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Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity [Jerusalem, Israel].
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Copy for you

file Solidarity
Conference

December 19, 1975

H.E. Yitzhak Rabin
The Prime Minister's Office
Hakirya
Jerusalem

Dear Yitzhak:

Only because you invited me to give my ideas before the Jerusalem Solidarity Conference took place, do I now write to express my fears that a great opportunity is being lost. I am afraid that most of the ideas and resolutions and promises will not be put into operation, but will remain on paper, or at best, will be discussed to death in committees of various organisations.

The reason for this fear is that no machinery has been created, or even suggested, to take charge of the implementation. I know that there will be a meeting of the Va'ad La-Tiyum in the next few weeks (meanwhile precious time is running away) to discuss implementation. And what will probably emerge? A group of coordinators in Jerusalem will approach the same organisations and roof-organisations to carry out, at their own initiative, whatever they think is possible in their countries. And under the pressure of their own routine work, which they feel anyhow adds to solidarity with Israel, bold new ideas will simply not be undertaken because they are always difficult, and there is always the excuse of lack of manpower, money or imagination.

I suggested to you twice that you should appoint a person who will be your Chief of Staff, as it were, with authority directly from you and the Chairman of the Agency, with an independent staff and budget, whose duty it should be to push all the organisations, to make sure they work on the various projects, and to create ad hoc machinery where he finds that the routine machinery cannot or will not function. Every organisation and person invited and/or present at the Jerusalem Conference should be informed by you and the Agency Chairman of the appointment of such a person, and should be asked by you to cooperate with him. He must have extraordinary power and extraordinary backing, in order to move mountains. I don't think I was exaggerating when I said that the success of the Jerusalem Conference would depend on what operating mechanism was created to carry out the projects.

Perhaps I am expressing groundless fears, but I simply wanted to say all this once more, two weeks after the Conference, as I said it two weeks in advance, so that my conscience would be at rest.

In friendship,

Herbert A. Friedman

כינוס ירושלים
לאחדות
ישראל

JERUSALEM
CONFERENCE
OF
JEWISH
SOLIDARITY

DECEMBER 1975

חנוכה תשל"ו

JERUSALEM CONFERENCE OF

JEWISH SOLIDARITY

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
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JERUSALEM CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOLIDARITY
AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

WORKING GROUP: *EDUCATION TO COMMITMENT*

זמן אלה יעקב וישראל

WORKING GROUP ON EDUCATION TO COMMITMENT

INTRODUCTION

The heritage of the civilization of Israel constitutes the essential foundation of the life of the Jewish people and Jewish education of the masses of Israel - and the young generation in particular - is the pledge of survival for our people. Jewish education must be fostered formally and informally, for the individual and in family life as well as in public events. Deepened Jewish consciousness and a stronger hold on the riches of Jewish spiritual civilization will bar the way to assimilation and defection. In the face of the evil attacks in the United Nations, which are aimed at sapping the very basis of the collective existence of the Jewish people by walling off those in Zion from the Diaspora, this Conference proudly and unreservedly declares and re-affirms the unity of the Jewish people and its complete identification with the heritage of Israel and Zion in every possible way, and mainly by means of fostering Jewish and Zionist education.

The present situation demands an immediate and practical response. Proposals for action are listed in the following paragraphs:

PROPOSALS

1. To launch a campaign abroad to have Hebrew language and literature taught as recognized subjects in Government High Schools; to increase the number of high-grade Jewish day schools and strengthen their pedagogic links with schools in Israel.
2. To take steps to attract top-level teachers to Jewish

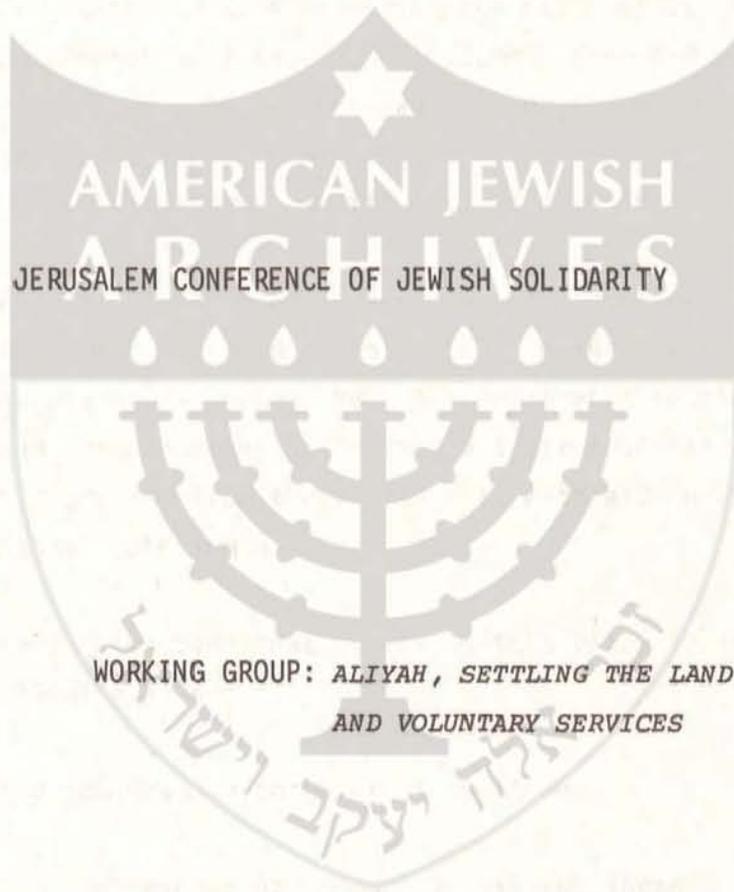
education by means of raising the Hebrew teachers' Jewish academic level and their social and economic status.

3. To set up a "Diaspora Pedagogical Institute of Jewish Studies" in Israel in cooperation with Jewish educational institutions abroad. This Institute would prepare study curricula, hand-books and text-books and audio-visual aids and would train teachers from abroad in their use.
4. In response to requests from abroad, to send senior educators from Israel on short visits to give teachers' refresher courses and on longer missions to fill key posts in the local educational system.
5. To expand the capacity of boarding-schools in Israel to take in secondary school pupils from abroad; to organize a network of families willing to "adopt" pupils from abroad and help them find their feet in appropriate schools; to give increased help of this kind to Jewish students from abroad in the Universities and Yeshivot in Israel as well; and to set up information centres in every country to provide information, guidance and preparation concerning study programs in Israel.
6. To organize a mass convention of Jewish young people and students from abroad to demonstrate their identification with Israel - ("Come, let's go to Zion" Project); a Jewish Students' World Congress; a world convention of leaders of youth organizations; a world convention of Yeshiva graduates; a study-teaching seminar on the theme of Judaism and Zionism for rabbis, public servants, and executives and senior officials of every nation-wide Jewish organization.
7. After national conventions have been held, to hold a world convention of Jewish educators, scholars and workers in the

field of education, in order to focus on the centrality of Israel and Zionism in the mutual exchanges between Israel and the Diaspora concerning Jewish education.

8. To create an educational and cultural "City" in Israel comprizing a high-grade boarding-school for young people from Israel and abroad, which would also preside over cultural and leisure activities for young couples, holidaying families, Jewish survey groups from abroad, and for tourists. Relevant components of the activities of this "Culture City" may well serve as examples for similar projects abroad.





WORKING GROUP ON ALIYAH,
SETTLING THE LAND, AND VOLUNTARY SERVICES

Increased immigration to Israel is an imperative of the first order for the reinforcement and development of the State of Israel. This demands close cooperation between Jewish communities and organizations in the world to devise ways to encourage and organize immigration and to help immigrants find employment and housing, secure education for themselves and their children and fit into life in Israel.

For this purpose it is proposed to make use of "adoption" or "twinning" between Jewish communities and organizations in the world and development towns and places in Israel where the immigrants settle. Jewish communities and organizations will combine their activities for encouraging immigration from their countries with aid in the process of the immigrants' settling down in Israel.

A community or organization that "twins" with a place in Israel will act on the following lines:

1. Increasing immigration to their "twin" town.
2. Cooperating in developing community services there.
3. Encouraging investments in industry and services there.
4. Distributing the products of concerns of the "twin" town in their own home town.
5. Promoting volunteering from their own town for the needs of their "twin".

In order to give an impetus to these activities and to follow up on their results, there will be constant liaison between the community and/or organization and its "twin" in Israel, this liaison to be the task of representatives appointed by the community and the "twin" in question, as well as Government and the Jewish Agency.

The following is suggested as the order in which steps should be taken to carry out this idea:

1. Listing development towns and other places of settlement in Israel suitable for inclusion in the program.
2. Listing communities and organizations that support the idea of their "twinning" with places in Israel.
3. Compiling all possible up-to-date information on the Israel town or settlement, its nature and its needs.
4. Setting up suitable bodies in the community and/or organization outside Israel to work for practical implementation of the community's involvement in the program.
5. Making serious moves in Israel to simplify the procedures for settling in the new immigrants.
6. Beginning immediately with one or two "pilot" experiments in "twinning" between a Jewish community or organization and a development town in Israel so as to be able to base future working methods on the experience gained.

"VOLUNTEERS FOR ISRAEL"

A Movement of Volunteers for Israel offers two advantages in particular:

1. Getting to know Israel, its people and its needs, is in itself a value gained for the volunteer. He is strengthened in his feelings of Jewish identity and responsibility for the future of the Jewish people. These feelings take concrete form in action.
2. The volunteers are helping Israel overcome its shortage of manpower, which springs from the smallness of its population and its tremendous security and development needs.

We call on the young generation of Jews in the world to volunteer for "Service to the People of Israel". Jewish communities and organizations are called upon to assume the burden of responsibility for active steps to encourage volunteering, mobilize the volunteers and send them to Israel.

Suggested ways of carrying this out:

1. Creating committees to spur volunteering in the communities and organizations.
2. Assisting the volunteers in financing their journey to Israel.
3. In Israel, the volunteers will be given help and guidance in choosing to go to kibbutzim, moshavim, development towns or else to housing estates in the big towns. Volunteers will also be employed in hospitals and other vital services.
4. Two centres will be set up for volunteers in Israel, one in Ma'alot in Galilee and the other in Ofakim in the Negev.

