems and to initiate topics for discussion which will bring about a more positive and active attitude towards Zionism and the Jewish people.

The following activities should be developed:

(a) The expansion of Jewish-Zionist education for the younger generation in Israel by means of compulsory classes in Judaism, Zionism and clarification of the problems of Israeli society and an integration of these subjects in the curricula of elementary schools, high schools, and institutes of higher learning, and the training of suitable teachers for these subjects.

(b) The establishment of permanent seminars where the younger generation and high school students in general and members of youth movements in particular will be educated towards identifying themselves with the values of Judaism and Zionism. These seminars will also provide a great deal of information about the functions and activities of the Zionist Movement.

The Congress supports the activities of the Israel Zionist Council in its attempts to increase the political and social awareness as well as the awareness of Zionism among the younger generation, and calls on the Zionist Executive to allocate additional means for this purpose.

E. RELATIONSHIP WITH ORGANIZED WORLD JEWRY

33. Cooperation between W.Z.O. and Internationally Active Jewish Bodies

The Congress takes cognisance of the wide range of existing cooperation between the World Zionist Organization and Jewish bodies which are internationally active in the political, educational and religious fields. Congress expresses the view that a greater degree of planning and coordination is necessary in regard to policy and pratical work, and believes that in many cases cooperation between the bodies concerned should be intensified to their mutual benefit. Congress therefore instructs the incoming Executive to make a detailed study of the existing relationship between the Zionist Organization and internationally active Jewish bodies with a view to achieving closer cooperation and coordination in every sphere of Zionist interest.

34. Relations with World Jewish Congress

Congress requests that special consideration be given to the World Jewish Congress, a body which was brought into existence with the support of the Zionist Movement, and whose functions are in many fields related and interlinked.

35. Consultation on Jewish Cultural Activities

Congress believes that in the field of Jewish cultural activity there is special need for the Zionist Movement to initiate a continuing process

of consultation and cooperation on the highest level between major Jewish bodies in order partly to consider effectively the ends and the means necessary to enhance the cultural standards of Jewish life.

36. International Jewish Conventions

Congress instructs the Executive to see to it that whenever it is represented at international Jewish conventions every effort be made to put the Zionist point of view forcibly and to ensure that it prevails. To this end it considers it essential that the representatives of the Executive and of the Zionist Movement generally take consultation before and, if necessary, during such conventions, in order to frame a common line of policy.

37. National Representation of Jewish Organizations

In such countries where a national overall representative Jewish organization exists, close cooperation should be established with such body to render Israel-orientated activity more effective.

38. Israel Orientation of Jewish Bodies

Congress instructs the incoming Executive to ensure that all Zionist Territorial Organizations and individual members of the Zionist Movement use their influence with Jewish international, national and local organizations and associations operating in the political, religious, youth, educational, welfare, cultural or social fields, so as to make them increasingly Israel-orientated in accordance with the principle of the centrality of Israel in Jewish life.

F. ALIYA AND ABSORPTION

39. Aliya as the Centre of Activities of the Zionist Movement

In view of the fact that Aliya is the quintessence of the Zionist Movement, the 28th Zionist Congress declares that the task of creating an Aliya consciousness among the Jewish masses in the Diaspora forms the centre of Zionist activities. In view of the miraculous phenomenon of the increasing Aliya from the U.S.S.R. the Congress believes that the Jews in the free world must also intensify Aliya, particularly at this crucial hour, in order to contribute their share to the "ingathering of our people". The Congress records its deep satisfaction at the intensification of Aliya from all countries of the Diaspora and calls upon the Zionist Executive to continues its ceaseless struggle for the Aliya of Jews from all countries, regardless of their regime.

40. U.S.S.R. Jewry

(a) The Congress warmly welcomes the inception of Aliya from the Soviet Union and calls upon the government of Israel to take all necessary steps for their absorption in their scores of thousands, mainly in the fields of housing, employment, vocational training and education. Congress calls upon the government of Israel to encourage and assist the olim in settling in all parts of the country.

(b) Georgian Jewry, which preserved the spark of Judaism under a regime of severe repression and which was among the first to undertake the struggle for Aliya, is worthy of special attention in view of its specific nature. The Aliya and Klita authorities are requested to adapt their absorption methods to such Aliya, so as to conform to its social, religious and traditional aspirations. Their proper absorption calls for their settlement in groups in all parts of the country.

41. Encouragement of Aliya

(a) The members and leaders of the Zionist Movement are called upon to direct all the means at their disposal to encourage Aliya and its future through an intensification and expansion of Jewish education.

(b) In order to foster the personal fulfilment of the members of the Zionist Movement, the Congress calls upon every Zionist parent to send at least one member of his family on Aliya so that he may serve as a pioneer for the family's future settlement in the country.

(c) The Congress calls upon the Executive to continue its activities for the fostering of Aliya and to initiative new programmes for the creation of direct links between the residents in Israel and Jews all over the world, and to bring the message of Aliya to all sections of the community, circulating information about absorption so as to make it possible for individuals to plan their immigration.

(d) The Congress views with favour the encouragement of tourism to Israel as a lever for Aliya, and the continuation of the Tour V'Aleh programme, the organization of tours, seminars and various investment programmes in Israel, and any other projects in collaboration with the Ministries of Absorption and Tourism.

42. Aliya Movement

(a) The Congress welcomes the development of the Aliya Movement as an important lever for increased Aliya from the Western world in recent years. The Congress urges the Executive to do its utmost to strengthen the Aliya Movement; to impose upon it the important

task of imparting Zionist education to potential olim before their Aliya and to prepare them for successful absorption in the country. The Aliya Movement should foster pioneering settlement in border regions, in the kibbutzim and moshavim and support the programme of cooperative group settlement in accordance with the wishes of its members. The Congress calls upon the Executive and the relevant government ministries to offer all possible assistance to these ends.

(b) The Congress recommends that the Aliya Movement should be guaranteed the necessary means for the activities arising from its development.

43. Immigrant Associations

The Congress reaffirms Resolution No. 31 of the 27th Congress which recommended that the immigrant associations form an inseparable part of all bodies engaged in the planning of Aliya and social and economic absorption of olim, and calls the Executive to implement this recommendation.

44. Activities of the Aliya and Klita Authorities

The Congress expresses its appreciation of all those active in the framework of immigration and absorption, highlights their efforts in this direction and urges them to continue to improve their services for the olim.

(a) *Shlichim*

The Congress records its appreciation of the work of the shlichim. In view of the needs involved in the planning of Aliya, the Aliya Department is called upon to appoint such shlichim as meet the professional, social and religious needs of the candidates of Aliya in their respective regions.

(b) *Incentives*

The Congress recommends to the joint Aliya and Klita Authority to continue its effective incentives for the encouragement of Aliya. Should there be any change of incentive benefits, consideration should be given for a reasonable period of time to the rights of those who have already made preparations for Aliya.

(c) *Transitional Frameworks*

1) The Congress records with great satisfaction the valuable activities of absorption centres, hostels and ulpanim and calls upon the Executive to expand and strengthen them so as to meet the needs of increased Aliya.

2) The Congress calls upon the Executive to continue to observe Kashrut in all the Aliya and absorption institutions, and to avert the desecration of the Shabbat and Jewish festivals in these places.
3) Seeing that in many countries of origin olim are deprived of the possibility of getting a knowledge of Judaism, Jewish tradition and Zionism, and in order to strengthen their Jewish and Zionist consciousness, the absorption institutions must introduce not only a programme of Jewish and Zionist studies but must create a Jewish and Israeli atmosphere in these institutions, with special stress on Jewish and Israeli custom and usage.
4) The Immigration and Absorption Department shall cooperate with the Ministry of Absorption in teaching Hebrew to olim during their stay in absorption centres, while offering their professional training and retraining.

(d) *Housing*

1) The Congress calls upon the government of Israel to make widespread preparations and to gather all the necessary resources so as to absorb the increased Aliya expected in the coming years. The Congress considers the plan of the Ministry of Absorption to provide 50,00 housing units and to plan for an additional 100,000 units, a task which should be carried out without delay.
2) The Congress calls upon the Jewish world to raise the necessary financial resources, know-how, equipment and manpower to help realise the housing plans.
3) The Congress recommends expanding the construction of rental housing for olim throughout the country.
4) The Congress notes the fact that special attention should be given to the problem of housing for single, young and aged olim.

(e) *Employment*

The Congress calls on the Aliya and Klita authorities and the Israel government to find solutions to the employment problems of olim and recommends the following methods:

1) The planning of employment for the years ahead by expanding existing branches and by creating new ones.
2) Vocational retraining of immigrants whose vocations are not in demand in the country. Insofar as possible, this process should be started already in the country of origin.
3) The preparation of long and short term of employment forecasts in order to guide immigrants in the planning of their Aliya.
4) The Executive shall see to it that Shabbath observance does

not constitute an obstacle in obtaining work, against the desire or conscience of the olim.

(f) *Information*

The Congress recommends that every immigrant be given full and accurate information in writing and in his native language, concerning possibilities in the fields of education, health, national insurance, etc.

(g) *Social Services*

The Congress takes note of the social services given to the oleh, and urges the improvement of such services and their continuation so long as immigrants are entitled to them.

45. Development Plans

The Congress instructs the Zionist Executive in collaboration with the government to offer immigrants settling in development areas preferential conditions and to encourage large-scale and unusual development projects.

46. Religious Quarters

The Congress notes with satisfaction the establishment of religious quarters and calls for a continuation of this trend.

47. Youth and Students

(a) The Congress calls upon the absorption authorities and the Ministry of Education to pay special attention to immigrant children in the provisional housing framework and in schools, to draw up special programmes for them so as to enhance their understanding of the country and its culture, and also to facilitate their integration in the classes and the society of age-groups.

