

Ben-Gurion Calls on Congress, For Movement Zionwards, Begin: All Jews Have One Home



The Prime Minister addressing yesterday morning's session of the Zionist Congress.

Aliya at Centre of Debate

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The theme "Congress of Aliya" was clearly rejected yesterday, when most speakers in the general

By SHALOM COHEN, Jerusalem Post Reporter
Calling for increased immigration under the banner of "Zions" (to Zion), Prime Minister Ben-Gurion made the major address of yesterday's sessions of the Zionist Congress. It was an impassioned plea for aliya, particularly by young people of the well-established, prosperous communities.

In what was regarded as Mr. Ben-Gurion's answer to the debate over "what is Zionism," the Prime Minister coined the word "Zions" to describe the concept of "redemption that filled the spiritual world of the pioneers of the last generations who brought us to our goal, the establishment of the State of Israel." Full report of Mr. Ben-Gurion's speech on Page Two.

Mr. Ben-Gurion spoke in Hebrew, for an hour and three quarters, hammering his points home with blows of his fist. The Premier prefaced his address to the crammed auditorium by telling his au-

Luz Eulogizes Yosef Sprinzak

Tribute to Yosef Sprinzak, Knesset Speaker until his death in January 1959 and President of the 24th Zionist Congress, was paid last night by Knesset Speaker Kadish Luz at the opening of last night's session of the Zionist Congress in Jerusalem.

Mr. Luz recalled the Sprinzak helped found the Tseirei Zion movement in his native Russia at the turn of the century, and remained in the forefront of the Zionist movement after coming to Israel in 1908. The urgency of the nation was a sacred value, and he worked

PROGRAM ANDERSON, EMAN SAYS

Call on U. S. to Go to Israel

INCENT BUTLER

York, Jan. 9.—Clarence Anderson Jr., president of American Council for Judaism, today termed anti-Zionist statements and proposals of the World Zionist Congress as "slandering to American Jewish faith."

Glencoe, Ill., today rejects the Zionists' demand that American Jews go to Israel as a national duty. The decision was made at the conclusion of the 10-day Zionist Congress which ended yesterday in Jerusalem.

The Congress is the highest policy-making body of the world Zionism. It is to "rescue" American Jewry from "spiritual decline, stagnation and conversion."

Clarence L. Coleman, commenting on the resolutions taken by the Congress, said that the council believes its 20,000 members are whole-hearted supporters of the United States and seek no other homeland.

"We reject categorically the suggestion that we are acts for emigration simply because we have co-existed in Israel," he said. "The present implication that our children will be 'rescued' out of American with only the matter of open to question."

Coleman said the council members are loyal adherents of Judaism and that "Judaism is at home wherever man dwells." He said that nowhere Judaism flourished as it has in the United States.

"In No Way Related" Our religion and our national status are completely separate and distinct," Coleman said. "Zionist and Israeli politics and legislation are in no way related to our Judaism."

The government philosophy of the United States particularly provides for such separation of church and state. To the extent that even the United States government has by inaction lent some credence to the Zionist concept of Jews as a separate body-politic in the United States, the A. C. J. has systematically and publicly rejected this dereliction and has called for specific counteraction by the United States government.

Plants Jewish Groups to Meet On Diaspora Education

TUESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1961

Education—a Tool of Zionism

Day Schools Urged for U.S.

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The making of Zionists out of Jewish youth in the U.S., was a central theme of the 10-day sessions of the Jewish Agency Executive Members from both New York and Jerusalem who addressed the Zionist Congress last night.

Education as the instrument for achieving this was stressed by all of them. Dr. Israel Goldstein, slated as the new Chairman of the Jerusalem Executive, said the Zionists' trend in the U.S. is not making a concentrated effort to establish Zionists day schools as was done by the Zionists in Great Britain. Dr. Goldstein urged that American Zionists be in the forefront of those who resist the trend in many communities to place "luxury philanthropies locally ahead of the dire necessities of those who knock at the gates of Israel." The fundamental

This Clipping From NEW YORK, N. Y. DAILY NEWS

JAN 10 1961

Jewish Body Hits Zionist 'Rescue'

The American Council for Judaism yesterday "categorically rejected" a World Zionist Congress promise to "rescue" American Jews from "spiritual decline, stagnation and conversion." The council repudiated the proposal that Americans of Jewish faith be expected to emigrate to Israel as a matter of "national duty."

In a press conference at the council's national headquarters, 201 E. 57th St., ACJ President Clarence L. Coleman Jr. of Glencoe, Ill., said his 20,000-member organization "categorically rejects the entire Zionist philosophy and all of the new programs designed to advance which triggered council protests which contained in a 1,200-word resolution unanimously adopted Sunday by 500 Zionist Congress delegates at the end of a 10-day assembly in Jerusalem.

The first point of the resolution declared that "immigration shall form a principal task of Zionism in Jewish communities all over the world." Asked if he thought American Jews would forsake life in the United States in any appreciable numbers to pioneer in the Negev, Coleman said his group feared that long-range educational programs of America's 600,000-member Zionist organizations might bring this about.

Coleman said Zionist plans call for sending some Jews to Israel under President-elect Kennedy's proposed "Peace Corps" program in the hope that many would settle there permanently. "We (Jews) are wholehearted citizens of these United States," Coleman declared. "We seek no other homeland. We believe it is a disservice to America to suggest that in this democratic society one cannot live a full religious life. We categorically reject any suggestion that we are subjects for emigration, simply because we have coreligionists in Israel. "Our religion and our national status are completely separate and distinct," Coleman added, "and Zionist and Israeli politics and legislation are in no way related to our Judaism."

Mr. David Ben-Aryeh, Head of the Department for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora, said teaching of the Hebrew language was not enough — education must also train for a religious-national Jewish life. Mr. Zvi Lurie, Head of the Organization Department, called for the doubling of all-

Hebrew U. Not For Israel Alone

Jerusalem Post Reporter
The Hebrew University has prepared a new plan for Jewish education in the Diaspora and is about to present it to the Zionist Congress.

Louis Levinthal. "We would be justified in undertaking as a goal for a five-year plan the bringing to Israel," according to Dr. Israel Goldstein, co-Chairman of the World Confederation of General Zionists, "Delivering the keynote address of the conference is expected to be the Education Minister Abba Eban, who was billed to speak at this session, but, owing to a Government meeting with anti-

5,000 Jews a Year Can Come from US

Two motorcyclists in Holon, Tel Aviv, on the third road in Tel Aviv over a won Sunday afternoon. Yosef Ka of Holon, motorcycle pre-dawn morning, cursed in Hebrew. The ca and later Amnon, a w finally in his moto a deliver aman fa afternoon way to lided will Mordeca tulla. He w: Hephita his in On b Sheine Raboy was ru — He i bl at of

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called for the rejuvenation of the Zionist Organization of members who are who loved Zionism were told they are not Zionists. Mr. Ben-Gurion spoke disparagingly because we

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ZIONISM'S 4-YEAR PLAN

25th WORLD ZIONIST CONGRESS

AN ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL RESOLUTIONS, SPEECHES AND SELDOM-REVEALED GOALS FOR U. S. JEWS

WITH PROJECTIONS

OF HOW ZIONISM WILL AFFECT U. S. NON-ZIONIST GROUPS, TEMPLES, SCHOOLS, FUND RAISING, YOUTH AND — ABOVE ALL — THE POLITICAL STATUS OF JEWS IN THE U. S.

THE AIM IS CLEAR:

1. "CAPTURE THE COMMUNITIES!" STARTING WITH NON-ZIONIST GROUPS
2. "EDUCATE" U. S. JEWS NOW FOR EVENTUAL EMIGRATION TO ISRAEL

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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Dedication: to the Jews of North Africa

... who are already physically threatened in their own countries by the official actions publicly announced by the World Zionist Congress of 1961. One astute observer reports this below -- and, gratifyingly, indicates how countersteps of The American Council for Judaism are helping the Jews of North Africa against world Zionism's shameful exploitation. May the majority of Americans of Jewish faith understand this speedily -- and in time!



Arming the Enemy

JOSEPH BARRY

Not since the forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion, perhaps, has so much potential damage been done to the Jews outside Israel as by one recent remark of Prime Minister Ben-Gurion. When he told the 25th Zionist Congress in Jerusalem that ever since Israel had become a Jewish state, "Every religious Jew has daily violated the precepts of Judaism by remaining in exile," he handed every anti-Semitic nationalist from the Soviet Union to Saudi Arabia a knout.

It doesn't help a tinker's dam to place Ben-Gurion's remark in its Talmudic religious context or to ask the press of the world to print his entire speech. Statesmen are—or should be—responsible for statements of theirs that, even ripped out of context, can do so much harm to their countrymen or, in this case, their co-religionists.

* * *

In America Ben-Gurion's political theology may be more or less academic, since anti-Semitism seems largely a problem on the fanatical fringe. In Western Europe, too, so long as prosperity and faith in pluralistic democracy prevail, Ben-Gurion's Jewish nationalism (for that is what it is), though potentially dangerous for the Jewish minority, is not a real and present danger.

However, wherever old nations are caught in a new contagion of nationalism or new nations are feverishly trying to define themselves, Ben-Gurion's insistence that it is the duty of Jews to dwell in Israel is far from helpful to them.

Nationalists can quote Ben-Gurion as saying, in effect, "Jews are strangers in this country. They should go back where they belong." In the category of old nations, of course, is Russia, caught in its own kind of Communist nationalism. To Russia's Communists, Jews are "cosmopolitans," or a people owing allegiance to a land other than Russia.

In the second category are the new nations of Asia and Africa, so newly new that they completely lack the sophisticated nationalism of people such as the French and the confidence

of most Frenchmen, for instance, that they have nothing to fear from national minorities in their midst. It is here that Ben-Gurion has done incredible harm, and probably nowhere as much as in North Africa—Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria.

Ben-Gurion's ill-considered speech coincided tragically with the pathetic sinking of a Spanish yacht carrying Moroccan Jews fleeing that Moslem country for Israel. It also followed the French referendum on Algeria, which has virtually set the stage for Algeria's independence, which in turn poses the acute problem of what happens to the European—and particularly the Jewish—minority which bitterly opposed Algerian nationalism, preferring French rule.

In both Morocco and Algeria, Jews on the whole have been identified as belonging to the French colonial camp. Consequently, when the first became independent, Jews were not considered part of the new national movement. The same is feared for the day after the independence of Algeria. Here Ben-Gurion has not helped.

However, in Tunisia, thanks largely to President Bourguiba and the political cooperation of Tunisian Jews in his Neo-Destour Party during the difficult days preceding liberation, things have been better.

* * *

For one thing, Bourguiba has fought Nasser's demagogic leadership; for another, he has resisted the temptation to blame Israel for all Arab problems. Now Afrique Action, a new Tunisian weekly close to Bourguiba, is trying to limit Ben-Gurion's damage. In a current article on "Jews and Moslems," it quotes the response of the American Council for Judaism to the Israeli Prime Minister's devastating remark: "Our nationality is American; our religion is Judaism. Our homeland is the U.S., and we reject the concept that all Jews outside Israel are in exile."

