

Zionist Organization, General Council

SESSION OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

FIFTH SESSION AFTER THE 23RD CONGRESS

JERUSALEM

JULY 21-29, 1954

*Addresses, Debates,
Resolutions*

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ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT OF THE
ZIONIST EXECUTIVE
JERUSALEM

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Published by the
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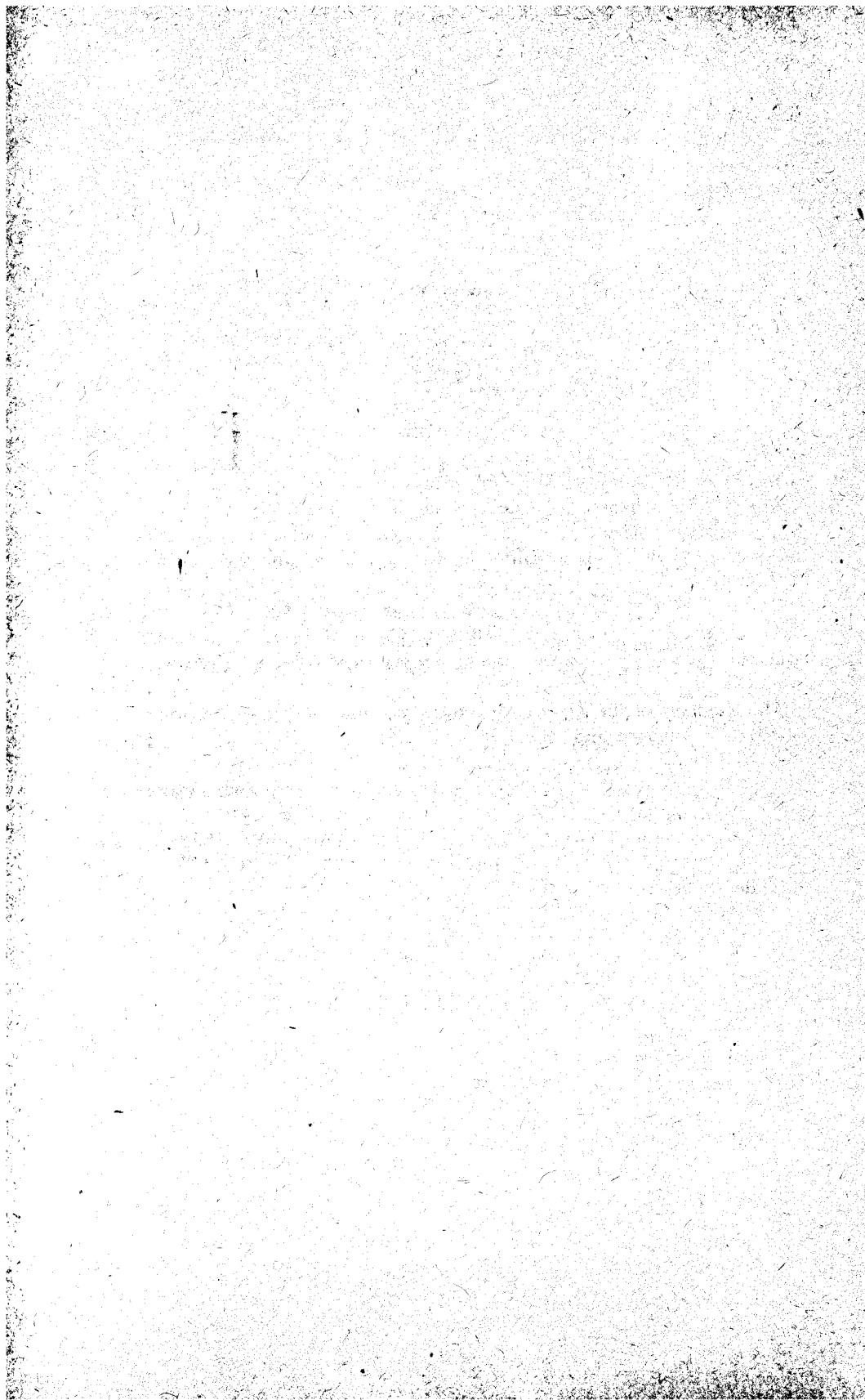
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This abbreviated record of the proceedings of the session of the Zionist General Council, held in July 1954, contains, like the previous publications of this kind, extracts from the addresses and speeches delivered at the session and the full text of the resolutions adopted.

The July 1954 session of the General Council was the fifth since the 23rd Zionist Congress. It opened on the fiftieth anniversary of Theodore Herzl's death, and its first meeting was devoted entirely to the memory of the founder of the Zionist Organization.

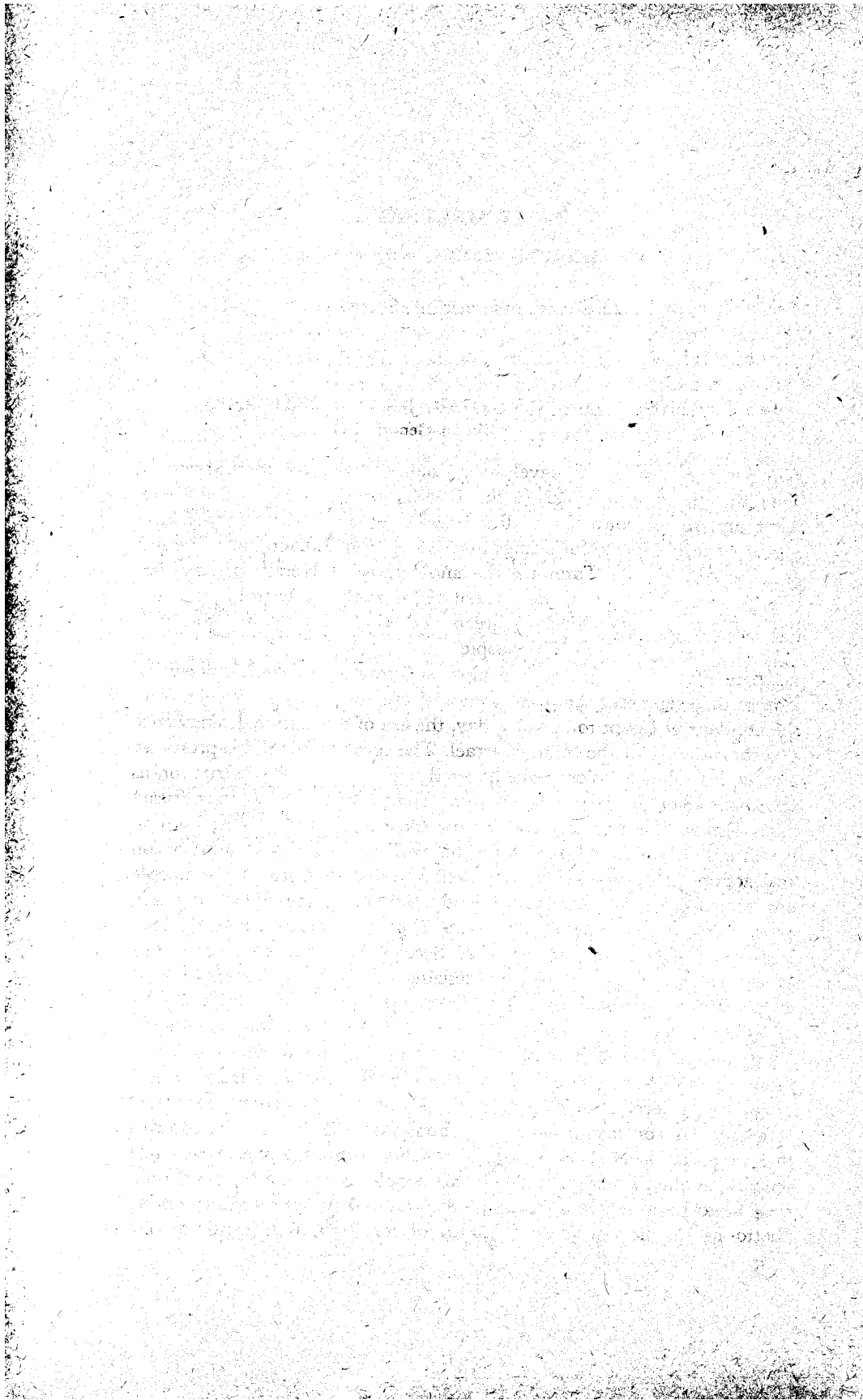
The general debate was limited to one day, whereas the meetings of the committees lasted three days. The session was concluded with debates on the proposals submitted by the committees and the adoption of resolutions.

The session occupied itself mainly with the state of the Movement and matters of organization as well as problems of Jewish and Zionist education, though the various aspects of practical work in Israel were discussed too.

The members of the Zionist Movement will find in this record ample material for thought and reflection.

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT
OF THE
ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

Jerusalem, January 1955



FIRST MEETING

Wednesday, July 21, 1954, in the morning

Chairman: MR. JOSEPH SPRINZAK

OPENING ADDRESS BY MR. JOSEPH SPRINZAK (Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

With the three taps of this gavel we are inaugurating the Herzl Memorial Year throughout the world, in the Jewish State, in the Zionist Movement and in all countries of the Jewish dispersion. Fifty years have passed since the sorrowful tidings reached us from Edlach, near Vienna, and the 20th day of Tammuz, the anniversary of Herzl's passing, has become a day of study of the content of his work, for both his soul and his aspirations have remained green and vital, throughout this half-century, in the annals of our people.

These fifty years have been a pregnant period in Jewish history. In a sense they represent the quintessence of our history over millenia, from the bondage of Egypt to our own day, the era of our national renaissance and the creation of the State of Israel. The spirit of Herzl, his profound sorrow, his sublime vision, have hovered over the years of destruction as they have over the years of salvation. The prognosis that was suffused with despair, the supreme anxiety for the fate of the people, both of which stimulated Herzl and raised his will to the heights of his vision and action, have proved only too well-founded. A third of our people has been liquidated. And concurrently his vision, the vision of many generations, has become a reality—the State of Israel is a tangible fact. In the course of these fifty years the Second Aliya restored the Zionist Movement to its true course, synthesizing two policies, the creation of facts—*Dinge*—and conditions—*Bedingungen*. The spirit of Herzl, the basic principles he formulated, his boundless energy inspired both the doers and the deeds. Both those who sought to create conditions and those who sought to create facts were led by the vision of Herzl; Herzl in his appearance, in his flaming will, his unremitting action constituted a spectacular contrast, sought throughout the generations—the contrast that raised the level of bleak, squalid realities within the ghetto. He came out of the ghetto, and returned to his people to the ghetto, but within the ghetto he raised himself above the walls of the old and crumbling ghetto as he did above that ghetto of servitude that exists despite

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external liberty. He rose and in the distance saw the longed for horizon, and called the denizens of the ghetto to go forth and liberate themselves.

Originally Herzl was not a Chovev Zion, a Lover of Zion, but he loved the people and so he blazed the trail for the Return to Zion. He was ignorant of the traditional melodies of Jewry, but within him the song of liberty was resonant and it was this song that roused both his own will and the people.

His programme presented two main features. Liberation of the people from the catastrophe of anti-Semitism, and liberation of mankind from the shame of anti-Semitism. The fifty years that have elapsed have been replete with their disasters and crises, but all that has come to pass has not diminished the influence of Herzl upon the work of realization, for what he wished to do and succeeded in doing, constituted the initial phase of all that was to follow.

In essence he offered nothing new: "What I propose in my brochure *The Jewish State* is an old notion" but there was something new in the appearance of the protagonist, in the strength of his will and in the lines upon which he acted, in the full vigour of his years.

He was beloved by the people. There have been many great men and saints in our history, revered by the people, but by the people he was cherished, perhaps no less than the legendary figure of the Prophet Elijah. He was beloved because of his physical beauty, his noble bearing, his sympathy for his people in their suffering, his concern for the hungry and the persecuted. With all his soul he aspired towards the creation of a new society in the future Jewish State.

His life was short, and even briefer was his Zionist career—no more than seven or eight years. But within this limited span he endowed Israel with an eternal legacy, he inspired it with a consciousness of its goal, he reawakened a new confidence in achievement. He infused a new content into our lives, he gave a meaning to our struggle for existence. The picture of the reconstituted state which he rendered in his book *Altneuland* he concluded with the phrase that has become famous, "If you will it, it is no legend". We have willed it and the legend has become reality, which indeed is yet incomplete and must be perfected both within and without until the Jewish State creates that new society, illuminating the lives of the citizens of *Altneuland* with a new happiness.

The fantasy he conjured up has become a reality, while he himself, beloved of the people, has been raised to the plane of legend,—a legend always renewing the content of Zionism, always stimulating to new deed and achievement. It is a legend that has inspired us in the days of disaster and has encouraged us to new heights of achievement. The tale of this legend we shall now relate and expound as an exemplar for further deed. The veneration we feel we shall express throughout Herzl Year.

N. GOLDMANN

THEODORE HERZL—FIFTY YEARS AFTER HIS DEATH
ACHIEVEMENTS AND TASKS OF ZIONISM

ADDRESS BY DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN

(Chairman of the Executive)

Whoever attempts today, fifty years after the death of the founder of the Zionist Movement, to assess the significance of the life and work of Theodore Herzl in Jewish history, must first of all do two things: He must endeavour to conjure up the unique personality of Herzl in the light in which it appears today after an interval of fifty years, because great figures in history change with the passage of years. Every generation has its own assessment of historic personalities. Indeed it has with considerable truth been stated that a psychological study of nations can be prepared on the basis of the attitude of succeeding generations and different periods to the great figures in the nation's history. Then a more difficult and far more important task must be undertaken—the evaluation of the effect of the work of Theodore Herzl and his followers, who sought to realize his ideals, from the new perspective which the half century, which has elapsed since his passing, gives us, to strike a balance of what we have achieved and what we have failed to achieve.

I will attempt to analyse both of these aspects in the course of an appreciation of Theodore Herzl. I am fully conscious of the great responsibility that attaches to this task, especially in view of the forum before which the attempt is made.

I wish to preface some remarks regarding Theodore Herzl as a historic figure in modern Jewish history. I am convinced that in Herzl a distinct process in modern Jewish history achieved its greatest and most creative consummation. Jewish history in the nineteenth century was suffused by the encounter of the Jewish people with Western European culture—which determined the main outline of the modern period in our history. The outcome of this encounter was negative rather than positive. The meeting engendered a powerful movement in the direction of assimilation ranging from the extreme form it assumed in religious Reform to the striking attempt made in Germany to harmonize Western European culture with the concepts of ultra-orthodoxy. From the Jewish point of view all these attempts were negative in essence, producing negative results. A handful of Jews were successful in making spectacular careers for themselves in this period, but the masses of the people persisted in their suffering. The isolation in which the Jewish people and Jewish life continued prior to the era of emancipation was disturbed in this period and all attempts to create a synthesis of modern European ideas and concepts of culture and the national existence of the Jewish people were at best half-hearted and ambiguous.

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The only form, the most striking phenomenon in modern Jewish history, in which this encounter produced more positive results, with creative significance for the Jewish people, was the modern Zionist Movement. Without the forms of modern West-European culture, without the forms of the modern state, as an end, and modern concepts of organization as a means to the end, the ancient aspiration towards Zion which runs through Jewish history, which was invented neither by Herzl nor the Zionist Movement, would never have been realized, certainly not in our generation.

Modern Zionism created a synthesis between the great aspiration towards Zion, which is the Jewish content of the Zionist doctrine, with modern European forms. Without this synthesis which represented something for which we must be grateful to modern Western European culture and the adaptation of its political and organizational forms to the aspiration towards Zion, the ideal of a return to Zion would have remained an unrealized dream. Jews would have continued to dream and to yearn for their homeland but the State of Israel would never have come into existence.

Because Herzl symbolized this synthesis, because he was not the creator of the time-old yearning for Zion, but discovered the means of infusing this ancient aspiration into modern political concepts, Herzl can be defined, from the purely historical point of view—if we wish to obtain a clearer idea of his rôle in the history of our people—as the crowning achievement, the greatest positive and creative outcome of that perilous encounter, which was characteristic of Jewish history in the nineteenth century; he was successful—more than any other—in creating the full synthesis which gave birth to the Zionist Movement and later to the State of Israel.

I wish to speak briefly on Herzl's methods, on his conception of the Jewish problem. Herzl was of the stature of a genius. Perhaps this cannot be said of his intellectual capacities. But then intellectual prowess is not necessarily the hall-mark of genius. There are men of genius who have never written a book. Someone once remarked that the difference between genius and talent lies in the ability of talent to reveal new things, while genius always repeats eternal verities. The greatness of genius lies in its ability to cut through the Gordian knot which talent creates. Talents appear and complicate problems; genius penetrates to the heart of these problems and reveals their eternal, unchanging elements. Herzl's analysis of the Jewish problem was the analysis of a genius.

I shall never forget the shock I experienced while still a boy (at that time already I was addressing meetings on the subject of Zionism), when while studying Herzl's writings I came across a statement that at the time seemed to me utterly absurd—the statement that the modern

Jewish question was no more than a problem of transport. There existed a people without a land—the Jews. There was a land without a people—Palestine. Let the people without a land be moved to the land without a people and the problem would cease to exist. I, who was then fourteen or fifteen years old and so to speak an immature Jewish intellectual, regarded this formulation as childish. How could one possibly so simplify so complicated a question? Roomfuls of books, speeches without number had analysed the complexity of the Jewish problem, its social aspects, its cultural aspects, its political aspects. How many new complications of the Jewish problems did we—Zionist writers and speakers—not reveal in the course of our painstaking analysis. We discovered a relation between every problem besetting humanity and that of the Jews—Goethe and the Jewish problem, Hölderlin and the Jewish problem, Bergson and the Jewish problem, and thus from day to day the problem grew in complexity. And here came a man who analysed the problem in such childish terms and stated simply that because there was a people without a land and a land without a people the problem was one of ships and the people must be placed on the ships and be transported to the land. At that time the entire concept seemed to me immature and naive. I had to grow much older before I was capable of appreciating the wisdom and profundity of the idea. Without this simplification, the cutting of the Gordian knot of the Jewish problem, reducing it to its simplest elements, modern Zionism would never have emerged.

We know the inherent falsity of both parts of his thesis. The Jews could hardly be categorized so simply as a landless people, while Palestine, even in Herzl's period, could not have been regarded as an unpopulated land. From our own bitter experience we know that this was not the case. It is very easy to point out the absurdity of this formulation. But, in spite of that, it remains a conception of genius. Had Herzl not simplified the question, we should still have been writing books, immersing ourselves in the difficulty and complexity of the Jewish problem, and proving how insoluble it was. But no one would have had the daring in that period to come forward with a suggestion for the creation of a Jewish state. Perhaps if Herzl had studied the Jewish problem more closely he would never have written *The Jewish State*, because to perform great things in history, a certain measure of naiveté is essential. A man who sees all sides to a problem is never in a position to solve it. A modern poet has put it, that to think of everything is no aid in thinking. There is sometimes a juncture when it is necessary to dare to cut the Gordian knot, when it is necessary to think in simpler terms about complex problems. This is exactly what Herzl did.

Naturally when the time came for him to implement his plan of genius with the methods of his genius, his great political tragedy began.

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An idea, a problem, the solution to a problem can all be conceived by genius, but when the time for implementation comes, there is no alternative but to fall back upon the empirical methods of talent. Had Herzl lived longer and been required to seek a practical—and not a theoretical—solution, he would perforce have had to change his methods. His genius sought to solve the problem from above, by negotiations with the Sultan, the Kaiser. He sought a short cut, and here he suffered his greatest disappointments. This was his political tragedy. I have already stated that the concepts of genius can only be realized by empirical methods. It was Weizmann's Zionism, the Zionism of the pioneers, the Zionism of laying stone upon stone, of building house after house, bringing immigrant after immigrant into the country—the entire prosaic road of practical men—which translated the concept of Herzl's genius into reality. But had he, Herzl, not appeared and put forward his ideas and placed his proposals before public opinion and created the Zionist Movement, I am extremely doubtful whether we would today have been engaged in the realization of the Zionist idea.

The creation of the Jewish State must be sought in his idea. Peoples and public opinion react only to simple, radical ideas. Complex problems are of interest only to intellectuals not to the masses. Masses, like children, must be presented with clear and elementary concepts: Here there was a people seeking a land, there a land seeking a people. This fired the imagination. When you read the debates held during the Congresses between Herzl and the opposition, one feels that he did not appreciate the arguments of the latter. Those who were already experts in the Jewish problem came and explained the difficulty of solving the problem; but he took up an entirely different position. His reply did not answer the questions they put. Their speeches had little to do with the attitude he had adopted. Genius was engaged in debate with talent, and the two could not possibly meet each other halfway.

A few remarks on how he came to Zionism, what prompted him to launch the Movement, are not out of place. Herzl did not come to Zionism, by either of the two roads which brought practically all other theorists and leaders of the Movement—concern over the terrible situation of millions of Jews, and anxiety for the future of Judaism and the continuity of Jewish history, of those values for which we had fought and suffered. He was hardly aware of the needs of the Jews. He was a Jew freely accepted in emancipated West European society, a noted writer, a dramatist, a lion of the salons, welcomed everywhere. It was only later that he heard of the plight of the Jews in the ghettos and in the townlets. But at the time he was pondering the vision of the Jewish State, he knew little of this plight. He had no knowledge of Jewish culture, and the continuity, the future of Jewish culture was of no concern to him.

Herzl was brought to Zionism by the wounding of his self-respect. He witnessed the Dreyfus trial and suddenly realized that in a land like France, the greatest centre of civilization of the era, and, in Herzl's estimation, the land where emancipation—prior to the Dreyfus trial—had reached its fullest consummation, such things could come to pass, and a man could be held guilty because he was a Jew, and together with him other Jews. His self-respect suffered a grievous blow. And as a leader of genius, possessed with all the qualifications for leadership, he immediately identified himself with the people. The insult offered to the people, was equally offered to himself. He began to appreciate the innate tragedy of the Jewish problem—the homelessness of the Jewish people. He realized that such a thing as the Dreyfus case could only happen because of the homelessness of the people. It was in this identification of himself with the people that the pain of the affront he had suffered was assuaged.

The conditions under which the Jewish people lived, which permitted such humiliation, must be radically changed. The people must be given its own home.

All other theorists and leaders of the Zionist Movement were attracted to the Movement by other considerations. They regarded with concern the fate of the Jewish people who suffered persecution and repression, they shared, together with Achad Ha'am the still greater concern for the heritage of millenia. The motives underlying his Zionist experience are characteristic of the man. He was of the stuff that kings are made. It was not vouchsafed me to meet him personally. But whoever has read letters, particularly of non-Jews, who refused to subscribe to his ideals and ideas, who considered his proposals Utopian, even fantastic, is conscious of the powerful impression left by the regal bearing of this Jew. This was a new phenomenon in modern history. Even before Herzl appeared on the scene the world had known wise Jews, clever Jews, diligent Jews, rich Jews, honoured Jews. But the appearance of a Jewish noble was something of a sensation, an innovation. He met kings on their own level. Closer analysis of his speeches and habits of thought as reflected in his journals, indicates a process characteristic of genius. What he set out to create he already envisaged as an actuality. He did not speak to kings, to nations or to ministers in the name of a people that sought a state; he spoke as if the people already had a state, as if behind him there were a nation and a country. Today this is a common experience for us. Today it has in it something of routine, for we have a state. But Herzl did so when such a thing was still a quixotic fantasy. He was convinced that within fifty years the State would be achieved. Who shared that conviction at that time? He conducted himself as if the state were already achieved. For him such a state of mind was a psychological necessity to compensate for his wounded self-respect: "I

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have my people, I am no longer homeless, I have a state." The fact that a generation or two must pass before this became a fact was not of the essence.

This was extremely important for the people. Herzl is the most majestic phenomenon which modern Jewish history offers us. Throughout their centuries in the ghettos the Jews had never known the type of a Jewish aristocrat. There did exist a nobility of the spirit—the scholars, the rabbis, the great spiritual leaders. But the aristocrat of society, whose bearing was regal and recognized by the entire world, the Jews of the ghettos could and did not know. It was for this reason that the phenomenon of Herzl so fascinated, so powerfully influenced the Jewish masses. Before Herzl there were Jews who were held in high honour by the Gentiles, who intervened on behalf of their brethren, great *Shtadlanim* of the calibre of Sir Moses Montefiore, Baron Guinsberg, Cremieux. But the masses instinctively knew that these were *Shtadlanim*, rich and powerful, who in the goodness of their hearts resolved to intercede on behalf of their less fortunate brethren. But Herzl, they immediately knew, had cast in his lot with them. The poorer, the more repressed, the more persecuted the Jew was, the phenomenon of Herzl impressed itself even more powerfully upon his imagination. Here was a man who was kingly in his speech and his appearance, in all his relations with the world at large, and this man identified himself with him, spoke for him, the little Jew of the East European townlet. The fact that their ways of life were so disparate could not destroy this mutual relation. At times it was even useful. The Jewish noble must stand a little higher than the multitude. This was an unprecedented experience for the Jews.

One of the most vivid memories of my childhood is of the day when the news came that Herzl had died. My saintly mother, who had never seen him, was overcome by a hysteric bout of weeping. Here I felt palpably the influence of the man. The reaction of the people was similar. This was a new phenomenon among the Jews. And here lay what was perhaps one of the greatest of his achievements. In a certain sense it can be claimed that he created the modern people of Israel. A leader is, in the majority of cases, made a leader, through the will of the people. There are far fewer instances in history of leaders who create the people. Moses symbolizes the leader who makes a people. Of course there were Jews and a Jewish culture before Herzl. But the concept of a nation as an active factor, organizing itself, uttering its demands, fighting for its existence—such a concept of the Jewish people did not exist before Herzl. His instruments, the methods by which he spoke for the Jewish people, lent the people the consciousness of being an active factor in the world. And though he no more than conceived, foresaw the creation of the Jewish State, it can be claimed that the Jewish

people as a political factor in modern Jewish history was the work of his hands.

When he died there already existed a Jewish people, a Zionist organization, albeit a small organization, there was current the concept of a Jewish people organized throughout the world, making its demands, ready to fight as a people—a *fait accompli*, despite the comparatively early age at which Herzl died. His greatest and most enduring achievement was that in his bearing, in his negotiations, by his magical personality, he converted the Jewish people into a political factor, in the arena of universal history in our own era.

And now I come to the second part of what I wish to say. I wish to ask a question, not to assess the importance of Herzl's personality from the perspective lent by fifty years, but to discuss the significance of Herzl and the conception of Zionism which is his legacy, after the lapse of these fifty years and in the light of the realization of Zionism in which we are at present engaged. We stand on the threshold of the Herzl Year, and I trust that in the course of this year, everywhere in the countries of the Diaspora and in Israel, much will be spoken and written about Theodore Herzl. For such speeches and writings can prove very useful from both the Jewish and the Zionist points of view, if they do not confine themselves to all that we have achieved in the course of the short span of half a century, but make adequate use of the opportunity offered for a reckoning of the soul and ask themselves, fifty years after the death of the creator of the Movement: What have we achieved and what still remains to be achieved?

Such an assessment is even more important than an evaluation of Herzl's personality. When all is said and done our own evaluation cannot alter the significance of so historic a figure. He was and is no more. He is everlastingly anchored in the history of the Jews and of mankind. The assessment of his work does not rest with us. But what has become of the Zionist Movement, and what may yet come of it is dependent upon ourselves and not upon Theodore Herzl. For this reason the initial consideration which I have attempted and which is aesthetic in essence, is not of decisive importance. Practically it is our own assessment of our standing in the world today.

The greatness of Herzl's achievement is expressed in the doubt voiced by many whether there is yet any part of his doctrine that remains unfulfilled. The fact that, forty-three years after the death of the founder of the Movement, his programme of founding the Jewish State was realized—in a span of years of unprecedented brevity—overrode, in the first flush, all other considerations. Had Herzl, at that time, made a declaration that within fifty years at the outmost a Jewish state would be a political fact I do not know how many of us would have taken the declaration seriously. For this, courage and an unparalleled degree of

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faith in one's own powers and in the Movement were necessary. I do not know how many Jews would have had the courage to have such faith. I stress this to underline the importance of the achievements of the Movement which he created. There are very few examples in history of such a rapid realization of so revolutionary a concept.

And yet, despite this I declare that nothing would be so dangerous for Zionism as to rest upon its laurels, content with the greatness of its achievement. Complacency is the beginning of the end for any great ideological and revolutionary movement. It is far more important to ask what we have not yet achieved, than to dwell upon what we have.

I shall deal with the achievements, and what remains to be achieved, of the Zionist Movement, from three points of view. Herzlian Zionism was based upon three main ideas. It sought to acquire Palestine to establish a state for the Jewish people. It sought this in order to ensure the existence of the Jewish people. And by ensuring the existence of the people through the establishment of a Jewish state in its own country it aspired to make its contribution towards human development. All the great theorists and leaders of the Movement subscribed to this threefold doctrine of Zionism. They wished to achieve statehood, they sought it as a safeguard for the future of the people and they wished the Jewish people now as in the great periods of its history in the past to make its contribution towards the development of the human race. No nation can exist purely for itself, without contributing in some way to human progress.

From the purely objective point of view it would be ridiculous not to acknowledge the progress the State has registered. There are no other examples in history of a small people establishing a normal and functioning state after two millenia of statelessness, after waging a successful struggle against a World Power, and then doubling its population in the course of four or five years. This is something to which human history offers no parallel and no criticism can derogate from the significance of the achievement. However justified and warranted criticism regarding details, it vanishes into insignificance in the light of these three immense achievements.

But there is one achievement which we have not yet registered. We have not yet solved the problem of our integration into the region in which we live. I shall not enter into any discussion of the problem at present. I am referring to it purely from the historic aspect, in dealing with what we have and what we have not achieved. As long as we have not achieved what we still lack, our present achievements, too, are not fully consolidated. For viewed historically the great problem of the return of the Jewish people to Israel is the return to the region from which we came. This is more than a purely political problem. There is one remark which I wish to make. The Jewish people owes its existence to

its unparalleled instinct for the bourse. Thousands of years ago the Jewish people became conscious that the area in which it lived was on the verge of collapse. I am convinced that if Jews had remained in Israel and no Jewish Diaspora existed no Jewish people would exist today. This view may have a heretical ring for many of you. But I myself am certain that when this region was overrun and the nations who lived here were destroyed, had the Jews remained they would have shared the common fate. Jews left for the great centres of the world where they continued their existence and made their contribution to civilization. In the modern era the healthy instinct of Jewry brought about a return to that region where it first made a contribution of such historic significance, which both we and the world at large are conscious is once again beginning to develop as a significant region. About us and with us a process of development is beginning—it may endure many generations—of revival of that part of the globe known as the Near and the Middle East. One of our great historic tasks is to play a leading rôle in this historic process. This can only come to pass if we are accepted in the region. This may not be achieved today, tomorrow or in the immediate future. In the course of the past six or seven years we have been accepted throughout the world, with the sole exception of the Moslem countries. Here we are confronted with an immense task. Acceptance of the Jews by the region in which we now live will constitute the great problem of the Jewish State in the era we are now entering upon. It will certainly not be a rapid process. At the same time we must know that our other achievements are not yet fully consolidated.

I wish to devote a few remarks to the people. Herzl's statement about the landless people, was already in his own period not entirely correct. But at that time it had a basis. That part of the Jewish people domiciled east of Central Europe, which was the main object of Herzl's concern, was psychologically a landless people. Today, however, after Hitler, such a formulation is not very apt, for that part of the people which felt itself without a land and was the natural object of evacuation to the peopleless land, no longer exists. One part that has survived is beyond our reach, but the greater part was annihilated. The element that would have provided the immigrants for the Jewish State lies in Auschwitz, in Bergen Belsen and Dachau. This indeed was the tragic paradox of Zionism, that at that hour when we finally achieved the Jewish State the section of our people for whom we needed the State no longer existed. The other part of the people is not landless, not even psychologically. American and West European Jews do not suffer from any complex of being without a land.

Herein, indeed, lies the crux of the problem that is besetting the Zionist Movement today, and that must beset it tomorrow. It is of doubtful advantage to persuade Jews that they are without a land.

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Psychology is a very complex science. Peoples and people can be convinced of all sorts of things, but certain objective conditions must obtain before they can be persuaded of being landless. It would be of little use to try and convince millions of Jews, who consider themselves an integral part of a nation, with close ties with the lands in which they dwell, and who are not conscious of any urge towards the Land of Israel, that they are a landless people. The problem is how to create a new form of Zionism today. The problem is how to convert Israel into a part of the spiritual and intellectual life of Jews outside its borders, who are not conscious of being landless. Such a concept can assume countless forms. It can take on the form of writing out a cheque for Israel and it can take on its highest form, without which true Zionism is inconceivable, that of settlement in Israel. Between these two extremes, between financial aid and creation of indissoluble personal ties, there are many other ways in which Israel can become, personally for the individual Jew and collectively for whole Jewish communities, an integral part of their daily life. Herein lies the task of Zionism.

If we do not succeed in solving this problem of the mutual relations between the people and the land, within the next few years, then Zionism will remain pendant in the air. The State was not created for its own sake, it was created for the people. I sincerely trust that no one will stumble into that absurd, barbaric concept of the State as the acme of human development. Only so Prussian a philosopher as Hegel could father such an idea. A direct line leads from Hegel to Hitler. If the State is the zenith of human development, it may put citizens to death and uproot cultures and religions, because it is the highest expression of the so-called *Weltgeist*. A state is an instrument so that a people may live. I hope the day will come when the state will not be the distinctive feature of national life. The signs indicate a future supersession of the sovereign state. But as long as the entire world is organized in states, the Jewish people must also have its state. It constitutes today the most powerful instrument for the development of the genius of our race. But the principal aim is the people. Our generation has been successful in creating the state; it has not yet, however, been successful in achieving what is far more difficult—to create real ties between the people and the state, including that section of the people which does not yet express the desire to settle in Israel. It is very easy to say that they should go. But at the very least some means must be sought of creating bonds between the people and the state, of making the state an integral part of their daily consciousness, of their economic and cultural life. Zionism will remain without a firm basis as long as this problem remains unsolved. For the Jewish State cannot exist without the Jewish people, and the continuation of the Jewish people without the State is even less feasible.

The problem is not one that can easily be solved. The solution can only be evolved by the genius of the people, which in the past created forms of existence unknown to any other race. No other people maintained itself for two thousand years in dispersion. That same spirit of national genius, provided we are still sufficiently creative, must develop for our own and future generations, as long as our people is not concentrated in its own country, a form making of the people and the land a single unit.

This is a unique problem; there are no precedents in history upon which we can draw. We must develop it ourselves, by dint of great effort and constant struggle with sections of our people who will be doubtful about the outcome, just as they were doubtful about the first phase of Zionism.

I now come to the last point which I wish to make—the human aspect of Zionism. Herzl was a very ambitious Zionist. All of us were. Reading *Altneuland* you will see that Herzl did not seek only to establish a state and solve the problem of the landless people, but that he wished to make a contribution to the welfare of mankind. I will not dwell upon the various social forms which he foresaw, I will confine myself to the motivations of his vision. All great leaders of Zionism shared a similar vision. Without enlisting the sympathies of the better part of mankind and of public opinion we would not have achieved what we have achieved today. We called upon the world to assist us for two reasons: First of all we had to solve the problem of Jewish homelessness, which was bringing about the destruction of hundreds of thousands if not millions of Jews. And even that section that was not convinced of our ability to solve this problem had perforce to do so after the mass-extinction of six million Jews had sustained the correctness of the thesis of Zionism. We said something more. We said, "We come to you as the people of the Bible, of the Prophets. We are a people which has contributed great ideas to the common culture of mankind. For centuries we have been unable to translate these ideas into facts. We can write books, we can speak, we can preach, but we have no corner of our own where we can put our ideas into practice. Give us the chance to do so."

I cannot say what appealed more to the world at large, particularly to the progressive, liberal and humane elements, whether it was the need of the Jews, or the right of a great people with such a sublime record of achievement. Probably both.

It would be childish to ask what Israel has already achieved in this direction. It would be naive in the extreme to expect that in this short space of seven years, the State burdened as it is with the problem of the ingathering of the exiles, and the integration of hundreds of thousands of destitute immigrants, and the winning of a war, should create a

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political entity capable of serving as a model for mankind. Such processes take generations, whole centuries.

I am not talking of present-day realities. I speak of what Israel aspires to do. A man must be judged not only by what he has achieved, but by what he wishes to achieve. The same applies, with even more force, to a nation. Generations may pass before a nation achieves what it has set out to do. But as long as its will is not weakened, as long as it holds its ideals high, as long as it remains true to its course, we can wait. Many great aspirations have had to wait hundreds of years before the time came for their realization. But if they had not been cherished the prospect of later generations converting them into actuality would have vanished. My question accordingly is what is the direction we choose, what is the ideal that will light up our way?

And here there are dangers which Jews both in Israel and in other countries must keep constantly before them. There is the danger that we may become too modest, that in our natural joy at having a state after two thousand years we may rest content with what we have achieved.

There is another danger, inherent in the nature of Zionism. People's defects are never dangerous. Their virtues are. We Zionists came to the Jewish people and said: Stop chasing abstractions and ideas. Begin to realize facts. The reaction that this betokened was a healthy one. We had lived for two thousand years in a jungle of radical ideas. We preached and wrote about what would happen when the Messiah came, when the Temple would be restored. Practically speaking all this was completely devoid of significance. We never felt ourselves limited by realities. No project was ever too Utopian for us. Zionism taught the people to have a greater respect for realities, that there was substance in houses and cattle and factories. But there is a danger in this attitude, it is the danger that derives from the quantitative as distinct from the qualitative. Israel cannot aspire to become a great political entity. It was never a numerically great entity in the past. Our history begins with small numbers. What the future holds in store none of us can say. The prospect, however, of our being a great nation after Hitler—and twenty to thirty millions is little when we recall the gigantic states that guide the destinies of the world today—is infinitesimal. There is the danger that just because we stressed the importance of the State, and the reality of figures and numbers and things practical, we shall fall into the error of thinking that the State is the be-all and the end-all of our existence, whatever social character it assume. Quality may lose its meaning for us. Today less than ever before dare we relinquish Utopian Zionism.

If in the course of fifty years we have registered achievements such as no other movements can offer, we have done so because of our devotion to realities. We have created Israel, *aliya*, *chalutzit*, we have

shown our ability for propaganda. These are all real factors. But we must bear in mind the part played by the Utopian aspect of Zionism, which illuminated the imagination of the world. In a dark and bitter world we constituted a strange phenomenon—a generation of dreamers, who sought to come back to their ancestral land and to realize the great ideals of their Prophets. This Utopian element must not be allowed to disappear. It has its political value. A State of Israel which is no different from other states has little appeal for the world at large, but an Israel which does not rest content with aping other nations would command the respect of nations.

This is what I wished to say about the aims which we have not yet realized. I will not say that we have failed to realize them. We have not had the time to try. Had we tried and failed we could speak of failure. I trust that at least some of you will agree that the greater part of the Zionist programme as Herzl conceived it still remains unrealized.

Perhaps my remarks do not harmonize with the general mood at this meeting. I have nevertheless regarded it as my Zionist duty to make myself clear on this point. Our Movement has entered upon a perilously critical period. From the historic standpoint such a crisis was inevitable. The creation of the State marked the commencement of a moral crisis for us. All great revolutionary movements have shared a similar lot. Herein lies the reason for the failure of the French Revolution, of the Russian Revolution, and of other revolutions. This is the danger that threatens Zionism—that in our joy at what we have attained, our *elan*, our spirit of self-sacrifice, our willingness to undertake whatever may be required of us, will weaken. We shall wish to rest upon our laurels. This will be the beginning of the end for our movement, and resolutions will prove of no avail. A movement like ours is nourished by its spirit. The spirit that pulsates within it is the main thing. And if in this its historic hour, Zionism, glancing back over fifty years, wishes to continue in the course charted by Theodore Herzl, it must be inspired by certain of the Herzlian qualities, those qualities which made him what he became in our history—the capacity for radical ideas, an unquenchable faith in himself and the Movement he created, despite mockery and ridicule to put forward great though simple concepts with a consummate power and with the conviction that realization of ideals is primarily dependent upon the will to realize them. The Movement must continue to advance with this same motive power. Otherwise Herzl's fate will be ours. The Movement will languish before it is half way. We are a fortunate generation for we have seen the beginning of realization. But let this not cause us to lose any of our drive, of our enthusiasm. It must rather intensify our spirit of self-sacrifice, our desire to advance upon the Zionist road, however long and however arduous that road may be.

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Wednesday, July 21, 1954, in the afternoon

Chairmen : MR. JOSEPH SPRINZAK—RABBI ELIMELECH NEUFELD

CHAIM NACHMAN BIALIK

ADDRESS BY DAVID SHIMONI, THE POET, ON THE TWENTIETH
ANNIVERSARY OF BIALIK'S DEATH

When the poet cried out in sorrow, when he sang the song of his own self, we seemed to hear the whole Jewish people crying, the whole Jewish people sorrowfully singing.

He bewailed the sadness of his life. He mourned for his childhood which had withered away without light and without dew; he mourned for his youth which had passed without pleasure, without love. He wept for his loneliness, his rootlessness, for the alien environment all about him. And we—we listened to him and we heard in his voice the weeping of a nation. It was the entire nation weeping for the generations it had spent in exile, for its rootlessness, for its "life without hope, life of rot and corrosion", life which it could not bring to a close but which it seemed purposeless to continue.

But there were times when the poet was inspired by an utterly different spirit, the spirit of springtime. The winds of spring stirred new youth and dreams in his heart, and his song became "full of softness, joyful, clear, airy as the wave and the swallow". At such times we felt that old dreams and new youth were stirring in the heart of the entire people, that "luminous, far-flung horizons" had suddenly opened before the entire people and that very soon it would manifest youthful vigour, great and fruitful energies.

Bialik knew how to use miraculous spices that transformed his "solo" into a mighty symphony in which the instruments of all the generations merged and sang. And, conversely, in his impersonal, national poems where the whole people poured forth its soul, gave expression to its sorrow, demanded justice for its injuries, revolted, despaired, dreamed—even in those poems each one of us heard his own soul speaking, saw the expression of his grief and injury, despair and dreams. Each individual felt as if this "lament of the owl among the ruins" was his own lament; as if the shattering cry "Heavens above, beg mercy for me!"

burst out of the depths of his own soul; as if he himself had stretched his throat out to the executioner, shouting: "Rise up and slay me!" And each individual felt that the longings for redemption were his, that he "watched for the coming of the morning and saw the glimmer of the sun on the threshold of the horizon". For Bialik's impersonal poetry is so honest, so perceptive, so alive, so harmoniously integrated in its complete identification of writer and subject, that the noble song composed of the voices of all the people sounds at once like a symphony and like a solo.

Bialik is unique in his marvellous ability to express national feelings in lyrical and personal poetry, while his utter sincerity of feeling and expression give subjective and personal colour to his national poems. It is this unique quality which makes him a wonderful exception, not only in his own generation but in many generations. The source of his uniqueness is the embodiment in him of the racial stock; in Bialik, as in a handful of other blessed individuals, we find the entire stock in miniature, from its most deeply imbedded roots to its topmost branches. When we call Bialik a national poet, we really mean that the spirit of the nation lived within him, that the soul of the nation dwelt in his soul always, not only when he spoke of the nation, but even when he spoke about himself. From this sprang his special relationship to the nation, a relationship that can best be described as identification.

Hebrew writers, beginning with the time of the *Haskala*, included not a few who upbraided and spoke harshly to the nation, but their relationship to it, whatever it was in each case, was never that of identification. They stood apart, looked down from above, instructed, educated, mocked, cried out, guided and led the people, but they were never one with the people. Neither Mendele nor Judah Leib Gordon ever reached the stage of completely merging themselves with the soul of the people. Mendele was full of laughter and scorn, and even though his sharp satire was mingled with great pity, there was a considerable degree of condescension in him. Nor was Gordon's view a really rounded one. He never saw the nation as a unit; he saw separate fragments of it, and he viewed Jewish history, too, in a limited and misleading light. When he was concerned with the Enlightened—the *Maskilim*—as, for example, Fabi, he could not simultaneously grasp the true essence of a Rabbi Vofsi, so that his portrait of the fanatical rabbi emerged blurred and incomplete. When he directed his gaze at Zedekiah, his vision of Jeremiah suffered and his description of the prophet became mere caricature. In the same way, Brenner saw sections of the people rather than a comprehensive view of the whole. Bialik, unlike all these others, had a profound, all-inclusive grasp, and with his seer's eye he perceived the nation as a whole, knowing all its segments and all its historic gradations.

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There is a Caucasian legend about the highest summit in the mountains of the Caucasus. A magic bird nests there, one of its eyes surveying the past and the other the future. The bird can use only one eye at a time, so that, if one is open, the other must be closed. This fabulous creature reminds us of Bialik, except that in Bialik's case both eyes were always wide open, and from the lofty summit of his vision he bridged past and future. He gazed upon the past, present and future; more than that, he lived the life of all three tenses and every link in the chain was precious to him. He lived the whole life of his race and though he compared himself to a twig fallen upon the fence, he was in reality the entire tree, nourished from the deepest roots and at the same time absorbing the lofty air that played about the tree top. So it was that Bialik found it in himself to conclude one of his first poems ("To the Agada", written when he was eighteen or nineteen) with lines of great scope and power, asserting his confidence that he would see his "worm-like people strive with giants and prevail. . .".

Hence he was always deeply concerned with the fate of our national culture. He could no more conceive of a past without a future than of a future without a past, and he invested enormous energy in the work he did in all fields of Jewish culture. In a speech he once made on the need for convening a world-wide assembly of persons concerned with Hebrew culture, he said: "I carry around within me the germs of this assembly and of the compulsion to do my utmost to make a reality of the conception. I want those germs to 'contaminate' your spiritual atmosphere and the wells from which you drink; through you I want to infect the whole of our people, till the assembly of our creative forces becomes a fact!"

The "germs" Bialik spoke of were, needless to say, beneficial bacteria, carriers of life and health, but he felt poisoned by them, they made him feverish, disturbed his sleep, gave him no rest. It was his passionate desire to fire his audience with the same burning, inspiring, vitalizing disquiet. It goes without saying that Bialik was the carrier of many other beneficial bacteria—the life-giving germs of answers to the cultural and spiritual needs of Israel, needs which must be fulfilled if the great tree is to flourish, root and branch, in its entirety.

When the term "national poet" is defined in the sense of deepest penetration into the spirit and inspiration of the nation, Bialik—it is obvious—is without peer as a national poet and only Yehuda Halevi can approach him. It is significant that the people identified itself with Bialik, quite as Bialik identified himself with it; that is why the people lovingly accepted the poet's sternest rebukes, his most insulting reproaches. The people seemed to feel that it was castigating itself and should not—in fact, could not—take offence. It understood clearly that the scorching poison the poet poured upon its wounds was

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compounded of those marvellous, healing, life-heralding bacteria the poet bore within him. The people felt some hidden encouragement in being chastised by the poet's burning rods: "If I still have the strength to punish myself thus, if my eyes are keen enough to discern the diseases hidden within me, if I am still capable of this sternness and truthfulness towards myself, it is a sign that I am still vigorous. . ."

* * *

The highroad that connects the poet and his reader is the road of the human heart. If a poet's song enters the hearts not only of individuals and special groups but of the whole nation, that poet may rightly be called a national poet. What sort of poetry is it that becomes the treasured possession of the nation? It is poetry which inspires profound emotional experiences that are the very essence of the soul of the people as a whole—not merely of persons or groups within it. The most apt comparison is with bountiful rain which does not confine its life-giving properties to particular flowers or selected furrows, but waters vast stretches, woods and fields, refreshing and reviving the cedar and the hyssop, the wide-spread fields of grain and the mushroom hidden in the grass.

We should distinguish between works which deal with great and significant themes and those which arouse great and significant emotions: The two types are unfortunately often confused—whether knowingly or unknowingly—and a poem of little artistic merit is sometimes considered important simply because it treats of an important subject. On the other hand, we find supposed aesthetes deprecating a great poetic creation because they consider it tendentious. In deciding upon "tendentiousness", as well as in many other cases, men are too often guided by confusion and misunderstanding. Essentially, tendentiousness—i.e. the possession of a goal, a definite intention—characterizes every work of art without exception. In a love poem the writer aims at describing his love, his beloved, his happiness, his sorrow. In a nature poem or any other kind of lyric he aims quite as clearly at some special goal. If a love poem in the conventional sense is admitted to be "pure" art, then why not a poem of love for a nation, for a fatherland, an ideal, an undertaking, for suffering humanity itself? The truth of the matter is that, if we distinguish—as we should—between pure and tendentious poetry, we should do so on the ground that pure poetry comes from the heart, its source being a deeply felt experience of the poet's and its effect the creation of a similar experience in the heart of the reader. There is "poetry" in quotation marks, the source of which is not an inner experience but some incidental, deliberate intention; because one little thing—the poet's heart—is lacking in this poetry, the reader's heart remains sealed and does not accept it.

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According to this definition, a poem may deal with a subject customarily considered "pure" art—love, nature, emotional outpourings, any lyrical theme—but if the basic poetic element, the poet's heart, is lacking in it, it is still nothing but a tendentious piece of work—that is, a poem born not out of inner compulsion but as the result of some deliberate purpose, perhaps even a desire to appear in print or earn a fee. Obviously, a poem that is so artificial and insincere, even if it has extreme literary elegance, cannot be true art. The converse is equally true: a poem may be concerned with the most prosaic of subjects—even a Zionist Congress, national consolidation, enlistment in our army of liberation—and it will nevertheless be the most truly poetic of poems, if the poet's heart beats in it sincerely. The poet whose work captures the hearts of many diverse sections of the people, succeeds not because he deals with subjects of great scope, but because for him those subjects were not literary themes but deeply felt experiences, transmitted by the power and truth of his poetry to the hearts of his readers.

I shall not pause here to discuss all the powerful emotional experiences aroused in us by Bialik's poems; I shall mention only some among them which, besides being aesthetic experiences, were actually important events in our national life, consciously or unconsciously helping to mould our generation—the last generation of servitude, the first of redemption.

In chronological order let me begin with "In the Field" (*Bassadeh*) written sixty years ago. This rather short poem, comprising no more than fifty-six lines, would prove very puzzling to any literary historian conscientiously attempting to classify it. Is it a poem of nature since most of it is a description of a field? Is it a nationalistic poem, since it emphatically refers—in its culminating stanza—to the poet's distant brothers working in the fields of Israel? Should it be considered a "pure" lyric or a tendentious poem? The final conclusion reached would doubtless classify the poem as "mixed" in type. But the average, warm-hearted reader sees the poem as a single, organic unit. All the various melodies in it merge into a single symphony: the old, gloomy, *galut* despair ("like a dog, my friend, like a dog I fled. . ."); the more novel thirst for nature; the even newer sentiment of sorrow because it was not "my hands that cultivated you, sheaves of grain, not my sweat that moistened your black earth"; and as a result of all this complex of feelings, the ardent longing for a Hebrew field, for "distant brothers labouring in my mother's house".

This poem not only aroused in us longings for fields and nature. Without our realizing it, it developed a very fine sentiment in us, a sentiment which became a deep moral compulsion: the belief that we would earn the right to enjoy a field, even aesthetically, only when we cultivated its grain with our own hands and moistened its soil with our

own sweat, Hebrew sweat . . . Bialik preached no moral in this poem, he merely imbued us with his own emotion and made it our emotion, an emotion that became a guiding star for the best of our brothers and children unto this day. Moreover, every profound experience is not only valuable in itself but generates valuable psychological by-products. The feeling Bialik inspired in us for the Hebrew field led many of us to feel that it was our moral duty to cultivate not only our own grain but also our own genuine Hebrew culture and art and way of life, and to cease standing "like beggars before the radiant, joyful glory of the sheaves planted by others", or the glory of the cultural achievement of others.

Hamatmid (The Diligent Student) was another of Bialik's poems that had the effect of a great event. Coming between "On the Threshold of the *Bet Hamidrash*" and "If Your Soul Desires to Know", it deals with the same theme as they, quite as "In the Field" came between the earlier "To the Bird" and the later "A Little Letter". I am certain that long treatises in praise of the *Bet Hamidrash*—our traditional house of study—could not have had an effect equal to that of *Hamatmid*. The poem did not move us to return to the *Bet Hamidrash*, but it did fill us with nostalgic longing for it, while it made those who had never known it respect and understand the rich spiritual life of the *Bet Hamidrash*, its love of learning and self-consecration to learning. Quite as Peretz showed us Hassidism in a new light, Bialik's poems on the *Bet Hamidrash* led to a change of attitude in the younger generation with regard to the *Bet Hamidrash*. They began to see it as the centre in which the nation's soul had been moulded. Suddenly, they understood—or, more accurately, felt and recognized—that the crumbling structure of the *Bet Hamidrash* was, in fact, "the sanctuary of the eternal people", a fortress of the spirit sheltering not only the concepts of the Talmudic sages but marvellous human values, chief among them belief in good and justice and rock-like confidence in their final triumph.

I will not besmire in the dust the banner of the true God,

I will not sell my birthright for a mess of pottage.

My voice will not mingle with the shout of falsehood.

I had rather be slain with the sheep

Than be a lion among lions . . .

I was born to sing the Lord's song in the world . . .

It is significant that at the very time when a number of young Hebrew writers were led astray by admiration for the "blond beast" of Nietzsche, Bialik wrote :

I have seen the lions with their golden locks

Fall slain upon the hills of the deer.

It was yet another sort of experience that we had when we read "Surely the People is Grass", written in 1897. What impressed us most

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was not the contents of the poem, not the words of reproach themselves, but the wonderful tone, a tone that seemed to us at once new and familiar. It was not till some years later when the poet's *Davar* appeared in 1904, that we recognized that old-new tone for what it was and understood that "Surely the People is Grass" had been a sort of preface, heralding what was to come. Our first reaction had been one of tremulous expectancy; when Bialik's prophetic poems began to appear one after the other, following *Davar*, it became clear to us that the first sparks of his prophetic fire had glowed in "Surely the People is Grass".