These centres will also serve to train workers for the volunteering movement.

5. The suggestion is that altogether some 30,000 volunteers of all kinds should be mobilized to come to Israel in 1976 from all over the world.
6. Housing will be made available for them in different parts of the country and every endeavour will be made to help them feel at home socially and intellectually.
7. It is hoped that what they are shown and what they learn during their stay will encourage them to remain in the country as immigrants and settlers, and educational programs will be arranged for this purpose.

JERUSALEM

The unification and upbuilding of Jerusalem since the Six-Day War has brought the city's Jewish population up to a quarter of a million souls.

We call on Jews everywhere to come and settle in Jerusalem, to double its population, develop its economy, defend it against all those who threaten it and enrich its social and cultural life as befits the eternal capital city of Israel.

SETTLEMENT ON THE LAND

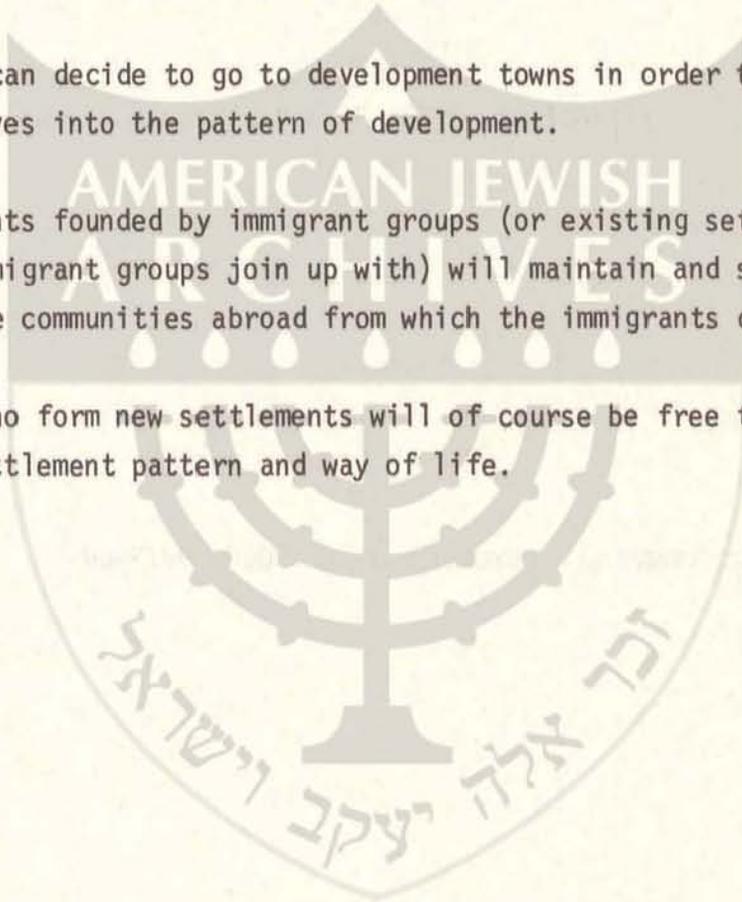
Settlement on the Land of our Fathers, filling the country with settlements, rural and urban, in line with Government decisions, is an imperative necessity for the State of Israel.

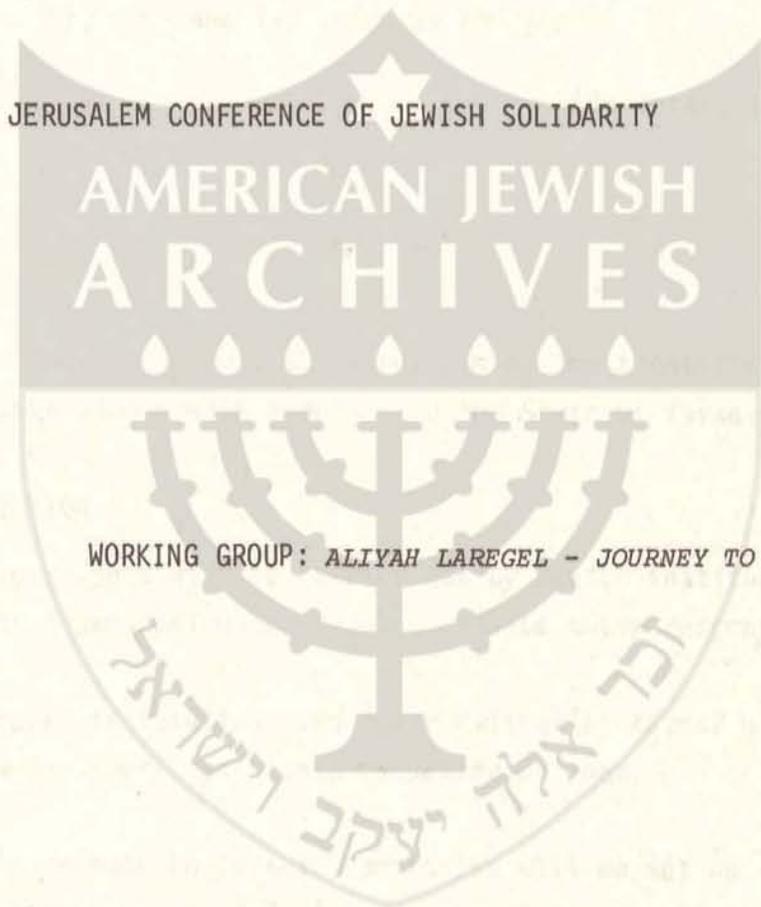
The education of our young people must turn their minds to continuing immigration and settlement. The communities and organizations will use their best endeavours to aid young people to join forces in groups which will immigrate together and settle in Israel:-

- * Individuals and groups can join existing settlements of their choice.
- * Groups of people can join forces and undertake to create new settlements on lines they choose.
- * Groups can decide to go to development towns in order to fit themselves into the pattern of development.

The settlements founded by immigrant groups (or existing settlements which the immigrant groups join up with) will maintain and strengthen ties with the communities abroad from which the immigrants came.

Immigrants who form new settlements will of course be free to choose their own settlement pattern and way of life.





WORKING GROUP: ALIYAH LAREGEL - JOURNEY TO ZION

WORKING GROUP ON ALIYAH LAREGEL -
JOURNEY TO ZION

"Arise ye and let us go up to Zion"

(Jeremiah, XXI, 6)

I AIM

The Project aims at giving expression to the identification of the Jewish people with Zionism and the State of Israel.

II ORGANIZATION

1. The Project will be carried out by Jewish institutions and organizations abroad and will be their responsibility.
2. Jewish institutions and their emissaries abroad will render every assistance requested of them.
3. "Pilgrimage to Israel" committees will be set up in synagogues and in Jewish organizations on both the national and local level and "Friends of the Pilgrims" will be appointed to concern themselves with the Project.

III IMPLEMENTATION

1. All Jewish organizations and institutions including the synagogues will treat "Pilgrimage to Israel" as the main project for 1976 and as a duty incumbent on their members. One way of performing the Pilgrimage is to celebrate family events - Barmitzvah, birthdays, etc. - in Israel.

2. Conventions of Jewish institutions and organizations should be held in Israel.
3. The Jewish institutions and organizations concerned with organizing tours, will direct efforts in 1976 to arranging visits to Israel as opposed to other countries. Institutions which already conduct tours to Israel will do their utmost to increase the number of these tours.
4. Jewish officials of general institutions should take steps to have the conventions of these bodies too held in Israel.
5. As many events as possible - study tours, refresher courses, seminars - should be arranged in Israel in order to impart more knowledge on the history of the country, Jewry and Zionism.
6. A special campaign will be undertaken among young people and students to acquaint them with summer projects in Israel and get them to spend their holidays in the country.
7. A Steering Committee will be set up in Israel composed of representatives of institutions responsible for the Israel side of the Project. It will concern itself with the detailed planning and execution of the Pilgrimages, follow-up, co-ordination and fixing time-tables. This Committee will launch a campaign to have Israeli homes open their doors to the pilgrims from abroad, as prescribed in Jewish tradition.
8. All concerned in the Project will exert their best endeavours to have the cost of making the Pilgrimage brought down, so as to bring it within reach for as many people as possible.

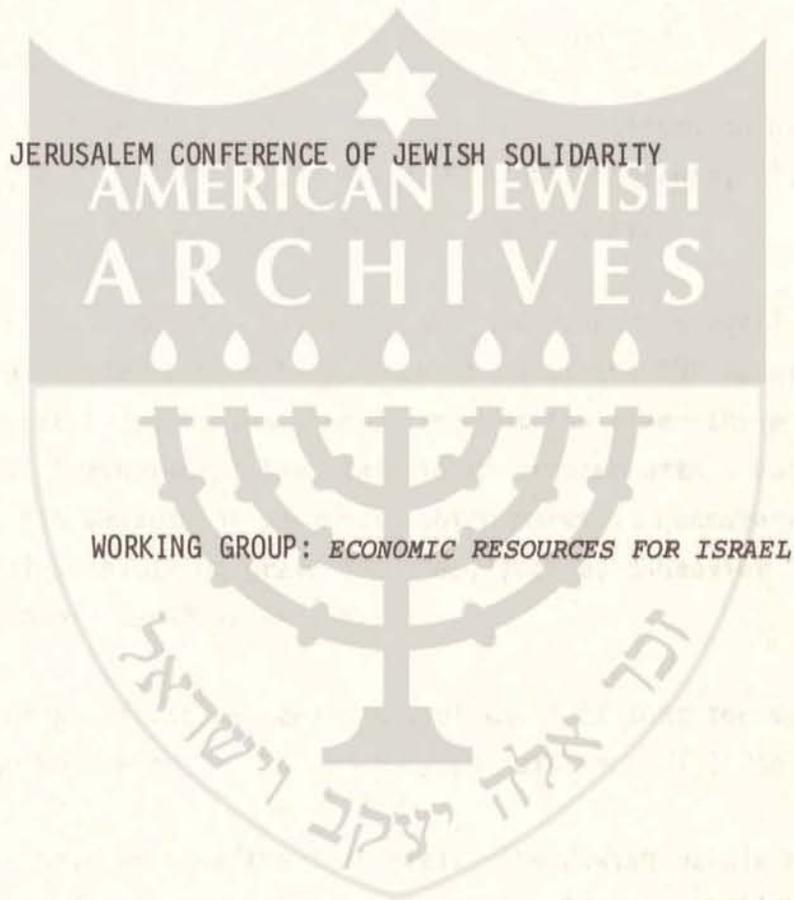
IV "PACKAGE TOURS"

The Steering Committee in Israel will see to it that "Package Tours" are on offer to the Pilgrimage Committees and the "Friends of the Pilgrims" abroad in order to give the Pilgrims the widest possible choice of programs.