To this the Tunisian weekly adds: "We know there are Tunisian Jews who feel the same way about Tunisia." That, at least, might help, where Ben-Gurion has not.



A national organization founded on the basic proposition that Judaism is a religion of universal values — not a nationality. We seek for Americans of Jewish faith their increasing civic, cultural and social integration into U. S. life. The Council's active program enables American Jews to meet obligations in public affairs, religion, and philanthropy in ways compatible with our beliefs rather than in the "Jewish" nationalist pattern of Zionism. The Council affirms that nationality and religion are separate and distinct; that no Jew or group of Jews can speak for all American Jews; that Israel is the "homeland" of its own citizens only, and not of all Jews.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

February, 1961

THE 25th WORLD ZIONIST CONGRESS

by: Leonard R. Sussman

"Congress of Aliya"

The World Zionist Congress, highest policy-body of Zionism, concluded its eleven-day session January 10, 1961. It set a course for all Zionists for the next four years.

Of the 510 delegates, 28% were from the United States, 37% from Israel and 35% from other countries. There were 277 speakers from 34 countries.

For the first time in the history of the Zionist Movement, non-Zionist organizations were also present as "fraternal delegates" or observers. From the United States were representatives of B'nai B'rith; the New York Board of Rabbis; another association representing 800 U.S. Conservative rabbis; the American Association for Jewish Education; the American Jewish Congress; and Young Israel.

Before the Congress was two days old, it had earned the official theme and label: "Congress of Aliya." (Aliya means emigration to Israel; Chalutziuth means emigrating to Israel in the pioneering spirit; Diaspora refers to lands outside of Israel; Golah means any place where Jews live in "Exile" -- any place outside of Israel. These terms were employed thousands of times during the eleven days.)

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Virtually every speaker who addressed the Congress called for aliya -- the emigration of every Jew in the world to Israel. The official "Congress Notes" of December 30 stated that "a unanimous 'yea' was sounded" after Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Zionist Organization, ended their keynote pleas for emigration. Some wanted full emigration immediately. Some felt this was unrealistic for the next generation. Some, like one American leader, Mrs. Rose Halpern, thought it might take a hundred years. Many discussed the problems to be surmounted. Others described the vast funds needed to stimulate aliya. Nearly everyone concluded that the key to the mass emigration of western Jews was -- education! "Education for aliya!" And the prime target was the United States.

It should be clearly and unequivocally understood that there was absolutely no objection on the part of even one of the 145 American delegates to the demand for emigration of American Jews. When the final resolutions were adopted, making aliya "a principal task of Zionist life," they were passed unanimously.

The basic assumption of classic Zionism was repeated by nearly every delegate who spoke, no matter what his present country of citizenship. This is the old -- and present -- Zionist doctrine which will govern all Zionist organizations in the world for the next four years:

1. Every Jew in the world is part of a single national group -- "the Jewish people."
2. Every Jew has national responsibilities to the State of Israel.
3. A basic national duty stemming from his religion is the duty to emigrate to Israel.
4. No Jew outside of Israel can live a full Jewish life.
5. Every Jew in every country outside of Israel -- particularly in the United States and in western Europe -- lives in a fool's paradise which must eventually assimilate him or persecute him.

Many of the speakers made that clear. What was new was the frankness with which these ideas were expressed by the men who control many of the major Jewish organizations in the world. They also control most of the vast fund-raising and fund-spending apparatus in the United States and elsewhere. Among them were the highest officials of the government of Israel, including the president, the prime minister, the foreign minister and the finance minister. They spoke as Zionists and as governmental leaders -- on a platform which

was itself quasi-governmental. For the Zionist Congress is the highest body of the entire "Jewish nation." And it also has formal ties with the Government of Israel.

The words and deeds of this group of men and women were reported to newspapers throughout the world. Three stories appeared on the front page of the New York Times, and several others were carried in prominent positions inside. The Times printed the entire text of Mr. Ben-Gurion's address. It covered two full pages -- nearly 16 columns of type -- after starting on page one. This treatment is usually reserved only for the utterances of presidents and prime ministers -- and only then on unusually important occasions. Hundreds of U.S. newspapers -- in large cities and small -- reported the most blatant aspects of the Congress, such as the call for U.S. Jews to emigrate.

Perhaps the reason for this broad coverage was the loud, negative reaction which followed newspaper accounts of the Ben-Gurion speech. The press had reported this Ben-Gurion statement: "Since the day when the Jewish State was established and the gates of Israel were flung open to every Jew who wanted to come, every religious Jew has daily violated the precepts of Judaism and the Torah of Israel by remaining in the Diaspora. Whoever dwells outside the land of Israel is considered to have no God, said the Sages." Leaders of many American Jewish organizations attacked Ben-Gurion for this. Zionists, non-Zionists and the Council were quoted widely in the press. However, with the exception of the Council, other reactions simply denied that American Jews were "godless" or they attributed the Ben-Gurion message to a theological misinterpretation. Only the Council attacked the basic principle, which is that the demand for emigration under any guise is "a shameful indignity, an affront to every principle of free societies, a fallacious interpretation of Judaism and a serious diplomatic impropriety."

This difference in reaction was clearly revealed when the Congress released its final resolution, calling formally on all Jews to emigrate. This also appeared on the front page of the Times. But this time there was no allusion to the matter of "godlessness." That word had been easy for pro-Zionists and Zionists to attack earlier. They self-righteously defended our "godliness" but ignored the emigration demands. When the WZC clearly called for emigration, not a single other Jewish organization objected. The Council, of course, reacted immediately and was widely quoted.

Dr. Joachim Prinz, president of the American Jewish Congress, called for the dissolution of the Zionist organization. At the same time, he supported basic Zionist ideology and even quoted from Theodor Herzl and Mr. Ben-Gurion to support his thesis. There should be a stronger link between Jews in the United States and those in Israel, he said, and Zionism should be discarded because it has not achieved a sufficiently firm link. Dr. Prinz called for a firmer drawing together of the "Jewish peoplehood." This is the same old

Zionist idea of a separate body-politic for Jews, but under a new aegis -- presumably the American Jewish Congress this time. Ben-Gurion has favored this arrangement because it would release him from the efforts of Diaspora Zionists to control Israeli political parties, either through political activities in Israel and the United States, or through their control of the UJA fund-raising machinery.

It is difficult to convey in this brief space the spirit and the determination of this historic WZC meeting. One must read the 800 pages of verbatim reports available in this office. Only then does the unanimity of purpose make its impress. It is almost impossible to find a single page of the 800 without the word aliya. Full emphasis is on the United States and the West for "rescue." The following excerpts were selected because they are representative of each individual quoted and of his party's position. An objective reader of the full 800 pages would, I believe, conclude that these excerpts are not "out of context," not accidental or unpremediated, not radical or fringe views. These are the established words, actions and goals of the responsible Zionists of the United States, Israel and the rest of the world. They mean exactly what they say.

If only more Jews were to read these words!

* * *

Explanation of what follows

Below are seven sections, each devoted to a different major theme of Zionism for the next four years. All are from official Zionist speeches and resolutions, released by the WZO itself. Material appears in this order:

- A. Proposals of the most influential leaders.
- B. Official decisions embodied in resolutions.
- C. How you will see these decisions reflected in your city, school, temple, welfare fund.

Obviously the last section is most important. This lengthy report is designed to inspire your alertness to what is happening locally, and to encourage your efforts to prevent Zionists "capturing the community."

I. "Aliya" -- a Duty, a Need, a Plan:

A. There were almost as many schemes for inducing mass immigration -- particularly from the United States -- as there were speeches. Here are samples from the top leaders.

by Dr. Y. Ben-Zvi, President of the State of Israel:

... Even in democratic countries, where Jews enjoy full citizenship rights, they lack the elementary privileges accorded to a free nation, great or small, of deciding on their fate and future -- a privilege accorded only to a sovereign state. True, the State of Israel embraces for the time being only 15% or 16% of our Nation. But its very existence ensures the national existence and future of the whole people for this and for coming generations.... Would that the whole of the Lord's people were Zionists! True, even in this case, their aliya would be ensured no more than if they were not Zionists, unless an additional precept to the 613 precepts were recognized -- namely, the national duty of playing a personal role in aliya, as a kind of tithe, to ensure at least that "one in a city and two in a family" immigrate and settle in Israel...

by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Zionist Organization:

... (Zionism's) method to solve (the Jewish) problem was the concentration of the people in one territory, in its old homeland; the creation of the territorial center of the national life of the people in Eretz Israel....

by David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel:

... I will begin straight from the end. For the survival of the Jewish State and the survival of Diaspora Jewry -- and each depends for its survival on the other -- two things are essential: growing immigration to Israel -- pioneering and productive immigration -- and Jewish education for the younger generation in the Diaspora to strengthen their personal attachment to Jewry and to Israel. If there is to be any meaning to this Congress and the name that it bears, it must realize its momentous responsibility, and bring into action the finest elements of our people and our youth, both in Israel and in the Diaspora, for the achievement of these two central aims. History is changed only by needs -- not by the formulation of resolutions, no matter how grandiloquent they may be.... In my humble opinion, the problem of aliya is the central problem of the State of Israel and the entire Jewish people, and will in the last analysis determine the destiny of both, one way or another....

by S.Z. Shragai, Member of the Jewish Agency Executive and
Head of the Immigration Department:

... This means a Zionism of aliya; to revitalise the heart of the nation, the awareness that its living on alien soil is unnatural, and to instill the belief that the natural place for the nation is only in Israel, where it can live an independent life and realise its dream of its salvation.

Practical efforts mean -- Zionism of absorption. That is to create economic and spiritual conditions for absorption so that immigrants will come not only out of "no choice," but out of a desire

to shake off the dust of foreign soil. And if some have thereby somewhat to lower their standard of living, they will be recompensed by a spiritual enhancement....

... We must also remember the fate of millions of Jews in the countries of the free world where assimilation and conversion wreak destruction until our brethren no longer know that it is their duty to save themselves and their children from Jewish-spiritual annihilation through aliya to Israel.

We must therefore regard aliya, even from the free world, as aliya of rescue. In the backward countries this means rescue from both physical and spiritual degeneration; and from the free countries, relief from spiritual decline, assimilation and conversion.

by Elihu Dobkin, Head, Youth and Hechalutz Dept., Jewish Agency:

... There were times, not so long ago, when it was forbidden to put up a notice in a general Jewish youth club in the Diaspora, calling for visits to Israel. A great distance has been traversed from those days to the present, when all general Jewish organizations send their instructors to us for study at the Institute for Youth Instructors from Abroad, conducted by the Jewish Agency's Youth Department in Jerusalem, and are anxious to send hundreds of their members to our Summer and Winter Institutes (in Israel). Talk of immigration to Israel is no longer taboo, even in the most assimilated youth organizations. These organizations are becoming important educational media, parallel to the Jewish schools in the Diaspora.

