

The Jewish Agency for Israel
Fourth Assembly

Addresses
Reports
of Committees
Resolutions



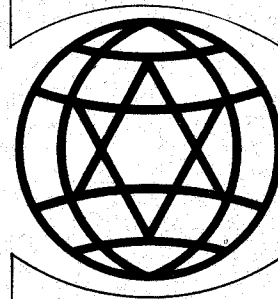
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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FOREWORD

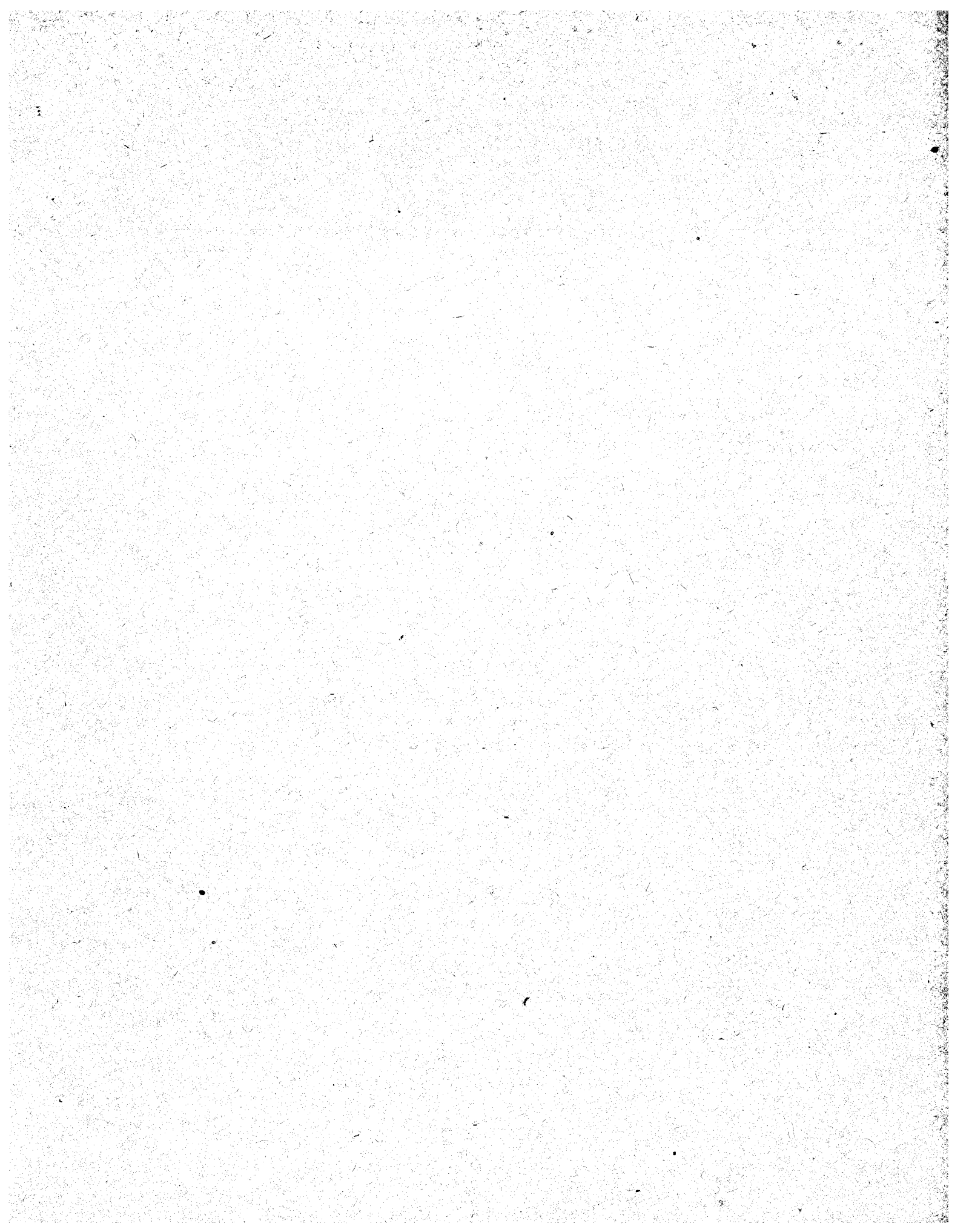
In this volume are contained the major addresses, and the reports of the committee chairmen, presented to the Fourth Assembly of the Jewish Agency for Israel, held in Jerusalem June 16 - 19, 1975, also the resolutions adopted by the Assembly.

The agreement for the reconstitution of the Jewish Agency includes in its definition of the Assembly's function:

"... to receive reports from the Board of Governors and the Executive; to review needs and programs; to determine basic policies; to consider and act upon budgets submitted by the Board of Governors..."

In this light, the addresses to the Assembly suggest broad goals and policy lines to guide the discussions of the various committees of the Assembly, the reports of the chairmen reflect the committees' discussions of Agency programs and operations, and the resolution represent the specific proposals to cope with the problems and to strengthen the Agency's work in the committees' respective areas of responsibility. After being adopted by the Assembly, the resolutions become guidelines for study and action by the Board of Governors and the Executive.

THE ASSEMBLY SECRETARIAT



THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

ADDRESS BY
THE PRESIDENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL
Professor Ephraim Katzir
June 16, 1975

(Opening Statement in Hebrew)

I am glad to welcome the participants of the Jewish Agency Assembly, convening today in Jerusalem. I wish for all of you that you succeed in formulating a fruitful and effective policy in the areas of immigration and absorption, closing the social gap, education, housing, welfare, health and rural settlement.

I pray that you will succeed in mobilizing the Jewish people to aid the State of Israel, struggling at this hour against those who threaten its existence, as we were reminded again in the last few days.

And now, permit me to continue in English for our colleagues who came from abroad.

* * * * *

In these tense and uncertain times we meet here with inner certainty and clear objective. It is we, the Jews of Israel, and you, representing vibrant communities abroad, who have shaped the positive development in modern Jewish history against the unbelievably strong negative forces of destruction. Together we have made Israel a viable and vigorous State and a creative center of the Jewish spirit, and together we are determined to strengthen it and enable it to realize our vision of a just and truly Jewish society.

That vision was strikingly embodied in the person of that extraordinary man whose passing ten years ago we now commemorate. As Moshe Sharett becomes part of history, we see how many great impulses were united in him. The son of one of those first intellectual pioneers of 90 years ago, the BILU, brought up in an Arab hill-village where he learned to understand and cherish his neighbors, a product of an early Israeli education in Hebrew and Bible, dedicated to the ideals of Jewish labor, splendid spokesman of the Zionist Movement and of Israel, a Jew to whom nothing Jewish was alien and whose years in the service of the Jewish Agency were a fitting last stage in a great career, Moshe Sharett can guide us even today.

More than 15 years ago he put into words what all of us in this room feel. He said: "Israel is the common possession of the entire Jewish People, that is, of all the Jews of the world. Every Jew can claim a share in it. Millions of Jews feel emotionally identified with it. Israel is a product of Jewish history. Its creation reflects the historic experience of the entire people -- the miracle of its survival, its memories and longings, its age-long misery and enduring faith, its awakened determination and its determined capacity for action."

"Capacity for action" is precisely what the Jewish Agency has demonstrated. During Israel's 27 years it has been responsible for the immigration and absorption of about one-and-a-half million Jews, most startling of all the 100,000 who came here from Soviet Russia in the last four years. During the last 27 years, by establishing more than 500 settlements, the Agency has been a major factor in enlarging and strengthening the agricultural basis of Israel's life and society and its capacity to feed itself. But the Agency has always understood that the economic absorption of immigrants and the expansion of agricultural settlement must be supplemented by concentration on education. From a Jewish historical point of view, I find it particularly moving that practical businessmen established the Israel Education Fund ten years ago and have built more than 500 comprehensive high schools, prekindergartens, libraries and community centers to serve the culturally deprived populations of Israel's development towns and large cities. The distinct narrowing of the cultural gap is one of my chief objectives and I know very well what a difference the Israel Education Fund is making.

Your established work in Youth Aliyah and your two-year old special project for marginal youth are further steps towards curing the social ills which trouble us deeply, lower the quality of our national life and keep so many of our fellow citizens from full development as human beings and heirs to the Jewish cultural tradition.

I am happy to see how the Agency has sensed the country's concern with volunteering as a tool to lift us up and to bring us closer to spiritual unity. It is fine that you are helping to make possible the activities of those hundreds of young Israelis who, after high school and before their military service, live for a year in development towns and poor neighborhoods where they work with disadvantaged youth. This and other efforts that come from the hearts of young and older Israelis in many fields are, it seems to me, a new form of halutziut, the dedicated pioneering

spirit which is the base of all Israel's achievements -- civil, economic and military. We know how important voluntarism is and always has been in Jewish communities everywhere. We know how your own remarkable work is built on volunteers and the spirit of voluntarism. Our new emphasis on that spirit should be still another bridge and link between us.

Actually, in these days, when so great a part of Israel's resources must go to security, it is unbelievably fortunate that you have accepted a major responsibility in the fields of education and community development. These are the fields we would wish to be able to concentrate on, for the essence of our people's rebirth is intellectual and spiritual. To create a humane, richly cultured, modern Jewish nation is far, far closer to our hearts than to train a great army and win victories.

The Agency is going further along these social lines by the expertise it has contributed to Israel's housing construction and by your new plans for rental subsidies, quarters for old and single persons, the housing of large families, as well as provision of quarters for those thousands of immigrants who are continuing to come, despite the temporary lag in immigration. It is a lag which enables us and you to fill needs in absorption and community life that tended to be neglected when there were mass pressures.

Not least among the needs to receive new attention is the emphasis of increasing the flow of population of immigrants and veterans to the Galilee, the northern Negev and the Arava. What this means in terms of national strategy I need not spell out to you.

What I do want to emphasize is the common denominator that unites rural settlement and development, immigration and absorption, and communal and educational activity. All of them are faces of one great undertaking -- the building of a healthy national society which will add immeasurably to Israel's military and political strength and attract more and more Jews from areas of danger and uncertainty and even from democratic societies where young Jews are increasingly moved by the challenge of their people's revival.

It is no easy matter to work with the materials of history, to build on the foundations of the ages, often to go against the stream of the world around us. But Jews have survived by living in the long terms of history despite the sorrows and troubles of so many periods. They have survived by adhering to the moral and intellectual values which are their special mark and their

special concern. A pillar of fire has lit their way through many wildernesses. And the faith and moral strength of Jews throughout the ages will not and cannot be allowed to desert us who are the generation that has seen the greatest collective tragedy and the greatest collective redemption. We can, I think, at this moment feel a certain hope and encouragement in the report from Washington of strengthened American-Israel understanding. You will hear more of this from the Prime Minister to whom all of us are indebted for his efforts and dedication.

In 1948, when an armed struggle against Arab aggression was beginning, when American Jews were far less united in their attitudes towards Israel and not yet so superbly organized in financial support of its needs, a very great woman was sent to the United States by Ben-Gurion. At that moment of decision, Golda Meir was the voice of the State soon to be born. She spoke to men -- some of you may have been there -- who had not yet been completely won over. She won their hearts, and the response helped to decide the battle for this land. What she said was memorable. "We will do the fighting by ourselves, but the measure of your help will decide whether we win or lose."

Those were great words, given even richer meaning by the marvellous changes we have lived to see in the relations between Israel and Jews abroad. I believe that now Jews abroad see themselves as so very much involved in Israel, that the winning or losing applies to them virtually as much as to those who live here. It is the fate of all Jews that is now at stake.

What this Fourth Assembly of the Jewish Agency decides this week will determine to a large extent whether we, the entire Jewish people, will win or lose our battle for a just peace and a noble future. We look to you in blessing and in hope.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

ADDRESS BY MR. TEDDY KOLLEK
Mayor of Jerusalem
June 16, 1975

I am very proud to greet you on behalf of the city of Jerusalem. This is a city that has all the problems of all the cities of the world, all the problems of Israel, and some more of its own. We have more social problems to bridge than any other community in this country, between Jews and Jews - because we absorb more immigration than any other city - and between Jews and Arabs. This is a problem that no other city has, which is why we have more urban and political problems than anybody else.

I believe on the whole we have been more inventive and more innovative in bridging the gaps that exist than perhaps any other community in this country, and possibly in some other countries as well. The results are a comparatively quiet and very beautiful city. Only recently, I had a chance to show your Treasurer around Jerusalem. He knows of these problems, and I believe he was impressed with what we are doing, and he liked the new patterns that we had developed.

But my main message to you, and it is a short one, is of a different character. I believe, and I have reason to believe, that in the near future Jerusalem may become the center of an international political discussion concerned with the Middle East, the central problem which you and we may have to face.

To us there is no problem about Jerusalem, but the world has not yet accepted this. It doesn't know what was just said by your chairman, that this is the heart and soul of Israel and World Jewry, and that a body under terrible circumstances may even exist without a limb, but it can't do without its heart and its soul. I don't think the world understands this, we haven't brought it home to them, and you haven't brought it home to them.

A combination of the problems that we are still facing at home even if they are quiet, and of the lack of knowledge and understanding abroad may face us all suddenly in a measure that will be unexpected to us. I therefore call upon you to prepare for action. We have to do more here in Jerusalem and we have to bring the message of Jerusalem to the world with a loud trumpet. In both of these you and we are together: it has to be done.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

ADDRESS BY MR. EZRA Z. SHAPIRO
World Chairman, Keren Hayesod
June 16, 1975

A full year has elapsed since the Assembly last met. We are still laboring under the pall of the continuing uncertainty of war or peace. In this past year, there have been numerous step-by-step efforts to secure another interim agreement with Egypt through the mediation of Dr. Kissinger. These were abruptly terminated on March 22nd. During this period, we witnessed an erosion in our relations with many governments. Dr. Kissinger's inexcusable arrogation that the blame for the termination of his shuttle efforts rested with Israel contributed in no small measure to this result.

The recent action by 76 Senators of the United States, justifying Israel's position in the matter of the collapse of the negotiations with Egypt and supporting Israel's insistence upon imperative security requisites for any arrangement, interim or otherwise, clearly gave the lie to the false charge that Israel's loss of public support in the United States stemmed from her actions in March.

Since then, our standing in the arena of world public opinion and foreign affairs has somewhat improved. We have recovered some of our favorable public position through our accord with the European Common Market and other inter-governmental agreements as well as the exchange of official visits with numerous governments, hitherto unfriendly or lukewarm.

Unfortunately, as a result of some serious deviations from and violations of public trust, Israel's public image has been somewhat tarnished, both internally and externally. These misdeeds and sometimes evil acts have received constant and repetitious coverage by all of Israel's media of information - press and others. This has served to increase the damage to our national reputation and fair name. This process of deterioration was not without its effect upon Jewish communities throughout the world, especially among the leadership in the field of fund-raising.

Jews the world over have become accustomed to point with great pride to the glorious record of Israel's citizenry in the matter of public and private moral and ethical behavior. There was always the feeling that we were not, nor must we ever become, "like unto all other peoples," certainly in this respect. This was the proud Zionist ideal. It must, it should become the current reality. Our reply to queries on the subject has been that, in a world which is drenched in immoral, yea amoral political, public and private conduct, it could hardly be expected that Israel could wholly escape this influence. However, we have always hastened to condemn these aberrations and have stated that they must be uncovered and excised from our body politic and our economic structure. We have proclaimed our need to strive for a better and more just society which has been, and continues to be, the prime justification of our eternal struggle for national existence.

The budget of the Jewish Agency, covering a great part of Israel's expenditures for human needs such as immigration, absorption, housing, higher education, social, health and welfare obligations, has, since the Yom Kippur War, suffered some reductions. These must not suffer any additional cuts. Moreover, to the extent possible, they should be restored. Fortunately, despite all of the related difficulties, on the exterior and interior fronts, I am happy to report that the Keren Hayesod-United Israel Appeal and its associated United Israel Appeals, operating throughout the world except the United States, have had considerable success in securing, in cash, over \$162 million in the fiscal year ended March '75. This exceeds the results obtained after the Six Day War of '67, and is more than half of the extraordinary achievement of the combined regular and Yom Kippur War Campaigns of 1973. Moreover, all signs point to an even superior result for the current fiscal year. This has been achieved, despite great economic disturbances and crises in many countries, occasioned particularly by the vicious Arab oil embargo.

To overcome this unusual obstacle, unprecedented zeal and devotion to the task were required and indeed displayed by a splendid cadre of leaders and workers in our campaigns whose attachment and devotion to Israel is undiminished and exemplary. I pause to mention the unusual work of our own Head Office, under our Director-General, Mr. Kreutner, and his dedicated staff.

In the last year, we have engaged in an aggressive and diversified program of training leaders and professionals in the art and methods of fund-raising. We have intensified our action in connection with the separate women's divisions, where they have already existed, and initiated the establishment of some new divisions. The common experience has been that they have been of enormous value to the general campaigns.

It is significant that more and more men of the younger generation have identified themselves with our work through a deeper realization of its significance to Israel and to them personally in their own lives. It has been most gratifying to note their understanding and enthusiasm for Israel after experiences here on study missions. They met with political and public leaders of our country, visited our communities and institutions, seen something of our military installations and acquired an acquaintance with the military and its allied political problems, and visited with our people of different social and economic strata. In this process they have enriched their knowledge and understanding of our life patterns. They leave our shores after these visits with a love of our country and a determination to be of even greater assistance in all respects. While indeed they come under the auspices of the Keren Hayesod, the collateral results of these experiences are of equal, if not greater, lasting value to Israel and to them personally.

For the benefit of my friends representing the diaspora communities, may I add that, happily, an increasing number of Israelis now have a much wider knowledge and genuine appreciation of the untiring efforts of Jewish communities abroad.

Finally, may I observe that, slowly but steadfastly, Israel is overcoming the effects of the traumatic experience of the Yom Kippur War and its aftermath. This past year has not been an easy one. Continuing military and political tension, world economic difficulties, social unrest and psychological upheaval - these have been our daily bread. And yet, amidst all this, Israel and its people have been doing some intensive and profound soul-searching, facing up to the myriad problems squarely and honestly.

Our people envision the future with somewhat greater optimism than heretofore, while being quite realistic about the need for continued sacrifice. This improvement is the result of the resourcefulness and resilience of our people, aided by concrete evidence of and confidence in Israel's present state of military preparedness. The latter has an enormous price-tag attached to it which continues to burden Israel's economy and its citizenry to an extent unequalled by any other nation.

Our saber-rattling neighbors have unlimited income from oil and the Soviet arsenals are theirs for the asking. We have but the friendly assistance of the United States and that of our fellow-Jews the world over. Despite all of the foregoing, the odds will not be too uneven, nor beyond our strength, if our people throughout the world continue to realize that they stand and fall with Israel.

My friends, if Israel's strength and security are to remain undiminished, still greater efforts are required from all of us. Arab boycott operations must be fought relentlessly and on a worldwide scale, particularly in the United States and in Europe. World public opinion must be correctly informed, alerted and galvanized against all attempts to exclude Israel from international forums. On the political scene, a concentrated effort must be made to resist unwarranted pressures upon Israel, from whatever sources, to make dangerous concessions to the uncompromising neighbors for political exchanges of little or no value. At the same time every effort must be exercised to arrive at some political arrangement with our neighbors in the direction of peace, whether interim or final.

But above all, more funds must be raised in the World Jewish communities through a steadily enlarging circle of contributors, whose financial support in the spirit of voluntary self-taxation must be even more generous than heretofore.

It is in this spirit that we continue to live, work, pray and hope for better days to come.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

ADDRESS BY MR. FRANK R. LAUTENBERG
General Chairman, United Jewish Appeal
June 16, 1975

We gather here tonight, the collective leadership of the Jewish People, speaking many languages, reflecting vast dispersion, but speaking with one heart. Our form of expression may differ, but not our concern for life. Wherever we reside on this planet, we live in a fusion of past and present. For us, to be is more essential than to have. We deal with things, but we live in deeds.

Today, the Jewish People sits at the center of the stage of world history. All of mankind marks our behavior, our conduct. We are the focus of the struggle between the free world and those forces which would subjugate men. To paraphrase Charles Dickens: it is the best of times, it is the worst of times; it is an age of wisdom, it is an age of foolishness; it is a season of light; it is a season of darkness and it is the spring of hope.

Perhaps Jewish life has always been full of anxiety, risk, conflict. Our history tells us that Jewish life has never been tranquil. We must be geared to the new global realities, new economic imperatives, the new alignment among nations and the new fears that plague mankind. Indeed, the impact of Jewish leadership will depend on our ability to adjust to new ideas, remaining vigilant, facing the challenge of change. This does not mean that we must accommodate the bias of those who find us convenient scapegoats for economic and political problems.

In the United States, the Jewish community today is more assertive, expressing its rights as citizens more than ever before. In our attachment to the global Jewish community, we, together with the leadership of the Jewish federations and welfare funds, are acting out of strength and conviction.

Idealism, high aspirations and deep convictions are not incompatible with being attuned to the realities of our times. Human faith and belief are ultimately more powerful forces than the calculations of oil barons and military chieftains. This is why we're here at this Assembly. All of us hope and would

like to believe that our decisions are shaped by wisdom, compassion and moral insight. Unfortunately, the pressures of daily life leave little time for reflective thinking. This Assembly provides such an opportunity. To foster Jewish self-appraisal while fostering the link between us and Israel is a primary objective.

The mandate of the United Jewish Appeal is to be American Jewry's fund-raising arm for the Jewish People at home and abroad. But to fulfill that obligation we must be much more. We must learn to cooperate with each other across national boundaries. We must bring fresh collective thinking to bear on the fundamentals of contemporary Jewish life and the multitude of problems confronting Israel. However, before we can decide rationally which pathways to choose, we must widen our concepts and clarify who we are and where we are going.

Earlier this year, Mr. Sapir asked me to visit Israel for an emergency consultation. Due to the political isolation and adversity, he said that Israel's economy was at a critical level and the Jewish Agency was operating under a painfully inadequate budget. Mr. Sapir, Leon Dulzin and Finance Minister Rabinowitz asked me if it was possible to increase our cash collections. I could not give them an answer then, but told them, based on my knowledge of the American Jewish community, that I thought it was certainly possible.

I returned to the United States, alerted our leadership to the urgency of collecting cash, and we called for a total mobilization of the American Jewish community.

Exactly two months ago, on April 15th, Deputy Prime Minister Allon and Moshe Rivlin joined us for a nationwide tour of America. In four days we crossed the length and breadth of the nation, travelling 8,000 miles. We met with 2,000 people, leadership from 600 of the largest Jewish communities gathered in Miami, Dallas, Los Angeles, Chicago and New York. Since then, communities across America have held special mobilization meetings to assess their fund-raising campaigns. Total mobilization struck a very responsive chord.

Under the impact of the emergency, a total of \$550 million is projected for this year. Although it will be 20 percent less than the Yom Kippur War campaign in 1974, it is \$200 million more than 1973 and \$220 million more than the war campaign of 1967. It will be the second largest campaign in our history and achieved, thank G-d, in a year without war.

This feat is one for which a general chairman can only take moderate credit. Rather, it is a testimonial to the concern and deep commitment of the American Jewish community, supported by the prodigious efforts of our national and community leadership and so ably assisted by our professional staff under the direction of UJA's executive vice-chairman, Irving Bernstein.

At this moment, for the first time in UJA's 36-year history, cash collections are ahead of last year, even though pledges are declining. Before June is over, we believe we can be almost \$40 million ahead, and by the end of the year we will have collected almost \$300 million - \$80 million more than in the calendar year of 1974. That kind of response to the mobilization for the 1975 campaign tells you something of the mood of our community.

Our economy is still limping along and people are weary and tired. But despairing? Never. The word has been banished from our vocabulary. Our community has learned the meaning of "koach", strength - that conveys the real mood. The Jewish community today is celebrating life and is determined now more than ever to assert itself for what it believes to be right.

To those who counsel patience in the matter of Soviet Jewry: we say that we will maintain our vigilance on their behalf until, as Jeremiah said: "They shall come out from the land of the enemy." To those who say we don't have the means to close the social gap here in Eretz Yisrael, we say that it is unconscionable. Our standard of comparison should not be how much worse things used to be, but how much better they can be. To those who believe that we are losing the allegiance of our younger generation, we say we must respond to their openness. They are challenging us, and it is we who must respond to them.

But most of all, being Jewish today is inseparable from the fate of the people of Israel. Israel has become our cohesive, binding force.

We will uphold our end of the partnership with the people of Israel. We will strive for excellence, just as we hope and expect that Israel will achieve a level of societal excellence unsurpassed in the history of mankind, for all our great cooperative efforts will come to naught if they do not succeed in restoring importance to human life: in making Israel a society that is truly "a light unto the nations."

Our objective must be the attainment of the human ideal, the Jewish ideal. We must strive to attain the impossible, not to equal or to resemble other societies, but to excel.

Ladies and gentlemen, while the political reassessment goes on in Washington, the American Jewish community will assess and reassess its own commitments, its own objectives because Israel cannot expect more from the United States of America than she receives from American Jews.

Israel is the spirit of the ingathering and has helped produce what Martin Buber called "the life of a community which struggles to live today because of its hopes for tomorrow." This is our mandate - to pursue Jewish life, to nourish human dignity, to assert self-respect, to build confidence, and to let our full potential as human beings burst forth for what has been called for our people an habitual vision of greatness.

That is our task. Together, as one people, we will see our dreams, our hopes, our destiny, fulfilled. If we act together and build together, the bond of unity between the people of Israel and the Jewish people throughout the world will be indivisible. For we, the entire house of Israel, are one.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

OPENING REMARKS BY MR. PINHAS SAPIR
Chairman of the Executive
June 16, 1975

(Translated from Hebrew)

I welcome all of you to the Fourth Assembly of the Jewish Agency. May this Assembly add might and strength to the State of Israel, and fortify and encourage the Jews in the diaspora. Let us hope that this Assembly will find new ways to increase immigration, to deepen the absorption process and to help close the social gap. Let us hope that it paves the way for new initiatives, for a great stride forward in building the Jewish people and uniting it around the State of Israel.

We are opening this Assembly on the occasion of a further attempt by our enemies to renew the terror and murderous attack on us. Our settlements in the North are once again under the katyusha, grenade and other deadly weaponry. Three settlers were killed yesterday, as heroes on the battlefield, serving as an example of devotion, courage and resourcefulness, just as does all of Kfar Yuval, as a model of a border settlement. Let us now honor their memory by rising. Let us send from here words of encouragement to all of our settlements in the north: to the development towns, to the moshavim and kibbutzim. Let us tell them that one of the major items on the agenda of this Assembly is the speedy strengthening of our settlements in the Galilee. Those murderous attacks not only will not deter us, they will strengthen us in our determination.