(b) The Congress notes with satisfaction the activities carried out in the area of student and youth absorption and calls upon the educational institutions and the Ministry of Education and Culture to make preparations for the absorption of the increased numbers of students and young people arriving with the new wave of Aliya.

48. Social Absorption

The Congress demands that a suitable Aliya and absorption atmosphere be created in the country in collaboration with the government, Jewish Agency and Zionist Organisations, the Labour Organisations, the Immigrants Associations, Women's Organisations and other voluntary groups.

49. Absorption of Prisoners of Zion and Veteran Zionist Leaders

(a) The Zionist Movement places on record the contribution of the Prisoners of Zion to the Zionist struggle and urges that steps be taken for their absorption and the speeding up of arrangements for their pensions.

(b) The Zionist Congress reaffirms the resolution of the Zionist General Council of July 1, 1971, which noted the increased immigration of veteran leaders in the Zionist Movement and emphasized the need for special efforts to facilitate their absorption in housing suitable to their particular needs. The Congress calls upon the Absorption Ministry to take immediate steps to implement this resolution.

50. Absorption of Artists and Intellectuals

The Congress recommends the establishment of a special fund for the absorption of artists and intellectuals.

51. Rehabilitation in Special Cases

The Congress charges the Executive with the task of rehabilitating special cases of olim who, for objective reasons, have failed to be integrated and whose eligibility for assistance has expired.

52. Aid to Large Families

The Congress instructs the Zionist Executive to examine the possibilities of providing aid to large families in order to speed up their absorption.

53. Increase of Natality

The Congress instructs the Zionist Executive to devote special attention to programmes for an increased birth rate and to submit a systematic and detailed plan in this matter to the forthcoming session of the Zionist General Council.

G. YOUTH ALIYAH

54. Achievements and Tasks of Youth Aliyah

The 28th Zionist Congress appreciates the achievements of Youth Aliyah in the years since the 27th Congress and urges the continuation and expansion of these efforts in the following spheres:

(a) the transfer to Israel of youngsters from affluent countries and from countries of distress, arriving without their parents;

(b) the educational integration of these children and of the children of new immigrants;
(c) the cultural and educational integration of disadvantaged Israeli children.

55. The Rescue of Diaspora Youth from Assimilation

Congress confirms the resolution adopted by the Zionist General Council in July 1969: "The main task of Youth Aliyah is to bring Jewish children from the Diaspora to Israel, absorb them and educate them in educational institutions connected with Youth Aliyah. In view of the danger of assimilation threatening all Jewish children in the Diaspora, Youth Aliyah must exert every effort to rescuing them by bringing them over to Israel."

56. The Value of Youth Aliyah Education and Training

Congress notes with satisfaction that the education provided at the various institutions affiliated with Youth Aliyah has enabled wards to find their places in Israeli society, has helped them develop into good citizens and taught them skills that make them an asset to their country. Tens of thousands of youngsters have received the benefits of such training.

57. Promoting the Aliya of Youth from Affluent Countries

Congress calls upon Youth Aliyah to intensify its efforts to encourage and promote the Aliya of young people from affluent countries and calls upon the Executive to make available the funds necessary for a full development of this programme.

58. Absorption of Disadvantaged Israeli Children

Congress welcomes and supports Youth Aliyah's decision to absorb within the coming two years an additional 4,600 disadvantaged Israeli children into its framework, as a first step towards an expansion of its programme. Congress expresses its conviction that Youth Aliyah's extensive experience in the rehabilitation of disadvantaged children will be a valuable contribution to the solution of the problems of poverty, to the bridging of social gaps and to the social and educational advancement of these disadvantaged boys and girls.

59. Assistance to Youth Aliyah

Congress calls upon the institutions of the World Zionist Organization to increase their assistance to Youth Aliyah so as to ensure the success of its programme. Such assistance will help to provide much needed additional dormitories, educational, social and recreational facilities as well as research and experimentation in the educational field.

60. Attention to Religious Background

Congress reaffirms Youth Aliyah's long-standing policy of ensuring for each child an education in accordance with his religious background by placing him in appropriate institutions, youth villages, kibbutzim or day centres.

61. Appreciation of Support for Youth Aliyah

Congress expresses its appreciation to all organizations the world over for their outstanding efforts and continued support of Youth Aliyah.

H. SETTLEMENT AND LAND DEVELOPMENT

62. Expansion of Settlement Programme

(a) The 28th Zionist Congress notes with satisfaction and appreciation the achievements of the Settlement Department which since the Six Day War has established over 50 new settlements throughout the country and along its borders. Congress conveys the warmest good wishes of the Zionist Organization to all the new settlers, in mountains and valleys, the Aravah and in the border regions.

(b) The Congress welcomes the progress made by 284 agricultural settlements that have attained economic, organizational and social independence, and approves of the Settlement Department's plans for the consolidation of additional settlements. The Congress regards it as vitally important that the consolidation of all settlements be completed by the time the forthcoming Congress convenes.

(c) While noting the results so far achieved, Congress considers it essential that the settlement programme be vigorously pursued as a basis for the rebuilding of the land, the dispersal of Israel's population, the strengthening of her economy, the conservation of her social values and the security of her borders.

63. Manpower and Absorption Problems in the Settlements

(a) Congress notes with satisfaction the absorption in rural settlements of almost ten thousand olim who have arrived since the Six Day War. At the same time Congress expresses concern at the diminishing man-potential for rural settlement, despite the growth of the country's population.

(b) Congress regards it as a central goal of the Zionist Organization to attract olim to the rural settlements and calls upon the Settlement, Youth and Hechalutz, Education, Immigration and Absorption and the Organization and Information Departments to join in a concerted efforts to this end.

(c) Congress calls upon the youth and the young adult generations in Israel and the Diaspora to regard settlement as a primary challenge, to set up pioneering settlement nuclei and enlist in Nahal units, and appeals to yeshiva students to join those who fulfil the commandment of settling the Land of Israel.
The Zionist Executive is called upon to provide material assistance for the organizing of settlement nuclei among young Israelis and olim.

(d) Congress welcomes the programmes of the Settlement Department for the absorption of second-generation settlers, by diversifying the range of employment in the rural areas and integrating industry within the organic village structure.

(e) Congress notes with satisfaction the announcement of the settlement organizations that they are in a position to take in thousands of additional families within the existing settlements and on the basis of the present infrastructure, and calls upon the relevant agencies to step up the housing programme in the various settlements so as to facilitate the integration of these families.

(f) Congress takes note of the fact that the settlement authorities will continue their policy to regard every settlement agency and every group of people having suitable man-power and a social framework at their disposal, as candidates entitled to settlement on the land and will assist them to achieve this end.

64. The Keren Kayemet and Land Development

(a) Congress notes with appreciation the report of the Keren Kayemet on its achievements in the fields of land reclamation, road building in border regions and in afforestation since the Six Day War. Congress regards the systematic land development carried out by the Keren Kayemet as a pre-condition for the expansion of rural settlement.

(b) Congress approves of the Keren Kayemet's land development programme for 1972-75 and calls upon the Zionist Movement to make available to the Keren Kayemet the financial resources required for the development of new areas for Jewish settlement and for expanding the land basis of the mountain and border settlements.

I. SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN ISRAEL

65. The Dangers of Social and Economic Disparity in Israel

The Zionist Congress expresses its profound concern about the social, cultural and economic disparity in Israel with its potentially dangerous

effects on the unity of the nation, the security of the country and the absorption of immigration, causing suffering to the individual.

The government of Israel, the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization are accordingly called upon to design and implement such actions as are required for the rapid closing of the social gap. The Congress regards this demand as one of its greatest and most pressing goals towards the materialization of the Zionist ideal.

66. Central Authority for the Relief of Distress

The Congress appeals to the government of Israel and the Jewish Agency to establish a central authority holding far-reaching responsibilities and powers. This authority should possess all necessary financial means to establish social services to coordinate and centralise the efforts to eliminate poverty. This should be accomplished together with the efforts to bolster the absorption facilities of Israeli society.

67. Volunteers to Reduce Disparity

The Congress commends highly the activities of those voluntary groups in Israel who have worked within existing frameworks to combat this stress. The Congress calls for the intensification of these activities among the public of Israel.

68. Social Studies in School Curricula

In order to deepen the consciousness of the need to reduce the social gap, the Congress recommends the introduction of social problems in the curricula of post primary schools.

69. World Jewry's Assistance in Reduction of Disparity

The Congress appeals to the Jews of the Diaspora to intensify the mobilization of financial resources and creative abilities among world Jewry, in order to enable Israeli society to overcome its problems of stress and poverty which weigh heavily on the backword elements in the country.

70. Building Projects

The Congress appeals to the Government of Israel to implement an intensive construction programme in order to eliminate slums in all senses of the word and to assure suitable living conditions for large families now living in congestion as well as for young couples lacking sufficient economic means. Attention should be paid to the fusion of the different communities and their integration into the social and cultural life of Israel. The Zionist Movement must take the initiative in mobilizing the means for this programme among world Jewry in coordination with groups working in these fields. At the same time, the Movement

must call on the Israeli public to concentrate all its resources towards this goal and to avoid non-essential building work.

71. Social Planning

The Congress appeals for a comprehensive social plan which will ensure the economic and vocational progress of large families with low incomes. Likewise an adequate income and an inclusive social insurance must be assured such families as to answer their needs. The welfare and health services as well as educational and vocational training facilities must be adapted to this end.

