Session of the Zionist General Council • December 28, 1959–January 4, 1960

SESSION OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

FIFTH SESSION AFTER THE 24TH ZIONIST CONGRESS

JERUSALEM

DECEMBER 28, 1959–JANUARY 4, 1960

Addresses, Debates, Resolutions

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT OF THE
ZIONIST EXECUTIVE
JERUSALEM

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Published by the
ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT OF THE
ZIONIST EXECUTIVE
JERUSALEM

Printed under the supervision of the
Publishing Department of the ***Jewish Agency***
by the Jerusalem Post Press, ***Jerusalem***

Printed in Israel

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THE FIFTH SESSION of the Zionist General Council to be held after the 24th Zionist Congress convened in Jerusalem from December 28, 1959, to January 4, 1960. The four previous sessions were held on May 8, 1956, July 10–23, 1957, March 18–27, 1958, and May 31–June 9, 1959.

The proceedings of this session may be divided into three main sections: the general situation in the Jewish world and the problems of the Zionist Organization as reported by the President, Dr. N. Goldmann; the new constitution of the Zionist Organization submitted after long preparatory work by the Ad Hoc Committee and based on principles approved at the previous session of the General Council and problems of education and culture in the Diaspora.

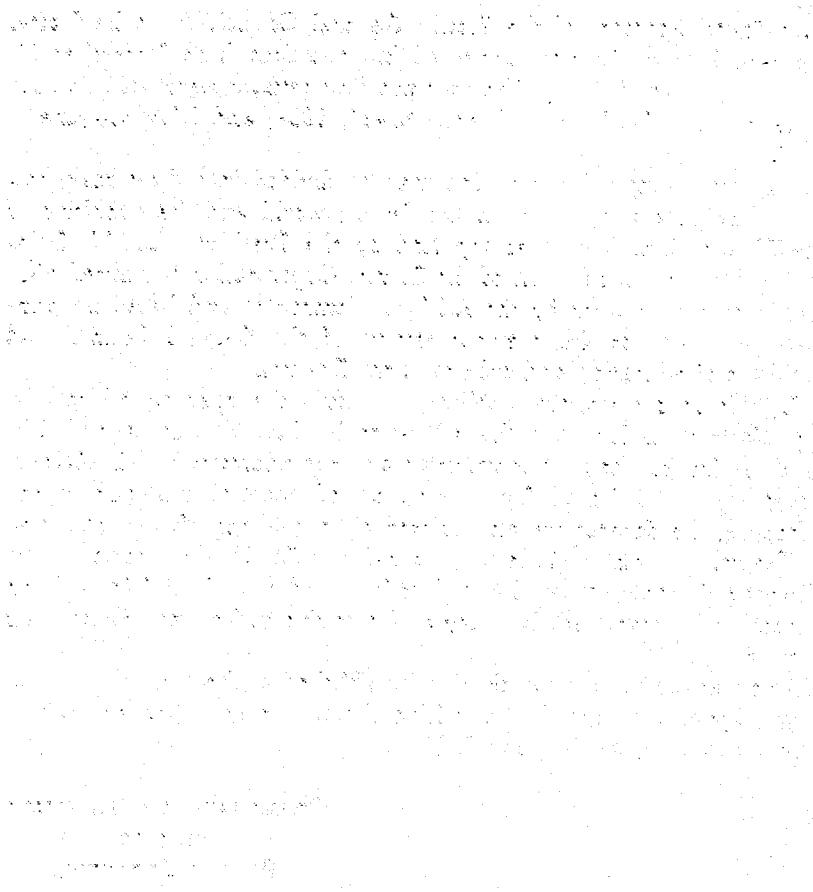
In this report we are publishing in full the opening address by Dr. Nachum Goldmann; the addresses by Mr. Zvi Lurie and Mr. Arieh Pinkus on the new constitution and the addresses by Mr. Zalman Shazar and Mr. David Beth Aryeh on educational problems in the Diaspora; the debates are also printed at length, though not verbatim.

The minutes also include tributes paid by Dr. N. Goldmann to Mr. Yitzchak Gruenbaum on his eightieth birthday and to Mr. Zalman Shazar on his seventieth birthday at the festive gatherings held in their honour.

The text of the new constitution is published at the end of this book, which appears on the day on which the new constitution enters into force: Sivan 11, 5720—June 6, 1960.

ORGANIZATION DEPARTMENT
OF THE
ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

Jerusalem, June 1960



FIRST MEETING

Monday, December 28, 1959, in the evening

Chairman: MR. BERL LOCKER

OPENING ADDRESS BY MR. BERL LOCKER
(Acting Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

I have the honour to open this Fifth Session of the Zionist General Council.

WELCOME TO GUESTS

I am happy to extend cordial greetings to our honoured guests: the President of the State of Israel, the Prime Minister and Mrs. Ben-Gurion, members of the Israel Government, the Speaker and members of the Presidium of the Knesset; the Chief Rabbi; the Mayor of Jerusalem; Mrs. Sprinzak, widow of the late Joseph Sprinzak, former Chairman of the General Council; and finally, all Members and Deputy Members of the Zionist General Council, from Israel and the Golah.

IN MEMORIAM

I will ask all present to rise and honour the memory of those who have died since the previous session of the General Council. Each in his particular field and function served the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel loyally and faithfully.

We mourn the passing of the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Isaac Halevy Herzog, a great Talmudist and scholar, a noble personality, who was venerated and respected by the people of Israel, in this country and throughout the Diaspora.

Of the Members of the General Council we have lost Melech Noy, a leading figure in the Ichud Olami of the Israel Labour Party, a Deputy-Member of the Executive from the Twenty-third to the Twenty-fourth Zionist Congress, and more recently Chairman and the moving spirit of the Committee entrusted with the organizational reform of the Zionist Movement, which came to be known as the Noy Commission.

We must also mourn the death of Gershon Agron, a former member of the Zionist General Council, who came to this country as a volunteer serving in the Jewish Legion in the First World War and settled in Jerusalem where he founded and edited the Zionist English-language

daily, *The Jerusalem Post*. Gershon Agron was a valiant fighter for the rights of the Jewish people and the Yishuv, in the darkest and most difficult days of our struggle, during the last years of the British Mandate. In the concluding four years of his life he served as Mayor of the City of Jerusalem, which he did much to develop and to beautify.

We must also mourn the death of Gershon Gershuni, an active member of the Left Poalei Zion in Poland and of the Achdut Ha'avoda Party in this country, who was a Deputy-Member of the Zionist General Council.

Israel Rokach, who was born in this country and served for many years as Deputy-Mayor and then Mayor of Tel Aviv, and who made a notable contribution towards the development of the first Jewish city, and later was Minister of Interior and Deputy Speaker of the Knesset, passed away in this period.

We must mark the passing of Shlomo Eisenberg, one-time Secretary General of the Jewish Agency Executive, of his successor in that office, Gedalia Zakif, and of Nachum Levin, Director of the Brit Ivrit Olamit. They all served the Movement with devotion and loyalty.

Finally we must mark the death of Elisheva Eshkol, wife of our colleague Levi Eshkol, and herself a member of the Zionist General Council. Elisheva Eshkol came to Israel over thirty years ago, and settling in Degania Beth, was a founder and a leading member of the Moezat Hapoalot. With your consent I shall despatch a telegram of condolence to Mr. Levi Eshkol, Member of the Jewish Agency Executive and Head of its Settlement Department, and Minister of Finance of the Government of Israel. May he and all members of his bereaved family find consolation among the pioneers and builders of Zion and Jerusalem.

ANNIVERSARIES IN THE MOVEMENT

This session of the Zionist General Council convenes upon the auspicious occasion, or on the threshold of important anniversaries in the Jewish national movement. We are on the threshold of the centenary of the birth of our unforgettable leader, Benjamin Ze'ev Theodor Herzl.

I do not intend to enlarge upon the place Herzl occupies in the annals of the Zionist Movement, as the Seer of the Jewish State, and as founder of the Zionist Movement, who succeeded in bringing the problem of the Jewish people to the conscience of the enlightened world, and of placing it on the agenda in the international forum. The previous session of the Zionist General Council proclaimed the Herzl Year, to be devoted to intensifying Zionist work and to inculcating a deeper appreciation of Herzl's work and achievement in the hearts of the entire Jewish people, and particularly in the hearts of the youth. The General Council has noted with gratification that these functions to mark the

centenary of the founder of the Movement will be organized in conjunction with the Israel Government. The functions to be organized in connection with this centenary will be concentrated insofar as this is possible between the anniversary of the birth and the death of Herzl, namely between the eleventh day of Iyar and the twentieth day of Tammuz.

More than a month ago we marked the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Kattowitz Conference, at which the Chibat Zion Movement organized itself as one of the movements operating in many countries for the resettlement of Eretz Israel. The Conference tried to come to aid of the early Bilu settlers, who two years previously had founded the settlement of Rishon Letzion, and was responsible for the creation of other villages. It was at the initiative of the movement that Baron Edmond de Rothschild took the important decision to assist the attempts then being made to resettle Eretz Israel.

Fifty years have passed since the Zionist Organization embarked upon its practical work of settlement on the land, with the establishment of the settlements of Degania and Kinneret. Subsequently a number of other collective settlements were founded by settlers of the Second *Aliya,* under the direction of Dr. Arthur Ruppin.

About forty years ago the victorious allied powers gathered at San Remo resolved to entrust the Mandate for Palestine to Great Britain, on the basis of the Balfour Declaration issued previously. At that time the Third *Aliya,* which provided the stimulus for much new settlement in *kibbutzim* and *moshavim,* set in. The thirtieth anniversary of the creation of the Extended Jewish Agency, which was an historic attempt to ensure the cooperation of Zionists and non-Zionists in the development of Eretz Israel by the organization of Jewish immigration, must also be noted. The growing cooperation in the United Jewish Appeal in the United States must be regarded as a continuation of that effort.

We must mark these anniversaries in a spirit of gratitude, recognizing the work of the founders and builders of the Movement, from whose lives, experience, successes and failures we have much to learn, and who made a major contribution in blazing the trail which we have trodden from the modest beginnings of the Jewish national movement to the foundation of the State of Israel.

I must recall another anniversary—albeit only the tenth—of the settlement project, launched following the mass immigration which set in after the establishment of the State of Israel. Those new settlements have succeeded in opening up new areas and in transferring thousands of immigrants to a productive life in the homeland.

THE AGENDA OF THE PRESENT SESSION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL

In the course of the present session we shall hear an address by the President of our Organization on activities and developments, and on the problems confronting us. After the debate which will follow one of the Committees, I have no doubt, will discuss the conclusion we must draw.

Upon the present session rests the responsibility for the ratification of the new Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, regarding the basic principles of which the previous session already took a decision. We shall also hear the address of Mr. Zvi Lurie, Head of the Executive's Organization Department, and of Mr. Pinkus, Chairman of the Committee on the Constitution. I trust that the debate will be conducted in proper spirit of mutual goodwill, imbued with a sense of responsibility to the Movement, and that the resolutions that are passed will assist us in continuing our work. When all is said and done notwithstanding its importance, the organizational form of the Movement is of less weight than the spirit that animates it and all its members.

In my opening speech at the previous session of the Council I stressed the importance which must be attached to immigration and education in the life of our Movement. We shall hear two addresses on educational and cultural work in the Golah describing the gratifying progress made since our last session in certain countries. I must point to the fine beginnings in education of the Zionist Federation in England, which in the course of recent years has opened seven day schools, in which Hebrew language and Jewish education occupy a central position. I understand from our colleagues in that country that preparations are being made to develop a chain of similar schools in various towns in Great Britain. In this connection I am gratified to note that the Movement in England has shown signs of dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in regard to *aliya,* notwithstanding the fact that in this respect England was not the most backward of the free countries. A special *Aliya* Conference was convened, and I trust that our friends will continue their efforts in the fields of *aliya* and education, and that our Movement in other countries will regard this as an example to be followed by themselves.

I hereby declare this Fifth Session of the Zionist General Council open.

MINISTER OF JUSTICE MR. PINHAS ROSEN PRESENTS GREETINGS ON BEHALF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

I have been requested by the Prime Minister, who is recuperating after his recent illness, to greet this session of the Zionist General Council, on behalf of the Government.

The State of Israel and the World Zionist Organization have indissoluble mutual ties in their common objective to bring to fruition the agelong aspiration of the Jewish people for the reconstitution of our homeland. This partnership, so fraught with destiny, has been solemnly and practically enshrined in the Act of the Knesset governing the status of the World Zionist Organization, and in the Charter agreed upon by the Government and the World Zionist Organization. The Government—and also, I am convinced, the Zionist Organization—is determined to act in accordance with these basic documents. The Government reiterated this determination several weeks ago in its Programme, on the basis of which it was presented to the Knesset and was given a vote of confidence.

In that Programme the following clause is included:

> "In accordance with the Zionist Organization Status Act and the Charter between the Government and the Zionist Executive, the Government will extend loyal assistance to the Zionist Movement, at the same time calling for self-realization and a greater degree of financial collaboration; for the dissemination of the Hebrew language; for the development of the pioneer movement; for the immigration of youth and children; for the expansion of immigration and settlement, and the influx of capital from abroad; for facilities to attract Jewish youth from all countries for education in high schools and institutions of higher education in Israel; for support of Israel in her efforts to secure her rights and her international position; for intensifcation of the consciousness of Jewish unity among the Jews in the Diaspora, and for war upon assimilation and denial of national identity in every shape and form."

The Government welcomes the efforts being made by the President of the World Zionist Organization, "to secure the participation of all Jewish individuals and organizations in the work of reconstruction" as set forth in the Zionist Organization Status Law. Moreover it is clearly stated further in that Law that "should the Zionist Organization decide, with the consent of the Government of Israel and the approval of the Knesset, to extend its basis that extended body shall benefit from the status granted in the State of Israel to the World Zionist Organization." There is added reason, accordingly, to welcome every effort to secure

the participation of other organized bodies in the upbuilding of the country, on the basis and within the framework of the World Zionist Organization.

We trust that these efforts will prove fruitful.

The People's Land Basic Law, presented to the Third Knesset, and the bills that come in its wake, also attest to the desire to strengthen the ties between the State and the World Zionist Organization. This Basic Law makes the principles of the Jewish National Fund valid for the State domains, and proposes the concentration of all forms of national land including that of the Jewish National Fund in the hands of the State, while leaving the development of these lands to the Jewish National Fund. I assume that the Government will be willing to present this bill, when it finds fit, to the Fourth Knesset.

We are aware that the Zionist General Council has met in this session for one main purpose, namely, to bring the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, into line with current needs. The Government is following the discussions of this great reform which it seems is dictated by current conditions, with keen interest. But in our view most important are the efforts being made to strengthen the Zionist Movement, to intensify immigration, to strengthen ties between cultural life in this country and the Jewish people in the Diaspora, and to convert the diffusion of the Hebrew language among the younger generation in the Golah into the major instrument to achieve this purpose.

I believe that in this hall there are some people—albeit very few—who were present just fifty years ago, at the Ninth Congress held in Hamburg in December 1909. That Congress too, was dedicated to a quest for new roads and new methods for the new Zionist policy that had to fill the ideological void created after the apparent failure of Herzl's efforts, following his death. When the concept of Synthetic Zionism came into being, it transpired that there had been no contradiction between Political Zionism and Practical Zionism—to use terms current at the time. When this year we mark the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Theodor Herzl we shall all of us share the rejoicing of the masses of our people who have witnessed the realization of his dream.

Today once again, as was the case fifty years ago, the Zionist Movement must review its course and its instruments. The quest for a course, a re-appraisal of instruments, are always incumbent upon movements which are close to life, which never stagnate. This is doubly the case with the Zionist Movement which is generating a revolution in the life of the Jewish people, the like of which the world has never seen.

The best wishes and aid of the Government will attend the efforts being made in this direction. Let us search our ways that we may return and advance together towards our common goal.

THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL CLIMATE, THE STRUGGLE FOR JEWISH RIGHTS AFTER EMANCIPATION AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

OPENING ADDRESS BY DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN

(President of the World Zionist Organization)

I wish to make certain remarks about the foreign relations of the State of Israel, primarily from the point of view of the Jewish people outside the State. Subsequently—and this, of course, is the main theme of my speech—I shall voice my views on the major problems of the Movement, which, incorporated in the contemplated constitutional changes, will occupy the attention of the Zionist General Council.

Israel's political situation, in recent years, compared with the previous period, has been marked by quiet, stability, at times even by its almost idyllic character. In regard to security, external relations and other political problems, Israel I believe, has never experienced since its establishment such a tranquil period as the past two years.

The International Political Climate

But if I do not err this idyllic state of affairs is approaching its close, or, at any rate, there is a possibility of change. Behind this analysis there are two developments of historic moment, one pertaining to the international situation, which naturally must affect every nation, and particularly the State of Israel, whose relations with her neighbours have not been solidified and normalized; and the other pertaining to the changes registered in recent years in the Middle East, especially the changes in the relative position occupied by the Western world, which is at present only in its initial stages and whose future development no man can foresee.

Already these changes have had a palpable effect, I would not say upon the concrete facts of the international situation, but rather on the political atmosphere, the world political climate, upon what is called coexistence, the attempt being made by the two antagonistic parts of the world, to find some sort of solution to the problems outstanding between them. It might perhaps be a little naïve to expect such a solution in the near future, but some temporary understanding, a political armistice, might be achieved, which while not concluding the Cold War, might at

least reduce its intensity, and lead to the development, temporarily, of peaceful competition between the two Blocs.

It is not my task to analyse the policies followed about which, needless to say, there are differences of opinion among the leaders of the Western world themselves. But one thing is clear. We Jews, more than any other nation, perhaps, are interested that these contacts should prove fruitful and that the danger of war should vanish, at least in our own generation, and that a new political climate of mutual understanding should develop.

But there is nothing in history that is completely positive. Every historical development has its negative aspects. And in this new policy of co-existence there lurk many difficulties and even dangers for the State of Israel.

There are two possibilities; If, God forbid, this policy should prove unsuccessful the result will not be a return to the *status quo ante,* but an exacerbation of existing tension and conflicts. The failure of this course will increase the danger of conflict throughout the world, certainly affecting the Middle East, which is one of the most sensitive and explosive areas of the globe. I am referring not only to relations between Jews and Arabs, but also to internal relations within the Arab world itself. And any increase in tension in this part of the world is full of direct menace to the State of Israel, particularly at a time when the Eastern Bloc is pursuing a deliberate policy of arming the Arab countries, or at least of arming two Arab countries, notwithstanding the fact that these two counries are mutually hostile. What this implies in terms of a threat to the security to the State should world tension in general and tension in this area in particular be accentuated, I do not have to tell you.

If any hopes are entertained that this policy of reducing tension, of rapprochement and co-existence may prove successful, the position of Israel must be affected too. A certain danger for Israel is also possible. It is unthinkable—I wish to be very careful—that the two Blocs, the two world powers, should evolve a system of temporary understanding, of political truce, involving the major questions at issue throughout the world—Berlin, and the situation in the Far East—without touching upon the state of affairs in the Middle East, which is so important to them, besides being one of the most sensitive areas of the world. If there should be a Summit Conference—followed by a second, and a third and a fourth Summit Conference—they will be compelled, at some point in their deliberations to discuss the Middle East. And in that discussion of the Middle East the Soviet Union will occupy the position of a full and equal partner.

At one time the Western powers adopted a policy laying down that Russia must not interfere in the affairs of the Middle East. Today that policy seems to be almost prehistoric. If talks should be launched between the four powers—and whoever else might be drawn in—Russia will participate as a fifty-per cent participant. And what this may imply for Israel in view of the increasingly hostile attitude—here too I wish to express myself with caution—of the Soviet Union to Israel and to the Jews, and the greater brutality and determination with which she is putting forward her views to the West, which is not always united, I do not have to speak in detail.

That is one reason why I believe that the idyllic situation existing in the past two years, which may have given birth to various illusions that no major problems any longer confront the State of Israel will come to an end, and that we are entering upon a period of complex political problems for Israel.

The Decline of Western Influence in the Middle East

There is another reason—the remarkable decline in the position occupied by the West in this part of the world. Among the defeats suffered by the West in its Cold War with the East, the greatest have been in the Middle East. We must bear in mind that only a few years ago the Middle East was regarded by the West at least, as its exclusive sphere of influence. It is only a few years ago that the renowned Eisenhower Doctrine was proclaimed,—which remained alive for six months, perhaps. The Doctrine was based upon the assumption that the entire Near East would be affiliated or connected in some other way with the free Western world. Within a few years, however, a situation has developed, in which the West is only too happy if the Middle East remains neutral.

I am not speaking of the time when the West had substantial forces in the Near East. I am speaking of a time only three or four years ago. And seeing that Israel for a variety of reasons—I am speaking of political facts not of theories—belongs to the West, any weakening of the Western position, any strengthening of the positions of the East European Bloc (as long as the latter maintains its present attitude towards Israel), represents a danger for Israel.

The second result of the weakening of the position of the West is that the latter, in seeking to ensure the neutrality of the Near East is beginning to believe that there are Arab leaders in the area who wish to remain neutral and to seek the favour of those leaders. In recent months there have been definite signs of a political appeasement, a pursuit of Nasser's favour which have led up to certain decisions taken in

the past few weeks—as for example the United Nations resolution on the refugees (and we have not come up against such an unfriendly resolution for years) though I am fully aware that the resolution solves no problems and cannot compel Israel to do anything which she feels she is unable to do. It has also been reflected in the well-known decision to grant a loan to the United Arab Republic to widen the Suez Canal.

But not only these facts and resolutions must make us uneasy; for the first time Israel found herself as isolated as she was many years ago. I do not wish to exaggerate the importance of these manifestations. They do not indicate generally-speaking that Israel is once again isolated as she was years ago. It does not mean that America has changed its attitude towards Israel. Israel still has very good friends in the West. America argues that it can be friendly with both Nasser and Israel. It would not be correct, it would be unfair, to say that suddenly America has become anti-Israeli.

There is friendship with France. There are better relations with England. Israel has conducted a very constructive and clever policy and has won friends for itself in the Afro-Asian sphere, which is playing a role of increasing importance. I do not wish to say that all of a sudden all this has changed. But these cases of friendship and good relations combine to prove that they cannot be taken for granted. When all is said and done political alliances are no more than political alliances, even when ambassadors speak in the most emotional terms. Political friendship is never in your pocket, even when it is incorporated in a written pact, certainly not when it is based only on an unwritten understanding.

The time has come for Israel to see exactly where she stands. The present is not the place to discuss this question. We are not here to tender advice to Israel. In the past year the Presidents of the American organizations had the feeling that they had become "unemployed," that seeing that there were no crises their help was no longer required. Don't worry, I told them, I am very much afraid that soon your hands will be full, for Israel will have her critical moments. The alliance with the Jewish people is the only pact that does not rest upon political considerations. It is based upon intellect, faith, history and a common ideal and destiny.

Jewish Collective Rights

I wish to say a few words about what is sometimes called "the external political situation of the Jewish people." During the past few years I have repeatedly told Jewish representatives that what is known as Jewish policy has undergone a far-reaching transformation in the course

of the past decade. The burden of Jewish policy in the past century,—excluding Zionism and the fight for a Jewish State—was as long as there existed large Jewish communities, the struggle for all forms of equal rights, individual and collective. That battle to a lesser or greater extent has been won. Anti-Semitism is still in existence, in the East as well as in the West. But it is no longer our major problem. There are hardly any countries in the world—with the exception of some Arab states where fortunately there are very few Jews—in which, *de jure* and to a considerable extent *de facto* the complete equality of the Jews has not been recognized. Even states like Tunisia and Morocco, where only ten years ago Jews did not venture to dream that they should achieve the status of equal citizens, have granted equality of status to the Jews.

But meantime there has emerged an entirely different problem, a new aspect of equality, which has not yet been solved in a number of countries, i.e. the right of Jews to live as Jews. There are countries where constitutionally and factually Jews are recognized as equal citizens. They have all rights, even though it may be a little more difficult for them to rise to ministerial rank. But in these same countries their right to live as Jews is not recognized. The restriction perhaps, is not incorporated in the constitution but it is very real.

Russia and Russian Jewry

The major example of such a country is the Soviet Union. That is nothing new for us. It is by no means an exaggeration to say that in this respect the Jews of the Soviet Union do not have equal rights, whether they are considered as a religious or as a national entity. The Jews constitute both. There can be no question that the Jews are being treated otherwise than other national or religious minorities in Soviet Russia. The rights which others enjoy, to have their own national language, literature, national theatre, organizations, educational network, the right to organize which all have, has not been granted to the Jews. They have not got the right to organize as a distinct religious group, certainly not as a national group. The Jews do not have the right to maintain contact with external groups of their faith as have the Orthodox Churches with churches elsewhere, the Moslems with Moslem groups in other parts of the world, even the small Protestant groups. There is nothing in the constitution forbidding it.

There are other symptoms of discrimination on a large-scale. My friends are fully aware of the care with which I touch upon this problem. But with all the responsibility and care with which it should be handled—for it affects the two and a half or three million Jews in

the Soviet Union—there are many other signs indicating that here we have to consider a deliberate policy of the Soviet Government to ensure the integration of the Jewish minority. This problem is not one of anti-Semitism in the ordinary sense of the term, though there have been some ugly manifestations of anti-Semitism in Russian provincial papers and in Russian broadcasts. Jews are not being persecuted. They can earn a livelihood. They may have less prospects for personal advancement or for higher study than non-Jews. That in itself, however, does not make this Problem No. 1 of Diaspora policy. The problem is the well-known special treatment of the Jewish minority, that well-known policy the object of which is to ensure their disappearance as a separate entity.

Clearly we cannot accept this state of affairs. The only hope of securing some alteration in this policy is to keep the problem alive, to bring it to the knowledge of the world, of the liberal and progressive sections of public opinion. It has nothing whatever to do with the Cold War, or with attempts being made to put an end to the Cold War in which we, no less than others, perhaps even more than others, are interested. We are not adopting any anti-Soviet postures. We are not against Russia as a power. Jews can be Communists or non-Communists as they will. Under every regime we insist upon the equality of the Jews, upon their right to live as Jews. No more than that. That is not possible in the Soviet Union. The latitude which is permitted in other Communist countries, does not exist in Soviet Russia. If only the Jews in Russia could live as do the Jews in Roumania and Hungary, where the situation is far from ideal, we should be happy! If only the Jews of Russia had *Yeshivot* as they have in Hungary, or their own theatres as they have in Roumania, or their own press as in other countries, or rabbinical seminaries, or schools. But as long as the present situation continues we cannot remain silent. We have the right, as Jews it is our duty, to demand from a world that is advancing towards mutual understanding, towards peace and tolerance, that the Jews of Russia, too, be given the elementary right to live as Jews, to develop their own way of life, to be in contact with Jews elsewhere, including Israel. That is part of Jewish culture, of Jewish life. It is not merely a question of emigration, it is the most elementary Jewish right. And seeing that our only weapon, the only method we can adopt, is the mobilization of public opinion, we must embark upon the mobilization of public opinion with even greater force.

We have achieved something. The world at large is conscious of the existence of this problem. Three years ago it did not know about it. And Russian leaders know that the world knows. But we have accomp-

lished little that is real, positive. A book has been published about Sholem Aleichem. Another volume about Mendele Mocher Seforim might be issued. That is better than nothing at all. But compared to the magnitude of the entire problem it is insignificant. And there are also demands in regard to the anti-Semitic articles and radio-broadcasts, etc.

It is our duty to mobilize public opinion on behalf of Russian Jewry. The only consolation in this tragic situation, which is becoming more difficult from week to week are the reports from all sources, both Jewish and non-Jewish, that this policy has had the effect of strengthening Jewish sentiment in Russia. It is stated that Jewish youth, who knows nothing at all about Judaism, is becoming more Jewish, partly as a result of these manifestations. But if these reports are true or not, it is our sacred duty to carry on the campaign for Russian Jewry and for the Jewish people. We dare not interrupt for a single minute our battle for those two and a half million Jews who have outlived Hitler, and who, though they are in no danger of pogroms, are threatened with liquidation as Jews.

There are other countries where there are similar problems. There is Morocco where not only are Jews forbidden to leave the country, but attempts are being made to interfere in Jewish life, to prevent Jews from maintaining contacts with Jews outside Morocco. In Tunisia they are being told: You are good Tunisians. What do you need your own institutions for? That is a very primitive interpretation of the concept of equality of civic rights.

Internal Jewish Problems

Now I wish to discuss a number of problems and manifestations which interest us internally. First of all, the campaigns for Israel, especially in America for American Jewry constitutes the bulk of the Jewish people. In the course of the past year there have been two welcome features. American Jews are becoming, so to speak, psychologically consolidated. For ten years they have been living from hand to mouth, on slogans about emergencies and crises. Many of us have raised our voices upon various occasions against this tendency. Cooperation with Israel must go on for a long time. The Jewish people must share in the reconstruction of Israel.

Fortunately in the course of the present year there have been no emergency slogans. It is good for Israel when there is no trouble. It is also good for the Jews. They are beginning to understand that in this case they must not deal with an emergency situation but with something that is permanent or that will last an entire generation, namely,

that Jews must help build Israel. Today the entire mood underlying the campaign in the United States—and also in other countries—is becoming more solid. It is appreciated that a long-term programme is necessary. Money must be contributed because not enough was raised in the course of the past ten years. The million Jews who have entered the country must be integrated.

Another very welcome feature is the fact that more young men are entering the leadership of the campaigns. If this should continue it will be in the best interests of the campaign and a good omen for relations between American Jewry and Israel.

There is another development which we must welcome—the more lively interest in Jewish education, in Jewish culture, in enriching the cultural life of the younger generation. Progress in this sphere is being reported from month to month. A few years ago this was an ideological problem for American Jewry. Should Jews have their own schools? Is it not contrary to the principle of equality of rights? There was a considerable controversy about this question of Jewish day schools, even among the Zionists. Today that controversy is unreal. This question is beginning to interest groups who only a few years ago grew angry when I or others raised the question in their presence.

But therein lies a problem. The more Jews become interested in their local problems the more acute the question of priorities—Israel or local needs? And even the resources of American Jewry are not unlimited.

When the alternatives are whether to develop Jewish education or to contribute to the campaign, the problem becomes serious. The solution to the problem, the creation of a synthesis, namely that Jewish education is unthinkable without Israel in the era of Jewish statehood, and that Jewish life cannot develop if it is not concentrated about Israel is acceptable to ourselves but not yet to others. We have not made all Jews share this consciousness.

At the same time there is a noticeable trend among American Jews to make the synagogue the centre of Jewish life. I have nothing against synagogues. I am happy with every Jew who goes to the synagogue, whether he is Orthodox, Reform or Conservative. But if they want to make the synagogue—I am not speaking of the *shul*—the centre of Jewish life and the leaders of the synagogues the representatives of American Jewry, then we have to deal with assimilation in its worst form. Because if there is anything that is peculiarly characteristic of Judaism it is its uniqueness. Judaism is religion and nationalism, culture and Hebrew. We are a people, more than a people; we are a religion, more than a religion. But when the Jews begin to act as the Christians do—and the churches play a very important role in the

United States—if they wish to make the Jewish "church" the context, the basis of Jewish life in America they are embarking upon a dangerous course. This process is in its beginnings but the trend is there. If a prominent Jewish religious philosopher,—he did not come over with the Pilgrim Fathers, but was born in Europe—has compared the Jewish religious entity with the Catholic church, we must see something more in it. It is true that later he regretted and retracted the statement. But if the statement was made without conscious intent it is even worse. If he could say such a thing we can imagine the lengths to which others, who do not possess the deep roots he has in Jewish culture, might be prepared to go. Personal ambitions are also involved. Why shouldn't the rabbis become the leaders of American Jewry, and not the laymen? They possess such a wonderful passport to the State Department. I do not have to tell you what this can lead to. Fortunately there are still a large number of laymen's organizations which refuse to allow themselves to be thrust aside. But nevertheless the tendency in itself is a dangerous one in a country like America and I am of the opinion that it is the duty of American Zionism and especially of Religious Zionism to oppose it from the very outset.

The great majority of the Jewish people remains loyal to Israel. Indeed its devotion to Israel has not become weaker in any way. The danger that Israel might become something commonplace, something that is taken for granted, is of course, always present, especially among the youth. But the fact that after eleven years the overwhelming majority of the Jewish people should continue to be so loyal to the State of Israel must be appreciated for what it is—something unique. That attachment is the greatest asset upon which we can construct the Zionist Movement and strengthen the ties of the people to the State.

Zionist Problems

Now I come to the Zionist problems. The crux of the present session will be the Constitution of the Zionist Organization.

The constitution of a movement or even a state is far more than a collection of one or two hundred articles or paragraphs. It constitutes, in legal terminology, the outward expression of the movement, what it is aiming at and how it proposes to realize its objectives. For that reason I wish to make certain remarks on matters of principle on a number of aspects of the new constitution. These aspects will introduce basic changes in regard to the existing constitution which is now forty years old.

I trust that we shall not once again conduct that same old debate about what is the ultimate goal of Zionism. Peoples, states, movements

never have a single, immutable, ultimate goal. There are no everlasting goals just as there are no eternal frontiers, and just as there is no eternal and classic Zionism. A movement which is alive, vital, has a goal. The goal of the Zionist Movement is the solution of the Jewish problem. It must, however, adjust itself to the conditions of the era in which it operates.

The point I wish to make here is that the criterion of Zionism has never been personal realization of its ideals. That was never the Zionist criterion even when the main centre of Zionism was in Eastern Europe, where the atmosphere was more conducive towards personal realization. Russian and Polish Zionism had some very great leaders, who never thought of settling personally in Eretz Israel. When they did so it was because of objective reasons, because of the outbreak of revolution or some other external cause, which made it impossible for them to continue to live in those countries. What did exist was a core of pioneers who realized Zionist ideals personally. The Movement was proud of them and assisted them. I declare unequivocally that without a powerful *chalutz* movement Zionism is meaningless. A *chalutz* movement can not be made out of the present leadership of the Movement but out of pioneers. God grant that ***chalutz*** leaders offer a personal example—pioneering is not a function of any specific age—and create a stronger pioneering movement than we have today. Objectively that is possible in all countries. The Zionist Movement must not merely confine itself to supporting it, for the ***chalutz*** movement is the brightest jewel in the Zionist crown.

The Function of the Zionist Movement Today

But as I see the function of the Zionist Movement today, it comprises three main points, which, more or less, are set forth in the Jerusalem Programme: the mobilization of the Jewish people and organization of cooperation with Israel in the reconstruction and consolidation of the State, including immigration, the ingathering of exiles, the development of a Jewish life in the Golah oriented towards Israel, in the realization that Israel constitutes the centre of Jewish life; and concern for all forms of Jewish life everywhere outside Israel as long as Jews continue to live outside Israel.

For such a concept of Zionism we can secure the support of the greater part of the Jewish people, including those sections which today are not within the Zionist Movement.

Zionists and Non-Zionists Today

I have now come to the first great change incorporated in the new constitution. What was the nature of the Zionist Organization when

the old constitution was drafted? It comprised a group of Jews who believed,—contrary to the great majority of the Jewish people—in the Zionist solution to the Jewish problem. They did not accept the thesis that emancipation, minority rights and religious life could solve the problem. They supported the territorial concentration of the Jews in Eretz Israel as the means whereby the Jewish problem could be solved, and they fought for the acceptance of that solution. It was in effect a revolutionary movement, because the majority of the Jewish people did not subscribe to its principles. Whoever bought the Shekel expressed thereby a willingness to carry on the fight within the Jewish people. That situation no longer exists today, as the majority of the Jewish people have accepted Zionism in that respect. Deprive the Jews of the Diaspora of the drives and campaigns for Israel and I do not know what will remain. It is not merely a matter of collecting funds. It gives a Jewish content to their lives, it constitutes a hub round which the Jewish social leadership revolves.

Today we are no longer a revolutionary minority within the Jewish people. Today, too, the Zionist Movement is not supported by *all* Jews, but the greater majority are potentially ready to subscribe to these points: to help build up Israel in all forms through the campaigns, bonds, investments, by sending young people, by concentrating Jewish life about Israel, which must be the centre of the Jewish people, insofar as the latter live their own lives, and by supporting Jewishness everywhere, in the religious, cultural, educational, Hebrew, and other spheres.

The difference between Zionists and non-Zionists—insofar as there is any difference at all—is one of nuance. I do not possess any instrument whereby to gauge to what extent a Zionist has a greater attachment and affection for Israel than a non-Zionist. Probably a good many Zionists are more deeply attached to Israel. But that cannot be incorporated in any programme. When we have the non-Zionists in our midst we shall educate them to be Zionists. Many Zionist groups were less Zionistically-inclined at one time than they are today.

It has become more and more difficult to win over individuals to the Zionist Organization. It is becoming more difficult to explain why they should join the Zionist Organization. Thirty years ago Jews were aware that when they joined the Zionist Organization they introduced a radical change in their whole outlook on life. Today we have nothing to offer him. Does the Jew have to be a member of the Zionist Organization in order to collect money for the Campaign? Must he be a Zionist to build a factory in Israel? And insofar as Hebrew is concerned he declares that he is in favour of Hebrew, and insofar as Jewish schooling he is in favour of that too. The same applies to religion.

Some years ago an organization was founded headed by fifty of the finest names in American Zionism. They have played important roles in their own communities and in the world organizations. They launched their work about two years ago and in the course of this period secured only some thousands of members. I do not know how much, organizationally speaking, every new member costs them. If such a group cannot achieve more than this what can the other hope to do?

There is nothing to offer the individual Jew today. That is why Zionist organizations particularly the men's organizations, in all countries are weak in individual membership.

I am convinced, if we believe that we are at all capable of advancing the Zionist Organization—and there is no reason why it should not be advanced, for there are large numbers of Jews who support our programme—then we can achieve our object only by the adhesion of entire organizations. Then we can tell the Jews: If your organization wishes to help Israel it will be easier for you to do so together with us. Not because we have a Charter from the government, but because we are engaged in this task for fifty or sixty years. You wish to develop Jewish education. We have been doing so for many years. Let us combine our forces. When I stated that interest in Jewish education has become keener, the immense role we played must not be forgotten. Our friends in England have performed wonderful work in this field. In America we could not do likewise because we did not have the same means.

The Zionist Organization upon the Basis of Collective Membership

That is why the new constitution, as drafted by the Commission, has introduced two major changes. In the first place it puts the Zionist Organization upon the basis of collective membership. There will no longer be individual members. When the Zionist Organization had one hundred or two hundred thousand members it could be an organization of individuals who bought the Shekel and accepted the Basle Programme. But even the weakened Movement had, at the last Congress, more than two million Shekel payers. Will the Executive operate with these two million Shekel payers—or with the four million which theoretically at least, can be achieved? Is it not more important, more meaningful, more logical, that the Movement, as it has developed today should be constructed of affiliated organizations, and that the Shekel shall no longer be the individual token of Zionist membership, but once in three or four years, a document proving the right to participate in the Congress elections?

Jewish National and International Organizations which Subscribe to Zionist Programme Could Become Affiliated Collectively

The second change which I am very happy that the Commission has endorsed is that Jewish national or international organizations which are ready to subscribe to the Zionist programme should be able to become affiliated collectively to the Zionist World Organization, without joining the local Zionist organization. They do not wish to join local organizations for reasons which I touched upon at the previous session. They shall be able to reach direct agreement with the Executive, with the approval of the General Council in regard to fixed representation in Zionist bodies, in the General Council. They will be able to be full members or associated members.

In my opinion this constitutes a great step forward and opens up possibilities for all sorts of affiliations. The first attempt I made in this direction did not prove successful. For myself this does not constitute any proof that other attempts should not be made. Potentially, at least, the great majority of the Jews throughout the world are Zionists. I do not see why the Zionist Organization should not try to be what it can potentially be, namely the representative body of the Golah in cooperation with Israel and in the upbuilding of Jewish life about Israel, speaking on behalf of all those millions, who in my view, should be in our midst.

The State of Israel Has to Put into the Scales Her Own Prestige

I have faith in this. I believe that we are capable of changing the entire structure, the very physiognomy of the Movement within a few years—with two conditions. First Israel must desire this. Mr. Rosen has declared that the Government will stand behind us. I am not speaking of formal relationships. I am not speaking of the Charter. The matter goes far deeper. It has nothing to do, or rather it is less dependent than is usually thought upon the ideas that the Prime Minister has on the question. It pertains to the real relationship of Israel, to public opinion here, to those outward signs with which a democratic people expresses its view and feelings. A large movement centring upon Israel cannot be built up today without Israel. And if Israel does not consider the matter important enough for its interests, nothing can be done about it. If Israel is not conscious that this is a vital question for itself, as vital, indeed, as immigration, or the relations with the strongest of the powers, then the movement cannot endure. The Jewish people cannot offer a lot of things which only powerful states are capable of delivering, and which are essential for Israel. But the Jewish people is capable of giving things which the powers are incapable of

giving. The effort can only prove successful if Israel puts into the scales her own prestige, which, naturally enough is far greater, a hundred times greater, than our own. More than the Government the parties must make it clear whether they are really interested. In this respect there is little real difference between the parties. Zionist patriotism has little effect in this area if it is not expressed in daily work and life.

The Need for an Effort to Implement the Changes

The second matter is our own attitude. I do not ask you to accede if you do not wish to accede. I would not like you to repeat what was said at the last Congress, namely: We accepted it because Dr. Goldmann insisted upon it! This is not my private organization. The parties must decide one way or another, whether they are in favour or not, and if they are in favour they must make the effort to implement it and not confine themselves to refraining from sabotage. Implementation will not be ensured by the President going here and there and speaking to various representatives. Some things have been achieved in this fashion, as for example in the Presidents' Club, but what I want is a new movement. The Movement must help in this effort. Just as I insist that the State must devote some thought to the question what exactly it aims at in organizing the Jewish people for the State and also for the people, I insist that the Zionists must decide what they want.

I have often criticized the Movement. But notwithstanding all our faults we are still the strongest Jewish movement, though unfortunately least of all in the United States. On the other hand, however, there are countries in which we constitute the most important body, distinguished by our dynamism—albeit it is not adequate—and the influence we exercise. If only in America we had one quarter of the influence which South Africa Zionism has then the picture presented by American Jewry would be entirely different. But even in America I have never considered ourselves a negligible factor.

Of course the Organization can declare: We do not want too many innovations. We do not know what these really mean. They might mean watering down Zionism. We have the Charter, and we want to retain the *status quo*. We shall endeavour to attract by means of propaganda, which is not impossible. Let the Organization remain as it is, and with its leaders it will continue to occupy the position it occupies today!

In my opinion in that case it will be incapable of "delivering the goods," of serving the State and thereby the Jewish people as it should. The State and the Jewish people constitute a single unity. The State cannot endure without the Jewish people and *vice versa*,

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In my opinion in that case it will be incapable of "delivering the goods," of serving the State and thereby the Jewish people as it should. The State and the Jewish people constitute a single unity. The State cannot endure without the Jewish people and *vice versa*,

the Jewish people cannot continue to exist without the State. The Zionist Movement cannot fulfill its task partially. For that reason my own counsel it: Let the Zionist rid themselves of this conservative approach, let them rid themselves of their complacency, their satisfaction with being what we are.

Among all of you I am probably, organizationally speaking, the most ambitious Zionist. For me the Movement, however weighty and important it is, is not enough. I am conscious of a possibility of its becoming stronger. Perhaps in the course of time I shall be disappointed, but after all I have a close knowledge of the Jewish people. According to my assessment, and taking into account the programme Zionism must realize in this era, millions of Jews can be organized and mobilized, if we take the initiative with the support of the State. If we wish it we can execute our major task in this era,—that of organizing the Jewish people around the State of Israel and building up Jewish life around Israel, thereby ensuring the unity of the Jewish people in the future.

SECOND MEETING

Tuesday, December 29, 1959, in the morning

Chairman: MR. LEON GELMAN

DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

DR. ISAAC I. SCHWARZBART
(Virilist—USA)

I believe that any spirit of defeatism in the Zionist Movement is unwarranted, for objective no less than for subjective reasons. The Zionist Organization has grown and must adjust itself to new conditions. A basic condition for the further growth of the Zionist Movement throughout the world is that the Zionist Movement becomes active inside the State of Israel.

Jews in the State of Israel participate and wish to participate in the Zionist Congresses. Indeed everything that grows and develops in Israel, in town and country, in culture and science, all manifestations of life in this country constitute Zionism. Throughout the world there is the keenest interest in all that pertains to Israel and to the Zionist Movement. The number of non-Zionists who have been attracted by Zionism has grown to a considerable extent. The labour movement in America, not only the Jewish but also the non-Jewish labour movement, is almost unanimous in supporting the State of Israel.

The concern, the holy concern, that because of political factors, the State of Israel might be weakened is very strong. Youth is attracted to Zionism. There are forces working for the disintegration of the Jewish people, forces which are weakening our national integrity, but I believe—and this belief is based upon my knowledge of the various sections of the Jewish people—that the forces of integration are daily becoming stronger, reflecting the triumph of Zionism. It is a mistaken policy for us to undermine faith in the dynamic strength of the Zionist Movement, by disseminating defeatism.

The first paragraph of the Jerusalem Programme calls for the consolidation of the Jewish State. That paragraph is being implemented in the most glorious fashion. But I must issue a note of warning. The second paragraph requires a certain alteration of style if we wish to

achieve results in our effort to secure the admission of other organizations into the Zionist Organization. The second paragraph speaks of the ingathering of exiles. That terminology is intolerable. It will frighten tens of thousands of the members of the organizations in America, England and other countries, whom we wish to win over. If it were possible I would propose that this paragraph be revoked by a special declaration of the Twenty-fifth Zionist Congress, stating that this paragraph is logically part of that which precedes it, because immigration, that is the ingathering of the exiles, is part of the process of consolidation of the Jewish State.

Dr. Goldmann's plan to extend the confines of the Zionist Organization is a grandiose one. The apprehensions of individuals in regard to joining the Zionist Organization are reflected in the drop in the number of Shekel buyers, which in turn is occasioned by an unwillingness to identify oneself politically with the State of Israel. Pressure from within and without, of Arab propaganda and our enemies in various governments, is so strong that an important section of our people is fearful of being charged with political identification with the State of Israel. That, I believe, is the main reason why the number of persons taking the Shekel has dropped. The answer to this manifestation is the attempt now being made to admit associated bodies into the Zionist Organization.

I have faith in Dr. Goldmann's programme. Up to the present it has not succeeded, for a variety of reasons. These reasons are of both a local and general character. It may not be possible before the forthcoming Twenty-fifth Zionist Congress, but by the Twenty-sixth Congress we may register not only a quantitative but a remarkable qualitative growth. From this point of view I am convinced that the changes in the constitution are warranted, and that the paragraph of the Jerusalem Programme to which I have referred must be altered. The essence, the demand for continued immigration will remain; only the wording will be changed.

The Jewish State expresses the triumph of Zionism and the point from which Zionism derived its strength. Why should we be pessimistic? I believe that there is every reason for a constructive optimism in regard to the Zionist Organization. The amendment of the Constitution opens the doors for this optimistic development.

BARNETT JANNER
(General Zionists—Great Britain)

Dr. Goldmann should be encouraged in the knowledge that in so far as the Zionist Movement is concerned—and as we heard with gratification, also in so far as Israel is concerned—his endeavours to induct others to come into the Movement will be received with encouragement, and we hope that he will be successful.

I don't think that the Zionist Movement is in a position to lay down the strictest of rules. There must be considerable elasticity, particularly in view of the fact that there are so many different countries involved, each with its own problems which it has to deal with in its own way.

Long experience in some countries—in England, for example,—has led us to the conviction that we have a practical job to do and that the important thing in Zionism is to do practical work, to waste as little time as possible on questions of a theoretical party nature, and to spend as much time as we possibly can in a united effort to meet the requirements of the Zionist cause, as we understand it.

All that Dr. Goldmann has said led me to the conclusion, once again, that in the Zionist Movement we have to continue our political and public relations work with as much energy, if not more, as we have done in the past. We, in Britain, believe, as we have always done, that public relations work in so far as Zionism is concerned is one of our most important activities, both inside and outside the community. The body of which I have the honour of being President, the Jewish Board of Deputies, which represents the whole of the Jewish community in England, is interested considerably in Zionist activity. Sir Moses Montefiore, for many years, President of that organization, visited Palestine on seven occasions and, indeed, was responsible for the first housing scheme outside the walls of Jerusalem. In regard to public relations, may I pay a tribute to the Jewish Agency for having enabled certain representative personalities—Christian, Protestant and Catholic—representative bodies, and Jewish groups, to come to Israel from England. These men and women who had only a little knowledge of what was transpiring here have come back impressed by what they have seen and are doing a considerable amount of active service in the communities of the country, in bringing the message of Israel to the people, Jew and non-Jew alike.

I sometimes wonder whether we really are right in considering the question of the Constitution of such paramount importance. We must have a Constitution, of course, which will enable the President and others to bring in new bodies, but in fact the real problem is in what respect the new Constitution will direct the activities of the Movement into those channels which are essential for progress.

In our own group, we lay very little stress on party political differences. I think that our Confederation is right in that regard, because it is a waste of time, in my view, and a waste of money in the Diaspora to endeavour to emphasize past differences which, in fact, really should not exist. I should like to refer to what we have been doing in the last year in Britain. May I, at this stage, thank those of you who were so generous in your praise of British Zionist activity. It is not often that we get that kind of compliment. I think it is the first time since I have had the privilege of being a member of both the General Council and the Congress, that such generous terms have been used in respect of this activity.

To what have we directed our attention? To our youth particularly. If we are going to have good Zionists in the future, we have got to train them from the kindergarten upwards. We have to start from the youngest children, and in England we have endeavoured to put this view into practical effect. We have established kindergarten schools within the last few years. We have close to 1,000 pupils attending those day-schools, specifically directed towards rearing them in a true understanding of Israel and Jewishness, so that in the years to come they will have that love and attachment which are so essential in order to get further practical work done. It is a question of useful training, in no way detracting from secular education. Inspectors say they are satisfied with the standards achieved. At the same time, the pupils are receiving a kind of training which will enable them to become not only good citizens in the general sense, but also good Zionists.

Our attention has been turned in another direction. We have had a special conference in England to deal with *aliya,* which was a very successful venture. For many years we have been endeavouring in England to put into effect a long-term policy as well as a short-term one. We have farms, *hachshara.* We have encouraged a useful *hechaluts* movement. The youngsters are trained and the whole system is one which is working in a very good way indeed with the result that those who go to Israel are properly prepared for the job there.

We continue our work with regard to the *shnat sherut* projects, Patwa and other movements. In my view, we, at this session of the General Council, should resolutely encourage *aliya,* deal with educational problems and public relations.

At the Aliya Conference, Mr. Moshe Sharett, in his inimitable manner, opened the proceedings and was followed by other distinguished leaders from Israel. They had a great effect upon the large representative gatherings. We are continuing from day to day to put into effect by means of definite projects the work that was then undertaken.

I would make an appeal to the Israel Government to encourage Diaspora Jewry, which is anxious to do what it can in order to develop

the interests that lie so closely between us and Israel. It is not for me to make any suggestions to the Israel Government, but those of us who live in the Diaspora know that, sometimes things are said here which discourage Jews in the Diaspora in their work.

One final word: don't let us throw away the substance for the shadow, Dr. Goldmann! You have had behind you in the years that you have been in office the goodwill of the Zionist Movement and of most of the Jewish people throughout the length and breadth of the world. I hope that you will leave in the hands of the Zionists the main efforts that have to be exerted in Zionist interest. I think I can say on behalf of the Jewish community in Britain that our Movement is run on lines which you would want. There is a tendency sometimes to put into the hands of those who are not really enthusiastic, and not in the hands of people with the enthusiasm built of long experience and long activity, some functions which cannot be readily understood by people until they have been in the Movement for some time. I hope it will not be overlooked that what has been built up in the past, must be added to and not in any sense detracted from by any new venture.

I would like to pay a tribute to those in Europe who have been endeavouring to follow the same path. I am told, that in Mexico, for example, there is a day-school which 90 per cent of the children attend. All parties in England work harmoniously in public relations, in active work. I would like to pay a tribute to WIZO for the tremendous amount of work that they do, to the Mizrachi, to Poale Zion and others, who in their own sphere do work of an important nature.

It is my hope that we shall leave the General Council on this occasion in that spirit, whatever the Constitution will happen to be: let us put the spirit of Zionism into whatever that Constitution is and let us continue to build with the same enthusiastic spirit as so many have done in the past.

DR. SHNEUR LEVENBERG

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Great Britain)

Every person who is imbued with some sense of responsibility, and takes these matters seriously, finds himself with a single choice. He must make up his mind about the three speeches we listened to last night, particularly that of Dr. Goldmann.

I was happy to hear Mr. Berl Locker mention a number of historic developments in his speech. We speak of a crisis in Zionism. But the Movement has grown from crisis to crisis. It has grown by virtue of self-criticism, by virtue of dissatisfaction, by holy unrest, as Brenner put it. We must develop a historic perspective.

I was also glad to hear Mr. Locker mention the achievements of the British Zionists,—the day-school, the *Aliya* Conference. Without the aid of Mr. Shazar's Education Department these schools would not have been able to develop, certainly not in the manner in which they have already developed. I wish to stress that in England the situation is favourable for the opening of dozens of Jewish schools, with the aid of both the Education and Torah Education Departments, which are doing very important work in this field in England.

The Members of the Executive, the members of the Israel Government, and the Members of the Zionist General Council should know that a very insistent demand was voiced at the *Aliya* Conference for the creation of some supreme authority to handle the affairs of immigration from the Western countries. Mr. Shragai participated in that Conference. He will recall that delegate after delegate complained that immigrants in Israel must go from one Ministry to another, and from one Department of the Jewish Agency to another to make their applications in various matters.

Now I come to the very important declaration which Mr. Rosen made on behalf of the Israel Government. On behalf of my party I wish to welcome that declaration. I am fully aware of the distance between formulas and facts. But formulation is very important because it creates the moral and legal basis for our demands.

I am of the opinion that the Zionist Movement has been guilty of grave errors since the establishment of the State of Israel. Let us have the courage to admit that we did not exploit all our opportunities, that the Zionist Movement has sinned in the field of immigration, in the field of education, in the organization of the Jewish people around the banner of Zionism. On the other hand the Government of Israel and the parties must acknowledge that they, too, have been guilty of serious mistakes,—in their relations with the Zionist Movement.

Judging by certain facts it is my opinion that there is not the slightest possibility of the Middle East being placed on the agenda of the first Summit Conference. And if the first Conference should fail there will be no second. My assessment of the situation is that there is an unwritten agreement between America and Russia not to discuss the Middle Eastern question. Both are interested in the maintenance of the status quo. They are aware that if they open discussion of this question they will be forced to compromise, and neither wishes to make any concessions.

I believe that the crux of the Middle Eastern question lies within the region itself, namely: What will be the fate of Iraq? Will Iraq go Communist or Nasserist? Will the status quo be maintained in Baghdad? If Syria goes Communist, Israel will have a Communist neighbour. If Iraq goes Nasserist then the influence and power of Egypt in the region

will grow, and Nasser has reiterated often his intention to destroy the State of Israel.

Dr. Goldmann also spoke on the situation in Russia and in Morocco, about civic rights and the right of Jews to be Jews. Dr. Goldmann stated that the struggle for emancipation, for the equal rights of Jews, has been won in large measure.

I believe this distinction, between equal rights for citizens and lack of rights for Jews, to be an artifical one. During the Haskalah period the slogan was "Be a Jew in your own home and a man abroad." It is artificial to distinguish between human rights and Jewish rights. Both Jews and non-Jews are equal in the prohibition forbidding them to go to Israel. The only difference is that the Jews want to go there. Both Jews and non-Jews are equal in the inability to develop Jewish culture. Non-Jews are not particularly interested, but for Jews it is a vital question of their very existence.

Dr. Goldmann declared that one cannot speak of anti-Semitism, in the traditional meaning of the word, in Soviet Russia. I agree, but the question before us is not one of terminology. It is one of the tragic facts of the situation. Perhaps it cannot be called anti-Semitism, but it is the same thing in a different guise. The fact of the matter is that the Jews are unable to develop Jewish culture, and that they are citizens of the second class.

It is my opinion that there is a Jewish problem in the Western countries, and not only in Russia. The Jewish problem will continue to exist as long as the Jews are a minority in the countries of the Diaspora. There is a Jewish problem in America, in England and in France. It is not apparent because of the reigning prosperity, because of full employment. The Jewish problem is not always visible but it exists. If there is no such problem why must American Jews spend millions of dollars for defence against anti-Semitism. And have English Jews not got their Defence Fund?

In regard to cooperation with various Jewish organizations, I think it would be advisable to follow the policy adopted in 1929 in creating an extended Jewish Agency, in securing the collaboration of Zionist and general Jewish organizations. That would lead to a natural partnership, the creation of a roof-union of Jewish organizations on behalf of Israel. I am afraid that we are treading the path of illusion. Will there be any material change in the situation if Jewish organizations resolve to become affiliated to the Zionist Organization? Who will educate them in the principles of *chalutziut* of Jewish education and emigration to Israel? I am not opposed to any extension of the Zionist front. But I wish to utter a note of warning against any illusions that might be entertained.

Dr. Goldmann spoke too lightly about the difference between Zionists

and non-Zionists. Zionists feel uncomfortable about the question of *aliya,* about the fact that they do not settle in the State of Israel. For non-Zionists, however, that is a natural and normal state of affairs. A Zionist cannot assume the permanence of the Golah. The non-Zionist believes that there exist two equal forces—Israel and the Diaspora.

In certain countries the Zionists play an important role in their communities. They lead in all constructive projects. Take for example Latin America, take England, South Africa or Canada. The situation must not be confused with the state of affairs in the United States.

There are two things that I am afraid of when we discuss the proposed amendments. Dr. Goldmann has stated that Jewish organizations will be able to become affiliated to the World Zionist Organization directly. In that case certain organizations may claim a position of privilege and bypass the local Zionist organizations. "We can go straight to the leadership" they will say. "We are more important than the Zionists!" That would undermine the prestige of the Zionist federations in the various countries.

Dr. Goldmann no longer regards the Shekel as the symbol of membership in the Zionist Organization. The Shekel will now only grant the right to vote. In that case why should any Jew buy the Shekel? After all he will not be particularly interested in the elections, if he can secure representation in Zionist institutions without buying the Shekel.

The point I wish to make is that if we wish to secure a new alliance, if we are to ensure the cooperation of the non-Zionist bodies then we must have a strong—not a diluted!—Zionist front.

The fact that only America and Israel are at present represented in the Executive is unhealthy. The views of the Zionists in England, and in South Africa, and in Canada and in Latin America have not been asked for. Have we a World Zionist Organization which recognizes only the Golah in the United States and ignores all other sections of the Jewish world? If you wish to extend your front, you must first extend the Zionist front and admit into the Executive Zionist leaders of other parts of the world. That might facilitate our situation in regard to cooperation with other Jewish organizations.

In my view the Zionist Organization has reached the crossroads. Forces are working for the advancement of the Movement, but there are also forces of decline and complacency, with a resultant lack of faith. The question is which forces will prove victorious, the forces of advancement or the forces of decline.

There is one personal remark I must make to Dr. Goldmann. From time to time reports are published in the press to the effect that he intends resigning from his position of President of the World Zionist Organization. I can understand his moods. He is not the first President of the World Zionist Organization to speak of resignation. Upon more

than one occasion Herzl did likewise. I wish to tell him that I and my friends will support him in his efforts to strengthen the Zionist Organization, but with one condition: that he lead the Movement on the road of true Zionism, which means denial of the possibility of permanent Jewish existence in the Golah, which means faith in *aliya*, in *chalutziut* and in Jewish culture, faith in the everlasting strength of the Jewish people, in the Jewish democratic world.

RABBI MORDECHAI KIRSHBLUM
(Member of the Executive—New York)

When I speak of the Zionist Organization, I refer to the Organization almost just as it is today. There are certain constitutional amendments that we must introduce, not only because of the reasons Dr. Goldmann set forth last night, but because of other logical imperatives. I regard it as a compliment when I am defined as a person favouring the status quo.

For me the Zionist Organization is something sacred, as it is today. It is not an organization in its death throes. It is a very dynamic body. It is still capable of revolutionizing Jewish life. Let us bear in mind that this revolutionary minority, about which Dr. Goldmann spoke in such glowing terms yesterday, has brought us, with the grace of God and thanks to the Jewish people, the State of Israel. On the road to the Jewish homeland Zionism raised the entire Jewish people, extracted the people, often against its own will, from the morass of assimilation and led it on the road to national consciousness.

The true, the historic, the classic Zionism, which is nourished by the very sources of Judaism, Biblical Jewry which in America is referred to as Torah-Jewry, has taught us that even when it is *possible* to be Jews, we must *want* to be Jews. I know of Dr. Goldmann's warm attitude towards the old Jewishness, toward the Principals of the *Yeshivot*. There is a peculiar tendency at present in Jewish life. Everybody, without exception, becomes ecstatic about the *Yeshivot*—in places where they cannot be established. Everybody dramatizes the synagogues and *Yeshivot* in Moscow and Leningrad. But are they ready to evince a similar degree of appreciation for a meaningful Jewish life upon the same basis, for *Yeshivot* and synagogues in those countries where Jews are free to practise and to develop Jewish life?

Generally speaking Dr. Goldmann's speech was an encouraging one. For me personally as an old-fashioned Zionist he spoke to my very heart when he recalled that when all is said and done the Zionist Organization is the most powerful Jewish body in existence, and that when it comes to revolutionary changes we are the chief source of strength. It is also very encouraging that Dr. Goldmann regards the changes registered

in Jewish education in recent years as the greatest and most necessary of the Jewish revolutions. I am gratified that Shazar and Levenberg are being given the entire credit for the revolution in Jewish education in England. But many years ago a small, weak movement, the Mizrachi, created with its own funds about sixty day-schools throughout the United States of America. Mexican Zionists have also done something in this sphere, and the same has been the case in Latin America. The Poale Zion in America has also done a lot for eduation. We are glad that our British friends are also active, but they are not the first.

Last night Dr. Goldmann stressed that the same Zionist parties in Israel whose mouths are full of paeans of praise for us, suffer from a regrettably short memory when they appear in the Knesset. A few days ago in conversation with one of the younger politicians in this country, I asked him whether he would be present at the meetings of the Zionist General Council. He replied: "I have hardly any sympathy for archeology." But Zionism is not archeology. It belongs not to the past but to the future, it constitutes the bridge between the State and Jews throughout the world.

Changes will be introduced in the structure of the Zionist Movement. There may even be more changes than we foresee. There is something I should like to tell those people in the State of Israel who would like to get rid of the Zionist Organization because they do not think it a good thing for Jews who send money here to interfere in Israel's affairs. One of them put it thus: We need money without Jews and Jews without money! A time will come when Jews will interfere but they will be given a more cordial welcome than we got.

My party did not support the admission of new organizations into the Zionist Organization and did not vote in favour of such a step. In spite of that, however, representatives of our party in the Executive, Mr. Shragai and I myself, have tried to attract new religious forces in the American continent. Let there be new groups, why not? If you are able to bring them in let us see. We have failed with the Conservatives. If we had continued we might have had a similar failure with the orthodox. There are objective reasons which do not permit us to put this matter through. There is in American Jewry, and also perhaps in other continents, an orientation towards America, which became, remarkably enough, much stronger, on the day the State was founded. Today there are Jews who, rightly or wrongly, believe that one can be a good Jew, from the religious and the national point of view, in Chatanooga, Tennessee, or Hartford, Connecticut.

Let no man ridicule those Jews who live in New York, or San Francisco or in Buenos Aires, and yearn for Israel. Let it not be a small thing in your eyes! There are Jews who are not conscious of any such longing, there are Jews whose orientation is towards America, and there is the

dynamic Zionist Movement, which has declared that wherever we may be the centre of our lives, our very souls, the lodestone of our hopes, the future of our children and not only of ourselves, lies in Israel.

We have specific tasks to fulfil, which no other organization is capable of carrying out. We must carry on the fight for the Hebrew language, for the unification of the Jewish people around the State of Israel, the recognition of the State of Israel as the spiritual homeland of the entire Jewish people. That is the very basis of our Movement, that is why we shall be needed, perhaps no less than before for many years to come.

The natural response among many people is: Money for Israel—of course! Help for Israel—as much as we are capable of giving! Respect for anyone connected with the State,—without the slightest question. But I am convinced that they are not ready to identify themselves with the Zionist Movement.

At the previous session of the Zionist General Council I appealed to my own party: Let us give the President the chance! But the difficulty does not lie with us but with them. Dr. Goldmann, if you will have something to show between now and the forthcoming Congress I shall congratulate you. But under all circumstances I am of the opinion that we must now embark upon a process of concentration, of reinforcement of the Zionist Movement, through the existing Zionist parties. We are convinced that if Dr. Goldmann devoted the next few months to visiting the various countries, to speaking to the Zionist parties with a single voice, we should be able to achieve a great deal.

YITZCHAK TABENKIN
(Achdut Ha'avoda—Israel)

I do not regard the period in which this Zionist General Council has foregathered as giving much cause for satisfaction. Of course I shall be gratified when the majority of the Jewish people are organized within the Zionist Organization.

However for the past two or three years there has been no immigration into the country, there has been no settlement, no strengthening of the positions we occupy in Israel. There has been a decline in the number of villages and an increase in the number of people living in the cities, who live, indeed in Israel as they would and did in the Golah. Is the State more secure today than it could be, if in the three years that have passed since the Twenty-fourth Zionist Congress tens of thousands of Jews had come here and settled in the villages, and were productively employed, capable of bearing arms?

Is there anything to be joyful about that Nasser has not attacked us

once again since the Sinai Campaign? Does that constitute security? Is there any security that Russia will defend the peace of the State of Israel or that America will defend the peace of the State of Israel? Is it a time for rejoicing when our goods are being held up, our ships are being stopped in the Suez Canal and the West is giving Nasser loans for an international Canal? Or that the use of the waters of the Jordan, which we need so urgently for settlement, is being made doubtful, or that Jewish goods and factories are being boycotted, or that the contract between Renault and Kaiser-Frazer has been broken? Or that UNO is trying to appease Nasser with promises to fill the land with hostile refugees? Is that no matter of interest to the Zionist Movement? The Zionist Movement becomes strong through what it achieves, by bringing men and money to this country, by creating a true homeland.

We are a people without a home. Today we are a people that is at home in countries which are no home to us. We are at home in Russia, we are at home in America, we are at home in France. Is there any cause for rejoicing that Israel has also become the illusion of a home?

Our salvation does not lie in any constitution. It is not a constitution that we are lacking. In addition to a constitution, of course, there must be thought, but above all there must be a will. Men can make use of any constitution. This tendency to have overmuch faith in constitutions and to depend too little upon men is one of the illusions of our times. Our time is one when men are tired of culture, of progress. This is the case not only among Jews. And the Zionists are tired of Zionism.

Of course, we want all Jews to enter the Zionist Organization. We do not want this to be achieved by Zionists being converted into non-Zionists. There is, I believe, a difference between Zionists and non-Zionists. I am convinced that all Jews will become Zionists and should become Zionists, not through the instrumentality of a constitution, but through their own uncertainty as to security in America and Russia, through a lack of conviction that Jewish language—both Yiddish and Hebrew—and Jewish culture, can be secure without a Jewish homeland, without a territorial centre in Israel.

Do not believe that one can be emancipated as a citizen and degraded as a Jew! That is a harmful thought, not because it is bad, but because it is not true. It is not true that there is emancipation in America. It is not true that there is emancipation in Russia. There cannot be civic emancipation if it is not accompanied by national emancipation. Man cannot be divided into human and Jewish components. No speeches about the human rights of the Jews in Russia will deceive us. If they have no Jewish rights, then they have no human rights either. No talk that in America the Jewish future or even the present of the Jews is assured will deceive us. As Dr. Goldmann said it is a synagogue Jewry. He stressed "synagogue" not *"shul."* The *shul* means Jewishness. There

is faith in the *shul,* but in the synagogue there are processions, forms, the imitation of non-Jewish religious forms. There is no God in their hearts and there is no God in heaven.

There is no future for the Jewish people without the creation of a home in Israel for the majority of the Jewish people, not only for that small portion of the people which is today in the centre. A Jewish centre, means life on the soil, life of labour, self-realization, Jewish dignity. It means the emancipation of Jews, emancipation from being an everlasting minority.

I would like Zionists to accept all non-Zionist organizations. But I do not know whether we have proved triumphant over the non-Zionists realities, or whether we are being conquered by the optimism of the non-Zionists, that we can build synagogues, and a future and a language and a culture, without any specific meaning, because all enjoy prosperity today.

We have our troubles with the countries of rich Jews, such as Austria and Germany. It is quite different when Jewish life is based upon work, upon cultural life. That cannot be as long as Jews remain minorities. Here we constitute a majority, but we number no more than 1,800,000 surrounded by millions of enemies. We require the third and the fourth million of Jews in this country. Let the General Council and the people, the Zionist Organization and the State and all other Jewish organizations, prepare themselves for the third and fourth million of Jews in our country. This country means a home for them. It demands from every Zionist and from every Jew who is not a Zionist his money, his children, his work, his energy, his spiritual qualities, his ability. That would be great message for the General Council to issue. A constitution is also a very important thing. We must have such a conception of Zionism, not a Zionism that declares that *hagshama atzmit*—self-realization—never dominated the Zionist Organization.

DR. ABRAHAM STUPP
(General Zionists—Israel)

In the speech he delivered last night, our President, Dr. Goldmann, spoke of the centrifugal forces which have emerged in the Jewish people since the establishment of the State of Israel. It was precisely after the State was founded that we began to be conscious of a weakening of Zionist creative activity in a series of countries. Let us be frank and ask ourselves the question: What is the cause of this phenomenon? How are we to combat this tendency?

As long as Zionists appreciated that the goal of Zionism was concentration of a great part of the Jewish people—I shall not say the

whole of the Jewish people—in Eretz Israel, Zionism continued to be a fighting organization. At that time our Movement had content, at that time our meetings were full of interest, and the Zionist Organization registered its successes. But when some of the Zionists, a part of the Organization, began to play around with the idea that there may be a future for the Jewish people in the countries of the Golah, and that this is not dependent upon the concentration of a large part of the Jewish people in Eretz Israel, then the process of attenuation set in in the Zionist Movement. It is not a crisis of organization, it is a spiritual, an intellectual crisis. From the moment the principle of Jewish otherness was weakened, and the trend to concentrate the Jewish people in its own land proved not strong enough, the spiritual crisis of the Zionist Organization began. Then the ability of the Zionist Organization to carry on the struggle for its ideas became weaker.

There were once times when Dr. Goldmann declared that we must be the revolutionary element within the Jewish people, that we must generate the revolution. But last night he did not say this. Yesterday there was a different tone in his approach to this problem, a tone that is in contrast with what he said previously. In the first part of his speech, Dr. Goldmann said that the Zionist Movement has its difficulties in the State of Israel, and that the only allies of the State are the Jewish people. We have always regarded the Zionist Organization as that part of the Jewish people which is spiritually armed to fight the battles of the Jewish people. Other peoples arm some of their citizens. Those citizens are prepared to undertake greater risks and dangers than the other members of the people. The Zionist Movement, as the spiritually armed section of the Jewish people, as that section which has assumed greater hardships and greater risks, was capable of protecting the entire people. Today the disarmament of the Movement has been proclaimed in the spiritual sense of the term. We shall all advance together, deprived of the spiritual arms, which the Zionist Organization possessed.

We shall fight with empty hands, without all those ideals and ideas which constituted the weapons of the Zionist Movement. I can tell you, Dr. Goldmann, that we, the General Zionists, will not hinder you in your efforts. You regard this step as the salvation of the Zionist Movement. We waited to hear how you intend to convert the Organization once again into a fighting body, equipped with basic principles and ideals. I am doubtful whether it is more advantageous to have a large disarmed organization, counting millions of adherents, or a Movement with a smaller membership, but spiritually fully equipped, ready to assume greater risks.

All Zionists are Jews but not all Jews are Zionists. That distinction must continue. In the name of the spiritually armed organization we

created the State of Israel. If you continue with that policy then without distinction of party we shall achieve what we all aspire to, namely, to bring a greater part of the people to Israel, engaged in more healthy forms of living. That was the beginning of Zionism. Had we believed that Jews could live healthy lives elsewhere Zionism would not have created what it has and we should not have made so many sacrifices.

JACOB AMITH
(Mapam—Israel)

Those Members who stated that the crisis in Zionism is no new subject for us were quite right. Nevertheless the present crisis differs from those that preceded it, for essentially it is an ideological crisis, while the era in which it has occurred is that of the realization of the agelong aspiration of the Jewish people—the reconstitution of the State of Israel.

I should like to believe that following the declaration made last night at the Opening Session of the General Council by the Minister of Justice, that unfortunate debate which has been conducted for so long,—far too long—between the Zionist Movement and the Government of Israel, has come to an end. If that is indeed the case then I am happy to note that political parties in this country, including the party on whose behalf I speak, have contributed, during the pre-coalition talks, towards drafting the Zionist clause in the Government's Programme, upon the basis of which the new Government has been established.

I am willing to admit that the State of Israel, the Government of Israel, could have helped more in the development of the Zionist Movement, in enhancing its prestige among the Jewish people. In the main, however, the Zionist Movement is master of its own fate.