V CERTIFICATE AND BADGE

A special Certificate and Badge will be given to every Pilgrim who takes part in the Project.





WORKING GROUP: *ECONOMIC RESOURCES FOR ISRAEL*

WORKING GROUP ON
ECONOMIC RESOURCES FOR ISRAEL

INTRODUCTION

The State of Israel has had in the past, and continues to have, four main goals: security, the absorption of immigrants, closing the social gap, and the development of the country.

Security is still the top priority, and the resources available to us are allocated accordingly. One third of the GNP is earmarked for security, so that the balance of the other three goals is limited. Furthermore, the State is confronted with a huge deficit in its balance of payments, which makes it necessary to adopt policies involving grave measures, such as a heavier burden of taxes, devaluations, etc.

These measures reflect our awareness of the fact that the major part of the burden has to be borne by the citizens of Israel.

In order to help achieve the four goals, the Jewish people must mobilize itself, even more than in the past, to make available the resources of Jews throughout the world.

INVESTMENTS, UTILIZATION OF THE PURCHASING POWER OF
THE JEWISH PEOPLE, BUSINESS CONTACTS

1. If part of the purchase power of the Jewish people is directed to the purchase of Israeli products, this could do miracles in the balance of payments of the State. Furthermore, increased Jewish purchasing - under the slogan "Buy Blue and White" - will be an answer to the intensification of economic warfare against us, to which a clear anti-Jewish character has lately been added.

2. It is proposed that Jewish communities and Jewish interests be mobilized for the encouragement of the purchase and sale of Israeli products in the diaspora.

3. The investments of world Jewry in Israel will be the decisive answer to the intensification of the anti-Jewish trend, and will prove our unity as a people by further involvement - through investments. Investments are required in the expansion and strengthening of development areas, for example, the settling of Galilee.

4. It is proposed that, in the framework of the Pilgrimage Year, missions of businessmen come to Israel to meet with their Israeli colleagues. It is proposed that the Jewish organizations organize these missions on the basis of professions or groups of professions, and that the missions come here with the purpose of establishing professional and commercial contacts with their Israeli counterparts. These contacts will bring to Israel the knowhow required for the production of export products of high quality. For example, the Jewish owners of big department stores in the world should come here, establish contacts with local manufacturers, give them their specifications, and provide them with the knowledge to meet these specifications. Then, through their marketing networks, they will market the Israeli products, which must be competitive in quality and price.

BONDS

For the past twenty-five years, the Organization of the State of Israel Bonds served as a major vehicle for mobilizing resources for the development of Israel's economy.

There is no doubt that the Israeli economy must be a modern one, it must continue to grow and must undergo continuous technological change.

This will not happen unless we continue to develop the infrastructure of our economy. The State allocates about one billion dollars of its development budget every year for this purpose. The share financed by Bonds must be increased.

In addition, the Bonds are a main instrument for enlarging the circle of those involved in the economy, by intensifying the sales of institutional Bonds as a response to the expansion of economic warfare against the Jewish people, and as an access to the non-Jewish business community.

CAMPAIGNS

The United Jewish Appeal and the Keren Hayesod - United Israel Appeal campaigns, whose goals are to finance immigration, absorption and social needs in Israel, are a prime instrument for the expression of the identification of the Jewish people in the diaspora with the Jewish people in Israel.

It is essential that the campaigns be mobilized for a special and intensified action for developing Israel's social infrastructure. Three major elements are involved: the absorption of immigrants, which requires financing of \$500 million for every 10,000 immigrant families; the settlement programs which call for some \$140 million a year; and the whole network of social services which are vital for closing the social gap and preserving the social fabric of Israel, these require \$2 billion a year.

The economic, the political and the security situation of Israel this year, demands of the United Jewish Appeal and the Keren Hayesod - United Israel Appeal a supreme effort for a most substantial increase in the share of the Jewish communities in financing these expenditures. Each Jewish community and Jewish organization must mobilize its full strength to assist the campaigns in fulfilling their tasks.

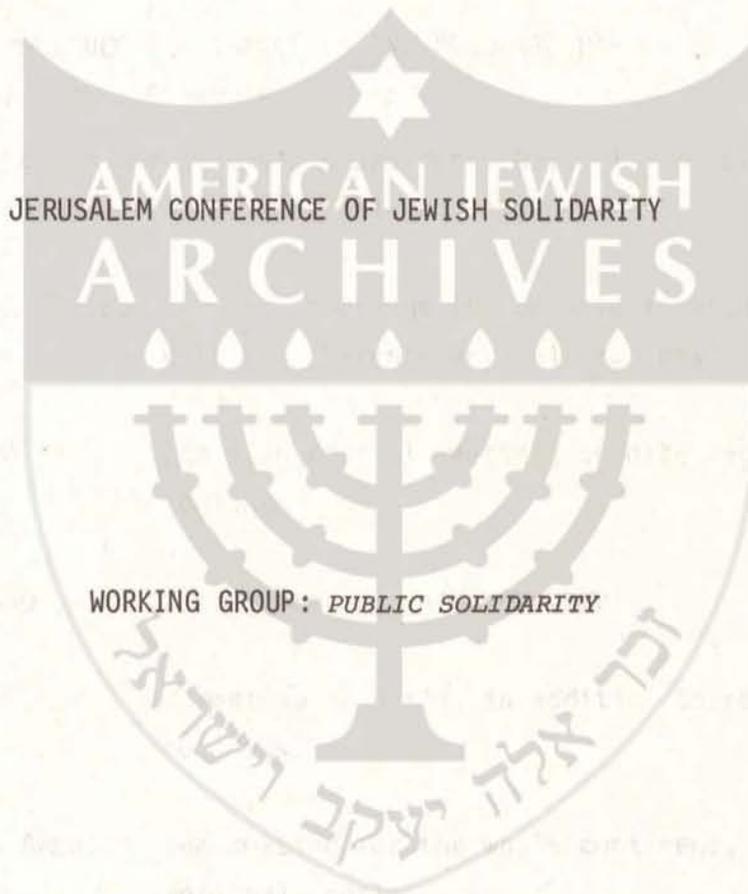
A FUND FOR THE UNITY OF ISRAEL

The problem of the young Jewish generation, its attachment to the State of Israel and its Jewish education must be at the heart of our concern.

We must do everything possible to bring the Jewish youth in the diaspora closer to the State of Israel and the Israeli youth closer to the Jewish people the world over. By strengthening this mutual attachment, we strengthen the unity of the people, and, by so doing, we strengthen also the guarantee for its continued existence and vitality.

It is necessary to mobilize special resources for these tasks. However, these resources must not interfere with the vital activities of the campaigns and of Bonds.

It is proposed to establish a \$1 billion Special Fund, to be raised from the Jews of the diaspora, above and beyond their contributions to the campaigns and their purchase of Bonds. The income of this Fund will be earmarked to bring thousands of youth from the diaspora to Israel, and to strengthen Jewish education in the diaspora.



JERUSALEM CONFERENCE OF JEWISH SOLIDARITY

WORKING GROUP: *PUBLIC SOLIDARITY*

ISRAEL

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

A complete archival listing of a legislative or executive document is provided in the original document. The listing includes the date, the name of the document, and the name of the author.

WORKING GROUP ON PUBLIC SOLIDARITY

I MASS MEETINGS FOR ISRAEL ON INDEPENDENCE DAY

5 Iyar 5736 - 5 May 1976

Meetings to mark Israel Independence Day will be held at one and the same time in the following places:

UNITED STATES Regional Meetings (to be held in association with U.S. Bicentenary celebrations)

CANADA One main central meeting, or else regional meetings

ENGLAND A mass meeting in Manchester

EUROPE A meeting in Basle, in addition to regional meetings.

LATIN AMERICA One meeting for the whole continent, or regional meetings.
(It is suggested that the places for the meetings should be those associated with national heroes of the struggle for independence such as Bolivar.)

ISRAEL A meeting at Sde Boker.

SIGNATURE CAMPAIGN

1. A campaign for mass signing of a declaration of identification with Zionism and Israel.

2. A preliminary propaganda campaign to promote the mass signing and the mass meetings should be carried on in the communications media, both Jewish and general, in the synagogues, community and other institutions and in the universities. An Israel Week should be earmarked for this campaign, preferably in March, one of its practical aims being to mobilize volunteer workers (students, young people and adults) to organize and carry out house-to-house visits in preparation for the mass signing which will conclude the Independence Day Meetings.

II INTELLECTUALS FOR ISRAEL

It is proposed to hold conferences of intellectuals, Jewish and non-Jewish, in five different parts of the world: Canada, U.S.A., South America, Europe and England.

The conferences are intended to produce serious and thorough-going deliberations concerning Zionism and the nature of anti-Semitism.

III JEWISH SCHOLARS TO MEET IN JERUSALEM

1. A conference of Jewish scholars will be held in Jerusalem to make plain the unity of the Jewish people, inside Israel and outside it. It will also be devoted to thorough discussion of Zionism in the period since the creation of the State. The Conference should aim at intensifying national consciousness among the Jewish people, showing the way to the inspiration accessible in Jewish intellectual and spiritual disciplines.
2. The Convention should not remain an isolated event. It is worth examining the possibility of creating something in the nature of a "Jerusalem Club" - on the analogy of the (Catholic) "Rome Club" - as a frame of reference within which to pursue the dialogue on a high intellectual plane.

IV THE CHRISTIAN WORLD

There are two possible steps to be taken to help spread our message in the Christian world - a convention of clergy and theologians or else an Inter-Faith Conference, to be held in Jerusalem in either case.