Yes, we have something to offer to the Jewish youth in the Diaspora. The young Jew will find in Israel an opportunity to live a full Jewish life, without the necessity of adapting himself to a strange surrounding. Here he has the opportunity of integrating in the life of his own people, without any spiritual partition intervening between them as people and as Jews....

by Avraham Schenker, Member of the Executive:

... Aliya is not all of Zionism, but it is its essence. Zionism is a world-outlook and not merely a statement of aims and a program of action. Zionism is a way of looking at the Jewish people, facing up to its problems and meeting its needs and challenges. It has placed Israel in the center of its concerns and aliya in the forefront of its means, because it has decided that there remains a Jewish problem in one form or another in every part of the world, under every regime and in all circumstances, no matter how superficially comforting or desirable they may appear to be. The territorial concentration and the productive settlement of the Jewish people in the Land of Israel, remains the solution to that Jewish problem....

by Zaiman Shazar, Chairman of the Executive, and Head of the Department for Education and Culture in the Diaspora:

... Even to immigrate out of stress requires Zionism... We are all able to recall that even in the D.P. Camps in Europe, after the Nazi holocaust, when the curse of the Golah had been revealed to them in all its gruesomeness, the refugees conducted a debate as to whether to immigrate to Israel or to pitch their tents in some distant land again. No, indeed, even in the days when the whip holds sway, there is still need for Zionism to direct the wanderer along the right path....

by Levi Eshkol, Minister of Finance of Israel:

... Until the next Congress, the population of Israel must and can grow to at least two and a half million. Within the next decade the State of Israel can and must reach the three-million mark. For that, we must enlist all our forces in this country, in the Zionist Movement and among the Jews who are friends of Israel throughout the world.

A growth of the population through aliya is both a holy duty and a vital necessity for this country. It is a duty, since we established this State for kibbutz galvot (the "ingathering of the exiles"). But the State, also, is in need of immigrants. The State will be built only if the Jewish masses will build it and will build their own lives in it. We are in need of them for a consolidation of our society, a consolidation of our culture and a consolidation of our economy.

by Rabbi Dov Bergmann, Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi:

... A fashion has sprung up among Diaspora Zionists to attack Ben-Gurion. This time as well, after his Congress speech, angry reactions could be heard from Diaspora representatives, including my colleagues, American rabbis. I believe they have done an injustice to Ben-Gurion who only quoted from the dicta of our sages on those who dwell abroad and do not immigrate to the Holy Land, thus daily committing a sin because they do not observe the mitzvah of settling in the country. As I said before, this is not a dictum by Ben-Gurion but by our sages and there is nothing wrong in quoting them. This is the trouble: the truth is unpalatable to many circles in the Diaspora.

by Tzvi Lurie, Head, Aliya Dept., Jewish Agency for Israel:

... The cruel realization that we are fighting against time during the respite there has been given us in certain countries of the Diaspora. The Golah (exile) is a Golah wherever Jews live outside the State of Israel. We are not yearning for splintered people to come to us. Of course, we shall receive them with open hands when they escape from emergencies, even at the last minute. But as long as we can, we shall prepare the Golah to a great Jewish pessimism in

regard to the further existence of the Golah and to the great Jewish optimism in regard to the existence of the Jewish people in its own land....

by Rabbi Israel Goldstein, recently emigrated from New York to permanent citizenship in Israel:

... I am one of those who believe that the potential of aliya from the United States is greater than most people think. But there is no point in debating it. What is important is to set up the necessary plan and apparatus, in the United States, and here, which will effectively tap that potential....

B. Official decisions on emigration, embodied in the final resolutions:

1.) The general call for emigration

The 25th Zionist Congress declares that immigration shall form a principal task of Zionist life in Jewish communities all over the world. The Congress appeals to the Jewish people, wherever they may be, to come to Israel in their thousands so as to live a full Jewish life and help in the upbuilding of the country and for the reconstruction of their own lives. The Zionist Organizations shall regard as their central task increased immigration of all kinds: pioneer immigration, immigration of the middle classes, the free professions, capitalists, etc.

* * *

The Congress expresses its anxiety at the paucity of pioneer immigration. The vital needs of the State in reinforcing its defence, consolidating and expanding border settlements and rendering fruitful large areas of wasteland, require the consolidation of pioneer settlement by providing a large-scale reserve force.

* * *

The 25th Zionist Congress notes with deep satisfaction the great progress made in Israel in all branches of the economy and all fields of development. This development has brought about an expansion of absorption facilities and led to an ever-growing lack of manpower and professional workers. Hence the Congress calls upon and hopes that all Zionists will fulfill the mitzvah of aliya.

* * *

The Zionist Congress pays tribute to the powerful chalutzic effort made by the establishment of new agricultural settlements in the Arava, viz., Ein Gedi, Yotvate, & Ein Yahav, and the kibbutz in Eilat. The security and settlement requirements of the State of Israel call for a renewed settlement drive in the central and southern Negev areas which are still wasteland and in the hills of Galilee which have not yet been settled. This drive must of necessity be accompanied by a speeding up of the development of water resources in the State. The Congress calls upon the youth of Israel and the Diaspora to fill the population quota of existing settlements and to set up additional nuclei for new settlements.

* * *

The Congress asserts that the small Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora are in danger of spiritual and national degeneration, and that nothing but immigration to Israel will save them from dissolution and assimilation. Hence the Congress favours special efforts to be made in Israel and the Diaspora to bring about the immigration of the communities so as to put an end to their exile.

* * *

2.) Special techniques and appeals

Middle Class

In order to increase middle-class immigration to Israel and in view of the great experience of Rassco, a Company of the Zionist Organisation, in the fields of settlement and absorption of the middle-class, this Congress recommends the encouragement of this Company so that it may develop its absorptive activities for the middle-class in cooperation with the Economic Department and the appropriate departments of the Executive.

* * *

The 25th Zionist Congress sees the immigration of middle-class immigrants and those of the free professions from all countries as one of the main tasks of the Zionist Movement at the present time and emphasizes the need for suitable legislation and the forging of organisational and financial means for the encouragement of such immigration. Amongst other things the requisite legislation together with the Law for the Encouragement of Foreign Investment should offer middle-class immigrants and members of the free professions rights and facilities in the transfer of capital and equipment, in import and property taxes and fiscal taxes.

* * *

This Congress sees need for a financial institution to assist in the disposal of the property of immigrants of this class while they are still in the Diaspora and in the financing of their Economic Absorption in Israel.

* * *

The Economic Department shall be the central body responsible for the business administration of all types of immigrants from all countries to make independent livelihoods. The Executive shall be responsible for the coordination of the activities of the Economic Department and the Absorption Department in those fields which border on one another.

* * *

Youth

The Congress finds it necessary to set up a special framework in the Diaspora for immigrants and those intending to immigrate within the next few years. This framework shall comprise those over the age of the pioneer youth movements, and shall be destined to train them spiritually and professionally and to evolve among them mutual aid institutions with a view to their settlement and integration in Israel. The Zionist Executive and the national Zionist Organisations shall foster this movement and provide it with the required framework and means of operation.

* * *

The 25th Zionist Congress notes with satisfaction and appreciation the tremendous achievements of the Youth Aliyah which has reached a number of 100,000 youngsters who were saved, absorbed, trained and rehabilitated during the period of its existence out of whom 12,000 are at present within the framework of Youth Aliyah.

* * *

Congress calls upon Jewish youth throughout the world to join the pilgrimage movement and to strengthen their personal attachments to the State by a visit to Israel. Congress notes with gratification the constant expansion of the Summer and Winter Institutes of the Department which up to the present have brought close upon eight thousand young men and women from countries of the Diaspora for a visit to Israel. The Department must foster and expand these projects in order to secure the participation of tens of thousands of young people from all strata of Jewish youth.

* * *

Bar Mitzva Visits

Congress notes with gratification the saving projects for young people reaching the age of Bar Mitzva, which will make possible their visiting Israel after several years, within the framework of the Summer and Winter Institutes organized by the Department.

* * *

Year of Service

Congress is gratifying to note the increasing number of young people coming to Israel under the auspices of the Shnat Sherut - Year of Service - for young people from European countries and the Year of Study and Work for youth from North America. The Department must further develop these projects, which represent a source of aliya and foster personal ties with the State of Israel, and endeavour to expand their scope both in respect of the number of young people and the countries participating.

* * *

Clubs, Camps, Etc.

Congress notes with profound gratification the achievements of the pioneer youth movements in the education of thousands of young people towards aliya and Hagshama. Congress instructs the Youth and Hechalutz Department to spare no effort to strengthen the Pioneer youth movements which constitute the hope for the future of the Zionist enterprise, by assisting pioneer training projects, establishing clubs and summer camps, increasing the number of Shlihim-Madrichim and extending a greater measure of financial assistance.

* * *

All North Africans

At the present time Congress considers the immigration of North African Jewry as an urgent goal, and instructs the Executive to take the most energetic action towards its materialisation.

* * *

Religious Jews, Doctors

The Congress particularly notes the encouraging and positive trend reflected in the commencement of Hassidic immigration from the United States, and the immigration of Jewish physicians from the Argentine and other countries who have volunteered for service in border settlements. The Congress records with special gratification the example set by these first beginnings to other Jewish circles and communities.

* * *

C. How you will see these decisions reflected in your city:

1.) Though U.S. Zionists may demur from admitting that they -- and all U.S. Jews -- are expected to emigrate to Israel, Zionists will undertake programs designed to produce emigration.

2.) Youth will be urged to "pioneer" in Israel in the spirit of the opening of the U.S. West.

3.) Children will be urged to visit Israel upon Confirmation or Bar Mitzva.

4.) Middle-class and professional Jews will be offered employment inducements in Israel, even at the expense of present Israeli citizens.

5.) "Study trips" and one-year visits to Israel will be promoted, as will be conventions in Israel of U.S. Jewish organizations (as B'nai B'rith did last year).

6.) The Kennedy "peace corps" plan will be exploited to send Jewish youth to Israel under U.S. auspices, with many expected to stay there permanently.

7.) Religious education, Hebrew summer camp training -- all will be highly indoctrinated with the "duty" of Jews to settle in Israel.