The crux of the debate that has raged within the Zionist Movement over the past decade was—if I may be permitted to put it in these terms—the death of Zionism. When the argument was put forward that friendship for Israel was a feeling shared by the entire Jewish people, and that Zionism that was not based upon *hagshama atzmit*—self-realization—had become an anachronism, we endeavoured to prove that Zionism, even if it did not insist upon personal realization, even if it were not of a *chalutz* character, nevertheless implied more than mere friendship for Israel. After all Zionism does obligate Zionists to identify themselves ideologically, to regard Israel as the centre of Jewish life and the ingathering of exiles as an ineluctable historic process implying a special way of thought, even perhaps a special way of life, insofar as it pertains to Hebrew and Hebrew culture and life in Israel.

J. AMITH

Fear is no good counsellor for the Zionist Movement. The Jews, so Dr. Schwarzbart has told us, are fearful of personal attachment to the Zionist Organization, because they are apprehensive of being charged with dual loyalty. He went on to suggest that we must amend the Jerusalem Programme, by expunging the principle of the ingathering of the exiles as such a call may frighten away organizations which the Zionist Movement would now like to bring closer.

I trust that these remarks of Dr. Schwarzbart do not constitute an authorized commentary on Dr. Goldmann's speech. Zionism, Dr. Goldmann told us, is not identical with personal realization. No Zionist is obligated to pack up and settle in Israel. But in his conception of the new Zionist Constitution Dr. Goldmann has gone even further. Last night he argued that no Zionist is even obliged to be associated personally with the Zionist Movement. Henceforth affiliation will be corporate. In other words not only is the individual Zionist exempt from the duty of personal realization, but from now on he will be exempt from personal, organizational and ideological association with the Zionist Movement.

It may seem a paradox that I, a member of a movement that has inscribed personal realization on its banner, should pray: Would that all the members of the Movement were pioneers! Nevertheless I appreciate that *chalutziut* does not constitute the criterion for every Zionist. But when does this hold good? When Zionists are such by their outlook and philosophy, by active affiliation to the Movement, by personal identification with its central idea and its methods of realizing that idea.

On the soil of an attenuated Zionist Movement, itself built up upon a minimum programme and corporate membership, no real pioneer movement can grow. Any difference, any line of demarcation, that exists between such a Zionist Movement and Jewish friendship for Israel, will soon disappear.

We shall still debate the new Zionist constitution later, when it is submitted to us in detailed form. But if I do not err its basic principles do not emphasize in any way, the existence, the right of, the place to be occupied by, the Zionist parties. It seems to me that according to the new constitution organizations which hitherto have had no connection with Zionism, will enjoy a more privileged and a more ideally defined position than parties which have an honourable record of work, which have remained faithful to their Zionist programmes, which have undertaken special duties.

There is little doubt, of course: The realities of Jewish life have changed radically since Zionist thought and forms of Zionist organization were first enunciated. In spite of that, however, there are a number of basic verities, which remain as true today as ever they were. It is

true that the Jews, in most of the countries in which they are dispersed, have achieved formal equality. The question, however, is: Have they achieved security, internal and external security, in their status? We must not rashly generalize about isolated incidents, however grave they may be in themselves, but we cannot ignore them. We can wonder at the fact that Jews have chosen to live in Germany in the shadow of that terrible holocaust. But behold, how astonished they are when on the walls of the synagogue in Cologne swastikas and insulting anti-Jewish remarks are inscribed! They may perhaps find comfort in the speedy reaction of the head of the German Government. In spite of that we cannot but be concerned about these warning signs. And notwithstanding the great difference and distance it is impossible not to ponder sombrely the warning that comes from "the city of hatred" in the United States, as screened on American television, or the warning that underlay the statement of that officer of Scotland Yard in London, or the disturbing signs in the Soviet radio and the Soviet press in regard to Israel and to Judaism.

Let us be honest with ourselves. When some scoundrel is caught in one of the countries of the Diaspora do we not pray deep down in our hearts, even in this blessed period of equality of rights, do we not hope, that the man is not a Jew?

Even today the Jews are not secure, even today the ground trembles beneath their feet. This is not the nineteenth century. At that time a single incident in which a Jew was involved was sufficient to cast the entire world into turmoil. Today, however, after the European catastrophe nothing seems capable of shocking us.

Towards the close of the tenth year of the State of Israel we were told that we were close to the third million of Jews in the homeland. But we are already approaching the close of the twelfth year and we do not count even two millions Jews in this country. We are still far from economic independence. And we bear witness to that humiliating spectacle of thousands leaving and going back to settle in the countries of the Golah. The security, the economy, the cultural life, the status of Israel all require rapid, uninterrupted growth. But from where shall the immigrants come?

The lands of Jewish social and political distress, where there are still large reserves of potential immigrants, are still hermetically closed. And from the countries that remain open Jews do not want to come. We do not expect immigration from those circles who are merely sympathetic to Israel, who are ready to extend aid from afar. Without a Zionist climate, without education and Hebrew culture, without a will to live a full national life, no wave of immigrants, no pioneer movement, can be set in motion.

But today the Golah does not live its life in isolation from Israel. We

cannot insist upon a pioneer spirit within the Jewish communities in the Golah if we do not demand it from ourselves, from our own sons and daughters in this country. If youth in Israel shirk their duty, if they are interested solely in their own careers, they provide an excuse for Jewish youth in the Golah to act likewise, and to enjoy, as long as they can, the abundance and the opportunities that beckon to them.

If we should be asked at the close of the eight days of our deliberations what we have done, what we have achieved, we shall surely reply: We have given a new constitution to the Zionist Movement. Constitutions should not be treated lightly for they regulate processes of work and organization. But constitutions and statutes are not the alpha and omega. We believe that a revolutionary role in Jewish life is still reserved for the Zionist Movement. We are not opposed to admitting Jewish organizations which are ready to adhere to the programme of the Zionist Movement to assist us in our work, and which will enjoy the same status as recognized territorial and world Zionist bodies. But they cannot take the place of the traditional Zionist parties, of the ideological Zionist groupings, out of whose ranks have come the loyal adherents, the builders and pioneers.

The Zionist General Council must not lead the Movement to the still waters. It must inspire the Movement, once again, with unrest. If I were not fearful of pathetic declarations I would say: It must inspire it with a holy sense of disquiet for the continued existence of the Jewish people, for the destiny of the State of Israel, which must be reinforced and consolidated in the near future, to enable it to stand every test that is in store for it, in the midst of the surrounding dangers.

MRS. YEHUDIT SIMCHONIT

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

The Zionist Movement is justified when it insists upon its place as the historic revolutionary movement in the life of the Jewish people, which has registered major achievements and which is ready to undertake great tasks in the future. Among the achievements of the Movement I count that great struggle for the upbuilding and the moulding of the State of Israel. The people will be judged by the fact that we are here in our own State. In this difficult era of the ingathering of the exiles, when communities and tribes come into contact, and we bear witness to negative features in our life,—in this period it has been vouchsafed us to demonstrate the constructive energy of the Jewish people, its vigilant social urge incorporated in the social legislation of our country, in its public maturity, in its ability to live as an island in the great ocean of the Middle East, an exemplar of loyalty to democratic values.

SECOND MEETING

The Zionist Movement does not lack a programme today. After the creation of the State of Israel a programme was formulated, its brief clauses comprehending vast concepts,—the consolidation of the State, the ingathering of the exiles, the unity of the people. But if there is disquiet in our midst, if we are dissatisfied with the current state of affairs, that is the outcome of our own sincere consciousness that our deeds have fallen short of our own programme. I wish to underline that clause in our programme dealing with the unification of the people, i.e. unification of the people about the right to live its own independent life, to recognize its own cultural values, and to convert them into vital values, through which the people will continue to make its contribution to all Mankind. In order to unify the people about these values, there must exist a movement which preaches them, which regards them as the quintessence of its own existence.

Had the Zionist Movement not already been in existence we should have been obliged to create a body to bear aloft these values, for without them there is no way to consolidate the State of Israel. They are mutually inter-dependent. I believe that it is the duty of the Zionist Movement to intensify consciousness of the fact that the consolidation of the State of Israel is not dependent upon any current state of affairs. It is a duty which must be respected and performed at all times. It was thanks solely to the revolutionary nature of the Jewish people, thanks to its constructive force, to that notorious stiff-neckedness, that we could embark upon the course we have followed. This is not a process to be completed in a single decade, it must continue for many decades to come.

The reconstruction of our Third Sanctuary is such an onerous task that only a people living with all the dangers that lurk in wait for it, with all the perils of failure scattered throughout the world, can assume it. We shall not accomplish our task if for reasons of convenience, or in order to ensure internal harmony we expunge from our Programme the clause dealing with the ingathering of the exiles, on the pretext that in any case it is incorporated in the clause dealing with the need for consolidation of the State. The ingathering of the exiles constitutes the most critical test of the determination of the people to live its own independent life. It is abundantly clear that only because there were people willing to realize the dictates of the Zionist idea in person that we have achieved statehood and all that goes with statehood. Because of immigration, because of the realization of our ideals, because of action, we have registered the achievements to which we have attached such great names. And in the process of the construction of the people's independence the necessity for the ingathering of the exiles is universally applicable. Without this principle the people will not endure in their sovereign state.

Y. SIMCHONIT–Z. CYNOWICZ

I must confess that I am dissatisfied with the organizational instruments which are being proposed, in order to implement the programme formulated by the Zionist Organization. The programme requires the entire Jewish people. Perhaps it is not quite correct to say: Come and join us! Perhaps there is little prospect of a response to such a call. Perhaps some other framework must be sought, a different structure expressing the metamorphosis that has overtaken our people, which calls to all elements within the Jewish people to devote themselves to the task of reconstructing the State, of ensuring the existence of the people. But even when the necessary organizational forms are created to provide for the equality of all sections of the people, even once all this has been ensured the right and duty to maintain the Zionist Organization remains. It must direct the immigrants and the youth towards self-realization, towards the continued development of Hebrew culture and the continuation of Jewish life. It must be a realistic movement, appreciative of the actual facts of our situation, but it must be inspired by disquiet and faith that we are unable to continue without a centre, without a full expression of the forces of construction. We must not be impatient. I am conscious that a long road still stretches before us, that much work remains to be done and that we must seek out suitable forms of organization suitable for our purposes. What is decisive is not the hold we have on the framework, or on the party frameworks. These things are important in themselves but they are amenable to change. But what cannot be changed is the content of the Movement. If we have the strength, the stamina, to realize the true content of the Movement, we shall prove equally capable of undertaking the task that is still reserved for it and to accomplish even greater things.

ZVI CYNOWICZ

(General Zionists—India)

We expected the Executive to present a report on the activities of the past term. It would be very interesting to learn about developments in this period, about the situation in regard to immigration, what progress has been made in the sphere of absorption, how the thousands of new immigrants have adjusted themselves to the new conditions of Israel, to what extent they have been supplied with housing, how many *ma'barot* have been cleared and what has been done to ensure that this painful problem is eventually solved. At the last session of the General Council we heard about the difficult situation in the new settlements. We should also like to know what progress has been made in the direction of merging the various communities in this country, what efforts have been made to remove the barriers separating the diverse groups in Israel's

population. That, after all, is one of the chief problems that should engage the attention of the Government and the Jewish Agency within the next few years.

Dr. Goldmann enlarged mainly on three major problems. (1) He endeavoured to clarify the essence of Zionism in the present era; (2) He discussed the situation of the Jews in the world generally; (3) He dealt with the relations subsisting between the State of Israel and the Zionist Movement.

Zionism has been a subject of debate since the creation of the Movement. That was the case prior to the establishment of the State of Israel; that has continued being the situation in the past twelve years. In principle we agree that Zionism is the major idea operating in Jewish life over a period of sixty years. That idea gave birth to a conception of a new era in Jewish history. It has been the driving force in the struggle for self-emancipation, for national liberation. It has led to the establishment of the State. The Zionist idea succeeded in uniting all sections of the dispersed Jewish people, the diverse communities and groups. It has inspired them with a consciousness of their common heritage and destiny, with a faith in the eternity of the Jewish people in its ancestral homeland. That idea has led us in the realization of our dreams.

The problem of providing the immigrants with employment, with housing and with education for their children is the most urgent with which the country has to deal. It must be handled with the utmost responsibility and circumspection. No pains must be spared to ensure that two classes, two distinct Israels of established residents and newcomers do not develop in this country. Every effort must be made to ensure that the barriers that separate the various communities and groups are torn down.

Fate has desired that I should be the spokesman of the Jewish communities of the East, their sole representative. For that reason I am deeply conscious of the significance of the problem I have referred to.

The Jewry of India has made a notable contribution in the great work of national reconstruction in Israel. There are today in Israel eight thousand Jews from India, who are participating honourably in the life of the country. We were concerned to hear of the disturbances some months ago. We are interested in the creation of conditions in this country enabling all groups of immigrants to make their contribution towards its development, to cooperate in the great task of reconstruction in our common homeland, to achieve complete integration of all constructive elements.

The greetings and the declaration made by Mr. Rosen on behalf of the Government of Israel have been very welcome. They will be received joyfully throughout the Diaspora. We trust that there will be a

spirit of mutual understanding, a consciousness of our common goals, and harmonious daily work, in the relations between the Government and the Zionist Movement.

First Asia, and now Africa, have become liberated from colonial dominion. The nations in those countries are becoming free. A new world is being created, and the constellations of power are changing with breath-taking rapidity. New political situations, new socio-economic systems are being evolved.

Under these conditions, in a world in which there is a new order and new forces are at play, Israel will find itself confronted with new problems, but also with many new openings and opportunities. It will be able to rely upon the entire Jewish people, which is the greatest ally of the State. Behind it will be the Zionist Movement, the vanguard of the Jewish people in the reconstruction of our historic homeland. The Zionist Organization is the only body inspired by the great vision, and more than any other Jewish organization it is capable of uniting the Jewish people about Israel and for Israel.

For that reason we shall support the proposals put forward by our President, Dr. Goldmann, for the strengthening of the Zionist Organization and for the introduction of new organizational forms, more in line with our own era and with the conditions of present-day Jewish life.

For the first time we have heard an assessment of the situation of the Jews in Russia from Dr. Goldmann. In incisive terms he has described the situation of Russian Jewry, without reservation. His theory that one can have equal civic rights but nevertheless suffer discrimination as a Jew is untenable. Equality is indivisible. A citizen who is restricted in his freedom to live as a Jew is not equal. No other interpretation of this problem will meet the realities of the situation. This problem must be seen in its true light, honestly and sincerely. Only if we do so can we hope to have our complaints regarded seriously, only then can we hope to make progress towards a solution.

THIRD MEETING

Tuesday, December 29, 1959, in the afternoon

Chairman: Dr. Abraham Stupp

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

JACQUES ORFUS
(General Zionists—France)

It is my duty to declare, on behalf of my party, that when we voted in favour of the authorization of the talks conducted by Dr. Goldmann, we did so with the best of intentions, in the belief that Dr. Goldmann sought to extend the present structure of the Zionist Organization, to introduce new forces and to reinforce those which have borne the burden of the Zionist Movement for decades. But at no time and under no circumstances did we conceive that Dr. Goldmann would interpret our decision as the end of the era of the Zionist parties, which up to the present have infused life and vitality into the Movement, and that the beginning of an era of so-called non-political personalities and organizations was now setting in. We never imagined that our own role would be confined to handing over the reins to the newcomers and then to depart with good grace.

Public opinion, both Jewish and non-Jewish, cannot distinguish between the declarations made by the President of the World Zionist Organization, from the rostrum of the Zionist General Council, and those made on innumerable other occasions, in interviews, meetings and conferences, in all the countries of the free world. Regrettably not all that he says, particularly more recently, is calculated to please Zionists.

Speaking at the opening of a WIZO Conference in France Dr. Goldmann called upon the women in these terms: You are a constituent body of the Zionist Federation in France. In fact the Federation should become a constituent body of WIZO, for you are the main strength of the French Zionist Movement. And what is true of WIZO in France applies equally to Hadassah in the United States.

Does Dr. Goldmann ever stop to consider that he is killing a very good organization, because politics for a women's organization, engaged primarily in social work, is like strong drink for a drunkard? If they are

dragged into political activity they will neglect the work they have performed up to the present time and thereby lose their *raison d'être.*

In France we did not wait for the resolution passed by the last Zionist Congress, nor for the decision of the General Council, to admit non-political groups and individuals into our Federation. We opened our doors and our arms wide to them, but when the President of the World Zionist Organization tells them that in actual fact they have the right to more than half of the seats in the Federation, because they constitute the main element, you may well ask what the feelings of the Zionists are under such circumstances.

There is another question. Dr. Goldmann conducted talks in America with non-Zionist groups in regard to their entry into the World Zionist Organization. They are aware of the opinions, from his speeches and other public appearances, of the President of the World Zionist Organization. If the Zionist Organization is indeed so sick, as the President wishes to make out, is about to disintegrate, why should these non-Zionists join us?

I have not heard that the President enabled the participation of his colleagues on the Executive in these talks. Once again the impression gained is that all this is being done without the participation of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, and that all we are being required to do is to give our consent to a *fait accompli.*

Had we once again to vote for the authorization of such talks we should once again be prepared to support them, but the construction we should place upon our vote in favour is clear and unambiguous and we wish to repeat it. We are of the opinion that within the Zionist Movement there is sufficient vital strength to revolutionize the Movement, to put it on the main highway. We shall not oppose any attempt to extend the Zionist Organization. But we have never voted to usher in a period in which the parties shall cease to be active in the political work of the Zionist Movement and a new era of non-Zionists or non-political Zionists, shall be inaugurated.

If only Dr. Goldmann was prepared to devote as much time and trouble within the Zionist Movement, to visit the Zionist Federations in the various countries, and to stimulate our members towards more intensive work, he would register far better results than he can hope for outside the Zionist Organization. In fact there is no contradiction between his activities in both of these spheres.

THIRD MEETING

DR. YESHAYAHU AUSTRI-DAN
(Mapam—Mexico)

We must ask ourselves: "What is the problem of Zionism?" We all know of the existence of the so-called "Zionist crisis." But that is the problem of the Jewish situation throughout the world.

The question is: Do we really appreciate the nature of the Jewish situation today? Are we properly acquainted with the state of affairs in the Golah? Do we understand the processes operative in life in the Golah? And finally how is the Zionist Movement to determine new policies?

Our problem is one of seeking out a new methodology, new didactics, in order to open the eyes of the Golah to see the old truths of Zionism, which remain truths today no less.

In effect the World Zionist Organization is the only central Jewish body throughout the world. It is a powerful organization and we may ask ourselves: Why cannot it perform its minimum task in attracting and organizing the masses of the Jewish people, which after all we have been trying to do without any success whatever in recent years. In the Golah, today, there are no arguments against our Zionist theories, and this, it seems, has bemused us. If we had to deal with real opposition in the Golah the situation, from both the political and the organizational points of view, would be far more favourable.

Dr. Goldmann did not evince an adequate appreciation of the importance of converting the Zionist Organization into a movement for self-realization. If it were indeed true that at no time was the Zionist Movement a movement of emigration, then he has not assessed the situation correctly. In fact a certain equilibrium was maintained between two hosts in the Zionist Movement,—there was the hinterland movement and the *chalutz* movement. Today the entire Zionist Movement has become a movement behind the front, without there being, in fact, any constructive, pioneering movement.

Out of that necessity Dr. Goldmann must not make a virtue. Under existing circumstances the demand constantly being reiterated by the Prime Minister, Mr. David Ben-Gurion, that Zionism should become more an *aliya*-movement, even if we disregard his more radical nomenclature, is fully justified.

YITZCHAK KORN
(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

For years now we have been devoting the debates of the Zionist General Council to organizational problems. The truth of the matter is that a number of weighty proposals for the expansion of the existing framework have been tabled. We have sought ways and means of bringing closer Jewish bodies and organizations, which are prepared to subscribe to our Programme. But strangely enough we are devoting very little time, to the content of Zionism, to our own Programme. We cannot permit our main discussion to range about organizational questions to the neglect of our programme of action. Zionism represents a resolution in Jewish life, a revolt against conditions in the Golah, which implies the launching of widespread cultural and educational activity. Have we devoted any searching discussion to these problems in recent years?

I shall be guilty of no exaggeration if I say that there is a disproportion between our attitude towards the framework and our attitude towards the content of Zionism, to the values we should maintain. If we relinquish religious Zionist education, cultural work, the attraction of Jewish youth into the Zionist framework, if we do insist upon *aliya,* what will remain? Will we not come to resemble other Jewish organizations with social and philanthropic objectives, not much different from the Joint? If we deprive Zionism of its content we shall cause greater confusion and bewilderment among the Zionist masses and the question may rightly be raised regarding the justification for the continued existence of the Zionist Movement. This is what we sought to hear from the President of the World Zionist Organization in the present session of the General Council. We must discover not only new ways to extend the Zionist framework, we must formulate a clear programme setting forth the specific Zionist content of our Movement. We have reached the stage where there is practically no difference between Zionists and non-Zionists in regard to extending assistance to the State of Israel. The masses of our people in the Golah regard the State of Israel with pride, are conscious of an inner need to create ties with the State by helping Israel. But what is the special task that the Zionist must undertake? If we give up what is characteristic, what is specific, in the Zionist Movement, if we relinquish Hebrew education, the diffusion of the Hebrew language, the demand for *aliya,* and the creation of special instruments to stimulate immigration from the more prosperous countries—in a word if all this is not the daily concern of the Zionist Organization, of what value is the world Zionist framework? On the contrary. In the degree in which we introduce new Jewish organizations, we must increase our concern for content, for the "spiri-

tual sustenance" which it is incumbent upon us to provide. Why should they join a Movement which has nothing special to give them? They can remain good Jews within their own separate organizations. Thus if we diminish the minimum Programme which we formulated at the Congress in Jerusalem in 1951, after the foundation of the State, if we do not make concern for Zionist content into our main interest, there is little prospect that we shall be able to absorb the masses that may join the Movement, while we shall prove incapable of strengthening and inspiring those already in our midst.

I wish to devote some remarks to the problem of immigration from the Western countries. This, too, belongs to that complex of which we have spoken so much and so often, but regarding which we have not done enough. It is a fact that we cannot regard all members of the World Zionist Organization as potential candidates for immigration into Israel. There is little reason to disregard all those Zionists who for one reason or another cannot settle in Israel. Nevertheless *aliya* and *hagshama atzmit* remain central pillars, basic values, of the Zionist idea. We do not wish to force a process of ingathering of the exiles, an evacuation of the Jews of the West. That would be unreal, ineffective, and not in the interests of the State of Israel. Rescue immigration applies to countries behind the Iron Curtain insofar as people succeed in getting out of them, or to countries where Jews suffer persecution or repression, and from which Jews can still come to Israel. We do not wish to blur the basic difference between rescue immigration from the countries in which Jews are repressed, and immigration coming from the more prosperous countries in the West. The fact of the matter is that we have learnt how to deal with immigration from the less fortunate countries, but we have not produced a programme of how to deal with immigration coming from the countries of the West. In the course of the debates of the Zionist General Council we have from time to time discussed various suggestions how to deal with *aliya* from the Western countries. But the effort that has been made is far from being commensurate with the need.

We have come to one conclusion—that in order to set in motion a movement of young people from the Western countries and of the middle classes to Israel we must coordinate their arrival with the prospects of absorption in this country. I proposed at a previous session of the General Council and I repeat that proposal here, that at least in respect of the immigrants from the Western countries we must merge the Departments for Immigration and Absorption, in order to forge a single instrument, capable of dealing with the potential immigrant both in the country of origin and in the place where he is or may be absorbed. In England and in South Africa, in the United States and in Canada there are not a few candidates—I am not speaking of mass immigration

—who can be prepared for immigration, provided the local Zionist organizations are effective and operate in keeping with the guidance and assistance of the Executive in Jerusalem. It is essential to bring about a change in this state of affairs. Primarily there must be a discussion of the matter in the Jewish Agency Executive. Obviously the Government and all State institutions which are interested must cooperate and assist in facilitating the absorption of such immigrants.

There has been an encouraging development recently—in respect of immigration from the Western countries. I am referring to the arrival from the United States of fifty Chassidim headed by Rabbi Halberstam, who have settled in a quarter of their own in Nathanya. The General Council must regard as an encouraging symptom the fact that there are factors capable of stimulating immigration from the United States. A positive factor in the plans of the Rabbi of Klausenberg is that he has been concerned with both "meal and Torah," to use the Mishnaic phrases, the material and the spiritual welfare of his adherents. First of all he prepared the quarter in which the latter are to live, enlisting Chassidim with means of their own who will be able to support themselves in Kiryat Sans near Nathanya. I am convinced that many other Chassidim can follow in the wake of these. This must be a source of encouragement to Zionist leaders, a sign that their efforts in the sphere of *aliya* may find fertile soil. The question is whether we shall learn the lesson from this immigration of the Chassidim in 1959. We must encourage it and extend it to include other circles.

New conditions in the Zionist Movement require us to extend the framework, to stress the essence of Zionism, to forge the instruments for immigration and absorption of immigrants from the Western countries. All this obligates the Jewish Agency Executive to review its methods of work. I am not indulging in idle criticism, and I do not want to confine myself to voicing complaints, but I am of the opinion that the time has come for us to review the methods of the Jewish Agency Executive on the most authoritative level. It is essential, under the present circumstances that the Executive be a dynamic body, with more concentration and a greater degree of coordination, to ensure that with a strong leadership we shall be able to grapple with the immense problems confronting the Zionist Movement. I am deeply convinced that the continued existence of the Zionist Movement is justified by the need to educate and guide the masses of Israel in the Diaspora. to arouse them to come and settle in Israel. We shall not succeed in replacing the Zionist Organization by committees of friends of Israel.

I have not dealt with all the fields of work of the Jewish Agency—including settlement—as I wished to stress that in these days when we are seeking to introduce organizational reforms we must not give up the soul of Zionism. Let us not strike our colours, let us not be afraid to

speak out aloud of the need for the continued existence of the Zionist Organization, for which major tasks are still in store.

HARRY HURWITZ
(Herut–Hatzohar—South Africa)

In our view Dr. Goldmann is treading on very dangerous ground.

According to the press he told an American conference several weeks ago that Zionism is no longer a movement with a political task to perform, and proceeded to enumerate three practical functions which remain to be performed, namely, to help Israel, to centralize activities around Israel, and to strengthen Jewish consciousness. Ultimately, these three tasks boil down to philanthropic and educational activity, and while none will deny their importance, the movement which I have the honour to represent affirms that they cannot be the sole *raison d'être* of the Zionist Movement.

It could be argued that Dr. Goldmann has taken this position to make Zionism more palatable. In other words, that we are leaning over backwards in order to attract to Zionist activities elements which have so far stood outside. That may be, but I think that the situation is more serious, it is more basic, because it represents a new philosophy which says that the task of the World Zionist Movement is to provide aid and not to concern itself with the fate of the nation.

Dr. Goldmann's address yesterday evening was in many ways a complete contradiction of this philosophy. It was a political address and as individuals and groups we are entitled to agree or disagree with the views that he expressed. Let me cite but two examples:

Firstly, Dr. Goldmann—correctly, in my opinion— analyzed present world trends, pointing to a possibility that in a period of appeasement and general easing of world tensions, there is a danger for Israel and for certain Jewish communities. In such circumstances, he said, the Jewish people, as the permanent and most reliable ally of Israel, cannot sleep peacefully and must act and react.

Secondly, we are glad to welcome the President's progress in his attitude towards Russian Jewry, and the realization that it is not sufficient to strive for more Yiddish newspapers or more Yiddish theatres or more Yiddish schools, but that our task is to arouse and mobilize world opinion for a struggle for the right of Jews to live as Jews, to emigrate if they so desire, and to fulfil their Jewish national life. The same applies to the situation in Morocco and Tunisia. And, therefore, the question we face is: How and by whom can these two tasks best be performed. Who can act? Who can react? Who can mobilize world opinion? An amorphous, watered-down, diluted non-political pro-Israel body or a

full-blooded, active, meaningful political Zionist Organization, which far from leaning backwards must resume its place as the central, the leading national force in Jewish life?

I would like to remind Dr. Goldmann of a statement he made in Johannesburg, where I come from, in September 1958, namely, that with philanthropy you built soup kitchens, not a state. With that statement we heartily agree. There is a strange contradiction between the statement he made then and the new tone that we heard last night which suggests that Zionism as such has outlived its usefulness.

Dr. Goldmann is of the opinion that Zionism must undergo radical changes. He said that 40 years ago we were a fighting, revolutionary minority and that today the whole life of the majority of our people centers around Israel and Zionism. If that is the situation, we have fertile ground to cultivate, we must give soul and body to the practical tasks which are being performed.

Are we to conclude, from the address we heard last night that the individual members of that synagogue body in the United States with whom Dr. Goldmann has been negotiating do not already support Israel as individual members? Surely they do. In that case, what is the need for double representation? But Dr. Goldmann by his own admission has failed in his task to mobilize these thousands or tens of thousands of Jews within the framework of active Zionist participation. In that failure there is a lesson to be learned and the lesson is that such a process cannot be artificially induced but must come as a result of slow, methodical education and uplift towards a higher purpose in life.

And finally, a word about the constitutional changes. We have been told, that the new constitution is being framed in order to meet certain practical difficutlies. If that is so, there can be no objection to it, but after hearing Dr. Goldmann, it seems that he is taking the opportunity to turn the Zionist Movement inside out, to build up a false and dangerous ideology in order to clothe the new constitution. If that is the case, then we must reject both the new constitution and the new philosophy. Zionism was, and remains, basically a political movement with political objectives. True, in recent years, mainly by our own actions and not only because the State has taken over some of the functions of the Zionist Movement, we have become weakened, watered down, and this process seems to be continuing. Before it is too late—the Movement can return to its source, to the original source of a full-blooded, true, meaningful Zionism which will not only enable us to deliver the goods but will enable us also to meet the great challenge of the future.

THIRD MEETING

DR. MIRIAM FREUND
(General Zionists, Hadassah—USA)

I do not intend today to refer to the portion of Dr. Goldmann's speech on the situation facing Israel, the Zionist Movement and the Jewish people.

Dr. Goldmann discussed the general Jewish situation, and everyone would agree that the major problem is that of the right for the Jewish human being to live as a Jew, especially in the Soviet Union. My ideology and philosophy of Zionism add an additional corollary. This is, it isn't enough to fight for the right to live as a Jew in those lands where that right is denied. We have an even graver need and that is to awaken and to reinforce the desire to live as Jews in those lands where we are able to do so, where we do have full citizenship privileges. This can only be accomplished through strengthening lines of communication between Israel and the Diaspora and at the same time helping us to build a stronger Jewish life in the communities in which we live.

Of course, we agree that we must continue to fight for the right of Soviet Jewry to live as Jews and for the right of the Jewish community in North Africa to have their own cultural life and their own institutions.

However, I would like to direct our thinking to that problem about which we can do something now—the problem of strengthening Jewish life in those countries where Jews do have full civic rights, where they can build their own religious and cultural institutions. I wish to speak of the United States which I know best.

Dr. Goldmann has told us of a serious new development in the communities. We find that the majority of our fellow Jews are interested, are disposed to help Israel. At the same time they wish to strengthen their own Jewish roots and a conflict begins to develop, and the question arises of priorities. That is why I feel that Dr. Goldmann's proposal and our own with regard to the Constitution is much more than merely the changing of paragraphs. It does have ideological purpose and spiritual meaning.

The major task of Zionist life today, outside helping to build and consolidate Israel, is to create a synthesis between the sense of obligation to Israel and the sense of obligation to strengthen and deepen Jewish life in their own community.

I believe that the Zionist Movement despite its faults and its failures has inner strength, that it has inner vitality, and I remember, too, that it was Herzl who wrote that the Zionist ideal is much wider than the political structure of a state. If you understand that and help us to stress it not only in America but in Israel, we shall be able to accomplish our aim.

That is why I say that the Constitution must be changed to enable us, the world Movement, to make an effort towards achieving this synthesis. It is not enough, however, to change paragraphs in a constitution. We might as well face the fact that we have to rethink our ideology and our methods. The Zionist Movement was always revolutionary and dynamic and it must continue to be that.

Last night Dr. Goldmann spoke of the synagogue movement and the tendencies which have been created in our lives. The most comprehensive sociological report that we have so far on the Jewish community in the United States establishes that two-thirds of American Jewry today live in the suburbs, and that the synagogue is suburbia's most important Jewish institutions. I speak of synagogues, not of a type, of Orthodox, Conservative or Reform, but as the organized instrument for Jewish life which has proved to be effective in our country. Therefore, we must continue to understand that the synagogue today embraces much more than religious worship. It embraces worship, study, assembly and fellowship. I think you will agree with me that this was the true prototype of the synagogue in Jewish life and in Jewish history.

Thus it becomes an ideological matter for me—not a practical concern for law—to draw in these great organizations into the World Zionist Movement. For their sake, for Jewish life in my country and in the lands of the Diaspora as well as for the sake of strengthening the Zionist Movement.

Now, I would like to speak to one section of this Zionist Movement —Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, to which a number of references have been made last night and today. I said the Women's Zionist Organization of America. We are proud of this name. We seek to live up to its connotations. We have sought through our more than 300,000 members, to be the type of catalyst that I mentioned before as necessary.

While Hadassah has always stressed our practical tasks in Israel as the duty of a Zionist, we have also equally stressed the need for self-education, for knowledge of Jewish tradition and history, and we have stressed, too, the need for deepening in our own youth the knowledge of Jewish values, the understanding of the meaning and the importance of *chalutziut*. We are happy to tell you that we have sent to this country a number of very successful youth groups through the Jewish Agency study programme.

We have study groups throughout America. We have Zionist sessions in every one of our conventions. We have sought to develop and we are developing a leadership, knowledgeable in Jewish life, devoted to Israel and conscious of the privilege and responsibility of being a Zionist. These leaders, many thousands of them, have merged into the leadership of every major Jewish organization and institution in America,

bringing their Zionist convictions with them. Thus they have helped to shape positive attitudes towards Israel.

If we want to succeed in gaining ever greater positive attitudes on the part of the general American Jewish public, we must have organizations, plan and patience. If the World Zionist Movement wishes to address itself to the so-called non-Zionist groups, who are friendly towards Israel, they must engage in a comprehensive plan. Indeed, *blitzkrieg* as mentioned by Dr. Goldmann can never be the answer.

We are in favour, therefore, of promoting understanding and conviction on the part of those non-Zionist groups, the kind of understanding which will embrace the centrality of Israel and at the same time seek to build a creative Jewish life in our own country. We seek to develop a cohesive Jewish community which wishes to deepen its own roots in Jewish tradition, history and religion, but above all, which is conscious of the need to be counted a partner in the building of Israel.

LOUIS SEGAL
(Member of the Executive—New York)

I believe that in addition to the great problem facing the Zionist Movement of how to win over new elements—and let us hope that these new elements will be forthcoming—we have another problem to handle,—how to organize the Zionist forces for activities which are important for Jewish life and for the State, and acquire a special significance following the amendment of the constitution by the Zionist General Council. For we shall now enter upon an era of cooperation in important fields of practical work, especially in the United States of America and primarily in raising money on behalf of Israel, but also in other spheres.

Yesterday Dr. Goldmann pointed out the fact that the collection of money for Israel has become—we are very gratified to note it—the central feature of our lives. But in all drives for funds for Israel the following comes to pass: Zionists invest effort, money, their very souls in this work, but they do all this as individual Zionists. They do not engage in these activities as representatives of the Zionist Movement. And what is the result? An impression, a false impression, is created that Zionists make only a small contribution towards these activities, in raising funds for the State of Israel. And an intolerable situation has been created, even at Zionist gatherings and functions. Work in this field is put down to the debit side of the account. That is a sin against the Zionist Movement, a distortion of the truth.

There are great institutions for education and culture in the United States of America. We trust that in the next few years more such institutions will be developed. In this field, too, we have witnessed the

same state of affairs. The driving force, the main spring, of these institutions in the majority of cases are the Zionists. But when the national balance sheet is drawn up the Zionists are written down. At the same time greater credit is given to those who have never identified themselves with the Zionist Movement.

Under such circumstances an impression is created that Zionists individually and Zionist institutions generally, have become, socially, parasites.

The Zionist Movement is the leading element within the people, wherever Jews are able to conduct their own national and social lives. The Zionist forces are always vigilant. They are the guardians of Jewish national activities, of Jewish national positions. And while fully appreciating the love and devotion of the non-Zionists to the State of Israel there are more devoted Zionists in the vanguard in every sector.

But we suffer from a complex. We are conscious of some sort of compulsion to excuse and explain ourselves upon any and every possible occasion. And seeing that we seek to arouse the interest of non-Zionists in fields of activity which are naturally Zionist fields, we persuade ourselves that our methods will be more effective if we ourselves minimize the contribution of the Zionists or permit others to do so.

As a result non-Zionists have begun to believe that we suffer from some sort of inferiority complex; indeed we ourselves have begun to convince ourselves that this is the case. For that reason I welcome the fact that during the present session of the Zionist General Council we have heard less about the unimportance and incapacity of the Zionist Movement, than we did at previous sessions.

Money is collected for a great variety of purposes—including Israel—in America. Fund raising is conducted by several hundreds of welfare funds, in the larger and the smaller urban centres. Each of these welfare funds decides how much money is to be devoted to each purpose. There is no national body in the United States responsible for the raising of money. The central national body is a reserving agency. Is it not sufficiently clear that the primary function of the Zionist Movement should be organize its own forces in each town and city, in relation to these money-raising activities, in order to make its weight more palpably felt and in order to protect the interests of the State.

Among Jewish educational and cultural institutions the Zionist Labour movement is the major force. It has operated in this area for a number of years. The non-Zionists will tell you to what extent, in our modest way, we have invested effort in every town and city, and how much influence we have exercised as a result.

There is a large number of larger and smaller towns in which hundreds of organizations of a varied character operate. Most of these organizations are devoid of any real content. And seeing that we be-

lieve, justly, that most Jews are warmly attached to Israel, why cannot we draft a programme to secure the cooperation of these organizations? We can offer them something tangible.

Dr. Goldmann has raised his voice about the great tragedy of Russian Jewry. The Communists have a remarkable sadistic talent to assuage the conscience of the world in regard to their own misdemeanours. I welcome the fact that Dr. Goldmann brought this question of the despicable treatment of the Jews of Russia into the open last night. I trust that action will be taken as a result.

The time has come for us to make Zionism popular again, and to organize it within the Jewish State. If reports could be published that here Zionism has become something vital our own position would be morally strengthened, and our activity correspondingly reinforced. I regard it as a national duty to educate Jewish youth in Israel towards an appreciation of Jewish life in the Golah. That is a duty which Zionists should undertake.

YITZCHAK RAPHAEL
(Mizrachi–Hapoel Hamizrachi—Israel)

Dr. Goldmann has performed a major service on behalf of our political problem which is becoming more serious from day to day.

Israel's political situation is very bad. There are even signs that it may deteriorate. We are returning to the period of political isolation, which we thought belonged to the past but the Israel public is undisturbed. And if Dr. Goldmann's speech which was quite moderate in tone has done anything to sound the alarm, to make the people aware of the gravity of the current situation—which others for some reason have hesitated to do—he has performed an important service.

The same holds for what Dr. Goldmann had to say about the situation of the Jews in the Golah. A Zionist body like the present must speak as he has spoken. Perhaps I should even underline the deterioration that has been registered in the interval between this session of the General Council and the last. In the course of the past year there has been a grave decline in the position of the quarter of a million Jews of Morocco, who are now behind lock and key, who have been cut off even from the mails, from their families and their dear ones. What has happened in Morocco must be a major concern of the present session. In Morocco Jewish institutions, maintained for generations under very difficult conditions, are being liquidated. If Dr. Goldmann did not do so —perhaps inadvertently—it is incumbent upon the General Council to express its anxiety in a special resolution.

But if I am in agreement with Dr. Goldmann in regard to the first

two parts of his speech I am afraid that I cannot accept anything, virtually, in the second, the principle, part.

I am reminded of a Chassidic tale. The Chassidim relate that in the early period after the appearance of Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov he came to Brody, a city of Mitnagdim and renowned scholars. In Brody at that time there lived that erudite scholar Rabbi Yitzchak Horowitz, later head of three communities—Hamburg, Altona and Wandsbeck. Rabbi Horowitz was an outspoken Mitnaged who mocked at the Baal Shem Tov. When the latter heard of this he hired a man to speak against the Baal Shem Tov before Rabbi Horowitz—only in order to make the Rabbi laugh.

As I listened to the two speeches which Dr. Goldmann in the presence of Mr. Ben-Gurion—the antagonist so to speak of the Zionist Movement—delivered last year and yesterday—I gained the impression that he wished to please the Prime Minister.

An analysis of the conclusions reached by Dr. Goldmann yesterday shows us that they are virtually the same as those profounded by Mr. Ben-Gurion, though they start out from diametrically opposed premises. The conclusions are practically identical. And if the argument concerns the premises I must confess that I prefer those of Mr. Ben-Gurion though I deny the validity of the conclusions to which both have come.

At the last session of the Zionist General Council Dr. Goldmann raised his voice in a bitter dirge, lamenting the state of the Zionist Movement. We might have become reconciled to this had it not affected the conclusions drawn. Today Dr. Goldmann has gone further. He has taken a far more dangerous step. It is not organizational defeatism that he is indulging in but ideological defeatism, and that is perilous indeed. He assumes that basically the Zionist Movement is not a movement for self-realization. But that is its very essence, its very soul! Take the instruments of realization from the Zionist Movement and you destroy it. Dr. Goldmann argues that the number of those who realize the dictates of Zionism personally is very small, and there is no difference between Zionists and non-Zionists, because both remain resident in the Golah. If we were to follow this line of reasoning the same could be said of every Jew. We know that Jews should live as Jews. Nevertheless we do not say that Jews who do not observe the *mitzvot* cease to be Jews. We do not regard a Jew who does not observe the Sabbath or put on *tephillin* as a person who has ceased to be a Jew. This argument is applicable equally to Jews who do not observe the precepts of Zionism. Such Zionists do not cease to be Zionists.

Of course here lies the crux of our differences. The Zionist Movement does not implement its own ideals adequately. We must remedy this weakness by intensifying this aspect of its functions. I would agree if the President levelled his criticism in that direction.

The malady that is gnawing at the vitals of the Zionist Movement must be sought in the fact it engages too little in the realization of its aspirations. But it is going too far to dispense wholesale with these precepts, to formulate an ideology that in any case the Zionist Movement does not call for personal realization and rests content with helping others. If that should become the official ideology of the Zionist Movement the very existence of Zionism would be imperilled.

I shall take the liberty of reading an extract from the "Annals of Yaacov Yosef" by Rabbi Yaacov Yosef of Polonia, the greatest of the disciples of Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov, because of its topical interest. "When a king comes with a great host to besiege a walled city, his most valiant warriors storm the city in order to breach the walls. Then the less valiant go forth, and then all the men of the host. This applies equally to prayer, which is the war to breach the rampart that separates us from the Holy One, blessed be He. For our sins separate us from Him. Naturally the great men of valour who are able to breach the walls which separate us from Him and to raise the sparks of holiness must go first. Then follow those that are less valiant. But when the wall is breached and there is a place for prayer to enter the whole host may go forth." Thus Rabbi Yaacov Yosef.

Who will be the men of valour to clear the way for the people in the Golah to come to Israel; if you deprive the Zionist Movement and its leaders of this duty, who will be the first to go forth and to do battle?

There was one encouraging note in Dr. Goldmann's speech yesterday. He was more resolute than a year ago, but I regret that he has taken a step away from our objective. I do not wish to comment upon his remarks on the role of the synagogue in the Zionist struggle. I will not reply to him, notwithstanding the fact that it would be easy for me to do so. I would merely like to ask Dr. Goldmann: Why did he direct his initial efforts in associating Jewish organizations with the Zionist Movement towards the synagogues?

It has been complained that today the Zionist Movement is no longer as dynamic as it should be. I think that it is too dynamic. It may well be that the excessive dynamism of the President is hampering the Movement. We began with federations. We hardly had time to do anything about this when the controversy began about associating Jewish leaders outside our organizational framework in our work. We had hardly begun to deal with or even to study the problem when it was suggested that the organizations be admitted. And we have not yet done anything about bringing in the organizations before the conversion of the entire movement into a federation of organizations came under discussion.

The pace is far too rapid. It is not that we are stagnating The reverse is true. We are thinking too fast, while implementation is too tardy. We should first of all have examined the matter carefully, seen

what could be done. What happened last year? Dr. Goldmann is almost desperate. He aired his ideas. It is true that we had our reservations in many respects. But the majority authorized the President to see what he could do. Has he already had enough time to study the problem, to try to implement his ideas. Now he has given it up to try something new.

There are some very encouraging signs evident. From this rostrum, the General Council should welcome the Rabbi of Klausenberg, for having given such an instructive lesson both to Chassidim and to Zionist leaders. There are other happy auguries. Dr. Goldmann mentioned them himself. Jewish education is advancing in the countries of the Golah. We must urge Dr. Goldmann: Do not give up! You have a fruitful field of work. We may hope to succeed! Do what you can! The Zionist host will be with you!

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
(Member of the Executive—New York)

I shall concentrate in my remarks on that position of Dr. Goldmann's address which reflects our particular concern at this meeting of the General Council, namely, the internal problem of the Zionist Organization, how to broaden its constituency and increase its effectiveness.

To the extent that the favourable attitude of the Government and people of the State of Israel is indispensable to the prestige and effectiveness of the Zionist Organization, all of us endorse Dr. Goldmann's valiant and persistent urgings upon the Government and the political parties in Israel, to use the tremendous prestige of Israel in order to strengthen and not to weaken the Zionist Organization. Mr. Rosen's friendly greeting on behalf of the Government last night, is a good sign. Let us hope that it heralds a better climate in Government circles. Obviously, in our efforts to broaden our constituency, the Government's attitude towards the Zionist Organization is bound to have an important effect upon the success or failure of our negotiations. For why should any new groups join us so long as the Government regards the organization with disdain?

This meeting is one of the most important in recent years because finally we are coming to grips with the challenge and the opportunity offered by the situation resulting from the establishment of the State, namely, that the entire Jewish people, with negligible exceptions, has rallied to the side of Israel. We are coming to grips with this challenge and opportunity by deciding to open the door to Jewish groups who have not heretofore been invited into the Zionist Organization. We are not only opening the door, in a sense we are soliciting entrants.

There are two kinds of groups. One consists of those who regard

themselves essentially as friends of Israel. The second consists of those who in effect are Zionists, who subscribe to Zionist principles, believe in *aliya,* Hebrew, Jewish creative survival, etc., but for whom Zionism is not the top priority.

To the credit of Dr. Goldmann it should be said that he has been prodding us for some time now to make new approaches. Dr. Goldmann has not only brought us ideas about new approaches, but he has tested out one or two.

A bit of friendly advice may be taken in good spirit. It might be said that such an effort should be undertaken after thorough preparation, with the conviction that it has a fair chance of success, before announcing it publicly, because every new approach involves the prestige of the Movement. After there has been thorough preparation a calculated risk should be taken. We cannot afford a *blitzkrieg,* to use Dr. Goldmann's characterization of one of his recent endeavours.

Now on the merits of the new approach. If what we have in mind is two different kinds of groups which are to be approached, it is difficult to see how these two different elements can be kept within one organization. We must give careful consideration to this matter so that those who enter may not afterwards step out because of a feeling of incompatibility. On the other hand, there is the danger that in order to keep incompatible elements in the Zionist Organization it may be tempted to water down its Zionist content. I have the feeling that we have not given sufficient consideration to the next step following the adoption of enabling clauses in our new constitution. The President would be well-advised to seek the advice, even if it be no more than the advice, of local Zionist leadership, who have a more intimate knowledge of the organizations within their territories, before new organizations are approached.

Perhaps, as Dr. Levenberg hinted this morning, it might be better if those who are no more than friends of Israel be integrated into a different kind of framework, similar to that of the non-Zionist section of the enlarged Jewish Agency years ago.

If organizations are in fact Zionist, either because they have a Zionist affirmation in their programme or because in their everyday activities they promote Zionist objectives—such as the United Synagogue of America—we should by all means court them. If, however, they believe that it is difficult to have in one organization those whose primary and even exclusive aim is Zionism, together with those whose primary though not exclusive aim is Judaism as a religious commitment, then we should try to understand them and to persuade them. I think it is a mistake to discredit them.

In the United States, and particularly in the United Synagogue, the synagogue is much more than a house of worship. It is an active centre

of community living, with schools, clubs, men's and women's organizations, and a whole network of cultural and social activities. The United Jewish Appeal and the Israel Bonds Organization are constantly coming to the congregations for support, and are receiving it. You have heard from Dr. Freund that in suburbia, which is a growing part of the American Jewish community, the synagogue is the vital centre of Jewish life to an even greater extent. Dr. Goldmann may be an expert on other phases of American Jewish life, but I doubt if the synagogue is among his specialities. Hence his diagnosis is not true to the facts, nor do I see the wisdom of worsening his chances with the United Synagogue by unjustified characterizations from the rostrum of the World Zionist Organization in the hearing of the world.

I should like to make a passing comment on Dr. Goldmann's animadversions with regard to the American Jewish League for Israel. He has paid tribute to its membership, Judge Levinthal and others, who are the most distinguished concentration of Jewish leaders in America devoted to the practical work for Israel. Dr. Goldmann, therefore, better than anyone else, should know that if they were to give up their extraordinary efforts for Israel in the United Jewish Appeal, Israel Bonds, Weizmann Institute, Hebrew University, Technion, Palestine Economic Corporation, etc., and were to put all their time and energy into building and organization and membership, the American Jewish League could become a very impressive organization with a large membership.

The Zionist Organization should open its doors to new groups, but not at the expense of exposing its content to dilution and attenuation.

These new organizational proposals, however, will by themselves not solve the problem of the Zionist Organization. The most important part of our job is to get back to ourselves. We have to cultivate more deeply the existing content of the Zionist programme, and to do it with zeal, boldness and self-criticism.

With the establishment of the State of Israel the Zionist Organization has lots its political credentials. That was to be expected. What was not to be expected was that it would lose its moral credentials. We find ourselves in a moral crisis from which Zionism never suffered in previous stages.

What do I mean? A movement has moral credentials when it has ideas and ideals unique to itself, and when it has the will and courage to fight for them, to incur unpopularity and opposition. When the political objectives of Zionism were realized with the establishment of the State, the other parts of the programme still remained to be worked on, that is not only fund-raising for Israel and public relations for Israel, but also *aliya, chalutziut,* the renaissance of Hebrew and Israel-centred Jewish education. This banner, alas, we are not carrying with the verve and passion worthy of Zionists.

In a number of countries, especially the United States, Zionists have been timid about voluntary *aliya*. The situation has somewhat improved in recent years, as the Zionist Organization of America and the American Jewish League now have special departments for *aliya*, and Hadassah is not as timid about *aliya* as it used to be. The situation, however, is still far from what it should be.

Dr. Goldmann's formulation of this matter leaves something to be desired; it is as if he had become "Americanized". True enough, his attitude towards *chalutziut* is a positive one. I do not know why the President of the Zionist Organization makes life so easy for us Diaspora Zionists, who have not yet established our homes in Israel. We should continue to be uncomfortable about not being in Israel until we finally do get to Israel. Our Israeli friends of the General Council have stopped lecturing us American Zionists, for the sake of *shalom bayit*, for the sake of harmony, but we should not stop criticizing ourselves, and eventually doing something about it.

The second area of uniquely Zionist activity is education, intensive, Hebraic and Israel-oriented. I have seen small Jewish communities led by men and women who call themselves Zionists where Jewish education consists of Sunday schools, and the Jewish leaders are complaisant about it. I have seen larger Jewish communities where, unlike the case of our British Zionists, the Zionist leadership is not lending an active hand to the establishment of day-schools, and is leaving it to others. Where is the Zionist voice to criticize, caution and exhort? There are very large Jewish communities in the United States where Jewish education is in a deplorable state, and the Zionist leadership in those communities is not offering any resistance. Where is the Zionist passion, insistence and boldness? Even here, in the Zionist Organization itself, our budget for Jewish education is hardly to our credit as a Zionist movement. I am fully aware of the needs of immigration, absorption and colonization. Nevertheless, it would be consistent with our Zionist character to give 5 per cent less of each budget to immigration, absorption and colonization, provided of course it does not affect the emergency immigration, and use those amounts for a 100 per cent increase in our work for education.

Here, then, are two points in the Zionist programme, voluntary *aliya* and Zionist education, which require fighting for, are worth fighting for, but are not being fought for by us with sufficient verve and passion.

We are living in a time of easing inter-organizational tensions in Jewish life, a time of "summit" conferences, of which Dr. Goldmann has been the chief architect. We Zionists, however, must guard against the danger of yielding our birthright for the sake of harmonious summit meetings. It should be possible to maintain our fighting spirit and at the same time unite with other organizations where united action is required.

I. GOLDSTEIN– Y. ZERUBAVEL

We must move in two directions. The Zionist Organization must recapture its moral credentials. If the choice is between a large Zionist Organization of diluted content and a small one of depth and zeal and resistance on the unique Zionist responsibilities, then I prefer the second. Let us hope, however, that we shall not have to make the choice. We shall try to win and enlist those who are Zionists in fact, and are not yet in the framework of our organization, and at the same time we should dig in and fight for those things which are Zionistically worth fighting for.

YAACOV ZERUBAVEL
(Virilist—Israel)

The transformation of Jewish life, not only of the people but of the individual, is the burden of Zionism. That implies rebirth, not only geographical rebirth in Eretz Israel, but primarily socio-economic rebirth, i.e. Jews should begin a new life, not only outwardly. There has been much talk in the General Council about countries which do not permit the Jews to leave their borders for Eretz Israel. There are dozens of countries, the doors of which are not closed, but the Jews of those countries do not wish to leave. Why does no immigration come from these countries? Are the reasons of an internal or an external nature? The Zionist idea is lacking. Now it is said that Zionists, who created and formulated the principles of Zionism, do not apply their own principles. How, then, can we hope to strengthen the Movement by inviting the non-Zionists and deceive ourselves that they will restore to Zionism its true content? It has been said that the Zionist Shekel is no longer worth anything, but will a membership card of some non-Zionist organization prove more effective in changing the nature of people?

The historic perspective of Jewish life was the most important thing that the Zionist Organization brought to the Jewish masses. We must not live from hand to mouth, it declared. The Zionist perspective demanded a radical change in Jewish life. But to be possessed of an historic perspective does not imply that one rests content solely with dreams, with Zionist aspirations. Daily life must be filled with just such a content which constitutes an expression of that aspiration and which brings realization of the ideal nearer. That certainly cannot be achieved solely through organizations. To accomplish that objective we must reeducate the entire people, including every individual Jew. We cannot replace the principle of the ingathering of exiles with an ingathering of organizations.

We are confronted with the regrettable phenomenon of re-emigration —*yerida*—from Israel. Immigration is declining, but re-emigration from

Israel has not ceased. The reason for that is that not all of those who live in Israel are permeated with the idea of Zionism, they do not subscribe to the principle of national rebirth.

It has been said that what is lacking is the pressure of an emergency. In Israel the dangers are growing steadily. Capital investments will also be made by non-Zionists, when they are profitable, but we must bring millions of Jews into Israel. I expected the present session of the Zionist General Council to issue a clarion call to the Jewish masses, and above all to the Zionist Organization, to close their ranks in the face of oncoming dangers.

We have always constituted a minority of the people, but only a minority of the people have opposed us. At one time Zionism was believed to be utopian. Today we must take into account the fact of the existence of the State. But today complacency has entered Jewish life, and it is felt that we can rely upon the State, upon the Israel Defence Forces. But we cannot, we dare not, rely upon what we have already achieved.

What if five hundred leaders did come here? Zionism is no matter of leaders. Let the leaders remain wherever they are. We require Zionist activities in the Golah. But let them send their children and their grandchildren, their youth, then our attitude towards them will change.

We must educate the people in a different fashion. They must come nearer to us, they must appreciate that now we must strengthen the State, just because perils may be imminent. From the political, and perhaps even from the diplomatic standpoint, it makes no difference if co-existence is achieved or not. If the big powers do achieve co-existence, it will probably be at our expense, and if it is not achieved then they will trouble us again. But there is no nation in the world that is more interested than ourselves in the achievement of co-existence. Co-existence is much better than cold war. A cold war can become a hot war, and should a hot war break out our own position would be very difficult indeed.

DR. SARA FEDER
(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—USA)

We have not yet completed our work and we know that there is much ahead for us. Money is needed, much money. In this all Jews cooperate with us Zionists. Israel Bonds are sold. In this programme most Jews work with Zionists. Even in political activity there is a very loyal group of Jews who stand by in any emergency together with us.

Here I want to say in all earnestness that we shall be bankrupt as a Zionist Movement, we shall not be able to influence other people until

we return to the original two ideals, especially the one that was so prominent in the building of Israel, that of *aliya.*

Why then do Jews not come to Israel? Is it because there is no money? I think the Agency would be willing to help. Is it because they have no love for Israel? No but perhaps their love is not great enough. *Aliya* is a very serious aspect. We must not forget the psychological factors, the fear, the habit, the loyalty to the country, the desire for comfort, for children's success, but the most important point is the uprooting. It is a complex and often painful beyond original expectation.

But the problem, can be met by a change in the psychological atmosphere. I think that *Exodus* has moved some people, impelled more people to concern themselves with the idea of perhaps going to Israel. Our young people in America jaded and dissatisfied, many of them turning into beatniks as some of us did when we were their age, turned towards individualism, and then suddenly discovered Israel as a fresh hope. It is the duty of this General Council to help create, before the next Zionist Congress, that kind of atmosphere in all the democracies to encourage young and older people to link their fate with Israel.

I will not speak in detail now of the next point, of making good Jews of our people throughout the world. There have been a number of references to suburbia. The synagogues and, let me add also, the temples, the Reform temples in suburbia, have done much but not enough. There is an exuberance, there is a feeling of finding themselves as Jews. It is the duty of Zionists to create maximum *yiddishkeit,* not to wait for others to do it, and to bring *yiddishkeit* into the synagogues and into the temples and into the community centres.

I am not disappointed as a Zionist and I am not discouraged and neither are my *chaverot* of the Pioneer Women and neither are women of the other Zionist organizations. We attempt to change the young women who come into Pioneer Women in America and Canada to make them *chaverot* who live with Israel, who are interested in Israel, who grow with Israel, who have a tremendous sense of identification. There isn't enough of that identification in the world today *vis-à-vis* Zionists towards Israel.

How in the world can we come to national Jewish groups and ask them to join us when we have a defeatist attitude? Nothing succeeds like success. We may find that they will want to join us and need to embark upon involved negotiations. I too feel that the first trial was not a success and that was not good for the climate of Zionism.

But the point that I want to close with is that under no circumstances have we a moral right to bring other organizations into the Zionist Movement until we ourselves feel that we have recharged ourselves with that kind of Zionism in 1960 that we have known in the other decades.

KURT BLUMENFELD
(Virilist—Israel)

I wish to make a number of remarks on the address of Dr. Goldmann.

I do not believe that any intervention on the part of the Zionist General Council on behalf of the Jews of Russia can be useful. Any close observer of developments in Soviet Russia since 1920 can see that Soviet policy is leading to a catastrophe for the Jews of USSR. As early as 1920 Chicherin, at that time Russian Ambassador in Berlin, declared that Soviet Russia constitutes a union of national republics each occupying its own territory. The only means by which the Jews of Russia could integrate themselves organically in Russian life was for them to settle their own territory where they could develop their culture. The Jews of Soviet Russia would not succeed if they followed the example of the Jews of the pre-war Austro-Hungarian Empire who are the bearers of Germanic culture. The Yevsekzia returned to this issue and wanted the Jews to become the bearers of Russian culture and the intellectual stratum among the peoples making up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. In view of the recognition by USSR of the Jews as a separate nationality, if the Jews did not concentrate in their own Soviet it would redound to their own hurt. Mass emigration to Eretz Israel was opposed to the Soviet system, which conceived national problems as questions of settlement and not as questions of migration.

In my view it is not correct to interfere in any way in Russian policy.

Dr. Goldmann's proposals are generally supported though the majority of Members do not know how to bring these proposals into line with the normal concept of Zionism. We must examine the real situation of the Jews carefully. It is not necessary for each one of us to foster his own peculiar Zionist concept. Speaking for myself, for example, I do not want anyone to testify that I am a good Zionist. For the approval of Dr. Goldmann's proposals a measure of Zionist courage is necessary. One member remarked to me that this is courage born of despair. Upon one occasion Dr. Goldmann performed a great act that required civic courage which earned him the commendation of Mr. Ben-Gurion. I am referring to the Restitution Payments. Dr. Goldmann had the courage to speak out when others hesitated and remained silent. This attempt to enlist the responsibility of the entire Jewish people in our cause calls for no less civic courage. The proposals will one day be regarded as an historic act.

It is possible that the act which he performed yesterday and which he tried to undertake already a short time ago, will honour him even more. We cannot carry on in the future as we have up to now. That is common knowledge, even to those who say the opposite. I am a Zionist, and I come from a circle which endeavoured to get out of the rut

of convention by advising Zionists to emigrate to Eretz Israel. That was Zionism combined with civic courage. It was the only Zionist organization that declared that its members, notwithstanding the fact that they enjoyed full civic rights in the state, did not belong to the nation of that state. We spoke in this fashion even while Jews continued to denounce us.

Now I come to the decisive question—that of the expansion of the organizational framework. A Zionist from England has said: Let us do as we did when the Jewish Agency was created. Today that is impossible. World conditions have changed and briefly I wish to make it clear why we must follow the course Dr. Goldmann has charted for us. Weizmann always sought to capture new elements, though time and again his efforts proved unsuccessful. He did not understand—as we did not—the opportunity given to us by Brandeis and his group. I myself am one of those who must be held responsible. The Cleveland Agreement was not—as we thought then—a victory, but a defeat. The great hope of activizing the group whose members were Judge Brandeis, Felix Frankfurter, Judge Mack, Henrietta Szold, and at that time also Stephen Wise, was lost.

Subsequently the attempt was made in 1929 to establish the Jewish Agency. This effort was carefully prepared by Weizmann but did not prove successful in the early stages. It was based entirely on the influence wielded by Marshall, who died shortly after the creation of the Jewish Agency. In addition the Zionist Organization was not sufficiently prepared for this experiment in cooperation with colleagues of equal stature. We appreciated that the Zionist Executive would have to make a third attempt, and see whether our plans to prepare the Jewish people was in keeping with the spirit of the times. In the meantime the State of Israel was established. Today the situation of the Zionist Organization is very grave. In effect all that remains of the Zionist Organization are the United Israel Appeal and the other financial projects.

Materially the Jews of the United States are doing a lot. But year after year we must worry about how to increase the income for Israel coming from the contributions of American Jewry. I am referring specifically to the Jews of the United States, but this does not mean to say that I underestimate the work done by Jews in other countries.

There is no reason for reservation in regard to Dr. Goldmann's proposals just because the attempts that have been made have not proved successful. I cannot state whether all the details of these proposals are good and useful. The main aspect is that prior to the establishment of the State very few people were interested in Israel, outside the Zionist Organization. Immense spiritual strength was required to convince the Jews that they could rely upon the Jewish Agency in their political aspirations. The existence of the State is responsible for the fact that today very few people are not interested in Israel. In other words we

have to take into account an entirely different spirit than that current when previous efforts were made. I believe that we must give Dr. Goldmann one year in which to show us what can be done to implement the resolutions that have been passed. He has a very difficult task ahead. I trust that after the lapse of one year we shall see that they can be implemented.

In principle the proposals made here are correct. If we remain alone in this struggle, not only will the income of the campaigns decline but the standards of our work will be affected. It is the function of the Jewish Agency to raise the spiritual and the social standards of the Jews. We are all united in regard to cultural work. There is less readiness to educate the Jews to appreciate the facts of their own situation. When Zionism appeared on the stage armed with its aspiration to solve the Jewish problem it adopted the method of making the Jews recognize the existence of the problem.

Let us give Dr. Goldmann the chance if he believes in the prospects of success.

JOSE LUTZKY
(General Zionists—Argentine)

I come from a country in which Zionists are still active and completely dominate Jewish life. There is no sphere of social life in Argentine, no activity, in which Zionists are not those who give the tone.

I am of the opinion that the approach to the various problems of Zionism must be altered. Unfortunately I cannot see the contribution being made here in that direction. I have heard speakers say from this rostrum that despair will bring people to come to Israel from the Golah. We must give up that sort of terminology, we must give up the phrases that were relevant and necessary fifty or sixty years ago. We must change our phraseology. We cannot adopt the same approach that was used long ago in Russia and in Poland by Zionist orators. In speaking to Jews in the United States and the Argentine other terminology is necessary. The analogies must be changed. It is not sufficient to frighten Jews. There is a big difference between conditions obtaining long ago and those obtaining today. There is a difference between the Golah in Poland and the Golah in America.

There is another difficult problem. I mention it with considerable concern. The attitude of Israel—I am not referring merely to the Government but to public opinion generally, both Zionist and non-Zionist—is becoming more and more painful. It has almost become embarrassing to say that one is coming to a session of the Zionist General Council. The attitude one meets with is cynical. I have come to Congresses here. I recall the Zionist Congresses in Zurich and Basle, how the local Jewish

communities were thrown into a ferment. What is the attitude of the Israel Jews towards Zionism? That attitude must be altered, and not only the attitude of public opinion. Even within the Jewish Agency the attitude one meets is a very distant, formal one. The attitude of the Treasury towards members of the General Council is an insulting one. This is a problem to which attention must be devoted. I trust that I shall have the opportunity to transmit certain facts to Mr. Locker, Chairman of the General Council.

I believe that we are exaggerating a little in talking about despair and pessimism. I recall that years ago, too, we thought that everything was over, that Jews were on the way to becoming assimilated, that Zionism had taken hold of only a minority of the people. About Hebrew the poet J. L. Gordon wrote sixty years ago: "May it not be that I am the last of the poets." But lo and behold, a great movement has emerged and it is still growing! You dare not speak ill of Zionism among us in the Golah. It is the apple of our eye. Zionism for us represents the very centre of Jewish life, of Jewish education, in everything pertaining to Judaism. It is not at all necessary to make the effort to attract new people, who in any case do not want to come in. In Argentine we were the first to make the attempt. We opened the doors of the Zionist Organization. We conducted a propaganda campaign: Jews! Join the Zionist Organization! Do you know who it was who registered? All the members of the parties who had been registered before! Not a single new member entered. Those responsible for the Zionist Movement join in any case. Let us alter our methods of propaganda. Let us stop trying to frighten Jews by speaking of pogroms and anti-Semitism. Our approach must be entirely different.

Recently a campaign for funds, and a drive to sell Bonds, and other drives were launched. This is also a matter to which some thought must be given. Every week, every month, we are approaching, though the titles the causes bear are changed. Jews are beginning to get tired. An uncomfortable state of affairs is being created. Afterwards Jews are approached: Give us your bonds! We have a corporation in Israel. People are offered four per cent, then six and even eight per cent. The Campaign and the Bonds which we regard as holy are being made cheap. This is a question to which we must also devote our attention.

Jewish life is continuing in the Golah and Jews continue to live there. That is a lesson we can learn from Jewish history. Jews have always lived in the Golah. Golah Jewry created the Babylonian Talmud. We must take that into account. It goes without saying that we must forge ties between Jews in Israel and Jews in the Golah, we must prevent the creation of two distinct peoples.

I trust that with a correct approach on the part of our President and other leaders of the Movement, something will change.

DR. HAIM BOGER
(Virilist—Israel)

I wish to discuss with Dr. Goldmann my own hesitations and qualms regarding the creation of the new organ of Zionism as he has proposed, and thereby to allow non-Zionist organizations to come within the Zionist fold.

Dr. Goldmann proposes to sever the tie of the individual Zionist with the Organization. Henceforth there will be organizations, diverse Zionist organizations and diverse non-Zionist organizations. But if they wish to enter the fold of the Zionist Organization they should all be accepted.

It was my privilege to stand by the cradle of Zionism. It was my privilege to stand on the rostrum of the Congress and conduct a debate with Dr. Herzl. We knew what Dr. Herzl's demands were. The Zionist Organization aimed at the creation of a Jewish State, liberation of the Jewish people from alien servitude. Herzl appreciated that the will was not enough. It was necessary to enlist battalions to accept the task of creating the State. He recruited those battalions,—they are those who bought the Shekel. The Zionist Shekel indicates that its purchaser belongs to the corps of builders of the Jewish State.

I am afraid that the President of the Zionist Organization is hewing at the root of the tree that has been entrusted to his care. The opinion of the Jew who has bought the Shekel all his life is not being asked. This is the central body of the Zionist Organization, but the Organization is made up of individuals. If we do not take their view into account we imperil the very existence of our institutions.

Dr. Goldmann has brought forward a wonderful proposal. There are so many Jews who have equal civic rights. They must be organized so that they may help in the upbuilding of the State of Israel.

The Zionist Organization was founded in the era of emancipation and Zionism set out to combat the influence of that emancipation. All organs of the emancipation were the foes of Zionism and fought Zionism. We shall gather in all of those who have benefitted from the emancipation in order to enable them to contribute towards the reconstruction of the Jewish State. That is what the President of the Zionist Organization says.

I must tell you, Dr. Goldmann: I have listened carefully to what the Prime Minister said from this rostrum. We have a great affection for Mr. Ben-Gurion. But he has asked: What is Zionism today? What do we need it for? The most important thing is for Jews to come to Israel. Perhaps he is right. He has said that both Zionists and non-Zionists contribute to Eretz Israel. What does he care about the Shekel? But in spite of that we are still Zionists. It is true that there are good Jews who are not Zionists. The Zionists who reside in England or in America, in Tel

Aviv or in Jerusalem, are all comrades, all share in the reconstitution of the homeland.

The Jews in America do contribute, but they give as they would give alms. We all know what it is to live from charity. It is not Zionism. We declare ourselves Zionists, and we are convinced that this Zionism which Herzl evolved, which has built up the State of Israel, will assist in ensuring the existence of the State and in converting Israel into the Jewish State. That is our goal. That is why I disagree with my friend Dr. Goldmann.

FOURTH MEETING

Tuesday, December 29, 1959, in the evening

Chairman: MR. ANSELM REISS

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

MOSHE KOL

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

I am glad to note that the review, by the President of the Zionist Organization, of the situation of the Jewish people in certain countries is more in accordance with the facts than it was a year ago. A year ago Dr. Goldmann rendered a comparatively optimistic picture. Subsequently I wrote expressing my surprise at this dissemination of optimism in regard to the situation of the Jews of Soviet Russia, North Africa and other countries. Even now the analysis is a little over-moderate. It is the duty of the Zionist Organization to present a realistic picture.

In the face of the dangers which Dr. Goldmann enumerated yesterday we are doing everything possible to rally our people in order to preserve Jewish national integrity, and to strengthen the unity between the Jewish people and the State of Israel. There are too many world Jewish organizations in existence. There are too many members of the Zionist General Council who participate in these organizations. There they appear as "stars," under other titles. The time has come for the Members of the Zionist General Council to consider within which Jewish organization their own main interest lies, in which they see their principle function within the Jewish people. Does it lie within the World Zionist Organization or within some other organization? I do not think this multiplication of Jewish organizations enhances the unity of the Jewish people. Indeed, the unity existing between the people and the State of Israel will be strengthened in inverse proportion to the number of world Jewish organizations.

The time has come for us to analyse this situation. Perhaps we should appoint a commission to report on these Jewish organizations, whom they represent, for we as Zionists must strive to impregnate Jewish life with the Zionist verities, and to ensure for the Zionist Organization a paramount position in the life and thought of the Jewish people.

We have heard of the dangers threatening the State of Israel, in the light of certain international developments. I was astonished at the precise knowledge shown by Dr. Levenberg that Middle Eastern affairs will not be discussed at the Summit Conference. Let Dr. Levenberg not be so certain, let no one in our midst be certain about this matter. The dangers threatening are many, and we must not lull ourselves with any illusions of security. Let us not regard the resolution taken at the United Nations about the refugees as something trivial. I know that efforts are being made to minimize its adverse effects. But the fact remains that we were isolated in the Assembly and that our friends did not stand together with us in the dispute. The fact remains that a committee, —composed, it is true, of representatives of friendly nations—has been appointed to report on the future of the refugees.

We know that the world's barometer is its attitude towards the Jews. We also know that there were four parties to the creation of the State of Israel: the Jewish community in Eretz Israel fighting on the principle front of Jewish liberation; the Jews in the free countries, who conducted the struggle in other parts of the world; the six million Jewish dead, who weighed on the world's conscience, for they had been murdered before the eyes of the entire enlightened world; and finally, the survivors of the European holocaust, who too, waged a courageous battle.

Notwithstanding the importance of the struggle fought out in this country we might not have been victorious, we might not have secured the State of Israel had it not been for the aid of our allies. We in Israel shall not be able to ensure the future of the State of Israel by ourselves. We need the aid of the whole Jewish people. This being the case, and in view of the magnitude of the dangers confronting us—and we have to take into account the possibility of new political developments—we must strengthen our partnership with the Jewish people, we must intensify our political activity which, naturally, must be coordinated with the Government of Israel. It is highly important that the Jewish Agency should have a large Political Department, to prod Jewish communities abroad into political activity, in collaboration with the State of Israel. The time has come for the State, the Government and the Zionist Organization to give some thought to this proposal.

I wish to devote a number of remarks to the constitution. We welcome the innovations that have been incorporated in the constitution. We must allow our President, Dr. Goldmann, a chance to bring other Jewish organizations into the Zionist Organization. As I have already said the existence of so many Jewish organizations outside the bounds of the Zionist Organization is not desirable. But notwithstanding the new vistas opening up for us this new development also has its dangers. If these efforts should prove successful the Zionist Organization will

grow in size and importance. But if we Zionists do not succeed in reviving the spirit of Zionism, the Zionist soul, the faith in the vision of Zionism, there is the danger that the entire Organization will be converted into a body of "friends of Israel." In that case we may enhance the unity of the Jewish people,—not by strengthening but by weakening the Zionist Movement.