Before we get to business of the Assembly, I want to say that it is a great honor for me to recall the memory of one of our great leaders, who left us ten years ago. A glorious descendant of the BILU member, Yaacov Shertok, Moshe Sharett started his public work while still a student -- and an excellent one -- of the first class to graduate from the Gymnasia Herzlia. In everything he did you could find the qualities of devotion and dedication, loyalty to the vision, nobility of action, comradeship, accuracy and control in performance. I will not review here in detail his long and glorious road, which started in the Gymnasia Herzlia, continued in the study trip to Turkey, the service in the Turkish army, his studies in London, his central role on the daily Davar, and then his great leadership role in political and Zionist activity -- first as the assistant and right hand of Chaim Arlozorov, and then as the head of the Jewish Agency Political Department.

His work in moulding and strengthening the Jewish defense force in the Yishuv was great; his contribution in establishing an official Palestinian force to fight the Nazis had been decisive, a Jewish force in essence, in name and under a Hebrew flag. We remember his blessed work in the struggle for independence, a struggle which led him to the Latroun prison. We remember his proud political stand before the doors of the nations of the world. Indeed, he was one of the chief builders of Israel's independence. And when his ideal became reality, and the State of Israel was established, he became the first Foreign Minister of the new State, the father of its foreign service.

In serving as Prime Minister, Moshe Sharett was revealed in all the nobility of his soul, his commitment to values, his friendly concern for his colleagues and his great dedication to safeguarding the purity of vision.

He knew how to fight for his opinions, even if that meant resigning from the Government. Even in quarrel and argument, he knew how to appear as an example and model of a national sense of responsibility, as a man for whom the most important thing is the matter itself.

Moshe Sharett fought the struggle of Zionism, and he was its defender, both as Foreign Minister and as Prime Minister. We were fortunate to have him as Chairman of the Jewish Agency in his last years. It is a great tragedy that this period, which was one of great inspiration and initiative, came to an end while still at its beginning, when he passed away.

Moshe Sharett was the custodian of the Zionist Movement and was always loyal to it. We recall the memory of a great Jew, a great Israeli, a proud Zionist, a noble man and a loyal friend.

Let his memory and nobility of manner be an example to all of us.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

By Mr. Pinhas Sapir, Chairman of The Executive
June 16, 1975

Mr. President, Mr. Mayor, Mr. Chairman, my dear colleagues and friends, my fellow Jews. We are meeting here in Jerusalem in one of the most crucial hours the State of Israel has known. During the next three days, we shall hear the full report of Israel's political, economic and security situation. We cannot discuss the affairs of the Jewish Agency without this background.

This Assembly, representing so many Jewish communities and Zionist organizations, is a demonstration of total Jewish solidarity with Israel. We are facing historic challenges. Let us meet these challenges as a united Jewish People - united in belief, united in action.

We must stand united against the enormous political and economic weapons which the enemies of Israel are using against us. The attempt to isolate Israel politically is not only an attack against Israel. It is an attack against the Jewish People. The Arab boycott is not only an attack against Israel. It is an attack on the Jewish People. And we must fight back as a united, Jewish People. At the same time, as a united Jewish People, we must build Israel - build Israel in numbers, build Israel in the strength of its society.

What has been done since the Assembly met last year in June? You have received a full report on the actions taken by the Executive, the Board of Governors, and the Departments on the resolutions which were passed at the last Assembly. Exactly a year ago, when I was elected as chairman of the Jewish Agency, I stood here in this hall which bears the name of our beloved and unforgettable colleague, my very dear friend Louis Pincus, who was one of the main architects of the reconstituted Jewish Agency. I told you that I would devote myself to four major objectives. One, to increase immigration. Two, to improve the conditions of absorbing immigrants. Three, the

expansion and improvement of Jewish education in the Diaspora. Four, to expand the extent of our fund raising.

I told you that we need immigration as we need air to breathe. We need immigration as a guarantee for peace. But, as you know, last year, the Jews came to Israel in much smaller numbers. In 1973 more than 55,000 immigrants came to Israel. In 1974 it was 32,000. And we don't know what will happen in 1975.

The first task of this Assembly must be to look for ways and means to increase the number of immigrants. This is the most challenging goal of our times. We have seen the wonderful drama of the struggle of our fellow Jews in the Soviet Union to leave and come home to Israel. Today we are facing a very serious crisis. In 1973, 33,000 immigrants came to Israel from the Soviet Union. In 1974, the figure was only 16,000. In the first five months of 1975, we received a very small number. It was less than half than the previous year, and 25 percent of the number in the first five months of 1973.

The figures speak for themselves. Jews in the Soviet Union are again facing persecution and harassment. Nobody knows the exact number of Jews wanting to leave Russia. But nobody can deny that there are today many more than 100,000 Jews in the Soviet Union who have already asked to leave. Nearly 160,000 have asked permission to leave. And we know that when there is less harassment, more and more Jews apply for permission to leave.

We already feel in Israel the influence of the 100,000 Jews who came during the last four years. We feel it in the economy and in every aspect of Israel's society. Every study shows that the vast majority of these immigrants have been absorbed successfully. You may be sure that this success will have a great influence on future immigration, if the Jews are allowed to leave the Soviet Union.

Let us raise our voice again to the government of the Soviet Union. Let us say, so that all the world will hear: "Let my People Go". At the same time, let our brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union know that we shall do everything in our power to make their dream become a reality. When I say to do everything in our power, of course I mean every form of public activity. But I also mean the commitment to do everything in our power, so that when a Jew makes Aliyah, he will be absorbed successfully.

We shall submit a full and detailed plan and report to the Committee on Immigration and Absorption. What I want this Assembly to know is that we have made great progress in absorption. We have been able to solve most of the problems of immigrant housing. One reason is that there was less immigration. The major reason is that there has been a very extensive combined effort by the Agency and the Government. But we have to make sure that we solve the remaining problems. Among them are the 6,000 immigrant families living in rented apartments that we subsidize. The challenge is to make sure that they can get permanent housing where their jobs are. And this will be done in less than two years. Another problem is housing for elderly and single people. I'm glad to inform you that, together with the government, we decided to build 4,500 units for these elderly and single people, and the construction has been started. If the means are available, we shall have them available in less than two years, and part will be completed in the next seven to eight months.

You will remember that we were facing serious problems in employment of new immigrants - especially academicians and professionals and people in special fields. The Jewish Agency and the Government established a number of funds to deal with this situation. These have enabled us to solve the greatest part of the employment problem. We are very fortunate in Israel that we continue to have practically full employment. But the challenge is to assure permanent employment, not only for those who are here, but to make sure that there will be jobs for those who will come.

Perhaps the key problem in absorption is social integration. People need more than a house and a job in Israel. They need to feel at home. During this past year, from Assembly to Assembly, we devoted a great deal of effort to make important changes in the field of social integration. And we are beginning to see these changes. The women's organizations, the Bnai Brith, and other voluntary organizations - the municipalities, the organizations of the second generation - all of them have been working very hard and very well on this problem. There is a great deal still to be done. But I am sure that we are moving in the right direction.

By succeeding in absorption, we are assuring that more people will want to come to Israel, and fewer people will drop out on the way to Israel. Even now, among these drop-outs, there are many that, from the beginning, did not want to come to Israel. But I want to be sure that all those who are thinking of coming to Israel will not drop out because we here in Israel have not done what is needed to assure their successful absorption.

Here I want to say a word about those Jews who are still left in the Arab countries. I cannot go into details, but I want to assure you that we are doing everything humanly possible to rescue those Jews. Let us send to the Jews in the Soviet Union and to the Jews in the Arab countries a message of encouragement and hope.

When I spoke about Aliyah at the last Assembly, I spoke about the challenge to Jews in the Free World, where Aliyah is a matter of free choice. Unfortunately, here too there has been a serious decline. We received 22,000 Jews from the free world in 1973; 15,000 in 1974. We will have peace and security in Israel, when there will be not 3,000,000 but 6,000,000 Jews living here. And we can look forward to having this number in 20, 23 or 25 years because of natural increase in population and the Jews who will come here as immigrants.

I do not know of any greater challenge to a Jewish youngster than to come here to live a full Jewish life, and to help build the road to a peaceful and secure Israel. During this past year, we have developed a new concept of organization for Aliyah in the United States and some other countries. We are calling upon local Jewish communities to take greater responsibility and to become more involved in Aliyah. I am happy that so many communities in the United States and so many organizations are accepting this challenge. I know that the communities, working together with the dedicated shlichim from Israel will be able to change the whole Aliyah picture from the West.

Of course, we want immigrants to come to an Israel at peace. Unfortunately, that is not up to us. But what we can do together is to build a society - to build a model society. And to do that, the Jewish Agency, along side the Government, must do our share to bridge the social gap in Israel. It is obvious that the Jewish Agency cannot even try to solve all the problems of the social gap. That is the responsibility of the government, which is making great progress in this direction. But there is so much that they cannot do because of the tremendous financial burden which they carry.

The Jewish Agency, however, can play a very special and very important role in helping to close the social gap. Take the past ten years. I do this because we are marking the tenth anniversary of the Israel Education Fund. See what we have done with the money of the Israel Education Fund and the other special funds. See what we have built in communities from Kiryat Shmonah to Eilat. We have built comprehensive high schools and vocational schools, yeshivot, universities, pre-kindergartens, nurseries, community centers.

I can tell you that we have changed the map of Israel. We have enriched the development towns and immigrant centers culturally and spiritually. We have given opportunities to tens of thousands of large families and an even greater number of children. In this period, we have spent hundreds of millions of dollars to build these educational and cultural facilities. We must continue the job. Only recently, we got from the Ministry of Education a statement of Israel's needs in pre-kindergartens and high schools and neighborhood centers. I would like the Jewish people, through this Assembly, to accept the challenge of the funds we will require to meet these needs.

Nor is it only in the field of education. Through our special funds, we have been able to add thousands of beds to Israel's hospitals through what we have built and what is now in construction. In education, in health, in community facilities, we have a full and detailed program to meet Israel's needs in the coming few years. This is a task for World Jewry. This can be our special and very important contribution to help to bridge the social gap, to help build a strong society in Israel.

It is not only the buildings that are needed. Thousands of children can get a head-start in education because of Jewish Agency support, today, in nurseries and pre-kindergartens. We must help thousands more families with children of pre-school age.

The scholarships of the Jewish Agency and others make it possible for tens of thousands of Jewish youth to go to high school. We must make it possible for more thousands of youth to finish high school.

Youth Aliyah has rescued thousands of children from being educationally handicapped. We must make it possible for Youth Aliyah to help thousands more.

In the past few years, the number of university students from the disadvantaged part of our population grew from seven to fifteen percent. Next year it will be eighteen percent. But we must double this in the next few years.

I spoke earlier about immigrant housing. The Jewish Agency is also making a unique contribution in the social aspects of housing. Today, Ami-Gour, the Jewish Agency Housing Management Company, takes care of 40,000 apartments in fourteen communities. About 250,000 people live in these apartments. The Jewish Agency philosophy, carried out by Ami-Gour, is that our real responsibilities are with people and not just with the apartments. That is why Ami-Gour is working to eliminate overcrowding for large families in these communities, and we hope to finish the job in less than two years. That is why we are working with local communities and organizations to strengthen community services so that these families have a decent quality of life. And I can tell you that 5,000 units more, with over 20,000 people, will be added to the responsibility of Ami-Gour in the coming year.

By the actions of this Assembly, the Jewish Agency has developed a special program to work with marginal youth. This project affects more than 50,000 young people. They have demonstrated that disadvantaged youth themselves can become responsible citizens and leaders, and work to make their community stronger. The responsibility of the Assembly is to see to it that our work in the communities, with large families, with children, with disadvantaged youth, is strengthened and expanded. Here we can make a great contribution to help make one Israel - to make Israel's society strong and vital.

I come now to one of the shining jewels in Jewish Agency achievement. Since the State of Israel was established twenty-seven years ago, the Settlement Department has established over 500 settlements with over 150,000 immigrants: settlers, and the children of immigrant settlers. This is a remarkable achievement. And today, 320 of these settlements have reached the point of what we call "consolidation" - social and economic independence. But we must still help the remaining settlements. This is not only a matter of necessity. It is an obligation of honor for the Jewish Agency who put these settlers on the land. It is an obligation to the younger generation, who are determined to stay on the land. It is a moral obligation to those settlers, who for twenty or twenty-five years, since the State was born, have stood guard on Israel's borders.

We are submitting to this Assembly a proposal that calls for the consolidation of 150 settlements within the next two or three years. This is a challenge of absorption. It is a challenge of bridging the gap between the rural and city standard of living.

It would be a mistake to see our role in agricultural settlement only to bring to consolidation the settlements already established. There are areas of Israel which are crying out for more Jews, for more settlements. Look at the emptiness of the Galilee, the relatively small number of Jews there, in this region which faces the borders of Syria and Lebanon. This emptiness is one of the greatest dangers to Israel. We must consider it one of our top priorities to bring more Jews to the Galilee. The settlements we have built on the borders cannot stand there alone. We must strengthen them. The second generation of settlers must be given the means to stay there. There are new immigrants who want to settle there - we must make it possible.

We are bringing to this Assembly a comprehensive and imaginative plan which calls for building new settlements in the Galilee. It calls for establishing regional centers, building a new type of industrial village, developing immigrant neighborhoods in the cities. This plan will bring, in the next few years, thousands of new settlers to the hills of Galilee - to Safed, to Ma'alot, to Shlomi, to new industrial centers and villages. This plan must be implemented as rapidly as possible.

We have also the region of the Arava - from the Dead Sea to Eilat. I have recently been in this area. I visited the few settlements there, and I have seen that it is possible to build flourishing settlements in this area. But they are so few and so lonely, the ones that are there now. Here again we are submitting to the Assembly a detailed plan for new settlements and regional centers which will bring new life to this desert area.

This has been our work in the past year. I want you to know that we are working in the closest co-operation with the Government and the various ministries in all these fields. We shall continue to work with them in the same spirit. You must understand that everything we do not only makes Israel's society stronger, but helps to prepare the ground for the immigrants who will come to Israel.

My dear friends, if we consider in full understanding all I have talked about - the needs in immigration, absorption, housing and the social gap - in education and rural settlement, then I am sure you realize that we require enormous sums of money. I have the greatest admiration for what our people are doing. I have worked with them for nearly twenty-five years. You heard the report of Mr. Shapiro about the fund-raising efforts of the Keren Hayesod countries. You heard the report of Mr. Lautenberg about the fund-raising efforts of the UJA in the United States, and we are grateful for the splendid leadership he is giving to the campaign.

These are great efforts that the campaigns are making - the UJA is running 35 percent ahead, and the Keren Hayesod campaign I hope will be 25 percent higher. But if we take into account the needs of Israel, if we consider the things we can and must do - then we must call upon the Jewish People to do much more.

Here I want to pause for a moment and say a word about our very dear friend Michael Sacher, who has resigned as head of the campaign in the United Kingdom, but will continue to give the campaign the benefit of his leadership. We are glad that he will continue to work with us in the Jewish Agency and to represent his family's great devotion and love for Israel.

I come now to the last objective of what I spoke - Jewish education in the Diaspora. I told you that if we do not settle this problem on a much larger scale, we are in great danger of losing thousands of our Jewish youth before the end of this century. I repeat a word of warning to you again. We must make a mighty effort in the field of Jewish education in the Diaspora.

During the last year, with the initiative of the Chairman of the Board of Governors, Max Fisher, there was established a Jewish Agency Committee on Long Range Planning. In this committee, we are looking into the future of the Jewish Agency - what should be our priorities among the great tasks before us in immigration and absorption and helping to close the social gap. I was glad to see that everybody in the Long Range Planning Committee agreed that helping Jewish education in the Diaspora has to be one of our top priorities. Together with the Jewish communities abroad, we worked out a detailed plan to intensify Jewish

education in Latin America. In order to bring about a drastic change in the position of Jewish education, we must put this plan into effect quickly. What is at stake are the Jewish children in Latin America. And what I have said about Latin America is true for other countries in other parts of the world.

That is why this first step is an historic step. It gives meaning to everything we understand about the oneness of the Jewish People. It gives meaning to all I have said about our responsibilities in the Assembly.

My dear friends, I said to you at the beginning that we are meeting in one of the most crucial hours in the history of the State of Israel. Let us see this in its proper historic perspective. Let us examine what we have done. Let us look at what remains to be done - what must be done. Let us believe that it can be done. And if this Assembly will translate this understanding into action, then this Assembly will play a great role in the life of Israel and the life of the Jewish People.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, JUNE 16 - 19, 1975

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION IN ISRAEL

ADDRESS BY MR. YEHOASHUA RABINOWITZ
Minister of Finance
June 17, 1975

This Assembly convenes at one of the most outstanding, almost crucial, periods Israel has known. You have taken upon yourselves a very heavy task indeed -- to assist in solving most serious problems with which the Jewish people and the State of Israel are confronted. We are faced with almost unprecedented hardships in our economy, coupled with hitherto unsolved social tensions -- over and above problems in the fields of diplomacy and defense which threaten to make matters no easier.

Our Prime Minister and the Minister for Foreign Affairs have recently returned from meetings with leaders of the free world. These took place while our neighbors seem to be daily gaining military force, economic power and political influence. Whereas we find ourselves with the burden on our shoulders heavier than ever, I dare say that from the military, political and economic points of view -- these days are almost as decisive as the days of our War of Independence. We face the challenge constantly, and it is only in cooperation with the whole of the Jewish people that we can carry out our responsibilities.

Seeing that this Assembly now represents most of the Jewish organizations and almost all the Jewish communities around the world, what is at stake here concerns each and every one of you.

I sincerely hope that the deliberations and decisions here will be focused upon doing everything possible to solve the colossal problems at hand.

The solution to the first problem may not lie directly with you. I refer now, of course, to the burden of our defense -- and its repercussions upon everything which happens here. In the two years preceeding the Yom Kippur War, about 17 percent of our GNP was devoted to defense -- higher than the eight percent in the United States and three to four percent in most European countries. In 1974, about one-third of the GNP was devoted to defense. This ratio will, unfortunately, not decline in 1975 and 1976.

Just imagine what the picture would look like if the United States had to spend one-third of its Gross National Product each year in defense! This would have meant \$500 billions -- almost double the whole of the Federal Annual Budget....!

The burden of defense is not only a financial one. As you well understand, it affects all walks of our economic life. It means that some 25 percent of our manpower is engaged in defense; whether directly -- in national, regular or reserve service -- or indirectly, in production and services around and for defense. It means that the real resources at the disposal of the civilian part of the economy are smaller. Many of our reservists have to spend as long as 90 days a year in service. Just imagine what effect this has on their productivity.

This unusually high defense burden has brought about not only an increased pressure on our local resources, but a steep growth of foreign currency expenditures as well -- from \$700 millions annually before the Yom Kippur War, to \$2.3 billions for direct and indirect military imports which we expect we shall need in 1975.

The total budget for 1975 is IL.56 billions, IL.16 billions more than in 1974. This may seem to be a remarkable increase, but the fact is that the new budget hardly includes the funds required to maintain the level of existing services -- even those remaining after the painful budget cuts which we made during 1974. Forty percent of the budget will be spent on defense; 28 percent on social services (including housing); 18 percent on debt services; eight percent on subsidies and export incentives.

Once again, the burden of defense stands out clearly, overwhelmingly. After all, we are talking of a tiny nation of three million people having to carry the burden of a medium-size power. Since this is the case, it is no wonder that over and above substantial assistance from abroad -- both from friendly governments, first and foremost the United States Government, as well as from our brethren all over the world -- that despite this massive assistance, we also have to impose very heavy taxes indeed on our citizens. The tax burden which Israelis carry is probably the heaviest in the world. You may have heard that 63 percent of Israel's national income returns to the central and local government in the form of taxes. This is more than double the rate in the United States.

Much of this taxation has been levied in the form of direct taxes, namely, income tax. The high rates of income tax have caused many distortions in our economy and have tended to blemish public moral standards as well as hinder productivity. Therefore, we thought it necessary to introduce a reform in our tax system to be implemented next month. Last week, I tabled in the Knesset a set of new laws rearranging the whole income tax system, a step which will lighten the burden of direct taxes on more than 90 percent of the population. We believe that apart from clearing up the public atmosphere, this will lead to less tax evasion and higher productivity.

However, our budget cannot do without this income. We, therefore, intend to introduce Value Added Tax (VAT) into our economy by the end of this year. I have already tabled the Bill concerning this in the Knesset a number of weeks ago, and our parliamentary Finance Committee is working day and night to see these acts through. We feel that these reforms will help us come closer and faster to a strong and viable economy.

Dear friends, as you are all well aware, our most pressing problem is our balance of payments. From 1972 through 1974, this has deteriorated drastically -- from \$1 billion to \$3.5 billions annually.

In 1974, we could only cover our deficit by draining \$700 millions from our precious reserves, and had to enter into expensive emergency borrowing. Had we not taken the drastic measures we did take, including the devaluation of our currency, we would soon have found ourselves with no reserves -- with all the severe repercussions of such situation.

The steps we took have had an encouraging effect. The drawing on our foreign currency reserves ended. Our reserves have even grown by some \$500 millions since last November. Our policies aimed at cooling off the economy are also showing first signs of success -- with a slower pace of growth in private consumption and the housing industry. We hope that this will bring about a transfer of manpower, means of production and capital towards more export-oriented industries. I believe that, at the end of the dark tunnel of economic hardship in which we find ourselves at this time, the light of a better future can be seen. Certainly not in 1975, not even in 1976 -- but thereafter, provided we make good use of all the assistance we hope to receive.

Two recent economic agreements signed by Israel during the course of the past few weeks improve these chances considerably. I refer, first, to the agreement of a free trade area with the European Economic Community. This opens before our industries an enormous and advanced community with a population and demand of some 250 million people. This will also encourage investments here, oriented to exports to Europe which will be free to enter with no customs barriers. The second agreement is with the United States Government, which also gives comprehensive economic encouragement to Israel -- especially in the crucial fields of investments and exports.

Speaking of investments -- which, at present, are far from satisfactory -- one cannot but mention the seemingly growing effect of the Arab boycott. While this has been in existence officially ever since the establishment of the State, it has received additional momentum since October 1973 through the world oil crisis. Many corporations which, until then, tended to disregard any Arab threat of boycott, are now tending to react differently. The time is certainly ripe for a reaction on our part.

The Government of Israel, therefore, decided recently to set up a unit which will concern itself with counteracting economic warfare. Small as this unit will be, it is expected to lean heavily on the assistance of Jews -- individuals as well as communities -- in its day-to-day work. It will also require your assistance in bringing to the knowledge of your respective Governments the potential danger -- not only to Israel or to Jewish business houses, but also to the international business community. Economic boycotts are like a contagious disease. Once they break out, they know no boundaries, communal or national.

Part of the lower rate of growth we are presently undergoing is a result of the economic measures which we have taken during the course of the past year. But this is only a transition period, so that we may be in a position to once again leap forward with growing exports. A more serious cause of our present problems is the large share of our Gross National Product which has to be put at the disposal of our defenses. It is also due to the growing defense budget that we have not been able to devote the sums we need towards improving the standard of living of the underprivileged among us. Here, too, more of your assistance is required. We need the tools, and the means, which we can invest in the best natural resources we have -- the human resource. It is only with better human beings that we shall ensure our survival -- be it on the battlefield or be it on the economic front.

Decades before Independence, we envisaged a State whose citizens would be human beings with exceptionally high standards and whose society would be one to be copied all over the world. The story of Israel's Ingathering of the Exiles and absorption of immigrants from over 107 different countries is now being told, not only among Jewish communities but the world over. Our achievements, considering the odds against us, are remarkable. However, there is ever so much more to be done. The quality of Israel's citizens is of the utmost importance, not only to our defense -- as was proven by the happenings in Kfar Yuval the day before yesterday -- but also to developing the economy and constantly reaching for greater social justice.

With your help, much has been done in the field of social advancement in recent years. Most of our achievements here are to be attributed to the imagination, vision, vigor and tireless efforts of the previous Minister of Finance, presently Chairman of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Pinhas Sapir. I am very glad to note that Mr. Sapir is continuing with the great stamina so typical of him in considering this field of social advancement as one of the main tasks which he has set before himself and the organizations which he heads. In recent years, too, the expenditure of the Government and of the National Institutions on social services has expanded steadily.

The hope in Israeli economic circles, before the Yom Kippur War, that the weight of expenditure on defense within the budget and national income would gradually decrease, provided an impetus for the initiation of many projects in the social service sphere. These projects included a considerable expansion of health and hospitalization services; increasing the proportion of the population benefiting from all types of education, from kindergartens to universities; improving the housing standards of poor families and extending assistance to newly-weds for housing purchases and periodic readjustment of various types of pensions and allowances. These programs, and some others, were drawn up and institutionalized mainly during the years between the War of Attrition and the Yom Kippur War (1970-1973).

But the main effort in the coming years, in the coming crucial year, must be diverted from investments in physical assets, such as buildings and equipment, to investments in "human capital".

The budget policy for 1975 unfortunately calls for a slowing down of new construction projects for social services but this will not affect the completion of projects now under construction. Thus, you will notice that the aftermath of the War has caused us to bring about a certain standstill in the further development of social services.

We are simply unable to fulfil from our own resources all the expectations we set for ourselves. This is why the assistance of world Jewry is so important! Now, this is why it is vital that you and those you represent take upon yourselves the task of carrying out the social advancement plans which we have drawn up. I do not want to tire you with figures, but you can take it from me that the Government, with the help of the Jewish Agency, has brought about immense changes in social service patterns in Israel. These vast changes naturally give rise to expectations. The underprivileged among us now find it more difficult than ever before to get used to growing gaps within the society. It never was possible, and it never will be possible, to make one strong healthy people of all Israelis without raising the standards of the lower income groups of the population.

Better social services which will bring about a higher quality citizen in Israel may also attract immigration. The fact that immigration has been declining since the War is a source of great concern to all Israelis. Immigration was always considered by us to be more than a mere social, political, defense or even economic need -- although it is, naturally, important for all these reasons. Most Israelis feel that immigration is perhaps the main cause-and-target put together for the existence of Israel. We feel one cannot exaggerate its importance.

In spite of the difficulties, we believe that a dawn of hope can be seen in the not too distant future. It may be hoped that present economic conditions in the world will improve and that our policies of economic restraint will bear fruit -- and that with the help of the Jewish people and with our self-help, our economy will soon return to its former accustomed fast growth. This fast growth has always been coupled with a sizable immigration. We need your help in achieving both.

The support we want from you is an overall one. We need it to overcome our defense, economic and social problems. You can give this in more than one way. The best way is by encouraging people to come here and to join us. Immigration is the essence of Israel's life.

I call upon you to do everything possible to strengthen your identification with Israel; to express your political, economic, and moral commitment to Israel, through every avenue of activity.

Above all, let us unite in the effort to open the gates of aliyah. Let us make it possible for those in the East, who long to come, to join us here. Let us encourage those from the West, whose decision to come rests solely in their hands. Let us all mobilize our resources here and now to make an ancient dream a reality.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

THE 1975/76 BUDGET PROPOSAL

Submitted by Mr. Leon Dulzin, Treasurer
June 17, 1975

My dear friends, members of this Assembly, as Treasurer it is my task to prepare the budget proposal to be considered by the policy-making bodies of the Jewish Agency. I have presented the proposal for the fiscal year 1975/76 to the Executive of the Jewish Agency and then to the Board of Governors. Now, on behalf of the Executive and the Board of Governors, I submit this proposal for your consideration and approval.