72. Educational Activities

(a) The Congress regards the rapid bridging of the cultural and educational gap in Israeli society as an essential step towards the inner unity of the nation. Congress therefore appeals to the Israeli government, to the Jewish Agency and Zionist Territorial Federations to take emergency measures in order to abvance Israel's educational network. Such programme must provide a long school day even from the youngest grades, the raising of the educational level of primary schools (including full assistance to children requiring nutrition, help in homework or supplementary lessons) and to ensure all the necessary physical conditions.

(b) Special efforts are needed to widen and deepen secondary and post-secondary education, theoretical as well as vocational and technological, among youth originating from Asia and Africa. Student and youth centres must be established for comprehensive supplementary educational activities. It is also necessary to expand movement frameworks (youth movements and organizations), to expand the network of neighbourhood and community centres and libraries with special atention to the problems of those youth who are unemployed and not learning.

(c) Under the aegis of University institutions, suitable frameworks should be established for the absorption of youth from such communities who have finished their army service, but who have not completed their secondary education. Provision should be made so as to enable them to continue their academic or technical studies, on a post-primary level. Likewise, it is necessary to enlarge student grant facilities for those in need of some during their periods of study. These facilities must provide for the upkeep of at least 2,000 students of Asian or African origin in institutes of higher learning.

(d) The Congress calls upon responsible factors engaged in educational work in the Zionist Movement to preserve the cultural values of the various communities in Israel including the cultural values of the Oriental communities, their history in the Diaspora

and the story of their Aliya and absorption in Israel, with special stress on their role in the upbuilding of the country, the settlement of the Negev and the establishment of development townlets and border settlements.

73. The Absorption of Underprivileged Youth in Youth Aliyah

The Congress appeals to the Executive of the Jewish Agency to widen the scope of Youth Aliyah activity in order to guarantee the maximal absorption of underprivileged youth from the youngest possible age. Likewise, Congress calls for the expansion of activities of the Education Fund so as to reduce the educational gap.

74. Youth Volunteering Activity for Reduction of Social Gap

Congress calls upon all the world Jewish youth as well as upon Israeli youth to come to the aid of Israel in its political and security struggle, to solve its social problems through a large-scale volunteer programme which shall serve as a challenge to the Diaspora youth and attract young people, with training in educational, social and community work, and other experts for work among youth.

75. Adoption of New Immigrants and Social and Cultural Integration

Congress appeals to all Zionists and to the general public in Israel to accept responsibility for the social absorption of immigrants through the adopting of immigrant families by veteran Israeli families and through the absorption of immigrant children in Israeli educational frameworks, by encouraging a mutual appreciation of various cultures by the different communities and by undertaking activities for the dissemination of a knowledge of the cultural heritage of the various communities.

76. The Fostering of a Social-Moral Climate in Israel

Congress proudly points to Israel's record of maintaining a high standard of humane morals in war-time and on the battlefield, and of having withstood the serious trials it faced ever since the emergence of the State. The Congress calls upon the Zionist Movement to nurture a moral and social climate in Israel's society through more intense Jewish and Zionist education and fidelity to the traditional and historical values of the Movement in all forms of life in Israel.

J. YOUTH AND STUDENT AFFAIRS

77. Youth Movements

(a) The 28th Zionist Congress notes with satisfaction the consolidation and expansion of the Halutzic and Zionist movements in several countries of the Diaspora. Congress calls on the Youth and Hechalutz Department and the youth movements to find ways and means of expanding their activities in a manner commensurate with the needs of youth in the seventies.

(b) Congress recommends that preference be given to those educational frameworks which prepare youth for Zionist fulfilment by means of Aliya to kibbutzim, moshavim, development areas and other forms of settlement.

(c) While stressing the importance of work within the Zionist youth movements, Congress deems it essential that youth movement shlichim play an active role in Israel programmes for unaffiliated Jewish youth, and encourage Aliya within communal and other frameworks which are not specifically Zionist. These activities will be on a completely non-party basis.

(d) While recognizing and appreciating the ideological trends separating the different youth movements, Congress instructs the Youth and Hechalutz Department to approach the leadership of these movements to find ways of preventing unnecessary competition among them, especially in small communities.

78. Roof Organizations for Youth and Promotion of Zionist Activity within the Community

(a) The Zionist Congress notes with satisfaction the establishment of Zionist Youth Councils in many countries, and calls upon the leaders of all Zionist and Jewish youth organizations to cooperate in the implementation of joint programmes (seminars, demonstrations, activities on behalf of Jews in countries of distress, etc.) in order to attain greater efficiency in their work and deeper awareness of the centrality of Israel in Jewish life.

(b) Congress calls upon the roof organizations for youth to see to it that their constituent members become an active force in the community in Jewish education, and activities on behalf of Jews in countries of stress, and to encourage and assist Aliya.

(c) Congress calls upon Zionist youth in the Diaspora to be active within the community and share in the responsibility for its programmes in a Zionist spirit.

(d) Congress calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department to expand its work within Jewish organizations and community

movements, in order to strengthen the attachment of organized Jewish youth to Israel.

(e) Congress appeals to all Jewish communities and Zionist Federations to render their fullest moral and material assistance to the Youth Councils.

(f) Congress notes that in many places attempts are being made by political groups outside youth frameworks to establish their own movements for the sake of enlarging their party influence. Since resources for student and youth work are generally limited, Congress calls upon the parties to solicit the support of Zionist Youth Councils before such groups establish new youth organizations, or alternatively that the parties themselves finance and service such organizations.

79. Means of Encouraging Aliya of Youth and Projects in Israel

(a) Congress stresses the need for a radical, uncompromising approach to Aliya by all Zionist youth organizations.

(b) In order to prepare the educational, psychological and practical ground for Aliya of youth, Congress urges upon every Jewish boy and girl to spend at least one year in Israel in one of the existing programmes (the college programme, Shnat Sherut, Sherut La'am, etc.)

(c) Congress calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department to increase the number of young people taking part in short-term programmes whose scope is expanding from year to year.

(d) Congress recommends that the Youth and Hechalutz Department deepen and intensify the Jewish and Zionist content of the curricula offered to youth groups coming to Israel.

(e) Congress recommends that the Youth and Hechalutz Department give priority to programmes designed for the training of youth and student leaders.

(f) Congress calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department to prepare emergency programmes so as to make adequate provision for the thousands of volunteers likely to come to Israel in time of crisis.

(g) Congress urges the establishment of diverse programmes for the Aliya of youth, by setting up Aliya groups, developing new experimental projects in the field of rural and urban settlement, etc.

80. Involvement of Israeli Youth in the Solution of Social Problems in Israel

(a) Organized Israeli youth is urged to take the initiative in bringing additional assistance to the economically and socially disadvantaged strata of the younger generation, and individually to participate

in such work, with a view to helping them integrate into Israeli society.

(b) Israel's youth movements are urged to take steps to promote the social integration of veterans and newcomers as well as of the different social strata within their own movements.

(c) Congress calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department to initiate, in cooperation with other Zionist bodies, programmes for the aid and advancement of disadvantaged youth, and to encourage and assist the youth movements and young Zionist organizations in these activities.

81. Zionist Activity Among Israeli Youth

(a) Congress notes with satisfaction that tens of thousands of young Israelis have participated in the seminars of the Institute for Zionist Education conducted by the Youth and Hechalutz Department, and the various programmes sponsored by the Israel Zionist Council. Congress urges the continuation of such programmes which foster Zionist awareness, Jewish solidarity and the commitment of youth to its Jewish heritage.

(b) Congress calls upon the Executive to ensure that Jewish youth visiting Israel meet with Israeli youth as far as possible.

(c) Congress calls upon the Israeli youth and Israeli students abroad to play a more active role in the integration of new immigrants and in the strengthening of ties between Israel and the Jewish people.

(d) The Zionist and Halutzic youth movements in Israel are the main and most effective media for educating the youth in Israel for Zionist and halutzic fulfilment.

The Congress therefore urges:

1) that educational and Zionist activity among youth in Israel be increased, and directed to halutzic fulfilment in general, and the kibbutz in particular. In addition, Zionist educational and ideological activity among youth of the settlements should be increased;

2) that more means and further media be placed at the disposal of the Youth and Hechalutz Department, in order to intensify and expand its activities among the Israeli youth.

(e) In order to strengthen the ties between the youth in Israel and the Zionist Movement, Congress urges that suitable representation be granted to Israeli youth in the Zionist General Council, the Congress, and other elected bodies of the World Zionist Organization.

82. Activities among Students

(a) Congress calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department and upon all agencies active among Jewish students to enhance the

growing trend among Jewish youth to intensify their search for Jewish identity, affiliation with the Jewish people and its roots. This should be done by helping to develop and consolidate the Jewish content of their programmes, while carefully preserving the idea of Israel's centrality.

(b) Congress calls upon the Zionist Executive to place greater emphasis in its educational programmes, seminars and publications on the Jewish spiritual heritage and cultural development of Israel.

(c) Congress urges the Youth and Hechalutz Department and all agencies active among students to diversify their modes of activity and show flexibility in the implementation of their projects in order to reach the largest possible number of Jewish students. The Zionist student organizations must remain open, as they have been in the past, to all shades of the ideological and organizational spectrum of the Zionist Movement.

(d) Congress urges the expansion of the educational facilities for student leaders of all Jewish student organizations, offered by the Youth and Hechalutz Department by way of seminars in Israel and abroad.

(e) Educational activities among students are carried out mainly in small settings (campuses, local and national organizations). While recognizing the importance of student organization on a continental or world-wide scale, Congress calls upon Jewish communal leaders at local and national levels to promote student activities similar to those of the North American Jewish Student Appeal. Congress also calls for support of activities of student ideological organizations linked to the Zionist Movement.