We shall support Dr. Goldmann in every possible way to bring those Jewish organizations closer to the Zionist Organization. We shall do so, conscious that we Zionists shall have to work very hard to enhance the prospects of and to reduce the dangers to the Zionist Organization. I believe that the Zionist Organization is superior to all other Jewish organizations, but we must realize at the outset that should Dr. Goldmann's efforts prove successful and these Jewish organizations are admitted, it will be our duty, the duty of the diverse Zionist organizations, to impregnate the new bodies with Zionist faith and Zionist ideals, to plough deep, and not to rest content with physical expansion.

The salvation of Zionism does not depend on constitutional or organizational reforms, nor on expansion of its organizational structure. Zionism will be saved if, once these organizations have been admitted, once they are inside, they are transformed and change their character. And that transformation will be effected only if we are all prepared to make the necessary effort.

I am familiar with many Zionist bodies within the Zionist Organization, for example the Hadassah Women's Organization. I am very much afraid that here in Israel few people have any idea of the work being done by this and other women's organizations. In Canada I have seen what the Zionist women are doing. I have seen the work of Zionist women in the United States. Upon one occasion I remarked to the Hadassah women, that they are not really an organization but a Chassidic movement, fostering Judaism and faith in Zionism, bringing that faith into their homes, educating children in that faith. There are other Zionist organizations doing the same. We must appreciate, accordingly, that if we do not stand shoulder to shoulder together with Dr. Goldmann, he will not succeed in accomplishing the task he has taken upon himself. No President, be he the most gifted and influential, is capable of performing that task alone. If we wish to expand our organizational framework—and it is clear that we do—then we must change our programme of work, which, perhaps, implies that we must alter the structure of our budget, so that we can operate in the direction we consider desirable.

A few words about changing the climate in Israel. Previously I stated that we must change the climate in the Golah. It is impossible to change the climate of public opinion in this country merely by reaching agreement between the Government and the Zionist Executive. The

Charter and the Status Law will not effect any change in that climate. Nor can it be achieved through the efforts of the Jewish Agency's administrative machinery. I have made a suggestion to my colleagues *to establish a Zionist Organization in the State of Israel,* to create a Zionist Federation and to convene a conference of all organized Zionists in the State of Israel. I do not believe that every immigrant is a Zionist, or that every person who lives here is a Zionist. I am of the opinion that the time has come to convene, within the course of this year, a large conference of organized Zionists, of all delegates in Israel who will participate in the Zionist Congress. We must come to grips with the cynicism which is conquering the streets, which is spreading among the youth, within public opinion and the press in all that pertains to Zionism. I do not believe that bodies of officials have the power to do such a thing. Zionism, in the State of Israel, is the butt of mockery and it behoves us to combat that attitude. I am fully aware that our political parties have not got the time to undertake the task. They are busy with all sorts of important things. But the time has come, if we wish to change this climate and alter the attitude in the State of Israel towards Zionism, not only to try and persuade the Government and the press and the political leaders, but to establish a popular Zionist Movement in the State of Israel, in order to intensify faith in the Zionist ideal, to reinforce the Zionist partnership between the State of Israel and the Jewish people in the Diaspora.

DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN
(Member of the Executive—New York)

I shall confine myself to a number of remarks on matters raised in the course of the present debate.

I join Mr. Raphael in commending the President for not restricting himself exclusively to organizational questions and in dealing with the political situation. We must be grateful to Dr. Goldmann for continuing this custom and for voicing from the rostrum of the Zionist General Council our common concern for what the future holds in store. We trust that he will maintain this tradition.

Among those of us who come from the United States this custom of conducting a general debate is constantly being questioned. Dr. Goldmann has noted that up to the present we have not got used to the holding of these general debates. But I consider this opportunity of meeting and exchanging views more valuable than any exchange of information on current events in the Zionist world.

This evening I shall concentrate mainly upon the situation in the United States, in regard to the organizational reforms which we are

discussing. First of all I wish to make one remark on the ideological discussion which is a perennial feature of our debates. I am always happy to listen to speeches like that of Mr. Tabenkin, Mr. Hazan and others, to the constantly reiterated call to Diaspora Jewry to *aliya,* to *chalutziut,* to personal realizations of Zionist ideals. It is always desirable that they should issue these calls and that we should hear them. But we must repeat what has been said so often before: Let us not ignore the realities of the situation. You may say that those are very bitter realities, but they exist nonetheless. We have learnt from our own past, from our own history, that no wave of mass immigration is ever set in motion to Israel or to any other country, without political or social pressure. That has always been the case.

I studied the Bible before Bible study circles came into vogue in Israel and I recall two incidents having some connection with emigration to Eretz Israel. The first was the emigration of the Patriach Abraham, who was a *chalutz.* His was an act of pioneering emigration, for an ideal expressed in the verse: "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee." Abraham was an immigrant of the middle-class, you might even say, a capitalist. The second *aliya*—I am speaking of antiquity, not the Second *aliya* of our own era—was a mass immigration from Egypt and it was of a totally different character. It was of the nature of rescue-immigration. Signs and wonders, a strong hand and a stretched forth arm, accompanied that influx, and I am not certain that the reference to a strong hand applies solely to the strong hand wielded against the Egyptians. Perhaps it was necessary to compel the ancient Israelites to leave the land of Egypt.

We count a population of five and a half million Jews and more in the United States, and notwithstanding our Zionist aspirations there is little prospect that in the next few years a large proportion of our community will come and settle in Israel. Bialik once complained bitterly, not about the Jews of America, but about the glorious Jewry of Russia: "He will not awaken if the scourge awaken him not!" In spite of that we must do what we can to intensify the Zionist ideal among our people and among our youth.

At a time when the weakness of the Zionist Movement in the United States is being aired I feel it my duty to make it clear how and when this came about. There was at one time a powerful and influential Zionism which registered major achievements in various periods. But how did it suddenly decline, how did it lose the position it occupied? I declare—I know that others oppose this view—that this change came to pass after the creation of the State of Israel. We bore witness to a frontal assault against the positions occupied by the Zionist Movement, conducted by leaders in Israel, aided by good Zionists, who did so—

I believed mistakenly. Some obsession took hold of us and from that day to this the process has not been halted. At the Zionist Congress, when the Status Law was being debated. I was among the few who declared that it was not the status within Israel that was so important for the Zionist Movement, but its status in the Diaspora, and that it was not a juridicial or constitutional matter, but a question of sincere and loyal partnership, as the Zionist Movement was in duty bound to assist the State always as its ally, unconditionally and under all circumstances. This requires a reciprocal attitude on the part of the State towards its loyal ally, but up to the present day, such an attitude has not been in evidence. This is the main cause of weakness although I agree that it was not the only one. I believe Dr. Goldmann is coming closer to this point of view and that the breach can be remedied only by a basic change, which our colleagues in Israel must effect.

There is an opinion current in this country that the State, the establishment of the State, unified the Jewish people about the Zionist ideal. That, in my view, is incorrect. In fact it is a distortion of history. For many years the Zionist Movement sought to unite the Jewish people, to rally them about the Zionist banner. That was Weizmann's objective when he extended the Jewish Agency, that is what American Jewry did when it organized the first Jewish Congress in America after the close of the First World War. At that time we succeeded in uniting all sections of the community about the demand for a Jewish State, "a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine." That was thirty years before the foundation of the State, in the era of that great leader, Brandeis, in the days of Stephen Wise and their collaborators. And during the Second World War once again Zionists were mobilized to enlist the aid of the people and of the American Jewish Conference, into which even the non-Zionists and the anti-Zionists were compelled to enter. They had no escape from our propaganda, from the influence we exercised. That was in the time of Silver and his colleagues. The American Jewish Conference passed the well-known resolutions regarding the Jewish State almost unanimously. That was five years before the State of Israel.

I am opposed, accordingly, to the view that it was only the State that served to unite the Jewish people. It goes without saying that it was a highly important factor in achieving that objective, but the preparatory activity, the educational work, was conducted over many years, over two generations in fact, by the Zionist Movement, under all sorts of conditions and circumstances. Of course I am at one with our President in regard to opening our doors, in showing hospitality. I support that policy in principle. At the last session of the General Council we indicated our support for the expansion of the Zionist Movement by the admission of new Jewish bodies, but there are a number of things that we must bear in mind. I repeat what I said before: Do not cherish any

illusion! Many disappointments, bitter disappointments, may be in store for us! In spite of that it is our duty to persevere. I agree with Dr. Goldstein that efforts must be made in various countries in conjunction with responsible local Zionist bodies.

There is an apprehension that while we may succeed in attracting other organizations we may lose members of Zionist organizations, who at the same time are members of the new Jewish organizations. Our loss may well be greater than our gain. We must not under-estimate that fear. This is a matter that must be approached consistently, carefully, in order to ensure our existing assets are not harmed in any way. We must be careful that in gaining the new members we do not lose the old.

I am totally opposed to what Dr. Goldstein has said about Jewish organizations, and organizations of Jewish synagogues. Dr. Goldmann was one hundred per cent correct, in my view. Dangers, fairly grave dangers, do exist. He only alluded to them. Dr. Goldmann did not refer only to the United Synagogues when he spoke of the ambition to occupy positions of strength and to conduct Jewish politics. There are other bodies like the Synagogue Council and others. We do not oppose the influence of the synagogues within their own spheres. But the conversion of synagogues or unions of synagogues into political instruments by any organization or combination of organizations whatsoever must be opposed. We must maintain the supremacy of the Zionist Movement. We must collaborate with local Zionists, and in the spirit of the ancient dictum "Hold fast to one thing and do not let go of the other" we must attract new bodies and strengthen the veterans in our midst.

DEATH OF DR. S. Z. CHESHIN

The Chairman, Mr. A. Reiss, rose to inform Members of the General Council of the death of Dr. Shlomo Zalman Cheshin, Deputy Chief Justice of the State of Israel and President of the Congress Court. The Members rose in honour of the memory of Judge Cheshin.

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

ISAAC ARCAVI
(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

Since the establishment of the State of Israel we have found ourselves confronted drastically with new functions and new problems. Some of them have not been altogether new, but their contours and contrasts have become sharpened after the creation of the State. For decades we have seen our reflection in a certain mirror. Now we are facing a different kind of mirror whose special quality is that it reflects contradictions and an unwillingness to draw conclusions. That mirror is the State of Israel. And no Zionist or Jewish group can avoid it.

Developments have confronted us with a bitter dilemma. We face two alternatives. We can choose being a small revolutionary and belligerent vanguard, whose main ideal is self-realization and classic Zionism (and the essence of classic Zionism, to my mind, lay in its attitude towards the Golah). In our generation Zionism and Zionists are not obliged to adopt any special attitude towards the Golah. The second alternative can be summed up in the term "friends of Israel." I am referring not to the name but to the content it implies,—choice of the line of least resistance, an attempt to unite whatever can be united about the State of Israel. But notwithstanding the controversy which still reverberates to this day, we have chosen neither one alternative nor the other. We have tried to find a way out in certain organizational changes, which in themselves may be important, but remain no more than organizational changes. There was a great, an important, debate among us about the federations, about individual membership in the Zionist Organization, and the discussion about the admission of Jewish organizations and groups which is still in progress.

But by these organizational proposals which may be important in themselves we are seeking to avoid our dilemma, for which organizational changes can offer no solution.

We are in favour of the proposed organizational changes. We were in favour of the federations, and we are in favour of all the efforts being made to introduce new Jewish organizations, subscribing to our programme, into the Zionist Movement. But in order to be able to attract them the Zionist Organization must be prepared to share something with them, so that they do not remain unchanged after they have joined the Zionist Organization.

This is not merely a question of negotiations and programmes. It is a matter affecting the entire Movement. The organizations, in exactly the same way as individuals must feel that by entering the Zionist

Organization they are undergoing some transformation. The entire controversy ranges round the question whether and in what way we are different. It is not important whether the Movement as a whole engages in self-realization. What is important is what weight is ascribed to those sections which are prepared to realize Zionist ideals personally within the framework of the Zionist Movement. Those who engage in personal realization are always a small section. The tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that we are without reserves, not only of *chalutzim* but of other categories of potential immigrants. Those reserves are lacking but the Zionist Organization seems unconscious of their absence.

This is the crux of the matter. Dr. Goldmann has stated that the Zionist Movement, individual Zionists, Zionist institutions, all organizations throughout the world should be Israel-centred. I know that a great effort is being made in the sphere of education, of cultural work, organization of the youth, etc. But the question I ask is: What is the difference between Zionist efforts and other efforts. I am referring not to the efforts made in Jerusalem, but to those made throughout the Jewish world.

Why is there no Zionist policy in regard to the Jewish people? I appreciate there are dangers to be met and there must be political activity. But even when there are no dangers the Zionist Movement and the Jewish people must be watchful and alert to the welfare of the Jewish State.

BERL LOCKER

(Acting Chairman of the Zionist General Council)

Dr. Neumann has been indulging in reminiscences of ten to twelve years back. He has declared that the crisis in America began with a "disaster" occasioned not only by the "wicked people" of Israel but also by the good Zionists. I am sure that he considers Dr. Goldmann a good Zionist. I do not know whether he regards me in the same light. I believe that Goldmann and all of us took some part in that "disaster" which overtook American Zionism. I do not regret my own part in it. At that time we saved the United Jewish Appeal. The decision was taken by the entire Executive, all members of which thus became "wicked." I do not think it is really worthwhile raising this episode again. I am sure that Dr. Silver has already forgotten it.

Dr. Levenberg declared that we have always had our crises. But Dr. Neuman is mistaken when he holds the State responsible. The situation of the State is responsible insofar as the State has changed and has not adjusted itself.

Before the Second World War we had a pioneer movement in Eastern Europe. We did not expect immigrants to come from America. We

had a vast reservoir in Eastern Europe. When I visited America in 1946 at the invitation of the Poale Zion Party, I told them that in view of the fact that Eastern European Jewry no longer existed, they must give not only money but men too.

We have been discussing the admission of organizations into the Movement. The Zionist Movement suffers from an organic malady but such a malady cannot be cured by organizational remedies. I support all methods of therapy that have been suggested. Jews have rallied round Israel, giving money and help in other forms. The same applies to the Zionists. Mr. Segal stated today that what is necessary is to give proper expression to what the Zionists are doing.

I agree with the remarks made by Dr. Freund about the need for working for Israel and for the reconstruction of Jewish life generally. But what is the difference between the Zionists who are Israel-centric and the non-Zionists who are also Israel-centric? The only difference lies in the sphere of *aliya*.

That is the question: Are the American Zionists in favour of *aliya* from America? Today Dr. Schwarzbart proposed expunging the terrible phrase, "ingathering of the exiles." I agree. Let us insert "encouragement and organization of *aliya* and *chalutziut*." If he is prepared to accept that I am ready to work for the amendment of the wording. We can put it through at the next Congress. What is most important is that people should come here. You have heard Mr. Tabenkin's complaint. He was followed by Dr. Stupp, who belongs to an entirely different wing. You are co-responsible for the creation of the State of Israel. American Zionism and American Jewry have both done a wonderful job for the establishment of the State of Israel. The situation today is that much of the country is still unsettled because we lack the manpower. We must have men from the Western countries. The English Zionists at least have shown that their conscience pricks them by calling a conference to discuss immigration. I would like to see a similar feeling of dissatisfaction in America.

I know of many cases in which parents have dissuaded their children from emigrating to Israel. I know that there are defects and shortcomings in Israel. Better conditions must be created. It has been suggested that a special department for immigration from the Western countries should be set up. I once quoted an English poet who wrote: "If I am to love my country, my country must be lovable!" I consider Israel very lovable. For the West it should be more so. We must create the necessary conditions. This is a task in which we must all share.

As long as there is no organized, albeit small and select, inflow of immigrants from the West and particularly from America, expressing a permanent and vital contact between Israel and the West we shall have this problem with us, and we shall worry ourselves with the question:

Shall we or shall we not permit the organizations to enter the Zionist Movement?

GREETINGS TO MR. YITZCHAK GRUENBAUM

ANSELM REISS
(Chairman of the Meeting)

I am sure that I shall be expressing the feelings of all members of the Zionist General Council, and of all those foregathered in this hall, in allowing the floor to Mr. Gruenbaum, that eminent member of the General Council, who has celebrated his eightieth birthday.

It is not my task, to evaluate Mr. Gruenbaum's personality. I do not wish to encroach upon your time for the purpose, nor do I think I am equal to it. I should, however, like to stress that the Jewish population of this country, the State of Israel, and Jews throughout the Golah have given adequate expression to their respect and admiration for Mr. Gruenbaum. These feelings were also reflected in the local press.

A special public committee has resolved to publish a volume of Mr. Gruenbaum's speeches in the Polish Sejm and in various Zionist Congresses. The Polish Settlers Association has decided to plant a Gruenbaum Forest on the land of the Jewish National Fund. We shall all deem it a privilege to listen to his speech.

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

YITZCHAK GRUENBAUM
(Virilist—Israel)

The fact that I was unable to understand all that Dr. Goldstein said caused me much sorrow. I do not know what the reason is—I believe that he mentioned it—for the failure of the efforts of our President. I do not know whether everything was done and whether all possible aid was given to the President in this matter. There is, however, one thing that I do know and that is that we must all of us, especially the President, learn the lesson of this failure. If I am not mistaken he once said that the influential organizations we are aiming at are not waiting in the queue. And the body with which he conducted negotiations finally gave a negative answer. That, of course, is no help and we cannot continue our efforts if we are not completely sure that our invitation will be accepted. We cannot fritter away our prestige.

I was opposed to this plan, for the simple reason that I believe that

whoever is really sympathetic towards Zionism joins its ranks. Those who are not sympathetic and merely wish to help the Jewish State do so by contributing in one form or another. They do not give their souls. I do not want to consider what the reasons for this are. I am not sufficiently acquainted with American Jewry. I can only judge by the examples of Poland, of Europe. And like everything in America conditions have not crystallized sufficiently. For that reason my counsel to my friend Dr. Goldmann is to give up, for the time being, at least, this project for bringing non-Zionist bodies into our Zionist Organization.

I appreciate that there are grave dangers ahead of us, and that we must become stronger and increase Jewish influence, particularly in the United States. It is because of this that Dr. Goldmann has put forward his plans. But how can we be sure that the response will be affirmative? Our efforts in this sphere can only prove harmful. We cannot imperil the World Zionist Organization.

Prior to the present session of the Zionist General Council we were given copies of the new constitution. When I began to read it I saw that it was not really a constitution. It is a statute. Why it is called a constitution I do not know. Indeed a constitution is a *state* document.

It is said that there are special American reasons. But a constitution primarily lays down the objective which is aimed at. What has been included in the present constitution about the ultimate objective can only give rise to laughter. We are taught some history. Once upon a time there was a Congress in Basle, which made its decisions, and then there was a Congress in Jerusalem, and it made its decisions. Is that an objective? Is this a constitution? No! I should be ashamed to submit such a constitution. I regard the statutes, which are part of the constitution, as bad for they open wide the doors for all sorts of non-Zionist organizations. Federations, organizations, even bodies are suggested and one cannot know who and what is referred to. These are not even statutes. I have some knowledge of the principles of organization. I have a little experience, but this is the first time that I have seen anything like the document that has been submitted to us today. We have been told that this is only a draft and that it has already been amended. Why was the amended draft not distributed? But I have not got the time to criticize a document which had better not have existed altogether.

Take the matter of the Shekel for example. Do not consider this merely as a matter of conservatism. The allies for whom we are opening our doors need not, needless to say, purchase the Shekel. The statutes abolish the Shekel by converting it into a voting card. Whoever is responsible for this has not the slightest understanding of the significance of the Shekel as a citizenship document of "the state on the way." The Shekel must be respected. But if this is only a voting card, we know

how elections are conducted. It is distributed by the thousand depending merely upon the funds at the disposal of one party or another, or the list of candidates. By these gifts the number of voters is increased. One party begins and the rest follows suit There is no method of exercising supervision. But we know what happened to the Shekel in the years when there were Congress elections. The number sold increased naturally, by enlistment of Shekel distributors. But an easier method has been found. Emissaries went to America and collected funds for Zionist purposes and distributed the Shekalim which they bought with this money. Do the statutes declare that this is prohibited, that this is a misdemeanour? I know one party which began its career in this fashion.

The best thing to do would be to make our procedure as simple as possible. Let us resolve that whoever wishes to do so may register his name in the electoral lists of the Zionist Congress. If he wishes to he may even pay a sum of money. Let these be our electors. Does such a Shekel constitute any evidence of Zionism? With our own hands we have destroyed the institution which Herzl created. We have known how to collect funds, even pennies, for the Jewish National Fund. We have known how to enlist the youth for this task. Why have we not been able to enlist the youth for the dissemination of the Shekel? But in spite of everything, something of the glory of the Shekel, as a document of affiliation to the Zionist Movement remains. If we cannot do anything to repair the manner in which it is disseminated let us at least not disgrace it by converting it into a voter's card.

And now the last matter upon which I wish to touch, a matter which is closest to me. Is our objective not consolidation of the State? If it is not why do we exist at all? All our tricks and stratagems to maintain a world organization will not help us if that should indeed be the case. Why do we have to do all this work? The Government can do it as well as we can, perhaps even better than we. Let us first of all ask whether the aim, which Herzl once defined, has been achieved. The State exists. He did not demarcate its area or borders. Any organization which is sympathetic can extend assistance to the State. It is true—failing the Zionists perhaps these Jews would not have come forward, or might not have persevered in their work, year after year. The Zionists remind them of their duty, they conduct unceasing propaganda. They are vigilant in good times as in bad. It is said that their contributions are not outstanding. But they at least collect the contributions. What is the source from which their loyalty derives? Have they no objective?

We have listened to a lesson on *aliya,* designed to prove that *aliya* is the outcome of a certain situation. But these things are common knowledge. Incidentally: Abraham was not a *chalutz.* Abraham was ordered by the Holy One to go to a certain land, designated for him and his

descendents after him. A *chalutz* is one who goes of his own free will, not because of any orders that he is given. I could understand it if the reference was to spontaneous *aliya,* that is emigration set in motion by outward pressures, for which the time is not yet ripe in the more prosperous countries. The disadvantages of such *aliya* are greater than the advantages, because the individual immigrant does not take into account the general interest, with the result that when he comes up against difficulties a process of re-emigration sets in. Pioneering immigration is capable of maintaining its stability, it is possessed of stamina which enables it to achieve the goal for which it comes to this country—namely to convert it into a homeland. The *chalutzim* from Poland could find their niche in this country notwithstanding the obstacles in their path. Some of them, particularly the men of Hashomer Hazair, could have settled down far better in the Golah, than they did in their *kibbutzim.*

But let us return to the matter of the ultimate objective. At one time I suggested the following definition of the purpose of Zionism: Zionism aims at the redemption of the Jewish people! But I remained alone.

Today we are discussing a constitution and not statutes. The constitution does not incorporate what it should. The constitution does not speak of the final objective of an organization that has existed already for sixty-two years. And if the aim, suitable for the age we live in, has not yet been determined, we should at least have opened with a historic preamable setting forth the evolution of the Zionist Movement. We should have begun with the Basle Programme, the Balfour Declaration, in which the Basle Programme was given clearer and more recognized form by Britain and the League of Nations. After the Second World War the United Nations Assembly resolved to establish a Jewish State in part of Palestine. The Arab states opposed this decision and invaded the country but were defeated and in the Armistice Agreements agreed to the extension of the borders of the State which was recognized by the countries of the world. Then Israel was accepted as a member of the United Nations.

The Zionist Organization aims at the continued existence and development of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. Of course the wording can be improved. It will satisfy the requirements of the United States and will provide an answer to the problem of the final aim of Zionism.

DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN'S REPLY TO THE DEBATE

I am surprised at the interpretation placed by certain speakers in the debate upon a number of the remarks I made in the course of my speech. There was little argument about certain things of a political nature that I said. Mr. Raphael has given the impression that I regard the situation in Morocco as satisfactory, voicing his astonishment that I did not enlarge on this aspect. In the first place, I specifically dealt with the situation in Morocco, although perhaps I did not stress it sufficiently. As President of the Jewish World Congress I have some connection with the state of affairs in Morocco. I made no secret of the situation in that country. The situation is serious. The Moroccans are trying, as they put it, to integrate the Jews. We say that they are disintegrating the Jews. They do not permit emigration and they wish to diminish contacts between Moroccan Jewry and World Jewry. They have dishonoured specific promises. There may be certain possibilities of bringing about an improvement. I am not optimistic about the prospects of emigration, but neither am I pessimistic about certain other aspects—in the course of time. Every year gained is something won. For that reason I did not express myself in such sharp terms, but essentially I am in agreement with him.

Both Mr. Raphael and Dr. Goldstein were conscious of an obligation to defend the synagogues. I am not a frequenter of synagogues, especially not in America. But I am a great supporter of the synagogue in America. I regard every congregation, be it Orthodox, Conservative and even Reform, as a blessing. Reform today is not what reform once was. Dr. Freund was perfectly right in saying that the construction of synagogues is a great development in American Judaism. They are not only synagogues, around them are clubs and lecture halls, and libraries. They constitute centres of Jewish life, not only in the developing suburbs. They are playing a great role, a positive role in American Judaism. Would that they grow and flourish! Let no cables be sent—they may have been sent already—to the effect that the President of the World Zionist Organization has attacked the role of the synagogues, in American life!

What I said was entirely different. I am surprised at both Mr. Raphael and Dr. Goldstein that they did not understand me. What I said was that we must oppose the attempt being made to raise the representatives of the synagogues to the position of exclusive or chief spokesmen of American Jewry. The leader of a great orthodox organization carried on a months-long campaign to ensure that if Jews sent a delegation to Mr. Khrushchev, only religious Jews would be included and that the sole subject of discussion must be synagogues. Only in such a case, he

insisted, was there any prospect of success, because Khrushchev is a great man. A minor crisis was created because one President insisted that we all go together and insist on all Jewish rights.

It reflected an illegitimate ambition of the orthodox synagogue organization when representatives of synagogue groups—I refrain from mentioning names—came to me saying: "Leave the matter of Morocco to us. We shall discuss it with the State Department, we shall speak only about religion. The Sultan is a pious man, he will understand us. We can succeed, the Congress can't!" That, I say, is illegitimate. And I say that American Zionists and the Religious Zionists must oppose this attitude, because you must consider Judaism as a whole, an entity. You are religious Jews, you are nationalistic Jews, you are cultural Jews. Nobody has to defend the synagogues against me, in America or anywhere else. And when a representative of an orthodox organization delivered an impudent attack on Zionism in the Presidents' Club, I recalled at the time that purely by chance three hours previously three of the really great rabbis of orthodox Jewry, the brother-in-law of the Rabbi of Lubavitch, Rabbi Kelmanovich and Rabbi Kottler had congratulated me on what I had done in diverse fields for *Yeshivot* and rabbinical institutions. They were the leaders of true orthodoxy, not those who wish to play politics with the synagogues in the background. Do I have to explain this more explicity to Zionists?

I would not like to give the impression that I have launched an attack on the synagogues. Let them multiply a thousandfold. They play a very important role. They are becoming more positive. Around them are ranged clubs and schools and women's clubs. Bible is being studied, various groups are being formed. That is all very good. But notwithstanding their significance they are not the be-all and end-all of American Jewry. There is Zionism, there are the civic organizations, there are other bodies. But with their growth has come ambition. Behind them are great budgets. I have uttered a note of warning against a certain tendency that is beginning, which has not become dangerous, but which can grow.

Dr. Goldstein spoke on the methodology and tactics of introducing new organizations. In this connection there has emerged a new myth: Failure! I am not afraid of failures. Zionism is made up eighty per cent of failures and only twenty per cent of successes. Let Mr. Gruenbaum tell me whether he gave up when he suffered his first defeat. Is that the way you did things in Poland? Did you only have victories? We have grown great through failures and defeats. When Herzl spoke of the capture of the communities, had he given up after the first defeat the matter would have been settled. The Reform rabbis protested, so would you say that it is beneath our dignity to continue? Are we so proud, and are dignity and prestige so important for us? You may say

that they will not come. You can say that Zionism will be watered down. But what has all this to do with dignity?

I have never invited the United Synagogues in my capacity as President of the World Zionist Organization. I began my speech at the meeting with them thus: "I am not speaking as President of the Zionist Organization, but have been invited together with two other representatives, who are familiar with the problem of Jewish unity. I have been invited to speak as an expert on the problem of Jewish unity." I told them: "I am not inviting you to anything, you have nothing whatever to accept or reject." I have also some idea of tactics and how to maintain my dignity. Would I issue a formal invitation before I was assured that they would accept it?

They did not reject anything. The discussion is continuing. They stated that they wanted to know what it was all about. They duplicated my speech and circulated it among their eight hundred branches. They duplicated three speeches—two in favour, of Dr. Kaplan and myself, and one against. The branches are engaged in the discussion. I was fully aware of the nature of the United Synagogues. Prominent rabbinical and lay leaders came and said: "We are ready to come in with our organizational potential." The initiative was not taken by myself but by Dr. Kaplan, Moshe Davis and others. They have many non-rabbinical leaders. I negotiated with a special committee which they had appointed. There was an agreement about developments. A resolution was passed providing that within six months, in other words prior to Congress, they would take a decision. That resolution was passed unanimously. Then other factors interfered. Dr. Goldstein knows them better than I do. But what sort of a defeat was suffered? Did we invite them and did they reject our invitation?

I had hoped that we should gain our objective in a single attack. I sat in conference together with thirty of their leaders in New York. I had to leave and could not continue the negotiations. Perhaps one should not have too many irons in the fire. They decided to debate the matter and after due consideration to take their decision. Who discredited them, Dr. Goldstein? Did I? We must not exaggerate. Numerically it is an important organization, based upon a clearly Zionist programme, which had nothing to say after studying the Jerusalem Programme. For three hours I sat together with thirty of their leaders and they agreed. They merely proposed that the clause dealing with the Golah should not be Point 4, but Point 2. I told them: Come to the Zionist Congress. The General Council has not got the authority to make such a change.

Potentially they have great prospects. Behind them stand seven hundred congregations. That is what they say and I have no doubts in the matter. In numbers they are perhaps the largest organization in Amer-

ican Jewry. I did not discredit them. I have no grudge against them. Representatives from the branches stated that they wished to make a further study of the matter. Others have no reason not be in favour. When I stated that one of the leaders was opposed to this step he retorted: "You insult me! I merely wish to consider what sort of a role we are going to play." Nobody discredited them. We must continue our efforts.

Dr. Goldstein has said the issue must be adequately prepared. I agree. The Executive in New York was informed and I do not think that the Executive *per se* could help. But it would do no harm if some of the members of the Executive put their shoulders to the wheel.

I also agree with Dr. Goldstein that we must consult local Zionists. It is not my usual practice to embark upon some activity in any country without first of all reaching an understanding with the local Zionist Organization and with the local Zionists. I do not undertake to accept the counsel of the local Zionists. I do not have to use diplomacy in my relations with Zionists. Not always are local Zionists interested in the adhesion of larger organizations.

With the exception of one point I am in agreement with what Dr. Neumann had to say. He declared that mistakes were made. But when nothing whatever is done no risk is involved—except that of utter decline.

I appreciate that the Z.O.A. has its own calculations. Who are the anti-Zionists? We must consider the matter carefully and decide what is more important for us: to win such an important organization or to lose a number of members of the Z.O.A.,—and even that can be prevented. Not always can the views of the local Zionists be permitted to decide. They have their own "vested interests." M. Blumel could tell us if he wished how local groups treat the effort to attract new circles.

And now I come to the main burden of what I wish to say about the various criticisms that have been uttered.

Rabbi Kirshblum admitted that he was in favour of the *status quo*. The status quo of the Zionist Organization is better than in all other Jewish organizations. But he refuses to see the great defects. How can one gauge the status quo? There is no absolute criterion. A movement can be tested by its achievements in relation to its goals. Which organization has a programme equal to ours? I shall not speak of our budget aggregating IL.200 million and our work in the spheres of immigration and absorption and education of the youth. I am comparing what we are doing with what we wish to do, what Zionism should be, and I am not satisfied. And your methods, Rabbi Kirshblum, are no help at all. Rabbi Kirshblum has introduced a notion that the Zionists have a deeper longing for Israel. Is that a criterion? They, too, do not settle in Israel, they merely long for it more!

Yesterday I declared that we must decide once and for all. I have said this in all seriousness. The Movement can resolve that it does not want any more experiments. We are still the greatest force in Jewish life and have won a position for ourselves in Israel whatever the attitude of the general public. We have the Charter and I cannot foresee it being revoked by any Knesset. We may not wish to take any risks. We might be able to win over individual members for the Organization.

I have already stated why I consider this unfeasible, for in that case we shall not be able to execute our exclusive task. I do not want the Zionist Movement to be just another organization in Jewish life. Among thirty it may be the largest. That is not enough for me. I want it to occupy a unique position, of leading and organizing the Jewish people in all things pertaining to Israel. Perhaps one day there will be a single organization representing the entire Jewish people. For the time being, at least, such a development is not imminent. Mr. Kol spoke about such a possibility in the Executive. I agree in principle. But today the Zionist Organization must be the body leading the people in things connected with Israel. Otherwise would I have submitted my demands to Mr. Ben-Gurion—for he was not too happy with the Charter? Mapai decided to support it so he cooperated loyally in the drafting of the Charter. I am not speaking now of the implementation. Otherwise would I have insisted on exclusive rights? Many anti-Zionists and non-Zionists are still angry about this arrangement. They say: This is an impertinence. We wish to engage in immigration and absorption and can do so only with your consent! If HIAS wishes to operate in Israel it must secure our agreement. The same applies to the American Joint Distribution Committee. That is a position of privilege of colossal importance. If I did not believe that we can become a super-organization of the Jewish people in matters pertaining to Israel, could I make such a demand? How can such a measure be required from a Government? It could reply that there are millions of other Jews who are also interested in Israel, who work for Israel. How can we give you exclusive rights? Why should they be required to apply to you for permission? Our entire position in Israel rests upon the assumption that we seek to be the representative body of the Jewish people in regard to Israel and in regard to cooperation with Israel. Those Jews who do not agree to this cannot be accepted by us. Will that affect Israel adversely? Will Israel lose anything thereby? If the Council for Judaism or the Jewish Communists refuse to cooperate will Israel lose anything? But if there are Jews who feel an attachment to Israel, who are interested in work in Israel, who are "friends of Israel," shall we not accept them in the Zionist Organization? I had plans for the extension of the Jewish Agency, as distinct from the Zionist Organization. In America today that is not so simple. External factors have something to say in the

matter. One day we shall find the formula. If it should prove possible we shall have to do this too. Even when we find a specific form of "Friends of Israel in America" we must not shut them out of work in Israel. If they are ready to help in immigration and absorption we must admit them to the work we are doing. There are 600–700 branches of the United Synagogues. Some of the members are also Zionists who subscribe not only to our programme of work in Israel but also to the thesis that makes us Zionists, striving for the concentration of the people about Israel, our efforts in the spheres of Hebrew and Israel-oriented education in the Diaspora. It is our duty to allow them to enter the Organization. I cannot understand what we are relinquishing.

I stated that Zionism is not identical with *hagshama atzmit*—personal realization. That is true. It never was. And if Mr. Gruenbaum should say that in Poland only a person who was prepared to undertake personal realization could be a Zionist I would say that that might have been the case in the time of the pioneering movement. Perhaps historically speaking my remark was not correct but today it certainly is. When did we make this a criterion of membership in the Movement? We declared that this was the supreme expression of Zionism and that without personal realization it lost its soul. I have always held this to be the case. I continue to do so. I have stated that Zionism without a pioneering movement of substantial proportions is meaningless. That has always been the case. I should have been only too glad if we could do ten times as much for the *Chalutz* Movement as we are doing today. Do you know who does not allow us to? Israel, Mr. Eshkol! Because quite simply you cannot do everything on the same budget. I am speaking quite frankly. The situation is very prosaic. If we could triple the allocation of the Youth and Hechalutz Department we should do so. The Department has performed a wonderful job of work in recent years. Only three years ago we should never have thought such a thing possible. There is not a single youth organization today—and not only Zionist youth organizations—developing in England and in North America and in South America, which does not collaborate with our Youth and Hechalutz Department, which does not participate in the conferences we convene, which does not send its members to our seminars in this country. We could increase their number fivefold if only we had the money. Now plans are afoot for the construction of a Youth City, where every larger youth organization will have its own premises and dormitories to accommodate its members. Two of the largest youth organizations have already agreed in principle to invest hundreds of thousands of dollars in the project. If only we tripled the inadequate budget of the Department we should immediately have three times as many *chalutzim*. Dr. Joseph does not give Mr. Dobkin an adequate appropriation, not because he is opposed to immigration and self-realiz-

ation, but because Mr. Eshkol insists: What about settlement? and Dr. Josephthal asks: Are you going to reduce the appropriation for housing?

Sometimes the thought crosses my mind—perhaps the Zionists should concern themselves less about settlement and do more in this field. In that case we should not have the budget which we have today.

I appreciate that without the *Chalutz* Movement Zionism lacks its very soul. We have opportunities for introducing pioneering into the general Jewish youth movements, perhaps gradually and circumspectly. Progress is being made at a pace I should never have thought possible only a few years ago. We have immense opportunities. But they require men, money, *shlichim*. These things are not so simple.

When I am told that Zionism is *hagshama atzmit* I retort that you must be serious. In that case we must relinquish the Charter. A Zionist Movement with ten or twenty thousand members cannot demand such a Charter. If we really insist that every Zionist undertake to settle at some time in Israel then we shall be a small organization. I have the utmost respect for small, aggressive organizations. Personally I felt much better when I was a member of a small organization, in the opposition, than when in power. Can you insist upon a Charter for these ten or twenty thousand Jews and that the rest of the Jews of the world provide the money and remain dependent upon the consent of the former to carry on their work? In that event I doubt whether we should be able to extract even the eight or nine million pounds which we have today for work in the Golah.

If you say that Zionism is based upon self-realization I agree. More and more Jews should realize Zionist ideals personally. I shall fight those who say that we should not call for immigrants from the United States. No one has to tell me that the Negev is still empty. But when it is said: "You yourself must realize Zionist ideals personally!" it is an entirely different matter. Within the Zionist Movement there must be, to an even greater extent than today—when the *Chalutz* Movement is affiliated to the parties—an order of pioneers. It should not be a political body. Begin with five thousand members!

I believe in a revolutionary movement. But such a movement cannot be made by fine phrases or by resolutions passed by the Executive. If it should come into being I shall be the first to support the allocation of a large budget to it. Let it be an order to revolutionary Zionists, a movement for self-realization, of people who undertake to settle in Israel within a term of five years.

Mention was made in the debate of the settlement of Zionist leaders in Israel. If Rose Halperin and Emanuel Neuman and Israel Goldstein and I myself had settled in Israel five years ago I doubt whether one thousand Jews would have followed us to Israel. I do not think that I

am guilty of any under-assessment of ourselves. What would have happened to American Zionism is an entirely different matter. Have we a surfeit of leaders? If I had any authority over Zionist leaders I should not have permitted Dunsky to come to Israel. His departure from South Africa and the departure of two or three members of similar calibre has already been a severe blow to Zionism in that country. From the purely Zionist point of view it would have been far more desirable if he came to settle five years from today. We cannot prohibit the settlement of such people—how could we possibly do so!—who give up established economic positions and all the honours they enjoy in South Africa.

As a joke I once said to a prominent Zionist leader that if I had come and settled in Israel six years ago the country would have lost 823 million dollars. I doubt whether I myself am worth such a large sum. As an Israeli I should not have been able to embark upon the negotiations of the Claims Conference. You may say that others would have done so. You can also say that if it had not been Herzl some one else would have come and done the job. However as it turned out the matter was connected with myself. From Israel I should not have been able to do the job.

I understand perfectly well that every Zionist, and every Zionist leader should strive to that end. At the Ideological Conference held some years ago I declared that it was silly to tell Jews in this generation that there are no prospects for life in the Golah—if that is what "negation of the Golah" is taken to mean. But that does not mean the equation of the Golah and Israel, of Babylon and Zion. In the Golah a Jew must at least have an uneasy conscience. The Golah is not Israel. But to reduce this to its most rudimentary, primitive terms, namely that every Zionist and every Zionist leader must come and settle in Israel, and for that reason to say that no Jews should remain in the Golah, because of the possibility of pogroms—that is something we must not do. The centre of the Jewish people is Israel and around Israel the Jewish communities must concentrate. The Jewish communities must be supported as long as they continue to exist. More people must be persuaded to settle in Israel; but the conclusion to be drawn is not that if they do not do so then Zionism has no longer any meaning.

Mr. Hurwitz delivered a fine maiden speech, very logically constructed. He dealt with the question: Who wages the political struggle in the more difficult moments, such as in connection with the Sinai Campaign? And who indeed did conduct that struggle? Was it only the Zionists? Eighteen Presidents of Jewish organizations waged that struggle with no less resolution than the Zionists! Of course we organized them. That is our function, but it cannot be said that only we carried on the campaign.

Have I ever said that we should convert Zionism into some sort of

philanthropic project and that those who confine themselves to giving money for Israel should be brought into the Organization? I clearly stipulated, that only those who subscribe to the Jerusalem Programme should be admitted. If you wish it you may formulate some other programme. It is not I nor you who decides upon the programme. For myself, as President, there is only one Programme—the Jerusalem Programme. When some body or organization accepts that Programme I cannot engage in any examination of its *bona fides*. But when its members are in our midst we can influence them.

I appreciate that the new organizations will not be as Zionistic as those which already exist for forty or fifty years. Twenty years ago Hadassah was not as Zionistic as it is today. That goes for all organizations. If they say outright that they do not subscribe to our Programme then they do not have to. In the course of negotiations with one organization this point arose. I replied: We shall not alter our Programme because of you. You may come to Congress and Congress will decide. The only criterion which we possess is the Jerusalem Programme. We shall admit those who accept the programme and when they are inside we shall be able to influence them.

If you think that this is such a simple matter, that you can negotiate with two or three leaders of an organization and have done with it, then you are very sadly mistaken. The communities must be captured today in an entirely different fashion. Zionists must enter the organizations and while within them carry on the fight. If only the fight within the United Synagogues would last no more than two years! The Zionists must carry on the struggle year after year. If it were such a simple matter, if it merely consisted of sending printed invitations to which they would reply, it would have little, if any, value. I want to persuade Zionists to penetrate into these organizations, where they will be able to exercise their influence, and call upon others to cooperate with us, not only in helping Israel, but in implementing the entire Zionist Programme.

That is a great task for Zionism, that is what the capture of the communities really means, in those countries where communities still exist. There are no communities in the United States. If only communities really did exist in the United States, then the very character of Jewish life in America would be different! If only Magnes' great dream had come to fruition! If only he had succeeded in creating a community in New York the entire issue of the Welfare Funds would not have arisen and Jewish life in America would have a sound healthy basis. There are countries where communities do exist. The capture of the communities does not mean that Zionists must be the communal presidents. That would be desirable. We need a comprehensive capture of the communities, a situation in which the entire community shall declare

itself Zionist. I believe that that is possible. I may be mistaken, but I cannot see what Zionism stands to lose by making the attempt, even if there should be five consecutive failures. At one time we wanted to have one hundred thousand Zionists and we failed to get them. But did that involve a loss of face, a prestige defeat. Is my own dignity in any way affected by the fact that the United Synagogues did not forthwith accept our invitation to join the Zionist Organization?

We shall have to share with others our authority over the funds, in one form or another, in America immediately, in other countries some time later. You know that I have always favoured such a development. First of all it imposes responsibility. Some people in our midst have their apprehensions. They may rest assured. I have always been in favour of sharing the responsibility for the allocation of the funds with others, not only because that responsibility will require them to make a greater effort. I do not want to have a situation in which leaders of the Campaign say: "This and no more is our contribution for the present year. You decide how many Jews can be permitted to come into Israel!" Let them take the decision to admit fewer Jews from Morocco, from Rumania, from Poland, into Israel, because of the lack of money! In the beginning we may have some trouble with them, but seeing that they are good Jews, the ultimate result will be satisfactory.

When we do not have to bear sole financial responsibility we shall be free to engage in more aggressive policies. Up to the present we have not been able to do this in America. Upon one occasion I was forced to sign a document that not a single cent of American money would be allocated for *chalutziut*. I was ashamed to do so. But what could I do, could I endanger the entire budget? I believe that next year we shall be in a position to wage a campaign in America with the Welfare Funds for money for *chalutz* work and Jewish education. America is a country where if you do not ask for money you get nothing. The entire weakness of the World Jewish Congress derives from the fact that it has never asked for money in America. At one time we were asked: "Do you think you can collect money in America for the *chalutz* movement and for Jewish education? Today we can create a situation in which that is possible.

Herein lies a great constructive task for Zionism. It will not lead to any weakening of the Zionist Movement if the Jerusalem Programme is taken to mean what we intended it to mean and not *hagshama atzmit*—self-realization.

For years now I have been following the same course trying to secure the advancement of the Movement. I proposed federations, and I continue to favour federations. But in many countries the parties do not permit the creation of federations. Neither I nor the Congress could force them to do so. I proposed individual membership, and I con-

tinue to favour that, too. I do not see what has changed in the policy I have followed.

I am convinced that Zionism is being offered a great opportunity, if it undertakes what Herzl wished it to undertake in the capture of the communities. At that time it was unattainable. Today we can capture many—not all—of the communities and the greater Jewish organizations. Let them be admitted into the entire work of Zionism, not only the work on behalf of Israel, but also in implementing its programme for the Golah. If we undertake the task we can hope to achieve our objectives. It may take two or three or even four years. It may well be that in the first year only two or three organizations will enter. More will follow later. But the attempt in itself will justify the ambition of the Zionist Movement. Without such an attempt it will not be able to develop for very long, even though it remains the leading Jewish organization. But what I want is that it should be a super-organization, representing the Jewish people, rallying the Jewish people about Israel. That must be our ambition. Thereby we shall consummate our historic function.

FIFTH MEETING

Wednesday, December 30, 1959, in the morning

Chairman: MRS. REBECCA SHULMAN

THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

CONSTITUTION FOR A PEOPLE ON THE WAY

ADDRESS BY MR. ZVI LURIE

(Member of the Executive and Head of the Organization Department)

The constitution of a state is something of great historical responsibility. Even more so and more significant is the constitution of a national movement like that of the Jewish people 85 per cent of whose numbers are scattered in all parts of the world. The constitution of a state derives its strength from the geo-political, social, economic and cultural conditions of the population, centred within its physical confines. The defined physical conditions of a movement like the Zionist Movement are dependant on its creation in the State of Israel, but the fulfilment of its dream is still in its initial stages. The overwhelming majority of the potential at its disposal are the masses of the people bereft of a soil under their feet and scattered among various political regimes and surrounded by foreign cultures.

The constitution of a state is based on the sovereign unity of the state; the constitution of the Zionist Movement must necessarily be based on the unified aspirations of such a movement.

The State has at its disposal all the political instruments such as Government, legislature, judicature and the mobilization of monetary sources, an army, and guardians of law and order. The Zionist constitution cannot fall back on any compulsory means for implementation. In place of the legislative houses there are the Zionist Congresses and Councils which are based on voluntary organization. The place of the army and the police in a state is taken by the voluntary guardians of the Movement who must use persuation rather than compulsion.

The Zionist constitution must therefore be necessarily based on voluntary sanction and not on compulsion. Agreement and compromise must be preferable to that of decision by majority. The approach of goodwill and cooperation, the finding of a common denominator must be the principles of Zionist cooperation. Without the cooperation of all sections

of the people and its ideological trends there can be no integrity of the Zionist Movement, nor binding value for its constitution. If, for example, a system of majority elections were possible for the State, (I am not going into the problem of the extent to which it would help or damage democracy) in the Zionist Movement, it might lead to disintegration. Hence the elasticity of the Zionist constitution and its tendency to find the middle path. Whoever wishes to compare the Zionist Constitution with that of the State and so diminish the value of the former, has little understanding of the foundations of the Zionist Movement.

Naturally therefore such a constitution must be democratic and defend the rights of the minorities. It must accord many rights but impose also many duties and find the true balance between the permissible and the forbidden. At the same time, in order that it should not turn into a fiction, on a decision has been made by the institutions of the Zionist Movement democratically, and according to the ocnstitution, its executive bodies must have the moral power to carry through its decision.

There have been no schools in which the Zionist Movement could learn how to oppose the constitution. Even the American people, which is partially scattered throughout the world and even the Irish people, the majority of whom are settled outside their fatherland, have not been faced by such historical necessities. A constitution for such a people and for its movement is a great work of creation. For this is the only instrument of the movement of the Jewish people, a people for the most part lacking a territorial basis and a people yearning for its consolidation.

One will recall the saying of Ferdinand Lassale that a constitution can be a banner and can be also a heap of laws and by-laws. In one of the Congresses during the romantic era which was also full of struggle for the Zionist Movement, Dr. Margolis said of the constitution, which he brought up for consideration of the Zionist Congress, the following words which may be recalled here: "A constitution can be a simple legal matter based on fixed assumptions and built up logically; but a constitution can also be a form which gives expression to sociological groups and processes. It is a garment as it were in which we clothe it. The second outlook guided the deliberations of the Organization Committee and so it is less important for us to develop an axiom logically and more important for us to find a form through which to adapt ourselves to existing factors but which allows freedom for the developing tendencies in our Movement."

Today too, we are faced by the same dilemma. I am not here to argue against a code of regulations. They deal with matters of primary importance. But a constitution is something different. A constitution can become a banner which draws the masses after it and it can be a collection of rules imposing order. A constitution can be solely a garment and

it can be a reflection of reality alone and it can be a picture of a people's vision rising from its present surroundings.

This constitution was drawn up 15 years after the end of World War II which, judged even by losses incurred, was waged mainly against our people. No other people, even those whose countries were rendered desolate and who suffered casualties, had lost one third of its members. The Jewish reality in the Diaspora has been changed diametrically. Apart from nearly 20 per cent of our people who are cut off from us in Eastern Europe, and apart from over half a million Jews in several countries in North Africa, the Jewish masses in the West and throughout their Dispersion find themselves in a state of transition. The economic regimes under which they live enjoy relative stability and the Jews play their historical and special role therein just as they did at all periods.

New civilisations are in a state of development and even of prosperity, and the Jewish communities play important roles therein. The existing democracies accord the Jews formal rights of equality. And so there is a vast scope for illusion. There is a rising sense of security as it were, a new centre of the Diaspora like ancient Babylon, English or French or Spanish speaking springs up and it nurtures the belief that it will serve as a reserve and not an inseparable part of the classical vision of the Zionist Movement, that is to say, the consolidation of the existence of the State of Israel through the ingathering of the exiles within her boundaries. The teachings of Pinsker and Herzl, Borochov and Syrkin are neglected and Klatskin's works on the negation of the Golah are no longer read.

The rise of the State of Israel—that great historical enterprise, spread a feeling of pride among the Jewish masses in the Western Hemisphere, but it does not serve as a magnet for an increased personal identification of the Jew with the personal realization in Israel. Now the reasons for that are numerous. Among them is the support given to the "dispersion outlook" as opposed to the "Galut outlook" among the Jewish masses in the Diaspora by making allowances for "the Jews in the Western countries and in America not to be candidates for *aliya,* with the exception of some youth pioneers among them and a few professionals and experts."

Strange as it may seem we have recently heard "approvals" for the non-*aliya* of Jews from the "tranquil" dispersions from two contradictory sources as it were, but in the end they amount to one and the same thing. The definition of the Prime Minister that only he who immigrates to Israel is entitled to be known as a Zionist is but the other side of the coin as defined by those who adopt the two principles of the Jerusalem Programme—consolidating the State of Israel and the unity of Israel—and ignore the third principle, which is the ingathering of exiles. For how else can one define the saying that "Territorial con-

centration is no longer at the focus of the Movement?" I do not know which formula is preferable and closer to the ends of the Zionist Movement; that which places immigration on the knife edge as it were and so excludes from Zionism whoever is not a candidate for *aliya,* or the second formula which denies one of the basic principles of the Zionist Movement.

These formulae are pleasant to the palate of the large peripheries in Jewry. It is difficult to find an intrinsic difference between friends of the State of Israel and admirers of Zionism who have not been able to arrive at the gates of organized Zionism. It is simply a matter of nuance. The one is a large, generally unorganized camp but of great importance for the State and for the Zionist Movement; but it finds itself within obvious limitations. It gives large donations but no matter how much his contribution may come up against legal difficulties in the state in which he lives he nonetheless tends to fall back and to withdraw into his shell. He is prepared to come out openly in defence of the State of Israel and the efforts of the Zionist Movement and for the consolidation of the State, but the majority will begin to hesitate if they learn that their political support of the State of Israel does not tally with the actual policy of the Government under whose protection he lives and he will even at times withdraw if he realises that it stands in conflict with the political policy of the country of his adoption. He will support Jewish education and Jewish schools, but up to certain limits.

On the outside there are all the signs of a dispersion, but underneath the shell it is but a Golah. Jewish geographical maps have been obliterated and others have sprung up. Languages have changed. A Jewish world of over a thousand years' duration has been destroyed and new forms have been created, but intrinsically the Jewish Golah is at work as well as the national Jewish unity just as they were at work scores of years ago.

In vain are the efforts of those who deny a Jewish anomaly and who belittle the teachings of classical Zionism. There is social isolation, at times even professional isolation but it is not prescribed in the constitution. There are specific Jewish professions and trades and with these a host of problems resulting from these processes. There is an age-long Jewish insecurity which is at work also today under the outer shell of tranquility as it were. But within this state of affairs the Zionist Movement is throbbing. One may divest it of its titles and reduce its value but to this day it is the central guiding force in the Jewish people. This Zionist Movement is regrettably not always identical with the World Zionist Organization. Just go out and see who it is that does the work in the Zionist and Israel fund-raising campaigns, for the campaigns in Canada, South Africa, Chile, Britain and even North America, if not the Zionists. Most likely you will not find many professing Zion-

ists among the large donors, but just try to imagine that the Zionists will forsake the campaigns and you will very soon learn that they will lose the whole of their wide and popular basis.

The same is true of Jewish education. Every Jewish school in the Argentine whether good or bad has a Zionist as its moving spirit, who looks after its material welfare, who gathers parents together and who guides the children with a fatherly hand. But that is so not only in South America. It is true of England and South Africa and to a large measure also of North America, although there the schools are generally connected with organizations, synagogues and communities.

The Zionist is always prepared to come to the aid of the State of Israel in time of need. He is the only unconditional ally whom there is no need to make efforts to win over or to convince. He does his work faithfully, even when he is not in full agreement with the policy of the State of Israel.

We must not be ashamed to admit that this great popular Zionist movement has been organized by the Zionist Organization. In comparison with it, for the most part, Zionist federations are limited and the Zionist organizations and parties are small.

In order to strengthen the Zionist Organization so that it becomes not only a great force but also embraces the majority of the Jewish people, there are two ways open to the Movement and to its legislators:

(a) The shorter and easier way is that of adapting itself to formal reality but this is a one-dimension way. There is certainly great importance attaching to an increase in strength and I would welcome the participation of large non-political organizations. But in order to reap success the supporters of this method are prepared to reduce the price; they are prepared to cut down Zionist programmes and at least to throw off some of the burden that causes uneasiness to these organizations—namely the principle of ingathering of exiles. This does not concern only distant countries of distress. A doubtful intellectual effort is being made to prove that the ingathering of exiles does not embrace the "tranquil" dispersions. There are people who even doubt that there was at any time such teaching in classical Zionism.

In order to make the entrance of such organizations easier—and by the way these are not queuing up for admission to the Zionist Organization—they would make sufficient a recognition of the Zionist Programme under certain arrangements with the Executive, the nature of which is not defined.

Territorial Zionist Organizations must fulfil certain Zionist precepts but here restrictions are loosened. Furthermore they are permitted to seek direct membership of the World Zionist Organization so that they will have an honoured place at Congresses and in the Zionist General

Council and perhaps also on the Zionist Executive without having to pass through the corridor of the Zionist Federations, as though the Zionist Federations are replete with party squabbles and the like. To the latter will belong the "classical" Zionist organizations, the Zionist parties, other organizations such as Hadassah, WIZO, etc. From this it follows that in organizations of the second type everything will be conducted without personal or party differences. It is then that we shall attain a wide framework in which there will be two types of membership organizations: one type labouring for the Zionist ends and organized for the purpose of fulfilling these tasks, in Zionist Organizations, and a second class who will recognize the Zionist Programme.

But how far will the strength of the Zionist Organization grow through this apart from the important demonstrations of conferences? Will such organizations be able to withstand the stress of the times? Surely we shall be facing in the immediate future increasingly serious situations and strong enemies: here in Israel we shall be facing renewed security dangers and political difficulties that are accumulating on all sides, at a time when the disrupted world is making strides forward towards a possibility of co-existence, and in the Diaspora it will be facing the enemy of assimilation and national degeneration.

Not always is the easy way the shortest. A historical movement which despite its 60 years struggle is still in the initial stages of its path must cleave to vision and recede from passing phases. Being planted with both legs on the soil of Jewish reality it must proceed to project its vision with all its struggles and difficulties and I believe also its victories in front of it.

(b) The difficult and bleak road is this time the short one. This is not an abstract philosophical debate on the extent of outlook and on short-term perspectives. I must warn against assuming titles of reformers or so-called conservatives.

The whole problem boils down to whether the Jewish non-political organizations will be transformed into followers or will continue to exist in a new framework for them which will be impoverished until it becomes a periphery. I do not know of any element in the Zionist Movement who will cleave to a closed door policy. We all regret the reduction of the Movement. It has long since been realized that the Zionist Movement has matured and must in face of the vast tasks in front of it be transformed into a dominant force in the Jewish people in numbers as well as in framework. The conception that only he who settles in Israel at once is a Zionist is strange to me. Obviously I should be glad to witness the *aliya* of leaders who would set themselves at the head of a wave of immigration, but I deprecate all expressions of abuse against a Zionist leadership that is resident in the Golah and the demands that either they immigrate at once or give up the crown of Zionism.

On the other hand, there is the tangible danger in this period of transition in which the Jewish masses find themselves in the Golah, of the creation of a Golah-Zionism. That is a new type of Zionist theory which no one has so far dared establish. Now this theory is creating schools of its own. It sees a revision of the truth of the principles of emancipation, reaching a state of denial of their historical necessity of one territorial concentration—in other words of ingathering of exiles.

These two conceptions are strange to me and I believe strange to the majority of the Zionist Movement.

The problem is how to bring in, to educate, and to organize additional bodies within the Zionist Movement. This will not be done by preaching alone. This is not a question of formal and non-binding affiliation. The matter is one of reducing them to a common Zionist denominator, of converting them into followers, and not of reducing the stature of the Zionist Movement. This must be done in at least two ways.

(a) It must be achieved through a deep ploughing, ideological contact, partnership within the territorial frameworks of the federations, through a recognition of and subscription to the Zionist Programme, and through an assumption of duties and by means of deep educational activity. This Zionist General Council will be called upon to decide on an open door policy for these organizations, by giving them equal opportunities to share both rights and duties, by joining the World Zionist Organization through territorial organizations and federations, through membership and a share of the burden.

(b) The second thing we shall have to decide upon, at a later date, requires thought and preparation. The time has come when we must make it clear to ourselves what is the difference between a Zionist and a non-Zionist. Not for the purpose of setting up barriers, but for the purpose of consolidating our position for the purpose of expansion. What are the criteria that entitle a Zionist to be called "Zionist"; to what limits and beyond which limit must he give political support to the State of Israel; to what extent must he contribute as compared with a non-Zionist contributor; how must he encourage *aliya* from the country of his sojourn and particularly encourage the existence of *chalutz* youth movements; to what extent must he join in the daily struggle against manifestations of assimilation and assist Jewish education; what must be his personal contribution towards capturing the communal organization for Zionism? This is by no means a simple matter but in the end it will transform the Zionist Movement into something more attractive, particularly for the young generation, into something of wider scope and deeper content.

There are people who believe that a wagon from which the load has been removed will the more easily mount the hill. But no one will

put his shoulder to such a wagon. It will mount empty, with no support and without interest. But sometimes an overladen wagon will wind its way slowly with many lending their shoulders to help it reach its destination. Together they will reach the summit. This is how the dialectics of Jewish history worked throughout the generations and in accordance with our special historical laws it will continue to work in this difficult way which in the end will prove to be shorter.

In the romantic period of Zionism, in the "pre-historical" and early periods there were societies of friends and dreamers. But the Zionist Movement being a great popular revival movement, it was only natural that Zionist parties expressive of various social strata or special outlooks, shall join it or even leave their mark upon it. The greatness of the Zionist Movement lies in the fact that it is a movement of all the parties of the Jewish people.

Times have changed and we are living in a period in which the declared mood is non-political. Those who underrate the importance of parties and who wish to change them for an all-embracing non-political organization are also "lagging behind" reality because the accepted so-called elegant form tallying with certain present-day regimes is not only one of non-political organization but one that actually underrates any form of oragnization whatever. The usual expression is: "I am not a joiner."

Even today the Zionist parties play a vital role in the Zionist Movement. We should not have been able to touch religious Jewry were it not for our religious colleagues. We should not have been able to reach segments of the working class of yesterday who have become disappointed with their stubborn negative attitude towards Zionism, were it not for labour Zionism with all its sections. We should not have been able to give expression to the leftist and progressive section in the Jewish people were it not for the *chalutzic* leftist and progressive parties. And even for other parties their actual role among the Jewish people is ready for them. It was only thanks to these ideological organizations, and among them I include an important section of the Zionist women's organizations, that we have reached the stage where the Zionist Movement is an all-embracing national revival movement.

Some underrate the existence of Zionist parties in the Diaspora. Some pick anachronisms in them and there are even those who would deny them right of existence. These would not have reached such hasty conclusions if the Zionist parties had great membership. On the contrary, these parties would gain their respect. It is only an approach that is not supported by an analysis of processes in the world in which we live at present, 15 years after the end of World War II that can cleave to a non-political nostalgia.

In a world where perplexity exceeds clarity an ideological organization

does not find its path at all easy. The Jews who are prone to exaggeration exaggerate also in this respect. But if we are desirous of a movement full of vitality there is a wide field of activity for organizations who play ideological roles within the Zionist Movement.

At the same time however, I do not wish for one moment to deny some negative aspects that accompany the existence of Zionist parties within the Zionist Organization. At times the party approach overshadows the necessity for cooperation and understanding. Who, more than I, who have been Head of the Organization Department for the last three and a half years knows to what extent our inter-party life has reached complications. This is the daily bread of the Organization Department. Nonetheless, we are in need of a balanced approach. We must exploit every ounce of sympathy, every grain of idealism, because we are not so rich as to be able to do without them. We must make endeavours to transform them into levers of activity, and this in a world which endeavours to transform large organizations into blind followers without independent ideas. If the parties were to disappear, or to remain in their isolated corners, we should be transformed into the dregs of humanity and not into a movement for the self-liberation of the Jewish people.

At the same time one must counteract all the negative manifestations that accompany party life and which regrettably have attached themselves also to the non-party organizations in the Zionist Movement. We must preach for a more human and friendly approach without however removing ideological barriers, for only that will open the door to non-political organizations.

One must take into account the double structure of the Zionist Movement which is in existence and of which one cannot remain oblivious: the one based on the membership of territorial organizations which include all the organizations and parties in any country, and the other that includes the ideological groups, the parties known as "Sonderverband", which enjoy the rights under all the Zionist constitutions.

The present constitution that is placed before you is not the first constitution of the World Zionist Organization. The first complete constitution dates back to the Third Zionist Congress in Basle of the year 1899. Already then differences of opinion had arisen and whoever yearns for those romantic times will be disappointed to hear that already then three proposals had been submitted (of Dr. Kahn, of the German Landsmannschaft and of the Organization Committee of the Congress). Then the proposals submitted by the Organization Committee were accepted.

But the Movement did not remain stagnant even from the constitutional point of view. A second constitution was accepted two years later at the Fifth Congress in 1901. The draft was prepared by Dr. Herzl,

Dr. Bodenheimer, who was head of the Organization Department, and M. Ussishkin.

The third constitution, which in fact included amendments to the constitution, was drawn up by the Eighth Zionist Congress at the Hague, and it dealt, *mutatis mutandis* with the relationship between the territorial Zionist organizations and the Movement's central institutions.

The fourth time, the constitution was drawn up in 1910 at the Annual Conference in Berlin.

The fifth time, the constitution was amended by the Zionist Conference in London in 1920.

The sixth constitution, which has been in force until today, was passed by the Twelfth Zionist Congress in Carlsbad in 1921; it was submitted to Congress by Richard Lichtheim. Then, the World Zionist Organization had already three-quarters of a million Shekel holders.

Since then all succeeding Congresses have dealt with changes in the constitution but from the historical point of view the present draft of the constitution submitted here is the seventh.

The work of writing the history of the Zionist constitution which has given expression to the life of the Movement, still awaits its historian. We shall however be surprised to hear to what extent the problems that engaged former legislators were similar to the problems that are engaging us today. Here are a few of them.

(a) Can there be a variety of memberships with more rights and with less rights in the same Zionist Organization?

This question is answered by Dr. L. Kahn at the Congress of 1899:

"A group of people like ourselves who are desirous of attaining the one end by equal means and in which all the members must necessarily enjoy equal rights and who have an equal representation and who stand under one leadership must necessarily have also one uniform organization."

To support his contention he quotes the Midrash which says: "The people of Israel will not be redeemed until they all form one united group." Here, if you wish, is a direct hint to Zionist cooperation and to the manner of admission of the inter-territorial organizations on an equal organizational basis in our own day.

(b) Does not the unity of the Jewish people necessitate a unity of the Zionist Movement, or must the latter be broken up into local Zionism, territorial Zionism, autonomic Zionism, etc.?

A reply to this is made by Dr. Marmorek at Congress:

"From various countries have come to us various desiderata. We shall be unable to meet the special request of every country if we are desirous of providing you with a one-world Zionism ("Weltzionismus") and not a provincial Zionism ("Kein Provinzzionismus")." It is hard not to agree with Dr. Marmorek even today.

(c) And have the leaders of the Zionist Movement not the sense of assuring a regular and legal activity for the Zionist Movement, by imposing limitations in order that the Zionist Movement does not splinter according to the laws of the various countries in which the Jewish masses are to be found?

This is what Dr. Herzl had to say on this question at the Fifth Zionist Congress:

"Insofar as the laws of the State allow it, the Zionist Associations shall organize themselves into a territorial Zionist Organization. It will be remembered that there are countries in which the degree of freedom of organization varies. We can promulgate only one type of model constitution, and that for America. This constitution is suitable for America because there are no hindrances whatever."

One is left surprised at the uniformity and yet difference of problems with all these years intervening.

I have digressed somewhat from the realm of the jurists. I hope I will be forgiven because a constitution is not only a matter for lawyers, no less is it the realm of interest for active workers in the Zionist Movement and for fighters for the ideal.

This constitution, the seventh in number, is the outcome of a certain Jewish reality. A reality of the present transitional period, and I hope you will consider it in this light. I am convinced that the Zionist Movement has many many years of activity in front of it and the drawbacks of this constitution will doubtlessly be amended in the eighth constitution which will surely come.

And, finally, I feel it my duty to make a personal statement:

I have been entrusted with delivering an address which is not at all an easy task in the present conditions. I am a member of the Zionist Executive and the Head of the Organization Department, but at the same time I am a member of a specific party in the Zionist Movement. Were I to speak only as a member of my movement, my deviations would be many and far-reaching. But as a Member of the Zionist Executive and the Head of the Organization Department, I have tried to present the problem before us in its entirety, both its positive and negative sides, although I was not able to delve into various aspects of the discussion. The Zionist Movement is dearer to me than differences of opinion regarding constitutional laws. And if we desire to exist—we must look forward to the time when that which requires revision will be remedied, and gather strength today for an enlarged Zionist activity.

FIFTH MEETING

PRINCIPLES AND AIMS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION

ADDRESS BY MR. ARIEH PINKUS

(Chairman of the Committee on the Constitution)

This constitution is based upon one which a Legal Committee has sat for something like three years. You will remember that from the last Congress there was a decision that the President of the Congress Court would set up an Expert Committee. That Committee sat for nearly three years. I have had the privilege of reading the reports of their meetings. They covered an enormous field. They heard probably the best legal and Zionist brains in the world. They took their evidence and they came to their conclusions. Among them was the late Mr. Justice Cheshin. And after they had sat, and in principle their constitution was placed before the last Zionist Council meeting, it fell upon my committee to try to frame a constitution, not as a body of legal experts, but rather as persons accepting the legal aspect of the matter, who had to adapt it to the realities, almost one might say the immediate realities of the present Zionist situation. But I think that I would be only doing my duty, and it is a pleasure to do it, to go on record in paying a tribute to that committee, headed by Mr. Ussishkin, which really produced a monumental bit of work. The fact that the present committee was able to conclude its discussions in something like ten days was due only to the fact of the sound foundation which had been laid by the Legal Committee.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Mr. Ussishkin and to Mr. Krongold, who was a member of that Committee, for participating with us throughout and giving us the benefit of their advice.

And while I am on this aspect of the work that we had to do, I would like to also pay tribute to Dr. Freudenheim who accompanied that committee and our committee, and even although sometimes we were a little impatient because we liked to get on with the work, it was his meticulous care that kept us from straying from the path of legal accuracies many, many times. And last, but certainly no means least, we had the privilege, as did Mr. Ussishkin's committee, throughout our discussions of maintaining contact with the Legal Adviser to the Jewish Agency in New York, Mr. Boukstein, who not only was able to keep us informed as to the legal aspects of the question as it affects America, but by virtue of the decades of his Zionist background and devotion was able to translate from legal language into realities and gave us really admirable assistance throughout our discussions.

Now this draft which has been placed before you—and I am treating this discussion formally as the first reading—represents substantial agreement on the Committee. I say substantial agreement because the Com-

mittee will have to meet again. There are differences of opinion, but even where the differences of opinion do exist, the draft before you still represents substantially an overwhelming majority practically on every issue. I am hoping that in the Committee we will be able to iron out the final differences so that while there is no merit in unanimity *qua* unanimity, it would be a good thing from all points of view if the constitution were accepted by this Council meeting as representing the coordinated will of the only legislative body that can pass this constitution at this stage.

Before dealing with the practical aspects of the constitution, allow me to make one remark; that is in regard to Article II, the aims. Your Committee did not see itself competent to try to change those aims or try to re-word those aims. It is true they are an integral part of the constitution. Nevertheless, we discussed this matter too with the Executive and we came to the conclusion that it would not be wise to find ourselves launched into what might be a very important but would be a long ideological debate. I would recommend and I think this is the will of the Committee that between now and the next Zionist Congress, and not just at the next Zionist Congress, a special committee be set up which would really ponder those questions and see if we cannot find an Article II which will not only express the new paths that the Zionist Organization is choosing for itself, but will re-describe and re-define the aims of Zionism in the light of the changed situation. Such a committee, of course, would have to be a committee of philosophers and not only of lawyers, and it seems to me that it is a thing that we should do, because I must confess that as it stands, Article II lacks certain aesthetic qualities which could, I am sure, be solved by re-drafting and by the thinking of a body of men competent to do so.

I think that it would be well, seeing that this Council or the large portion of it has only received our draft constitution this morning, that I give some kind of broad analysis of the way it is divided. The first portion of the constitution, substantially Article III to Article X define the nature and the status of the member bodies in relation to each other and in relation to the World Zionist Organization. It gives the description of the kind of people, or the kind of organization, or the kind of members that go to make up this body politic in respect to which this constitution relates. Articles XII to XL give a description of the composition of the legislative bodies. We have two legislative bodies, a Congress and a Zionist Council. It is true that the Zionist Council derives its authority from the Congress. The Congress is the supreme body. But once having derived those powers, it has an independent legislative ability of its own. Paragraphs XLI to XLII deal with the executive arms of these legislative bodies—the President, who is the Executive Head in that sense, and its representative, and the Executive itself.

After that we have the paragraph dealing with what could be termed the judiciary, the judicial organs, which ensure that the organizations observe the constitution and is now able to impose such sanctions as may be required by the circumstances of the case.

Then there are two final sections. One is the comptroller's section, the watchdog of Congress and the Council vis-à-vis the activities of the Executive and its organs, and the final provisions are the usual provisions of date of effectiveness and the right to change the constitution on the basis of an enlarged majority.

Now, may I say, that on that classification we followed the classical divisions of constitutions as I know them. I think you will find wherever a country or an organization has a constitution that is the way it is divided. And we have decided to follow that classical pattern because in a very real way we are, if no longer a state-on-the-way, we still have a political structure which is essential if we are to achieve the aims which have been set out in Article II.

Now, what are the fundamental changes in this constitution as different from the 1921 constitution? But before dealing with that, let me just make one remark on the motivation of these changes, and I only want to talk of them in generalized terms.

I think that there is no doubt that there was a general feeling for a number of years, and that goes back to the time when the Experts Committee was set up, that conditions had changed—not only the establishment of the Jewish State, but also the enormous increase in age of the organization. You heard the figure of three quarters of a million in this morning's session in relation to the two million that Dr. Goldmann referred to last night of actual Shekel holders. The whole of life has changed. The whole inter-relation of Jewish communities and nations has changed so that I think that quite apart from anything, the Zionist Organization would have been shirking its task if it would delude itself that a constitution created fundamentally 20 and 30 years ago could actually be made applicable with one or two changes. It is true the essential problems may still remain, but the fact of the matter is that there was a feeling abroad in the minds and in the hearts of every Zionist that there was something not working, that there must be changes in the constitution, if you like in the working of the Zionist Organization reflecting the changes that are taking place in the world as a whole.