Another great and influential creation had preceded the prophetic poems: "The Dead of the Wilderness". Many commentaries and explanations have been written about that poem, but we of the generation who first read it did not see it as an allegory or a fable, as something mystic or esoteric. We accepted the words at face value, absorbed the mighty poem in all its strength and fire, and, like some miraculous potion, it aroused dormant energies in us. The youth of the people of Israel was renewed in us, and our hearts were shaken by the call of the awakening giants:

Here we are! Let us go up!

It was not the glory of silence and slumbering strength that stirred us, but the glory of the storm and the savage beauty of rebellious strength. I think that no poem in our literature has equalled "The Dead of the Wilderness" in setting the hearts of young people on fire with longing for the heroism of Israel and imbuing a generation with strength to rebel against the desert of the *galut*, the desert of the nations. It was the song of songs of heroic redemption, the hymn of daring ascent. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the iron and the flame of "The Dead of the Wilderness" entered into the very blood of the daring pioneers of all the waves of immigration to Israel.

In reverting now to the prophetic poems, I must point out that they are such not because they are written in the style of the prophets but because the spirit of the prophets beats within them. No two prophets—our tradition says—have ever prophesied in the same style, and there is no single prophetic style but many styles, each peculiar to one prophet, but all characterized by divine inspiration. These poems of Bialik's should be called prophetic precisely because they are not written in the style of Isaiah or Jeremiah or any other prophet—as literary critics will see upon close perusal of their language—but because the holy fire of prophecy burns in them. It is the similarity of spirit which leads us to believe that we see a similarity of style. The prophetic poems, to be sure, make use of the literary device of parallelism, but parallelism was common to all the ancient poetry of the Semitic East. It is not parallelism which gives the style of the prophets its unique quality. A

man may teach himself to imitate their manner of expression in all its details, but so long as he does not have their prophetic fire and strength, he will not move men's hearts—he will merely be tedious. Bialik's prophetic poems conquer our souls because, like the words of Jeremiah, they are as a fire and a hammer shattering a rock. It was natural, therefore, that the appearance of his *Davar* was a national and social event as well as a literary one. Bitter as death was *Davar*, but life-giving in its effect upon multitudes. Its readers felt that a seer had been given to the House of Israel; for decades to come their hearts were open, their ears strained to hear every word the poet spoke. I am certain that generation upon generation will yet be influenced by such poems as "Call the Serpents", "Surely this is the Word of God", "I have Seen You in Your Weakness".

Finally, there was "The City of Slaughter". That great tear did not fall upon barren and rocky ground. It penetrated our very souls and kindled our slumbering sense of honour. That bitter roar was not lost in a tempest; it shook the hearts of a generation; it was in no small measure responsible for the emergence of hundreds and thousands of fighting young Jews who joined the ranks of the self-defence in Russia and later formed the vanguard of the Second Aliya.

I have spoken here of individual works which seem to me to have profoundly affected the psychological development of an entire generation: "In the Field", *Hamatmid*, "The Dead of the Wilderness", "In the City of Slaughter", the prophetic poems. Most of these were dark and stormy, full of pain and anger. Yet some rays of light, some shining flames occasionally penetrated our souls. I recall that at the beginning of the Second World War a bomb fell on the fields of one of our villages, forming a deep hole out of which a spring of water gushed forth to the joy of the villagers. Bialik's poems often fell like a bombshell upon the barrenness of our lives but, in so doing, they always opened up sealed springs in the depth of our being. He had imperiously said: "Uncover the light, reveal the light!" and he himself was the first to obey that command. He had written:

Let us go together to the great task...

Prepare yourselves, raise up a generation...

And he himself had helped to raise up a generation, not only by writing those poems of historic effect about which I have here spoken, but by the impact of everyone of his poems, whether long or short. Those on which I have dwelt ploughed a deep furrow in our souls and sowed a seed of blessing in them. But seeds must have sun-light, dew and rain if they are to give good crops. Bialik's poetry gave us the moisture of dew and the radiance of sun, in addition to opening up the barren ground, ploughing and sowing it. His poetry seized us by the very hair of our heads and bore us away, but it also shed softness and light and

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the fragrance of flowers upon us. It led us in the mournful paths of Israel's life but it transported us, as well, over the highways of all humanity in poems like "The Pool" and "May My Lot be One With Yours", which are of universal significance and rarely equalled in the literature of mighty peoples.

AT THE CROSSROADS

ADDRESS BY MR. BERL LOCKER

(Chairman of the Executive)

This year, marking the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Theodore Herzl, must be a year of introspection. There are three questions which we must ask ourselves: What is our position in the world today? What is our position in Israel today? And finally, what is the policy that we must adopt?

The reply to the first question is hardly a happy one. We live in one of the cruellest, most ruthless periods of human history. Those of us who can still recall the nineteenth century frequently feel that they were too harsh in judging it. Herzl very often sharply criticized the nineteenth century. Were he alive with us today and could witness the pass to which the present century has brought us, I believe he would alter many of his views. Herzl was no supporter of pacifism. Not, of course, because he regarded war favourably, but because he did not think that the pacifist could prevent the outbreak of war. "Not the pacifist", he wrote in one letter, "would bring about the end of wars, but some inventor of a new means of destruction." This doubtful good fortune has been ours. Atom bombs and hydrogen bombs, and who can tell what other lethal weapons have been invented, but we are still as far from peace as we have ever been.

Jewish Unrest in the World Atmosphere of Today

Under the conditions obtaining in the world today, under which human beings and human life are possessed of so little significance, in circumstances in which nations are reckoned as so many pawns upon the chess-board, upon which the great powers of the East and West wage their struggle, Jews no longer enjoy even that very relative tranquillity, which was their lot in the previous century, in certain parts of the world, and particularly in Europe.

In the course of the Second World War, one-third, perhaps even more, of the Jewish people, the most creative element, deeply rooted in the ancient traditions of Jewry and of Jewish communal life, with outstanding religious and material achievements to its credit, was destroyed.

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When the terrible reports of the European destruction reached us, Berl Katzenelson declared: "Our tree has been split, not vertically but horizontally. It has been cut down at the roots, down into the earth. Who can tell what harm has been done to the surviving two-thirds of the tree?" Today we know how right he was!

The Jewish problem has not been solved by the foundation of the State, because Herzl's Jewish State and Herzl's Movement did not aim at establishing a state with a small Jewish population. Herzl contemplated, if not the evacuation of all Jews to Eretz Israel, at least the transplantation of most of them, in order that they might once again become a normal people—that is normal in so far as other peoples are normal. In his article *Dr. Gudemann's National Judaism* he wrote: "All nations live to some extent in a Diaspora. Our defect, however, is that we are everywhere colonists without a mother country. We have fatherlands—the countries in which we are citizens—but we have no motherland. Zionism strives with all its soul to create such a motherland."

Elsewhere Herzl wrote: "I do not believe in the realization of the idea in the form in which I originally formulated it in my book (*The Jewish State*); I do believe that the Jewish State will exist side by side with a partial Diaspora, for all nations live, to some extent, in a state of Diaspora."

When we speak of the solution of the Jewish problem, it would suffice for our generation if we should succeed in concentrating in this country a proportion of our people similar to that of the Greeks who live in Greece. I do not speak of Italy or Ireland. There are millions of Irishmen in America, but a very substantial proportion of the Irish people lives in Ireland. We are still far from such a state of affairs. Only 12-13% of our people live in Israel and the remaining 87-88% still live in other countries—whether you choose to call these Diaspora or Exile—I myself cannot distinguish between the two. At long as we have not attained this goal, we are still at the very beginning of a solution to the Jewish problem.

Those who hold that, with the foundation of the State of Israel, the Zionist Movement has realized its aspirations, are guilty of a tragic, a fatal, error. It is perfectly true that the establishment of the State has changed the status of the Jews in the world today, whether for good or for ill. At the outset we were of the opinion that the change was only for good. The very restoration of the Jewish State raised the heads of Jews throughout the world. Suddenly Jews began to feel that they were no longer a homeless people, that there was one country in which Jews constituted a majority, where they were politically independent, where they were shaping their own destinies and could look the non-Jews straight in the face. Even in the most peaceful, the most comfortable

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countries in the world—England, America, South Africa, Canada—where did Jews enjoy equally favourable conditions?

The Jews in the Arabic-Speaking Countries

But on the other hand the emergence of the Jewish State has caused a deterioration in the position of the Jews in a number of countries and primarily in the Arabic-speaking and Moslem countries. The lot of the Jews in these countries was never a happy one. They were never regarded as equal citizens, they were always considered subjects of the second or third degree and in some countries their status was virtually one of semi-serfdom. We have evacuated all or almost all of the Jews who resided in a number of Arab countries—from Yemen, Iraq and some small countries. But in those lands where Jews remain they live as though in a prison.

They are regarded with suspicion as a Fifth Column; the general feeling is that their true sympathies lie with Israel, and their situation is aggravated accordingly. We shudder to think what may come to pass in these Arab countries. Every day that passes without claiming its victims, without physical and economic persecution, must be regarded as **clear gain**. The Jews of these countries live on the edge of a volcano, outwardly quiescent but liable to erupt at any moment. That eruption may indeed take place tomorrow, or five or ten years from today.

Those of us who live under happier circumstances, whether in this country or in those lands where Jews feel themselves secure must always keep in mind that there are hundreds of thousands of our brethren who are less secure and may rightly consider their lives and their existence as being in constant jeopardy.

We are all of us concerned about their fate. They have no alternative, I am convinced, but to leave the countries where they live at present and to come to Israel.

The Jews behind the Iron Curtain

There are also certain countries behind the Iron Curtain. My address is not of a political nature and I do not wish to make any comparisons. There are undoubtedly important distinctions to be made, but in those countries too the position of the Jews has deteriorated. Both in the great state that heads that bloc and in the smaller countries Jews are suspect that their hearts are with Israel. The Jews there are under rigorous surveillance, lest their ideas and thoughts run counter to the prevailing conception of patriotism. Reports have been received of Jews being removed from positions of responsibility, of the difficulty experienced by Jews in obtaining positions in the Government service.

In a number of these countries Jews are being persecuted because they want to remain Jews. At one time there were organized Zionists in these

countries, and though at the behest of the rulers their organizations were dissolved and they themselves severed all contacts with us, they are still suspected of remaining Zionists at heart. Only two years ago we had occasion to protest against the Moscow trials of the Jewish doctors. Prior to that there was the Prague affair. Now in Rumania Zionists are being persecuted in their hundreds, perhaps even in their thousands. Rumanian Jews in this country staged a hunger strike in protest, which lasted several days. In connection with this strike we issued an appeal to Jewish organizations throughout the world all of whom responded. According to more recent reports a considerable proportion of these Zionists have been released but we dare not delude ourselves that this closes the matter. Hundreds, perhaps even thousands are still imprisoned and we do not know what tomorrow may bring forth. The gates of Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Poland are shut and no Jews can come to us from these countries. These are still matters requiring our most earnest attention.

Jews Who Will Be Compelled to Emigrate

These are all countries in which the situation of the Jews is bad. But there are countries where the Jews do not feel compelled to leave, although they are fully aware that the situation can change any day. We have learned with feelings of gratification of the armistice signed between France and Vietminh. But we do not know how developments in the Far East may react upon the situation in North Africa. At all events we know that the Jews in the countries of North Africa are concerned about their future and though they have not expressed any desire to emigrate *en masse* to this country they know that tomorrow or the next day they might have to come here.

In this context we must recall another category of Jewish communities: they live in countries which today are almost silent but where voices may be raised. The white races rule in these countries. The coloured races are awakening and no longer acquiesce in the dominion of the Europeans. In a series of countries Jews are in a position in which they enjoy the advantages of belonging to a white race. When the clash comes—and come it must one day—I fear that the natives will regard us as whites and the whites will regard us as—Jews. Must not this, too, provide food for thought? Should not the Jews take advantage of the fact that there is one country where Jews are welcomed, and prepare a haven for themselves while there is yet time? Must we not endeavour to make this country stronger to enable it to provide for these Jews when they will be compelled to come? In regard to a number of countries we know that such a time will come.

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Is There a Future for the Jews in the Liberal Countries?

There are also good countries. Each of us has his own views regarding possible developments in these countries. But when we think of the future of the Jews, we do not think merely in terms of material welfare and physical security. We think of their collective security as a nation, capable of shaping its own corporate destiny in the near or more distant future.

Of course comparisons cannot be drawn between these diverse countries. There is a world of difference between a small Jewish community like that in South Africa, and a larger community, like that in England, or an even far larger one, like American Jewry. But one thing we do know, that in not one of these countries do there exist the elementary conditions for the development of a Jewish life. We know that history does not proceed by the shortest route, that its progress is marked by the zigzags of trends and counter-trends. We have the utmost respect for the efforts being made by Jews to ensure their future as Jews. Their optimism itself is an important factor in securing further progress. But we dare not be too sanguine regarding future prospects, we must look facts squarely in the face.

The fact that the Yiddish language is declining, that its sphere of influence has become more and more restricted, is extremely painful to us. But it is not only the Jewish language, Yiddish, that is experiencing such a decline. I very much fear that the same is the case in regard to other realms of Jewish creative work and life in these liberal countries. When all is said and done the question is not whether the American or the English Jews are better or worse Jews. They live under conditions different from those we knew in our part of Europe. In England, in America, in Canada, in South Africa and in Australia conditions are hardly similar to those obtaining at one time in Eastern Europe. The prevailing cultural atmosphere is stronger. It possesses an immensely powerful attraction. Its influence is not unmarked upon the older generation; upon the younger generation its inroads are of catastrophic proportions.

Mr. Zalman Shazar has investigated the situation in regard to Jewish education in the United States. Only 27% of the Jewish children of the American community receive any Jewish education at all, and sixty percent of these only in Sunday Schools, where a little Judaism in the English language is inculcated once a week. It is not difficult to imagine what knowledge of Judaism can be inculcated in these Sunday Schools. Certainly, it is better than nothing and these Sunday Schools must not be abolished, but we must ask ourselves—Whither our younger generation?

We know of the great efforts being made in America, precisely in the sphere of education, but they only affect a small minority of Jewish

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children and young people. We have been gratified to learn of the resolution passed by the Hadassah organization, requiring all its leading members to learn one thousand words of Hebrew. This is a good beginning, but here too Zionist discipline must be imposed. We cannot permit Zionist parents to allow their children to grow up without a Hebrew or a Jewish education. I use the term "Jewish education" because we do not refer merely to a knowledge of the Hebrew language, but the infusion of something of the spirit of Judaism and Jewish history. If Zionists wish their children to remain Jews they must teach them that besides the European states and nations, besides the American people which has so glorious a history, the Jews also have a history, embodying a heroic spirit, which perhaps assumed a passive form in the Middle Ages, after its more active character in the preceding era, and which has once again become active. Our children must know of this. The best brains among American Jews and Zionists are at present studying how this object may best be achieved, how the necessary instruments may be created.

I am of the opinion that American Jews are capable of performing the task. I do not think that the Jews of America and England and South Africa can permit their sons and daughters to grow up without some knowledge of Judaism, or allow them to feel that Judaism is something that belongs to the past, that no longer interests them.

We all want the Jewish people to continue to exist. We share this aspiration for two reasons. We cannot afford to lose other sections of the Jewish people, after the losses we have suffered as a result of the Nazi policy of extermination. Can we reconcile ourselves to the thought that other communities may disappear albeit by less painful means? We must all of us, Jews of America, of Israel, of other countries take counsel what must be done to strengthen the Jewish consciousness of the younger generation.

And what about inter-marriage? Its encroachments are rapid in a big country like America no less than in a small country like Sweden. When I visited Sweden and regarded Jewish youth there I asked myself what will be the fate of the twelve or thirteen thousand Swedish Jews. Can we discuss this problem only within the context of an absence of persecution, the fact that Jews are able to earn a livelihood, that they are accepted in non-Jewish homes and have Gentile friends? Is this the only point of view from which we may regard this question? Must we not give some thought to the problem how to save their lives as Jews?

In Eastern Europe we lived in Jewish towns and quarters, where we constituted a majority. Today Jews still live in Jewish quarters, but there is a strong tendency to move out of them to other sections of the cities and the proportion of Jews in any one area is becoming smaller. The East Side of New York is no longer what it once was. Jewish communal life, the mutual ties between Jews, are all changing.

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We must give these matters much thought. I am concerned about the lands of the Diaspora, all the lands of the Diaspora, those in which the situation of the Jews is satisfactory from the economic point of view, but the future is uncertain, for they cannot foretell how the political situation may change, as well as those countries in which the Jews consider themselves secure even against future surprises.

The Other Side of the Coin.

There is, however, another side to the coin. On the one hand the creation of the State of Israel has weakened assimilatory trends. Jews have become prouder, they are conscious of their duty to strengthen the State of Israel. People who already stood upon the threshold of complete loss of identity, have turned back. But on the other hand assimilation can easily go hand in hand with friendship for Israel, with work on behalf of the National Funds, even with certain political support for Israel when the situation requires it, because at the same time sons and daughters can be educated in a spirit that is far from Judaism, that liberates them of the burden of Jewish tradition. Very often aid for Israel constitutes a sort of *mezuzah*, a pretext: If I help Israel I am not such a bad sort of Jew, even if I let my children go astray.

Herzl once stated: We want Eretz Israel as a Jewish country for those Jews who cannot and will not be assimilated. He foresaw that there would be Jews who would want to become assimilated. More specifically he was thinking of the Jews of France. He said: French Jews who wish to become assimilated must help us. The moment a Jewish state is in existence, it will be easier for them to become assimilated. Then people will know that the Jew who is becoming assimilated is giving something up. He could have been a citizen in the Jewish State but he has renounced this right. For this reason it will prove easier to welcome him into French society.

Certain modern Jews entertain similar notions. There are others who are of the opinion that they can already rid themselves of any concern for the Jewish people because the future of the people is assured. I know their number is not large. I know that today the overwhelming majority of the Jews is favourably disposed towards Israel and is prepared to help her. I am speaking of tendencies that are already noticeable and that must give rise to considerable concern.

The Existence of Israel in Jeopardy

That is the other side of the coin. Even if we thought that the existence of the Jewish people in the Diaspora presented no problem there would remain the problem of the State of Israel, which is the common concern of all of us. I do not believe there is a single person in our midst who calls himself a Zionist, for whom Israel does not constitute a vital

interest, who is not prepared to do all in his power to help if the existence of Israel should be in jeopardy. There was adequate evidence of this feeling during the War of Liberation. Should Israel today be threatened as it was then all Zionists would do everything that is humanly possible to save the State.

But unfortunately not everybody is aware of the danger that threatens the State, because the menace is insidious; it is not always apparent, though it can always be felt. But if the matter is given a little more serious thought then the peril is palpable. Not only because we constitute no more than twelve or thirteen percent of the Jewish people, but because we are an infinitesimal part of the Near East, which is predominantly Arab. And though I am convinced that the day when peace will be established between ourselves and the Arabs will surely come, none of us can foretell when that day will be. We know too that the Arab people are in the throes of a very primitive national awakening, which is bound up with religious fanaticism, with feudal reaction and dynastic intrigues. A long time must elapse before the Arab masses are awakened. Danger threatens from all sides and we must become stronger. We dare not depend upon miracles; to save Israel we must have more immigrants. Every Zionist must be conscious of the fact that Israel, of which he is so proud, which has illuminated his entire existence, is not secure.

America Treading the Path of Outworn English Policy

History is repeating itself. Developments that took place during the Second World War are recurring. At that time Hitler and the West competed in trying to win the favour of the Arabs and we paid the price.

Nothing, excepting the power playing the principle rôle, has altered. During the War this part was played by Britain, today it has been assumed by America. They are trying to convince the world and the Arabs, that there is a greater appreciation of their position, their aspirations, their feelings, and so forth. This is normal in the world of diplomacy. But in reality a process with which we are already familiar from developments during the Second World War is being repeated.

In the concluding years of the Second World War a document prepared by the Cairo branch of the Royal Society for International Affairs (Chatham House) came into our hands. The document dealt with the question of Britain's policy in the Middle East after the War. The main theme, of course, was that Britain should remain the dominant power in this region. This could not be secured by compelling these countries to accept the British régime. Britain, according to the authors of the document, must become reconciled to the fact that the Arabs have their own political theories. Every effort must accordingly be made to win the more important elements among the local population. It is common

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knowledge, the document goes on to say, that the conduct of the Arabs during the war was not above reproach but no policy of retaliation should be considered. On the contrary the policy adopted should be such that if a Third World War should break out the Arabs would take up a different attitude. To achieve these objects, the authors of the document declare, a number of measures are necessary. First of all, no consideration should be given to the aspirations of the minorities in the Middle East. Only the majority should be reckoned with. Thus the aspirations of the Christian minorities should not be over-emphasized. Finally the authors declare England must assist the Levant to get rid of the French, while the Jews should be abandoned.

This policy was adopted by the British. It appears that the legacy which the Americans inherited from the British included certain ideas in this spirit. Such a policy would explain the despatch of arms to Iraq, and the speeches of Henry Byroade and the Secretary of State. It explains why the Egyptians are to be armed and strengthened, so as to guard the Suez Canal.

There is an aspect of our work called public relations. We seek to influence public opinion—both Jewish and non-Jewish—and to explain the problems confronting us. We wish to bring to the knowledge of the outside world the achievements of the State, its way of life, the difficulties it is encountering and so forth. The atmosphere in which this work is being conducted has changed. Our general situation has deteriorated. Jews throughout the world, principally in America, and above all the Zionists among them, must appreciate that the conduct of propaganda must be their daily concern, it must be intensified and extended. Let them recall that the public relations activities of the Arabs are widely ramified, principally because the Arabs have far more money for this purpose than we have.

Another reaction to this menace must be the closing of our ranks. The Arab countries are closely allied to each other, and their populations count dozens of millions. We have a population of only one and a half million and we do not possess such close racial, linguistic and religious ties such as bind the Arabs together. We have only the few million Jews who by the grace of Divine Providence have survived. We must convert them into a powerful entity. What we lack in numbers we must make good in quality, in close co-operation. This is still wanting in an adequate degree.

I would not like my remarks to be interpreted as implying underestimation of the measure of assistance the Jews throughout the world are extending to us. When we compare what other ethnic groups outside their home countries, such as the Poles, the Italians or the Irish, do for the motherland, Jews stand immeasurably higher. But their situation is totally different from ours. Ireland does not have to cope with the

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problem of gathering in its exiles. There are no Irishmen in North Africa, in Egypt and other Moslem countries. The Jews are a dispersed people. I know that Jews abroad are sympathetically disposed towards us and wish to help us, but apparently there are limits beyond which they are reluctant to go. There is an old saying: Far from sight far from mind. It is not inapt perhaps in regard to the attitude of the Jews throughout the world.

Jewish Aid Is Insufficient

I have the feeling that Jews in the Diaspora, living under favourable circumstances, and able to contribute ask themselves: For how long more? We must tell these Jews in America, England, South Africa and other countries the whole truth: The State of Israel for many years to come will require their active participation to meet its financial difficulties, particularly in all that appertains to the Jews of the Diaspora, to further immigration into this country, to ensuring that the newcomers are settled here and strike roots here. This is a responsibility that devolves upon the entire Jewish people, including Israel of course.

I am informed that there is a tendency for the income of the United Jewish Appeal in America to fall by several percent every year. The financial aid extended by the American Government has also shown a strong tendency to decline, and may be entirely discontinued. We may find ourselves face to face with very grave financial difficulties. Zionists must get together and discuss how such an eventuality may be averted. Zionists must be the pioneers in this sphere, they must march in the van. I very much doubt if every Jew in America contributes as much as he is able to, as he is in duty bound to. Zionists must be the first to contribute, to give, as we used to say, till it hurts. But joy will follow the pain of giving. And they must spare no effort in organizing this work.

We are members of an organization that is bringing very substantial sums into the country. We are doing vital work. I am fully conscious of this. But we are doing only a small part of what we could do if Jews throughout the world felt as we feel, and appreciated the magnitude of the need.

Immigration—the Primary Concern of the Movement

We are in need of immigration. I do not demand that every Zionist in America and the other free countries should settle here. If I would have believed that such a policy was feasible I would have made the demand. But it is inconceivable that a Zionist organization in any country should not consider emigration to Israel as of supreme importance, as one of the two predominating concerns of the Movement, the other of course being education. Were American Jews to contribute only one percent of their manpower in the course of five or six years, the situa-

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tion in this country would be revolutionized. The five or five and a half million Jews of America, would count only some 50-55,000 less. But America has given us no more than two thousand settlers. Quite obviously, if emigration to Israel were taken more seriously by American Jewry such a state of affairs would never have developed.

The counter argument is that the necessary conditions have not been created in this country. And seeing that this argument is not devoid of an element of truth we must take the whole matter far more seriously and American Jews must come to Israel and point out the defects and make their proposals for improvements. We must meet and discuss what we can do in this field. But it is intolerable that American Jews should say: These are the facts of the situation and with regard to emigration to Israel that is the concern of the State.

We cannot continue without a substantial degree of immigration from the Western countries. We must have a new type of immigrant—skilled immigrants. We must have immigrants to settle the border regions and the land generally. How long can we hold the unsettled regions solely by force of our arms? We cannot permit Jews and particularly Zionists to shirk this question.

At one time I suggested that at least one member of each Zionist family settle in this country. Such an arrangement would be good for us, for Zionism, for the mutual ties between Israel and America. It would be worth while for American Zionists to decide upon some mark of distinction for families which have sent a son or a daughter to settle in Israel.

In discussing emigration to Israel I refer to all categories of settlers—pioneers, skilled artisans, capitalists, and even those who come here under a *Shnat Sherut* scheme, although this last category can hardly be considered emigration to Israel. Let people come to this country to work for a year and if they choose they can return. Other types of visits to this country are also important—those sponsored by the Overseas Youth Leaders Institute, the diverse seminars which are organized here and the like. But all these categories cannot be regarded as *aliya*. Real *aliya* must be one of the most important planks of the programme of Zionists in America and elsewhere.

The Consolidation of the Organization

Now in regard to the work of organization. During the previous session of the General Council we resolved that territorial Zionist organizations be established in every country. Implementation of this resolution is proceeding very tardily. We have made an exception in the case of the United States and we have declared that a different policy is necessary there. There a Zionist Council in which all parties are represented exists. It is difficult to assess the prospects of this body.

In France we have established a territorial organization, after considerable effort. France is an important country, but suffers from lack of unification of its Zionist activities; the Zionist organization there is not an important public factor, neither numerically, nor in respect of its influence in either Jewish or non-Jewish circles. Following the constitution of this organization, for the first time in many years a Zionist delegation was received by the French Foreign Minister with whom they discussed political questions.

I know that there are proposals regarding the abolition of the Zionist parties. I do not subscribe to such a demand. I am of the opinion that an important rôle is reserved for the Zionist parties, but within the framework of the territorial organizations. There must be collaboration not only in the Central Committees, but also in the local branches. Permanent and systematic work, in which fund-raising and political activity must be given pride of place, must be carried on.

Co-operation with the Non-Zionists

I am a strong supporter of closer co-operation with the non-Zionists—but only where there is a strong Zionist Movement, conducting intensive work and capable of formulating the basic ideas. Under such circumstances we can hope to win over the non-Zionists to an increasing extent. But we cannot rely entirely upon the non-Zionists, primarily because on a series of questions they can claim that they do not agree with us. We cannot rely upon them in the spheres of education, *aliya* and *chalutzit*. In the political field, too, they will not always see eye to eye with us. Even in regard to the collection of funds, if we do not provide an example of unremitting work, they might easily slacken. We must keep an open mind in regard to the demands they may make. If they ask for a greater degree of representation it must be granted them. I welcome the proposal to establish in America a joint body comprising both Zionists and non-Zionists. Let us hope that this organization will do good work, but Zionists will not rely entirely upon it. This does not imply any competition with this body; it means that Zionists must always be ready to shoulder the burden which this joint body is not prepared to accept.

The Ten Zionist Commandments

Frequently the question is asked: What is the essential difference between a Zionist and a non-Zionist. In reply to this question I will endeavour to set forth—personally and upon my own responsibility—the ten commandments of Zionism. I do not, of course, insist upon the letter of these commandments and am prepared to consider changes in their formulation, but I am convinced that these ten points provide material for very earnest discussion.

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What are the basic doctrines of Zionism in the present day?

1. Jews constitute a single people throughout the world. I do not wish to enter upon any discussion of the definition of the term "nation" in view of the different meaning attached to the term in various countries. But we constitute a people, a single people throughout the world.

2. The fate of the Jewish people as a whole and that of any of its constituent communities is inextricably intertwined; this connection is expressed in the ancient dictum "All Israel are mutually responsible for each other". Every Jew, every Jewish community bears an indivisible share of responsibility for all other Jews and for Jewish communities throughout the world.

3. The status and the unity of the Jewish people throughout the world must be safeguarded.

4. We must oppose assimilation, both in the home and in public life. In this regard I wish to say that I know that it will not be easy to restore the Jews in England, South Africa and America to a full Jewish life. A certain degree of assimilation will always take place. But we must make sure that this adjustment to local conditions remain minimal, and that Jewish life be preserved in the highest degree.

5. Positive measures must be adopted to safeguard the identity of the Jews and of the Jewish way of life in all its aspects—language, culture, Hebrew and Jewish education. The last session of the Council adopted a clear-cut resolution calling upon Zionists to give their children a Hebrew education. There must not be a single child of any Zionist who does not receive a proper Zionist education. Under this head must also be included all measures designed to strengthen Jewish communal life.

6. The State of Israel lays no claim to the political loyalty of Jews resident in other countries. Jews are good citizens in all countries of their domicile and especially in the countries in which they enjoy equal rights. *But Jews as a community do possess a collective loyalty to the State of Israel, as Israel is the national home of the entire Jewish people.* I have already referred to Herzl's *obiter dictum*: Jews have fatherlands, but they have no motherland. Israel is the motherland of all Jews, despite the fact that every Jew living beyond the borders of the State has his own fatherland. All Jewish communities throughout the world are concentrated about the State of Israel.

7. All Jews share in the State of Israel and are responsible for the State. Their responsibility assumes various forms: moral, political, financial—as well as their responsibility in regard to its manpower.

8. Every Zionist must maintain a personal contact with Israel. This contact may assume diverse forms—the extension of political and financial aid, the investment of capital in the country, sending children to school in Israel, prolonged visits such a *Shnat Sherut*, and permanent settlement in the country.

B. LOCKER

9. Every Zionist must be orientated towards Israel throughout his life with the ultimate purpose of settling in the country, or securing the settlement of his children in the country. And though we cannot declare that only those emigrating to Israel are Zionists we cannot conceive a Zionist Movement that does not concern itself with the organization of a permanent flow of emigrants to Israel both from countries from which Jews must be evacuated and from countries in which their position is satisfactory. They must come from the latter, because of their desire to participate personally in the reconstruction of the country.

10. The World Zionist Organization exists and must continue to exist. Every Zionist must be a member of this organization through his territorial Zionist organization and must submit to the decisions of this organization in all Jewish and Zionist affairs, within the bounds set by the laws of the country in which he resides. In the event of there being legislation in any country hindering Jews from fulfilling their tasks towards the Zionist Movement, the Jews of that country must endeavour to have such legislation amended. But we must exploit every opportunity, within the framework of the laws of the country, to ensure the integrity and competence of the Zionist Organization to conduct common Zionist affairs throughout the world.

In order that the Second Meeting be closed at 7.45 p.m. to enable the Members of the Zionist General Council to visit the tomb of Mr. Eliezer Kaplan, on the second anniversary of his death, the second part of Mr. Locker's address was actually delivered at the Third Meeting.

THIRD MEETING

Wednesday, July 21, 1954, in the evening

Chairman : RABBI ELIMELECH NEUFELD

The second part of Mr. Berl Locker's address (reported in the Second Meeting) was followed by a debate on the agenda.

PROCEDURAL DEBATE ON THE AGENDA

Mrs. Rose Halprin proposed that the general debate should not be held on the addresses of the Chairmen of the Executive, but only after the various committees had concluded their work and on the resolutions.

Dr. S. Levenberg opposed the motion, and called for a continuation of the traditional general debate. The debate should be limited to one day to permit each party to make a declaration.

Dr. E. Neumann supported the proposal not to stage a debate.

Mr. J. Amith proposed that the debate be held and not be limited to one day.

Dr. N. Goldmann proposed that one day (three sessions) be set aside for the general debate and that later, when the committees completed their work, all groups and parties be granted an opportunity for expressing their views on each of the resolutions tabled.

Dr. Goldmann's motion was accepted and it was resolved to hold the debate on the following day.

FOURTH MEETING

Thursday, July 22, 1954, in the morning

Chairman : REV. J. K. GOLDBLOOM

THE GENERAL DEBATE

RABBI JAMES HELLER

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—U.S.A.)

I should like to make certain very succinct observations on American Jewish life, though I do so with some hesitation, despite the fact that I have lived all my life in the United States. Even with all the facts that are available about the American Jewish community and its life and spirit, many differences in point of view are possible. Not only are they possible, they are actual in our community.

The American Jewish community is not much older than the *yishuv*. As a matter of fact, in 1880 when large migration started to the *yishuv*, there was a small and inconsiderable Jewish community in the United States numbering at that time a little more than a quarter of a million. It was poorly organized, disjointed in many respects. It is therefore only hardly more than seventy years since the beginning of the great migration from Europe into the United States. The American Jewish community is, as a result, not to be judged by the same standards in regard to communal forms of culture as the French, English, German, Polish or Russian Jewish communities, which formed their lives and their spirit in the course of centuries.

I venture to believe that the forms of American Jewish life are still in the process of formation. They are not yet established. I believe that the tendencies of the community are not fully fixed. The problem of the community is also in many ways unique. Here we have, in my opinion for the first time, a large mass of Jews, over five million, living in comparative freedom, trying to maintain both a Jewish life and also a loyal citizenship in America and participation in its culture.

I happen to be among those, and I know that I represent a minority among even Zionists in America, who do not believe that a complete synthesis of American and Jewish life is possible. But to talk of "assimilation" does not solve the problem. There are, as a matter of fact, in Jewish history two kinds of assimilation. When we speak of it we ought

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to make a careful distinction between what my revered father used to call "passive" and "active" assimilation. There is the active assimilation of other cultures which has played a large part in the formulation of Jewish life over the centuries, and there is the passive assimilation which is a sign of negation and lack of life. What I am sure Mr. Locker intended to say was that he feared this passive assimilation. He himself would be the last to reject the things that are of value in the culture and life of other people, including that of America.

The real problem in American Jewish life to which we have devoted far too little attention, and which is a complex and difficult problem, is whether cultural pluralism will eventually prove to be possible in America or acceptable in the future cultural life of America. But it is a certainty that the problem of cultural pluralism will continue in America for a long time to come. Many elements of the population will continue to have their own lives parallel to that of the community as a whole, and it is equally certain that the problem is not to be solved in America by doctrinaire statements or by prescriptions from without.

I should like to refer briefly also to the problem of Jewish education with which Mr. Locker dealt at length. No one who is thoroughly acquainted with conditions in the United States would assert for a single moment that there is an adequate amount of Jewish education, either qualitatively or quantitatively. It is unfortunately true that there are large numbers of Jewish children who do not receive a sufficient Jewish education in the country. Closely associated with this problem, far beyond that which seems to be realized here in Israel, is the situation of the synagogue in America. By all criteria the most active forces in Jewish education, at least quantitatively, in the United States, are the religious.

I believe, also, that the leaders of Zionism ought to cease using the word "Sunday School", as though it were characteristic of Reform Judaism or the American Jewish community. This is, in my opinion, a mere display of ignorance. There are hardly any schools in the United States which hold sessions exclusively on Sunday. Most of the Reform schools have two, three, or four-day a week schools and are attempting with might and main, to institute intensive Jewish educational programmes in general and, specifically, instruction in Hebrew. As a matter of fact, figures of the Jewish Educational Association demonstrate that the population of all Jewish schools in the United States has doubled within the last fifteen years. That means that although a tremendous lot still needs to be done, the task is on the way to being done. And this has to do not only with the numbers, but with the character of the curriculum, with progress in education itself, with the use of visual aids and other methods to which I shall not be able to refer.

The problem of education obviously goes along with that of youth in general and *chalutzim*.

J. HELLER

But to approach this problem in relation to the American Jewish community means to encounter manifold difficulties. There is a long distance between saying these things and being able to persuade young people in America to come to Israel.

Nevertheless, our experience in our own organization of Habonim, in the camps that we run, in workshops which we operate in Israel, leads us to believe that the problem of *chalutzit* is far from hopeless in America. Not by edictions of disaster and the need to flee from America will we encourage *chalutzit*, but, it seems to me, from two other directions: the need for an integrated Jewish life, for those among our young people who can be brought to feel this need, and the participation in the national renaissance in Israel. These two things must be implanted in the minds of our young people. But obviously this can only be done by discovering that small minority of idealists who can be approached in this direction.

The whole problem of America is one which I should like to try to state very briefly. First, it is obvious in the American Jewish community that there is a new sense of Jewishness, partly due to Hitler, partly due to the rebirth of Israel, but much more fundamentally to a swing of the psychological pendulum. The era of frantic assimilation in America is over. The great majority of our people now understand and give evidence to their understanding of the need to educate their children in Jewish dignity and in Jewish knowledge. I believe we are only at the beginning of this process.

Secondly, the genius of the American Jewish community towards organization is beginning to bear fruit in Jewish democracy and in Jewish effectiveness. There is a long way yet to go, but welfare funds, community councils, defence organizations, bureaus of Jewish education are moving in the right direction. They are beginning to crystallize in various communities like Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, Los Angeles, into a genuine community democracy for the consideration of its own basic problems. The general tendency of American Jewish life is towards unity and towards a creative relation to its problems.

There is evidence, in the third place, in the American Jewish community, of the beginning of centres of Jewish scholarship and Jewish learning. We are only beginning to understand the need in the United States to replace the great Jewish centres of learning that have disappeared in Europe, but a beginning is made and it is evident in the great increase in the publication of Jewish scholarly works in the United States, of Jewish magazines devoted to the essentials of its life.

Finally, there is a quickening of Jewish education through all-day schools and through general intensification. We would be the first to admit that all this is only a beginning, that there is a tremendous task still to be done, a task which appalls sometimes in its proportions.

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But observing all this leads to a far different conclusion than that usually drawn at Council sessions. There is no reason to despair of American Jewish life. There is no reason to feel that it is swiftly on the downgrade. There is reason to believe that it is coming to the time of establishing itself fundamentally in spirit and form.

MRS. JUDITH G. EPSTEIN
(General Zionists-Hadassah—U.S.A.)

We have to discuss—if I am correct that we all accept the concept of a World Jewish people—what is to be the relationship of American Jewry—which is the only Jewry that I know intimately and therefore the only one about which I am able to speak, both towards American life and to the State of Israel, whose emergence as a political state has changed the picture of our life in America.

What Rabbi Heller said about American Jewry should be heeded, for he gave us a timely warning that we must stop considering American Jewry as all other Jewries, and measuring it by the same standards by which we judged old, well-established Jewries, rich in the culture that had developed over hundreds of years under conditions completely different from those under which American Jewry has developed.

Just because the American history is so different from the history of Europe, because a new country makes it possible to weave together all strands from all lands into one pattern, the whole concept of a nationalism other than American nationalism is so foreign to American thinking that it cannot be understood and will not be accepted. America does accept divisions along religious lines. They understand well and respect the divisions between the Catholic, the Protestant and the Jewish communities. It must be kept in mind that the word "religion" in that context has taken on a new and different meaning from that ordinarily applied. Religion, in this meaning goes beyond observance of the Sabbath or attendance at Church. It is beginning to develop into a way of life.

It is true, as Mr. Locker said, that the danger of assimilation is very great. When fate casts the Jewish people into a land where the cultural level is high, then there is a tendency to assimilate to the culture of the land. We believe that we, the Jewish community, have a very real contribution to make to American life and American concepts by understanding the true significance of our Jewish heritage. We believe that the Zionist Movement offers the best opportunity of integrating ourselves into the civilization of the land of which we are citizens, drawing Jewish strength from Israel and contributing to Israel that which our American life makes available to us. Thus we can assimilate the best of

American life and hold ourselves close to Israel. Zionism will then have proved to be a great instrument not only for Israel and not only for the Jews of America, but even for America itself.

What Dr. Goldmann attributed to Herzl—namely that in his short, meteoric career he had helped convert the Jewish people into a self-conscious entity—the Zionist Movement has done for American Jewry. The fight for the State of Israel gave to all Jews—and I except only a tiny fringe known as the Council for Judaism—a sense of dignity and creativity that cannot be exaggerated. It raised overnight the status of the Jew in America for himself and in the eyes of his neighbours. That must not die with the establishment of the State. We will have to find ways and means of exploiting—and I use the word in the best sense—the fact that there is an Israel where through the territorial concentration of Jews it is possible to live out these Jewish ideals and concepts, to which we have given lip-service but which up to now remained part of our literature only, since we could not live out these ideals through day-to-day living—possible only when the Jews are masters of their own fate. Through the close contact with Israel, which the Zionist Movement affords, Zionism will become the great strength of the Jewish people and its greatest assurance for survival. But that calls too for the kind of understanding, for which Rabbi Heller spoke, an understanding of our position in America which is quite different from the position of Jews elsewhere; we plead for an understanding of the fact that American Jewry will develop in the soil in which it is rooted in a way that may differ from the development of other Jewries.

There is much talk of a partnership between Israel and Diaspora Jewry, specifically American Jewry. But in reality there is no partnership in a true sense. I do not know whether there ever can be. You resent, and I think rightly, any attempt that appears to be an infringement of your sovereignty. On the other hand, you cannot expect from those who do not share in the making of state policy—and I agree that we should not expect that privilege—the same relationship which you enjoy because of your own citizenship. When Mr. Locker talks of taxation of American Jews for Israel, there is that implication. That there is no machinery for enforcement does not change the spirit in which the suggestion was made. You cannot tax people who are not your citizens. You can only get help from them through the education you give them. In spite of the fact that the money given by the Jews of America is inadequate to Israel's needs, it is nevertheless out of all proportion to moneys given in America for voluntary agencies.

The concept of the relationship which is developing between World Jewry and Israel is a new and difficult one. It is new in America and I think it is new in the world. It is not the relationship of Catholics all over the world to Rome. We resent it when people assume

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that there is a Jewish Vatican. We do not have a hierarchy; we do not have dictation from a centre. What we have is an inner compulsion to be part of Israel's revival which arises from a sense of kinship that grows out of a common history and a belief in our common ideals. This is a delicate concept that has to be carefully nurtured, but I believe that if we are successful in evolving such a relationship that will be workable we will have made a contribution not only to Israel but to world thinking. In the last analysis that is the aim that is being sought by everyone concerned with making a better world. The United Nations with all the drawbacks and blundering, has this as its central ideal, to make one world in which all people feel responsible for their brothers. Therefore we ask you to share with us the belief that given the fundamental assumption that there is a World Jewry, that there is a need for the growth of Jewries all over the world, held to Israel by the deepest of spiritual and historic ties, together we will work out a new approach that will enrich Israel and World Jewry and in fact the world in which we live.

RABBI MORDECHAI KIRSHBLUM

(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—U.S.A.)

I think the time has come to put an end to the custom which appears to be developing in this country, for people—even people who do not know American Jewry and American Zionism—constantly to criticize us.

I favour the holding of a general debate. But if the Executive was of the opinion that a general debate should not be held, then the Chairmen, and especially Mr. Locker, should have spoken in a different tone. He should have confined himself to the concrete problems with which the Committees have to deal and send them to their various conference rooms. But if you propose not to stage a general debate, Mr. Locker, then you should not have given us the impression that in France Zionism is developing by leaps and bounds, because a territorial Zionist organization has already been established there, and that the Zionist Movement suffers from only one problem—the refusal of the Mizrachi to enter the organization.

On the other hand, you have spoken as if in America there is no more than a Zionist Council, regarding the achievements and activities of which little has so far been heard. I have a simple suggestion to make. The Chairman of the American Zionist Council, Rabbi Irving Miller, is here with us and I would gladly undertake to persuade him to address us on the subject of the American Zionist Council and its achievements. I will permit myself to touch upon this subject in brief.

We have recently launched a ramified programme of work with the object of strengthening Jewish education. Indeed I am glad to be able

M. KIRSHBLUM

to tell you that we can already speak of Jewish education, and with the beginning of the new term a considerable quantity of literary material is being distributed in the Yeshivot, in the Talmud Torahs and in the Jewish schools, in the name of the Zionist Council. This material stresses the necessity for education in the spirit of Jewish tradition. Mr. Shazar participated in our meetings and helped us a lot in our work of planning our campaign to persuade parents, in the name of the Zionist Movement, not to neglect the younger generation. We are even ready—and this is certainly something new—to insist that our own members provide their children with a thorough Jewish education.

Mention has been made here of the Hebraization of the Jewish masses. I do not belong to those who believe that Hebraization constitutes a solution to the problem engaging us—namely, the preservation of the future Jewish generation, by ensuring that its roots run deeper. A great scholar once stressed the fact that when the Gemara makes the statement that “He who speaks the Holy Tongue is assured of his place in the world to come” the second proviso “He who reads the Shema” immediately follows. A knowledge of Hebrew alone is not sufficient to ensure our future.

I could tell you of the plans of the Zionist Council, of the activities already launched, with a view to organizing American Zionist youth for Israel and Zionism. In this connection I point with pride to a group of 35 boys and girls from America, at present in this country, who speak a fluent Hebrew and who are deeply imbued with the spirit that inspires the State of Israel. I am convinced that many of them will eventually remain in this country.

The figures cited by Mr. Locker regarding the proportions of Jewish education in the United States make tragic hearing. The fact that no more than 27 percent of Jewish children enjoy any sort of Jewish education—this includes those attending the “Sunday Schools”—must certainly give rise to considerable alarm.

We must carry our process of introspection, of *cheshbon hanefesh*, a little further. The great revolutionary ideal of Zionism has unfortunately had an unforeseen corollary. A large part of the people has come to regard Zionism as the comprehensive duty of the Jewish people, and are neglecting all other Jewish precepts. Zionism for these people has become not only a basic precept, but the only precept they observe. It is for this reason that we have witnessed such a decline in other spiritual spheres. On the other hand of course, to Zionism goes the credit for having averted a complete assimilation of the Jewish people. This is no small achievement. In the course of thirty years which I have spent in America I have travelled widely and have become convinced that the inroads of assimilation, and of foreign ideals would be far more grave had it not been for the influence of the Zionist Movement.

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The Jews in Israel, perhaps, are no longer in need of the Zionist Movement. Only a few of the Members of the Knesset and of the leaders of the State of Israel still have roots in the Zionist Movement. We, however, representatives of the Jewish people and the Zionist Movement must appreciate that if we deprive the Jews in the Diaspora of the Zionist Movement—including that very comfortable country of exile, America—we cut the ground from beneath their very feet.

Often the Mizrahi is charged with being too conservative, with being fearful of the liquidation of Zionist parties. But we can say frankly that if there is one party which has less to fear than others from the weakening of our Movement it is the Mizrahi, for the Mizrahi has other *mitzvot* to engage its attentions. But we do not think only of ourselves. We are also concerned about those Jews for whom Zionism is the only *mitzva*. Their future, and not only our own, is of concern to us.

On behalf of American Zionists I wish to say that during the session devoted to the memory of Herzl the cry "We shall not die but live" must be uttered on behalf of the entire Zionist Movement. The Zionist Organization must continue to exist, it must continue to be a great dynamic force, it must continue as a cohesive force for the entire people. No man can live without an inner urge to continue to do so. There are however among us men whose powers are weakened and who are no longer capable of dynamic activity. There are others who are so immersed in the problems of the State that they have no energy left for the work of the Zionist Movement. They must make room for leaders who are endowed with the necessary courage and energy to guide the Zionist Movement.

We must recall that the poetry of the State of Israel is a transmutation of the prose of the Zionist Movement. Thousands of tourists are coming to this country. What is the power that brings them here, even in the summer heat waves? It is not only the attraction of the achievements of the State. It is not even the holiness and the historic significance of Eretz Israel. This too is a consequence of the influence of Zionism. It is the result of propaganda carried on daily by a movement which never ceases singing the praise of a new country forging a better future.

There was the case of the demonstration staged outside the Israel Consulate in New York by certain religious elements. Who fought against these demonstrations? If it were not for the Zionist Movement various sectors of American Jewry would do as they thought fit in critical times for Israel.

The attempt made, upon the proposal of Dr. Neumann, to expand the framework, by the creation of a Council of Organizations, in addition to the Zionist Council, has not brought the hoped for results. So far the Zionist representatives are the active participants, although we continue to hope that in the course of time other elements will develop a keener

M. KIRSHBLUM—I. BAR-YEHUDA

interest in this new body. The fact however remains that when doors are opened more people go out than come in. There is no one standing by the door waiting for a chance to enter. Non-Zionists are doing great work for Israel. In certain periods, perhaps, they do no less than the official Zionists. But they are afraid of the organizational framework which they are being forced into and our Zionist leaders persist in trying to get them into our organizational pattern. And who can say? Perhaps if they came in they would cease doing the work they are already doing today.

Recently an outstanding delegation of members of all parties in the Knesset visited America. They staged, we might almost say, a session of the Knesset, in the presence of American Jewry. Their visit attracted many thousands. It constituted an outstanding phenomenon of Zionist solidarity, both in Israel and in America. The delegation came only for the purpose of raising funds, a very important objective in itself. But why should such a delegation not come for the purpose of strengthening the Zionist Movement, as a demonstration of the great ideal that unites all of us?

In the spirit of the immortal Theodore Herzl, whom God himself inspired with the greatness of prophecy, we must continue the task to which we have consecrated ourselves, until it is vouchsafed us to witness the complete liberation of our country and our people.

ISRAEL BAR-YEHUDA

(Mapam—Israel)

I wish to touch upon one question: What is it that ails the Zionist Movement? Dr. Goldmann has rightly said that many revolutionary movements, when they achieve their first decisive victory, believe that they have fully consummated their ideals and aspirations, and then they enter upon a period of crisis.

Something similar has happened to the Zionist Movement. When the State was proclaimed there were many among us "who were as dreamers", who thought that the State was already firmly established. But the State—this, too, Dr. Goldmann mentioned—is only one of the instruments, one of the most efficacious, powerful instruments, for achieving the goal which since Herzl to our own day is the main goal of the Movement—the solution of the Jewish question. This purpose exists objectively throughout the world, where the Jews continue to exist as a minority people within a foreign majority, where the Jews continue as middle-men, where they succeed in climbing to the highest rungs of the social ladder without constituting the main constructive and productive element upon which society rests and without which it

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cannot exist. This is the objective problem which we, with the aid of the Zionist Movement, must seek to solve, which the State must solve and which the State will not be able to solve without the continued activity of the Zionist Movement.

I think that in the year 1954 we can discuss the problem of the State and the Zionist Movement in different terms. Is it a secret for anyone in the State of Israel and in the Zionist Movement—or at all events for the leaders of the Movement—that both our Movement and the State are in very grave danger? The danger is both internal and external, and the gravity of the external danger is intensified by the social and economic crisis that threatens the State from within. But before the external hostile forces have begun to operate against us, our growth is being restricted. Immigration has ceased while large parts of the State still remain desolate. True, compared with the state of affairs obtaining six or seven years ago we have made very substantial progress, which indeed enhances the prospects of a further advance. But if we do not exploit existing potentialities they will remain sterile.

Organizational tricks will prove of no avail. The decisive question is of an entirely different nature. The people of the State of Israel know that the main task is the construction of the foundations, and not the superstructure, the external paraphernalia of statehood. Is the State to remain alone, unassisted by a large mass movement, organizing the entire people to continue the work of construction and growth?

Education! Hebrew! Of course! But has this Hebrew prospects of being filled with Zionist content—for that is the only content that is feasible in the Diaspora—preparedness to build up the country?

I do not insist that every Zionist fulfil personally all the precepts of the Zionist Movement. But I do insist that every individual member of the Zionist Movement support those elements, without which Zionism cannot exist, and the State of Israel cannot grow.

If you cannot settle here, send your sons at least, educate your sons towards emigration to Israel, help someone else to settle. If we cannot demand of the Jews of America that they send a son of every family, let them at least send every second son, every tenth son. Educate them in this spirit, and at least do not fight against it.

Not only those who buy the Shekel must undertake active Zionist work and the fostering of settlement in this country. We have been called, with some irony, conservatives. True enough, there are certain things about which we are conservative. As long as the truths we hold are not proved false, we shall continue to fight for these truths. The past decades have proved once again that there are objective processes making it impossible for the Jewish people to continue its national existence in the Diaspora, even in that abnormal form in which it succeeded in existing for two thousand years. Assimilation is making

deep inroads, because the conditions that formerly obtained and permitted us to live our lives as a distinct people even in our dispersion, have ceased to exist, both within Jewry and in the world at large.

The Jewish State can continue to be the Jewish State only if it simultaneously continues to be a Zionist State, and continues to provide a solution for the Jewish problem throughout the world, not only by the passage of legislation like the "Law of Return" but in daily life, in the process of settlement on the land, in the solution of economic problems, in ensuring mass immigration and productive absorption.

A Zionist Organization conducting organizational work in this spirit is essential. It must organize such activity in all countries, it must extend the necessary moral, organizational, educational, even financial, aid.

The crux of the matter is to know that the State of Israel cannot exist without uninterrupted growth and consolidation. This implies further immigration, more settlement on the land, to populate all parts of the country. It implies the consolidation of our independence and for this a greater degree of aid from the people in the Diaspora is necessary. For this reason a Zionist Organization; for this reason education; for this reason organization.

MORTIMER MAY

(General Zionists—U.S.A.)

I shall attempt to outline what we might call "a credo" for American Zionism. It seems to me that we suffer in this life of ours from many signposts but few destinations, so that I will try to name four destinations and their implications that we share as American Zionists.

In the first place we are survivalists. We believe that we have inherited a rich and glorious legacy from those who have preceded us, in language, in literature, in faith and tradition, and it is our purpose further to enhance, embellish and enrich this legacy and thus pass it to our children and our children's children.

As a second point, we assert the centrality of the State of Israel, but by that token, we do not negate the Diaspora. It seems to me that we can for our time translate this idea to American Jewry, to American Zionism. We believe that as in the past in Babylon, in Spain and in Poland, the Diaspora has been Jewishly creative; that we in America, given the time and maturity shall also establish a Diaspora which, though different from those of other civilizations, shall be worthy like those too.