You are here as the representatives of the Jewish communities of the free world. But you represent much more. You represent also those Jews who live in lands of oppression - in the Soviet Union, in the Arab lands - who cannot send their representatives here to speak for themselves. Therefore, we must express their fears and concerns, their aspirations and hopes as human beings, as Jews. At the same time, we express the collective aspirations and hopes of the entire Jewish People.

In presenting this budget proposal I must make clear how I see our collective responsibility for the great tasks that confront us. We have two major tasks which are expressed in our budget. First, there are the fields of immigration and absorption, agricultural settlement, Youth Aliyah for which the Jewish Agency carries sole responsibility.

Our second task is of no less importance. Here in Israel, we are called upon to help hundreds of thousands of people who belong to the underprivileged sector of our population. These are the immigrants whom we were unable to absorb successfully since the beginning of the State, those who live in poverty, in slums. It is our responsibility to see to it that all our population will live in proper conditions, with at least a minimally decent standard of living. This is an indispensable condition for a stronger, a better Israel.

When I speak of this task, I want to make it clear that 70 percent of our budget goes to help meet the needs of these underprivileged. It is the tragedy of history that most of them belong to the oriental communities, and came to Israel with the enormous handicaps of centuries of oppression and deprivation. The fact that 70 cents out of every budget dollar is devoted to this sector of the population demonstrates our determination to undertake this tremendous burden. This is a matter of policy expressing our understanding of our responsibility.

For a budget is an instrument of policy. It is an expression of goals and intentions. At the same time, the budget must reflect the realities we face -- the realities of resources, of income, and the realities of need.

The budget proposal for the current fiscal year ending March 31, 1976 has been distributed. It is a highly detailed budget and here we shall try to review its highlights. Immediately following this session, the committees will begin their deliberation, including the Budget and Finance Committee, which will report back to you on its detailed examination of this proposal. Then the budget will come back to this body for its decision.

When you are called up to vote on the budget resolution, you will have to ask yourselves whether the budget is indeed a true reflection of the policy which you, representing the concern of world Jewry for Israel, intend to adopt for the coming year.

You will have to ask yourselves whether this budget is indeed a true expression of the goals, which you, representing the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish People everywhere, intend to pursue.

You will have to ask yourselves whether this budget does indeed reflect the realities of our situation, on both sides of the budget: the income we can expect, and the needs we are called upon to meet.

These are very difficult questions. They are questions of responsibility. They are questions of conscience.

I ask you to consider these questions more carefully, while I review with you the budget proposal of \$541,900,000 for the fiscal year beginning April 1, 1975 and ending March 31, 1976.

On the income side, I recall to your attention the reports you heard last night from the heads of the campaigns: Frank Lautenberg for the United Jewish Appeal in the United States, and Ezra Shapiro for the campaigns of Keren Hayesod throughout the world. It is clear that we are doing much better than last year, and I would like the people of Israel to know that these results are being achieved, despite very difficult circumstances, because of the tremendous efforts and the total commitment of the leadership of the Jewish communities throughout the free world. More than 50,000 workers have been mobilized on behalf of the campaign, and, thanks to their tireless efforts, the Treasury of the Jewish Agency can expect \$80 millions more in cash than last year, an increase of 25 percent. I have seen them at work in their own communities, where I have visited with them on behalf of the campaigns. I can give personal testimony to their devotion and effectiveness.

This kind of effort reflects far more than the desire to help. This is involvement. This is sharing the responsibility as one Jewish people.

Now I would like to say a few words about the expenditure side. This word "expenditure" is intended to reflect in figures what we consider to be our obligations for the current year. As presented in this budget proposal, those obligations and responsibilities total \$541,900,000. That means that, as a good treasurer, I'm presenting you with almost a balanced budget. When we include \$65 millions in loans, it is a balanced budget.

Let us examine how we have managed to achieve this balanced budget. Just one year ago, right here from this platform, I presented to this body a budget of \$701 millions, and you approved it with great enthusiasm. Are the needs less this year? Have our responsibilities diminished? Does the figure of \$541 millions for this year reflect honestly and realistically \$160 millions less needs than last year?

I think you know the answer as well as I do. The answer is "no". In order to present you with a balanced budget, we have simply postponed taking care of certain needs. We deferred action on those needs once, when we were compelled to reduce our budget during the past year. And we deferred action again when we prepared this budget of \$541 millions for the current year, because, with our best estimate of income, I did not see more than \$541 millions of income, including \$65 millions of loans.

In other words, my dear colleagues, we have balanced this budget at the expense of our responsibilities. Let us be honest with ourselves: we have balanced the budget on the basis of further postponement in meeting urgent, vital human needs.

Let us examine this budget of \$541 millions:

Immigration and Absorption - \$97,991,000.

This amount is based on the need to prepare for some 45,000 immigrants. It is an estimate which reflects only minimally the potential immigration from areas of distress in today's world.

I know you are thinking about the decline in immigration. You heard the figures last night: 56,000 in 1973, 33,000 in 1974 and a still lower rate in the first five months of 1975.

I feel very strongly that we should not base our estimates for future immigration using those diminishing figures as the sole, valid criterion. We must take the enormous potential into consideration.

You heard last night that there are 160,000 Jews in Soviet Russia waiting for exit visas. Since the beginning of January, we have sent every month an average of 3,000 affidavits from here to Jews in Soviet Russia. In addition, in these five months, there was an average of over 1,500 renewals of affidavits which we were asked to send. This proves the enormous potential. And if they are not coming, it is because they are not allowed to come.

With this example, I ask you to look at the record of history and to learn the lessons of that record. In Israel's 27 years as a State, we have never planned for the basis of immigration on a one, two or three year calendar. If you look at the picture of immigration over those 27 years, you will see the mass immigration of the first years when 680,000 Jews came to Israel. But even leaving out this period, you will see periods when we were receiving up to 80,000 immigrants a year, and periods when the figures were as low as 11,000 a year. The reality - and it is a very harsh reality - is that we live in a world where millions of Jews are vulnerable. Vulnerable in their economic situation in some countries. Vulnerable in the right to live as Jews in certain countries, and in their very physical existence in other countries, as in the Arab lands. Vulnerable because of political changes which are taking place or may take place in many countries.

As long as we live in this kind of world, we must be ready to receive our fellow Jews at any time, and in any numbers. We must put every possible pressure on the Soviet authorities. Combined with changing political conditions on the international scene, the doors of the Soviet Union could open wide tomorrow to let our people go. Nobody believed four years ago that in the next four years we would receive 100,000 Jews from Soviet Russia. But they came, and there are hundreds of thousands of them waiting to come. And they will come.

You know that we are doing all that is humanly possible to rescue our fellow Jews in the Arab countries. True, we are not speaking here of hundreds of thousands. Fortunately, most of them are here. But there is not a person in this hall, there is not a Jew in the world who is prepared to say even to hundreds of those Jews, "Wait, we are not ready to receive you."

I have been in South America recently. This is part of the free world, and I believe it will continue to be. I think I know this world. But I can tell you that, in many of those countries, Jews live on the thin edge of economic disaster because of terrible political instability in those countries, coupled with recurring trends of anti-Semitic outbursts, and near fascism in some countries. If the need should arise, and it could arise overnight, shall we say to those Jews "Wait, we are not ready to receive you."?

Throughout the 27 years of Israel's statehood, we have been the masters of our own destiny - free to receive our fellow Jews. This is a revolutionary change in Jewish history, in Jewish life in our time. There is a place to which Jews can come - by right. Throughout these 27 years, Israel has been in a constant state of alert and readiness, to receive at any time, in any numbers, the Jews who must seek a haven here - who want to live their lives as Jews.

Yes, immigration is down this year, as of now, and, as you have heard, we have used this "low" to strengthen and improve our absorption capacity, to improve and strengthen our readiness to receive our fellow Jews. This item of \$97 millions is the absolute minimum we require to receive these Jews, to be ready for them, and for more to come.

Basically, our budget for immigration and absorption has always been an open budget, and we have made this very clear. The Treasurer always had the authorization, no matter how many Jews come and will come, to find the means to bring them in. And this part of the budget is just as open today as it has been always.

Let us hope that many more Jews will come. And when they do, we will need much more money to bring them in and to absorb them.

Social Welfare Services - \$42,345,000

This \$42,345,000 is \$20 millions more than we spent last year for social welfare services. But it is \$23 millions less than the amount we budgeted last year and which you approved.

From the point of view of arithmetic, it was not difficult to make this cut. We simply eliminated a big item of welfare subsidies, on which we spent \$25 millions last year and which we had to ask the government to take over. At the same time, we made only the minimum increase in the item of old age grants, and in the smaller items in this part of the budget, which is supposed to cover some of the most basic human needs.

Let me ask you: after listening to the report of the Minister of Finance on Israel's economic situation, on the government's financial position and burdens, do you think we had the right, the moral right, to impose on the people of Israel this additional burden of welfare needs, for which we had assumed responsibility, and for which, therefore, the government had not budgeted?

Health Services - \$11,625,000

This amount is some \$2,600,000 less than we actually spent last year. All of this cut is in the construction of hospitals. Again, it simplified the arithmetic to make the cut in this one item. But it aggravated the situation of Israel's need to add more hospital beds for its growing population, and to replace facilities which have been obsolete for years. You will understand what I mean when you walk into any of our hospitals and see patients receiving care in the corridors, because that is the only space available. And those are the lucky ones. Some people have been waiting two, three months, to be admitted for surgery. And, if the operation is not an urgent one (and who decides what is an urgent operation when it has to do with yourself, when you fear for your health and your future?), you may have to wait six months to get a bed.

Education - \$44,369,000

Here again we have cut. We have cut the funds available for scholarships for secondary schools at a time

when costs are rising and tuition fees increasing.

We have cut the already small sum we spent last year for children to attend pre-kindergartens. And we made this cut at a time when there are more families who need the supplementary income of mothers working in order to make ends meet, and when costs are rising.

We have cut the program of the Israel Education Fund to build desperately needed community facilities. We have made those cuts at a time when we need more pre-kindergartens, more high schools, more community and neighborhood centers to strengthen the fabric of our society - when the pressures of our economic situation are putting a maximum strain on the fabric of Israel's society.

Institutions of Higher Learning - \$80,826,000

Here I am pleased to report that we allocated more than we spent last year, although it is the same as we budgeted last year. I am pleased that we can maintain at least the current level of support to institutions of higher learning, so vital to Israel's social and economic strength.

But I have no illusions that we are meeting the full needs in the area of higher education. We will not be meeting the full need so long as there is such a great disparity between the youth of the disadvantaged sector of Israel's society and the rest of the population. Of course, we have made progress - great progress - but we cannot speak of meeting the needs as long as 50 percent of the population contributes only 15 percent of our university students.

And always, as a Treasurer when signing a budget, I must think: at what cost to other critical areas of need have we been able to maintain our support for this one area of need?

Youth Care and Training - \$31,122,000

Here too I have some satisfaction in being able to propose an amount higher than we actually spent last year, and at the level of what we allocated last year. But this is a small satisfaction, because we are dealing here with one of the most difficult and critical areas of social need in Israel - the needs of disadvantaged youth. In his

report to the Board of Governors, the head of Youth Aliyah, Mr. Klarman, reported that there are over 100,000 disadvantaged youth in Israel. These include 25,000 to 30,000 "drop-outs", children of the street, who are neither working nor attending school.

Youth Aliyah has demonstrated its capacity to overcome the enormous educational handicaps resulting from the social and cultural deprivation in which these youth have grown up. They have demonstrated it for more than 6,000 youth over the past three years. We can be proud of this magnificent achievement of the Jewish Agency, in the Youth Aliyah Department, in assuring these 6,000 youth an education and a trade, and making of them strong, productive Jewish youth, for their own future and for the future of our society.

Now, Youth Aliyah has come to the Treasury, to the Executive, to the Board of Governors, and they have asked to be able to help three thousand more of those youth. We have had to bargain with them, despite deprivation and acute need, and we made provision for the Youth Aliyah Department to take only one thousand this year because we had to maintain a balanced budget.

Perhaps this is a realism in terms of budgeting. Yes, it is. But is it a realism in terms of need, in terms of responsibility? How many of those we did not help this year will remain permanently handicapped because we did not provide the help when it was needed - because we asked them to wait in a situation where we know that every year is decisive? Who can morally and in good conscience assume this responsibility? This is the painful task of a Treasurer, when he has to go through the process of preparing a budget and bring in a proposal.

Agricultural Settlement - \$64,349,591

Again, I have the small satisfaction of being able to budget something more than we spent last year, although less than we originally budgeted last year. Mr. Sapir told you last night what agricultural settlement means today to Israel. He told you of the need to bring to full economic independence, as quickly as possible, 152 settlements out of the more than 500 settlements we established since the State came into being.

You were told of the emptiness of the Galilee, and of the Arava, crying out for more Jewish settlers. You were told of the plans that the Settlement Department is submitting to this Assembly to meet those needs which are absolutely fundamental to Israel's economic well-being, to Israel's security.

I must tell you in all honesty that this budget does not include the budgetary provisions necessary to implement those proposals. I say it with regret. I know what is at stake and those of you who took the field trip to the Galilee area yesterday, those of you who have travelled along the Lebanese and Syrian borders, those of you who have driven from the Dead Sea to Eilat along the border of the Jordan - you know, because the situation becomes clear with the first glance - that we dare not allow these areas to remain empty. We dare not allow the courageous settler already there, new immigrants and the children of new immigrants, to continue to stand guard there alone.

Housing - \$91,675,364

In Housing, we propose a sum somewhat less than we actually spent last year but much less than half of what we voted at the 1974 Assembly. Last year, we decided to allocate \$138 millions for immigration housing, and we spent only \$60 millions, because that is all we had. I know that immigration was down last year. But that fact hardly allowed us to catch up with the back-log of immigrant housing needs that had accumulated in the previous years. And this was only with the help of the Government - we couldn't do it by ourselves.

For this current year, we are proposing \$53 millions for the building of immigrant apartments. That is intended to cover only 2,100 housing units, far below the most pessimistic forecast of immigration for the coming year. Furthermore, this sum must also cover commitments made in previous years, and which we must now meet.

I know we have made progress in solving some of the gap in rehousing over-crowded families. Last year, we had decided to allocate \$26 millions to enable over-crowded families to buy larger apartments with the assistance of Agency-subsidized loans. We were never able to implement any part of that allocation, because we didn't have the funds. And this item is not included in the present proposal.

Can we talk about effectiveness in meeting the needs when there are still some 65,000 families - at least 350,000 people - living in over-crowded conditions, in slum conditions, or in both?

My dear friends, I am very unhappy with this proposed budget of \$541 millions. To be sure, it reflects an increase of 25 percent in income by comparison with last year, and I can only praise our leadership, as I said before.

But I cannot be happy, nor can you be happy, because I know that this sum reflects only one side of the budget: the income I can anticipate. It falls far short of being adequate on the expenditure side, which is supposed to reflect needs, minimum needs.

Never in my experience as Treasurer have I been confronted with such a painful decision, as when trying to prepare this budget proposal, and having to propose to my colleagues a budget balanced at the cost of meeting human needs, because we have to do with people. And who has the right to decide to whom we should give what, when all are in need?

I decided not to sit in the office to prepare the budget, but to go out and see with my own eyes at what human cost the budget was balanced. I walked through the streets of some of our big cities' neighborhoods. I had a tour of Jerusalem with Teddy Kollek, the Mayor, as my guide. I visited development towns, with our own AMI-GOUR directors as guides. I visited a program in Haifa University where we are helping to further the training and education of development town community leaders. Everywhere, I talked to the people who live in those places, and to those who are doing the job of trying to meet their needs.

I saw that this budget of \$541 millions will not move us much nearer in closing the social gap, that it will leave us with great areas of human needs unmet - in welfare, in housing, in education, in community facilities and community services which make the difference between mere subsistence and a decent life.

In Jerusalem, I walked with Mayor Teddy Kollek through some of the neighborhoods where there are thousands of families of the working poor, and many on welfare. These are usually large families, of Oriental origin. The social

problems are enormous, and aggravated by the fact that brand new immigrant housing is built right in front of them. I saw the blocks of housing for new immigrants built in front of those who live in slum conditions. How long can they remain in these conditions and not rebel against the situation which they and their children are facing every day? It is understandable that jealousy is created against new immigrants, and we cannot blame them. I see them for the wonderfully brave people they are, that they do not rebel. They are taking their situation stoically, patiently, and I say to you that I have never met in this world a greater patriotic people than those 65,000 families who are waiting. But for how long can we ask them to wait?

In this walk through Jerusalem, I also learned that it was possible to make life more livable for mothers terribly overburdened with the care of their many children and trying to make a decent home life for their families, with low incomes and over-crowded conditions. For example, by putting an automatic laundry into a neighborhood center, and by being able to do the huge laundry in a matter of three or four hours a week instead of a daily back-breaking job.

I saw how life could be made easier and better by putting a day care center in the neighborhood to take care of the preschool age children, so that the mother is free to go out and earn a precious supplement to the family's income.

I saw how our society can be strengthened by placing a youth worker in the neighborhood, so that hundreds of children and youth on the edge of delinquency find new and constructive interests, get broader horizons, raise the level of their educational achievement.

In a small development town where I visited just a short time ago - Netivot, in the Western Negev - I saw what citizens themselves can do, when the Jewish Agency helps them to help themselves. I saw young people assuming leadership. The head of the City Council is a young man of twenty-four years. I saw them organizing themselves into a Citizens Development Council, working in close cooperation with AMI-GOUR, our housing management Company, with the Municipality, with Government Ministries.

There are now classes to help backward pupils, a toy library where at little cost, culturally deprived parents

learn how to play with their own children and help the children to learn how to play. There are centers for the aged, shelters converted into youth clubs, workshops for retarded children - all those, and many more community services organized by the citizens themselves, with the relatively small financial assistance of the Agency and AMI-GOUR.

I saw what they had done to attract new immigrants - to absorb them - they themselves take care of absorption - as a total community effort. And I was proud to see in this community of Oriental origin - with what love they go to Ben-Gurion Airport and ask the Russian immigrants to come to settle in their town. Do you know why? Because they themselves were assisted, and they understand their own problems. They want to enrich their community with the skills and culture the Russian immigrants can give them.

I had visited Netivot three years ago, and there were many streets without sidewalks, without lighting. This time, I saw a whole town come alive, with the people of Netivot, now eight thousand strong, looking to the future with hope and confidence. How many more of those development towns could be the same if they would have the proper assistance and attention? It is not only money. It is also the counsel and attention. They are proud people. They are ready to help themselves. But somebody must care, somebody must help.

I mentioned the training programs at Haifa University where 65 development town workers are studying. Our friends in the Sepharadi community approached us with the idea, and we accepted. We didn't have the money in our budget, and we took it from our reserve.

It is a daring program. Here are 65 leaders of the communities in the development towns of the north, almost all of them between 25 and 45 years old - young, vigorous, dedicated leadership, and practically all of Oriental origin.

I spoke with a mayor of one of those cities, and I asked him: "Isn't it difficult for you to come every day to Haifa University? How many hours a day do you work?" He said "Twenty". He is a young fellow with a family to support, and he has to attend to his responsibilities in his city. I asked him: "Why do you want to do it? This is a course for three, four years to gain a degree." He answered: "I'll tell you the truth. I'm a 'self-made man'," he said in English, which he knew quite well. Then in

Hebrew: "When I come to Jerusalem, and I meet the higher authorities, I feel that I am not on the same level. I have to be just as they are - to have the proper knowledge, to have the proper education and if necessary, even more than they, so I can impress them even more with the needs of my community."

I saw 65 people like him at the University of Haifa. I saw the faculty, and I praise them, for they are doing this job voluntarily, and with great excitement. At the beginning, they were very doubtful about the result. But this is the year they are finishing, and they came to me and said, "Let's double it; instead of 65, let's have 120. And let's do the same thing at the Ben-Gurion University in the Negev, for the development towns there in the Negev." I said yes, we will do it, for 240 leaders of Israel's development towns.

The poor neighborhoods of our large cities, the development towns, the settlements that are still struggling -- these are the places where we see Israel's wonderful potential, our richest natural resource: our people. And these are the places where we can do so much with so little.

I saw not only how great the needs are, but how much we could do -- with so little -- to improve and safeguard the quality of life, and deal with social problems before they proliferate and become endemic.

I became convinced that an additional budget had to be prepared, not only in financial terms but in social terms -- because solving these problems at a later stage will be far more costly, both financially and socially.

I knew that the budget of \$541 millions was a budget of desperation. Therefore, I prepared the additional budget, in the amount of \$160 millions. It is a one-sided budget: just needs. It is a budget of the additional expenditures required this year to meet the needs we deferred last year when we had to reduce our budget, and which we deferred again when I prepared this year's budget of \$541 millions.

I submit to you, therefore, this supplementary budget of \$160 millions:

-- \$25 millions to speed up the process of consolidation of rural settlements, so that we will not have to put off any longer the brighter future we owe to those who settled on the barren hills of the Jerusalem Corridor and of the Galilee, in the days when those settlements stood guard over Israel's security, as so many of them -- like Kfar Yuval -- do today.

-- \$35 millions to extend our assistance to the elderly and to build old age homes for them, so that we will be able to provide a minimally decent existence for those whose age makes further postponement a mockery of their need.

-- \$17 millions to expand our work with children and youth, to be able to take children out of dangerous family situations, to rescue more thousands of youth from social and educational deprivation and add their rich potential to Israel's human resources.

-- \$69 millions so that thousands of immigrant families now living in temporary facilities will be able to get permanent housing in those places where they can find employment.

-- \$14 millions to complete the task of rehousing the large families living in over-crowded conditions in AMI-GOUR towns, and to improve and expand the facilities in the neighborhoods where they live.

I ask you again, my dear friends: how long must we continue to compromise with human distress?

I know what you are already doing in your campaigns throughout the world -- through the UJA and the Keren Hayesod campaigns. I know the economic problems you face in many countries. I know with what dedication you are working.

But I also know the resources of means and leadership and understanding in our Jewish communities. I know that, with all the great efforts you have made, we still have not mobilized to reach still greater heights of campaign achievement.

I ask you, therefore, to undertake the responsibility to raise this additional \$160 millions in your communities -- through increased campaigns, through financing the difference in your communities, if necessary.

The Jewish Agency, through its newly established Long-Range Planning Committee, is undertaking a process of self-examination with a view to the future -- to see what lies ahead for us, what our responsibilities will be in the next several years.

I call upon you, upon the Jewish communities of the free world, to join us in this process of long-range planning and mobilization of resources. I urge every community to do likewise: to fix the order of priorities of need, to evaluate its resources and potential to mobilize its strength to join with the other communities of the free world to assure that we will be able to meet all our responsibilities in the fullest measure.

The immigrants will come to Israel. They will come from the lands where they live in oppression, they will come from lands of freedom. The immigrants will come to Israel in increasing numbers. Let us make sure that Israel has the housing and the jobs and the programs to guarantee that we can absorb them at any time, in any numbers.

We are building here, in spite of all the difficulties, a just society, a living example for the entire world of man's concern for his fellow man, of social justice, where every citizen will be able to realize his fullest potential as a human being. Surely this is a challenge worthy of a people whose entire history calls upon us to build here that society of Jewish values, of freedom and human dignity.

I said at the beginning that a budget is an instrument of policy, an expression of collective goals and intention. Let your decisions at this Assembly express your determination, your faith that we will achieve our historic goals: the ingathering of the exiles, and the fulfilment of the dreams of our people;

-- the building of a society which will make every Jew, wherever he lives in the world, proud to say:

This is Israel. This is mine.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

"FROM ASSEMBLY TO ASSEMBLY"

Address by Mr. Moshe Rivlin, Director-General
June 18, 1975

I regret that my friend and colleague, Yitzhak Navon, is confined to bed and cannot be here this morning. I might add that most of my speech today was built on our relationship in Jerusalem in the last 45 years.

Yitzhak Navon was to speak on building one society in Israel. He is a Jerusalemite for many generations. His mother came from North Africa. My family came to Jerusalem 165 years ago from Russia. The two families lived in different quarters of Jerusalem, in entirely different circumstances. To have told the story of these two families would have been perhaps the best way of telling the story of building one society in Jerusalem and in Israel. Indeed, some future historian should write the stories of all those old families in Jerusalem, coming from the lands of North Africa and Asia and coming from Eastern Europe, and through these stories tell the story of building Israel.

All that I will tell you today is against the background of what you saw and heard last night at Yad Vashem. Nobody can really understand and feel the meaning of the Jewish State without remembering what took place only thirty years ago in Europe -- as we were reminded in last night's program. We cannot understand it without remembering that "mein shtetl brennt", Ponar -- where the Jews of Vilna were buried, and the ruins of Poland -- with its three million Jews and a thousand years of creative Jewish history. And from these ruins to the struggle for independence, the meaning of independence -- to Bab al-Wad, which is the gateway to Jerusalem, Jerusalem the living capital of Israel, and Jerusalem shel mala, the spiritual sense of that eternal city.

Then to the struggle of world Jewry today, the struggle on behalf of the Jews of the Soviet Union in their desire to come home to Israel -- "Kahol v'Lavan", "Anahnu v'Atem".

It is even more meaningful today when we are told that three of those who stood trial in Leningrad five years ago were released last Saturday from prison. We pray that soon we will be able to welcome them here in Israel. I know you join me in sending them, and the other Prisoners of Zion, and all of the Jews in the Soviet Union greetings from Jerusalem, on the fifth anniversary of that trial which marked a new chapter in the dramatic struggle of the Jews from the Soviet Union to join us here in Israel.

Last night we were at Yad Vashem. I am sure you noticed that in Jerusalem, which combines past and future, the Wailing Wall and all that is Jerusalem today, in the middle here there are three hills. One is Har ha-Zicharon, the Hill of Remembrance, for the six million who were killed in the Holocaust. On the other side is the military cemetery. And in the middle is Mount Herzl. Mount Herzl, named for the man who told us that if we will it, it will not be a legend, the man who told us that those Jews who really want it will get the Jewish State.

The only way to prevent another Holocaust is to build the Citadel of Zion. That is the vision which led us on the road to Zion. And remember that, without a vision, a people perishes. And without deeds, it remains a dream. God forbid that, while we are building, we should forget the dream. Let us continue to build, let us continue to dream.

From Assembly to Assembly, last year and this year. When I think about what took place in the last few days, it is exactly like last year. You will remember that when you came to the Assembly last year, two days before, the terrorist attack in Shamir took place. And this year, two days before the Assembly, not far from Shamir, the terrorist attack in Kfar Yuval. And again, katyushas in Nahariya and Kiryat Shmona.