There were countries in which it was clear that the present constitution could no longer work in the same easy way that it had worked in the past. You heard from Mr. Lurie some of the countries which —I think he was quoting from Dr. Herzl—it was said that in this country this or that constitution would be suitable. It is clear to me and certainly to the Committee that maybe in those very countries conditions had so changed that required a change in the constitutions.

Finally, let me say, and this is really an amplification of the previous point that I had made, not only was a change in the constitution required, (and we have had these debates times out of number at the Zionist Council meetings) but there was an accompanying feeling that the centralization that had existed on paper for many, many years was no longer adequate in dealing with the present situation.

If you will look at the 1921 constitution, you will see that it is on paper, at any rate, a highly centralized constitution. I don't want to generalize about other countries and other organizations, but there is a great tendency in the world in most matters of administration to move away from centralization toward decentralization, and that is reflected in the opening paragraphs of three and four of the constitution.

The Zionist Organization is now a creation of and has become an instrument in terms of this constitution of its member bodies. It may well be that we mustn't jump from one extreme to another. It seems clear that an organization, a centralized organization which isn't functioning as a centralized organization can only create chaos. It can only lead to decisions for which there is no sanction. It can lead to a kind of a feeling that there is some supra-national body sitting at some centre, let us say Jerusalem, which hasn't the power to carry out its decisions. Now, I say I am stating this brutally. It may even be exaggerated, but it was from that situation that the members of the Legal Committee and the present committee tried to get away. So that there is not only a change in the form of wording. It changes and should change the approach of members of this Council, when you go back to your own countries, towards the Zionist Organization. It should change the approach in this sense, that instead of saying, what is happening to this body that is supposed to rule us? you have to ask yourselves: To what extent have we not allowed our instrument and our representative to carry out its job?

Now, this is not a constitutional, legal question only. It is a fundamental question of fact and a fundamental question of how we are going to live together, because coupled with that is the tremendous degree of the freedom that this constitution is going to give to territorial organizations. It is going to give it, and on this point there are still differences of opinion: whether there should be a total freedom given to all territorial organizations or whether there should be some limitation giving the ability still for the Executive with its prestige and its ability to be able to help countries that require help, but fundamentally this constitution is bred in the spirit of freedom of affairs for the territorial organizations.

But in order not just to leave that as it is, there are limitations. These territorial organizations will have to observe criteria and these criteria

may sound like words which we all use and sometimes forget their meaning. The criteria are mainly that they shall run their affairs on a broad democratic basis, that there shall be no question in any one country, big or small of bodies, either self-elected or even elected, having the capacity to perpetuate themselves without having to go back to some kind of electorate.

I may add, and I think it is convenient to add here, that it was that motive that has given the Committee the desire to strengthen the hand of the tribunals, maybe local tribunals or central tribunals whether they be tribunals of the first instance or tribunals on appeal; to give some feeling that this machinery of democracy can be carried into effect, and if there is a violation of these fundamental principles there is a place to which you can turn in order to obtain a remedy.

I would like to add only one other aspect of this matter. Some people think and they have told me in private that I tend to exaggerate the importance of these fundamental principles, because we know how things go. Friends, if there is one single factor which has tended to diminish the prestige of the Zionist Organization in the world as a whole, I don't think it is this or that Executive or this or that representative. It has been the feeling that the whole machinery of democracy is breaking down, that it is an organization in which groups get in and remain, that the rigidity and the lack of flexibility make it impossible to change the nature of those things, so that if in interpreting this constitution, you can take back with you the feeling that greater flexibility, that the abolishment of rigidity is now part and parcel of the law of the Zionist Organization, it seems to me that we will have taken at least one step in order to enhance the prestige of the Organization.

Now, one of the fundamental principles in the creation of territorial federations. These federations by their very name are supposed to be the coming together of organizations. But here again the constitution tried not to be exclusive. That is, if you like, the *summum bonum* of what we would like to have in our Zionist Organization, but we know that that doesn't exist in many countries so that there is provision for individual Zionists as individuals coming together to create a territorial organization on an individual basis. But life and the nature of things will probably mean that those organizations will be in the minority.

But having said in the constitution that we want territorial federations and coupled with what I said earlier in relation to the greater freedom of action that countries are being given in the constitution, this places a burden and a responsibility upon these countries, and while I have no right on behalf of the Committee to say what I am going to say, I would like to say it as a personal observation. For years now we have passed resolutions about federations. We know that one country and the most important Diaspora country for Zionism, the

United States of America, has not yet found its way to bring into being the kind of federation that we talk about. This constitution, and I would like to say it from this platform, just because of its provisions of autonomy, places the burden fairly and squarely upon the present American Zionist leadership to find a way out of the *cul de sac* in which they have been living for so many years and this is not something which we can carry into effect by a police force. It may be that while I am talking about this, members of the American Zionist Movement at this moment are saying to themselves, There will be no federation in the United States of America, at least the kind of Federation which we all know that we are talking about. If that position continues in the U.S. then let me say that this will be one of the failures of this constitution. Because if there is going to be complete decentralization and as a result of this fragmentation, then I say the main purpose for which the Committee was unanimous will have been defeated. So that this territorial federation is not again a form of words. It is intended to give expression to a strong desire to put things right, and of course I only mentioned the United States of America as an example. But there are many countries which will have to put their house in order from that point of view.

Let me just add one remark about the non-Zionist organizations, the national and international bodies to which so much reference was made last night. The present constitution does not create hard and fast rules. There was a suggestion that we should fix the representation in the Executive, in the Zionist Council, in the Congress. The Committee, and I must say on this the Executive was consulted and there is complete unanimity on this aspect. There is provision made for the entry of such bodies into the Zionist Organization. The terms and conditions upon which they will become part and parcel of this organization is being left by the constitution to the Zionist Council so that there will be no decisions that can be taken rapidly and without consultation with the only legislative body that exists between Congresses.

Now, I turn to the legislative part of the constitution, and here let me say I will try to be as brief as I possibly can. No great changes have been made. The Congress is the supreme body as I have pointed out. It has powers of delegation. We have decided to recommend (in the Constitution Committee it was agreed to unanimously) that it meet every three years. What has been stiffened are the provisions in relation to postponing these conferences. If the Executive will require to postpone a Zionist Congress, it will have extremely difficult conditions to comply with. In addition to that and over and above this, there is the right for a very small number of persons to appeal to the Congress Court in order to have the matter ventilated there if there is a feeling that the postponement has been made capriciously without adequate reason.

The basis of elections to Congress is still the Shekel. It is true that the Shekel becomes now an area Shekel, but it is still the basis and the right to vote. I know some comment was made that that was a diminishing of the importance of the Shekel. I speak with great reserve. I understand that the greatest merit of the Shekel was that it gives the right to vote in the supreme legislative body of the Zionist Organization, and that we have preserved it *b'late braira,* because as you know for years there was a debate on whether to change the Shekel. Committees were set up and they have come back with the conclusion that there is no alternative and it is up to us to see that *b'late braira* we certainly make the best of it and take away those characteristics which have made the Shekel a matter of indignity rather than a matter of dignity.

I want to add one further aspect. The creation of the Shekel and election boards which really are the instrument which are brought into being in a Congress year for the conducting of elections are stipulated in general terms in the constitution, but we have attached to the constitution certain regulations which preserve the democratic basis of the Congress elections and of the Committees which are in charge of these elections. These regulations are being placed before you together with the constitution for your adoption. The constitution provided that these specific regulations relating to the composition of the election board and the Shekel board cannot be changed except by a three-quarters majority of the Zionist Council so that again we have tried where it was essential to preserve the democratic basis of the organization as a whole to do so.

Now, the second legislative body is the Council, the Zionist Council. First, I must refer to one other matter. The question of the WIZO. Now, in Article XXVIII, you will find no mention of the word WIZO. You will find a description of the type of organization which according to everybody's view adds up to WIZO. There they were given certain rights in regard to appearance at Congress in an advisory capacity and in other institutions. The Committee felt that it couldn't, on its own, decide to change that situation although WIZO made that request. It is, however, recommending unanimously that the Executive on approval by this Council can change that kind of representation if it will come to an agreement with WIZO. In other words we have created machinery whereby this matter can be ironed out between the Executive on the one hand and WIZO on the other hand and the agreement is to be approved by this body. Thus WIZO does not have to wait until the next Congress, not the one immediately to take place but the one after that, before it can get any change. In other words we have given the same kind of discretion to the Executive and Council in relation to WIZO, a Zionist body, as we have created in relation to those bodies, national bodies, to which I have made previous reference.

Now, turning to the Council, you have already by now gathered that we have wherever possible preserved the rights of this body, that the Executive will be really an Executive arm with no rights of legislation except where this Council gives it those rights. The size of the Council is fixed at 96 members. The recommendation is, but I understand there are some groups or a group which is not wedded to that suggestion, that the number of deputies to be appointed instead of one to one should be two to one. The reason for that is that we have found, and some Zionists have informed us that this rigidity of one to one means that in many countries, particularly in smaller countries, who really end with only one member or one deputy member, and if that member commits the transgression, let us say, of migrating to Israel, then that country becomes in a very real sense disenfranchised. And if you are limited to appointing your deputies only one to one, even if that person were to resign, the particular country from which he came would not benefit by such resignation. So the suggestion has been made to give greater flexibility and to give to the organizations that go to make up the Zionist Movement an opportunity of safeguarding that situation.

Another provision upon which we had heard Dr. Goldmann is to give rights to invitees up to ten, with no right of voting but with right of participation in the Zionist Council meeting. During the period between Congresses, it very often happens that the man elected to the Council meeting, being, say, chairman or president of the Zionist Federation, no longer is such president or chairman and the existing president or chairman has no real right to be present at the Council meeting, and we think that the discretion of up to 10 will take care of that situation.

We have maintained the institution of the virilists and, of course, the institution of the Presidium.

Now, let me turn to the Executive arm. The President is the spokesman and the representative of the Zionist Movement as a whole. The Executive is to carry out the decisions and the policy of Congress and the Zionist Council. The Executive has its Chairman elected by Congress. Where the Zionist Council approves the recommendation of the Executive to set up a branch Executive in another part of the world, the Chairman of that branch Executive is nominated by the Executive. In other words, there is a complete picture in which the unity of command is maintained, essential to any real, healthy organization.

But let me say one word as to these powers of the Executive. We have heard criticism of the Executive during the earlier debates. I just don't want to criticize. I want to tell you what I think lies behind the decisions of the Committee in relation to the Executive and the changes that have taken place. One thing is clear. When this constitution comes into force the Executive will be obliged to find new powers and new methods of work. It will not be able inevitably to carry on on the basis

of tradition. This is how we did it five years or ten years ago or fifteen years ago. It will not work in the new framework. So this aspect of it casts an increasingly heavy burden on the Executive to show initiative and adaptability and I think that is what the Commitee wanted and I hope this is what the Council wants, because that is how we interpret the desire of Zionist public opinion.

I have already mentioned the question of the judiciary, the Zionist tribunals and I don't propose going into any detail. They are essential for any civilized democratic way of life. The mere existence of this machinery of courts or tribunals may prevent abuse. It is when you have a feeling that it is *hefker,* that there is no central body that objectively and judicially can give the final answer on any given situation of conflict, it is that feeling of *hefker* that must be done away with. We have given the alternative to the countries: they can either use the existing machinery or can set up tribunals of arbitration, but the appeal tribunal of arbitration will have as its umpire the judge appointed by the President of the Zionist Congress Court.

And now, I don't propose dealing in detail with what is left. There is a clause which sets out what provisions come into being immediately, what provisions are postponed until the beginning of the next Congress, what provisions are to come into force after the next Congress. I want finally to deal with what even lawyers know as the spirit of the constitution. You see, lawyers are not nearly as dull and dry as the words that have been placed before you may appear to be. One of the greatest jurists, I think, one of the greatest the world has seen, certainly in the modern world, has devoted many, many articles, many, many speeches, many, many addresses to highly qualified people and to masses of people. He happened also to have been a Jew. I am referring to the great American jurist, Judge Cardoza. He spent a lot of his time trying to explain that it is the spirit of the constitution—dealing mainly with the constitution of his own country—which will ultimately determine whether or not the words really carry into effect the will of the people.

Mr. Lurie made this point, and it is really a trite point to make, but you will excuse me if I do spend one or two minutes remaining to me to deal with it. These changes are in themselves worthwhile because changes had to be made. The motives, the particular conditions that brought these changes into being are really irrelevent when once this constitution is passed. It doesn't matter why X voted this way or why he suggested a certain amendment. What really matters is that this constitution expresses a real will for change. It casts a challenge to the Council and on the Executive and casts a challenge to all you people, the leader of World Zionism. The constitution can become—because it doesn't solve the problem; we know that—the jumping off ground for that new direction for which we are all looking. Failure to accept

this constitution with this spirit will mean a complete failure and breakdown of what might have been a decisive step in a changed direction, and that is the echo that I think we should try to create in the Zionist world outside.

That, at any rate, is the spirit in which your Committee places this constitution before you and if I may be pardoned for being just a little emotional on this aspect: we all are Zionists of many, many years. We have a stubbornness which refuses to accept that the present crisis is inevitable and permanent. I think we will have when we have accepted this constitution, at least laid down the foundation for a change, a change which has manifested itself time and again by an ability to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.

DEBATE ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION

JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL
(General Zionists—USA)

Before I discuss certain features of the constitution, permit me to comment on some references by Dr. Goldmann to me personally and to the American Jewish League for Israel with which I am associated. These observations are relevant to the constitutional issues before us.

In the course of his argument in support of the important and essential provision calling for opening the World Zionist Organization to Jewish organizations willing to support our Zionist programme, our President paid me a compliment which I appreciate. But I regret that Dr. Goldmann appeared to belittle the League which Mr. Louis Lipsky and I had the honour to found a few years ago. I hope that the denigration of the League was unintentional. I am certain it was not warranted.

Implied in his remarks was the idea that since the fifty and more outstanding personalities prominently identified with the League as its officers and directors are universally recognized as dedicated leaders in all activities on behalf of Israel and of Zionism, and since, as he said, we have failed to achieve our purpose of building up a large mass organization, it is impossible for any Zionist body, to attract many individual members.

I strongly believe that the Zionist Organization must be inclusive of all Jewish bodies endorsing our Zionist programme. But let me state emphatically that I am not at all ashamed of the record of the League. On the contrary, I think Ezra Shapiro, our National President, who unfortunately could not attend these meetings, is to be congratulated on what he and his fellow officers have accomplished, despite overwhelming obstacles. I am proud to have been privileged to participate in this

heroic effort to revitalize a segment of the movement in the United States. I believe that if we had been willing to lower our sights and our standards, if we had concentrated on membership campaigns to the neglect of our paramount Zionist responsibilities for the UJA for Israel Bonds, for private investments in Israel, for cultural institutions here and educational programmes in our country, we could easily have had many, many times our present membership.

If we have not fully met Dr. Goldmann's expectations, it is because we asked our members to be Zionists in deeds and not merely in name. For myself, and I am confident that Dr. Goldmann agrees, quality rather than quantity is the best measure of Zionist organizational strength. Indeed, I would rather fail with a high aim than succeed with a low one.

Despite bitter hostility from sources that should fraternally have offered us friendship and cooperation, despite the fact that the American Zionist Council to this day has repeatedly delayed acting on our application for admission, we have nevertheless succeeded in rallying to our ranks many fine, outstanding young people and many distinguished personalities who never previously were members of any Zionist organization.

And now a few observations about the constitution. Let me first express my sincere appreciation to all who have so conscientiously given their time and effort to the difficult and delicate task of drafting this document. As a member of the Constitution Committee of which Mr. Aryeh Pinkus is the extremely able and efficient chairman, and a member also of the prior committee of so-called "experts," of which Mr. Ussishkin was the indefatigable chairman, I have had occasion to observe how this draft before us has been evolved. There has been a commendable spirit of mutual goodwill among all the representatives of the various parties.

Logically, it would be desirable to replace the historical statements and the clichés and glittering generalities in Article II dealing with the Zionist programme with a more precise, definite and meaningful statement of what is the present-day aim and task of Zionism. Logically, also, the Shekel has outlived its usefulness and should be abolished, since individual membership in the World Zionist Organization has come to an end. But it is obvious that it would not be possible to formulate a new and universally acceptable programme as it is also difficult to find a suitable substitute for the Shekel.

This constitution faithfully adheres to the resolutions adopted by the General Council last July. The World Zionist Organization is to be composed of corporate members only; membership of individual Zionists will be in local, national and territorial Zionist organizations, and no longer in the World Zionist Organization itself; and the World Zionist

Organization will now be the central body authorized to act for and in behalf of its member organizations in the implementation of the Zionist programme. The consequence of this decentralization is that the territorial organizations in those countries where the overwhelming majority of the Jews live will enjoy autonomy in the conduct of their affairs. Smaller communities will naturally be granted assistance and be subject to necessary supervision. And all of our organizations will guarantee democratic procedures and fair and equitable treatment of all their members and minority groups.

Of course, the decentralization prescribed by this constitution does not affect the unity of our Movement. We Jews have never confused unity with uniformity. All Zionist organizations in Jewish communities, large and small, cannot be conducted identically. But all Zionists are and must remain united in our common ideals and aspirations.

The constitution retains the Shekel, but a sincere effort has been made to preserve its advantages and to eliminate, or at least to minimize, its abuses.

The most important innovation in this constitution is the provision in Article IV, Section 4, which deals with the permissive admission into the World Zionist Organization of Jewish national and international organizations ready to endorse the Zionist programme. Dr. Goldmann spoke of his recent disappointing experience in the United Synagogue of America. I am convinced that this was but a temporary setback in a preliminary skirmish and not a defeat in a decisive battle. With adequate preparation and after a carefully planned campaign of enlightenment and education, the United Synagogue and other similar organizations will be persuaded that they should enthusiastically join our Zionist forces.

A good constitution should be brief and concise; it should consist only of general provisions; it should not be a detailed code of rules and regulations. Since we must reckon with the realities of life and of human nature, the constitution does contain many provisions which normally would have no place in a document of this kind.

But with all its faults and shortcomings this constitution is a decided improvement on the organic law under which our Movement has operated for such a long time. The old constitution was manifestly antiquated and outmoded, and a great deal of careful and intensive study and investigation has been given to this significant issue. As Abraham Lincoln said "to correct error when it is shown to be error and to adopt new views when they are proved to be true views," is a sign not of weakness but of strength.

The new constitution can be—and I believe it is—an indication that our Movement is not moribund, that it still has the strength and the vigour to rejuvenate and revitalize itself.

Justice Brandeis in one of his earliest Zionist addresses in Boston in 1912 declared: "The Maccabees' victory proved that the Jews—then already an old people—possessed the secret of eternal youth, the ability to rejuvenate itself through the courage, hope, enthusiasm, devotion and self-sacrifice of the plain people. This will bring again a Jewish renaissance."

The State and people of Israel have demonstrated time and again that they are indeed blessed with the Maccabean spirit. May we Zionists show that we too are similarly blessed, that we too are capable of rebirth, of ushering in a bright new era of dynamic, creative, total Zionism.

RABBI DR. SHIMON FEDERBUSH
(Virilist—USA)

Sometimes I get the impression that all too often we are discussing the reform of our Zionist Movement. We have scarcely concluded the debate on the territorial federations and individual membership and we find ourselves up to our necks in a controversy about a new proposal for reform.

We appointed a special commission to consider this problem. We have resolved unanimously to endorse the amendments that have been proposed and incorporated in the new constitution. There is an ancient maxim in Jewish jurisprudence, "If a man is completely innocent he must be guilty!" Where judges are unanimous in handing down their verdict of not guilty and the judgment is not questioned there is reason to suspect that the verdict may be influenced by extraneous interests, and not by the intrinsic merits of the case.

The case for the proposed amendments rests upon the assumption that some external remedy must be found to the decline of the Zionist Organization and that the problem can be solved solely by securing the entry of outside bodies into the Organization.

It is my opinion that this debate in itself was one of the causes of the weakness evinced by the Zionist Organization.

The Zionist Movement created the State of Israel. But once the State of Israel was reconstituted efforts were made to besmirch the government. As you know in Israel the term "Zionism" has become synonymous with ineffectuality, with the prating of unpractical men and women. Little wonder if such a Zionist Movement exercises no attraction for new members.

Not so many years ago we heard here, in the Zionist General Council, statements calculated to deprive the Zionist Organization of all its values and aspirations. Did not someone say here that we should not speak of *chalutziut* and *aliya* as such talk might prove harmful in cer-

tain countries? Did not someone say that we should not speak about Jewish schools, as in the view of certain respected Zionists such talk was contrary to the civic rights of the Jews in the Golah? Things have come to such a pass that we are fearful of uttering the word "Golah." In other words in certain countries there is no such thing as a Jewish problem. Under such circumstances, needless to say, one cannot speak of Zionism as a method of solving a Jewish problem. How can we hope to attract the youth when we have no revolutionary national ideal to inspire them in the spirit of pristine Zionism?

It is a patent fact that we raised the non-Zionists to the supreme leadership of Jewish life in America. It is not the Zionist thinkers who have been given the place of honour in our midst, but those who are expected to make a special effort on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal or the Bonds. With our own hands we have humiliated the Zionist Movement, we have deprived it of all possibility of serving as a guide, of exercising any influence in Jewish life.

I wish to say something about the functions of the synagogues in the United States. It must be made clear that the head of the Union of Orthodox Congregations of America is not the representative of Orthodox Jewry in America. The Union of Orthodox Congregations does not represent all the Orthodox communities. It does not speak for the Mizrachi, Hapoel Hamizrachi, the Agudat Israel or the Agudat Harabanim. When this organization balked at the idea of unified representation of American Jewry, in the Presidents' Club, it did not express the attitude of Orthodox Jewry in the United States. But there is really no danger to Judaism in the synagogues playing an important role in Jewish life. There is the far more serious danger of *am ha'aratzut,* of ingnorance of things Jewish, of assimilation, which are spreading throughout America and in other countries too. All activity on behalf of Israel, on behalf of Jewish culture, insofar as there is such activity, centres about the synagogue. The synagogue has become an invaluable factor in the preservation of Jewish life. I wish to underline one feature of our life in the Diaspora. In the Golah secular Judaism is bankrupt. There is no movement of Jews who wish to develop Jewish life on a secular basis. Jewish schools founded upon secularistic principles are declining in number, while Jewish schools whose basis is religion, *yeshivot* and other educational institutions, are steadily increasing.

The issue of *chalutziut* has been refered to in the course of the debate. Let us not close our eyes to the fact that today we are facing a new wave of immigration. There was already one juncture in the annals of Eretz Israel when the immigration of *chassidim* laid the foundation of the Yishuv. Today once again we are witnessing the first outward symptoms of such a pioneering immigration among the *chassidim,* be they of Bobov or of Sans.

I believe that the Zionist leadership has frittered away the resources of the Zionist Movement in seeking remedies to strengthen the Movement outside its own sphere. If only Dr. Goldmann had utilized his gifts to strengthen the Zionist Movement from within, to fill it with real content, to make it attractive to wider circles within the Jewish people, and particularly to the youth, I am convinced that all the amendments to the constitution, which we are discussing today, would be superfluous. You cannot win souls for Zionism without *chalutziut,* without the aspiration for national redemption, without Hebrew culture. Such Zionism is destitute of all content.

ANDRE BLUMEL

(President of the Zionist Federation of France—Paris)

I will rouse no tempers, nor break the truce of "sweet-givers," as one used to say in my country when there was a parliament. Yesterday I heard many dismal speeches about the World Zionist Organization. This is not as serious as it seems; when people speak of death, it is a sure sign that they are very much alive. It is much worse to be dead and not know it. In one of the previous Zionist Council sessions, I heard our late, much-lamented Chairman, Mr. Sprinzak, recall the "snows of yesterday." The "snows of yesterday" have melted for the new State of Israel is born. I think you have no cause to blush because of your work, even if the sons of this wonderful country—something which occurs in the best of families—make fun of their fathers. There are many reasons for optimism. From the speech delivered by Mr. Rosen, on behalf of the Government I was able to realize just how much of the way has already been traversed; I believe that the Prime Minister, Mr. Ben-Gurion, and our President, Dr. Nachum Goldmann, now have many points in common, and I have high hopes for the future development of the World Zionist Organization. True, if one examines the situation thoroughly one can detect signs of weakness, but compared with other Jewish organizations in the world, all of us can feel a justifiable pride.

Undoubtedly there are new problems, new since the existence of the State, but as for the *status quo* which you are renouncing what better example can I give than my own presence at this gathering where you have had the kindness to welcome me although I belong to no Zionist party. This already means a revision. There will be others.

In the proposed constitution I read Clause 2, which says that the aim of the Zionist Organization is to create a homeland in Eretz Israel. But there the State exists! You will not be able to leave this Clause in its original text, because otherwise people can say: The Zionist Movement wants to destroy the State in order to create a homeland!

Revision is on the march. Nothing can stop it. This is something that was once said in connection with a famous event with which no doubt you are all familiar. Now, the aim is to reduce Zionism to mean only *aliya*. We all know what is the top rung of the ladder, but if all the efforts of those who wish to work for Zionism is to be that which is defined in our programme, and if our politics must be "all or nothing"—Zionism means *aliya*—then this will be a policy of catastrophe. In our experience in France (I will not say we are satisfied—we would like to have achieved more) we have succeeded in rallying to the Zionist Federation of France practically all the élite of French Jewry, and they are prepared to carry out a number of tasks. I will mention only one name —Baron Edmund de Rothschild, grandson of the Father of the Yishuv, in a sense, a nephew of the Yishuv. This particular experience, if used by the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, can be extended. The problem of the development of Zionism is that of enlarging it. But do not think that this problem concerns only the Zionist Movement. I know a party, a party headed by a Jew of our times, who had the courage to revise his charter, which was based on class-struggle and which he modified by transforming the class-struggle into class action. The Zionism of 1960 can no longer be the Zionism of 1900. There are many Socialists here; do they imagine that the Socialists of 1960 are the same as those of 1900, as that of the International which included Bernstein in Germany, Briand in France, Keir Hardie in England and Lenin? No! And yet the Socialist world still exists and is the name given to parties which are capable of struggle and of defending their ideal. And the same applies to Zionism. We have had political Zionism and even, I believe, passive Zionism. Now we have a pragmatic Zionism. When I hear pessimistic speeches, I think of the words that Leon Blum used to repeat "Pessimists are spectators." If we act—and we must act—we are forced to be optimists. And one must act in order to live, and to grow in order to survive. This is one of the essential factors of a movement, and no doctrinal difficulty should be placed in your way in order to do this, since all doctrine can be adapted to life, and that is why I am convinced that all the efforts of our President, must be encouraged, for he combines resolution in thinking with courage in action. People speak of attempts which have not yet succeeded. Our American and English friends cannot disapprove of this formula, for it is the last battle that counts and the last move in an enterprise.

Perhaps you will permit me to conclude by repeating the words of one of those masters who nourished my ardent youth, one of those Socialists of whom I spoke a little while before—Jean Jaurès—when he said "When the river is on its way to the sea, then it is faithful to its source."

SIXTH MEETING

Wednesday, December 30, 1959, in the afternoon

Chairman: MR. PAUL L. GOLDMAN

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION

HAROLD J. HANSON
(Union Poale Zion–Hitachdut—South Africa)

I feel that our South African experience is worth mentioning, because it has some little lesson in it and I think that some benefit can be derived from it for the Movement as a whole.

We, in South Africa, are not seriously affected by this new constitution but we welcome it because we think it will create the opportunity for our Movement to function to the best advantage in different environments in different countries, but subject to one condition and that condition is that the Zionist Movement keep clearly in front of it the fundamental conceptions of our existence and our faith.

We believe in the survival of the Jewish people as a nation coupled with the conception of a personal involvement or identification with Israel.

But it seems to me that the time has now arrived for the Zionist Movement, to recognize that it cannot afford to ignore the problems of the survival of the Jewish people in the Golah; it cannot risk ignoring all other forces which are concerned with the survival of the Jewish people, because there is a fundamental difference between their approach and ours, a fundamental difference in their methods and this, because, we are centred in Israel.

We wish to raise a generation which will produce a large number of people, personally identifying themselves with the State in one way or another, a generation from whom we will get a number of persons who will voluntarily go on *aliya,* who will voluntarily invest their capital here and will voluntarily bring skills to Israel.

It's so easy to say *aliya,* investments, and it's so hard to achieve all this in lands where the young Jew is involved in the environment of the land in which he lives. But when we deal with the problem of Jewish survival it is not so difficult to try to see that other organizations con-

cerned with the problem of Jewish survival are orientated or have a slant towards Israel. That is why we think that this constitution will make it possible to bring our spirit to other Jewish organizations in other lands. Take for instance Jewish education, particularly in day schools: a generation which has been educated in a system oriented to Israel will be a generation with pride in its place as part of the Jewish nation. It will be a generation which will produce voluntary *aliya*. It will produce youth with a *chalutz* spirit, and as to others who don't develop so far as these idealists, they will have a spiritual loyalty to the State. If there is an Arab boycott, that generation will see to it that it builds a foreign market for Israel products. If industrial capital is needed to create employment in Israel, it will increase its investment. If Israel is attacked, it will fight. And it is, therefore, good to bring other great Jewish organizations to our tables, particularly where they recognize our programme.

In South Africa this has never been a problem, because the Zionist Movement since its early days has always been a dynamic force in the life of the country. Our great leaders have pursued a policy which has always taken the spirit of the Zionist Movement into other organizations.

Jewish education in South Africa started with a handful of children, but today there are several thousand of our young Jews in Jewish day schools, and there is a greater number outside the schools who are clamouring for admission. The Zionist Movement has not kept aloof, because the education in day schools in South Africa is oriented towards Israel and is Zionist-inspired.

I know it is not easy to bring the same results in countries where I have been told, for instance, in New York you have three districts which are separated by hours of travel, each of which has a million people. It is not so easy. But you may have to work backwards, and I think that this change in our constitution makes it possible because you can work backwards by drawing these other great organizations to our table. You may bring our spirit to these organizations without trying to impose our will upon them. In itself this is an educational process.

I heard in the general debate talks of failure. It doesn't mean that because you don't succeed entirely at the first time of asking, you must abandon a project. The Zionist Movement has always been the prerogative of the few and it has only been a persistent education which has made the Zionist Movement permeate down to the masses. The amendment to the constitution itself is worth nothing if it will weaken our Movement, but it is going to be the whole future of the Jewish people if we bring Israel in all its problems to the Jews who are members of other Jewish organizations.

SIXTH MEETING

DR. ADOLFO FASTLICHT
(General Zionists—Mexico)

I shall not touch directly upon the question of the constitution. I wish to deal with two other problems. First of all—the operation of the day-schools in the Golah. In the course of the debate mention was made of countries which have developed day-schools in the course of the past twenty or thirty years. In England considerable success has attended similar efforts made in recent years. The experiments which have been successfully conducted in this area in various parts of the world, in South Africa, in England, and also in Mexico from which I come, are no more than examples of what can be done. The achievements registered, notwithstanding their intrinsic importance, cannot constitute a source of satisfaction, for the problem is far too serious.

It is not merely a problem of erecting schools, it is one of infusing the proper content into the schools, to ensure that they are based upon Hebrew and cognate subjects. We must note with regret that with the exception of a single Member, no one on the Executive, is directly interested in this matter. I am fully aware that the Department for Education and Culture is doing everything possible to develop Jewish education, but the problem is so vast, of such a special character, that in view of the developments that must be expected in the next ten or twenty years, there is no doubt that it must be dealt with in an entirely different fashion.

I can only suggest that a panel of experts, of educators and sociologists, be appointed to examine the problem exhaustively and to draft a programme based upon local conditions in the various countries. Conditions vary from country to country and methods that are suitable in one country are not suitable for another. There are questions of external influences, the influence of the local language, social and economic problems. Such a panel could investigate conditions in each region separately. If this step were taken in good time, difficult problems which are already looming ahead may be avoided. Indeed if they are not tackled soon they may well become far more complicated in the next few years.

The initial attempt made by Dr. Goldmann to admit non-Zionist organizations into the World Zionist Organization has not proved successful.

Every new effort, every new idea, of course, meets with a certain measure of resistance. Here, too, resistance has been encountered. But it should by no means be construed as a defeat. Dr. Goldmann himself confessed that the attempt had not been properly prepared and had not been studied beforehand. It was carried out in a personal fashion by contacts between himself and other leaders. But this is not a problem

that can be resolved by personal contacts. It must have the support of all the parties in a given country, the organizations to be admitted must be influenced in the right direction.

It might be advisable for Dr. Goldmann to begin with the smaller organizations. For that reason, indeed, I propose that he begin with the smaller communities. I am not issuing any formal invitation—for which I have no authority—but speaking personally, I should like to invite him to visit the communities of Latin America, who will certainly evince an understanding for the efforts he is making. In any case they are sympathetically inclined towards Zionism. The complex factors operating in the larger organizations are non-existent here. I am convinced that a large number of the Jews of these countries will consider it an honour to be invited to join the Zionist Organization. I issue this invitation armed with an intimate knowledge of the Jewish communities in Mexico and in other countries. I am also sure that by beginning with the smaller communities success is assured. Such success will assist in the conduct of negotiations with the larger organizations.

ISRAEL RITOV
(Union Poale Zion–Hitachdut—Israel)

We have spoken a lot about the crisis in the Zionist Movement and in the Zionist Organization, but in no small measure, I am convinced, we ourselves—the elected institutions—are to be blamed for it, at all events for the organizational crisis. We are becoming flabby and inept, and sometimes the most elementary demands of organization are not met. For example no report on the activities of the Executive in the seven months interval that has elapsed since the previous session of the General Council has been presented. Not even a verbal report, albeit a brief one, has been submitted. I cannot understand why we are not informed of the financial situation of the Zionist Organization, of the Jewish Agency. No Committee on the Budget has been elected, notwithstanding the fact that we are on the threshold of a new financial year. Even the Standing Committee on the Budget and Finance has not received the budget estimates, and in fact is ignorant of the financial state of the Jewish Agency and the difficulties encountered in raising funds in certain countries.

We have argued a lot about the Zionist federations in the various countries. For a whole year a special committee (of which I was a member) dealt with this question. The committee submitted its recommendations to the General Council, which in turn took certain decisions. To the best of my knowledge nothing further happened. Why? Must this failure be attributed solely to objective circumstances,

or was there some subjective reason—the ineptitude or inefficiency of the Executive? Was any attempt made to take the Zionist organizations in the various countries by storm, to compel them to implement the decisions that had been taken?

But these are no more than marginal comments. My main reason in rising to speak was to express my views on what Dr. Goldmann had to say on Zionism and *hagshama atzmit.*

It is not clear to me why Dr. Goldmann saw fit to raise—precisely at this session—the problem of self-realization. There is an old, notorious controversy on this issue, between let us say, Ben-Gurion and Dr. Goldmann. I believe that Mr. Ben-Gurion does not insist that all Zionists in all countries should pack up and come to Israel forthwith and without delay. Let them come within a given period of time, but let them accept the principle of self-realization, the moral obligation involved, resting upon every Zionist as a Zionist. And now Dr. Goldmann has absolved the Zionists from the obligation of self-realization. With all the authority he wields as the President of the World Zionist Organization he has stated that Zionism has never involved the duty of *hagshama atzmit,* that there was never any *aliya* motivated by a sense of moral obligation, only *aliya* driven by force of circumstances, with the sole exception of the *chalutzim,* and that indeed it would be unwise indeed if Zionists decided to settle in Israel and deprive their flocks in the Golah of their faithful shepherds.

All the leaders of the Yishuv, on all levels, came to this country many years ago, not because they were compelled to do so by circumstances in their own countries, but because of the immense moral force of *hagshama atzmit,* because an irresistable force drew them to the field of action. They were Zionists who realized their ideals in person, they were honest with themselves, sincere in their faith. They regarded *hagshama atzmit,* self realization, as the alpha and omega of Zionism. Each of them individually said to himself that if he sought to help in the national renaissance, if he sought to contribute towards the upbuilding of a State, he himself must settle in Eretz Israel, not because he belonged to some "order" dedicated to *chalutziut*—an order which Dr. Goldmann sanctions and is prepared to welcome, and even to support financially.

This is not related to a given clause or paragraph, nor even to the constitution as a whole. The question at issue is the essential difference between the Zionist and non-Zionist, at least in feeling, in sense of obligation, in the consciousness that the Zionist should not have to justify his decision to settle in Israel. One gains the impression from what Dr. Goldmann has said that a Zionist must seek some justification for *aliya,* obtain special sanction for the act.

Mention has already been made of the arrival of the Rabbi of Klaus-

enberg and his adherents. I would like to tell you, our friends from abroad, that this *aliya* has made us a little uncomfortable. We find it difficult to understand how in America, a Chassidic Rabbi who had never bought the Shekel, who will never buy the Shekel, suddenly called together his Chassidim and informed them: "We are going to Israel!"

Picture for yourselves what would happen if five or three hundred families of leaders and guides of the Zionist Movement resolved to settle in Israel! You must understand we do not ask for self-sacrifice. The State exists, its population is growing and developing, and it is becoming more stable, more prosperous. There is no longer any need for sacrifice, as there was, let us say, at the time of the foundation of Gedera, seventy-five years ago.

Dr. Goldmann says that Zionists must not be compelled to settle in Israel. But if only we could have done so before the outbreak of the Second World War,—how many good and true Zionists might we not have saved!

It was a grave error on the part of the President to make such a statement. There may be serious repercussions. It is incumbent upon the Zionist General Council to make good that error.

BARUCH WEINSTEIN
(General Zionists—Israel)

I am happy to commend the excellent work done by the Chairman of our Committee, Mr. Pinkus. I must place on record not only his expert knowledge of the subject with which it had to deal, but also the manner in which he conducted the work of his Committee, his relations with its Members, his constant goodwill and unremitting efforts to promote an atmosphere of harmony within it. As a Member of the Zionist General Council for many years, as one who is possessed of some experience in these matters, I must state that rarely have I had the pleasure of working in a Committee under a chairman of this calibre.

In the process of drafting a constitution it is first of all necessary to recognize the background out of which the instructions given to the legislator and which must be reflected in the constitutions, evolved. I shall not conceal from you the fact that veteran Zionists accepted this constitution, its basic assumptions and its important conclusions, without a great deal of enthusiasm. My own party was neither apprehensive nor pessimistic. It was natural that the debates themselves should generate qualms and hesitations, whether the new constitution should be approved and whether its principle clauses reflected the needs of the Movement. What was the reason for this? On the one hand there was a natur-

al conservatism, a love of routine, from which the Movement has suffered for many years, and particularly since the establishment of the State; on the other was a fear of innovation. The weakness that has come to dominate us in recent years argued: Let us rest content with what we have. Let us not try to seek new roads! It was but one step to complacency, drugging any original thought, restricting all initiative, blocking the way for any innovations.

Recognizing the need for a constitution grounded upon a certain public basis, upon the changes that have been registered in the course of the years, we advanced on two levels. One was the legal. Had we restricted ourselves to this level and left it to the experts and the jurists to draft the paragraphs and clauses those who hold that Zionism and the Zionist constitution are not exclusively the realm of the lawyers would have been right. For that reason we went on to another level, the Zionist level, where legalistic concepts were wedded to ideological, political and organizational problems, which have been worrying the Zionist Movement in recent years.

All groupings in the Zionist Movement were represented in the Commission. All members were given every opportunity to voice their views on the complex of problems before them. A constitution is no dry formalistic document, it is no academic treaties. A constitution must be equipped with spectacles to enable it to tread the paths of life and not stumble by the way. It must also be equipped with a telescope to see the distant horizon, the vistas opening up in the future. These were the principles which led and guided the Members of the Committee. You have already listened to the outstanding address of our colleague Mr. Pinkus upon the guiding principles, and if the constitution is equipped with the two instruments I have referred to, we must utilize the spectacles to examine the processes, the facts of the people's, the State's, the Movement's life; then we must take the telescope to see whether the conclusions we have drawn do not affect the principle aims which constitute the very soul of the Movement. If we act on these lines there is every prospect that we shall succeed.

What are these processes? Following the establishment of the State more than eleven years ago we possessed a considerable store of experience. There were people, including myself, who stated that the Israel Government, and particularly the head of that Government, had done whatever they had done and said whatever they had said, and the sum total of their deeds and words had been to weaken the Zionist Movement within the Jewish people, to undermine its authority, to destroy its prestige. But it would be a distortion of historic truth if we ascribed the recurrent crises within the Zionist Movement solely to the operation of Israeli factors, who have such peculiar conceptions and mistaken ideas. The weakness of the Zionist Movement must be

attributed to other causes, too, and not only to the law, so to speak, which goes forth from Zion.

Yesterday Mr. I. Gruenbaum asked what the aim of Zionism was. Today when the State is an established fact and its light illuminates all World Jewry it may be a little difficult to define exactly what the aim of Zionism is. Today, judging by the situation within the Movement, it can be stated that it is mainly a functional and not a political-ideological movement. The Movement has important, albeit prosaic, functions to perform. Once the Movement has lost its ideological and political significance the line of demarcation between itself and other Jewish organizations, which, too, are imbued with sympathy for Israel, which are prepared to collaborate in fulfilling those functions which constitute the main task of the Zionist Movement, has become blurred. From the purely personal aspect this process may not be entirely palatable. I, myself, should like to see the Herzlian vanguard, the revolutionary minority, the ferment of ideological revolt. But the facts of the situation are different. They cannot be ignored in drafting statutes for the Movement. Perhaps in future we shall succeed in guiding the Movement into more desirable channels. Perhaps we shall succeed in seeking out a new way. Perhaps the "order" of which Dr. Goldmann spoke, that band of pioneers will emerge, perhaps an order of Herzlian Zionists inspired by a vision of Great Zionism will develop. Today, however, the Movement, in its present composition, with its present mentality, with the spirit animating its members today, is a body executing important tasks for and on behalf of the people and the State. The line of demarcation, to which I have referred, has vanished. Those are the facts which it was incumbent upon us to take into account.

The question has been put: What will happen to our values? Will this constitution with its abundance of clauses and paragraphs destroy those values? But what are the values we are talking of? It would be just as well this once to speak frankly and not to try and adorn the grim facts of the situation with outworn shibboleths.

We ourselves have liquidated personal membership in the World Zionist Movement. When a Jew living in Kiev or Odessa or Warsaw, in those distant romantic days, became a member of the World Zionist Movement, it gave him a profound spiritual thrill. At that time personal membership possessed an educational, national, a unifying, value. Who would dare say today that the membership in the Zionist Movement of a Jew in Mexico, for example, constitutes an invigorating, educational experience? And what, indeed, is this "world" membership? It is no more than an organizational fiction. The Commission has done wisely in doing away with it.

There is another value—the Shekel. It is very painful that precisely in this Herzl centenary year we should have to speak so frankly

about this historic Shekel. An aura of sanctity enveloped the Herzlian Shekel,—but it does so no longer. The Shekel has become an organizational document, a membership ticket. And again that same hypothetical Jew to whom we referred previously, when he bought a Shekel in the old days, when he sold the Shekel, whatever he did about it was a source of inspiration to him. That is no longer the case. Values that were once important, that played an eminent role in the life of the people, have today lost their significance. For that reason the new constitution could not be based upon the Shekel.

We are however imbued with the feeling that within the framework defined by the new constitution we can still do great things, if we ourselves have the strength and the will.

We have gone from organizational centralism to organizational federalism, with all the conclusions that must be drawn from such a change. There is no refuge from those conclusions.

But not only internal processes within the Zionist Movement dictate new values and new methods. Important processes are in progress within the Jewish people. There have been changes within the Jewish people which have their repercussions upon the Zionist Movement, which affect its policy. New, young Jewish communities have come into being, a new Golah with a new physiognomy, with new aspirations, with a totally different mentality. In these countries these changes inevitably shape the character of the Zionist Movement. You cannot isolate the Zionist Movement in the Argentine, from its immediate Jewish environment in that country—with all of its positive and negative features. The problem is one of education; it cannot be solved by orders from above, by official instructions.

Members have been afraid to avow that it is unhealthy for the Zionist Movement to take "non-Jewish factors" into account. But a vital movement, of an international character, operating in all countries, must take cognizance of these factors.

We are under no obligation and we do not wish to progress along the old well-worn paths. We must not repeat the old jaded assumptions, and conclude our session with the same appeals. It is perfectly true that the constitution is no more than a framework. We know of many constitutions with provisions for the protection of life and liberty built into them. We recall the Weimar Constitution, we have read the Stalinist Constitution, which from the juridicial and literary points of view were veritable works of art. But an abyss separates a constitution from the pulse of life. For that reason it is not the formulation of the constitution that is of paramount importance. What is important is if a corporate, pioneering Herzlian spirit breathes life into it, and converts the new constitution into an expression of the ideal that moves the Zionist Movement and the institutions of the Zionist Movement.

MRS. REBECCA D. SIEFF
(President of World WIZO)

It is a great relief to me and the organization which I have the honour to represent that after so many years of fruitless efforts at long last a Zionist General Council is being presented with a new constitution. When Dr. Goldmann addressed WIZO at a big rally in Tel-Aviv the other day, he said that there are no eternal laws and no eternal constitutions and that the Movement must *move* with the times. Let us hope that these changes at long last are indeed going to be made.

My organization, WIZO, welcomes the fact that there is in the new constitution an article, let us call it historical (Article IV—Section 4) authorizing the Congress or the Council to admit as members or associate members of the World Zionist Organization such bodies as will accept the Zionist programme and may make special arrangements for their form of participation in the Zionist Organization.

I am not one of those who are afraid that by giving certain rights to such organizations, upon whom we are imposing duties and demanding the fulfilment of responsibilities, they will undermine the fundamentals of the Zionist Movement. I am much more inclined to think like Dr. Goldmann, who so very convincingly explained in his forceful reply to the debate last night, that we will change *their* outlook and influence them in the spirit of Zion by making them real partners, and thus to transform the Zionist Organization into the real representative of the Jewish people in the free world.

Above all, we value the factor of *education*. The Zionist Organization being faced with the present critical situation—despite its constant efforts to this end, would through close cooperation with Jewish bodies now outside our Movement, be able gradually to bring Israel and the intimate knowledge of Israel very close to them as a real living factor and a primary aim in their education programmes. Dr. Goldmann spoke of the shortage of funds for education and about the admirable work done by the Agency's Department for Youth and Hechalutz. I would like to mention here the experience of WIZO that by making special efforts and by drafting special activities and programmes of cultural work for young women, we have in very recent years seen the creation of splendid groups of young married women in most countries. And on my presidential good-will tour of Latin America from which I returned recently I saw these magnificent young women's groups at work and was deeply impressed. But we too, are now faced with the serious problem of budget for educational work especially among these young mothers.

However, in the meantime, while efforts are being made to integrate new bodies, let the Zionist Organization close its inner circles by at long last giving the place it merits to an International Zionist Women's

Organization, of the magnitude of WIZO, active in over 50 countries amongst larger and smaller Jewish communities, the world over.

I hope that the Jewish Agency Executive and the Council will have the wisdom to find a suitable arrangement for WIZO to be fully integrated into the Zionist Organization and that *this* Council will endorse such an arrangement. I hope that when we speak from this platform or from the platform of the Zionist Congress in future, it will not have to be about the problem of representation, but those problems that we really have at heart and where we can make a great contribution in many spheres of the work of the Jewish Agency and the Zionist Organization in which we have gained rich experience in the four decades of our existence.

And as to the contribution of WIZO to Zionist work in the Diaspora, all over the world outside the United States: I had a unique experience a few months ago during my visit to ten countries in the Latin American continent. I saw for myself that WIZO members in all these countries are doing great work not only in fund-raising for our work in Israel, but also in the spreading of Zionist education and culture. I wish to declare solemnly for the benefit of those who have expressed misgivings about the change in WIZO's character as a non-party organization: not only do we have no intention of letting party interests influence WIZO's stand on any issue, on the contrary, if we are given the right of full representation we shall consider this as a binding pledge for our organization and for every one of our representatives.

I must ask every member of the Council here to approach this question in a sense of wide comprehension of the task of Zionist women in the Zionist Movement. I would like to repeat here what I already informed the last Council meeting, that the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations has recognized and admitted WIZO as a member organization and we participate in its sessions with the same rights as all other organizations. How anomalous that the Zionist Organization could not do likewise!

WIZO will celebrate its fortieth anniversary next year. When Moses took the Jews out of Egypt, they were forty years in the wilderness before they reached the Promised Land. We think that after forty years of devoted service to the Movement, in all its aspects, we should come out of the wilderness and achieve at long last, the status of full partnership in the Zionist Organization.

ZEEV SHAPIRA
(Achdut Ha'avoda—Israel)

We trust that the Members of the Zionist General Council will respond to the call of Mr. A. Pinkus, Chairman of the Committee on the Constitution, and that the vote be in favour and if possible unanimous. But the vote taken upon any matter is not necessarily a reflection of the mood in which it is conducted.

What is the burden of this new constitution? Does it fortify the old foundations upon which the Zionist structure is based? Does it point the way towards future activity? Does it educate the younger generation? These questions reflect the mood, which is not an optimistic one, and my own doubts regarding the constitution. Who can assure us that we are acting wisely, that we are reinforcing the vanguard, in whose reinforcement we are all so keenly interested?

There are a number of matters of principle which I wish to touch upon, regarding the basic principles and the structure of the Zionist Movement.

The inclusion of clauses recognizing the autonomy of the territorial Zionist organizations in certain countries implies that thereby we seek to strengthen the universal structure of the World Zionist Organization. Up to the present the principle that the Zionist Organization is a universal body has been dominant. This principle did not emerge suddenly. It grew organically out of our conception of the Jewish problem. Whether it springs from the religious point of view that the Jewish people constitutes a single entity, or out of a social conception expressed by Jewish sociologists like Borochow or others, the fact remains that the existence of a universal Jewish problem was recognized. It was upon this assumption that the World Zionist Organization was constructed. Upon our road from universal dispersion to territorial concentration we attempted to construct institutions, symbols, which denoted the universal range of the Jewish problem.

The Zionist Congress, the Zionist Shekel, the Zionist Organization, the institutions of the Congress, the Executive, the General Council, the Funds and so forth, were all founded and developed to serve the entire people.

This conception fructified the work of the Movement, for it appreciated that there was a central address, central institutions, from which all instructions emanated in the interests of the Jewish people.

Operating not in a single territory, but within many countries, it is obvious that the Jewish entity could not be broken up into autonomous corporations and interests, which are not always animated by a concern for the highest aims of the Jewish people, and for the situation of the Jews.

The principle which is being introduced today in a short paragraph represents a completely new approach. The World Zionist Organization will no longer issue its directives in keeping with the needs of the entire Jewish people. Henceforth its directives will be guided by the needs of each different country.

Aliya has always been regarded positively, at least by ourselves, in the light of the needs of the work of upbuilding, and not in the light of the needs of one city, or one region, or one settlement, but in keeping with the general interest. The ancillary interests of the diverse countries can be served by the general interest, but there are also narrower interests of classes, groups. There may be friction, all of which may affect the general interest. From that point of view the value of the Zionist Shekel is built in.

I belong to a party which has always been dissatisfied with realities. I belong to those who seek to change realities, who inspired by a great ideal wish to welcome and provide for the majority of the Jewish people and thereby to solve the major problem of the Jews. We are not ready to surrender. We grapple with realities, because realities, too, are created by men, by circumstances which shape realities thus and not otherwise. For that reason, indeed, I do not feel that we should identify ourselves with a given reality. Mr. Weinstein has said that there are no values, there is no Shekel which is the symbol of the universal nature of the Zionist Movement, that everything should be organized upon a federative basis. But Mr. Weinstein who has set up before him this "organizational existentialism" has been enslaved by his own creation in drawing this conclusion. Thus this paragraph providing for territorial autonomy must be included, because there are countries whose interests are served thereby. The general interest is stronger than that of this or that country. The interests of the whole of the Jewish people are weightier than the interests of its parts. The paragraph providing for autonomy does not imply that we must destroy the basis of that symbol of the unity of the Zionist Movement, namely the general Shekel. There are perhaps a number of countries to which the right to have a territorial Shekel may be given, but that does not mean to say that all countries should be given this right.

I regard the constitution as an important feature in our life, but I can also discern the dangers within it. We must appreciate that we have a movement which must infuse life into the dry paragraphs and clauses, which must always keep the old values before it. I should like the constitution to be approved at the present session of the General Council, but with a corollary expressing our concern for the great Zionist idea.

JACOB KATZMAN
(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—USA)

First of all I wish to subscribe to the praise voiced here regarding the manner in which the Chairman of the Committee on the Constitution, Mr. Pinkus, conducted our meetings. I should also like to express my thanks to Advocate Maurice Boukstein, and to the experts of the Ussishkin Commission, who were engaged over a period of three years in preparing the new constitution which has been presented to us.

Personally the present session of the Zionist General Council is of historic significance for after a lapse of forty years a new constitution for the Zionist Organization is being approved. Our attitude must be one of the greatest respect and gravity. A constitution is not merely a collection of statutes and regulations, for an organization, a state or any other entity. It is a contract involving the organization, the corporate body, the public, the individual, the various branches of that organization, setting forth tasks and responsibilities.

The constitution that has been tabled today is no declaration of the principles of the World Zionist Organization. Nor is it the programme of the Organization. It is superfluous to stress that the ideology, the programme, must be the spirit enshrined in the constitution. At its last session in the summer, the Zionist General Council enunciated the principles to be incorporated in the new constitution. The Council at that time voted unanimously that: 1. the World Zionist Organization is the central institution authorized to speak on behalf of all affiliated organizations in the implementation of the Zionist Programme; 2. Membership of individual Zionists must henceforth be through the instrumentality of local territorial and national organizations; 3. the World Zionist Organization must be composed of national and territorial Zionist organizations and federations. 4. the Shekel will henceforth be a territorial Shekel in each country.

The General Council was not hasty and decided to appoint another Committee to submit its recommendations to the present session. We must express our gratitude to the Executive which has wrestled with this problem for years. I wish to underline the fact that this was done by the Executive and not by the Zionist Organization. The Executive found it necessary, within its sphere of competence, to ensure the interests and efficiency of the Zionist Organization in various countries. Needless to say the Executive together with the General Council are responsible for the protection of the Zionist organizations, wherever and whenever that may be necessary.

We must bear in mind that the World Zionist Organization is not a sovereign state, that it does legislate for itself. The Zionist Organization must function in various countries of the world, and in each of these

countries it must adapt itself to local laws. Of course it is not easy to come, after sixty years during which we have grown accustomed to a certain structure and to a certain procedure and build everything anew, from the ground up. Up to the present the Organization was constructed horizontally, of world parties and organizations. Now it must be reconstructed on vertical lines, of territorial organizations, endowed with territorial autonomy. We must keep in mind that autonomy does not mean anarchy and disorganization. Autonomy without cooperation can prove destructive. That is foreseen in the new constitution. And in view of the fact that under the new constitution the World Zionist Organization will interfere very little—certainly in the major Jewish communities —in the internal affairs of the Movement, the constitution lays down the criteria in accordance with which the territorial organization must operate if it wishes to become affiliated to the World Zionist Organization.

The most important point incorporated in the new constitution is that the World Zionist Organization is the central body authorized by its constituent bodies to speak on behalf of the entire Movement and to implement the Zionist Programme. The new constitution imposes a dual responsibility. It imposes a responsibility upon the territorial organizations which will now enjoy a considerable measure of autonomy. For example I come from a country the conditions of which are met very well by the constitution. In my country, however, there is no territorial Zionist organization in existence. Under the new constitution a territorial federation will have to be created. No less important is how the Zionist Movement in America will take advantage of the autonomy given to it under the provisions of the new constitution. The new constitution also imposes a responsibility upon the World Zionist Organization. It has been said here that the World Zionist Organization will be no more than the "servant" of the territorial organizations. What does that mean? Under the old constitution, no less than under the new, the function of the Zionist Organization has been and will be to serve the organizations in the various countries, to inspire them in their daily work, to illuminate the road they must tread.

DR. EMANUEL COHEN
(Herut–Hatzohar—Israel)

I must confess that the debate on the constitution is somewhat anaemic. We have had our apprehensions about the proposed amendments. The reform of a constitution is certainly no easy matter. The Zionist Organization differs from other organizations and its constitution accordingly differs from other constitutions. What is the difference between the Zionist Organization and other organizations? The Zionist Organization

was the Jewish State on the way. Fifty years ago the Jewish people was unorganized and in creating the Zionist Organization we sought to develop a substitute for a state organization. The Zionist Congress was a quasi-parliamentary institution of the Jewish people, while the Zionist Shekel was far more than just a Shekel. It was a document of citizenship in the State on the way. But that has all changed. The State has been established. The Jews of the world who fifty years enjoyed no opportunities for political life have secured civic rights and today the Zionist Organization has become no more than a means and not an end in itself. And those who have their apprehensions regarding the constitution which is being submitted to us and regard the changing of the status quo must realize one thing,—that the status quo was altered many years ago. We must not make the mistake of fighting for something which no longer exists. When I first read the draft of the constitution I asked myself a simple question: In what way will this constitution alter Zionist realities? Without entering into any detailed discussion there are three areas in which a certain change will be introduced: 1. In the organizational structure of the Zionist Organization; 2. The Shekel; 3. The creation of conditions to admit into the Zionist Organization certain Jewish corporations. We have been told that up to the present the Zionist Organization has been a body with individual membership. That was only the case on paper. For the last twenty or thirty years the Zionist Organization has been an organization of parties, of corporations.

In endorsing the principle which is being put forward today we are not changing the structure, the real structure of the Zionist Organization. Only the principle is being changed. Needless to say if a principle is changed, if an organization is to be constructed, in the legal sense, upon federative lines, the necessary conclusions must be drawn. It must be appreciated that the corporations have their obligations and that they also have their privileges. That can be expressed not only in the composition of the legislative bodies of the Organization, but also in the composition of the administrative and executive bodies.

What is the change contemplated in regard to the Shekel? Representation in the Congress will not be determined on the basis of the number of Shekalim. It will be fixed in accordance with the number of Jews living in any country, and in accordance with Zionist activity. I must admit that the Shekel for which a fight is being waged today has become discredited. It would be far better to legalize the situation and recognize the Shekel as a voters-card. Such legitimization will not alter the actual state of affairs.

The third radical change is regarding the admission of organizations which today stand outside the Zionist Organization. This question has two aspects. I do not believe that Zionism can be saved, that the Move-

ment can be strengthened by creating conditions for the admission of new organizations. Some years ago we accepted the principle of opening our doors for individual members. Unfortunately we did not see the individual Zionists queueing up, waiting to be admitted! The non-Zionist organizations, too, are not waiting patiently in the queue to be admitted.

From Congress to Congress, from one session of the Zionist General Council to another, we have called for a repolitization of the Zionist Organization. My own movement was constantly conscious of the dilution of Zionism. We do not know whether the non-Zionists of yesterday and the Zionists of tomorrow will be any worse than the Zionists of today. I do not see any danger threatening Great Zionism, for if we wanted Great Zionism we could have it. There is a difference between the company sitting here and that company over there, about whom we are speaking. Some of the new organizations may be allergic to the word "politics." They may come but that will not change the existing state of affairs. I am of the opinion that the Organization could continue with the old constitution. There are many countries with constitutions. But there are developments in the life of a people and an organization which take no account of written laws. A certain document is being presented to us. We are prepared to accept that document, but with one condition: That the basic principle of that document be scrupulously implemented. The document is by no means perfect but it is the result of much hard work. The Ussishkin Commission did very good work and I cannot conclude my remarks without subscribing to the appreciation expressed here of the work of the Chairman of the Committee on the Constitution. I believe that I am entitled as the representative of the only party which is regarded as the opposition in this House to express to Mr. Pinkus, who is a political antagonist, our appreciation of the manner in which he has carried out his very arduous task.

REUVEN ARZI
(Mapam—Israel)

For us the Zionist Movement has always been and remains today the national and social liberation movement of the Jewish people. The aim of the Movement has been and remains to concentrate the majority of the Jewish people in its historic homeland.

Dr. Goldmann has stated that at one time Zionism was a revolutionary movement when it counted a minority of the people. We believe that the Movement must preserve its revolutionary character, even after, historically speaking, it has proved triumphant and has been recognized by the great majority of the people. It is trite to say that today the

people identifies itself with the State of Israel, even in those countries where there is no Zionist Movement whatever. Millions of Jews throughout the world wish to preserve their national identity and the unity of the people. But the degree in which that aspiration is cherished, the measure of identification with Israel, differs between Zionists and non-Zionists. There are opinions that the differences between the Zionists and the non-Zionists are disappearing, but the question is whether the non-Zionists are coming closer to Zionism, or whether the Zionists are declining to the level of the non-Zionists.

Of course not all the Zionists in pre-war Poland realized Zionist aims personally. But in Poland there were Jewish youth movements with a membership of fifty to sixty-thousand, and a Tarbut school movement with fifty-thousand pupils, besides other nationally-conscious schools. That added up to a guarantee for the realization of Zionism.

Zionists must concern themselves about day-schools for their children. Even in the raising of funds there is a difference in the approach of the Zionist and the non-Zionist, though the non-Zionists might contribute more money. Zionists have proved that they support us more solidly in our fight for Eretz Israel, even when our struggle came into collision with local laws.

The issue is not whether the Zionist Movement develops into an order of *chalutzim* counting five thousand members, or a mass movement of three or four millions. The Zionist Organization cannot be compared with any other organization operating on the Jewish scene. Even if it were numerically smaller it remains the most specific body. And indeed can the existence of the Zionist Movement be called into question at all when no more than fifteen per cent of the Jewish people are resident in the State and the remaining eighty-five per cent are still beyond its borders?

Dr. Goldmann was quite correct in saying that a constitution must reflect the character of a movement. What are the chief characteristics of the Zionist Movement? The Zionist Movement is a universal, democratic, political, voluntary, people's movement engaged in practical realization of its ideals. The question must be asked to what extent these characteristics are incorporated in the constitution. Unfortunately, not in an adequate degree.

It is true, it is proposed to broaden the base of the Movement. But in what form? The constitution enables the admission of Jewish national or inter-national organizations. Henceforth there will be corporate and individual membership. Needless to say the rights and duties of groups differ from those of the individuals. Corporate membership is privileged, it pays no tribute to democracy. The representatives of the organizations will participate in the Zionist Congresses, and in other institutions, without taking part in any elections.

SIXTH MEETING

At the previous session of the Zionist General Council Dr. Goldmann was given the power to negotiate with Jewish organizations regarding the admission of the latter into the Zionist Organization. We can give him that authorization once again. We may ask, however, why this should be incorporated in the constitution, when what is in progress is no more than an experiment. Of course the Movement must try to increase its own influence upon existing Jewish organizations and bodies. It must do so by winning these organizations over from within. There will be a state of duplication within the Movement when both groups and individuals join. The Movement may be expanded but it will not be deepened. And what the Movement stands in need of today is an intensification of its values.

Zionism was always a world question, because the Jewish people is a world people, and the problems with which it has to contend are world problems. Now it is proposed to grant certain Zionist territorial organizations autonomy. We can understand that in a country where there are more than a million Jews. This, in effect, means only the United States and Israel. Today there is talk of granting autonomy to communities counting four hundred thousand Jews. Later, perhaps, the figure may be reduced to one hundred thousand. Thus the Zionist Movement will enter upon a process of fragmentation, with grave ideological and political results. It can reinforce the notion that there is not one centre, Jerusalem, but many centres.

There is also an aspiration to depolitize the Zionist Movement. What is the ultimate objective? It is absurd that in the proposed constitution the political parties should not be mentioned as constituent bodies of the Zionist Organization. Various Jewish organizations will have a world representation, while the parties, which up to the present have borne the brunt of Zionist work, have created the basis of Zionist work, are not even mentioned.

The Shekel is to serve as a voter's card. For others it is entirely abolished. A national Shekel is contemplated. What does this imply? It is not an expression of a dispersion of the communities instead of *kibbutz galuyot,* an ingathering of the communities?

Upon more than one occasion we have voiced our criticism of the attitude of the Israel Government, in which we are represented, towards the Zionist Movement. We are convinced that the time will come when those who have voiced so much criticism about the Movement, will realize their own historic errors. The Zionist Movement must be stronger in view of the functions it must fulfil. It will not become stronger by bartering its ideals. It will not enhance the influence it wields if it is said that all Jews consent to the existence of the State of Israel and that all of them aspire to ensure Jewish national existence. The historic need for the ingathering of the exiles is being minimized.

R. ARZI-A. HAENDLER

Within the next ten years the State of Israel will stand in need of a powerful Zionist Movement, to assist it to achieve complete political and economic independence. The Movement will prove capable of fulfilling its historic mission if it safeguards its own character as a universal political democratic people's movement, dedicated to self-realization of its ideals.

ARIEH HAENDLER
(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—Israel)

I don't belong to the "status quoniks," far from it, or say that we can be satisfied with the present state of the Zionist Movement and its parties, but when listening to Dr. Goldmann on the need to widen our framework, one gets the impression that he looks for new structures without having utilized the existing ones. Indeed he even belittles them. We understand the motives which prompt Dr. Goldmann: achievement of a stronger representation vis-à-vis the State and world Jewry. But can his suggestions help? We see a danger of making the World Zionist Organization into a World Jewish Congress. The World Jewish Congress has failed to inspire the imagination of the Jewish masses and with all our failures in the past, the Jewish public has always seen in a Zionist a person who identifies himself personally with the Jewish nation and Israel. This differentiation in Jewish life was a healthy one; it had an educational influence on old and young. If it should be lost in this loose conglomerate it will be a loss to Israel, to the people. It must lead to loosening of ties, to greater assimilation.

The main question in Jewish life today is identification with the people or assimilation. That is why I would have been happier with the new constitution without Dr. Goldmann's introduction. He praises *chalutziut* and he recommends a *chalutz* Order because most Zionists don't consider it as applying to themselves. In the same way he praises *shuls* as opposed to synagogues because many Zionists haven't seen a *shul* from the inside for many years. There are different reasons for the weakening of the Zionist Organization; but one of them was—and is—the deterioration of the quality of Zionist leadership on top, on the national and local levels. The new constitution does not create any safeguards against the further deterioration because it makes Zionism even less of a personal effort.

We want to lay greater stress on schools, on education, but do we realize that these efforts in the spheres of education, Jewish education, Jewish schools, must be impeded by a loosening of Zionist bonds? Do we realize that the pendulum is swinging back and a resistance develops in the Golah? The new forces which we are going to take into the

Movement are not going to help us in the right direction and every one of us who knows something about what goes on in many countries of the West knows the real attitude to the question of education amongst those who otherwise would possibly be prepared to give money for Israel.

And another danger. The new proposals can have a boomerang effect. In England I recently participated in an ideological conference of the Mizrachi and Hapoel-Hamizrachi, where strong views were expressed to leave the Zionist Organization altogether; particularly the younger *chaverim* felt that since the Zionist Movement has lost its ideals of personal identification, only the formal framework remains and since besides Israel and Jewish religious life and observance these are their main aims today, they prefer to leave the formal partnership to whatever we may decide here.

Dr. Goldmann referred to non-Zionist youth movements who today are paying a little more attention to us. Exactly! They are with us because of the attraction which Israel and *hagshama atzmit* offer. This has been the almost mystic attraction of the Zionist Movement for the outsider even if he did not accept its programme.

Dr. Goldmann refers to *kibbush hakehillot*. I realize the problem is different today than what it was twenty or thirty years ago. In England, a few years ago, the Zionist Movement, especially the Zionist Federation, succeeded in infiltrating, almost controlling the most important institutions of organized Jewish life, the Board of Deputies, whose President, Mr. Janner, is here with us and the Board of Jewish Education. This influence would not have been achieved were the constitution of the Zionist Organization as suggested today, because the wider and looser the framework, the harder to find a common denominator, the more difficult it is to be an effective body.

We are all prone to condemn parties and party squabbles. But party democracy is still the best of all the ten plagues of democratic life, more reliable than Presidents' Clubs, United Synagogues, sisterhoods and ladies' guilds. They fight for their rights, as Dr. Goldmann knows, and for their vested interests. Zionist parties, Hadassah, WIZO, Mizrachi Women—they also fight for their rights, but they are based on ideals, on conviction. The others will delay your efforts wherever you are, when you touch their prestige or pseudo-social structure. We Zionists will, perhaps hesitatingly, give you our approval, because we know that you honestly desire to make more Zionists and this must be the interpretation of the new constitution, to make and to be Zionists at all times and under all circumstances.

JOSEPH DALESKI

(Herut–Hatzohar—South Africa)

The approach to the question of this constitution seems to be from two extremes. One side believes that the written constitution is merely a formality and that things will go on in very much the same way as they did before. Another section of this Council, however, believes that the position is fraught with danger, and there must be safeguards to prevent disintegration of the Organization. I, however, am one of those who believes that the constitution as it is now formulated gives expression to an inevitable development in Zionist affairs.

Zionism has always been a voluntary movement and whenever any attempt has been made to impose discipline, it has led to disruption and to disintegration. The removal now of the discipline clause from the constitution is, to my mind, a major and beneficial development. It, of course, casts greater responsibility upon the member organizations and also upon the Executive. But I believe that the Organization is tough enough and enduring enough to take into account all contingencies that might result from this constitution and overcome all difficulties.

The main difficulty of course with which we are faced is that we are now going to be established as a loose confederation, but I believe that the way in which the constitution has been framed gives an opportunity and a guarantee in that when you appoint an agent, you appoint an agent in whom you have confidence. And every Zionist territorial organization in appointing Congress and the Executive as its agent for carrying out the tasks for Zionism is manifesting a confidence in that organization and in that Executive.

At the same time voluntarily we are giving autonomy to the various territorial organizations. I believe that the greater autonomy that you give, the greater will be the responsibility with which those organizations will perform their function.

I believe that if there is to be a grant of autonomy it should be a grant of autonomy to every organization in every country and no distinction should be drawn between large populations and smaller populations. All should be given the opportunity of this autonomy and with that opportunity the greater responsibility of carrying out their Zionist functions.

There is another matter to which I would like to draw attention. The committee, which for want of a better name we called the Usisshkin Committee, took certain very correct positions, to my mind, with regard to the Shekel and the use of the Shekel as an entitlement to vote. One of those provisions was that the Shekel holder as voter had to affix his signature to the Shekel, the Shekel having upon it the Jerusalem Programme.

I see from the constitution that is now before us in draft form that those provisions have been withdrawn. I believe this to be a retrogressive step.

I hope that even though these provisions are not included in the consitution, nevertheless the regulations which are to be framed as a supplement to the constitution will contain those provisions in regard to signature of the Shekel.

There remains only one thing that I would like to say and that also is connected with the question of the Shekel. To my mind it will depend upon the Jewish community of the United States as to whether or not we are going to have a reinvigorated and revivified Zionist Organization. If, however, they are going to continue to avoid elections, if they are going to continue to purchase Shekalim in block, if they are going to have group representation in this way without identification of the individual as voter, then in the future the Zionist Organization under this constitution will be in the greatest danger. It is for the Jews of the United States, if they want to give flesh and sinew to this constitution, and to the Organization as it will shape itself under that constitution, to observe its spirit and not only the letter. They must see to it that they use the Shekel and the constitution as a method of mobilizing Zionists and Jewish opinion in their country for the Zionist ideal.

DR. MOSHE ARIEH KURTZ
(Mizrachi–Hapoel Hamizrachi—Israel)

As a member of the Committee on the Constitution, and also of the committees which preceded it in various guises, I regard it as a privilege to add my voice to those who have lauded the work of our Chairman. Failing his devoted work, his understanding, his mastery of the Hebrew and English texts and terminology we should have not completed the draft before us, with all its good and bad points.

Upon more than one occasion I have asked myself the question: Which is to be preferred, a constitution or the absence of a constitution? Jews and non-Jews from Great Britain have expressed the view that a constitution is not essential. Others, however argue, that a written constitution is indispensable. This applies even more strongly to ourselves, the People of the Book, the People of the Scrolls.

When at one time I taught this subject to children it seemed to me essential that we have a constitution. The reason perhaps was that we were not in the desirable situation of having no constitution. Had we not had the present constitution—which has not succeeded in keeping abreast of events, and is (if I may call it so) a patchwork of what is important and unimportant—the situation would have been different.

The time has come to rid the Zionist Movement of that document, which has remained in effect up to today and to produce one more worthy of it. Thus though in other spheres no constitution may be preferable to a written constitution, in our case, which is different—for we have a constitution—generally speaking the new draft is preferable.

In this constitution there are three distinct complexes. The first element is the changed structure. Arguments have been put forward regarding the degree of autonomy preferable in diverse countries, and the degree of centralized supervision to be exercised by the Executive.

I am not happy with what we are proposing. My own party is of the opinion that the World Zionist Organization has not completed its function, though there may be defects, and sometimes even depressions in its work. Nevertheless the Zionist Movement has an important mission to fulfil in respect of the State of Israel and the people of Israel, throughout the world. We consider that it would have been advisable, —had it been possible—to preserve the existing structure. We are not convinced that a greater degree of autonomy implies more responsibility, more activity, presaging an era of renaissance in the Zionist Movement. But a certain proposal has been put forward after prolonged discussion and debate. If any other proposals in regard to the size of the Jewish population entitled to autonomy are put forward, my own party will favour the highest figure.