Thirdly, we proclaim the unity of the Jewish people, and as a reminder recall that this State was brought into being by the union of the Diaspora and the *yishuv* itself; that without this partnership the

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State would never have been attained. We understand that if this State should fail, the foot of every Jew everywhere would falter. Our stake in the fate of the State is an ineluctable fact.

Fourthly, it seems to me that we believe in the high destiny of the State of Israel. It was pointed out by Dr. Goldmann quite correctly yesterday that much of the decline in Zionist interest and spirit has come from the lack of an Utopian, if you will, interpretation of Zionism. We must aim for high ideals; we look forward to hearing these reasserted in this new State.

We believe that this is not just one more state. This must be a state that will reassert in terms that modern man can understand the high hopes that were expressed by the Prophets of old. Mankind needs these as never before. This new State should give to mankind new stimuli and interpretations of the idea that it is "righteousness which exalteth a nation"!

ABRAHAM HARZFELD

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

I regard the situation in Israel as catastrophic. It will be very bad indeed if we leave this hall in a spirit of complacency, for there is no room for complacency. If I address the question regarding immigration to our colleagues from America and call upon them to settle here, it is not because I wish to provide them with a refuge and express my doubts, in this fashion, regarding the prospects of Jewish life in America.

If we leave this hall with the battle-cry *Beth Yaacov Lechu Venelcha*—O House of Jacob come and let us go—, will it constitute an innovation? I recall this slogan from the days of my childhood but it is still new and it referred not only to the lands of the exile. I repeat: the metamorphosis that has revolutionized our life is so far-reaching, that it must shock each and everyone of us. We are faced with a situation in which, in the immediate future, the very fate of the State of Israel may be in the balance. Can we continue to listen tranquilly to the declarations with which we have been regaled recently, by the kings and rulers of the neighbouring countries regarding our country? Would we ever have conceived that we should hear so frank a statement as that made by the King of Saudia, that he is prepared to sacrifice ten million Arabs to destroy the State of Israel? Or the declaration of the Egyptians that they must conclude the negotiations with the British over Suez in order to have a free hand to settle accounts with Israel? And in addition to all this, the statements made by the leaders of various countries, including Great Britain and the United States, that they must arm the Arabs, in order to enable the latter to achieve their national aims?

Upon the surface everything is in order. We have our State, we have

an Ordinary Budget of substantial proportions, and a Development Budget, which we have even increased. These impose upon us a heavy burden, a burden which it is beyond our capacity to bear. And despite this I am among those who demand more and more. The reason for this demand is that we are the generation of realization, we cannot rely upon future generations.

I will tell you something more. In the early days of the Zionist Movement the phrase "If I am not for myself who will be for me," gained wide currency. This saying is no less true today than it was then. Have I not the right to express my opinion, to speak absolutely frankly and to call upon our colleagues: Come and let us go? That same slogan which we issued once, may we not inscribe it once again on our banner? We speak in this fashion in this country. We do not wish for a large Tel-Aviv or a large Haifa, we seek a large Negev. We wish to settle Western Galilee. Galilee today is not Jewish. Do you know that? Do you think we shall permit our youth to continue in the path they have trod up to the present. Listen to the style in which we speak to our youth. Of course we need teachers, we need professors, we need nurses. But what will the basis be? And that is why when I speak here of politics, it is closely connected with another matter, which is—*aliya*.

Let me say a few words on financial policy. *The more we have the more we need.* Just as at one time I deplored, when the budget was ten thousand pounds that it was not enough, so I say today, when the budget is 100 million—besides the budget of the State—that it is not enough. It is no secret that the Development Budget will be increased next week by an act of the Knesset. And in spite of all this we are short of money. I want you to understand me. The type of immigrant we have absorbed must of necessity require a larger investment. We must make up in money what we lack elsewhere. We lack that section known as pioneering and *hachshara*, the element that was ready to suffer hardship and privation, that had the stamina to persevere through the dark days for some better future. This is the element we lack in the seven hundred thousand Jews who have entered this country over the past five years, and this lack we must make good with money. We require large sums of money. We must make improvements, build roads, better housing. We must reckon with many things that at one time we could wait for ten or even fifteen years before they were achieved. We must do all this if not in the first year then in the first three years. Recently a movement has started among the older settlers to leave their villages and to go out to the Negev to help the new settlers; there is a desire to accelerate the consolidation of these villages. Incidentally these new settlers are no longer new. They are already five years in the country, they have learnt something, they have become adjusted to local conditions and have begun to produce. Is it a small

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thing to establish some four hundred new villages over a period of five years? During Herzl's lifetime, and even twenty-five years ago we would never have dared hope such a thing possible. But in striking a balance we must take into account not only what we have but what we have not. This is what is so depressing, for what we lack jeopardizes all our achievements.

I wish you to understand that policies can be changed only as a result of a large emigration to Israel. The areas at our disposal for settlement can be populated only if there is a large influx of new immigrants.

I do not want to dilate here on the problem of settlement although there is much to tell about highly gratifying achievements. The results of our efforts have by far surpassed what we hoped for when we brought these newcomers to this country. But if we rest content with these achievements and you with your work in the countries of your residence, if the clarion call "O House of Jacob come and let us go" is not heard once again, our common work will decline.

EDWARD E. GELBER
(General Zionists—Canada)

Americans are little interested in ideologies operating in Jewish or in Zionist life. Their interest in, and very often their love for, Israel is great. The direct channelling of this interest into Zionist affiliation cannot be done by advancing some appealing ideology in respect of Zionist parties in Israel which are, in a sense, not Zionist, but State of Israel parties. These matters are foreign and of little interest to them. Zionist sentiment can best be mobilized by using those techniques which Americans understand. These techniques are the practical project methods having to do with the realization of specific tasks, and not with the engagement in idle discussions in respect of political and social abstractions regarding Israel which are of small moment to them.

Whether worthy or not, the major activity and the major need for a long time to come is fund-raising. This is peculiarly part of the texture of American Jewish life. The notion of the U.J.A. is a most wholesome one, associating the total community in relation to total Jewish needs. However, bearing in mind the psychological background of Americans, it is my feeling that Zionists should be associated in a much more definite and practical manner with fund-raising. Zionists must be given a specific area of responsibility in the U.J.A. picture and a specific measure of control. The sense of intimacy that will result from contact with and responsibility for this major activity will produce a sense of project purposefulness among Zionists which is so sorely lacking today.

The same line of reasoning may well be applied to the Jewish National

Fund. It is perhaps the only pure Zionist instrument left to us. It stands apart from the over-all campaigns and carries its destiny in its own hands. The result has been the assembling of a group of dedicated individuals who bring an extraordinary measure of devotion to bear on this beautiful instrument on behalf of Israel. We might well ponder the lessons that are implied in the Zionist attachment that has come about consequent upon specific responsibility for specific tasks.

Again it is a matter of direct functional attachment to the thing itself and not merely on the declaratory level. Function comes about as a result of responsibility flowing from expenditures of monies. My proposition is that a scheme be worked out for subsidies to be given by territorial Zionist organizations to selected schools which would serve the Zionist programme and which would give the Zionist a sense of responsibility both for the school and the monies invested.

The federation idea is of doubtful value. The core of the idea represents a reflection of the nature of the times when the political idea of statehood has been realized in a certain sense, that is to say realized formally but in desperate need of consolidation in terms of defence and otherwise. It indicates the need for a strong Zionist Organization because the tasks of Zionism are not yet fulfilled. On the other hand, there is not yet the courage to draw the full and logical consequences that flow from the realities of politically realized statehood, namely, that the place of the party in the Diaspora no longer has meaning or purpose.

The unreality of maintaining parties in the Diaspora is becoming increasingly evident. A radical solution is required which will take courage and vision and that is to dissolve existing Zionist groups in the Diaspora and to return to an older period which is so much needed today. Our call should be for a return to the idea of *Chibbat Zion*, love of Israel itself, without regard to party motivation. This unqualified and unmodified approach to Israel without the limiting effects of the unreality of political organizations in the Diaspora will, in the course of the not distant future, bring an awareness of those values and ideals that inhere in the Israel idea. This will also have an important by-product—perhaps the most important of all—namely, the maintenance of the traditional sense of universal connection which has been the millennial quality of the Jewish people and which, paradoxically enough, seems to be on the road to disappearance in these days of realized statehood.

The whole purpose of the existence of the State of Israel is to make secure Jewish universality, not merely in physical terms, but in accents of spiritual and cultural values.

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GERSHON AGRON

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

You have in Hadassah this gigantic asset of 300,000 members, you have penetrated 300,000 Jewish homes in the USA. Have you asked your 300,000 women in the USA if what they want is eventually nothing more than another grand philanthropy? Do these 300,000 expect to be a duplicate or triplicate repetition of the Council of Jewish Women or the Temple Sisterhood? Do you want nothing grander and bigger than another great organization of immense usefulness, working on great public service projects in Israel, and nothing more? Is this the ultimate ideal of Zionism? Is this the ultimate ideal of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization, an organization which has significantly enough *not* dropped from its name the word Zionist.

I am not a total stranger to America, but I have not got the arrogance to claim to know what is best for America and what is best for American Zionism and what is best for any section in American Zionism. I wish in all humility I could be sure what is good for Israel. But I do know this, that neither can you be so sure that you know what is best for America and what is best for Israel at the same time. This is a question that requires careful, agonizing research; self-searching of your own hearts.

There was a reference here, amounting to horror, at the very suggestion of Mr. Locker's that Jews might be assessed by their fellow Jews as to their share in the upbuilding of Israel. And the horror that was expressed was as if it had been an unheard of thing. My dear friends, you know all about the techniques and gimmicks of campaigning. I am a mere visitor from time to time. I, too, know something of the techniques and the gimmicks. I know of the big gift dinners and of the little gift dinners. I know of assessments, pressures and rejections, when people are told what they are expected to do, more or less. What is this sense of horror at the very suggestion that Jews among themselves may settle in a friendly way what certain people can and are expected to give?

To the disappointment of many of you, I will not say a word about *chalutzit*. I refrain not because I think it is a dead horse not worth flogging but because I feel that it is burning your hearts and searing your souls. You are uncomfortable when *chalutzit* is mentioned, and that to me is the best sign that there is something stirring.

And so I come to the end of another road-block complete with barbed wire, called *aliya*. And there is satisfaction expressed that we have reached a consolidation point, as if we had blueprinted so many years for mass immigration and another period for consolidation. Don't let's be euphemistic. We are not thinking of consolidation. We are not

G. AGRON

going through a period of consolidation. We are going through a period of stagnation. And when you shy at the very thought of discussing *aliya*, when you appear to welcome this period of consolidation and of catching your breath, and our breath, you are really, I think, betraying a certain disturbance of mind over the whole question of *aliya*.

Once there was a people that set its heart on building a Jewish state. Some did it wholeheartedly, some did it passively, some did it involuntarily, some did it even through doubt, suspicion, fear and hesitation. Some came to it even through tortuous opposition. The State is here. And the agony that afflicts my heart and mind—I am sure that you feel it too—is this: Are we going to lose the people because we have been granted the State? That is the hard, concrete problem that challenges very searching thoughts; and it is not a metaphysical problem that I pose before this session of the Zionist General Council.

FIFTH MEETING

Thursday, July 22, 1954, in the afternoon

Chairman : MRS. JUDITH G. EPSTEIN

CONTINUATION OF GENERAL DEBATE

MEILICH TOPIOL

(General Zionists—France)

You are probably aware that the extension of the Zionist organization in France has been widely discussed recently. We have never been successful in establishing a strong and large Zionist organization. French Jewry, for the most part, is assimilated, while in addition there is in France a group of Communists, including a large proportion of the Jews who have immigrated from other countries.

But despite these difficulties we were entrusted this year with the task of strengthening the French Zionist Federation and of infusing into it a new spirit. We had the advantage of substantial assistance from Jerusalem. A "Goodwill Mission", comprising Mr. Heftman, Mr. Baratz and Dr. Wolfsberg, visited us. They were followed by members of the Jewish Agency Executive, including Mr. Herman, Mr. Locker and Mr. Shazar, who helped us a lot in bringing the French-speaking non-Zionist Jews closer to our cause. The greatest impetus, however, was given by the Chairman of the Knesset, Mr. Sprinzak, who undertook the organization of the French Federation.

All political parties in France participated in the previous Federation and there were even groups of Zionists and non-Zionists who were prepared to enter it, provided that it was non-political in character. Thus the parties were faced with the question of conceding their privileges in the Federation and accepting the principle of a Federation composed of both political and non-partisan groups. The matter aroused a very lively debate and there were parties which found it difficult to relinquish their rights. But the principle was finally accepted and non-political bodies such as the Maccabi, WIZO and the Sephardim entered the organization. In addition a number of professional groups, including doctors, lawyers, artists (headed by Marc Chagall), and intellectuals joined the Federation.

The Federation held that if it wished to capture the masses it must

M. TOPIOL

establish the principle of individual membership. The question was whether these individuals should be permitted to join the non-Zionist groups, or whether we should endeavour to contact the assimilated Jews and speak to them about the Zionist Federation. We thought that provided that we did not confuse the issue with party politics we should succeed in getting them into the Zionist Federation. I am glad to place on record that the first one to come to us was our Secretary General (formerly the secretary of M. Léon Blum) M. André Blumel. He came as a non-partisan but he is a good Zionist and is keen to co-operate.

To this day some 95% of the Jewish children in France receive no Jewish education. The Federation has resolved to organize Jewish education in the Jewish spirit. As a first step towards attracting the children of the assimilated element we organized summer camps in Israel. This week 200 young people will disembark at Haifa; they will spend four to five weeks in this country. We know from our experience that after their return, despite the fact that they have never attended a Jewish school and do not know a single word of Hebrew or Yiddish, this period spent in Israel will be sufficient to constitute a foundation for Zionist education in France. We have been successful in establishing a club for French Zionist youth, who have visited Israel. In this club Zionist education is imparted.

I wish to make some remarks on the reciprocal relations between Jerusalem and ourselves. I have already mentioned the aid extended to us by Jerusalem in the organization of the Federation. The Federation has been established, but it must now be filled with content. However, while we in the Federation, in spite of all the difficulties facing us, are endeavouring to perform the Zionist duties that devolve upon us, the Executive continues to carry on its work through its *shlichim*. I do not want to enter upon any discussion of the question of *shlichim*—we have already devoted some time to it—but I wish to stress that we do not know what they are doing and they do not know what we are doing. Such a situation cannot be permitted to continue.

I must also speak of the difficulties that beset us because of the decentralization of the Executive in Jerusalem. There are ten departments in existence and every time we wish to raise some matter we have to contact a number of people. I think it would be advisable to establish a single institution in order to obviate the necessity of too many contacts.

I ask you to assist us in inspiring the Federation with a new spirit and in raising its prestige.

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MARC JARBLUM

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

Much is being spoken in Jerusalem in regard to the struggle against assimilation, and some people even would like to make certain proposals how to conduct this struggle. We cannot ignore the situation in France, Belgium, Holland, indeed in all the countries of Western Europe where there are half a million Jews. I see no reason whatever to be pessimistic. The entire atmosphere has changed, and our tactics too must be altered. Up to the present we have operated in three fields—the first being the party, the second the territorial organization, with penetration into those circles among the Jews who are not Zionists only occupying the third place. We must change this order and give priority to the effort to penetrate into those Jewish circles which have been termed “assimilationist”.

Had I the time I would read to you the speech of Guy de Rothschild, President of the *Consistoire*. It is a speech full of pride, strength and concern for the fate of the Jewish community of France in the next fifty years, concern whether a Jewish community will exist in France at that time, for Jews are no longer coming from Eastern and Central Europe to France. Such a speech delivered by the President of the *Consistoire* is exceedingly important.

We are working together with all elements in French Jewry, in the fields of education and culture—with the *Consistoire*, with the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, with the assimilated Jews. They are prepared to co-operate with us in doing great work—I do not refer merely to Israel and fund-raising campaigns. The *Consistoire* is ready to collaborate with us in all spheres, with all bodies representing French Jewry; it is incumbent upon us to penetrate into all these circles. They are carrying on independent work for the dissemination of the study of Hebrew which indeed is being expanded in the schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*. Even in the field of *aliya* to Israel they are prepared to co-operate with us. You must recall that there are many intellectual forces in France capable of making their contribution—a very important contribution—on behalf of Israel.

The work of the Federation in this sphere is very encouraging. If we continue in this manner and extend our periphery we shall succeed in strengthening the Federation in both quantitative and qualitative terms. When we celebrate Independence Day, Jews of all classes and circles come and participate, including a considerable proportion of the assimilated Jews. The slogan “Fight against Assimilation” is an anachronism. Instead we must try and penetrate into these circles. It is of course hard to fight them when we are at the same time co-operating with them. We must devote some thought to the matter whether we should not bring our slogans into line with current circumstances.

R. SHULMAN — Y. WOLFSBERG

MRS. REBECCA SHULMAN

(General Zionists-Hadassah—U.S.A.)

I had not expected to participate in the General Debate today. Mr. Agron's speech, however, forces me to take the floor. I listened to the words of this "humble back-bencher"—as he called himself—with utter amazement and disbelief. It was one thing for Mrs. Halprin to have used an intemperate word as an immediate, exasperated reaction to certain of Mr. Locker's proposals that were impossible of achievement. For Mr. Agron to have made this the theme of his speech—addressed exclusively to Hadassah—illustrates better than anything we could have said why the General Debate is a luxury we cannot afford. The desire to shorten or eliminate the General Debate is not new. In at least three sessions of the General Council that I know of, this attempt was made.

Yes, we are impatient with constant repetition of speeches that lead nowhere and rob us of time that could be put to constructive purpose.

I do think that an organization with a membership of 300,000—all Shekel payers, whose annual fund-raising is in the neighbourhood of \$10,000,000, with a comprehensive programme of Jewish education, Hebrew studies and the Hebrew language—with an activity of public relations throughout the length and breadth of the U.S.—to say nothing of our vast practical work in Israel—such an organization needs no Zionist sermon from Mr. Agron.

Nothing said this morning shows self-righteousness or complacency on the part of Hadassah or any American representative. We are fully aware of the problems. If we cannot give Mr. Locker all the answers he wants—a free-for-all general debate will not help. Let us at least have the time for the discussion of those things we can do.

DR. YESHAYAHU WOLFSBERG

(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—Israel)

I permit myself to accept a task which is not very popular—to speak on the subject of Zionism, not on the functions of Zionism, not on the problems it must solve, but on the question: What is the nature of Zionism today? Zionism was never a framework for functions and activities. Zionism was—and continues to this day to be—an idea, a purpose.

There is no doubt whatever that the value of Zionism has not declined. I wish to thank the Chairmen for dealing with this aspect in their addresses though they did not go deeply into the subject, as the necessary background was lacking. They appreciated, however, the connection that

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exists between the immediate tasks of Zionism and its ideals. If we extract the idea of Zionism, the efforts devoted to the renaissance of the people, as an ideal of the integral unity of the people, and not merely of a state politically and economically independent, but the embodiment of an idea which tangibly creates a bond between itself and all Zionists and Jews throughout the world—then we are writing *finis* to the Zionist Movement. We cannot forego this vision. Whoever deprives Zionism of this ideal deprives it of its principle content.

As an example of one of the principal articles of the Zionist credo I submit that we dare not minimize the importance of the idea of Zionism. It is inconceivable that in this generation of consummation of our ideal the prestige of the Zionist philosophy should be permitted to decline to such an extent. The Zionist idea in all its glory, uniting all sections of the Jewish people, still remains.

Every era has its own conditions. In the course of the annals of Zionism changes have occurred, and in the course of the past sixty years conditions have changed. But the exile remains exile. I would like you to recall the words of our revered colleague, Hayim Greenberg, who was wont to speak of the idea from this forum, that if the exile was a good exile at best it resembled a moonlit night.

I do not think that Zionism will continue to exist if we regard it merely as a framework for campaigns, bond-drives, or even educational and cultural activity. The difference between the present period and the past does not lie in the fact that in certain countries abroad conditions are better than they at one time were in the Diaspora. The difference is that forty years ago those people who subscribed to Zionist ideals knew that their first loyalty was towards Zionism and Judaism. They did not wish to adjust themselves to the conditions in which they lived. They endeavoured, under existing conditions, to strengthen Jewish life and Zionism, not only through the agency of Jewish education and monetary contributions, but by preserving a Jewish way of life as far as was possible. I am not of the opinion that sociological conditions in the various countries can be permitted to decide the Zionist question today. There is no question that a definition of Zionism comprehends the aspiration of Jews to emigrate to and to settle in Israel, but at the same time non-fulfilment of this aspect does not necessarily negate the possibility of being a Zionist. All that we have accomplished through campaigns and through educational and cultural work will not be adequate if we fail to establish an organic connection with the problems of *aliya* and *chalutzit*, for thereby the desire of the Jews to come and settle in Israel is aroused. It is not sufficient to stress that Zionism is comprehensive and integral. Nor should Judaism-Zionism be thought to imply a state on the one side and good Zionists in the Diaspora on the other.

In my view this is the idea of Zionism: To renew the full Jewish feeling of both the individual and the nation. Zionism does not mean only to maintain good relations with those nations among whom the Jews live.

I do not call here solely upon members of other Zionist parties; I also turn to my friends and colleagues of the Mizrachi. If the significance of the Mizrachi is enhanced because it continues to observe tradition and religion, as well as to foster religious education, it would nevertheless do well if it endeavoured to bring its members to Israel. Let them prove thus that they are good Zionists, and thereby they will constitute an example for others.

JACOB AMITH

(Mapam—Israel)

If Dr. Go'dmann's remarks regarding the land without a people had any new significance, this was it: There are in Israel large stretches of land which are at our disposal and which are without people. Once again we stand in need of pioneering settlement, in order to block this dangerous gap that constitutes a constant invitation to the infiltrer, to all who harbour evil designs against the State. Where will these settler-pioneers come from? We possess only one source of manpower—the Jewish people in the State of Israel and the Diaspora. From this forum the call must be sounded for a renewal of the spirit of pioneering among Jewish youth throughout the world.

I know that the Diaspora has its demands to make upon Israel. Those Jews far away who are contributing would like to see results. They would like to see the State worthy of the name it bears, flourishing culturally, radiating its beneficial influence. Can the State fulfil the task imposed upon it?

The Jewish people possesses an abundance of intellectual and scientific talent. It possesses men of great talent, even geniuses, but they are all of them wandering in foreign fields. Why do they not come to us and join us in our great task? Why do they not permit us to enjoy some of their vast bounty?

At all events, colleagues from abroad, while you demand of us, a million and a half Jews living in Israel, to be a light to the nations, you must demand of yourselves and give of your energy and your money, your bodies and your souls, to the people that is foregathering in Zion, so that the State may grow and prosper.

The traditional Zionist Movement had its own viewpoint regarding Jewish realities in the Diaspora, it developed a doctrine of its own regarding Jewish life there and its future prospects. If there is a

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crisis in the Zionist Movement it is primarily an ideological crisis, a crisis of the Zionist prognosis, of the Zionist doctrine. We are being told that what was true half a century, a generation ago, is no longer true today, for the Jewish people of today, dwelling in new lands of the Diaspora, is unlike the Jewish people in the old countries. The new Jew, psychologically, is no longer without a homeland. But were those Jews of the past—who to our profound sorrow are no longer with us—always without a country?

We do not claim that history repeats itself in all its details. Those among us who do not pray three times a day, pray in our hearts, that the horror we have witnessed will never recur and that there will be peace in all the habitations of Israel. But we cannot, nevertheless, ignore the inexorable development of Jewish life in the exile, the life of a minority, different from the nations among which it lives, in the lands of the Diaspora. Even today there are Jewish communities in danger-zones, in regions of national and international tension. In regard to these Jews we certainly do not know what the morrow may bring forth. These Jews must be succoured, they are candidates for immediate *aliya* to this country.

There are Jews who at this moment stand in peril of their lives, and there are also Jews whose Jewish spirit and character is in jeopardy. Inter-marriage and flight from the Jewish destiny in whatever form it may take, under whatever regime, in whatever country, constitutes a kind of death. The danger of assimilation and loss of national identity constitutes a very real danger in the countries of the Diaspora. And this atavistic spirit of dispersion, of love of foreign countries, lies deep in the hearts of those Jews, even in the hearts of those Jews who reached the haven of this country and then again took up the wanderer's staff and returned to the lands from which they came.

A barrier, a dyke must be constructed to hold back the engulfing wave of assimilation, to protect the existence of the people. But we must recall that the life of the people, being as it is life in the Diaspora, is never secure from the bursting of these dykes and the inundation that must inevitably follow. This must be a fundamental of Zionist consciousness. In the light of this principle we embark upon our work of education, we must call for *chalutzit*, personal fulfilment of the precepts of Zionism and *aliya*.

Y. GRUENBAUM

YITZCHAK GRUENBAUM

(Virilist—Israel)

We are living in a very grave and dangerous period. Our position is beginning to resemble that during the years 1938-40 when the White Papers were published. It is becoming increasingly clear that the policy we have pursued more recently to prove to the Americans that in this arena we constitute a bulwark of democracy—as this term is understood in America and in the Western countries—has not produced the desired results. We are surrounded by forty million Arabs. The American Government, too, has come to the conclusion that it must win over these forty million Arabs, whose strength surpasses that of the Jews, just as the British Government tried to do prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. What occurred then we called the “treachery of England”. What will be our reply if the American Government should follow a similar course? I was under the impression that the Executive had convened the present session to consult with the Zionists, from all countries of the Diaspora and especially those from America: We are threatened by danger; are you ready? Will you have the courage to enter the struggle on our side? Can we conduct a struggle for our rights without knowing whether the Jews of the Diaspora and of America are with us? What will you do in our day of need?

A veiled reply has been given us. The Southern Negev cannot be yours because it constitutes a bridge between Egypt and the Gaza Strip and Jordan and Iraq, and therefore it must be transferred to the Arabs. We do not wish to liquidate your State but this “bastion of democracy” can continue to exist without the south of the Negev. It is essential that leaders of the State and of Diaspora Jewry should consult about this very grave matter.

You are Zionists just as we are. You are no less conscious of the danger menacing us. You ought to have come and told us the nature of the danger. You should have advised us how to act, for we without you and you without us cannot hope to succeed. We must co-ordinate our struggle. Both you and we will suffer defeat if we are not united. My impression is that we are not talking sufficiently candidly about what it is that hurts us. With the exception of a number of matters we are discussing things of minor importance.

During the previous session it was unpopular to speak of combatting assimilation. Now it has been permitted. But how are we to carry on the fight if we refrain from saying that life outside Eretz Israel and the State of Israel is a life of exile? Under the very best of conditions it is and remains a life in exile. If we rest content with these conditions and make no effort to improve them then this means assimilation. We must first of all destroy this concept that we must rest content with what we

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have, that this kind of life is the ideal and not life in the sovereign Jewish State.

I do not wish, representatives of American Zionism, to preach to you. I appreciate the rate of progress, the exigencies of your life and of the road you are following. But the hour of decision is approaching. The answer was already given in the Herzlian era. Herzl foresaw—and indeed, not only Herzl but all the Zionists of his generation foresaw—that the Jewish State when established would not be able to be active in the international arena, for if it was, it would jeopardize the position of Jews in other countries. It was for this reason that they insisted upon the neutrality of the future State. Today, when the State is a reality, it is argued that neutrality cannot be secured by an unilateral declaration on our part, but must be recognized by others. Is it not possible after all that has happened in Indo-China, in India, in England, to rid yourselves of this burden, that we may proclaim that our country no longer constitutes a bastion of American democracy? Indeed it seems that that democracy is not keenly interested in this bastion at all. Can you not see that we are being excluded from the alliance which it is proposed to establish in the Middle East, so that the Arabs may come in? Why should we wait until we are expelled, when we ourselves can take the initiative and extricate ourselves from this web of intrigues directed against us? If we declare our own neutrality we shall no longer be as isolated as in the past.

DR. SAMUEL MARGOSHES

(General Zionists—U.S.A.)

I do not seek the mantle of a defender of American Jewry. Very frequently I myself find it necessary to criticize it and to point out its defects and faults. Nor do I wish to appear over-sanguine in regard to the future of American Jewry, or to be considered an opponent of emigration to Israel from America. But it behoves us to assess the situation soberly, especially in view of the fact that we must draw important conclusions from such an appraisal.

American Jewry is not in a state of decline or collapse, even if we take into account the negative factors enumerated by Mr. Locker. I agree that these are negative factors, and I see no cause for taking offense that he has seen fit to point them out. Your duty is to point out these defects to us. It remains for us to reply that the position is not as gloomy as it is made out to be and that it is certainly not hopeless.

What American Jewry is experiencing at present is not collapse. It is rather a process of transformation. Of course, if you use conditions in Eastern Europe as your criterion, we have little to show. American

Jewry is not the Jewry that lived in the countries of Eastern Europe. We know that historically there were always diverse types of Jews and no community completely resembled any other community.

I cannot go deeply into details. But I can assure you that if you closely study the American Jewish community, which is at present celebrating the tercentenary of the arrival of Jews on the North American continent, you will discern signs of great potentialities for the development of a Jewish life.

I could cite statistics to prove that this matter of inter-marriage is not so catastrophic as it is made out to be. Broadly speaking, American Jewry has succeeded in preserving its ethnic identity to a far greater degree than any other national group in the United States.

A word with regard to Dr. Goldmann's remarks about the encounter between the Jewish people and modern culture, and Zionism which is the positive outcome born of this encounter. In the course of four millenia of Jewish history there has been more than one instance of such an encounter. There were four: the first took place in Ur of the Chaldees, when we developed our cosmogony and parts of the Bible; the second took place more than 1,500 years later when we met the civilization of Greece and produced the Hebrew and Hellenistic literatures; the third came to pass more than a thousand years later when we encountered Arab culture, as a result of which medieval Jewish philosophy and poetry was created. One hundred years ago we came into contact with modern European culture, which gave us the emancipation, Yiddish and Hebrew literature, as well as a series of historic figures who made a vital contribution to the progress of the human race.

Today we are encountering American culture and American liberty. I am absolutely convinced that this contact will prove fruitful and will have positive results for the spirit of Judaism. This will constitute one of the great accomplishments of Judaism.

We in America do not believe that there is any danger of collapse. We believe that there is a future for the Jews of America, if we are strengthened by the State of Israel and by the entire people of Israel.

ISRAEL DINES

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Brazil)

It has been my lot to serve as the first spokesman of the Zionists of Brazil.

We Brazilian Zionists are eagerly waiting to hear some word of encouragement from the present session of the Zionist General Council. The situation of the Brazilian Jewish community is very quiet. While anything that would arouse panic would be clearly out of place we

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must induce a spirit of disquiet among the Zionists in that country, that would spur them to greater Zionist efforts. You must know that in the countries of Latin America and especially in Brazil there is fertile soil for Zionist work.

About eight years ago we established the United Zionist Organization and an opportunity was granted to Jews and Zionists of all parties and schools of thought to rally round the Zionist Organization, and through it to participate in the life of Israel and the consolidation and reinforcement of the State of Israel. It is due to the fact that we constitute an United Zionist Organization that we are able to control and to lead Jewish life in Brazil. It is thanks to this fact that Zionists head our community and that we are organizing and crystallizing the communal life of Brazilian Jewry.

Jewish education is being properly conducted in Brazil, thanks to the work of the Department for Education and Culture, headed by Mr. Shazar who has studied the situation in Brazil closely. There are many countries in which it is already too late to do anything. In Brazil there still exist valuable opportunities. All Jewish educational and cultural work is conducted in Brazil under the auspices of the United Zionist Organization.

It is because we are organized in such a framework that we are able to conduct various drives and campaigns on behalf of the State under proper control and with the proper orientation. From the very inception of our work we have underlined the importance of work on behalf of the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund.

It would be instructive for representatives here, who are discussing the question of establishing single territorial Zionist organizations, to examine the organization of Zionist work in the little Jewish community of Brazil. They can learn methods of organization, which indeed are not only suited to the conditions obtaining in South America but to communities throughout the world. Through the foundation of such territorial Zionist organizations, we shall be able to rally all Zionists and Jews around the ideals of the Zionist Movement.

ELIEZER SHOSTAK
(Herut-Hatzohar—Israel)

Since the establishment of the State we have constantly favoured the idea that the Zionist Organization should be active in the political field. We hold that such activity is vital for the State. Today you are beginning to subscribe to that opinion. Today the Chairman of the Executive, Mr. Locker, can declare with pride that the representatives of the French Zionist Federation were received by the French Foreign Minister. Five

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years ago no one wanted even to think of any such official meeting between Zionist representatives and the leaders of the state in which they live. It was always claimed that for this purpose the official representation of the State sufficed. Today, however, it is clear that it is not enough. Upon one occasion we even proposed the establishment of a Political Department in the Executive, but the proposal was rejected. But you always do what we demand, only you do it badly and too late, and without the grace to acknowledge that we were right. Today too you want to do the same thing, but because you are afraid of giving the child its true name, you prefer to call it "public relations", which is in effect political activity. In no period since the establishment of the State has political activity been so essential for the Jewish State and certainly for the Zionist Movement than now, in the light of the new policy being pursued by the United States.

We speak of American policy towards Israel, for the changes that have occurred in this policy are more painful for us than setbacks in our relations with any other country. These wounds are being caused by a friendly country, by a friendly government and a friendly people, which has done so much for the State of Israel.

It may be that the intentions of the American Government are of the best, but we are faced with the bitter facts. We have constantly reiterated that in any controversy between West and East Israel must always be on the side of the West. It is argued that in this matter of relations between Israel and the United States Israel interests should be paramount. Despite our favourable attitude towards the Government of the United States and our preference for the Western democratic way of life, we regard certain aspects of American foreign policy as endangering our existence to an increasing degree.

The Zionist General Council cannot ignore these problems. And do not say that they should be discussed in Committee. From this forum the entire Zionist Movement, including American Zionists, must sound a warning against the possible effects of this policy. Time is no unimportant factor in our national life. It is true that we are confident that even with American arms at their disposal, the Iraqis will never succeed in destroying the State of Israel. I am convinced that with God's aid and our own strength we shall be able to meet such a danger if it should come, but at what cost if the Americans supply arms to the Iraqis! Time is not on our side. Are we certain that within the next three or five years we shall be in the same relative position as today, in the military sphere? Can anyone argue that the problem will be settled by peaceable means? The problem can only be solved by military means. Do we know what our military position will be in three or four years, after so many arms reach the hands of our enemies?

World Jewry must voice its protest against this policy through the

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Zionist General Council. It is not only in America that these things must be said. It is also important that they should be said in Jerusalem. We must convince the free world and the American people that this policy not only menaces the State of Israel, but that it runs counter to the true interests of the Americans themselves.

And for this reason we shall put forward certain proposals not only to neutralize this policy, but also to obligate certain political activity.

I now come to the second problem which is not so amenable to solution—the problem of immigration. From the very first, ever since the debate over this issue commenced in the Zionist Organization we did not accept Ben Gurion's approach that any Zionist who does not emigrate to Israel becomes a friend of Israel and no longer remains a Zionist. We have never subscribed to this definition, but on the other hand we have not favoured the version of Hadassah distinguishing between "Diaspora" and "*Gola*".

The problem of immigration can be broken down into four distinct parts. There are countries in which emigration to Israel is an urgent question, a means of succouring the local Jews. The countries of North Africa are in this category. There are countries which the Jews are not compelled to leave. I have no doubt whatever that these Jews want to come to Israel provided they are enabled to liquidate their property and to transfer it to Israel. South America is in this category. In these countries the time has come to implement Herzl's proposal with regard to the establishment of the "Society of Jews". No immediate danger threatens in these countries, but the Jews there sense the peril hovering over their heads. There are other countries from which Jews are emigrating. This flow must be diverted towards Israel.

There are also the countries behind the Iron Curtain. Clearly we must continue to fight for the right of every Jew to leave the country of his domicile in order to settle in Israel, if he so wishes.

There are countries like those of North America. Obviously the desire to settle in Israel is closely connected with the question of the regime obtaining in this country. We would prefer it not to be necessary for pressure to be exerted upon Jews to settle here. We would prefer the attraction of Israel to be so strong that Jews should come here of their free will. I recall hearing a Zionist orator declare to Jews in the Diaspora upon one occasion: "We wish you all the best in the countries in which you are living, and do not even wish to think of your being compelled to leave. But at the same time I hope that the situation in Israel will improve to such an extent that you will wish to come." There is no doubt that the political regime obtaining in this country is an aspect determining the desire of Jews from America and other countries to settle in Israel. We must go out to the Jews of America and say to them: You must save us by your emigration to Israel.

E. SHOSTAK — B. GOLDSTEIN

This is the language that American Jewry and American youth can understand, just as they understood when we called upon them as we stood in the field of battle. The War of Liberation inspired them to leave their homes and to come here because the decision involved personal risk.

We must not be overconfident and declare that we shall be able to hold our own providing financial aid is forthcoming. We must say candidly and sincerely: We call upon American Jewry to save us by maximum emigration of its sons to this country. We dare not be boastful for time is working against us, and from year to year the dangers are increasing. We have recently prolonged the period of compulsory military service by six months, because of our shortage of manpower, and we shall remain short of men if further immigration to this country is not forthcoming. I ask our American friends how we can hope to continue to exist here, without their aid. You must help us as you did during the War of Liberation. If we issue such a call it will be understood; it will not be interpreted as if we want to rob them of their children.

If you wish the State of Israel, your pride in the Diaspora, to continue to exist, you must recall that it can be maintained only by continuing immigration, especially of the young people from America. Otherwise we shall not be able to overcome the dangers confronting us.

If the present session of the Zionist General Council will pass clear resolutions on these two questions, calling for clear-cut political action in view of the new and unfriendly policy in regard to Israel, and on the question of immigration, we shall issue a call to the youth to come to our aid. I am convinced that the Zionist General Council will perform the great Zionist task that devolves upon it in this year, in which we are marking the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Theodor Herzl.

MRS. BERT GOLDSTEIN

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—U.S.A.)

I would like to ask the Lockers and Ben Gurions and so on why was it after all that we in America, when the *medina* was established, that we were not ideologically prepared for it. After all we grew up, Zionistically speaking, under their tutelage and influence. Why is it that we were not prepared ideologically for that day when the *geula* would come?

I would like to suggest another approach. In America only 27 percent of the Jewish children are educated in any way Jewishly. That is very sad and we are not proud of the fact, but let us remember that a few years back it was only 20 percent. Let it be appreciated that American Jewry is beginning to understand the need for educating the youth and

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educating the adults as well. Some few years ago there were only Sunday Schools. Now there are two and three days a week schools and more than that. Let us greet that fact. That shows that we want to strive for greater education.

I do not want to go on with the same kind of recriminations and so on that have been taken up here, because I tell you I am not proud of America, of American Jewry. But it is a fact that we are advancing and that is the thing that here in Israel we ought jointly to appreciate.

I would like to say something else. In regard to our further tasks, who was it who first came to us and by their action and talk gave the impression that Zionism was already achieved? They came from here.

I want to say a few words on the question of *chalutzit*. This is the fiftieth anniversary of Herzl's death. This is the time that from here should come forth a bold and fearless programme of *chalutzit*, from this session of the Council, bolder than we have ever said it before. But when I say a programme, I do not mean that you go to American youth and say: "You must come here to Israel", because those are just words, without any sincere hope of carrying them through. I mean to proclaim a programme, a programme which should have in it a real dynamic plan of *hachshara*, a *hachshara* with more content in it than ever before. It must mean intensive Hebrew instruction. If we have the aim, all of us, of intensive Hebrew instruction, even if some of us are too old now to learn, at least let us place it high upon the curriculum of our children. Only if we have that ideal, and that aim, will we accomplish it and will our children understand and be aware of the necessity of understanding the language of their people in Israel. Because how can we be akin to our people if we cannot talk their language? Much, as I started to say before, has been done. Hebrew, for example, is now being introduced in the high schools and even in junior high schools, where even some non-Jewish children in those schools study the language. I have something to do with trying to get Hebrew into the junior high schools. I know what a struggle it is with our Jewish principals, not only with Gentile principals. But we have succeeded in many cases and we are working toward putting Hebrew into more high schools. We ought to learn, all of us, not only the youth because adult education is very important and in the last generation we have forgotten that. We ought to learn the history of our people and the geography of this country, its topography, its demography, its archeology. We ought to be close to it. We ought to know everything about it in order to tell it to our children, for if we will be enthusiastic about Israel, if we will have Zionism in our homes then they will come to know their own people and to want to live a Zionist life.

That is what I want to say to all of you here: Coming here ourselves, with our children, whether we come for a short time or come permanently,

B. GOLDSTEIN — L. A. FALK

if we come and become part of the people, if we don't feel as if we are so far away from everybody, but really participating in the work of the Movement here, of the State here, that will be worth more than all of our discussions and will lead toward clarification of our objectives.

Manpower, that has been mentioned before, is the greatest need here in Israel. If we cannot get the young people to come right now, we must train them to the idea, that the first chance they can get to come here and help to build up the State, they must, otherwise, the continuation of the State may be endangered. Let us go into action and answer our political opponents by acts. That will speak much louder than words.

LOUIS A. FALK

(General Zionists—U.S.A.)

I could subscribe to everything Mr. Locker said, even to his decalogue, if he indicated, besides the "Thou Shalt", the how to carry out these ten commandments. I am even willing to accept the theory of a 20% tax on the Diaspora. However, before you can enforce it, you must give us the enabling act, or the How to do. I might say here that we are not geniuses, and a *modus operandi* must be given us.

How far can we go with this melodrama and waste of time, calling it the traditional debate. I regret that I have to say it, but I think the day was wasted.

My good friend from Herut displayed a great grasp of international problems with special knowledge of the American State Department. Unfortunately, the chancelleries would rather listen to those properly and duly accredited to their embassies or to the United Nations, and I cannot understand what the Zionist General Council has to do with such matters and what chances we have of really influencing political thinking in the different countries and in the different State Departments.

We need a more exhaustive and comprehensive analysis and discussion of our problems in Committee—and then after it has been fully dealt with in Committee—when it is brought before the plenum—all information being available—will we be ready to discuss and arrive at a proper solution.

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DR. I. SCHWARZBART

(Virilist—U.S.A.)

The first point I wish to touch upon is that of immigration and I ask myself the question, what can be done when the influx of newcomers is on such a low level and the number of persons leaving the country considerable? Under such circumstances, it is clear, speaking objectively, the prospects of attracting new immigrants by stressing the need of the State of Israel are minimal.

Among the ninety countries and islands in the world today there are fifty-four in which there exist small Jewish communities, in the midst of non-Jewish populations counting tens and even—as in the case of India—hundreds of millions. There are seven such communities in the Far East, two or three in Europe, a number in Central and South America, and perhaps another two or three in Equatorial Africa. (I am not referring to North Africa. I confine myself to the small communities.) The members of these communities are dissatisfied with their general situation. Their numbers are being depleted but few of those who leave come to Israel. It might be worth while to devote some thought to these communities. Their discontent with their present lot would facilitate propaganda for *aliya* to Israel among them. Some plan must be formulated for transferring the members of these communities to Israel. The plan should be based upon a two-year term after which it could be reviewed.

The second point is that of settlement. Any one touring the country is immediately conscious of the open sore which the *ma'barot* constitute. They are an affront not to the State of Israel but to the entire Jewish people. My feeling is that today the Jewish people possesses the material means to eliminate this affront. A lot is being done in this sphere by the Government of Israel. It would be highly desirable to formulate a plan on the lines of that executed by the outstanding Jewish community of South Africa. The Executive should draft plans to interest the largest and wealthiest communities abroad in schemes similar to that undertaken by the Afridar Corporation. This plan should be constructed not on philanthropic foundations, but should be sound from the economic point of view. It is of course superfluous to stress that such activity should supplement activities on behalf of the United Israel Appeal and not compete with them. Perhaps here a partial contribution might be made towards solution of the problem presented by settlement.

The third problem is that of the moral decline of the *yishuv*. I do not know if such a decline is an actual fact. In America it is said that the standards of human relations have declined, that there is no mutual understanding between individuals and parties, and that the higher structure of our people is being destroyed by the bitterness of partisan

I. SCHWARZBART

rivalries. All this might not be true. But it is a fact that the prestige that the State of Israel enjoyed in 1948 and 1949 and even in 1950 has declined both among Gentiles and Jews. Out of the mass of reasons that can be adduced to explain this phenomenon, I wish to mention only two: Our propaganda work abroad—in so far as propaganda can help—is unsatisfactory. The achievements—great and small—of the State of Israel are disseminated to a far more restricted extent than our defects and failures. In countries abroad the picture current is of a degeneration of the State of Israel. That picture is not in accordance with the facts. It must be rectified. American Jews hold success and victory in high respect; they do not like to be partners in a bankrupt concern, they have a distaste for doubtful associations. When they see what is being done in Askalon and Safad, the construction of the settlements from Metulla to Elath, when the immense progress being made in countless other fields is brought to their knowledge they will rejoice, their morale will rise and they will be prepared to do more.

The second reason is that in America there is no awareness of the menace that is threatening Israel politically. We dare not say that the State is failing, but we must stress that its position is in jeopardy, and that for that reason it needs more help.

I am an incorrigible optimist. The forces latent within American Jewry are becoming stronger. Let us recall the situation obtaining in 1939 and that of today. There has been an immense improvement. Is this state of affairs satisfactory? No, it is not! But it is far better than it was. We have an uphill road before us, beset with many trials. Let us not fall into any mood of despair or defeatism. We are constantly advancing.

ELECTION OF COMMITTEES

In accordance with the proposal of the Presidium, announced by Dr. Leo Lauterbach, it was decided to appoint six committees as follows:

<i>Committee</i>	<i>Composition</i>
1. Activities in Israel (Immigration, Youth Aliya, Absorption, Agricultural Settlement, Economic Affairs, etc.)	14 members
2. Problems of the Movement and Matters of Organization	14 members
3. Education, Culture, Information, and Youth and Hechalutz	14 members

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| 4. Budget, Finance and Funds | 14 members (in addition to the members of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee) |
| 5. Status of the Zionist Organization (the Covenant) | 8 members |
| 6. Public Relations | 8 members (in addition to the members of the Presidium) |

SIXTH MEETING

Thursday, July 22, 1954, in the evening

Chairman: MR. ABRAHAM A. REDELHEIM

MESSAGES OF GREETINGS

Messages of greetings to the Session from Josef Mirkin (London); Max Freilich (Chairman, Zionist Federation of Australia and New Zealand); Yehuda A. Sisser (Benyamina); and Shmuel Rappaport (Comptroller of the Jewish Agency), were read.

CONTINUATION OF GENERAL DEBATE

PAUL L. GOLDMAN

(Mapam—U.S.A.)

The Executive must bear in mind that the crisis in America is not merely one of the American Zionist Movement but reflects a crisis of the Executive itself and the Zionist Movement throughout the world. Our failures are also failures of the Executive, just as if we had registered successes in America they would have been successes of the Executive. We cannot decide not to pursue the question of the causes of this crisis. We cannot confine ourselves solely to seeking the remedy. It behoves us first of all to investigate the causes.

In America the cause of the crisis is the Zionist education imparted over the past thirty or forty years. To a very considerable extent the Executive must accept responsibility for the situation that has arisen. It seems that the Executive allocated to American Zionism a purely philanthropic task.

I wish to point out that we do not come to this session of the Zionist General Council, or any other forum for that matter, with the feeling that we are above criticism. Over recent months there have been gatherings of practically all Zionist parties in America, and at all of them concern was expressed at the straits of the Movement. I am of the opinion that we must utilize this concern to improve the situation and not to sermonize. The initial measures launched by the American Zionist

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Movement for the reorganization of the Zionist Council must not be treated lightly. This already constitutes a potential asset though of course much still remains to be done. All Zionist parties participate in the American Zionist Council and I can testify to the fact that all of these parties evince a sincere desire to create a common instrument for Zionist activity. But to our regret the Executive has not rendered the requisite degree of encouragement to the Zionist Council.

It is difficult for me to comprehend in what way the Executive wishes to influence the course followed by the Zionist Movement in America. Sometimes we labour under the feeling that the Executive is cut off from us. I fully appreciate that at times other forces must be taken into account and that other elements must be drawn into our work, but it seems that the Zionist Movement is being pushed aside. The Executive must keep in mind that besides the campaigns there are other Zionist duties.

What we require are not only plans and resolutions, nor even new organizational forms. We need a comprehensive blueprint covering primarily education and propaganda. In regard to education we need not only universities and colleges, but schools teaching in Hebrew and Yiddish. The Executive must see to it that a large number of Yiddish schools are not compelled to close down, for they too constitute bastions against assimilation. You must talk not only to the leaders but also to the people. New institutions must be established by the Zionist Movement in America and not by committees.

While we are on the subject of information and propaganda, with all the respect I have for the monthlies and other publicity material emanating from Jerusalem, we need funds to issue Zionist monthlies in America, which, I have no doubt, will have a greater influence.

We must appreciate that the problems confronting the Zionist Movement can be solved only by a concerted effort of all sections of the Zionist Movement. I trust that immediately after the conclusion of the present session of the Zionist General Council the first steps will be taken to launch extensive Zionist activity, not only in the Executive, but through the instrumentality of the entire American Zionist Movement.

FRED MONOSSON
(General Zionists—U.S.A.)

If I were to state our most important requirements in one sentence, I would say that what we need most in the Zionist Movement is to *get* the people, and to *forget* the parties. We have had too many divisions in Jewish and Zionist life. We have fallen to quarrelling among ourselves, when we should have made *friends*.

The thing we have to do, if we really mean to restore the Zionist Organization to its former high position, is to regain our old adherents. If we want to strengthen our ranks, we must regain the interest of every man or woman, who at one time or another, has come under the influence of the Zionist Movement.

There is one point on which I am in wholehearted agreement with Mr. Locker. He said that he was for an alliance with the non-Zionists on one condition: namely, that the alliance be made with a strong Zionist Movement.

I am wholeheartedly for an alliance with the non-Zionists. With them we constitute the People—the whole People. To strengthen the security of the State of Israel and to fully develop the economy of Israel, we need the support of the entire Jewish people. We can place the entire American Jewry with all its resources, and all its moral and political influence—on the side of the State of Israel.

I would like to say a final word about coalition and co-operation. To my mind the best coalition is along practical lines. People work together best when they have practical tasks to perform. There are a great many Jews in the United States, Zionists and non-Zionists, who could be influenced to co-operate with us on great Zionist tasks. The less we ask for Zionist passports and the more we ask for Zionist performance—the better it will be for Zionism and the State of Israel.

There is talk today about the crisis in the Zionist Movement. I think the crisis is within us, in our fights and feuds, and not in the Zionist Movement. Zionism is as great a popular movement today as it ever was.

RABBI S. M. ZAMBROWSKY

(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—Canada)

For many years now we have been hearing that the salvation of the Zionist Movement will come *via* certain changes in its organizational structure. This has developed into an *idée fixe* from which we are all suffering to this very day. We are prepared to implement the plan despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of Zionists throughout the world are not of the opinion that this is the reply called for under current circumstances. With all the respect that we have for others we must nevertheless voice our sorrow that some of our leaders—perhaps all of us—have lost their faith in the power of an idea, of ideals and ideological principles. If this were not the case we would not be so avid to take hold of new external forms, and would not believe so easily in the capacity of these forms to remedy the situation. It is particularly difficult to comprehend such an attitude in this year when we are marking the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Herzl. We have seen that it

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was through an idea that the Jewish people was influenced and inspired to carry on the fight until it proved victorious and secured the Jewish State. The fact that Herzl's vision has been consummated in our own era, must convince us of the power of an ideal to influence masses. If we concentrate more on ideals we shall discover that the problems regarding the structure of the Movement are largely illusory. If we are united about the ideal we shall easily be able to effect the necessary organizational changes. If there is any opposition to structural alterations it is only because an attempt is being made to use them to replace ideals. If faith in the ideal is wanting no new outward forms will help.

When Dr. Goldmann spoke of the things which the State of Israel has not yet achieved, he included the fact that it had not yet succeeded in becoming integrated among the nations. This however can be a merit; for as long as the world is as it is today it is of no great advantage to be part of that world.

At a time when the world has come to such a pass there is no need for us to seek to adapt ourselves to the concepts of the world. We should rather consider a reckoning of the soul of the variety mentioned by Mr. Locker. This reckoning, however, must be directed towards creating not only a better Jewish State but also a better Jewish people, keeping faith with Jewish values and concepts. Let Jews remember that though we may have secured a Jewish State we may nevertheless be in danger of losing our specific character. The State of Israel cannot be responsible for this specific character of the Jewish people at present or in the future without preserving Jewish values. For that reason Herzl stated that the task of Zionism would not be concluded by the creation of the Jewish State, for Zionism is stronger and inspired by loftier ideals than a state.

For this reason if we wish the Jewish people to devote itself once again to Zionism and the construction of the State of Israel, we must return to Herzlian ideals, to all the Jewish values and the ideals of Zionism, which can influence the Jewish people and can strengthen the State of Israel.

ARYEH TAGER

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

Dr. Goldmann reminded us yesterday that when Herzl proclaimed the Jewish State it was received as Utopia. I believe that when, at the last Congress, we defined *kibbutz galuyot* as one of the immediate objectives of the Zionist Movement, it caused some of the Jewish people a shock no less than that caused by Herzl when he proclaimed the Jewish State. There is, however, one distinction.

A. TAGER

Whereas Herzl said "*Im tirtzu ein zo agada*" (if you will, it is no legend), we at the last Congress adopted the attitude that *kibbutz galuyot* will become a reality by telling Diaspora Jewry "*Plishtim alecha Israel!*"

I would like to tell you that there are only 1200 South Africans in this country, and for the last year and a half I have been one of these 1200. Let me add that our integration into this country was by no means easy. We did come up and are still coming up against quite a great many difficulties: some difficulties that are beyond the control of the local authorities, others that are perhaps unnecessary. But nevertheless, we have succeeded in integrating ourselves. I assure you, we have succeeded in taking an active part in every sphere of life in this country starting with big business and ending with the establishment of *kibbutzim* and *moshve ovdim*.

I should like to say, if 100,000 Jews would come to this country from the countries which are known as the free world, the face of Israel would be entirely changed and many of the shortcomings that we still find here would certainly disappear within a much shorter period than they are likely to otherwise.