Kfar Yuval. Who can describe the drama of this village next to the border of Lebanon? It was built by Jews who came to Israel from Cochin, in India. Who can tell the story of Nevatim in the south, Messilat Tsion on the road to Jerusalem, and Kfar Yuval on the border of Lebanon? Of a wonderful Jewish

community from Cochin, what they achieved, what they built. When we planned the field trips for the Assembly, our first choice for those who went to the Galilee was to take them to Kfar Yuval. Because we wanted you to see what Jews from India can do. We wanted you to see the flourishing garden they built.

The night that tragedy took place, a performance had been planned in Kfar Yuval, a performance on the theme "We shall overcome". What did they tell us, at Kfar Yuval? We are OK. We will continue. We will overcome. That is Kfar Yuval, and that is all the settlements and villages on the border of Lebanon.

They have to build, and they have to be ready to defend themselves.

Today, my friends, is June 18. Only once in my lifetime did I have the privilege -- the great privilege -- of speaking with the first President of Israel, Dr. Chaim Weizmann. June 16, 1946 was an historic day in the struggle for the independence of Israel. Palmach units, on that night, which is called the Night of the Bridges, Lay'l HaGesharim, destroyed all the bridges between us and the Arab countries. One of them was the Allenby Bridge, which was destroyed by a Palmach unit under the command of the man who is today the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Haim Bar-Lev.

On June 18, two days later, Chaim Weizmann was in Jerusalem. I was in one of the Haganah offices when I got a call from Mrs. Medzini in the Jewish Agency, asking me if we already had the pictures of the Allenby Bridge after the destruction. I told her yes, and she asked if I could come over to the Jewish Agency with those pictures. When I arrived, she told me to go to another room and show the pictures to Professor Weizmann.

I don't have to describe to you what was my feeling, as a youngster, to go to the greatest Jew of that generation and to show him pictures of that action. I wasn't sure what his attitude would be to that action. He took the pictures, looked at them closely (it was difficult for him to see), looked at me and said in Yiddish, "A gut shtickel arbeit". But then

he said, "Look, I want to tell you something. You are a young man. I'm not sure what will happen to me. But I am sure that you and your generation will see a Jewish State. Tell your generation I wish and pray that when they will reach a bridge, they will not ask what is needed to explode that bridge. They will ask themselves what is needed to build that bridge."

Unfortunately, we were forced to learn, and to teach the younger generation, the story of the dynamite. And because we were forced to fight wars, we don't always see that in spite of the wars, we did build bridges. Yes, we did build.

Let me speak to you now on what has happened from Assembly to Assembly. I know there are some delegates who ask: "What is an Assembly?" Another meeting? Do we really have to come to Israel to listen to more speeches? My friends, I beg you to take the resolutions of the three Assemblies and to see what those Assemblies achieved, to see that all the decisions made by those Assemblies were acted upon. More than that, you will see that many things we are doing today were initiated by the Assemblies and by members of the Assemblies of the Jewish Agency.

Take the plan for Youth Aliyah to go into an entirely new direction and dimension, the decision of the last Assembly about the building up of the Galilee, the consolidation of the settlements. Take our work in bridging the social gap. Or the Assembly discussion on the problem of single and elderly people among the new immigrants, and the program to build 4,500 units for them.

How shall I describe last year? I would like every one of you to spend a Thursday morning in the office of the Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive in Tel Aviv. He has a policy that every immigrant who wishes can come to see him. Without an appointment, without a secretary barring the way -- the door is open. If you really want to know what are our problems of absorption -- those that belong to the Agency, to the Ministry of Absorption, to the Ministry of Housing, come each Thursday and you will see 20 or 30 people standing outside the Chairman's office. One after another, they come in and meet with Mr. Sapir, they tell him what is on their minds, in their hearts. Then, you will really feel the problems of absorption. Then you will really feel what was done in that field.

What was done? Think of the 105,000 immigrants who came from the Soviet Union in the last four years. When we speak about "drop-outs", we tend to forget that, of those who came to Israel, only four or five percent left. And today, we can tell the story of these 100,000 Jews -- a creative, constructive element in all fields of work in the State of Israel.

Go to the universities, to the hospitals, to the factories. You will find there immigrants who are happy in their work. Those are not the stories you hear. You hear the stories of those few not yet fully absorbed. But you must keep in mind that vast majority who are already, today, a most creative element in Israel.

Take another chapter, agricultural settlement. When we speak about the need to consolidate 152 settlements, that is already stage four. The process began shortly after the Six-Day War. The fact is that there are almost 300 settlements which are already consolidated. And in order to understand what this means, you must understand what the Galilee means for us today. On that border, we have 23 agricultural settlements: 15 moshavim and 8 kibbutzim, one of them Kfar Yuval.

We had problems in those settlements even when the border was quiet -- social problems, economic problems. Kfar Yuval started mainly with Jews from Kurdistan, until the group of Jews from Cochin came there. And the same goes for other villages. But see those villages during this past year, when they were really on the front line. See the social strength, their stability, with the second generation already begging us to settle them in their own settlements or nearby.

Take the Galilee where there are nearly 150,000 non-Jews and 62,000 Jews. Again, I remind you that the plan for the Galilee was prepared by the Settlement Department after a decision taken by the last Assembly. Today, we are ready to move.

It's not only the problem of the emptiness of the Galilee. It's the loneliness of the people. It's the problem of the nineteen to twenty thousand young people in the second generation, with which we have been dealing in the last few years. Three thousand were absorbed in the old moshavim. Seven hundred of them are serving today as teachers in those moshavim. Hundreds

of them are university graduates, and today more than one thousand from those settlements are studying in the universities. Then you will understand what we mean when we speak of our role in helping to close the social gap.

Go, for example, to the David Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (that also helps to show our role in higher education), and you will see a university where most of the students are new immigrants or people from the development towns and the agricultural settlements in the Negev.

So that you will understand what all this means to us, let me tell you about the conference of the Moshavim Movement -- Tnuat Hamoshavim -- held a few weeks ago in Ein Vered. Almost 250 moshavim are incorporated in that movement. Most of them were populated in the last twenty to twenty-five years by Jews who came from North Africa, from Persia. Today, they are the leadership of the movement.

Take the three main speakers at that conference -- the three people who organized the conference, delivered the keynote speeches. They are the story of Israel. They are the story of the Jewish Agency, the story of the Jewish people.

One of them came to Israel from Tunisia. His agricultural experience in Tunisia was that he prepared himself to be either a shochet or a goldsmith. Here, he went to a place in the Negev called Gilat. Today, it is one of the most flourishing settlements in Israel. It was only 15 or 16 years ago, that this man was suggested to be the director of the regional company which deals with those settlements. They came to this man who immigrated from Tunisia and settled in Gilat and said, "He will be a director". Today, Aharon Uzan is the Minister of Agriculture, and Minister of Communications in the State of Israel. Aharon Uzan is the Minister of Agriculture today because he represents the agricultural family in Israel, because in the last fifteen years, as deputy Minister and as Secretary-General of the Moshavim Movement, he showed his ability to lead.

The second of these three leaders came from a village in Libya. In order to come to Israel, he had to go from Libya to Rome, and then on a ship with illegal immigrants to Israel. "You know when I learned what is the real meaning of being a Jew -- the real meaning of Zionism?" he told us. "In World War II, in Tripoli, in Libya when Jewish soldiers from Palestine came

to Tripoli. When they met the Jewish community in Tripoli, they didn't meet them as soldiers, but as Jews to Jews -- as Shlichim, as Chalutzim. Then it was clear to me that my place is in Eretz Yisrael".

He also told us: "Do you know when I really understood the meaning of the unity of the Jewish people?" We saw it last night at Yad Vashem. He came on an illegal ship which was stopped by British troops and was sent back to Cyprus. There was a storm, the ship couldn't reach the harbour, and they had to go down in small boats. There were twenty of them in his boat, and he looked around and said: "Twenty Jews from fifteen countries -- from the Holocaust and from Libya. That boat was in danger, and suddenly one Jew started to sing, and all of us joined him. Until today, I hear that song of unity".

That man is not only the builder of one of the most flourishing settlements in the South, Hatzav, not only was he the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, but he spoke at that Conference on the Agricultural society in a modern era. That is Benzion Chalfon, an immigrant from Libya.

And the third one lives not far from Jerusalem, in a moshav called Ora, a Jew who came from Kurdistan. Yehezkiel Zakkai, today the Deputy Secretary-General of Tnuat Hamoshavim. Kurdistan, Libya, Tunisia -- people who built wonderful settlements, became leaders of a settlement movement. That is not bridging a gap -- that is building a model society of one Jewish people in the State of Israel.

It is difficult to believe it, when you see letters sent by the young people of the second generation of the old moshavim, who went -- seventeen, eighteen, nineteen years ago -- to help the new moshavim. They wrote to Levi Eshkol, to David Ben-Gurion: "For the next 25 years, forget there is even a possibility that those people will be able to run their moshavim". And when a place called Mivtachim was attacked, there was a letter which said, "We are not sure if those people will be able to stand against attacks and fire". See them today: in Kfar Yuval, in Zar'it, in Mivtachim. Then you will understand the full meaning of Israel in that story. That is why when we speak about the forest, we must remember to see the trees.

Let me now tell you something about Aliyat Hanoar, Youth Aliyah. It is wonderful to say that an Assembly decided to take in 4,500 youth from areas of distress, from deprived families. Then it became 6,100 youth, and then over 10,000, out of the 14,000 children in Youth Aliyah. Yes, today over 10,000 youth are from those families.

To understand the story, go not far from Jerusalem, fifteen minutes, to a village called Kiryat Yearim. See the 160 youngsters -- listen to their story. A year ago, they didn't attend school, they were a part of street gangs. Today, some of them will talk with you about music, modern art.

To understand it even better, look at who is running that village in Kiryat Yearim. A young man called Eli Ophir. He came with his family from Iraq to Beit Shemesh when Beit Shemesh was only a ma'abara -- a transition camp. He was taken to a Youth Aliyah institution at Revivim. When he came back, Beit Shemesh was already a development town with a youth day center of Youth Aliyah. He started to work in that day center in Beit Shemesh. He is already a university graduate in education, and he is continuing his studies. He told us: "What I am doing here is perhaps an attempt to pay my debt to Youth Aliyah. But whatever I will do, I cannot pay it".

Consider the work we are doing with marginal youth. Consider not only the forty to fifty thousand youngsters that we help, but take the story of youth from kibbutzim in the Oded Movement, of Re'im in the Scout Movement. Before going into the army, they spend a year in a development town, living together, working, teaching. In Dimona, they are working to help the kids of new immigrants who came from Russia and Georgia. Go to Kiryat Malachi, Yerucham, Beit Shemesh, Mitzpe Ramon and you will see them there, working with youth of earlier immigrants.

Go from one community to another and see those who are getting university scholarships. I mentioned the wonderful group of Jews from Cochin. Once a year, we have a ceremony, here in the Jewish Agency building, to give out scholarships to youngsters from Cochin who are attending institutions of higher learning. Each year, between fifty and sixty youth from Cochin, attending Ben-Gurion University and Bar-Ilan and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It is hard to believe. You already have hundreds of those youngsters who are university graduates.

Then take our work in the field of education. Don't look at the last ten years of the Israel Education Fund, or the last six or seven years of what is called the Sapir Fund. Take only what was done in that field from the last Assembly until today: thirty-seven prekindergartens, thirteen nurseries, seven high schools. Add to these at least one hundred more institutions in the process of construction.

I don't have to explain to you what that means to the development towns, to the children of these towns. But I would like to explain what it means in relation to the Jewish community, to a couple who gave to help build such a school. I don't know if Henry and Edith Everett are here in the hall. They helped to build a comprehensive high school in Hatzor in the Galilee. It's much more than a school they built there. Henry Everett not only became an honorary citizen of Hatzor, but it looks as though their whole life is Hatzor. Two weeks ago, I got a letter from Henry, in which he writes: "We have arranged with the Weizmann Institute for an innovative science camp this summer in Hatzor. Students will be enrolled from Hatzor and Rosh Pina. Subjects for learning and discussion will be electronics, biology, mathematics, chemistry. The kibbutz movement of the Upper Galilee will operate a two-week day camp for 120 to 160 Hatzor youngsters this summer under the direction of Yitzhak Sasson. The camps will be hosted by six to eight kibbutzim in this area. The intention is also for each camper to be adopted by a kibbutz family. An outstanding group of field volunteers from America will be living and working in Hatzor in July and August. The group will work with young people in Hatzor".

Here you have three operations connected with the work of the Jewish Agency. The development towns, the kibbutz movement, Sherut La'am. Today, the Everetts are emissaries of Hatzor all over the United States. And all over Israel, you will see what was built with the money of the Israel Education Fund.

We speak about "quality of life", and we speak about 40,000 families in AMI-GOUR apartments. In the last two Assemblies we dealt with providing them with a decent minimum of housing space. You were told already at this Assembly that this job is almost finished. Now AMI-GOUR is going over to another area: the quality of life.

The quality of life for 40,000 families, for a quarter-of-a-million Jews. That is the story we must bring back home: What we did, and what we must do. Last year, when I addressed the Assembly, I was asked, on the same day, to represent the Jewish Agency at the ground-breaking ceremony of a school being built, with money of the Israel Education Fund in Katamon in Jerusalem. I thought to myself: another school. When I came there and learned the story, I told myself: here you have Israel, world Jewry, the Jewish Agency in a nutshell. It started in the famous ma'abara of Talpiot. Tens of thousands of immigrants lived there, in terrible conditions, in 1949, and 1950 and 1951. People asked us, why did you bring them to the "asbestonim", or to build those houses in Katamon and in Kiryat Yovel? I know one thing, that in the first eighteen months of Statehood, 350,000 Jews came to Israel.

I know one other thing, that after the War of Independence, one of the top priorities was to bring more and more Jews to Jerusalem. And they are there, mainly Jews from Oriental countries. A school there in Katamon is a very important thing, especially a comprehensive school. Then I was told the story about a Jew in New York by the name of Mr. Schneider. He helped to build that school. But he did not ask that the school be named after him. One day in North Africa, when he was on a business trip, he met a wonderful Jew, Mr. Spanien. For the last ten or fifteen years, all he did was to try to save Jews from North Africa, and to bring them to Israel. Mr. Spanien passed away half a year ago. Mr. Schneider was so impressed with the work that Mr. Spanien was doing that, while Mr. Spanien was alive, he joined him on a trip to Israel. He met those kids in Katamon and in other places, and he decided to build a school in Katamon for those kids, and that the school should be named the Spanien School.

A Jew from New York, building a school in Jerusalem named after a Jew in Paris, because his life was dedicated to Jews coming from North Africa.

Then I learned another thing. Everybody in Jerusalem knows the Ma'ale School -- one of the best schools in Jerusalem. I learned that the principal of Ma'ale School, Dr. Boleh, who had reached the age of retirement, came as a volunteer to the Ministry of Education and to the Municipality of Jerusalem, and

said, "I would like to go to Katamon to be the principal of that school". My friends, Dr. Boleh is not only one of the best educators in Israel. On the first day of the Six-Day War, he lost his son, a pilot, here in Jerusalem, and in the War of Attrition he lost his daughter in the Golan. A man, at his age, after the tragedy of losing a son and a daughter, to be ready to start a new chapter and to go to work in Katamon: are there really words to express it?

Bialik once called upon the Jewish people: "Hisfu Or, Galu Or". "Reveal the light, the light is within us, the light is here". See, take it back with you as a torch for the road to Jerusalem, for us here and for Jews everywhere.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, JUNE 16 - 19, 1975

ADDRESS BY MR. YIGAL ALLON
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs
June 18, 1975

Today, I would like to concentrate on one topic only, not because there are no other important ones, maybe no less important, but simply because this very topic is in the news, and I'm sure that you're interested to know a little more than one can read in the papers. I am speaking about the necessity for an interim agreement between Israel and Egypt, and I wish I could say more than I am going to say. I do hope it will be achieved, although nobody can promise us that, through the good offices of the United States Government.

When the shuttle diplomacy of Dr. Kissinger was suspended, the feeling was created, in the United States and elsewhere, that it was not just a suspension -- it was a crisis, some people said collapse. It was a fashionable word at that time, particularly after the sad events in Indochina.

But when I travelled across the United States, in addition to defending the case of Israel and dropping some hints about the necessity for cash, I went out of my way to explain to my listeners, and I'm glad I proved to be right, that it was neither a crisis nor a collapse. It was a suspension, exactly the word that was used in the official communique, which was published simultaneously in Washington, Jerusalem and Cairo. Suspension of a peace effort is quite bad enough, quite sad enough. Why should one make it even worse? Or why should one make it appear worse than the situation really was? And I did hope then, and I still hope today, that an interim agreement was a necessity for all parties concerned. An agreement can be reached and can be preserved as long as it serves the interests of all parties concerned. And I truly believe that an interim agreement is needed by us, by Egypt, and if it helps the interests of the United States of America, so much the better.

And it is rather a fortunate situation that, of all powers in the world, it is America which can play, and I hope will play, a major role in the peace-making process in the Middle East. No other country can do it, simply because, until now, and I hope it won't change soon, it is only America which did not try to crystallize a plan based on her own interpretation of Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council. All the others, unfortunately, tried to offer their interpretations, particularly of Resolution 242, and in most cases against the spirit of that resolution and against the official interpretation which was given time and time again by the sponsor of the resolution, namely, Britain. And it was America that managed to show the world that it was possible to maintain good relations with Israel and with a number of Arab countries without sacrificing the interests of one in order to win the sympathy of the other. What I am going to say now is not liked by British audiences, but, since this is in another context, it will be tolerated.

I really think that America never had it so good in the Middle East as during the last few years. Not that everything goes smoothly, but comparatively speaking, if you compare today's situation with that of ten years ago, five years ago, you will find the situation, for America in particular, and for the West in general, much better today than ever before. And this is a great deal, thanks to the fact that America managed to draw a red line which all the Arab countries know that they must not cross; that America is not going to sacrifice Israel for the sake of Arab support; that America is seeking coexistence and peace in the area, a peace which should serve the interests of all the parties concerned.

This does not mean that we see eye-to-eye with the United States Government on every problem, whether in the world at large or the Middle East in particular, as the very fact that the Kissinger talks had to be suspended testifies. I was very sorry that Israel was described as the one which was not flexible enough in this context. So we have another point of argument, and I'm not excluding the possibility of further arguments in the future. But if I may repeat what the Secretary of State said about it: these are arguments within the family.

I know that some people tend to give personal interpretations to political events, speculating whether this person likes Israel or is friendly to Israel, or not friendly to Israel and so on.

This reminds me of a story about Kissinger's attitude towards the Jews and Israel. An American Jew came to Golda Meir to complain against Kissinger, and said: "You know what Kissinger said? He said that first he's an American, secondly he's Secretary of State, thirdly he's a Jew." Golda said: "It doesn't matter, in Israel we read from right to left."

So there was a suspension. Probably it was inevitable at that particular time, and I'm very glad that the political momentum has been revived again on the initiative of President Ford, who, in his message to the Joint Session of Congress on the state of the world, declared that America was going to play a major role in the peace-making process in the Middle East.

America was against stagnation, America was against war, and the President hoped that America would play a role, whether within the framework of the Geneva Conference, or, as he put it, outside, or in any other forum.

We couldn't agree more because we never preached stagnation, we never wanted war -- all our wars were imposed upon us. We always thought that America should play, and could play, and was the only one which could play a major role in the drive towards peace. We too are ready to play our part, and this is rather an essential part, whether in Geneva or in any other forum, provided that America would offer her good offices and would not try to put forward her ideas.

Before Prime Minister Rabin left for Washington, we had a Cabinet meeting. And we decided that Israel was interested in an interim agreement provided that Egypt showed parallel readiness to reconsider her stubborn positions. Israel may reconsider some of her positions. And Yitzhak Rabin went to Washington with the blessing of the Cabinet to do his best to pave the way for renewed negotiations in order to reach an interim agreement.

I think I can say that we are just now engaged in a renewed political effort to achieve an interim agreement between us and Egypt. We are interested in such an agreement, in spite of the difficulties and even dangers which are connected with it.

Israel sees an interim agreement as the only practical way, in the foreseeable future, to achieve some progress towards peace; to avert a possible but not inevitable war; to relax the area; to improve the attitudes of the parties to the conflict which is so important in order to create a better environment which may lead subsequently to peace.

The Prime Minister, in his talks in Washington, has achieved considerable progress in bridging over the wide gaps which remained between Israel's aims and proposals and the Egyptians' position, when the talks were suspended in March. I think that this progress is significant and important.

We shall do our best to conclude this effort with positive results. But this can be achieved only if those talks will not be conducted under any pressure or any threat from any source. When I read what some of the Egyptian leaders have to say about it, when they make statements to the effect that if this effort fails there will be no alternative but war, they are missing the point -- because the more radical speeches and statements they make, the less inclined we will be to concede.

There is no need for any war or any threat of war, because we are not the kind of people who will bow to pressure. Nor should our American friends give undue weight to their reassessment to make us a little bit concerned about the possible change in America's policy vis-a-vis Israel, because we are interested in such an agreement -- maybe more than America, for we are directly connected with the problem.

And it isn't good that the Egyptians, or any other Arab countries, will reach the wrong conclusions, that anything they want they can get through the United States of America. Therefore, no dramatic actions are needed. And those negotiations cannot be conducted in a pressure cooker. Patience, relaxation, goodwill. And if in one trip we do not achieve what we want, there can be other trips and other attempts until we get the agreement signed.

Now, when we speak about the necessity of an interim agreement with Egypt, we do not intend to drive a wedge, as some people suggested, between Egypt and the rest of the Arab world, vis-a-vis the future relations between us and the other Arab countries. This is not the aim. The aim is rather to give

momentum to a positive movement which may create the right attitude, the right mood, because an interim agreement is important not only as an end in itself, which may secure a number of years of tranquility and will open the way for further negotiations. We need it, and the other Arab countries need it in order to achieve a full-fledged peace treaty accompanied by mutually accepted security arrangements.

Of course, I wouldn't predict what would be the results of this effort, because you know what happened to the Prophets since the destruction of the Second Temple. And I'm afraid that even after the reunification of Jerusalem, wisdom has not been seen to come back to prophets. But I can promise you, whether some like it or dislike it, that as far as the Government of Israel is concerned, we shall miss no opportunity to achieve this agreement, because it may help to pave the road for further steps. And no Arab country is excluded.

I am sure that, by the end of the process, which may last a little while, there will be no problem left unsolved, for I fully believe that it will be possible to solve all problems which exist between us and the Arab countries, including the problem of the identity of the Palestinians (and I am not referring to the PLO -- I am referring to the real community which is living in our midst).

On the contrary, I think there is not a single problem which can be solved by military means. And other wars can only create new problems.

Of course, there are certain conditions which should guide us in drawing the lines of such an agreement, of deciding upon the basic elements of such an agreement.

Such an agreement must put an end to hostilities, to active hostilities. Such an agreement must be a step towards peace. Such an agreement should leave in our hands a certain incentive to the other side to be willing to continue the process of peacemaking. And such an agreement must offer us the necessary security which is maybe the first consideration.

And when people look for symmetry, they are wrong, because these are different concessions. While we are dealing with so-called real estate, with tangible property, they have to offer us mostly political and legal concessions. But this is

the nature of the situation. And we know that one cannot expect from a limited agreement what one can expect from a comprehensive agreement, in the same way that one cannot expect the results of a comprehensive agreement to equal those from an overall agreement which means peace and normalization.

If I had the free choice, of course I would have preferred an overall agreement which should be negotiated according to Resolution 338 of the Security Council without prior conditions -- a peace treaty which would satisfy most of the interests of the Arab side and would provide Israel with peace and secure (or defensible) borders.

But all experts from all over the world, including many Arabs, say this time has not yet come. Therefore, between a choice of stagnation and movement, I would have preferred as second best a comprehensive agreement -- a much wider agreement territorially, legally, politically and strategically, an agreement that would give us a longer period of tranquility which would make the chance for peace even greater than a limited interim agreement can.

Let us concentrate on achieving a limited agreement, because this is the only possible agreement which is being offered to us. Secondly, by such an agreement, we have not yet reached the end, the real target of our foreign policy, which has become major national policy -- and this is peace between us and the Arabs.

I don't want to say that the other side had already adopted a reasonable position. You can hear, from time to time, very disturbing statements which are being made here and there. Nevertheless, we cannot condition our readiness to negotiate upon a change of heart in the other side. This may last a generation, if it will be possible at all. But our aim is to create such conditions that may help gradually to change the attitude of the various parties to the conflict.

This is probably the right way that we have chosen. With our patience and readiness to negotiate on the one hand, and being militarily alert on the other (unfortunately, on Yom Kippur not enough on the alert; nevertheless, we won that terrible war) something worthwhile may emerge. And you can see that, since the famous barren three "no's" which the Arab summit adopted in Khartum in 1967, there is some change.

Therefore, let us welcome any change and try and make use of it. If we get it, we shall be very happy. If we don't, because the other side is intransigent, at least we shall know, our children will know, all of you will know that we did our best.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

ADDRESS BY MR. SHIMON PERES
Minister of Defense
June 19, 1975

There is an old common saying: "Praise the sea and remain on land." In dealing with the security problems of our country, I would strongly recommend that we remain on the terra firma of reality and regard the seas of opportunities, and distinguish between the two of them.

At a gathering of responsible Jewish leaders in such trying times, in so complex a situation, I believe there is no other way but to see things as they are - with their hopes, contradictions, conflicts, dangers and possibilities and try to weigh all of them in a comprehensive and balanced appreciation. What I really mean by comprehensive is to see the basic facts, which have not changed much, and some new elements which were detected in the realities over the last few years, and estimate correctly their present and future effects upon our life.

This group which sits here is responsible for probably one of the oldest civilizations in human experience, and one of the smallest peoples, that carries for such a long time such a heavy burden. And yet, in spite of all that, a people that has been able to live again on its own land, under its own rule - remaining in charge of the destiny and fate of ourselves and our children.

I shall start with a new introduction in the experience of the security of the State of Israel. There is no reason to deny it or cover it up, that is, a trend for peaceful settlement with some of the Arab countries. It is fresh, it is new, it is something which we should not ignore. But while saying it, let us look at the strength of these new trends and the reasons that brought them to their present point.

First of all, we can see that this change in the Arab attitude is rather a matter of announcement. It is, for the time being, a new declaration, not really a different conclusion from what they did until now. There is a readiness on the Arab part to recognize Israel - to recognize the existence of Israel, but an unwillingness to make peace with it right now and normalize the relations between the Jewish people and the Arab people, as they exist practically all over the world.

As a matter of fact, the person who is the spokesman for this new trend, President Sadat, made a qualification to this new reality (or new declaration, rather) by saying that this is not really the business of our generation. It is a promise. It is a statement, but it is no more than that. Yet, I don't take it lightly because I believe there are some real and serious reasons behind this new attitude in the Arab world.