The second question affects that complex debate which to all intents and purposes, was brought to a conclusion at the previous session of the Zionist General Council. You will recall that we were opposed to the admission of Jewish organizations into the Zionist Movement from the very outset. We still hold that there are no more effective guardians of the strength, competence, influence and efficiency of the Zionist Movement than the Zionist parties. The weakness of the Zionist Movement today must be sought in the weakness of the Zionist parties. If they were stronger then *ipso facto* the Movement would have been stronger. That is why we think that the Zionist Movement cannot be strengthened by replacing the parties by Jewish organizations—which may be important in themselves but cannot reinforce the Zionist Organization. This step is all the more dangerous as long as we have not found a suitable remedy to cure the passing ills of the Movement. It can however delude us into thinking that we have passed the crisis and that the adhesion of these organizations will extract the Movement from its weakness and lethargy.

We opposed the Goldmann plan from the very outset and today our opposition is even more justified than before. Indeed I would say that if we required any experimental proof of our ideological assumptions Dr. Goldmann has provided it. We should be the last to revive this matter. We are fully aware that it was supported by a large majority

at the previous session. However, had we to vote again on this issue my party would oppose it again.

The third matter is that of the Shekel, the institutions, the Congress, personal membership, and other aspects of Zionist organization which must indeed be reconstructed. We made every effort, in formulating our proposals, to reach a compromise between the diverse schools of thought, even when they were diametrically opposed to each other. We sought a draft which the majority of the Members of his House could subscribe to and support.

We could not submit this volume, with all the reservations and amendments put forward by each of us, had we not made a united effort, had we not endeavoured to understand, if not to accept, each others views. It seems to me that that was the best thing we could do.

In conclusion I wish to utter a note of warning.

It seems that there is danger in our confusion of different things and our belief that with the aid of the constitution we shall be able to cure the malady caused by the internal situation in the Zionist Movement. We all share the view that therapy is necessary. It is essential that members of all parties should give serious thought to the causes of the ills of the Movement in the past decade, and seek out a cure to restore it to good health.

PAUL L. GOLDMAN
(Achdut Ha'avoda—USA)

From the purely professional point of view, there is no doubt, we must voice our appreciation of the work of the Committee on the Constitution, and of its Chairman. But leaving aside the formal, professional aspect, I do not feel that we can welcome the new constitution.

How often in the last few years have we tortured ourselves with the question of the meaning of "the crisis in the Zionist Organization?" How often have various remedies of an organizational character been put forward? Years ago we were told that if we refused to organize Zionist federations we must surely decline, or if we did not permit individual membership we must inevitably vanish from the face of the earth? We were told that we were suffering from arterio-sclerosis. Perhaps we should mark the present session of the Zionist General Council as one in which there has been no talk about our "arterio-sclerosis."

It has been our privilege to hear our President say—not in his opening address but in his reply to the debate—that we are still an important organization, that we are still the most significant body in Jewish life. Dr. Goldmann would like us to be more than that. So would we all! We should all of us like to have a larger organization, with more

and richer content, which should be capable of meeting the needs of our times, of responding to the call of the State.

But if we were really a strong organization, we should be imbued with the intensive urge that characterized us prior to the establishment of the State of Israel, when we captured the Jewish masses. In that case there would be no fear about admitting the non-Zionist bodies. Our spirit, our will, our resolution, imposed themselves at that time upon almost all non-Zionist organizations. At that time they stipulated no conditions, because we were not prepared to make any concessions. Today we are told that we are weak. And for that reason we must admit new organizations.

But weak organizations must first of all be restored to good health. I should understand it if this matter of expanding our organizational structure were the second item upon our agenda, and the Executive told us that it intended trying to restore the Movement in the Golah, in America, that it was prepared to despatch *shlichim,* that it was ready to allocate more funds to provide more suitable premises for the youth to conduct their activities and to obviate the struggle they have to wage for their very existence.

There is a party key in existence and my party has no more than one *shaliach* for the United States. But he has no one to compete with. The field is wide and there is room for everyone. All of us together are doing very little.

The differences between the Zionist and the non-Zionist organizations have already been enumerated here.

We must make it a major objective of our Movement to ensure that the work we are doing, the efforts we are making, should have a greater impact in Israel. *Chalutziut* can have such an impact in Jewish life and in the State. We must confess that this is no easy task. Large numbers are not called for. I believe that if we could point to a steadily growing number there would be a basic change.

In regard to the work of the Committee on the Constitution, the proposal put forward includes paragraphs which do not tally with the realities of the situation, for example the prohibition of more than one Shekel per person. What will you do, however, in the case of a person who is a member both of a synagogue and an organization, of a Zionist party and a union? Will some body to carry out investigations be set up?

It is still not too late. The present session of the Zionist General Council can have wide repercussions, if the Executive proclaims that prior to the forthcoming Zionist Congress—and for this purpose I would agree to the postponement of Congress—a major effort is to be made to enlist more *chalutzim,* and to mobilize the Zionist Movement from within. That would lend a new content to the present session.

SEVENTH MEETING

Thursday, December 31, 1959, in the morning

Chairman: MR. JOSEPH KLARMAN

PROBLEMS OF JEWISH EDUCATION IN THE DIASPORA

ADDRESS BY MR. ZALMAN SHAZAR

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

Ten years have passed since the Zionist Movement resolved to assume responsibility for education and culture in the countries of the Diaspora. Not all of these ten years were years of activity, but the period spent in observation and that devoted to activity suffice to allow us to examine the situation in education and culture today, and to ask ourselves how we propose to solve the problems with which history has confronted us in this sphere.

Before embarking upon a survey of our work, permit me to report briefly on the present situation among the Jewish communities in the various countries of the Diaspora.

The struggle for civic rights has now been concluded. The entire house of Israel enjoys civic equality. Following the publication of the United Nations Charter, what we call the struggle for emancipation officially came to its close. In other words, in all countries in which Jews are equal in their civic rights and duties, there are compulsory education laws. The Jewish child is thus brought within the sphere of non-Jewish culture, and if he does not also receive supplementary Jewish education, he is extracted from the Jewish world. This is the case today in all countries of the Diaspora.

This is the first time in Jewish history that there has been such a situation. We have experienced many countries of exile and many cultures, we have evolved many instruments to fight the influence of all sorts of cultures, but in the past the alien world forced its culture upon us only in the highest ranks. It took our intellectual classes and repaid them with special privileges for their entry into the higher grades of education. In Czarist Russia university graduates were endowed with rights and privileges. In many other countries it was impossible to enter the government and administrative services and particularly the army, without a government school certificate. The alien cultural world took

the cream of our nation, but left behind the Jewish masses. In all periods of our history either we built something for ourselves, some minor "autonomy," or governments paid no attention at all to us and thus large multitudes remained who were not caught up in the net of alien culture. Today governments possess all the instruments to compel Jews to enter the alien cultural world, and they are indeed making use of these instruments.

In the United States there is indeed a small group of Jews who have resolved not to register at all, so that the state shall not know of their existence, and not be able to compel their children to go to a government school. But this is of course an egregious exception.

Today the entire Diaspora is under pressure of external cultures that are given us, not only on the higher levels but also in primary education. At the very outset the Jewish child learns the language of the country. Jewry rejoices in this fact and is not conscious of any feelings of inconvenience. That is the dictate of history, which our people has accepted.

But the people did not rest content with this. The more vigilantly Jewish elements began to forge other instruments of education adapted to the new conditions in order to educate their children to be loyal sons and daughters of their people, loyal to their function and, perhaps, to their mission.

The subject of our discussion here is these cultural instruments which we have developed in Diaspora countries side by side with the culture of the nations in which we live. These institutions do not pretend to compete with public schools, but to supplement them, to co-exist with them.

Henceforth this will increasingly become the main concern of our people and those who prove successful in dealing with this problem will emerge as the leaders of our people in the Diaspora. This constitutes an inner need which history has forced upon the Jewish people.

Our people in various countries responded to this need with great energy, without waiting for resolutions to be passed by Congress, even without any clear programme. When the Jewry of Eastern Europe was still in existence and compulsory education was introduced and it became necessary for the Jews to adapt themselves to the new situation that had arisen, the struggle for recognition of the rights of the Jewish and the Hebrew school became one of the major planks in Jewish political activity. Various movements developed to build these instruments. The Enlightenment Movement performed the task even before the emergence of the Zionist Movement, and so did the Alliance Israelite. In certain cases the object of these activities was a neighbouring community in another country.

Orthodox Jewry did likewise with its domestic—and if you wish pri-

mitive—methods. Concern for Eretz Israel, preceded Zionism, and so did concern for Jewish education. At that time work on behalf of Eretz Israel went by the name of Chaluka, and the Jews collected funds throughout the world to maintain the small Jewish settlement in Eretz Israel, in order to ensure the existence of such a settlement. Emissaries travelled throughout the world to collect these funds. The same was the case with the Yeshivot in Volozhin, and Mir and in Eishishok. In every town Jews contributed for the Chaluka in Eretz Israel and for the Yeshiva in Volozhin. These two branches of activity, both of which preceded Zionism, united scattered Jewries, and constituted the kernel of general Jewish activity.

In emancipated Poland great movements for education were created —Tarbut, Yiddische Folk Schulen, Yavneh, etc. Who does not remember them?

I searched through the minutes of the Zionist Congresses to find out when a resolution on the "Reformed Chedarim" was passed. It is doubtful whether a resolution in this spirit was ever passed. But there was no Zionism without the "Reformed Cheder" and we grew up in an atmosphere of the "Reformed Cheder." And when I survey what is being done in the new countries of the Diaspora, in the Argentine, in Canada and in the United States, and ask myself who now bear the burden of education, I see that they are the one-time pupils of the Yeshivot, of the "Reformed Cheder", of Tarbut and of Yavneh.

The European Catastrophe put an end to all these sources. Both teachers and pupils were destroyed. The educational organizations are no more, and the very initiative for activities of this category has been rooted out of Zionism. In the years of the Catastrophe and in the fervour of the feverish Zionist political activity and the ingathering of the exiles we paid little attention to the needs of Jewish education.

But in spite of our own inactivity in this field it did not remain uncultivated. Indeed I know of no field in Jewish life in which so many associations and organizations are active, as in the field of education.

When life in Eastern Europe was destroyed and the emigrants reached the various countries and new Diaspora communities were formed, some of them wealthy and powerful, others of smaller proportions, scattered over the face of the earth, all of them were faced with the responsibility implied in their heritage, the responsibility to educate their children towards their human and national mission in life. But they were not prepared for the task at all or only partly equipped for it.

When the Zionist Movement resolved to operate in this field, it laboured under three drawbacks which continue to hinder it in developing its work. First of all its limited financial resources, as compared with the needs it must satisfy, and the funds at the disposal of other organizations. The Zionist Movement has made only minimal appropriations

for this purpose as if to say: My friends! You are not required to do very much. All you need do is to investigate the situation, advise, encourage and perhaps at some later stage make proposals. Because of the multiplicity of our needs we are not giving you much but are not asking much from you.

Secondly: From the point of view of Zionist propaganda we have done all our work in this field anonymously, I would almost say, left-handedly. Just take a look at Zionist propaganda. How did we undertake the great work of the ingathering of the exiles? We took the funds for this purpose from the United Jewish Appeal, not only from Zionists, but from Jewish communities and from unaffiliated individual Jews. We have aroused a great voluntary movement. What did we tell the Jews? We told them about settlement, about immigration, about Jewish masses who must be saved from squalor and destitution and repression and the dangers threatening peace. We told them in all the seventy tongues, and we called the people to action.

I will not say that in our concern for Jewish education, we felt embarrassed, but clearly, we did not have sufficient self-confidence to state the demands of Jewish education and culture to those abroad who aid us. Not because we did not appreciate the significance of this work, but because we did not properly assess the interest of the Jewish public to whom we came. We feared encroaching upon the United Jewish Appeal if we put our demands clearly. Education was kept in the background, in the recess of our Movement and we educated the Movement to feel that we were doing all this work incidentally, and that the main stress must be put on other things. We said: Give us the money for the other, more important tasks. Educational activity we shall carry on with the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table.

And thirdly: We did not succeed in concentrating our efforts in this sphere properly. Divided, in a spirit of mutual distrust, we embarked upon our task. We left this field to inter-party bickering. At times we even hindered each other.

For these three reasons what we have done has not appeared in the purity and splendour which the efforts made by the Zionist Organization were worthy of. It seems to me that today the time is ripe for drawing up a balance sheet because of the basic changes which have been registered in the meantime and which must be expected in the future.

Jewish demography and statistics since the European Catastrophe are still in their infancy. All that Jewish scholars achieved in this field from the very beginnings up to Ruppin is now a ruin. Conditions have changed completely. Since the Catastrophe we depend solely on assumptions. Speeches in Congress and the Zionist General Council dealing with education and culture have been based on estimates and individual im-

pressions. It seems to me that now for the first time we can speak about education upon the basis of authentic information, primarily because of the work done by the Departments themselves, both the Department for Education and Culture in the Golah and the younger Department for Torah Education and Culture. They have acted through their teachers, representatives and emissaries, through the visits of members of their staff to the various countries.

In addition, in the largest of the Jewish communities in the Golah, where despite all its wealth and size, there was even less precise knowledge of the educational set-up and educational institutions—in the United States—we now have a serious study on this subject, a survey of "Jewish Education in the United States" published by the American Association for Jewish Education. I wish here to express deep gratitude and appreciation to all those who were engaged in the study completed this year. Teachers, organizations and communities worked on this Survey for three or four years and invested much money and effort in it. The result is a picture of education and culture in America, a picture that is different from that which we discussed in the Education and Culture Committee last year.

Jewish education in America has demonstrated great power. It has produced a true elite, it has raised a generation of trained pedagogues and, along with them, devoted laymen who regard educational work as the very centre of their lives. And when we recall that American Jewry has no organized communities, that there is no central authority, that in this field generous endowments are rare, and that there are not all the necessary instruments for work within this Jewry of more than five millions—if we take all this into account, American Jewry has to its credit a historic accomplishment of true magnitude in this establishment of institutions of Jewish education side by side with the institutions of general education.

This appreciation comes from the depths of my heart, especially in view of my knowledge of the extremely modest contribution made by organized Zionism in this field.

The "Survey" serves us as a torch to illuminate all that American Jewry has done in the field of education, but it has at the same time thrown light on the complex problems and genuine dangers confronting us. This negative aspect has not been publicly elaborated upon in America, and I believe it our duty to consider it here.

What then, has the "Survey" taught us? It has taught us something that we must welcome, of which we might otherwise have remained ignorant. Today we have data dealing with a period of ten years, those same ten years in which our Departments have been operating. In the course of these ten years the number of children in Jewish schools has grown to a fantastic extent. Ten years ago in 1948, the number in all

types of Jewish schools in America was 239,000. In 1958 it had reached 553,000—that is an increase of 131 per cent.

Was this achieved by the State of Israel? No, the State did nothing in this sphere! The State simply performed the greatest act of all—it came into being. And its existence constituted a clarion call. The response, however, was far greater than we had reason to expect. There has been a great leap forward and that is something of which American Jewry can be proud. There has been some talk to the effect that 27 per cent or 33 per cent of American Jewish children are receiving some sort of Jewish education. Actually, the figure is now approaching forty per cent. That is a great, very gratifying advance. But our mood is bound to change drastically when we begin to scrutinize these figures more closely, and see what is behind them.

I will read some figures to you. The 553,000 children who are today in Jewish schools constitute forty per cent of the Jewish children of the United States. In other words sixty per cent are not now receiving any Jewish schooling. It is true that in the Jewish schools children come for a year and then leave. But even taking this turnover into account, we see how high a percentage of Jewish children learn nothing about Israel's past and Isarel's position today.

And what is the true significance in the case of the forty per cent who do go to Jewish schools? Forty-five per cent of these children go to a Jewish school only one day a week, for an hour and a half, that is to Sunday Schools. In other words the great transformations which have led to the registration of hundreds of thousands of pupils in the Jewish schools—the establishment of the State and the terrible tragedy of the Jews of Europe and perhaps also the earnest endeavours of our Movement—have moved the parents only so far as to give their children one and a half hours of Jewish instruction in a week. Less than the minimum I fear. Statistics tell us, further, that of the 17,000 teachers instructing in Jewish schools, 10,700 cannot even read Hebrew.

I do not wish to weary you and so I have chosen a single subject about which there will be no differences of opinion among us. We all agree, I am sure, that a Jewish child should know the five Books of Moses. I do not say the entire Bible, I do not say two hundred chapters of the Bible, but a Jewish child should be familiar with a portion of the Torah. I cannot picture Jewish education, capable of producing pupils who later will be loyal sons of their people, concerned with Eretz Israel, capable of being shocked at riots in Morocco, of feeling that Jews are a single people, if these pupils do not know some *Chumash*. The fact is according to the "Survey", that, aside from the day schools, "probably no more than 25 per cent of our children learn enough to begin the study of the Hebrew Bible and probably less than half of these can read the simplest Hebrew-Bible text."

The "Survey" goes even further. It states that "since only 30 per cent of the Sunday schools teach Bible text in English, the likelihood is that the vast majority of our children grow up without *any* knowledge of Bible text, either in Hebrew or in English."

I do not know if children can understand the basis of Jewish religion, appreciate the spirit of the people, if they have not studied the Bible in the original Hebrew. But we shall leave this aspect about which there may be some difference of opinion and say, "Hearken in every tongue you understand." Yet 70 per cent of these children do not reach study of the Bible—in Hebrew or in English—when they leave school! I should like to see the Zionist Movement take the leading role in convincing the American Jewish community of the inadequace of one day a week. I am sure that many rabbis and leaders of the Reform movement would cooperate with us.

I shall continue with *Chumash,* because I have begun with it, though, of course, I know that there are other things that a Jew must know—Jewish history, and current events in Israel and Hebrew literature after the Biblical period. But I wish to deal with the most elementary, uncontroversial aspect. I know that one must not generalize about the Afternoon Schools which are attended by fifty-one per cent of the Jewish pupils in Jewish schools. I know of Afternoon Schools which have teachers of very good calibre and which have registered good results. In 75 per cent of these Afternoon Schools the pupils do not reach the stage where they can read the Bible in the original Hebrew without very tangible assistance. Only 25 per cent of them can read Hebrew at all. Only ten per cent can read the Bible without any help, are capable of opening a book and understanding what is written in it. That is ten per cent of the other half—in other words only five per cent of the total number of pupils.

I could cite data from the "Survey" on the circulation of Hebrew literature, excluding the Bible, and of material on Israel. But I believe that what I have said is sufficient to indicate what the tasks are and what American Zionists, indeed American Jews, must grapple within utter earnestness and vigilance. The manner in which American Jews solve this problem, so vital for the future of our people, cannot but be of deepest concern to the American, and the World Zionist movements. Jewish youth in every country is a pledge which the nation has placed for safekeeping in the hands of the Jewish community of that country. And the Zionist Movement, which is responsible for the future of the nation, will be called to account.

Of all the diverse problems in this field, there is one that is literally terrifying. I am referring to the lack of Hebrew teachers in America, which is threatening this great, ramified educational effort. It has become more acute in the past ten years. We have not prepared the ne-

cessary instruments to handle more than half a million children who have streamed into American Jewish educational institutions in the last decade. We have not sufficient teachers and the number is even declining. Upon a previous occasion I raised this question but the figures cited in the "Survey" have filled me with consternation.

When the Government of Israel was faced with a similar problem —which incidentally is common throughout the world—and we expected a large influx of immigration, we found that we were short of one thousand teachers. A great effort was necessary to raise the standing of the teacher, in order to make teaching attractive for young people. The Israel Government solved the problem. Of course even today there is a shortage of teachers in certain areas, but generally speaking the problem has been solved. The Government nationalized all the Teachers Colleges, while students of the Colleges were not required to pay a single penny in fees. And concurrent with the inculcation of an appreciation of the pioneering task devolving upon teachers in this country the Teachers Association developed in strength; without this we should not have been able to solve the problem. The Association safeguards the rights of the teacher and his remuneration. Teachers have become one of the most secure categories of State employees in respect of working conditions, vacations and insurance. It has become worthwhile being a teacher. The case of the teacher in American Jewish schools is in complete contrast to this. His salary is not complete. Because of the conditions in the school he is not given a full teaching post. He is a provisional teacher. He engages in teaching but has other sources of livelihood. Otherwise he could not support himself. Sometimes he engages in teaching while still a student, or because he has not yet entered business, or has not yet been appointed to a rabbinic post. In the main he engages in teaching only temporarily, because the Hebrew teacher in the United States has no future. Very often there is no one to concern himself about his position, his material interests, his place in society. Why should a young Jew choose to become a teacher when so many other avenues are open to him? There is no ideal of teaching. Neither the Hebrew movement nor the Zionist Movement have done enough to make teaching into a mission worthy of self-sacrifice.

At all events the situation today is that thousands of teachers are wanted in America. The shortage will grow more and more acute, even if—God forbid—the work of education does not expand. There is the matter of superannuation. Do you know how many teachers of the Day and Afternoon School die every year? The statistics in the 'Survey" tell us that the number is rising from year to year. In 1955 the figure was 800; in 1959 it was 1,100. What will it be within three or five years? Where are the new teachers being trained? There are in America seven good Colleges for Teachers. I am proud of the fact that our Depart-

ment maintains contacts with them and cooperates with them in the bringing of teachers to Israel and in providing advanced training. There is an association of these colleges, including that of the Yeshiva University, the Jewish Theological Seminary, the Colleges in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, etc. These colleges can produce American teachers for America. Last year the total number of graduates was 160. Sixty of them did not enter the teaching profession. Thus these colleges produce one hundred teachers every year. But one thousand teachers drop out every year.

On the basis of the relations existing between ourselves and the association we advanced the idea five years ago that it is not sufficient for a teacher to complete his studies at the college. In order to absorb more Hebrew, a better knowledge of the Jewish people and of Israel we propose—we are unable to insist—that the students come here to study for a year. For that purpose we created the Chayim Greenberg College for Diaspora Teachers five years ago. Now the Torah Department has established the Rabbi Gold Institute for Torah Teachers. I cannot say that we have achieved marvels in adding this year of study. We must plough deep, we must try and arrange for two years of study in this country. We must seek ways and means to realize this project. But even this single year of study has proved and will continue to prove very useful.

Yet even the establishment of the Chayim Greenberg College was of an almost provisional nature, without the necessary funds. It began with 27 students. This year we have one hundred. We could convert it into a college for two hundred. I am sure that the Rabbi Gold Institute could say the same. Even if we had two hundred students it would meet only the most elementary needs. But the building we have cannot accommodate any more. We must erect another building but we have not got the money. Students are now beginning to come at their own expense. This, too, represents something of an experiment. We have asked for a financial contribution, but the number of students has not dropped. Nevertheless, maintenance and teachers salaries require money, which we have not got. If we accepted 200 students every year over a period of ten years, we would, I firmly believe, succeed in changing the face of education in the Diaspora.

We must also reckon with the teachers at present working in the schools. When the great influx of immigrants entered Israel the Government of Israel established intensive courses for young immigrants who did not have their teachers certificates. Every teacher who had not had sufficient training was required to attend these courses for some months. We introduced special courses for working teachers to raise their professional standards. We must make provision for teachers in need of further training so that they are able to obtain it in this country.

I need only mention that of the 7,000 teachers in the Afternoon Schools, 60 per cent have not had adequate professional training, neither in a college nor in a Yeshiva, nor in a university. We in Israel have gained experience in giving unqualified teachers the necessary professional training. We cannot remain inactive in the face of this problem.

Ramified work is necessary in this field. The Teachers Organization in America is already operating in it and we are trying to do the same in this country, by bringing teachers here for short seminars. This is expensive and it is doubtful whether the training they get in this country is thorough. We must endeavour to organize other seminars. If a school is capable of sending teachers to this country for two months at its expense we shall welcome it, but the Movement will have to contribute its share. We have not got the power to legislate but I am convinced of the enhanced prestige teachers returning from this country will enjoy in the Diaspora. The fine reputation this project has gained for the teachers and for the Jewish Agency, should make it possible for us to receive help from the communities towards this end.

It is a question of honour for the Jewish Agency to make a contribution towards solving the problem of shortage of teachers. We shall cooperate with every public force capable of assisting in this sphere. I know that there are many bodies concerned about the future of the people. We shall collaborate not only with Zionists but with any body ready to help. We shall provide in our seminars for teachers without adequate qualifications. Primarily we shall raise the standards of the teachers, later we shall endeavour to raise the standing of the teachers.

There is a development in America which we must welcome—the Day School. You are all aware of the controversy that has been waged about this issue and I do not want to add anything to it. In certain circles the idea of the Day School was welcomed, in others it was not welcomed. Today the opposition is weaker.

Two years ago during my visit to America I suggested to Members of the Executive that we aid in establishing fifteen Day Schools. We set up a public committee for the purpose. We promised to give moral support, to supply the teachers. Fifteen were not established, but 8 were.

In the United States today there are 42,000 children who go to 214 Jewish Day Schools. In the Day School the children spend the whole day in a Jewish atmosphere, the Sabbath is Sabbath and the holidays are observed. The children study Hebrew and Torah in a Jewish atmosphere, besides a full programme of general studies. These schools are recognized by the state though they are private schools. They cost the parents a lot of money, whereas they can send their children to the public schools at no cost to themselves. Attached to these schools are committees of friends, and notwithstanding the costs involved these schools are growing.

The 42,000 Jewish children in the Day Schools constitute no more than seven per cent of the pupils in Jewish schools. In a poll conducted for the "Survey" among Jewish community leaders as to whether they approved of Day Schools, 24.6 per cent replied in the affirmative. Various reasons were put forward. Some stated that they agreed to Day Schools "for those who want them." Others stated that they agreed to the establishment of Day Schools for the training of future rabbis, teachers, communal leaders, etc. In other words it was to serve as a training ground for an elite. Others again held that the pupils of such schools should be selected, that Jewish children attending other schools who had evinced a closer interest in Jewish matters, should be transferred to the Day School. The comparatively high proportion of community leaders in favour of Day Schools is significant and warrants community support for them. Only ten years ago when such a suggestion was put forward it was looked upon as heresy. Only five years ago it was not accepted even in Zionist circles.

In the course of the past ten years the proportion of Day Schools has increased by 130 per cent. The majority are orthodox or traditional schools. One of the vital forces in Jewish education—it is the smallest in numbers but it is striking in its enthusiasm—is the schooling arranged by extremely orthodox groups such as the Chassidim of Chabad and other Chassidim, who in recent years have established Yeshivot and Talmudei Torah. Their achievements are very real and they have generated a new fervour by missionary work. But even in these schools there remains something for the Zionist Movement to urge in respect of knowledge of Eretz Israel, modern Hebrew and the attitude taken towards the State of Israel.

All this combines to prove that the opportunities today are greater than they were. But what could we not achieve if we entered upon this task fully equipped? What could we not achieve if the Zionist Movement vigorously extended its assistance and the Zionist leaders themselves sent their children to Day Schools?

Much has been spoken here of the individual Zionist's duty to carry out the Zionist programme. I do not want to renew the argument about this subject. But there is self-realization which begins at home. Once Hadassah passed a resolution obliging its members to study a thousand words of Hebrew at home. We tried to help by way of sending books and teachers. Then a decision was taken that not all members of Hadassah were obliged to study but only the leaders. We were gratified even by this. Now I should like to ask all the Women's organizations, WIZO, and Hadassah, and the Pioneer Women and the Mizrachi Women, to lend their support to this matter of the Day Schools, to have their conventions strongly urge, indeed obligate their members to send their children to a good Hebrew school.

We have seen that twenty-four per cent of community leaders now accept the idea of the Day School. In other words over 70 per cent are still opposed. But we should demand of these seventy per cent that they see the importance of having Jewish schools meet every afternoon and not only two or three times a week. We shall never be able to achieve results unless this change is effected. We must insist that our territorial organizations and primarily the women's organizations oblige their members to send their children to Hebrew school *every* day, as children go to general schools every day, I do not propose to impose the obligation here. I trust that the women's organizations will do this themselves.

I have enlarged upon the problems of schooling, as without proper education there is no foundation for cultural work. But work on behalf of the schools is not enough. In America—and not only in America—a Jewish concept which our people have always consecrated, is becoming desecrated. I am talking about the Barmitzvah. What was the inner content of this concept? That for years the Jewish boy should be educated towards the day when he would be a responsible Jew observing the *mitzvot*. We insisted: The old *mitzvot* are not enough, the new *mitzvot* created in our own times must be added, the *mitzvot* of Zionism, of work on behalf of Eretz Israel, of integration with all sections of our people. But what has happened? The Barmitzvah has become a splendid ceremony. The sums spent in America on Barmitzvah celebrations could solve the whole problem of Jewish education.

It may well be that even this type of celebration strengthens Jewish society, the family, Judaism in the family. Frequently the child is really influenced by this ceremony. What then, is so distressing? The answer lies in the educational statistics about the time when the child stops going to school. Seven per cent of Jewish children attended a Jewish school in their twelfth year, and only three per cent in their thirteenth year. In other words when the boy reaches Barmitzvah, this wonderful ceremony takes place, he goes to the synagogue, he may even be able to read the Haftorah and then—his entire Jewish education comes to an end.

I should like to see Zionists celebrating the Barmitzvah in a different fashion,—as indeed some individual Zionists have already done. I can understand a pilgrimage to Israel to celebrate the Barmitzvah here. I can picture the establishment here of a special school for the age of Barmitzvah, where children can live and study for some time, a school with teachers who have American university degrees,—thereby ensuring credit for their studies when they return to America. Let the child live in the State of Israel, let him breathe a Jewish atmosphere, and if he should want to return he will be able to do so.

In America much has been created and is being created: for instance, summer camps—Rama and Massad—in which the children spend some

months in an entirely Hebrew atmosphere. These institutions are most effective, though to this day they are a small island in the American ocean. Surely we can follow the American example elsewhere. Something similar can be organized in Antwerp, Johannesburg, Buenos Aires, and beginnings have been made.

A particularly distressing problem in America is what happens to the child after he leaves school. I will confine myself to discussing two spheres basic to post-school education, but in which little is being done. Many of us believe that books belong to the past: in the nineteenth century people used to read a lot, but since then the world has discovered television, and neither children nor adults have any leisure for reading. Yet I know that our Jewish brethren in America constitute a high proportion of the book reading public there, and when we see how little we have given to those who can read Hebrew—and for those who cannot read Hebrew we must provide material in other languages—our heart aches. Why cannot we fill the bookcases with Hebrew content, with Jewish content?

Upon a previous occasion I mentioned the increasing amount of leisure at the disposal of the Jew in America. Compare the amount of leisure they have today with what they had fifteen years ago. Small wonder then that this class with more leisure reads so much of world literature. But no one concerns himself that among this reading matter there be Hebrew books, even if in translation. We made an effort and issued translations of Agnon and Hazaz and Shamir. I know how the Zionist Movement, which should have distributed these books among the reading public responded. We wish to continue with this project. The Israel Writers Association wishes to help us, in selecting books for translation. The Ministry of Education is also ready to help. But what is the use of this endeavour if there will be no readers in the Diaspora and no groups actively concerned with distributing the books?

There are opportunities now to organize circles for the reading of Hebrew books, for speaking Hebrew, for reading Hebrew literature in translation. The work of the Youth Movements has been mentioned here. I do not wish to repeat what the President has said on this subject. You all know how the Youth and Hechalutz Department is evoking a response among the tens of thousands of organized Jewish youth among the larger movements. But how are we to respond to these demands for more content? We must penetrate into the youth movements, into the Hillel movement, into every cell of Jewish life. We know from experience that our efforts have not fallen on stony ground.

I have concentrated upon American Jewry, not only because it constitutes two thirds of the Diaspora communities still open to us, but because of this illuminating "Survey" which we now have and also because the achievements and defects that have been revealed in Ame-

rica are characteristic of all communities. But we must beware of converting this discussion on Jewish education into a dialogue between American Jewry and Israel. Indeed it may be argued: Why should we complain about American Jewry when other communities are still far from the achievements America has registered?

The surviving Jews of Europe are taking new hope. Immense sums of money have been invested in the rehabilitation of the European Jewries, by the various philanthropic agencies. Those interested in Jewish education have also embarked upon action. But how small is the number of pupils in these diverse schools! We have despatched teachers to all European countries. Many of them have proved highly successful. But why is there still no Teachers College in Europe, helping to meet the growing thirst for Jewish learning? Why are the clubs of the Zionist youth so poorly equipped, within the wealthy Jewish communities? Why can one not obtain Hebrew books even in the larger Jewish centres?

For the sixth year now, we have organized a seminar for university graduates and Jewish scholars in Europe. Prominent Israeli professors participate. This Seminar has become very popular and Jewish intellectuals look forward to it. We began in Oxford, continued in Cambridge and last year held the Seminar in Davos. We have reached the number of six to seven hundred participants. But why should we not organize similar Seminars in other centres? In the United States there are hundreds of thousands of University students. Even in Argentina there are 12,000 Jewish students in Buenos Aires alone. And what about the universities in Johannesburg and in Capetown and in Melbourne?

Great things have been accomplished in the South American communities in the field of primary education and even in high school education. It is true that after all this progress in Argentine, Brazil and Chile the number of children outside the Jewish schools is far greater than the number of those attending them: the proportion is even greater than in the United States and in Canada. The Jewry of South America is still very young, it has a stronger folk character and its response to Jewish affairs is far warmer. In South America the various branches of the organized Zionist Movement evince a keener interest in Jewish education. In Mexico we have reached the record figure of 75 per cent of the Jewish children in Jewish schools. But even in these countries adult education is still in the initial phase and there is little prospect of any major advance without systematic aid on the part of the organized Zionist Movement.

Argentine must serve as a model in our work in other countries. In order to introduce this system we need your help. The work of education must be carried on not only by the parents, and not only by the Department. The local community must assume responsibility for education.

In the Argentine we have an agreement with the Jewish community which provides forty per cent of the education budget. Thus when a school is established the parents provide 40 per cent, the community a similar proportion, while the remaining 20 per cent must be raised by ourselves together with our friends. We propose to advance along this road. The "conquest of the communities" means imposition of responsibilities upon them.

I wish to extend my congratulations to our friends in England. They have shown initiative in the development of schools. They must surmount the obstacles caused by rifts and division, but they have registered real achievements, to some extent with our aid, but mainly thanks to local initiative. I am glad to see in this hall—contrary to our custom I will mention his name—Mr. Israel Sieff, who together with his family has been of much help to us in education in England. He has visited other countries too, in order to influence the development of the responsibility for education on the part of the community and local communal leaders.

Other leaders of British Zionism are here among us, and we must congratulate them on the establishment of six new schools in a single year. And they are planning a similar number in the course of the present year. They need help and encouragement.

Within three years the Claims Conference will discontinue its work. So far European communities have established fine schools in Antwerp, in Brussels, in Zurich and in Holland. In France, too, we have certain achievements to which we can point. In all of these countries money has been invested, but the investments have come mainly from the Claims Conference. Who will inherit the role and function of the Claims Conference? We must ensure that the communities are capable of undertaking the responsibility. It is our duty to see that the Zionist Movement, within the communities, ensures the success and correct direction of these schools. It must understand that if education becomes the sole responsibility of the communities it will not endure, while the investment will drop considerably.

Nor must we forget North Africa. I am aware of our troubles there and of the great difficulties in Tunisia and in Morocco. It was the Alliance Israelite Universelle which carried on immense, ramified, educational work. Indeed it is difficult to conceive of North African Jewry, without the Alliance, nor would North African emigration to Israel, and adjustment to conditions in this country, have been conceivable without it. Notwithstanding all the criticism that has been made, this has been very fruitful work.

I believe that the Cold War between East and West will one day come to an end. I believe that one day collaboration between ourselves and the Arab countries will be possible. Then immigration from these

countries will once again be possible, and we shall be able to conduct educational and cultural work before emigration. North African Jews will take their place in our third million. But who will take the place of the Alliance?

The magnitude of the work of the Zionist Movement lies in the fact that it is the mother of the Jewish people. I do not see any other body capable of undertaking this function. But in its capacity of mother the Zionist Organization must concern itself about the welfare and future of its children.

We have spoken much about the charter between ourselves and the State of Israel. That charter is based upon our belief that we must represent the Jewish people. But there is also an unwritten charter,—between ourselves and the Jewish people throughout the world and on that unwritten charter, the written one is based. The real responsibility rests not on the Treasurer nor on the Zionist exchequer but upon you, you the representatives of Zionism in the various countries of the world.

If you wish this task to be undertaken, and it can be performed far better than it is today, you must give thought to the means, to the methods to be adopted. If not, tell us and we will withdraw.

Only if there is a serious effort in both directions, a proper response on the part of the Zionist Movement, and the enlistment of additional Jewish forces, only then shall we be able to rejoice as a true mother rejoicing in her children.

THE WORK OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR TORAH EDUCATION AND CULTURE

ADDRESS BY MR. DAVID BETH ARYEH

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

The Zionist Organization has included in its new programme concern for the continued existence and preservation of the unity of the Jewish people in the Golah. It has also recognized that Jewish education constitutes the best guarantee for that unity.

The Zionist Organization imposed a personal obligation upon every Zionist to ensure a Jewish education for his own children. But it is very doubtful whether the Zionist organization can point to any great achievements, when they sum up their activities over the past few years.

Many persons who regard themselves as good Zionists have not honoured this most elementary obligation to give their children a Hebrew education. It is doubly regrettable that active Zionists should be equally remiss in this respect. In various countries, particularly in countries where the Jewish communities have developed only in the past few decades Zionists have led in the van in establishing a Jewish edu-

cational network. They continue to be the main supporters of this branch of our work. But in these countries, too, the Jewish educational network does not comprehend most Jewish children, while the educational achievements, not to speak of their Jewish content, are still not satisfactory. In other countries, however, the Zionist organizations and most of the local Zionists—with the exception of the religious Zionists—have not devoted themselves to the development and expansion of Hebrew education, to intensification of Jewish content, to the creation of a proper Jewish atmosphere in the existing institutions, to make them capable of attracting Jewish children and to strengthen them from the Jewish point of view. I, too, wish to commend the excellent work done by the British Zionist Federation in this field in the past few years. It seems to me, however, that this work is done chiefly by the Executive and by the Zionist officials and has been accorded too little support by the general Zionist public in England. To this day most Zionists in England do not send their children to Jewish day schools and do not evince a proper concern that their children receive a real Jewish education.

It seems to me that Zionists in many countries are still not conscious, notwithstanding the changes that have been registered in the Zionist world after the creation of the State of Israel, that they must devote themselves to Jewish education and to the dissemination of Hebrew culture among the adults, and that this work can introduce a new content into the Zionist Organization, strengthening it inwardly, and distinguishing it from other organizations which also work on behalf of Israel.

The establishment of the State of Israel has infused a new content into the lives of the Jews in the countries of the Diaspora. The State of Israel today constitutes a force unifying all sections of the Jewish people. But really there is no guarantee that the very existence of the State in itself is sufficient to ensure the continued existence of our people in the Golah. In our own era Jews are being drawn in, to an increasing extent, into the lives of the nations among whom they dwell. The spiritual basis upon which Jews rest in the free countries is becoming weaker and weaker.

There is a great question that must be asked. Will the coming generation, which has not experienced the events of the Hitlerite purgatory, which cannot share the feelings of liberation generated by the creation of the State of Israel, as our own generation felt it,—can the coming generation and the generations that follow be saved from assimilation and complete loss of national identity by the mere existence of the State?

There is another question: Will the Jew in the Golah be able to hold his ground, without a close and strong tie with Jewish culture, with Jewish tradition, if he does not maintain a way of life that distinguishes

him from his Gentile neighbours? We are all agreed—irrespective of our differences of opinion—that Jewish education provides the best safeguard for the continued existence of the Jewish people in the Golah, and also for strengthening the bond between the Jews in the Golah and the State.

I fear that the Zionists in the diverse countries are not taking advantage of the favourable opporunity that has been granted them following the creation of the State of Israel, since when interest in Jewish education in the Golah became perceptibly keener. We, not only in the General Council but the Zionists in all countries, must seek out ways of harnessing, to a far greater extent than up to the present, the Zionist organizations to work of education, and of ensuring that every individual Zionist honour the obligation to give a proper Jewish education to his own children. There are still obstacles we must surmount before we are able to ensure a Jewish education for most Jewish children in the Golah, and only by a conscious effort, accompanied by personal realization, can we hope to solve the difficulties—including the financial difficulties—confronting us.

The principle guiding the Department for Torah Education and Culture is to raise Jews conscious of their heritage, who are familiar with and love the Torah, and form powerful bonds with creative Jewish spiritual achievement. This type of education is based upon the inculcation of a maximum of Jewish values, and the creation of lasting spiritual ties with the State of Israel.

A generation of Jews true to their own people, to their culture and their land, can only be raised within an atmosphere that is saturated with Judaism. The Jewish child must be educated by teachers who are themselves true to Jewish traditions, who recognize the sanctity of Jewish values, who are capable of imparting a love of those values to their pupils. We are convinced that only education of this category can ensure that the youngster after leaving school will continue his Torah studies, will take an interest in Hebrew culture, and will live a Jewish life, and maintain close ties with the Jewish people and the Jewish State.

The realization of this goal represents a highly important objective and I do not delude myself that we can secure it in most of the educational institutions in which we are operating. But it is a goal that we must constantly keep before us, and in the degree in which we are successful in persuading Jews in the Golah to share this goal, we shall stave off the dangers of assimilation.

I shall not enlarge upon the work that can and should be done in the United States. Mr. Shazar has already dealt with the subject. In addition, it is my opinion, that before investing so much effort in the United States we should turn our attentions to more fertile fields, crying out to be cultivated. These are countries beyond the United States.

My Department has been active in thirty countries, from Finland to Australia, from Turkey to the Argentine, from North Africa to India. All these countries can be considered together, though of course, there are variations distinguishing them.

In the course of the past two years we have been compelled to restrict our work in North Africa. Teachers who have been trained in the Teachers College we established in Ramsgate five years ago for students from North Africa have now returned after completing their course. This year the second class will graduate and most of the students will go back to their various countries. There are today some sixty emissaries and representatives of the Department operating in the Golah. But we must appreciate that notwithstanding this number of teacher-emissaries, and despite the fact that the Department has assisted in establishing and expanding a considerable number of schools in diverse countries, our achievements are still inadequate quantitatively speaking, and their main importance lies in their quality.

I believe that the greatest achievement lies in the fact that in many countries, and not only in the more backward countries, we have proved to local educational leaders, parents and teachers that the Jewish day school in the Golah can register tangible achievements, even if only seven to ten hours a week are devoted to the Jewish subjects of study. In such institutions the pupils can be brought up to the standard of free Hebrew reading, a real knowledge of Torah and other books of the Bible, an introduction to the Talmud—if the day school is of secondary grade. We shall no longer hear the complaint that it is not worthwhile to invest effort, money and hours of teaching in Jewish education, because the results are infinitesimal. Even in the Talmudei Torah under our supervision in which five to six hours a week are devoted to these subjects the child acquires a real primary knowledge of Judaism. He has no longer to suffer, as he once did, for many years to acquire an ability to read Hebrew characters, without understanding the meaning of the words. We have proved that an attractive atmosphere can be created in the school, which arouses an affection for Hebrew studies. Up to the present many of the parents sent their children to a Jewish school only to assuage their own consciences, notwithstanding the fact that they themselves appreciated that even after a number of years the child would remain ignorant and would be wasting his time.

In a number of day schools we have reached the stage where Hebrew is the language of instruction of the Jewish subjects. As I have already noted no more than seven to ten hours a week are devoted to these subjects. Only some years ago principals and teachers refused to increase the number of hours devoted to Jewish studies. Today they are willing to do so, while parents are ready to send their children to Evening Yeshivot and to supplementary classes on Sundays and in the holidays.

It is true that these are achievements in the few schools in which our representatives are working. This is what I referred to when I said previously that our achievements are not quantitatively tangible. But higher standards in one school rouse the envy of others, which endeavour to follow suit and to raise their own standards. Thus gradually a *shaliach* operating in one school succeeds in securing higher standards in all schools in the city. Schools which paid very little attention to a traditional Jewish atmosphere are forced to reckon with the achievements of our schools, as otherwise parents will transfer their children to other schools. The teachers participate in courses organized by our emissary, thereby raising teaching standards.

Thus our emissary is not only a capable teacher in his own class, not only a guide and mentor for other teachers, but becomes a major influence for a number of schools and educational institutions in a city, —and sometimes even in a whole country. Obviously we can only send a single emissary to an institution or community,—and often to a country.

But by the operations of the *shaliach* alone we cannot initiate major improvements and secure an extension of the educational network. We must endeavour to raise the standards of the local teachers. This we are trying to do in a number of countries, with some success. We are establishing courses for teachers, where lectures are given three hours twice or three times a week.

It is exceedingly difficult to find suitable teachers in Israel. Not every good teacher in this country is suitable for work in the Golah. Thus practically the only solution is to train teachers locally. For my Department the problem is even more difficult.

For that reason, indeed, one of our major concerns is to train teachers, which we are doing in a number of ways:

(a) By establishing courses through the emissary of my Department;

(b) By instructing teachers during their practical work in class.

This can be done in places where a network of schools already exists as in Persia. In Teheran, for example, our representative instructs all the teachers of the neighbouring towns. A single teacher from Israel can make a notable contribution towards raising standards of teaching, and I believe that in respect of standards progress is already visible.

(c) By organization of small seminars during the school vacation;

(d) By the introduction of improvements in existing teachers seminaries in a number of countries, especially by the despatch of teachers from this country;

(e) By bringing the students of these colleges for a period of study before they take up their teaching duties. I believe that there is not a single teachers college in the Golah that does not send its students for a period of advanced training in this country. That is a major achievement.

The Rabbi Gold Teachers Training College, which we have established is now producing its fifth graduating class. Most of the students come for a year's study, while a minority come for a shorter period. The Institute has served as a college for advanced study for entire classes from teachers and rabbinical colleges from France, England, Argentine, Brazil, Uruguay, India, Greece, in addition to individual students from other countries, including North Africa. Dozens of teachers who have completed their courses of study at the Institute are already working in their various countries and doing their share towards raising Jewish educational standards. Students coming from countries where there is no teachers training institution are placed in a preparatory class for a period of almost one year. A few months ago a group of ten students in this category returned to India and Greece, after two years of study at the Gold Institute. In parenthesis I wish to state that these students also mastered *Shechita* and *Milah,* and have been ordained by the responsible authorities. Today they are working in these capacities in outlying Jewish communities in which there are no other religious functionaries. I need not tell what this means for these communities.

I must place on record the work of the Alliance Israelite Universelle operating in certain countries in keeping with the new conditions that have been created. In conjunction with the Alliance we have established in Paris an Institute for Advanced Training for Teachers from these countries. This Institute offers a two-year course for outstanding young teachers, who have already completed their course of training and have entered upon their practical duties of teaching. They devote most of their time to Jewish studies. Some months ago when I visited Paris I found the Jews there full of praise for the achievements of this Institute. You will appreciate the significance of the return of these twelve students to their home countries.

Thanks to the work of a very capable *shaliach* we have been successful in establishing an Evening Seminar, though we were not able to organize a day institution. Only a short time ago the first class completed its studies and received their teachers certificates—from the official educational authorities as well.

In the course of the past two years we have established through the efforts of our *shlichim* ten new educational institutions—four of them of secondary standard—in England, Australia, Ireland, Denmark and Turkey.

My Department seeks to establish a type of school that is similar to the Yeshiva Ketana of the United States. That is the ideal educational institution for the Golah today. Obviously it is not possible to achieve this objective in all places. That is why—and here I call upon the Zionists—it is necessary to increase the number of hours devoted to Hebrew studies.

D. BETH ARYEH

I have learnt from experience that when a school is successful parents want it to continue. Today we must combat, not the parents nor the children but the school principals, though the latter may be good Jews. For the Jewish school must also excel in its general studies otherwise it will not be able to continue.

I have already stated that we do not regard the Talmud Torah and evening classes as suitable educational institutions. We are totally opposed to all one-day schools. If they did not exist at all the conscience of the parents would give them no rest and they would be forced to establish other institutions. But as long as they do exist we wish to raise their standards. Where it is impossible to establish other institutions obviously we cannot neglect the Talmudei Torah. In a number of countries we have combined a number of institutions of this type in one town into a single network into which we have introduced a uniform programme and inspection of teaching. In Paris, I am glad to note, fifteen Talmudei Torah are organized in a single network.

Even the good Jewish schools, and I do not exclude the Yeshiva Ketana in the United States, are not giving what they are capable of giving. We know that it is not easy to encroach upon the child's time, and today there is not only compulsory schooling, but increasing demands are being made upon pupils. I believe that we must accustom most pupils and teachers to the thought that after completing their high school education the former must devote at least a year to Jewish studies. Most of the young people completing their high school studies are not compelled to enter upon their careers and to concern themselves about a livelihood or supporting their parents. They may want to enter a university. But what harm will be done if they devote one year to Jewish studies. The best solution, of course would be for them to come to Israel, but this involves expense, etc. We must develop a suitable institution for this purpose or make use of existing institutions. Today we are on the threshold of implementing this idea in England, in conjunction with Bnei Akiva. We intend establishing a one-year institution for graduates of Jewish or general high schools. I am not suggesting that this institution should take the place of the day school, which is very expensive, but I believe that we could get hundreds and even thousands of pupils in institutions of this type.

Needless to say my Department is conscious of the need to penetrate into the Yeshivot, and not only into the Yeshivot Ketanot, which I have considered more or less in the category of day schools. We must introduce something of the spirit and atmosphere of Israel into the Yeshivot. Many of you know how difficult this task can sometimes be. In certain countries it is impossible. We have chosen the method of bringing the Yeshiva students for a year of study to this country, in a

Yeshiva which is close to our own spirit. When they return to their own countries these students constitute centres of influence in their Yeshivot, in a sense as Zionist emissaries. Some of these young men will undoubtedly later serve as teachers and rabbis in Jewish communities, while others who continue their studies in universities may emerge as influential leaders. The year that they will have spent in Israel will add a Zionist element to their personality, and the effects will certainly be felt in their public activity. So far we have brought one hundred of these students to this country. In the course of one year alone we brought forty of them. This year, unfortunately, owing to retrenchment in our budget we have to restrict the number considerably.

My Department also engages in the dissemination of Torah and Judaism among adults. While the institutions which we have established continue to exist and to develop lack of funds prevents us from expanding and from increasing their number. Our emissaries, it is true, do something in this field, too, creating and conducting circles attached to synagogues and Jewish organizations, including youth and women's organizations. These circles exist for the study of Hebrew, Sacred studies, Jewish philosophy, history and Israel geography. Some of our *shlichim* visit outlying provincial towns and infuse a living spirit even in the smaller Jewish communities.

An important branch of our work among the adults are our correspondence courses, in the weekly portion, Bible, Gemara, and selected chapters of Jewish philosophy. These courses are published in six languages and are distributed in tens of thousands of copies.

I wish to ask the General Council not to repeat the routine resolutions, with their twenty or so clauses, once again. Perhaps the Council will have the courage to insist (a) that Zionists send their children to Jewish schools; (b) to make provision for proper education in other forms; (c) to raise the matter of one year devoted to Jewish studies; (d) to assume organizational and financial responsibility for Jewish education.

We have listened to an address of education and culture, and the time at my disposal does not permit me to enter into argument. The work we have to do is arduous and tiresome. It would not make any sense for me to ask you to devote more money for educational work. Perhaps even I, who am a member of the Budget Committee, know that that is not possible.

There exists, I am glad to note, an extensive field for work. It is already being worked, and if Zionists of the Golah devote themselves to it, if they apply the principle of self-realization, the results will certainly prove satisfactory. Self-realization in the field of education and culture is far easier than by way of settlement in this country.

EIGHTH MEETING

Thursday, December 31, 1959, in the afternoon

Chairman: MR. JACOB AMITH

DEBATE ON EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

YA'ACOV URI
(Virilist)

I do not think that I am mistaken when I say that no one in this House denies the importance of Hebrew education and culture for the State and for the people. Both in the State and among the people education and culture must be developed. They are mutually dependent. Education in Israel must eventually have its effect in the Golah, while those who imbibe the culture of Israel in the Golah must ultimately come to Israel. All Israel are responsible for one another, and the people and the State are included in the term "Israel"—the people of Israel and the land of Israel.

The differences of opinion are about the type of culture, and the aim of education. At one time there were no differences among our people in this sphere. For two thousand years our people were capable of defining with the utmost precision the ultimate goal and how to achieve that goal. They summed it up in the verse, "Bring us with joy to our land and plant us within our own borders." That is the road that must be followed, that is the goal we must aim at.

In my opinion there are not two but three types of *aliya*. There is immigration set in motion by compulsion, by disaster. We are all familiar with this category of *aliya*. There is a more important category —conscious, willing *aliya*, motivated by consciousness of the need, by an aspiration to emigrate to Israel. And there is a third category, which in my view is the highest—joyful *aliya*. Examples of this *aliya* are the settlement in Israel of the Chassidim, disciples of Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov, and of the Mitnagdim, pupils of Rabbi Eliahu, the Gaon of Vilna. If we pray for immigration that comes in a spirit of joy, we think in terms of this small percentage, which is the quintessence of immigration into Israel.

Joyful influxes of immigration do not continue. The *aliyot* of the Chassidim and the Mitnagdim developed the terrible *Chaluka* system,

but later rose again to the *aliya* of Guttman, Stamper and Solomon of Petach Tikva, the *aliya* of the Feinbergs in Rishon Lezion. Then there was a decline again, after which came the *aliya* of Vitkin, of the members of Hashomer, which, once again was a joyful immigration. After the First World War there was the immigration of Hashomer Hatzair, of the various branches of Hechalutz. These were joyful immigrations. It was they who laid the foundations and who carried on the work.

What is the mainspring of these joyful *aliyot?* The mainspring is education in the spirit of the Torah, in all its branches. That is the foundation. That is the source from which we derived our inspiration, our ability to bear all our hardships joyfully.

Now we come to the second part of the verse—"plant us within our borders." We must educate in this direction, too. Education must begin from the alphabet. This phrase does not mean that we must be planted in the centre of our borders, not in Tel Aviv and its immediate environs. "Plant us within our borders" means on the borders, which cry out for settlement and reinforcement. Only today I read in the newspapers of the new road that is being constructed to shorten the route from Sodom to Elath. I immediately asked myself the question: Who will guard this road which is located on the borders of our country?

I ask: What is the education given in this country today in this direction? Indeed we are being told that Israel has enough farmers, that we have sufficient agriculture. This is what the pupils in the high schools in our cities are being taught, this at a time when we are insisting that pioneers from the Golah come to this country. There are frontier settlements in Israel. There is Ein Gedi, Yotvata, Beer Ora and others. How much pain they must feel that they are not being reinforced! What greater pain can there be for those who have begun a project than to see that there is no one to carry on? Mr. Shazar has commended the teachers. There is not the slightest doubt that their mission is a highly important one. What is the goal they are aiming at?

DR. JOSEPH TENENBAUM
(General Zionists—USA)

It is said that figures do not lie, and the figures that Mr. Shazar has presented to us in his excellent and comprehensive address, are undoubtedly correct. But it all depends upon how one reads statistics. This is especially the case with figures that have been compiled not only in regard to the state of affairs in education, but by the Education Department in America, and were published in a survey of education. It shows that there is a vital, critical spirit abroad in these circles. That is a good sign. It also indicates that there is no room for pessimism.

We forget that there has been a basic change, that there is a spiritual ferment in the Golah, set in motion by two unprecedented events in history. Let us not forget that the great revolution affects every aspect of the life of our people both in this country and elsewhere. The difference is that here, in Israel, there is a definite objective, while we are groping in the darkness. This is not the time for us to voice such drastic criticism, but to produce more positive remedies, plans how to save this community that is so great in numbers but essentially so weak.

In the statistics he cited, Mr. Shazar indicated the abundance in education. An American sociologist, Hansen, declared that "The third generation wishes to learn what the second generation of the immigrant grandparents has striven to forget." Indeed there is a vital spirit animating the third generation. There is a movement for a return to Judaism, to the Hebrew language and culture. They wish to learn about their origins. They identify themselves with their past, from which their parents sought to flee. There is one thing we must understand. The present situation in the Golah is very dangerous, but it is pregnant with hope for the future. It all depends upon us. There is a rhythm in history. There is a period when the nation is in flux where everything is in a state of transformation. This period is not one of despair. It is a period for planning, training and construction.

I wish to stress with the utmost confidence: Israel is the centre of our *national life*. I do not wish to hide behind the new slogans of synagogues. The Jewish people is not merely a religious community, like the Catholics or the Protestants. It is a special people, wherever it is. Those who wish to compete with the nations of the world and assume some special colour as is customary in America are not integral Jews, but imitations of assimilated Jews, even if they observe the religious *mitzvot*. Eretz Israel is the centre of our national life and the Golah is the periphery. It has been said upon more than one occasion that there can be no periphery without a centre. Nor can a centre be constructed by destroying the periphery. They are mutually dependent. There is no contradiction in the Golah, just as there is no contradiction between the centre and the circumference. Hence our own function.

Before we embark upon personal realization, let us realize the life of the people in the Golah, let us strengthen the Golah—if I may be permitted the paradox—and save it from a long-drawn-out death agony. Otherwise the Golah will become devoid of all content. It will remain a void from which no aid can be expected, not even manpower for personal realization. The sacred task of education, which we did so much to foster in Eastern Europe before the Second World War, must not be neglected in America and other lands of the Diaspora.

I have heard here that the leaders of education, the heads of the Welfare Board in session in San Francisco, undertook to interest them-

selves in the problems of education. But that is only a drop in the ocean. I am at a loss to understand why the Zionist camp rejoices? Three quarters of our task lies in what is included in the term "conquest of the *kehillot*." But we have allowed this to be done by strangers. I use this term "strangers" deliberately for they are strange to our spirit, to our Zionist and national ideals. Let us not deceive ourselves. What we hand over to others passes out of our hands for ever. That is what happened to the Campaign, the administration of which is not in our hands. We have done likewise in other fields of communal work. And now in the sphere of education. Let us not allow the leadership of education to pass into inexperienced hands, or at any rate into the hands of those who are outside our camp. Now is the time for us to accept additional burdens, additional tasks, which in keeping with the Zionist tradition, belong to us. We must put the imprint of Zionism on every field of the life of our people, and especially in that of education. Eighty-five per cent of education is concentrated in the synagogues. I do not want to go into the differences between the Orthodox, Conservatives and Reform. The multiplicity of the synagogues, the competition between them, the diverse projects, or rather the lack of a plan in education, creates confusion in the minds of the children. I shall quote a passage from one of the leading educators in America, Judah Pilz:

> The child in the average synagogue school receives only a partial and oftentimes partisan picture of Jewish life in the Jewish community —not a comprehensive view of it in all its pluralistic manifestations and ramifications.

That division is also our affair, the affair of Zionism as a unifiying force. It is impossible to foresee what will come of all this confusion of education within an English environment, if we do not create—in some degree at least—the physiognomy of a Hebrew environment. I doubt if we shall succeed in implanting the seeds of Hebrew language only by education of our children, without trying simultaneously to educate the parents.

Which brings us to the crux of the problem of education of the adults. Indeed there is a great interest among the parents in learning the Hebrew language and culture, not only for themselves but in order to encourage their children to study Hebrew.

Many of them attend Hebrew courses and *ulpanim* and listen to radio lessons and take correspondence courses. But while education of children is not yet at a desired level, adult education has not even begun to play the role it ought to. This is not only a necessary extension of child education but in itself an important task. I shall go further. Adult education—and there are no statistics on adult education as there are on child education,—is as important as anything conceived in the

field of education. It is here that Zionism could perform a real service. Another point is the matter of Hebrew day schools. It is certainly our task to see to it that every community has sufficient day schools.

We have 250 day schools. The best of them have long waiting lists of pupils, who may wait for one, two or three years, for admission because of lack of accommodation.

Not all of these day schools are institutions where modern Hebrew is taught and spoken. The Yeshivot are a case in point. It is a fallacy to think that you can teach a little Hebrew. The environment is such that you must teach much Hebrew in order to retain a little Hebrew. In general it is one of the most important tasks of Zionism if we do not want to see a rift, a complete estrangement develop between the Golah and Israel. Sometimes a rift of language is akin to a rift of hearts. One is sometimes generated by the other. We must mobilize the hearts and the souls of our people and its resources for the great ideal of "one people and one language." It is inconceivable—speaking of America—that *Hadoar,* the only Hebrew weekly in the Golah should have to struggle to maintain itself, that it should constantly be faced with the dilemma of "to be or not to be." It is inconceivable that the Histadrut Ivrit, the only national Hebrew organization, should suffer from chronic defects and find it impossible to expand its work.

That in brief is the position. We must concentrate in the field of education, which must be thoroughly cultivated.

There are dormant forces within the Zionist Movement. Let us embark energetically upon our work in education.

MRS. BERTHA SCHOOLMAN
(General Zionists, Hadassah—USA)

I should like first of all, to express my appreciation to those responsible for the agenda of these meetings that a day has been set aside in these sessions for a discussion of the programme of Jewish education as a department of the Jewish Agency.

This is certainly a basic problem in Jewish life and in Zionism today, and one on which all of us should be better informed.

I was somewhat surprised, however, that so much of a report which we received from Mr. Shazar today, was concerned rather with the state of Jewish education in the United States, than with a picture of the activities and accomplishments of the Jewish Agency in that area.

Mr. Shazar's presentation this morning was based chiefly, if not exclusively, on the results of an unusually fine and thorough survey of Jewish education published recently by the American Association for Jewish Education—a great and respected national body of laymen con-

cerned with Jewish education throughout the United States. Mr. Shazar mentioned that it took three years to effect this survey—at a cost to my knowledge, of about one quarter million dollars. The purpose of the survey, I would add, was to secure a reasonably full and accurate picture of the true status of Jewish education in the United States—*as a basis for further development.*

Now, such a survey we well know, to be significant must contain both *assets* and *liabilities,* and both the assets and the liabilities must be carefully analysed and interpreted and given the rightful meaning in the total picture.

This morning, regrettably, we were given, in the main, an emphatic and emotional presentation, an interpretation of selected liabilities reported to have been included in this survey. Such liabilities, I think Mr. Shazar will agree, should be interpreted and related with reference to the *entire* situation. It would have been manifestly significant to have had a similarly enthusiastic presentation of the numerous *assets* contained in that same survey.

Consider the number of children attending Jewish schools, Mr. Shazar reported on the tremendous increase in numbers from about 239,000 to 553,000 indicating however at the same time that only 40 per cent of Jewish children attend Jewish schools of any kind. Sixty per cent do not. However, other figures in the same survey indicate that *over* 80 per cent of the Jewish children in the United States, *are* in Jewish schools during some period of their school years, which means of course that 80 per cent—not 40 per cent—receive some Jewish education. This is a fairer balance of asset and liability.

Now for the teachers situation. Mr. Shazar described in dire terms the awful status of the Jewish teachers in America. On the matter of teacher training and preparation, for example, we were told that 60 per cent of the teachers are without training. But it is a fact that there *is* a national board of licence for Jewish teachers in the United States, and several regional boards of licence.

All teachers in organized communally responsible and supported schools, *must* be licenced to obtain positions, and of course there are approved standards to be met in order to obtain such a licence. Here too, then, we have a more favourable balance of liability in teacher training, with the asset of teacher licencing.

Again with reference to the economic and social status of a Jewish teacher. The great bulk of Jewish teachers today—outside of Sunday schools—receive salaries commensurate with the salary schedules in effect for public school teachers. In smaller communities they are even much higher. Furthermore, for some years now, there has been a concerted effort—spear-headed by this same A.A.J.E.—to raise salary schedules, to establish tenure of position, to provide insurance and

pension funds, and already *much* progress has been achieved in all these areas. In addition, of course, as Mr. Shazar surely must know, there is a well established influential Teachers Union in America, which is now affiliated with the General Labour Movement, and which also looks after the interests of the teachers. Once again, we have a better balance between liability and asset in teacher status—if we realize these facts.

A truer and more meaningful picture of the present situation of Jewish education in America can be had best from a view of the march of events in Jewish education, after an extended period of time, and from an observation of the changes that have been taking place. Fifty years ago practically all Jewish education in America was Cheder schooling!: practically all teachers were private *melamdim;* there was no Jewish school system; there was *no Jewish teaching profession.*

We can add the accomplishments of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, which this year observes the 50th year of its Teachers Institute; the vast programme of Yeshiva University in teacher training and school development; the manifold educational activities of high *content* value—though not yet Hebraic in form,—of the Reform Movement; the existence of a National Council for Jewish Education, in addition to the Teachers Union mentioned before; as well the many local Bureaus of Jewish Education in communities throughout the country. That of course is only a partial result of the continuous progress onward and forward, made by what was an immigrant generation in the United States, a generation which had to lift itself up economically and socially by its own bootstraps, as a *minority group* in a new and strange environment.

Nor is the American Jewish community resting on its laurels. The survey quoted today is an architectural ground-plan for immediate and long-term development. It recommends many significant and vital elements of programme, only two of which I shall permit myself to mention. One—calling for the establishment of a *Curriculum Institute* for the development of educational programme and material for indigenous American Jewish living, in association with Israel and world Jewry; the other for the development of teacher welfare in all its aspects—recruitment, training, salary, security and social status. These vital recommendations together with all the others in the survey, lift up the eyes and raise the hands of American Jewry for a fuller and better Jewish education for our children, in the near future.

In these efforts of the Jewish community of America, the Department of Education of the Jewish Agency has certain, though *limited* opportunity, which I had hoped might have been presented this morning and discussed by us. Actually, significant contributions by the Agency in the United States, have been, for example, the initiation of the Herzl Institute in New York in its way; the *ulpanim* in their way;

the preparation of some Zionist material for teachers and pupils and most particularly, perhaps, the encouragement of visits to Israel by pupils, youth, and teachers. The further development of this entire programme, however, must be carefully considered by us, and fully discussed with lay and professional leadership of Jewish education in America, if it is properly directed to serve the American Jewish Community.

YESHAYAHU BERNSTEIN
(Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi—Israel)

We are confronted with a situation that must be more closely investigated. In the sixty-third year after the foundation of the Zionist Organization, towards the close of the twelfth year of the State of Israel, the Zionist Movement finds itself at the crossroads, and does not know which way to turn. Perhaps no less than in the early days of Zionism we must return to the teachings of Achad Ha'am, to learn what he taught about preparation of hearts.

It was easier to prepare hearts on the road to statehood than it is after the establishment of the State. For national-spiritual preparation was accompanied by material backwardness, the absence of an economic basis in the face of anti-Semitic repression. These in themselves were sufficient to arouse hatred of the Golah and a desire to seek some avenue of escape from it. At the same time there was a feeling of spiritual and cultural depression in the exile, because of the deep roots and the sturdy branches of Judaism and of tradition in most centres of the Jewish dispersion. Now there has been a radical change. The economic situation, the civic position of the Jews in most countries of the Golah, in themselves do not constitute any reason for negation of the Golah. Even the overt and covert anti-Semitism that exists does not force them towards "Zion-Zionism." Quite simply they do not suffer from the feeling that they are living in an alien environment, they have no special cultural demands, and they do not suffer want. The overwhelming majority of the Jews of the Golah, and particularly the younger generation, which lacks Jewish roots and Jewish tradition, is not conscious that it is short of anything, either spiritual or cultural. The younger generation is deeply rooted in the culture of the people among whom they live. They are quite happy. Why should the young Jew strive to be free when he is not conscious of being bound, neither materially nor spiritually?

Even after the creation of the State of Israel no answer has been given to the problem of "the people that is destroyed." We have reached the pass when even spiritual Zionism has become catastrophic Zionism. That is a state of affairs which must give us no rest. The prophet Amos

complained about those who remained complacent in Zion "and were stricken by the overthrow of Joseph." I think that the greatest disaster is that we are not stricken, that we are not conscious of any malady. When one feels pain one seeks some remedy to assuage the pain. The situation is far more serious when one is stricken and does not know it.

What is minimalistic Zionism? I am not referring to the political minimum or maximum, but to the demands which we should make upon ourselves. According to the Halacha the year of Jubilee does not come into force if all Israel does not come to Eretz Israel. That is maximalist, Messianic Zionism. Even Herzl did not foresee such a Zionism. There is also another category of maximalist Zionism, *chalutz* Zionism, which insists upon personal realization, which demands the entire life of the individual. And though I am a member of a religious Zionist pioneering movement which engages in personal realization, I do not think that the entire people can be expected to be pioneers. That is Zionism for the élite and there is a Zionism for all Israel. That is minimalistic Zionism which everyone can and must uphold. That is the Zionism set forth in the Jerusalem Programme, which places the State in the centre of Jewish life in all the countries of the dispersion.

This Zionism defines every Jewish Zionist and every Zionist comunity by the answer they give to the question that is so simple and is nevertheless not at all simple: *Where is their home?* Where is the home of the Jews, of the Jewish people? There is a formula of benediction: "Have compassion upon Zion for it is the house of our life." That is the Zionist answer to the question that is posed. Zion is the house of our life, of all Israel and of the individual Jew. That is Zionist doctrine in a nutshell. That is the doctrine which must be taught and studied even after the foundation of the State of Israel, in the light of our current situation.

The principal object of educational and cultural work is of course the youth, those who must carry on the torch. And in order to educate the youth towards Zionism, we must first of all educate them towards Judaism. Without education towards Judaism there can be no education towards Zionism. Even minimal Zionism cannot be achieved if it is not preceded by education in the spirit of internal Judaism. The role of the synagogue must be underlined in Jewish education. The synagogue has preserved us, has preserved our Jewishness, for thousands of years. It constituted the point of departure for the *aliya* to Eretz Israel of Nachmanides, of the Chassidim, of the pupils of the Gaon of Vilna down to the recent *aliya* of the Rabbi of Klausenberg. That *aliya* was not the result of any Zionist education, but the outcome of Jewish education, education in the spirit of the Torah and the *mitzvot*. That type of education must be strengthened and stimulated.

I am conscious of an obligation to destroy the notion that national-

secular education is education towards Jewishness and Zionism. A bitter controversy on this point is in progress in Israel. In respect of the Golah, however, I do not think that there is any room for differences of opinion. Our crumbling cultural and spiritual ramparts cannot be restored by destroying their very foundations. Jewish youth in the Golah is in danger of being engulfed by the currents sweeping them towards assimilation and loss of national identity. Will they be capable of defending themselves with this little injection of Judaism which secular education will give them? It is true, even such a small injection must be welcomed, but it is totally insufficient. With a little Hebrew or Yiddish, some folk songs or even Israeli melodies, we cannot educate these young people towards Zionism and Judaism. But when they are educated in the spirit of Torah and Jewish tradition, we may hope that many of them will grow up to be good Jews and good Zionists, that something will remain. We have listened to Mr. Shazar's account of Jewish education in the Golah. But what remedies do you suggest? Do you think that the translation of Hazaz's story "The Sermon" will bring the young people closer to Judaism? Or the four stories by Aharon Megged, which have been published by the Department for Education and Culture in the Golah?

Of course if we were of one mind religious-national education would have been the only type of education current in the Zionist Movement. But seeing that a spiritual rift between us exists, there are too educational groupings. The Movement must invest the same effort in the religious-national grouping as it does in the other. But it does not. It is generally agreed that this type of education is suitable both for Judaism and for Zionism. Why then is it discriminated against?

I have spoken of the things that divide us. It was my duty to do so from the religious-national viewpoint. But we are all united in respect of the general aim of our educational and cultural work in the Golah. We must intensify this branch of our work among the Jewish people in the Diaspora. to arouse feelings of disquiet in regard to life in an alien environment, to extract them from their indifference, to direct them towards Jewish independence, both spiritual and political.

To use our own formula: Let them put aside the strange gods. Let them educate towards true Judaism, to Torah and Zion.

AIZIK REMBA
Herut–Hatzohar—Israel)

We have heard Mr. Shazar's agitated address and I take advantage of this opportunity to subscribe to the cordial congratulations being extended to him on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. Mr. Shazar has described the situation of Jewish education in the Golah, stressing

particularly that of Jewish education in North America. All honour to American Jewry for what it has done for Jewish education up to the present, though there are shadows as well as light. But the question I ask is: What have the Zionists done? What has the World Zionist Organization done in the twelve years in which the State has been in existence, when it had no political function to fulfil, and when the Zionists were not the only people upon whom the obligation to collect money rested?

Present day Hebrew education in the countries of the Golah—even if the Sunday, afternoon and day schools should increase and multiply —will not advance us to any appreciable extent, because it is education in a void, without a soul. Here, in the country, *mitzvot* begin with Barmitzvah, but among American Jewry at Barmitzvah the *mitzvah* of Hebrew comes to an end.

Learning Hebrew is a burden upon Jewish children in the Golah. It is a nuisance, it frightens them, because the majority of Jewish children do not learn Hebrew but play games and sports. Those who study Hebrew do so because their parents force them to. It is not the fault of the children. It is the fault of the atmosphere which Jews breathe, for education has no objective, it has no content, it has no soul.

I must stress that even an excellent knowledge of the language does not mean anything. In this country even *Kol Ha'am,* the Communist newspaper, is published in Hebrew. The members of the Communist Party in the Knesset speak Hebrew. But are they Zionists? Language is not the main thing. It is only part of education. But where is the soul? Even knowledge of a number of verses of the Bible won't help very much.

I do not have to tell you that there is something very important about the borders of our country. In Israel we may not speak about this in order not to frighten the Arabs, Mr. Hammerskjoeld or other non-Jews. I shall not mention Transjordan for immediately we shall be charged with wanting to invade it. I ask about Jerusalem. Can we tell a Jewish child in the Golah that the Old City of Jerusalem, which is less than a mile from the place where we are foregathered, belongs to us? That is not to say that we shall embark immediately upon a campaign to restore it by force, but children must know that it belongs to us.