1. *Convention of Clergy and Theologians*
2. *Inter-Faith Conference*

This formula evokes a universal response: inter-faith committees are active all over the United States and in other countries as well, including Israel, and they have succeeded in creating ties with clergy, theologians and Church institutions. The working group inclines therefore towards holding this convention on an inter-faith basis.

V INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION OF JEWISH EX-SERVICEMEN OF WORLD WAR II

This Convention will take place in Israel at the end of January '76. Representatives of the Jewish underground - Partisan and Ghetto Fighters - will also take part.

IMPLEMENTATION

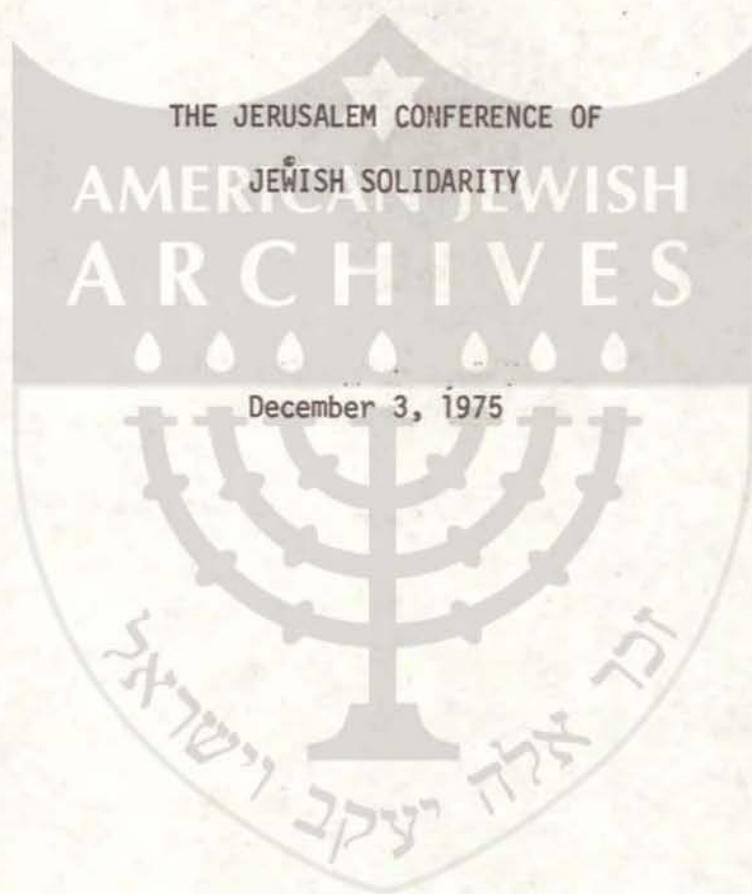
- A. It is suggested that "1976 Solidarity Committees" be set up in each country to cover all the Jewish communities and organizations. In the countries with an overall roof organization, this should be brought in as well as institutions and organizations not part of the existing network of affiliated bodies, so as to set in motion all the different groups and trends and secure close coordination and cooperation between them. It is also

necessary to bring in the Jewish press and all the communication media and get their help for this purpose.

- B. It is suggested that a central committee be set up in Jerusalem consisting of representatives of the Government and the Zionist Executive to maintain close contact with the "'76 Solidarity Committees" in all the different countries.

Form A SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF JEWISH PUBLICISTS TO HELP





THE JERUSALEM CONFERENCE OF

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

December 3, 1975

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

Mr. Moshe Rivlin: Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, Mr. Dulzin (applause)

Your Excellency, the President of Israel (applause). (singing of Hatikva)

Prime Minister Rabin: I ask the Speaker of the Knesset to give his greetings.

Mr. Yeshayahu: The President of the State, Mr. Prime Minister, the Acting President of the Jewish Agency, Chief Rabbi, Ministers, Knesset Members, all distinguished people of the Jewish People in Israel and the diaspora, those who came to this country for the unity of the Jewish People, ladies and gentlemen.

This is a great honor for me to welcome you and say that you are all welcome -- bruchim habayim -- in the name of the Knesset, the House of Parliament of the sovereign State of Israel. Ladies and gentlemen, this important and distinguished meeting of the heads and personalities of the Jewish People is intended to give a new and reinforced expression to the unity of the Jewish People which has been hallowed all through the generations, especially to give expression emotionally and morally and to come to activity of the entire people, the Zionist activities in the State of Israel, the struggles and the visions for the future.

Recently our skies are full of clouds which are a cause of anxiety and worry. We have new-old enemies, this time from the East who try and plan to find fault with the Jewish People and to question their intentions. To have an economic boycott, to isolate the Jewish People in order to bring the Jewish People to the verge of destruction, especially when 72 nations, Moslem, Arab and communist and all their satellites, members of the United Nations, threw this question of racialism in the face of the Jewish People, this as a stain on the Jewish People for all generations. He who did it intentionally and those who are narrow-minded in a criminal way it violated the very vision of our Prophets and

the Jewish People, the people that never lost their hope to come back to their homeland. We were never away from our homeland and never stopped our efforts, as individuals, the Jews in the diaspora to come to the country to settle here in spite of the dangers. The great "crime" of Zionism, and that which gave the implements in order to bring about and to realize the dream, succeeding in 80 years of activities to bring salvation and a place of refuge for Jews persecuted by anti-Semitism and the Bolshevik upheaval so many years ago; the Nazi camps about 30 years ago, hundreds of thousands of Jews persecuted and driven out in Arab countries, opening the gates wide open for the Jews from Russia now who are thirsty for freedom and liberty, wishing to live a full Jewish life, free life, together with their brethren and their families in Israel.

And when we turn to the right or to the left we see the net spreading, a net of conspiracy against the State of Israel, by the very same factors which carry on the seed of hatred at the United Nations and the Security Council - the Arabs, their aides, reached a status where they are able to enforce their wish on all the United Nations institutions and associations, against the State of Israel, against the Jewish People. Thus they've succeeded in finding a way of justifying the PLO, this group of murderers, with the encouragement of Arab countries reaching a high number of cases of murder of women, children, men, innocent. The PLO has as its aim the destruction of the State of Israel. The first stage is to set up the Palestinian militant country of the PLO in the territories to be vacated by the Jewish People, by Israel.

To our regret, the stand taken by the Free World is not strong enough, it is weak. There is something in the very atmosphere which brings back tragic memories of the '30s, before World War II, bringing in its wake terrible bloodshed all over the world and the holocaust on the house of Israel. If the world already forgot, we did not and we shall never forget, this wave of hatred, this wave of attack which found the entire world weak and the retreat, giving up one post and one stand after the other. Until the Free World was awoken to defend itself it was too late and too difficult.

We drew encouragement from the fact that all Western countries and other similar countries raised their hands against the decision to reprimand Zionism, and many countries abstained. Many personalities, men of spirit and men of conscience came out demonstrating against this evil, this decision. We sent to them the greeting of Be Strong. Yet at the same time we know that our best friend, our devoted friend, the friend of the Jewish People and Zionism in the country of Israel, it's the Jewish People, the people who knew suffering and persecution, upon the life of which we have the words emblazed, If I do not do for myself who will and we shall help each other and tell our brethren, Be Strong.

During these days of Hanukkah, when we light the candles, giving thanks for the great wonders and the miracle wrought for our forefathers, let us call upon the entire people, individuals and entire communities to come and rise and volunteer to help the people. We shall awaken ourselves and help the others to awaken, to know that the Jewish People and the country of Israel have great power within them. We have the tools today, tools that we did not have in our possession when we were in the diaspora and the galut, if we know how to use them well and in time.

Especially believing and of being sure of the help of our God Almighty and the eternity of the People of Israel which will never lie.

I will conclude my greetings, in one of the poems of Chaim Nachman Bialik, the great poet, Have courage and be brave for the help of the people, how? do not ask. With whom? Do not examine. He who has the heart will come forward. Each sacrifice will be accepted. All present will be truthful. The remnant of bravery and courage and light, let us get them all together and let them store them and raise our banner the day our army gets together. They will come to us from the east and from the west, a great help. Reveal the light and beacon.



RABIN: I should like to thank the chairman of the President's Club of the Jewish organizations in the United States for conducting the ceremony of lighting the candles and the choir for singing. I will ask the President of the State to make a statement.

KATZIR: Mr. Prime Minister, Chairman of the Knesset, Golda, Mr. Dulzin, our brother Jews. We have met tonight in Jerusalem in order to demonstrate to the world the unity between Israel and Zionism and Judaism. In order to repel the vile attack on the Jewish people, which came from the organization of murderers and all those who seek, openly or secretly, to destroy the State of Israel and to undermine the very existence of the Jewish people. And to plan together the steps which should be taken in order to strengthen and fortify the Zionist enterprise.

In the Jewish people there are enormous latent powers--spiritual, material-- and I am confident that they will be revealed afresh in all their strength today; as they have been revealed in the past in days of suffering and distress, they will be revealed and will stream into channels of construction and creation. Let this reply to our attackers in our own way, by strengthening the State of Israel, by intensifying aliyah and settlement, by deepening Jewish consciousness among Jewish youth in Israel and the Diaspora and by intensifying activities which will ensure a proper confrontation with the national Zionist goals, which history has imposed upon our generation.

The Jewish people of the twentieth century--the century in which the future and continued existence of the human race was threatened--the Jewish people has national and universal missions. Missions based on the values of the Jewish people, on its respect of human life and Jewish principles of ethics and justice. These we shall carry out with courage and pride as we have always done before. We are the children of an ancient people; stubborn, unique. For 4,000 years we have

struggled against political tyranny and spiritual oppression and we have survived. We have paid a heavy price for our faith to that belief which was given us in Sinai. We have exalted values of ethics and morals in a world that has often hardened its heart. We never forgot our Homeland. We prayed for it, we returned to it, we fostered it and we have made its desolation flourish. When the circumstances of modern times have enabled it, we came back to it in large numbers. After the destruction of the Second Temple and our departure into exile, we were united by faith, tradition and the desire to return to the land of our fathers. This unity of culture and yearning was damaged by the rapid changes in the last 150 years, with the migration of Jews to all corners of the earth and the beginning of new modern revolutions.