The first and foremost of those reasons, I believe, is a serious disillusionment with war as an instrument either of advancing the Arab societies or otherwise solving the dispute between them and us. In a quarter of a century, the Arabs launched four wars against us. The results are poor. The price is heavy. The prospect is dim, in continuing this way. In the first war, in the War of Liberation, they lost the United Nations' resolution for the creation of a Palestinian state. They also lost land and prestige.

In the second war, in 1956, the Arabs lost a great deal of time and they brought in the Russians. In the third war, they again lost a great deal of land - Sinai, the Golan Heights, the West Bank. And in the fourth war, which is supposed to be the best as far as they're concerned, they didn't gain a thing. They lost again more land, people, chances and time.

And now I am thinking aloud. After all, Nasser and Sadat came to power in 1952 - they were a group of young men - in their late 20's or early 30's - with great hopes. They were dynamic, sincere, patriotic, with a world looking upon them with great expectations. Now, a quarter of a century later, Nasser, the leader is dead. His fellows are no longer young. I'm trying to think what would have happened if this group of leadership and revolution in Egyptian life would have devoted its energies and talents not to warmaking and war-losing, but really to changing the Arab realities: Egyptian poverty, the fate of their people.

First of all, let us not forget that Sinai was in their hands. The Golan Heights were in their hands. The West Bank was in their hands. Jerusalem was divided - partly in the hands of the Arabs. Egypt alone invested between 1967 and 1975 the fantastic amount of \$25 billion in the military machine. Had all those resources, talents and energies taken a different direction, where would Egypt be today? Where would we be? Where would peace in the Middle East stand today - geographically, politically and otherwise?

I can understand, therefore, that, at this very late hour, there is a beginning of disillusionment with war as a sole avenue for social or political progress.

They also say that one of the things that Nasser did was to get rid of the so-called imperialistic and colonialistic forces. He threw out the British from Suez and from Egypt. But he introduced a new force which, as we know, is completely imperialistic and colonialistic. I refer to Soviet Russia. And they are really unimperialistic in relation to other nations. That would be the right situation. And once Russia came in, all of a sudden, the Russians and the Arabs came to learn that the more Russians you have, the closer they are, the less you want to have them as close as they are.

I believe that, at this stage, Arab disappointment equals only the disappointment of Russia herself in her great endeavors in the Arab lands. It is a mutual disappointment. After hard labor and great investment for rather modest results. After 25 years in the Middle East, the most Leninist regime on earth had to escape to the most Leninist intellect in the Middle East (I refer to Gaddafi) is really a poor balance of the Russian effort in this part of the world.

I may ask the same question, by the way, about Soviet Russia. What would have happened if Communist Russia, which is supposed to concern itself with the fate and fortunes of the working class, instead of sending arms, had sent tractors, introduced industry, supported the people? Wouldn't Russia, herself, have emerged in a different situation, a different military, political and economic posture in the Middle East?

There is a third reason for the change in the Arab attitude. America, with practically no investment in Egypt - neither by way of arms nor by way of money, without a complete identification with the Egyptian position, with a little bit of charm, but not only charm; all of a sudden, discovered herself in a position of highly prestigious acceptance in the Middle East. I would not like to advise the United States on any issue, but if I may make a very modest comment, it would be that her friendship with Israel and her influence upon Israel saved her day in Egypt as well.

The most important single reason for the renewed appreciation of the United States in that part of the world is that the Arabs are beginning to learn something we knew a long time ago: that Moscow means belligerence; that Washington means settlement. Moscow is one-sided. Washington is trying to compromise - from time to time in the wrong direction, but never with the wrong intentions.

There is a fourth point which I would not ignore, and that is the burning and growing economic and social problems in the Arab lands themselves, particularly in Egypt. At the end of the 18th century, there were two million Egyptian people; by the end of the 19th century, ten millions. When the State of Israel was created,

there were 18 millions. Today there are close to 40 millions. And over the last century, Egypt did not become four times richer - neither in natural resources nor in human skills.

The population growth in Egypt is being enriched every year by a million newly-born babies in a land of great poverty. This is combined with a new phenomenon, which was unknown in the 6,000 years of Egyptian history. Egypt used to be a nation with some small, charming cities, where the rich and the privileged were supported by the labor and toil of masses of felachin - farmers. Over the last decade especially, there was a steep rise in the urbanization of Egyptian society. Cairo today is officially a city of seven or eight million people, unofficially 11 million people. This means that today, in Cairo alone, there are more people than there used to be in the whole of Egypt at the beginning of this century.

I should like to recommend, the little I know about government, that if you have a choice, be a government of villages, never a government of cities. Whoever has doubts, I refer him to New York City, which was well prepared for her size. When you have a city civilization, you have all the problems on earth beginning with inflation, pollution, poor services, and culminating in an inferior quality of life. Sadat, who started his experience and leadership in rural Egypt, is now reaching the peak of his strength in a completely different environment. I feel that they seriously believe there are real issues that they have to cope with.

And there is a fifth reason which I wouldn't like to minimize. If there is a change of heart among the Arab people, it is very much because of what is being called the intransigence of the State of Israel. Had we not stood up for our own point of view, time after time, in peace and in war, nobody would recognize us. I don't know of any power in the world, Western or Eastern, who can be or would be more pro-Israel than we Israelis ourselves. And whoever wants to compromise the Israel position, in the hope that this will be compensated for by somebody else, may I say to the very generous gentleman that his judgment is, in my judgment, immature.

It is very much because very deep-rooted moral conviction of what is right and wrong, not what is great and small, in Jewish life in the Middle East that begins to make an impression not only upon our friends, but very much so upon our enemies, enemies that have nominated themselves for the role. We would like to see them as neighbors.

While I see this new change, and am trying to estimate its weight, its seriousness, I have had to qualify it as I did, saying that, for the time being, it is only a declared position, not yet

a real one, and that this is a very fresh reluctance, new in the political experience of the Middle East. It is new; it is promising. It is weak and hesitant. It is an attempt, not yet a final decision. It is contradicted by another trend, better known to us and which has not disappeared at all. On the contrary, it has gathered strength and has become more dangerous and worrying in its outlook and concept. In addition to the military build-up on the outside, there is an inner wish for peace - but yet a build-up for war.

This is being expressed briefly in the following way:

Syria was never better equipped than it is today. It has the largest airforce in the Middle East, larger than Egypt. Syria receives the latest types of Russian missiles in all three dimensions - ground-to-ground, ground-to-air, air-to-air.

Egypt has not only changed her political orientation, but also her purchasing market for arms. Maybe, it is refreshing, but certainly worrying as well to see the Egyptian leaders visiting Paris so often and not for wine; and visiting London, not for democracy, trying to buy the best arms available, while carrying on with a terribly poor and more ignorant society in Egypt. When it comes down to it, they can rely upon the support and generosity of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Abu Dhabi. Furthermore, the Egyptians have begun to build arms industry. And the amounts invested in the purchase of Western arms and in the construction of their own military infrastructure are unparalleled in the Middle East. We have to remember also that some new countries have crossed the military road and are beginning to become military powers, not just economic ones.

Saudi Arabia is in the first stage of a real military build-up. They are buying a lot of arms, constructing new military cities and military bases, sending its soldiers to be trained abroad, inviting instructors to train its own army at home. Again, I may say with a smile: I believe this is a Saudian mistake, a royal mistake. Saudia is being run by 2,000 princes, which is already a sizeable ruling population. But once the king and the princes will build an army, I believe the generals may make the life of the princes not quite as princely as it was until now. I am sure that the build-up of military tanks in Saudi Arabia will change the fate of that country in a relatively short time. But in the meantime, it will become a country not just of princes, but of generals as well.

Jordan is again speeding up her military build-up, and I notice that the Egyptians are worried about the military build-up in Libya. I can understand why. A combination of the most developed Russian techniques and the most fanatic Arab minds holds no great promise for Egypt, for peace, or for the Middle East. This is certainly a point on which I am in complete agreement with the Egyptian leadership.

There are changes taking place in Lebanon, not yet of a military nature, but a Moslem majority is becoming impatient with the Christian minority. Everybody talks about the Palestinian issue. Thank Heaven, nothing wrong has happened to the Palestinian people in this country, at least not on an individual basis or as regards community life. In the meantime, however, two minorities have got themselves into a terrible situation: the Kurds in Iraq, and the Christians in Lebanon. The whole progressive world, which is so much worried about the relations between majorities and minorities, somehow has taken little or no notice of the oppression of the Kurds in Iraq, or of the difficulties which the Christian people are experiencing today in Lebanon. If the Palestinians would ask of us what the Kurds asked from the Iraqis, we would give it gladly without the slightest argument. But the minority request in Iraq has met with a hail of shells and bullets.

The last point on the military worry list is the P.L.O. While Sadat speaks almost in the language of a prophet, he supports one of the most dangerous organizations, as far as peace in the Middle East is concerned, the P.L.O.

The P.L.O. is not without a political program, since it stands committed to liquidate the State of Israel. It is supported financially, politically and otherwise by both the moderate and extremist forces in the Arab world. This seeming contradiction created a serious and basic problem for us: when it comes to war, the Arab people is able to unite. When it comes to peace, however, peace divides them into at least two camps, and we can have, at best, a settlement with a part of the Arab world, never with the whole of it. This means that, at most, we can have a partial settlement, never a complete one. If we shall have a settlement with Egypt, we shall face an impatient Syria. If we shall have a settlement with Egypt and Syria, we shall face a division between Jordan and the P.L.O. We shall have a dissatisfied Libya, plus the P.L.O., plus Iraq - all pressing to continue the Arab march along the military avenue.

The military effort in the Arab world has reached a level as regards investment, arms and armies hitherto unknown in this region and, from time to time, exceeding that of the NATO Organization in terms of numbers of soldiers and quantity, quality and variety of arms.

No wonder, then, that when we look at the present negotiations between Egypt and ourselves, we can see that Egypt is insisting on matters which are basically of military importance. As you know, on the interim agreement, on the step-by-step settlement, Egypt insists on two points. One is the oil fields, which we gave away - I wouldn't say gladly - but immediately, and we are not a country that suffers from a surplus of oil. This is one of the most

important economic and strategic items in our national consideration, yet we gave it away.

Also, the Egyptians wanted a better arrangement along the Bay of Suez, not just the Suez Canal. We went a very long way to meet this demand.

When it comes to the passes, the Giddi and the Mitla Passes, which are, after all, two mountains helping a nation short of manpower to defend the entrances to its own country, Egypt insists that Israel should actually evacuate them and allow Egypt to gain a hold upon them. You know, when you have enough people, you can sacrifice mountains - you can put a line of people to protect your border. But when you are short in manpower, mountains are a replacement. You put on the top of the mountains some observation posts so as to keep your country free from a surprise attack. Dr. Kissinger always used to laugh at us - that we like elevated places. Well, there is nothing wrong in loving high places, but we like elevated places because of the shortages that we experience in other fields.

When it comes to the total negotiations, the readiness of the Arabs to show themselves capable of compromise, it is very limited, almost non-existent. These compromises are very necessary in order to correct old mistakes, to compensate for new weapons, to respond to changes in reality. Without going into the whole strategy of it, let me give examples in relation to each of these situations.

Take the Straits of Tiran, take the piece of land that Israel is demanding between Sharm-el-Sheikh and Eilat. We have never dreamed of being in Sharm-el-Sheikh. It was never our national aim. Why, then, are we in Sharm-el-Sheikh? Because we had to fight at least two wars to guarantee the freedom of navigation in the Straits of Tiran. In the wake of one war, the Americans committed themselves to assist in maintaining free navigation. The United Nations decided on it. The sea-going nations committed themselves to maintaining this freedom of navigation. The Egyptians gave a straight and clear promise that they would respect it, a direct promise without having recourse to the good offices of Washington. Everybody committed themselves. Yet, several years later, the Straits of Tiran were blockaded. Again war. Again threats. Who can really and seriously advise us to return to the same situation which led to a broken promise and war, a situation which actually endangered the peace of Egypt and ourselves?

New weapons. In 1947 there were not any "personal" missiles. The combination in our time of international terrorism and highly sophisticated weapons is becoming a problem for all nations. In any event, in 1947 there were not any Sam 6's or Sam 7's. Neither was there a missile which you could fire from your shoulder at an

aircraft taking off or already airborne, or a missile you could direct from your waist at a tank far away.

In 1947, a Palestinian State would really have served some purpose. But the Arabs who controlled the West Bank from 1948 to 1967 never agreed to create such a Palestinian State, for Arab reasons - not for Jewish reasons. But a Palestinian State today, governed by a coalition of Arafat and Jabril, possessing these kinds of missiles, would leave the take-off of every plane from Ben-Gurion Airport at the mercies of those people, of that State. No plane would be able to fly in the most populated part of Israel. No vehicle would be safe on our roads. This is a new situation because there are new weapons.

And then, of course, there are the changing realities. The Jerusalem of 1975 is not the Jerusalem of 1948. And the difference is not in the date -- the difference is in the city, in the realities, in human life, in the whole composition of this part of the land. We are dealing with a combination of four elements:

- the new trend for settlement by negotiation, which we have to support, and to support even to a point where we shall have to take risks;

- the old tradition of belligerency, creating a danger which we cannot deny;

- the fact that the Arab world maintains its hostile unity, and is unable to unite itself for a positive undertaking; and

- the changing factors in the whole situation, which leaves us, for the time being, with no alternative but to adopt a step-by-step policy leading to an interim or partial solution.

For the time being, this is a desire. We do not have, as yet, an agreement with Egypt, nor do we see eye-to-eye with our American friends on all outstanding issues. I am sure that we agree with the United States about the major direction, about the real priority. But, in regard to details, as it happens, we differ.

I would like to go a step further, and, since I consider this a very serious gathering, I feel it is my duty to sound a note of warning. Even if we shall achieve an agreement with Egypt, we must not succumb to the illusion that all the problems will be solved. Very far from it. It may support a move in a better direction. But it will not relieve either you or us of the many problems and difficulties that lie ahead. Even if we shall achieve the agreement we seek, neither you, as leaders of Jewish life, nor we, as officers of the Israeli government, should not live under the illusion that on the morrow of such an agreement, everything will become perfect and easy and simple. That is not the case, for if

we shall reach an agreement with Egypt, we shall have Syria trying to organize a new danger and a new front, as indeed they are doing today, a front comprising Lebanon, Iraq, Syria and Jordan - equipped and supported by Soviet Russia.

If there will be such an agreement, it will be considered, and rightly so, an American success. We shall have to face a hostile Soviet Russia which will go from one place to another to look for clients in a region which was never short of willing clients to be armed by Soviet Russia.

If we shall have an agreement with Egypt and Syria, the dispute between Jordan and the P.L.O. will be expressed in a competition of militancy towards Israel, the Jordanians appearing more pro-Arab and the P.L.O. continuing their terror. If we shall have an interim agreement, let's face it, the United States of America will not cease her efforts to better her position in the Arab lands. I don't complain. I'm just stating a fact.

The partial exclusiveness which characterized American-Israeli relations for a rather long time will never return to its old form. I hope that the double effort of America to support Israel on the one hand, and to make her way in the Arab countries on the other, will not affect the depth of friendship between our two countries. But this is a new fact that we have to bear in mind. Therefore, although we are clearly in favor of such an agreement, we have to see its complications and problems.

To wind up this appreciation, may I say that, as it has been from the very beginning to this very day, the hope and strength of Jewish life depends basically upon ourselves. Not that we are lonely. Not that we are consumed by hate. Not that we are disillusioned. Not at all. But we must live with the deep conviction that there is nobody else to labor for us and we would not like anybody else to make our decisions for us. It depends, really and sincerely, upon each of you here - upon your devotion, your conviction, your attempt to understand the situation in depth and not to take our life as an exercise in public relations. With all due respect to public relations, this cannot be and this will not be the major consideration in Jewish life as regards Israel.

Judaism, if you wish, is the worst public relations experience in human history. When were we good in public relations? Always in revolt. Always nonconforming. Always not accepting the easy dogma. It is too late to make ourselves obedient servants of public relations advice. Our public relations are in the books of history, not in the daily papers. That is what makes us great, and what makes life difficult for us.

But when it comes to our own effort, I can again use free and optimistic language. Ladies and Gentlemen, you have today a generation of youth in this country which is unparalleled in its devotion, in its dedication, in its education (not that we don't have problems) and in physical strength. My job is to visit the army week after week and day after day. I see the new commanders who have won wars, but have not yet attained national recognition. I see our men training - tens of thousands of young volunteers, who matured at an early age in the face of unbelievable difficulties - they will have to carry on in the future.

An American expert recently gave some interesting facts about what happened in the Yom Kippur War. He says that in the confrontation between Israel and Syrian and Egyptian armour, while the ratio was 2-1/2 tanks to one Israeli tank, the results were 5 tanks destroyed by Israel against each tank destroyed by the Syrians and Egyptians combined. This is an effective ratio on a rather slow-moving battlefield. On the sea, our navy sank 12 ships (warships) without suffering a single casualty - neither in human life or in ships. In the air, in the so-called dog-fights, our air force shot down 88 planes for every Israeli plane that the Egyptians and Syrians were able to shoot down. An unbelievable ratio.

It is a great generation, a very serious generation. I do not have the slightest doubt that they can carry the burden of our generation with the intellectual readiness to make peace, with the national determination to face, negotiate and overcome danger.

Not only that. I look at the country as a whole, from time to time I think that this is a rather strange country. In the final analysis, there are more people who want to volunteer - not just in time of war but today - than we can absorb in volunteer tasks. MacArthur said: "Old soldiers never die, they only fade away." On a recent visit to the Northern command, I saw many old soldiers, some already seventy years of age. I did not see that they fade away. We are retraining them to become commanders of tanks. The age of the soldiers, and the age of the tanks is almost equal, because we took the tanks out of the army and we put them in the kibbutzim as stations of self-defence. I saw the volunteers: 65, 70, 72 year-olds. They came to the ceremony with their grandchildren, some of the latter already soldiers in their own right. I saw them climbing into the tanks as fresh and agile and alert as their grandchildren. And happy to have an opportunity to begin a new service in the defense of their country.

They will not be a mobile unit in our army. They, as well as the tanks, will be stationed at the places where they work and live. But with those old soldiers and those old tanks, those old kibbutzim are a permanent home, a permanent and strong station

in our frontiers, in our national life - unmatched in other places. I saw the charming ladies from Beit Shean, who immigrated from North Africa, being trained to use rifles. And the prize was won by the lady whose five shots landed dead-center of the target. This lady has nine children, a sick husband and a real devotion to make Beit Shean a safe place.

You see the women these days, as well as the men, coming to the military camps to overhaul old equipment, to maintain it, to keep it clean. They weren't called up - they offered themselves. I see boys who just married and beginning to create a family life, signing on for the standing army to serve their people for 6 to 8 years, knowing full well they are going to live most of the time separated from their families - in the Golan Heights, in the Sinai Desert.

I believe, therefore, there is still greatness to call upon. There is still greatness to depend upon. Yet all of them are very much looking to you, basically for three things: for Jewish spirit and solidarity, for the renewal of immigration to the State of Israel, for the continuous construction and building and settlement of many empty spaces on our own map of Israel. It is a great task to perform, a great hope to rely upon. And a small nation doesn't have a choice but to depend upon the greatness of her children, upon the seriousness of her leaders.

To conclude my remarks, may I say that the thing you may want me to promise, I can't promise, and that is an easy time. Nor are there easy times ahead. But there are other things which I know are dear to your hearts and dear to my heart. Chief among them is the great promise that we are going to remain a free, fiercely democratic country, a strong people, a united Jewish people - alert, responsible, and willing.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

ADDRESS BY MR. MAX M. FISHER
Chairman, Board of Governors
June 19, 1975

With this evening's session we complete the fourth year of our reconstituted Agency and begin the fifth term of our growing and vital partnership.

Our four years of work together have taken place in some of the proudest days in Jewish history and some of the saddest.

In February of 1973, we left our second Assembly ready to celebrate the inspiring achievement of Israel's first 25 years. Some 18 months later, we returned to this Assembly distressed, saddened by the Yom Kippur assault on Israel, and the events and tensions that followed.

Yet, even in the days of wartime agony and in the difficult times Israel has since experienced, we saw and learned some great and heart-warming truths.

First and foremost, Israel is here to stay, the people of Israel are strong and they remain strong, in heart, in will, in vision. We did not come here to consider Israel's survival, we came instead to make our contribution to the quality of life in Israel.

Second, we learn that the Jews of the world are one with Israel. In a time of great economic difficulty of most free nations, our United Jewish Appeal and Keren Hayesod Campaigns are still raising magnificent sums, they are producing cash in even greater amounts than last year, and I am totally convinced that they will do much better in years to come.

Third, despite the seeming isolation of Israel, the fact is that Israel is not without many friends. This fact has been obscured by the haste with which some seekers of supposed success have rushed into the Arab camps, but the American people continue to show their strong support and confidence in Israel and so do the people in many other lands.

Outstanding artists, scientists and intellectuals have condemned the exclusion of Israel from Unesco as a real scandal, and the members of the European Common Market, despite heavy pressure, admitted Israel to membership.

Fourth, and not least, the difficult period through which we are passing has tested the partnership in our reconstituted Jewish Agency. It is my firm belief that we have passed the test, that this Agency has proved itself to be united, viable and forward-looking.

At this Assembly, instead of examining again all the difficulties which confront Israel, we have chosen to concentrate on opportunities that lie before us.

In this spirit of looking ahead we put a different emphasis on our observance of the 30th anniversary of the liberation of the DP camps; we honored, as we shall always honor, the memory of the martyrs of the holocaust.

But we did more than retell the story of past disasters; we remembered what the Jewish people have accomplished since the holocaust, what millions of Jews have built, and we have chosen to go on with the renewal of Jewish life.

As the largest humanitarian body in the world, capable of shaping the future of our people, we must be innovators and planners of our future directions. We must, especially in times of crisis, address ourselves to historic aims and priorities. We must even in time of crisis commit ourselves to raising the quality of our skills, our programs, our staff, our leadership, to the highest level of excellence in the entire Jewish communal world, and what we must do we are doing.

We have created a long-range planning committee to examine our opportunities, to project future goals and priorities and to find the Agency's most effective role in meeting the needs of the Jewish people.

Stage one was the historical reconstitution itself, a realignment of the entire Jewish community, a thrust towards the ideal of true partnership.

Stage two, we sought, and still seek, to understand the nature and the purpose of this great new Agency we have created, and to solidify the partnership we have organized, and to confirm the unity which has swept the Jewish world. In that stage two process, your ideas, your resolutions, your actions in previous Assemblies have been most vital and inspiring.

This Fourth Assembly has continued this significant contribution towards defining the Agency's goals and strengthening its programs and I applaud you most warmly for your outstanding achievements and participation.

Now we are entering stage three. We have set our sights, short-range and long-range, on the realization of our potential, in terms of excellence. Five years from now, in 1980, we will have completed our first decade as a reconstituted body. How shall we guide our actions during these five years for the greater good of the people of Israel and World Jewry? What established programs should we continue, what new directions should we adopt to make these first ten years a decade of unparalleled accomplishment?

Members of the Assembly, these are the guidelines I believe must shape our work for the next five crucial years, first in the area of immigration. We are faced with seriously declining numbers, especially from the Soviet Union, and we must do all we can to understand the reasons for the decrease in immigration and do all we can to bring about an upward turn, and we stand firmly with our partners, the World Zionist Organization, in the encouragement and help in increased aliya to Israel from the free world.

We must creatively and persistently find better tools and techniques of absorption, there is no better way nor more effective way for attracting increased aliya.

However, to obtain our ultimate objective we must continue to close the social gap in Israel. To do this effectively we must in some cases strengthen our efforts in what we are now doing, and, in others, find new approaches. In all cases, we must aim at three basic elements in our program of action: permanence, consolidation, and imagination.

We must focus on the permanent housing solution for the over-crowded, the aged, single people and young married couples, a more permanent drop-out proof educational setting for disadvantaged youngsters, a more sensible approach for new immigrants in development towns through imaginative social programs, to move them out of the isolation of apartments into a sense of community and belonging.

We must focus on consolidation by making all agricultural settlements self-sustaining, by attracting new immigrants to settle on the land in the Galilee and the Negev, by keeping the sons and daughters of the first settlers on the land, through such new approaches as industrial villages and a new type of farming.

We must focus on the innovative programs of training and retraining incoming professionals, improving the immigrant housing environment; on helping to advance Israel's intellectual and scientific leadership through our support of higher education; on our special new programs for marginal youth; on the fresh approaches we have instituted in our Youth Aliyah services.

Now, the Agency itself cannot solve all of Israel's social problems but what we can do and must do is to help set the example and what we can do and must do is absolutely indispensable.

Members of the Assembly, just as we must bridge the gaps existing among the various elements of the people of Israel so must we, through this Agency, be the bridge between Israel's people and their only true ally, the Jews of the world.

Just as we must concentrate on raising the quality of life in Israel we must ensure the continuity of Jewish life in the free world, primarily through raising the quality of Jewish education. There are some communities in this Jewish world where the Agency's help in this area may not be so urgently needed. As leaders in these communities we value greatly the Jewish education of our young people who hold the future in their hands.

But there are other Jewish communities in the world who need our help desperately to provide the level of Jewish education we want for their children. In a very real sense their survival as Jewish communities may be at stake. A striking illustration of this emerged recently during visits by our leaders to South America. The Jewish communities there are looking to the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization for funds and for people, people with skills who can help them in their struggle for cultural survival. Jewish education is the battleground on which that struggle will be won or lost and I say, it cannot be lost. The young vigorous leaders of Jewish communities of South America are no longer concerned with ideological debates and differences of days past, the winds have changed. They are asking for our solid, united help. And we must provide every resource the world of Jewish communities can muster to freshen and strengthen Jewish education on that continent.

Members of the Assembly, we are intertwined, we are one people. As we raise the quality of life in Israel, as we deepen Jewish education and values everywhere as we reach higher and higher levels of excellence in our Agency, we will have more and more human resources to offer Jewish areas such as South America, and they in turn, strengthened and vigorous, will have much to offer us from the well of their own experience. In this way we will realize the "common market" of Jewish responsibility as envisioned when this Agency was formed.

I have attempted to outline a number of basic directions in which I believe this Agency should and must move. This is a blueprint for taking the initiative away from the accidents of events, from the pressures of crisis, and keeping the initiative squarely in our own hands. It is up to all of us to make this Agency the best, the most powerful instrument for Jewish good in the world, an Agency of unsurpassed excellence.

Members of the Assembly, thirty years ago when the war was over, we came face to face with the greatest disaster in the history of our people. In the spring of 1945 we were agonizing over this cataclysm and together we worked energetically, feverishly, to save Jews, to rescue the surviving remnants in Europe. We had no other choice as we grappled with the challenge of physical survival.

Here we are, thirty years later, meeting in Jerusalem, and our concerns are the quality of life in Israel and the need for spiritual enrichment of Jewish life in the diaspora.

We certainly have come a long way, and it may take another generation to obtain all our objectives, but even fifty years in the history of Jews, fifty years in the perspective of Jewish history, is a short span of time, for we are a people with an historic memory, and a great tradition.