You are also aware that Hebrew education in the Golah does not foster any longing to come to Israel.

How many ladies who can speak Hebrew are there in that American Women's Zionist Organization which counts three hundred thousand members? Zionists in the United States do not know Hebrew, neither the leadership nor the majority of the rank and file.

Even those who study the language, learn Hebrew without a soul, Hebrew without Zionism, without understanding that Hebrew carries

with it a certain obligation. It is not the surrogate Zionism that exists in most countries of the Golah. The Hebrew that is taught today hangs in a void.

Why is inter-marriage so widespread today in the Golah? Why is there so much fear among the Zionists and the Jews in the United States? How many sons and daughters of the thousands of Zionists in America follow in the footsteps of their fathers? How many of them will also become Zionist leaders?

Jewish education in the United States is devoid of a soul. For that reason the Jewish child wishes to get rid of it as soon as he reaches Barmitzvah.

Much, it is true, has been done. But let us not forget the shadow that darkens our lives, that intensifies our anxiety for the future of the Jewish people in the Golah, because it has no Zionist soul.

Mrs. Schoolman has mentioned that Hebrew teachers in the Golah have no pedagogic training. But it is not merely a matter of pedagogic qualifications. We must root out the conception that the Hebrew teacher is without dignity. I paid a visit to America in 1955, when a Hebrew teacher in Detroit fell from the twelfth storey. He did not commit suicide. He was a Hebrew teacher, but his salary was insufficient so he worked as a window cleaner. It was while he was cleaning the windows that he fell and was killed. That typifies the situation of Jewish education in the Golah.

I will not speak of catastrophic Zionism. Even Zionists do not wish to speak on the subject, though we should pay attention to what is happening precisely at the present time, not only in Cologne in Germany, not only in Russia, but also in France and Great Britain, and in the United States. What a wave of anti-Semitism has swept through them! You know that on Rosh Hashanah a bomb was thrown into a synagogue. And one of your children—not everybody reads the *New York Times* or the *Herald Tribune* and is aware of what is happening in the Jewish world generally or the Jewish world in particular—may ask: Why do people break the windows of synagogues? Why do they smear calls to the Jews to get out of the country on the walls. He does not know the answer. Jewish education must first of all be based upon education towards Zion, it must be real education. You are making great efforts. I have travelled the length and the breadth of America, and I admire what is being done even in the Sunday schools and in the afternoon schools. But there is no soul to inspire all this.

And for that the Zionist Organization is responsible.

You say that the functions of the Zionist Organization are shrinking daily. There is no longer any political activity, funds are not collected separately. One task has remained accordingly—Hebrew education and culture. But what sort of education and culture? Not education in a

void, not only language, not only a *soupçon* of religion! The task of the Zionist Organization, which it has not fulfilled in the twelve years of the State of Israel, is to breathe a soul into Hebrew education which is an integral part of Zionism.

MRS. ROSE HALPRIN
(Member of the Executive—New York)

I was very glad indeed that we decided to devote a day and a half to the subject of culture and education in the Golah. For 50 years the Zionist Movement was a small militant movement, an *avant-garde,* which carried the flag, fought in the political field and helped to establish the Jewish State. That period of great political activity is now past. But in the period that we now face, we must again become a militant group. Our great task, I believe, lies in the field of education. Once again we must assume an *avant-garde* position, carrying aloft another banner and doing the job that only the Zionist Movement can do. We must take the initiative in calling for the deepening of Jewish roots everywhere and for the intensification of Jewish education.

But there is another reason for my gratification with this discussion. For years we have appeared before the General Council and said to you: Give use the opportunity in the United States to devote some of our attention to the job that must be done in education. You have made appeals to us for *hagshama atzmit*—for *chalutziut*—and it always seemed as if we stood against you and not with you; that we gave negative response to your request. It was as if you thought we could have a great *chalutz* movement and yet withheld it from you. We urged you to recognize that we could not start with a *chalutz* movement; that we could only finish with it: that we must start with Jewish education and that then, and only then certain things would happen.

Is there any American Zionist, or indeed any American Jew, who is a thoughtful Jew, who was not ready to acknowledge that in the course of 50 years in the United States we lost a literate, cultured, educated Jewish community? Do you think that any one of us would say that we are what our fathers or our grandfathers were? We have never made false claims. We have talked frankly about our lost generation and have said: "Give us the opportunity to do that which has to be done before you can get from us the things you want, which we would gladly give you if we could."

It would have been well if my friend Shazar had submitted to us a review of education in the Jewish world—in all of it: of the tasks that we must perform, of the programme that we should draft. Shazar knows better than I what the problem is. For the first time I was in

the Scandinavian countries this summer. I now know what it is for a country with a thousand Jews to be without a Rabbi or a qualified teacher. For the first time, I saw the situation with my own eyes and heard with my own ears. Norway is as much part of the Jewish problem as the large Jewish community in America, although it is different naturally in scope and in character. I would have understood had you taken the world scene and put America into the analysis as an important part. But this you did not do.

First of all, you spent an hour on a report showing the shallowness of American education as if you had discovered the situation and not we. The report was ours. American Jewish educators made it. This was self-criticism and self-analysis, for on this American Jews want to build a new educational structure. You spent an hour on the negative but did not spent even a half hour on the positive, yet we are a community which now says about itself and to itself: Further we may not go along the road we have travelled. Did you analyze what brought us to this situation in the American Jewish community?

Perhaps the situation could not have been different but the American Jewish community developed as it did because of two factors: what we did to ourselves, and what Israel did to us.

The first was internal; this we brought upon ourselves. Somehow or other the great wave of immigration that came to the United States at the end of the 19th century—our grandparents and our parents who were themselves educated, cultured Jews—permitted Jewishness to be lost in the first generation that followed. The children that were born in the United States of this literate Jewish community were Jewishly uneducated. It was the fault of the parents: they found freedom and it tasted so good that the assimilation process went too fast.

But there was another thing—the second factor of which I spoke. Who is the respected Jew in America? The rich man who gives some money. The American Jewish community has been generous. But always the need was greater than the response. More! More! was the call to us and we answered the call as best we could. Did we have time or money to sit and study *Elef Milim* when one had to raise a million dollars? I think Zalman Shazar might have made a different kind of analysis and brought to light different facts. I present no facts or figures in this unprepared speech, but one thing I know, there is already apparent the beginnings of a renaissance movement in American Jewish life; there is a feeling that not to be rooted is a dreadful thing for a community, for a people, for its youth. More than anything else we now recognize that to let our children grow up without roots is to deprive them of security and of wellbeing. Because this is so there is now perceptible a movement to do something about it.

We can and must capitalize on it. This then is our task: to take the

Jew who is no longer satisfied with non-knowledge of self and to lead him so that he acquires not only this knowledge but also a deepened education, a literate cultured Jewish life. That is why I regretted so much what Mr. Shazar said this morning. People asked me whether the percentages he gave were correct.

A great deal has already been achieved in improving American Jewish education generally and we have played a role through the Zionist Movement.

Let us look at the Jewish day schools for example. Mr. Shazar said that we had planned to establish 15 new schools during two years and that we have, in fact, established eight. Failure! But what Zionist programme can point to the achievement of 50 per cent of its aims in two years; in what field? We helped to establish a number of new day schools in a community which in the beginning resisted the very concept. With a little financial help, we served as a catalytic agent, with some measure of success. We also established *ulpanim*. Into the *ulpan* framework we brought Orthodox, Reform, B'nai B'rith—all sorts of trends and organizations. This, too, is part of America and what we are doing there should be reported to give a complete picture. I don't think this was the forum to report the survey of American Jewish education and to treat it as my dear colleague did.

Mr. Shazar went on to emphasize that schools are not enough. I agree with him. He discussed the Barmitzvah pattern. Generally I don't like to be personal but I shall be so for a moment today. I have one son—I have a daughter too—but one son. We brought him here for his Barmitzvah. I think we were probably the first American parents in those years who brought a boy not only to be Barmitzvah but to study and prepare for his Barmitzvah here. And yet, despite this, I must take issue with what Shazar proposed in this area. Instead of saying that the fancy Barmitzvah which takes place in America is not a good thing, (and all of us agree with you) and that we should appeal to families who have enough money to make a handsome Barmitzvah, to plan it in Israel, you make a quite impossible request. You propose that the child should remain here for two years—a concept so exaggerated that it must fail. A boy of 12 still has another two years to finish elementary school. What mother will take a 12 year old boy out of school before he has received his diploma? A child is also a psychological unit, he needs to finish with his own group in his own school. So your demand cannot be fulfilled and we are reflected in the mirror in distorted form because of the image you projected.

When the American members of the Jewish Agency arrived and met in plenary session, we were the ones who appealed to Dr. Goldmann. The appeal that I made was: *this* is the forum, *this* is the platform from which the call should go out for Jewish education—not from

Stockholm, not from the World Jewish Congress, not from Amsterdam. If experts are to be invited, let *us* invite them. If a programme is to be formulated let *us* formulate it. If a call is to be made, let *us* make it. Let us use the forthcoming Zionist Congress to issue a call to the world: Rally around us those of you who believe that Jewish life must be literate. It is my deep conviction that we will get a positive response.

I was told that we haven't the money. True, we haven't. But neither have the groups in Stockholm and in Amsterdam. We have one thing, however;—we stand at the centre of Jewish life, building the bridge between Israel and the Diaspora. *We* are the builders. And so we can issue the call, we can do the planning, the initiative we can take, will, I believe, be answered by those interested groups to whom it is addressed. We can create the seminars for teachers. If necessary, we can establish seminars in Jerusalem and in other parts of the world. This then is our programme; this is our plea—from America to you; from you to us. Let's stop talking to each other as if we were set one against the other, for we stand together on these essential things as one group, one movement.

IZHAK NATHANI
(Mapam—England)

Mr. Zalman Shazar in his brilliant and meaningful address pointed out that for the first time in the course of our age-old Golah, Jews in all countries are fully emancipated in the sphere of education. This official emancipation obligates every Jewish child to go to a Government school at a fixed age. The education he is given there is completely free and is often alien to our own Jewish cultural values. Governments, of course, have at their disposal means of coercion to ensure that the Jewish child is brought into an orbit of culture which is not our own.

In the course of our long Jewish history we have never had to cope with a similar situation.

We cannot compare the situation in a Jewish community which still pulsates with Jewish life, like that of Latin America, to that of the Scandinavian countries, or even to the community of North America. It is essential that we constantly keep before us the varying conditions in the diverse and far-flung countries of the Diaspora in order to learn what are the most effective methods to promote our educational work.

It is purely fortuitous that in the Argentine, for example, we have twelve Jewish day-schools? It is certainly not by chance that in Buenos Aires there are sixty Jewish schools, where Jewish children are given a full-blooded Jewish education, and absorb in their earliest years all that is best in Jewish culture. Certainly it is not without significance that the Jewish community of the Argentine devotes forty per cent of

its budget to education. The reasons are not far to seek. In the main the Jewish community of the Argentine hails from Eastern Europe. Yiddish is still the language spoken in the homes, Jewish books are still published and read. Our educational methods are and must remain different from those adopted in other countries, as for example in North Africa. There we have a Jewish community, which in the main still lives according to an old Jewish tradition. They appreciate that the ancient Jewish culture, the vast resources of Jewish cultural values, are on a much higher level than the surrounding culture. They do not have to be convinced of the essential nature of Jewish education. They must be given the means, the men and the money, and they will cooperate enthusiastically.

In Western Europe great efforts are being made to foster Jewish education, to establish kindergartens, day-schools, and even institutions of higher learning, such as normal colleges. But we must not underestimate the immense difficulties that must be surmounted. It is not merely a question that every gifted Jewish child is accepted without payment of any fee in the best schools, possessed of an educational tradition and experience going back hundreds of years. It is not merely a matter that in these schools the best teaching aids, instruments, laboratories, books and sports facilities are at his disposal, and that if he is found worthy, he can get a scholarship to see him through university. There is also the question of how to divide up his time for study. At the age of fourteen or fifteen, already, he must begin to specialize, preparatory to his going on to higher education.

Faced with such a state of affairs in the progressive Western European countries, we must ponder deeply the methods of our own educational work. We cannot rest content with the means and the methods that might have been suitable only ten or fifteen years ago. There is the question of suitable text-books; there is the question of qualified teaching personnel, of the entire spirit in which the schools are conducted. Unfortunately we are still far from achieving adequate standards and we shall have to make an energetic effort if we are to win a substantial portion of the younger generation in Western Europe for our schools.

We know how difficult it was to establish the six day-schools at present open in England. We have to fight not only against the inertia and apathy of the Jews. We must overcome a conscious opposition evoked by inexperienced network of new schools, which is devoid of the polish of the non-Jewish educational system. And, of course, an "ideological" justification has not been slow in forthcoming. We are told that we must not generate any artificial new spirit, we must not create any barrier between Jewish and non-Jewish children, or isolate Jewish children from the non-Jewish world, in which they will have to fight the battle for survival when they leave school. Even good Zionists dealt with this

matter quite frankly at meetings only two or three years ago. It is perfectly, true, the situation is undergoing a change. Opposition is becoming weaker, particularly among the nationally conscious section of the Jewish community. But we have not yet won the battle. The outcome will be determined by real, substantial achievements. In other words there must be modern schools, a carefully formulated curriculum, suitable teaching aids, text books, modern methodology, qualified personnel, and an atmosphere that will prove attractive not only to the child but will compel the parents to develop a close rapport between home and school, between child and parents.

I appreciate the importance of the educational work that is being done. I do everything in my power to support it, because I am convinced of its importance from both Jewish-national and the Zionist points of view. In England as I have already remarked there are schools of the Zionist Federation, and there are also schools of the Mizrachi, of the Torah Department. The Torah Department conducts its work in its own spirit. It fosters religious education, which it has every right to do. We do not fight them.

But the schools of the Zionist Federation, under the terms of the agreement with the Board of Religious Education, must be conducted in the traditional spirit, more specially, in the religious spirit. Children must wear *kippot* while in school, they must wear *tzitzit,* must know and recite the *berachot.* They must observe *kashrut* in their homes and so on. In other words—it is a religious education they are getting. I am fully aware that otherwise the Board of Religious Education would not permit the Zionist Federation to conduct any educational work at all.

If we seek to achieve integrity in Jewish education, if we wish to foster the healthy, harmonious development of Jewish children, we must ensure that there is no clash between the home and the school. Education is a very delicate affair. If the child becomes conscious of a barrier between his home and the school, we shall develop a sort of duality within him. In school, for example, he is told that milk and meat should not be mixed. But when he comes home he might see that this is not scrupulously observed. Before he can decide for himself where his loyalties belong he reveals that one must not work on the Sabbath. But his father does go to work. One must attend the synagogue but his father does not do so. There is now a conflict not only between himself and his mother, but between himself and his father. How long can such a child bear this burden?

I know of cases of free-thinking, but nationally-conscious Jews, who refrain from sending their children to these schools because they do not want to create a spiritual gap between themselves and their children. They do not want to deceive their children about their own way of life.

The question that must be asked is: Has not the socially progressive

parent the right to send his child to a Jewish school in his own spirit? It seems to me that we should be interested in making such a thing possible for a Jewish free-thinker.

We have enough formal synagogue-goers, who must be members of a synagogue for all sorts of reasons, but not because they are believing Jews. We must do everything that is in our power to prevent the development of a similar situation in the field of education.

In England and certainly in the United States there are substantial sections of the Jewish population, who are not religious, but who are nevertheless progressive people, with their own outlook on life, loyal to Jewish values, to Jewish literature, to the Jewish language. They wish to send their children to Jewish schools and we must enable them to do so. We must do so if we take the work we are doing seriously, if we regard our efforts in education as a sacred mission to win over Jewish children in the Golah for our great movement of Jewish national renaissance.

You cannot force religion upon them. You the Torah Department may do your work. We shall not interfere with you. But let us do ours!

We could open two or three Jewish kindergartens in London in a matter of weeks. Such a thing is absolutely essential. Jewish working mothers seek some place where they can leave their children while they are away from home. All the objective conditions for the success of such a projet already exist, only the money to finance it is lacking. We feel that we are justified in demanding the requisite aid from the Department for Education and Culture. We trust that they will help us.

Young people from fifteen to twenty-one or twenty-two years of age constitute, practically throughout the world, a difficult problem today, and a subject for research by criminologists. We must not deceive ourselves that our own Jewish youth has remained entirely immune to this malady. There are Jewish youth clubs where this spirit is infiltrating, and there have even been cases where Jewish clubs have been closed by the police, for these reasons. This problem also belongs to the sphere of education and we have an important duty to fulfil. This is educational work though in an entirely different spirit.

There are vast youth movements in which, practically, we have no influence at all.

There are large numbers of young people who are lost, and who in their search for some way out, are sometimes led completely astray. We have something to offer Jewish youth. But our youth movement has not got suitable premises at its disposal in which to conduct its work, it has no teachers, it has not got the facilities which could attract far wider circles of Jewish youth.

We can give ideals to Jewish youth, ideals by the light of which they

can live full and rich lives. We can enlist them in our great host of builders. Through them, with their aid, with their personal trust in us, we must strengthen the spirit of *chalutziut,* of Jewish labour, of *aliya,* and of *hagshama atzmit.*

JOSEPH BANKOVER
(Achdut Ha'avoda—Israel)

The central problem of the present session has been stated to be the Zionist constitution. But it is really the question of Hebrew education and culture in the Golah.

For me this is something subjective. I have just returned from a mission on behalf of the Zionist Movement and the United Israel Appeal to a continent that has been entirely strange to me—South America. I saw the way of life of 750,000 Jews, their achievements, their failures, the dangers confronting them. It seems to me that the main task ahead of the Zionist Movement—if we have any sense of joint responsibility at all—is not to find excuses but see realities as they are, and to try and change those realities.

I should not like to appear here as a prophet of disaster. But at the farewell gathering tendered by the Brazil Zionist Organization I said: I do not know whether we shall ever meet again, but do you Zionists of Brazil, seated here in such a great centre, know that your children are not your own? Are you aware that they know neither Hebrew nor Yiddish nor Zionism, nor even Jewishness? Do you ever ask yourselves what this generation will look like within only five years? By day and by night, at large meetings, I tried to see the Jewish youth, but they were not there, because they are not interested. They are alien to anything that is Jewish.

When I came to the larger cities, and then I went out to the smaller towns I asked what the position was. I was conscious that people were afraid to speak out. I asked them: Can't you see the inroads of assimilation? Can you find comfort in the fact that these are large cities, Rio-de Janeiro, Sao Paolo, Porto Allegro, with millions of people? Is it because of the tumult that you do not see the physical destruction of the Jews? What about the smaller towns? I thought not only of the catastrophe which engulfed the millions of Jews. I recalled also the multitude of small country towns. I thought of the bitter controversy about Hebrew or Yiddish, between the Zionists and the Bundists, the Folkists and the Agudat Israel, and I remembered the pioneer youth. "Where do we stand?" I asked myself. I came to one of the smaller towns and was taken to a Jewish hall. I was told that in that town, in which there are four hundred Jewish families, a big function held a fortnight before

had been attended by eighty people, many of whom could no longer be considered Jews. I said to them: Forgive me if I say that I do not feel that I am attending a festive gathering dedicated to the Keren Hayesod, but a memorial meeting of a Jewish town that once was and is no more, of Jews who are condemned to spiritual decline, not to the decline that is the result of anti-Semitism, of economic repression, with which we were so familiar in the small towns of Poland and Lithuania but to a slow painless death, in the midst of an affluent society, where people get richer day by day. The Jews there are without religion or *Yiddishkeit.*

I saw two things in the South American continent and *mutatis mutandis* they apply equally to other continents. Once *Yiddishkeit* and religion constituted powerful forces, conserving Judaism. Today they are gone. Nothing will help us, however much we regret the fact, to restore all that. The problem is: What will take their place? Will anything take their place?

For that reason it seems to me that the most revolutionary task of the Zionist Movement—this indeed is its very *raison d'être,* whatever constitution we ratify—is to intervene actively in the working out of the destiny of the Jews, to construct a dam to hold back the onset of assimilation, which threatens to engulf us. Once I thought that the Jews of the United States were very wealthy. In South America I saw Jews who are still wealthier. I saw the Hebraica Clubs but I cannot tell what they have of "Hebraica." How can we induce this youth to come to us, I asked myself: By preaching to them? Can we find comfort in the fact that this is a problem common to youth all over the world? Or should we, poorly equipped as we are, try to intervene actively and become an educational factor in the Movement and among the youth?

I saw the wealth there is on the one hand and the inroads of assimilation on the other and the absence of any future prospect. I sought the younger generation, the pioneer movement. And I saw how hopeless the situation is. I have never felt such pain and humiliation as when I visited the youth and pioneer clubs and the *hachshara* training centres. You can imagine for yourselves how wealthy Jews live. The Jews are warm and alert. And then you meet *chalutz* youth in Uruguay or in Argentine or in Brazil. They ask: Against such a background of opulence why is there such humiliating poverty and economic distress? Why in contrast to these beautiful buildings are there such miserable clubs for the youth organizations, such degenerating conditions in the *hachshara* centres? This applies equally to Sao Paolo and to Rio de Janeiro, to Cordoba and Montevideo and Buenos Aires! Do we not understand that if we do not make provision for the pioneer youth, we are neglecting our principal duty? Is there any excuse for such neglect? Are we really so destitute?

There is a feeling that pioneer youth far from being the pride of the Zionist Movement is its stepchild.

Our problem is mainly one of finance. But we must appreciate that if we are speaking seriously of the ingathering of the exiles, if we have not reconciled ourselves to the existing state of affairs, the Zionist Movement must place all of its resources at the disposal of the pioneer movement.

Shall we break the siege that is being laid upon us by passing another and another political resolution? In the countries that I visited I observed the weakness of the Zionist Movement. But despite its weaknesses there is no organization that can take its place. Members of the General Council who have also visited these countries are fully aware that this is the case. Nowhere have I witnessed other public forces eager to engage in communal activity outside the Zionist Organization, not in Brazil, nor in the Argentine, nor in Uruguay.

If, instead of conducting this everlasting debate about our own right to exist, we were to proclaim that it is our intention to create some force to tackle the realities of the situation, there would soon enough be a different feeling abroad. Let us recognize that in the Golah today Hebrew and not only Hebrew but a closer relation to the State of Israel represents something of a revolution. I had never imagined that the Jewish masses could be so proud of the State of Israel as I have found them to be! But there is a great distance between pride in the State and the realities of the workaday week. The workaday week is devoid of any Jewish character.

Of course I also witnessed encouraging moments. There are cells of Jewish life, but they serve merely to underline the great spiritual aridity.

The iron laws of the Golah do not make any exception of a single Jewish community. A paramount revolutionary task devolves upon the Zionist Movement to tackle the cultural problems of our far-flung dispersion.

How are we to come closer to the Jewish masses, how are we to capture the Jewish youth, how are we to bring our own pessimism in regard to life in the Golah to expression, while disseminating a Zionist consciousness and an appreciation of the process of the ingathering of the exiles? Our faith in self-realization of our ideals and in *chalutziut* must continue unshaken.

In seeking to strengthen the pioneer youth movement in the Golah, in training young people for emigration to Israel, we must also engage in diffusion of a knowledge of the Hebrew language. We do not diminish the stature of Yiddish thereby, but Yiddish is the target of the waves of assimilation which threaten to overwhelm Jewish life in the countries of the Diaspora.

We must mobilize all forces of which we dispose to disseminate the

Hebrew language in the Golah, in the schools, among the youth, within Jewish cultural life generally. Hebrew will serve as the bridgehead leading to the capture of pioneer Jewish youth, and later it will serve to facilitate their acclimatization in Israel, when they come here.

We must introduce a pioneer regime within the Zionist Movement. We must look to the welfare of the pioneer youth as a mother looks to the welfare of her children. We must endeavour to build up a powerful *chalutz* organization, for training the masses and for educating our youth. To this day I shudder to recall that at the last Congress we were not permitted to put through a resolution calling for the immigration of youth from all countries. What harm would it do if young people from all countries came to this country and together with us engaged in the consolidation of the pioneer movement and the reinforcement of the Zionist Movement?

MRS. BERT GOLDSTEIN
(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—USA)

I have been requested from the floor to ask the Jewish Agency and the General Council to circularize all of these talks, all of these discussions that have been taking place today on the matter of education, without waiting for the rest of the reports, because they are interesting, and it is important to have them as quickly as possible for further discussion.

I was very much surprised at *Chaver* Shazar's talk today. I never can get up and defend American Jewry and our educational programme and our educational achievements, though I don't like these things said in public about us. However, I think what *Chaver* Shazar should have done was to have called the Americans together and have spoken to them about it to see what could be done, what they can do in order to better the report for next year, instead of taking it up here.

Now I would like to say this, because I am disturbed about what the other delegates from other lands can think. They may say, here is the richest, the largest, the biggest Jewish community in the world, and if they do thus and so, they do so badly, what can you expect from us. Certainly that is not what you want them to feel.

However, it's that way. It's bad. I said it last time. I say again in connection with *aliya* also and everything else: what is the use of keeping on scolding us in this way, instead of telling us, last time you were so bad; this time you are somewhat better. Keep up the good work. I think a little word of encouragement in that way for the things that we do achieve, for the things that we have achieved would be very much better and make a very much better impression upon us and the rest of the General Council than what you have said.

America cannot, in my opinion, be compared to any other place in the world. Don't forget it is not Israel. In Israel Jews are the majority. *We* are the minority and as a minority we have to react in certain ways that perhaps you cannot understand. Our chief problem in America is not so much the education that you are talking about, as the very first step—that of making Jews aware that they are Jews. That is our first step. There are so many Jews who are not even aware of what it means to be a Jew. That is the first thing that we want to do and if those who are talking about the big and beautiful synagogues and other buildings talk against it and think that we ought to use the money for other things, we can say yes, but nevertheless a Jew who is not aware of his Jewishness is not attracted, to something that is humble and simple. What would you like us to have? Buildings like we found in the ghettos when we went around the world? We saw fine synagogues too in the ghettos there, in Teheran, in other places like that. So we have to think about those things as well. And I want also to say that out of the Sunday Schools, and the other three-day schools and other schools of that kind, which are altogether insufficient, but nevertheless out of those have come some of our young leaders, interested in Israel, interested in Jewish things, aware of the fact that their content is not deep enough, wanting to change it and as Rose Halprin said not having time even to change it because of the many other things they do.

I wish I could get up here and speak in Hebrew. And I would gladly speak in Hebrew. I can only make a speech in Hebrew sometimes if I write it all out and study it. That much Hebrew I know. But enough Hebrew I don't know, why? Everybody who knows me can bear witness to the fact that I have tried to take time out to learn Hebrew and haven't had the time because I have been busy doing work for Pioneer Women, for Moetzet Hapoalot, for Bonds, for UJA and for other things. These are things that we here in the General Council ought to realize.

The United States is the largest community, is a wide world, and I don't think it's fair, not only because of the reasons I gave before, to scold the United States. You ought to know what's going on in the rest of the world. We saw in Shiraz, in Iran, a Jewish school where they all have an idea that they want to go to Israel and yet the head Hebrew teacher was a teacher of the Neturei Karta. In a school where they want to go to Israel, the head teacher, a teacher who doesn't recognize Israel as a State! Why? Because he was the only man there who knew Hebrew and they had no other Hebrew teachers. It is our task to see to it that those people in Shiraz, in Teheran, in India, in Singapore, where there is a dying Jewish community—in all these places they should have teachers to teach them Hebrew. I would be ready to say that if I had to choose between having teachers in the United States, teachers for in-

tensive Hebrew work, in the United States, and having teachers in these communities where we are losing the Jews altogether, I would say that it's more important to have the teachers there in those places than in the United States, for in the United States, even if they won't know Hebrew, even if they'll have only a Sunday School education, it'll be at least a Sunday School education and they will learn to be conscious Jews, aware of Israel, aware of what they have to be and there in those other countries we are losing the communities altogether.

This is what I learned on our trip around the world, and even in those places where they have good day schools, in Australia, in South Africa, what proportion of their children go to those day schools and how much assimilation is there. There are other things besides even education. Please, don't mistake me. I have tried to establish policies myself in our organization, in our Movement. I am all for the day schools, I am all for Jewish education; I don't think I have to stand here and say that. Everybody knows it. But nevertheless, don't run down the Sunday schools and the other Jewish schools as long as the children become aware and conscious and proud, proud to be Jews and proud that there is an Israel. That is of the utmost importance and more important than this business of more intensive Jewish education which we want and which we will have as soon as we will have money enough to have it and time in which to do it—it should be soon—but let's take care of other communities where they don't have even that.

In the United States, we have these huge campaigns and you have been asking us, as has been said already, to raise the funds for all of these campaigns, and the new generation of young people who have gone out to suburbia which you also have heard about here—people talk it down and say, they go to the synagogue because others go to the church. Please remember, I must repeat again that we are a minority in a majority population and there is no question about the fact that Jews there, young Jews particularly, do things that the *goyim* do. The second generation is beginning to bring the third generation to the Hebrew schools, to the Sunday schools, to the synagogues, to listen; to junior congregations which make a tremendous impression upon the young people there. You listen to some of the children in the junior congregations and the way they carry on the Services in Hebrew, the *chazanut* they learn and the inspiration they give and that they bring to their parents, and we can be certain, really certain of the fact, if only we will be patient, we can be certain of this generation. There are many, many, particularly in the suburbs who go to the Hebrew high schools and learn and want to learn and have written wonderful essays about Judaism and Zionism. This generation will not be lost like the last one.

I have read recently about the schools here and the curriculum here in Israel and they leave much to be desired. Do they have a real course

on Diaspora Jewry and what Diaspora Jewry is and has been. The history of the Diaspora, not just the history of Bible times, what it means and what it has meant for the Jews to carry on their Jewishness in all these years of the Diaspora, this Diaspora that was liquidated. How many of them in the schools here learn about that and, therefore, are aware of the history, the more recent history of the Jewish people? This we can say in criticism of the schools here, so that we too have something to critize here; you have something to criticize about us and maybe the next time we come, you will be better, we will be better, and we will all get together.

SAMUEL EPSTEIN
(General Zionists—Israel)

I do not know whether the coupling of these two items—the new constitution and educational and cultural affairs in the Golah—in this session of the Zionist General Council was deliberate and intentional. Perhaps it is no more than a coincidence, but sometimes there are less apparent reasons at work, for there is a close and basic relation between these two subjects. We have concluded the debate on the organizational changes of the Zionist Movement and soon we shall have to decide upon a new constitution. All of those who participated in the debate on this matter, both those in favour and those against, did not confine themselves to the organizational framework of the Zionist Movement. Both aimed principally at the content of the Movement and that is why this is the second subject on the agenda of the General Council.

Thus this debate on the educational and cultural problems of the Golah possesses another aspect, created in the course of the present session as a result of the reform of the organization of the Zionist Movement. Special importance attaches to the educational and cultural work in the Golah, following acceptance of the new framework and the provisions to allow the admission of other organizations and groups, with whose character none of us is familiar and no one can tell what they will bring the Zionist Movement. The veteran Zionist nucleus by this decision has accepted an onerous responsibility in regard to the content of the Zionist Movement. The task devolving upon it today is doubly onerous, for it must intensify its efforts within the sphere of education and culture in the Zionist Movement.

The new framework will prove effective if we veteran and experienced Zionists prove capable of lending that vitality, that Jewish and Zionist spirit, which it needs. From this point of view educational and cultural work is particularly important at the present moment when there is so much talk of the Zionist Movement being given another chance

We shall make that chance a reality if we succeed in converting those sections of Jewry which today are no more than sympathetic towards Zionism, into real Zionists. If we do not succeed in this task then we shall indeed be confronted with the grave danger of adulteration of Zionism—about which so much has been spoken in the last few days. That is the new aspect of the educational movement which has emerged in the present session of the Zionist General Council, following ratification of the new constitution. That aspect obliges us to embark upon intensified activity and to adopt new methods.

But there are also demands to be made upon those who are within, the members of the Zionist Movement. We must repair the defects that have accumulated over many years. We have heard here about many important branches of activity. Let us not underestimate their importance. New methods have been introduced in the sphere of education, which has always been the field in which local groups have engaged. Now guidance is being extended by a central institution, by the Zionist Executive. That is to be welcomed. There has been talk here of a large number of schools, existing already for dozens of years, with tens of thousands of pupils. But the question that must be asked is: Where are the children who have passed out of those schools? What results has all this work brought? It seems to me that we have nothing very much to be proud of. Mr. Shazar, in his comprehensive address, has given us a broad picture of the situation as it is today. Most of his speech was devoted to the situation in the United States. It is to be regretted that he did not discuss the smaller countries sufficiently. There the problem of education is no less acute. There are the small communities, which are threatened with spiritual extinction, in which intermarriage already exceeds fifty and sixty per cent. Little was said about this aspect, and even what Mr. Shazar did say was less of a report than an indictment, not only of the Jewry of America. In my opinion it was an indictment primarily of the Zionist Movement and the Zionist Executive. At the previous session of the General Council Dr. Goldmann declared that, "educational and cultural work is Zionist work. Failing such work it loses its *raison d'être.*" I would like to ask if since that declaration was made anything has been done in this spirit? Has anything been done to justify that declaration, to fill it with real content? Have all sections and institutions of the Zionist Movement evinced a proper appreciation of the problem of education, as an integral, paramount aspect of Zionism? Have the Zionist organizations and the individual Zionists regarded educational work in the light they should regard it? This question must be directed primarily to Zionist leaders. If only the President spoke on education here and at the Zionist Congress with the same fervour with which he deals with organizational and constitutional problems, I believe that the importance of the problem would be enhanced and it

would be dealt with on entirely new lines. But regrettably education has remained an interest for individuals, something ancillary. It is not one of the major concerns of the Zionist Movement. And indeed how are we to convert education into a major aspect of our work when our allocation amounts to no more than six per cent of the Zionist budget? Under such circumstances, I am afraid, we can hardly talk about educational work in the Golah at all, certainly not as a major branch of activity of the Zionist Movement. I am astonished at the docility with which the Head of the Torah Education and Culture Department accepted the reduction in the appropriation for his Department. We must not submit to these decrees, if indeed we are determined to carry on educational work in the spirit of the declaration of the President of the Zionist Organization at the previous session of the General Council. It is not merely a question of disseminating Hebrew, however, important that may be in itself. We do not extend our work beyond the schools, we are not penetrating into the various circles of students, into their organizations and clubs. There has been talk here of institutes and seminars. In what way is the work they do continued? Thousands of tourists visit this country. Is there any one who maintains contact with them after they leave the country, in order to bring them into the Zionist Movement? The Zionist Organization must appreciate that one of its most important tasks is to create, by way of education, a Jewish way of life in the various countries of the Diaspora, and primarily among the Zionists. What has been done up to the present, has been performed in a spirit of division, of competition, of envy—which does not increase wisdom. The Zionist Executive must convert this into one major project. The parties and the communities sometimes do something in this sphere, but all this does not absolve the Zionist Executive, or indeed any and every territorial Zionist Organization, to make education and culture its principal fields of work.

I do not wish to enter upon the discussion conducted here at the beginning of the session about the problems of *chalutziut* and self-realization. We cannot deny that the fundamental ideal of Zionism is the return to Zion. It is true that not all Zionists are able to come to this country. All, however, are under an obligation to prepare the people and the youth for the return to Zion. Those familiar with the great Zionist movement of Poland, of Eastern Europe, will recall that even if Zionists there did not come themselves to this country, they engaged in the preparation and training of *chalutzim* who settled in Israel.

The *chalutz* movement was the crowning achievement of Zionist work and every Zionist, even if he himself had no intention of coming to Eretz Israel, identified himself with *aliya* as a servant of the Zionist Movement. The Zionist organizations, the Zionist affiliates, founded the *hachshara* training centres, they collected funds, they encouraged emi-

gration, they regarded the *chalutz* movement as the favourite child of the Zionist Movement, to use Dr. Goldmann's term. Today there are other melodies in the air. There is even an unwillingness to bring up this matter of *chalutz* immigration, and to make it the principal aspect of the youth movement. It is not the same thing today. There is a great difference. We must think deeply on this subject.

I think that if Zionist leaders come here and settle, far from causing harm, it would do a lot of good to the Zionist Movement. In that case it would prove necessary for them to train their successors. I have been in and out of Congresses and sessions of the Zionist General Council for thirty years now. But I have seen very few new faces in the course of these years. Where is the younger generation? Where are those who are to carry on the torch after the present generation? It is being said that the older people do not wish to make way for the younger men. Perhaps there is some measure of truth in this. But if they did move on conditions might produce the new generation to replace them. I believe that the fact that they do not settle in Israel has a depressing effect, and does not allow new forces to reveal themselves. This, too, is one of the tasks of Jewish education in the Golah, of inculcating a knowledge of Judaism and of Zionism. I stress Jewish education and culture, for I am one of those who believe that the shortest road to Zionism leads via the long road to Judaism. There is a long road that is the shortest. In educating a younger cadre of workers in the Golah to carry on Zionist work, and in preparing the way for those who return to Zion, the Zionist Movement will be tested. The Movement must make educational work the chief of its concerns, the principle aspect of its budget. Its entire attitude towards this problem must be changed. We must embark upon an imaginative comprehensive operation with the object of bringing the younger generation closer to Judaism, to Zionism, to pioneering and to the Return to Zion.

RABBI MORDECHAI KIRSHBLUM
(Member of the Executive—New York)

My object is not to defend the good name of American Jewry in all that pertains to education. As is only natural in a case like this the situation is not as black as it is painted. The truth always lies somewhere between two extremes. We are fully conscious of the facts and the problems of American Jewish life. But when I hear those facts and problems repeated, the impression left on me is more profound.

The statistics and the data that have been cited are no doubt correct. At the same time I feel that Mr. Shazar should also have mentioned the growth that has been registered.

There is such a thing as the American tragedy, the tragedy of a lost generation in American Jewry. Unfortunately we are not the only ones. Mr. Shazar has drawn our attention to the report that has been published. There is one phrase in that report which I wish to quote. I am not overwhelmed by the experts. But the experts on Jewish education in the United States have summed up the state of Jewish education in the following terms: Jewish education resembles a river that is sometimes very broad, and sometimes extremely narrow. Fortunately, with the aid of Divine Providence and thanks to our own efforts the river is becoming broader. The problem now is that of the depth of the river.

There is the problem of Barmitzvah Jewry. This infection, unfortunately enough, is spreading even in the State of Israel. I once said that when we had a State, materially it would follow in the footsteps of the United States and spiritually in those of the Lithuanian and Polish townlet. But the very reverse has been the case. Spiritually the United States is the model and materially the Polish and Lithuanian townlet. We have the problem of the children who make their first appearance in *shul* on their Barmitzvah. They come and promise that they will remain close to God to the Jewish people, and to Eretz Israel. But they do not intend fulfilling a single word of their promise.

There is an educational problem which is not reflected in statistics. The statistics will tell you that Los Angeles and San Francisco have two and a half day schools each. But really Los Angeles has five, including a large Yeshiva and another which is on the way to becoming a Yeshiva, while San Francisco has no day school at all. Statistics do not reflect the true situation.

We have lost an entire generation but we must not despair. There is still hope. There is some growth, and some encouragement. But after all is said and done we must confess that the tragic situation as described here does exist.

Often in conversation with Principals of Yeshivot I have said: You have remarkable patience. But I am doubtful whether all the day schools and the Yeshivot can replace all those scholars, intellectuals and Hebraists who in the natural course of events are disappearing.

Some people have raised the question: Why do we need a Torah Education Department, in addition to the Education Department. When Torah united the Jewish people it was possible to cover all aspects of education. Unfortunately that is not the case today. We must return to the past. After hearing the speeches of Mr. Bankover and Mr. Nathani I have hopes that we shall. For the time being Torah is something that distinguishes us one from the other. And seeing that we cannot give up Torah we must have a separate instrument.

As an Orthodox Jew I am interested in every variety of Jewish

education. Not every variety might be suitable for me but I wish those well who seek their own variety. I took a keen interest in the Sholem Aleichem School in my own district, which possesses beautiful premises. It was sold to a Chassidic Rabbi, for a Beth Jacob school. I was sorry about that. A suitable building might in any case have been established for the Beth Jacob School, but there was no other way, because the Sholem Aleichem School collapsed. The parents who sent their children to the Sholem Aleichem School will not send them now to the Beth Jacob School. The upshot is that Jewish education that is not religious means nothing in the Golah, and has no *raison d'être*. Parents ask: Why should I waste money and time on that sort of education? If there is a Jewish school, whether it is under the supervision of the federation or the Torah Department or the general Education Department, it must impart religious education. The Golah will not recognize any other sort of education.

Those who hold that Zionism has done nothing for education have made a mistake. You are doing the Movement an injustice, for it has created an education system which has saved the Yishuv. My own party, the Mizrachi, developed sixty day schools before we even began to deal with education on this rostrum. But I am pained at the fact that the Zionist Organization with its two Departments is doing practically nothing at all. I must sound a note of warning. You will be told of grandiose plans. A campaign for culture will be launched in America. But I am convinced that all this will leave us without any budget. The Zionist Movement must underline that our work on behalf of education and Youth and Hechalutz is not a luxury, as without them we have no right to exist. Funds for these purposes must constitute an integral part of our budget. American Jewry spends sixty million dollars for education. The Zionist Organization—both of its Departments—spends no more than 200,000 dollars in the United States. So you know what you can expect. Neither we nor Mr. Shazar have been given an opportunity to tell you what we have done with that 200,000 dollars. If we had then you might have formed some idea of what we could have done had we one million at our disposal.

I shall give you a few examples of what we have done. The Torah Education Department has published in America a book entitled "Yediot Ha'aretz," containing material on all phases of Eretz Israel in the course of history. Do you think that everybody was satisfied with this? No! The book has nevertheless penetrated into the day schools and though there is still opposition to "Yediot Ha'aretz" in the curriculum, no other body would have undertaken the task to publish the book. We have published a history book in Hebrew. Previously such a book did not exist. There are history books but they are not suitable for our own religious outlook. We have protested against other books where

no place was found for Herzl or for Ben-Gurion. For us that is also part of our history.

Shazar mentioned the fact that fifteen day schools were planned and only eight actually established. The Torah Department alone established eight, since you visited the United States. I would undertake to create twenty five new schools in a single year if you gave us the money. With 2,500 dollars we can establish a school. The fact of the matter is that day schools are created by a small group of people who are crazy about the idea. If you begin with the school the public will later take it over.

Two days before I left America I paid a visit to a school which began with an even smaller sum of money. In the meantime I gave them a thousand dollars, and promised to find the rest. We have established a day school, a *yeshiva ketana,* for unfortunate, retarded children, whom no Jewish schools wished to admit. You should see how greedy these children are for the little amount of *yiddishkeit,* which they are capable of absorbing.

Let us not argue and debate in terms of the general and the Torah Departments. Redemption does not necessarily lie in uniformity. That is not the crux of the problem. Both Departments are legitimate instruments of the World Zionist Organization. There is no danger in the existence of both Departments.

The problem is that we must have a suitable budget that will show the world that we do not merely talk about education. We must show that it is a matter very closer to our hearts. We must show that we understand the problem and are prepared to make sacrifices in order to solve it. If we follow this policy, if we wage a campaign for a larger appropriation, we shall be capable of building that bridge between the Jewish people and the State of Israel.

DR. BERL FRYMER
(Union Poale Zion–Hitachdut—Israel)

In the Argentine there is a lower proportion of Jewish children in the schools—about 25–27 per cent—than in the United States. But in the Argentine education occupies a central position in Jewish life, the buildings are suitable, there is adequate concern for teachers.

I agree—though from an entirely different point of view—with Mr. Remba, when he says that it is not only a question of Jewish education. The content of that education is also important. If *chalutziut* is not made paramount in these schools, if Israeli values are not given a central position, then what happens?

At one time—and the same holds good today, too,—Jews came to

Zionism by way of *Yiddishkeit*. Today, however, the great masses must come to *Yiddishkeit* via Israel. You can note the trend in Jewish cultural centres to adopt Israel songs, festivals, etc., which indeed are the only values which can evoke the enthusiasm of the Jewish child and the Jewish school. But schooling is only part of life. Unfortunately the non-Jewish atmosphere in the Jewish home cannot be replaced by the school. The child soon leaves school and goes out into the non-Jewish world. I must criticize the leadership of the American Zionist Movement. The life and the home of the American Zionist is not different in any way from that of the non-Zionist. If there are no Jewish symbols in a house, the school cannot provide the substitute.

I did not intend raising the question of the existence of two Education Departments, because I assume that the Zionist Congress will deal with it. The Torah Department is doing very good, very positive work. That is not the chief aspect. What is most important is whether the Jews of the Golah can be divided into two sections—those who are loyal and those who are, so to speak, not loyal to Jewishness. Is there any Member, even of Mapam, who does not appreciate that religious symbols and rituals are different in the Golah from what they are in Israel? Is there anybody here who does not realize the significance of the Bible? Have you any different content to impart to the child? And I do not believe that Rabbi Kirshblum favours the copying of the rigorous models of Lithuanian orthodoxy in American education, if we seek to avoid a tragic conflict between our own heritage and the demands of our own times. This division is far more dangerous than the division into parties. The division into parties is something temporary and they may unite, but what right have we to divide the Jewish people? I am a member of many cultural committees and I have witnessed the degree in which similar activities are being duplicated. And seeing that we have such small budgets to work on, seeing that we are so poor, can we allow ourselves the luxury of two Departments coming into conflict? In this respect we are all guilty. Settlement, housing, the rescue of Jews is juxtaposed with educational work and activity among the youth. The Treasurer puts the question: At whose expense do you wish to increase the appropriation for cultural work? We must be cruel to ourselves, if we are not to be too late.

People say that they were busy with the collection of funds and did not have time to deal with education. But have we not come too late to engage in this field? I am very much afraid that we may lose the opportunity offered to us because of the paucity of our resources. I believe that we shall yet return to this notion of setting aside a given proportion for Jewish education. Concern for education and culture must be the special interest of the State of Israel.

NINTH MEETING

Friday, January 1, 1960, in the morning

Chairman: MRS. RACHEL SHAZAR

CONTINUATION OF THE DEBATE ON EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

MORTIMER MAY
(General Zionists—USA)

Before stating a few things about American Jewish prospects, I would like to outline briefly a few considerations that might help us in understanding the educational picture. In the first place, America is a new land. Those of us who have lived there have had to wrestle with situations that were not part of old world Jewry, living in a land in which we were not only free from oppression, but in which we were readily accepted. We did not have the experience and the understanding of the way life ran in such a country. We are new, we have lived in America, it is said 300 years, but there aren't many Jews who have American lineage of more than a generation or two.

Then, secondly, the American picture as given here is distorted, by the overwhelming figures that come from New York. If you were to analyze the American scene, you would have to divide it into two parts, the Jews who live in New York and its immediate surroundings and the approximate 50 or 60 per cent who live at some distance. Unfortunately, the non-New York Jews are poorly represented in the General Council and in Zionist life generally in the United States, to the detriment of Zionism in America. New York is an unorganized community, I almost said a disorganized community. Many of our social workers refer to it as a Jewish jungle. Peculiarly enough the top leadership and the offices of most of our organizations are located there, but, they do an inferior job within their own confines, and it may be noted that in many of the most influential organs of American Jewish opinion and American Jewish activity, New York, (this might be a surprise to you), plays a very small role. You have heard mention of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, which is probably the most important and representative body we now have and I can tell you that New York plays almost no role in that body.

Then we have our Large City Budgeting Conference which analyzes programmes and to a large extent decides on the amounts of money that are likely to be given to organizations. Here again it is largely composed of big cities but does not include New York.

I stress these things because the messages that are brought to this body are nearly all from New York and as everyone always directs a little advice to Hadassah, I must say that I give them credit for penetrating deeper into the American scene than most, but I fail to observe anybody here from Hadassah who is from outside of the city of New York. Finally if figures on education were produced from the American community apart from New York they would be more favourable.

Then as a third consideration—the dominance of the public school in the American way of life. The public school represented to those who came from abroad not only a democratic institution but a departure from what most of them knew. Earlier immigrants saw in it an opportunity for direct association with all that is best in America, and it looked a little disloyal if one sent a child to other than the public schools. But this is changing too, particularly in the big cities because of the composition of the city community. Then—we have been charged here repeatedly with not knowing Hebrew—that Americans are poor linguists. Probably this is because we are of continental dimensions and have but little contact with those who speak foreign languages. It is probably also due to the fact that English is today the prestige language of the world; that nearly everybody wants to know English, and it is close to being the international means of communication.

Many of us from America have recently read a book called *The Status Seekers* by Vance Packard, and it demonstrates how much the American, and I presume the average human being, seeks status. He wants those things which give him position, which give him dignity, and which give him a little bit of a feeling of superiority, so that in America, as elsewhere, when we consider the entire Jewish picture, we should keep in mind the matter of status.

In life it is less important where you happen to be than the direction in which you are going. I would confess that thus far we have not done too good a job in the States. I would also say that we are not entirely proud of it and sometimes when we respond with a little bit of nastiness, it is because of "touché." But nevertheless, I feel that if we are not happy about the situation now, that we have good reason to believe that we are heading in the right direction.

Let me just name a few things in this connection. I have already mentioned the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. I have long been associated with it in one capacity or another. I have noted how it has gradually assumed that the problem of education is

a communal responsibility. I believe that Dr. Goldmann mentioned that at the last meeting in San Francisco, the matter of Jewish education stood high on the agenda. This is something new. I can remember in the earlier meetings, it received scant if any attention. It was mentioned too in connection with the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds that it has recently set up a cultural fund. Someone once said that the motto of the Welfare Funds was "Millions for relief but not one cent for culture." This, therefore, marks quite a change.

I would also point out that the American scene is witnessing the rapid rise of synagogues. Each synagogue becomes a centre for Jewish education; so that the more synagogues the better our educational prospects are. Day schools, you have heard too, are in the ascendent. Twenty or thirty years ago we had half a dozen. Today we have more than two hundred. Camps have been mentioned, but they have not been sufficiently stressed. The camp that gives a positive Jewish approach is growing. It not only proceeds with the idea of giving a Jewish education, which is important, but gives our young people an orientation, a feeling of enthusiasm and a delight in being Jewish, which is just as valuable as a sum total of knowledge.

Another fact that shows that we are going in the right direction is the type of literature which is being produced in the United States today, with a very positive approach to Jewish life. I could mention *Exodus* and I don't know how many of you know the profound effect that *Exodus* has had upon the American Jewish community. Many who had no idea of what was happening over here received very suddenly an inspiration.

And, finally, it seems to me that Israel is the great influence we have to spur us on to Jewish education and Jewish understanding, and here there is a real challenge to the Israelis. We have derived much inspiration from what you have shown us. The productivity of this land, the material advances that it has made have been an answer to the gibe of parasitism that it often hurled against the American Jew. We have admired your courage in battle. We have not been unaffected by the visits we have had of cultural groups from Israel, in art and dance and literature and music, and finally we are greatly influenced by ideals that come out of Israel. We must therefore expect that what we shall get from you should be in the way of stimulus. Remember that we are the largest Jewry in the world. We have tremendous potential. We have hardly made any use of it. Much of our success will depend upon the impulses that come from you in Israel.

And so, good friends, in leaving you, let us resolve that both Jewries should seek not to scold but to understand each other. Let us not taunt each other, but rather inspire each the other.

LEISER LEVINSON
(Union Poale Zion–Hitachdut—Brazil)

The main difficulty in the sphere of education stems from the fact that people are trying to make things easier for themselves. Money is being sought to support the schools. Thereby we hope to settle the problem. But in my view the contrary is the case. Support succeeds only in degrading education. The Gemara recalls that were it not for Rabbi Hiya Torah would have been forgotten in Israel. Rabbi Hiya sowed field with flax from which he wove nets to trap hinds. From the hides of the hinds he made parchment upon which the Torah was copied. These scrolls were distributed among the children of Israel so that they could study Torah. Jewish communities in various parts of the world do not have to pay school fees. Fine buildings are being erected, spacious clubs are established, etc. But there is poverty in our schools. The reason is that no demands are made, no information work is conducted. Our communities can support educational institutions. They are capable of doing so. What is lacking are the people able to explain the need, to raise the communities to a higher level where they appreciate that the first call on the community is that of education.

Another mistake is being made,—the division of the educational work of the Zionist Executive. One Department prefers to remain ignorant of what the other is doing. I should be the last to underestimate the importance of *shlichim* from Israel. Even the most ineffective are capable of doing something for the cause. But their services are wasted. You may meet one of them who happens to be a scholar, active in the field of immigration. Obviously he cannot encroach upon the field of any other *shaliach*. There may be six or seven *shlichim,* each of whom confines himself to his own circumscribed sphere. But if they worked as a team, trying to raise the level of the community to which they are accredited, instilling in that community a sense of responsibility for Jewish survival, a lot could be done. We are seeking remedies to strengthen the Zionist Organization. We wish to induce non-Zionists to come in and to convert them to Zionism. But in that case we Zionists must be strong! The Zionist has no greater obligation than the non-Zionist. A Zionist is under no obligation to send his child to a Jewish school; he is under no obligation to contribute more to the Campaign.

The Organization might have been stronger, and healthier, if it had a smaller membership, if only those members were possessed of a greater sense of the responsibility devolving upon them. The preservation of Jewishness has always been a "must" among Jews, notwithstanding the difficulties encountered.

If we are serious in our intentions to raise the standards of Jewish

education, to strengthen Jewishness, then other things will follow—immigration, contributions to the Campaign, everything that is contained in the term Jewishness. That is why the main task of the Zionist Organization must be education, which must not confine itself to financial support. I do not say that material aid should suddenly be discontinued. That might have catastrophic results. The interruption must be a gradual one. The money should be spent on sending personnel to the various communities, on creating a movement in favour of education, and thereby to raise the funds requested on the spot. The fact that money that is locally contributed comes back to the communities to support education has come to the ears of the contributors with harmful results for the Campaign. The burden must be increased. Education is week because the necessary effort is not being made. Education has become too cheap. Emissaries must be sent out to educate the people, to raise the funds necessary. A lot of money can be raised. Jews will develop a more favourable attitude towards what costs them more money. In my own community over twenty per cent of the Jewish children go to Jewish schools. Our schools are integral schools. We are short of teachers. Indeed certain classes may have to discontinue studying Hebrew because of the lack of teachers. But if more responsibility is imposed various aspects of Jewish life will be strengthened—Jewishness, the Campaign and the general attitude towards the State of Israel.

SHLOMO SCHWEIZER
(Achdut Ha'avoda—France)

As you are no doubt aware the Jewish community of France is made up mainly of immigrants from Eastern Europe. This Eastern European sector has shown so little initiative, so little Jewish pride, that it has come to its present pass. Consciously and unconsciously our leaders have adapted themselves to the old-established, so-called autochthonous native French Jewry. Quietly a discussion is in progress whether we may speak of a distinct Jewish people. Our representatives sit in the so-called United Jewish Social Fund, which is the central organization of French Jewry and collects funds and receives subventions from overseas for distribution to meet various Jewish social and cultural needs. The United Social Fund issues a fine monthly, *L'Arche*. The editor of this paper, of Polish origin incidentally, permitted himself to write specifically, after he had attended the Congress in Stockholm (about which he expressed himself in unpleasant terms): "I, the editor of a Jewish newspaper, the organ of the central Jewish institution, proclaim that I do not belong to the Jewish people!" Blumel reacted strongly to this statement. He roused public opinion about *L'Arche*. It is true that in

French the world *peuple* may mean "nation," but that is not important. And it is only recently that a commission has been appointed to supervise what appears in this journal.

I have been told by very responsible leaders of Jewish education that we dare not mention what is closest to us, because if we enter upon definitions we can destroy our unity entirely, for we have no language in common.

You know, of course, that the material situation of French Jewry is far better than it was in the years before the War. This has resulted in Jews being almost ashamed of Yiddish, Jews don't want to know any Hebrew, and do not concern themselves about the education of their children in the Jewish spirit.

No new Jewish schools are being established. There are a number of Jewish day schools. There are small Jewish supplementary schools but we are still far from the situation in the United States where forty per cent of the Jewish children are given some sort of Jewish education. The only ray of light in regard to integral Judaism is provided by the religious sector and the *chalutz* youth movements. However small they are, here one has the feeling that we shall not see the abandonment of the Jewish people. We know that the twenty to fifty young people who are drawn into the pioneering movement have been won for us. Needless to say Jewish youth as a whole cannot follow this road. And if efforts have been made to organize a network of Jewish schools, Zionist ranks have unfortunately remained unaffected.

The fact of the matter is that our organization is the only Zionist body maintaining a Jewish supplementary school equipped with a permanent children's home. Six to eight hundred children pass through our summer schools and are given the benefit of a Jewish education for two or three months. But the Zionist parties as such have not evinced any initiative in this field. The Zionist leaders of the central Jewish institutions in France must become the patrons of Jewish education. The foundation for a normal Jewish education must be constructed which must comprise first hundreds and subsequently thousands of Jewish children. Mr. Zalman Shazar who is so familiar with conditions will certainly not be opposed to an appeal to support Jewish education in France being made by the General Council. He will certainly do everything to ensure a response to such an appeal. Perhaps it will be effective in bringing about some change.

The means are available. You American Zionists who are represented on the Claims Conference and the Joint must tell the people in France responsible for the distribution of these funds that they must help Jewish integral education.

NINTH MEETING

MRS. RACHEL SHAZAR
(Chairman of the Meeting)

On behalf of the Zionist General Council I wish to congratulate the Member of our Council, Rabbi Dr. Mordechai Nurock on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday. Rabbi Nurock is, I believe, the only one in our midst, who knew our leader, Herzl, personally. Rabbi Nurock who was the leader of Latvian Jewry, and is today one of the veteran Members of the Knesset, is regarded with affection and respect by all of us. I am sure you all join me in wishing him many more years of fruitful work.

RABBI DR. MORDECHAI NUROCK
(Virilist—Israel)

I wish to deal with a very sensitive problem, which indeed belongs to any one of the items on our agenda today. I am referring to the problem of the re-emigration—*yerida*—of Jews to other countries, certain of which I do not think should even be mentioned. There are two sides to this question. It is perfectly true that a good many of the immigrants to our country might have gone to any other country, to North or South America, South Africa, anywhere. But they obtained visas to enter Israel, which is why they have come here. In spite of that they cannot always be blamed. Today I wish to blame ourselves.

We are not doing all we could for the new immigrants. I am very close to one category of immigrants, namely those who come from behind the Iron Curtain. I have witnessed cases in which immigrants have gone back with pain in their hearts and with tears in their eyes because they were not assisted in settling down in this country. Unfortunately there is an unwritten law in the State of Israel that elderly people are not given employment. But what is the definition of "elderly?" For banks people who are over thirty-five are too old. We have tried to make things easier in the Knesset but we have succeeded only on paper. The new immigrants are helped to support themselves. I wish to propose that the Jewish Agency, in conjunction with the Government, establish enterprises where the new immigrants can be given employment. Thereby we can help in reducing re-emigration.

I welcome the courageous attitude of our President, Dr. Nachum Goldmann, on the question of Russian Jewry. This, too, is an issue over which we have sinned. We have handled the problem with velvet gloves. The Nazis destroyed the Jews physically, the Bolsheviks are destroying them spiritually. We must not remain silent! We know that they will not pay attention, but nevertheless they do possess a certain

understanding of world public opinion. This is a question about which they are sensitive. This is a matter to which we must devote much thought.

The Brith Rishonim is an organization of veteran Zionists, who stood by the cradle of Zionism. It includes former Members of the Actions Committee, Presidents of Zionist Organizations and the like. But when such veterans come to this country they are not welcomed cordially, as they should be in view of their past services. Upon one occasion, Herzl said to me that when the Jewish State was established we should give a place of honour to the early Zionists. The Jewish Agency extends aid through the instrumentality of the Committee headed by Mr. Grossman and the Brith Rishonim. I appeal to you to increase the allocation for this purpose.

WOOLF PERRY
(Chairman of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain)

I would like to say, in all humility, that the variety of euology which has emanated from the distinguished leadership of this General Council about the effective method in which we have attempted to grapple with the problem in Great Britain was not due to any tremendous difference in circumstances which obtains in the country in which we operate. When I heard of the multiplicity of objective and subjective difficulties under which the Zionist Movements work in the various countries that are represented here, I saw many points of similarity, with the ills and troubles and difficulties which militated against an effective impact of the Zionist Movement organizationally or Zionists individually, within Great Britain.

It is to the credit of the Federation which I have the honour to represent that we recognize one fundamental prerequisite. We recognize that in this era it is not enough for Zionists to be able to diagnose the ills. It was not enough for Zionists to be able to foresee the eventual outcome of a given situation. It was essential, in the first place, for Zionists to recognize that they, and they alone, must necessarily undertake the therapy conducive toward a better situation. Nobody else will do this work for us!

We have a quite different concept, a different recognition of the realities of contemporary Jewish life, and it is simply not possible for other Jews organized in a variety of different situations to produce a form of Jewish life which is essentially what we as Zionists desire to achieve. We recognize that today the Zionist Movement, especially in the Western World, had to transform its attitude to our present tasks. The political activities which we undertook in the previous eras are

no longer so pressing, though by no means completely finished, but nevertheless priority must be given to an attempt to produce an impact within the communities themselves in which we operate.

And so it was that we, of our own volition and as a result of our own endeavours, attempted to operate a revolutionary form of education in Anglo-Jewry.

When I say revolutionary, I do not mean revolutionary within the total concept of world Jewry, but within the relatively conservative Anglo-Jewish Community. We introduced the concept that it was necessary for young Jewish people to have a "bi-cultural" education. For generations it had been felt that all that was necessary was to have a Jewish religious additive to a secular English education. It was from the beginning our belief that in this day and age, young Jews living outside of Israel must absorb two distinct but by no means antagonistic cultures; that of the country and society in which they live, together with the basic understanding of the stream of the people from which they emanate.

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN
(Member of the Executive—New York)

Mr. Shazar is to be commended for the work which his department has done. Likewise Mr. Beth Aryeh and Rabbi Kirschblum are to be commended. Considering the limited means at their disposal they have done much. In the perspective of the whole challenge to Jewish education, the accomplishments naturally fall short of the optimum. Those shortcomings, however, are not their fault but the fault of the limited budgets with which they have to operate.

We have heard during the past two days the usual kind of debate, polemics and apologetics centring especially on the condition of Jewish education in the United States. Mr. Shazar dwelt upon the recent statistical report on Jewish education in the United States. If he had approached the problem in the spirit of the Berditchever Rabbi he might have found it possible to note a few favourable developments. I am not here, however, to defend American Jewish education. In the matter of the Synagogues in America which was discussed a few days ago I did not try to defend them, but merely to point out that it was unfair to speak of the Synagogues in America as Jewish editions of churches, because they are much more than that. With regard to Jewish education in America I do not understand why American Zionists are so sensitive. On the contrary, we need criticism and self-criticism.

What I see in the statistical study, whether we interpret it pessimistically or optimistically, is that it indicates that there is a larger vessel

than existed before, into which more and better Jewish content can be poured.

The fact is that Zionists in America and in other parts of the world have not sufficiently raised a hue and cry against the superficiality of Jewish education. It is true that most of the administrators of Jewish education in America are Zionists, but they need the backing of Jewish lay bodies. There are cities where Jewish education leaves much to be desired, and the Zionists are all too quiet and complacent. There seems to be a disinclination to risk unpopularity. I have seen similar complacency among Zionists in other parts of the world which I visited during the past year. My own test of a successful visit was the extent to which I succeeded in irritating the local community into doing more than it had done before. It is necessary to change the pattern and to initiate new projects. Intensive Zionist-Jewish education should become a fighting movement, and the Zionists should become the Palmach, the striking force, in that movement. When we Zionists do that, then we shall begin to reclaim some of the moral credentials we have lost.

In this era, when the easing of international tensions is a paramount objective, there is in Jewish life a tendency towards the easing of inter-organizational tensions. This can prove to be dangerous if it is at the expense of specifically Jewish content. Shortly there is going to be a "summit" meeting in Amsterdam at which a galary of Jewish organizations will be present and where they will also discuss Jewish education. Zionists, who will also be there, will have an opportunity to agitate for the kind of Jewish education which is meaningful and contentful. It will not hurt the cause of Jewish unity if a few sharp exchanges of view will take place. On the contrary, it will add interest and content to the meetings.

Zionists, however, need not wait for the "summit" meetings. They have the challenge and responsibility to try to penetrate into every community where there is need for an improvement in the quality of Jewish education.

There is another aspect of the problem which deserves to be mentioned. I have seen large countries where there are one or two substantial Jewish communities and a number of smaller centres. In these small centres the attitude of parents towards Jewish education is not what it should be. They are not ready to pay the price of securing well-qualified teachers. They are so absorbed in *S'chora* that they have lost their feeling for Torah. Sunday schools are tolerated, even by Orthodox rabbis and Zionist leaders. The larger Jewish communities in those territories should feel a greater sense of responsibility towards the smaller ones, to stimulate them and to guide them. For example, in Australia there should be a keener sense of responsibility on the part of Melbourne and Sydney towards a smaller Jewish community like

Perth, which is 2,000 miles away, or towards smaller Jewish communities in New Zealand. It is for the World Zionist Organization and the World Jewish Congress to impact upon the larger communities in all of the countries their responsibility towards the smaller ones.

I have seen larger Jewish communities where the Zionist leadership is not giving strong enough support to the day-school movement, and those who are heading that movement sometimes complain that they are not receiving sufficient cooperation from the Zionists. Actually the Zionists, as in the case of Great Britain, should feel that they have the greatest stake in the strengthening and expansion of the Jewish day schools.

There is need for more Jewish teachers' seminaries in several strategically-placed communties which can serve large peripheries. Israel cannot cope with the demand for teachers. A way must be found for training Jewish teachers in areas where they have a large service to render. Thus, for example, the Mount Scopus Academy in Melbourne offers a splendid opportunity for setting up a teachers' seminary. They have a thousand students in the midst of a vital Jewish community of 30,000. Teachers graduating from that seminary could serve a vast periphery, including Tokyo, Hong Kong, Rangoon, Karachi, India, Australia and New Zealand, all of which are English-speaking. I am pleased to see that a beginning has been made by the establishment of evening courses for teachers at the Mount Scopus Academy. A smaller teachers' seminary in Johannesburg would serve Jewish communities not only in all of South Africa but also in Rhodesia and Kenya, which are English-speaking. The World Zionist Organization can give some financial support, but can stimulate more financial support locally. It can provide teachers for the training of teachers.

The World Zionist Organization is not spending enough money on Jewish education. Dr. Goldmann said the other day that if not for the burdens imposed by immigration, absorption and settlement, a great deal more money would be spent for Jewish education and for the work of Youth and Hechalutz. This is no answer. These burdens will continue for a long time to come. We cannot afford to wait that long before giving to the work of Jewish education, Youth and Hechalutz, the indispensable amounts they require. If we give five per cent less for all those needs and by the use of that amount increase 100 per cent the work of education, Youth and Hechalutz, it would be well justified. The time has come when the seriousness and sincerity of all our talk about Jewish education has to be tested, also by the position we accord these activities in our budget.

I should like to see Mr. Shazar and Mr. Beth Aryeh bring us two budgets, and in one of these budgets give us an idea what can be accomplished if they had 100 per cent more money to spend. We might then

find that the potential accomplishments are so important that we should feel justified in making the painful sacrifice of giving five per cent less for the departments of immigration, absorption and settlement. Of course I would not do it at the expense of emergency immigration, but I would not hesitate to do it at the expense of non-emergency immigration. It needs courage and boldness to take such a step, but unless we take it not very much is going to happen after all our discussions.

So far there has been one net gain in the Jewish world, and especially in the United States, with reference to Jewish education. The atmosphere has improved. Everybody is talking about it. But we must begin to do something about it, to take advantage of this climate and start cultivating fields with tempo and zeal.

MRS. CHAYA SURCHIN
(Union Poale Zion–Hitachdut—USA)

At the previous session of the Zionist General Council I very much regretted the fact that Mr. Shazar did not deliver his report to the plenary meeting. We, members of the Cultural Committee, heard a comprehensive report on the achievements of the Department for Education and Culture in the Golah. We heard about all that had been done to train teachers for the summer camps and other educational and cultural activities, with the limited funds at the disposal of the Agency. This time Mr. Shazar preferred to speak to us about education of the youth, perhaps as a result of the research project that has been completed in the United States. He has confronted us with a terrifying picture. It is a terrifying fact that sixty per cent of the Jewish children in the United States do not receive any Jewish education whatever. The excuse that has been offered here is: We have been very busy collecting money. Constantly we are brought face to face with a situation of life or death, when we must do somehing urgently in order to rescue Jews. That being the case, I believe that we must regard education, too, as a matter of life or death. If we consider the matter in this light perhaps we shall succeed in doing something tangible. We must search out our ways.

It is very gratifying that we have reached a state of affairs when twenty-seven Jewish communities are willing to institute Jewish day schools, though the parents and the children will be able to choose whether they want the school. Hebrew education must be a corporate and not an individual concern. If we have reached the stage where the communities can be enlisted in establishing Jewish day schools we must act with all despatch. We must do everything we can, without delay. We must mobilize the Jewish women to ensure that their children are

given a Hebrew education. I am sure that I am not the only mother and grandmother who has succeeded in giving both her children and her grandchildren a Hebrew education.

I wish to make one remark about *aliya*. There is in this country a not inconsiderable group of immigrants coming from the United States and Canada. This is the result of the integral Hebrew education given to these young people, who have realized their Zionist ideals by coming here. I have the honour to represent an organization which from the very day of its inception made education of the younger generation and of the women its chief concern. From that day to this we have continued with this important task. We regard education of our children as one of our most important functions, from which we shall never desist, if we wish to create ties with Israel and to establish a bridge between it and ourselves.

Zionists are being faced with a really important task in making provision for the education of our sons and daughters. We must leave this session of the General Council inspired by the determination not to rest content with words, but to take real action and to impose this duty upon all organizations which are interested in our work and in the future of our children.

Much has been said about the Barmitzvah here. I would like to say something about another type of Barmitzvah, that of the State of Israel. Yesterday mention was made of the desirability of the leadership of the General Council speaking in Hebrew. The leaders of the General Council and of other Zionist bodies might indicate their own goodwill, their own serious attitude towards this idea by a speaking in Hebrew at the forthcoming session of the General Council which will be held before the State celebrates its Barmitzvah. If we leave this session of the General Council resolved to call upon all Zionists to do something for the education of our children, we may hope to preserve the bridge between ourselves and the State, to maintain the Charter between the people of Israel and the State of Israel. Then we may hope that we shall be able to understand each other.

MRS. FAY GROVE-POLLAK
(WIZO)

When Mr. Shazar yesterday gave us a gloomy picture about the scene in America, I did not feel that he wanted to attack or to criticize. I understood that this statement of his was meant to stimulate us to think on what lines we could improve the situation in America. Perhaps he made a mistake in not presenting a written report, but he could very well have taken up the time of the meeting here, of the

Council here, to report on the really excellent work that his Department has done, in seminars and in bringing youth here. I heard our English representatives speaking about this. Last year they brought to Israel youth clubs from England which have been far removed from the Zionist scene. Now I understand that the result of these visits and of bringing this youth here, has been a great stimulus in bringing Jewish youth in England nearer to us.

I would like to say to Hadassah: I have seen Hadassah work in New York. They are doing a sincere and wonderful job in the educational sphere as well. And I must say this applies also to the other women's movements. We, WIZO, from the women's point of view have perhaps the hardest job of all. We are working in over 50 countries of the world, sometimes in very tiny communities, in Latin America, like Costa Rica, Nicuaragua, Panama, San Salvador, Trinidad, where we often replace the activities of a Jewish community.

But what is important is the attitude taken by the Education Department. It is not only a budgetary limitation which is working against you. I would be glad if our organization were attacked instead of always being gone over in silence. I would be glad, if for once, when one speaks about education one would speak about the education and the influence on the Jewish mother, on the young, married Jewish mother, who is, after all, the person who has the greatest influence on the child. What is being done for her? At every Council meeting I have been pleading, as have my *chaverot,* for a programme for women's work. We got some support in a financial way from the Department, but even that has been cut to the bone.

I thing it is a waste of money that Hadassah and WIZO and the Pioneer Women should all have to produce original cultural material, should all have to go to the sources and produce their own material. There is not one woman in the Education Department of the Agency, and nobody who knows how to approach the women in the Golah. After all, this *is* a special approach. We cannot use the material as it is issued here.

We are making great efforts to spread Hebrew among our members and I am sure all other women's organizations are doing the same, but what are *you* doing to help us? I would like to know *where is the interest for the Jewish mother?* Where is the interest for the Jewish woman? On the contrary. We no longer live in the times when the Jewish woman was not important from the educational point of view. To-day the attitude is, thank god, different.

For instance, I would like to say there is a wonderful movement here in Israel to popularize the Bible. The Bible Quiz in Israel has had a great effect on the Jewish world. You started an organization here whose purpose was to spread, to stimulate Bible study. We im-

mediately jumped at this idea, but it is impossible, for instance, for only one set of material to come out from this department and then to have it stopped. But even this Bible material is not adapted to women, to whom we have to speak in an elementary way. You know that the biggest influence on the Jewish child are cradle songs, stories and things of that nature. What are you issuing in this respect? What are you doing to help us? Year after year we are asking for it and we don't get it. Why only send out *shlichim* for the youth organizations? Why don't you send out *shlichim* and *shlichot* and help us with the education of women? This is very important. Why should we all do it separately? WIZO is a very economical organization on principle. But in addition it is very difficult for us to manage in the sphere of fund-raising when for instance, from almost one day to the other, 50 percent of our income from Latin America is lost through devaluation. We can't invest much in this sphere and, in fact, we shouldn't invest in it on our own. It should be a joint effort of the Jewish Agency in coordination with the women's organizations.