II. "Education - a Tool of Zionism":

A. The above title was the three-column-wide headline over the article in the Jerusalem Post, January 3, 1961, reporting how emigration and all other Zionist goals were to be achieved in the United States and elsewhere. Here are some direct examples, from influential spokesmen, of what the Post called "the making of Zionists out of Jewish youth in the Diaspora," by "education as the instrument."

by L. Kronitz, Ihud Olami:

... Voluntary aliya will come only as a result of proper education. At least 10 per cent of the budget should be devoted to education and culture in the Diaspora....

by I. Zakkai, Progressives:

... We are all united in one thing, namely the education of the Jewish youth in the Diaspora. We must show the youth in the Diaspora that chalutzit is the highest degree of Zionist idealism....

by P. Ribbenfeld, U.S. Confederation - Neumann:

... We must plan our work on the assumption that the Galut will exist for many years to come. Education towards the State will awaken also a desire for aliya....

by D. Zilk, U.S. Confederation - Goldstein:

... We cannot remain satisfied with partial Jewish education;

efforts must be made to establish all-day Jewish schools for our children in the Diaspora....

by Zaiman Shazar, Member Jewish Agency Executive:

... Nor must one neglect the Jewish kindergarten in most countries of the Diaspora. There is still no compulsory education during kindergarten age, so that the children are still subject to our own jurisdiction and it is during this age that the foundations are laid for the Jewish consciousness of the child. Without kindergarten education, there can be no success for Jewish education in the primary schools, and a suitable Jewish education in the kindergarten wields considerable influence on the home atmosphere. The little experience we have had in sending Hebrew kindergarten teachers to the Diaspora, gives us ground to believe that with the aid of the Zionist Movement and with local women's organizations and community councils, it should be possible to develop the kindergarten network in the overall Jewish educational system in the Diaspora.

The beginnings that have been made in the establishment of Chairs for Hebrew and Jewish subjects in Universities and Hillel House Foundations in University Campuses must expand and be filled with vital Jewish content. One must not allow the Universities which attract the greater majority of the Jewish youth to be turned into laboratories for Jewish assimilation while we remain unconcerned....

by David Bet Aryeh, Member of the Executive and Head of the Dept. for Torah Education and Culture in the Diaspora:

... The opposition to the Jewish day-school, which was due to reasons dictated by the desire for assimilation, is generally on the decline. Now, what are the reasons? Parents who were afraid that the "segregation" in Jewish schools might give rise to a partition between the young Jews and their non-Jewish society, have realized that the danger is not so serious.... Parents who live in fear that their children might marry non-Jews see in the Jewish day-school a defensive wall against such danger. There are also positive reasons. ... The improvements that set in in recent years in the teaching of Hebrew and Jewish subjects, as the result of the systematic work undertaken by the Education Departments of the World Zionist Federation, have also contributed to the rising prestige of the Jewish school and to an increase in the number of pupils.

Wherever no day-schools are in existence and there are no prospects of setting up same, one must encourage institutions where partial Jewish education is given. Even from the evening schools or talmudei-torah, one should demand 8-10 hours of tuition weekly and then these will become educational institutions worthy of the name. One should denounce the Sunday-schools who are not in a position to fulfill their educational role and cannot constitute a serious Jewish education factor. In their place, there should come at least the evening school, as mentioned above. Close collaboration is necessary

between the school and the youth organization, in order to strengthen the Jewish feeling in the children and their ties with the State of Israel....

by Elihu Dobkin, Head, Youth and Hechalutz Dept., Jewish Agency:

... By intensifying our activities among the youth, we shall be able, to some degree, to overcome the crisis of immigration....

by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President, World Zionist Organization:

... Jewish education must occupy the number one position in Jewish Galut life and replace in the order of priorities philanthropy and all other kinds of activities. It is a tremendous problem both financially and from the point of view of manpower. It means, among other things, the Hebraization of the Diaspora, the aim to make Hebrew the second language for Jews, the number two language in addition to the language of their country. This is a difficult task, but not an impossible one....

by David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel:

... For the survival of the Jewish State and the survival of Diaspora Jewry -- and each depends for its survival on the other -- two things are essential: growing immigration to Israel -- pioneering and productive immigration -- and Jewish education for the younger generation in the Diaspora to strengthen their personal attachment to Jewry and to Israel....

by Moshe Sharett, Former Prime Minister of Israel:

... The Zionist Movement should be represented in Jewish educational institutions in each city in order to influence them to accept an educational programme in accordance with the aims and tasks of Zionism and in the spirit of the State of Israel. In each city the Zionists should initiate the founding of Day Schools in which a Jewish child would receive a full national education in a Jewish-national atmosphere throughout the day. All Zionist parties should support immigration to Israel in all possible ways; they should organize and strengthen youth movements and youth organizations in schools; they should develop the pioneering spirit and encourage the desire to travel to Israel and to take part in the building up of the land and in all the State's efforts on behalf of the Jewish people....

by Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Executive, Jewish Agency; recently emigrated from New York:

... There is much else which can and should be done by the organized Zionist Movement in the United States. It can and should influence Jewish educational bodies on the national as well as on the local levels in the direction of greater stress on the Hebrew language and on the Israel orientation. It can and should see to it that textbooks for the teaching of Hebrew and of modern Jewish history are

prepared which would take proper cognizance of the epic of the establishment of the Medinat Israel and the relevancy of Israel to the fate of the Jewish people everywhere, and which would make aliya attractive and appealing without denigrating Jewish life in America....

B. Official decisions on education for emigration, embodied in the final resolutions:

1.) The general scheme for "education"

The Congress appeals to all the members of the World Zionist Organization to mobilise their best spiritual forces and material means for the consolidation, extension and intensification of Jewish national education based on Jewish tradition, the Hebrew language and the personal ties with the State of Israel. The Congress considers the ingathering of the exiles as a national mission towards which the education of the present generation should be oriented.

* * *

The Executive and the national organisations shall launch an organizational, educational and information drive to win over the younger generation.

* * *

Congress calls upon youth movements to launch a campaign to capture unorganized Jewish youth and calls upon the institutions of the Zionist Movement in all countries to lend moral and material aid for the organization of unorganized young Jews and the capture of the young generation for Judaism and Zionism.

* * *

The 25th Zionist Congress has heard the appeal of the Delegates from the Diaspora concerning the danger of assimilation which threatens the Jewish communities abroad and deems it necessary to place education amongst its primary concerns.

* * *

The 25th Zionist Congress declares that the Jewish and Zionist education of youth in the Diaspora constitutes a major aim of the Zionist Movement at the present time. The Central institutions and national organisations of the Zionist Movement must intensify activity among youth in all countries and provide the necessary funds for this purpose in order to reinforce the Zionist pioneer youth movement, to bring Jewish and Zionist values closer to the tens of thousands of young people organized in the general Jewish youth movements, and to secure increasing cooperation with the younger generation of the Jewish people in the reconstruction of the State of Israel.

* * *

2.) The methods and programs to be used

Hebrew Language

The mastering of the Hebrew language by masses of Jewish young people in the Golah must constitute a central plank in the Zionist educational programme. The Department must intensify its efforts to disseminate Hebrew in the Golah and organize Hebrew courses and Ulpanim within the youth movements, and upon an inter-movement basis.

* * *

Fund Drives

The Congress calls upon educational institutions, and teachers and educators in the Diaspora to integrate in their work the values represented by the Keren Kayemet Leisrael, the United Jewish Appeal and the Keren Hayessod.

* * *

Permanent Organization

Congress is gratified to note the success of the First World Jewish Youth Convention held in Jerusalem by the Department in the State of Israel's Tenth Anniversary Year, in which representatives of approximately half a million organized young men and women from thirty-six countries participated. Congress instructs the Department to continue its efforts to secure closer cooperation between all the diverse youth movements. Congress endorses the plan of the Department that after Regional Conferences of Jewish youth in Europe, North America and South America have convened, a Second World Convention will be called, to assist in the creation of a permanent common framework for all organized Jewish youth.

* * *

Special Emissaries

Noting the keener spirit animating Jewish youth in the Diaspora as a result of the First World Jewish Youth Convention, Congress instructs the Department to expand its activities among the general Jewish youth movements in which it must foster traditional and national cultural values and strengthen attachment to the State of Israel. The Department must dispatch special emissaries to operate within the general youth organizations and to bring these organizations and the Zionist youth movements closer.

* * *

Congress is deeply appreciative of the loyal and devoted work performed by the Shlichim (emissaries from Israel to other countries) operating within the youth movements and in the training centres. Educational work requires a large increase in the number of Shlichim in order to strengthen attachment to the State of Israel and to intensify education towards Aliya and Hagshama. The Department must renew the activities of the Shlichim Training Institute at the earliest possible date. Congress charges the Zionist Actions Committee to review the question of the key for the distribution of Shlichim.

* * *

All-Day Schools

The Congress considers the complete Hebrew day school a most desirable educational institution within the educational network of Diaspora Jewry and appeals to all those concerned with the field of education to make efforts for the expansion of the network of schools of this kind and for the raising of their standard. The Executive and its departments shall assist in the establishment of kindergarten, day schools and small Yeshivot in those localities where full day schools cannot be set up. Complimentary schools and Talmudel Torah shall be maintained. The Congress deems it necessary to foster institutions for secondary and higher education including large Yeshivot, so as to ensure the continuation of Jewish National education after completion of elementary school. The Congress demands the continuation of efforts to improve the level of teaching and the preparation of a uniform basic curriculum for the various kinds of schools in the Diaspora.

* * *

Study in Israel

The Congress appeals to the Jews of the Diaspora to send children of secondary and higher school age and those attending the Yeshivot to study in Israel for at least one school year, to be devoted to the study of Hebrew, Jewish knowledge and general knowledge about Israel and instructs the Executive to make the necessary arrangements for the absorption of students in the local educational institutions. The Congress calls upon the Government of Israel to lend its assistance to this enterprise.

* * *

Training of Teachers

The Congress views with concern the serious shortage of teachers and spiritual guides in the Diaspora and instructs the Executive to train manpower for purposes of teaching and spiritual instruction and to provide for advanced training of teachers and instructors from the Diaspora at short and long term seminars both in Israel and abroad.

The Congress instructs the Executive to increase the number of teachers coming from Israel to teach at educational institutions in the Diaspora and appeals to Israel's teachers to take this mission upon themselves. Israel teachers shall receive special training for this purpose and be provided with instruction and guidance while fulfilling such mission.

* * *

Bible Study

The Congress instructs the Executive to enhance its efforts with respect to the Dissemination of Hebrew and Jewish knowledge and culture amongst the people and welcomes the joint action undertaken in cooperation with the World Hebrew Union and the World Jewish Bible Society.

* * *

Women's Groups

The Congress expresses its particular gratification at the cultural and educational activities of the women's organisations and calls upon them to expand and intensify their efforts, first and foremost amongst their own members. The Executive was requested to devote special attention to the cultural work among the women's organisations and in particular to the maintenance of permanent seminars in Israel for leadership training and the publication of educational literature adapted to the needs of mother and child.

* * *

Provide Textbooks

The Congress demands that the Executive shall provide textbooks, reading material and teaching aids in Jewish subjects. Chapters on the holocaust, the War of Liberation, and on all the deeds of heroism preceding it shall be included in the textbooks on recent Jewish history.