I believe if we find another approach to the people in the free countries, we will evoke a response to a call for *aliya*. I also believe that the leaders of the communities who adopt an attitude against *aliya* are not always the spokesmen of the community. I do not know whether the response to *aliya* is indeed an attitude adopted by the leaders, or whether it has been put to the test of the community itself.

Somebody speaking here stated that if an United Zionist Organization would come into being in each country, it would create new problems and would prove to be less effective in the prosecution of Zionist work than the work that is done now by the various parties independently. I speak with the knowledge and experience of an United Zionist Organization in South Africa. What I am going to say is not based on assumption, but is a statement of fact: Notwithstanding some shortcomings, the Zionist Movement of South Africa would never have been able to make the contribution that it humbly claims to have made to this country if there were no United Zionist Organization, if there were no Zionist Federation around which table all the party and non-party Zionists sit together and—believe it or not—differing as they do, plan activities together.

SIXTH MEETING

MRS. REBECCA D. SIEFF

(WIZO—Israel)

I would like to say from the outset that we do not share the feelings of frustration and pessimism which have been expressed from this forum. Nevertheless, we cannot stand aside in a spirit of self-satisfaction and keep aloof from the problems and difficulties which face the Movement as a whole. Therefore, we are ready to assist and participate in any experiment which is being carried out, which seeks to solve these problems and to deal with these difficulties. But if we are to solve these problems, the root causes must be analysed and fearlessly faced.

To my mind, one of the root causes of the problem lies in the split character of the Movement which consists of political parties on the one hand and organizations on the other, linked only for the most part by the device of the Shekel. The purpose, character and function of the Shekel, with its purely party reflection, which to my mind is completely out of date, must be objectively considered. So too must the question of the parties themselves, their very existence, in the light of the State with all the paraphernalia of a democratic state—parties, elections, parliament, etc. What have parties in the Diaspora to do with all this?

In the meantime a formula has been decided upon which, while not actually new, has become the minimum of reform in the light of present-day conditions—the setting up of territorial organizations, the classic example today being France. It has been fully acknowledged that without the participation of the women's organizations and especially of French WIZO, the territorial organization in France could not have been set up. Indeed, this would apply to every country in which attempts will be made to establish this form of organization.

Who will challenge the concept that Zionist and Jewish education in all their different forms and aspects are the fundamentals on which the continuation and rejuvenation of the Movement depends? It is almost a truism that in this process my organization, in common with all other women's organizations in the Movement, must play a vital and decisive rôle. I think this is self-understood. And we are glad that through our initiative the Education Department of the Zionist Organization has now launched an educational programme in co-operation with the women's organizations.

We are deeply concerned about the stoppage in the flow of *aliya* and cannot accept it in a spirit of resignation. In North Africa, for the time being the greatest potential source of *aliya*, our women are doing a truly heroic task of enlightenment and education, penetrating into the darkest recesses of the *mellahs*, a work which has received warm appreciation from the Conference of North African Zionists which met in February of this year. But we are also very actively engaged in all the

chalutzic movements in, for instance, countries as far apart as England and the Argentine. Our organization is devoting a great part of its time and its funds to the promotion of a healthy and sound *chalutzic* movement in these countries irrespective of to which party the different *hachshara* groups belong.

New *aliya* will be stimulated to my mind as much by such a process of consolidation and such human contacts as by all the exhortations and all the ways and means, new and old, to stimulate *aliya*, especially from the free countries of the world.

YAACOV URI

(Virilist—Israel)

Dr. Nachum Goldmann, in the course of his address, mentioned Herzl's dictum: "There is a land without a people and a people without a land." In Israel today there are extensive tracts of land without people, and the people do not even know that they should hunger for land, when the Negev is waiting for them. I do not know whether oil will be discovered in the Negev, but in the Negev there is something else—land that is waiting only for water and for labour. These areas though they are clearly included in Israel territory in the maps of our army leaders, are not safely in our hands as long as they are not cultivated, as long as they are not closely settled.

The lands of the Negev need water. Water will come to the Negev provided two conditions are fulfilled, if we have sons courageous enough when the hour strikes to open the Jordan Canal, and if we have sons in the Negev, thirsty for water, who will be ready to respond to the call of the soil.

There are partners of the American Zionists in this country upon whom demands are being made no less than upon them. They are in Tel-Aviv and Jerusalem and Haifa and to all of them we call: Come and build the country! We do not call only to your sons! There are already such as you are in this country. But we also have other sons in this country. We have sons who have traversed the length and the breadth of the Negev on foot and in jeeps, and who are trying to ensure that with the aid of these vast tracts the fear of hunger will be removed from this country. Israel farming has removed the fear of hunger for vegetables, eggs and meat. But we still lack sugar, oil and bread, and it is these that the Negev can give us. The sons of the Emek are already conscious of the need to go out to this bountiful land and bring forth these foodstuffs out of it. But let your sons and daughters join them to build up the reconstituted State of Israel.

If we have been vouchsafed to seek the legend becoming reality in our

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own day, let us not fail. We must continue our endeavours until the legend is entirely realized, until reality is as beautiful as the legend.

RABBI IRVING MILLER

(Chairman of the American Zionist Council)

I should like first of all to express my profound sense of gratitude to the Executive of the Jewish Agency for its invitation to me to attend this session of the General Council, to participate in its deliberations and to address it this evening.

I have been introduced as the Chairman of the American Zionist Council. I am sure that it is well known to you that the Council speaks and acts in those fields, in which it has been authorized to act, for all Zionist groups in America. But I do not speak here for all Zionist organizations. However, I do speak for the Zionist Movement in America in those areas in which the organizations find their common expression in the American Zionist Council.

I should like to underscore that the American Zionist Council, representing all Zionist groups in America, can register strength in unity and in numbers, in so far as it speaks for over 600,000 registered Zionists in America. There is no other organization and no other movement among the five and a half million Jews of America which is represented by so large a number quantitatively. This strength and unity were dramatically and historically manifested by the rôle which the American Zionist Movement played in the struggle for the establishment of *Medinat Israel*. This strength and this unity have been demonstrated in less dramatic fashion in the effort to secure the grant-in-aid for Israel from the American Government. This strength and unity were demonstrated in more dramatic fashion when America stopped its grant-in-aid last October. In the vanguard of an aroused Jewish community stood the Zionist Movement. It was also a united and a strong Movement which registered its protest against America's lead in censuring Israel in the United Nations at the time of the unfortunate Kibya incident.

I think it does no service to the very strength and unity that all of us would like to see demonstrated within American Zionism, to minimize the rôle which the Council has played or to disparage its potentialities. I say this because, with the best of intentions and, I am sure, with the best of motivations, the talk returns over and over again to the concept of a territorial organization.

A few months ago, our very good friend, Dr. Goldmann, summoned the leaders of all Zionist organizations and presented us with a brilliant analysis of the weaknesses inherent in the Zionist Movement. He proceeded to suggest what, in his opinion, were the remedies. He spoke of

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the need to clarify the difference between a Zionist and a non-Zionist, with which all of us would fully agree. But Dr. Goldmann concluded with the plea that if Zionism in America is to regain its strength, it must be through a territorial organization, with the parties subordinated to, and playing a minor rôle within, that organization.

I understand the motivations of Dr. Goldmann and I fully agree with them. He wants strength in American Zionism. Strength can come only through unity, and such unity, he believes, can be expressed only through a territorial organization. The success of federations in other countries is given as an example. I should like to say, not in any chauvinistic sense, that there is no parallel between America and any other land because of the numbers involved. A Poale Zion in America does not mean merely that there is a party called the Poale Zion in America. Behind it is a hinterland which a large, strong, significant labour movement provides. Only a Poale Zion can capture the labour movement in America for Zionism. When you talk of Mizrahi, you cannot think only in terms of the numbers that Mizrahi has. Its significance, its prestige, its potentialities must be judged not by numbers, but by those whom it represents, by the hinterland of orthodox Jews in America. No territorial organization can win over the orthodox Jews to Zionism; only a Mizrahi organization will win them over to Zionism. And when one speaks of Hadassah or Pioneer Women or Mizrahi Women, one must think of the place which women occupy in American Jewish life, of the rôle played by women in America, of the large women's organizations in America. No territorial organization can win the loyalty of the women of America for Zionism except women's organizations that are specifically Zionist organizations. The same is true of the great middle class. Therefore, I would plead with those who speak of a territorial organization over and over again: "It is not a question any more of political parties. You must once and for all take into consideration the fact that there is a large labour element in America and therefore there must be a Labour Zionist Movement in America; that there is a large orthodox religious element in America and therefore there must be a Mizrahi; that there is a vast womanhood in America and therefore there must be women's organizations. There is a great middle class in America and therefore there is need of a Z.O.A. Only through these groups will American Jews be won over to Zionism.

Unity, however, can be, and is, attained through the American Zionist Council, as it has been many times in the past. Can anyone point to a single case in the past ten, fifteen or twenty years when unity among all the Zionist groups in America was needed and was not achieved? We are united in the J.N.F. We are united in the U.J.A. We are united in the Council. We are united in the Shekel Board. We are united much more than we are separated, allowing, of course, for differences in

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degree. Allowing for personal difficulties that arise, there has been, and still is, a basic unity and there still is a Zionist Movement in America.

I take issue with those who believe that there is a vast reservoir of American Jews waiting to come into a so-called non-party organization. I do not know where they are and who they are. I agree that there is a vast group that will join an organization called Friends of Israel, but once you create an organization that has the word "Zionism" attached to it, you will have the same objections, the same reservations and the same fears that exist today.

The American Zionist Council offers to the Zionist Movement in America the best opportunity for unity as well as for a registration of strength. A strong and united Zionist Council will provide the leadership for the whole American Jewish community.

To my friend, Mr. Gruenbaum, I would say that the American Jewish community is deeply concerned with the fate of Israel. I cannot say what American Jewry would do should a Bevin arise to represent the American Government in the same way that Bevin represented the British Government. I don't stand here as a defender of the American Administration, but let us not make matters worse than they are. There will be time enough to cross that bridge when we come to it. But at the moment do not say that President Eisenhower is Bevin; never!

Israel can derive the greatest measure of comfort from the fact that, with the exception of the Council for Judaism, a united American Jewish community stood behind Israel. The American Jewish Committee, the Bnai Brith, the Union of the American Hebrew Congregations, the Council of Jewish Women, the Jewish Labour Committee—all of them protested the stoppage of the grant-in-aid. All of them protested America's vote of censure against Israel in the U.N. And they did it largely because they know that there is a strong, united Zionist Movement in America.

We have been speaking here, for many years, of the philosophy, the ideology and the beliefs of a Zionist and a Zionist movement. The last Zionist Congress abandoned the search for a Zionist philosophy to replace the Basle Programme and concentrated on Zionist tasks, actions, deeds. I wonder if instead of spending so much time on a credo, we could not once and for all formulate the tasks of the Zionist Movement. What are the *mitzvot ma'asiot* of the Movement? In this connection, we must remember that the *mitzvot ma'asiot* are not the only *mitzvot*. There is a *klal* in Jewish life that he who does not perform one *mitzva*, is not *putar* from all *mitzvot*. Therefore, because *aliya* is a great *mitzva*, that is no reason to write off those Jews who cannot subscribe to it, and say that they are not Zionists, anymore than we would say that a Jew who does not perform one *mitzva* or another is not a Jew. There are still many other *mitzvot* for a Zionist to perform.

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I believe that the task which the American Zionist Council has set itself today represents the *mitzvot ma'asiot* of the Zionist Movement, in addition to supplementing the activity carried on by the individual Zionist organizations. The American Zionist Council has before it the great task of presenting Israel's rôle, achievements and difficulties to the American community—both Jewish and non-Jewish. There is a great deal more to be done in this respect, but a great deal is being done. While I am here, I intend to make it my business, together with others, to discuss bringing more Israel leaders over to America-Israel leaders, not American—to speak to the American community. This is the task of Zionists. That is the difference between a Zionist and a non-Zionist; no other Jewish organization would do this. If there were no Zionist Organization, it would have to be created for that purpose. What makes us Zionists is our awareness of our problem and our dedication to it.

We are going forth to make our contribution in the field of *chinuch*. This is the first time that Zionists as Zionists are going to take a significant part in the *chodesh chinuch*, which the American Association for Jewish Education has proclaimed in America. We are carrying on a campaign for the introduction of Hebrew in high schools all over America. We are underscoring the need for teaching our children Hebrew in all our schools, and we are beginning a movement for the creation of textbooks and syllabi for the study of Zionism and Israel in all of our Hebrew schools, Sunday Schools and other schools that we have in America. We are co-operating in the Histadrut drive for encouraging the use of the Hebrew language. We are creating *Chugim Ivrim*, providing extensive courses for the study of Hebrew among adults. We are now planning, for the first time, an intensive forum for the discussion of Zionist and Jewish problems in America, and we are on our way to making a contribution to youth and *chalutzit*. We accept wholeheartedly, without reservation, that *chalutzit*, whatever form it may take in its adaptation to American conditions and needs, is a fundamental part of Zionist life.

Dr. Goldmann said that the time has come when Judaism as such must again make its voice heard in the affairs and problems that confront man today. "*Ki m'Zion tetze Torah*". This is the desideratum of Zionism; it is the only solution for Judaism in the world today; it is this answer that we expect from Israel. God willing, I hope that the markets of the world some day will be flooded with the products of Israel *Totzeret Ha'arets*. But, my friends, in the final analysis, the one *Totzeret Ha'arets* that will mean anything for the *hemshech* and *kiyum* of Judaism and Jewish life in the world, is the fulfilment from Israel. That will be the final achievement of Zionism and in that, I want to tell you, we have a partnership that no one can ever dissolve.

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BARNETT JANNER

(General Zionists—Great Britain)

I do not argue with Rabbi Miller at all in suggesting that there should be no attempt to justify any degree of anti-Zionism, whether it be by a Mr. Bevin or a Mr. Byroade or anybody else. What I want the people here to understand is that we in Britain know and have had the full experience of what it is to have opposition to the Zionist ideals as well as we know what it has meant to have first-class support of these. Let us realize one thing: that in so far as a lesson can be given to the world of espousing a just cause, we Jews in Britain gave that lesson in our fight on the question of the Jewish National Home.

I am going to appeal to my American friends: Be of good courage, do not stand aside under any circumstances. I am not saying that you are not courageous. I am saying that you have greater trials to overcome. You have a State Department which will play a similar game to that which the "State Department" did in England. Americans will respect the Jewish people in America as they respected the Jewish people in England when we put up our fight. We had no end of White Papers to contend with. We had Legislative Council proposals. We stood up in Parliament, in the streets in England, and we declared to the people of England that ours was a democratic country and that it was doing wrong to the Jewish people. The English people understood.

Not only in the political sphere but in *chalutzit* the same thing prevails. Why do we find no difficulty in England? We have *chalutzit*; we have farms; openly exposed. We go round the country. We ask people to come. I don't say we succeed as we should. Nevertheless, we have sent 3,000 young people since the creation of the State to this land. We have *Shnat Sherut*. We are not afraid of telling our people to do the right thing, even in the face of the whole of the Jewish community, and the non-Jewish community understands. The Jewish community, many of them kick against it. It is not an easy thing, and I am not saying that you can bring it about in a day or a week.

We are facing an extremely serious position. The world has not yet come to realize that the State of Israel is one of the most important factors for peace in the world today. My own government does not realize it yet fully. But every Member of Parliament who has come to this country has returned, as far as I know, impressed by what is happening and is determined to do what he can to avert any difficulties. I know these things and you know them. Let us face the future with a feeling of confidence and hope. We have a message to give to the world. Let us let the world know that and let us do it courageously.

S. FEDERBUSH

RABBI DR. SIMON FEDERBUSH
(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—U.S.A.)

If we leave this session with the feeling that the process of self-liquidation of the Zionist Organization has been stopped, it will be the greatest accomplishment of the present meeting of the Zionist General Council.

Rabbi Miller justly defended the activities of the parties within the Zionist Organization. We know that the Zionist parties established the Zionist Organization and made possible its greatest achievements, including the establishment of the State. Religious Jewry made a major contribution to the Zionist cause, through the instrumentality of the religious Zionist parties, the Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi. The same indeed can be said of other parties within the Organization.

But in addition to the value which the Zionist Organization has for the State of Israel we must also appreciate its importance for the maintenance of Judaism in the Diaspora. I do not think I shall be guilty of any exaggeration if I say that eighty percent of all Jewish activities for and within Jewish youth are centred around Zionism and around Zionist work for Israel. For this reason, indeed, the strengthening of the Zionist Movement is vital not only for the State, but for the preservation of Jewish values in the Diaspora.

There has been some talk here about American Jewry. The picture rendered was however not complete and lacked one important element: religious Jewry, which has grown and become stronger in the years that have elapsed since the conclusion of the Second World War. It is true that we have reason to regard with concern the attitude of certain sections of religious Jewry, who do not appreciate the immense significance of the establishment of the Jewish State. But let us also not ignore the positive features of this element in the community. It may be news to you if I tell you that in recent years American religious Jewry has made a substantial contribution towards religious Hebrew literature, greater indeed than many wealthier and more powerful organizations and institutions. In recent years religious Jews have reissued in America monumental works, including the Bible, the Talmud, the *Turim*, *Shulchan Aruch*, Maimonides, and many works of *Responsa* and *Halacha* and *Aggada*.

This religious Jewry has established a network of Yeshivot, which are virtually the only Hebrew schools which give the younger generation a full Hebrew education. And if we have any hope whatever for the emergence of a *chalutz* movement it will come from these schools. This orthodox group has shown that it is possible to establish a full Jewish life; it already has a considerable influence over other sections of the American Jewish community. For the first time, without embarking upon philosophies and theories about American

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culture and Israel culture it has been proved that, given faith and unswerving loyalty to Judaism, a virile Jewish life, based upon Jewish religion and tradition, can be developed.

We tend to make analogies between America and Babylon. But as Rabbi Saadia Gaon said, it is impossible to create there a people without Torah for "Israel is only a people by virtue of its Torah". The same indeed applies to America.

ABRAHAM SCHENKER

(Mapam—U.S.A.)

The strength of the Zionist Movement never lay in its numbers. At best it was a self-conscious minority which knew what it wanted. But one aspect it always had—it represented a broad cross-section of the Jewish people from left to right—all those who sought the self-liberation, the self-realization of the Jewish people everywhere. Within that framework it evolved its programme from thought, from debate, from difference of opinion, from live clashes of viewpoint. Zionism attracted the youth of my generation—those who reached adulthood in the post-depression years—because it offered a living, fighting historic continuity rife with ideas and sparkling with vision and action.

Chalutzit is not possible without two forces—a negative one and a feeling of historical Jewish responsibility. The negative one—dissatisfaction with one's Jewish existence, with one's wholeness as a man or woman—has its positive response. The desire for a complete Jewish existence cannot come of itself. It must be fostered and actively encouraged. Hebrew education and schools must see this task as an essential part of their curriculum. The feeling of incompleteness is dormant or latent among Jewish youth in America. It is implicit in the activities of all the Zionist youth movements.

The second aspect of *chalutzit* is the positive feeling of historical Jewish responsibility. This cannot be a question simply of concern for a faith, or a religious grouping emulating or equal to other such groupings or even to a state. It must be an overt sense of continuity and personal realization. We must be ready to say to American Jewish youth: The borders of the Jewish people, not only of the State, are in the Negev and in Galilee. They must be settled and defended. And you, American Jewish youth, are in danger as long as the Negev is empty and defenceless. Such a call will undoubtedly awaken the feeling of responsibility among this youth and they will respond wholeheartedly with their hands and hearts and minds.

N. GOLDMANN

REPLY BY DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN

(Chairman of the Executive)

If a debate with the American Zionists has sometimes a negative rather than a positive effect, it is not necessarily because what is said to them is not correct. But there are certain things which should be said in America rather than here. It is also important how what is said is formulated. Many speakers in today's debate spoke in a tone that was out of place.

I have often declared in America that American Zionism is engaged in a major controversy with itself. American Zionism must undergo a process of intensification of Zionism. I cited examples of European Zionism which had to experience a similar process. But neither polemics nor sermonizing assist in this process. The process must be undergone by American Zionism itself, of its own volition. Then the time will come for a grand debate on what Zionism is for us in America.

I am in favour of *chalutzit* and *aliya*, and I am not afraid to say so in America. But by expressing such views alone one does not achieve very much. The problem is a very complex one. We are living in a period in which Judaism is encountering American civilization. This meeting of Jews with America has been entirely different from the parallel process in Western Europe. To rest content with telling the American Zionists "You are not doing your duty" can only produce negative results. That is why I understand the reaction of the American Zionists and their opposition to the character the debate has assumed without even touching the outer crust of the problem.

Mr. Gruenbaum stated that one of the most fundamental tasks in America is to establish full Jewish day-schools. I am fully in agreement with him. But do you appreciate the full implications of such a proposal? Schools are not established by resolutions. If you decide to establish a network of Jewish schools an expenditure of tens of millions of dollars is involved. Part of this sum, at least, will be lacking in Israel. All funds come from a single source. Perhaps leaders of the Welfare Funds would be prepared to finance these schools out of local funds, because this is a local need. But if we embark seriously upon this matter of establishing Jewish schools throughout the United States—and it is essential that we should—then from time to time we shall have to decide on our list of priorities, as long as Israel stands in need of financial support from the Jews of America. We shall have to decide what takes precedence—Israel or Jewish education in the Diaspora.

For this reason I am of the opinion that we should not deal so lightly with this problem in the course of our discussion. I stated that Herzl was a genius and succeeded in cutting the Gordian knot. In this matter, it seems, many of us seek the mantle of genius, by cutting the knot and

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making things appear far too simple. There is however a difference, if it is done by a genius or by one of us. It is easy enough to say that immigration, *chalutzit* and Jewish schools are necessary. But the matter is complicated by a score of problems besetting the Jews of America. All of these must be understood if we wish to guide the Jews of America. This debate must be held within American Jewry, inside America. Discussions here do not help very much.

When we discuss the introduction of more Zionism into the lives of the Jews of America, Hadassah is often more cautious, slower than other organizations. This is the weakness of Hadassah. But if the meaning we attach to Zionism implies deeds and not only words, then among the Zionist organizations Hadassah has no equal. If the women of Hadassah pass a resolution they put it into effect. If they opt for *chalutzit*, it will be something real. They constitute 300,000 mothers, and for that reason they are hesitating. This does not imply a negative attitude on the part of Hadassah. It is rather part of their responsible approach to problems.

I wish to make some remarks about the political aspect. There is a dangerous propensity among Jews. In political analysis they tend to stress the personal factor. It has been the same from Haman to Bevin. This is an over-simplification. Mr. Byroade has suddenly become the representative of a specific policy. It is an indication of a lack of political maturity, if it is thought that the removal of Mr. Byroade will improve matters. It is a matter neither of Byroade nor of Gardner nor even of the Republican Administration. If Adlai Stevenson were President of the United States, the tone would have been a different one, but I am very much afraid that essentially little would be changed.

It is also an exaggeration to charge the Zionists of America with lack of courage in determining their political attitudes. There are undoubtedly instances in which they do not react fast enough. The reaction to Mr. Byroade's speech was a little weak. But by and large I do not think that there is ground for complaint that American Zionists or the American Jewish community have not reacted sufficiently strongly to hostile or unfriendly policies regarding Israel, when such policies have been pursued by the State Department. The examples cited by Rabbi Miller are fully substantiated.

The Zionist Movement does not conduct an independent foreign policy in regard to Israel. I myself have a lot to say about foreign policy, so much indeed, that I prefer to say nothing. But can we undertake policies without the agreement of, and in co-ordination with, the State of Israel? The only result would be damage to Israel interests. If the Government of Israel would consent we would establish a Political Department, we would publish political circulars, and then we could discuss what we should tell England to do. But as long as the consent of

the State of Israel is not forthcoming the whole matter has nothing to do with us.

The problem of the intensification of American Zionism constitutes an important historic problem. It will resolve the *raison d'être* of the Zionist Movement. And because of its seriousness we cannot decide it in a matter of two minutes. A great degree of responsibility and circumspection is necessary if we seek tangible results and our object is not merely an exchange of views. The question what Zionists abroad should do in Israel and for Israel is a complicated one. But to deal with one or two aspects of it in the course of a brief debate can only cause harm.

REPLY BY MR. BERL LOCKER

(Chairman of the Executive)

I dealt with a whole series of problems in my opening address but only two or three have been discussed in the course of the debate. The central feature of my speech yesterday was what I referred to as the "Ten Commandments of Zionism". But on this point nothing at all was said. In the main only side-issues were raised here. However in so far as the debate dealt with more important issues I think that it was just as well that a debate was staged. Most of the speeches delivered were to the point, though, for the most part, hardly in the right tone.

Rabbi Heller complained that there was a tone of "accusation and defence" in the speeches delivered. He seems to have understood me to have said that *aliya* would come from America only when it became necessary to leave that country. I certainly did not speak of any flight from America. In fact what I said was the reverse—that Jews in America have no cause to leave their country, because of the favourable economic conditions they enjoy. I did dwell upon certain dangers, which, indeed, none of the participants in the debate attempted to deny.

I asked Mrs. Judith Epstein yesterday what the position was in regard to *chalutzut*. She told me that the discussions and debates in the Zionist General Council in previous years had had a favourable effect in America and that in Hadassah certain matters were being discussed in a different spirit today than was the case some years ago.

I attempted the formulation of a minimum programme, preparatory to the forthcoming Zionist Congress. I did not concern myself with a maximum programme. The minimum programme I put forward was one to which I thought all would subscribe. I need hardly point out that I do not insist on every detail of that programme.

The President of the Zionist Organization of America, Mr. Mortimer May, to whose speech I listened with great interest quoted Benjamin Franklin, who said that every American had a second fatherland—

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France. The same could be said of every American Jew. However I pointed out to Mr. May that at that time there was no question of any American emigration to France, but that now the question of American *aliya* to Israel was being posed.

Perhaps I made a mistake in not emphasizing in an adequate degree all the positive achievements. But all speakers, including Dr. Margoshes and Rabbi Kirshblum, agreed that my reference to the danger of assimilation was justified. My statement about the position of Jewish education is equally true. Mrs. Bert Goldstein complained that I did not mention the fact that in previous years the percentage of Jewish children receiving Jewish education was only 20 percent as against 27 percent today. But how long shall we have to wait until we reach fifty or even sixty percent? I must stress again: 60 percent of these 27 percent only attend Sunday Schools.

I am also acquainted with America. I lived in America for a number of years and have visited it many times. I know the extent to which the Zionist Movement in America has hitherto interested itself in Jewish education. There were two sections of the Movement which did actively interest themselves in this sphere—the religious wing, the Mizrachi, and the workers' wing. They established schools. It is also true that other sections of the Movement tried to introduce some Hebrew teaching into general schools. But this is not enough. It has been said that all this will be achieved in good time. I do not wish to be a pessimist and I do not claim to be a prophet. It may be that what Dr. Margoshes has said—that it is a process of transformation and not one of decline—is correct. But can we permit ourselves to lose a large part of the younger generation in the course of this process of transformation?

I spoke of *aliya*, from America and other countries. I know that there are countries for which *aliya* is more important than for America, because the very existence of the Jews there is in jeopardy in the near future. I hope that I may be proved wrong. We need immigrants from America and the other countries I mentioned, for two reasons. One of the instruments in the struggle against assimilation is emigration to Israel. It will infuse an Israel spirit into every household which has a son in Israel. It will constitute a living bridge, between Israel on the one side and America and other countries on the other. It will stimulate and revive the Jewish spirit in the lands of the Diaspora.

There is also a second reason. We cannot exist without a substantial immigration—I do not say mass immigration—from the countries of the West. Time is pressing, we cannot wait. I know that we have no alternative, that we must wait. But we must get this into the heads and the hearts of our American friends and supporters, we must make them understand, how urgent the matter is. We have a very small country, and we cannot continue to hold this country solely by force of our arms.

B. LOCKER

I did not say that every Zionist must settle in Israel. I did not even insist that every Zionist send his son to Israel, although if he did so it would be a very good thing. I do not propose to incorporate any such principle in any act of legislation—which in any case could not be enforced. But as a course to be followed, as a matter about which a greater awareness and feeling of urgency must be aroused, it must be infused into the minds of Jewish parents.

This morning in the course of a talk with one of the leaders of American Zionism I made the same statement that without *aliya* from these countries we could not continue. The reply was: "I don't believe you. You are not so keen to welcome people from America." And I was told about a specialist, holding a high position in America, a married man with four children, who wanted to settle in this country. But he was not given the post he wanted. I answered that this case proved nothing "You have young people. You must give us the young people." "We cannot give you the young people" I was answered, "they decide for themselves." I know this. But we must find some way of influencing them and educating them, of ensuring that certain parents do not discourage their children when the latter want to settle in Israel. You know that there are cases of this kind.

In my remark on finances, I suggested that a certain measure of public control be exercised to see whether Jews contributed at all and how much they contributed. It was merely a suggestion not a proposal, but Mrs. Rose Halprin strongly criticized it. At the same time I am of the opinion that the matter cannot be left as it is. In the old Jewish way of life there was always a degree of social control, and there are certain countries today where attention is paid to this aspect.

These are the main issues I wished to touch upon. I have no desire to provoke our American friends, but I feel that the fact that they are so sensitive does not make it any less necessary to speak frankly. It is a privilege and a challenge. They constitute the strongest force in the Jewish people. Today there exist only two great Jewish communities—excluding the Jews of Russia to whom we have no access—America and Israel. Israel has her responsibilities. I wish to say quite candidly that I am aware of our deficiencies no less than of our achievements.

Mention was made in the debate of ignorance in this country. We are fighting against it. We have brought in 700,000 Jews, the overwhelming majority of whom never enjoyed an opportunity to give their children a proper education. Jews have come here from Hitler's Germany, from Poland, from the Arab countries. They have had no Jewish upbringing. We must give it to them. The Government of Israel is making a great effort to provide them with proper educational facilities, but it is not a task which can be performed overnight. You know that in the course of the past year we allocated IL.100,000—and intend doing

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the same this year—in order to raise the children of the backward communities to our level, in order to facilitate the fusion of the communities.

And finally I touched upon the question of money, or rather the fact that we have not got enough money. Dr. Goldmann has said that if ramified educational work is conducted in the United States we shall get less money. This too is not new. In the Executive, in our daily work, we are constantly engaged in an effort to make the two extremes meet. We know that we must expand the work of the two Departments for Education and Culture in the Diaspora. We are spending hundreds of thousands of pounds, and perhaps in the course of the current year we shall spend a million on our educational work. Next year we may have to double this sum. But then the representatives of the various branches of activity carried on in this country—settlement, absorption, immigration—come and claim that the money is required in Israel. I know it is a vicious circle, and there is no other solution but to induce Jews to increase their contributions.

In this country we have an administrative machine, and the Minister of Finance and his officials are trying to extract more from the citizens than the latter wish to pay. In this country the question is not whether you want to contribute or not. In other countries the Jews must be taught to contribute. A view has been expressed that the funds obtained from non-Jewish sources may cease. I know that the situation is difficult and what we ask for runs counter to human nature, but much that we are doing here runs counter to human nature.

The Jews in America and in England and in other countries are willing to contribute generously upon two conditions—if there are disturbances and if we give them military victories. Other phenomena, it seems, are not sufficiently dramatic. But there is the drama of the creation of the State of Israel, and the consolidation of the State. There has been a process of immigration. Do you think that these newcomers strike root in the country as soon as they arrive here? Are there not tasks that remain to be done until they are absorbed, until they are full and equal citizens of the country, until they have modest dwellings and productive employment? These things are not achieved overnight, nor can they be performed without outside aid. If there should be a substantial wave of immigration from North Africa perhaps the Jews of America, England and South Africa will give a little more money, will intensify their effort for a year or two. But all of the immigrants will not be properly absorbed in the course of this year or two. Of the seven hundred thousand new immigrants who entered this country, a large proportion, approximately 200,000, have not yet been integrated into the life of this country. We cannot consummate this task without the aid of the Jews of America and the world.

SEVENTH MEETING

Tuesday, July 27, 1954, in the evening

Chairman : MR. ANSELM REISS

IN MEMORIAM OF ZIONIST LEADERS

TRIBUTE BY MR. JOSEPH SPRINZAK

Zion has lost one of its most lovable figures, who bore the banner of Zionism aloft with unswerving loyalty, and who served as one of Herzl's most faithful aides—Dr. Isidor Schalit.

We have also lost a talent in its full bloom, a leader of the Zionist Movement, a protagonist of Hebrew and human culture, in the passing of Dr. Michael Amir-Weissman. He was a staunch Zionist, a fighter in the cause of the Movement and a spokesman of the people, outstanding in his efforts in defence of the Jewish people in that classic country of Jewish repression—Rumania. Dr. Amir brilliantly carried out his duties as Minister of the State of Israel, in Holland.

We must remember one of the first graduates of the pioneering movement, prior to the catastrophe which engulfed European Jewry, and of the younger generation of German Zionists—Dr. Georg Landauer. Dr. Landauer was among the first of the *chalutzim* to reach us from Germany and was endowed with an extensive culture, energy and initiative. When the catastrophe threatened the Jews of Germany he was entrusted with an important mission, to save Jewish lives and property. His activities, combined with the great talent of Henrietta Szold, transformed the idea of Youth Aliya, first formulated by Recha Freyer, into an immense movement for the upbuilding of Israel.

All those who have had business with this building, and thousands, perhaps even tens of thousands of others who sought to be absorbed in Israel's life and economy, will recall Joseph Rabinowitz, an unassuming official, who was endowed with unbounded patience and a desire to help.

Yitzhak Yehuda Lew—was an emissary and a representative of the Left Poale Zion movement and the United Workers' Party in the Zionist General Council.

Finally we must recall Israel Jefroykin, an outstanding personality in Jewish public life. He was a man of the people, embodying the awakening national consciousness.

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We cherish the memory of all of these who laboured on behalf of the Jewish renaissance.

REVEREND J. K. GOLDBLOOM'S TRIBUTE TO PROFESSOR BRODETSKY

Selig Brodetsky came to England sixty-one years ago and settled together with his parents in the suburb of Whitechapel in London. Whitechapel at that time was the centre of Jewry in England and it was in this atmosphere that he was brought up and educated.

One of the greatest days in the life of young Brodetsky was when he was awarded a Senior Wrangler's Prize at the University of Cambridge. I came to the Brodetsky's home to extend my congratulations. I asked young Brodetsky what he thought of Zionism and what was his attitude towards our Movement. After a few moments' thought he replied: "You work together with my father for the Zionist cause. Naturally I shall follow in my father's footsteps."

In 1912 Brodetsky left for Leipzig where he was awarded his doctorate. In 1914 he was appointed Lecturer in Mathematics at the University of Bristol and during the same year was elected a member of the Zionist Federation. In 1919 he was appointed Lecturer at the University of Leeds and five years later he was appointed Professor.

Many of his students at that University later made a major contribution towards the war effort in England in the Second World War. Professor Brodetsky's works on mathematics and astronomy have been translated into many languages including Hebrew.

When he resigned from his chair at the University of Leeds where he had served as head of the Department of Applied Mathematics, he was honoured with the title of Professor Emeritus.

In 1928 he was appointed Member of the Zionist Executive, in which post he remained until he accepted the post of President of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He continued to be active in the English Zionist Federation and served as its Honorary Vice-President.

During the period in which he resided in Leeds he used to come twice a week to London to take an active part in the work of the World Zionist Organization and the Zionist Federation of Great Britain. His devotion to the cause was boundless, and he even utilized his trips to and from London to write his reports, articles, etc.

When Dr. Chaim Weizmann was elected President of the State of Israel, Professor Brodetsky was unanimously elected President of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain. This position had been held by Dr. Weizmann until that year.

J. K. GOLDBLOOM

In 1939 Professor Brodetsky was elected President of the Jewish Board of Deputies, being the first of the first generation of immigrants to England to be appointed to this position. In 1946 when the Zionist Federation of Great Britain resolved to stage a demonstration in the streets of London in protest against the Palestine policy of the British Government Professor Brodetsky headed the procession despite the strong opposition voiced by certain leaders of the Board of Deputies. He was active in many Jewish institutions, being particularly sympathetic towards the youth movements. He served as Honorary President of the World Maccabi movement.

His efforts on behalf of the Hebrew University were not crowned with the same measure of success which had marked his other activities and this indeed was one of the underlying causes of the serious illness from which he suffered in the concluding years of his rich and active life. He returned to London discouraged and depressed, though he continued with his activities on behalf of the Zionist Movement.

His passing has bereft the Jewish people and especially the Zionist Movement of one of its most loyal and brilliant sons. Of him it may truly be said "A prince and great man has fallen in Israel!"

DEBATE AND VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (THE COVENANT)

DR. SHIMSHON YOUNITCHMAN

(Chairman of the Committee)

In the Committee on the Covenant time was not short nor was the task imposed upon us arduous. The Chairmen submitted their report and informed us that the Government of Israel had accepted most of the amendments proposed by the Jewish Agency. From the letters attached to the Covenant you will see that the Government has granted the Jewish Agency and its institutions the status of Government institutions. In addition it has consented to give the Chairmen and Members of the Zionist Executive and the Chairman and Members of the Zionist General Council official status in its official ceremonies. The question of exemption from taxation will be settled by the Government prior to the conclusion of the fiscal year.

The Committee resolved to approve the Covenant which I am now going to read :

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COVENANT

BETWEEN

THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL (HEREAFTER THE GOVERNMENT)

AND

THE ZIONIST EXECUTIVE CALLED ALSO THE EXECUTIVE
OF THE JEWISH AGENCY (HEREAFTER THE EXECUTIVE)

Entered into this day, in accordance with the Zionist Organization—
Jewish Agency Status Bill, 1952.

Functions of Executive

1. The following are the functions of the Zionist Executive as included in this Covenant :

The organizing of immigration abroad and the transfer of immigrants and their property to Israel; co-operation in the absorption of immigrants in Israel; youth immigration; agricultural settlement in Israel; the acquisition and amelioration of land in Israel by the institutions of the Zionist Organization, the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael and the Keren Hayesod; participation in the establishment and the expansion of development enterprises in Israel; the encouragement of private capital investments in Israel; assistance to cultural enterprises and institutions of higher learning in Israel; the mobilization of resources for financing these activities; the co-ordination of the activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and organizations acting within the limits of these functions by means of public funds.

Activities under the Law

2. Any activity carried out in Israel by the Executive or on its behalf for the purpose of carrying out the said functions, or part of them, shall be executed in accordance with the laws of Israel and the regulations and administrative instructions in force from time to time, which govern the activities of the governmental authorities whose functions cover, or are affected by, the activity in question.

Immigration

3. In the organizing of immigration and the handling of immigrants, the Executive shall act on the basis of a plan agreed on with the Government or authorized by the Co-ordinating Board (see para. 8). Immigrants will require visas according to the Law of the Return 5711-1950.

Co-ordination between Institutions

4. The Executive shall, in agreement with the Government, co-ordinate the activities in Israel of Jewish institutions and organizations which act within the limits of the Executive's functions.

Transfer of Functions

5. The Executive may carry out its functions itself or through its existing institutions or those which it may establish in the future, and it may also enlist in its activities the co-operation of other institutions in Israel, with the proviso that it may not delegate

THE COVENANT

any of its functions or rights under the Covenant without the agreement of the Government, and shall not authorize any body or institution to carry out its functions, in whole or in part, except after prior notification of the Government.

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|---|---|
| <p>6. The Executive shall be responsible for the mobilization of the financial and material resources required for the execution of its functions, by means of the Keren Hayesod, the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael and other funds.</p> | <p>Mobilization
of Resources</p> |
| <p>7. The Government shall consult with the Executive in regard to legislation specially impinging on the functions of the Executive before such legislation is submitted to the Knesset.</p> | <p>Legislation</p> |
| <p>8. For the purpose of co-ordinating activities between the Government and the Executive in all spheres to which this Covenant applies, a Co-ordinating Board shall be established (hereafter called the Board). The Board shall be composed of an even number of members, not fewer than four, half of whom shall be members of the Government appointed by it, and half of whom shall be members of the Executive appointed by it. The Government and the Executive shall be entitled from time to time to replace the members of the Board by others among their members.</p> | <p>Co-ordinating
Board</p> |
| <p>9. The Board shall meet at least once a month. It may appoint sub-committees consisting of members of the Board and also of non-members. The Board shall from time to time submit to the Government and the Executive reports of its deliberations and recommendations. Except as stated above, the Board shall itself determine the arrangements for its sessions and deliberations.</p> | <p>Activities of
the Board</p> |
| <p>10. The Government must see to it that its authorized organs shall provide the Executive and its institutions with all the permits and facilities required by law for activities carried out in accordance with this Covenant for the purpose of carrying out the Executive's functions.</p> | <p>Permits and
Facilities</p> |
| <p>11. Donations and legacies to the Executive or any of its institutions shall be exempt from Inheritance Tax. All other problems connected with the exemption of the Executive, its Funds and its other institutions, from payment of taxes, customs and other obligatory governmental imposts shall be the subject of a special arrangement between the Executive and the Government. This arrangement shall be formulated in an annex to this Covenant within eight months, as an inseparable part thereof, and shall come into force as from the date of signature of this Covenant.</p> | <p>Relief from
Taxes</p> |
| <p>12. All proposals for alterations or amendments to this Covenant, or any addition thereto, must be made in writing, and no</p> | <p>Alterations</p> |

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alteration or amendment of this Covenant, or addition thereto, shall be made except in writing.

- Notifications** 13. Any notification to be sent to the Government shall be sent to the Prime Minister, and any notification to be sent to the Executive shall be sent to the Chairman of the Executive in Jerusalem.
- Date of Coming into Force** 14. This Covenant shall come into force on the date of signature.

In witness whereof, etc.

Annex A

The Chairman
Zionist Executive
The Jewish Agency
Jerusalem

Jerusalem, July 26, 1954

Dear Mr. Chairman,

I have the honour to inform you of the Government's decision that any administrative order that may be in force from time to time in regard to investigations, searches and detentions in Government offices shall apply also to the Executive and its institutions as defined in the Covenant entered into this day between the Government of Israel and the Zionist Executive.

You have agreed, and the Government has taken note, that the Zionist Executive will not maintain in Israel judicial or investigative machinery of its own, except in compliance with the laws of the State and in constant coordination with the Attorney-General of the Government of Israel.

Yours sincerely,
(sgd.)
Prime Minister

Annex B

The Chairman
Zionist Executive
The Jewish Agency
Jerusalem

Jerusalem, July 26, 1954

Dear Mr. Chairman,

I have the honour to inform you of the Government's decision that in the order of precedence at official ceremonies the Chairmen of the Zionist Executive and the Chairman of the Zionist General Council will immediately follow the Members of the Government; Members of the Zionist Executive will be equal in precedence to Members of the Knesset, and Members of the Zionist General Council will immediately follow Members of the Knesset.

Yours sincerely,
(sgd.)
Prime Minister

THE COVENANT

Annex C

The Jewish Agency, P.O.B. 92, Jerusalem

The Prime Minister
Jerusalem

July 26, 1954

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter in which you inform us of the Government's decision that any administrative order that may be in force from time to time in regard to investigations, searches and detentions in Government offices shall apply also to the Executive and its institutions as defined in the Covenant entered into this day between the Government of Israel and the Zionist Executive.

We hereby confirm that the Zionist Executive has agreed not to maintain in Israel judicial or criminal investigative machinery of its own, unless approved by the Government, and that any such machinery will function in constant co-ordination with the Attorney-General of the Government of Israel.

Yours sincerely,

(sgd.)

Chairmen of the Executive

I think that I speak on behalf of all members of the Zionist General Council when I say that it constitutes a happy augury for the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel, that this year of commemoration of Herzl should begin with a covenant between the Zionist Organization, created by Herzl, and the State which is the beginning of the realization of his vision. We may wish both the Government of Israel and the Executive of the Zionist Organization that it be vouchsafed us to see Herzl's dreams fulfilled. If we wish it it will be no legend.

BERL LOCKER

(Chairman of the Executive)

On behalf of the Executive I wish to say a few words on this historic occasion. Two years have passed since the Zionist Organization-Jewish Agency Status Bill was passed by the Knesset. Throughout this period negotiations have been conducted intermittently with regard to this Covenant, without which the bill cannot be implemented. We are highly gratified at the signing of the Covenant. We are fully aware that this Covenant, like the bill, not only grants privileged status to the Jewish

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Agency but also imposes grave responsibilities. We all share the ideals of the Return to Zion, and seek to consolidate the State, to implement our task of gathering in the exiles and ensuring the preservation and unity of the Jewish people. Both the Status Bill and the Covenant are important instruments for the realization of these objectives. I take this opportunity of sending special greetings to the Government of Israel and the Prime Minister.

ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION

The motion submitted by the Committee was carried unanimously (see Resolution No. 4).

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON ACTIVITIES IN ISRAEL

MRS. BERTHA S. SCHOOLMAN

(Chairman of the Committee)

Our Committee on Activities in Israel dealt with problems relating to five important departments of the Jewish Agency in Israel, any one of which could have absorbed us completely throughout our sittings. The challenging reports on *aliya* by Mr. Shragai, Head of the Department of Immigration, and by the Treasurer Dr. G. Josephthal, as presented to *all* members of the General Council in the closed session held here last Friday, and also the supplementary report by Mr. Braginsky, Head of the Department of Absorption, were followed by further Committee sessions and discussions with those members. The Committee was privileged to receive also extended reports from the following: Mr. Eshkol, Mr. Kol and Mr. Grossman, Heads of the Departments of Agricultural Settlement, Youth Aliya and Economics respectively, and from Mr. Lurie of the Jewish Agency Executive in New York on the status of immigration from North America, as well as a brief report from Mr. Ziegel—Director of the Department of Absorption. The Committee received and heard a delegation representing the Association of North African Immigrants in Israel.

The Committee sat in seven sessions which totalled 18 hours. We regret that the basic and provocative information we received cannot be made similarly and altogether available to all members of the General Council. But we hope that the presentation and discussion of the resolutions we are now submitting will serve to highlight in some measure, at least, the many areas of gratifying progress, as well as the serious and involved problems, the deep concerns, the challenges, the hopes and

ACTIVITIES IN ISRAEL

aspirations which we were privileged to share. Whatever the differences in general outlook between us, the members of the Committee nevertheless strove together to try to point the way for constructive and extended accomplishment in these crucial undertakings for the strategic months ahead. It is in that spirit that we bring the resolutions before you for consideration and approval.

VOTA SEPARATA*

JOSEPH BANKOVER

(Mapam—Israel)

I wish to submit a motion of amendment to the Zionist General Council :

The situation of Jews in countries of the Diaspora, and the needs and security of the State necessitate urgent measures for the renewal of immigration.

The Zionist General Council resolves upon a renewal of *aliya* from all countries, favouring the immigration of constructive elements.

The Zionist General Council resolves to discontinue the policy of selection of immigrants followed hitherto.

With a view to increasing immigration into this country the Zionist General Council authorizes the Jewish Agency Executive to institute temporary restrictions upon the immigration into Israel of persons suffering from dangerous and infectious diseases.

The reasons prompting the submission of this amendment to the Zionist General Council are peculiarly significant. This session marks the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Theodore Herzl. It has been convened in the light of what has occurred in the settlement of Netiv Halamed Heh, after the murder in Yavneel and while the shots being fired in Jerusalem still reverberate in our ears. As the representatives of the Zionist Movement, as members of its highest institution, we must appreciate the nature of the central feature of this session. In a single sentence I would say that the Movement would justify its existence and the functions that devolve upon it, if it make the pivot of its debates and the pivot of its activities after the close of the present session the question of how to accelerate immigration into this country, and how to put an end to the stagnation that has set in in this field. Just as we were all inspired by the phenomenon of the ingathering of the exiles in the early years of the State, we—including the Zionist Movement and the

* Some of the amendments were actually submitted at the Eighth Meeting.

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State of Israel—are today depressed that six years after the foundation of the State there is virtually no immigration and the interruption in the influx of immigrants is of such long duration. This interruption threatens the development and security of the State.

I assume that we have all of us learned the lesson of this setback, a setback equally for the State and the Movement. We now stand on the threshold of a renewal of immigration. The principle of selective immigration was responsible for the reduction of the proportions of the influx. Let us abolish this principle of selection, and encourage a larger and more productive immigration. We must concern ourselves about the families, all the families of immigrants. It is the duty of the Zionist Organization and the State to renew and to enlarge the influx of immigrants, and the only way to overcome the decline in immigration is to abolish the principle of selection.

DAVID YUTAN

(Herut-Hatzohar—Israel)

On behalf of the Herut-Hatzohar group I have the honour to submit three motions of amendment. The first one concerns the abolition of the principle of selective immigration and reads as follows:

In order to stimulate immigration the Zionist General Council resolves to abolish all rules governing the selection of immigrants.

I believe that if Dr. Herzl were alive today, he would be unable to conceive that six years after the foundation of the State of Israel there should be in force rules laid down by the State and the Zionist Organization, stating that not every Jew is entitled to come to Eretz Israel, instituting a *numerus clausus*, and imposing a process of screening of candidates for immigration into Israel.

We do not propose anarchy in the sphere of immigration. We say that the possibility of imposing restrictions should be removed, that these clauses, authorizing the Zionist Organization and its emissaries to prohibit Jews of more than forty-five or fifty years of age, who are bound by Jewish tradition to their families, to come to Eretz Israel, because one of the members of the family, under the rules of selective immigration, is not capable of supporting a family, should be rescinded. The Zionist General Council must adopt an unambiguous resolution abolishing all the rules of selective immigration, removing any possibility for officials to prevent Jews from coming to this country.

The second *votum separatum* concerns the matter of rescue immigration from the countries which we have been requested not to mention:

The problem of bringing immigrants from countries with a large

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Jewish population calls for extraordinary measures, both because of the large number of persons involved and the special conditions obtaining in these countries.

The Zionist General Council therefore resolves

(a) To establish a special body to deal with the transfer of Jews from these countries, 45 percent of the members of which will represent local Jewry, the remainder being representatives of the World Zionist Organization and the AJDC;

(b) This body will conduct negotiations with the competent institutions with a view to organizing the transfer of property in accordance with agreed guarantees. For this purpose the body will establish the necessary institutions.

Our last motion of amendment calls for a regime which will encourage *aliya*, as follows:

The Zionist General Council calls upon the Israel Government to discover ways and means of changing, as soon as possible, the existing social and economic conditions, which have caused the decline in immigration, and to create conditions stimulating immigration.

DEBATE ON THE MOTIONS AND VOTA SEPARATA

JACOB HAZAN

(Mapam—Israel)

Zionism is not and never has been a philanthropic movement. It was never an association of rich brethren working on behalf of the poor and persecuted. It emerged as a movement of self-emancipation of the entire Jewish people and this remains its true content to the present day. It will not be possible to save those who must be saved if Zionism does not remain what it was in the past, a movement for liberating Jews because they are Jews and not a philanthropic society for saving poor Jews who are threatened with extermination. It cannot be permitted that the wealthier, stronger and more secure sections of the Jewish people remain in the Diaspora and only the poorer and more backward elements emigrate to this country. Jews from the more progressive countries must come here in order to help absorb our less fortunate brethren.

I am convinced that our future is threatened. We will bring our less fortunate brethren to this country from the Middle East and we will send them to the border settlements. We will impose the duty of working the land upon them, we shall tell them that they can only come here if they are willing to undertake agricultural labour. But at the same time that section of the people in better circumstances, living in the more

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civilized parts of the world, will remain in the Diaspora, or at most will come here to constitute the intelligentsia of the country. If such a differentiation within the country is permitted to crystallize, if our "brown" brothers are required to engage in manual labour while the sons of the Jews of England and America do not do the same work, a Jewish nation will not be created here. A society based upon caste stratification will emerge, incapable of achieving true national unity, a nation without a solid basis.

The question confronting the Zionist Movement is that which faces every movement for national liberation: which is the nearest link that must be grasped in order to pull after it the entire chain. I speak on the basis of my experience in Brazil, in Uruguay, in Chile and Argentina. I think that the nearest link is the Jewry of Latin America. This Jewish community is not interested in the controversy what is Diaspora and what is Exile, they know that they are in exile. They know that they are a people without a country and that their country is Eretz Israel.

If we are seriously considering the renewal of immigration we must make adequate preparation for a large pioneering movement, in the train of which will come not only Jews who are threatened with physical extermination, but Jews who want to come here because they wish to live a national life which is not possible in the Diaspora. This is the state of affairs that obtains in South America. If I were to interpret this situation in the language of statistics and compare Latin America to North America there should be fifty thousand organized members of the pioneering youth movements in North America. From North America, since the establishment of the State, 40,000 Jews should have arrived.

The present session of the Council will perform its function only if in the course of the next year an effort is made to rescue fifty thousand Jews besides endeavouring to increase the dimensions of immigration into this country generally, and primarily from Latin America which constitutes the greatest reserve not only of pioneering immigration, but also of mass immigration.

MRS. ALIZA SHIDLOWSKY

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

I wish to discuss a single phrase in the resolutions on settlement, a small phrase, but one with which I cannot agree. The resolution reads that the Zionist General Council is of the opinion that in future, too, efforts to improve conditions in the settlements should not be slowed down. I am not satisfied with the phrase "is of the opinion". Instead of this phrase there should be some term which expresses far more strongly the

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importance of the efforts of the Settlement and Absorption Department to improve conditions in the new settlements in order to accelerate the process of consolidation. We Israelis are renowned for our lack of patience. Perhaps this reputation of ours is justified. Those who visited this country in 1951 and have come here again have witnessed a veritable transformation. Our entire economy has virtually been revolutionized. There has been a far-reaching metamorphosis in the field of agricultural production. It has been stressed upon more than one occasion that the improvement which has been noted in the supply of farm produce must be attributed to the efforts of the new immigrants. It is the new immigrants who are responsible for the fact that during the past summer there has almost been a glut of vegetables and fruit, and that poultry and eggs are more plentiful.

But at the same time we remain dissatisfied. Why are we so impatient? I will tell you. In the course of my duties in the field of immigration I have occasion to travel frequently over the roads of this country. I travel through the Negev very frequently, to Beersheba, as well as to Jerusalem and Galilee. I always gaze upon the countryside and the new villages to see if trees and greenery are emerging. I ask myself how long it will take before these settlers are transformed into farmers, before these settlements take on the aspects of villages. When will they have shade over their roofs? When will they have their own vegetables? And when I come to a village, settled in the Negev two or three years ago, and still without a regular water supply, I am filled with wonder at these settlers and ask myself: What courage enables them to hold out? How is it that they do not flee to some place where there is water and shade, where life is easier, and where perhaps they would earn their livelihood under better circumstances? What keeps them in this place?