(f) Congress calls upon the Zionist Executive to support the programmes of independent national campus organizations, such as Yavneh, which serve a wide spectrum of student needs, to enable them to increase the level of their Zionist activities.

(g) Congress recognizes the importance of promoting specific Zionist activities for students of Higher Yeshivot and requests the Youth and Hechalutz Department to promote and develop such activities.

83. World Union of Jewish Students

The 28th Zionist Congress expresses its disappointment at the non-participation of some national branches of WUJS in the Membership Drive of the Zionist Movement.

Congress notes with satisfaction the existence of student groups which expressed their loyalty to the Zionist Movement through the Membership Drive. Congress urges that the executive of WUJS recommend to the next Conference of its organization a thorough re-examination of its organizational structure and ideological platform.

Congress recognizes the work done by WUJS in the field of Aliya, information on behalf of Israel on the campuses, Jewish-Zionist education and the protection of the rights of the Jewish minority, and calls upon the Zionist Executive to continue to extend support to WUJS.

Congress does not recognize WUJS as the only representative of Jewish student opinion throughout the world and calls on the Executive to support also other Jewish student organizations.

84. Regional Programmes

(a) Congress notes with satisfaction the successful implementation of the "American Plan" which has proved its viability in spite of the budgetary limitations that have curbed its momentum, and calls upon the Executive to continue and expand this programme as well as the various other regional programmes embarked upon.

(b) In view of the success that is being recorded in such regional programmes as the American Plan, Congress urges the Executive to develop a regional programme for the Jewish communities in Latin America.

85. Young Adult Organizations (Mishmerot Tzeirot)

Congress supports the concept of the establishment of Young Adult Organizations (Mishmerot Tzeirot in the Diaspora and calls upon the Executive to act towards the implementation of this idea.

86. Shlichim

(a) The Zionist Congress urges that all the shlichim sent out through the Zionist Executive and active within the youth movements or organizations regard themselves as forming a unified mission to the country in which they work. The representatives of the Executive in charge of coordinating the activities of the various movements and shlichim are urged to make the fullest possible use of the shlichim abroad in the execution of their tasks both within their movements and within the general community.

(b) Congress directs the Executive to take part in the screening of all shlichim and to ensure that only such shlichim suited for their tasks be sent abroad.

(c) Congress directs the Zionist General Council which will convene in approximately one year's time to ratify the principle to be proposed for the allocation of shlichim and the manner in which it is to be implemented, according to the criteria to be fixed by the Youth and Hechalutz Department in conjunction with the youth movements. The resolutions passed by the special subcommittee of the Youth and Students' Committee should serve as

recommendations to the Zionist General Council. Criteria for the allocation of shlichim should include:

1) One year's Hachshara Courses in Israel, the Institute for Youth Leaders Abroad or some other facility for the training of youth leaders in Israel.
2) Youth movement members and members below the age of 30 who go on Aliya and declare their membership upon arrival shall according to these criteria be regarded as immigrants.

87. Conference of Youth Delegates

Congress urges the Youth and Hechalutz Department to organize a conference of at least two days' duration of all youth delegates who will be the attending

1) the ideological conference to be convened;
2) all metings of the Zionist General Council;
3) the 29th Zionist Congress.

Such conferences should be held for clarification of views before the above events take place.

88. Youth Support for Keren Hayesod

Congress notes that the Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal has gained ground within the younger generation.

Congress calls on all Jewish youth to give their utmost assistance to the upbuilding of the State of Israel, and to the relief of Jews living under oppression, by contributing to the Keren Hayesod, the financial arm of the Jewish Agency.

89. Financing Programmes of the Youth and Hechalutz Department

Recognizing the demands made upon the resources of the World Zionist Organization and the limits of such resources Congress urgently requests the Executive to provide the Youth and Hechalutz Department with the necessary means so as to enable it to carry on the existing programmes and to initiate the new programmes suggested in the resolutions adopted by this Congress.

K. EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE DIASPORA

90. The Crisis of Jewish Education in the Diaspora

The 28th Zionist Confress expresses the concern and anxiety of the entire Zionist Movement about the future of Jewish education in the Diaspora. The educational crisis is a painfully real fact. In spite of the development of primary and secondary Hebrew day-schools, Yeshi-

vot, and institutions of higher learning and Hebrew language classes, only a fraction of the Jewish children in the Diaspora receive a full Jewish education. Schools suffer from a serious shortage of staff and material resources, while the Jewish family is, in most cases, no longer able to impart to its children Jewish national traditions.

The wave of assimilation threatens to engulf sections of the Jewish communities. Only the bulwark of Jewish education, firmly founded on Jewish culture and tradition and on the spiritual values of Judaism can save our nation from spiritual annihilation.

91. The Duties of Zionists Towards Jewish Education and Hebrew Language

The Zionist Congress affirms that—

(a) It is the duty of every Zionist to study the national traditions and learn the Hebrew language which must be the second language of every Jew in the Diaspora. It provides the means for fostering Jewish culture, preparing those who are learning it for Aliya and integration in Israel and enriching the spiritual life of the Jews in the Diaspora.

(b) It is the duty of every Zionist to give his children a Jewish education. No Zionist who fails to impart a Jewish and Zionist education to his children can serve in any office in the Zionist Movement.*

92. Concern of Zionist Movement for Jewish Education

Concern for Jewish education and the inculcation of Jewish culture is acknowledged as the supreme duty of the Zionist Movement, including the Zionist Territorial Federation, other Zionist organizations and every individual Zionist wherever he be.

93. Solidarity with those who suffer Oppression because of Dissemination of Hebrew

A message of solidarity goes out to Zionists in countries where the study of Hebrew is outlawed, who are sacrificing their lives for the study of the language and culture of their people. Their devotion and attachment to the Hebrew language should serve as an example for the Jews of the free countries.

* Following the approval of this Resolution the Chairman of the Executive, Mr. L. A. Pincus, announced that an examination would be made of the legality of this Resolution and whether it is in conformity with the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization. Following the Congress, the Legal Adviser to the World Zionist Organization announced that in his opinion this Resolution does not conform with the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization.

94. Mobilization of Committees for Strengthening Jewish and Zionist Education

The Zionist Movement is called upon to stand at the forefront of the campaign to strengthen the awareness of the need for Zionist-Jewish education, and to use daring, non-routine methods to enlist the organized communities in an effort to maintain and expand the Jewish education system.

95. Zionist Education Committees

The Territorial Zionist Organizations and other Zionist Organizations are called upon to establish committees to further Jewish and Zionist education and ensure that educational needs receive priority in the distribution of the community funds.

96. Objectives of Jewish Education

The centrality of Israel and the primacy of Aliya should be a central goal of Jewish-Zionist education, whatever the framework, and Zionists are required to fight for this goal.

97. World Fund for Jewish Education

Congress calls upon the Zionist Executive together with other factors to set up a World Education Fund to provide incentives and infrastructure investments for Jewish education and to finance the educational programmes of those communities which need such support.

98. Collaboration between Educational Frameworks

Full collaboration shall be ensured between the educational agencies and the Zionist youth movements which are making a major contribution to the education of the younger generation.

99. Programmes of Departments for Education and Culture

Congress appreciates the good work of the Departments of Education and Culture in the Diaspora and urges that the necessary means be made available to them for the expansion and intensification of their activities. To further the educational programmes for coming years, the Departments are called upon to carry out the following projects:

(a) To draw up a long-term programme to meet the needs of Jewish education, in collaboration and in coordination with all the appropriate agencies, and above all with the Zionist Territorial Organizations, in accordance with local conditions.

(b) To promote the establishment of a reserve of teaching staff for Jewish education and attract suitable candidates for this purpose, who regard Jewish education as an avocation and a national goal;

to initiate and promote the establishment of rabbinical and teachers' training colleges in the Diaspora; to train first-class professionals to be the leaders of Jewish education in the future; to provide training facilities for educators abroad, with the aid of experts from Israel; to raise the status of the Jewish educator and enhance his prestige by improving his working conditions and providing for his education and further training; to expand the facilities available in Israel for the education and advanced training of teachers from the Diaspora and to expand and foster the Israeli teaching staff capable of filling educational posts in the Diaspora.

(c) To promote the expansion of the network of primary and secondary day schools, including Yeshivot, as well as other forms of education.

(d) To expand the teaching programmes in Israel for youth, students and Yeshiva students from the Diaspora as an integral part of the Jewish and Zionist education of youth in the Diaspora.

(e) To develop curricula, teaching material, textbooks and teaching media for Jewish schools in the Diaspora, in collaboration with educational agencies abroad and using modern technology and the educational know-how and philosophies evolved in Israel.

(f) To extend the study of the Bible among youth and adults.

(g) To intensify Jewish cultural activities among adults by publishing basic books on Judaism and other great works of our cultural heritage, setting up libraries, organizing seminars for cultural workers, sending intellectuals and artists abroad and developing a network of classes and teaching facilities. To assist in the establishment of university chairs in Hebrew, Jewish History and Judaism, and to help University and Yeshiva student organizations in their educational programmes.

(h) To pay attention to small, isolated communities by training manpower and developing suitable teaching material for the inculcation of Jewish and national values.

(i) To publish teaching and educational material for the Jewish home, explaining the values of Judaism and enabling parents to supplement the Jewish education given to their children at school.

(j) To support the activities of parents' groups and assist in their establishment.

100. Collaboration with Government

The Congress welcomes the cooperation between the World Zionist Organization and the Ministry of Education and Culture of the government of Israel and calls upon them to collaborate in intensifying Jewish consciousness and Zionism in the schools in Israel and the Diaspora. Intellectuals and educators in Israel and in the Diaspora and institutions of higher learning should participate in this programme.