* * *

Teachers' Organization

The Congress sends a message of encouragement to the Hebrew teachers engaged in the task of Jewish education in the Diaspora and welcomes the first steps taken by the World Jewish Teachers' Organisation in raising the standing of Jewish teachers all over the world.

* * *

World Convention on Education

The Congress attaches importance to the holding of a World Convention on Jewish education with the participation of all World Jewish Organisations which have given their support to the World Zionist Organisation so that Jewish education may become a central task of Diaspora Jewry.

* * *

World Hebrew Group

The Congress recognises the World Hebrew Union and its national branches as the official medium of the Zionist Movement for the dissemination of Hebrew culture and language and deems it necessary to foster and support its activities. The Congress demands that there should be cooperation between the Territorial Zionist Organisation and the Hebrew Movement.

* * *

C. How you will see these decisions reflected in your city:

1.) There will be increased programs and fund appeals for "Jewish education" -- but examine carefully the nature of the "education." How much is education in Judaism? How much is education for aliya and Zionism?

2.) Religious texts and curricular materials will be more Israel-oriented.

3.) Israeli Hebrew -- the language of Israeli secular life -- will be pressed into public schools and religious schools. Hebrew contests will be increased.

4.) Study trips to Israel for teachers and students will be increased, as though this is somehow part of one's Judaism.

5.) A wider variety of youth groups will be formed and welded into inter-locking organizations -- directed from Israel through the Zionist network.

6.) Israeli emissaries (Shlichim) will visit more U.S. schools, private summer camps and religious schools to indoctrinate teachers and students.

7.) All-day Jewish schools will continue to grow in number and student bodies. Now, some 180,000 Jewish youth attend Jewish parochial schools instead of the normal public and private schools.

III. Link with U.S. Jews:

A. While "education" is preparing the way for emigration, but before it is achieved, Zionist-Israel will need political and other support from U.S. Jews. Here is how the delegates described Israel's link with American Jews -- the forging of Zionism's "Jewish peoplehood" -- another phrase for a separate body-politic overseas, to serve Zionist-Israel purposes.

by Golda Meir, Foreign Minister of Israel:

... I should like to stress that Israel's Ambassadors everywhere try to keep in close and constant touch with the local Jewish communities, and in this way to ensure a living link between Israel and the Diaspora. Our representatives take an active part in all the social and cultural events of the Jewish communities. And when a wave of anti-Semitism spread through the world, about a year ago, Israel's representatives brought these disquieting occurrences to the attention of the relevant Governments. And in fact, all Governments showed complete understanding of our Notes.

Apart from caring for our position in the political arena and our international relationships -- it is incumbent upon us to concentrate on the strengthening and progress of the State. Then will the State's repute rise even higher in the eyes of the world. To this end we need large-scale immigration, which will, in the long run, strengthen our political standing and bring us more honour with the peoples of the world.

by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President, World Zionist Organization:

... I always told Russian diplomats that the right of immigration to Israel is an inseparable part of the Jewish faith. An increasing number of neutral personalities -- including Communists -- are working in the direction of according Jews the right to emigrate.

by Mordechai Stern, Progressive:

... Investments in Israel bind the investor to the country. The State, through its investments authority, has begun mobilizing investment capital -- although it is doubtful whether a sovereign state should undertake such activity in other countries -- but it is clear that the Zionist Organization must assist in such activity.

by Avraham Schenker, Member of the Jewish Agency Executive:

... The State of Israel is the instrument of the Jewish people as a whole, and not only its oppressed or suppressed parts, for the solution of its essential problems, be they physical, economic, political, spiritual or cultural.... The one new great center and basis of our existence as a people can only be Israel. This does not mean that Jewish communities all over the world cannot live their own life, create Jewish values, develop institutions and organizations

and make contributions to what one may call Jewish civilization. But, in my opinion, they cannot do it in the long run, from the point of view of future generations, unless they are connected with Israel and centered around Israel. The Zionist solution of the Jewish problem does not necessarily have to mean the total disappearance of the Diaspora and the concentration of the whole people in Israel, but it does mean the concentration of a very substantial part of our people in Israel, certainly of a much larger one than is the case today, and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life everywhere, or, in other words, of Jewish individuals and communities being tied up with Israel. ... This law, (the 1950 Israeli Law of Return) lays down the national principle through which and for which the State was established, namely that it is a natural and historic right of every Jew, wherever he may dwell, to return and settle in Israel. It is not the State that grants the Jews of the Diaspora the right to return; it is inherent in every Jew. This right preceded the revival of the State of Israel; it was this right that built the State.

by J. Tsur, Member of the Executive and Head of the Information Dept., Jewish Agency:

... Zionism is called upon to undertake a campaign for the capture of the Jewish communities. At its centre is the State of Israel, with all its achievements, successes, its activities in the absorption of the newcomer from the lands of mass immigration, the spread of its culture throughout the Jewish world, and its impress on world policy. It is assisted by the ambassadors and representatives and emissaries of the State in countries abroad, and I can testify from my own experience, to the tremendous assistance that these representatives can extend to the Zionist Movement, whether directly or merely by their very presence and impression on the Jewish scene.... In short, let us divide functions and spheres of activity: The Government in Israel; we in the Diaspora; the State here, the Zionist Organization there. In this way quarrels and differences of opinion will cease....

I oppose all mechanical identification of the World Zionist Organization or of World Jewry with the foreign policy of the State of Israel. I know that this is a delicate matter but things must be made clear. The World Zionist Organization does not always have to identify itself with the foreign policy of Israel or to receive directives from it. One need not be a prophet in order to foresee the dangers of such a situation -- both for Israel and for the Jews of the countries in which they now live. Close and friendly collaboration by all means; the automatic execution of orders in this respect -- certainly not. And it need not be said that governments and regimes keep on changing. Political activity in the Diaspora has numerous ways of its own and numerous channels of its own. The Zionist Organization, its institutions and personalities, have direct contact with many nations and with many public factors. One must not abandon this because in time of difficulty, they can be of great aid to Israel....

by Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Executive, Jewish Agency; recently emigrated from New York:

... There is much else which can and should be done by the organized Zionist Movement in the United States. It can and should influence Jewish educational bodies on the national as well as on the local levels in the direction of greater stress on the Hebrew language and on the Israel orientation. It can and should see to it that textbooks for the teaching of Hebrew and of modern Jewish history are prepared which would take proper cognizance of the epic of the establishment of the Medinat Israel and the relevancy of Israel to the fate of the Jewish people everywhere, and which would make aliya attractive and appealing without denigrating Jewish life in America...

B. Official decisions on the link with U.S. Jews, embodied in the final resolutions:

1.) The general scheme for the link

The central tasks of the Zionist organisations during the coming years shall be to secure the decisive influence of the Zionist Movement on the life of the Jewish people.

* * *

The Congress demands that the programme of Israel and Zionist emissary work in the Diaspora include visits by Israel personalities to Diaspora centres for information purposes.

* * *

2.) The techniques to be used

Israel at the Center

For the sake of closer relations with the Rabbis and spiritual leaders of the various communities the Congress declares that Israel should be turned into the focus of their cultural and social activities.

* * *

For the increase of immigration to a scale adequate to the needs of the hour, the following is required:

a) The dispatch of first-class emissaries to bring the message of the up-building of the State of Israel to all Jewish communities and in particular to the smaller ones so as to arouse and encourage them and prompt them to immigrate.

b) The supply to the Jewish communities of up-to-date information on all aspects of life in Israel, and the provision of absorption projects worked out in the greatest possible detail.

- c) The establishment of an economic-financial instrument to facilitate the transfer of Jewish property from those places where centralized planning and handling is required.
- d) Speeding up the immigration of pioneers' parents by means of special immigration facilities and the provision of assistance towards their absorption in communal and other agricultural settlements and in the cities.

* * *

Use Israel Students and Sailors

Special information material having particularly instructive content should be prepared and distributed to Israel students and sailors visiting the Diaspora or sojourning there in order that they may strengthen the contact between Israel and Jewish groups abroad and constitute a source of positive Zionist and Israel information and of propaganda for the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel.

* * *

Israel Should Consult Before Acting

In accordance with the convention between the Government of Israel and the Jewish Agency, the Congress demands that the Government shall consult the Executive prior to issuing any rules and regulations affecting immigration and immigrants and in particular in the field of economics and finance.

* * *

Zionist Control of Israel Radio Overseas Programs

The Congress notes that the transcription service and the direct broadcasts of Kol Zion Lagola which now transmits for 3/4 hours daily in nine languages have brought first-hand information from Israel to many countries in all parts of the world. The Congress recommends that the broadcasting hours be increased, and the transcription service expanded, and emphasizes the need to include Hebrew lessons in the broadcasts. The Congress emphasizes that these services must remain under the control of the Zionist Organisation.

* * *

Link All Jews to the Arab Boycott

The Zionist Movement is determined to firmly oppose the boycott and blockade of Israel. The Zionist Congress expresses its appreciation to all those bodies and agencies which have resisted and still resist the Arab boycott. The Congress calls upon the entire Jewish people

to be geared for any action that may be required to put an end to this blackmail and economic warfare on the part of the Arab States. The 25th Zionist Congress instructs the Executive to take appropriate measures to combat the Arab boycott and recommends coordination with all agencies operating in this field.

* * *

Formal Ties

In order to expand the scope of activities directed at the promotion of Jewish education the Congress instructs the Zionist Territorial Executives to act in cooperation with the Federations, the Cultural Committees and Community Councils, the teachers' organisations, the women's organisations and other public bodies in the Diaspora.

* * *

Religious Ceremonies to Mark Military Actions

The Congress calls upon all Jews in the Diaspora to institute ceremonies, commemorating the sons of our people, who fell in the War of Liberation and all fronts of the Jewish people before and after the establishment of the State of Israel, either on Memorial Day (fourth Iyar) or the Day of Independence (fifth Iyar). These ceremonies will be held at schools, synagogues or communal meeting places according to the programme laid down for the commemoration of our soldiers who have fallen on behalf of our Homeland, by the department for education and culture in the Diaspora. These programmes will be duly submitted to the Zionist Federations and the National Education Commissions.

* * *

C. How you will see these decisions reflected in your city:

1.) Remember, the matter of a political link between Israel-Zionism and the Jews in other countries involves serious questions of diplomatic propriety, legal form and highly emotional factors of national spirit. Consequently, the official resolutions are not nearly as specific as the formal speeches of the prominent spokesmen. In the words of Mr. Ben-Gurion, the Zionist movement "has the occasion and ability to do what the State (of Israel) neither can nor may" in the domestic affairs of countries other than Israel.

2.) Israeli diplomatic representatives in the U.S. will coordinate their work more closely with local Zionist and non-Zionist organizations.

3.) The Presidents Conference of 18 major Jewish organizational heads will speak out whenever Israeli national interests demand

it, despite the fact that purely religious and non-Zionist groups are among the 18 included. The Jewish Agency created the Conference for this purpose.