But this unity has returned to Jewish life and you are the witness of that. The Nazi Holocaust--Jews were murdered and slaughtered without discrimination just because they were Jews. After the defeat of Nazism, the Jews arose throughout all the free world, and the Jews hastened to return--the remnants of this nation and its culture which had been almost wiped out. From bitter experience we have learned that national concentration in the land of Israel, which dreamers and pioneers built with such great efforts, is the only place which can absorb and revive the refugees and our ancient tradition.

Israel has been a focus to which the efforts of the entire Jewish nation was directed. All of us, every Jew with consciousness, all of us, have become Zionists. Jewish life everywhere has become inextricably bound up with the State of Israel, the sovereign Jewish entity with deep historic roots. The attack on the State of Israel and the movement from which it sprang is tantamount today to an attack on Jews, Judaism and Jewish historic continuity. We are well aware of this, and our attackers with their malice know it as well as we do. They are also aware that terrorist gangs, recognized by the automatic

majority of the United Nations--so it was after the explosion in Zion Square, when the PLO spokesman declared that a number of Zionists had been killed, pointing out that the day before the UN Assembly had stigmatized Zionism as a form of racism and discrimination.

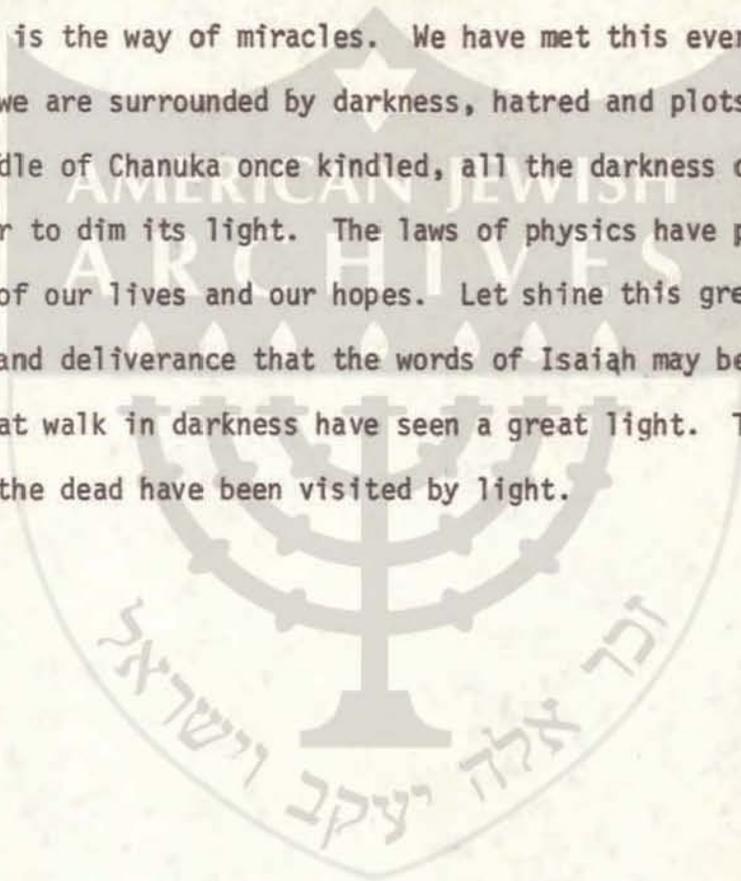
Chaim Weizmann once said, when the physical pillars of the national home are shattered, the Jews preserved it in their hearts wherever they went. The idea of the return to Zion lived not only in the consciousness of the Jews but also in the consciousness of a large part of the non-Jewish world. And indeed we did return to Zion. We found it parched and full of swamps and disease and we have miraculously transformed its appearance and turned it into a flourishing land. The international guarantees we received were a product of Zionism and of its source. None of them supplied us with anything but a partial opportunity to live and create in this country. We held on to it fervently and we turned this little patch of land into a modern state, which successfully confronts key problems in the fields of agriculture, technology, education and society.

Since the dawn of Zionist settlement, the land of Israel, which has been renewed in appearance, has drawn tens of thousands of immigrants of neighboring countries among them, and their descendents are some who now claim this land which we have fructified with the sweat of our brow and they deny the right of Israel to live. Those whose hands are stained with innocent blood are now invited by the UN to take part in all its deliberations on the Middle East.

My brethren, leaders of Jewish communities of the world, it is good that we remember on this occasion that we are in the midst of an historic process for which we have yearned for 2,000 years. This historical process, as any historical process, cannot be smooth. It always involves difficulties and lasts a long time. Zionism and the State of Israel are no exception. But through

our common efforts and to a large extent, by the aid of the decisions we shall take at this gathering, we shall again create miracles as in the days of Chanuka which we celebrate today. We shall overcome the tremendous difficulties which stand in our path.

The miracle of Chanuka took place as a result of great acts of heroism, and not after them. This is the way of miracles. We have met this evening on the Festival of Lights, where we are surrounded by darkness, hatred and plots. A Hasidic legend says a candle of Chanuka once kindled, all the darkness of the world does not have the power to dim its light. The laws of physics have proved this and so do the laws of our lives and our hopes. Let shine this great, holy light of courage and deliverance that the words of Isaiah may be fulfilled in us, the people that walk in darkness have seen a great light. Those that live in the valley of the dead have been visited by light.



I will ask the acting Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive to make his statement.

Mr. Dulcini Mrs. Golda Meir, Ladies and Gentlemen, dear Friends. This is a unique conference. Unique in its composition, unique in its responsibilities. For the first time we are all meeting together on an equal footing. the leadership of the organized Jewish world, the Government of Israel, the World Zionist Organization Executive, and the representatives of the people of Israel as reflected in the Knesset delegation. Special significance that this conference is not only that it expresses total Jewish unity and solidarity, it also expresses total Jewish responsibility for the entire Jewish people, Israel and the Diaspora.

The dialogue which begins here tonight must be ongoing. This dialogue must be expressed not only in the initial statements, but in action. At this conference we must create a dialogue for experiences and programs and we must define a framework for implementation. You will hear tonight especially from the Prime Minister, and you will be discussing in the working groups tomorrow specific programs of action. I would like you to indicate what, in my opinion, is both the historic and contemporary basis for those programs. Of course, we shall discuss here truly purposes to combat the effect of the United Nations resolution which has branded Zionism as racism. In this sense this conference is also a conference of political action. It must be a conference which reflects the reality by the Jewish people as a whole to the great political task of today. We are called upon to make universal content of information as well as that it contains psychological action, direct and indirect in those countries which voted to save their abilities, by voting for the resolution. We should stress the crimes against humanity, genocide, the suspension of human rights of which we Jews have always been the victims. Those who voted against us, the resolution of the United Nations

was a cynical attack against the very basis of the State of Israel, and the Jewish people as a whole.

I would like in a few remarks, my dear friends, and I think this is a proper occasion for ourselves to try to understand what is really our fight for. What is Zionism, what is the very essence of Zionism, and what is in danger, and what is our task. What are our responsibilities. Zionism is as old as the Jewish people. Since the destruction of the Temple, the Jewish people throughout the world have been longing and praying for the return of Zion. This is Jewish history, this is Jewish life. But the difference between 2000 years of longing and praying, between modern and political Zionism is that in those days it was only a dream, a wish, an ideal. While political Zionism after Theodor Herzl has created instruments for implementation, for realization, for fulfillment. So Zionism today is Jewish life in creativity, in fulfillment. This is Zionism.

That is why Zionism is the responsibility of all the Jewish people everywhere, all over the world. Yes, there was a great debate when Zionism came to life. It was even a small minority, a great part did not believe that this is possible. A certain part of our people believed that the Jewish problem will be solved in the countries where they lived by change of regimes, by a new world which will come where Jews will get the rights of everybody and the Jewish problem will be solved. And then a great revolution came to life. The October revolution which granted Jews full rights, not only as human beings but as a nationality, and there were great hopes among youth and among Jewish people in the twenties and the thirties that not only a new world will come to life, but within this new world a new Jewish life

will come to life, and it will be an end to what happened before. Those hundred thousand Jews who came here, and those hundreds of thousands who are fighting for their right to leave Soviet Russia, they proclaim the bankruptcy of this possibility that Jews can find the solution in changing and not only to defend themselves, but to secure that the conditions which we have created shall be the conditions for the Jewish people all over the world. This is Zionism.

But we have done more than that. And this is the deeper sense of Zionism which is the expression of Judaism at its best. We have been a people of preachers through history. We have been preaching justice and human dignity and liberty and rights. Two great religions are based on our religion. We have given what we call modern western civilization to the world. They accepted our preaching, our teachings. The world hasn't changed much. Certainly not too much. And we have been preaching. When we created the State of Israel we had the first time in our history the chance to become doers, to fulfill our preachings. And this is what we have been doing, and this is what we are doing, and this is what is the essence of the State of Israel and of Zionism.

And I would like to refer in very short words, actually what have we done here in Israel, besides saving Jews. Besides proclaiming our sovereignty. We have done something more of greater importance, not less, certainly not less. Whom did we absorb here in Israel. What did happen here in Israel for the last 27, 28 years. When the State was proclaimed, it was a poor land, an undeveloped country. Whom did we bring in to this country. 400,000 Jews from the concentration camps. 300,000 Jews from the Arab lands. People who had nothing. Into a very poor land without any richness, without natural resources. Full of sand where water is still

a very expensive commodity. We have brought in, which is today in this world an element, which is being called an element of social dynamite. This is a world of thousand of millions, of hundreds of millions of people who have nothing. No education, no housing, haven't got a minimum of human services, and we are living in a world of a great permanent revolution, where people are trying to find a way of solving human problems. And there is one way in the west, and another way in the east, and there is the way of the Third World. Social dynamite. We brought them in to this country. We did not solve all our problems, certainly not. There is still a lot to be solved. But there isn't one person in Israel without housing. There isn't one child in Israel without education. There isn't a person in Israel without medical service, without security. In a very short time a great mass of human deceptors from persecution took refuge, we have created a society of productive people. And when they won the war which they have won, this new generation of Jewish children and adults, people who came from all corners of the world, who are they now, what have they proven. This is what they have done.