The budget for education—if we really understand its value as the basis for *aliya*—must be *increased*. First of all for bringing people here, bringing youth here, bringing women here for seminars and so on; secondly education for the Golah must be produced, I would not like to say in the spirit of the Golah, but taking into consideration the outlook and the possibilities existing in the Golah. It is therefore, very important that the educational budget should be enlarged, but I also propose that there should be a separate section or in any case two special persons, a man and a woman in the Education Department of the Agency who should devote themselves only to stimulate, to produce and to send out material and teachers and cultural *shlichim* and *shlichot* to the Women's organizations.

LEON KRONITZ

(General Director of the Labour Zionist Organization of Canada)

Permit me to subscribe to the good wishes extended to our revered teacher and comrade, Mr. Zalman Shazar, on the occasion of his anniversary. Mr. Shazar did well yesterday when he shocked us with what he had to say about Hebrew education in the United States. We may not always look at the sun for it may blind us. It is not good to look constantly in the direction of the light. The whole picture must be seen, for there is much shadow in Hebrew education in America. But those who defended Hebrew education in America also acted wisely. There is light as well as shade. And seeing that Mr. Shazar concentrated upon the dark side I shall pay attention mainly to the rays of light.

There is much that is good in Hebrew education in America and we must not say that everything is bad. There are fifty thousand children going to day school in the United States and Canada. There are thousands in high schools, hundreds in the rabbinical seminaries and colleges for teachers and Jewish science. That is an immense asset. It is something to be reckoned with. Research has proved—as Mr. Shazar has stated—that many of the pupils, and also of the teachers, do not know Hebrew. But there are good schools, too, in America. There are children who do know Hebrew, who study the Pentateuch, and even Mishna and Gemara. There are good teachers, scholars (who know Hebrew!) who are devoted to the ideal of the Jewish spiritual renaissance. But there is one thing that I must emphasize here: If there are good schools—and there are—the Zionist Organization has made no contribution towards their success. The Department for Education and Culture of the Zionist Organization has done important work in recent years. Other institutions are making an important contribution towards education, but the local Zionist organizations have made no substantial effort towards the development of Hebrew education in America. I am not referring to financial aid. I am talking about moral aid extended by the Zionists, and especially by the Zionists in America, to Hebrew education. There is money in America, money to erect fine buildings for all sorts of purposes. But when money is required to maintain a decent Jewish school, an integral school, in which Zionists could take a pride, do the Zionists extend the necessary assistance? (I must place on record that in certain communities the Labour and Mizrachi movements do support schools affiliated to them.) The problem is the absence of a positive attitude on the part of individual Zionists towards the Hebrew school. Yesterday we were told that Hadassah in America has 330,000 members. Add to this figure the number of members of Pioneer Women, the Women's Mizrachi, and other constituent bodies of the Zionist Organization. It may add up to three quarters of a million Zionists in America. If only this organized host really devoted itself seriously to integral Hebrew education, in the course of a year or two, we could generate a revolution in education on the American continent.

Yesterday our Israeli friends criticized Hebrew education in America. It is just as well that they did so. There is much to criticize. And as Mr. Shazar said: All Israel stand guarantee for each other. But, our Israeli friends, visit us to remedy the situation! Send us professors of education from the University, compilers of text-books, educators, teachers! Help us in this great task!

In conclusion I wish to touch upon another subject to which the Zionist Organization must devote its attention. It must exercise an influence upon the curriculum. What is the *raison d'être* of Hebrew edu-

cation? The Research Project, Mr. Shazar has told us, decided to establish an "Institute for Curriculum." We do not know yet what is the goal of our education. Has the Zionist Organization nothing to say on this subject? The Zionist flag symbolizes the revival of the people and the land. But how is the revival of the people reflected in the curriculum? Has the time not come for the Zionist Organization to consider these matters seriously? Those engaged in education must be given encouragement. More results must be demanded. Every Zionist must be obligated to ensure the Hebrew education of all members of his own household.

The Zionist Organization can and should do great things for the Hebrew education of our sons and daughters in the Golah. From this rostrum, from Jerusalem, the Holy City, the Capital of Israel, on Chanukah in this year of 5720, an appeal must be issued to members of the Zionist Organization throughout the world: Let us make a united effort for Hebrew education!

PETACHIA SHAMIR
(Herut-Hatzohar—Israel)

I have not the slightest doubt that the two Departments engaged in the work of education in the Golah, like all other institutions which are diffusing learning in the Diaspora, are performing an important national task, which must be fully respected. But it seems to me that after many years of work in this field the time has come for the Zionist Organization to create schools which do more than merely teach another language. For us the teaching of Hebrew does not imply merely acquisition of another language. It is not the only way of inculcating the values of the Bible. There are people who learn those values through the media of other languages. For us it must be a method whereby we bring the youth closer to the pristine Zionist idea, that is to *aliya.* When I suggest that the Zionist Organization should erect Zionist schools I do not want to say that we should erect buildings belonging to the Zionist Organization in New York and Buenos Aires, but that we should construct schools breathing a Zionist spirit, and that the curriculum should be so drafted that these children when they reach the age of eighteen, nineteen and twenty, should come to Israel. If that was the case they would create a new way of life. Only such a school can really be considered a Zionist school. I do not propose the abolition of other forms of Zionist education. Perhaps even the Sunday school is not without effect, though among the tens of thousands of Jews who intermarry there are no doubt many who have gone to day schools and not only to Sunday schools. For that reason the spirit within these schools

is of the utmost importance. I believe that in the domain of the spirit we can learn something from a person who is not a member of the Mizrachi, nor even of the Zionist Organization. I am referring to the Rabbi of Klausenberg, who came to settle with many of his adherents some weeks ago. Perhaps he has done more than the thousands of Shekel payers of all kinds in the United States and in other countries. He did what he did not by virtue of the Shekel, but because of his faith, the ideal of Eretz Israel, inspiring him and all those close to him. That is why I believe that if there will be faith within the Zionist Movement, within the hearts of our Zionists in the United States and elsewhere, if the Zionists will be inspired by identification with Israel we shall not have to listen to excuses why education towards Israel is practically impossible in the United States—and I am not referring only to the United States. While speaking of the educational work performed by the Department for Education and Culture, we must not confine ourselves to education of the children. We must first of all educate the parents. We must educate the Zionists in the spirit of Zionism. But in this case, too—as in so many others—it would not be just if we placed all the blame upon the Zionists in the Golah. I believe that we Zionists in this country, and the Yishuv in Israel, must share the responsibility. If we wish to establish Jewish schools in the Golah they must be good schools. The Yishuv knows how to establish good high schools in this country, good teachers colleges. That is what we must do too, in the countries overseas.

I do not think that we can accept the reasons put forward by Dr. Berl Frymer that the funds are lacking in the Golah, because of the need to save Jews by bringing them to Israel. I do not see the tens of thousands of Jews who are being rescued today. I do not think that that is the answer, that that is a reasonable explanation.

The faith of the Zionists abroad on the one hand and the understanding of our people in this country on the other in respect of the needs of the Golah, can produce the solution for the problem of Hebrew education in the Golah.

SAUVEUR BARANES

(Union Poale Zion-Hitachdut—Israel)

The hope that as the states of North Africa become stronger the possibilities of conducting Jewish educational and cultural work there will be restored and that the day will come when emigration on a large-scale will once again be possible, is shared by every responsible Zionist leader. But it must be stressed that we must reckon with the half a million Jews living there, and particularly the 150,000 Jews of Algeria,

—who have never become estranged from Jewish tradition and are inspired by a love of Israel—if we wish North African Jewry to remain the main source of the third million of immigrants to come to Israel. We must reckon particularly with the psychological factors influencing the Jews of Algeria, the outcome of the events in Wadi Salib and the impression that might be gained that there is discrimination against the Sepharadim in general and the North Africans in particular in the State of Israel.

As one of the former leaders of Tunisian Jewry, as a lawyer, as a former Chairman of the Law Association in Tunisia and a veteran Zionist worker, I wish to make the following statement: I came to this country in 1952, that is three years before Tunisia achieved its independence. I came of my own free will, because I am convinced that every Zionist leader must realize his Zionist ideals in person. And from the day I settled in this country, I wish to declare, I have seen no discrimination practised either in the State or in the institutions of the Jewish Agency, in any shape or form. There is only the problem of the fusion of the communities of Israel. The community of North Africa has been integrated to an extent of eighty per cent. The process must continue until it is completed. Nevertheless in Algeria the legend that discrimination still exists continues. The Algerian Jews state the Wadi Salib disturbances shocked them. It is important that their fears should be put at rest. This may not be an important matter for Israel, but in the Golah it is very important. Here is an opportunity for the Zionist General Council to make a gesture to allay the apprehensions of Algerian Jewry in particular and of the North African Jews in general.

REPLY TO THE DEBATE BY MR. DAVID BETH ARYEH

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

I am sure it was not the intention of Mr. Shazar to debate whether sufficient attention is or is not paid to education in the United States. His appeal came from the heart.

It is our good fortune that in the United States there is an entire section comprising Hadassah, the General Zionists, etc. There are less fortunate countries in the Golah, which are more isolated. In these countries the situation is far worse. For example you cannot compare the situation with that in France. We do not possess any proper gauge to assess the relative situation in the various countries. But even in England, after the improvements that have been registered there, the situation is far less satisfactory than in the United States. We are all of us in a very bad state, but let us not indulge in mutual recrimination. This is not the place to say who has done more and who has done less.

The situation is far too grave for that. There is a keener interest in the problem today and we must seek ways and means of exploiting that interest for a further advance. There is no short cut. We must progress gradually, prudently. If only the criticism had been relevant to the subject we should have derived some benefit from it.

Nevertheless I think it is worthwhile to recall the statements made by Dr. Goldstein and others. Much has been achieved in the training of teachers. If Dr. Goldstein argues that we should establish a teachers college in Melbourne I certainly agree. But I think that the College in England should take precedence. Our success in this direction is a truly remarkable achievement. Of course provision must be made for New Zealand, for India and other countries. But if in Persia we have fifteen thousand pupils in our network of day schools, Persia must be given priority. In Persia, indeed, something has been achieved. We must bear in mind that we shall not solve this problem within a year, or even within ten. We must meet the most urgent needs and advance towards the periphery. But first of all we must concentrate upon the centre for that is where the Jews are concentrated. There, too, it is easier to begin. But as I have already said we have done not a little for the more outlying countries by the despatch of teachers from this country.

I regret the fact that people visiting various countries and coming into contact with a certain type of person immediately draw conclusions about the general situation. Mrs. Goldstein visited Shiraz, where there are fifteen young men engaged in intensive study. She did not see the progress that has been registered compared to previous years. Mrs. Rose Halprin has told us that she was shocked by what she saw in Scandinavia. But I should like to tell her that in Stockholm there is today an integral Hebrew school with five classes. It is true that this school is not supported by the community. It provides only five per cent of the budget. But in spite of that a number of "crazy" people have accepted the burden and responsibility and are carrying on with their work. I am sure that within two years if you visit that country you will be able to converse with the children in Hebrew. Further north, in Finland, you will find a Hebrew teacher, and further still in the little community of Abo there is a Talmud Torah with ten hours of study every week.

We shall not solve this problem overnight. We shall not solve it within the course of years, even if we increase our appropriation two and threefold.

The question has been raised here how are we to operate with a limited budget. Do not delude yourselves that if you say that twice or three times as much money is needed the matter will be concluded. Of course, I would be only too glad if you members of the Budget Committee would help! We shall not be saved by a central budget,

though the budget must be increased. On the contrary, from year to year we are trying to limit our budget in every possible way. When we establish a school we support it for a year or two and then we say: This school of yours can appear before the public. Now you yourselves must bear the burden. Five years ago most of our emissaries operated on our budget; today I believe the sixty per cent of the budget is raised locally and another fifteen per cent jointly. Only in the more backward countries such as North Africa, Turkey, Persia are we financially responsible. We must insist upon the Zionists sharing the responsibility.

The Zionists must work within the communities to ensure that support for the schools is increased. Thus the little money of which we dispose—even if it should be increased—can be used for initiating educational activity. We must not do more than this.

In sum—let us not deceive ourselves that by calling conferences we shall be able to solve the problem. We debate altogether too much. We have already told the President during a smaller meeting that in this fashion we shall not achieve anything, not even by extending moral support. We do not have to preach to the leaders. It is our duty to speak to the masses, to those that head the communities. All the various gatherings are attended by the same people. They are conversant with the situation. Each and every one of us when he returns home must begin to exploit existing opportunities, to utilize the instruments that are to hand more efficiently, to maintain contact and advise us—for undoubtedly we also make mistakes. We are far from each other even though from time to time we may visit one another thereby we may be able to help a lot.

The job we have to do is a big one and the means at our disposal limited. Let us learn how to use them effectively.

REPLY TO THE DEBATE BY MR. ZALMAN SHAZAR

(Member of the Executive—Jerusalem)

I do not think that we have any reason to regret the day and a half which we have devoted to the debate on education. I myself am certainly not sorry. I do not think that the Zionist General Council is sorry, and we should do well if we continued on these lines. This must not be an isolated episode. What has been said here makes further discussion necessary.

I confess that in my speech I did not submit a report on the work of the Department, for the simple reason, that a Committee exists for that purpose. The Committee will open its sessions with a report on the Department and its various activities. In the Committee, too, we shall hear what the representatives of the various countries have to say

about their concrete tasks. I decided, therefore, that if for once the matter had been placed on the agenda of the General Council it was necessary not only to recount what the Department was doing, how many text-books it had published, how many teachers it had trained, how many seminars it had organized, etc. We must examine what part the work we are doing plays in the working out of the destiny of our people. If we do not ask ourselves this question, if we do not know what the existing situation requires us to do, then how can the Zionist Organization develop into more than just another of the bodies operating in this or that field, and emerge as the organization responsible for the fate of the people?

Many charges have been made. One was that the figures published are not correct, that I made statements that are not in keeping with the facts. This was not said in so many words but somehow remarked that statistics can be read in which ever way you want to. Others, however, argued that the conclusions I had drawn were far too gloomy.

Before me I have *Jewish Education in the United States* published by two of my friends who are responsible for educational work in the United States—Professor Dushkin and Dr. Engelman. Both of them are central pillars of educational work. A Committee met for three years. The best teachers, educators and research workers were involved in this task. I wish to congratulate them, and with them all those behind them, who invested in this task, I do not know how much, but certainly far more than both of our Departments could invest in a year. It is just as well that they have done so and have enabled us to emerge from the darkness into the light. The figures and data I have cited, especially the more gloomy details, are not based upon any calculations of my own, but on theirs.

I have told you about the seventy per cent of the children passing out of the Sunday Schools who cannot read Hebrew, and do not study the bible, neither in Hebrew nor even in English. That is printed black on white on page 188. These are not any conclusions of my own. What I told you about the number of children who do not go to any Hebrew school is written here word for word. What I told you about the number of teachers, who do not know Hebrew, is from an account in this volume, based upon a questionnaire circulated among the teachers. Hence the image of the Hebrew teacher in America, based upon the average reached through these questionnaires. I did not want to touch upon this aspect, for there is no solution. I mentioned it merely to underline our concern.

I was astonished by the reaction of our friends from the United States. I was astonished by their two different approaches. One was that this is an internal affair. This was something written by Americans for Americans. Why then should it be brought before this forum. What

business is it of ours? As if I had slandered America! There were others who spoke guardedly in this fashion: You should have convened the Americans and spoken in front of the Americans. Why discuss the matter in front of the entire Movement?

But if I subscribed to this suggestion I should have to discuss the situation in Brazil, on the basis of what Mr. Bankover has told us, with the Brazilians. And if I wished to encourage the English Zionists and congratulate them on what they have achieved, I must convene the Englishmen separately. Thus we should have to dismantle the Zionist Movement. We must not speak on the various countries of the Golah before the entire Movement, but only with the members of that particular community.

It has been remarked that I devoted too much time to America and too little to other countries. I regret that I spoke too little about other communities in the Diaspora. But what shall I do? The Jews of America not only constitute the majority. They constitute five-sevenths of the Diaspora that is still open to us. What is "Golah" if I do not speak about America? If there is some sort of taboo about America and its affairs must be discussed only with the Americans then there is very little left for us to do.

Still less comprehensible for me was the fact that the Americans thought that I should not have done so, and have been even to a certain extent offended that I did. I know that I have been discussing a very tragic situation of our people. I cannot blame any body for any acts of omission. Is this affront, this pain, only mine? I have spoken about this pain, because we all suffer from it. And only if we are conscious that it is a pain we all share we shall be able to do something about it.

I felt that I was the spokesman for a pain that was felt by all. The authors of the book I have referred to share that pain. They wrote it to shock the people into doing something about it. They are conscious of what exists.

Yesterday I made a very peculiar calculation. I added the figures for the Jewish children going to all sorts of schools in the United States to the Jewish children in other countries of the Golah who are receiving a Jewish education, and the children in schools in Israel. The total I arrived at was less than the number of children Hitler massacred fifteen years ago. We have not achieved the number of children of whom we were robbed! What does this mean? It means that every Jewish child must be cherished as our dearest possession. We have no treasure more precious than these Jewish children. That is why this must be the chief concern of the Zionist Movement,—if it is indeed concerned about the future of the Jewish people. It must provide first of all for the Jewish children. We must remain

conscious of this as long as we have not achieved what we consider necessary.

I have watched the Jewish press in America since the publication of this survey. I have not noticed that it has evoked any reaction in the meetings of the Zionist Executive, or of the various parties, including my own party, nor even in the press itself. I thought that I myself would serve as a spokesman. Perhaps this Zionist General Council will serve as a channel to tell the people, to tell American Jewry and American Zionists and the teachers—whose work we all appreciate—what the true situation is?

I believe that that was my duty. I believe that the Zionist Movement must issue a directive as to the course which must be followed. I do not regard this merely as a clarion call. I regard it as a source of encouragement in all that we must tell our fellow-Zionists. There has been a revolution in American Jewry. The situation is more encouraging in one respect. At one time if any one spoke about education he felt he was sowing among the thorns. His was a voice crying out in the wilderness. Today there is some response. We have half a million Jewish children in the Jewish schools. The teachers are not responsible for the difficult situation. They have done what they could. They can only bring the children to the schools. If the results are just the opposite of what we wish, we ourselves, the Jewish renaissance movement, are to blame for not having provided the wherewithal even after hearts and doors have opened, and the children have already come. Before they came the responsibility of the Zionist Movement was not so great. But now that they have come and there is no room for them we are to blame. When I read that in a certain place people are not interested in a Jewish school and do not want to learn Hebrew, what is there that we can do? But when the Jews are interested, when Jewish parents send their children to the schools, and there is no money to meet our neads—that is a sign that something is wrong with us that we—Zionists and teachers—are to blame. We are unable to voice our demands effectively, we are incapable of despatching teachers, and we do not open the schools when necessary. We have established a certain number of schools in England. But I know that hundreds of Jewish children have registered and that no schools have been opened for them.

I know about people who come here to seminaries to study teaching. We accommodate them under the worst of conditions. We are fully aware that if something radical is not done in education catastrophe looms ahead in America. I have mentioned the teachers deliberately for that is where disaster is imminent. Day by day the number of teachers is declining. We trust and hope that day by day the number of pupils will increase. But if nothing is done about the teachers we shall be held responsible.

All of you talk about a "lost generation." No one has said, "I am to blame!" "My father was to blame!" But the pain is becoming more acute for once again we are losing a generation. In our own generation, when Zionism has reached its apex, when the State is a fact, we are losing half of the generation in America.

I would like to say to my friends from America: Believe me that I do not belong to those who carp and criticize, who point to defects. But how can you ask me to ignore the evil, if it is part of the task you have imposed upon me? I must show you what you do not as yet know. I must shock you!

We shall speak about what we have done and what we have yet to do in Committee?

There is a passage in the Talmud: "The entire world is sustained because of Hanina my son, for Hanina my son is content with a measure of carobs from one eve of the Sabbath to the next." Someone asked: Why did the Holy One treat Hanina so cruelly? Hanina is the righteous man in his generation, and if it were not for him the world would not exist, for if there was no rain he was asked to pray and he prayed and straight away the Holy One did as he asked, and if there was sickness, he was asked to pray and the Holy One was very good to him. But why does the Holy One treat the wife of Hanina and his children so cruelly that they starve, and have no more than a measure of carobs from one eve of the Sabbath to the next? The reply is given within the text. For the trouble is that Hanina is content with a measure of carobs, he asks for no more, he makes no demands upon the Almighty, who answers all of his other requests. He rests content with the little that he has.

I have wished to shock all of us. Let us not rest content with the pennies that we have for this task. Let us stop saying we have enough, then the Jewish people will respond differently.

TENTH MEETING

Monday, January 4, 1960, in the afternoon

Chairman: MR. BEZALEL BAZAK

MOTIONS OF THE COMMITTEES

Dr. Miriam Freund, Chairman of the Committee for the Preparation of the 25th Zionist Congress, submitted the resolutions of her Committee.

Dr. Freund explained the reasons for opstponing the Congress, namely, to allow time for implementation of the new Constitution and for exhaustive discussions between the Executive and the Government. The Committee had agreed to the postponement with great reluctance and directed that its request that there be no further postponements be placed on record.

The Committee had been keenly interested in the report submitted by Mr. Zvi Lurie on arrangements being made for the marking of the centenary of Herzl's birth, and expressed the hope that these plans be finalized as soon as possible.

Dr. Freund then read the resolutions in English.

Dr. Austri-Dan, Co-Chairman of the Committee for the Preparation of the 25th Zionist Congress, read the resolutions in Hebrew.

The resolutions were passed unanimously.

Rabbi Professor Dr. J. Lookstein, Chairman of the Committee on Education and Culture submitted the resolutions of the Committee.

Professor Lookstein stated that the deliberations of the Committee had been inspired by a consciousness of the inroads of assimilation, of inter-marriage, of loss of national integrity. The Committee had felt a spirit of self-realization should be introduced into the field of education, and that Jews throughout the world should be called upon to do something personally to reinforce Jewish education. Every Zionist

must be required to help in the dissemination of a knowledge of Hebrew, in the wider distribution of Jewish books in Hebrew, English and other languages read by Jews.

Professor Lookstein stated that he had been asked by the members of the Committee to greet three achievements in the field of education and culture, namely, the first Graduation Exercises of Tel Aviv University, the first Graduation Exercises of Bar Ilan University, and the fiftieth anniversary of the Teachers Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Professor Lookstein commended the work of the sub-committee headed by Dr. B. Frymer, in drafting the resolutions.

ELEVENTH MEETING

Wednesday, January 4, 1960, in the evening

Chairmen: MR. BARUCH ZUCKERMAN and MR. BERL LOCKER

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The Chairman, Mr. B. ZUCKERMAN, opened the Eleventh Meeting of the Zionist General Council. On the agenda was the Report of the Committee on the Constitution. Mr. Zuckerman noted that the first reading of the Report had taken place some days previously when the Chairman of the Committee, A. L. Pinkus had brought the draft before the Council. After the second reading the debate would follow, after which the vote, clause by clause, would be taken. At the third reading the Constitution *in toto* would be voted on.

MR. A. PINKUS stated that the work of the Committee on the Constitution had been characterized throughout by a desire to strengthen unity rather than to exaggerate points of difference and to create divisions.

Throughout the Committee had had the assistance of Dr. Zwergbaum of the Organization Department, who not only kept the minutes of an extremely difficult committee in order, but directed the latter among the maze of adenda and amendments and *vota separata.*

Mr. Pinkus added that there was a necessity in the minds of the Committee that a Programme Committee be set up which in the interval before Congress should work on drafting Article 2, amending this Article or replacing it by another Article. He presumed that the Executive would take note of the request from the Committee.

Secondly there would have to be a considerable amount of editing, though not changing the content of the Constitution, it must be put into proper style in both Hebrew and English. That would be left to the Organization Department. He would be very willing to assist.

Since the Constitution was presented, the Committee had introduced a number of changes. Apart from those changes there were, two or three *vota separata.* He was dealing only with the amendments that had been introduced by the Committee as a whole. If in regard to

these changes there were *vota separata,* they would be dealt with at a second stage.

The first amendment to the Constitution was in relation to Article 4, Section 2. That Article was intended to preserve the rights of existing organizations, which at the date of the coming into force of the Constitution, had been part of the World Zionist Organization. They would automatically be recognized as such and would not have to go in for any further procedure to be so recognized. As the wording stood, it referred to "Zionist National Organizations" and the three words after "National", "and International Organizations" would be inserted, so that it should read "Zionist National and International Organizations." The intention of this was to preserve the recognition of those,—particularly political parties,—which have a world-wide organization. In so far as they exist, they would be recognized and given all the rights of any other Zionist body.

The second amendment, was in relation to Article 5. Article 5 said that Territorial Organizations would be based on organizations, in which case they would become Federations, or on individual membership, in which case they would become ordinary Territorial Zionist Organizations. The Committee felt that there might be a situation in a country where part was based on individual membership and part on organizational membership, in which case there was a third category based on mixed membership of Zionist Organizations and individuals.

Regarding the next point—there was a *votum separatum.* As already stated the right of organizations to determine their own fate and their own procedures was a right which was being given to all organizations. However, in respect of certain territories, the Executive would still retain rights of supervision and of assistance and of putting matters right if this was necessary. At the time of introducing the Constitution at the first reading, the countries which had a Jewish population of 200,000 or less were those countries in respect of which the Executive would have such rights. The Committee by a substantial majority had come to the conclusion that the 200,000 should be increased to 400,000. The *votum separatum*—both in Article 3 and 9, stated that the autonomy rights—should be given only in respect of territories where the Jewish population was a million or more.

He wished, Mr. Pinkus went on, to take Articles 24 and 34 together as they originally appeared. These related to the right of officials of the World Zionist Organization to participate in the two legislative bodies, Congress and the Zionist Council. In regard to Congress, the Committee recommended that there be no limitation upon the right of an official to be eligible for election. In regard to the Zionist

Council, the Committee felt that as a general rule, officials should not be eligible for election to the Zionist Council, but there might be certain circumstances in which it would not operate fairly or in the interests of the Movement as a whole if this was observed as a cast-iron rule. Therefore, it has suggested that subject to exceptions that may be fixed by the Zionist General Council in its Regulations, the rule should apply.

The intention of the Committee was to keep the exceptions to the absolute minimum, but in order to do justice both to individuals and to the Movement as a whole, it was felt that the right should be given to the Zionist Council to create a small category of exceptions.

In regard to Articles 52 and 59, these were really not changes in substance. The idea was to give the Territorial Courts the same power, to make orders as the Zionist Congress Court had been given in the Constitution.

The last change in the Constitution was in regard to its coming into force. The previous draft fixed certain sections as coming into force immediately, certain sections as coming into force at the beginning of the next Congress and certain sections as coming into force at the end of the next Congress. It was felt by the Committee—and on this matter Dr. Goldmann himself appeared before the Committee—that it would be unwise for any provision to go into force immediately. Things had to be done. The Executive must take stock of itself and the way it was organized. Countries must be reviewed before some of these sections could come into force, and, under these circumstances, it was felt that the Executive should have the right to fix the date for the coming into force of those sections which hitherto, it was held, should come into force immediately. But the Executive must make up its mind to promulgate the Constitution in relation to these sections before September 1; if it did not do so by September 1, it will come into force automatically.

THE CHAIRMAN, MR. B. ZUCKERMAN, proposed that all provisions passed unanimously by the Committee should be accepted. As for the clauses in regard to which reservations had been made, a separate debate and vote would be taken.

The first two clauses were passed.

MRS. F. ILANIT (Mapam—Israel) offers reasons for the reservation to Art. 3, sec. 2 on behalf of Mapam and Achdut Ha'avoda, which felt that the organizational structure of the World Zionist Organization should reflect the unity of the Zionist Movement stemming from the universal character of the Jewish people in the dispersion. Coun-

tries possessing a Jewish population of one million or more, with ramified Zionist institutions, and confronted by complex problems, should be allowed freedom of operation and organization. This could not apply to countries with a smaller Jewish population which must continue to be guided from the centre, and where the attachment of local organizations to the central institutions of the Movement must be maintained. Mapam and Achdut Ha'avoda accordingly proposed that Para. 3, Clause 2 be as follows:

"Every Member Organization in any country with a population of more than one million shall itself determine the manner in which its affairs be administered, the form of its organization and the methods of its work."

Mapam and Achdut Ha'avoda likewise proposed that everywhere the figure of "four hundred thousand" be replaced by "one million."

MR. A. PINKUS declared that the Committee had felt that if one drew the line at a million, the giant countries of Jewish population were virtually being excluded and that was not the intention of the Committee. It had therefore sought to draw the line at 400,000, which included some of the larger countries. because some of the countries still required the assistance of the Executive.

DR. N. GOLDMANN asked whether under Article 8 the Executive had no right to ask organizations where there were a million or 400,000 Jews for information, etc?

MR. A. PINKUS replied:

Article 9 as it reads has two parts: A. It has the portion that he had read and spoken about, and the wording of which is as follows:

"In countries where the Jewish population is less than 400,000, the Executive is authorized to initiate and pursue such actions as it deems appropriate."

Portion b, reads as follows:

"The Executive may at any time require any Member Organization—to furnish information that it has fulfilled the requirements contained in Articles 4, 6, 7 and 8. If such information was not furnished, the Executive could propose to the Congress Tribunal the suspension of the rights of this Member Organization, its expulsion from the World Zionist Organization or such other sanctions as it deems fit."

So the power of inquiry of the Executive and its rights under the Constitution applied to all organizations, whether they were under or over the 400,000 mark.

MR. A. PINKUS replying to a question of Mr. Frank from the floor stated

that the principle as laid down in Art. 3, Sec. 2 was that all organizations should have the right to conduct their own affairs, the form of their organization and their procedures. In regard to countries in which the Jewish population did not exceed 400,000, that provision stood too, but there was a right given to the Executive to go into these countries and to try to assist where the Executive felt it was wise to assist. In regard to the countries over and above the 400,000, the Executive had no such right to go in and take initiative to try to put things right. In regard to all countries the Member Organizations must live up to certain criteria and the Executive was entitled to ask for information from all these countries. Once having asked for that information and not having received it, the Executive was entitled to turn to the Congress Tribunal in order to have its request satisfied.

MR. JOSEPH N. FRANK (General Zionists) stated that the Zionist Organization of Canada was opposed to Art. 9a.

MR. A. PINKUS then said that in regard to the other reservation, the World Confederation of General Zionists, Neumann group, had withdrawn their amendment. In regard to Herut, they would make a statement after the vote has been taken.

By a majority of 46 votes to 13 it was resolved to retain the figure of four hundred thousand.

Art. 9a was passed in keeping with the majority proposal.

DR. E[illegible]NUEL COHEN (Herut–Hatzohar—Israel) declared that his part[illegible]ad decided to abstain on the two motions in regard to Art. 9a as it fe[illegible]hat the Zionist Organization should not be split up into two ca[illegible]gories of organizations, those in the larger and more developed countries and those in the under-developed countries.

Art. 4 up to and including sec. 3 were put to the vote and passed.

MR. R. ARZI (Mapam—Israel) recalled that at the previous session of the Zionist General Council the President of the World Zionist Organization and the Executive had been authorized to conduct negotiations with Territorial and International Jewish Bodies, prepared to subscribe to the Zionist Programme, with a view to the admission of such bodies into the World Zionist Organization. At that session Mapam had made a reservation to the effect that Jewish organizations could be admitted to the World Zionist Organization through the Zionist Federations. Dr. Goldmann had then

stated that he agreed in principle, but he did not wish to aggravate the difficulties of the negotiations by going into details of the arrangement. He had promised that there would be a further opportunity to raise these matters at a second session of the General Council, during which a more detailed discussion about the admission of the new bodies, would take place. Dr. Goldmann had stated at the time that if Mapam refused to withdraw its reservation he asked that it be rejected.

Following Dr. Goldmann's statement Mapam had intimated that it would withdraw its reservation, in the belief that what he had said would be taken into account in the negotiations and that the matter would be raised at the next session.

Mapam now reiterates its reservation, namely that the admission of such organizations should be via the Zionist Federations. Otherwise a situation might be created in which there would be Zionist organizations affiliated to the Federation, and organizations not similarly affiliated. This could result in the weakening of the Federations, at a time when all parties were interested in strengthening them.

However, Mr. Arzi went on to say, should the reservation not be accepted Mapam would abstain in the vote on the said Article of the Constitution.

DR. N. GOLDMANN denied that there was any contradiction between what he had said at the previous session of the General Council and the draft of the Constitution. Every body, seeking direct affiliation with the World Zionist Organization, must obtain the approval of the Executive and the authorization of the Zionist General Council. Then the matter of the affiliation of any such body to the local organization would be aired and resolved. This however, was totally different from the amendment providing that these bodies must enter the local organizations. The amendment in effect nullified the purpose of Art. 4, sec 4, for at present any organization could be admitted into the Movement through the agency of the Federation too. The innovation that had been introduced lay in the fact that bodies could become directly affiliated to the World Zionist Organization, followed by negotiations redarding the mode of cooperation or affiliation to a local organization.

A vote was then taken on Mapam's reservation to Art. 4, sec. 4, and it was rejected by a substantial majority.

The Chairman, Mr. B. ZUCKERMAN, stated that the following Articles up to and including Art. 20, sec. 1, had been passed.

MR. S. Z. SHRAGAI (Member of the Executive) called the attention of the Council to the fact that Art. 13d only dealt with the authority of Congress to discuss the basic principles of the nancial policy and the budget. This would seem to imply that Congress was not authorized to deal with the basic principles of immigration, absorption, settlement policy, etc.

MR. A. PINKUS replied that it was clear that in the report of the Executive and in connection with fixing the budget everything came under review. The policy of Congress in all matters would be fixed when it fixed its general policy on the budget.

MR. S. Z. SHRAGAI asked the Chairman whether he could move a formal amendment to Para. 13d, to which the latter replied in the negative.

The motions of the majority up to and including Art. 20, sec. 1, were passed.

THE CHAIRMAN, MR. ZUCKERMAN notel that the reservation to Art. 20, sec. 2, dealt with the same subject as the reservation to Art. 3, sec. 2 and Art. 9a.

MR. A. PINKUS replied that this was an oversight and therefore the reservation to Art. 20, sec. 2 suffered the same fate. The Chairman stated that the reservation has become pointless.

MR. Z. SHAPIRA (Achdut Ha'avoda—Israel) stated that the Zionist Shekel had symbolized, since the inception of the Zionist Organization, the universality and unity of the Zionist Movement. For that reason it was regarded as a universal Shekel. The conversion of the universal Shekel into a national Shekel could be justified only in such countries where the right of Zionist organizations to conduct independent activity was recognized. Seeing that his party assumed that this right would be granted only in such countries where the Jewish population exceeded one million, these countries alone would have a national Shekel, while the universal Shekel would remain in other countries.

The proposal of his party accordingly laid down that in countries where the Jewish population exceeded one million a national Shekel would be disseminated.

MR. A. PINKUS stated that in his opinion, the question being debated

was precisely the same as the previous one that had been debated on the question of 400,000 and one million. It would be absurd to say in the same Constitution that complete autonomy was given in a country with over 400,000 and that nevertheless it could not have its own area Shekel.

Art. 20, sec. 2, as proposed by the Committee was passed by fifty votes to twelve.

THE CHAIRMAN stated that all Articles up to and including Art. 42 had been accepted.

MR. A. PINKUS then went on to say that a proposal had been made to amend Article 43 to read as follows:

"The number of the members of the Executive will be fixed by the Congress which elects it, with due regard to the numerical strength of the Congress factions, their readiness to join the Executive, accept the Executive's programme and assure collective responsibility."

After a comprehensive discussion, the Committee expressed the desire that the Executive should be based on broadest possible colation with an agreed programme and an assurance of collective responsibility. The Committee, however, was of the opinion that this aim could not be achieved mechanically by mandatory provisions in the Constitution. Until the next Congress every effort, nevertheless, should be made to achieve the above aim. It had been unanimously agreed that the amendment be withdrawn and that the statement made entered into the protocol of the session. In other words, Article 43 stood by unanimous decision of the committee; namely, the number of the members of the Executive would be fixed by the Congress which elects it.

THE CHAIRMAN stated that there was no cause to take a vote as no reservations had been put forward. All other Articles were passed without opposition, thereby concluding the second reading.

The third reading of the Constitution *in toto* was thereupon begun.

MR. A. PINKUS stated that Dr. Joseph had drawn his attention to the wording of Article 41, Section 1, which was obviously incorrect and never intended by the Committee. The last sentence of Article 41, sec. 1, said that the President's term of office should be from the Congress which elected him to the termination of the next following Congress. This meant an Ordinary Congress. If there was an Extra-

ordinary Congress in the interim, it did not mean that the President's office terminated at that Extraordinary Congress.

Mr. Pinkus, then moved approval of Constitution, at its third reading, as a whole.

The new Constitution of the World Zionist Organization was passed unanimously.

MR. Z. SHAPIRA (Achdut Ha'avoda—Israel) stated that though his party had voted for the Constitution, notwithstanding the fact that the reservations it had made had not been accepted Achdut Ha-'avoda wished to make clear its views on the changes to be introduced into the structure of the World Zionist Organization.

The admission of non-Zionist bodies to the Zionist Organization, the grant of autonomous rights to organizations in certain countries and the abolition of the universal Shekel, and the devaluation, if not the complete nullification, of the significance of personal membership in the Zionist Movement, had produced very grave apprehensions regarding the future of the Movement.

In view, however, of the needs of the people in the Diaspora, and the task facing us in the upbuilding of the Jewish State, his party continued to cherish the hope that the historic responsibility that inspired the Zionist General Council, would continue to guide the Movement in the future, after the ratification of the Constitution, in translating the provisions of the latter into practice. Such a spirit would constitute the best safeguard for the Movement and would increase its ability to carry out its historic tasks.

MR. I. NATHANI (Mapam—England) also made a statement on behalf of his party. Throughout the debate on the Constitution Mapam had openly criticized certain weaknesses in the new constitution. It had not supported decentralizing provisions, as it held that the organizational structure of the Zionist Movement must reflect the single destiny of the Jewish people, and the singleness of aim of the World Zionist Movement. His party had also voiced its apprehensions regarding the admission of non-Zionist bodies, failing a clearly defined organizational and ideological attachment to the Zionist Movement. This attitude had been expressed in the reservations made by Mapam to the main Articles. Unfortunately they had not been accepted. Mapam nevertheless, as a responsible section of the Zionist Movement which actually implements the commandments of personal realization thought it fit to express the basic unity of the Zionist Movement for the masses of the Jewish people in the Golah.

It had resolved, therefore, to vote for the Constitution *in toto* in the hope that whatever defects there were in it would be remedied in the daily routine of the Zionist Movement and in its struggle for its historic objectives.

THE CHAIRMAN announced that it was necessary to vote separately on the Regulations.

MR. PINKUS pointed out that in presenting the report, two lots of Regulations which dealt with the setting up of the Area Shekel board and the Area Election board had been attached. The decision of the Committee was that these matters dealt with under the Regulations should be passed as Regulations at the present Council meeting, because they embodied very important provisions as to how these Boards were to be composed.

The Regulations were passed.

In terms of Article 28, section 3, of the Constitution, Mr. Pinkus continued, the Executive was entitled to enter into an agreement with the body that had a certain number of branches in a certain number of countries, granting such body a representation with voting rights at the Congress, the Council, etc., under certain conditions. This was referred to "as the WIZO clause." Now, in terms of that clause, the Executive and WIZO had negotiated an agreement. This agreement was brought before the Constitution Committee.
The Committee's recommendation was that in accordance with Article 28, section 3, of the Constitution, the Zionist General Council approve the agreement made between the Executive and the Women's International Zionist Organization, WIZO, granting this organization a representation by six delegates with voting rights and four delegates in an advisory capacity on the Congress and by two members with voting rights and one member in an advisory capacity on the Zionist General Council, provided that the same organization did not submit a nomination list of its own in the elections to the respective Congress in any electoral district.

To this resolution which was passed by a large majority, Mizrachi moved a *votum separatum.*

DR. M. A. KURTZ (Mizrachi Hapoel Hamizrachi—Israel) declared that in granting participation in an advisory capacity to WIZO the rights of the latter had not been impaired. Rather this constituted an arrangement whereby it could avoid the differences existing

between the various Zionist parties and thereby preserve effectively its non-partisan character.

The nature of the work performed by WIZO, its organizational framework which embraced women coming from various sections of the people made it necessary for WIZO to remain beyond the political struggle between the various parties. Moreover individual members of WIZO in various countries voted during the Congress elections, in keeping with their political outlook and all of them were politically represented by their elected members.

Voting rights for the representatives of WIZO at Congress and in the Zionist General Council would mean granting the members of WIZO a double right, which, of course, no other Shekel payer enjoyed. Thus, notwithstanding the appreciation of the value and importance of the work WIZO was doing, the Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi was opposed to the grant of any such special privilege.

MR. A. PINKUS said that the Committee felt that an organization like WIZO should be given some kind of voting representation if it asked for it. Having regard to WIZO's record all over the world where its members were also members of other parties he had no doubt that it could be left to their good sense not to take a step that would imperil their special privilege.

The agreement as it stood did not provide for termination. It would appear, if nothing was said about this, that the agreement went on forever. He suggested that the question of termination of such an agreement be left to the Regulations.

THE CHAIRMAN put the *votum separatum* of Mizrachi to the vote. The motion of the Committee was passed by forty nine votes to fourteen.

MR. A. PINKUS said: The last item on the report, related to Regulations. The Regulations that would be framed under this Constitution were no less important than the Constitution itself and there might be certain aspects of the matter in which the Regulations could even be more important. The Committee felt that unless immediate provision was made for the setting up of a Regulations Committee just as was done for the Constitution itself, one might get a situation where the Constitution would go into force and the Regulations would not yet be drafted in proper form. It was suggested that a committee of 19 be set up to deal with it. He did not want to canvass for the election of the same Committee. The Committee, however, did feel that as they had waded through the Constitution they knew pretty well why they had transferred one provision or another to Regula-

tions, they also knew the spirit in which certain decisions were come to. Therefore, it would be the most practicable thing if this Council or the Executive would appoint the same Committee to complete the work.

There was one further aspect. The Committee did not want to wait until the next Zionist Council meeting before these Regulations could come into force.

It had, therefore, decided to recommend that where the Committee of 19 unanimously came to a conclusion that a certain Regulation should be promulgated that Regulation should go into force as promulgated by that Committee. Where there was any minority, even a minority of one, it should be referred to the next Zionist Council.

MR. A. PINKUS thereupon moved that a Committee of 19 be established, that in so far as its decisions were unanimous they should come into force on promulgation and that this Committee be authorized by the General Council to draft the necessary Regulations under the Constitution.

The Committee should be bound to complete its work by the first of September.

THE CHAIRMAN thanked the Committee on behalf of the General Council for the industry and diligence with which it had performed its task.

He then submitted to the vote a motion, amended by Dr. Nachum Goldmann, to the effect that the Regulations Committee be appointed by the Executive in conjunction with the Presidium of the Zionist General Council.

The motion was passed unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN thanked the Committee for its devoted work.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENERAL AFFAIRS

RABBI I. USHER KIRSHBLUM, Chairman of the Committee on General Affairs, submitted the report on the work of his Committee.

He read the resolution welcoming the efforts being made by the Great Powers to relieve international tension.

The resolution was passed.

Rabbi Kirshblum then read the resolution on the recent outbreak of anti-Semitism:

"The Zionist General Council notes with great concern the increasing number of anti-Semitic excesses of a Nazi character perpetrated in various countries and appeals to the governments of such countries to take energetic and speedy measures to uproot these manifestations of Nazism in whatever shape or form and to prevent the recurrence of such excesses."

MRS. Z. LOUBETKIN (Achdut Ha'avoda—Israel) submitted the following supplement to the resolution of the Committee:

"(a) The Zionist General Council is of the opinion that Jewish self-defence in the face of any attempt made against Jewish existence or affront to Jewish honour is the supreme duty of every Jew throughout the world.

"(b) The recent anti-Semitic excesses which are manifestations of the revival of Nazism and militarism in Germany nationally and morally add force to the call to the Jews of Germany to leave that country and to settle in Israel."

MR. J. KLARMAN (Herut–Hatzohar) submitted the following amendment on behalf of Herut:

"The General Council of the World Zionist Organization notes with concern the latest outburst of antisemitism even in the free democracies, proving that the Jewish problem remains in spite of the fact that Jewish rights are recognized and guaranteed constitutionally.

"The General Council reiterates the classic principle of Zionism that the only solution of the Jewish problem remains the concentration of the Jewish people in its historical homeland and calls upon the Executive to intensify its activities in the countries directly involved in order by way of enlightment and explanation to induce the Jewish masses to accept the Zionist principle and to migrate to Israel, where they will find not only formal guarantees of equality but the atmosphere necessary for a national free life."

After a discussion on procedure in which the following took part: Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum, J. Bankover, B. Zuckerman, Dr. N. Goldmann, I. Ritov, M. Kol, S. Z. Shragai, B. Locker, and Dr. S. Younitchman,—the motion of Dr. N. Goldmann noting the three proposals and transmitting them to the Committee on Political Affairs for further consideration, was passed by a majority of fifty-nine votes.

RABBI I. USHER KIRSHBLUM then read the resolution on freedom of passage through the Suez Canal and on the National Irrigation Masterplan. The resolutions were passed.

RABBI I. USHER KIRSHBLUM read the resolution on the Anti-Israel Boycott:

"The Zionist General Council again appeals to world opinion to denounce the anti-Israel boycott activities carried on by the Arab States.

"These activities are contrary to the United Nations Charter and to the basic principles of freedom of international trade. They constitute a serious

attack against the State of Israel and the economic interests of Jews in various countries.

"The Zionist General Council notes with regret and concern that a number of companies have yielded to Arab terrorist pressure and in this way are aiding the economic war against the State of Israel.

"The Zionist General Council appeals to the Jewish public throughout the world for increased vigilance in regard to the anti-Israel boycott activities and for intensified efforts to frustrate the Arab boycott measures, which are designed to harm the Israel economy."

MR. I. BENARI (Herut–Hatzohar) submitted the following amendment on behalf of Herut–Hatzohar:

"The General Council regrets that the decision on this subject passed by the last Zionist Congress has not been implemented. It calls upon the Executive of the World Zionist Organization to convene a special conference of Jewish lay and religious organizations in order to discuss ways and means and to set up a special organ entrusted with the task of conducting an information campaign and taking active counter boycott measures against firms which surrender to the Arab pressure."

RABBI I. USHER KIRSHBLUM explained the attitude and the majority of the Committee.

DR. N. GOLDMANN stated that the matter of the Arab boycott and what Zionists and Jews should do had naturally been under the consideration of the Executive for years. In America,—and in other countries, too, though he was better informed about the situation in America—important measures were being taken. Obviously Zionists could not operate effectively alone. If there existed one field in which the maximum cooperation between Jewish organizations, which were willing to cooperate, was necessary, it was in this field.

From the organizational point of view great progress had been registered in America. There was a committee for cooperation there covering a large number of Jewish organizations. In certain cases efforts made had proved successful. He himself understood that one could not be completely satisfied with what had been done.

Dr. Goldmann stated that with all due respect to the Committee he regarded the resolution as proposed a little too declamatory. On the other hand, however, he had no desire to seek honorary membership in the Herut party. He did not advise acceptance of the Herut motion, for two reasons. It included concrete proposals and gave instructions to the Executive in regard to the convening of a conference. As an expert on Jewish conferences, he did not regard it as impossible to organize such a conference, but he did not consider that voicing such a suggestion in the General Council would serve the best interests of the matter under discussion. Herut also

included an explicit demand for a Jewish boycott of firms which there was reason to believe had submitted to the Arab boycott. This was a very delicate matter and he did not wish to discuss it publicly. Those who were no less interested in the boycott than the Zionist General Council should obviously be consulted. For the time being the boycott was within the competence of the State of Israel and not of the Zionist Organization. Secondly, from the standpoint of those Jewish organizations whose collaboration was highly important, any demand for a Jewish anti-boycott could prove harmful. For these reasons he requested the members of the Herut to rest content with this. If, however, they were unwilling to do so he asked the majority of members to reject the Herut motion and to approve that of the majority, as supplemented by himself. There was an exception to every rule, and the exception made the sense of the rule. The Executive was being called upon to take definite steps to coordinate, organize the cooperation of the maximum number of Jewish organizations and communities, in order to prevent firms from submitting to the Arab boycott and to take action against any extension of the Arab boycott.

Such a resolution would give the members of Herut what they sought. The majority resolution would not be merely of a declamatory character, while the Executive would be instructed to take certain steps. Israeli and other factors which were interested parties would be consulted with a view to giving concrete expression to measures to be adopted to counter the Arab boycott.

The resolution of the Committee as supplemented by Dr. Goldmann was approved.

RABBI I. USHER KIRSHBLUM read the resolution on U.S.S.R. Jewry:

"The Zionist General Council notes with regret that since its last session no change for the better has occurred in the condition of U.S.S.R. Jewry.

"The Zionist General Council once more demands the following basic rights for U.S.S.R. Jewry:

"(a) The right enjoyed by Jews everywhere to express their Judaism in accordance with their conscience and to set up organizations for this purpose; this right includes freedom to organize for purposes of prayer and for the observance of other religious duties, as well as for purposes of the education of their children, and freedom of expression for Jewish culture in all its forms;

"(b) the right enjoyed by Jewish groups in every country to maintain contact with Jewish groups in other parts of the world, in order to strengthen cultural ties and generally to enable the creation of a Jewish culture;

"(c) the right of free *aliya* to Israel, especially within the framework of the reunion of families.

"The Zionist Movement shall continue to call the attention of the world

to the precarious status and condition of U.S.S.R. Jewry and to demand a change therein, until a satisfactory improvement has been achieved."

DR. J. B. SCHECHTMAN (Herut–Hatzohar) submitted the following *votum separatum* of Herut–Hatzohar:

"The General Council of the World Zionist Organization puts on record that inspite of constitutional provisions guaranteeing the rights of the Jews in the Soviet Union there exists discrimination against the Jews preventing them to live their lives as Jews.

"Believes that only an effort to put the programme of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union on the international arena can bring improvement of the position of Soviet Jewry.

"Instructs the Executive with the task to convene a world conference of Jewish and non-Jewish organizations engaged in the struggle for human rights in order to take effective political steps to restore to Soviet Jewry national, cultural, and religious rights and especially the right to migrate to Israel for those who so desire."

DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN called upon the General Council to reject the proposal put forward by Dr. Schechtman. The amendment differed in two respects from the majority motion: It included a briefer definition of the discrimination suffered by Soviet Jewry and it called for specific action on the part of the Executive. Dr. Goldmann recalled that during the "Doctors' Trial" years ago, when it seemed Russian Jewry was threatened with physical destruction a decision was taken to convene an international Jewish conference. He had insisted at the time that the conference should not be called by the Zionist Organization, but jointly by all bodies participating. The question was not of the prestige of the Zionist Movement, but what could be done for Russian Jewry. He did not want the General Council to instruct the Executive to do things which it could not do. Dr. Goldmann declared that he was doubtful whether such a Conference could be called. The two and a half million Jews of Soviet Russia were still in Russia and not in the State of Israel. Dr. Schechtman was fully aware that the matter was being brought to the attention of public opinion. Certain progress had been registered. It was being discussed albeit not at the Summit Conference.

Dr. Goldmann called upon Dr. Schechtman to withdraw his *votum separatum*.

MR. M. GROSSMAN (Member of the Executive) suggested that the matter be transmitted to the Executive for further consideration.

RABBI I. USHER KIRSHBLUM read the resolution on North African Jewry:

"The Zionist General Council is concerned over the deteriorating status and condition of the Jews in North African countries, and calls upon the governments of those countries to honour their declarations concerning loyalty to the Charter of the Rights of Man.

"The Zionist General Council again demands the right of the Jews of those countries to freedom of *aliya,* especially within the framework of the reunion of families.

"The Zionist General Council protests against the Moroccan Government's action in severing postal relations with the State of Israel, thus violating basic international rights and causing unwarranted suffering to North African settlers in Israel and to their brethren in those countries."

Dr. N. GOLDMANN suggested that the drafting of the Resolution be entrusted to the Executive. The proposal was accepted.

RABBI I. A. KIRSHBLUM read the resolution on the Jewish National Fund. The resolution was approved.

RABBI I. A. KIRSHBLUM read the resolution on historical sites:

"The Zionist General Council expresses the wish that all places in the State of Israel associated with the struggle for independence be preserved in a suitable form as a memorial for future generations."

MR. I. BENARI (Herut–Hatzohar) submitted the following amendment on behalf of Herut–Hatzohar:

"The General Council of the World Zionist Organization expresses its regret that the old Jerusalem prison in which the fighters for Jewish statehood of all organized forces—Irgun and Haganah, Lechi and Palmach were detained by the British Forces has now been converted into a storehouse. The General Council calls upon the Executive to take the necessary steps to transform the prison in general and especially the cell in which Barazani and Feinstein defied the British gallows into a national museum and shrine to serve as a source of pride and inspiration for future generations."

DR. N. GOLDMANN moved that the matter be referred to the Executive.

MR. B. LOCKER declared that he had been unaware of the fact that certain buildings in the Russian Compound were being used to store books. Instructions had been given that the prison should be vacated without delay and kept clean.

DR. J. B. SCHECHTMAN (Herut–Hatzohar) repeated his request that the matter be transmitted to the body that would deal with the Arab boycott.

The resolution on historical sites, together with the amendment to

the resolution, were transmitted to the Political Committee in conjunction with the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

ELECTIONS

MR. BERL LOCKER then took the chair.

MR. B. LOCKER moved that Mr. Yaacov Tsur be elected a Member of the Executive of the Zionist Organization, replacing Mr. Abraham Harman, who had been appointed Israel Ambassador to Washington.

The motion was passed.

MR. LOCKER proposed the election of Mr. Arieh Pinkus to the Permanent Finance and Budget Committee, replacing Mr. Jechiel Duvdevani, who had resigned.

The motion was passed.

DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN moved the election of the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Jewish National Fund as President of the Jewish National Fund, a position which had remained vacant since the death of Mr. M. M. Ussishkin in 1940.

The motion was passed unanimously.

DR. N. GOLDMANN moved that the Presidium of the Zionist General Council be authorized to elect, upon proposal of the Executive, the Chairman of the Congress Court, in the place of the late Dr. S. Z. Cheshin.

The motion was passed unanimously.

THE PERPETUATION OF THE MEMORY OF JOSEPH SPRINZAK

MR. BERL LOCKER moved the resolution on the perpetuation of the memory of the late Joseph Sprinzak and the erection of the Sprinzak Building for the Institute of Contemporary Judaism at the Hebrew University and for an allocation out of the budget for the Sprinzak Section of the Institute.

CLOSING ADDRESS BY DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN
(President of the World Zionist Organization)

The Chairman, in the course of his opening speech, mentioned the fact that the Jewish Agency lost three of its most talented collaborators in the course of the past year, including two Secretary-Generals,—Shlomo Eisenberg, who served the Movement devotedly and loyally for over twenty-five years, and then his successor, Gedalia Zakif, one of the most brilliant officials whom it was ever the good fortune of the Movement to have in its service. Gedalia Zakif died while comparatively young, in tragic circumstances. But his death constitutes more than the loss of a gifted official.

We have also lost Nachum Levin, Head of the Brit Ivrit Olamit, who was so zealous in the cause of Hebrew language and Hebrew culture.

We must mark the anniversaries of three great figures in Jewish and Zionist life—Yitzchak Gruenbaum, who has completed his eightieth year, Dr. Mordechai Nurock, who has marked his seventy-fifth birthday and Mr. Zalman Shazar, who has become a septuagenarian.

I have already spoken of Gruenbaum and Shazar, at the banquets tendered in their honour, one of them together with the Government of Israel, the other upon our own initiative. I shall not repeat or enlarge upon what I said upon those two occasions. The Presidium of the General Council has resolved that those two addresses shall be incorporated in the minutes of this session of the General Council and shall be deemed to have been delivered here.

In regard to Dr. Nurock, whom we all regard with such affection, one of our Chairmen has already spoken about him. There is much, indeed that I could say about Dr. Nurock,—had the hour not been so late. He is a man, who like few others symbolises the entire tragedy and redemption of our own generation. We are lucky to have a man like him in the Knesset. We all of us wish him long life, with the same youthful activity, perseverence and endurance that continues to characterise him to this day.

I wish to add a few words of personal satisfaction that my friend, Yaacov Zur, has now become a member of the family. His tenure of the Israel ambassadorship in France was one of the happiest in the history of Israel's diplomacy. It was, it is true, not only due to his efforts for others shared the effort together with him. But favourable circumstances mean nothing when advantage is not taken of them. It was his merit to have made good use of those circumstances. He is giving up a great political career, for which reason alone we should very grateful to him, for it constitutes not only an expression of his own devotion to the Zionist cause, but also devotion to the Zionist Organization.

Permit me to make a few remarks about the anti-Semitic outbreak of the past few weeks, which for us as Zionists must above all prove how correct the Zionist diagnosis of the Jewish problem is, and that the Zionist solution of the problem is not an academic one. I say this, notwithstanding the fact that I believe that certain adjustments must be made, in a certain sense even programmatically, to bring the Zionist Movement into line with new circumstances and conditions. The basic assumption of the Movement, as enunciated by Herzl and other founders of modern Zionism, remains that the largest possible territorial concentration of Jews in Israel, in the form of a Jewish State, remains as real and as apt, in the light of conditions in the Golah, as it was twenty, thirty and forty years ago. The change that has come about consists in the fact that the State of Israel is a reality. It has not changed in that all Jews who should be here are not yet here.

The anti-Semitic outbreaks have come as a surprise. Only a fortnight ago no one could ever have foreseen such outbreaks in their most vandalistic, symbolic, form, not only in Germany, but in London, in Norway, in Sweden and in New York. For the Jewish world, for ourselves, they came as a shock. The Zionists, however, are armed with their basic analysis of the Jewish question. The shock that they have caused certain non-Zionist groups must be regretted. But shock can have more positive effects. I say this as a Zionist.

From the Jewish point of view we must not exaggerate the importance of these developments, but at the same time we must not underestimate their gravity. Not to exaggerate implies that I do not think that the Jews of Western Europe, or of America, or even of Germany itself, are in any physical peril, or in danger of losing their civic rights. But when these outbreaks are taken as an indication, we must not treat them too lightly and regard them purely as the pranks of irresponsible young people.

Small movements like these can grow, if they are permitted to do so. In the early months, even in the early years of the Nazi movement, when I was still resident in Germany, and my friends lived there longer than I did, the tendency among both Jews and Gentiles was to regard it as a movement of lunatics, produced by unemployment and economic stress. Had the Weimar Republic understood the gravity of the symptoms, of what was taking place, Nazism would never have seized power in Germany. Had the Jews of Germany appreciated the significance of the straws in the wind at the time, had the Jewish people as a whole understood them, hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions of Jews would have been alive today. Had the human race seen Nazism for what it was, the World War, with its millions of victims, not only the six million Jewish victims, but the millions of non-Jews, might not have occurred.

Two aspects of the recent occurrences might give rise to apprehension and concern. First of all, the fact that most of the perpetrators of these acts are young people. We could perhaps understand—never excuse—that veteran Nazis, who had played an important role during the Nazi regime and lost their positions, should long for those times when they were important people and regret that they have to conceal their Nazi convictions. But not only in Cologne but also in other parts of Germany, and not only in Germany but also in other countries those responsible were young people, who in the time of the Nazis could hardly have been school children. That is a very dangerous indication.

There is no serious Jewish problem in Germany. There are about thirty thousand Jews in Germany, most of them elderly people and the return to Germany is declining, especially of Jews from Israel. By all the signs within ten years German Jewry will not be stronger than today but weaker. A Jewry counting some tens of thousands of members cannot constitute an important problem, particularly when the Jewish people has Israel and the solution is correspondingly so much easier than in the Nazi era.

In a certain degree the outside world has more reason to be concerned than even the Jews have.

The second grave aspect is that the incidents occurred in such a large number of localities within the space of a few days. These are no spontaneous outbreaks of irresponsible youths. In London the very centres of Jewish representation were sought out, such as the Board of Deputies, the "Jewish Chronicle," the World Jewish Congress. There is something behind all this, there is a hidden guiding hand. The timing is not the result of some sudden craze. The excuse that the Communists or the Arabs are behind all this I consider a very cheap one. Behind them are Fascists, neo-Nazis and aggressive German groups, which are very small. As I have said if these movements are permitted to develop they can grow like snowballs.

I know that not only is the German Government not responsible for these acts, but that it is also very concerned about their occurrence. No one in this hall has had as many opportunities as I have had to discuss these matters intimately with some of the leaders of Germany. I knew of their concern even before the outbreaks occurred. That, however, does not diminish the responsibility of the German Government for the fact that they have occured. Some of us warned them and told them that they must give their own concern a more concrete form. And notwithstanding my own gratification at what the German Government has done and is doing in the matter of compensation, I have never regarded such compensation as indicating reparation.

The German Government, and other governments, too, who are perhaps more interested in developments in Germany than the German

Jews themselves, because they have greater interests involved, must ponder this problem—which they may be tempted to brush aside—more deeply.

It would be a great exaggeration to say that the entire German people is degenerate. There is a minority in Germany which has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. If that minority is not restrained in good time, if it is permitted to develop, as the foolish and weak Weimar Republic permitted it to develop, it can emerge as a substantial force if not as a majority, particularly in view of the growing significance of Germany in international relations and in the economic life of the world. That process is naturally reinforcing German nationalism, and its further development in the form with which we are only too familiar, which caused both the First and the Second World Wars, is only too possible.

I am of the opinion that the governments, and primarily the German Government, must undertake three tasks, and the degree in which they embark upon these tasks will constitute, from our point of view, the gauge by which we may judge them. (a) They must punish those guilty of these acts. There have been cases where punishment has been extremely mild. In order to mete out due punishment, judges who themselves share these feelings should not sit on the bench. (b) An investigation must be undertaken to lay bare the source of these acts. Behind them there is an organizing hand. The very fact that within the course of a few days the acts were perpetrated in so organized a manner is sufficient reason to launch such an investigation. Former Nazi leaders have disappeared and their whereabouts are unknown,—or perhaps they are known. Large sums of money vanished from Germany after the crisis and where these sums are no man knows—or perhaps some one does. No one can expect me to believe that if the German Government takes the matter in hand and conducts an investigation, it will not be able to find out who is behind all this, and take the necessary measures when it does. (c) A system of re-education of the younger generation in Germany must be evolved.

After these incidents the leaders of Germany, who I believe are sincerely concerned about their occurrence, must not only take in hand the two first of these tasks, but begin on the work of re-education, in a spirit of tolerance and understanding between the nations of the world. The younger generation must be taught from their childhood what aggressive German militarism can cause the Jews, the world at large and the German people itself! These are the demands which the Jews put forward as Jews, and not only the Jews, but public opinion, especially in Western Europe, which has no smaller interest in these manifestations than we ourselves, must put to the German Government.

I wish to devote some remarks to the financial situation of the Movement. No report was presented to you by Dr. Dov Joseph. No budget

estimates were put before you, because they are not yet ready to be tabled. Furthermore the present session in keeping with the decision of the Presidium, had to concentrate upon the constitution. The issue of education was also added. For these reasons the budget was not debated.

For eleven years we have worked to the extent of fifty or sixty per cent with what the Jews of the world have contributed and the balance has been secured by loans. Fortunately part of these loans were granted by the Government of Israel, but they are loans nevertheless. There are also loans granted by bodies outside the State of Israel. This state of affairs is reflected not only in the successive budgets, but in the diminishing measure of constructive work. The dollar that we use to pay our debts is not available for settlement, or for the construction of housing, or for work in the Golah. Yesterday I explained to the Committee on Education why it is no easy matter for us to increase our appropriation for work in the Golah, although we should all like to do so.

At one juncture I conferred with Dr. Joseph in regard to such an address. However, we decided against it. But when you go back to your diverse countries you must appreciate that Israel calls for greater and more effective efforts on the part of the Jewish people. Today we informed Mr. Eshkol that we shall be unable to give what he expects from us for housing, and for settlement. His reserves are not unlimited either. The net result will be—less housing and less settlement. That is simple mathematics. The Jewish people has hardly begun to satisfy the needs of the State of Israel. For the time being there is no state of emergency. The borders are quiet, Nasser is not engaging in any provocative acts. There is no mass immigration, and on the face of it, and not only on the face of it, the economic situation is quite satisfactory. But even in such a situation millions, many millions, are still necessary to meet the needs of housing and settlement, even for the integration of the first million immigrants who have come since the establishment of the State.

I would like members of the General Council to return to their countries with this consciousness, that we must alter the standard of Jewish contribution, that we must change the nature of Jewish cooperation with Israel. I am fully aware how difficult this is. But if the Zionist Organization wishes to undertake the role of a vanguard, if it seeks to stimulate and to mobilize the entire Jewish people, this is one of its most elementary tasks.

This, I believe, has been an important session, for the constitution is a very important matter for the Movement. A voluntary organization by definition has no means of coercion, and for that reason a constitution is far more important for such a movement even than it is for a state.

The very fact that the constitution has been passed and approved unanimously is a historic event in the Movement. I do not say this be-

cause some of the proposals which I put forward have been accepted. I am fully aware that various parties were dissatisfied with sections of the constitution. Indeed it was good that criticism was voiced; it is also good that in spite of that criticism the constitution was passed.

For years now we have all of us grappled with the question of how to strengthen the Movement. Various experiments hav been sought, some of them more successful than others. One section is afraid of one thing, the other of another thing. Here we are not dealing with mathematical truths. We must appreciate to the full the fact that in the course of the present session the various groups have found it possible to unite and to vote together, notwithstanding their apprehensions. That reflects a high degree of mutual understanding. It also indicates that the Movement is beginning to adjust itself to changing conditions.

For years I warned the Movement against the dangers of arteriosclerosis. The world is changing, life is changing, the structure of Jewish life is changing, and we have insisted on preserving the structure evolved forty years ago. And if now a situation has been created in which both the Right and the Left are willing to experiment, and notwithstanding their own apprehensions to give the Movement a chance to adapt itself to the new structure of Jewish life, for which not we but Nazism, the war and other developments are responsible, then it must be regarded as an indication of the Movement's vitality, its capacity to evolve new methods to implement its ideas, to win the Jewish people.

We have introduced various changes which have been rendered necessary by the situation in a number of countries. That is not a deciding factor. The most important aspect of the constitution is the fact that it opens the door for the admission of new bodies to the Zionist Organization. But I cannot tell whether this will prove successful. Upon one occasion, I recall, Judge Brandeis said to me at the close of a lengthy talk about Zionism: The last twenty or thirty have proved two things. One that the Jews must have a homeland. That has been proved by Nazism. And secondly that Eretz Israel can become that home. That has been proved by our work in Israel. When a movement can point to certain needs proved by the facts—and after thirty years of development, the foundation of settlements, *moshavim, kibbutzim,* the *chalutz* movement, have all combined to prove that this is something Jews can do—and after all, previously there were doubts whether the Jews were capable of constructing a state—what more does it need?

To some extent this applies to another sphere, too, though I appreciate the great differences. Judge Brandeis was speaking of a great cause. The Jewish situation, today, is such that it requires a great Zionist Movement, organizing the bulk of the Jewish people about Israel. Of all the factors affecting the existence of the State of Israel—including Nasser and the United States of America and whatever you will—

the chief is: Will the State have an organized Jewish people about it? Insofar as it will have, insofar as anything at all can be certain in this world of ours, it will surmount all the obstacles that are in its path.

I believe that it is possible to develop such a Zionism, capable of organizing and leading the people and concentrating them about the State of Israel. The new Constitution is the technical, the legal instrument permitting us to do just this. But it is no more. I trust we shall prove successful—and once again I wish to repeat what Brandeis said to me—and there are proofs that we are capable of undertaking this task. But the extent to which we succeed in consummating Zionism depends upon the will of the people. Some Members are of the opinion that by giving the President the authorization, he is in some sense a contractor and will undertake to organize and do the job. I have not undertaken any contract. Either the Movement performs the task or the task remains undone. I believe that I shall be able to help but I have never entertained any illusions about my own powers. And the notion that I will embark upon a series of journeys and conduct negotiations and bring new members into the Organization, and that the Zionists will look on and not hinder me—that is a very childish conception. If there are Members who have certain doubts, well it might well be that two years from today I shall stand here and admit that their doubts were indeed justified. But if those Members in spite of their own doubts nevertheless voted in favour then they must lend a helping hand. If in the course of the next two or three years our attempt proves unsuccessful then we shall try a different course.

Basically politics is psychology, and so is ideology. The first question is what one wants to achieve; subsequently one finds the necessary formulae. In the immediate future we must unite two qualities, which perhaps seem to be contradictory but are not really so. We must be strong and we must be generous. We must not pretend to be what we are not. But we may be strong in the feeling that the Zionist Organization is, when all is said and done, the strongest factor within the Jewish people. We must be generous towards those outside our own ranks. Strong people can be generous. Weak people are envious. The absence of generosity in our parties is a function of their weakness. If they were conscious of the strength deriving from their functions, they could allow themselves not be petty in admitting new groups.

We must have faith in ourselves and goodwill towards others. If we have, then aided by the technical aid of the constitution armed with the knowledge of what the Jewish situation and the State require—I am convinced that we shall succeed and that in the not distant future we shall be much stronger as a movement than we are today, able to fulfil our function of organizing and representing the Jewish people vis-à-vis its most cherished possession, the State of Israel.

ELEVENTH MEETING

CLOSING REMARKS BY MR. BERL LOCKER
(Acting Chairman of the General Council)

The present session might not have been a difficult session, but it was a fruitful one. The amendments that have been introduced now depend upon our capacity to put them into effect. Many of the Members entertained certain apprehensions. Nobody thought that the new constitution would be ratified so unanimously. But the unanimity of the Movement is dependent not so much upon the constitution, as upon the mentality, the will of the Zionists.

I wish to say that the Zionists of the larger communities, of the communities which have more than four hundred thousand members, must appreciate that they have not been relieved of their responsibilities. On the contrary. Their responsibility has become even more onerous.

We have been very gratified at the ratification of the Government's Programme. One of the members of the Government responsible for the introduction of this paragraph in the Government's Programme is here in our midst. We have listened to an outstanding speech of welcome from the official representative of the Government, Mr. P. Rosen, Minister of Justice.

All this will prove valuable provided we do our duty. It is our duty to strengthen the State of Israel with men and money. This must constantly be underlined. I say this to all sections sitting in this hall. We must never forget this. We must have pioneering, we must have immigration, we must have absorption from all countries. The Zionist Organization must increase its share in our constructive work.

DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN ON THE CENTENARIES OF THEODOR HERZL AND HENRIETTA SZOLD

We are entering upon a year in which we shall mark two centenaries. I have already spoken of one of them the centennial of the birth of Dr. Theodor Herzl. I believe that last night you discussed this matter fully. This must be a memorable year in Zionist history. There is another centennial of another great figure in the Zionist Movement, that of Henrietta Szold. Herzl was the most significant symbol of what Zionism implies politically. That wonderful woman, Henrietta Szold, was the most moving symbol of what Zionism implies in the humanitarian sphere. We shall organize a series of functions and activities to mark these occasions. The Executive has already conferred on the matter and will continue its consultations.

The Chairman Mr. B. Locker, declared the meeting closed.

THE EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY OF YITZCHAK GRUENBAUM

A TRIBUTE BY DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN*

Before proceeding I wish to inform my friend Mr. Yitzchak Gruenbaum on behalf of the Jubilee Committee, that we have decided to tender a small gift to him,—publication of his book *Within and Without,* comprising speeches delivered by him at the Zionist Congresses and in the Polish Sejm. This book will be published as soon as possible.

I do not wish to speak today on the work of Yitzchak Gruenbaum. Gruenbaum represents fifty or sixty years of Jewish history. I do not know if there are any leaders of the first rank—to which Gruenbaum belongs—in this hall, whose lifetime and activity covers such a peculiar era, in which we, too, have lived and worked. He experienced the great heroic struggle waged by Polish Jewry for national and legal rights. He has known the tragic years of the Nazi massacre. He has lived the struggle for the establishment of the State, and he was a member of the first Government. In short he was involved in all the major phenomena of this stormy epoch, in which we have lived. More than that, he played a major role in it, in all its developments and phases, as one of the Jewish leaders.

I will confine myself tonight to certain remarks about Gruenbaum the man, to whom we are today demonstrating our thanks, friendship and appreciation in some small degree.

A few words on Gruenbaum the Jew and the leader. I have already said on more than one occasion that one way of understanding a leader is to divine his motivations. What brought Gruenbaum to his conception of Zionism? One can be a Zionist for many reasons. One can be a Zionist because one has deep roots in Jewish tradition and seeks to continue that tradition in a sovereign state. One can be a Zionist because of love of Israel, because one cannot witness the sufferings of the Jews and seeks to aid them. One can become a Zionist because of rational reasons, because without a Jewish state the Jewish people cannot continue to exist. What brought Gruenbaum to Zionism,—that is if I have understood him rightly, and for years we worked together within a small Zionist group—(with the exception of the fact that he is a Jew of Poland, deeply rooted in Judaism), was similar to what brought Herzl to Zionism,—that is Jewish pride.