101. Collaboration with World Hebrew Union

Congress appeals to the Zionist Executive and the National Zionist Territorial Organizations to collaborate with the World Hebrew Union and assist it in its operations.

102. Collaboration with Teachers' Movement for the KKL

The Zionist Organization and its Education Departments are called upon to collaborate with the teachers movement on behalf of the Keren Kayemet and to lend it their full support in the attainment of its goals, for the intensification of Zionist education in the schools.

103. Education in Sephardi Communities

Congress appeals to the Education Departments of the World Zionist Organization to consolidate the education network in the Sephardi communities in the Diaspora and to enhance their commitment to Israel by promoting their specific values.

L. BUDGET

104. Executive's Financial Report

The 28th Zionist Congress takes note of the financial report of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization—the Jewish Agency for the period 1.4.1967 to 31.3.1971, which shows that the annual budgets were carried out according to their specifications.

105. Comptroller's Report

(a) The Congress takes note of the Comptroller's oral report on his inspection activities for the period between the 27th Congress and the present Congress.

(b) The Congress takes note of Report No. 15 submitted by the Comptroller of the World Zionist Organization—the Jewish Agency as well as of the comments of the Executive.

106. Recommendations of Permanent Budget Committee

The Congress approves the recommendations of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee of the Zionist General Council, as presented in the Comptroller's report, including the reports which the 27th Congress authorized the Committee to deal with.

107. Jewish Agency's Budget for 1972/73

(a) The Congress takes note of the Draft Budget of Needs of the Jewish Agency for the year 1972/73 to a total of $775 million.

(b) The Congress instructs the Executive to present to the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee of the Zionist General Council the detailed Budget of the Jewish Agency, and to submit the committee's conclusions to the authorized institutions of the Jewish Agency.

108. Permanent Budget and Finance Committee of Jewish Agency Assembly

The Congress recommends to the Executive of the World Zionist Organization to take steps to set up a Permanent Budget and Finance Committee of the Assembly of the Jewish Agency, which shall act in collaboration with the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee of the Zionist General Council in accordance with the composition agreed upon.

109. Approval of the Budgetary Framework of the WZO for the period 1.4.1972–31.3.1973

The Congress approves the framework of the expenditure budget of the World Zionist Organization for the period 1.4.1972–31.3.1973 to a total of IL 128,992,500 ($ 30,712,500) as well as the estimated income for that period to the same amount, and authorizes the Zionist General Council to discuss and decide on the details of the budgetary expenditures directly or, should it so decide, through the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee.

110. Approval of Budgetary Framework of JNF for the period 1.4.1972–31.3.1973

The Congress approves the framework of the expenditure budget of the Jewish National Fund for the period 1.4.1972–31.3.1973 to a total of IL 79,800,000 ($ 19,000,000) and also the estimated income for that period to the same amount, and authorizes the Zionist General Council to discuss and decide on details of the expenditure budget directly, or should it so decide, through the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee.

111. Authorization of Zionist General Council for the period between the 28th and 29th Congresses

The Congress delegates its authority in budgetary and financial matters to the Zionist General Council and authorizes it to discuss and decide on financial and budgetary matters for the period from Con-

gress to Congress either directly, or should it so decide, through the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee.

M. FUNDS

112. Contributions by Diaspora Jewry to the Keren Hayesod-United Israel Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal

Five years after the Six Day War, in view of the increasingly heavy burden weighing on the citizens of Israel, stemming from security expenditures required for the defence of the State, the 28th Zionist Congress calls upon the Zionist camp, and the entire Jewish people to take part in an immediate and massive campaign in order to enlist the necessary resources through the Keren Hayesod—United Israel Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal, for the purpose of meeting the urgent needs of increased immigration and absorption (especially from the Soviet Union), the needs of settlement and Youth Aliyah and the need to reduce the social gap, particularly in the fields of education and housing.

113. The United Israel Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal

(a) The Congress re-emphasizes the central and premier role played by the Keren Hayesod—United Israel Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal.

(b) The Congress reiterates that recognized Israeli institutions dealing with fund-raising for the goals assigned them, must coordinate the timing of their activity with the offices of the central bodies of the Keren Hayesod—United Israel Appeal and of the United Jewish Appeal, so as to ensure the priority rights of these latter two campaigns.

114. The Zionist Movement and Appeal Activities

(a) The Congress calls upon the Zionist organizations in the various countries to increase the participation of their members in the activities of the Keren Hayesod and the United Israel Appeal.

(b) The Congress emphasizes the necessity for the participation of the Zionist leadership in the activities of the Appeal both through personal contributions as well as by placing Zionists in positions of key importance. The Congress re-emphasizes the duty of every member of the Movement to serve as an example, through his personal contribution to the Appeal and his devotion to its work.

(c) The Congress again stresses the fact that a person who does not fulfil his duty to the Keren Hayesod—United Israel Appeal or

to the United Jewish Appeal cannot hold any office in the Zionist Movement, whether on the local or the national level, or in any institution affiliated with the Movement.

115. "Keyworkers Year"

The Congress notes with satisfaction the proclamation by the Keren Hayesod that the year 1972 be named "Keyworkers Year," and calls upon the Territorial Zionist Organizations to lend their support to the leadership of the Appeal in enlisting new keyworkers.

116. Young Adult Generation

The Congress welcomes the efforts of the Keren Hayesod—United Israel Appeal and of the United Jewish Appeal, to enlist young forces to its ranks of keyworkers. The Congress calls upon the young adult generation in the Zionist Organizations, and especially upon the Zionist youth movements, to take an active part in carrying out this mission, so as to ensure continuity in the Appeal leadership.

117. The United Israel Appeal (Keren Hayesod–The Jewish National Fund)

The Congress calls upon the Jewish public in Israel to increase its contribution to the United Appeal (the Keren Hayesod–the National Jewish Fund). This is the channel through which the citizens of Israel participate in the activities of the Zionist Movement, especially in the fields of immigration, absorption and agricultural settlement. The Congress calls upon the Zionist Council in Israel to play an active role in this United Appeal.

118. Jewish National Fund

The 28th Zionist Congress salutes the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth Leisrael) on the 70th anniversary of its foundation by the 5th Zionist Congress in Basle;

reaffirms the principle of the inalienability of national land which has become the foundation of the socially progressive land system of Israel;

expresses its appreciation of the historical role of the JNF in Zionist settlement of Eretz-Israel by means of redemption and development of land, including road-building, opening new areas and improving through wide-spread afforestation the natural resources and the ecology of the country.

119. Functions of JNF in Development and Afforestation of Land

The Congress acknowledges that in accordance with the Covenant signed in 1960 between the government of Israel and the JNF with the approval of the World Zionist Organization, the JNF has become the recognized instrumentality for land development and afforestation.

120. The Zionist Education Mission of the JNF

The Congress recognizes the important place occupied by the JNF in Zionist work in the Diaspora as an educational and fund-raising agency which by its established, traditional methods and popular appeal strives to reach into all Jewish homes throughout the year.

121. Collaboration between Zionist Organizations and the JNF

The Congress calls upon all Zionist organizations the world over to support the JNF in the fulfilment of its tasks and attaches great importance to the strengthening of the cooperation between the Zionist Territorial Organizations and the JNF everywhere.

122. Relations between the Zionist Executive and the Board of Directors of the JNF

The Congress resolves that it is in the best interest of the Zionist Movement and in the spirit of the resolutions adopted by the Zionist General Council since the 27th Congress, which recognize the independent status of the JNF within the framework of the World Zionist Organization, to refer to the incoming Zionist Executive and to the Board of Directors of the JNF the task of formulating practical ways and means of assuring and increasing full cooperation between these two bodies and to submit a report and recommendations on the subject to the next session of the Zionist General Council.

N. ELECTIONS

123. The Chairman of the Zionist Executive

In accordance with Article 14(e) of the Constitution, the 28th Zionist Congress elects

Mr. Louis A. Pincus

as Chairman of the Zionist Executive.

124. Members of the Zionist Executive

In accordance with Article 14(e) of the Constitution, the 28th Zionist Congress elects the following members of the Zionist Executive:

Mr. Mordechai Bar-On, Israel
Mr. Arieh L. Dulzin, Israel
Mr. Hayim Finkelsztajn, Israel
Rabbi Dr. Arthur Hertzberg, USA
Rabbi Richard Hirsh, USA
Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson, USA
Mrs. Raya Jaglom, Israel
Rabbi Mordechai Kirshblum, Israel
Mr. Joseph Klarman, Israel
Mr. Moshe Krone, Israel
Rabbi Israel Miller, USA
Mr. André Narboni, Israel
Dr. Allen Pollack, USA
Prof. Rabbi Emanuel Rackman, USA

Mr. Avraham Schenker, Israel
Mr. Ezra Z. Shapiro, Israel
Mr. Kalman Sultanik, USA
Mr. Jacques Torczyner, USA
Dr. Raanan Weitz, Israel
Mr. Moshe Rivlin, Associate Member, Israel

125. The Zionist General Council

(a) In keeping with Articles 14(e) and 32 sections 1 and 4 of the Constitution of the Zionist Organization, Congress elects as members of the Zionist General Council and as Deputy-Members the representatives of the parties as set forth in the lists on pages 61–62.

(b) In keeping with Article 32, para. 3(h) of the Constitution, Congress elects as members of the Zionist General Council in an advisory capacity (Virilists) the persons set forth in the list on page 60 in addition to those already elected in former Congresses and Sessions of the General Council, listed on the same page.