And we have done it based on two principles of Judaism. You shall love your neighbor as yourself. This is the basic social principle, because we cared. Because each one for us is a brother. Because we couldn't live, if we see people in hunger. People who haven't got a minimum what they should get. This is Judaism in the best sense. And there is something more in it. We have given to those people human dignity, because this is based that the man was borne in the image of God. And this is his liberty, this is his dignity. This is the respect for the human being. Of course we haven't solved all our problems. But this is great teaching in this world, how to solve human problems. When you want to,

when you care, in the most difficult of conditions. This is what we have done. And we didn't have to turn to dictatorial regimes. We have done it in democracy, in freedom. We have created a Jew of human dignity.

I said, of course, there are many problems still to be solved. Many problems to change. New ways and new roads to be found, adjust ourselves to the new times. But this is the beginning. This is the great national and social revolution of the Jewish people, and this is unique drama in world history. Because Zionism basically is the victory of spirits, of the Jewish spirit. And after two thousand years, there is a reunion of its people and of its land. This is an area of empires in the old time, in the ancient time, and cultures and people who disappeared, who changed, who moved. Today there is only one people in this area, only one people from the ancient time, who speaks the same language. Who believe in the same faith, who tills the same soil, who cultivate the same fields, who builds the same city and villages of the ancient names. This is Zionism. This is the great human drama. Against this, my dear friends, we are being attacked.

But our answer cannot be only in declarations. Our answer cannot be only in statements of unity and solidarity which is very important. Our answer must be in action. And in action, my dear friends, must express itself for the great concern which we should have for our future. There are dangers written on the wall of destruction, of great enemies. Israel cannot remain as it is a land of three million Jews. Israel, if it will remain a land of a few million Jews, it will be in danger. All the great dream of the Jewish people, the return to Zion, everything what we are

doing here, the effort, will be in danger if Israel will not become in the coming twenty-five, thirty years a land of seven or eight million Jews.



DULZIN: Cont:

These are major tasks and there is no other priorities in Jewish life and this is our major responsibility. My dear friends, Israel is today the responsibility of the Jewish people as a whole, and there are two major tasks--friendship and economic assistance. Everything is very important. Expressions of solidarity--very important. But if we do not penetrate into the consciousness of our people and our children that the major responsibility is aliyah, we might mfail, G-d forbid.

The second task is identification. Identification my dear friends means something. We should know what we are identifying with. Our generation--most of us who live here, are still living under the impact of the Holocaust and not the birth of Israel. But there is a new generation coming up--after the birth of Israel, for whom the Holocaust is tragic, but happened to someone else. Five or ten or fifteen years Israel might become and is still becoming a matter of fact--something like all the nations and countries of the world. And we have to educate our youth. We have to educate our young generation. They should know what is Judaism, and Zionism, what is our destiny, what is the love for Israel and the love for Zion. This is our second major task. Jewish education and Hebrew language throughout the Diaspora in order to have one people united in identification and they will know what for. And in that tremendous priority where this must be the task of every Jew, aliyah. I think out of this conference must come not only a call for aliyah, but we should discuss and decide as a continuous operation how to mobilize the Jewish people for a great aliyah. There is a lot of drama and beauty and idealism in Zionism and in Israel to be able to awaken a youth and to give him new challenges in this world, and to make them proud of being Jewish and Zionistic. And they will respond, I have no doubt. So, I would like to conclude my words by saying that out of this conference has to come action, solidarity--not only in words--and this must be a program for short-term and long-term solutions.

This conference has to decide, and this is its uniqueness, that for the State of Israel and for the Jewish people, there is one responsibility, and this responsibility has to be expressed in words and in action. And I am sure, my dear friends, then this Jerusalem Conference of World Jewish Solidarity may become, and I think it should become an historic event in dealing with the totality of the Jewish problems, in dealing with every aspect and strengthening Jewish life and making secure the State of Israel in every sense--economically, politically and especially, to a great aliyah. I am sure that we will know how to respond in these grave hours, where the dangers are great, but the challenges and the possibilities are even greater. Let us hope that more united in an answer against attacks and destruction, we will decide about building more and more, strengthening ourselves against terror--we will build villages and new industries and bring in more Jews and make our people feel the great love for this land, for the people and for our future.

RABIN: President of the State of Israel, the Speaker of the Knesset, Chief Rabbi of the State of Israel, Mrs. Golda Meir, the Acting Chairman of the Zionist Organization, members of the Cabinet, members of the Knesset, members of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, distinguished rabbis, representatives of the Jewish communities and organizations from throughout the free world, the Israeli delegation, ladies and gentlemen. In this hall of the Knesset in Jerusalem, capital of Israel, is assembled tonight, the free and the collective voice of the Jewish people. Represented here are the major Jewish communities and organizations from every corner of the free world. Represented here is the World Zionist Organization. Represented here are the people of Israel, through their president, Knesset and government.

Absent from here are our fellow Jews from communities who are not free to speak. The Jews still locked in Soviet Russia and the surviving remnants in Syria. The silence imposed upon them rings louder than any voice can carry.

My friends, I welcome you to Jerusalem. I welcome you to this Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity. Your response to the invitation delivered at such short notice is magnificent. It is of itself an indication that this is a time together, a time to consult, a time to demonstrate unity.

What has brought us together tonight from so many different countries, is not the formal organization. Assembled here is virtually every trend of thought in the Jewish world. What has really brought us together is a very powerful consensus, far stronger than any formal organizational tie. That consensus states: 1. We are Jews. 2. What unites us far outweighs what does not. 3. The Jewish State is indispensable to the welfare of the Jewish people. 4. We are one and our future is a shared one. 5. The decisions we make are vital to Jewish future, and 6. However scattered we are, our history, heritage and faith join us into a distinctive peoplehood, with a distinctive course in history. That distinctiveness has always been our uniqueness. If we lose it, we cease to exist. It defies simple definition. We represent a faith that is a civilization. We represent a heritage that is a peoplehood. We represent a spiritual home that is a national homeland, and we represent a scattered people that is a united nation. Everything we are, everything that Judaism has ever stood for, all flows ultimately into a single name. It is a name that has at once a physical reality and a moral concept. It is called Jerusalem.

Jerusalem is Zion, and it has always been the symbol of all that is precious and noble to Judaism. It symbolizes our spiritual heritage as well as our peoplehood. It is the ideological heart of our existence as Jews. Which is why what happened on November 10, 1975, at the General Assembly of the United Nations was no ordinary anti-Israeli resolution.

Prime Minister Rabin:(cont'd) Resolution 3379 which brands Zionism racism was not just another tactical propaganda victory engineered by the familiar automatic majority. Resolution 3379 is ideological, its purpose is to strike at the ideological heart of Jewish national existence. Zionism is the modern name of an ancient aspiration as old as the Bible. It is perhaps the most ancient humanistic liberation movement in the world. It is the messianic lifeblood of the Jewish people. By defaming the liberation movement of the Jewish People, the resolution declares war on the unique place of the Jewish People in history. By declaring our national movement racist, it was to portray our peoplehood as evil. What before Arafat was hate propaganda now becomes a formal resolution of the United Nations. This is obscene. I advise no one to underestimate its implications. What we now face is an ideological battle that touches upon the very ideological status of the Jew. What do our enemies want to achieve by defaming us on the international level?

It is their goal to have us deligitimized in the eyes of public opinion, to have governments relate to us as a non-people, as an illegitimate entity. This is their strategy. We are to be a community with none of the rights of peoplehood and certainly no right of self-determination. The logic is that since Israel was born out of racism its very existence is illegal and therefore the battle to destroy us becomes universally just.

By that same logic, Jews who continue to identify with Israel become racist themselves. This is the goal of our enemies - into intimidate Jews into detaching themselves from Israel. By injecting their poison they seek to bring about a collusion between the Jew and his environment, to undermine his self-image which is so profoundly shaped by his attachment to Israel, to force him to rethink that attachment and to create an ideological barrier between the Jew and Jewish Peoplehood.

It is not by chance that the first society to conceive this ideological warfare was communist Russia. The Jews of Russia were the first to suffer, antisemitism under the cloak of anti-Zionism. It was the Soviet way of depriving the Jews of Russia of their basic freedoms. What was done there on a national scale, the Arabs with Russian support want to do on an international scale. To those who label this prognosis as paranoic, I would refer them to the volumes of Jewish history.

From Pharaoh's drowning of the Jewish firstborn, to the Hitler doctrine of the undermensch, the same theme repeats itself over and over again. In the end, it is a battle to destroy the value system which Judaism represents.

It is the central thesis of Hanukkah which we mark tonight whenever a civilization or parts of it goes mad with narrow nationalism then expedience rules over morality, and the Jew must defend his integrity.

Last week we in Israel recalled how different the United Nations General Assembly passed a different resolution on November 29, 1947. That resolution declared the very opposite from the obscene United Nations lie of November 10th of this year. Then the family of nations paid tribute to the Jewish People's movement of self-redemption. It voted overwhelmingly in favor of a Jewish State in the Jewish homeland. What has happened in the world between then and now? Just as the act of November 1947 was a reflection of world morality, so was the act of November 1975 a reflection of civilization's retreat.

A different set of values prevailed after World War II. A different thought-pattern ruled. Right and wrong had more simple dictionary meaning. The Second World War was clearly a battle of the

forces of good against the forces of evil. Our people paid a horrible price. When the war was over, a new international standard was established, symbolized by the United Nations. One of its first acts of conscience was to recognize the national plight of the Jewish People. It understood the justice and the historic logic of Zionism. It understood that the Jews had suffered collectively as a People. That we were a People and therefore had the right to self-determination as a People. Why, within a single generation, is the whole of these values again under attack? And again the Jewish People are a target. What has happened to bring back expediency and surrender to blackmail into international life. Why are proud nations behaving as they did in the 30s?

I believe that the root answer is to be found in the unholy alliance between totalitarian imperialism of Soviet Russia and the economic extortion of Arab oil. Oil pumped out of the ground seems to be pumping away at civilization's moral resources. The two together have polluted the international climate and together they are destroying the United Nations. Only such a world order could tolerate the terrorism it does in international life.