4.) Israeli military, finance and educational leaders will step up visits to local communities in the U.S. to participate in fund drives, but also to line up political support for Israeli interests. Merely by regular and widely publicized contacts with local Jewish citizens, they will seek to deepen the impression that the religious group known as Jews has a separate political-national interest.

5.) Zionist-Israel leaders will increase their efforts to make it appear that the Arab-Israeli conflict is really between all Arabs, on the one hand, and all Jews, on the other; despite efforts to limit the struggle to the national interests of Israel and the Arab states.

IV. How are U.S. Jews viewed?

A. The demise of American Judaism is simply a question of time -- some say the end-date is near, some say far, some say it is indefinite. But none stood up and said that Americans of Jewish faith are or could be permanently at home in the United States, and still practice Judaism.

by Chaim Finkelstein, Israeli party leader, Achduth Haavoda-Poale Zion:

... The position of the Jews is not good, and there is no justification for the prevailing optimism concerning Jewish life in the Diaspora, including the United States. It is true that the situation is not the same everywhere, but there is one common denominator; there is not one country where the Jewish people can be sure of its future.

by David Ben-Gurion, Prime Minister of Israel:

... Except for the Orthodox minority -- which is not Zionist by name but fulfills the duty of immigration -- the Judaism of the Jews of the United States and similar countries is losing all meaning, and only a blind man can fail to see the danger of extinction, which is spreading without being noticed. In the Diaspora -- despite the great differences between the communities in various countries and continents and under various regimes, Jewish life is marked by certain common characteristics. The Jew is subordinate to a non-Jewish authority in all his material political and cultural life. As a citizen and a resident he depends on the resources of another people; he is surrounded by a non-Jewish environment. The non-Jewish surroundings are stable and dominant, their influence is felt in every corner of the regime, the economy, the law, the press, and the dominant culture and language. It draws, attracts and influences, wittingly or unwittingly....

by Meir Argov, Ehud Olami:

We must face the reality of the year 1960. We have not yet been faced with a decisive test for the defence of Israel. The Jews of America say that when such a test comes, they would come over to us. But no man had believed, at the time, that Russian Jewry would disappear from the scene for a period of forty years. Another example: At the time of the Sinai war the President of the United States had prevented Jews from going to Israel and no Jewish force could rescind this order. We learned, therefore, that the embargo on going to Israel at a time of emergency, is a common denominator of the two diametrically opposed regimes. It follows, therefore, that the Golah remains a Golah and that Diaspora Jewry will always remain such and cannot be responsible for its own fate.

by Yitzchak Goldenberg, Ichud Olami:

Philanthropic Zionism is not sufficient; we need political Zionism containing a clear objective and a fighting spirit which will show the Jews of the Diaspora that even if they are now living in comfortable conditions, they may tomorrow fall victims of economic movements which will at once direct the ensuing wrath against the minorities and first and foremost against the Jews.

B. There were no formal resolutions declaring that Judaism will soon disappear in the United States. All the speeches, however, followed the classic Zionist theory that no Jew can live a complete life outside of Israel; that sooner or later Jews in "exile" -- even in free countries such as the United States -- must be assimilated or persecuted.

C. How you will see these concepts reflected in your city:

1.) Zionism continues its philosophy of pessimism -- and capitalizes on that prediction. If life is good for Jews, Zionism says we should fear assimilation and move to Israel; if anti-Semitism appears, Zionism advises us to move to Israel.

2.) Zionism will prepare now, through education, for the eventual "ingathering" of all Jews in Israel. It is doubtful that it will produce any sizable emigration, but it may make a generation of Jewish youth feel less at home here and less secure in their Judaism.

3.) Zionism will publicize anti-Semitism in the United States often to the extent of creating more ill-will than would result from silently allowing fringe anti-Semites to wither away. Exploiting anti-Semitism is Zionism's tool.

V. Non-Zionism to be used by Zionism

The American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith and several U.S. rabbinical bodies were among the "non-Zionists" attending the Congress. The official "Congress Notes" of December 29 reported that "The most puzzled people at Congress were the fraternal delegates and observers, none of whom were able to find exactly what their rights and obligations are. One lady pointed out that she had been appointed to a committee and loaded with duties she welcomed, just as if she had had a full mandate, although she had expected that she would sit inconspicuously in a corner of the hall, 'observing.'" The inclusion of the "non-Zionists" has long been the goal of Dr. Goldmann -- an effort to tie all "non-Zionist" groups more closely to Zionist objectives. The most successful previous step in this direction was the creation by Zionism (through the Jewish Agency) of the Presidents Conference in the United States. This is the grouping of 18 organizations' presidents, seven of them "non-Zionist," under a single umbrella. They speak as one now on pro-Zionist and pro-Israel matters.

by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President, World Zionist Organization:

... It is a great joy to me to be able to welcome at this Congress participants from many non-Zionist organizations and communities, whom, in our endeavors to implement our new policy of enlarging the framework of our Organization, and of bringing about closer cooperation with all Jewish groups that are ready to cooperate with Israel, we have invited to be with us at this Congress, not only as guests, but either as Associate Members of the World Zionist Organization, or as Fraternal Delegates, or as Observers.

The Jewish Community having the most difficult problems is that of American Jewry, and the main problem there is to bring about the organized representation of this Jewry. We are satisfied that, despite the difficulties involved, we have succeeded in bringing nearer to us a number of large and important Jewish organizations, and we regret that others have not yet seen fit to join us....

by Rabbi Edward Sandraw, Conservative rabbinical assoc. of U.S.
(as reported in the Congress press release):

... Although his organization was not part of the Zionist Organization, 800 of its members were devoted Zionists and his was the only national rabbinical organization in the United States that had accepted the invitation to come to the Congress. He hoped that his organization, which was representative of over 1,000,000 Jews, would become an associate member of the World Zionist Organization. Continuing in Hebrew, he said that the body that he represented aspired to the establishment in Jerusalem, of an educational centre for the youth, a centre that would be a spiritual bridge between the Jews in America and Israel. There was need to organize the Jewish people throughout the world and the Zionist Organization was the only body that could carry through that task....

by Tzvi Lurie, Head, Aliya Dept., Jewish Agency:

... A new constitution adopted at the meeting of the Zionist General Council in December 1959 - January 1960 is faithful to the law on the status of the World Zionist Organization (1952) which states:

"The aim of the Ingathering of the Exiles, which is central to the State of Israel and to the Zionist Movement of our days, makes obligatory constant efforts of the Jewish Nation to the countries of the Diaspora; and the State of Israel therefore hopes for the participation of all Jews, as individuals and as groups, in the upbuilding of the State and in assisting mass immigration of the Nation to her, and sees a necessity for the uniting of all groups of Jews for this purpose."

To this Congress have come representatives of communities comprising over half-a-million Jews, who have declared their support for the "Jerusalem programme" and who have joined the World Zionist Organization as affiliate-groups. We view the participation in this Congress of fraternal delegates from communities and organizations as identification with the purposes of the Zionist Movement.

This is a fairly good beginning. Still, all the work is still ahead of us. First of all, the Zionist Movement must fight for the accession of the great national organizations in the greatest of Jewish concentrations in the United States, who are not here with us today. This activity must be merged with the conquest of the local communities in the United States, the community centres and every other Jewish organization in this Jewish concentration that suffers from the malady of surplus - and - overlapping - organizations. The historic task that faces the Zionist Movement and the Zionist Executive in the United States is to capture for itself a position of hegemony among American Jewry and especially among the mass Jewish movements. The entire road is still ahead of us, and it is a turning, twisting road....

... The transformation of an affiliate-group into a full member of the Zionist Organization, is not merely a formal act. It is conditioned upon the acceptance, by the group, of the responsibility growing out of the decisions of the Movement, as put into practice. The greater our success in deepening this process, the greater will be our success in bringing the affiliate-groups nearer to full membership.

B. Official decisions on using "non-Zionism" for Zionist purposes, embodied in the final resolutions:

The Frankly Stated Plan

The 25th Zionist Congress notes with great satisfaction the accession of large and small community and other organisations to the Zionist Organisation as Associated Members and extends to them its warmest greetings. The Congress regards the important achievement made in

the inclusion of these bodies within the World Zionist Organisation as the commencement of a planned campaign for the conquest of the Jewish communities in the spirit of Herzl's appeal at the Second Zionist Congress in Basel. The Congress instructs the Executive and the governing bodies of the territorial organisations to continue their efforts to include all Jewish communities within the World Zionist Organisation. In particular the Congress draws the attention of the Executive and the Executive of the American Zionist Council to the necessity of working towards the incorporation of major Jewish organisations in the U.S.A. within the World Zionist Organisation, in accordance with the new Constitution.

* * *

The Zionist Congress ratifies the rights and obligations of the Associated Members within the World Zionist Organisation, as approved by the Executive and the Presidium of the Zionist General Council.

* * *

The 25th Zionist Congress greets the international and national Jewish organisations which have sent friendly delegations to the Congress and expresses its firm hope that their presence at the Congress may constitute the first stage towards their joining the World Zionist Organisation.

* * *

The Congress instructs the Executive and the Zionist Territorial Organisations to create the tools for joint action of the associated bodies and the Zionist Territorial Organisations in each country.

* * *

C. How you will see these decisions reflected in your city:

1.) Greater paralleling of programs between non-Zionist and Zionist organizations. Both will work for more Hebrew, visits to Israel, "Jewish education," etc. Zionism will stress the Zionist nature of these programs, while the non-Zionists will do the same work without indicating that they fulfill Zionist goals.

2.) There may even seem to be rivalry between non-Zionist and Zionist groups locally, but this is another aspect of the intra-group struggle for power. More and more, the non-Zionist groups affiliated with the Zionist mechanism merely dissent publicly from some Zionist labels as a public relations expedient. In practice, they have adopted most Zionist goals and programs.

by Dr. Dov Joseph, Treasurer of the Jewish Agency:

... In logic and theory, the Appeals should have been the main source of the Agency's income, for we were entitled to rely on the Jewish people to supply the funds required for the absorption of the immigrants and their settlement in Israel.... It is also a matter for concern that if we analyse the sources of our income year by year, we find that the share of the Appeals has been showing a startling decline: from 73% of the total in 1948/49 to 35% in 1959/60.... The Government's assistance adds up to 10.2% of the Agency's total income during the period under review....

... Mention should be made of the fact that the Jewish Agency did not receive for the foreign currency it brought into the country the same exchange rate as other importers of funds. This considerably weakened the Agency's capacity to work, and increased its debts.

I must now draw your attention to the regrettable fact that all the non-returnable income we have received from appeals, reparations and other sources, although they amounted to a considerable sum, were not enough to finance our most urgent needs. We had no alternative, therefore, but to mortgage our future income by securing long-term loans, on a scale that grew in the course of the years. If we included under the category of long-term loans those we received from the Government for settlement purposes, we find that they constituted some 23% of our income, namely 268 million dollars. Part of this sum has already been repaid. Loans on such a scale are undesirable, especially as the percentage of loans on our total income rose from year to year parallel to the fall in the percentage of income from the appeals.