(1) Members of the Zionist General Council

A. Virilists

Elected prior to the 28th Congress

Mr. Bezalel Bazak, Israel
Mr. Yeshayahu Bernstein, Israel
Mr. Aba Bornstein, England
Mr. Yehuda Braginsky, Israel
Mr. Joseph Daleski, South Africa
Prof. Benzion Dinur, Israel
Mr. Beinesh Epstein, USA
Mrs. Judith Epstein, USA
Mr. Max Melech Freilich, Australia
Mr. Aryeh Leib Gelman, Israel
Dr. Yehoshua Guvrin, Israel
Mr. Jacob Halevy, England
Mr. Abraham Hartzfeld, Israel
Mr. Edel J. Horwitz, South Africa
Mr. Marc Jarblum
Mrs. Sara Kafri, Israel
Mr. Smultz Kahan, France
Mr. Yitzchak Kubowitzky, Israel
Judge Louis E. Levinthal, USA
Mrs. Irma L. Lindheim, Israel
Mr. Berl Locker
Mr. Jacob Marrus, USA
Mr. Mortimer May, USA
Rabbi Irving Miller, USA
Mr. Shabtay Miron, Israel
Mr. Fred Monosson, USA
Dr. Ludwig Pinner, Israel
Rabbi Prof. Louis Isaac Rabinowitz, Israel
Mr. Israel Ritov, Israel
Mrs. Rachel Shazar, Israel
Mr. Pinhas Shneurson, Israel
Prof. Arieh Tartakower, Israel
Mr. Harry Trope, South Africa

B. Virilists

Elected by the 28th Congress

Mr. David Beth-Aryeh, Israel
Mr. David Bukspan, Israel
Mr. Benno Cohen, Israel
Mr. Pinhas Cruso, USA
Mr. Moshe Erem, Israel
Mr. Mendel N. Fisher, USA
Mrs. Belle Goldstein, USA
Mr. Elimelech Gutkin, Israel
Lord Janner, England
Mr. Arnold Luksenburg, France
Prof. Raphael Mahler, Israel
Mr. Julian Mercer, Australia
Mr. Anselm Reiss, Israel
Dr. Maurice Sage, USA
Mr. Shlomo Zalman Shragai, Israel
Mrs. Tamar de Sola-Pool, USA
Prof. Marie Syrkin, USA

C. *Members of the Executive till the 28th Congress*

In keeping with Article 32, para. 3(e) of the Constitution

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Israel

Rabbi Leon Feuer, USA
Dr. Israel Goldstein, Israel
Prof. Benjamin Halpern, USA
Dr. Emanuel Neumann, USA
Mr. Samuel Rothberg, USA

D. Representatives of the Parties

Labour Zionist Movement

Mr. Shimon Avizemer, Israel
Mr. Joseph Bankower, Israel
Mr. Borris Blinder, Brazil
Mr. Hanania Dahan, Israel
Mr. Shlomo Derech, Israel
Prof. Leon Diesendruck, USA
Mr. Meir Dotan, Israel
Mrs. Blanche Fine, USA
Dr. Berl Frymer, Israel
Mr. Paul L. Goldman, USA
Mr. Uri Gordon, Israel
Mrs. Mathilda Guez, Israel
Mrs. Geula Havkin, Israel
Mr. Yosef Israeli, Israel
Mr. Jacob Katzman, USA
Mr. Moshe Kerem, Israel
Mr. José Kestelman, Argentina
Mr. Moshe Kitron
Dr. Leon Kronitz, Canada
Mr. Mordechai Lerman, France
Dr. Schneier Levenberg, England
Mr. Yehoshua Levy, Israel
Mr. Itzhak Navon, Israel
Mr. Yehuda Pelleg, Israel
Mr. Hayim Pinner, England
Mr. Najman Radzichowski, Argentina
Dr. Judah Shapiro, USA
Mr. Shmuel Shoresh, Israel
Rabbi Dr. Arthur Super, South Africa
Szmul Szejner, France
David Tabacznik, Israel
Mrs. Esther P. Zackler, USA

World Confederation of General Zionists

Mr. Morris Borsuk, South Africa
Rabbi Isidor Breslau, USA
Dr. Miriam Freund, USA
Mrs. Rose Halprin, USA
Mrs. Bess S. Katz, USA
Dr. Harris J. Levine, USA
Mr. Kurt Loebel, Israel
Mrs. Ethel Lozabnick, USA
Mrs. Helen Lusterman, USA
Mrs. Rose Matzkin, USA
Mrs. Florence S. Perlman, USA
Mr. Hermann Z. Quittman, USA
Mrs. Bernice Salpeter, USA
Mrs. Fay L. Schenk, USA
Mr. Sidney Lawrence Shipton, England
Mr. Donald Silk, England
Mr. Leo Tchimino, Chile
Mr. Meilich Topiol, France
Mr. Itzhak Salomon de Vries, Israel
Mr. Izak Warszawski, France

Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi

Mr. Adi Am-Shalom, Israel
Rabbi Dr. Bernard Bergman, USA
Mr. Hyman Bessin, Canada
Mr. Charles Bick, USA
Mr. Aharon Cohen, Israel
Mr. Yehuda Ellinson, Israel
Mr. Aryeh Glaser, Israel
Mr. Elazar Goelman, Israel
Mr. Joseph Goldberg, Uruguay
Mr. Aryeh L. Handler, England
Mrs. Ruth K. Jacobson, USA
Mr. Harry Landy, England
Rabbi Bernard A. Poupko, USA
Dr. Tibor Rosenbaum, Switzerland
Mr. Benyamin Sayade, France
Mrs. Evelyn Schreiber, USA
Mr. Akiva Werber, USA
Rabbi Tsemach Menachem Zambrowsky, Israel

World Union of General Zionists

Mr. Marcos Daian, Israel
Mr. Bernard Ferster, Australia
Mr. Arnold R. Ginsberg, USA
Mr. Leon Ilutovich, USA
Mr. Jack Lefkowitz, USA
Dr. Miguel Maldavsky, Chile
Mr. Daniel Monson, Canada
Dr. Max Nussbaum, USA
Mr. Uri Oren, Israel
Mr. Jacques Orfus, France
Mr. Saul Patrich, Argentina
Mr. Itzhak Peretz, Israel

Rabbi Joseph P. Sternstein, USA
Mr. Baruch Weinstein, Israel
Mr. Herman L. Weisman, USA
Mr. David Yutan, Israel

World Union of Herut-Hatzohar

Mr. Matityahu Droblas, Israel
Mr. Salomon Friedrich, France
Mr. Harry Hurwitz, South Africa
Mr. Raphael Kotlowitz, Israel
Dr. Harry Levy, USA
Mr. Shlomi Levy, Israel
Dr. Daniel Messer, Argentina
Mr. Rafael Rafalin, Mexico
Mr. Nathan Silver, Canada
Dr. Yaacov Eliezer Tavin, Israel

Mapam

Mr. Reuben Arzi, Israel
Mr. Dov Bar-Niv, Israel
Prof. Bernhard Blumenkranz, France
Mr. Chaim Bornstein, Israel
Dr. Isaac Icekson, Chile
Mr. Moshe Kagan, USA
Mrs. Emma Talmi, Israel

Independent Zionist Movement

Mr. Avraham Bergson, Uruguay
Mr. Avraham Tory, Israel
Mr. Avner Zakai, Israel

WIZO

Mrs. Neri Judith Bloomfield, Canada
Mrs. Miriam Ben-Porath, Israel
(without voting rights)
Mrs. Martha Jacobson, Australia
Dr. Genia Kanowitz, Israel
Mrs. Carmel Webber, England

(2) Deputy-Members of the Zionist General Council

Labour Zionist Movement

Mr. Sam Abutbul, Israel
Mrs. Hanita Adar, Israel
Mr. Yaacov Alon, Israel
Mr. Israel Appel, Canada
Mr. Ellie Argaman, Israel
Mr. Yerachmiel Assa, Israel
Mr. Moshe Assoulin, Israel
Mr. Israel Avidor, Israel
Mr. B. Zev Baumgold, USA
Mrs. Ziva Ben-Reuven, Israel
Mrs. Ruth Berman, Israel
Mr. Israel M. Biderman, USA
Mr. Sol Chaikin, USA
Mr. Binem Cukier, Belgium
Mr. Reuven David, Israel
Mr. Mordechai Elkayam, Israel
Mr. Israel Erech, Israel
Mr. Julio Feiguelis, Argentina
Mr. Philip Fliman, Chile
Miss Ruth Gershonowitz, Israel
Mr. Avraham Gevelber, Israel
Mr. Sidney Goldberg, England
Mr. I. K. Goldstein, USA
Mr. Yehuda Gothelf, Israel
Mr. Avraham Grunberg, Argentina
Maj. Gen. (Res.) Chaim Herzog, Israel
Mrs. Evelyn Kaplan, USA
Mr. Yochanan Karou, Israel
Mr. Moussa Kermanian, Iran
Mr. Chaim Kimchi, Israel
Mr. Itzhak Korn, Israel
Mr. Nathan Lahav, Israel
Mr. Jehiel Leket, Israel
Mr. Eliezer M. Matalon, Israel
Mr. Yaacov Mendelson, Israel
Mr. Chaim Nigri, Brazil
Mr. Yehuda Paz, Israel
Mr. Eliahou Ronen, Israel
Mr. Victor Rozen, Uruguay
Mr. Eliezer Rubinson, Argentina
Mr. Leon Rubinstein, USA
Mr. Moshe Salzman, Israel
Dr. Joachin Schneiweiss, Australia
Mr. Yitzhak Shapira, Israel
Mr. Zeev Shapiro, Israel
Mr. Harry Steiner, Canada
Mr. Sasson Siman-Tow, Israel
Mrs. Effie Simon, USA
Mr. Jean Simons, France
Mr. Barney Singer, South Africa
Mrs. Sylvia Snyder, USA
Prof. Ezra Spicehandler, Israel
Mr. Zalman Spiegel, England
Mrs. Charlotte Stein, USA