The UN General Assembly resolution is its symptom, it is a symptom of how low the candles of civilization are burning. In this climate the Arabs and the Soviet Union do not find it very difficult to conspire against us on the international level.

I've said that their strategy is ideological but their tactics are political. If one does not understand this, one does not fully understand the meaning of the latest resolution of the Security Council. The resolution has all the familiar hallmarks of political

blackmail and surrender to extortion. What are the Soviets and the Arabs really seeking to achieve when they use the renewal of the UNDOF mandate to extort a Security Council debate on the Arab-Israeli dispute, including the Palestinian question. It fits squarely in their overall philosophy, following the anti-Zionist United Nations resolution, they want the whole focus of the Arab-Israeli dispute to be centered inside the United Nations. The UN is to be their instrument to wreck the prospects of negotiations between the parties, meaning the prospects of peace.

Negotiations means mutual recognition and recognition is the very opposite of their ideological goal, and so you have the statement of the Security Council chairman which speaks about inviting the representatives of the terror organizations to take part in the January session. Who is he inviting? He is inviting the spearhead of the doctrine that denies our very right to exist, the so-called PLO.

I predict that in the year ahead the Arab-Russian political scenario will be this: To try to shift considerations of the Arab-Israeli dispute away from negotiations between the parties by putting it into the Security Council. In this context, the Security Council means two things: 1) the intention to achieve an imposed settlement, meaning no peace; and 2) the arena for the ideological offensive against Israel and the Jewish Peoplehood. For that, the so-called PLO is to be given on-stage.

This strategy has taken some time to prepare. Its phases were the appearance of Arafat in the General Assembly, the anti-Israeli anti-Zionist resolutions of Kampala, Lima and Mexico and finally the General Assembly resolution of November 10th. Now the political instrument of the Security Council is to be brought to play to give it political teeth.

My friends, Israel will take no part in this design. We will have nothing to do with the forthcoming Security Council futile exercise. It is a distortion of the concept of a real peace in the Middle East. It is a blow to the peace efforts between the parties. Everyone who has true knowledge of the history of the Arab-Israeli dispute knows that the Palestinian issue is not the key to its solution. It is a weapon used to wreck the peace effort. The real problem begins with the refusal of the Arab States to recognize the legitimacy of Jewish Peoplehood and hence the legitimacy and hence the Jewish right to self-determination and hence the legitimacy of the Jewish State of Israel.

Certain Arab leaders may say that we are a fact but still not a legitimate fact. Real peace means reconciliation and that means not only recognizing that we exist, but that we have the right to exist. This has not yet happened.

The Soviet Union and its Arab allies do not want it to happen, Hence their fear of the interim agreement, that it might achieve some degree of tranquility and perhaps some degree of Arab rethinking. Any power in the world that works to block the latest Arab-Soviet strategy will be encouraging the process of eventual reconciliation. To surrender to that strategy will be to encourage the ideological attack of our enemies and with it stagnation and war.

The goal of Israel is peace. To be a Jew means peace. And we will not be distracted from our tireless effort to win peace with security, but for that to happen we must recognize the new realities,

We must recognize that the battle has now assumed an unprecedented ideological dimension. The issue extends beyond Israel itself. It encompasses the whole Jewish People. Not to recognize its symptoms and to behave as though nothing has happened is to court possible disaster.

My friends, I don't believe I overstate the case. I've joined in calling this conference to deliver this message and to state that what we have done together in the past is no longer enough. The strategy of our enemy is ideological and our response must be decisive. Our enemies know full well that Israel is the creation of the Jewish People, is the cement of the Jewish People and that much of future Jewish history will flow inevitably through the Jewish State. Hence, Israel is their frontal target, which is why the credibility of the Jewish response will be measured by the credibility of the relationship between the Jewish People and Israel. It is with this thought in mind that I believe it is urgent that we prepare our Jewish agenda for 1976. That agenda is indicated by the program of this conference.

I am convinced that we have to turn 1976 into a year of unprecedented Jewish commitment for all the world to see. Only thus can we demonstrate that the schemes of our enemy will come to nothing. Their threat is our challenge and in meeting that challenge we will fortify our strength.

The Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity must not be a forum of words alone. I believe that out of it must come a program of action, of constructive action, that will strengthen Israel and the Jewish People everywhere to face the challenges ahead in the last quarter of the 20th century. There are, in my view, five priorities.

One, Jewish education. Jewish education in all its forms has to be dramatically intensified. I'm not sure how. I would like this conference to propose the way. From Jewish education much else flows. Here is the key to the stemming of our inner erosion through assimilation. Jewish education at home and in the classroom is the source of our spiritual continuity and the Jewish attachment to Israel which

is the guarantee of that continuity. Jewish education must deepen the bonds between Israel and the diaspora in face of those who want it weakened. This calls for new curricula and the flow of Jewish students to Israel for study and scholarship.

Two, let 1976 be a year of aliya la regel, of a mass coming of Jews to Zion. Let it bring hundreds of thousands of youngsters and adults to visit the country, not as mere tourists but as a personal act of commitment to Zion. Such a living demonstration of commitment would address a dramatic message to those who would wish to weaken the ties that bind us.

Three, I believe the Jewish People in 1976 must be more aggressively vocal. We must stand up and declare who we are and what we stand for. We must rally public solidarity to justice of our cause, through the mobilization of men of good will in every free society. How? By what new means? , is one of the purposes of this conference.

Four, let 1976 be a year which will witness a new and increased inflow of the finest of Jewish youth to share in the personal building of Israel. Herein lies the ultimate challenge. For upon aliya and volunteer service in Israel rests so very much of our inner strength as a people and as a society.

And five, just as our neighbors combine to share their resources against us and seek to deprive us of resources, so much the Jewish People mobilize its economic means as never before in support of Israel. The giving over the year has been magnificent. Without the UJA, the Keren Hayesod and the Bonds we could not prosper.

Let me emphasize - this is not a fundraising conference. But I believe I share the thought of everyone when I say, it is imperative to conceive ways of how to intensify the flow of investments and how to expand the circle of Jewish economic assistance to Israel at a time

when our economy is so crucial to our political credibility.

In the end this is our real practical instrument of unity and strength -- education, coming to Israel, solidarity around Israel, aliya itself and material support. These are the subjects of the five working groups which constitute the heart of this conference.



They will meet tomorrow morning and will last some four hours. Each working group has been given a working paper of proposals, but please treat them as that--as proposals. You will have, I am sure, suggestions of your own to offer. Raise them and discuss them. I would hope that out of the hours of work, will come practical and new suggestions for discussion, and agreement, by the conference as a whole. This is not a conference of votes, but of consensus and unity. I ask of us all, in these next few days to focus on those crucial priorities which bind us all, and produce a program of action for 1976, which will embrace us all. By doing that the Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity, will address a great message to the Jewish people and to the world. It will be remembered as a magnificent demonstration of our unity and as a powerful, practical display of the ancient prophetic code: For the sake of Zion, I will not hold my peace. And for the sake of Jerusalem, I will not rest. May we succeed in our common task.

RIVLIN: Friends, it is Chanuka and you are all invited to a light Chanuka refreshment right here, and please do remember that the working groups will meet here in the Knesset on the Committee Floor at exactly 8:30 so we will have a full four and a half hours to discuss the proposal, and the working paper and what ever suggestions you make. Good night.

DECLARATION OF THE
JERUSALEM CONFERENCE OF
JEWISH SOLIDARITY

Jerusalem, December 5, 1975

We have come to Jerusalem to give expression to the devotion of the Jewish people to Zion and its solidarity with the State of Israel.

We reject categorically the resolutions adopted in the General Assembly of the United Nations on the initiative of the enemies of Israel and their supporters, which impugn the right of our people to national independence in the Land of Israel.

The historic right of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel is inalienable.

We declare that the resolutions of the UN Assembly condemning Zionism, the national revival and liberation movement of the Jewish people, constitute a violation of elementary rights and justice, and are null and void.

In Jerusalem, the eternal capital of Israel, we pledge ourselves to stand by the State of Israel with all our heart and soul, and to help it to fulfil its historic mission in the return to Zion, in immigration and absorption, in the settlement of the Land, and in the fostering of Jewish and universal values.

In the face of the campaign of baseless slander and calumny, we shall intensify our efforts to deepen the unbreakable bond of the Jewish people with its spiritual heritage and its historic homeland.

We shall work to strengthen Israel's power to defend its independence and we shall support its efforts to establish a lasting peace with its neighbours.

We, representatives of Jewish communities and organizations from all parts of the Diaspora and spokesmen of the State of Israel, set our hands in witness to this declaration at the closing session of the Conference of Jewish Solidarity in Jerusalem, on this day, Sabbath eve, the 1st of Tevet, 5735, the 5th of December 1975.



THE JERUSALEM CONFERENCE ON

JEWISH SOLIDARITY

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

December 4, 1975

זכר אלה יעקב וישראל

Mr. Dulzin: We are beginning the afternoon session and we will be listening to the reports of the working groups which we hope will take about an hour and by 3:30 we'll begin what we call our general discussion which will take 3 hours until 6:30 when we'll adjourn. This is the timetable which was scheduled for our program. The first one to report will be Mr. Phil Givens of Canada of the Aliya le Regel working group, Journey to Zion. I'd like to make one remark. Those who would like to participate in the debate, please send me a note giving me the name, organization and country. The first person in the debate will be Mr. Abba Eban.

Mr. Givens: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, Madam Meir, Mr. Avner. I happened to be first prepared, as a matter of fact, I was wondering when we started this committee as to how we could spend 4 hours in discussing the things we had to discuss but the speeches expanded to fill the time available for their completion and it took 4 hours to finish the speeches and now I have a report for you. I have a report in the form of a resolution of the working group on Aliya le Regel, the solidarity pilgrimage. We were suffering very much because pilgrimage seems to have a very awkward and unhappy connotation for some people. There were some religious people who felt the words pilgrim and pilgrimages has a Christian connotation which is a little "possel." So we were looking through dictionaries and thesaurus' to help us with another word but unfortunately we were unable to come up with anything else that translates equally as well as the word pilgrimage from the Hebrew. Anyway, this is the way we're calling it, Aliya le Regel which translates into Solidarity Pilgrimage, unless somebody is very imaginative here and comes up with something better.