At the same time, we are entitled to point with pride to the fact that when all is said and done the Jewish Agency succeeded in securing 1,160 million dollars for the purpose of financing its activities from the establishment of the State to the end of March 1960, of which 892 million dollars were non-returnable income.... This means that American Jewry provided 77% of our total income from appeals; 48% of our non-returnable income, but not more than 31% of the total sums we actually expended during the period....

... There are also limits to the debt burden that can be imposed on the institution. It would appear that there is no escape from the conclusion that unless income increases, it will be necessary to curtail some very vital activities. Experience in the last few years has shown that as the State of Israel develops economically, doubts are aroused in the minds of Jewish donors abroad whether greater efforts on their part are really necessary. The Treasurer of the Jewish

Agency cannot dictate methods of raising funds abroad, but he is not exempt from the duty to express his concern at certain trends in this sphere.

With all my appreciation for the magnitude of world Jewry contributions, and in particular for the part played by a large number of individual donors, it cannot be said that world Jewry as a whole has given its financial support in a manner commensurate with our needs, or, in my opinion, in keeping with its capacity....

... Summing up our needs in the sphere of absorption, the liquidation of the ma'barot and the consolidation of the agricultural settlements, we arrive at a total of IL. 486 million or 270 million dollars at the current rate of exchange. This is the moral debt that the Jewish people owes us on account of the past....

... As I have already mentioned in connection with income, we found it necessary to float loans in order to finance our urgent activities. To repay these loans and the interest, we shall, therefore, have to earmark from our future budgets the sum of IL. 40-50 million per annum....

by Levi Eshkol, Minister of Finance of Israel:

... It should be remembered that the various fund-raising arms established by the Zionist Movement have become general Jewish instruments in the course of time, so that the Zionist Movement is no longer the main financial instrument for the enlistment of money, although obviously today Zionists must be the most active in the fund-raising world....

by J. Tsur, Head, Information Dept., Jewish Agency;
Member of Executive:

... Israel means not only donations and contributions to the pro-Israel fund-raising campaigns, but regarding such contributions not merely as assistance, but as a sharing of responsibility. So far we have built up our financial instruments on urgent calls for assistance, on the stressing of emergencies, whether in Israel or in regard to oppressed Jewish groups in the Diaspora. Now, we must slowly introduce the feeling among the Jewish people and the Zionist public that it means constant partnership and a constant sharing of the duties devolving upon the people as a whole and that upbuilding of Israel is an historical process which must be supported by Jews, not only in times of emergency. The pro-Israel activity can also serve as a fitting framework for the Zionist education in the home and in the family and for the fulfillment of practical precepts.

And practical partnership with Israel determines also the duty of personal connection with the State, partnership in Israeli enterprise, capital investments, financial and technical aid, the duty of frequent visits and the maintenance of direct ties with the country....

by Shabbetai Schichman, Brith Herut Hazohar, largest
opposition party to Ben-Gurion's:

... We hereby voice our protest at the disregard shown towards the delegates of this Congress who have not been presented with detailed balance sheets about the Agency's operations. The Agency's indebtedness already amounts to IL. 300,000,000; 47% of the Agency's budget is already covered by loans -- and not only at easy terms. Income from appeals constantly diminishes and a financial collapse is to be feared. We must, therefore, bring order into the Jewish Agency's reports which do not reflect a clear picture.

The permanent Budget Committee has also become quite useless. Budgets are approved retroactively, while Department Heads do not respect the decisions of the Budget Committee.

There is no control over members of the Jewish Agency Executive similar to that which applies to Cabinet Ministers. Each Executive Member maintains his own kingdom, free from all supervision; there are even rumours that the last report by the Comptroller underwent "plastic surgery." The Comptroller's resignation on the eve of the Congress is something that should arouse curiosity....

B. Official decisions on national fund-raising, embodied in the final resolutions:

- 1.) The general scheme for national fund-raising --
a tax on all Jews

The 25th Zionist Congress calls upon the Jewish people everywhere to be mindful of the historic duty of our generation and to fulfill the vital and urgent needs of the work of upbuilding by raising an amount of 1,000 m. dollars within the next ten years for the purpose of completing the settlement of additional Jews.

Let every Jew and every Jewish organization in the world regard it as their duty towards that venture to multiply the income of the Keren Hayesod in all the countries where it is operating and the income of the United Israel Appeal in the United States.

* * *

In order to maintain the level of the national tax for the Keren Hayesod, the Congress deems it imperative to fix a minimum contribution and a specific quota for the drive in each country. (Note: the Keren Hayesod - United Israel Appeal receives the major share of UJA funds.)

* * *

2.) The techniques to be used

Use Fund-Raising For Zionist Indoctrination

The 25th Zionist Congress calls upon the Jewish people everywhere to be mindful of the historic duty of our generation and to fulfil the vital and urgent needs of the work of upbuilding by raising an amount of 1,000 m. dollars within the next ten years for the purpose of completing the settlement of additional Jews.

Let every Jew and every Jewish organisation in the world regard it as their duty towards that venture to multiply the income of the Keren Hayesod in all the countries where it is operating and the income of the United Israel Appeal in the United States.

The Congress calls upon educational institutions, and teachers and educators in the Diaspora to integrate in their work the values represented by the Keren Kayemet Leisrael, the United Jewish Appeal and the Keren Hayesod.

Congress recognises the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod-United Israel Appeal as important factors in the education of the younger generation to Zionist awareness and calls upon all youth movements to include the values of these funds in their educational activities and to work on its behalf.

* * *

Control in the Jewish Agency

The Congress again obligates all Zionist organizations, and all institutions, assisted in any measure by the Jewish Agency to refrain from all fund-raising drives of whatever kind except those approved by the Zionist Congress or the Jewish Agency Executive whilst giving priority to the drive of the Keren Hayesod, respecting its slogans and fixed dates and fulfilling the conditions and demands of the Jewish Agency Executive.

* * *

Link Israeli Government Activities and Fund-Raising Abroad

The Congress notes that in order to secure efficiency the Information Department's activities both in Israel and abroad were conducted in

cooperation with the National Funds and other authorities and bodies in Israel, whilst preserving the autonomy of the Zionist Organisation. The Congress, therefore, recommends the strengthening of this cooperation with all bodies engaged in Zionist, Jewish and Israeli information work.

* * *

C. How you will see these decisions reflected in your city:

1.) The first step will be for the American Zionist Council or its local affiliate to appear before your local federation or welfare fund and ask for outright subsidies for Zionist programs. Until this year, \$1,500,000 was given by the UJA annually to local Zionist groups for work in the United States. That has been stopped. Zionist groups will try to get this money directly from the welfare funds this year.

2.) Local federations and welfare funds will be asked to mortgage their future receipts still further by taking costly bank loans. The purpose, as practiced for several years, is to give the United Jewish Appeal larger amounts than current local income would deem possible or prudent.

3.) UJA appeals will be made, more and more, on the basis of the national duty of "Diaspora" Jews to support the national entity of Israel, irrespective of the welfare needs of the people in the state.

4.) It is likely that Jewish Agency underground agents will stir up sufficient antagonism between Jews and non-Jews in Morocco so that a "rescue" operation can be mounted just prior to UJA fund-raising this spring. The Moroccan government has consistently expressed its desire to retain Jewish citizens, and on a level of equality in Morocco. But Moroccan Jews -- and North African Jews in general -- were marked for "rescue aliya" by the World Zionist Congress (see page 11). Speakers called for 30,000 emigrants this year. A Moroccan "rescue" would provide the manpower and the fund-raising stimulant needed. This has been the pattern for twelve years.

VII. What Must Every Zionist in the United States Do?

A. These prominent leaders answer the question clearly.

by Moshe Sharett, former Prime Minister and candidate for new roles in the Zionist Movement and in the Israeli Government:

- ... The tasks and responsibilities of each Zionist must be:
- 1) The maximum annual donation to funds destined for Israel. The amount of the donation must be based on a certain percentage of income.
 - 2) The giving of a national education to children or grandchildren

and maximum support for educational institutions.

3) The creation of an atmosphere in the home which will express the national link in Jewish life.

4) The obligation to invest a part of one's property in the State of Israel. The investment must be made through the Israel Government, the Jewish Agency or other national institutions.

5) An effort must be made to hold family celebrations in Israel (Bar-Mitzvah, graduation of students, anniversaries, etc.).

6) To influence organizations to which Zionists belong so that they arrange visits to Israel for their members and their families and friends.

7) To encourage in every way the settlement in Israel of children and friends and to recognize the need to link the life of every individual with Israel.

8) Every Zionist must use Israel products in his home and must encourage friends, neighbors and relatives to do the same.

9) He must take part in the activities of educational institutions in his town and must help in the establishment of day schools, seminars and other cultural institutions whose programme should accord with the objectives and tasks of Zionism.

10) To act as an example to others (non-Zionists) by active participation in all activities carried out in aid of fund-drives for Israel; to sell Israel Bonds; to encourage investment and frequent visits to Israel, as well as to promote the pioneering spirit in children and grandchildren, to help in the establishment and maintenance of Jewish educational institutions, to live his home life in the spirit of national Jewishness, and to assist in the strengthening of Jewish social life which leads to the national unity of the Jewish people....

by J. Tsur, member of the Executive and head of the Information Dept:

... Its activity and direction must embrace four planes: Judaism, Israel, the unity of the Jewish people, Aliya and self-effectuation. The latter, which is an important principle in Zionism, cannot come about in the present-day conditions of Western Jewry, except as a result of the first three.

Judaism means primarily Hebrew and Jewish education. From the collective point of view: it means that the Zionist Organization must aspire to direct responsibility in communal institutions or other Jewish organizations in charge of Jewish education, so as to be able to direct such education and to ensure the place to be accorded to the living Hebrew language in such education. From the personal point of view this principle makes it obligatory on every person affiliated to the Zionist Movement to give his children a Jewish education and, wherever possible, to supplement it by a year's service and study in Israel....

by Meir Grossman, Head, Economic Dept., Jewish Agency:

... Jews today may be divided into four groups: The first are active anti-Zionists, combating Jewish Nationalism and the idea of

close relations between Israel and the Diaspora. You find them among the extreme Right and the extreme Left; among assimilationists, as among religious groups. These must be combated, but who will do it? The second group is composed of "Neutrals," of Jews who take no interest whatever in Judaism and Zionism. They are entirely unconcerned; they are neither for nor against. Shall we give them up entirely? The third and largest group is composed of active friends of Israel. They are good Jews and are doing a grand piece of work. They are proud of Israel. Israel's successes are a source of great satisfaction to them but they are not Zionists. They don't intend emigrating to Israel. Conditions in the Diaspora are entirely to their liking. They are doing a wonderful piece of work but they do not constitute a reserve of manpower for us. We can have no claims on them, because they say openly that they are not Zionists. Apparently they know what Zionism is.