More than two thousand years ago the prophet Ezekiel proclaimed 'thus sayeth the Lord G-d: behold I will take the children of Israel from among the nations wither they are gone, I will gather them on every side and bring them into their own land, and I will make them one nation in the land.'

This is the challenge of our generation, one nation in the land; this is our dream, we can make it a reality.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

ADDRESS BY
THE PRIME MINISTER OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL
Mr. Yitzhak Rabin
June 19, 1975

Allow me, at the outset, to congratulate you for re-electing Pinhas Sapir as the Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, and to congratulate him for agreeing to carry on with his job. I believe that Sapir could have spoken to you today as the Prime Minister of Israel, had he decided to take the position. But he preferred, by his own choice, to take on the responsibility of Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive. He decided to dedicate his energies and his capabilities towards bringing more unity, more understanding among the Jewish communities all over the world. I wish him success, because his success is our success.

It might be that I am still under the influence of my visit to the United States, and in describing to you the major problems that Israel faces today, I start with something which is so natural to us, so unquestionable, that whenever I go abroad, I am quite surprised that it still requires an explanation from me. I believe that if there is a country, if there is a people in the Middle East that is really eagerly searching for peace, it is Israel and the people of Israel. And sometimes it is strange to find out that, in this world, the real picture is a little bit twisted. Israel has shown, from its creation, its readiness, its desire, its determination to achieve peace.

In 1947, we accepted the Partition Resolutions. If they were not carried out, it was because the Arab countries rejected them and went to war, not only to destroy the resolutions but also to threaten the very existence of the Jewish community here.

If there was, after the War of Independence, an armistice agreement instead of a peace agreement, it was because our neighbors, who rejected Israel's proposals to make peace, preferred the armistice agreement.

If, for 19 years, we lived within the boundaries which existed until the Six-Day War, and peace was not achieved, it was because the demand for peace raised by our representatives every year at the United Nations was rejected by our neighbors.

If we are today in the Sinai, in the West Bank and on the Golan Heights, it was not our desire -- it came about as a result of a war that was carried on against us and as a result of our victory, that we were and we are there.

And if there is no peace today, it is because our neighbors have not yet reconciled themselves to the existence of Israel as a Jewish, viable, independent State. Israel is not disillusioned -- it has not lost hope that peace will be achieved, but when we look forward we have to be, on the one hand, hopeful and, on the other, careful.

The second point I want to make is that whatever is required from Israel nowadays involves risks, and great risks. It is very easy to come to you and put forward all the difficulties that our neighbors present to us. But I believe that in the search for peace and security, reluctance on the part of Israel to take risks for the sake of peace is unjustified, because by doing nothing we might take even greater risks.

Therefore, in whatever Israel will do, risks are involved, and we have to bear that in mind. We have to do it, but to be careful at the same time. No responsible Israeli government can decide on any course of action in the search for peace without taking risks, and this government proved its readiness to take risks, not unjustified risks, and, in the search for peace, will continue to take risks.

There are three basic options in which the situation in the Middle East may develop. The first is that there will be another war. Israel has to be prepared, ready -- militarily and psychologically -- any day to fight a war which will be forced upon it. An Israel which is not ready to defend itself, and to defend itself effectively, will not survive. But I will say even more than that: an Israel which is not ready to defend itself through war will not be able to achieve peace. Israel cannot gain from a war, and therefore Israel is not interested in war.

I was in Washington about a week ago and the President of the United States gave a dinner -- what is called a working dinner -- at the White House, and he turned to me and said, "Let's change the rules: instead of just making toasts -- which you have to do, otherwise all the people of the media will say the

guest was not treated well -- instead of going to the other rooms to have coffee and small talk," he suggested, "we'll have it as a straight talk. I'll start, the participants will join, about the situation in the Middle East."

It was an interesting talk that lasted, I would say, for one-and-a-half hours, against all the protocol rules. And there I explained, I think in simple terms, that Israel, since 1948, won militarily in each war but was not allowed by the major powers, by the outside world, to use its military victory to bring a political end to the Arab-Israeli conflict. It was not the lack of Israel's capability. It was the reality of the interference of the outside world, especially the major powers, in limiting Israel to bring a war to its logical conclusion, a political end to the conflict.

And I said that this happened in 1948, in 1956, in 1967 and would happen in 1973. When I said 1973, a famous senior official of Dr. Kissinger's company was not very happy about it. But, therefore, Israel is not interested in war because war will not bring an end to the political conflict. On the other hand, Israel's readiness and capability to defend itself and to win militarily on the battlefield is essential for our existence and for the hope of peace.

I hope that everything will be done to postpone war and to move towards peace.

The second option is to bring about an overall settlement, to move, by one act, from war to peace. I believe this was, this is the desire of Israel. Unfortunately, at present, the gap between the positions of our neighbors and Israel on the three key issues that have to be solved in context of things beclouds this issue as well.

What is the nature of peace? What are the boundaries of peace and the solution to the Palestinian issue? The gap between the positions of the two sides is so wide that it doesn't seem that diplomacy can bridge it in a short time. Israel is ready to take part in whatever negotiations everywhere in whatever manner in which an overall peace can be achieved.

But as long as an overall peace cannot be achieved, I think Israel has to take risks and to try to move through interim agreements -- especially an interim agreement between Egypt and Israel -- if it would be possible, as a first step to bring about relaxation in the area, postponement and reduction of the threat of war, and creating a new atmosphere, and hopefully, improved confidence between the sides that, after several years, will be in better shape to negotiate in a more meaningful way, and strengthen the possibility of the achievement of an overall settlement.

In my talks in the United States, I explained to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State and others that embarking on the course of an interim agreement is not just to achieve an interim agreement with Egypt. It is a concept which is different than the approach to achieve an overall settlement.

It is to have a step -- to have a period of several years in which efforts can be carried out, but the governing fact is the interim agreement.

If there is no understanding between Israel and the other countries, whatever will happen, Egypt should be committed to the interim agreement. Whatever might be the differences, in whatever field, the United States government should be committed not to take positions on an overall settlement which are not coordinated with the positions of Israel.

This is the meaning of the third approach: the movement towards peace by steps. I believe that it was almost a year ago when the President of the United States came to visit this area, and then three governments -- the United States, Egypt and Israel--decided to embark on this course, in the search for peace in this area.

I believe that Israel proved to be very flexible. Israel was ready to take risks. We had the shuttle diplomacy of last March, and we could not accept dictates by Egypt, even if it was a recommendation by the United States government to accept it. We are a small country. But our security and our future is the responsibility of this country and this government alone. And because of that, we felt that we had the right to say "no", even to our best friend in this world, to the United States government.

I believe that the events that developed after the suspension of the talks proved that Israel's estimate of the situation was the right one. Many things have taken place, and, I am sure, not for the worse of the situation in the area, and not endangering the possibility of the continuation of negotiations towards peace.

I believe that Israel is ready to take risks, but not all risks. There are certain lines and certain points on which we have to say, even in the present and in the future: till here we can go; beyond that, it's impossible, it's endangering our security and therefore the possibility, in the long run, to achieve peace.

I hope that the renewed efforts will succeed. We have learned from our experience in the past that it is not advisable to predict what will happen even two weeks from now. Therefore, let us be hopeful. But at the same time let us be realistic. What will happen is still dependent on to what extent Egypt will be ready to move forward and to meet Israel's readiness to move forward. At least there was one lesson that was learned, even by the United States, after the suspension of the talks in March, and the lesson was that both sides had to move, had to be forthcoming, if an agreement is to be achieved.

I believe that in the talks that I have conducted with the President, and with the Secretary of State, we proved that we are forthcoming. Now we hope that Egypt will do the same. Otherwise, I doubt if an interim agreement will be achieved.

I think, and I hope, that an interim agreement will be achieved. If an interim agreement will not be achieved, activities, negotiations with the purpose of moving towards peace still have to be continued. Israel is not interested in a stalemate, in stagnation, and will continue to work with all countries, with all powers, that will make it possible to move towards peace.

Let us be hopeful, but let us also be prepared for some disappointments.

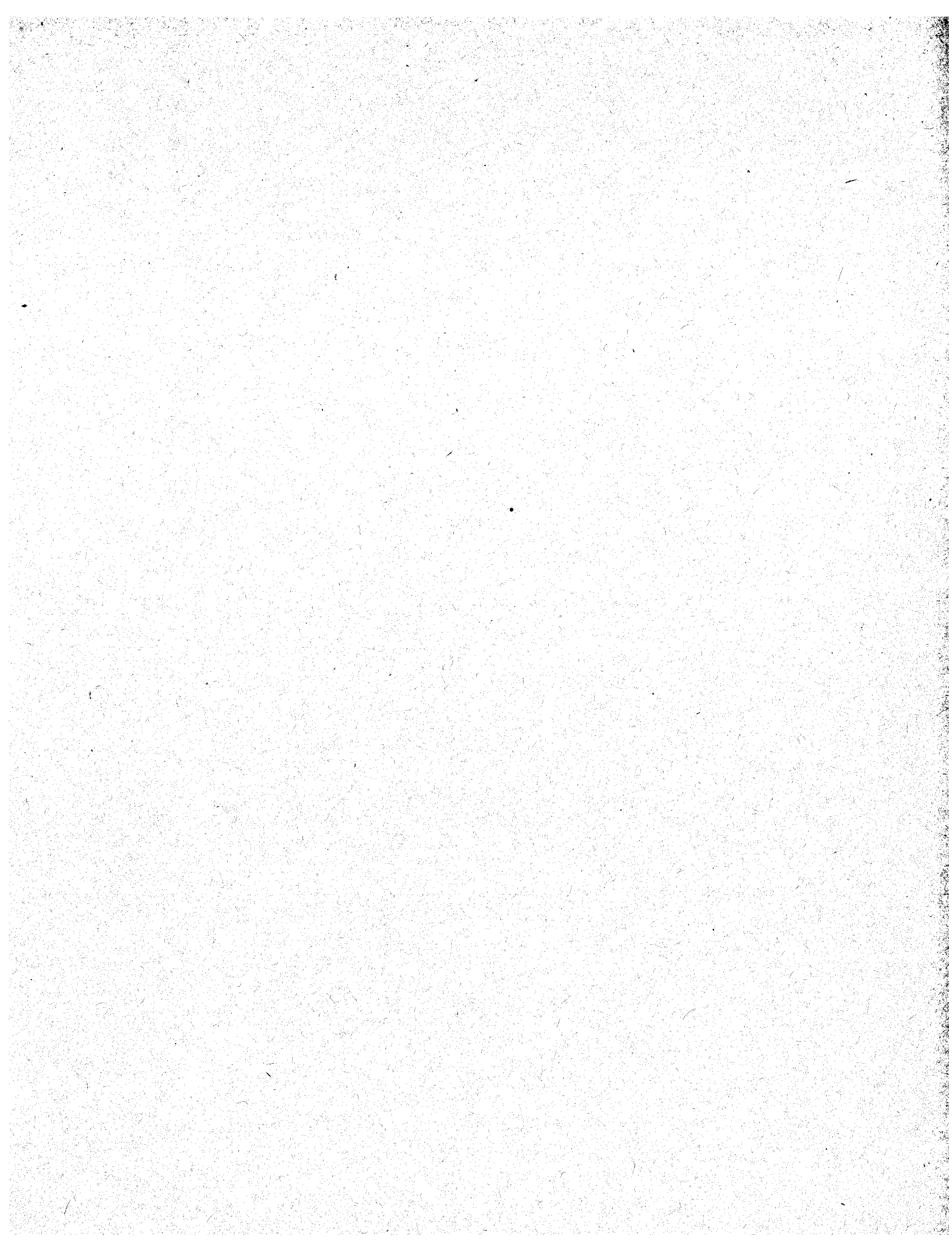
Facing these problems, I believe that when it comes to Jewish life, we have to find out not only what is the quality of life in Israel, but also what are the dimensions of the active quality of Jewish life elsewhere. I think active Jewish identity and unity are the real meaning of Jewish life today. And they should be expressed in very active ways on the following issues:

First, in the identification with Israel and Israel's problems. After all, Israel is the expression, the fulfilment of Jewish dreams for thousands of years. The fate and future of Israel will dictate Jewish life more than anything else in this world.

The second is the responsibility of every Jew to his brother Jew whenever and wherever he is persecuted, because he is Jewish. "Kol Yisrael Chaverim Zeh Lazeh" was the essence of the existence of Jewish life. We have to continue whatever is possible to help Jews in the oppressed countries and the countries in which they are oppressed -- in the Soviet Union, in the Arab countries, especially in Syria.

The third point is the continual effort to maintain the Jewishness of the Jewish community. It has become an issue. And I believe this is one of the major problems. We have to find many ways, new ways, to make sure that Jews will remain Jews in the real meaning of the word. Jewish education and the ultimate expression of identification and fulfilment of Jewish life, aliyah, have to be the peak and the purpose of all Jewish activities.

We are at the crossroads of developments in the Middle East. I believe that we are at the crossroads of developments in Jewish life. Your imagination -- new ways of cooperation, deep belief, determination and courage are required nowadays to go from here to peace and security in Israel and the strengthening of meaningful Jewish life elsewhere. I am sure that this will be a contribution to a new effort in this direction.



THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND ABSORPTION
Mr. Jerold C. Hoffberger, Chairman
June 19, 1975

Our committee was deeply concerned about the decline in immigration. We discussed the increased harassment and the repression of the Jews in Russia and the need for greater community action on their behalf. When analyzing the factors leading to a higher percentage of "noshrim" and "yordim", we found most of these factors were beyond our control. But it was urgent that the absorption process be as effective as possible in order to diminish this as a cause for people not to come or not to remain in Israel.

Regarding Aliya, we make the following formal proposal: recognizing that Aliya is central to the life and future of Israel, and of the whole Jewish people, we urge Jewish communities throughout the world to take formal energetic action to achieve this objective.

In looking at ways of improving the absorption process, we focused on three major areas: employment, personnel and social integration.

We all recognize that employment is essential to full absorption in our society and that, in matching a person to a job, it is essential to take into consideration, wherever possible, the element of job satisfaction.

A new immigrant is particularly vulnerable to the social and economic effects of job conditions. We therefore recommend that the Agency should explore additional methods to assist the immigrant in adjusting to his new job and to develop greater job security, bearing in mind the particular problems of "last one in, first one out" and the adaptation of job training required by so many new immigrants to the changing needs of the economy.

At the last Assembly, a program was established to absorb immigrant scientists into academic life. Because of budgetary restrictions, the capacity of the universities to absorb scientists is extremely limited. Since they should obviously make an important contribution to industry, we recommended that programs should be developed by the Agency to absorb immigrant scientists into industry in cooperation with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, and all other relevant Ministries, the Israel Manufacturers' Association and other related groups.

The Loan Fund set up to assist immigrants to become self-employed has made a good beginning, and we propose that it be made available to as many immigrants as require it, and that a more intensive campaign be undertaken to publicize the Fund and the varieties of immigrant-operated business projects that could be assisted by the Fund.

Last year we passed a resolution that would make available to new immigrants business skills of executives in the Diaspora. That resolution brought no results, whether through inaction or for other reasons. However, we again recommend that the Agency should undertake a pilot program, in cooperation with selected overseas Jewish communities, to seek out qualified business executives from the Diaspora to assist new immigrant-operated enterprises with management expertise.

Then we move to the second critical area - that of personnel. All of us know full well that how we are treated profoundly affects how we feel about our society and about ourselves. New immigrants come into an especially sensitive situation, and staff dealing with them should possess special skills. To this end, we recommend the following: the need for knowledgeable skilled and understanding personnel is crucial for absorption. Therefore, the quality of personnel should be upgraded by means of expanding and intensifying in-service training programs for all staff dealing with immigrants; that staff of backgrounds similar to those of new immigrants be assigned to work with them; that the Agency should establish a task force to explore ways and means for the best utilization of university resources, and that consideration be given to the inclusion of the subject of absorption in the curriculum.

This last proposal relates to a recommendation made last year to set up an inter-disciplinary new academic specialty in absorption. This was not implemented, we were informed, because of the lack of finances. We strongly believe, however, that because absorption is so important, there should be specialized departments within the university for the training of manpower and the carrying out of research and evaluation. In the interim, we have proposed utilizing more effectively, the existing departments of the University.

What we are saying in all of this is that, until now, absorption has been handled through experience, dedication and intuition. We feel that it also merits being dealt with as a professional discipline. Since social integration is an indispensable element in the successful absorption of immigrants, it is vital that all the resources available, including immigrant associations and volunteer organizations,

should be strengthened and their work more effectively coordinated. To this end, we recommend that, in order to enable the immigrant associations to take greater initiative and assume greater responsibility in the absorption process, the Agency should undertake, together with these associations, a thorough-going review of their scope, their function, their prerogatives and their budgets. The Jewish Agency should encourage and strengthen the various institutions and volunteer organizations involved in social integration.

We are gratified to learn that the housing program for singles and the elderly is underway. However, to meet the special needs of these people, the special social and psychological needs, we urge that the new housing should include central facilities and services for cultural and social activities.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RURAL SETTLEMENT
Mr. Morris L. Levinson, Chairman
June 19, 1975

In this report, there will be no "I's". Rather, there will be "we", instead of "they". That is not only because we are one -- the Jews of the Diaspora and the Jews of Israel. I speak of "we" because, in my four years as chairman of the Rural Settlement Committee, I am so enthusiastic about the work of the committee and the Rural Settlement Department and I feel so identified with this work, that I feel part of it.

After the War of Independence, Israel was greatly underdeveloped and full of ruins. Whole areas were empty of people, and the problems of immigration were just beginning. The Rural Settlement Department takes great and understandable pride that they have been involved in helping hundreds of thousands of survivors of the concentration camps, refugees from the Arab countries and immigrants from the free world to become part of Israel. From the viewpoint of the Rural Settlement Department, we think in terms of a generation - 25 years. It was a dream 25 years ago. Who thought we could take people from the "shtetels," from the concentration camps, from the hills of Morocco and Tunisia and make them into farmers and contributing citizens of Israel? To the others we were dreamers. Many told us it was impossible but it became a reality. And because of the Jewish Agency and the determination of these settlers, we can take great pride in the fact that the sons of the agricultural settlements of this country have contributed to solving the food problem, to the defense of Israel, becoming soldiers and students at the universities and taking positions in government.

Since the Reconstituted Jewish Agency was set up, we have made an intensive effort to make economically viable the settlements that were established by the Rural Settlement Department. By economic viability, we mean that they no longer require financial assistance from the Agency. We took 300 of the 507 settlements and made them economically viable, or they made themselves viable with our help, economically and socially viable. Almost 151 more have completed this process, and we are recommending that an intensive effort be made to give us both the manpower and the finances to make these more viable in the next four years. We will save money.

It will bring pride, it will bring standing to the members of these moshavim and kibbutzim. There will be left at the end of that period, approximately 50 settlements still to be made viable. We cannot give you a date when this will be achieved. We have problems both social and economic that cannot be solved yet. They will be solved at some point.

I won't go into the problems that were involved in bringing the settlements to viability. It has been done, and we have succeeded in this part of the job. But we are far from finished with the settlement of the State of Israel. Last year we recommended to this Assembly that an interministerial committee of the Government and the Jewish Agency be appointed to resettle and solve the problem of the Upper Galilee. Our recommendation was received by this Assembly with enthusiasm. It was received by the Government with enthusiasm, and such a committee has been set up. Plans have been worked on for an entire year, and we are ready to start implementing them today. This is an essential priority in the development of Israel. This is an area where 70 percent of the population are non-Jews. I don't think I have to tell you the problems of security involved therein.

The Galilee is an area that is a great deal different from the areas that have already been settled. Naturally, the best areas for land, arability and water were taken for the first settlements. The Galilee is mountainous, with plenty of water but no arable land. New ideas have to be developed. The idea of settling the Galilee is not new in itself. Back in 1966, under Levi Eshkol, a plan was set up to try to solve this problem. Unfortunately, the interruption of the 1967 war and the many problems emerging in its wake made it necessary to postpone the program. Unfortunately, there has been progressive deterioration in this area because of the passage of time. The area has actually failed not only to attract new populations, but the number of Jews living in the area has declined. Our objectives in the area are simple: to make the area one with a Jewish majority, to ensure the correct distribution of Jews throughout the area and to provide economic conditions favorable to the population. Simple objectives to state, difficult objectives to work out.

Farming will not be a primary consideration. This area will have to be settled on an industrialized basis. We hope to increase the population by 300,000 people by 1990. In the short run, we hope to increase it by 100,000. Fifty settlements will have to be established - another dream. We must build industrial parks, bring in industry and set up moshavim which will not be dependent on agriculture but on jobs in small industries located in their areas. We must develop regional centers to provide the services for the nearby moshavim and kibbutzim to be founded.

I am sure we will learn from the mistakes we have made in the last 25 years, and problems will be solved in the light of our experience. However, we are not experienced in bringing rural industrialization into areas. We are going to need the help of the Diaspora, the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Israel, the Economic Development Board and a great deal of financing. It can be done; it must be done. To the Israelis, it is one of primary consideration.

While we were working in the Upper Galilee, another dream emerged, an exciting dream. Do you know that half of Israel's territory is unpopulated and unproductive?

I am speaking of the Negev. It has 50 percent of the total Israel area, and only 1-1/2 percent of the population. We have a dream. We have a dream that the Negev can become productive, that it can become a border defense area along the Arava. But again, it is going to take hard work and a massive effort. We now have along the Arava, which is the border with Jordan in that region, only a handful of settlements, spread far apart. They have many social problems, mainly a lack of communications. More settlements will go a long way towards solving these problems.

Irrigation is the next need. But it will be solved with deep wells, more dams and new methods of providing water.

There is another important area in this part of the country, called Ramat Hanegev. It is a triangle bounded by Beersheva, Dimona, Mishmar Hanegev, containing hundreds of thousands of dunams. I say this area will be the future bread-basket of Israel. The world faces a lack of protein. Israel will also face a lack of protein. This area can be turned into wheat fields. We can grow soy beans in this area. It is going to take irrigation of the most advanced modern methods. We have dreams, which I do not believe are that far off, of atomic energy and desalination developing the water supply.

It can be done and it will be done. Desalination has progressed greatly in recent years. The combination of atomic energy and the plans for desalinization can make this area productive. People can come and live there in a new kind of a society.

We plan to control this area - agriculturally. Off-season crops will be grown, and the value of its exports will exceed a quarter of a billion dollars, maybe a greater export return than all of our citrus today. It is a new vision of highly technological, highly specialized agriculture, something that the world has never seen yet, something that Israel will be the first to show. If we put together the ideas that we know, the ideas that the world can produce along these lines, we can become a leader, and another dream can become a reality.

We want to develop a society that is not doomed to be surrounded by urbanization and industrialization, a society that can live with nature, and not overcrowded nature. A rural area of sophisticated technology, an advanced society, but not an urbanized one. This is going to be a necessity for Israel, to absorb the hundreds and thousands of Jews that, we hope, will be coming to live here, as well as its own increasing population. We can breed social conditions that will not be verging on moral breakdown as is happening in the cities here and throughout the world. And it will be an area which will also have its own security, because it will have enough people and enough settlements.

This is our dream; it is your dream, and it is a dream that the world is entitled to have succeed, because the world will benefit by what we will do in this area. I know that with the support of the Jews in the Diaspora and the people in the State of Israel, this can be accomplished.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

REPORT OF THE YOUTH ALIYAH COMMITTEE

Mrs. Muriel Maisels, Chairman
June 19, 1975

In presenting the report of the Youth Aliyah Committee, I would like at the outset to say that it has been a privilege for me to have been part of this Assembly -- this great gathering of Jews from all over the world, Jews who have come to Jerusalem to be with Israel, to demonstrate that they care, that they have accepted a responsibility, and to learn how best they can help with the gigantic tasks that face this beautiful, courageous little country, so dear to all of us.

Youth Aliyah has always been basically concerned with rescue and was designated by that great woman, Eleanor Roosevelt, as the greatest rescue movement in world history. Since those dark days when Youth Aliyah's rescue task was the rescue of Jewish children in Europe from the Nazis, it has redirected its activities, firstly towards new immigrant youth, who came to Israel either with or without their parents, and then towards disadvantaged Israeli youth, children of earlier immigrants in the lower economic strata of Israeli society.

The committee's session opened with a presentation by Mr. Joseph Klarman, who for some years has been head of the department and who is responsible for the introduction of programs for the rehabilitation of culturally disadvantaged children, not only for the children of new immigrants. Mr. Klarman said that Youth Aliyah has already taken care of almost 13,000 disadvantaged children, and that, whereas four years ago Youth Aliyah took care mainly of new immigrant children, now its main intake is of disadvantaged children who otherwise would have no chance to lead a normal life and to become useful, worthwhile citizens. He feels that much more can be done in this field, quantitatively and qualitatively, if many more dormitories, classrooms, laboratories and utilities were to be built into existing educational settings.

In view of the size of the problem, he suggests that a team of specialists be appointed to assess exactly what Youth Aliyah requires in the areas of professional manpower such as educators, psychologists, social workers, "madrachim" and "metaplot". The team would also advise on training courses for the staff and in-service training, and the kind of funds required to support all these activities, as well as for maintenance. The program should be developed in a five-year plan and should be submitted by this team to the next Assembly of the Jewish Agency.

Mr. Shraga Adiel, the Director-General of Youth Aliyah, then gave his presentation. He pointed out that Youth Aliyah has started to admit non-boarders, that is to say, children who wish to make use of the Youth Aliyah facilities during the day but to return home at night. He wants to develop this scheme. Youth Aliyah also wants to develop the existing program for providing education counselling for any new immigrant child who doesn't find his way into the regular Israeli school system.

Youth Aliyah continues to develop new strategies to ease and hasten the integration of new immigrant children into Israeli society and to speed up their mastery of the Hebrew language. Youth Aliyah has just opened a new youth village for the lowest achievers, and wants to expand its facilities in the field of creating preparatory classes for children who have dropped out of the Israeli school system entirely.

Youth Aliyah has expanded its network of day centers which are non-residential day settings for culturally deprived children in their communities. Three new day centers are to be opened in addition to the five that were opened three years ago, bringing the total of day centers of that kind to eight.

Thousands of children continue to participate successfully in the diversified compensatory or enrichment programs which have previously been reported on. It has been proved that one year of treatment in a residential setting has advanced disadvantaged children academically, has increased their motivation and given them self-confidence and a new image.

In response to questions, Dr. Feuerstein, Director of Youth Aliyah's Children's Guidance Clinic of Jerusalem and Director of the Canadian Hadassah-WIZO Research Institute in behavioral sciences, stressed that the philosophy of the 1970's does not admit of the irreversibility of behavior problems and that Youth Aliyah educators do not feel that it is too late to educate and rehabilitate adolescents after the age of 14.

Mr. Meir Gottesman, Deputy-Director of the Youth Aliyah education department, said that social learning, that is to say, learning from one's peers, is very vital and that Youth Aliyah is working out schemes to solve this problem. Youth Aliyah has to absorb normal Israeli children, neither new immigrants nor disadvantaged children, so that they can serve as models to culturally deprived children who need good models for identification.