Mr. Israel Stolarski, Israel
Mr. Youval Teller, Israel
Mr. Mario Tuval, Israel
Mr. Zeev Tzur, Israel
Mrs. Judith Widetzky, Israel
Mr. Yaacov Wismonski, Israel
Mr. Israel Yeshayahu, Israel
Mrs. Rosa W. Zaguer, Brazil
Mrs. Shoshana Zehori, Israel
Mr. Nissim Zwilly, Israel

World Confederation of General Zionists

Rabbi Shepherd Baum, USA
Mrs. Alice Benveviste, France
Mrs. Julia Berlove, USA
Mr. Jean S. Brunschwig, Switzerland
Mr. Leo B. Burson, USA
Mrs. Fanny Cohen, USA
Mr. Herch Cynowicz, India
Mr. Osias Davidovich, Argentina
Mr. Marcel Debowy, USA
Mrs. Rose Dorfman, USA
Mr. Rolland Drai, France
Mr. Norman Feingold, England
Mr. Hyman J. Fliegel, USA
Mrs. Ella Frankel, England
Dr. Jaime Fucman, Argentina
Mr. Francisco Gotthilf, Brazil
Mr. Sol. D. Granek, Israel
Mr. Colin Green, England
Mr. Nathan Jacobson, Australia
Dr. Bruno Kaplan, Sweden
Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum, USA
Mrs. Dorothy Levine, USA
Mr. Michael Lewin, South Africa
Mrs. Frieda Lewis, USA
Mr. Eleazar Lipsky, USA
Mr. Aubrey Litt, England
Mrs. Pauline Mack, USA
Mr. Asher Moissis, Greece
Mr. Aubrey Norman, England
Mr. Nathan Sissah Pessach, Mexico
Mr. F. Rosenblatt, France
Mr. Samuel Rothstein, USA
Mr. Elias Salem, Argentina
Mr. Isaac Salinas, Mexico
Mr. Paul Safro, USA
Mr. Dov Sander, South Africa
Rabbi Max Schenk, USA
Mrs. Dorothy Spector, USA
Mr. Henry Steinberg, Canada
Mr. Albert Talegawkar, India

Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi

Mrs. Lea Adini, Israel
Rabbi Copo Shalom Bahbut, Italy
Mrs. Helen Baichman, USA
Mr. David Ben-Naeh, Israel
Rabbi Joseph Bronner, South Africa
Mr. Shragai Cohen, USA
Mr. Baruch Denemark, Argentina
Dr. David Brav-Ehrenberg, Austria
Mr. Zvi Fishman, USA
Rabbi Mejer Frydman, England
Mr. Itzhak Gez, Israel
Mrs. Belle Gittelman, Israel
Mr. Brian Gutkin, South Africa
Rabbi Israel Hes, Israel
Mr. Szymon Kac, Brazil
Mr. Itzhak Kadmon, Israel
Mr. Majrep Kneller, Belgium
Mr. Henry Koor, England
Mrs. Gertrude Landy, England
Mr. Moshe Lederman, England
Mr. Mark Leibler, Australia
Mrs. Hanna Michael, Israel
Mr. David Miller, USA
Mr. Lasar Pugatsch, Switzerland
Mrs. Dvora Rabbinowitz, Israel
Mrs. Nathalie Resnikoff, USA
Mr. Kurt Rothschild, Canada
Mrs. Ruth Sacks, Israel
Mr. Jakub Segalowicz, France
Rabbi Herschel Schacter, USA
Mr. Aharon Skurnik, Israel
Mr. Abraham Stern, Israel
Mr. Efraim Visnia, France
Mr. Jaime J. Weingrower, Argentina
Mr. Shalom Zilberfarb, Israel

World Union of General Zionists

Mr. Marc Anisfeld, Belgium
Mr. Itzhak Appelbaum, Israel
Mr. Dov Avidan, Israel
Mr. Reuven Berkowitz, Argentina
Mr. Shmuel Buchner, Belgium
Mr. Shimon Dagan, Israel

Mr. Yosi Danon, Israel
Mr. Izaak Eisenberg, Israel
Mr. Arie Even, Israel
Mr. Max Forman, Canada
Mr. Emanuel Friedlander, Israel
Mr. Philip Givens, Canada
Mr. Harold Greenwald, USA
Mr. Abraham S. Karff, USA
Dr. Marcus Levinson, USA
Mrs. Zita Linker, Israel
Mr. Arnold Lustiger, West Germany
Mr. Moshe Madjar, Israel
Dr. Raphael Markman, Brazil
Dr. Ruben Merenfeld, Venezuela
Mr. Samuel B. Olesker, Uruguay
Mr. Shimon Orenstein, Israel
Mr. Leo Orlov, Switzerland
Mr. Henry H. Silverman, USA
Mr. Joseph W. Spector, USA
Mr. Jack Vardi, USA
Mr. Meschulam Max Wassner, Australia
Dr. Harry F. Wechsler, USA
Mr. Ariel Weinstein, Israel
Mr. Itzhak Weiss, Israel
Mr. Samuel Wigder, USA
Mr. Robert Zablud, Australia

World Union of Herut-Hatzohar

Mr. Gideon Abramowicz, Belgium
Prof. Howard L. Adelson, USA
Mrs. Zilla Amidror, Israel
Mr. Shlomo Ariav, Israel
Mr. Isaac Erdman, Uruguay
Mr. Paulo Federman, Brazil
Mr. Moises Feller, Uruguay
Mr. Moses Giloni, USA
Mr. Ben-Zion Givoni, Israel
Mr. Arnold Golembo, South Africa
Mr. Eric Graus, England
Mr. Yitzhak Heimowitz, Israel
Dr. Max Lebedkin, Switzerland
Mr. Erich Loeb, Israel
Mr. David Jacob Melamed, Rhodesia
Mr. Ben-Zion Milner, Canada
Mrs. Lea Slovin, Israel
Mr. Sigmund Stock, Australia
Mr. Nissim Taitou, Israel
Mr. Chaim Tassa, Israel

World Union of Mapam

Mr. Yaacov Amit, Israel
Dr. Noaj Davidovicz, Argentina
Mr. Avner Epsztajn, France
Mr. Naphtali Feder, Israel
Mr. Carlos Ghindelschi, Uruguay
Mrs. Chaika Grossman, Israel
Mr. Yaacov Hazan, Israel
Mr. Israel Nachshen, Canada
Mr. Izhak Nathani, England
Mr. Youda Nir, Israel
Mr. Eric Tuker, USA
Mr. Itzhak Rizak, Australia
Mr. Nahum Solan, Israel
Mr. Meir Yaari, Israel

Independent Zionist Movement

Mr. Israel Adelman, France
Mr. Salomon Geimanus, Argentina
Mr. E. Oscar Glasserman, Argentina
Mrs. Hanna Glucksman, Israel
Dr. Maximilian Tauchner, Germany
Dr. Marcos Vodovotz, Israel

WIZO

Mrs. Chani Bergmann, Israel
Mrs. Shulamit Braudo, Israel
Mrs. Jeanette Davidoff, South Africa
Mrs. Aya Dinstein, Israel
Mrs. Gilberte Djian, France
Mrs. Kaete Epstein, Argentina
Mrs. Ruth Isaacson, Israel
Mrs. Anita Jamitovsky, Uruguay
Mrs. Carmela Kesse, Israel
Mrs. Carmen Zaslav, Mexico

126. Legal Bodies

(a) By virtue of Article 54 of the Constitution Congress elects the Congress Tribunal composed as follows:

Chairman of the Congress Tribunal:

Justice Moshe Landau

Deputy-Chairmen of the Congress Tribunal:

Dr. David Merez, Israel
Adv. Samuel Ussishkin, Israel
Prof. Benjamin Akzin, Israel
Judge Louis E. Levinthal
Judge Jacob Yinon

Members of the Congress Tribunal:

Adv. Itzhak Berman, Israel
Adv. David Bern, USA
Adv. Louis Bloomfield, Canada
Dr. Jacob Braude, Great Britain
Adv. Arieh Brick, Israel
Prof. André Chouraqui, Israel
Adv. Daniel Cohen, USA
Adv. Emanuel Cohen, Israel
Adv. Janus Cohen, England
Judge Shlomo Elkayam, Israel
Adv. Hy Faine, USA
Dr. Anna Gelber, Israel
Adv. Gabriel Glazer, Israel
Adv. Harold Grubart, USA
Prof. Isaac H. Klinghofer, Israel
Adv. Eleazar Lipsky, USA
Dr. Chaim Pazner, Israel
Adv. Nathanel Rothenberg, USA
Mr. Abram Salomon, USA
Adv. Yaacov Schechter, Israel
Adv. Yitzchak Shvo, Israel
Adv. Meir Silverstone, Israel
Adv. Meir Weissman, Israel
Adv. B. Zanani, Israel

(b) By virtue of Article 53 of the Constitution Congress elects as Attorney of the World Zionist Organization

Adv. Zvi Klementinovsky

(c) By virtue of Article 54 of the Constitution Congress elects the following as Deputies to the Attorney of the World Zionist Organization:

Adv. David Herman, Israel
Adv. Joseph Kushnier, Israel

127. Office of the Comptroller

Congress elects

Mr. Meir Benzion Meiri

as Comptroller of the World Zionist Organization.