The fourth group is composed of organized and convinced Zionists of all parties. These are people who have taken on the Zionist Weltanschauung, the Zionist analysis of Jewish reality; they have accepted the conclusion that the Jewish question can find a solution only in the liquidation of the Galut and the concentration of the majority of the Jewish people in their historical Homeland, without compromise, without half-way measures....

B. Official decisions on the role of the Zionist, embodied in the final resolutions:

1.) The general scheme

In large and medium-sized Jewish centres, the Zionist Executive, in conjunction with the Territorial Zionist Organisations shall draw up a four-year programme with respect to all spheres of Zionist activity, the consolidation and expansion of the organisation, the increase of pioneer and all other kinds of immigration, the expansion of educational schemes and the carrying out of all other functions assigned to National Zionist Organisations.

* * *

2.) The techniques - broad, all-inclusive

The 25th Zionist Congress calls upon the Executive to continue to act, within the framework of a suitable body attached to it, in the following fields:

a. Lending support and assistance to existing organisations for the promotion of friendship and cultural ties between Israel citizens and other peoples and taking initiative in the establishment of additional association of this kind both in Israel and in other countries.

b. Maintaining contacts between the Executive and international non-governmental organisations accredited to the U.N. and lending support to non-governmental organisations to Israel which are in contact with such international organisations.

c. Centralizing activities connected with national and international Jewish organisations and with fraternal and associate organisations which have linked themselves with the Zionist Movement or will do so in the future.

d. Establishing contacts with religious and spiritual agencies in all parts of the world for the purpose of acquainting them with the problems of the Jewish people and of the State of Israel.

C. How you will see these decisions reflected in your city:

The above resolutions are stated in the formal jargon of the Zionist movement. They are the sum total of all the speeches, resolutions and lobby conferences that went before. You will see these directives carried out in bold strokes and in minute detail in every city in America where Jews reside. If Zionist ideas and programs are not introduced by local Zionists, they will be insinuated at the national level and made to seep down. Often this will be done through temple organizations, through youth groups, through rabbinical bodies, through the B'nai B'rith -- in scores of ways seemingly out of local control. For example, local temples don't publish their own texts, so Zionist-Israel indoctrination is accomplished at the national level.

Alertness is required constantly, in every situation and in every organization in the Jewish field.

Ask yourself -- as you give your welfare dollars, buy your children's books, listen to your rabbi's sermon, read of political statements made in your name by "Jewish leaders" -- ask yourself:

"Does this fit the master plan set down by World Zionism?"

Do you want it to?

#

Ben-Zvi Sees Aliya As 'A Kind of Tithe'

President Ben-Zvi last night called for a "kind of tithe" in connection with aliya.

In his greetings to the opening session of the 25th Zionist Congress, Mr. Ben-Zvi urged the acceptance of personal participation in aliya as a national duty, "or at least a kind of tithe, 'one from the city and two from the family,' to settle and take root in Israel."

Mr. Ben-Zvi noted the historic importance of two events which preceded the First Zionist Congress by several years — the establishment of the first agricultural school at Mikve Yitzrael and the Biltmore Immigration of the 1880's. "Without these events — the birth of Mikve 100 years ago and removal of agriculture by Jewish hands in the Land of our Fathers — who knows whether we would today be witnesses to the renaissance of the nation of Israel and its homeland?"

This Clipping From
NEW YORK, N. Y.
WORLD-TELEGRAM & SUN

JAN 9 - 1961

Judaism Council Rips World Zionist Appeal

The American Council for Judaism today lashed out at the World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem for urging American Jews to help ease a manpower shortage in Israel by emigrating there.

Clarence L. Coleman Jr., council president, said his group "categorically rejects the entire Zionist philosophy and all of the new programs announced to advance it."

Mr. Coleman said the council is opposed to Zionist emigration programs including one designed to use President-elect John F. Kennedy's proposed "peace corps" to promote emigration of Jews from America.

The Zionist appeal, issued yesterday at the close of a 10-day congress in Jerusalem, called on Jews all over the world to come to Israel. The appeal was more moderate in tone than was a speech to the congress by Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, who, quoting the Talmud, said: "Whosoever dwells outside the land of Israel is considered to have no God."

The speech brought a storm of protest from the United States and other countries where Jews have contributed heavily to Israel's support, and Mr. Ben-Gurion later said his remark applied only to Orthodox Jews.

TEL AVIV. — The Zionist Congress should instruct the Jewish Agency Youth Department to encourage all expressions of pioneering, not only the kibbutz. This was urged yesterday at the world...

BEN-GURION HITS NON-ISRAELI JEWS

Jews Abroad Criticized

JERUSALEM, Dec. 28.—Premier David Ben-Gurion contended today that Jews who lived outside Israel were godless and violated the precepts of Judaism every day they remained away from the country.

Addressing the twenty-fifth Zionist Congress, the Israeli Premier said that the Jewish religion was the product of the land of Israel and was therefore bound up in duties to the state. In his eyes these duties begin with migration.

"Since the day when the Jewish state was established and the gates of Israel were flung open to every Jew who wanted to come, every religious Jew has daily violated the precepts of Judaism and the Torah of Israel by remaining in the Diaspora," he said.

The Diaspora is the term used for the dispersion of Jews outside Palestine.

Citing the authority of the Jewish sages, the Premier added: "Whoever dwells outside the land of Israel is considered to have no God."

Mr. Ben-Gurion declared that Jews concerned for the future of their people must realize that without unity and more profound Jewish consciousness they are headed for extinction one way or another.

"In several countries and in Moslem countries Judaism is in danger of being lost," he said.

self-deception" to think that the State could carry out the functions now fulfilled by the Jewish Agency.

With an audience of 3,000 persons in a convention hall here, Mr. Ben-Gurion addressed himself sternly to the more than 500 delegates among them and demanded that they increase visits of Jews to Israel, encourage capital investments and send children to study in Israel.

"It is clear that thousands of these young people, after seeing for themselves what the Jewish state has done and what it still has to do, would willingly and enthusiastically join the builders and creative workers," he asserted.

Growing Respect Cited

"There is no doubt that the state has straightened the backs of Jews in every country where they live and enhanced the respect in which they are held by their neighbors," the Premier said.

"It would be no exaggeration to say that apart from small groups on the right and the left there is nothing that has united the entire Jewish people, of all parties, views and sections, so much as the state of Israel."

"I have given this point pride of place because I regard the unity of the Jewish people as a primary condition for its survival—and the survival of Israel as well—and as I have said elsewhere, I am a Jew first and an Israeli afterwards. * * *

"The question that you who are sitting here must answer not by words and resolutions but by deeds is whether you have the desire, the will and the ability to work for and to insure the immigration that Israel needs in ever greater quantities, an immigration motivated not only by the burden of distress and external pressure but by the powerful impulse of the creative vision of redemption, which enriches the spirit of the people and the state."

gent challenge for the future." Mr. Ben-Gurion said. "This is the last servitude and the last of salvation to be loyal to Zionism, the conviction and the meaning today: to

Premier's Stand

Mr. Ben-Gurion made any secret for Jews in other countries free to emigrate but prefer to remain in the Diaspora.

Zionist leaders him of taking the Jews outside Israel a source of financial help to be tolerated only necessary.

His invocation of religious arguments in the Diaspora, it appeared particularly at those who adhere to traditional Jewish religion who are called in Israel.

Mr. Ben-Gurion said that the laws and principles of the Jewish people are at some points religious traditions. Orthodox Jews States have set a precedent for stricter adherence to traditions in Israel.

ago, the president of the religious Zionists that Israel's position in the next ten years return "to her mission" by moral imperatives mud in her administration.

Most Zionists Mr. Ben-Gurion said that Jews who in other countries have not considered his position that Israel is obliged to the grave and un-

This Clipping From
BUFFALO, N. Y.
NEWS

JAN 10 1961

'EXILE' CONCEPT IS TURNED DOWN

NEW YORK, Jan. 10 (AP)—The American Council for Judaism Monday criticized a suggestion that American Jews should emigrate to Israel as a "matter of national duty."

Clarence Coleman Jr., president of the council, told a news conference: "Our nationality is American. Our religion is Judaism. Our homeland is the United States of America and we reject any concept that all Jews outside of Israel are 'in exile.'"

The World Zionist Council meeting in Jerusalem, recently urged that Jews throughout the world should go to Israel.

This Clipping From
JACKSON, MICH.
CITIZEN PATRIOT

JAN 11 1961

'Stay in U.S.,' Jews Urged

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This Clipping From
WATERTOWN, N. Y.
TIMES

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line of Hebrew literature, and said that moral and ethical values and achievements were more important than any military or technical achievements. Everything best in Israel is due to Zionism, he said. Israel is a State containing Zionism, and not vice versa.

Referring to the berating of Zionism within Israel he asked "Did we come to Zion to be rid of Zionism?"

He concluded by saying that Zionism is a Jewish concept (Herut-Hazonar), and not a Jewish religion (Ihud).

Education for

The following are points made by speaker today's afternoon session:

Mr. L. Kronitz (Voluntary aliya will result of proper education 10 per cent of the youth should be devoted to education in the Diaspora.

Mr. Jacob DeVries (Halprin): We the young generation in the spirit of personal education, but the Israeli youth be educated towards the Golan.

Mr. I. Zakki (Pre are all united in one education of the youth in the Diaspora. We is the highest degree idealism.

Mr. H. Landy (M conditions must be sorption must be conditions must be spiritual attraction sufficient to bring aliya with all the wonderful in all spheres we wo

**THE 25th ZIONIST CONGRESS • JERUSALEM
BULLETIN OF THE PRESS BUREAU**



Issued by the Information Department of the World Zionist Organization

4.1.61. BULLETIN No. 69.

THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE of the Twenty-Fifth Zionist Congress, headed by Mr. R. Artzi (Progressives) heard the address of Mr. N. Grossman, head of the Department for Foreign Relations, on the work of his Department. Mr. Grossman reported on the ties that he had established with various Jewish and non-Jewish bodies, and delineated the possibilities of expanding the activities, also by the new Executive to be elected by the Congress.

Mr. Shimon Peres, Deputy Minister of Defence, delivered a survey of Israel's security problems. Analysing the dangers threatening Israel on the part of its neighbours, the lecturer stressed that the problem of Israel's security was of deep "Zionist" and general Jewish significance, for the Arabs, headed by Abdul Nasser, were planning to destroy Jewish sovereignty. Mr. Peres pointed

Head of the Department, calling of ali-

to Meet Education

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ZIONIST CONGRESS DELEGATES

are invited to visit the projects of the WOMEN'S LEAGUE FOR ISRAEL

Batei Halutzot (Immigrant Women's Homes) in Tel Aviv, Haifa, Jerusalem, Natanya (Rehabilitation Centre for Blind Young Women)