Mr. Yishayahu Dekel said that Youth Aliyah is continuing to make significant contributions towards disadvantaged adolescents who do not want to leave their communities by erecting day centers in their neighborhoods. Three such day centers are about to be opened, making a total of 21.

Mr. Avraham Halpern, Director of Youth Aliyah's religious department, said that we must not assume that Soviet children from such countries as Soviet Georgia are entirely lacking in Jewish education. His experience is otherwise. For example, the Habad movement has managed to preserve some contact with Jews in remote places. Youth Aliyah makes use of this Habad tradition, as some Youth Aliyah children are sent to Habad yeshivot in this country.

Mr. Abba Winick, Treasurer of Youth Aliyah, described the great help of Youth Aliyah committees and friends all over the world to Youth Aliyah, in contributing to its general budget, and in sponsoring special development projects, such as youth centers and dormitories.

We heard from Zvi Webern, a teacher of English at Alonei Yitzhak, about experiences of teachers who live in the school and who teach English to Russian children, stressing some of the problems of these children.

Rivka Hanegbi, a Youth Aliyah psychologist, spoke about Youth Aliyah's recent attempts to provide psychological counselling and educational counselling to children who do not wish to join Youth Aliyah boarding schools but find it difficult to find their way into the existing school system. She described how Youth Aliyah counsellors go out to schools, families and neighborhoods to find children who need help and to help them. She said that without such guidance, boys and girls could lose at least one or two years of education before they find themselves and settle down to a more or less normal school life.

Martha Hoffman described the instrumental enrichment program which has been invested by Dr. Feuerstein of Youth Aliyah. This program modifies deficient cognitive processes and all Youth Aliyah disadvantaged children who need this help are receiving it.

Mrs. Mira Shafir, a Youth Aliyah educator, spoke about Youth Aliyah's tutorial system, designed to teach children whose problem is that they are unable to adjust to normal learning procedures. She teaches them how to concentrate and consequently to absorb knowledge.

Mordecai Arieli, Youth Aliyah's education supervisor, described how the separation from a difficult home for a difficult or problem child and the encounter with educators who accept them unconditionally assists the lowest achievers to come to terms with themselves, to re-establish self-confidence and to change their self-image.

I know that what is required of me is as brief and concise and as factual as possible a report, in not too many words. I hope I've managed to give this to the Assembly but I find it impossible to stop there -- impossible because of all that we've learned in these two days in this committee, impossible because what we have been discussing is children, our future, the raison d'etre of the State and its future, young lives that have to be rebuilt, young hopes that we must help to realize. They are entitled to lead a normal life like your children and my children. It is a great responsibility, a heavy responsibility and one which we must endeavor to discharge to the best of our ability.

I'm sure it is well known that all women's organizations in Israel take Youth Aliyah children into their children's villages and institutions, thus helping Youth Aliyah in its great educative and humanitarian work. And I'm sure that women's organizations right around this world will intensify their efforts for Youth Aliyah so that they too can add their support to the wonderful work which is done here.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND YOUTH PROJECTS

Rabbi Israel Miller, Chairman
June 19, 1975

I am pleased to report on behalf of the Committee on Education and Youth Projects.

Both for the record and because it is deserved, I offer our thanks to our co-chairman, Philip Zinman, with whom it has been a sincere pleasure to serve as a team since the founding Assembly. Having several members of the committee who have been serving in a similar capacity for four Assemblies was also a considerable help. Our thanks too, to our members of the committee who were diligent in their attendance and participation, to Mr. Ravia, the coordinator, and Mr. Gettinger, the secretary, and to the resource people who made the formal presentations.

I will not attempt to further summarize the summaries we received on formal and informal education in Israel. The information was useful as a background for the preparation of our recommendations, and our resolutions were also framed with the knowledge that we were essentially dealing with the educational function which would play a decisive role in the nature of Israeli society, the quality of its citizens' individual lives and the fulfilment of our own dreams and aspirations for the Jewish State.

When the day arrives when Israel will be able to spend one-third of its gross national product on education, rather than on defense, the social gap, which is basic to our concern and which must be bridged, will be a memory of a past phenomenon. In the meanwhile, we must take the small steps which add up to the giant stride to which we aspire, one Israel, united, cohesive and strong.

As you know, the Jewish Agency deals only with those areas of education which are not compulsory. The mandated years of schooling, from kindergarten through the ninth grade, are the responsibility of the Government of Israel, and our concerns, therefore, will be reflected in our interests in providing facilities and personnel for prekindergarten and nursery schools as well as for scholarships for the disadvantaged, so that they might be able to complete their secondary school training.

We noted with satisfaction the work of the Israel Education Fund which, this year, as you have already heard at this Assembly, is observing its tenth anniversary of notable achievement. The IEF has built 178 prekindergartens with 34 under construction and 41 awaiting the lifting of the building freeze. It has completed 15 day nurseries, has 39 under construction and another 36 awaiting building permission.

Even when these are completed, 500 more units will be needed, and we trust that for these units there will be an intensification of building construction, that there will be more effective use of school facilities, that there will be special efforts directed toward the establishment of all of the additional facilities which might be needed. Hopefully, the freeze could be lifted for these school facilities.

We spent most of our time speaking about people rather than about buildings, although we recognized the great need for comprehensive vocational and technical schools, particularly for skilled workers in the building industry. Although we spoke in terms of adding, where necessary, to existing facilities, to encourage additions as a most effective, least expensive and quickest way to provide services, in terms of people we spoke of the 88,000 youngsters who received full or partial scholarships, totalling approximately \$21 millions from our budget.

Very few of us know that a great deal of the money that we expend in education goes for these scholarships. Some 9,300 students needed support above tuition. Support is needed for lunches, for books, and this too became the responsibility of our education budget.

There were many families that had to be aided because their sons or daughters could not become contributors to the household funds if they continued to attend secondary schools.

Our complaint was that we did not have enough money to give as many scholarships as were needed and also that, from time to time, we felt it was necessary to look at what is happening in terms of the economy, devaluation, etc., so that we could be certain that the amount of money being given shall be looked at not once per year but perhaps twice or three times a year, to enable the young people to attend school in accordance with their abilities.

We spoke of the 75,000 secondary school children who are in vocational programs. We spoke of the need to start a child's formal education at the cradle and how trained personnel for teaching and counselling was one of our priority concerns. We said that facilities must be built for teacher training, that qualified teachers are a prime necessity.

We noted the thrilling growth of efforts by volunteers, and the need to expand their recruitment, training and use. We noted the growth over these past four years. People speak about the lack of volunteering in Israel. In this area we have seen a commendable advance.

We reviewed the needs of the approximately 25,000 to 40,000 young people who have either dropped out, are neither in school nor working, or whose school or work record leaves much to be desired. This is the gap which is boldly portrayed. Many of these, indeed the vast majority of them, are in the Sephardic community. In this area, we see the activity of the community centers, the youth clubs and the day centers, which are all modestly funded, and the innovative special youth projects which I identify as the Bar-On program. This program, too, must be intensified and aided more out of our budget.

Anyone who went on any one of the field trips could not help but be impressed by one particular thing done by the centers, the educational projects for disadvantaged youth, or by the AMI-GOUR community work program.

At this point, I ought to pause for the blaring of trumpets, for we have taken our own innovative step through the initiative of staff: for the first time in Assembly history, two of our committees met jointly and are proposing a resolution for a coordinated effort in the use of manpower facilities, programs and funds.

Our committee met with the Committee on Housing and Community Work to discuss and project a coordinated effort in facing up to a common concern for the enhancement of the social and cultural life of the residents of development towns and needy neighborhoods in large cities. We earnestly pray for its success, for it will be of tremendous significance, not only in an intrinsic programmatic sense, but also in serving to point the way to other joint efforts in areas of mutual concern.

I would like to point out that in this resolution you will find that we also call for closer cooperation with the Sephardic Federation, with the JDC-Malben, the Histadrut, Women's Organizations and other voluntary bodies, municipalities, local councils, relevant government ministries and inter-ministerial bodies for the achievement of mutual objectives.

We really were not anticipating the coming of the Messiah. We feel that this is something that can be done, that should be done, and hopefully will be done.

One of our resolutions asked for a continued program of research and evaluation in our sponsored educational programs. We have said this each year, and we hope that the necessary funds will be found for this effort, because we consider it basic to our intelligent review of the programs which are being undertaken.

One last word. Since Jewish education in the diaspora has been the province of the two education departments of the World Zionist Organization, the Latin American programs announced by the Chairman of the Executive, Mr. Pinhas Sapir, had no reporting base in our Agency structure. Therefore, our committee was chosen to hear the reports of the new efforts being proposed for these countries in Latin America of Jewish educational distress.

Many of our committee members would have wanted more information, more time to digest the proposals, even more discussion. We reacted unanimously, though, with great interest and with sympathy, for basically the goals of our efforts are the same -- a creative continuity for our people, its traditions, its way of life. We are one in faith and destiny, and we accept our responsibility as Jews towards each other.

We trust that the Board of Governors will give careful consideration to this area of activity for it goes to the very heart of our future.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson, Chairman
June 19, 1975

It is a great privilege to be chairman of the Committee on Higher Education, for we are living in a world where higher education is essential for the development of Israel. I think all of us accept the fact that no matter what the borders will be, Israel will always be a small country in the Middle East, and its fame, reputation and glory will be based on the quality and the high standards of education of its citizens.

Those of us who are familiar with the activities of the Arab world are aware of the fact that they too are spending vast sums of money in producing an educated generation. Tens of thousands of Arab students study in the universities of the United States and of Europe, and they are also investing large sums in an attempt to build universities in their countries. This is a realization on their part that despite their great wealth and natural resources, without an educated, trained generation, they will not be able to find their place in the world of tomorrow.

It was at the World Zionist Congress of 1913 that a vote was taken to create a Hebrew University in Jerusalem. That was the first vote that was taken, to create higher learning in Palestine. And today, as you know, there are seven institutions of higher learning, comprising a student body of over 50,000.

The Jewish Agency in its budget this year will be allocating \$80 millions to the budgets of these seven institutions. Several years ago, the Jewish Agency had to start a process of finding the way of working together with the Israel authorities on how we should allocate Jewish Agency money.

While our legal counsel, Mr. Boukstein, was searching for a formula, there developed in Israel a realization that unless a committee was formed here, a grants committee that would coordinate the budgets of all the universities and try to avoid duplication and unnecessary competition, things would simply get beyond the means of the country. Therefore, the Government created a committee, formed very much on the British pattern of the grants committee. The Israel committee was headed by Professor Rotenstreich, formerly of the Hebrew University, and includes academic personalities and public citizens of this country. They meet every single week, and they study the budgetary requests of the seven institutions of higher learning.

No new university or college can be started in Israel today without going through a screening process to determine whether or not it is needed and how it will be funded, which is a great step forward.

At the same time, the Jewish Agency decided that we needed a consultant in the field of higher education to study our role in the allocation of these \$80 millions. And so we have taken on the very expert services of Professor William Haber of the University of Michigan in the United States. Professor Haber comes to Israel a few times a year on a field mission. When he is here, he not only visits the universities but he also attends, as an observer, the meetings of the Israel Grants Committee so that he is completely familiar with their operation and their thinking. And when Professor Haber is not in Israel, the Jewish Agency has designated other people to replace him at these meetings, so that we are able to be kept fully informed on the direction of higher education in Israel.

Therefore, you will agree that it was quite appropriate that at the first session of our committee we should hear reports both from Professor Rotenstreich on how Israel is coordinating its development of higher education, and how Professor Haber is coordinating the work of the Jewish Agency together with this Government committee.

At our sessions, we felt that we had to go into those areas of work which are of the greatest concern to the Jewish Agency, and foremost among these problems always arises the absorption problem of immigrant students and the absorption of immigrant academics.

I think that for the four years we have been hearing reports, we have heard with dismay and with disappointment that the process of integration of immigrant students into the university life of this country and into the social fabric of this country is very far from successful. And each time we hear the very true and moving story of how the Israeli students have no time, no money, no opportunity, no "luxury" for socializing with immigrant students. In fact, they look at these students, and especially those who come from the western world, with an attitude which seems to say: "Look here: you have no problem. We have to go back to our army reserves, we have to work for our living while we are studying; we are much older than you, so that we have to catch up much faster and we are living under the pressure of knowing that we are always on call for the army."

The reasons may be valid, but the stories of the lack of integration troubles us very much indeed. And we also express our disappointment that we still have what we call "ghetto housing" on the campuses of the universities. By that I mean that overseas students are housed together, separate and apart from Israeli students, so that they are either speaking French together, or Russian together, or English together.

We were tremendously moved by the presence of two immigrant students, one, a beautiful young man from Syria, who is in this country one year, and as he said, came here speaking Arabic and French, and had to learn Hebrew and English. And he has no one here. He is really a person who is alone, so that when others go off for weekends to their families, or do any of the other social things, he does not have that contact, and his university room, shared with another boy, is not just a university room, it's his home, and he expressed his great sense of loneliness.

Members of the committee asked whether there was not a family that would be willing to adopt a boy like that socially? The answer was: of course, but there is no one on the campus to coordinate such an activity, to take it under his or her wing and to see to it that it is implemented.

The other young man who spoke to us is a Georgian Jew in this country two years. He made it very clear to us that he had been going to university in Odessa, and he came to Israel out of full Zionist conviction, not because he didn't have

opportunities there. And he expressed his great disappointment because he was not accepted into medical school. While he understood, and he was told that obviously everyone can't be accepted into medical school, nevertheless, there was a feeling on his part that those who come here under such special circumstances should get special opportunities.

When we spoke about the absorption of the immigrant professor or academic, here we ran into, I think, a far more serious problem. There is a new expression in Israel: "hidden employment." It means how many people are you taking on that you don't really need in order to provide employment opportunities, and the university is a classic example of giving opportunities to academics because there is a need to absorb them. Now, for the first year or two, or maybe even three, they receive a special grant from the Jewish Agency in order to absorb this academic staff, but after that they become part of the permanent payroll and of the permanent staff of the university. And in this day and age, when all universities are concerned about their budgets, there is increasing worry about the absorptive capacity. I think that as in other committees, as I read other resolutions, there is a feeling that more than universities have to employ and find room for immigrant scientists.

In this country, there does not exist, as there does in the United States and elsewhere, scientific institutions outside the university framework that can give employment to this group, and we therefore recommend very seriously that some thought be given to how we will be able to absorb these groups in the future.

As you know, in the United States and elsewhere, today we have an over abundance of Ph.Ds. Indeed, I dare say they are amongst the unemployed today in the western world. There was a sense of concern that perhaps this situation would also be developing in Israel with its very high form of higher education. But we quickly came to the conclusion that Israel needs this brain power very desperately in order to guide the direction of the country, and that the problems of the West should not be used as an example for Israel's future development.

One of our speakers pointed out to us that we have today in the West what is called a scientific crisis. There is a disenchantment that science has not solved the problems of the world. We blame science for pollution of the environment. We blame science for the atom bomb, and we blame science for

not only not solving problems but producing new ones. And there was a strong plea that we should not allow this disillusionment in the West to spread to Israel, which has its own form of development for the future.

Among the subjects we discussed was the very great need to increase the role of community colleges in Israel. We know that there is an increased demand for post-secondary school education, and that it is not necessary for everyone to go to college or to university. We know too that Israel needs skilled people who will have two additional years of post-secondary school. There has been a remarkable development in regional colleges in Israel. We want to express our gratification at the way this has been moving forward, and to express the hope that this will find a place, perhaps as a special subcommittee of the Ministry of Education.

We heard too of a very exciting program that was developed at Haifa University, where 65 leaders were selected from development towns to go to Haifa University, in order to train them to be leaders of development towns, and we feel that this kind of program should be expanded to other places.

There are two great needs of Israel today, among others: one is for an increased number of social workers, and therefore our committee viewed with great favor the increase in schools of social work, or the increase of student bodies within the existing schools. And we felt, too, that it was not enough to be building so many schools throughout Israel unless there were good teacher training programs to give the right calibre of teacher to the schools.

These were two areas in which we felt the Jewish Agency allocations should get special attention: teacher training and schools of social work.

Another problem we discussed was the need for coordination in the United States, as well as here, in processing the applications of students who wanted to study in Israel. There should be one office, it may be in many cities, where any student who wants to study in Israel should be able to get, in a single place, the information about all the universities. Also, the tuition fees and the scholarships should be on the same level for all, so that there would not be competition, as there is today, for the overseas students.

We heard with dismay that there is a steady downward trend of overseas students studying in Israel, and we relate it to many things. Perhaps one is cost and economics. But we also relate it to what I mentioned before, the inadequate social absorption of the overseas students during their stay in Israel. And while there is a student authority which deals with all these problems, it was pointed out to us that, since the Six-Day War, they have dealt with 20,000 students coming from 62 countries, not only at the universities, but many of them taking one-year programs or courses of specialized interest. Nevertheless, it was felt that this program needed much more careful upgrading than it has received up till now.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HOUSING AND COMMUNITY WORK

Mr. Robert Russell, Chairman
June 19, 1975

Last year, at the Assembly, I concluded the report of the Committee of Housing by explaining that I hoped when we would meet again, a balance would be restored between the tremendous housing needs and the ability of this country's construction industry to fulfil them. I am pleased to tell you that I, and the other members of my committee, have noted vast improvements in the technological development and the productivity. Regretfully, its increased ability to produce comes at a time of sizeable reduction in immigration.

Our committee is pleased that the Jewish Agency Assembly has seen fit to officially change the name of our committee from the Committee on Housing to the Committee on Housing and Community Work, since this name reflects the attitude and sentiments of committee members who are concerned with the people who live in housing provided by the Jewish Agency and the quality of their lives, as well as the facilities in which they live.

Our committee also notes with pleasure that we again had a representative of the Ministry of Housing to present an in-depth report in relation to meeting the housing needs of new immigrants. David Veinshall, the Director-General of the Ministry of Housing, went to great lengths to explore matters of concern with our committee and to respond in great detail to our questions. He outlined the goals of a five-year plan which would:

1. provide housing for natural and immigration growth;
2. undertake slum clearance;
3. deal with population dispersal;
4. establish integrated neighborhoods;
5. ensure the provision of proper environmental qualities;

6. work for the advancement of construction;
7. develop a reservoir of plans and sites for greater flexibility in response to changing requirements.

We were particularly pleased that he emphasized the contribution of TACH, the Technical Advisory Committee on Housing, through its close relationship with the construction industry in Israel, as well as by arranging for 21 Israeli contractors to tour major construction areas in the United States to observe at first hand advanced practices and systems employed there. Exposure, both directly and indirectly, to building techniques in the United States has helped improve production schedules and workmanship, and has reduced costs. We hope to expand the activities of TACH, so that continued advances and progress can be made to continue to improve Israeli building methods.

I would be guilty of an omission, if I failed to note the realities that, in the year ahead, there will be substantial unemployment in the housing industry, and the progress that I noted earlier in my report in the areas of industrialization will not be utilized. This will substantially reduce the ratio of Arab labor to Israeli labor in the construction industry.

Many questions were raised by members of my committee regarding the quality of construction, building codes and licensing standards for contractors.

We were troubled by continued inadequacy of housing units for singles, and by the amount of substandard housing still remaining and the time it takes for replacement housing to go up, and the fact that 38,000 families are living in this substandard category, and from 80,000 to 85,000 families are living in overcrowded apartments. We are particularly distressed by the social problems such conditions generate, and we commend the Jewish Agency programs that are now being innovated in these areas.

Although we are encouraged by the information that the Ministries of Labor, Education and Housing have met with the Technical Advisory Committee on Housing to set up a joint program for the training and development of technical personnel, we still note the extensive need for schools in Israel to train technical personnel which would result in more efficiency, lower costs and better quality of construction.

Our committee was privileged to hear a presentation by Avraham Cygel, Chairman of the Board and Chief Operating Officer of AMI-GOUR and other Jewish Agency development enterprises. Incidentally, I had the privilege of making on-site visits with Mr. Cygel to some of the Agency's building companies' installations, and I was impressed with their growth and development since last year. These companies, in addition to providing buildings and apartments for immigrants all over the country, are also building new wings and extra rooms, as they are systematically improving and expanding in excess of 35,000 units for growing families. Mr. Cygel presented our committee with a detailed progress report on the efforts of AMI-GOUR to alleviate the housing distress presently being experienced by 40,000 families.

We commend the time reduction for development. The employment being provided by these companies and their ability to produce community facilities such as sports centers, absorption centers, cultural centers, hostels, etc., with a pioneering sense of innovation and flexibility. The hostel for new immigrants at Kfar Saba is a particularly shining example. It is presently under construction and will provide the full range of facilities needed by singles and married couples who come on aliyah.

We were impressed with Mr. Cygel's explanation of the growth of the Jewish Agency companies, their willingness to undertake any and all projects assigned to them, that will benefit the State and the efficiency with which they appear to be operating.

Of special note was the housing section being built in Ashdod by one of these companies, MABAT. Here I saw a project being built from precast concrete made at the Mabat-Holon Plant where the first unit was ready for occupancy after eight months of allotted construction time and where the project will be finished in 14 months, including landscaping.

An historical moment occurred when our committee met in joint session with the Committee on Education and Youth Projects. We agree in principle with the need to strengthen the Jewish Agency's role in helping to close the social gap by broadening and intensifying Jewish Agency activities in the development towns and in selected neighborhoods of large cities, as well as to utilizing Jewish Agency experience, initiative, funds and unique position to help improve the quality of life in these localities.

Our committee heard a presentation and report of the community work program being conducted by AMI-GOUR and that company's efforts to maintain and improve existing facilities under their management.

We note with satisfaction the activating and innovating role AMI-GOUR has assumed in increasing the informal, educational and socialization activities of the residents of AMI-GOUR housing, and their involvement and coordination of various sectors in the municipality to work together through the full utilization of installations and facilities. They are providing the incentive and initiative which is greatly influencing the quality of life for these Israelis.

Our committee strongly recommends that emphasis be placed upon the provisions for saturating areas and neighborhoods with as many small facilities as possible, in addition to large single and multi-purpose community centers. We should make maximum use of whatever facilities exist, such as shelters in neighborhoods, where cultural programs could be established.

We recommend to the Jewish Agency that more time be provided for deliberations at these Assemblies, that field trips be geared to specific interests of committee members. Residents and tenants should be available for discussing their feelings and attitudes about housing.

We further recommend that the Agency utilize the time of committee members when they are in Israel for other purposes.

The Committee on Housing and Community Work deliberated long and hard on the many and varied topics which were on our agenda, as well as some which were not. It is hoped that our time and efforts will enable the Jewish Agency to continue to move forward in the furtherance of their purposes and achievement of their goals on behalf of the Land and People.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FUND-RAISING

Mr. Paul Zuckerman, Chairman
June 19, 1975

The World Fund-Raising Committee, unlike other Assembly committees, is very unusual in that it deals in the abstract more than in the concrete. For instance, the Housing Committee can count the number of houses they have and realize how many more they need. The Youth Aliyah Committee can count the number of youngsters that they're helping out and realize that they're behind and there are many more to attend to, and so on. In fund-raising, you must wait until the game is over and then, of course, you turn the money over to the parent organization, which then turns the money over to the various committees that represent these different items, like housing and rural development and absorption, etc. Of course, without funds of any kind, without the Keren Hayesod and the United Jewish Appeal, we wouldn't have a Jewish Agency, we wouldn't have anything to talk about in the first place.

The tone of our meeting was very important, because we had to make the mental transition from being either Keren Hayesod or United Jewish Appeal into being just plain Jews, interested in raising money for Jews and for our Jewishness. Of course, the Jewish Agency is a very important part of our Jewishness because it's a very important item in the life of Israel, and Israel is the core, the anchorage, the true identity of our Jewishness.

That transition was difficult to make, but I want to say that I never was prouder in my life. I have either chaired or attended the last four Fund-Raising Committee meetings. This was the largest attendance in history; it was the most productive; it ran smoothly, there was a great deal of preparation way ahead of time. I was impressed with the dedication and commitment of the committee members and, more than anything else, with the free expression of ideas, including new and bold ideas, calling for new initiatives.

We decided that there should be established a Permanent Committee on World Fund-Raising, which would work all year round, and which would meet at intervals, to see to it that these new ideas were carried out. The Committee has been established and will begin working immediately.

We also came to the conclusion that the only times, apparently, the Jewish people in the world really did what they were supposed to do was when there was a war, and then, of course, they rose to great heights. The job was very simple: all you needed were bushel baskets to carry the money to the banks. But it really wasn't fund-raising, and then there would be a decline, until the next war.

Our committee discussed this matter thoroughly and concluded that the time had come for the Jewish people to reach a new plateau of understanding and wisdom, that instead of waiting for the emotional trauma of a war, instead of waiting for the blood and the tears, the graves and the orphans, we must understand fully what Israel stands for, what Israel means for our Jewishness, for our children's children. We concluded that it's about time for us to raise the kind of money that this country needs without a war, and that is what our track will be from now on. I am positive that in the future, and in the very immediate future, we will raise more without the help of Egypt or Syria.

Let me present to you some of the plans and programs discussed by the committee, some old plans and some new plans. The emphasis, of course, is on international activities, with the full cooperation of the Keren Hayesod campaign organizations and the United Jewish Appeal.

On December 1st or 2nd, there will be a meeting in London for people who give contributions on what we call "a much larger scale". I should explain that this project was in the works before the committee met. Originally, Keren Hayesod and the United Jewish Appeal had reckoned on thirty to forty couples. However, when we presented the project to the committee, there was a great wave of enthusiasm for the idea, and one country after another asked to be included and gave assurances that everything possible would be done to see to it that they would be represented.

In January, there will be an International Mission to Israel. Again, there was great enthusiasm. I am confident from the expressions we heard at the committee meeting that there will be an excellent turn-out for this mission, because the members will go back to their home communities and work hard to assure success. Of course, the Permanent Committee will be following up on these efforts.

Also carefully studied was the question of speakers from Israel and the exchange of lay speakers and solicitors from the various countries. It was agreed that special efforts were required to improve the preparation of speakers from Israel, and to assure greater and more effective use of lay speakers and solicitors from the various countries.

New approaches to campaign problems were discussed, and many outstanding examples given, especially from the campaigns in New York City and in South Africa. Not only was active interest shown in these ideas but the members present immediately made arrangements to get hold of the various tapes and cassettes and other materials related to these ideas.

Cash mobilization took up a very important part of our discussions. The Jewish Agency Executive must operate on a cash basis, not a pledge basis. Therefore, the primacy of cash was discussed in depth. We determined that there should be a 12-month effort in all countries, and that cash collection should have leadership just as important as the fund-raising groups have now, that they should be on the same level as the actual raising of funds. In this way, we hope, the cash will come in faster than it ever came in before.