I shall not enter into any comparisons. With Herzl it was the pride of the Western Jew, wounded by the discrimination from which the Jews suffered at the time of the Dreyfus affair. Gruenbaum's pride which

* Address delivered by Dr. Nachum Goldmann, at a dinner held in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, on December 2, 1959.

developed at the time of the wealth of Polish Jewry, was wounded by the realities of the situation of the Jews. Psychologists have already said that whatever a man does is directed towards curing the wounds of his own spirit, his own soul. That is an old doctrine, which I do not wish to discuss now. Henceforth all that Gruenbaum did was intended to repair his wounded Jewish self-respect.

Gruenbaum's self-respect had been wounded in two ways. First of all, by the attitude of the Jews. Gruenbaum saw his brethren persecuted, regarded as inferior human beings, from whom the rights enjoyed by other members of the group were withheld. Secondly he was wounded by the Jews themselves, when he observed their way of life, disorganized, devoid of a sound economic basis, living off the black market in poverty and degradation. This brought him to his conception of Jewish policy and to Zionism, to the struggle for Jewish rights and for a more robust, a more constructive Jewish life in Eretz Israel, because in any other country such a thing was not possible. Because of this double motivation Gruenbaum became the classic fighter for the rights of the Jewish minorities, not only among the Jews of Poland, but the most valiant warrior in the Jewish emancipation,—a period that has passed because we have achieved equal rights. This is what brought him to his special conception of Zionism. He was never a member of a labour party, he had no faith in socialism, certainly not in the Marxist brand, but he has always been a representative of pioneering, *kibbutz* Zionism,—Zionism that seeks not only to bring Jews to Eretz Israel but also to alter their entire approach to life and to work. The fact that in this last phase of his life he has gone to live in a *kibbutz* is surely not fortuitous. It possesses a certain inner logic. One can hardly imagine a better conclusion to a career like his than life in a *kibbutz,* not in Tel Aviv.

He has another quality, which is of a special character. There are many Zionist leaders in our midst who have come to Zionism because of similar motives of offended Jewish self-respect. But Gruenbaum is in a special category. I wish to say something about his special method as a statesman. As a political leader he has always believed that the best method of achieving any objective is the moral one. A great German philosopher Theodor Fischer—who belongs to the pre-Nazi period, for which reason I permit myself to quote him—once said: "The moral is self-understood." But he was very naive. The moral is never self-understood. Morality and politics constitute a very complex chapter in human history. It is indeed a great question to what extent the moral has a place at all in politics. Machiavelli was the classic writer of politics. The great problem in our lives is whether we may use immoral means to achieve moral ends. The entire totalitarian system is based upon recognition of the right to use murder to achieve political ends. I will not go into that now. There are a number of politicians seated here and

they will agree—to speak frankly—that it is not very normal to use moral methods in politics. At all events it has not been my good fortune to meet many politicians of that category. Gruenbaum is one of the few statesman for whom the political posture is identical with the moral posture. His attitude towards political tactics, was moral, and morality is an absolute which knows no compromise. What is "slightly" not moral is immoral. For that reason indeed he was a bad tactician. I recall one meeting of the General Council in London, when we, the radicals, wanted to secure the passage of a certain resolution. I calculated that the votes of two delegates would decide the issue. I told him so. I knew that he did not like their views, but we needed the two votes. One of them later said something that Gruenbaum did not like. Gruenbaum attacked him bitterly and upset all my calculations. I was a little angry. I had prepared an entire operation and he had destroyed it. I told him that if he ever wrote a book about political tactics it would be a very humorous volume. He accepted the remark cheerfully.

I have watched him in political negotiations. In certain respects he was an easy adversary, for he never could deceive. He placed his cards on the table. On the other hand, however, he was an obstinate negotiator. Once he had come to any conclusion he could not be moved from it. He felt that he must not compromise because his stand was based upon ethics. The identification of ethics and politics does not make him an easy party for either his friends or adversaries.

This also explains the consistency of his politics. In recent years many colleagues wonder at the ideas he voices and the logic they incorporate. But though it is difficult for him to make long speeches, what he says is remarkable for its freshness. Friends agree that today he makes speeches which could have been uttered fifty years ago. Meantime the world has changed. There have been revolutions, Polish Jewry is no more. Today there is American Jewry, with a different structure, with other principles. But he stands like a stone wall where he stood before. When some years ago he suggested a revival of the agreement that existed in the past, I told him that I could not do so because he was too young for me. He stands where he stood fifty years ago, while I have grown older. His grasp of Jewish life in the Golah, the road that must be followed by the people in the rebuilding of its life in this country, is not merely a political conception which is subject to change, but a firm moral conception, in which there is no room for compromise. For that reason I have never regarded him as a politician. He is the classic example of a Jewish tribune. I do not like to use big words when one can avoid them, but Gruenbaum has something in him of the ancient Hebrew prophets, who were great tribunes, men of great faith in what they expounded, notwithstanding their inflexibility.

These are no more than some of his characteristics. I will say some-

thing about Gruenbaum the man. He is one of the most courageous of men. Even his opponents will not gainsay this. There are few in our midst who have had the courage to uphold their own views even when they were isolated. In Gruenbaum this stems from the conviction he has in the rightness of his views. No man has a stronger weapon at his disposal than moral conviction. It is an impenetrable armour. In some degree he has preferred to be alone. Over many years I was together with him in a small Radical Party. I always made comparisons between him and myself. I was not very happy. It is perhaps a little more interesting to be in the opposition than in power, but I felt uncomfortable. He was well content. He enjoyed the opportunity at Congresses of attacking the majority, when people got excited and began to raise their voices. I did likewise upon occasion, but I got no pleasure out of it. It determined his attitude as a leader of the Jewish masses. I know very few leaders of masses who compromised so little and nevertheless retained the loyalty of the masses. There are popular leaders whose popularity stems not from the fact that they lead the masses, but from the fact that they pursue them. Not only did Gruenbaum not compromise with political leaders. He never compromised with his Jewish masses. He told them the bitter truth, he castigated them, he compelled them to obey him. It is not always that this method succeeds. There are masses whom you cannot rule without demagogy. It is a fact, however, that Gruenbaum was successful in being the sole leader of Polish Jewry, without rival in authority and influence. That is a compliment not only to Gruenbaum but to the Jewish masses, who were capable of appreciating him in that period when Polish Jewry was in the throes of its heroic struggle.

Just one remark about another of his traits, which does not contradict but combines with the other characteristics which I have mentioned here. I am speaking of his goodness of heart. Leaders of his type are usually hard men. They are enslaved by their inner truth, but they do not work for men. They are prepared to sacrifice their intimate friends on the altar of their inner truth. They make demands. Upon one occasion I spoke on the saint and the zealot in Jewish history. The zealots do not consider the individual. They have the right—so they are convinced—because of their intellectual and ethical attitude, I will not say to climb over the corpses, but to ignore petty human weaknesses, such as friendship and comradeship. Gruenbaum is incomparably a good man. Not only does he love the Jewish people. He loves every individual Jew. I have been told that he is a great lover of Peretz, the poet of the previous Jewish generation, of Bontche Shweig.

There is another thing that arouses my wonder when I listen to him, and recall his remarkable successes in the Polish Sejm. This man, at his age, when he comes to the city, what does he do? He does not concern

himself about the great issues that may determine the destiny of the Jewish people, but about the Polish Jews' Loan Fund, the funds of which have been granted by the Jewish Agency. He enters into every detail, how this man and that man are paying their debts. Nothing astonishes me so much about him as this. This man, who occupying such an exalted position among the Jewish people, is still active in lending aid to Polish Jews. Many among us would hand this over to some minor secretary. But this is something typical of Gruenbaum—this combination of zealousness and obstinacy, when greater issues are involved, and simplicity and love when the individual Jew is concerned. This, indeed, is a strange combination. It is one of his most characteristic traits.

My friends, this and other qualities have won for him the special position he occupies in our midst. He is one of the few moral leaders of the Jewish people, one of our intellectual leaders. There is little doubt that he is one of the great leaders. In spite of that I have admired him not as a political leader, but as a moral leader.

My friends, the greatness of our people in politics, has been expressed in our intellectual grasp and particularly in ethics. The moral figures have been preserved in the collective memory of our people. Even the memory of our kings has become blurred. Our age is not rich in moral figures. In the domain of politics—which has become an element in our lives—agreement and compromise are essential. Gruenbaum would be incapable of forming a Government in Israel, a task which requires political negotiation and a slight penchant for the unethical, in order to succeed. But that is something very complicated and very complex. Today, in my modest opinion, we have fewer moral figures in our leadership than in the period when Jews had little concern in politics, and had no experience of power. At that time it was easier to be ethical. Indeed, generally speaking it is easier for persecuted peoples to be ethical than for peoples who wield power. In an era of Jewish power—we must thank God that we have become a people wielding power for which we have paid a high price indeed—Gruenbaum has remained one of the great moral figures. He will remain in Jewish history. He is one of the few people whose standing is not dependent upon the position he occupies. I believe that his standing is higher today than when he occupied a leading position. It belongs to him because he is an integral part of the Jewish conscience, the conscience of the Yishuv and the State of Israel. I can think of no greater thing to wish him, ourselves, the Jewish people and the State of Israel, than that he should enjoy long life, whether or not he engages in writing, upholding the moral values of the Jewish renascence, to continue to serve as the guardian of the conscience of the Jewish people and the State of Israel.

THE SEVENTIETH BIRTHDAY OF MR. ZALMAN SHAZAR

A TRIBUTE BY DR. NACHUM GOLDMANN*

I do not know if you are aware that the most difficult task for any speaker is to talk about people. Addresses are delivered about people when they mark an anniversary or when they are eulogized. In neither case does one say anything derogatory. It is often difficult to speak about a man if one has to refrain from mentioning negative characteristics, which may be in certain cases be salient features. I am not referring to negative criticism. The history of mankind has been made more by lusts, ambitions and negative characteristics than by positive characteristics. You cannot assess the work of great men if you confine yourself solely to their good qualities. That is why I am unwilling to speak about people. But seeing that I have something of a reputation in this respect I am quite frequently called upon to undertake just this task.

When I was called upon to speak in honour of Zalman Shazar my reaction was different. He is one of the small number of men about whom it is a pleasure to speak, because he belongs to those with whom contact is pleasant, with whom it is a pleasure to discuss matters, to come even into conflict—although it is difficult to quarrel with him.

But when I began to think about what I should say, the matter was not so easy. He has no outstanding features, which immediately enable you to form an estimate of him. I once knew a famous painter who enjoyed a reputation of being a fast worker. But one portrait took him many months to complete. I asked him why: He told me that his subject was so fine, so delicate that he must use a very fine brush. Shazar dabbles in everything—in literature, in mysticism, in Chassidut, in Zionism, Hebrew and Yiddish. He is the very opposite of a specialist, which is one of the reasons why I am so fond of him. That does not mean to say he is superficial.

I shall not speak about what he has achieved. In this circle that, no doubt, is superfluous. I have known Shazar for about forty-four years, since the Berlin period. And in recent years we have come closer, because of our common work in the Jewish Agency.

Upon a previous occasion I have said that men endowed with great qualities are not known by their own deeds. Their greatness is something intrinsic, though history may only recall what they have actually done.

It seems that one of the specific qualities of the Jews is what I could call their realist idealism. Normally there is a high barrier separating realism from idealism. Perhaps the Christian Church has some share

* Address delivered at a dinner held in the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, on December 27, 1959.

in the construction of this barrier. In Jewish history the great men were those who did not recognize the barrier between the ideal and the real. The world must be cast in the mould of the ideal. The distant ideal must never be separated from the closer reality. One of the great changes that the State of Israel nas introduced into our lives is the need to recognize realities, even though they run counter to the ideal. For hundreds of years we did not have realities, though we could not permit ourselves to destroy the barrier. Shazar belongs to those people who refuse to recognize the situation. He refuses to submit to reality. Even Dov Joseph has not succeeded in persuading him that there is such a thing as a budget. He has his ideals. Of what importance then is that technicality called "the budget"? All our great figures in history were innocents. They could not understand things that ran counter to their ideal. A story is told of the Rabbi of Bendin. He was told that one of the Jews of the city had opened his shop on the Sabbath. The Rabbi could not believe it. This was something outside the bounds of possibility. But his *gabbaim* were insistent: Come with us and you will see. The Rabbi went with them and saw a Jewess leaving by a side door with a parcel under her arm. The Rabbi said: "I cannot understand why he should do such a thing! After all he cannot take money from her on the Sabbath." There is something of this quality in Shazar and his attitude to our bitter daily problems.

You know that some of us think that he is a little unworldly, impractical. This is one of his most likeable characteristics. In our world, which is so much in the grip of the technocrats, any Jew who refuses to submit to technicalities is worth his weight in gold. We are speaking here of an intellectual, a man of the spirit, not an ordinary politician. Who are those who endure in our history? Tuvia the Milkman and Benjamin the Third! Future generations will not know the names of the *Gabbai* of this or that town, the realists who played an important part in the life of the community. What indeed has remained of all the greatness and romance of Spain? Don Quixote—, exercising an influence far greater than that of the realists.

This explains Shazar's special manner of speaking. Someone once said of him that he begins with a temperature of over a hundred degrees, as he never comes from the prosaic world, but straight from the ideal. It is because of this that his pathos is tolerated. He can speak for a whole hour and you listen with pleasure. No practised speaker would dare do such a thing. His idealism is not something artificial. Shazar walks our world with his special realism. No one would ever suspect Shazar's pathos of being anything but sincere. It is realism that has mingled with and become one with idealism.

He has a good nature, which is a great quality in any man. He is one of the few Jews who have no temper,—and when all is said and

done half of the Jews are angry Jews. Indeed anger is one of the motive forces in Jewish history. Upon one occasion I spoke on the subject: "Psychology of Exile Jewry, or the Psychology of Anger." But Shazar is incapable of anger. It is true, upon certain occasions he has come into my office very perturbed about something but within a matter of minutes his anger is gone. For that reason, too, it is impossible to be angry with him. I have never seen anyone angry with him. You may not agree with him, though it is very difficult to refuse him anything. I am convinced that our friend Dov Joseph, one of whose outstanding characteristics is his ability to say 'No!" finds it's difficult to refuse anything to Shazar.

I am convinced that Shazar is a happy man. If as the saying goes, "Virtue is its own reward," it is because virtuous people are happier. To do good to others is something very gratifying. He is one of the happy Jewish leaders. Every man, of course, has his own suffering. But in this respect Shazar is a typical manifestation in Jewish history. I deny for example that the Jewish townlet was miserable. I know few people who are as happy as were the Jews of the townlet. The Jew knew that he was the chosen of God, that the world to come was assured. They were happy people who lived in accordance with their ideals. Shazar belongs to that type. To complete my Hebrew education I am wont to read the Jewish source-works, and in the course of my studies I came across the following tale. The students of Rabbi Akiva found their teacher weeping on the Sabbath. They asked him: Master, why do you weep on the Sabbath? He answered them: My tears are my joy. Indeed even when the Jews wept they were happy. They wept because of their suffering but that suffering had its meaning. They were suffering for some ideal. It was suffering with a significance, with a content, and that is why they were happy. It is in this sense that Shazar belongs to these Jews.

His is a radiant personality. He radiates human warmth, folk-spirit, affection. For me that is more important than to be the author of several works. That is why he is beloved. Normally leaders are feared, respected, although leaders that are respected are not common. Does Shazar walk in our midst with the feeling "I am a member of Mapai!" Professor Shalom has already told us that in those Berlin days Shazar was considered a bad socialist. Whoever gives a moment thought to whether Shazar is a member of Mapai? He makes every man who comes within his orbit happier than he was before.

And that is why, my good friend Zalman I wish you long life and success in every walk of life. Continue in our midst as you have hitherto, radiating that human warmth, enriching our lives, making them more human. That will give you happiness and will make us, too, together with you, happier.

RESOLUTIONS

HERZL YEAR

1. Preparations for the Observance of the Centenary of the Birth of Theodor Herzl—May 7, 1960

The Zionist General Council expresses its satisfaction at the fact that a joint committee of the Government of Israel and the Zionist Executive is engaged in the planning of projects for the observance of the Herzl centenary both in Israel and in the Diaspora.

The General Council looks forward to the conclusion of these preparations and the communication of the projects to the entire Movement at the earliest possible date.

The General Council notes with satisfaction the intention to concentrate these projects for the observance of the centenary in Israel and in the Diaspora during the month of Iyar 5720 (May 1960) and calls upon all Territorial and other Zionist Organizations to make every effort for the observance of this event. Territorial and other Zionist Organizations are also called upon to encourage large-scale pilgrimages to Israel of both youth and adults during the Herzl Year.

POLITICAL AFFAIRS

2. Efforts to Relieve International and Regional Tension

The Zionist General Council welcomes the efforts now being made the world over, especially on the part of the Great Powers, to relieve international tension. These efforts harmonize with the spirit of the vision of our prophet, "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

At the same time the General Council voices its concern over the renewed trend among the Great Powers, to adopt a policy of appeasement towards Nasser, thereby encouraging him to continue to violate international law, and to undertake acts of provocation against the State of Israel.

This state of affairs makes it incumbent upon Zionists everywhere to renew their efforts and to increase their vigilance against any attempt to encroach upon the rights and international status of the State of Israel.

The General Council calls upon the Zionist Movement and the Jewish people to mobilize once again their resources and to stand unflinchingly by the side of the State of Israel in its struggle to repel the dangers threatening it and to protect its rights, progress, development and consolidation.

The Zionist Movement shall intensify its contribution towards financing the development of the country, to make waste lands productive and to advance the material and cultural welfare of its inhabitants.

3. The Anti-Semitic Outbreaks

The General Council expresses its grave concern at the outbreak of anti-Semitic acts of a Nazi character, committed in various countries, and especially in Germany. The Council appeals to the Governments of those countries, and above all to the German Government, to take energetic and speedy measures to uproot the manifestation of Nazism in whatever form and to prevent the recurrence of such acts, which menace not only Jewish communities, but also the fundamentals of the democratic way of life and the peace of the world.

The General Council is of the opinion that self-defence is the supreme duty of every Jew wherever the existence, security, and honour of Jews are in jeopardy.

The resurgence of anti-Semitic acts in many areas of the world testify once again to the validity of the basic principle of Zionism that the only fundamental solution of the Jewish problem remains the concentration of the Jewish people in its historical homeland.

4. Freedom of Passage in the Suez Canal

The General Council notes that the principle of the freedom of navigation has once more been supported by a large majority of representatives of nations and states at the last U.N. General Assembly. The closure of the Suez Canal to Israel shipping and cargoes by the Egyptian authorities sabotages international law and violates the resolutions of the United Nations.

This Egyptian policy strikes at the attempts being made to establish peace.

The General Council calls upon all peace loving countries to assist Israel in her just struggle to ensure free navigation in the Suez Canal as an international waterway.

The General Council also calls upon World Jewry to intensify its efforts in support of the right of the State of Israel to free passage of its vessels and trade in the Suez Canal.

5. The Arab Boycott

The General Council again appeals to world opinion to denounce the anti-Israel boycott carried on by the Arab States.

This boycott is contrary to the United Nations Charter and to the basic principles of freedom of international trade. It constitutes a serious blow against the State of Israel and the economic interests of Jews in various countries.

The Zionist General Council notes with regret and concern that a number of business enterprises have yielded to Arab pressure and have thereby aided and abetted the economic war against the State of Israel.

The General Council appeals to World Jewry for increased vigilance against the anti-Israel boycott activities and requests the Executive to intensify its efforts to frustrate the Arab boycott.

The General Council calls upon the Executive to take practical steps to bring about greater coordination between the various organizations and to induce them to take more effective counter-action against the Arab boycott and the firms submitting to it.

6. National Water Plan

The General Council welcomes the steps taken by the State of Israel to implement the National Water Plan, which is designed to make the country's wastelands productive without prejudicing the legitimate rights of neighbouring states.

The Zionist Movement shall mobilize all its energies and resources to assist in the implementation of the Jordan Plan.

7. U.S.S.R. Jewry

The General Council notes with regret that since its last session no improvement has been registered in the condition of U.S.S.R. Jewry.

The General Council once again demands the following basic rights for U.S.S.R. Jewry:

(a) The right enjoyed by Jews everywhere to express their Judaism in keeping with their conscience and to set up organizations for this purpose. This right includes freedom to provide for the Jewish education of children, freedom to express Jewish culture in all its forms, and to organize for purposes of prayer and observance of other religious duties;

(b) the right enjoyed by Jews in every country to maintain contact with Jewish groups in other parts of the world, in order to strengthen cultural ties and to foster Jewish culture in general;

(c) the right of free *aliya* to Israel, especially within the framework of the re-union of families.

The Zionist Movement shall continue to call the attention of the world to the precarious status and conditions of U.S.S.R. Jewry.

The General Council requests the Executive to consider, in co-operation with other organizations, the most effective measures to bring about the restoration of national and religious rights of Jews in the Soviet Union.

8. Moroccan Jewry

The General Council voices its concern at the deteriorating status and condition of the Jews in Morocco and calls upon the Government of that country to honour its declaration concerning its adherence to the Charter of the Rights of Man.

The General Council again demands the right of the Jews of Morocco to freedom of *aliya,* especially within the framework of the reunion of families.

The Zionist General Council protests against the action taken by the Moroccan Government in severing postal relations with the State of Israel, thus violating basic international rights and causing unjustified suffering to North African settlers in Israel and to their brethren in that country.

THE CONSTITUTION

9. Adoption of the Draft Constitution

In pursuance of Resolutions No. 94 and 95 of the 24th Zionist Congress and of the Resolution No. 55 passed by the Zionist General Council at its session of May-June 1956 the Zionist General Council resolves to adopt the Draft Constitution of the World Zionist Organization submitted to it by the Committee on the Constitution in accordance with the aforesaid Resolution of the General Council.

10. Regulations for the Implementation of the Constitution

The General Council instructs the Executive and the Presidium of the General Council to set up a Committee of 19 to deal with Regulations required for the implementation of the new Constitution and to decide upon those Regulations.

Provisions adopted by this Committee unanimously shall come into force at the time of their adoption or at the time of the new Constitution taking effect, whichever of these dates is later. Such provisions as shall not be passed by the Committee unanimously, shall be brought before the next meeting of the Zionist General Council for consideration and decision.

The Committee shall conclude its work not later than 1st September, 1960.

ORGANIZATION

11. The date of the 25th Zionist Congress

In pursuance of Article 16, Section 2, of the Constitution of the Zionist Organization, the Zionist General Council resolves to postpone the convening of the 25th Zionist Congress to the last days of December, 1960. The precise date of the Congress shall be fixed by the Executive together with the Presidium of the General Council.

12. Preparations for the 25th Zionist Congress

(a) *Shekel Drive:* The General Council once again calls upon all sections of the Movement to conduct the Shekel drive in a manner that will guarantee maximum distribution of this token of Zionist membership, will attract new members to the Movement and intensify Zionist consciousness.

(b) *National and regional conferences:* The General Council calls on Territorial and other Zionist Organizations to hold national and regional conferences before the convening of the 25th Zionist Congress and to place on their agenda a thorough discussion of the problems facing the Movement in order that the deliberations of Congress shall reflect the opinions prevailing in the World Movement.

The Council instructs the Organization Department of the Executive to act for and assist in the implementation of this Resolution.

(c) *Seminars:* The General Council calls upon Territorial and all other Zionist Organizations to make arrangements in conjunction with the Organization Department of the Zionist Executive, for conducting seminars devoted to a thorough discussion of the basic problems facing the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel. It is urged that these seminars be held on a national or regional basis with participation of all parts of the Movement.

At the same time the General Council calls upon the Territorial and other Zionist Organizations to promote the participation of their key-workers in the Organization Department's seminars in Israel. These seminars have already proved their value for the preparation of a new cadre of Zionist leaders in a number of countries.

(d) *Reports:* The General Council requests the Organization Department of the Zionist Executive to submit a report on the implementation of these projects and all other matters pertaining to the forthcoming Congress to the Territorial and other Zionist Organizations, at least two months prior to the convening of Congress.

(e) *Agenda of Congress:* The draft agenda of the 25th Congress as well as the views of the Executive on the issues to be discussed at Congress shall be brought to the notice of the Movement, at least two months prior to its convening.

13. Representation of WIZO on Congress and General Council

In accordance with the Resolution of the 24th Zionist Congress, No. 90c and Article 28, Section 3 of the Constitution, the Zionist General Council resolves to approve of the agreement made between the Executive and the Women's International Zionist Organization—WIZO, granting to this Organization representation by six delegates with voting right and four representatives in an advisory capacity on the Congress, and by two members with voting right and one member in an advisory capacity on the Zionist General Council, provided that this Organization does not submit in any electoral district a nomination list of its own in the elections to the respective Congress.

14. Budget

The General Council urges the Executive to place at the disposal of the Organization Department a budget which will enable it to implement entirely the necessary preparations for the 25th Zionist Congress and for the observance of the centenary of the birth of Theodor Herzl.

THE KEREN KAYEMET LEISRAEL

15. The Extension of Keren-Kayemet LeIsrael Activities

The Zionist General Council expresses its deep conviction that the existence and strengthening of the Keren Kayemet LeIsrael are vital for the Zionist Movement and welcomes the widening of the scope of the Fund's activities following the agreement reached between it and the Government of Israel. This agreement, which marks an important turning-point in the development of the Keren Kayemet LeIsrael and in the reinforcement of cooperation between it and the State, increases the obligation of the entire Zionist camp to strive for the further enhancement of the Fund's position.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE DIASPORA

16. The Danger of Assimilation in the Diaspora

The Zionist General Council which at its Fifth Session, devoted a special debate to the problem of Jewish Education throughout the world, expresses grave concern at the great dangers threatening Jewry

because of the processes of assimilation and loss of national identity in Jewish communities in the Diaspora.

The General Council recognizes the need for speedy and energetic action to stem the tide of assimilation and strongly urges that Jewish education and culture be given priority in the activities of the World Zionist Organization.

The General Council regards Hebrew education, the inculcation of Jewish values and the strengthening of spiritual and personal ties between the Diaspora and the State as a vital and decisive task in ensuring the continued existence of the nation and the consummation of the Zionist ideal.

The General Council calls upon the Executive and all its branches and institutions to work for the mobilization of the resources required for the implementation of that task.

The General Council imposes upon every Zionist the duty to extend his fullest support towards promoting Jewish education among all sections of the people and to set a personal example by giving a Jewish education to his own family.

17. Activities of the Departments for Education and Culture in the Diaspora and for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora

The General Council expresses to the Departments for Education and Culture in the Diaspora and for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora its deep appreciation for their perseverance and achievements in expanding educational and cultural projects in the Diaspora, notwithstanding the very meagre financial resources at their disposal.

The General Council especially notes the important contribution of the teachers *(shlichim)* in the Diaspora, the activities conducted both in Israel and abroad for the training of teachers for the Diaspora, the encouragement given to the establishment of day schools, the efforts made for furthering Bible study and the acquisition of knowledge of Hebrew, and the publication of pedagogic and literary material.

18. Educational and Cultural Activities of Kehilot, Territorial Organizations and other Bodies

The General Council notes with appreciation the activities conducted by Kehilot, Territorial Organizations, Women's Organizations, and National and International Jewish public organizations in the field of education and culture. The General Council appeals to them to maintain and expand their activities for establishing Jewish schools and intensifying their Jewish national content, increasing the number of hours devoted to the teaching of Jewish subjects and Hebrew for pro-

moting the training of teachers and for diffusion of the Hebrew language and literature among the masses.

19. Increased Appropriation for Educational and Cultural Activities

The General Council expresses regret at the great discrepancy between the possibilities and large-scale needs in the educational field on the one hand and the very meagre financial resources available for this purpose on the other. The General Council requests the Zionist Executive to make every effort to increase the appropriation of the Departments for the April, 1960—March, 1961 financial year.

ELECTIONS

20. The Executive

In pursuance of Article 53, Section 7 of the Constitution of the Zionist Organization, the Zionist General Council elects Mr. Yaakov Tsur a Member of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, in place of Mr. Abraham Harman who has resigned.

21. President of the Keren-Kayemet LeIsrael

The Zionist General Council elects Mr. Abraham Granot, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Keren Kayemet LeIsrael, as President of the Keren Kayemet LeIsrael.

22. Chairman of Congress-Court and Court of Honour

The Zionist General Council authorizes the Presidium of the General Council to elect a Chairman of the Congress Court and the Court of Honour, in succession to the late Dr. Shneor Zalman Cheshin.

23. Permanent Budget and Finance Committee

The Zionist General Council elects Mr. Arieh L. Pinkus as member of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee.

FOR THE PERPETUATION OF THE MEMORY OF JOSEPH SPRINZAK

24. Creation of a Scientific Institution to Conduct Research in the National Movement

The Zionist General Council has heard with great satisfaction the report of the Acting Chairman of the Zionist General Council on the

activities for the perpetuation of the memory of the late Mr. J. Sprinzak by setting up a special department for instruction and research of the National Movement, Zionism and the History of the Settlement in Eretz Israel within the framework of the projected University Institute for Contemporary Judaism.

The General Council expresses its desire that the cornerstone of the building in which this Institute will be accommodated shall be laid on the forthcoming first anniversary of Mr. Sprinzak's death.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANISATION

as adopted by the Zionist General Council at its Session in Jerusalem in December 1959—January 1960, in pursuance of the Resolution of the 24th Zionist Congress

Chapter One

NAME — PROGRAMME — FORM OF ORGANISATION

Article 1

Name

The name of the Organisation shall be "The World Zionist Organisation."

Article 2

Section 1

The Zionist Programme

The Zionist Programme was defined by the First Zionist Congress in Basle as follows:
"The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Eretz Israel secured by public law."

Section 2

The task of Zionism was defined by the 23rd Zionist Congress in Jerusalem as follows:
"The task of Zionism is the consolidation of the State of Israel, the ingathering of the exiles in Eretz Israel and the fostering of the unity of the Jewish people."

Article 3

Definitions

The terms specified hereinafter shall have the meaning set forth beside them, if no other meaning is indicated by the provision itself or the context.
"Congress"—means the Zionist Congress;
"Council"—means the Zionist General Council or the Actions Committee;
"Executive"—means the Executive of the World Zionist Organisation;
"Member"—means Territorial Zionist Organisation; Territorial and Inter-Territorial Zionist Association; National and International Body, insofar as all those are members of the World Zionist Organisation;

"Zionist Territorial and Inter-Territorial Associations"—means Zionist associations, corporations and societies as operate in a country where a Zionist Territorial Organisation does not exist or such as are not affiliated to the Zionist Territorial Organisation in the country in question;
"National and International Bodies"—means such Jewish bodies existing within the territory of one State or of several States as will accept the Zionist Programme, as fixed in Article 2;
"Zionist Federation"—means a Zionist Territorial Organisation based on the membership of a number of Zionist bodies in a certain country and recognised as Zionist Federation by the General Council, upon the proposal of the Executive;
"Zionist Union"—means a Zionist Territorial Organisation based on the individual membership of Zionists of a certain country and recognised as Zionist Union by the General Council, upon the proposal of the Executive;
"Zionist Mixed Federation"—means a Zionist Territorial Organisation based on the membership of a Zionist body or Zionist bodies and on the individual membership of Zionists in a certain country, and recognised as Zionist Mixed Federation by the General Council, upon the proposal of the Executive.

Article 4

The Status of the World Zionist Organisation and its Members

Section 1

The World Zionist Organisation is the central body authorised by its Members to act for and in behalf of the whole of the Movement and of all the Members in the implementation of the Zionist Programme.

Section 2

Every Member shall determine the conduct of his affairs, the form of his organisation and his procedures.

Section 3

Any Member may enter into an agreement with the Executive establishing special conditions and arrangements in matters relating to the Zionist activities of such Member. Such an agreement shall be binding upon both parties.

Article 5

Membership

Section 1

Every Zionist Territorial Organisation which accepts the Zionist Programme and this Constitution may be a Member of the World

Zionist Organisation. The admission of a Zionist Territorial Organisation as a Member shall be decided, upon the proposal of the Executive, by the Council.

Section 2

The Council may, upon the proposal of the Executive, decide to admit as Members Territorial and Inter-Territorial Associations, upon such conditions as it deems fit.

Section 3

Subject to the provision of Article 10, all Zionist Territorial Organisations and Zionist Territorial and Inter-Territorial Associations which at the time of coming into effect of this Constitution are affiliated to the World Zionist Organisations shall be deemed to be Members thereof.

Section 4

The Congress or, during the Inter-Congress period, the Council may, upon the proposal of the Executive, decide to admit as Members or Associate Members of the World Zionist Organisation National and International Bodies and fix special conditions for their participation in the Congress, the Council and other bodies of the World Zionist Organisation.

Section 5

The Council shall upon the proposal of the Executive, fix the membership dues which every Member shall pay.

Article 6

Zionist Territorial Organisations

A Zionist Territorial Organisation shall be:
(a) either a Zionist Federation;
(b) or a Zionist Union;
(c) or a Zionist Mixed Federation.

Article 7

Zionist Federation

In order to be a Member of the World Zionist Organisation a Zionist Federation shall comply with the following requirements:
(a) admit as Member every Zionist body which accepts the Constitution of the Federation;
(b) hold at fixed intervals a National Convention at which the governing bodies of the Federation shall be elected;
(c) establish local branches of the Federation wherever practicable;

(d) ensure the right to any Zionist body which has been refused admission as a Member to appeal from such refusal to a Territorial Zionist Tribunal and from such Tribunal to an Appelate Zionist Tribunal (Articles 57, 58);

(e) conduct its affairs having regard to the protection of the requirements of all Members and on the basis of the fundamental principles of justice.

Article 8

Admission of Individuals as Members

Every Zionist Federation shall fix the form and manner of the admission as members of individual Zionists not being members of any Zionist body.

Article 9

Zionist Union and Zionist Mixed Federation

In order to be a Member of the World Zionist Organisation a Zionist Union and a Zionist Mixed Federation shall comply, *mutatis mutandis,* with the requirements as set out in Article 7 hereof.

Article 10

Information on Fulfilment of the above Requirements

The Executive may at any time require any Member to furnish information that he has fulfilled the conditions of membership in accordance with Articles 5, 7, 8, 9. If a Member does not furnish such information within the time fixed by the Executive, the Executive may propose to the Congress Tribunal the suspension of the rights of such Member in the World Zionist Organisation, its expulsion from the World Zionist Organisation or such other sanctions as it deems fit.

Article 11

Deviations

Section 1

The Council may, upon the proposal of the Executive, decide by a two-thirds majority of its members entitled to vote, to admit as Member of the World Zionist Organisation a Zionist Territorial Organisation which has recognised the Zionist Programme as set out in Article 2, but has not fulfilled all the requirements indicated in the foregoing Article.

Section 2

In countries in which the Jewish population does not exceed 400,000 the Executive may initiate and pursue such Zionist activities as it deems necessary.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONSTITUTIONAL BODIES OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANISATION

I

THE ZIONIST CONGRESS

Article 12

The Congress

The Congress is the supreme organ of the World Zionist Organisation. It may either be an ordinary or an extraordinary Congress.

Article 13

Intervals between Congress and Congress

An Ordinary Congress shall meet at least once in three years, at a place and time determined by the Council. It shall be convened by the Executive.

Article 14

Powers of the Congress

For the purpose of this Article the term "Institutions of the World Zionist Organisation"—means the Keren Kayemet Le-Israel, Keren Hayesod—United Israel Appeal and such other institutions and enterprises as will be recognised by the Executive as carrying out central tasks within the Zionist Movement.

The Ordinary Congress shall inter-alia—

(a) receive and consider the report of the Executive, including a report on the activities of institutions of the World Zionist Organisation;
(b) receive and decide upon the report of the Comptroller;
(c) receive and decide upon proposals brought before it;
(d) determine the financial and budgetary policy and fix the budget for the year following the year in which the Congress is held;
(e) elect the President of the World Zionist Organisation, Chairman of the Executive, members of the Executive, members of the Council and their deputies, Chairman of the Congress Tribunal and his deputies, Judges of the Congress Tribunal, Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation and his deputies, the Comptroller, and if necessary, his deputy.

Article 15

Delegation of Powers

Subject to the provisions of Article 64, the Congress may delegate any of its powers to the Council or to such other body as it may deem fit.

Article 16

Section 1

Postponement of Congress

The Council may, after hearing the Executive, decide by a 75% majority of its members qualified to vote, to postpone the Congress by reason of special or extraordinary circumstances. In the event of such postponement being decided upon, the new date of the Congress shall be determined by the Council at the time of the adoption of the postponement decision or, failing it, by the Presidium of the Council, after consultation with the Executive.

Section 2

(a) 8 Council members, qualified to vote, may object to the decision for postponement of the Congress and shall be entitled to bring such objection before the Congress Tribunal. The Congress Tribunal shall hear the objection in summary proceedings by a bench of at least 5 Judges, including the Chairman of the Tribunal or one of his deputies.

(b) A representative of the Presidium of the Council shall appear in these proceedings before the Tribunal and indicate the circumstances relating to the postponement.

(c) The Congress Tribunal shall make such finding and give such directions as it, in its discretion, deems fit.

Section 3

A postponement of the Congress shall not be decided upon by way of an Emergency Regulation under Article 63 of the Constitution.

Article 17

Section 1

Number of Congress Delegates

The number of Congress delegates shall not exceed 500.

Section 2

The number of delegates to Congress shall be allocated in the following proportion: Israel 38%, United States of America 29%, other countries of the Diaspora 33%.

Article 18

Fixing number of delegates of each electoral area

Subject to the limitations as provided for in Article 17, the Council at its first session after the Congress, shall establish a committee which shall fix the number of delegates in respect of each electoral area. Such special committee shall, in fixing the number of delegates as aforesaid, have regard to the size of the Jewish population and the totality of conditions of the Zionist Movement and its activities in the district in question.

Article 19

Section 1

The Shekel

The Shekel shall, inter alia, contain a statement of the Zionist Programme, as defined in Article 2.

Section 2

The Shekel shall be uniform in respect of any area in which it is distributed and the Shekel in respect of any area shall be sold only to persons in such area, and no person shall be entitled to acquire more than one Shekel.

Section 3

Only one Shekel shall be distributed in respect of the period between any two Ordinary Congresses.

Article 20

Area Shekel Board and Area Election Committee

For the proper implementation of the provisions relating to the Shekel and Congress elections, there shall be constituted an Area Shekel Board and an Area Election Committee. The composition of these bodies and other matters relating to the Shekel and elections shall be determined by Regulations, which shall be confirmed by Council. The said Regulations shall ensure the proper representation of minority groups and the respective provisions may be amended only by a 75% majority of Council members entitled to vote and present at the meeting.

Article 21

Section 1

Cost of Shekel

The maximum and minimum price of the Shekel shall be established as provided for in the Regulations. Within the limits so provided for, the Area Shekel Board by a two-thirds majority shall fix the actual price of the Shekel in respect of any area.

Section 2

The proceeds derived from the sale of the Shekel after deduction of the expenses incurred with its printing, distribution and conduct of the elections, shall be divided in accordance with the agreement made at the time of the establishment of the Area Shekel Board.

Section 3

The Area Shekel Board shall distribute the Shekel as widely as possible in its area.

Article 22

Section 1

Right to vote and eligibility for election

Every Jew who has reached the age of 18 years and who has acquired a Shekel shall be entiled to vote in elections to Congress.

Section 2

Save as is otherwise provided for in this Constitution, every person entitled to vote in elections to the Congress and who has attained the age of 21 years, shall be eligible for election as delegate to Congress.

Article 23

Section 1

Elections to Congress

Elections to Congress shall be direct, secret and in areas electing more than one delegate proportional.

Section 2

The Area Election Committee shall be responsible for the conduct of the Congress elections in the area in respect of which it is constituted.

Article 24

Examination and confirmation of election results

The Congress Tribunal shall examine the conduct of the elections in every area and shall be entitled to confirm, annul or vary the results thereof. The decision of the Congress Tribunal shall be final.

Article 25

Section 1

Every delegate to Congress shall be entitled to one vote. Status of Congress Delegates

Section 2

The mandate of a Congress delegate shall be valid from the time that the Congress to which he has been elected is convened until the opening of the next Ordinary Congress.

Article 26

Section 1

Members of Council not elected as delegates shall be entitled to participate in plenary sessions of Congress in an advisory capacity only, and shall not be taken into account in determining the strength of Congress groupings. Any such Council member shall, if appointed to any committee, have full rights as a member of such committee. Composition of Congress

Section 2

The Chairman of the Congress Tribunal, the Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation or, in their absence, the representative nominated by them from amongst their deputies, the Comptroller and, in his absence, the Deputy Comptroller, shall participate in Congress and in its committees in an advisory capacity.

Section 3

(a) With the consent of the Council, the Executive may grant to a Zionist body fulfilling a special task and which has a membership of not less than 150,000 and branches in not less than 20 countries, and which has not submitted a list of its own in elections to Congress, a representation at the Congress in an advisory capacity. The Executive shall fix the number of representatives in each case. The number shall not exceed 5, of whom not more than one may take part in every Congress committee, except the Standing Committee;

(b) notwithstanding anything contained in sub-sec. (a) hereof, the Executive, with the approval of the Council, may make an agreement with a body as described in the said sub-sec. (a) granting such body representation with voting rights on Congress, on the Council and other organs of the World Zionist Organisation.

Article 27

Period of Office

Unless the Constitution or the Congress otherwise prescribe, a person elected by Congress to serve in a particular office shall hold such office until termination of the next following Ordinary Congress.

Article 28

Standing Orders of Congress

The procedure of the Congress, including its convocation, shall be determined by Standing Orders decided upon by Congress or by the Council or any other body to whom Congress has delegated authority for such purpose.

Article 29

Section 1

Extraordinary Congress

The Council or the Executive may convene an Extraordinary Congress. The delegates participating in the last Ordinary Congress, or those who have replaced them in accordance with this Constitution (or the Regulations thereunder), shall be the delegates to the Extraordinary Congress.

Section 2

The Extraordinary Congress shall deal with the matters placed upon the agenda by the Council or the Executive.

Section 3

The Standing Orders of the Ordinary Congress shall, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to the Extraordinary Congress.

II

THE WORLD ZIONIST COUNCIL

Article 30

Section 1

Competence of the Council

Save for those matters within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Congress, the Council shall in inter-Congress periods consider and decide upon all matters relating to the World Zionist Organisation and its institutions. In particular, the Council shall inspect and, insofar as it is necessary, decide upon the manner in which the Executive shall implement the decisions of the Congress and the Council.

Section 2

The Council shall receive and consider the reports of the Executive.

Section 3

(a) The Council shall, upon proposal of the Executive, either itself or through a committee established by it for that purpose in terms of Article 31 (The Permanent Budget—and Finance Committee) decide upon all budgetary and financial matters, provided such decision be not inconsistent with the decisions of Congress;

(b) notwithstanding the provisions of sub-sec. (a) hereof, the Council may, by a two-thirds majority, change the budget fixed by Congress, if in its opinion unexpected circumstances make it necessary so to do.

Article 31

Section 1

Delegation of Powers

Save for those matters in which this Constitution or the Congress has prohibited delegation, the Council may delegate any of its powers to any organ or body it deems fit.

Section 2

Where such delegation is made to a committee based upon the strength of groupings within the Council, such committee shall, at the request of any group, be constituted on the same basis as the Council.

Article 32

Section 1

Composition of Council

The Council shall consist of 96 members entitled to vote, such members being elected by Congress in accordance with the relative strength of the groupings at Congress.

Section 2

Subject to such exceptions as may be fixed by the Council in Regulations, the Comptroller, officials of the World Zionist Organisation and its National Funds shall not be eligible for election as members or deputy members of the Council.

Section 3

The following members shall be entitled to participate in the Council in an advisory capacity, namely:

(a) Members of the Executive;
(b) one representative each of the Jewish Colonial Trust, of the Keren Kayemet Le-Israel and the Keren Hayessod–United Israel Appeal;
(c) the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal and the Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation;
(d) the Comptroller;
(e) ex-members of the Executive who have resigned during the current Congress period;
(f) Zionist leaders, not to exceed 10, proposed by the President of the World Zionist Organisation and the Chairman of the Council jointly, and approved by the Congress or the Council;
(g) representatives of Zionist bodies provided for in Article 26, sec. 3, the number of which shall not exceed 2 for any single body and 4 in respect of all such bodies together;
(h) personalities elected as such by the 24th Congress (virilists).

Section 4

(a) Together with the election of members designated in sec. 1, the Council shall elect 192 deputies of those members in accordance with the relative strength of the Congress groupings. If a Council member does not intend taking part in a session of the Council for any reason whatsoever, he may empower one of the deputy members belonging to his grouping to deputise for him at that session. In the event of a Council member not exercising this right, the group, acting through its duly authorised controlling body, shall appoint a deputy in his stead;
(b) the institutions designated in sec. 3(b) shall appoint together with their representative a deputy representative. The provision of sub-sec. (a), second and third clause, shall apply, *mutatis mutandis.*

Section 5

The Chairman of the Congress Tribunal and Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation shall be entitled to appoint one of their deputies to participate in any meeting or session of the Council from which they will be absent.

Section 6

In the absence of the Comptroller, his deputy shall be entitled to take part in such meeting or session.

Section 7

Upon the resignation or inability of a Council member to act for any reason, the grouping or organisation or body which he represents shall designate a deputy Council member from among those belonging to their members in his stead. Upon such designation, the deputy Council member shall have the full rights of an ordinary Council member.

Article 33

Status of Council Members elected to the Executive

Council members who, while being Council members, are elected to the Executive, shall cease to have voting rights in the Council and shall participate in it in an advisory capacity only.

Article 34

Dates of Sessions

The Council shall hold at least one session a year. The first session in any Congress period shall take place immediately after the Congress.

Article 35

Chairman of Council and Presidium of Council

The Council shall, at its first session in any Congress period, elect from among its members the Chairman of the Council and the Presidium of the Council. The Chairman of the Council shall *ex officio* be a member of the Presidium and shall act as Chairman of the Presidium. The composition and functions of the Presidium shall be determined by the Standing Orders of the Council (Article 38).

Article 36

Postponement of Session

The Presidium of the Council may, by a two-thirds majority of its members, after hearing the Executive, decide to postpone a session of the Council by reason of the existence of special and extraordinary circumstances. The provisions of Article 16 shall apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to such a decision.

Article 37

Extraordinary Session

Upon the written proposal of at least one third of the members of the Council entitled to vote, who shall belong to at least two different groupings, the Presidium of the Council shall convene an extraordinary session if the proposal has been submitted at least one month after the termination of the preceding session of the Council and indicates the agenda of the proposed session. The Presidium shall, within two weeks from the day of receipt of a proposal conforming to foregoing conditions, fix the opening of the session for a date not later than four weeks after the consideration of the proposal.

Article 38

Procedure of Council

The Council shall lay down its procedure by Standing Orders.

III

THE PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANISATION

Article 39

Section 1

Status of the President of the World Zionist Organisation

The President of the World Zionist Organisation (hereinafter referred to as "the President") shall be the head and chief representative of the World Zionist Organisation. He shall have the full rights of an Executive member and shall be entitled to preside over meetings of the Executive in which he participates. His term of office shall run from the time of his election to the termination of the next following Ordinary Congress.

Section 2

If during the inter-Congress period the President's position becomes vacant for any reason whatsoever, his place, until the election of a new President by Congress, shall be taken by the Chairman of the Executive.

IV

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANISATION

Article 40

Section 1

Powers and Functions of Executive

The Executive shall be the executive organ of the World Zionist Organisation, charged with the implementation of the decisions of Congress and Council, and shall be responsible to those bodies. It shall have the power to acquire rights and undertake obligations on behalf of the World Zionist Organisation, and to represent it externally.

Section 2

The Executive may delegate to one or more of its members or to officials of the World Zionist Organisation or of its institutions authority to undertake financial or other obligations on behalf of the World Zionist Organisation.

Article 41

Number of Members of Executive

The number of the members of the Executive shall be fixed by the Congress which elects it.

Article 42

Seat of Executive

The seat and head office of the Executive shall be in Jerusalem. The Congress or Council may, however, establish one or more divisions of the Executive abroad and in this event, the Executive shall appoint the Chairman of such division.

Article 43

Section 1

Filling of Vacancies

If during the inter-Congress period the post of the Chairman of the Executive becomes vacant for any reason whatsoever, the Council shall, at its next session, elect a new Chairman from among the members of the Executive. Pending his election, the functions of the Chairman shall be carried out by one of the members of the Executive elected by them by majority vote.

Section 2

If during the inter-Congress period, the place of one of the members of the Executive becomes vacant for any reason whatsoever, the Council shall elect another member in his stead.

Article 44

Reports

The Executive shall submit to Council at least one month before any session of the Council a report of its activities. In addition to such report it shall submit annually an additional report of its activities.

Article 45

Signing of Contracts and Documents

The Executive shall decide on the manner of signing contracts, written obligations and other documents binding the World Zionist Organisation.

V

THE JUDICIAL BODIES

Article 46

Interpretation of terms

In this Part—

"Central Zionist Body" means the Congress, the Council, the Executive, an institution or body established by them to carry out any of their functions, the Keren Kayemeth in Jerusalem, the Keren Hayessod–United Israel Appeal in Jerusalem and such other institutions and enterprises as will be recognised by the Executive for the purpose of this part;

"Zionist Body" means a Central Zionist Body, a Member of the World Zionist Organisation and any organisation, fund, corporate or non-corporate body affiliated to the World Zionist Organisation.

Article 47

Section 1

Members of Tribunal—Their number

The Congress shall set up the Congress Tribunal (hereinafter referred to as "Tribunal") which shall consist of 21 members, including the Chairman of the Tribunal and four Deputy Chairmen.

Section 2

The President, the members of the Council entitled to vote, the members of the Executive, the Comptroller and the Deputy Comptroller, the Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation and his Deputies, the officials of the World Zionist Organisation and the Central Zionist Bodies shall not be eligible for membership of the Tribunal.

Article 48

Seat of Tribunal

Unless the Congress otherwise decides, the seat of the Tribunal shall be in Jerusalem, but the Tribunal may hold sessions in any place it deems fit.

Article 49

Powers of Tribunal

The Tribunal shall be competent to hear and determine—

(A) *As a Tribunal of First Instance—*

Section 1

(a) the interpretation of this Constitution;
(b) the legality of decisions, of the Central Zionist Bodies, whether in connection with a dispute or upon the proposal of the Executive or the Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation;
(c) disputes between Zionist Bodies, where at least one party is the World Zionist Organisation or a Central Zionist Body or where the parties to the dispute have their head offices in different countries;
(d) disputes, except monetary disputes, between the World Zionist Organisation or a Central Zionist Body and individual Zionists in matters connected with Zionist work or arising out of membership in a Zionist Body;
(e) objections to decisions to postpone the Congress or to postpone a session of the Council (Articles 16 and 36);
(f) matters relating to the elections to the Zionist Congress;
(g) matters relative to acts allegedly infringing the Constitution or damaging the interests or prestige of the World Zionist Organisation which have been brought before it by the Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation for consideration, by reason of their public Zionist importance.

Section 2

In any matter referred to in (A), sec. (1) (g) of this Article the Tribunal may make such order or impose such sanction as it deems fit, provided that it take due care that such order or such sanction shall not damage the interests of innocent bodies or individuals affected by the decision.

(B) *As a Tribunal of Appeal—*
Appeals from judgments of a Territorial Zionist Tribunal as provided for in Article 58.

Article 50

Section 1

Composition of Tribunal

Unless the Tribunal decides to increase the number of judges in respect of any particular matter, the bench of the Tribunal shall consist of—

(a) Seven judges in matters referred to in Article 49, (A), sec. (1), (a);
(b) five judges in matters referred to in Article 49, (A), sec. (1), (e) and (f);
(c) three judges in all other matters referred to in Article 49.

Section 2

The Chairman of the Tribunal or, in his absence, the Deputy Chairman shall appoint the Presiding Judge and other judges in respect of each case.

Article 51

The judgments of any bench of the Congress Tribunal shall be final and not subject to any appeal.

Article 52

Tribunal Rules

The Tribunal shall determine by Rules the procedure in cases conducted before it. The Rules are subject to the approval of the Council.

Article 53

Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation

The Congress shall elect the Attorney of the World Zionist Organisation (hereinafter referred to as "the Attorney"). The Attorney shall represent the interests of the World Zionist Organisation, including matters referred to in Article 49, (A), sec. (1), (g),

before the Tribunal, and shall advise the Central Zionist Bodies in legal matters connected with this Constitution, the decisions of the Congress, the Council and the Executive, and with the relations between the Central Zionist Bodies and between them and other Zionist Bodies or individual Zionists.

Article 54

Procedure of election of Tribunal Judges

The Congress shall elect, upon the proposal of the Congress Presidium, the Chairman of the Tribunal. The Congress shall, on an agreed proposal made by the Chairman and the Attorney, after consultation with the Presidium, elect four Deputy Chairmen of the Tribunal, other members of the Tribunal and two Deputy Attorneys. The Deputy Chairmen of the Tribunal and the Deputy Attorneys shall be elected with express mention of their offices.

Articles 55

Filling of Vacancies

If during the inter-Congress period the place of one of the members of the Tribunal or the post of the Attorney or of one of his Deputies, becomes vacant, the Council may, upon an agreed proposal of the Chairman of the Tribunal and of the Attorney, or upon a proposal of one of them (as the case may be), such proposal having been made after consultation with the Presidium of the Council, appoint another person to the vacancy.

Article 56

Declaration made by members of Congress Tribunal

Every member of the Tribunal shall, everytime after his election and before taking office, pledge himself by a declaration to carry out his functions without bias and to the best of his knowledge and conscience. The declaration of the Chairman of the Tribunal shall be received by the President or, in his absence, by the Chairman of the Council. The declaration of the other members of the Tribunal shall be received by the Chairman of the Tribunal.

Article 57

Section 1

Territorial Judicial Bodies

In this Article and Article 58 the term "Zionist Territorial Organisation" includes an all-inclusive Zionist national body of another kind in countries where no Zionist Territorial Organisation exists.

Section 2

In every country where a Zionist Territorial Organisation exists there shall be set up by constitution a judicial body (hereinafter referred to as "The Judicial Body" having in respect of its area of jurisdiction the power, to hear and determine such matters, *mutatis mutandis,* as the Congress Tribunal hears and determines in terms of Article 49, sec. 1.

Section 3

The Judicial Body referred to in the preceding sub1sec. shall be constituted by—

(a) establishing a permanent Zionist Territorial Tribunal, or;
(b) by making provision for hearing the matter by way of arbitration.

Section 4

The permanent Zionist Territorial Tribunal shall be elected by a properly constituted National Convention of the Zionist Territorial Organisation. The Composition, (except for the number of members), method of election, filling of vacancies, conduct of cases, declarations of members of the Tribunal, shall, *mutatis mutandis,* be as provided for in Articles 47, 52, 54, 55, and 56.

Section 5

(a) The Judicial Body set up by way of arbitration (hereinafter referred to as "The Arbitration Tribunal") shall be constituted on the basis of each party to the dispute appointing from among the Zionists of the Country one arbitrator and the Arbitrators choosing a Chairman. The Arbitration Tribunal shall decide by majority of votes;
(b) should, however, the Arbitration Tribunal consist of an even number of Arbitrators, the Chairman shall have a casting vote.

The procedure for the appointment of the Attorney of the Territorial Zionist Organisation, his powers as well as the particulars for bringing into being the Arbitration Tribunal shall be set out in the Constitution of the Zionist Territorial Organisation or in Regualtions framed thereunder.

Article 58

Section 1

The decisions of the Judicial Body shall be appealable, provided the Constitution or Regulations thereunder of the Zionist Territorial Organisation so stipulates or, in the absence of such stipulation, the parties agree that the decision is appealable.

Appeals on decisions of the Judicial Body

Section 2

(a) The Appellate Tribunal from a Zionist Territorial Tribunal shall be the Congress Tribunal;
(b) the Appellate Tribunal from an Arbitration Tribunal shall be constituted by each party to the dispute, appointing one member of the Tribunal. The Chairman of the Appellate Tribunal shall be appointed by the Chairman of the Congress Tribunal on the application of any party to the dispute. The provisions of Article 57, Sec. 5 shall apply to the manner in which decision is reached.

Section 3

The decisions of the Appellate Tribunal shall be final.

Section 4

The precise procedure for the hearing of appeals as provided for in this Article shall be set out in the Constitution of the Zionist Territorial Organisation or in Regulations framed thereunder.

VI

ACCOUNTING PERIOD

Article 59

The Financial Year of the World Zionist Organisation shall be fixed by the Council.

Financial Year

VII

THE COMPTROLLER

Article 60

Section 1

Status and Functions of Comptroller and Deputy Comptroller

The Comptroller shall inspect the financial and economic activities of the World Zionist Organisation and its officers and institutions of every kind.

Section 2

The Executive shall submit to the Comptroller, not later than six months after the termination of the Financial Year of the World Zionist Organisation, a report on the income and expenditure of the World Zionist Organisation during that year and a balance sheet of its assets and liabilities. The Executive shall make available all the documents required by the Comptroller for his examination.

Section 3

The Congress or Council may elect a Deputy Comptroller. In urgent cases the Presidium of the Council may elect a Deputy Comptroller, subject to the approval of the Council at its next session.

Section 4

The term of office of the Comptroller shall be from the Congress which elected him to the termination of the following Ordinary Congress. If during the inter-Congress period the post of Comptroller falls vacant for any reason whatsoever, the Council shall elect a new Comptroller, and pending his election the functions of the Comptroller shall be carried out by the Deputy Comptroller.

Section 5

The Comptroller shall present a report on the results of his inspection to the Congress and to the Council and, upon demand, to the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee established by the Council (Article 30, sec. 3).

Section 6

The Comptroller and the Deputy Comptroller shall be independent of the institutions and bodies inspected by them and responsible only to the Congress and the Council.

Section 7

The Comptroller and the Deputy Comptroller cannot be elected as delegates of the Congress and cannot be members of the Executive or members of the Council (except for membership in the Council under Art. 32. sec. 3d) or members of the judicial bodies of the World Zionist Organisation.

Section 8

The details of the powers and functions of the Comptroller and his Deputy, their modes of activity and working procedure shall be determined by special Statutes adopted by the Congress or the Council.

CHAPTER THREE

TERMINATION AND SUSPENSION OF MEMBERSHIP

Article 61

Termination of membership

Every Member may withdraw from membership in the World Zionist Organisation at the expiration of not less than six months after giving written advance notice to the Executive. The withdrawing Member is bound to fulfil all its monetary obligations towards the World Zionist Organisation.

Article 62

Suspension of membership rights

If a Member has not paid the membership dues imposed on him under the provision of Article 5, Section 5, within the fixed time-limit, the Executive may, after warning, suspend all or any of his membership rights in the World Zionist Organisation until the debt is paid.

CHAPTER FOUR

STATE OF EMERGENCY

Article 63

Section 1

Emergency provision

If by reason of an unexpected and unusual situation it is necessary to deviate from any of the provisions of this Constitution or of any other law of the World Zionist Organisation or from the decisions of the Congress or the Council, the Executive may, after hearing the opinion of the Attorney and the Chairman of the Tribunal, propose to the Presidium of the Council that in the particular case brought before it a deviation from the Constitution or from some other law of the World Zionist Organisation or from the decisions of the Congress or the Council be permitted. The proposal of the Executive shall be accompanied by the opinion of the Attorney and the Chairman of the Tribunal. A decision of the Presidium of the Council permitting the deviation shall be valid, if passed in the presence of not less than two thirds of the members of the Presidium by a two thirds majority of those present. If the voting is in writing or by telegraph, the decision shall be valid, if two thirds of all the members of the Presidium take part in the voting and the decision is adopted by a two-thirds majority of those voting.

Section 2

The Executive shall notify the Council of the decision, while referring to this provision, and shall submit it for approval to the Council at its next session or, if a session of the Council does not take place before the convening of the Congress, to the Congress. Upon the refusal of the approval by the Council or the Congress the decision becomes void; but its voidance shall not affect the validity of any arrangements made in the meantime by virtue thereof.

CHAPTER FIVE

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

Article 64

Decisions on Amendment of the Constitution

The decisions to amend the Constitution shall be valid, if they have been adopted in the presence of the majority of the Congress delegates by a two thirds majority of those voting.

The Congress may decide in the presence of the majority of the Congress delegates, by a majority of two thirds of those voting, to delegate its powers to amend the Constitution to the Council only. The Council must not delegate this power to another organ or body. In the case of such delegation the decision of the Council shall be valid if it has been adopted in the presence of the majority of the members of the Council entitled to vote by a two thirds majority of those voting.

CHAPTER SIX

FINAL PROVISIONS

Article 65

Regulations

The Congress, the Council and the Executive shall be authorised to issue Regulations for the implementation of this Constitution, insofar as such Regulations are required. The Regulations of the Executive are subject to the confirmation by the Council.

Article 66

Section 1

Coming into force of Constitution

Except for the Regulations relating to the composition of Shekel Boards and Election Committees, which have been adopted by the Council at its session in December 1959–January 1960 and which apply also to the Shekel campaign 5720 and the elections to the 25th Zionist Congress, the aforesaid Shekel campaign and elections shall be conducted in accordance with the provisions which were in force at the time of the adoption of this Constitution.

Section 2

Save for the provisions of the following Articles, this Constitution shall come into force on the day which shall be fixed and promulgated by the Executive, but not later than on September 1st, 1960.

Articles 53, 54 shall come into force upon the convening of the 25th Zionist Congress;

Articles 5—sec. 5, 18, 19–24, 32, 35, 42, second sentence, 46–52, 55–57, shall come into force upon the close of the 25th Zionist Congress.

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE AND OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

who participated in the Session, December 1959–January 1960

1. MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE

PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AND CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE

Dr. Nachum Goldmann

MEMBERS

Mr. David Beth Aryeh, Jerusalem
Mr. Yehuda Braginsky, Tel Aviv
Mr. Leon Dultzin, Jerusalem
Mr. Eliyahu Dobkin, Jerusalem
Mr. Levi Eshkol, Jerusalem
Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York
Mr. Meir Grossman, Jerusalem
Mrs. Rose Halprin, New York
Dr. Dov Joseph, Jerusalem
Rabbi Mordechai Kirshblum, New York
Mr. Moshe Kol, Jerusalem
Mr. Zvi Lurie, Jerusalem
Dr. Emanuel Neumann, New York
Mr. Louis Segal, New York
Mr. Zalman Shazar, Jerusalem
Mr. Shlomo Zalman Shragai, Jerusalem
Mr. Yaacov Tsur*, Jerusalem

DEPUTY MEMBER

Mr. Abraham Schenker, New York

2. PRESIDIUM OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

ACTING CHAIRMAN

Mr. Berl Locker, Jerusalem

MEMBERS

Mr. Jacob Amith, Tel Aviv
Mr. Bezalel Bazak, Jerusalem
Dr. David Bukspan, Tel Aviv
Mr. Leon Gelman, Jerusalem
Mr. Paul L. Goldman, New York
Mr. Joseph Klarman, Tel Aviv
Mr. Anselm Reiss, Tel Aviv
Mrs. Rachel Shazar, Jerusalem
Mrs. Rebecca Shulman, New York
Dr. Abraham Stupp, Tel Aviv
Mr. Baruch Zuckerman, Jerusalem

3. MEMBERS OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

MEMBERS ELECTED BY CONGRESS

Virilists

Mr. Itzhak Ben-Zvi, President of the State of Israel, Jerusalem
Mr. Kurt Blumenfeld, Jerusalem
Dr. Haim Boger, Tel Aviv
Mr. Joseph Daleski, Johannesburg

* After his election at the last meeting of the Session.

Prof. Benzion Dinur, Jerusalem
Rabbi Dr. Simon Federbush, New York
Mr. Shlomo Gepstein, Tel Aviv
Mr. Yitzchak Gruenbaum, Gan Shmuel
Mr. Neta Harpaz, Tel Aviv
Mr. Abraham Hartzfeld, Tel Aviv
Mr. Yitzchak Kubowitzky, Tel Aviv
Mr. Leiser Lewin, Meshek Yagur
Dr. Shmuel Margoshes, New York
Mr. Shabetai Miron (Mirenburg) Tel Aviv
Mr. Aryeh Nahir, Kibutz Eilon
Dr. Nahum Nir, Ramat Gan
Rabbi Dr. Mordechai Nurock, Tel Aviv
Mr. Zeev Scheffer, Ayelet Hashachar
Dr. Isaac I. Schwarzbart, New York
Dr. Daniel Syrkes, Jerusalem
Mr. Yaacov Uri, Nahalal
Mr. Shmuel Zakif, Tel Aviv
Mr. Yaacov Zerubavel, Tel Aviv

World Confederations of General Zionists

Chairmen: Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. S. W. Halprin; Chairman: Dr. Emanuel Neumann)
Mr. Shneur Zalman Abramov, Tel Aviv
Mr. Israel Dunsky, Kfar Shmaryahu
Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, New York
Dr. Miriam Freund, New York
Mr. Edward E. Gelber, Jerusalem
Mr. Barnett Janner, London
Mrs. Siegfried Kramarsky, New York
Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia
Dr. Harris J. Lewine, New York
Mr. José Lutzky, Buenos Aires
Mr. Mortimer May, Nashville (USA)
Rabbi Irving Miller, New York
Mr. Jacques Orfus, Paris
Mr. Abraham Aaron Redelheim, New York
Mrs. Albert P. Schoolman, New York
Mr. Baruch Weinstein, Tel Aviv

World Union Poale-Zion (Z.S.)-Hitachdut

Mr. Isaac Arcavi, Tel Aviv
Mr. Mayer L. Brown, New York
Dr. Sara Feder, Columbia, Mo.
Mr. Siegmund Haering, Tel Aviv
Mr. Harold Joseph Hanson, Johannesburg
Mr. Marc Jarblum, Tel Aviv
Dr. Tuvia Kamenszein, Buenos Aires
Mr. Yitzchak Korn, Tel Aviv
Dr. Shneur Levenberg, London
Mr. Israel Merom, Tel Aviv
Mr. Arieh Pinkus, Kfar Shmaryahu
Mr. Israel Ritov, Tel Aviv
Mr. Hayim Shurer, Tel Aviv
Mrs. Yehudit Simchonit, Kibbutz Geva
Mrs. Chaya Surchin, New York
Mr. Zvi Yehuda, Nahalal
Mr. Joseph Yezreeli, Afikim

Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi

Mr. Yeshayahu Bernstein, Tel Aviv
Mr. Arieh Haendler, London
Mr. Max Hagler, New York
Mr. Yitzchak Hecht, Tel Aviv
Mr. Harry Landy, London
Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, New York
Mr. Moshe Dov Magid, Tel Aviv
Mr. Yitzchak Raphael, Jerusalem

World Union of Tnuat Haherut-Hatzohar

Mr. Iehuda Benari, Ramat Gan
Mr. Abraham Drori, Tel Aviv
Mr. Harry Hurwitz, Johannesburg
Dr. Harry H. Levi, New York
Mr. Aizik Remba, Tel Aviv
Dr. Joseph B. Schechtman, New York
Mr. Petachia Shamir, Tel Aviv

World Union of Mapam

Mr. Reuven Arzi, Jerusalem
Dr. Yeshayahu Austri-Dan, Mexico
Mr. Jacob Hazan, Tel Aviv
Mr. Izhak Nathani, London

World Union of Achdut Ha'avoda-Poale Zion

Mr. Joseph Bankover, Ramat Hakovesh
Mrs. Zivia Loubetkin, Lohamei Haghettaot
Mr. Berl Repetur, Tel Aviv
Mr. Yitzchak Tabenkin, Ein Harod

DEPUTY-MEMBERS

WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE PLACE OF MEMBERS ABSENT FROM THE WHOLE OR PART OF THE SESSION

World Confederations of General Zionists
(Chairmen: Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. S. W. Halprin; Chairman: Dr. Emanuel Neumann)

Mr. Max Bressler, Chicago
Mr. Zvi Cynowicz, Bombay
Mr. Samuel Epstein, Tel Aviv
Mr. Louis A. Falk, Jersey City
Dr. Adolfo Fastlicht, Mexico

Mr. Joseph N. Frank, Montreal
Mrs. Mortimer Jacobson, New York
Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum, New York
Mr. Yochanan Kohen, Tel Aviv
Mrs. Nathan D. Perlman, New York
Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum, New York

World Union Poale-Zion (Z.S.)–Hitachdut

Mr. Sauveur Baranes, Jerusalem
Mr. Ezra Barzilai (Haddad), Ramleh
Mr. Zev Baumgold, New York
Mr. Israel Bittmann, Kvutzat Hasharon
Mrs. Y. Dostrowsky-Kopernik, Jerusalem
Dr. Berl Frymer, Tel Aviv
Mrs. Bert Goldstein, New York
Mr. Abraham Kamini, Tel Aviv
Mr. Jacob Katzman, New York
Mr. Leiser Levinson, Rio de Janeiro
Mr. Hanoch Soroka, Zofit
Mr. Mordechai Surkis, Kfar Saba

Mizrachi–Hapoel Hamizrachi

Mrs. Miriam Eliash, Tel Aviv
Rabbi Abraham M. Fingerhut, Paris
Dr. Moshe Arieh Kurtz, Tel Aviv
Rabbi Issachar Levin, Trenton, N.J.
Mr. Abraham Melamed, Haifa

World Union of Tnuat Haherut–Hatzohar

Dr. Emanuel Cohen, Tel-Aviv
Mr. David Rubinstein, Mexico
Dr. Shimshon Younitchman, Tel Aviv

World Union of Mapam

Mrs. Feiga Ilanit, Tel Aviv
Mr. Shlomo Rozen, Kibbutz Sarid

World Union of Achdut Ha'avoda–Poale Zion

Mr. Shlomo Schweizer, Paris

MEMBERS AND PARTICIPANTS WITHOUT VOTING RIGHTS

Legal Officers

Mr. Hayim Krongold (Deputy-Chairman of Congress Court), Jerusalem
Dr. Paul Merez (Deputy-Chairman of Congress Court), Jerusalem
Mr. Samuel Ussishkin (Deputy-Chairman of Court of Honour), Jerusalem
Mr. Pinchas Rosen (Congress Attorney), Jerusalem
Dr. H. Klementynovsky (Deputy Congress Attorney), Tel Aviv
Dr. L. Lauterbach (Deputy Congress Attorney), Jerusalem

Representatives of Financial Institutions

Dr. Abraham Granott (Keren Kayemet Leisrael), Jerusalem
Dr. Georg Halpern (Jewish Colonial Trust), Jerusalem

Controller

Mr. Shmuel Rappaport, Tel Aviv

Wizo

Mrs. Jenny Blumenfeld, Jerusalem
Mrs. Rebecca Sieff, Tel Aviv

COMMITTEES OF THE ZIONIST GENERAL COUNCIL

COMMITTEE ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Chairman: Mr. Arieh Pinkus

Mr. Isaac Arcavi
Mr. Zev Baumgold
Mr. Bezalel Bazak
Mr. Max Bressler
Mr. Emanuel Cohen
Mr. Joseph Daleski
Mr. Harold J. Hanson
Mr. Yitzchak Hecht
Mrs. Feiga Ilanit
Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson
Mr. Barnett Janner
Mr. Jacob Katzman
Dr. M. A. Kurtz
Judge Louis E. Levinthal
Mr. Arieh Pinkus
Mr. Anselm Reiss
Mr. Zeev Shapira
Dr. Abraham Stupp
Mr. Baruch Weinstein

COMMITTEE FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE 25TH ZIONIST CONGRESS

Chairman: Dr. Miriam Freund

Co-Chairman: Dr. Yeshayahu Austri-Dan

Dr. Yeshayahu Austri-Dan
Mr. Abraham Drori
Dr. Adolfo Fastlicht
Dr. Sara Feder
Dr. Miriam Freund
Mr. Arieh Haendler
Mr. Max Hagler
Mr. Harold J. Hanson
Mr. Barnett Janner
Dr. Tuvia Kemenszein
Mr. Yitzchak Korn
Dr. Shneur Levenberg
Dr. Harris J. Lewine
Mr. Moshe Dov Magid
Mr. Jacques Orfus
Mr. Abraham A. Redelheim
Mr. Berl Repetur
Mr. David Rubinstein
Mrs. Yehudit Simchonit

COMMITTE ON EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE DIASPORA

Chairman: Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein

Co-Chairman: Mr. Aizik Remba

Mr. Ezra Barzilai (Haddad)
Mr. Yeshayahu Bernstein
Mr. Max Bressler
Mr. Meyer L. Brown
Mr. Samuel Epstein
Rabbi Dr. Simon Federbush
Mr. Joseph N. Frank
Dr. Berl Frymer
Mrs. Bert Goldstein
Mr. Leiser Levinson
Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein
Dr. Shmuel Margoshes
Mr. Izhak Nathani
Mr. Aizik Remba
Mrs. Bertha Schoolman
Mr. Shlomo Schweizer
Mr. Petachia Shamir
Dr. Joseph Tennenbaum
Mr. Yaakov Uri

COMPOSITION OF COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON GENERAL AFFAIRS

Chairman: Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum

Co-Chairman: Mr. Joseph Bankover

Mr. Reuven Arzi
Mr. Joseph Bankover
Mr. Iehuda Benari
Mr. Zvi Cynowicz
Rabbi Abraham M. Fingerhut
Mr. Edward E. Gelber
Mr. Marc Jarblum
Rabbi I. Usher Kirshblum
Rabbi Issachar Levin
Mr. José Lutzky
Mr. Mortimer May
Mr. Abraham Melamed
Mrs. Florence Perlman
Mr. Israel Ritov
Dr. Joseph B. Schechtman
Mr. Zeev Scheffer
Mr. Hanoch Soroka
Mrs. Chaya Surchin
Mr. Joseph Yezreeli