That phrase "is of the opinion" that aid for the individual settlements and funds for further investment should not be decreased, is not adequate for me. The Zionist General Council should identify itself with those who have answered the call, who carry out the supreme dictate of the task of Zionism. I am filled with wonder at those who live in these outlying settlements under such difficult conditions. But even greater is my wonder at the Settlement and Absorption Departments of the Jewish Agency, at their courage—though they are fully aware of the burden resting upon the Agency and its Absorption Department—in renewing the proposal to increase immigration. Those who stand face to face with the great influx of immigration from its commencement to the present day, whose function does not conclude with contribution of funds, or even the passing of resolutions at some gathering, but implies constant contact with the immigrants in their homes—they know the character of these immigrants from Morocco.

When Dr. Josephthal declared that for the absorption of these im-

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migrants one hundred million pounds are required, over and above the ordinary budget which the Agency obtains through the United Jewish Appeal, he was a little imprecise and did not mention the exact figure required for this purpose. Had he reckoned with the work done voluntarily by the various women's organizations he would have fixed a figure higher than the hundred million he mentioned. The sums allocated by Moetzet Hapoalot during the present year for the absorption of immigrants and aid for the new settlement totals two millions. This sum has been mobilized by our sister organization the Pioneer Women in America and in another ten countries in Europe and Latin America, besides Israel.

On behalf of the Pioneer Women, the Moetzet Hapoalot and the Irgun Imahot Ovdot, whose membership totals hundreds of thousands in this country, I wish to state that we are prepared to assume our share of the responsibility for the new immigrants.

DEBATE ON A POINT OF ORDER

Mr. Abraham Harzfeld (Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel) proposed that the debate on the draft resolutions be discontinued. This was opposed by *Mr. Yaacov Zerubavel* (Virilist—Israel).

The proposal was put to the vote, and by 24 votes to 18 it was resolved to continue the debate.

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE MOTIONS AND VOTA SEPARATA

YESHAYAHU BERNSTEIN

(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—Israel)

The resolutions tabled in all the various fields of activity in this country—in the spheres of immigration, absorption, Youth Aliya, settlement and economic affairs—are all intended to reply to a single question: Can Zionism stand the test or have we God forbid reached the stage that must give rise to the gravest concern—I prefer to call it by its proper name, bankruptcy?

For this reason those resolutions dealing with immigration constitute a test for Zionism. I am strongly opposed to any attempt to draw a line of demarcation between *aliya* that is in the nature of evacuation and other *aliya*. All emigration to Israel from whatever country is designed to save Jews, to save their souls, to save their property, to save the Jewish people.

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I wish to say a few words in regard to Youth Aliya, which too has been dealt with in the resolutions that have been tabled. Here no mention is made of forced evacuation; it is stated that we must encourage Jews to emigrate to this country of their own free will. For this reason the Youth Aliya Department has suggested that we endeavour to bring at least one child of every family to this country. Thereby the ground will be prepared, to some extent, for the subsequent settlement in Israel of the families. This is a very good idea, but I wish to make one remark. We all declare that the return to Zion represents a return to Judaism, but it is with regard to the construction placed upon the term "Judaism" that there exists a controversy between ourselves and other sections of the Zionist Movement. For there is Jewish Judaism and Gentile Judaism.

How strange it is that in that country where the overwhelming majority of the Jewish community is religious and traditional, emissaries of the Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi, the Religious Zionist Movement are not permitted to enter! It is true emissaries representing other departments are permitted to operate there. But for some reason the Youth Aliya Department has not found it necessary to despatch emissaries of the Religious Zionist Movement. I think that it is precisely this movement which has most in common with these Jews, more than the emissaries that have been sent there hitherto.

There is something else that must give rise to grave concern. If a single child of a religious family is given a non-religious education, hundreds and even thousands of other Jews are thereby estranged, for the parents will not be prepared to send their children here. It is incumbent upon the Zionist Movement to ensure that such things do not happen. The principle must be observed that every religious child is given a religious education.

Another remark regarding the resolutions on absorption. There is something included in these resolutions, which while I do not oppose it should be supplemented, if not in the wording of the resolution, at least in its implementation. In the resolutions on absorption it is stated that the Zionist General Council expresses its encouragement for the special cultural activities being conducted by the Absorption Department, such as the *ulpanim* for Hebrew study, the theatre for the *mr'barot*, etc. I know that the *ulpanim* are capable of disseminating a knowledge of Jewish culture, and I do not criticize the Telem Theatre. But if it is Hebrew culture that is being discussed the religious and traditional values are not last on the list. No detailed report on these activities was submitted to the Committee, but when we try to stimulate cultural activities, I would like the Zionist General Council to understand—and the Department to be instructed—that its cultural activities among the new immigrants must be directed not only towards giving them a knowledge of the Hebrew language, but should concern themselves with religious

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needs, study of the Torah, for these are fundamental values of Hebrew culture.

In conclusion I wish to comment upon certain statements made by Dr. Nachum Goldmann, regarding which, I am convinced, we are all agreed, that both the Jews and the nations of the world expect far more from the State of Israel than from just any other state in the Middle East. In this respect Dr. Goldmann declared that no one expected that in the short space of six years the State would be capable of giving what it was hoped it would eventually be able to give to humanity. With all this I agree. But it is important what foundations we are laying for the State of Israel. Do these foundations justify the hope that one day we shall be able to erect the structure that should arise here?

If from the very foundations the State does not indicate that we hope it will produce, then our lips dare not utter what may come to pass. Let us hope and pray that the basis of the State will be such that it will support a glorious edifice and that not only will it be said in the Diaspora, "O House of Jacob come and let us go", but the nations of the world will repeat "Come let us go to the Mount of God, to the House of the God of Jacob, that he may teach us of his ways, and we may walk in his paths".

YAACOV ZERUBAVEL

(Virilist—Israel)

I have recently had the opportunity and the privilege of visiting outlying communities of the Jewish dispersion—in Australia and New Zealand. Upon my return I stopped over in India, in Kenya and in Uganda. At no time in all my travels—and I have travelled widely in the Jewish Diaspora—was I so conscious of the feeling of Jewish orphanhood, or rather of orphaned Jewry. The Jews of the Diaspora stand face to face with the problem of Jewish national existence. They see in fear and dread whither the abnormal realities of Jewish life are leading them, when a social and national environment is lacking. The parents are increasingly conscious of the growing estrangement within their own homes, within their own families. It is no abstract question for them. It is the question of existence today and tomorrow. It is patent that the problem of Jewish national existence will not be solved by sporadic injections of education or speeches delivered once or twice a week.

We have now seen that only an environment created—and still in the process of creation—in Eretz Israel is capable of at least trying to establish a Jewish national organism upon a solid basis.

From here a call must be sounded to the masses of the House of Israel. A State of Israel exists! It offers the objective conditions to rebuild the

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Jewish social and economic organism. It is the dictate of the hour to make the Zionist Movement once again a great mass movement, which will develop into a movement for social and national liberation.

The very social and economic structure of Jewish life must be transformed. This can only be done if we reckon with all strata of the Jewish people, all classes in all countries, without exception. Zionism is guilty of a great sin against itself, in consenting by degrees to this classification of countries outside Israel, into lands of dispersion and lands of exile. It is a crime against the people and the State. What is immigration? Not only those who must be rescued must emigrate to Israel. The people and the State stand in need of immigration. Without immigration there is no political security, there is no economic security, there can be no creative cultural activity. Without immigration there is no guarantee for our future development, our growth and consolidation.

We must issue a call for emigration to Israel, from all countries of the Jewish dispersion. The burden of receiving the immigrants does not devolve upon us alone. It is the responsibility of the entire Jewish people.

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Wednesday, July 28, 1954, in the morning

Chairman: MR. ISRAEL BAR-YEHUDA

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE AND VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON ACTIVITIES IN ISRAEL

DEBATE ON THE MOTIONS AND VOTA SEPARATA

NETA HARPAZ

(Virilist—Israel)

I wish to make three remarks. In Committee we heard a number of members express their doubts and apprehensions regarding immigration from North Africa. The reports submitted in Committee indicate that the immigration reaching this country from North Africa was among the best arriving in Israel, in recent years. At the same time those members who speak of selective immigration at a time when a clear statement was issued that no persons suffering from mental diseases or open consumption would be permitted to enter the country did not act wisely. In Committee we reached an almost unanimous decision that the emigration to this country of such people should be restricted.

In the Committee on Activities in Israel we unanimously approved a resolution which was removed for some reason from the resolutions submitted to the Plenary Session. I would like to hear why the clause in question was removed after it had been passed unanimously in Committee. I refer to the clause regarding special activities to arrange for the immigration of Jews living in small, outlying communities such as Bolivia, Australia and the like.

In regard to the question whether the influx of immigrants from North Africa is or is not good. During the period in which the meetings of the Committee on Activities in Israel were being held we received cables from doctors who had come from North Africa as well as from doctors who are still there, after having conducted medical examinations in the villages and elsewhere. It transpires that the people are healthy and are capable of performing manual labour.

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DAVID YUTAN
(Herut-Hatzohar—Israel)

In this year of commemoration of Herzl there should have been a mass immigration into Israel. For two reasons: First of all because the very foundations of Zionism, the Zionist idea are based upon the return to Zion, the return of Jews from all countries to the State of Israel. The second reason is connected with the problem of physical existence in view of developments in our immediate neighbourhood. Today the question of immigration has become one affecting our very existence, whether we shall be or cease to be governing our future as a people and a state.

An agreement has been reached between England and Egypt according to which the English will evacuate their base in Suez within twenty months. We must appreciate the gravity of the situation. Everything possible must be done to ensure the existence of the State of Israel and to enable all Jews who wish to or have to come to Israel to be able to do so. The Zionist General Council should proclaim the immigration policy of the Zionist Movement in this year of commemoration of Herzl.

Such a policy must be conducted in various directions. First of all emigration from those countries, from which the Jewish communities must be evacuated, must be accelerated. We must appreciate the problem of the rescue of the Jews and must transfer them to Israel. This applies to one category.

There is another category of countries from which we must encourage emigration to this country. I refer to those countries in which Jews can live freely, in which there are large Jewish communities and Jews can freely decide if and when they want to come to this country, besides being able to transfer their property. They include England, America and the countries of Western Europe. We must call upon the Jews in these countries, we must appeal to their consciences, we must tell them what our position is, we must insist that they come and help Israel, for their own sakes as well as ours, for their own future as well as ours.

Another field of activity for the Zionist Organization lies in those countries from which, for the time being, Jews cannot be brought to Israel, the Jews of the so-called "People's Democracies". We must utilize every opportunity, whether political, social, moral, to indicate that the Jewish people and the Zionist Organization have never given up the hope that these Jews will be permitted to emigrate from these countries to Israel.

Israel is capable of inspiring Jewish youth and Jewish communities abroad with enthusiasm. It is not correct when Israel is pictured as a country with nothing to offer youth in the Diaspora. If the vision of the great Jewish State, within its historic frontiers, and the vision of Herzl's Zionism, were brought to the youth in the Diaspora, they would come

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here. Prospects in this direction do exist. Perhaps a delegation representing all the Zionist youth movements should go out to the Diaspora. Each delegate in his own way would bring to the younger generation in the Exile the message of Zionism and the need for youth in the State of Israel. If the Zionist Organization will appreciate the necessity for abolishing the discrimination directed against Betar youth, and will appoint a delegation comprising all youth movements, it will rouse a wave of enthusiasm among Jewish youth in all countries and thousands of young people will emigrate to Israel, for the State of Israel exerts a powerful attraction and possesses vigorous forces capable of engendering idealism.

MORDECHAI SORKIS

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

The question of immigration is not merely a subject of controversy between ourselves and the members coming from the Diaspora. It is a question of the existence of the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel. It seems to me that we must go over the heads of the leaders of the Jewish masses in the various countries direct to the Jewish youth. I am afraid that it is the leaders of the various movements who constitute the main obstacle for a proper appreciation of the present situation. We are confronted with the question how the Zionist Movement can continue to exist without immigration.

I had some connection with *Aliya Bet* and I know what impression the emigration to Israel of five Jews from a single camp made. Thus a connection between the inmates of the camp and Eretz Israel was created. When we talk of immigration let us not confine ourselves to immigration from North Africa. We must consider all countries without a single exception. It is true Jews are leaving this country and the situation is not an easy one. But that is not the whole picture. Jews have come from all countries and from all communities. We can declare today with pride that we have been successful in absorbing Jews of all types and communities, despite their widely varying character and despite the difficulties they brought with them.

A few words with regard to selection. To our regret in recent years we have eased the responsibility of the wealthy in various countries by taking all the invalids and social cases from their communities. But when the possibility of the emigration to Israel of an entire Jewish community is under consideration, it is inconceivable from the purely humanitarian standpoint to leave the invalids behind. But on the other hand it would be equally wrong to arrange for emigration to Israel of the invalids and the aged from countries from which the number of immigrants is not large and thereby to free the local wealthy Jews of

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their responsibilities for the maintenance of hospitals and old-age homes. Of course when a whole family emigrates to Israel a single invalid member of that family cannot be left behind. But we cannot bring only the sick to this country and leave the healthy and the wealthy members of the community behind.

People who will themselves emigrate to Israel and will take with them large parts of the youth must be placed at the head of the various parties. This I say in regard to all parties without any exceptions. If we do not formulate the question in this manner, within a year we will meet again and ask ourselves what we did when the gates of the State were open. Let us be responsible towards history. We shall have to justify why we stood aside. We cannot justify our attitude at this time when the ground is burning under our feet. In many countries we do not know for how long we shall be able to take the Jews to Israel. In the Middle East the situation is deteriorating steadily, and the political attack upon us is mounting in intensity. The only reply to all these questions is immigration.

SHLOMO ZALMAN SHRAGAI

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

I wish the Zionist General Council to understand that all rules governing the selection of immigrants are purely temporary. During the previous session the Zionist General Council sought to influence the Executive to adopt a more liberal attitude in regard to certain provisions. A number of clauses were altered by the Executive in collaboration with the Co-ordinating Board, primarily in regard to the age-limit. Prior to the previous session of the General Council the age-limit was fixed at thirty-five. It has since been raised to forty-five. A number of other changes have been introduced.

Thus there is no reason for a resolution by the Zionist General Council to the effect that all these regulations should be of purely a temporary character. This is in fact the case.

In effect I propose what Mr. Bankover has demanded. He, too, appreciates that in order to facilitate a larger immigration it is necessary to introduce certain restrictions.

The restrictions which we propose introducing are :

(a) Families not comprising a single potential bread-winner cannot be permitted to emigrate to Israel; (b) we shall not permit the emigration to Israel of mentally deficient persons; (c) we cannot permit the immigration of persons suffering from open tuberculosis.

Upon another point, too, we are agreed. Everything possible must be done to ensure that the newcomers settle on the land. We warn the

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people in the countries of egress that we can accept no responsibility for them if they do not consent to settle on the land.

I would suggest to Mr. Bankover that he accept my statement to the Zionist General Council that the regulations governing the selection of immigration are purely temporary, and in view of the fact that he agrees that in order to increase the influx of immigrants certain restrictions are necessary he rest content with what I have said.

In regard to the immigration policy followed by the Jewish Agency Executive and the Co-ordinating Board, I wish to call the attention of the General Council to the fact that the Covenant lays down that immigration must be conducted by the Zionist Organization in collaboration with the Co-ordinating Board. The reason for the creation of the Co-ordinating Board was to achieve precisely this objective, prior to the approval of the Covenant. The policy of the Co-ordinating Board on immigration, adopted some months ago, was to renew immigration into Israel from all countries. If it is said that under the existing laws a Jew cannot come to Israel, it is false. Any Jew, even if he is old or sick, can come here, provided he comes on his own responsibility and at his own expense and does not seek aid from others. The question, however, is upon what lines the Zionist Executive must conduct its immigration policy. To our profound regret it is beyond the capacity of the Zionist Organization to bring all Jews here. The reason is simple: Neither the Zionist Movement in the world nor the Jewish people are doing their duty.

I would like to ask Mr. Yutan if he were at the head of the Immigration Department and he were faced with the alternative of bringing four healthy families capable of settling on the land, or one healthy and one unhealthy family (because one unhealthy family blocks the way for three healthy families) what he would do.

Both Mr. Hazan and Mr. Zerubavel spoke of the efforts that must be invested to bring more people here from the Latin American countries. I am of the opinion that if the Council decides to approve the programme I have submitted for the immigration into Israel of fifty thousand Jews, half of whom must come from countries from which Jews must be evacuated, we shall have to turn our attention also to South America. The Immigration Department has investigated the possibilities of bringing Jews from these countries, but in view of the more urgent need to enable Jews from other countries to come here, the matter was postponed. But if we wish to encourage emigration from the free countries it is not sufficient for the Immigration Department to send them an official or a *shaliach*. If we are thinking of emigration to Israel of serious proportions it is incumbent upon leaders of the Movement and of the State to go out to these countries to stimulate an immigration movement. I am convinced that we can also bring a pioneer-

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ing *aliya* from these countries, as well as an influx of Jews of the middle class. But this will not be achieved by bureaucratic methods or by the efforts of local leaders. We must enlist for this purpose the best talents of the Movement and the State of Israel. And when these Jews come here I am convinced that their immigration will be not only to their own advantage but will benefit the State of Israel.

I must add something about middle class *aliya*. I wish to inform the General Council that since its last session a number of steps have been taken to facilitate the immigration of Jews of the middle class. Together with the Absorption Department we have established a special division to facilitate the immigration of skilled artisans and Jews of the middle class. One of the major obstacles was the fact that when middle class Jews abroad wished to come to this country they were required to apply to the local Israel consuls to obtain licences for the transfer of their property. These applications were then transmitted to Israel and several months elapsed before the interested persons obtained a reply. With the consent of the Ministry of Finance and the approval of the Government, Israel consuls abroad have now been authorized to issue licences to persons of the middle class and to capitalists to transfer their property etc. In the month of August Israel representatives abroad will be circularized on this matter. Such an arrangement can bring about a change in the immigration of persons of the middle class.

We have also reached agreement with the Minister of Labour to place apartments at the disposal of members of the middle class from all countries. These apartments can be purchased for a small sum and the Government will extend loans for a term of fifteen to twenty years for this purpose.

I would like to see a joint effort on the part of all sections of the Movement in the great task confronting us—the renewal of mass immigration. Let us be conscious of the pressure of rescue immigration which cannot be postponed.

Three things are necessary prior to the renewal of mass immigration: (a) An atmosphere of absorption of immigration must be created in the State of Israel; (b) a detailed absorption programme must be prepared; (c) the entire Movement, the entire Jewish people, must be mobilized for the financing of this immigration. If we do this we shall certainly succeed in our task of renewing mass immigration.

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MOSHE KOL

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

I wish to comment upon a number of statements that have been made here. In Committee a resolution was submitted that the Zionist General Council call upon the Jews of North Africa to send at least one child of every family to this country in the near future, in order to prepare the ground for the future emigration to Israel of the remaining members of the family. We have learned from experience that this method is a very constructive one. This call must not be directed solely to the Jews of North Africa. During the present year we have extended Youth Aliya to a number of other countries. We are now absorbing youth from India—about twenty to thirty young people every month, and parents in India are sending their children to Israel with this purpose, because they have seen that these youngsters after they have concluded their period of study and training with the Youth Aliya constitute an important factor in the subsequent integration of other members of the family when the latter arrive here.

During the current year we have begun absorbing children from various Latin American countries, some of them orphans, some children of parents who intend settling in Israel. We propose extending the immigration into Israel of this category of children. We have absorbed children from Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Mexico.

A further remark with regard to youth from North Africa. I wish to state that our experiment with absorption of North African youth has been most fruitful. We have integrated youth from the most indigent, the most depressed classes. Children of middle class parents do not come here from Morocco, just as they do not come from the United States. I will not deny that we have also had certain unpleasant experiences but the general idea created about these children as a result of articles published in a section of the press is completely without foundation in fact. A sin has been committed against these children. North African Jewry has given us excellent pioneering material, who have established *moshavim*, collective and pioneering nuclei. They are doing well in the Army. We have already absorbed some fifteen thousand young people from North Africa.

A word in regard to the remarks made by Mr. Bernstein. Mr. Bernstein apparently is of the opinion that he may tell the truth but not the whole truth. He formulated his statement well yesterday when he declared that Youth Aliya had not despatched emissaries belonging to the Mizrachi and Hapoel Hamizrachi. He did not say that Youth Aliya had not despatched religious *shlichim*, because he knows that the only *shaliach* sent to Morocco in the course of the present year was a rabbi. The Jews of Morocco wish for once to see an emissary who is one of

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themselves, who is himself a Moroccan Jew. For this reason we despatched a rabbi who originally came from Meknes and settled in Jerusalem, who has a family in Israel. I trust that he will be able to do good work and that he will be accorded the aid of all circles. Mr. Bernstein must not disqualify him purely because he does not hold a membership card of Hapoel Hamizrachi.

I trust that we shall continue to work on behalf of Youth Aliya in a spirit of harmony and co-operation with all sections, both Zionist and non-Zionist, as has been the case up to the present. I hope that the same atmosphere of collaboration and goodwill that has obtained in the past in the work of Youth Aliya will continue to reign in the future, thus enabling us to intensify our efforts to enable thousands and tens of thousands of young people to obtain a training for life in the *kibbutzim* and other types of settlement, and to convert them into useful citizens of Israel.

MRS. BERTHA S. SCHOOLMAN

(Chairman of the Committee)

I want first to direct my comment to some technical problems which were raised here. Mrs. Aliza Shidlowky pointed out that with regard to the second resolution under *hityashvut*—in the Hebrew version—the word "*savur*" is used, which she considers too mild a term. I agree with that comment and on behalf of the Committee I suggest that the word used be the same as the one used in the English translation which says "expects". Therefore we shall change the word "*savur*" in the Hebrew text to "*metzape*".

Mr. Harpaz's comment concerning the omission of a resolution under *aliya* is also in order. It was left out by mistake.

Now, there are many aspects of the debate which I would have wanted to respond to. But I feel I must add just a few brief comments as regards the presentation made by Mr. Hazan. I was somewhat surprised at Mr. Hazan's presentation last night; he pleaded with us not to deal only with the problem of rescue immigration, but to concern ourselves rather with the problem of *chalutziut* and the problem of immigration from South America—which he rightly says holds out much hope for the future. To my mind Mr. Hazan has built up a straw man only to throw him down again. It is evident to anyone reading the resolutions of the Committee on Activities in Israel that this Committee really made every effort to deal not only with rescue immigration, but also with every type of immigration. In other words, if you read the resolutions, you will find that there is concern with *chalutzic* immigration, concern with middle class immigration, with the methods of strengthening the possibilities and paving the way for middle class im-

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migration. There is strong emphasis on the importance of Youth Aliya immigration and new proposals to strengthen that undertaking which is certainly *chalutzic* in character. There are proposals for PATWA immigration. The Committee, I repeat, has concerned itself most seriously with every aspect of immigration; and under *hityashvut*, for example, you will find a special resolution expressing satisfaction at the progress that has been made in the settlements established by South Americans here in the land and urging the extension and intensification of these efforts. You will find a resolution too—one which not all of us were prepared to act upon—calling upon the youth in Israel to go forward to *chalutzic* settlements in the Negev, in the Galil, and in points on the borders. Some of us from America said it is not our responsibility to issue that call to the youth of Israel, but that resolution was passed anyway.

Now, that is as far as the resolutions are concerned, but, Mr. Shragai has said, resolutions, no matter how well taken, will not accomplish the purpose. The resolutions only point the way. They are all-inclusive, they deal with every aspect of *aliya*; but they only point the way. *Aliya* can come only as a result of the joint efforts of all of us. We must pull together, and I am sure we will win out in the long run—if we realize the desperate need of the land today for such immigration and the desperate desire in the hearts of many Jews throughout the world to come and respond to that need. If we do all in our power here and in America to help them realize their goal, and dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly toward that end, we may then dare to hope that the resolutions which have been adopted here today will really help to point the way.

ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTIONS

By majority vote, the *vota separata* submitted by Mapam and Herut-Hatzohar were rejected.

The motions submitted by the Committee were carried unanimously (see Resolutions Nos. 5-27).

BUDGET, FINANCE AND FUNDS

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON BUDGET, FINANCE AND FUNDS

RABBI S. M. ZAMBROWSKY

(Chairman of the Committee)

The functions of our committee differed this time from other sessions of the Zionist General Council. For various reasons the budget for 5715 was not submitted to us. The Permanent Budget Committee will deal with this. Our function was to approve the report submitted to us for the eight months that have elapsed since the budget for 5714 was approved, to examine all that was created as a result of that budget and to study the present financial situation of the Executive and the tasks of the future.

The immigration of fifty thousand Jews, which according to our current concepts is tantamount to unlimited immigration, calls for immense sums of money. The Budget Committee was very circumspect and did not reveal the magnitude of the sum required to finance the immigration programme. You will, however, appreciate the onerous nature of the task of mobilizing the funds required to rescue thousands of Jewish families in all parts of the world in the near future—perhaps before the end of the current year.

We also wish to stress that the members of the Finance Committee took into account that in the first half of the year a deficit has been incurred. The reason is that in the various countries in which the major part of the Jewish people is concentrated, insufficient funds have been raised. If this state of affairs continues, it is liable to paralyze the responsible and difficult task already devolving upon the Zionist Executive. For this reason it is necessary for all the leaders of the Zionist Movement who have come here for the present session of the Zionist General Council, when they return to their homes, to stir up Jewish public opinion and especially the various Zionist organizations abroad and to rouse them to still greater efforts on behalf of the Keren Hayesod in order to enable the Executive to carry out its tasks.

Before we read the resolutions, I should like to stress—this indeed was the view of all members of the Committee—that after we had heard reports on the gravity of the situation from Mr. Shragai and Dr. Josephthal, we were of the opinion that with a greater effort on the part of the Zionist Movement we shall be successful in implementing the tasks devolving upon the Zionist Executive. We must take into account the fact that the sums hitherto collected are insufficient to finance the work of the Executive even under normal conditions, to buttress the security of the country and to ensure its further development. This applies with even more force taking into account the urgent need for saving tens of thousands of Jewish families.

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Every Jew must be conscious of the sacred duty that rests upon all of us to spare no effort to enable the execution of these tasks.

DEBATE ON THE MOTIONS

SHABETAI SZICHMAN

(Herut-Hatzohar—Israel)

The Zionist budget must give expression to the needs of immigration. For this purpose it must be commensurate with the scope of these needs. Externally, all our methods of work must be changed. Our calls upon the Jews of the Diaspora must be extracted from the routine which has characterized them in the past. We must call upon all Jewry to intensify their financial efforts. In particular we shall have to turn to the Jewry and the communities of North America which constitute the major potential source of funds and call upon them to postpone satisfaction of their local needs in order that all funds mobilized by the Appeal be dedicated to immigration.

Internally, there must be a general reassessment of values. We must decide upon a list of priorities in the Zionist budget. Top priority must be given to immigration. We do not underestimate the other activities conducted by the Jewish Agency, but we must establish the principle that the tasks of immigration, absorption and settlement take precedence over all else, however important the latter may be. The practical conclusion to be drawn must be : The present session of the Zionist General Council must proclaim that there will not be the slightest delay in implementation of immigration plans because of a lack of funds. At the same time we are convinced that as the dimensions of immigration increase, the financial efforts will be intensified. We must demand that the Jewish Agency Executive re-examine its methods of work and the organization of its departments. The Jewish Agency must be reorganized with a view to reducing the duplication of departments, in order to achieve a maximum of efficiency and economy. The Zionist Movement in the State of Israel must constitute an example to the Jews of the Diaspora in respect of its financial effort. We propose that its various bodies and economic subsidiaries, as well as the various funds of the Zionist Organization and the parties which have been consolidated with the aid of Zionist allocations be required to contribute part of their capital and funds to finance immigration. It is only by such an example that we shall succeed in firing the Jews of the Diaspora with a new enthusiasm.

It is also necessary to establish equal rights and duties in the Zionist Movement. It is inconceivable that we demand only the fulfilment of duties from the Zionist Movement without granting it also certain

BUDGET, FINANCE AND FUNDS

privileges. We demand that our movement, the Herut-Hatzohar movement, which has members in scores of countries, be permitted to participate in all financial branches of the Zionist Movement, and that it be granted adequate representation in the Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund.

BARNETT JANNER

(General Zionists—Great Britain)

I think it is to be deplored that the financial position is as it is and that we have to work on a deficit, and I hope that that will be understood by all of us in spurring on our attempts to try and increase, as far as we possibly can, the amounts which are collected.

We have heard in the course of the debate here of the very sad plight of members of our own people in North Africa, for example, and I think that what we heard here in that regard and in other respects should also stand us in very good stead when we go back to our respective countries in order to try and increase the income of the Agency. At the last Council session I asked for consideration to be given to the specific needs of the *olim* from the Anglo-Saxon countries, and I would like to do what is done all too infrequently from this rostrum, that is, pay my tribute to Dr. Josephthal and the Finance and other Committees for having paid due regard in a practical way to what I asked for on that occasion.

I have heard satisfaction expressed in many places at the advance that has been made in meeting the needs of these *olim* owing to the funds which have been put at the disposal of that particular object and I would like at this meeting, for the benefit of our friends who are working in the Anglo-Saxon countries, to say that I personally am gratified at the advance that has been made.

Furthermore, I understand that the customs authorities are modifying many of their demands in view of an approach which has been made by the Agency's Treasurer, and that the Foreign Currency Department of the State Treasury is also trying to ease the situation of new immigrants by permitting a dollar or sterling account being freely available to the immigrant.

I would like to make one suggestion. I would like Dr. Josephthal to consider the question of making some kind of arrangement whereby a building society or building societies might be instituted in this country, through his auspices, possibly on similar lines to those which prevail in England and other countries so that further monies may be available at a reasonable rate of interest for their houses to those who come to Israel.

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I come to the question of education. We are attempting in England for example to make the country conscious on the question of Israel. In England, we are encouraging as far as we possibly can modern Hebrew education in day-schools and other educational centres. I am certainly not satisfied that the amount of money which is being allotted for educational purposes throughout the world is sufficient to meet the needs which are so essential for the advancement of our cause, and which the Finance Committee will have to take into consideration taking an overall view of the position. In that overall view, I say that the Finance Committee should see to increase it to a reasonable amount, possibly a million Pounds Sterling, so that instead of the thing just being a scraping of the surface we really get down to what is essential in the Diaspora for the purpose of making Zionists and so enable the *aliya* to proceed.

ISRAEL RITOV

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

No minority resolutions or amendments have been submitted to supplement the resolutions put forward by the Budget Committee. I wish to emphasize that this is no coincidence, and that it does not imply that no other resolutions, which could have reached the Plenary Session of the Council as separate resolutions, were submitted to the Committee. It indicates that all the members of the Committee were permeated with a deep sense of responsibility and were therefore specially keen to ensure the unanimous passage of the resolutions. I hope accordingly that the resolutions will be passed here, too, unanimously.

I would like the members of the Zionist General Council to note that between the lines of these resolutions, couched though they are in restrained terms, there is latent a sense of grave disquiet. The Committee has examined the financial position of the Zionist Organization and has found it to be serious, tense. In fact we are short of a considerable sum to cover activities already embarked upon. It need hardly be stressed that we are short of funds to finance activities that have not yet been launched. Income has aggregated IL.63 million while expenditure has totalled—over a period of nine months—IL.67 million. To finance activities in the remaining three months of the year a sum of IL.45 million is necessary and the situation is growing more serious. We must embark upon large-scale projects, which are very expensive, in order to transfer thousands from town to country. We must consolidate the 420 settlements established in recent years. At least 300 of these settlements are confronted with security problems which can only be solved with the aid of funds provided by the Zionist Organization.

BUDGET, FINANCE AND FUNDS

Much still remains to be done to fulfil our obligations towards Youth Aliya and we must extend our activities in the field of Education and Culture in the Diaspora.

All the activities I have mentioned—and there are others I have not mentioned—stand in need of large sums of money. Hence the sense of disquiet in the deliberations of the Committee. In view of the fact that in relation to the members of the Zionist General Council we are not inhibited by the considerations that must be taken into account in our relations with the masses of contributors, it is incumbent upon us to bring to your knowledge the seriousness of the situation, without any attempt on our part to sugar the pill. And it is your duty, when you return to your various countries, to transmit this sense of disquiet to the Jewish masses abroad, and above all to the masses of contributors to our cause.

In the Committee we discussed the immigration of 50,000-60,000 in the course of the ensuing year. We were unable to cite more precise figures and for this reason we chose the wording "tens of thousands of immigrants". Should we succeed in bringing fifty thousand Jews we shall require in the first year, according to Dr. Josephthal's reckoning, a sum of IL.100 million for absorption. But in fact for healthy absorption we require a far larger sum of money.

The question therefore arises if all that has been said here about immigration, about the urgency of enabling the Jews of North Africa and elsewhere to come here, was said in all seriousness and with a sense of responsibility. If those who spoke were conscious of the gravity of the subject, that it is a vital question, then the practical expression must be—money.

I especially wish to draw your attention to the proposal to plant a million trees in the Herzl Forest in this year of commemoration of Herzl. Let this not remain a resolution on paper. Let us hope that within a year the Jewish National Fund will be able to inform us of the implementation of this resolution.

ARYEH NAHIR

(Mapam—Israel)

I wish to make two remarks to the Treasurer in connection with the budget estimates to be submitted to the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee. We shall certainly be confronted with the problems connected with a large influx of immigration. There are certain interests in regard to settlement which it will be difficult to bring into harmony with other needs. It must therefore not be forgotten that immigration is an indispensable condition of the budget, as well as for the settlement

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on the land that must follow it. If there is no immigration, or if the immigrants are not absorbed, we may have to write off settlement. I trust that Dr. Josephthal, who is also Head of the Absorption Department, will fully appreciate the nature of the situation and ensure that these two needs do not clash.

There is a further remark I wish to make. The new budget must provide larger sums of money for work in the Diaspora. If we wish to increase our income from the Diaspora, we cannot permit the present situation there to continue.

ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTIONS

All the motions submitted by the Committee on Budget, Finance and Funds were carried unanimously (see Resolutions Nos. 28-36).

THE BUDGETARY POLICY OF THE JEWISH AGENCY

DR. GIORA JOSEPHTHAL

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

We have not proposed any budget for the forthcoming year beginning October 1954, not only because we cannot estimate even approximately the dimensions of increased immigration into Israel, which must constitute the central feature governing the computation of the budget, but also because we cannot, at the present moment, assess the revenue of the Jewish Agency in that period.

In the course of the first eight months of the current financial year we have spent IL.67 million. According to the budget estimates which you approved last year we should have spent IL.74 million in this period. But we must not discuss this question in demonstrative terms. One often gets the impression here that everyone is talking to some one else and telling him what he should do, though it may not be clear whether the latter can shoulder the burden.

I wish to make two remarks. We have concluded a large-scale financial project in the course of the outgoing year. I refer to the Consolidation Loan floated in the United States. Last November or December when we, together with the Government of Israel, planned the Consolidation Loan which the Welfare Funds were to underwrite for a period of five years, we fixed the total required at seventy-five million dollars, which was the sum we needed to convert short-term credits into long-term loans. At that time we did not believe that we would actually raise this sum. Up to the present day we have raised rather more than 58 million dollars and have reason to hope that we shall aggregate 63-65 million.

I know that this is generally considered an outstanding accomplishment. In this matter the Jews of the United States have proved their maturity.

On the other hand the current income from the United Israel Appeal has dropped. Indeed since 1948 our receipts have been declining annually by 5%-10% on an average. How long can we continue in this fashion? In other countries, it is true, our revenue is increasing annually. But this cannot make up for the decline in our income from the United States. The United Jewish Appeal is the source of 85% of our income. From year to year the income of the Keren Hayesod and the United Jewish Appeal has been declining.

People have become accustomed to the idea that they cannot do more than they are already doing. On the other hand they seem to think that we can work miracles, that we can do everything faster. They do not appreciate that we are doing less than we should be doing. Then they come with their complaints that the standard is not what they expected. After six years, the State of Israel is expected to be fully self-supporting.

Under such circumstances the Zionist General Council cannot adopt an attitude similar to that it has taken up in the past and say: Do this or that, and meantime resolve to increase the budget. Such budgets are disastrous in the world of finance, and no responsible person can accept them.

A feeling that there exists a state of emergency in the Movement can only be transmitted by people who see and feel the realities of the situation. Participation in this meeting is not conducive to getting this feeling. A two-day trip through Israel, visiting the settlements, the Youth Aliya institutions and the water projects, is far more useful in getting an idea where we stand than to listen to all these speeches.

I cannot convey to you here the work of construction that is being accomplished. Certainly I cannot convey it beyond the borders of Israel. We must not embellish our achievements and try to make them out to be more than they are.

In this country, too, we are doing things that are superfluous, good things in themselves perhaps, but which should not be given any priority. An organization is tested by its ability to establish a scale of values and priorities and not to lose itself in one or another project. We must see the whole picture. In this respect we are wanting both overseas and in this country.

There are a number of other points which I wish to touch upon and which I wish to instil into your hearts and your minds. Last year we declared that we would spend sixty percent of our budget on settlement work. Our settlement programme for the year comprised four points: First we would bring fifty-six settlements to the consolidation stage when they would no longer be dependent upon our allocations. If

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you were to ask me whether we have achieved this objective or not I should tell you quite frankly that we have not. We gave these settlements half of the money they required for their consolidation. Quite simply we did not have the money.

Secondly we decided to invest IL.8.5 million in water development. This sum was actually invested. Throughout I have been faced with a dilemma: to spend more on one project or on another. I know that if I do not provide the funds required for water development this year, we shall not have anywhere to settle the newcomers next year. The construction of the 110 kilometre pipe-line from the Yarkon River to the Negev is the greatest project ever undertaken in the State of Israel. We have set ourselves a deadline, to complete the project by the middle of 1955; otherwise we shall not have the land to settle newcomers in 1955. For this reason top priority was given to water development and not to settlement on the land.

Thirdly we must make certain provision in the field of security for other settlements. This too we have done. Of our 420 settlements, 230—more than half—are situated on the frontier. We have already performed the easier tasks. We have not yet completed the more difficult. The easier tasks include the installation of telephones, the construction of wire fences. But in the majority of the settlements we have not yet installed electricity, we have not constructed shelters, we have only built half of the roads required. And in this respect there is no room for complaint against our settlers and ourselves: You have not achieved the standard which we expected.

Fourth: The Seven Year Plan for Agricultural Development envisaged the settlement of a further four thousand families on the land. We have not settled the full quota of four thousand families. We have not been able to carry out all that we wished, but the progress which we have registered in the settlements in the course of a year has been very substantial. But for the older settlements we shall require considerable sums of money for another three years. Otherwise they will be broken up. The meaning of the breaking up of a settlement is: When the people find life too hard they return to the cities and only the pioneers remain in the settlements. Here too we have to decide what is more and what is less urgent. And we must make our choice between the various good projects—for our choice always lies only between good things and better things:

I have the feeling that many members of the General Council do not appreciate the significance of the process—not the numerical significance of the influx of 700,000 Jews—the psychological and economic process of absorbing this influx of immigrants. This is a revolution not in the lives of children, which can be achieved in the course of a single year.

G. JOSEPH THAL

In the lives of adults several generations are required to complete such a process. It must take time. Our work in this country is based upon the faith that all the differences between the diverse sections of the Jewish people will be removed by social improvements. When the social conditions under which they live change, their educational, cultural and social concepts will change. Only then will we become a nation. If we fail to effect this change we shall remain a conglomerate of twenty—or more—groups from twenty countries.

With the words, "It is impossible. You have achieved as much as you can hope for and now the decline is inevitable", you cannot finance the activities that are necessary. I am of the opinion that the passage of resolutions regarding immigration without raising the necessary funds does not mean anything. Jews will come to Israel without money, but Israel will be broken in the process and the breaking of Israel for us implies two things: The printing of money, with the attendant inflation and all that that means. You know where such a policy leads. Or otherwise we shall have to keep people idle near Tel-Aviv and other cities, without making them productive. In the latter case we shut the gates of this country in the face of any future immigration, with its implications not only in the economic sphere but in the field of defence.

This is the life that we must live in the next year. We must have faith and believe and carry on our work, because without faith nothing will be achieved, we must be conscious of both the dangers and the opportunities here and among the Jews of the world. We must rouse the Jews from their belief in miracles, that we shall be able to carry on alone, we must shake them out of their belief that a child of six, with these frontiers, can conduct a state on its own.

PROCEDURAL PROPOSAL

ABRAHAM HARZFELD

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

I have the feeling that we are playing at debate, that we are discussing something that is no longer relevant. If resolutions are passed unanimously, what is the need for a debate? I propose two alternative procedures: Either the Presidium put forward the resolutions as proposed and the Executive make whatever additions it wishes, and if there are any motions of amendment they must be discussed and voted upon; but if the Presidium feels that it cannot accept such a responsibility, then let us vote and decide the question here and now.

The Chairman undertook to bring Mr. Harzfeld's views to the knowledge of the Presidium.

NINTH MEETING

Wednesday, July 28, 1954, in the afternoon

Chairman : DR. SHIMSHON YOUNITCHMAN

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE AND VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, CULTURE, INFORMATION, AND YOUTH AND HECHALUTZ

RUBEN ARZI

(Chairman of the Committee)

Our committee dealt with the following fields of activity : Education and Culture, including Torah Education and Culture, Youth and Hechalutz, Information. We heard interesting reports from three members of the Executive, and debated the various problems and proposals brought before us.

Permit me to place before you some figures regarding the state of Jewish education in the world today. These statistics were brought to our knowledge by Mr. Shazar during the sessions of the Committee. The Jewish dispersion comprises some ninety countries. In twenty-two of these there are no Jewish schools, in twenty-one there are Jewish teachers, but no regular Jewish schools of any kind. In the United States, according to statistics compiled by the World Jewish Congress, there are 1,200,000 Jewish children of school-going age. Of these fully 900,000 are not receiving any kind of Jewish education, while 300,000 are receiving some sort of Jewish education. But only 23,000 are receiving a full Jewish education. Seventy percent of the Jewish children in the Diaspora are not obtaining Jewish national education. At the same time it must be noted that there exist wide differences between the various countries. In Mexico eighty-five percent of the Jewish children are being given a Jewish national education, but there are other countries in which only five to ten percent of the Jewish children attend Jewish schools.

It is, however, impossible to rely solely upon statistics to assess Jewish national education. It is the purpose of this type of educa-

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tion to ensure the adherence of the Jewish children to the Jewish people and to foster in them a desire to emigrate to Israel. If this constitutes the standard by which we may evaluate Jewish education in the Diaspora the results are virtually infinitesimal. The best instrument for imparting a proper Jewish national education in the Diaspora is a Jewish day-school. What is necessary for the foundation of such day-schools? Three things are required: First of all the parents must desire to send their children to such schools; secondly there must be the requisite staff of teachers, and finally—funds. The decisive factor is the attitude of the parents.

Now the question is: Who must found these schools? The Committee has submitted a proposal on this matter. We are not of the opinion that the Jewish Agency Executive should maintain a network of Hebrew schools in the countries of the Diaspora, with its own funds. There is another suggestion that a popular movement for the creation of Jewish schools in the Diaspora should be generated. In effect, however, there is no need to create such a popular movement, for the Zionist Movement must constitute such a popular movement founding Hebrew schools, for now that its political function has been taken over by the State of Israel, what functions remain for the Zionist organizations and for the Zionists abroad other than immigration and education? Zionists must not only organize these schools, they must constitute an example as parents and send their children to these Hebrew schools.

Primarily such activity constitutes an investment for the State of Israel and for the Zionist Movement, for it implies future pioneers. Secondly Israel must begin to repay the Diaspora for what it has given and will yet give to the State of Israel. And thirdly, seeing that Eastern European Jewry no longer exists, Israel is today the only spiritual centre of World Jewry.

It is for this reason that the Committee is of the opinion that the main field of Jewish national education in the Diaspora today lies in the direction of the establishment of Hebrew day-schools, which constitute the only instrument for Jewish national education of the new generation. At the same time we think that no existing Jewish institution in the Diaspora should be neglected.

I permit myself to say that every gathering of Jewish children in any country of the world is important in itself. Every institution, of whatever type, even if it be a defective Jewish school, is worthy of support. We must bear in mind that we must convert these schools into Zionist schools and imbue them with an Israeli spirit. For this purpose we need all the teachers we can enlist. The Diaspora is particularly in need of teachers from Israel.

We think that two things must be done today in the sphere of educa-

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tion: (a) We must sponsor Hebrew day-schools in collaboration with other Jewish public bodies; (b) we must effect a reform of existing schools and convert them into Zionist schools permeated with an Israeli atmosphere.

But in addition to educational activity it is also necessary to intensify cultural activity among the adults, and above all to disseminate a knowledge of the Hebrew language.

The Committee wishes to voice its gratification at the decision taken by Hadassah to require each of its members to learn at least one thousand words of Hebrew. The Committee expresses the hope that this example will be emulated by the men, too, and that the latter double and treble the size of the vocabulary. Perhaps the most eloquent achievement would be if the forthcoming session of the Zionist General Council could be conducted entirely in Hebrew.

It is in this spirit that we submit the draft resolutions of the Committee in regard to education, in respect of both the Department for Education and Culture and the Department for Torah Education and Culture.

Permit me to cite some figures indicating the state of affairs within the youth movements in a number of countries. In Argentina there are six thousand members organized in the Zionist youth movements; they constitute ten percent of all Jewish youth in that country. In Brazil the membership of the Zionist youth movements totals 2,000, or twelve percent of the aggregate; in Chile 1,000, or fifteen percent of all Jewish youth. In the United States, the membership of the youth movements aggregates 45,000, comprising five percent of all Jewish youth.

As you see our assets do not amount to very much, though at the same time we must not underestimate them. In regard to pioneering immigration you have heard the report of the competent committee. I wish, however, to submit certain figures on the *hachshara* of *chalutzim*.

There are at present 900 *chalutzim* undergoing training in 32 *hachshara* centres in twelve different countries. Of these 32 centres, sixteen are in South America, 11 in Europe, 2 in North America and 1 in Australia. This underlines the great disproportion between the dimensions of the pioneering movement in North and South America.

Various attempts are being made to carry on *hachshara* in this country. In addition, within the framework of PATWA 600 immigrants have come to Israel since the foundation of the State. But it has been proved again and again that there is no substitute for the immigration of *chalutzim*, and for this reason we must extend every assistance to the existing pioneering youth movements.

I wish to bring to your knowledge some of the activities of the Youth and Hechalutz Department. First of all I will mention the Institute

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for Overseas Youth Leaders. This is an institution for the training of youth leaders, and in the eight years of its existence in Jerusalem 800 *madrichim* have graduated. In the course of the current year, 200 *madrichim* have studied at the Institute, which is planning the extension of its facilities to provide for 300 students annually.

Another branch of the work of the Youth and Hechalutz Department are the Summer Institutes. Last year 700 young people visited Israel under the auspices of this Institute, and during the current year the number rose to one thousand. Next year the work of the Institute will comprise 2,000 students who will come from a number of countries of the Diaspora.

The Department is also planning to arrange mass visits of Jewish youth from the Diaspora to this country. The Department has drafted plans, which the Committee endorses, in the form of a proposal to Jewish students abroad to spend a year of study in this country. Negotiations are at present under way with the various universities, in order to ensure that the students are given credit for their year of study here.

Important work has been conducted with a view to establishing youth clubs. The Department has already established twenty such clubs.

However, as I have already pointed out, all these activities are designed for existing youth movements, while a large proportion of Jewish youth are not included within the orbit of their activities. We must do everything possible to induce these young people to join the Zionist youth movements. With this object in view, the Department is endeavouring to establish suitable forms of organization to include wider circles of Jewish youth within the scope of Zionist education.

In conclusion, I wish to make a few remarks in regard to the budget. In my capacity as Chairman of the Committee on Education and Culture, a personality of some standing in the Zionist General Council gave me some sound advice. This man said to me: "If you wish to do good work, you should submit only one resolution. This resolution should be, that for the work of education and culture and for youth work a budget of IL.10 million pounds is necessary." In essence we all know what should be done. The question is only, with what. There is a crying disproportion between what we have said here, between what has been written on the subject in the press, and the means placed at our disposal to achieve our objectives.

In the main resolution submitted to you this has been formulated in very moderate terms. It is the considered opinion of the Committee that the sum required for the conduct of the work of education, culture, information, youth and Hechalutz—is IL.10 million.

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RABBI DR. SIMON FEDERBUSH
(Deputy-Chairman of the Committee)

It is my privilege to submit to you the resolutions regarding the Department for Torah Education and Culture. In the short period in which this Department has been in existence we have seen that it has justified itself, and met a real need in the field of education and culture. I wish to note with gratification that all these resolutions were passed unanimously by the Committee.

There is another point I wish to stress. The field covered by the Department for Torah Education and Culture is very extensive among the Jews of the Diaspora, for in the Diaspora "nothing remains for us, save this Torah".

Mr. Arzi has just submitted resolutions to you calling for the establishment of Jewish day-schools. You know that the majority of the existing Jewish day-schools are religious. Recently other Zionist organizations have begun to be active in this field and have successfully established Hebrew day-schools. I wish to point out that the day-schools established by non-religious Jews are very similar to those established by religious organizations because it is impossible to develop Jewish education in the Diaspora which is not based upon the Torah. For this reason we are convinced that the Department for Torah Education and Culture has an important function to fulfil not only in regard to religious Jewry but for the maintenance of Judaism throughout the Diaspora.

MR. GERSHON AGRON
(Deputy-Chairman of the Committee)

It must be appreciated that serious work has been done in the field of information, but, if it is assessed in global terms, its value is not great. Generally speaking, our work in the sphere of information is more defensive in character, and lacks coherence and consistency. We have not reached world public opinion. Zionist information work is a function coming under the category of *Gegenwartsarbeit* performed by Zionist bodies and operating upon Jewish public opinion, and, in so far as we are able, also upon non-Jewish public opinion. The function of the World Zionist Organization is to show the way, to provide material, to provide the funds where this is necessary to local bodies. Upon these lines the Jewish Agency has operated from its central office in Jerusalem: through its various publications, through its Press Department, through its excellent Kol Zion Lagola, which penetrates into Europe and is heard in South America and will soon be heard as far as Argentina, and perhaps the day is not far off when it will be heard in North

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America too. By such projects as the Herzl Exhibition and other widely ramified activities, which unfortunately suffer from lack of funds, we are serving the Zionist Movement. The result of this lack of funds is that our work of information and propaganda takes on the character of fire-fighting.

It is my opinion that information work carried on on a global scale is the function of both the Zionist Movement and the Government of Israel. The Government of Israel is performing this task through the Foreign Ministry and its representatives abroad. In this field we have little to complain about. There is co-operation between the Israel representatives and the local Zionist bodies. But we must alter the nature of our information work. The Government of Israel and the Jewish Agency Executive have a plan for the conduct of information work, mainly among non-Jews, in the United States, which will cover hundreds of cities. Scores of Israeli personalities will be despatched for a visit lasting several weeks to the United States. Each will operate in his specific field, in so far as this will influence some nerve-centre of the non-Jewish population of America.

The resolutions of this Sub-Committee like the resolutions drafted in the other Sub-Committees were passed unanimously.

DEBATE ON THE MOTIONS

MRS. ESTHER GOTTESMAN

(General Zionists-Hadassah—U.S.A.)

I should like to comment on the first resolution under education and culture in the Diaspora. In the discussion that you have just heard, again and again the word "assimilation" has appeared. It seems to me that there is an error in concentrating constantly on the negative rather than on the positive. I should like to urge and recommend that this first resolution be rewritten, giving an affirmation of Jewish values and the *raison d'être* of Judaism, basing it not on negative but on positive values. The continuity of the Jewish people is as grave a responsibility today as ever before in our long history. One of the paradoxes of the situation is the fact that one finds the oldest people of the world becoming the young and growing communities, the largest in America, and the other right here in Israel. It is the youth of these communities that is the challenge, that is the responsibility, that provides the Zionist Movement with its great opportunities, namely, the *mitzva* of bringing to our young people and to all of our Jewish people a sense of the beauty, of the warmth, of the deeper meaning of Zionism. I believe the resolution, therefore, should be worded to that effect and convey

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the message that Zionist education is a part of Jewish education, that it provides an understanding of Jewish values, a knowledge of Judaism, an understanding of Jewish ceremonies; this must be the background upon which to build *chalutzit* and Hebraism.

I should like to comment also on the second resolution. This resolution, I take it, applies to those countries that do not have organized Jewish communities, but not to the United States, where we have innumerable groups promoting Jewish education. It seems to me that America should be excluded from this resolution, because I feel that for Zionists to organize schools of their own would defeat the very purpose we wish to achieve.

The fact is that Zionists have never taken an active part in Jewish education in America, and our job, our responsibility is to see that Zionists become active in Jewish education and that they convey to the organized schools and organized groups the Zionist content and Zionist emphasis. Our responsibility should be to introduce Hebrew, to popularize Hebrew throughout America, in all the schools. We should also make the knowledge of Israel part of this education. We can do all this not by organizing schools but by working with the existing groups. Zionist ideals and a knowledge of Hebrew would then become part of Jewish education and would make an impact upon the entire American Jewish community.

Zionism is a mass movement but *aliya* and Hebrew are not its only responsibilities. Our responsibility is also to educate knowledgeable, informed, dedicated groups in the Diaspora. What you want is a Diaspora that stands at the back of Israel, not only in times of crisis, but throughout the years and generations. This can be achieved only through a Zionist education that penetrates the Jewish education programme of as many Jewish groups as possible. Then we can be assured of a today and of a tomorrow for the Zionist Movement.

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

(Member of the Executive—New York)

Some of you may remember that at the last meeting of the General Council I urged a much larger budget for education work, because I felt that it was justified, because I felt that it was the one thing to mark a new direction in the activities of the Zionist Movement. Therefore, I would like to say that the budget as it is now, while it represents an increase, is not a sufficient increase and only makes possible for the Education Department the bare beginnings of an activity, that it still will not be able to come to grips with the problems and the challenge before it.