Unanimous agreement was reached that the mission programs give greater dimensions to the amount of giving, by at least 25 percent. The missions that come to Israel will always raise 25 percent or more from givers than if they are seen in their home town. Therefore, we concluded that recruitment for missions from now on must be more intense, and all the missions must be fund-raising missions.

Incidentally, the UJA had 70 missions last year with a total of 2,800 participants. They have already scheduled 52 as a "starter" for next year, which will bring its rewards. Keren Hayesod had over 50 missions last year, the most in their history, and they are planning to do much more this year.

Then we discussed workers' training. The Jewish Agency established the Institute for Leadership Development, which used to be called the Institute for Fund-Raising. We realize today that leadership development is just as important as fund-raising, because leadership development leads to fund-raising eventually. We decided to look into the issue in great depth, and a committee is being appointed to find ways to properly utilize what we decided was the most valuable asset that we have in Israel, and that is the Institute for Leadership Development, not only for professionals, but for lay people also.

Retreats were discussed, such as those run by the national UJA, and it was felt that all countries could benefit from them.

The exchange of materials was encouraged. It was agreed that audio-visual material should be used more. We are arranging for proper distribution of materials through the conduits that we will establish.

The Keren Hayesod has set up a special department for the Women's Division. There are four new women's divisions in France, Canada, and two other countries. Three women's divisions are being organized in Germany, and it was agreed that women's divisions will be set up in all countries where it is feasible.

The UJA Women's Division has branches in 98 communities and has raised \$38,800,000, as of April 15th, for the 1975 campaign. The women are becoming more directly involved in the general campaign. I would say that the women's divisions give strength to a general campaign far and above what they raise in dollars.

First of all, women are more emotional and they grasp the need for a strong Israel perhaps a little more deeply, and they show it. Secondly, they believe more in the education of the youngsters, they have more time to think about it, they have more time to work. Besides, I think they are a good influence on their husbands to give more, because there is nothing more powerful than a woman who believes in something.

Some concern was expressed lest the establishment of Women's Divisions would divert funds raised by women's organizations, like WIZO, which themselves are long-established and raising funds for special programs in Israel. Personally, I feel that, where there is a Women's Division of the central campaign, it is not only good for the campaign but that it lifts up all the philanthropic enterprises in which women are interested. In any event, I felt that the discussion around this point was most productive.

Then, we discussed Young Leadership groups. Allan Pollack, former chairman of the UJA Young Leadership Division, expressed the hope that more young leaders would be asked to participate in the Jewish Agency Assembly meetings, and I agreed that there were not enough young people at this meeting, and we must do something about it.

As to Young Leadership activities, Keren Hayesod has 32 Young Leadership groups operating in its various countries, five of them established this year. Eleven young leadership missions from seven countries visited Israel during this past year. Seminars were held in seven countries. A European Conference was held in Amsterdam in May, just before this Assembly.

The UJA Young Leadership group contributed \$5 millions as compared with \$4 millions last year. Their mission program was very successful, particularly in regard to solicitation. The Family Missions were successful. One will arrive on June 29th, with 30 couples and over 100 children. Seventeen weekend retreats had an average attendance of 200 each. Now UJA is planning a "Koach" Mission for next November, with a participation of 1,000 young leaders.

We also discussed the issue of mass campaigns, and the Permanent Committee will make a study of the highly successful South African mass campaign.

We have learned much from our discussions and from each other. Now let us put our knowledge to work in our common cause.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, June 16 - 19, 1975

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON BUDGET AND FINANCE
Mr. Melvin Dubinsky, Chairman
June 19, 1975

In the Budget and Finance Committee of the Assembly, we endeavor, in a ten-hour period, to review the seven departments of the Jewish Agency on a department-by-department and on a line-by-line basis, and we try to do it in depth. Obviously, in so short a time, we cannot do a complete job, but we try to make it as thorough as possible.

Many of the Department heads appeared at the Budget and Finance Committee and gave brief explanations of their work and answered questions on a line-by-line basis. Figures are dull, but if you want to know the operations of the Jewish Agency, you must know the budget. Then you really get the feeling of what each Department does in relation to costs, and begin to realize what are the problems of the Jewish Agency.

The amount of \$541,900,000 for which we are asking approval in this budget relates, frankly, to the anticipated cash-flow on a reasonably conservative basis. We compute the budget on the basis of April 1st to March 31st, a period of 12 months. By June, we can pretty well estimate how the campaigns are going around the world and, with other sources of income that we have, we are able to anticipate this \$541.9 million that I have just mentioned.

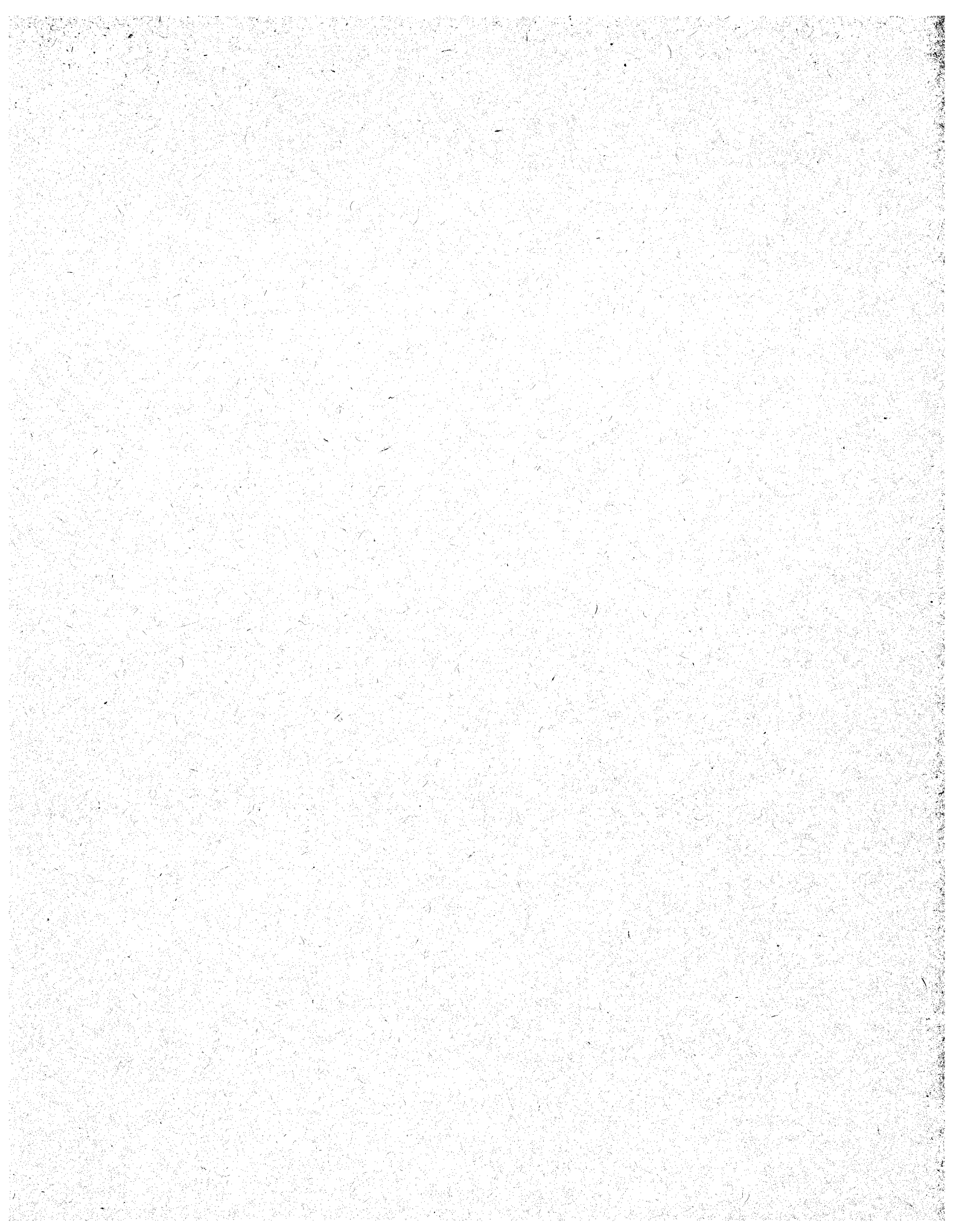
At the opening plenary session, our Treasurer, Mr. Dulzin, presented a budget of additional minimum needs of \$160 million. These are true human needs that have been eliminated from the regular budget because we do not have the resources to meet the needs. We can only expend what we expect in cash, and we are still hoping that in some way, somehow, the campaigns that have not been completed, and those that are partially completed, will be able to meet a part, if not all, of those needs. Frankly, I believe our goal should really be \$701 million and that is a minimum goal, with many of the human needs eliminated.

The story that is particularly told by the various departments in the Budget and Finance Committee, and which we recognize, is that there is a social gap for some 300-350,000 people presently living in Israel - some of the new Russian immigrants, and some of the immigrants who came here 10-15 years ago whom we have not completely absorbed. Some of them can never be completely absorbed because of age and other factors, and they must be maintained.

There are human needs that have not been answered. If there are any adjustments to be made in this budget during the year, the Budget and Finance Committee reiterated a strong recommendation that we apply any surpluses in any departments to closing the social gap. We have not completed our task. You and I who live in the Diaspora, together with the people who work with us in Israel, must take care of this segment of society. And I must tell you that, in every line in every department's budget, you see the shortages where human needs cannot be answered.

I would also like to mention the fact that, through the Long Range Planning Committee, a recommendation will go this week to the Executive and to the Board of Governors, proposing that next year, the year 1976-1977, we will change our budget procedure slightly. It is my recommendation that we have a relatively small budget committee, perhaps made up of 12-15 people, who are willing to come here at least two to three months prior to March 31, 1976 and meet with the various department heads and spend considerable time in in-depth study.

Before such a study can be made, however, the usual procedure must be followed, namely, that the Treasury prepare a preliminary budget prior to this budget committee's actions. This will be done by the department heads coming to the Treasurer and presenting their cases. The Treasurer will then recommend a budget to this budget committee, we will make an in-depth study, and send our recommendations back to the Treasurer and to the Executive, so that decisions can be made, with some recommendations, that will finally be approved by this body. That is the basic concept we suggest for future budgeting. It is not that we have had a bad procedure until now. What we are trying to do is to develop a better procedure, a procedure based on the concept that two heads are better than one. If we can do this, and I can tell you that both the Treasury and the people from the Diaspora are all perfectly in accord on this concept, I am certain that we will be able to do a better job in the future. Considering the fact that we have only been in existence for a period of four years, this department will improve just as the other departments have improved.



**THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, JUNE 16 - 19, 1975**

GENERAL RESOLUTION

The Fourth Annual Assembly of the Jewish Agency for Israel, meeting here in Jerusalem, the Eternal City, from June 16th to 19th, 1975, sends its greetings to the leaders and defenders of the State of Israel, to the people of Israel -- in the cities, in the development towns, in the settlements, and those standing guard on the borders.

This Assembly places on record its admiration of the superb courage of the people of Israel. Jewry throughout the world stands firmly with the State of Israel and with Israel's struggle for peace and security.

This Assembly is gravely concerned over the continuing persecution and harassment of the Jews in the Soviet Union because of their desire to go to Israel. We say to our brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union that the Jews of the free world will intensify their efforts to open the gates, so that they will be permitted to join their brothers and sisters in Israel. We in the Assembly of the Jewish Agency pledge ourselves that all those who come to Israel will be fully absorbed.

The Assembly sends its greetings and encouragement to our fellow Jews who are still trapped in Arab lands. We pray that very soon we will be able to greet them here -- in freedom.

We call upon the Jewish communities of the world, together with all right thinking people, to combat vigorously the economic boycott of Israel by the Arab nations; to condemn those who yield to blackmail, and who place economic and political expediency above international morality. The boycott is directed not only at Israel but at Jews the world over, and at the foundations of civilized society.

We condemn terrorism, and those who have condoned this savagery in the councils of the world. We are appalled at the violation of the very charters of international bodies by Arab political manipulation. These actions undermine the international bodies themselves. At the same time, we salute those who, in the interests of morality, and for the future of mankind; have opposed these aberrations. We call upon all people of good will to join with them in redressing the wrongs.

Whilst noting the progress of the Jewish Agency in helping to bridge the social gap in Israel, in housing, education, health and welfare, this Assembly resolves to redouble the efforts of the Agency to build in Israel a model Jewish society, based on justice and full opportunity for all.

We pray for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

We go forward with the traditional Jewish blessing:
"UFROSS ALEINU SUCCAT SHLOMECHA -- AMEN".

"SPREAD OVER US THE TABERNACLE OF YOUR PEACE -- AMEN".

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, JUNE 16 - 19, 1975

RESOLUTIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND ABSORPTION

1. Immigration

Recognizing that immigration is essential to the life and future of Israel and of the Jewish people, this Assembly urges the Jewish communities of the world to take energetic action to achieve this objective.

2. Absorption

Subject to budgetary considerations, the Assembly makes the following recommendations to the Board of Governors:

a. Employment

(1) Understanding that employment is necessary to full absorption in a society, and that a new immigrant is particularly vulnerable to the social and economic effects of job conditions, the Agency should explore: additional methods to assist the immigrant in adjusting to his new job; the development of greater job security, bearing in mind the particular problem of "last one in, first one out"; the adaptation of the job training required by many new immigrants to the changing needs of the economy.

(2) Beyond the efforts to absorb immigrant scientists into academic life, programs should be developed by the Agency to absorb them into industry in cooperation with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and all other relevant Ministries, the Israel Manufacturers' Association and other related groups.

(3) To carry out the purpose of the Jewish Agency Loan Fund to be made available to as many immigrants as required, a more intensive campaign should be undertaken to publicize the fund among immigrants and potential immigrants and the variety of immigrant-owned business projects that could be assisted by the fund.

(4) In order to implement the 1974 Assembly Resolution to make available to new immigrants business skills of executives in the Diaspora, the Agency should undertake a pilot program in cooperation with selected overseas Jewish communities, to seek out qualified business executives from the Diaspora to assist new-immigrant-enterprises with management expertise.

b. Personnel

The need for knowledgeable, skilled and understanding personnel is crucial for absorption. To upgrade the quality of personnel, it is recommended that:

- (1) In-service training programs for all staff dealing with immigrants should be expanded and intensified.
- (2) Staff of similar backgrounds to those of the new immigrants should be assigned to work with them.
- (3) The Agency should establish a task force to explore ways and means for the best utilization of university resources. The subject of absorption within the curriculum of appropriate faculties should be considered.

c. Social Integration

Social integration is an indispensable element in the successful absorption of immigrants.

- (1) In order to enable the Immigrant Associations to take greater initiative and assume greater responsibility in the absorption process, the Agency should undertake, together with these Associations, a thorough-going review of their scope, function, prerogatives and budgets.
- (2) The Jewish Agency should encourage and strengthen the activities and coordination of the various institutions, women's and other volunteer organizations involved in social integration and work in close cooperation with them.
- (3) This Assembly urges that the housing program for singles and for the elderly include more facilities and services for cultural and social programs.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR ISRAEL
FOURTH ANNUAL ASSEMBLY
JERUSALEM, JUNE 16 - 19, 1975

RESOLUTIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON RURAL SETTLEMENTS

1. The Assembly notes with satisfaction the concluding phase of a dramatic chapter in the 25-year settlement program in which 512 settlements were established for 150,000 immigrants.
2. We recommend to the Board of Governors, subject to budgetary considerations, that:
 - a. The plans of the Rural Settlement Department be implemented to consolidate and make viable 151 settlements within the next three years out of the 228 presently under its care, with special attention given to the second generation of settlers in the assignment of vacancies in their respective settlements.
 - b. Two new programs be undertaken for development:
 - (1) the Galilee area, to increase the Jewish population and to further the economic development of the area, mainly through industrialization;
 - (2) the Arava and Ramat Hanegv Region, to expand agricultural production, mainly with off season crops -- to provide incentive opportunities for new immigrants and to encourage the sons and daughters of immigrants to settle in these areas.
 - c. In the planning of new Moshavim and Kibbutzim, priority be given to organized groups from Israel and the Diaspora ready for settlement.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON YOUTH ALIYAH

We recommend to the Board of Governors that subject to budgetary considerations:

1. Youth Aliyah be encouraged to continue to expand its endeavors in the field of youth who come to Israel unaccompanied by their parents, and in the absorption of children of new immigrants.
2. Youth Aliyah expand its educational counselling to new immigrant adolescents and make provision for the admission of day students to schools affiliated with Youth Aliyah educational settings.
3. Youth Aliyah accelerate its program for the culturally deprived by absorbing 2,000 additional disadvantaged children this school year, which will bring the total of the Youth Aliyah disadvantaged students to approximately 13,000.
4. Youth Aliyah increase its services in the field of special rehabilitation programs for the culturally deprived, namely: additional social workers, remedial teaching, instrumental enrichment, encouragement of art education, development of thinking processes and identification with Israel and Judaism through actual and personal experience.
5. In view of the existing social and educational gap among Israel's adolescents, a team of specialists be appointed to examine Youth Aliyah's potential to increase substantially its services for disadvantaged adolescent youth in Israel, including the possibility of a five-year plan, with the findings and recommendations to be submitted to the next Assembly.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION & YOUTH PROJECTS

We recommend to the Board of Governors, subject to budgetary considerations, the following:

1. Pre-Kindergarten and Nursery Schools

There must be intensification of building construction and a crash program for the training and enlistment of the required personnel, together with more effective utilization of existing personnel in order to overcome the lacks in facilities, trained personnel and volunteers. This acceleration of building should be made possible by intensification of the work of the Israel Education Fund, which this year observes the tenth anniversary of its notable achievements.

2. School Facilities

There should be more effective use of school facilities in after-school hours for extra-curricular activities. When necessary, additions to the existing facilities should be encouraged as the most effective, least expensive, and quickest way to provide the service.

3. Comprehensive, Vocational and Technical Schools

a. Special efforts should be directed toward establishment of additional comprehensive vocational and technical schools.

b. Courses to train students for skilled work in the building industry should be instituted in schools located throughout Israel.

4. Scholarships

There should be an increase in the number of scholarships for the disadvantaged, and adjustment in amounts periodically to compensate for increases in the cost of living.

5. Community and Youth Centers

- a. Additional facilities should be constructed wherever possible and feasible to overcome the urgent need for community and youth centers.
- b. There should be increased use of shelters for youth clubs, and youth and neighborhood centers.
- c. Existing centers should be utilized for additional day care nurseries and pre-kindergartens.

6. Personnel

An expanded program of teacher recruitment and training is a matter of utmost urgency. Every effort should be made to effect its implementation, as called for last year but for which the training facilities have not been built.

7. Volunteer Workers

Recruitment and constructive use of more volunteers should be intensified to overcome the existing inadequacies, despite the excellent progress made.

8. Research and Evaluation

A continuing program of research and evaluation should be undertaken in all of the Jewish Agency sponsored educational programs.

9. Community Work of the Jewish Agency

- a. There should be a coordinated effort by the existing departments and services of the Jewish Agency to ensure maximum usage of manpower, facilities, programs and funds in the areas of their common concerns for the social and cultural life of the residents of development towns and selected neighborhoods of large cities.
- b. There should be the closest collaboration with the Sephardi Federation, J.D.C. Malben, Histadrut, women's organizations and other voluntary bodies; and with Municipalities, Local Councils, relevant Government Ministries and Interministerial bodies for the achievement of mutual objectives.

10. Special Fund for Educational Projects for Disadvantaged Youth

a. There should be further strengthening and expansion of the encouraging programs begun during the past year among disadvantaged youth which involve working with neighborhood groups and individuals.

b. Training programs for counsellors to work in these areas should be intensified.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

1. We commend the establishment of the Planning and Grants Committee in the past year, and its initial steps to develop orderly planning and allocation of resources for the institutions of higher learning, as urged by previous Assemblies of the Jewish Agency. We are gratified with the close cooperation between the Committee and the Agency.

2. The Planning and Grants Committee's action to define the total budgets of the institutions of higher learning is essential in providing the framework required by the Agency to allocate its own funds for higher education. This refined budgeting process by the Agency should go forward as fully as possible in the year ahead.

3. We recommend to the Board of Governors that, subject to budgetary considerations, the Jewish Agency's support should be directed particularly to those needs which best carry out the Agency's special responsibilities, such as:

- a. Pre-academic training and preparation of the educationally disadvantaged for higher education.
- b. Training of social workers.
- c. Training of nurses.
- d. Absorption of immigrant students and scholars.
- e. Financial aid to students.
- f. Agricultural productivity.
- g. Coordinated training of teachers.
- h. Research and libraries.
- i. Overseas student programs in Israel.

4. There should be a continuous assessment of Israel's manpower requirements so that university programs can be related to them.

5. We urge that there be increased recruitment of overseas students, and the establishment of a center to provide information to such prospective students about all programs available at the various universities in Israel.

6. Specific steps should be undertaken to ensure the widest dissemination of information in Israel and elsewhere about the role of the Jewish Agency in higher education.

7. Periodic reports during the year on the new developments should be made to members of the Assembly, and particularly to the Assembly's Committee on Higher Education.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON HOUSING AND COMMUNITY WORK

1. The Assembly regrets that TACH (Technological Advisory Committee on Housing) has neither continued nor expanded its activities and urges that the Resolution adopted by the Assembly in June 1974 be implemented. To this end the assistance and encouragement of the Chairman of the Jewish Agency and the Minister of Housing are earnestly requested.
2. The Assembly notes that provision of accommodations for single immigrants are not adequate and recommends that the Coordinating Committee of the Jewish Agency and the Government reconsider this problem as a matter of high priority within the overall policy of immigration and absorption.
3.
 - a. The Assembly notes and strongly supports the increased emphasis by the Agency on the quality of life, to be implemented by greater concentration on the individual, the family, and the neighborhood. It urges that all departments of the Agency coordinate their efforts toward this end and to the greatest possible extent.
 - b. It particularly supports the efforts of Amigour in its neighborhood club programs, and recommends to the Board of Governors, subject to budgetary considerations, expansion into areas not now being served, with utilization of existing facilities of all types for this purpose.
4. In view of the length of time consumed before completed apartments are turned over to the occupants, and since many of the persons who need the housing are currently living in substandard units, the Assembly urges that the Jewish Agency in cooperation with the Government seek improvements of the procedures in order to expedite the occupancy of housing units already completed or soon to be completed.
5. The Assembly recommends that special effort be made to provide the infra-structure in existing and older neighborhoods, particularly in the under-privileged areas; such as nurseries, kindergartens, schools and shops, the same as are currently being incorporated in new communities.

6. The Assembly urges the Agency to give consideration to programs for the training of skilled workers in the building industry especially in the fields of electrical installations, plumbing and heating, and carpentry.
7. The Assembly urges the Agency to recruit additional professional social workers, including some from abroad if necessary, to work in residence in AMI-GOUR and other housing areas, in order to help strengthen the delivery of services.
8. The Assembly recommends that social workers be assigned to development towns and disadvantaged areas of large cities in order to help develop volunteer programs serving the residents to upgrade the environment of their residential area.
9. The Assembly recommends that the Jewish Agency initiate a study, in collaboration with the Government of Israel, of the problem of slum clearance throughout the country with a view to formulating a considered plan to eradicate all slums.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON WORLD FUND-RAISING

1. The Assembly notes with approval the decision of the Committee on World Fund-Raising of the Jewish Agency to accept the urgency of meeting the extraordinary human needs set forth in the Jewish Agency budget as the minimum requirements.
2. The Assembly recognizes the primacy of cash as the vehicle for meeting the needs of the Jewish Agency. This must be emphasized in all stages of each campaign with greater emphasis than ever before.
3. The Assembly reemphasizes the need to intensify international cooperation and coordination in fund-raising. To effect this, the Assembly endorses:
 - a. the widest possible exchange of fund-raising experiences, ideas, campaign materials, and world-wide cooperation in canvassing and soliciting at all levels;
 - b. international fund-raising meetings at various levels of giving;
 - c. international conferences to be held in Israel;
 - d. international missions;
 - e. international cooperation among Women's Divisions to strengthen them further in their campaign, and to establish them where they do not yet exist, wherever possible;
 - f. priority to the formation of Young Leadership Divisions in countries where they do not yet exist; international cooperation both in Israel and in the Diaspora should be encouraged;
 - g. the right of every Jew to be asked for his annual meaningful contribution; it is the duty of every country's fund-raising organization to devise the methods and create the means to make this possible.
4.
 - a. The Israel Emergency Appeal of the UJA and the Keren Hayesod - United Israel Appeal are the only instruments authorized to raise funds for the basic human needs of Israel, and must not be eroded by diversion or competition for funds, time and energies of other drives.

b. Competitive campaigns should be avoided. They impair the effectiveness and results of the UJA and Keren Hayesod - United Israel Appeal campaigns. All other fund-raising activities must be worked out in each country under the auspices of the UJA or Keren Hayesod - United Israel Appeal, or such control committee as may exist in the respective countries, with the exception of the women's organizations, as in the past.

c. The absolute and full support and implementation of all such control arrangements must be the responsibility of the Central Appeals Coordinating Committee in Israel. It must assure the full cooperation of Israelis, the Israel authorities, as well as of the central offices of the Israel-based institutions. This is essential for the attainment of the objectives of this resolution.

5. In order to accomplish the above goals, the members of the Assembly, fully understanding their personal responsibility as leaders of world Jewry, undertake:

- a. to demonstrate by their personal example a commitment of an appropriate leadership contribution;
- b. to translate this commitment into cash at the earliest possible opportunity;
- c. to devote a maximum of time and effort to the campaign, and to assume full responsibility for providing the impetus for that campaign.

6. This Assembly calls upon the members of the Board of Governors and the Executive, acting as collective bodies and in their individual capacities, to exert the greatest possible pressure on the proper authorities in Israel to approve charter flights, package tours and other travel incentives in order to ensure a maximum flow of tourists to Israel.

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RESOLUTIONS OF THE
COMMITTEE ON BUDGET AND FINANCE

1. The Assembly, taking note of the resolutions adopted in 1973, expects that the Standing Budget and Finance Committee of the Board of Governors will receive and review the Budget prepared for the ensuing year at least two months prior to the beginning of each fiscal year.

2. The Assembly approves the proposed Budget in the amount of \$541.9 millions for the fiscal year April 1, 1975, to March 31, 1976, as submitted by the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency on behalf of the Executive and the Board of Governors and recommended by Committee on Budget and Finance.

In view of the imperative necessity to satisfy even the minimum of the actual and urgent needs, the Assembly approves an additional budget of \$160 millions for the purposes recommended by the Board of Governors and the Budget and Finance Committee.

The Board of Governors is authorized to make such changes in the Budget during the course of the fiscal year as conditions may necessitate.

3. Should the meeting of the next Assembly be held subsequent to the commencement of the next fiscal year, the Board of Governors is authorized to fix and determine the Budget and authorize expenditures for the interim period between the commencement of the fiscal year commencing April 1, 1976 and the date on which the next Assembly will fix the final Budget for that fiscal year, in accordance with the recommendations of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee of the Board of Governors.