TABLE A

ELECTION RESULTS AS CONFIRMED BY CONGRESS TRIBUNAL

No.	Area Election	Number of Mandates		Zionist Labour Movement		Confederation of General Zionists		Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi Organiz.		Union General Zionists		Union of Herut — Hatzohar		Union of United Workers Party (Mapam)		Independent Zionist Movement		Unaffiliated and others	
		Votes	Del.	Votes	Del.	Votes	Del.	Votes	Del.	Votes	Del.	Votes	Del.	Votes	Del.	Votes	Del.	Votes	Del.
1.	Argentine	7,771	24	2,597	7	257	1	1,261	3	825	2	581	2	1,176	3	585	2	373	1[1]
2.	Australia	20,973[2]	8	3,313	1	2,374	1	1,988	1	3,688	2	1,649	2	1,255	—	—	—	6,740	3
3.	Austria	849	3	130	—	31	—	333	2	136	1	84	—	—	—	—	—	135[3]	—
4.	Belgium	U.E.	6	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
5.	Brazil	4,390	9	2,255	5	—	—	504	1	520	1	556	1	510	1	45	—	—	—
6.	Britain	[4]	27	—	—	—	—	—	9	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	16[5]
7.	Canada	6,896	17	1,704	4	—	—	1,701	4	—	—	623	2	187	1	—	—	1,746	4[6]
																		935	2[7]
8.	Chile	1,449	5	338	1	337	2	—	—	365	1	365	1	369	1	—	—	—	—
9.	Colombia	716	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	534[8]	1	182[9]	—	—	—	—	—
10.	Denmark	U.E.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
11.	France	12,420	23	4,992[10]	9	—	—	2,437	4	1,582[11]	3	—	—	653	1	336	1	1,828[12]	3
																		512[13]	1
																		332[14]	1
																		187[15]	—
																		65[16]	—
12.	Germany	3,017[17]	2	777	—	—	—	—	—	1,318	1	—	—	—	—	1,108	1	851	—
13.	Greece	U.E.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14.	Holland	U.E.	4	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
15.	India	135[18]	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50	1
																		85	
16.	Iran	[19]	7	—	3	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
17.	Ireland	274	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	137[20]	
																		137	1
18.	Israel	U.E.[21]	190	—	88	—	—	—	22	—	20	—	28	—	14	—	7	—	7[22]
																		—	4[23]

19. Israel Zionist Council	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
20. Italy	3,017[24]	5	258	—	313	1	582	2	—	—	—	—	168	—	—	—	192	2
					79		274						247				427	
							476						296					
21. Mexico	631	6	72	1	53	1[25]	—	—	165	1	190	2	99	1	52	—	—	—
22. New Zealand	[26]	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
23. Peru	107[27]	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	107[28]	1
24. Rhodesia	U.E.	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
25. South Africa	16,719	12	1,841	1	—	—	2,027	2	—	—	6,022	4	—	—	—	—	2,609	2[29]
																	4,220	3[30]
26. Sweden	1,036[31]	3	190	1	344	1	173	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
27. Switzerland	1,275	4	86	—	—	—	680	2	156	1	—	—	205	1	—	—	148	—[32]
28. U.S.A.	132,771[33]	152	26,377	28	55,862[34]	65	22,648	25	23,355	26	—[35]	1	3,402	4	—	—	1,128	3[36]
29. Uruguay	3,920	8	752	2	164	—	509	1	656	1	689	2	425	1	625	1	—	—
30. Venezuela	U.E.	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31. Wizo	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20
32. World Lists	—	7	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—
TOTAL		559		157		73		84		62		49		31		12		91

U.E. Uncontested Elections (Elections without Polling).

[1] Sephardim. [2] Personal elections; in the Southern constituency 5 delegates were elected and in the Northern 3. Each voter was entitled to vote from among 17 candidates for a number of candidates equal to the number of delegates to which the constituency was entitled. In both constituencies 5778 voters cast 20,973 votes. Party affiliation was not officially mentioned but was known in respect of part of the candidates. [3] Exodus 1972. [4] Indirect elections. [5] United List of the Zionist Federation (Labour, Confederation, Mapam). [6] Zionist Organization of Canada. [7] Canadian Zionists for the Seventies. [8] Herut—Betar—Union of General Zionists. [9] Progressive Zionist Movement. [10] United List Labour—Confederation of General Zionists. [11] United List—Herut—Union of General Zionists. [12] Sionah. [13] Atid. [14] Religious Youth. [15] Emet. [16] Organization of Revolutionary Youth. [17] Personal elections; 1050 voters cast 4054 votes for 16 candidates. [18] Personal elections; the candidate who obtained a relative majority (15 out of 135 votes—Mr. A. I. Talegawkar—was elected. [19] The Congress Tribunal was authorized by Resol. 1970/13 of the General Council to distribute the seats if no agreement was reached; the parties reached an agreement before the Congress Tribunal and it was confirmed by the Tribunal. [20] There were 2 candidates; Dr. Cohen and Dr. Boland received the same number of votes and the Zionist Council acted as Arbiter and awarded the mandate to Dr. Cohen. [21] The special representation on behalf of the Zionist Council of Israel numbering 10 delegates is not included in the 190 mandates. [22] State list. [23] Free Centre. [24] Personal elections; each voter was entitled to vote for 3 candidates; 1255 voters cast 3,017 votes for 11 candidates. [25] Zionist Community Front. [26] Indirect personal elections; of the 2 candidates Mrs. B. Weinstein was elected. [27] Polling took place for one list only because the other boycotted the elections. [28] Movement for Zionist Realization. [29] Habonim. [30] United Zionist Association. [31] Personal elections; each voter was entitled to vote for 3 candidates; 527 voters cast 1036 votes for 8 candidates, 3 of them unaffiliated. [32] Independent Zionists. [33] 55% of the seats were allocated by postal votes, 45% were allocated according to the relation of forces within the Zionists Federation. [34] Non-party List (Hadassah, Bney Zion, League for Israel). [35] The seat was allocated according to the judgment of the Congress Tribunal of 17.1.72. [36] Students.

TABLE B

ALLOCATION OF MANDATES ON THE BASIS OF WORLD ELECTIONS

	Number of Mandates		Allocation of Mandates on basis of World elections						
	Votes	*Del.*	*Zionist Labour Movement*	*Conf. of General Zionists*	*Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi*	*Union of General Zionists*	*Herut — Hatzoar*	*Mapam*	*Independent Zionists*
Argentine	7,771	24	0.002	—	0.408	0.230	—	0.178	—
Australia	20,973	8	0.263	—	—	—	0.646	0.483	—
Austria	849	3	0.458	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brazil	4,390	9	—	0.092	0.034	0.068	0.142	0.047	—
Canada	6,896	17	0.207	—	0.200	—	—	—	—
Chile	1,449	5	0.170	—	—	0.132	0.132	0.277	—
Colombia	716	1	—	—	—	—	—	0.266	—
France	12,420	23	0.048	0.037	0.423	—	—	0.363	—
Germany	1,054	2	0.370	—	—	—	—	—	—
Italy	3,017	5	0.428	—	—	—	—	0.689	—
Mexico	631	6	—	—	—	0.572	—	—	—
South Africa	16,719	12	0.322	—	—	—	0.323	—	—
Switzerland	1,275	4	0.270	—	0.139	—	—	—	—
U.S.A.	132,771	152	—	—	0.452	—	—	0.171	—
Uruguay	3,920	8	—	0.344	0.067	—	—	—	0.310
TOTAL (remaining votes)			2,538	0.473	1,723	1,002	1,243	2,474	0.310
TOTAL (mandates)		7	2	—	1	1	1	2	—

TABLE C

DISTRIBUTION OF DELEGATES BY COUNTRIES AND GROUPINGS AS AT END OF CONGRESS[1]

	Number of Mandates	*Zionist Labour Movement*	*Confederation of General Zionists*	*Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi Organiz.*	*Union of General Zionists*	*Union of Herut-Hatzohar*	*Mapam*	*Independent Zionist*	*Unaffiliated*	*WIZO*
1. Argentine	21	7	2	3	2	2	3	2	—	—
2. Australia	8	3	1	1	3	—	—	—	—	—
3. Austria	3	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
4. Belgium	6	2	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	—
5. Brazil	9	5	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	—
6. Britain	27	6	9	9	—	2	1	—	—	—
7. Canada	17	4	2	4	4	2	1	—	—	—
8. Chile	5	1	2	—	1	—	1	—	—	—
9. Colombia	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
10. Denmark	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
11. France	23	5	5	4	2	1	1	1	3[2] 1[3]	—
12. Germany	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—
13. Greece	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14. Holland	4	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
15. India	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16. Iran	7	3	—	2	—	1	1	—	—	—
17. Ireland	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
18. Israel	200	88	—	22	31	28	14	7	10[4]	—
19. Italy	5	—	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
20. Mexico	6	1	1	—	1	2	1	—	—	—
21. New Zealand	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
22. Peru	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
23. Rhodesia	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
24. South Africa	12	1	5	2	—	4	—	—	—	—
25. Sweden	3	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
26. Switzerland	4	—	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	—
27. U.S.A.	152	28	66	27	26	1	4	—	—	—
28. Uruguay	8	2	—	1	1	2	1	1	—	—
29. Venezuela	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
30. Wizo	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	20
31. World Lists	7	2	—	1	1	1	2	—	—	—
TOTAL	559	161	100	88	81	49	33	13	14	20

[1] The results of the elections of the various electoral areas as confirmed by the Congress Tribunal, see Table A.
[2] Sionah.
[3] Religious Youth.
[4] These delegates were appointed by the Zionist Council in Israel, in accordance with the resolution of the General Council No. 41, sec. 3(b) of 1971.