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The Education Department can do a great deal of its own work and at the same time also give direction and stimulation to existing organizations in North Africa, especially now that North Africa is coming into the front line of our attention for *aliya*, *tarbut* and *chinuch*.

However, in North Africa, I would like to point out, there are existing important instruments with which we cannot hope to compete in size or influence but which we should try to influence as far as we can. I refer particularly to the Alliance. The Alliance in North Africa has access to tens of thousands of Jewish children, a total of 56,000. We with our own strength cannot possibly hope to reach this large number of children. I want to say to you that the Alliance today is not what it was a generation or two generations ago. It has learned something from the history of our time and the people at the head of the Alliance are very much inclined to listen to our message.

They do not have enough Hebrew in their curriculum. Their programme is not sufficiently Israel-centred, especially in view of the fact that the only hope for the future of their youth is Israel. I believe that the Alliance can be influenced, can be persuaded. It is a tremendous institution with large buildings and great numbers of children through whom our Education Department can accomplish a great deal more than it can through its own meagre efforts.

As for the United States, I would warn our Education Department to use its limited funds wisely and sparingly and only in those places where it can exercise what we call leverage, to be a catalytic agent, to set in motion a process instead of trying to solve the problems itself.

I would like to say a word about day-schools. This is indeed the most important recent development even though for the time being it is still very meagre, and I do not know to what extent it can become more extensive. I say I do not know because we have to fight against a tradition in American education generally and in the education of Jewish children specifically. What is that tradition? I am not going to speak on the question of expense. Day-schools are very expensive in the United States. I don't know whether you can expect this to become a mass movement in view of the costs involved of somewhere between 500 and 1,200 dollars per child *per annum*, and that is a factor we have to bear in mind seriously. But when I speak of the tradition against us, I am talking about the American tradition, the feeling among Americans generally, against segregation. We have to run counter to that tradition.

I want to say in conclusion: Let the Education Department do the actual work in those parts of the world where it must do it. Let it do actual work and also stimulate and direct existing instruments in other parts of the world where that is the plan and the pattern, but let it not do the actual work, but rather undertake direction and stimulation in the United States.

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I want to caution against coming away from these meetings with over-optimism, but I do believe that a stir has been made, that the trend in the United States is upward, sad as the picture may be. The surveys we have heard here do not take cognizance of certain positive phenomena, such as 5,000 Jewish children studying Hebrew in high schools in New York, tens of thousands of Jewish children having at least an hour a week through the plan which is called the "release time" plan, where the public schools make one hour a week available for religious instruction. Also we have overlooked the amount of private Jewish instruction that goes on in the United States. There are thousands of Jewish children receiving private instruction several hours a week, and that is also a factor. Yet bearing all that in mind, I say the situation is sad. It is deplorable. It needs to be improved. The trend is upward at the present moment, and not downward, and therefore the stimulation coming out of the Zionist Organization can really count for something.

GERSHON GERSHUNI

(Mapam—Israel)

A feeling of inadequate mobilization of effective means of defence against the engulfing waves of assimilation oppresses us, especially after we have heard here that 70 percent of the children in the Diaspora are not receiving a Jewish education of any kind. The question that must be asked accordingly is, why one of the retarding factors in this field of education and culture is the Zionist Movement itself? It was very difficult to listen to a statement that for these minimal needs an allocation of three or four million pounds is required out of a budget totalling one hundred million. This sum includes the training of teachers, the despatch of *shlichim* for work among the youth and for cultural activity, information and all that is bound up with the dissemination of a Zionist consciousness among extensive circles within world Jewry.

I am very doubtful whether we are capable today of developing a network of Jewish schools throughout the world. We do not dispose of the necessary funds nor even of the time required for this purpose. For this reason our efforts must be mainly concentrated upon reinforcing existing bodies, strengthening the Jewish schools already established in the diverse Jewish communities.

The forthcoming Zionist Congress will not be able to avoid a comprehensive discussion of the problem of Jewish life after the great catastrophe of the Second World War. We must bear in mind that the Zionist Movement is the heir to all the Jewish social and cultural movements that existed from the beginning of the twentieth century

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until they were snuffed out, simultaneously with the extinction of one-third of our people.

We cannot advance slowly in the minefields of the Jewish dispersion. Let a call be issued for special attention to the Jewish communities of the Diaspora and let there be an adequate mobilization of the forces at the disposal of the Zionist Movement.

MELECH NOY

(Deputy-Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

If the present session of the Zionist General Council has been worth while, it has been mainly because of the discussion of the problems of education and culture in the Diaspora and the work in the Diaspora in general.

There are a number of urgent needs and we must keep the entire complex before us. Dr. Giora Josephthal has described today in a very instructive and convincing manner our requirements in the State of Israel. It is, however, unfortunate that we did not also hear a similar address on the situation in the Diaspora. For we must keep before us the needs of all world Jewry, for these too are urgent needs. The people is menaced by a great danger, the danger of assimilation, not only of the small communities. In the larger communities the danger is perhaps less apparent, but it exists nevertheless.

A lively debate hinged on the question whether 63 percent or 73 percent of the Jewish children of the United States are receiving no Jewish education of any kind. It may be that there do exist communities in which the position is even worse. But if this is the case in a small community, however much the fact may cause us pain, it is not decisive. The state of affairs in regard to a community numbering five and a half million Jews is entirely different. If only the remaining 37 percent—or 27 percent—were obtaining a full Jewish education! But of this figure only a small proportion obtain a truly Jewish education.

I do not mention these facts in order to voice any criticism of anybody. I am even prepared to accept the argument that no other possibility exists. But for the Zionist Movement Jewish education and study of Hebrew is its very soul. The Zionist Movement can seek no other way out; it must expand its work in this field.

In all my Zionist life I have been taught that the lion's share of the Zionist budget must be dedicated to settlement on the land, to constructive work in this country. I do not regret that we have followed such a policy. Indeed I am proud of it. It was this policy that brought us to where we stand today. But there has been a change in Jewish life and Jewry is fighting to exist; without our aid it will not survive. For

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we must provide the funds for this work even if it affects of expenditure in the budget.

ELIYAHU DOBKIN

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

There is something I wish to simplify here, something which should be simplified throughout the whole Movement. I am of the opinion that we face two main dangers. One of these is—if you should find some other name for it, you may do so but I prefer to call it—assimilation. Some decades ago, within a community numbering millions it was difficult to find a single *am ha'aretz*, and there were whole communities in which there was not a single Jew who could not read and write in the Holy Tongue. Today the question is whether 70 percent or 75 percent of the Jewish children can recognize Hebrew script. Whether you call it assimilation or something else, there is a danger that Jews will cease to be Jews. To this there can be only one reply—Jewish schools, Hebrew schools, Hebrew education.

There is another danger which threatens the consolidation of our settlements, of the State of Israel. And for this danger there is once again only one reply and that is—personal realization of Zionist ideals.

It will prove very dangerous if resolutions are passed here unanimously and in reality nothing will be changed. It is true that the Zionist conscience is awakening and that new paths are being sought. There is search for a new national ideology. Schools of various types are being established, but can you put your hands on your hearts and say that the Zionist Movement is doing all this? In England there is one Jew, Rabbi Schonfeld by name, who has gathered six thousand Jewish children into religious national schools. I have been told that eighteen thousand Yeshiva students are registered in the Yeshivot of the Rabbi of Lubavitch, in the United States. It is a healthy sign if Yeshiva-*bachurim* can be gathered into Yeshivot. Perhaps the figures which have been given to me are not exact. It may be that the total is lower. But has the Zionist Movement in the United States a better achievement to point to? The question is whether we shall leave these attempts to languish without fostering them. Should not the Zionist Movement make this the main field of its work?

All the methods we have tested and which have passed the test of application can be adapted to the needs of the various sections of the Jewish people. The question is whether scores or hundreds should come to the Institute for Overseas Jewish Youth Leaders and why its scope cannot be enlarged. If during the current year one thousand persons participated in the various projects, some years ago we had only several

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hundreds. And the question must be asked why there should not be many thousands. Why cannot *hachshara* in this country and *hachshara* abroad be conducted upon a much larger scale than at present? Why can we not increase the dimensions of immigration, pioneering immigration, the immigration of skilled artisans, professional men and capitalists?

The debate is not about what is more important. We are so poor that we must try to exploit every possibility. The question is to what extent we are prepared to do so.

In these years we must try and find some way of converting the Zionist Movement into a movement realizing its major objectives, imposing definite obligations upon all Zionists.

All Zionists will be obliged to send their children to Jewish schools. This is not a matter for declaration, but of practical realization. If the entire Zionist Movement will see how many emigrants to Israel it has, how many *chalutzim* it has, every one will think of how to strengthen the ties between the youth and the Jewish community and Israel. If they regard this as the major task of the Zionist Movement in this period, they will appreciate that there are now new priorities in the Movement. If they can adapt themselves to these new tasks—for the six years of the State of Israel impose new obligations on the Zionist Movement, namely Hebrew education and Zionist and pioneering realization—then I think that the time has come for us to prove at the forthcoming Congress that it is not merely a matter of unanimous resolution, but of an united will. Then there will be a different spirit, a new enthusiasm to fulfil the two functions of the Zionist Movement.

YITZCHAK GOLAN

(General Zionists—Israel)

A few words on the problem of youth and Hechalutz. It would be superfluous to dilate here on the problem of pioneering. All sessions of the Zionist General Council in recent years have been devoted to this question. Much has also been spoken on the problems of settlement, soil, water and finance, but nothing has been said about one important factor of settlement, the human factor. In recent years the manpower for the new settlements has been enlisted mainly from among the new immigrants. It was a wise policy to take the newcomers direct from the hostels and the camps and to bring them to the fields. But today this source of manpower has dried up. Today when the problem of defence has become so acute, must we not give some thought to where we shall enlist the manpower to renew the work of settlement? And if a new wave of pioneering enthusiasm is not generated Jewish settlement work

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in this country will be jeopardized. But this resolution, too, on the pioneering organizations was passed unanimously. And I ask myself and you: Has the attitude towards the pioneering movements changed thereby? I have travelled in the countries where there are *chalutz* movements in existence. What is the attitude of the Zionist organizations towards the pioneering youth? In the Diaspora you will see luxurious clubs for youth, but these youngsters who wear short trousers must foregather in cellars and basements. For them funds are not sufficient. This is the attitude towards the pioneering movements. Perhaps there was a time when the pioneering movements developed better in the basements than they would have in salons. But today this is difficult. There is no longer the idealistic element that will agree to spend hours in gloomy cellars. The Youth and Hechalutz Department has done well in establishing a Youth Club Fund in which it participates to an extent of forty percent. But the fact remains that there is nobody in the Zionist organizations ready to concern themselves about the remaining sixty percent.

I would also like the General Council to raise the prestige of *shlichut* to the Diaspora. Let us recall the importance of *shlichut* in Zionist education. We have forgotten the period following the War when young people left Israel by devious ways in order to bring the message of the *yishuv* to the Diaspora, and carried on educational work under the most difficult conditions, without publicity. Today, too, the press does not devote any space to the dull routine of the work done by the *shlichim* in outlying communities. Nobody knows of this work, but more sensational news is immediately taken up by the newspapers. I would like to see the status of *shlichut* raised, for it has fulfilled an important function in Zionist education. If we create suitable conditions for national education and for pioneering education, then we shall have done our duty.

ZALMAN SHAZAR

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

Zionists are constantly confronted with the problem of priorities. When I am asked what should be given preference I do not know what to say. Can I reply that we should give up immigration, or political activity, or that it is not necessary to strengthen our defences? For this reason I would like Zionists to stop thinking about what should be given priority but what activity makes another necessary. I would like to call your attention to something, though I am sure you are already aware of it. What is the difference between the present debate about education and information and the training of youth, and all the

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debates about other fields of Zionist work? There is one fundamental difference, characteristic of this sphere. All that we are doing in the organization of campaigns, in bringing Jews to Israel, in the political field, is rather in the nature of reaping a field already sown previously. The common denominator of the four sectors of the subject under discussion is that they all partake of the character of broadcasting the seed. If we do not sow the seed, the field will remain barren. It is possible to induce a Jew to contribute towards the upbuilding of Eretz Israel as long as the heart of that Jew is alive to his responsibility for the fate of Jewry. We may hope that a Jew will decide to settle in Israel if he appreciates the importance of such a step, the significance of living among Jews, within a free and independent Jewish culture. If such aspirations wither in his heart, how can he be expected to come here? If he is not conscious of any spiritual bond with the country he will not give any money for its upbuilding. If he is not concerned about the fate of Israel, he will not extend the necessary political aid, and will not join in the struggle to defend its independence. We have reaped much, for generations before us have sown. If today the Jewish people is voicing its concern, if we are today discussing the problem of education in a tone to which we are not accustomed, if today we are all of us calling for larger sums of money for cultural work and establishing departments for this purpose and demanding that this activity be extended, it is not because we are better Zionists than our fathers were, but because we have stood face to face with new Jewish realities and are shocked by what we have seen.

It is not only that we have been overwhelmed by a catastrophe that has left few survivors, but that those few survivors have been required to contend with a unique situation. The catastrophe is expressed in the nature of the Jewish dispersion, which is peculiar even in the long history of our exile. For many generations we were concentrated in large communities within a small number of countries. Today the front we hold has been lengthened and has become more tenuous, even more so than the borders of the State of Israel. You all know how we have to fight to hold our frontiers, how difficult our struggle is. But what is this territorial front compared to the long cultural lines of the Jewish dispersion! How perilous is the broken Jewish front along the whole dispersion, facing the dangers of apostasy and assimilation, in its struggle for Jewish survival? If this front is required to remain as it is today, without adequate defences or support, we shall no longer have the necessary reinforcements with which to continue the fight. The discussion being held here is how to organize that front.

No department in itself is capable of undertaking such a task. It is a function that can be undertaken only by the Movement, by all the Jews organized in the Movement, by their homes and their children, in

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every organized branch, in every Jewish community. The task is so great that the Zionist Movement must require all its adherents to make their contribution, in order that it may become the decisive factor in the survival of the Jewish people.

The work cannot be conducted by any single department, however efficient or devoted it may be. We must learn to do our duty not because of our duty to any department, but to co-operate with the Executive and with the parties. It is highly desirable that the cultural activity should be the common concern of the entire Zionist Organization, of the territorial Zionist bodies comprising all parties. This work of culture, and information, and education, and training must occupy a central place; it must be converted into the spiritual tie uniting all Zionists of all parties into a single body.

We must sow with an open hand. The sowing must be done wisely—sincerely. If we sow in this spirit, then the seed of the righteous will not be lost in the dry land.

HARRY LEVI

(Herut-Hatzohar—U.S.A.)

I believe that I will express the feeling of all of you on this debate on education by asking: What are we doing here, just talk—or are we going really to be active about it? The first question which arises is: Can more be done than has been done until now? I believe, the answer is: yes.

I will use a practical example. The American Betar has a sizable and modern summer camp in Neversink. Early in January or February, our boys begin to go around, visiting parents, completely assimilated parents, and ask them: Does your son or your daughter know anything about Jewry? The answer is usually—no. Then the second question comes: Would you agree to give them during two summer months an injection of *yiddishkeit*? Sometimes they say no; some of them say yes. In this way we acquired for the summer months hundreds of kids who knew nothing of Judaism or Zionism, who did not speak a single word of Hebrew. During the first few days we take it easy with them, a few songs and a few words in Hebrew, but by the end of the summer the camp looks like a *hachshara* centre. There is a complete transformation. Those kids feel that a new door has been opened to them, a door to their past, a door towards realizing that they are not alone. And the first sign of it is that they want to come back next summer. I do not talk in party terms, such things are being tried not only by us. They can be tried successfully under one condition: a minimum of assistance is required, not too much. But what we get is way below that minimum.

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If on all these issues we become practical instead of just talking, I think a lot can be done.

Now, let me mention something that is in a completely different sphere, information: I was amazed that not a single one of the speakers before me made any remarks about our record on information. Are you completely satisfied with everything that has been done in this respect? Well, we are not. In my opinion what was wrong for very many years with our system of information was—I now talk about information to Jews throughout the world—that we did not speak to them as to ourselves. Most of our information was like a technicolour picture: the oranges were too orange, the sky was too blue, the trees too green. Or else, we spoke about catastrophes. Either the one or the other. When Jewry throughout the world and especially American Jewry came in more direct contact with the day-to-day realities of Israel, there was a shock. I think a great change is required in this respect. Do not consider the Jews abroad as something different from what you are yourselves. Give them life. The colours should be real colours, the black and the white and also the grey. And don't be scared to talk to them about things that to you sound difficult.

As far as the Information Department is concerned, my simple recommendation is: Don't believe that the Jews abroad are different from those here. Give them the truth and give it straight.

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Wednesday, July 28, 1954, in the evening

Chairman : MRS. RACHEL SHAZAR

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE AND VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, CULTURE,
INFORMATION, AND YOUTH AND HECHALUTZ

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE MOTIONS

RABBI ISRAEL S. ROSENBERG

(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—Israel)

I wish to say that however highly we may think of the work of the Youth and Hechalutz Department, we have very serious complaints to make on the grounds that the publications the Department sends abroad ~~and, unfortunately, they lack~~ that Jewish emphasis which educates the Jew abroad why he must realize the Zionist ideal and settle in Israel. We trust that this defect will be remedied in the future. We are very gratified to hear of the excellent work done by the Department for Torah Education and Culture, headed by Rabbi Zeev Gold. This department operates not only in those countries in which education is exclusively religious in character such as the countries of North Africa, but in many other lands of the Diaspora. In its work the Department awakens the Zionist consciousness, love for the State of Israel, and endeavours to instil into the hearts of Jews abroad a desire to settle in Israel. It is by no means a coincidence that our hopes for an increased rate of immigration into Israel over the next few years are based mainly on *aliya* from North Africa. The reason is not only the economic straits of these communities but because they are being educated in a traditional spirit and it is easier to arouse in them a full Zionist consciousness.

But it is not only in these countries that the Department operates. Its work extends to other countries too and it has even penetrated into the Yeshivot of America. We have already voiced a demand in the Committee, and heard reports of efforts in this direction, of plans to awaken a Zionist consciousness in these Yeshivot. This can be done by giving the necessary guidance to teachers who are being despatched there. We

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wish to extend the work of the Education Department, to advance from Hebrew education to Zionist education. In particular do we attach considerable importance to the plans to bring youth movements to this country—and not only youth but also rabbis, teachers and instructors who have some influence abroad—for six months or a year. When they return to the countries where they live permanently they will be filled with a Zionist consciousness.

I wish to mention one resolution taken to grant students and Yeshiva *bachurim* an opportunity of spending the concluding year of their studies in Israel, and only then to receive their rabbinical ordination or degree, and to bring the message of Israel to the communities of the Diaspora.

We call for the passage of a resolution obligating every student to come to Israel for a year of study. Just as we declare that there cannot be any full education without Zionist education, and that there cannot be true Zionist education without a personal tie with the State, so no person is capable of undertaking Hebrew education without having spent some time himself in Israel.

EZRA BARZILAI (HADDAD)

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

During the present year I was despatched as a *shaliach* to India. The Jewry of India, which does not exceed 20,000 souls all told, out of a total population of 360 millions, is broken up into a number of communities and tribes, which include the third or fourth generation of immigrants from Iraq, who accompanied the illustrious family of Sassoon. There are also some European Jews who emigrated to the Far East after Hitler's rise to power, as well as some native Jews known as the Beni Israel, and further south as the Jews of Cochin.

The mutual relations between these various communities were very bad until recent years. The Jews of Iraqi origin and the European Jews refused to recognize the Jews of Cochin or the Beni Israel as true Jews. They did not intermarry with them, they refrained from all contact with them, did not accept them into a religious *minyan*, and to all intents and purposes regarded them as Gentiles. The Beni Israel however spared no effort to be recognized as full Jews and to accept the observance of *mitzvot* of which they had hitherto been ignorant. They did not know, for example, of the festivals of Purim or Chanukka, for according to their tradition they reached the Malabar Coast prior to the destruction of the Second Temple or even earlier, and for that reason did not know of many customs and observances current among other communities of Jewry.

The Zionist Movement succeeded in arousing in the hearts of these

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Jews a love of Zion, the Messianic ideal which had always glowed in their hearts, and they welcomed the establishment of the State of Israel and the ingathering of the exiles with an ardent enthusiasm.

While I was in Bombay I was able to see the important work being done by the Department for Education and Culture in the Diaspora. The Department has despatched an Israeli couple, who are teaching the Hebrew language to Jews who were completely ignorant of Hebrew. But despite the difficulties they encountered because they did not know Mahratti, the language spoken by the Beni Israel in India, they are succeeding in disseminating a knowledge of Hebrew and Jewish culture among the Jews of that community. But I witnessed also the difficulties with which they had to contend not because of lack of encouragement but because of lack of funds and books. I would propose to send without delay the necessary material to these Jews who are waiting for it eagerly.

Our obligation to educate and to guide these outlying communities of Israel constitutes a cherished duty.

LOUIS SEGAL

(Member of the Executive—New York)

I wish to say something about the content of the resolutions. The ideas they embody are good but I would like to speak about the implementation of the resolutions that will soon be passed.

We should be gratified that the problems of Hebrew education, the national renaissance, Hebrew culture and all that pertains to them have occupied so much of the time of the past sessions of the Zionist General Council, and that much attention is being devoted to these questions. But I discern a certain peril in this happy augury, for if we continue our debates and no real renaissance ensues in all the fields of work conducted by the Zionist Movement, there may set in a reaction, and all that we have accomplished in recent years—and we have accomplished much—will be destroyed and Jewry will no longer have any faith in the ability of the Zionist Movement to conduct any serious work among the Jews.

I appreciate that the problems facing the State are very grave. I do not underestimate any problem which is bound up with the question of money, and it is very painful to think that when some activity must be launched it must be performed at the expense of some other branch of work done in the State. At the same time we must understand the meaning of the word "expense". At no time will there be national activity among world Jewry at the expense of the State. If these things are regarded in transient terms then it may seem that certain sums are being expended in the field of education and culture in the Jewish world, but

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at the present moment we are discussing the historic account—the Zionist Movement must always deal with the historic account and it is clear that all that is being done in the Jewish world to strengthen Judaism will repay the State of Israel ten and fifty fold. The Jewish people, the Jewish world, expect the Zionist Movement to be the vanguard to strengthen Jewry throughout the world.

The Zionist General Council in its sessions over recent years has made a major national contribution. The slogan of this session must be: We have spoken enough. We understand each other. Now we must penetrate into the Jewish world with the aid of Zionist institutions, and through active Zionist groups strengthen our national positions, strengthen Jewish education and thereby perpetuate Jewish folk life.

RABBI ZEEV GOLD

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

There was once a time when the point about which all Jews could unite was the Torah. To our regret in recent generations we have witnessed the reverse process and that, while we can sometimes unite on other issues, culture and the Torah constitute a bone of contention.

Fortunately we have found a solution, a solution which has worked throughout the period of Zionism in the *Gola*, and also since the foundation of the State of Israel and the introduction of State education in Israel. We have reached agreement that over certain issues we must agree to differ. It has been agreed that Jewry goes in two directions, and that both have the right to exist and both are worthy of the support of the State of Israel and of the Zionist Movement, if we wish to remain a united people, and do not wish cultural questions to divide us.

When we spoke of the dangers of assimilation, we all of us appreciated that there was one bulwark against the inroads of assimilation—*Torat Yisrael*. But even from this standpoint things are not so simple. Frequently we have seen that in effect the same things lead into directly opposite directions.

A curious situation has been created, in which extremism has operated in two directions. While certain elements have begun to emphasize the non-religious character of Jewish nationalism, others have denied the validity of Jewish nationalism, the controversy being driven to absurd lengths, causing mutual contempt and hatred in Israel. We have witnessed very regrettable developments both in North America and North Africa. In North Africa scurrilous publications, emanating from the *Nature Karta* in Israel and circles supporting them in England, have been distributed, slandering the State of Israel. And these elements in the Diaspora have gained the impression that the State of Israel is a

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country of atheists, in which no Jew puts on *tephillin* or goes to a synagogue. Some force must appear to fight this spirit, some force which can inculcate Zionism into Torah institutions, to prove that Zionism is not, God forbid, the enemy of Jewish religion, but rejoices when religious Jewry is strengthened in one way or another, in order to preserve the Jewish people from assimilation.

The task before us is immense in its magnitude. Both departments have a vast field before them in all circles of the Jewish people. During the debate understanding was evinced for the need for activity, but everything depends upon the discussion of the budget in the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee, when these resolutions are discussed and they will be translated into deed. And therefore, if the General Council shows a proper appreciation of what the people of Israel needs most, what is most important for the State of Israel and for the Jewish people, that it not be submerged in a sea of assimilation, we must underline the need for larger funds for both departments, to enable us to expand our work, which will strengthen the State of Israel and will bring salvation to the people of Israel.

RUBEN ARZI

(Chairman of the Committee)

The unanimity with which the resolutions were passed in Committee must be attributed not only to the fact that their spirit is self-evident. It must be attributed to the fact that the members appreciate the dangers facing us, because the entire House of Israel is menaced by assimilation, and it is for this reason that we are agreed over this issue. Jews unite in the face of danger. This unanimity decides two things and this too we stated in unambiguous terms. We demand from the Jewish Agency, though we put it in roundabout terms, in order not to anger the Treasury, a sum of IL.10 million. From the local Zionist leaders we demand that they embark upon the establishment of national day-schools.

ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTIONS

All the motions of the Committee regarding Education and Culture in the Diaspora, Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora, Information, and Youth and Hechalutz were carried.

PUBLIC RELATIONS

5117

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC RELATIONS

DR. SHNEUR LEVENBERG

(Chairman of the Committee)

Our committee heard a comprehensive report on the present state of affairs in Israel from Mr. Moshe Sharett, the Prime Minister. Our committee also heard two interesting and comprehensive reports delivered by Mr. Berl Locker and Dr. Nachum Goldmann. In the course of our work, reports were submitted to us on public relations work in a number of countries, notably the United States of America, England and Canada, as well as other countries. We held eight sessions. All of these were prolonged sessions, and even difficult sessions. But the members of the Committee were enabled to obtain a clear picture of what is being done and what are the problems in the field of public relations. We also learned of the attitude of the various parties on questions confronting the State of Israel and the Zionist Movement. In the course of our work we heard a lengthy report, submitted by Dr. Goldmann, on relations with Germany, on the problem of reparation payments and on the negotiations being conducted by the world Jewish organizations with the Government of Austria.

During our work a number of practical proposals were tabled, which are worthy of at least being placed on the record—if not all of them, then at least some of them. A request was made that the Jewish Agency, and particularly the Department for Public Relations, conduct more systematic activity among the students, the new Jewish intellectual class. The importance of non-Jewish personalities visiting Israel was also stressed. During the meetings of the Committee the urgency of effective reply to Arab propaganda, which is increasing in intensity in various parts of the world, was also underlined. A request was tabled that in various countries special seminars be organized for public speakers, in order to train people who can conduct propaganda work, especially among the non-Jewish population. The importance of special literature dealing with the political problems of Zionism and the State of Israel was underlined, as was the importance of the work conducted by Christian institutions, by Christian associations in various countries, whose attitude towards the State and the Zionist Movement is a favourable one.

Some of the resolutions submitted by our committee for your approval are rather in the nature of a declaration regarding the problems confronting the Movement, while one deals specifically with the Zionist detainees in Rumania. It is superfluous to point out that these resolutions do not cover all the problems which we face.

I would like—I speak only in my own name, but I am convinced

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that this is also the sentiment of the Zionist General Council—I would like to express our solidarity with the heroes, the pioneers, who are settled on the frontiers and often, day and night, night after day, have to repel attackers who wish to destroy what is being built up in this country. I think it is our duty to send our greetings from this rostrum to the Jewish population of Jerusalem, the capital city of Israel, who have held their ground so courageously several weeks ago in their hour of trial.

THE POSITION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

DR. JOSEPH SCHECHTMAN

(Herut-Hatzohar—U.S.A.)

We suggest the deletion of the second sentence of para.(a), reading :

The road to peace and stability in the region is through direct negotiations between the neighbouring countries, and through a policy of social and economic development for the common good of the area.

While this is a fine paragraph, unfortunately it has become trite, an empty phrase, with no content at all, which is repeated every year without producing any tangible results, politically, practically or psychologically. We have not achieved thereby any more friendly or sympathetic attitude. As against this, however, the Arabs are constantly repeating their desire for war, are in effect carrying on warlike operations, and in spite of this have gained friendship and sympathy. We are of the opinion that we must desist from this idle pursuit of peace and direct negotiations, and at least temporarily stop being professional peacemongers, who have no hope of getting what they want. Peace cannot be achieved solely by declarations of peace. We have time and again declared our desire for peace. Whoever wishes to believe us, does believe us, and those who do not, have their doubts about our declarations of peace.

It is for this reason that we propose that these declarations of peace be discontinued. No harm can be caused thereby, and in our view it can aid us psychologically.

DR. SHNEUR LEVENBERG

(Chairman of the Committee)

We discussed this amendment in Committee, but the majority approved the formulation submitted to you. In our view it would be a grave error to delete this passage.

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The Arabs have all along taken a negative attitude towards Israel and the Middle East. The greatness and strength of Israel and the Zionist Movement lie in the fact that the attitude we have adopted is positive, and that we seek peace with the Arabs. The world knows this, world public opinion knows this, as do the various nations. This is one of the powerful reasons of the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel in their struggle for peace. For this reason I ask the General Council, if possible, to pass this resolution unanimously. I once again turn to Dr. Schechman and his group to remove this amendment, in order to enable the General Council to express its solidarity with the State of Israel on vital questions affecting the existence of the State and the Zionist Movement.

The amendment of Brit Herut-Hatzohar was rejected.

JACOB AMITH

(Mapam—Israel)

We have all been conscious that the gravity of the situation of the State of Israel requires us to make a maximum effort to achieve a joint formulation. I wish to place on record that such efforts were made by the Committee and by ourselves within the Committee.

But in paragraph (c), towards the end, there is one passage which we cannot vote for. We cannot approve this passage and we shall abstain. I refer to the passage which reads:

It is, moreover, in clear contravention of the Tripartite Declaration of the Western Powers of May 25th, 1950.

We believe that by citing the Tripartite Declaration we indicate indirectly that the Middle East is the specific sphere of responsibility of the three Powers, in which they can do as they please. We did not request this declaration. In Committee we sought to introduce a number of amendments in this concluding passage, but these were not accepted. We have no alternative, accordingly, but to abstain on this passage, but we shall vote for the other clauses of the declaration. However, I would request a separate vote on paragraph(c).

DR. SHNEUR LEVENBERG

(Chairman of the Committee)

The Committee discussed the question raised by Mr. Amith, but it is apparent that his reasons are the result of a misunderstanding. In our resolution no attitude is expressed on the Tripartite Declaration issued

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in May 1950. We state facts. These facts remain facts and are not the subject for any discussion. You can oppose a certain fact, but realities remain realities. There is a misunderstanding, but in Committee we agreed to give Mr. Amith the opportunity of expressing the views of his group in order to explain their proposal.

The amendment proposed by Mapam was rejected.

DR. JOSEPH SCHECHTMAN
(Herut-Hatzohar—U.S.A.)

Our second amendment reads as follows :

The General Council calls for measures aimed at the revocation of the Anglo-Transjordan Treaty of 1948 which was designed for conditions prevailing prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. Since then the treaty has served as a constant temptation for Jordan to engage in acts of aggression against Israel, in the belief that such aggression may be safely engaged in under cover of the Anglo-Transjordan Treaty and that Jordan will not suffer from the consequences of its aggression. The General Council expresses the conviction that the revocation of the Anglo-Transjordan Treaty will open the way to a revision of Anglo-Israel relations and possibly also to an understanding between the United Kingdom and Israel in the interests of both sovereign states and the Middle East as a whole.

All members of the General Council have surely noted the characteristic tone of these resolutions, namely anonymity. No mention is made of the states referred to. Clarity has wide currency in the political world, anonymity on the other hand gives rise to suspicion, especially when one endeavours to refrain from use of the names of great democracies, with whom we have had, or are having, or shall have, trouble and differences, but which nevertheless belong to our democratic world, despite the fact that we have bloody accounts with them as well as common interests.

In our resolution we name specifically a vital problem as well as the state which holds the key to this problem. We are convinced that such a state of affairs is dangerous, not for the State of Israel, but for the entire Middle East as well as for Great Britain herself. We are convinced that Great Britain has a profound common interest with Israel. But the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel cannot institute friendly relations with Great Britain as long it occupies Transjordan. We can tell Great Britain that the treaty signed with Transjordan in May 1948, prior to the establishment of the State, is today a dangerous anachronism, bearing within it the germ of hatred for Israel, and it must be revoked.

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DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN

(Chairman of the Executive)

I will not speak on the merits of the resolution, if it is in the interests of the State of Israel for Great Britain to have a treaty with Trans-jordan or not, for only the State of Israel has any right to express any opinion on this question and to decide upon its policy. I speak from the point of view of the General Council and its agenda and its work. I am of the opinion that this vote is of the utmost importance from a formal standpoint, if the Zionist Organization, six years after the establishment of the State of Israel, can establish a most dangerous precedent, which will negate the possibility, from the standpoint of the State of Israel, of the existence of the Zionist Organization, if the latter decides to make declarations, and to offer advice about political policies. These things come within the sovereign authority of the State of Israel.

This will constitute a very dangerous precedent, for it can be followed by even more dangerous steps. We must safeguard the prerogatives of the Zionist Organization. I must ask you not to enter into any discussion of the merits of this matter. It is possible to argue for hours whether this is right or wrong; perhaps Dr. Schechtman is in the right, but this has no connection whatever with the work of the General Council. We must support the policy which the sovereign State of Israel decides upon. The State is sovereign in regard to the Zionist Organization and not only in regard to the Arab States. It is for this reason that I warn the Council against establishing such a dangerous precedent, which can cause severe friction with the State of Israel. It is a precedent which can transform the nature of the co-operation with the Zionist Organization.

In view of the fact that there exists a sovereign state, I propose that we adjourn the debate on the question.

DR. SHNEUR LEVENBERG

(Chairman of the Committee)

On a point of information I wish to state that all parties in the Committee with the exception of Dr. Schechtman's party opposed the resolution in its present form. In the discussion all expressed this opposition. All sorts of reasons were adduced for this opposition.

On behalf of the Committee I wish to support the proposal put forward by Dr. Goldmann, that the General Council adjourn the debate on this question, in other words, that we take no vote on the issue.

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It was resolved to adjourn the debate on the amendment proposed by Herut-Hatzohar.

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DR. JOSEPH SCHECHTMAN

(Herut-Hatzohar—U.S.A.)

I have the following amendment to propose:

The Zionist General Council urges the Executive to establish a Political Department of the World Zionist Organization to undertake large-scale activity in the sphere of political information and enlightenment in the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds and in authoritative political circles.

This is the second time that we are introducing this proposal. The first occasion was six months ago, when our proposal was rejected. I think that in the course of this half year conditions have been created which make the matter even more topical.

Why do we demand the establishment of a Political Department? First of all because the Zionist Movement is a national political movement, the aims of which have not yet been accomplished, and which cannot accomplish its aims without using political instruments. Secondly, because what is today called "Public Relations" is a camouflaged and shameful substitute for political activity, which has all the defects of a substitute and cannot prove effective. Thirdly, in so far as political activity is carried on, it is carried on only on a local scale, and the Public Relations Department is engaged upon a number of fine activities but these are non-political in nature, such as the Sephardi Congress, the question of bursaries, excellent things in themselves, but which do not come within the competence of a central institution inspired by a central idea which must co-ordinate political activities in various countries. I speak of co-ordination and not of orders and instructions issued from Jerusalem to all centres. Co-ordination, a certain measure of standardization, to ensure that one does not work at cross-purposes with another, this is what must be done by the centre in Jerusalem.

There is no cause to say that this can constitute a source of danger. The same Committee which rejected our proposal to set up a Political Department accepted resolutions of an outstandingly political character from the point of view of international policy, such as over the question of the Suez Canal and the United Nations Mixed Armistice Commissions.

I can understand those who say that they oppose the Zionist Organization carrying on political activity. I oppose this point of view. But I have a certain respect for those who say that even were the Govern-

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ment to take a positive decision on the matter they would oppose it. This is a matter of opinion. But do not come with the argument that the Government might regard it unfavourably and for that reason we too cannot express our opinions. I call upon the Zionist General Council to express its views clearly.

DR. SHNEUR LEVENBERG

(Chairman of the Committee)

In the Committee there was a comprehensive debate upon Dr. Schechtman's proposal in regard to the establishment of a Political Department. I wish to explain very briefly the reasons for the opposition to it.

Dr. Schechtman has forgotten one small thing, that since the establishment of the State of Israel the situation has changed. The Jewish Agency had a Political Department which fought for the independence of the Jewish people. Since the year 1948 a new situation has been created, not only from the standpoint of the State but from that of the Jewish communities and the Zionist Movement abroad. The Zionist Movement cannot conduct an independent foreign policy. The State of Israel would certainly oppose any such suggestion. But I must stress that the idea to call our work in the sphere of public relations "political activity" is not very popular among the American Zionists, the Zionists in England and elsewhere. It is not popular for reasons upon which I shall not dilate upon the present occasion.

Dr. Schechtman has spoken on the need for mobilizing Jewish public opinion. We are doing so. This is being done by the Public Relations Department. It is also being done by the Zionist Organization in America.

If the intention of the amendment is to say in other words what was already said in the majority motion, it is superfluous. If it is intended to say something different, I do not wish to say it in the formulation suggested by Dr. Schechtman. For this reason I propose that we adjourn the debate on the proposal.

ELIEZER SHOSTAK

(Herut-Hatzohar—Israel)

Dr. Goldmann has stated that the Zionist General Council does not possess competence in this matter. But not only have resolutions been passed contrary to this competence, but even certain actions were taken by the Zionist Organization and were later approved by the Government of Israel. For instance in the matter of Reparations the Government

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of Israel did not come to the Chairman of the Zionist Organization, but the Chairman of the Zionist Organization came to the State of Israel. Have we proposed that the Zionist Organization set up a Political Department or carry on political activity against the State of Israel, not in agreement with the State of Israel? We merely propose that the Zionist Movement maintain a Political Department, which will have the right to think political thoughts and to take counsel with the Government in regard to political activities.

It was resolved to adjourn the debate on this *votum separatim* of Herut-Hatzohar.

MEIR GROSSMAN

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

I trust that despite the emotions roused and the forensic arguments which have been brought forward in the course of this present session, the members of the Council will give what I have to say an objective hearing.

I wish to read out to you the resolution proposed :

In view of the recent developments, the General Council resolves to extend the authority and activities of the Public Relations Department in order to enable the Zionist Executive and the territorial organizations to conduct increased information activities designed :

1. to inform governments, parliaments, public opinion and the press, regarding the situation in Israel and the aims and desires of the Zionist Movement;
2. to apply—directly or through the medium of the territorial organizations—to the appropriate political factors concerned, when Zionist interests urgently demand such steps;
3. to guide and encourage Zionist bodies in their activities on behalf of Israel.

In every territorial Zionist organization, a commission for the implementation of the above tasks should be attached to the Central Committee. In the implementation of this activity it is the concern of the Zionist Executive and the territorial organizations to promote close and friendly co-operation with the Government of Israel and its diplomatic representatives.

Upon the face of it, this amendment can be regarded as being of a purely technical character. It can be said that the general resolution passed by the Council includes this in the extension of the information work of the Zionist Movement. You can say so, if you choose to rest content with this. But if so, I am of the opinion that we are

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doing an ill-service to the Zionist Movement. As you see I have consistently spoken of the aspirations and purposes of the Zionist Movement, and in my view if we do not include this matter, we are making a mistake.

Even those who for years have opposed the conduct of political activity by the Zionist Organization, have since changed their opinions. You can see for yourselves, if you choose to leaf through the minutes of the last eight sessions of the Zionist General Council. It is adequately clear to all of us, and this has been clarified in the past two years, that the State of Israel stands in need of the aid of the Jewish people in the political sphere too; it stands in need of the political activity of the Zionist Movement.

In my view it is impossible to pass resolutions without stating who is going to carry them out. I do not deny the argument that may be brought forward that now there is the State and other bodies which are dealing with these questions. But there have been difficult hours in our Movement over the past six years, in which the Zionist Movement was called upon to act. I would very much like this session of the Council to give some sign, in one way or another, to the Zionists throughout the world, that in the next few years they will have to be vigilant, to maintain the positions of the Zionist Movement and to safeguard the State of Israel, which is one of the major functions of the Zionist Movement.

BERL LOCKER

(Chairman of the Executive)

I did not intend taking the floor and participating in this debate on Mr. Grossman's proposal. I proposed to Dr. Levenberg to adjourn the debate on this question. I wish, however, to tell my friend, Mr. Grossman, in the most cordial terms: he is both in the Executive and in the opposition. Such a speech can only be delivered by a person who does not bear the responsibility of a Member of the Executive.

In regard to the proposal itself, what is correct in it is included in the resolution already passed, though we may put it in different terms. In my view the intention here differs. Here two types of sovereignty are being introduced. The sponsors of this resolution apparently do not recognize the fact that a sovereign state is in existence, and in relation to it we are not sovereign. We have not even got the competence to deal with this question, and for this reason I propose that we adjourn this debate.

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DR. SHNEUR LEVENBERG

(Chairman of the Committee)

Mr. Grossman's proposal did not receive any support in the Committee, but that does not mean to say that the Committee did not take into account some of the arguments put forward here. What it sought to express has been included in the general resolution passed here by the Council.

For this reason the Committee recommends to the Council to adjourn the debate on Mr. Grossman's motion.

It was resolved to remove Mr. Grossman's *votum separatum* from the agenda.

PERSECUTION OF ZIONISTS IN RUMANIA

DR. SHNEUR LEVENBERG

(Chairman of the Committee)

We now come to an issue regarding which I trust that the General Council will indicate its unanimity. I am putting forward a resolution in regard to the persecution of Zionists in Rumania, a problem which was received with understanding by the entire Committee.

ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTIONS

The resolution on the "Persecution of Zionists in Rumania" was unanimously acclaimed by the Zionist General Council, and the members rose as they recorded their votes (see Resolution No. 3).

The other motions submitted by the Committee, under the headings "Solidarity with the People of Israel" and "Deterioration of Middle East Position and Tasks of Zionist Movement", were also carried (see Resolutions Nos. 1 and 2).

ELEVENTH MEETING

Thursday, July 29, 1954, in the morning

Chairman: MR. LEON GELMAN

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE AND VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF THE MOVEMENT AND MATTERS OF ORGANIZATION

SIEGMUND HAERING

(Chairman of the Committee)

I believe I am expressing the views of all members of the Committee when I say that we regard organization not only as a means to set in motion the various instruments of the Movement, but also as an expression of its way of life and vitality.

In the Committee the problems of the Zionist Movement were debated, but, as you will see from the resolutions on the problems of the Movement, the Committee did not pass any concrete resolutions. Instead it proposed that the Zionist General Council instruct the Executive to prepare, before the end of the year, material which will serve as a basis of discussion of the problems of the Zionist Movement, for the forthcoming 24th Zionist Congress.

During the previous session of the Council, explicit resolutions were taken regarding the establishment of territorial organizations. If I am not mistaken, all parties agreed to the compromise reached at the time, on the basis of the proposal of the Committee. This compromise laid down that if the Zionist groups in certain countries are of the opinion that, because of the special conditions obtaining, it is not possible to create a territorial framework, they must transmit the question for the decision of the Zionist Executive. The Committee has requested the Executive to prepare, for the forthcoming session of the Council, a full report on the manner in which the resolution governing the creation of territorial Zionist organizations has been implemented, and how this is reflected in the Zionist work in the various countries.

If it should be asked: What is the organizational problem of the Zionist Movement, I would reply that it is the problem of serving as the link between the masses of Jewry and the State of Israel. Upon this

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point there do not exist any differences of opinion among us. For this purpose the doors of the Zionist Movement must be open to every Jew and to every Zionist, even if he or she is not a member of one or the other of the parties. The Zionist Movement must remain flexible and absorb all aspects of Jewish life and Jewish activity.

When we speak of the territorial Zionist organizations and the function of the political parties within this framework, I attach special importance to the work of the parties within the territorial organization. We do not suffer from any hypertrophy of party politics in our Zionist life but rather from atrophy of the political parties within the Movement. I am of the opinion that within the framework of the territorial organizations the political parties can fulfil an important function in solving fundamental questions of the Zionist Movement. This would also enable us to bring extensive circles within the orbit of Zionist activity, and to organize Jewish life upon a democratic basis.

The Zionist programme has been debated. I will not discuss these questions now. I will merely state that we arrived at the conclusion that the present crisis is not one of Zionism but of Zionists.

We must resolve that there can be no representation without the personal fulfilment of duties. During the debate we must not generalize about the crisis in Zionism. We must draw up a scroll of personal Zionist duties and obligations for those who are spokesmen of, and represent, the Zionist Movement.

The Committee considered the matter of democratic elections. The previous Zionist Congress laid down in its resolutions—No. 139—the principle providing for the holding of democratic elections in all countries. An exception was made only in regard to those countries in which, because of external conditions, over which the Zionist Movement has no control, it is impossible to organize such elections. But our American friends have convinced us that because of the special conditions obtaining there it is impossible to hold elections in America. They are not afraid of external factors. But the American Jewish community numbers some six million souls. And just as we must compromise, in this country, with various sections of the community, the Zionist leadership in America must compromise with various factors there. We have decided, accordingly, that democratic elections are obligatory, but in countries where a single list is prepared—I am not speaking of procedural aspects, in case a minority refuses to agree—then elections will not be held.

This constitutes a far-reaching compromise, at least as far as I am concerned. In my opinion democratic elections are far more important than any discussion of the "double Shekel".

We have reached a compromise with our American colleagues. But it must not be forgotten that the World Zionist Movement comprises millions of voluntary members, and so large a movement cannot be

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organized without an element of democracy. I would like our American friends to appreciate that this constitutes a far-reaching concession on our part, for we have compromised over a principle that is vital for any mass, voluntary movement. In spite of everything, after all I have heard from the members of the Committee, I am full of hope and faith that in America, too, there are prospects that democratic elections will be held. I do not know whether these will be held during the present year or at some date in the near future, but I am convinced that it will come to pass.

We think very highly of the practical work being done by the Haddassah and WIZO and Pioneer Women organizations. But we must appreciate that an organizational movement like the World Zionist Organization cannot exist solely on practical work. It must engage in all sorts of activities which do not produce immediate results. They are the *imponderabilia* upon which the work of the Zionist Organization is founded. Democratic elections are one of the most vital principles for the Movement.

I wish to pass over now to a second question connected with the question of holding democratic elections—the question of the “double Shekel”. I will not deal with the statistics which the Chairman, Mr. Berl Locker, has given you. I think that the statistical arguments are not the only ones making the maintenance of the *status quo* necessary. It seems to me that there is also a “double psychology” in regard to the Israel Shekel. We suffer from a complex in regard to the question of elections, and I do not understand why this fragment, called the double Shekel, has been seized upon. I propose that in the Zionist Congress we discuss the entire question of elections and all that pertains to it: democratic elections, the Shekel and the like.

In regard to the Shekel itself. Herzl suggested the Shekel as an instrument of political demonstration. The question arises whether the Shekel which constituted a political instrument of demonstration can serve as an expression of the realization of the functions of the Zionist Organization in this period of consummation of its aspirations. The question is whether in 1954 we can maintain the Zionist Organization on the basis of an anonymous, mass Shekel, and not on the personal moral worth of Zionist leaders.

I am convinced that if the Zionist Organization were not operating under circumstances of the consolidation of the Diaspora, and if those who today reside there regarded themselves as potential members of Israel political parties, this question would not arise at all. It is, however, a fact that it has arisen. It is a fact that, if for the last Zionist Congress the number of Shekel-payers in Israel constituted 44 percent of the total, this was not because there exists a special privilege but because of the ingathering of exiles. It is a fact that the community in

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Israel, not because of its superiority but because it lives under the conditions of a sovereign state, is the only Jewish community able to express itself with absolute freedom and pursue its policies independently of external factors. In what, I would ask, lies the vital interest of the Zionist Movement to reduce the moral and political preponderance of the independent factor in the new international climate which is 'not characterized by excessive tolerance towards minorities?

The resolution we are proposing is the outcome of a compromise. I hope that we shall unite over this resolution. But whether we do or not, it is a compromise proposal.

The original proposal of Mr. Zvi Herman is not that which appears today as the amendment of the Confederation. His proposal was composed of two sections—one dealing with the preponderance given to the Shekel in Israel, and the second giving a graduated premium to all those electoral areas where elections are held. The second part of Mr. Herman's proposal has been revoked, and before us we have only that section calling for the abolition of the special privilege of the Israel Shekel-payer. We are of the opinion that the resolution we are at present submitting is more positive and has a more educational character, in view of the fact that it grants the preponderance, hitherto attaching to the Israel Shekel, to all countries holding elections. We think that this will encourage the holding of democratic elections in the Zionist Movement. And there is no difference of opinion between us that this is a sufficiently important principle.

In conclusion I wish to deal with two arguments put forward by those proposing the abolition of the double Shekel: (a) The "double Shekel" exercises a negative psychological influence on the Jews of the Diaspora and gives rise to a feeling of discrimination. I reject this argument. In so far as I am acquainted with the countries of the Diaspora, and I am in contact not only with leaders but with the rank and file of Jewry, this question does not concern the Jewish public, but is confined to a small circle of leaders. (b) A second argument against the maintenance of the *status quo*: The Zionist Congress is not the decisive factor today in matters concerning Eretz Israel. This argument, too, is without foundation. It is true that formally the Zionist Congress has no deciding voice in vital matters affecting this country. But in fact all that the Congress does or decides not to do is of major significance in regard to the destiny and the future of the State of Israel.

Finally, I wish to say that there is no ground for thinking that we cannot unite over the proposals of the Committee on Organization. I wish to voice my profound hope that the same spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation, which permeated the work of the Committee, will inspire the Plenary Session, and will achieve expression in our resolutions.

TWELFTH MEETING

Thursday, July 29, 1954, in the afternoon

Chairman: MR. JACOB AMITH

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE AND VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF THE MOVEMENT AND MATTERS OF ORGANIZATION

DEBATE ON THE MOTIONS

ABRAHAM ABRAHAMS

(Herut-Hatzohar—Great Britain)

I come from a country where the problem of a territorial union is more real and more actual than in most of the other countries. In some countries the Zionist Organization hardly exists and yet attempts are being made to set up a territorial union out of non-existent factors. In England there is an old Zionist tradition, and all the parties are working and the institutions have wide experience. England must not be looked upon merely as England; it is now the largest concentration of Jewry in Europe. It has a Jewish population of probably something around half a million. It is close to all the other remaining centres of European Jewry. It could exert an immense influence.

Zionism in England is resting on its laurels. It always recalls the great days of the Balfour Declaration and the subsequent period, but Zionism cannot live on the past. The membership of the Zionist Federation is largely a paper membership. The branches have largely paper memberships. In one large branch, in North London for instance, which is supposed to number 2,000 members, you cannot get more than 30 or 40 members together.

One of the main reasons for this decline is the fact that the work of Zionism in Britain has been concentrated in a few hands. These hands are not really hands of the Zionist bodies themselves. They are the Zionist officialdom, the Zionist personnel, the Zionist civil service, and not the non-official Zionists who live in Britain and who are anxious to work in Britain.

The proposal and the effort to set up a territorial organization in

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Britain was directed towards transforming this position. We hoped that in Britain all the parties would be brought together in order to conduct Zionist work. At present the so-called Federation is merely a figment of the imagination, which is led by, and composed of, solely a Progressive group and the Poale Zion, and deliberately excludes every other Zionist party. The Revisionist organization addressed a letter to the Zionist Federation with a request to enter the Federation. We received a refusal. England which is a centre and an important centre of political work is not being employed for the Zionist Movement as it should be.

I say that if there had been in England a properly organized Public Relations Committee—the situation would be changed. The population is in our favour.

I want to add one more word with regard to the territorial organization. I want to make the point that in this question, after the resolution of the last Council session, the Executive sent a member to London in order to inquire into this problem. But before he even went back to report, Mr. Herman made a statement which was published in the Jewish press which practically meant that the territorial organization was inadvisable and unnecessary.

We, the Revisionists, will again make a demand for entry into the Zionist Federation, and what will you do if they refuse it?

MRS. REBECCA D. SIEFF
(WIZO—Israel)

The first problem today is how to bring Zionists and Zionists, non-Zionists and non-Zionists together. For if you cannot bring Zionists and Zionists together, how will you bring Zionists and non-Zionists together? My organization is not an organization of "friends of Israel". It is an organization that accepts the full duties of the Zionist Movement and the Zionist Constitution, which are placed upon its members.

Those who are concerned with trying to set up the territorial organizations know that without the participation of WIZO (outside the United States) these are not worth very much. When we go into the territorial organizations we are accepted for what we are, a non-party but not a non-political organization. And if we are accepted in the territorial organization—not only accepted but urged to enter with full rights—how can you go on denying us some form of the rights which will meet our peculiar situation in the Zionist Organization as a whole? Everybody comes to us with the advice to put up our own lists. We will not put them up in competition with the parties and you know what that means. Our members can belong either literally or figuratively to any party. It is the business of the Zionist Organization and its respon-

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sible leaders to find a framework which will enable us to assume a proper position without forcing us into a situation which would lead to a break-up of our organization.

WIZO has played and is playing the part which it can play in the *klita* and *aliya*, the human part of which we have heard so much. I know that we are the one organization which is both non-party and non-sectional. When we go to the *olim*, we do not offer them anything but help. We do not ask them for anything. If they come to join us they do so of their own free will in order to help themselves and to help us, so as to learn certain duties. But we want rights as well as responsibilities and duties! And we ask that preparations be made for the next Congress so that WIZO will be able to take its proper place without forcing it to break up an organization which, no one will deny, has shown itself to be of such great value, both in the Diaspora and in Israel.

DR. SAMUEL MARGOSHES

(General Zionists—U.S.A.)

The polemic regarding the "double Shekel" reminds me of Shalom Alechem's story about the pot, in which the woman denies ever having borrowed the pot, while at the same time declaring that in any case she returned it. It is argued that there is no double Shekel for Israel. In the party press I have read that the whole matter of the double Shekel has no foundation in fact, though the Chairman endeavoured to convince us that this is a privilege which is Israel's of right. But you cannot deny facts, you must see them as they are, for ultimately the facts speak for themselves. An attempt has been made to justify the special privilege by calculating the number of Shekalim sold and the results of the elections in the smaller countries. But in this respect Israel must not be compared with the community in Honduras, but with another large Jewish community, that of the United States. What does a comparison between these two countries show? Figures have been published for the elections to the last Zionist Congress. In Eretz Israel, 6,338 votes were necessary for the election of a single delegate, while in the United States the figure was 12,796. By all the rules of arithmetic, whether in Israel or the United States, you will find that 12,000 is twice as much as 6,000. There is accordingly no doubt that there does exist a double Shekel for Israel.

And now with regard to the elections. We are told that elections must be held. It is true that Israel enjoys a privilege, but that is her right, because the Jews of Israel hold elections while the Jews of the United States do not. The Zionist Organization of America was in favour of the holding of elections in 1946, and I hope that in 1955 elections will be held. That is not the question. The question is how to

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give expression to the will of the people. In Zionist democracy we must express the will of the majority. This is one system of expressing the voice of the majority. But it is not the only method. If all interested parties foregather and put together a united list of candidates and the minority does not express its opposition, according to all the rules of democracy, this too is democratic procedure. Elections are not the only method of expressing the will of the people.

There is another point which I would like to deal with, in regard to elections. We are told that the Zionist Congress deals with questions affecting the life of Jews in Israel and for that reason the Jews of Israel must have more influence in Congress. It all depends how the essence of Zionism, of the Zionist Organization and the Congress are grasped. It seems to me that the main function of the Zionist Organization is to mobilize world Jewry, the 90 percent of the Jews who are outside the State of Israel, to enlist their aid on behalf of the State. If this is the main function of the Zionist Organization, I am of the opinion that the people who must undertake this task are resident in the Diaspora, and they must be given the opportunity of expressing their views. They must not be overwhelmed by 10 percent of world Jewry.

If the Jews of Israel wish to discriminate against 90 percent of Jewry, they can do so, they can leave the double Shekel as it is today. But this is discrimination, and it is this discrimination which we wish to do away with. We wish to establish equality between all Jews. The time has come to abolish this discrimination against Jews who do not enjoy the privilege of living in Israel.

ARYEH HANDLER

(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—Israel)

In the course of the present session of the Zionist General Council three matters were specially stressed. The first was the consciousness that the Zionist Movement today lacks leaders, both new and old, who can give of their strength in order to inspire the youth—and Jews in general—with enthusiasm. The second matter which has achieved expression in this session of the Council is that extensive circles in the Zionist Movement, including ourselves, have ceased to have any confidence that resolutions taken here, even resolutions governing the establishment of territorial organizations in one form or another, can infuse a new spirit and new will for action. The third matter we have felt here, is the strength and at the same time the weakness of our *chaverim* from America.

We have endeavoured to discover a reply to these three questions. It is true we have not tried and tested remedies. Mr. Dobkin and other members have mentioned how religious circles in America have been

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successful in establishing Jewish and Hebrew schools which are attended by thousands of children. We must appreciate that it is not possible to establish schools and it is impossible to disseminate Jewish and Hebrew culture, when this culture lacks a spiritual basis, if it is not part of an integral way of life.

We are deluding ourselves if we think that by the establishment of schools and the creation of a department for Hebrew and Jewish cultural work alone we shall be able to compete with the educational and cultural opportunities of America and thereby to restore large masses of Jewish youth to a Jewish way of life and prevent them from becoming assimilated.

How can we restore the younger generation in the United States to Jewish life? I do not claim that only traditional education can achieve this. But Zionist and Jewish leaders cannot hope to be able to influence Jews in America even if they are devoted Zionists. They cannot be restored to Zionist activity by educational and propaganda work performed on paper. Even if we send them more and more publications, we must appreciate that the educational and cultural work is conducted on a very low standard. In my opinion this is the main question facing the Zionist Organization in the diverse countries. This problem also confronts the Zionist organizations who possess a ramified machinery. I will permit myself to ask, how many people have joined the Zionist Organization in the last ten years, since the conclusion of the Second World War? We know what the position is in this respect, and no small measure of blame must be placed at the door of the Zionist leaders who do not know how to present Hebrew education and culture to the younger generation in the various countries. Even the Zionist parties are completely at a loss when they wish to revive the Jewish spirit, when they seek to foster the surviving remnants of Jewish life.

In recent years we have read various reports of Zionist leaders upon the question how to extend the Zionist Movement in the various countries. There are many Jews conscious of their Jewishness, who are not active within the framework of the Zionist Organization, not because the existing instruments are not effective, but because we have not been successful in persuading them to undertake Zionist work.

I now come to the question of the double Shekel. We, the Hapoel Hamizrachi and the Mizrachi groups, but more particularly Hapoel Hamizrachi, have made a great sacrifice by voting against the double Shekel. All those who are familiar with the attitude of the Hapoel Hamizrachi in Israel know that by voting for the abolition of the special privilege we diminish our strength and representation very considerably. Why do we oppose the double Shekel? We oppose it because we labour under the feeling that the Jews of the Diaspora to whom we are constantly addressing our demands for activity consider it discriminatory.

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In connection with the organization of territorial frameworks, not a few ridiculous aspects have been revealed. On the one hand we seek to strengthen the Zionist Movement in the Diaspora—this is the argument of those circles favouring the maintenance of the *status quo* in regard to the double Shekel—while on the other hand, they seek, by majority resolutions, to weaken the strength of the Zionist parties, for which to this day no substitute has been found within Jewry. Are you really of the opinion that we shall be able to extend the ranks of the Zionist Movement by enabling individuals to become members of the Movement and at the same time estranging Zionist parties? If the Zionist General Council is nevertheless of the opinion that in matters like these it is sufficient to pass majority resolutions, we shall continue our struggle both within the Council and within the Zionist Congress, and we are confident that our friends in the Zionist Movement will understand us.

A word about the activity of the Zionist Movement. It appears to me that the Zionist Movement has emerged from the crisis it has experienced. There may be certain Zionist leaders who have not yet surmounted this crisis. It is the function of the Zionist Movement to foster the specific character of Jewish life in the Diaspora, to strengthen the Jewish spirit and Jewish tradition, to educate both the individual Jews and Jewry in the Diaspora as a whole to identify themselves completely with the State of Israel. This to no small extent is dependent upon the local Zionist leaders in the various countries, and in this respect we are weak.

I am convinced that despite the difficult situation in the American Zionist Movement, it will bring *aliya* to Israel. This *aliya* will not be brought about by demands issued from Israel. It will come if we have the power to influence Jewish youth, including American Jewish youth, that they must cherish the ideal which they can realize by emigrating to Israel, and if we create the suitable atmosphere and conditions capable of attracting the youth and Jews in general. If we shall regard this as one of the major functions of the Zionist Organization, Jewish youth will respond, pioneering *hachshara* will be strengthened and will be followed by pioneering immigration.

HAYIM SHURER

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

Dr. Margoshes has stated here that the Chairman of the Committee on Organization voiced a partisan point of view. I would like to ask why it is a partisan point of view. Of what party? Of the party of Israel? For the matter not only affects the members of the Mapai. The special privilege is given to all parties which participate in elections to the

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Congress in Israel including the Mizrachi, Herut, Mapam and the General Zionists. In that case why should this be called a partisan viewpoint. It may be called the attitude of Israel as opposed to the attitude of the Diaspora, but it is not the attitude of any party.

Let us see what are the privileges which we are securing for ourselves with the aid of our preponderance in the Congress. Is it the right to come to Israel? It is true we have taken this privilege, and have not rested content with the fact that we could be good and loyal Zionists in the Diaspora. You wish to deprive us of this privilege, in order that we may not come and demand *aliya* to Israel? But we have utilized our privilege and have called for immigration. What is the result of this demand? Has it called forth any response? Have they come? How many have come in the course of six years? Not even one-hundredth of one percent. And this is our greatest privilege. To call for immigration by virtue of the greater number of our votes.

What else does this "discrimination" give us? We enjoy another privilege, to live here, to settle, to settle the Negev, to drain the Huleh, to constitute a target for shots, to be killed, this is the discrimination, which we exploit. Please take this privilege for yourselves too. Come and live with us here, convert us into a minority in the country, just as we, according to your arguments, have converted you. Come here, and instead of a million and a half Jews who live here today, let another million, two millions or three millions come out of five. Come here and convert us into the minority.

The double Shekel also gives us other privileges. To demand, by virtue of the larger number of votes we have, the maintenance of Jewish life in the Diaspora, the establishment of Jewish and Hebrew schools, national schools, that assimilation, intermarriage and the like should be combated.

The questions that the Zionist Congress debates are the selfsame questions that the Zionist General Council debates: immigration, absorption, settlement, education, culture, combating assimilation and the like. For what do we use the special privilege we enjoy? Have we amassed capital here? Why do we ask for this privilege for the Israel representatives of all parties? For what do we use this privilege? What is the discrimination from which the American Zionists suffer?

I trust that this session of the Council will conclude with a compromise agreement, and then you will see what is the nature of this discrimination, the special privileges we enjoy. But even if there should be no compromise we are ready to share our privileges with you any day. We are ready to give them to you, all the good and loyal Zionists, in all countries of the world, and especially in America.

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DR. NAHUM NIR

(Deputy-Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

I am prepared to accept that the double Shekel does constitute a privilege. It is a practice decades' old already. The circumstances which gave birth to this privilege must be understood, they must be examined, to establish whether they no longer exist and whether, therefore, there is no longer any justification for these privileges. But if circumstances have not changed, there is no reason to abolish this privilege and we must not play with words.

What were the reasons that justified the grant of special privileges to the Shekel-payer in Eretz Israel? (a) The people resident in Eretz Israel were realizing the ideals of Zionism. Throughout the world, in armies there are two sections, soldiers on the front, and soldiers behind the front. You know that the soldiers in the front-line enjoy certain privileges, they get better rations and the like. No one can deny that we are in the front line and you are behind the front. You can, if you choose, move up to the front line, and you, too, will enjoy the privilege which we enjoy. But do not come with complaints against us.

The second reason for the grant of special privileges to the Shekel-payer in Israel was because most of the resolutions passed by Congress directly affect our life. It is perfectly true that they also affect you, but in a far smaller degree. And for this reason the people of Israel were given an additional vote. Have these two conditions changed? Do they no longer exist? Probably the first reason exists to an even greater degree than in the past. The second reason also still holds. In that case why should the privilege be done away with?

But if the argument should be that it constitutes discrimination against the Diaspora, I have the feeling that these are not the true reasons, but that there are others which remain unexpressed. The function of the Zionist Movement over a period of fifty years—at any rate one of the most important functions—was to alter the Jewish economic structure. We all know what was the social composition of the Jewish people fifty years ago, what was the number of productive workers and the percentage of non-productive workers. It was our task to bring about a fundamental change in the economic structure of the Jewish people. The Jewish people has succeeded in creating a centre here, the social composition of which differs from that in the Diaspora. The Jewish Federation of Labour today comprises half a million members, and if you take into account the children, this is half the population of Israel. Can you say that a similar structure obtains in the United States or in France? Those elements who are dissatisfied with the fact that the workers have a decisive voice—and we have not yet achieved a majority, for during

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the last Congress we constituted only 44 percent—wish to change the social composition of the Congress. This is the real reason for what you call discrimination.

There is also the matter of elections. Dr. Margoshes stated that elections are a good thing but that democracy is better. If all the parties agree not to hold elections, that is democracy. The Zionist Organization is interested that there should be elections in order to activate the Shekel-payers. For what, in effect, is the duty of the Zionist? To buy a Shekel for four years or for two (as we shall decide here) and to go to the ballot-box once in three years? The Zionist Movement is interested in elections, but the local parties are not interested in them. For that reason I agree that special privileges should be given to countries in which elections are held, though not a double Shekel. The privilege enjoyed by Israel can be reduced, if in countries in which elections are held a 25 percent increase in representation is allowed. I can even agree to a grant of 30 percent increased representation. It may be that later you will come and say that this is discrimination in favour of the countries in which elections are held. In that case my reply will be the same: Let those who feel they are being discriminated against hold elections.

BARNETT JANNER

(General Zionists—Great Britain)

I hope that my friends who have been speaking about the double Shekel will forgive me if I don't follow them at this stage.

I am going to come straight away to the attacks made from two sides on the Federation which I have the honour to represent and whose achievements are part and parcel of the great work that the Zionist Organization is doing throughout the world. My good friend, Mr. Abrahams, represents—I am sorry to say—a very small number of people indeed; even that is an English understatement. Mr. Abrahams, who represents perhaps 30 or 40 Shekel-holders, has indulged in a very nice piece of rhetoric which is entirely unfounded, by attacking the organization in Great Britain which, he admits, has a fine historical background, which, he says, has done service which it is entitled to look back upon with pride, but which nevertheless, whatever it has done in the past, has according to him become effete and has got people like myself who don't do a thing at present despite the 30,000 membership of that organization.

The fact of the matter is that the Zionist Federation of Great Britain holds a unique position not only in Britain, but in the history of the Zionist Movement throughout the world. There is not a single body in

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the Zionist Movement which can speak about its achievements and activities with more justified pride.

Let's examine the figures: The Mizrahi have paid for 1,564 Shekalim the Mapam for 411, the Revisionists for 43. Against that, the Zionist Federation have already paid for 11,225 and are ready to pay for another 11,000. So that is—the chronic state of affairs among the Zionists in England.

We have a Public Relations Committee which, apart from the Israel authorities, deals practically with the whole—I won't say entirely, but practically the whole—of the public relations work in the country. We look after four farms. We send *chalutzim*. We send, together with Mizrahi—not the Revisionists—more *chalutzim* relative to our numbers, more *olim*. We have sent 3,000 people to Israel in the last five years which is more in proportion to our Jewish population than any other country in the world. We have initiated in England a system by which we sought to have Hebrew introduced into the day-schools, and our friends, the Mizrahi, said, this is the business of the religious authorities in England; the other authorities, not ours. Now, you go back to England and tell your friends to join the Federation. We are prepared to take the Mizrahi in, but we cannot take Mizrahi in if it is going to oppose the fundamental things for which we stand in Israel and if it is going to destroy the real set-up of our organization.

When the Council met, in December last, it decided that a certain latitude would be permitted, if any country wanted to be an exception. Mr. Herman came to see us. We placed the position before him. Every single officer of the Federation who was there voted against the suggestion of a territorial organization and we represented seven out of the ten delegates who were at the last Congress. So if seven-tenths, at least, of the representatives of the Zionist Movement, are against the proposal, there must be some reason for it and we gave our reasons in a very substantial way.

In England, the Joint Palestine Appeal is administered by an independent committee consisting of some of our most influential fund-raisers and no responsible party would want to disturb the present position. In Shekel work the United Shekel Committee represents all parties. *Aliya* is in the hands of a joint committee of all parties, although the results are not as satisfactory as they should be. In the realm of *chalutzit* there is co-operation with Hechalutz and the Mizrahi Chalutz movement. The only two important matters on which all are not united are public relations and education.

Let me come to another question upon which I would like your attention for just a few moments, that is the needs of Europe. I speak with a fairly full knowledge that I have, I think, of departments in Europe. I want to say this: In my view the leadership of our move-

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ment is committing a great mistake in its attitude towards European Zionism. To some people there are only two forces in the Jewish world, Israel and America. That is a very great mistake. There are important forces in other parts of the Jewish world. Europe, the cradle of Zionism, is one of them. In the general political scene, people are beginning to see that Europe plays a very important part and will continue to do so. I think the same applies in so far as Zionist affairs are concerned. We must prepare ourselves for a reorganization of this matter when it is brought to Congress. I am the last person in the world to belittle American Zionism, but as I have said before: We have given more *chalutzim*, we have given more *olim*, and in spite of the great catastrophe, European Zionism is still an important force, politically and spiritually and morally. We resent the fact that there is no section of the Jewish Agency Executive in Europe. I give due notice that at the next Congress we shall demand that there should be one or two members of the Agency Executive for Europe. We believe that our demand is in the best interests of Zionism and we think that it should be properly and duly recorded.

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Thursday, July 29, 1954, in the evening

Chairmen: RABBI ELIMELECH NEUFELD—MR. JOSEPH SPRINZAK

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE AND VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF THE MOVEMENT AND MATTERS OF ORGANIZATION

DEBATE ON A POINT OF ORDER

The Chairman announced the proposal, made by the Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut, the Mapam and the Mizrachi groups, not to hold a debate on the double Shekel.

Mr. Zvi Herman opposed the motion, pointing out that a debate had been held on questions regarding which there were no differences of opinion, and it was inconceivable that no debate should be held upon a question that had aroused so much controversy. The Chairman consented to a continuation of the debate but declared that he would not permit speakers to overstep the time allotted to them.

THE SPECIAL RIGHTS OF SHEKEL-PAYERS IN ISRAEL AND THE RIGHTS OF ELECTORAL AREAS IN WHICH POLLING TAKES PLACE

MRS. ROSE HALPRIN

(Member of the Executive—New York)

I will tell you why I think the double Shekel is discrimination. I do not deny the fact that you are better Zionists than I because you have come here to live. However, the question that we raise has nothing to do with being a better or worse Zionist because of *aliya*.

There is no purpose in your sitting on one side holding on tenaciously to the Israel point of view and our sitting on the other side vainly trying to impress our point of view unless we are willing to understand each other. Now what is it that our masses say and that we say in their

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name? There was a time before the State of Israel was established when we all agreed that the small *yishuv* which was here should come to a Congress (which dealt with *all* the problems of the *yishuv*) with double Shekel privileges. We thought that was right and just and proper, because there was no phase of Palestine life at that time which did not, in fact come under the purview of the Congress—your education, your children, your security, your political life—everything. Then came the establishment of the State and that resulted in radical changes. You who are the citizens of the State have the Knesset and local elections, and you have councils and newspapers and radio. You have the methods of saying to your Government what has to be said in respect of problems affecting your daily life, your security, your obligations, as citizens, your taxes, your tax exemptions, your schooling, etc.

What is the Zionist Congress and what are its functions and agenda? The Congress has quite a different series of questions before it. Now, in fact, the Jews in the Diaspora might ask for the same rights of the double Shekel if they were to follow the line of logic completely, because nine-tenths of the problems that are going to be discussed at the Congress are problems that affect the *galut* and Diaspora living; and every General Council meeting proves it. You talk from this platform to us, the Jews from *chutz la'aretz*, to tell us what you like about us, and more often, what you don't like about us; what you want us to do, what we ought to do, in the field of education, in the field of *aliya*, in the field of fund-raising; every single field of our work. Now, we do not deny you that right. That would not be our thought at all, but since these are in the main questions pertaining to the Diaspora, we say, give us the same Shekel rights man for man, woman for woman, as you have. The Shekel gives you the right to express yourselves Zionistically. The Shekel should give equal rights to each person whether he lives in the Diaspora or in Israel. But you fail to see that.

If you do not consider the present system is discrimination, then what is? That I, who am a Zionist and do my utmost on behalf of Israel and buy the Shekel, have half the right of one who sits here, whether he does anything at all—he may sit in a *ma'bara* and not yet know what the State is for and certainly not understand the problems of the Diaspora which will be discussed at Congress—and yet he has the double Shekel and more representation than I have.

I am sure you will have the majority in the Zionist General Council if you decide to keep the double Shekel. But I say it will be a pyrrhic victory, because in the end you will have to recognize that the Diaspora does exist and the Jews and Zionists are there and that you cannot ignore their feelings or opinions on this matter.

I say if we ever really want to give thought to strengthening our Movement and to how it shall express the will of the Zionist and Jewish

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world that is interested in Israel, we shall have to reconsider all these obsolete forms. The selling of the Shekel today represents the kind of election procedure which says that because you have purchased a Shekel you may vote and that is the only prerequisite for the vote, and I think that is a thing that you don't want and we don't want. So don't bring up the vote as if that were the holy of holies. We are going to vote in the U.S. if we have to, but to make the vote the holiest of obligations to us, who feel that we have other more important duties, is again to minimize the daily work that we do and to emphasize the importance of the Shekel out of all proportion.

I would like to end with a special appeal to you who live here, who perform the daily tasks of life in Israel (and they are not small tasks), who sit in danger every day of your lives, to understand us, for if you fail to understand us, you destroy the bridge on which you and we may meet. So view this thing not only as a simple procedural matter on which you have the majority—and you have—but think of the psychological effect, think of what it means to the Jews outside when we come back and say, "Israel refused to give up the double Shekel. Israel has the majority in the General Council and maintains the *status quo*", and think with us what is the best, and good for you and us together, for Israel, and for a strong and good Zionist Movement in the Diaspora.

JACOB MARRUS

(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—U.S.A.)

I was a member, during the session of the Zionist General Council in November 1952, of the committee dealing with affairs outside Eretz Israel. During one of the meetings of that committee the question of the double Shekel was raised. This matter was transmitted by the Congress held in 1951 for consideration by the General Council. The reply when the question was raised was that the Executive had not yet discussed the matter, and a resolution was taken, calling upon the Executive to submit proposals to the Council on the question. This resolution was later approved by the Plenary Session of the Council. During the session of the Council last year we were told that the question would be considered during the present session. Thus we continue to mark time on a question which Congress began to discuss three years ago, because a small majority in the Committee on Organization wishes this privilege of a double Shekel to continue.

In 1946, during the elections to Congress when the Jewish world was excited by the prospect of the establishment of a Jewish state, 22 percent of the Shekel-holders in the United States went to the polls. You can picture for yourselves, if elections were held at the present moment,

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the significance of the majority resolution. In the greatest Jewish community in the world, a minority, with the aid of a technical resolution, could secure a victory over that community against which all complaints have been directed during the present session, the community whose historic function it is—it is a function which we cherish—to protect the interests of Eretz Israel.

There was once a time when it would have been an injustice not to accord special recognition to the small fighting Jewish community of Eretz Israel, and Congress rightly granted the *yishuv* a specially privileged Shekel. But today conditions have changed. From a small handful, the *yishuv* has grown to a state of one and a half million Jews—and we hope that before long it will count two millions. The vision, the struggle for the establishment of a Jewish state has been consummated!

We stand before a great struggle. Our programme is, and perforce must be, directed towards the Jews of the world in a very considerable degree. The time has come to forget party advantage and technical methods to maintain that advantage. If these advantages are warranted by the facts of the situation then they will in any case emerge triumphant, but if they are not, then we must decide between these party advantages and the destiny of Zionism, the destiny of the Jewish people. Otherwise the Jewish people, which we seek to win to the Zionist ideal, will not understand the situation and the fight might be lost.

We are confronted by a great struggle for the Jewish State, and for the entire Jewish people. Give up this privileged Shekel in the State of Israel! In this two-front battle we must stand as a single army, equal and united. With God's aid we will emerge victorious.

ISRAEL BAR-YEHUDA

(Mapam—Israel)

I listened with much interest to the speech of Mrs. Rose Halprin. I noted that throughout she used the word "vote". But vote does not mean the franchise but the exercise of the franchise. I thought that if she proposed equality, she would propose that the mandates to the Congress be allotted according to the number of votes cast in elections. About what sort of equal rights did she speak?

You know very well that there is a great difference between the purchase of a Shekel in Israel and the purchase of a Shekel in the United States. The difference is that in Israel you can't just buy a book of Shekalim and thereby settle your accounts. In Israel all the Zionist parties exist and are extremely active. Here we have elections to Congress and they are as strictly controlled almost as the Knesset elections. I think that it is the only country where there is such rigorous supervision.

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But even if this difference between the Shekel-payer in this country and his counterpart in the United States, and between payment for a Shekel and the exercise of the franchise in elections did not exist, even if complete equality existed between the Shekel-payer here and in America, even then I would say that the privilege conceded at one time should still be preserved.

I am not ashamed to use the term double Shekel, which you have attempted to convert into a term of opprobrium. I do not think that the term indicates anything, that you are better or worse Zionists. We are both Zionists. But our state of being Zionists is different. You can extend a greater or lesser degree of aid, but we, in good times or bad, we shall have to carry the burden upon our shoulders, for there is no other way.

You could ask me: Is this assessment exact? I do not know and I do not wish to know. It may be ten times as much and it may be only one and a half times. I am not discussing mathematics. I think that if the Zionist Movement approaches its problems not in any petty spirit, not from a narrow, partisan aspect, this right must be reaffirmed.

ZVI HERMAN

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

This debate concerns a vital principle of the Zionist Movement. The resolution regarding the institution of a double Shekel was taken in 1921, when Eretz Israel sent four or five delegates to the Zionist Congress and constituted one and a quarter percent of all the delegates. It was taken without debate and the Congress resolved to grant Eretz Israel this privilege of the double Shekel.

In the course of the years, when the *yishuv* in this country grew in numbers and its representation in the 17th and 18th Congresses constituted 20 percent and even more of the total number of delegates, the question was raised in Congress, and apart from the question of additional representation for Eretz Israel there was another reason for the double Shekel. Congress decided on the most vital questions affecting the Jews of Eretz Israel.

But meantime the situation has changed: (a) With God's aid we have established the State of Israel; (b) the delegates from Eretz Israel who accounted for no more than one and a quarter percent at the 12th Congress, constituted 42 percent at the last. Mr. Locker has published an article on "The Legend of the Double Shekel", seeking to prove with the aid of statistics that it is not really double, nor even one and a half times the Shekel, but 1.2. I will not reply to this article and I will not weary you with figures. But in absolute figures: 2,426,000 Shekalim

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were sold abroad, and in Israel, 1,331,000; Diaspora Jewry obtained 291 mandates and Israel 210. The ratio was accordingly 1 : 1.6.

But if I compare Mr. Locker's statistics not with Guatemala, Honduras, Surinam or Peru, but with the larger countries where the Shekel is distributed, and which send at least four delegates to Congress, then the ratio is 1 : 1.8, even according to the statistics of Mr. Locker, and perhaps even more, and in respect of America we can say exactly double. I favour the abolition of the double Shekel, for when the *yishuv* was small, it may have been fully justified, but when the *yishuv* sends 42 percent of all delegates to Congress, it is impossible that Congress will take any decision contrary to Israel views and opposing the interests of the Jews living in Israel. I wish to say something about the second argument, that Congress decides upon questions that vitally affect the lives of all citizens in this country. This argument is completely devoid of foundation, today. It has no relation whatever to realities. If there should be any incident on the frontier, can the Zionist Congress decide what to do? The Knesset will decide. There is a Government in the land, it is responsible for public security. It will send troops, or will decide not to send them, it will decide whether or not to strengthen the frontiers. Will we decide on questions of education, social welfare, security, taxation? Even in those spheres which on the face of it have remained within the competence of the Zionist Movement, is any decision reached without first of all being submitted to the Co-ordinating Board, or without obtaining the approval of the Government? And if the Government says a single word: We do not want this project! Will the Zionist Movement attempt to implement it?

What is the function of the Zionist Movement, that we are talking about? We are discussing education, a major financial campaign, we speak of the concentration of pioneering forces in Israel, of the diversion of Jewry to a creative channel from the Jewish point of view, from the Zionist point of view, from the *aliya* point of view. In this case we decide not to the extent of 99 percent but one hundred percent about the interests of Jews living in the Diaspora. I do not suggest, as has already been suggested here by some one, that we should grant the Diaspora, too, a double Shekel, but only equality of rights. Justly or unjustly, they suffer from a consciousness of inferiority, of being second-class citizens, in their own home, the Zionist Organization.

I am not an enthusiast of the Shekel, I do not think that the Shekel can serve as the supreme criterion of Zionist activity. I deny the validity of this criterion. To our American colleagues I say, I would be very happy if they would hold elections, but the Zionist activity of a person who goes purely by chance to the poll as compared to a person who works for Zionism 365 days of the year—well, I have not yet decided which is the more important.

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This is a great decision for the Zionist Movement, affecting not only the number of the representatives in Congress. It has a far deeper psychological significance, and whether you like it or not this psychological question exists. There cannot be an active Zionist Organization with a large membership, when a large number of its members feel that they are second-class citizens.

MORTIMER MAY

(General Zionists—U.S.A.)

Those of us who belong to an organization, like the Z.O.A. that I have the privilege to head at this moment, know that we pay a stiff membership fee each year of 10 dollars. I doubt if there is one of us who has not made some contribution to the U.J.A., our own American Zionist Fund or the J.N.F. There are very few of us who have not bought bonds or made some investments in P.E.C. stock.

Therefore to accept one criterion that the one thing sacrosanct is the purchase of the Shekel does not seem to be in equilibrium with the many other duties which we perform. Further we feel that the double Shekel is being used and has been used throughout the years to give political advantage to a certain party or parties within the State so that they may have a position of majorization.

We want to do a continuing job in the United States. We want to bring the maximum of aid and assistance to the State of Israel, not just because it is the philanthropic and worthy thing to do, but, as I remarked earlier, the Zionist Movement, to my mind at least, has always represented an aspect of Jewish unity, an understanding that there is a common fate for Jews all over the world. We want to participate in this mutual enterprise of national upbuilding, but we do not feel secure and we do not feel that we have received equal or fair treatment, when one vote in Israel can offset two of our own, when the circumstances give no cause for this, as far as we can see. I said too, and I believe that Dr. Goldmann started off on that note, that what we need from Israel is something in the way of ideals, even if these be utopian. It is good to build castles, but it is still better to put some foundations underneath them, and we are on a poor foundation when discrimination of this kind prevails. Some of the bitterness that has existed between those of us who dwell in the *gola* and you who are privileged to live here in Israel is doubtless based on this feeling of discrimination. We are not so naive that we do not understand the whys and wherefores, so without having to go into further detail, let me say this: If we leave this Council session with a feeling that the double Shekel has to all practical purposes and intents been eliminated, we will

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come back here at the next Congress, I am sure, in a better frame of mind. Indeed, the whole tone of the next Congress may depend on what we do tonight. Let's keep ideals of democracy and righteousness and justice which should characterize the General Council in all its actions, in our minds when we make our decision tonight.

RABBI MORDECHAI KIRSHBLUM

(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—U.S.A.)

We are soon to take the vote, and only by a miracle will we be able to secure the abolition of the double Shekel and see it relegated to the honoured past. In this hour of decision I wish to say that the sharp debate to which we listened tonight will not be concluded tonight. If the double Shekel is retained it will constitute the subject of controversy among Zionists throughout the world. Do not think that the controversy will be confined to the leaders who have foregathered here.

I wish to assume that the differences of opinion that exist between us are not founded on party calculations. Permit me to say, in passing, that the Mizrachi movement, which has very deep roots in this country too, and Hapoel Hamirachi, which will have to make a very big sacrifice if the double Shekel is abolished, support the abolition of the double Shekel out of a desire to strengthen the Zionist Movement. For me the question of the double Shekel is a matter of outlook connected with a Jewish question: What is the nature of the Zionist Movement at this hour? If we think that the Zionist Movement is principally a movement of Jews of Eretz Israel, and that the Jews of the Diaspora must follow behind the Jews of Israel—this is an honour for us, and I personally am prepared to do it—then you must reckon well if it is in the interests of Zionism and the interests of the State of Israel. But there are people with peculiar ideas—I am one of them—who think it would be good for the State, if the Zionist Movement were a movement of men and women, young and old, who wish to work for the State of Israel, who wish to enlist on behalf of the State of Israel, but demand the right for themselves to decide how to achieve this objective. Do not think that if the double Shekel for Israel is perpetuated, it will bring thousands of immigrants to Israel. Of course you have the right to demand from the Jews of the Diaspora that they should make this sacrifice and come to Israel. But do not think that you can come and tell us how to do so. Perhaps if we were given more freedom of thought and action we might implement to a substantial degree the plans for pioneering and immigration, regarding which we have been preached to so much.

It is important to show the world that not only the Jews of Israel

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whose Zionism is self-understood, but the Jews of the whole world, are fired with Zionist enthusiasm and seek to aid all residents and citizens of the State.

ISRAEL RITOV

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

What is the privilege we enjoy and what in your opinion is the discrimination you suffer from? What wrong has been done to you? First of all if you have indeed been discriminated against, then it was the Congress that was responsible for that discrimination. The Congress took the decision. We—the Ichud Olami, including the Israel Labour Party—have never had a majority in the Congress, nor have we—the Zionists of Israel, of all parties.

It is perfectly true that the resolution of Congress was taken many years ago, and meantime our number has increased in this country—may we continue to increase. But what difference does this make in respect of the resolution of Congress? Who ever decided what weight should be granted to the Jewish community in this country? When we see the day when the *yishuv* constitutes the majority of the Jewish people, we shall relinquish this privilege.

Of course the Shekalim are counted. But they have a certain weight too. The weight you attach to the Shekel is not the weight we attach to it. When we buy Shekalim and when we go to the Congress elections it is for us a vital question.

Or perhaps we could reach agreement with you. Let us all, in all countries, go to the polls, without bureaucratic allocation of mandates, and there will be no privileges for Israel. There will be no double Shekel and no double accounting, there will be equal elections and equal results—in keeping with the number of voters—in New York and in Jerusalem, in Chicago and Tel-Aviv, in Buenos Aires and in Haifa.

DR. SAMUEL MARGOSHES

(General Zionists—U.S.A.)

We move the adoption of the following amendment:

The special rights of the Shekel-payers in Israel shall be abolished as discriminatory to the Zionists of the rest of the world and as unjustified by the existing situation in the State of Israel.

Our complaint that there is discrimination is based upon facts which nobody can deny. If one section of the Movement obtains two votes for every Shekel and the other section obtains only one vote, that is discrimination against the minority. This is absolutely clear.

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One delegate asked a simple question. What has happened that we should abolish the double Shekel? I think that it is apparent to any one that the reason is the growth of the *yishuv* in Israel. The special privilege was granted to Zionists in Israel because they constituted a small minority and Jews in the Diaspora wished to permit them to have greater representation in Congress. They constituted such a small minority that it was necessary to increase it. Thank God the Zionist Organization throughout the world has grown, as has the Jewish community in this country, and there is no longer any need for such a privilege. It has been argued here that the Jews of Israel must settle the border districts, that they have immigrated to Israel, that they work their land and overcome all the difficulties that exist here and not in America and other countries. In other words, we are required to compensate them for the work of those who reside in Israel. If the double Shekel is the prize given for their work, it is a very small prize.

I will give you some good advice. Take the Congress and give it to those Jews who are settling the frontiers and demand this recompense. Take the Zionist Congress, and the Zionists of the United States and Argentina and other countries will remain each in his own home. You will make the laws for the entire Zionist world and you will call this Zionist democracy.

You have a majority. You can perpetuate the double Shekel. But do not say that this constitutes justice, because that is not the case.

We call upon you in the name of the Zionist conscience, in the name of democracy, to recognize the equality of all Zionists, wherever they may be. We demand the abolition of this discrimination and the restoration of equality to the Zionist world.

THE MA'AGAN DISASTER

JOSEPH SPRINZAK

(Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

It is with a deep sense of shock that I have to inform you that today at six o'clock in the afternoon, during a memorial meeting held to mark the tenth anniversary of the death of the parachutist Peretz Goldstein in Kibbutz Ma'agan, there was a grave accident. One of the planes crashed into the large crowd attending the ceremony, resulting in the death of 13 persons and the wounding of 30 others. This disaster has caused very grave losses to the country and to Zionism. Among the thirteen fatalities were four parachutists who returned safely from the Second World War and from their mission.

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The Zionist General Council honoured the memory of the victims by rising; the meeting was adjourned for ten minutes.

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE AND VOTE ON THE DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF THE MOVEMENT AND MATTERS OF ORGANIZATION

THE SPECIAL RIGHTS OF SHEKEL-PAYERS IN ISRAEL AND THE RIGHTS OF ELECTORAL AREAS IN WHICH POLLING TAKES PLACE

ANSELM REISS

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

I wish to explain why the majority in the Committee did not accept the views of the minority, and especially not the views of our colleague Dr. Margoshes. Dr. Margoshes has indulged in excessive simplification. According to what he says the Jew or the Zionist in Israel has a double vote as compared with the Jew in the Diaspora. In his opinion there is a clash between Israel and the Diaspora.

The Zionist in this country votes upon the same lines as Zionists throughout the world. The Zionist in Israel has only one vote. In addition, the argument that all Zionists in the Diaspora demand this reform is not correct. It is not correct that they think that the restoration to good health of the Zionist Movement depends upon the introduction of such a reform. What is correct is that a very large section of the representatives of the Diaspora here voted with the majority of the Committee and not with the minority. It is of no use to argue that Zionists overseas demand a change in the *status quo*. This is not true, in effect it is only the demand of certain parties. But the argument is brought forward in the name of the Zionists of the Diaspora.

If you wish to compare the rights of the Jews in this country with those of the Diaspora in regard to the Congress, the comparison should not be made solely on the basis of a statistical comparison between Israel and the United States. In that case we should take all the Jews of the Diaspora and all the Jews of Israel. In that case the figures do not prove Dr. Margoshes' argument, but something entirely different. These are not statistical acrobatics, but very simple arithmetic. In the Diaspora 2.4 million Shekalim were sold and on the basis of these 2.4 million Shekalim they sent 263 delegates to Congress. In other words, every

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9,000 Shekel-payers obtained one mandate. In Israel 1.3 million Shekalim were sold, and 210 delegates were sent to Congress. In other words, 6,300 Shekalim were required for a single mandate. Thus the ratio between the Diaspora and Israel is far from 1 : 2.

We have said something very simple. We want a Zionist Movement founded upon activities in all fields, an organization based upon active members. If elections are held in all countries, we are prepared to forego the privilege that is enjoyed by Israel. If the number of delegates is determined according to the number of voters going to the poll, then the special right granted to Israel can be abolished, and then we can decide upon a similar basis for all countries in which elections are held. But if this is not accepted, then the proposal we have put forward constitutes the only just method under present conditions.

The amendment of Dr. Margoshes was rejected by 38 votes to 26.

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

(Member of the Executive—New York)

I should like to make a declaration on behalf of the World Confederation of General Zionists :

You have voted as you have voted. This question which has been discussed, has been a subject of discussion for many years. The position of the World Confederation of General Zionists has been and is that there is no moral justification for continuing the double privilege of the Shekel in Israel, but on the contrary we hold that it divides the members of the World Zionist Organization into first-class and second-class members.

Our point of view has been defeated here by the vote just taken. It has been an honourable defeat because every defeat on a principle is an honourable defeat. We have maintained the principle and we have lost, and from here on the World Confederation of General Zionists will not participate in any further votes on any other propositions with regard to this question. It will abstain. But we shall continue, after this session of the Council, to make every effort to abolish the double privilege for the Israel Shekel, because we consider it to be—and we have considered the matter very deeply—democratically indefensible and morally unjust.

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BERL LOCKER

(Chairman of the Executive)

I am aware that in the Committee on Organization there was a more far-reaching resolution than confirmation of the special rights of Shekel-payers in Israel upon which we are now to vote. The resolution accepted was that in all areas in which there are elections and in which at least 40 percent of the Shekel-payers participate, the number of mandates will be increased by one hundred percent. If in the United States elections are held and at least 40 percent of the Shekel-payers participate, they will be granted twice as many mandates as they would without elections, or if less than 40 percent of the Shekel-payers participated. My party proposed reducing the percentage from 40 percent to 25 percent. I know that the Confederation of General Zionists considered accepting this proposal. If the Confederation does support this proposal, and elections are held in the United States, if the number of voters is at least 25 percent of the number of Shekel-payers, then the United States will enjoy the same rights as Israel. This applies of course not only to the United States. Every country in which elections are held and at least 25 percent of the Shekel-payers go to the poll will receive a double number of mandates. In this fashion any suspicion of discrimination will be removed. I propose that the resolution of the Committee on Organization, setting the figure at 40 percent be changed to 25 percent. I ask the General Zionists and others who will vote with them to vote for this proposal so that we may leave the session of the Zionist General Council united.

DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN

(Chairman of the Executive)

In order to remove any misunderstanding, I wish to make it clear that I do not at present speak on behalf of the Executive. I speak only in my own name; I do not speak from a party standpoint.

There is only one reason for my taking the floor at present. I am interested that in the concluding session of the Zionist General Council on the only question over which there is so much controversy, prior to our taking the vote—all other resolutions, with the exception of the political resolutions were passed unanimously—I would not like to see the matter decided by a majority vote maintaining the *status quo*. I was, accordingly, of the opinion that it was a good thing that during the negotiations between the Committee and the parties a resolution was put forward, granting a privilege not only to Israel voters, but to all voters participating in genuine elections.

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I do not believe in the Shekel. I do not think that the Shekel can constitute the basis of the Zionist Movement. But if the Shekel is the basis of the Zionist Organization, then I regard it as considerable progress if this privilege is granted not only to Israel, but to all countries in which elections are held.

There were differences of opinion as to what the required minimum should be in order to secure this privilege in any country. There was a proposal that it should be set at 25 percent, another that it should be 20. It was also proposed that the decision should not be taken here, but that it should be left in the hands of the Zionist Executive which would also decide what the required percentage should be in the various countries. I regret that so far no agreement has been reached.

But if Mr. Locker declares on behalf of his party that the privilege of the double Shekel should be granted to every country in which genuine elections are held—the Executive has so far taken no decision on the matter—if 25 percent of the Shekel-payers participate in the elections, then it constitutes a considerable advance. For if the *status quo* is maintained, and the special privilege of Israel is preserved, Zionists in the Diaspora will go to the polls in a spirit of bitterness. It is a fact that over questions like these, affecting the inter-party relations and the relative positions of the parties, an ideal solution is impossible. There are members who consider a 20 percent proposal better than the 25 percent proposal. In my opinion the suggestion made by the majority that the percentage be set at 40 percent is exaggerated, I would say almost ridiculous. In the larger countries it is very difficult to bring 40 percent of the Shekel-payers to the polls. It is no small undertaking in America. But the proposal that the figure be set at 25 percent (I think that 20 percent would have been better), constitutes a compromise that should be accepted. American Zionists can organize the work in such a fashion that they can double their representation, and thereby avoid under-representation of the American Zionists in relation to the Zionists of Israel.

I therefore support Mr. Locker's motion, and if it is accepted by the majority, it will constitute a certain measure of progress, although not an ideal solution. The members from America, who are very embittered over this issue—if they consider the matter carefully—will appreciate that this is logical and indicates progress. If this resolution is passed, I am convinced that at least some of the bitterness, which the maintenance of the *status quo* has caused will be removed, and in the course of time will completely vanish. And then when we come to discuss major organizational questions in Congress we may find that the Shekel should no longer constitute the basis of the composition of the Congress. But for the time being the proposal put forward constitutes a *modus vivendi*, suitable for the coming year and for the forthcoming Congress.

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ZVI HERMAN

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

I wish to draw your attention to one matter, in my capacity as Head of the Organization Department. In the resolution on which we are about to vote, in addition to the debate which has been held, there is one aspect which I suggest that the members of the Council take into account. This matter was not discussed in Committee. There are three or four countries, which we discussed *in camera*. In these countries no elections can be held, although under normal conditions such elections would certainly be held. I call upon the Council to take into account the fact that there are four countries in which elections cannot be held, not because the Zionists do not want elections, but because of a variety of reasons, and that this privilege should also be granted to them.

I wish to mention another reason for this suggestion. In these countries people are very sensitive over this matter, and if this right is not granted to delegates they will feel that they are being discriminated against by the Zionist General Council.

A short procedural debate arose on the need to vote on the motion, reading

The Zionist General Council resolves that no change shall take place with regard to the special rights of the Shekel-payers in Israel, as laid down in Section 25, para. 4. of the Constitution of the Zionist Organization.

Dr. Goldmann was of the opinion that, while the amendment of *Dr. Margoshes* (which was rejected) had been in order, there was no reason for any additional resolution, declaring that a provision in the Constitution was still in effect. When *Mr. Pinchas Rosen*, the Congress Attorney, concurred with this view, no vote was taken on the paragraph.

A further debate arose on the possibility of introducing amendments from the floor, following *Mr. Locker's* suggestion to amend the minimum participation in actual polling, granting other electoral areas the same status as Israel, from 40 percent to 25 percent. When, upon inquiry by *Rabbi Elimelech Neufeld*, the Chairman—*Mr. Siegmund Haering*, the Chairman of the Committee, confirmed that there had been a proposal for 25 percent but that it was not put to the vote in Committee, the Chairman asked the Congress Attorney for his ruling.

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RABBI ELIMELECH NEUFELD

(Chairman)

Section 16(1) of the Standing Orders states that no motions shall be put to the vote unless they have been previously dealt with by the competent Committee. This Section enables the Presidium to put to the vote this resolution, if it was previously put forward in Committee. Is this interpretation correct?

PINCHAS ROSEN

(Congress Attorney)

I think it is. In addition it must be taken into account that the Zionist General Council has not kept strictly to formalities in such matters, and it is clear—at least was in the past—when matters like the present came up, particularly changing a figure from 40 percent to 25 percent.

I think that the Zionist General Council will do well to respect this tradition. There is also the authority of this Section which states that resolutions may not be put to the vote unless the competent Committee of the Zionist General Council has previously discussed them. The intention was to prevent matters being put to the vote at the last moment. But if the question was discussed in Committee, then I am of the opinion that it can be moved here.

It was also confirmed that an amendment, proposed by Dr. Nir, had been debated in Committee, and, in consequence of the Congress Attorney's ruling, it too was presented to the Plenary:

Every country in the Diaspora holding elections will be granted a premium of 25 percent of the number of delegates.

On voting, Dr. Nir's resolution was rejected. Mr. Locker's amendment was passed by 36 votes to 9.

DATE OF THE 24TH ZIONIST CONGRESS

-DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN

(Member of the Executive—New York)

It is true that no amendment was introduced on the date of the Congress. The Chairman of the Organization Committee confirms that in the Committee there were other proposals and suggestions. I thought that since no formal amendment was introduced here, I did not have the right to mention this other proposal. But since we have adopted

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and accepted the procedure that it could be brought from the floor, I cannot see why it cannot be mentioned now.

The suggestion was that the date of the Congress be fixed not for August but for a somewhat later date in the year 1955, and there were weighty reasons given for it. If you will permit me, I will mention one. The elections for the Knesset will take place in July or August. At the Congress held in 1951 we had a similar situation wherein the Knesset elections were held on July 31, 1951 and the Congress assembled in the first days of August. That was a very inadvisable time to hold the Congress, on the heels of a heatedly contested Knesset election in Israel, before a new government had been formed. I do not want to propose here at this time an actual change in that date, but I would very strongly advise and recommend that this session leave a certain leeway to the Presidium and the Executive jointly, if they find it advisable under the circumstances, to fix another date in the same year. Although we might express our preference or it has been expressed, we have not voted as yet for the month of August. I would propose a simple amendment that the precise date be left to the discretion of the Presidium and the Executive provided it take place, of course, as fixed by the Congress, during the year 1955.

SIEGMUND HAERING

(Chairman of the Committee)

On the matter of the date of the Congress there were amendments in Committee. We voted on this matter a number of times and the date decided upon was the first half of the month of August, 1955. There is therefore no reason to embark upon any debate on this question.

SIGNATURES ON PETITIONS AGAINST VALIDITY OF CONGRESS ELECTIONS

The amendment proposed by Mapam was withdrawn.

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ELECTIONS TO CONGRESS BY POLLING AND WITHOUT POLLING

PAUL L. GOLDMAN

(Mapam—U.S.A.)

I think that now that the resolution on elections and premiums in the countries of the Diaspora has been taken, the number of voters required to demand elections should be reduced. We have seen that at times six to seven hundred Shekel-payers are sufficient to obtain a mandate. If this paragraph remains as proposed by the majority, then one thousand voters will be necessary in order to protest against injustices. Twenty-five percent of the voters in the larger countries means tens of thousands of people. But in a country in which the list of Shekel-payers numbers six hundred, which now have a weight equivalent to 1,200, this should be sufficient to demand elections. I think that this is in the interests of democracy, in order that no injustice should be done in the small countries. I call upon the Zionist General Council to support the following amendment:

The number of signatures required for a list, which had been submitted in opposition to the Nomination List which in the opinion of at least 25 percent of the members of the Central Election Board is supported by the great majority of the Shekel-payers in the last Shekel campaign before the Congress, shall be 200, if in the electoral area concerned less than 50,000 Shekalim had been sold in the last Shekel campaign before the Congress; at least 400 if the number of Shekalim had been between 50,000 and 100,000; and at least 600 if the number of Shekalim exceeded 100,000.

ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTIONS

The motions proposed by the Committee were carried by majority votes (see Resolutions Nos. 75-82). The motion on *The Special Rights of Shekel-Payers in Israel* was not put to the vote (see above); the motion on the *Rights of Electoral Areas in the Diaspora in Which Polling Takes Place* was amended (see above); the *addendum* regarding electoral areas in which for external reasons no polling can take place was carried (see para. (b) of Resolution No. 76).

An additional resolution on the *Execution of Decisions on Shekel and Elections* (see Resolution No. 80) was also passed.

The resolutions effecting changes in the Election Regulations received two readings, as required by the law.

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ANNIVERSARIES OF ZIONIST LEADERS

JOSEPH SPRINZÁK

(Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

We opened this session of the Council by recalling the past, those who are missing from our ranks. The Presidium has resolved to devote the closing session to an appreciation of those who are celebrating their jubilees, personalities, thanks to whose work our movement has grown and developed, and who are venerated by all Zionists and Jews.

ZALMAN SHÁZAR

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

On behalf of all of you I wish to offer our congratulations to those persons who in the brief interval between the previous and present sessions of the Zionist General Council have celebrated anniversaries. I know that I shall not be able to enumerate all of our dear friends in the Zionist Movement, and there will be some whom we shall only remember in our hearts. But our blessing goes to all of them. I shall mention only a few of the most outstanding.

I will begin with the doyen of the celebrants, the octogenarian Dr. Arthur Hantke. Dr. Hantke has evinced a strength, of which there are very few examples. His life is the history of the Zionist Movement from its beginnings to the present day. Indeed he commenced his activity in Jewish affairs even prior to the inception of political Zionism. When Dr. Hantke joined "Humanitas" in 1893, the term Zionism had not yet been coined. Since then—and herein his unique personality is expressed—his destiny has been inextricably bound up with the Zionist leadership, *via* the leadership of Jewry in Germany to the highest plane of the World Zionist Movement. When Herzl appeared in the Zionist arena, young Hantke was one of his most loyal and devoted adherents, and in the year in which Herzl died, Hantke was already a member of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund. And throughout, through all the changes of the Zionist Executive and the central institutions, both in Germany and elsewhere, the thread of his diligent career was bound up with that of the Zionist Movement.

I will not weary you with reminiscences this evening, but I must recall one incident. At that time the Zionist Executive was known as the Smaller Actions Committee. It consisted of six leading personalities, who were the cream of the Movement. In Berlin I met three of the six—Professor Otto Warburg, Dr. Victor Jacobson, and may he be preserved for long life, Dr. Arthur Hantke. The entire burden of finan-

cial and organizational activity rested upon the shoulders of Dr. Hantke. Ever since that period there has been the feeling in the Zionist Movement of the presence of a leader personifying a profound sense of responsibility, a constant vigilance, instilling a spirit of confidence in the Movement.

For the past 25 years and more, since the establishment of the Keren Hayesod, he naturally became the central personality symbolizing the exchequer of the Zionist Movement. He is more than the leader of the Keren Hayesod. He is himself in a sense one of the foundations, quiet and modest as a foundation, fundamentally responsible, carrying the building like a foundation. May he be granted long years, to continue to support this building with his characteristic youthful spirit.

We must also extend our congratulations to one who is a mere decade younger than he.

If I have said that Hantke was the builder and the director of this house of Zionism, then the spokesman of the Zionist Movement in Germany, and its spiritual leader, was the always youthful and dynamic Kurt Blumenfeld. Perhaps I am not capable of assessing Kurt Blumenfeld's personality objectively. We have too many intimate ties in common over a period of many years. Kurt Blumenfeld and his Zionist history and intellectual world, and the ideas he cherished, do not belong to the past.

At that time Zionism in Germany was remarkable for the fact that it was the movement of individuals who had returned from assimilation, who had consciously expressed a preference for Judaism, who in their propaganda activity sought values in Judaism and in Zionism, which could be cherished. There was at that time no objective need in this direction. The powerful spur of the realities of Eretz Israel did not yet exist. These factors emerged later. When Kurt Blumenfeld appeared on the scene, Jewish need was not so great and Jew-hatred was not so acute in Germany. There was not even a Hechalutz movement. When Kurt formulated the idea of the Palestine Centre, and demanded during the Leipzig Conference personal participation in Eretz Israel, from every Jew and from every Zionist, and declared Palestine-centrism and personal participation as the criterion distinguishing Zionists from non-Zionists, it was still some years prior to A. D. Gordon's letters, and Arlosoroff's appearance in the Zionist arena and our own *Ole Zion*, before contacts between the Jewish intellectuals in Germany with the new life emerging in Eretz Israel were created.

The idea of demanding Zionism from every Jew, not because of personal Jewish need, but because he must participate in the common historic destiny, emanated from Kurt Blumenfeld. It was he who declared that one could only be free in a spirit of loyalty to his historic fate, otherwise that person must remain defective. He preached

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the Zionist emancipation of the Jew who was immersed in foreign culture, by raising himself to a consciousness of the integral nature of Jewish history, becoming one with his people and the liberation of his people. Can there be more actual values in Zionism today than these?

We must realize that if we have here the type of Jew from Germany we meet today, if we have witnessed such an immigration of German Jews, how fruitful their absorption in this country has been, and beyond the borders of Israel, how German-Jewish Zionists have been loyal servants of the Zionist ideal, and we see what Zionists from Germany have established in Eretz Israel, in the country's economy and in science, in politics and in society, we must gratefully recall those who were the builders and missionaries of that revolutionary Zionist ideology, which prepared the ground for the penetration of Jews from Germany into the life of Israel. May Kurt Blumenfeld be vouchsafed long years of life to bear this well-earned gratitude, the heartfelt good wishes of the entire Zionist General Council.

In that same house of Zionism in Germany, where Hantke was the builder and director and where Kurt Blumenfeld was the intellectual leader, ten years later there appeared a young virtuoso—Dr. Nachum Goldmann. You all know him today and enjoy the fruit of his talent. At that time he was still a wonder child, a prodigy.

The source of Goldmann's personality was not only Germany. The roots of the generation of Kurt Blumenfeld were in the culture of Germany. In Goldmann's personality there are traces of the influence of Russia, from his uncle S. L. Gordon, and Ben Avigdor, and his father, the editor of the *Frankfurter Familienblatt*, and his German Zionism has certain contacts with Hebraism and Yiddishism, which he absorbed with all the power of his exceptional gifts.

Last year, when I spoke about Dr. Goldmann, I said that he was the *Resh Galuta*, the head of the exile, leader of the Jewish Diaspora. This is a term pregnant with a profound traditional and historic meaning. I now recall an ancient Hebrew-Aramaic term, *Dabrana D'umata*—leader, spokesman of the people. This sums up the great talent which has marked out Dr. Goldmann. We wish him much further success in every field.

Today, on the occasion of his sixtieth anniversary, I wish to say one thing to him on your behalf. There are moments—I am of the opinion that these are moments of weakness—when he asks, what is the use of it all. What will it all lead to? With books, with the pen, one can sometimes influence Jews far more. Perhaps for this reason it would be better to leave the entire matter. In these moments I am constantly afraid that I hear the echo of such hesitations.

I would like to tell him. He is certainly the master of his fate. Far be it from me to try and give him advice. I leave it to his Zionist con-

Z. SHAZAR

science. There are two things I wish him. The first is: He has begun—meantime only in speeches, but often from speeches the entire dynamic force springs forth, and I hope that as he has often been the “golden hand”, he will succeed in this matter too—to reduce the inter-party estrangements, to do away, to some extent, with the barriers dividing the various parties, to introduce a spirit of mutual understanding, to close the ranks and to enhance the internal unity and cohesion of the World Zionist Organization.

There is a second project he has embarked upon—and, I believe, successfully—and the first sprouts can already be seen, though a lot of faith is still necessary, to bring about the creation of an united and active Jewry, centred about the World Zionist Movement.

My time is limited and I must now curtail my remarks. I wish to send our greetings to the Minister of Education and Culture in the Israel Government, Professor Benzion Dinur, who is marking his seventieth year. He is an authority on many periods of Jewish history, and in his world of thought he maintains contact with a great variety of Jewish personalities. Among all these I doubt whether he will find a single one upon whom has been imposed such an onerous responsibility, to conduct the entire educational and cultural work of the younger generation in the Jewish State. Let us send him our felicitations and wish him that he surmount all the obstacles confronting him and that he be vouchsafed many more years of fruitful activity.

I wish also to convey your good wishes to a member of the Zionist Executive, who has also marked his seventieth birthday. I refer to our colleague Dr. Nahum Nir, today at the head of the left Poale Zion. Here we have an entirely different chapter. He is one of the surviving leaders of the Eastern European labour movement. Dr. Nir has contributed, primarily in the Knesset and later in the Executive, his knowledge of Jewry and his socialist earnestness, to the Zionist cause. We extend to him our cordial congratulations.

I will conclude with the youngest of them all, my friend Dr. Yeschayahu Wolfsberg. He too comes from Germany. He however proved to be something rare in the Zionist world in Germany, his mastery of philosophy being interwoven with propaganda for the Zionist Movement, with deep roots in tradition, with strong ties with the Jewish past and a true piety. About Dr. Wolfsberg there is indeed much to be said. But I do not wish to weary you, and he would certainly not like to weary you.

I wish to express the hope that He who has blessed the Zionist Movement with such sons, may He bless the sons Himself that they see others in their likeness, and may they be vouchsafed, together with all of us, to see the complete consolidation.

THIRTEENTH MEETING

THE AMERICAN JEWISH TRICENTENARY

Mr. Joseph Sprinzak read the congratulations sent to American Jewry, to mark the tricentenary of the settlement of Jews in the United States (see Resolution No. 83).

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

(Member of the Executive—New York)

I have been called upon to say something about American Jewry on a very important occasion in the life and the history of American Jewry.

In American Jewry, the year 1954/55 is a year of stock-taking because it is a historic milestone marking the 300th anniversary of the settlement of Jews in the United States. In view of what American Jewry has become, the largest Jewish community in the world, and the greatest source of moral and financial help to the Jewish people in general and Israel in particular, it is appropriate that this milestone should be noted at the present session of the General Council of the World Zionist Organization.

The 23 Jews who sailed into the harbour of New Amsterdam in September 1654 little dreamed that they were opening up a path which would become a highway to millions of Jews in years and generations to come. They were refugees from parts of the new continent where already Jewish communities were flourishing, so that in Brazil they spoke of a "new Jerusalem" with scholars and rabbis and Jewish congregations. They fled from Brazil when that land changed hands and religious freedom was abrogated and religious persecution was substituted. They fled to New Amsterdam, where religious freedom, though not altogether complete, was at least tolerated. After them there came streams and streams of other refugees across the generations and centuries, escaping religious, racial and political persecution, down to the recent chapter of our own time.

American Jews for the most part are refugees or the offspring of refugees. The most "aristocratic" and the least "aristocratic", so-called, are all refugees, only a few generations removed.

It is to the credit of the early pioneers that they held fast to their faith, that they maintained synagogues, that they maintained a foothold of Jewish community life, upon which subsequent generations of Jews enlarged. It is to the credit of America that it became more and more a bulwark of religious freedom in the world.

Volumes have been written about the influence of our Bible, the Old Testament, on the foundations of American democracy, the moulding

of the climate of American democracy, from its beginnings in colonial times, the place of Hebrew, an honourable place in the culture of the important leaders in those colonial days, and the ideal of the *Shivat Zion*, the Zionist ideal, which found a deep lodgement, not only in the hearts of Jews such as Mordecai Noah with his project of Ararat, but also in the hearts of non-Jews such as the second President of the United States, President John Adams. He declared himself a friend of the cause of restoration of the Jewish people to its ancient homeland. Adams set a precedent for the presidents of our time, who endorsed the Balfour Declaration and who supported the State of Israel.

It is important to bear in mind, however, in connection with this retrospect of three hundred years, that it had three periods; one, the period of sporadic immigration, second, the period of mass immigration, and third, the period in which we are now living, of restricted immigration, which is bringing about the consolidation and the integration of all the elements that have gone into the building of American Jewry.

I shall beg leave to insert here a sober evaluation of that which American Jewry is today, its *pros* and its *cons*, its virtues and its deficiencies.

American Jewry's shining hour was when it played a notable part, second only to that of the *yishuv* in Palestine, in providing material support and in winning the political support of the American people and Government for the Jewish National Home and then for *Medinat Israel*.

That American Jewry has been able to play a crucial part in a critical time for the Jewish people, is providential. Will it be equal to the tasks which lie ahead? Will it restlessly seek to become great or will it be smugly content to be large? Will it develop cultural and spiritual assets commensurate with its economic assets and philanthropic merits? Will it at least in measure make up for the spiritual-cultural casualties of the lost continent? And what of the future of Israel? And what of the future of America and of the world?

We American Jews thank God that in the period of the *Megilat Eicha*, the Scroll of Lamentations, of the misfortunes of our time, American Jewry has been privileged to write at least a page in the chapter of *Nachamu, nachamu ami*, and most of all in its glorious chapter called *Medinat Israel*.

American Jewry's future will depend upon the future of the world. American Jewry's future will depend upon the direction of American democracy. American Jewry's future will depend upon the future of Israel. American Jewry's future will depend also upon its own capacity to dig deep into the religious and cultural traditions of our past, of our Torah, our sacred and secular culture.

Thus may we be found worthy of these three centuries of history

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which we note with thanksgiving to God, and we turn to the future with our prayer that we, the five million Jews of the new continent, may not be found unworthy of being your brothers.

CONSLUSION OF THE SESSION BY MR. JOSEPH SPRINZAK

(Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

In closing this session of the Zionist General Council I will confine myself to a few brief remarks. We have had a comparatively quiet session, during a period which is far from quiet for the State, for Zionism and for the Jewish people. May this quiet be an expression of the deep concern which must fill us in this difficult hour of transition for the Zionist Movement in all lands of the dispersion.

We opened this session with the proclamation of the Herzl Memorial Year. Let this year not only be a year in which we shall honour Herzl's name and commemorate his work, let it be a year of endeavour in the Herzlian spirit for strengthening our organization, and the enlistment of new forces for the Zionist Movement—forces which will enable us to perform the great work of preparation among the Jewish people, the renewal of Zionist impetus, in order that the Zionist Organization may continue to constitute the vanguard of the Jewish people, for the realization of Zionist aspiration in the State of Israel.

I hereby close this session of the Zionist General Council.

The session closed with the singing of Hatikva.

RESOLUTIONS

A. PUBLIC RELATIONS

1. Solidarity with the People of Israel

(a) The Zionist General Council reaffirms the solidarity of the World Zionist Organization to the people of Israel in their efforts to make the guard the sovereignty, security and free development of the State. Jews everywhere are vitally interested in the progress and prosperity of the State of Israel, to which they are bound by strong ties of history, religion, and common destiny.

(b) The General Council solemnly pledges the support of the World Zionist Organization to the people of Israel in their efforts to make the State a centre of peace, democracy and Jewish constructive endeavour. Today, as throughout its history, the Zionist Movement dedicates itself to the building up of the land of Israel through *aliya* and colonization, the strengthening of the State and the acceleration of Israel's progress towards unity and the creation of cultural values. The gravity of this period in world history intensifies the need for dedication to these aims. The future of Israel and the historic destiny of the Jewish people are bound by an unbreakable link.

2. Deterioration of Middle East Position and Tasks of Zionist Movement

(a) The General Council is deeply disturbed at the recent deterioration of the situation in the Middle East resulting from the campaign of threats, hostile acts and violence by the Arab States against Israel. The road to peace and stability in the region is through direct negotiations between Israel and the neighbouring countries, and through a policy of social and economic development for the common good of the area.

(b) The General Council is deeply concerned at the growing ineffectiveness of the machinery set up under the Armistice Agreements in the Middle East. A most disturbing fact is that the Jordan-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission has failed justly and clearly to assign the blame for the numerous wanton attacks upon Israel. The most flagrant recent

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example was the assault upon the New City of Jerusalem, which came as a shock to the Jewish world and to enlightened public opinion everywhere.

(c) The General Council demands that in the agreement now being concluded with Egypt adequate guarantees be given for the security of Israel. The strengthening of the military potential of Egypt, as that of any other Arab State, creates a new balance of forces in the Middle East, and tends to upset the precarious *status quo* and increase the likelihood of armed conflict. It is, moreover, in clear contravention of the Tripartite Declaration of the Western Powers of May 25th, 1950.

(d) The General Council stresses the dangerous implications of the policy pursued by those powers which, in various ways, within and without the United Nations, encourage Arab intransigence, while the Arabs maintain a virtual state of warfare against Israel, and stubbornly persist in their refusal to make peace.

In particular the policy of supplying arms to the Arab States fosters Arab extremism and helps to intensify the state of tension on Israel's borders. The General Council urges that no arms be supplied to those states in the Middle East which persist in their refusal to negotiate peace settlements with Israel.

(e) It is the constant duty and task of the Zionist Movement to bring to the Jewish and non-Jewish public all over the world the true facts of the situation in the Middle East. The Executive and Zionist bodies in all countries are urged to intensify and expand their efforts in the fields of information and public relations.

3. Persecution of Zionists in Rumania

The General Council registers its protest against the imprisonment in Rumania of hundreds of Zionist and Jewish leaders who have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

The accusations levelled against these leaders are based on their Zionist outlook or their past connections with Jewish organizations, which cannot be considered to form a legal basis for imposing a punishment. The Rumanian Government itself for many years facilitated the legal immigration of Jewish masses to Eretz Israel, and it is therefore not entitled to consider such past activities on the part of the Jewish leaders as a breach of its laws. The imprisonment of such a large number of Zionist workers constitutes a grave blow to the Jewish Community in Rumania, now bereft of its leaders.

The Zionist Movement calls upon the Rumanian Government to put right this grievous wrong by freeing the imprisoned leaders, and permitting their immigration to Israel.

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B. THE STATUS OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

4. *The Covenant*

The Zionist General Council accepts with profound satisfaction the formal signature of the Covenant between the Government of Israel and the Zionist Executive. The General Council notes that the Covenant gives in its principles full expression to the views of the World Zionist Organization as expressed in the resolutions of the 23rd Zionist Congress and the resolutions of the Zionist General Council.

C. IMMIGRATION

5. *Intensification of Immigration*

On the 50th anniversary of the death of Binyamin Zeev Herzl, and on the completion of the sixth year since the establishment of the State of Israel, the Zionist General Council repeats the affirmation made by the 23rd Zionist Congress of the great importance of *kibbutz galuyot* as a stage in the implementation of Zionism and a basic condition for the consolidation of the State of Israel and the growth of its strength.

The General Council calls upon the Zionist Movement and upon the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora, particularly in the countries of the West, to work for the intensification of immigration, to encourage the pioneering youth movements and the preparation of youth for immigration, and to intensify the preparations for the immigration of experts, scientists, professional workers, artisans, and other middle class circles.

6. *Plan for Renewal of Mass Immigration*

The General Council welcomes the plan submitted to it by the Head of the Immigration Department for the renewal of mass immigration in 1954/55. It is the duty of the State of Israel, the Zionist Movement and all the sections of the public working for the strengthening, rehabilitation and deliverance of the Jewish people, to prepare suitable conditions for the implementation of the plan, and to supply the resources required for the purpose.

The General Council approves the principle of directing the new immigrants as far as possible, without any stay in immigrant camps, straight to agricultural settlements and labour villages, which will be prepared for them—or by themselves immediately on their arrival—in all regions of the country, in accordance with the requirements of settlement, development, and consolidation.

The General Council is fully aware of the great burden that this method imposes upon the Executive, and expresses the hope that the

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Jews of Israel, the Zionist Movement and the people as a whole will take their full share in carrying it out.

7. Organization of Immigration of Diaspora Jewish Communities

The General Council decides that preparations should be made for the immigration of complete Jewish communities, of small and medium size, from the free countries, in full co-operation with them during all the stages of their departure, immigration and settlement in Israel.

8. Institution for Transfer of Immigrants' Property

The General Council requests the Executive to examine the proposal for the establishment of a special financial institution to deal with the transfer of the property of immigrants in such a manner as to preserve its value, as far as possible. The Executive is requested to prepare a plan for the implementation of this proposal and lay it before the next session of the General Council.

D. CHILDREN'S AND YOUTH ALIYA

9. Transfer of Youth from Town to Country

The Zionist General Council has noted with satisfaction new plans for a large-scale transfer of youths from the towns, *ma'barot*, slums and immigrant quarters to pioneering labour villages, and approves of this activity of the Youth Aliya and Absorption Departments.

10. Plans for Immigration of Children from North Africa

The General Council notes with satisfaction the plans for bringing to Israel at least one child of Youth Aliya age from each Jewish family in North Africa, in order to prepare through the training of these children the future of their families in Israel.

11. Expansion of Youth Aliya Activities

The new plan for the expansion of activities among immigrant youth in Israel and for the extension of Youth Aliya from abroad (from North Africa, India, South America, and other countries) necessitates the procuring of additional resources for these activities by the Zionist Executive and all organizations active on behalf of Youth Aliya throughout the world, and in particular by the Zionist women's organizations, which in the course of twenty years of activity have proved their devotion and loyalty to this enterprise, which rescues Jewish children and young people from the Diaspora and educates them for creative life in Israel.

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E. ABSORPTION OF IMMIGRANTS

12. Preparation and Organization of Immigrants for Settlement

With a view to the spiritual preparation and organization of the immigrants for settlement in Israel's development areas, steps should be taken to classify and organize the immigrants, and disseminate information among them, while they are still abroad. The Immigration, Absorption and Agricultural Settlement Departments of the Jewish Agency shall co-operate in this preparatory work.

13. Preparation of Programme for Absorption of Immigrants in 5715

The General Council calls on the Executive to contact all bodies concerned (the Israel Ministry of Labour, the Absorption and Agricultural Settlement Departments of the Jewish Agency, etc.) with a view to preparing at the earliest possible date a comprehensive programme for the absorption of immigrants this year, based on the following principles:

- (a) uniform and speedy planning of new agricultural settlements;
- (b) employment and housing for settlers in development areas.

14. Liquidation of Ma'barot

The General Council notes with satisfaction the scope of the Ministry of Labour's plan to liquidate the *ma'barot* by the end of 1955 through the erection of permanent housing, and stresses the necessity of taking suitable measures for the settlement and absorption of the immigrants in the country.

15. Cultural Absorption of Immigrants

The General Council notes with approval the special cultural activities undertaken by the Absorption Department in the form of Hebrew *ulpanim*, "Telem" (theatre for the *ma'barot*) etc. It regards these as important measures for the spiritual preparation of the immigrants and the spreading of culture in immigrant areas and quarters, and as a means for the welding together of the various communities.

16. Absorption of Immigrants from Western Countries

The General Council encourages the Absorption Department to continue to pay special attention to immigrants from Western countries, and in particular to see to the provision of suitable housing for immigrants from such countries.

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F. AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENT

17. Share of New Settlements in Agricultural Progress

The Zionist General Council has noted with satisfaction the increasing share of the new settlements in the progress of agriculture, the expansion of irrigated areas and citrus plantations, and the increase in production.

18. Success and Continuation of Settlement Activity

The consolidation this year of the 56 settlements established in the years 1947/48 and 1948/49 marks the completion of the first stage of mass settlement activity. The General Council expects that there will be no decline in the rate of settlement in the uncultivated areas of the country, and particularly in the Negev, the Judean Lowlands and Galilee.

19. Progress of Settlements Founded by Pioneer Immigrants

The General Council notes with satisfaction the progress of the settlements founded by *chalutz* immigrants from South American and other countries, particularly as a result of reinforcement by newly arrived pioneers.

20. Call to Israel Youth

The General Council calls upon the youth in Israel to volunteer for settlement in the Negev, Galilee and border areas.

21. Supply of Water for New Settlements

The General Council attaches particular importance to increased investments for the supply of water to the new settlements, particularly in the Negev.

22. Improvement of Conditions in New Settlements

The General Council takes note of the improvement which has taken place in housing, security, lighting and feeder roads in the new settlements, and charges the bodies responsible for settlement to intensify and complete these activities.

23. Halt in Abandonment of Agricultural Settlements

The General Council notes with satisfaction that there has been a halt in the abandonment of new immigrant settlements, to which it drew attention at its previous session. To a large extent this is to be attributed to the attention paid to increasing working capital and subsidies during the slack seasons. The General Council calls for the continuation of these steps.

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24. Town to Country Movement

The General Council takes note of the continuation of the laudable movement from town to country, and urges that it should be encouraged and that the resources required for housing, employment, and other essential pre-conditions should be supplied.

G. ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

25. Activities of the Economic Department

The Zionist General Council notes with satisfaction the activities of the Economic Department in the sphere of economic information and advice, encouragement and guidance, among Jews abroad, in all matters effecting the raising of capital, the transfer of property and investment in the various branches of the economy in Israel, as well as in the immigration of investors and their absorption in the country.

26. Economic Contacts between Jews in the Diaspora and Israel

The General Council calls upon the Zionist organization in each country to include among its activities the cementing of personal economic ties between Jews in the Diaspora and Israel, in full collaboration with the Economic Department and its representatives.

27. Improvement of Conditions for Capital Investment

The General Council declares that the success of efforts for increased investment and immigration on the part of members of the middle classes depends on suitable economic conditions in Israel, *e.g.* the provision of housing on favourable terms, the transfer of the immigrants' property, including goods and raw materials, and the granting of long-term credits. The General Council expresses the hope that the Government and its institutions will take steps to provide these conditions.

H. BUDGET, FINANCE AND FUNDS

28. Implementation of 5714 Budget

The Zionist General Council notes the contents of the Financial Report for the period October 1953–May 1954 presented by the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency, and notes with satisfaction the efforts made by the Treasury to implement the budget as planned for the year 5714.

29. Income in 5714

The General Council notes that the income of the Jewish Agency in the first eight months of 5714 amounted to IL.64,500,000 and its expenditure totalled IL.67,000,000.

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The General Council urges world Jewry to make immediate efforts to furnish the means required for the full implementation of the 5714 Budget of IL.111,800,000.

30. Consolidation Loan

The General Council expresses its appreciation to the United Jewish Appeal and the Welfare Funds of the Jewish communities in the United States for their efforts to obtain the Consolidation Loan which helped to solve the problem of the short-term loans of the State of Israel and made possible the financing of Jewish Agency activities.

31. Approval of Budgets for 5715

In accordance with Resolution No. 78, paragraph (a), of the 23rd Congress, the General Council delegates to the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee the function of considering and approving the budgets for the year 5715 of the Jewish Agency, World Zionist Organization, Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund. The General Council expresses the hope that the Committee will discuss and ratify the budget in good time, as it did in 5714.

32. Intensification of Work for U.J.A. in United States

The General Council, deeply concerned for the income of the United Jewish Appeal in the United States, calls upon the entire Jewish community of the United States to strengthen its efforts and urges all the Zionist organizations there to take every possible step to expand the scope of their activities on behalf of the U.J.A.

33. Keren Hayesod—United Israel Campaign

The General Council notes with satisfaction the success of the Keren Hayesod—United Israel Campaign in increasing its income in various countries, particularly in the countries of Latin-America.

34. Financing Emergency Immigration

In the light of the need for emergency immigration of thousands of families in the year 5715 and in view of the fact that the absorption of one immigrant family requires the expenditure of IL.10,000 in the course of two years, the General Council instructs the Executive of the Jewish Agency—in association with the Keren Hayesod—United Israel Campaign—to draw up a plan for raising the special resources required for this immigration.

The General Council views this task as an emergency operation for the year 5715.

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35. The Jewish National Fund

The General Council notes with appreciation the efforts of the Jewish National Fund this year to increase its traditional income in a number of countries and its activities for the redemption and preparation of the land, afforestation and swamp drainage.

36. Extension of Herzl Forest by J.N.F. in Commemoration of Herzl

The General Council, assembled on the 50th anniversary of the death of Theodore Herzl, joins in the resolution of the Directorate of the Jewish National Fund to issue a call for the commemoration of the leader, by planting one million trees in Ben Shemen during the anniversary year as an extension of the existing Herzl Forest.

The General Council calls on each Jew, each Zionist organization and each Zionist to regard it as an honourable duty to plant trees in the extended Herzl Forest as a token of the people's homage to the man who saw the vision of the State of Israel and led the way to its achievement.

I. EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE DIASPORA

I. ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE DIASPORA

37. Expansion of Scope of Jewish Education in Diaspora

In view of the danger of assimilation which threatens the Jewish people, the Zionist Movement must intensify its activities in the sphere of Hebrew education and culture in the Diaspora. It is essential to expand the scope of all forms of Jewish education in all the countries of the Diaspora for the purpose of ensuring at the earliest possible moment that the great majority of Jewish children of school age should receive a national Jewish education.

38. Establishing Network of Jewish Schools in Diaspora

The Zionist General Council declares that the most vital task in the educational field is the establishment of Hebrew schools in the Diaspora imbued with the spirit of Zionism, whose educational work shall be directed to ensuring our national survival and encouraging the immigration of the youth to the State of Israel. All Jewish and Zionist organizations, national and local, are called to initiate the raising of extensive funds from local and communal sources for the purpose of establishing a network of Hebrew schools, without affecting the campaign for

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the Zionist funds and the State of Israel. The situation of the Jews in the Diaspora, the needs of the State of Israel and the realization of Zionism call for a planned effort on a large scale for the establishment of Hebrew day-schools. The Executive and the appropriate departments should encourage, guide and co-ordinate this Zionist initiative.

39. Improving Jewish Education

The General Council enjoins the Department to do its utmost for the improvement of Jewish education in the Diaspora, by the despatch of teachers and educators from Israel, the supply of suitable educational material, etc., in co-operation with the local educational bodies. Special efforts should be made for the establishment of Hebrew kindergartens and schools in backward and distant centres.

40. Study of Hebrew in Public Schools

Efforts for the introduction of the study of the Hebrew language in publicly maintained schools should be intensified.

41. Duty of Zionists to Foster Hebrew Education

The General Council declares that the strengthening of Hebrew education in the Diaspora is incumbent on the Jewish public in every country and first and foremost on the Zionist public. It is the duty of the territorial Zionist organizations to make Jewish education their principal concern. The General Council repeats its previous decision obliging every Zionist to give his children a Jewish national education.

42. "Hebrew Education Month"

In order to arouse the Jewish masses to the necessity for intensifying Hebrew education, a "Hebrew Education Month" shall be held in each country.

43. Widespread Dissemination of Hebrew

The General Council urges that intensified and constant efforts should be made to disseminate the Hebrew language among the people. Intensive courses and *ulpanim* for the study of the Hebrew language should be established and the setting up of cultural centres and clubs, as bases for the dissemination of the Hebrew language and cultural work, should be encouraged. Activities in all branches of art, especially the Hebrew theatre and Jewish music, should also be intensified.

44. Training of Teachers for the Diaspora

The Executive must strengthen and deepen its work for the training of teachers for the Diaspora by holding seminars and courses in the

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State of Israel and the Diaspora. The aim should be that students in teachers' training colleges in the Diaspora should spend a year of study in the State of Israel. For the purpose of carrying out this plan a permanent centre for the training of teachers from the Diaspora shall be set up in Jerusalem.

45. Improving Status of Hebrew Teachers

Steps should be taken within the institutions concerned with Jewish education in the Diaspora for the improvement of the status of the Hebrew teacher, both from the professional and educational, and from the economic point of view. Special efforts should be made for advanced training and the safeguarding of social privileges, such as pensions.

46. Educational and Cultural Activity in Women's Organizations

In view of the function of the Jewish mother in the education of the children, every encouragement and assistance should be afforded for educational and cultural activity for the dissemination of the Hebrew language among the branches of the Zionist women's organizations.

47. Convening of Second World Hebrew Congress

Steps should be taken to strengthen the Hebrew movement in the various countries, in co-operation with the Executive of the World Hebrew Alliance (*Brit Ivrit Olamit*), and to assist the latter in convening the Second World Hebrew Congress in the summer of 5715, close to the date of the 24th Zionist Congress.

II. ACTIVITIES OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR TORAH EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE DIASPORA

48. Expansion of Work for Strengthening Judaism and Disseminating Knowledge of the Torah

The General Council considers the activities of the Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora, which are designed to strengthen Judaism and disseminate a knowledge of the Torah among the people, to be a barrier against abandonment of the Jewish people and the denial of its spiritual and national values, and approves the expansion of the work of attracting young and old to the study of the Torah and the sources and national values of Judaism.

49. Training of Rabbis and Teachers for the Diaspora

The General Council instructs the Department to continue the training of rabbis and religious tutors for the Diaspora, to work for the maintenance and development of training colleges for rabbis and teachers,

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such as the Institution at Ramsgate, England; and to expand the training of teachers for religious educational institutions in the Diaspora, by the holding of seminars, courses and permanent *ulpanim* in the State of Israel and the Diaspora.

50. Assistance for Religious Educational Institutions

The Department shall assist religious educational establishments and Yeshivot by despatching inspectors, tutors, teachers and Rashei Yeshivot, by supplying books for the libraries of religious schools and by publishing text-books and pedagogical literature for the teaching of Jewish religious subjects.

51. Disseminating Knowledge of the Torah

The General Council recognizes the importance of disseminating the knowledge of the Torah by maintaining national Torah centres, *ulpanim*, symposia, broadcasts and study groups, as well as by holding exhibitions of national Torah literature in Jewish centres in the Diaspora.

52. Expansion of National Torah Education

The General Council considers it necessary to expand the network of national Torah education by encouraging the establishment of new Yeshivot and strengthening existing Yeshivot and model educational institutions, in co-operation with local bodies working for Torah education.

53. Year of Study in Israel for Rabbinical Students

In addition to the work of the Seminar for "Torat Eretz Israel" for rabbinical graduates of the Yeshivot and rabbinical colleges in the Diaspora, the General Council asks the large Yeshivot and rabbinical colleges to include in their curricula a year of study in the State of Israel.

54. "Jewish Studies Month" in Maimonides Year

The General Council welcomes the decision to dedicate the "Jewish Studies Month" in the year 5715 to the study of the teachings of Maimonides on the occasion of the 750th anniversary of his death.

55. Educational Work among Distant Jewries

The General Council notes with satisfaction the educational work carried out by the Department among scattered sections of the Jewish people such as the Falashas and the Jews of India. This activity should be expanded by the maintenance of seminaries for teachers and youth

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leaders and the establishment of schools for the dissemination of a knowledge of the Torah.

56. Expansion of Activities among Religious Women

In accordance with the decisions of the last session of the General Council, the Department is enjoined to expand its educational and cultural work among religious women in the Diaspora, and particularly to arrange study circles, symposia, Hebrew courses and special seminars for the training of women teachers and leaders to conduct this activity.

57. Assistance by Territorial Zionist Organizations

The General Council requests the territorial Zionist organizations to co-operate with the Department for Torah Education and Culture, and assist it in all its activities.

III. FINANCIAL NEEDS OF JEWISH EDUCATION IN THE DIASPORA

58. Additional Resources for Execution of Plans

The General Council declares that the financial resources now at the disposal of the Department for Education and Culture in the Diaspora and the Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora are not in keeping with the vital and urgent needs of Jewish education in the various countries. The General Council considers it essential to place at the disposal of these departments sufficient additional resources for the execution of the plans proposed.

J. INFORMATION

59. Expansion of Information Work

While appreciating the activities of the Information Department in bringing the message of Zionism to all parts of the Movement and to the Jewish people in the Diaspora, the Zionist General Council declares that at this time the expansion of information activities on the functions and activities of the Movement in Israel and all over the world is a basic and vital necessity.

60. Information as Function of Territorial Zionist Bodies

The General Council considers Zionist information work to be a part of the functions of the Zionist bodies in each country. It is the duty of the Information Department of the Executive to guide these bodies in this work. Accordingly, the General Council urges all Zionist bodies in the various countries to maintain constant contact with the Information

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Department in Jerusalem, to convey to it their wishes in regard to the nature and content of its publications, keep it informed of the results and assist in the effective distribution of the material.

61. *Study and Research Publications*

The General Council notes with satisfaction the new types of publications including collections of theoretical essays and periodicals devoted to study and research, and expresses its desire for the deepening of their content, which should reflect all trends in the Movement, and for the achievement of greater efficiency in distribution.

62. *Kol Zion Lagola*

The General Council welcomes the putting into operation of the large transmitter of *Kol Israel*, which makes it possible for *Kol Zion Lagola* to improve the reception of its broadcasts and extend reception to countries which have not so far been reached. At the same time the General Council instructs the management of *Kol Zion Lagola* to continue its efforts to ensure that its broadcasts and recordings should constantly, suitably and objectively present the problems of the people, the State and the Zionist Movement to the Jewish masses the world over. The General Council considers it essential to provide *Kol Zion Lagola* with the resources required for this purpose.

63. *"Vision and Fulfilment" Exhibition*

The General Council has noted with satisfaction the completion of the "Vision and Fulfilment" Exhibition on the fiftieth anniversary of the death of Binyamin Zeev Herzl, the harbinger of the Jewish State. The General Council considers it necessary that the exhibition should be shown in a number of countries, and calls on the local Zionist bodies to assist in carrying out this project.

64. *Expansion of Activities of "Telem"*

The General Council welcomes the activities of "Telem" (theatre for the *ma'barot*), which has recently expanded and intensified its efforts to bring the art of the Hebrew theatre to the masses of the immigrants in Israel. The Council supports those responsible (the Information and Absorption Departments of the Jewish Agency, the Israel Government's Ministry of Education and Culture and the Cultural Centre of the Labour Federation) in expanding and intensifying this beneficial work.

65. *"Zionist Library" Publications*

The General Council welcomes the publication activities of the "Zionist Library", especially the publication of standard editions of Zionist classics, books of Zionist research and memoirs by the pioneers,

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The Council notes with particular satisfaction the publication of a complete standard edition of the works of Herzl.

K. YOUTH AND HECHALUTZ

66. Intensification of Activities among Youth

In view of the grave and growing danger of assimilation among the Jewish youth in the Diaspora, the Zionist General Council demands that the Zionist organizations and parties should consider work among youth as one of their principal functions and give full moral and material assistance to all branches of work among youth. The Youth and Hechalutz Department should continue to develop the instruments which it has created for its work among the youth and adapt them to the needs of the comprehensive and profound educational effort required today in order to create a great Zionist awakening among the Jewish youth, which should result in the renewal and intensification of *chalutzit* in the State of Israel and all the countries of the Diaspora. The Department should be provided with the financial resources required for the execution of its numerous tasks at this hour.

67. Pioneer Youth Movements and Training Centres

Since the pioneer youth movement and pioneering training centres in the Diaspora are an indispensable instrument for *chalutzic* realization, the General Council demands greater assistance for the pioneer youth movements and the pioneering training centres abroad. Pioneer training for youth from North America in Israel should also be continued and intensified.

68. Development of Activities among Organized and Unorganized Youth

The Youth and Hechalutz Department should intensify its contacts with Zionist youth organizations which have not yet pledged themselves to *chalutzic* Zionism, and with Jewish youth organizations which have not yet become Zionist. Among these organizations special efforts should be made to encourage the study of the Hebrew language and the appreciation of the values of Judaism, and attract them to practical Zionism. It is also the duty of the Department to develop special activities among unorganized youth, who constitute the major part of Jewish youth.

69. Institute for Youth Leaders from Abroad

The General Council recommends an increase in the number of students at the Institute for Youth Leaders from Abroad and the granting by the Department of financial assistance to students after their re-

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turn to their countries of origin, so that they may devote themselves to the task for which they have been trained. Efforts should be made to ensure that leaders who will undertake work among unorganized youth should also receive training in the Institute.

70. Winter and Summer Institutes

The General Council welcomes the establishment of the "Winter Institute" for Jewish youth from the southern hemisphere, in addition to the existing summer projects. At the same time the General Council considers it necessary to expand these projects still further, while ensuring the conditions required for the full attainment of their educational aims.

71. Office for Professional Workers (PATWA)

The General Council has heard with satisfaction of the execution of the decision of its last session in regard to the expansion and consolidation of the activities of PATWA, and considers it necessary to include additional countries within the sphere of PATWA's activities.

72. Study and Service in Israel by Youth from Abroad

The Department should strengthen the activities designed to bring youth from abroad to the State of Israel for the purpose of getting to know the country and studying its life and problems. In addition to the work at present undertaken in this sphere, youth from abroad should be encouraged to come to Israel for the purpose of secondary and university studies. The *Shnat Sherut* project should be continued and efforts made to expand it.

73. Zionist Educational Work among Israel Youth

The General Council emphasizes the duty of the Department to intensify its activities among youth in the State of Israel. In particular, it calls on the Department to develop its Zionist educational work among the youth in the *ma'barot* and the immigrants' settlements. The Department should immediately undertake the training of leaders for work among youth in the *ma'barot* and immigrants' settlements.

74. Youth Movement Clubs

The General Council expresses its satisfaction at the activities which the Department has encouraged by means of the "Club Fund", for the purpose of establishing clubs for the youth movements. It is desirable to include in the "Club Fund" allocations for the establishment of summer camps for the youth movements. Efforts should be made to ensure suitable conditions for the maintenance of the clubs which have been acquired.

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L. ORGANIZATION

75. Venue and Date of 24th Zionist Congress

In pursuance of Resolution No. 108 of the Session of the Zionist General Council which took place in December, 1953, the Zionist General Council resolves that the 24th Zionist Congress shall take place in Jerusalem in the second half of the month of Av 5715 (in the first half of the month of August 1955). The Zionist General Council instructs the Executive to fix the exact date of the meeting within the above limits.

76. Rights of Electoral Areas in the Diaspora in which Polling Takes Place

(a) Every electoral area in the Diaspora in which polling takes place and in which at least 25% of those entitled to vote go to the polls shall, with regard to their representation in the Congress, enjoy the same status as Israel does under Sec. 25 para. 4 of the Constitution of the Zionist Organization.

(b) The Presidium of the General Council, on a proposal submitted by the Executive with the assent of the Congress Attorney, may decide that a certain electoral area, in which owing to cogent external reasons beyond the control of the Movement no polling can take place, shall enjoy the right granted according subsection (a).

77. Signatures on Nomination Lists

The General Council resolves to amend the Election Rules as follows:

(a) Electoral areas entitled to one delegate

SECTION 18 B
Subsection 3

- (1) Each nomination list shall be signed by not less than 5% of the Shekel-payers entitled to vote, or 100 Shekel-payers, whichever of the two numbers is the smaller. The signatories shall attach their precise addresses to their names and indicate the number of their Shekel-vouchers for all those years of the Congress period that are of relevancy to the right to vote.
- (2) No candidate may be nominated on more than one list in the the same Constituency (District).

(b) Electoral areas entitled to more than one delegate

SECTION 19 a
Subsection 2

Each nomination list shall be signed :

- (aa) In electoral areas in which in the last Shekel campaign preceding the Congress not more than 10,000 Shekalim have been distributed—by at least 100 Shekel-payers entitled to vote;
- (bb) In electoral areas in which in the last Shekel campaign

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preceding the Congress more than 10,000 but not more than 50,000 Shekalim have been distributed—by at least 200 Shekel-payers entitled to vote;

- (cc) In electoral areas in which in the last Shekel campaign preceding the Congress more than 50,000 Shekalim have been distributed—by at least 300 Shekel-payers entitled to vote.

The Shekel-payers shall attach their precise addresses to their names and indicate the number of the Shekel-vouchers for all those years of the Congress period that are of relevancy to the right to vote.

78. Signatures on Petitions against Validity of Congress Elections

SECTION 20 Subsection 3

Each petition shall be signed :

- (aa) In electoral areas entitled to one delegate—by at least 100 Shekel-payers entitled to vote;
- (bb) In electoral areas entitled to more than one delegate, and in which at the last Shekel campaign preceding the Congress no more than 50,000 Shekalim have been distributed—by at least 200 Shekel-payers entitled to vote;
- (cc) In electoral areas entitled to more than one delegate, and in which in the last Shekel campaign preceding the Congress more than 50,000 Shekalim have been distributed—by at least 300 Shekel-payers entitled to vote.

The signatories shall attach their precise addresses to their signatures and indicate the number of their Shekel-vouchers for all those years of the Congress period that are of relevancy to the right to vote.

79. Elections to Congress by Polling and without Polling

By virtue of the authorization conferred by the 23rd Zionist Congress in Resolution No. 142, and in lieu of Resolution No. 139 of that Congress, the Zionist General Council resolves as follows :

A. Elections by polling

Elections by polling shall be held in every electoral area.

B. Elections in electoral areas in which no polling can take place

(1) However, elections by polling shall not take place in electoral areas with regard to which the Presidium of the Zionist General Council declares, on a proposal submitted by the Executive, with the assent of the Congress Attorney, that owing to cogent external reasons beyond the control of the Zionist Movement, no polling can take place.

(2) If in such an area a nomination list agreed upon by Zionist bodies has been submitted to the Central Election Board and at least 75% of the members of the Central Election Board are of the opinion that such nomination list is backed by the majority of the Shekel-payers

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in the last Shekel campaign before the Congress, the candidate(s) of this list is/are to be regarded as elected.

(3) A minority of 25% of the members of the Central Election Board shall be entitled to lodge an appeal with the Congress Court, submitting, prior to the appeal or simultaneously with it, a list or lists of candidates in accordance with the election rules. In this event the Congress Court shall decide either to reject the appeal or to accept it. If the Congress Court decides to accept the appeal, it shall determine the number of delegates to be allotted to the minority list(s), and the number of delegates to be allotted to each of the Zionist bodies which have submitted the majority list.

C. Elections in other electoral areas

(1) General provision

No election by polling shall take place in electoral areas in which only one nomination list was submitted, or in which the total of candidates on all nomination lists submitted does not exceed the number of delegates to be elected (Section 18B, Subsec. 4, and Section 19D of the Election Rules).

(2) Election areas entitled to one delegate

If a nomination list agreed upon by Zionist bodies has been submitted to the Central Election Board not later than two weeks before the deadline (Sec. 18B, Subsec. 2) and at least 75% of the members of the Central Election Board are of the opinion that such nomination list is supported by the great majority of the Shekel-payers in the last Shekel campaign before the Congress, the candidate of this list is to be regarded as elected provided that no other list be submitted signed by at least 200 Shekel-payers entitled to vote who have acquired the Shekel in the last Shekel campaign before the Congress.

(3) Election areas entitled to more than one delegate

If a nomination list agreed upon by Zionist bodies has been submitted to the Central Election Board not later than two weeks before the deadline (Sec. 19C, Subsec. 1) and at least 75% of the members of the Central Election Board are of the opinion that such nomination list is supported by the great majority of the Shekel-payers in the last Shekel campaign before the Congress, the candidates of this list are to be regarded as elected, provided that no other list has been submitted, signed:

(aa) In areas in which no more than 50,000 Shekalim have been distributed in the last Shekel campaign before the Congress—by at least 200 Shekel-payers entitled to vote;

(bb) In areas in which more than 50,000 Shekalim, but not more than 100,000 Shekalim have been distributed at the said campaign—by at least 600 Shekel-payers entitled to vote;

(cc) In areas in which more than 100,000 Shekalim have been

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distributed at the said campaign—by at least 1,000 Shekel-payers entitled to vote.

If another list has been submitted signed in accordance with the above provisions, elections by polling shall be held.

80. Execution of Decisions on Shekel and Elections

The General Council authorizes the Executive to issue with the assent of the Chairman of the Congress Court and the Congress Attorney the instructions required for the implementation of the resolutions on Shekel and elections and to adjust accordingly the provisions of the Constitution and the Congress Election Rules.

81. Material for Discussion on Problems of Zionist Movement

The General Council instructs the Executive to submit to the Zionist Movement by the end of 1954 material which may serve as a basis for the discussion of the problems of Zionism in preparation for the 24th Zionist Congress.

82. Herzl Year

The General Council notes with satisfaction the comprehensive and widespread preparations for "Herzl Year" in Israel and in the Diaspora which have been made by the Organization Department.

M. AMERICAN JEWISH TRICENTENARY

83. Greetings to the American Jewish Community

The Zionist General Council, assembled in Jerusalem, sends greetings and felicitations to the American Jewish Community on the occasion of its observance of the 300th anniversary of the first settlement of the Jews in New Amsterdam in 1654.

Since those early days when a small band of twenty-three Jews escaped persecution and found freedom and liberty in a new land, the American Jewish Community has prospered materially and spiritually. In our time, it has become the largest Jewish settlement in the history of the Jewish people. Children of immigrants, in a country of immigrants, the Jews were rapidly integrated into the American economic and social pattern. Yet they retained their religious and cultural identity, founding synagogues, schools and institutes of Hebrew learning so that they could transmit to their children the tradition of their fathers. During this entire period their devotion to fellow-Jews throughout the world and in Eretz Israel remained steadfast. In times of trial and peril, as persecution and bigotry took root in various countries, Jewry in America

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rose to unparalleled heights of leadership in the world Jewish community, fulfilling the heavy responsibilities which became their portion.

This bond of shared responsibility in the aspirations of world Jewry found its finest expression in the increasingly important rôle which American Jewry played in the realization of the age-old dream of Zion redeemed. The hope for the restoration of the Jewish State in the Land of Israel never diminished in the hearts of American Jews. They were ever prepared to meet the realities of Jewish settlement in Eretz Israel. As early as the period of the Colonies, bonds were forged between the Jews of America and the settlers in the Holy Land.

During the 19th century, there arose men of vision within the American Jewish Community, forerunners of the Zionist Movement, who urged the re-establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Eretz Israel. The Zionist Movement in America, with all its parties and organizations, became an integral part of the modern Jewish renaissance movement, as a result of which the foundations were laid for the Jewish State.

The entire strength of the American Jewish Community was readily available for this historic effort for independence, and American Jews gave abundantly of their moral and material resources. This they did as loyal American citizens and as Jews fully conscious of their share in the history and destiny of the Jewish people.

On the threshold of the fourth century of Jewish communal existence in America the hearts of Jews everywhere pray for their continued peace and welfare.

The General Council assembled in Jerusalem is happy to join in this prayer and these good wishes. It is confident that the American Jewish Community facing the future after three centuries of growth and achievement, will do everything in its power to intensify its cultural and spiritual life, and will continue its participation in shaping the destiny of *Klal Israel*, by its identification, personally and collectively, with the building and consolidation of the State of Israel.

The General Council requests the American delegates to transmit this message to the Jews of America during the year of the Tercentenary observance.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

who participated in the session, July 1954

1. MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE

CHAIRMEN

Mr. Berl Locker, Jerusalem

Dr. Nachum Goldmann, New York

MEMBERS

Mr. David Beth-Aryeh, New York
Mr. Yehuda Braginsky, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Eliyahu Dobkin, Jerusalem
Mr. Levi Eshkol, Jerusalem
Rabbi Zeev Gold, Jerusalem
Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York
Mr. Meir Grossman, Jerusalem
Mrs. Rose Halprin, New York
Mr. Zvi Herman, Jerusalem

Dr. Giora Josephthal, Jerusalem
Mr. Moshe Kol, Jerusalem
Mr. Zvi Lurie, New York
Dr. Emanuel Neumann, New York
Mr. Louis Segal, New York
Mr. Zalman Shazar, Jerusalem
Mr. Shlomo Zalman Shragai,
Jerusalem
Mr. Baruch Zuckerman, New York

DEPUTY-MEMBERS

Dr. Nahum Nir, Ramat-Gan

Mr. Melech Noy, Tel-Aviv

2. PRESIDIUUM OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

CHAIRMAN

Mr. Joseph Sprinzak, Tel-Aviv

MEMBERS

Mr. Jacob Amith, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Israel Bar-Yehuda, Tel-Aviv
Mrs. Judith G. Epstein, New York
Prof. Hayim Fineman, Philadelphia
Mr. Leon Gelman, Jerusalem
Rev. J. K. Goldbloom, London
Mr. Mordechai Namir, Tel-Aviv

Rabbi Elimelech Neufeld, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Abraham A. Redelheim,
New York
Mr. Anselm Reiss, Tel-Aviv
Mrs. Rachel Shazar, Jerusalem
Dr. Shimshon Yonitchman, Tel-Aviv

3. MEMBERS OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

MEMBERS ELECTED BY CONGRESS

Virilists

Mr. Eliahu Berligne, Tel-Aviv
Dr. Haim Boger, Tel-Aviv
Dr. Mayer Ebner, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Lazar Ettingen, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Leon Gelman, Jerusalem
Rev. J. K. Goldbloom, London

Mr. Yitzchak Gruenbaum, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Neta Harpaz, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Leiser Lewin, Yagur
Rabbi Elimelech Neufeld, Tel-Aviv
Rabbi Mordechai Nurock, Jerusalem
Dr. I. Schwarzbart, New York
Dr. Selig Soskin, Jerusalem

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

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Mr. Shmuel Yavneeli, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Yaacov Zerubavel, Tel-Aviv

World Union Poale-Zion (C.S.)— Hitachdut

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Mr. Isaac Arcavi, Buenos Aires
Mr. Joseph Baratz, Degania
Mr. Ezra Barzilai (Haddad), Ramle
Mr. Yechiel Duvdevani, Tel-Aviv
Prof. Hayim Fineman, Philadelphia
Mrs. Bert Goldstein, New York
Mr. Siegmund Haering, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Hayim Halprin, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Abraham Harzfeld, Tel-Aviv
Rabbi James Heller, Cincinnati
Mr. Marc Jarblum, Tel-Aviv
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Mr. Mordechai Namir, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Anselm Reiss, Tel-Aviv
Mrs. Rachel Shazar, Jerusalem
Mrs. Aliza Shidlowky, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Hayim Shurer, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Joseph Sprinzak, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Aryeh Tager, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Zvi Yehuda, Nahalal

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Mr. Barnett Janner, London
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Mr. Mortimer May, Nashville
Mr. Fred Monosson, Brookline

Mr. David Moskowitz, New York
Mr. Abraham A. Redelheim,
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Mr. Teodoro Reznikow, Mexico
Mrs. Bertha S. Schoolman, New York
Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, New York
Mr. Meilich Topiol, Paris

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Mr. Yeshayahu Bernstein, Tel-Aviv
Rabbi Dr. Simon Federbush,
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Mr. Israel Bar-Yehuda, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Gershon Gershuni, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Paul L. Goldman, New York
Mr. Jacob Hazan, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Aryeh Nahir, Eilon
Mr. Yitzchak Tabenkin, Ein-Harod
Mr. Meir Yaari, Merhavia

World Union of Tnuat HaHerut— Hatzohar

Dr. David Bukspan, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Harry Levi, New York
Dr. Joseph Schechtman, New York
Mr. Eliezer Shostak, Tel-Aviv
Dr. Shimshon Younitchman, Tel-
Aviv

DEPUTY-MEMBERS

WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE PLACE OF MEMBERS ABSENT
FROM THE WHOLE OR PART OF THE SESSION

World Union Poale-Zion (C.S.)— Hitachdut

Mr. Israel Dines, Rio de Janeiro
Mr. Salomon Kagan, Casablanca
Mr. Yitzchak Korn, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Israel Ritov, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Mordechai Sorkis, Kfar-Saba

World Confederation of General Zionists

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Mr. Edward E. Gelber, Toronto
Mrs. Esther Gottesman, New York
Dr. Israel Iagupsky, Buenos Aires
Dr. Hans Klee, Zurich
Mrs. Lola Kramarsky, New York

Dr. Ludwig Pinner, Tel-Aviv
Mr. David Zimand, Tel-Aviv

Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi

Mr. Yitzchak Hecht, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Jacob Marrus, New York
Rabbi Israel S. Rosenberg, Tel-Aviv

United Workers' Party

Mr. Joseph Bankover, Kfar-Saba
Mr. Berl Repetur, Tel-Aviv
Mr. Abraham Schenker, New York

World Union of Tnuat HaHerut— Hatzohar

Mr. Abraham Abrahams, London

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Dr. Arthur Hantke (KH), Jerusalem

Dr. Georg Halpern (JCT), Jerusalem

Comptroller

Mr. Shmuel Rappaport, Tel-Aviv

Wizo

Mrs. Rosa Ginossar, Jerusalem

Dr. S. Levite, Tel-Aviv

Mrs. Rebecca D. Sieff, Tel-Aviv

General Zionists in Israel

Mr. Albert Chiasso, Haifa (Part of the Session: Mr. Matityahu Segal, Tel-Aviv)

Mr. Joseph Heftman, Tel-Aviv

Mr. Moshe Tatze, Tel-Aviv

Mizrachi in Israel

Rabbi Menachem Hager, Tel-Aviv

COMMITTEES OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

COMMITTEE ON ACTIVITIES IN ISRAEL

Chairman: Mrs. Bertha S. Schoolman

Deputy-Chairmen: Mr. Joseph Bankover, Mr. Yeshayahu Bernstein

Mr. Jacob Amith
Mr. Joseph Bankover
Mr. Ezra Barzilai (Haddad)
Mr. Yeshayahu Bernstein
Mr. Yechiel Duvdevani
Mrs. Mollie F. Golub
Mr. Neta Harpaz

Mr. Abraham Harzfeld
Mr. Barnett Janner
Mr. Fred Monosson
Mrs. Bertha S. Schoolman
Mr. Shmuel Yavneeli
Mr. David Yutan
Mr. David Zimand

COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF THE MOVEMENT AND MATTERS OF ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Mr. Siegmund Haering

Deputy-Chairmen: Dr. Samuel Margoshes, Mr. Paul L. Goldman

Mr. Isaac Arcavi
Mr. Bezalel Bazak
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Mr. Siegmund Haering
Mr. Marc Jarblum

Dr. Samuel Margoshes
Mr. Jacob Marrus
Mr. Anselm Reiss
Mr. Abraham Schenker
Mrs. Aliza Shidlowsky
Mr. Eliezer Shostak
Mr. Meilich Topiol

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, CULTURE, INFORMATION AND YOUTH AND HECHALUTZ

Chairman: Mr. Ruben Arzi

Deputy-Chairmen: Mr. Gershon Agron, Rabbi Dr. Simon Federbush

Mr. Abraham Abrahams
Mr. Gershon Agron
Mr. Ruben Arzi
Mr. Joseph Baratz
Mr. Israel Dines
Rabbi Dr. Simon Federbush
Mr. Gershon Gershuni

Mr. Yitzchak Golan
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Mrs. Esther Gottesman
Dr. Israel Iagupsky
Mr. David Moskowitz
Rabbi Israel S. Rosenberg
Mr. Yaacov Uri

COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON THE STATUS OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION (THE COVENANT)

Chairman: Dr. Shimshon YOUNITCHMAN

Deputy-Chairman: Rabbi MORDECHAI KIRSHBLUM

Mr. Joseph Baratz
Rabbi Mordechai Kirshblum
Dr. Hans Klee
Mr. Israel Merom

Dr. I. Schwarzbart
Mr. Hayim Shurer
Dr. Shimshon YOUNITCHMAN
Mr. Yaacov Zerubavel

COMMITTEE ON BUDGET, FINANCE AND FUNDS

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Deputy-Chairmen: Dr. David BUKSPAN, Mr. Israel RITOV

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Mr. Louis A. Falk
Mr. Meir Hartman
Mr. Yitzchak Hecht
Rabbi James Heller
Mrs. Lola Kramarsky
Mr. Aryeh Nahir
Mr. Anselm Reiss
Mr. Berl Repetur
Mr. Teodoro Reznikow
Mr. Israel Ritov
Mr. Mordechai Sorkis
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Rabbi S. M. Zambrowsky

Mr. Yitzchak Bareli
Mr. F. Bendori
Dr. Yeshayahu Foerder
Mr. Eliezer Goelman
Mr. Yitzchak Golan
Mr. Hayim Halprin
Mr. Abraham Harzfeld
Mr. Israel Merom
Mr. Shlomo Rosen
Mrs. Bertha S. Schoolman
Mr. Matityahu Segal
Mr. Daniel Syrkes
Mr. Shabetai Szichman
Mr. Zvi Yehuda

COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC RELATIONS

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Rabbi James Heller
Dr. Shneur Levenberg
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Dr. Joseph Schechtman
Mrs. Rebecca Shulman
Mr. Aryeh Tager
Mr. Meir Yaari