The Jerusalem Conference of Jewish Solidarity resolves to proclaim its expression of identification with the Jewish People, with Zionism and the State of Israel and in furtherance of that calls upon the Jews throughout the world to arise and go up to Zion, that is a quotation right out of Jeremiah, as many of you will probably appreciate.

The operations will be implemented by the Jewish congregations, institutions and other bodies outside Israel and will be their responsibility. They will do everything to put the show on the road throughout the various communities in the diaspora. Israeli representatives, governmental, as well as those of the World Zionist Organization, this includes Agency people, El Al people, and this includes all other people who come from Israel, shlichim, serving abroad, will offer every assistance required of them.

It is recommended that in synagogues and Jewish organizations, national, regional and local, special Aliya le Regel solidarity pilgrimage committees will be established for the purpose. Every Jewish organization and institution including synagogues are urged to consider aliya le regel year in 1976 as their foremost priority and to impress upon their members to observe the solidarity pilgrimage, including family occasions, Bar- and Bat-Mitzva and anniversaries and other occasions of a similar nature. We figures out as a rule of thumb that with all the Jews living in the world there must be in the free world alone at least 3 million Bar- and Bat Mitzvot a year, and out of that there must be a fair number, let's say even 10 percent, if we were to get those to come to Israel and go to the Kotel or to a shul here, we will be doing a great service, both for the Jewish community in the diappora and for the State of Israel.

Annual and other conventions of Jewish institutions and bodies are expected to be held in Israel. For instance, the Canadian Zionist Federation, of which I am the president, will be sending 1,000 delegates to Jerusalem here on February 9, to hold our biennial convention, and I hope that all you other people who have conventions will have them in Israel instead of New York or Philadelphia or London, Paris, or wherever.

Jewish institutions and bodies promoting tour programs should devote their efforts during 1976 to travel to Israel instead of other destinations. There are various organizations, we don't have to mention them, you know them, like Bnai Brith, or other organizations, who are in the business of booking tours and of making money on them. We are asking these organizations in the year 1976 to concentrate on booking their tours to Israel and not to the Bahaymes, and not to Mexico or Brazil or Chile, particularly those countries who voted for the infamous UN resolution of November 10th which you know about. As a matter of fact in our country the various travel agents put advertisements in the papers saying they named the countries that voted for the resolution in the UN on November 10th and they said, in making your travel arrangements for your vacations bear in mind these countries that voted for the resolution when you are making your travel arrangements. They didn't say boycott these countries, we didn't think we should call them for a boycott, and as a result of these advertisements thousands of Jews cancelled their trips to Mexico, Brazil and other countries that voted for the resolution.

Those among these groups who are already engaged in promoting tours to Israel, in their tour programs they're encouraged to intensify

their efforts, to do more than they've done before, to redouble their efforts to promote trips and tours to Israel.

Jewish members of general bodies, Jewish, non-Jewish, as long as they're Jewish members, professional and others, will initiate conventions to be held in Israel. As many special programs as possible pertaining to study tours, advanced studies, seminars, are to be held in Israel with the purpose of deepening the knowledge of Israel's history, Judaism and Zionism.

A special campaign will be launched by the Jewish communities abroad to acquaint their members with vacation projects in Israel and encourage them to spend their free time there, and to volunteer for work in the country, for the women particularly. This was a suggestion from somebody from France. To come here for 2-3 months during the summer, who come here during the winter break of Christmas and Chanukah, or during the Pesach-Easter break, I hate to put these in juxtaposition but in the galut countries this is the way it is. When they come here for a break they can volunteer their services perhaps in a kibbutz, perhaps somewhere else, perhaps in an auxiliary military institution, or in a hospital or something like that.

In Israel a special steering committee will be established and put at the disposal of Jewish communities and organizations abroad for the purpose of providing detailed planning, operational facilities, follow-up, coordination and timing of projects. The committee will launch a campaign to have Israeli homes open their doors to the oleh le regel from abroad, as prescribed by Jewish tradition. We find that quite often people come on tours to Israel and they are so accustomed

to holing up at the King David or the Jerusalem Hilton or the Tel Aviv Hilton that they never really see the country, they never really go to the frontiers, they never really talk to Israelis, and by the time they go back it's like being in the Hilton in Miami or New York. We want this committee to make provisions for people who come here from abroad, be it from Europe or America, to be able to talk to honest-to-goodness Israelis, to go to their homes and see how they live and talk things over with them.

All participating factors will make major efforts to lower the expenses involved in the operation of aliya le regel year, Solidarity Pilgrimage, in order to bring about the best possible conditions to encourage Jewish masses to participate in the operation. The members of the committee are aware that there have been discussions taking place here for many months and perhaps even years with respect to charters and so on. We felt that the word charter was a dirty word, we didn't even want to bring it up at the committee meeting, that there's a discussion and controversy going on between El Al, the government, and others, and there are two schools of thought - should there or should there not be charters, because there are charters in North America and Europe that are being offered, package tours, for a song, as compared to trips coming to Israel, although the El Al people say that the price for the tickets are just as cheap as they are for the charters. I've heard pro and con.

The point is this - we want to be able to make it as cheap and as reasonable as possible so nobody should have an excuse. We find, for instance, that on the North American continent, which of course includes Canada and the United States, only about 12 percent of the Jewish community

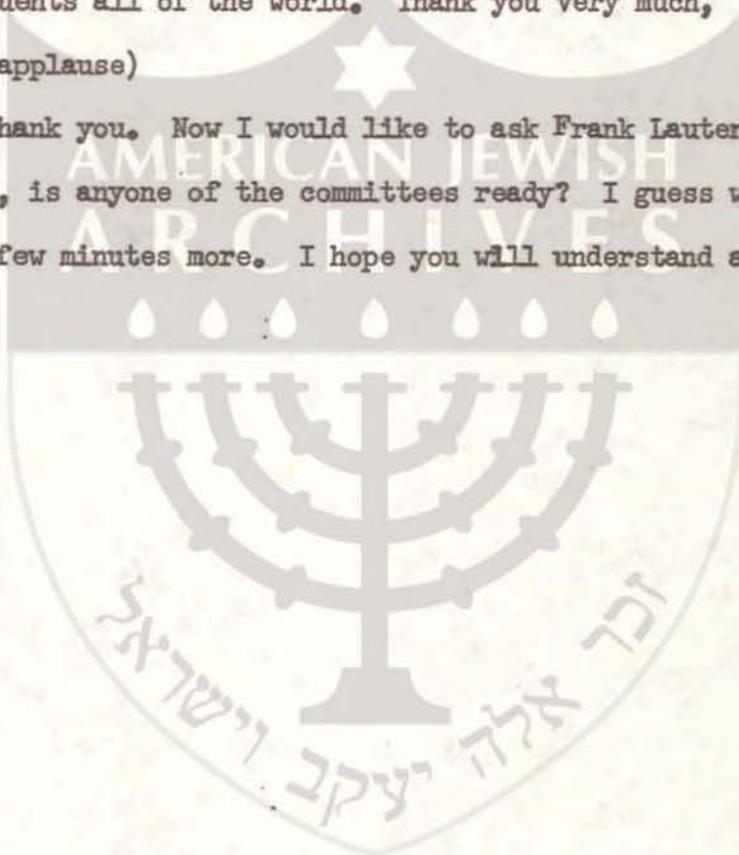
in Canada and the United States so far, of all the millions of Jews who are in North America, have visited Israel. Only 10 or 12 percent. And of those 12 percent who have come here, many have returned home to their countries as leaders and people who have been inspired and people who've become fundraisers and fundgivers and who've become very prominent and dedicated and devoted in the work of helping Israel. We feel that we want to work on the other 88-90 percent who haven't come here yet. We feel that the cost of bringing these people here may be a factor. In some cases it is not a factor. In some cases I suppose you could offer them a trip for free and they wouldn't even come, or they wouldn't be interested in coming. But we want to make it as reasonable as possible to start getting Amcha, to start getting the masses of the communities of North America and Europe, So. America, to come here and see what Israel is all about, because we feel certain that if they come here they will establish their solidarity and their identity with the people of Israel and go back home as changed people, devoted and dedicated to the cause.

The steering committee in Israel will provide the various committees abroad with tour package programs in order to place at their disposal of each participant the widest possible choice of tour programs. Israel, although it's a very tiny country as compared to continental South America or North America, I keep referring to these countries because they're so big geographically. Those of you who've been here many times know that you can spend weeks here and not see the whole of the country. So there are package tours, various choices that can be made in going to various parts of the country, be it to various purposes - visiting religious sites, places of fighting, places of work, industry, or places of social institutions, etc.

We'd like to offer as many choices as possible. And every participant arriving in Israel in the framework of the operation of Aliya le Regel Year will receive this year an emblem and certificate that they participated in the project.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is my report, all of which is respectfully submitted to you for your approval and for submission to your constituents all of the world. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. (applause)

Mr. Dulzin: Thank you. Now I would like to ask Frank Lautenberg (not ready yet), is anyone of the committees ready? I guess we'll have to wait a few minutes more. I hope you will understand and forgive us.



Plenary session 2

4.12.75

Mr. Dulzin: I will now ask Mr. Abe Harman, the President of the Hebrew University who was the chairman of Education to Commitment, to report.

Mr. Harman: Thank you Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I want to apologize for the delay in appearing but our committee sat from 8:30 to 1:00 and then a small drafting committee worked over lunch and just a moment or so ago finished its work.

We're very pleased indeed that it was a very large and representative commission with leading representatives from every part of the Jewish world and from every trend of opinion in the Jewish world. I think the whole character of this conference was reflected in the fact that despite the geographical and ideological variety that received expression during the course of the day we were able to reach a total unanimity of opinion.

We were privileged to have our work introduced by a detailed programmatic statement from the Minister of Education and Culture of the Government of Israel, Mr. Aharon Yadlin, and there was before us a draft paper which was circulated also in the brochure given to all members of this conference. Following the minister's statement we had a general discussion in which no fewer than 33 people participated from all over the world and this was then summed up by the minister and by myself as chairman and the necessary instructions were given to a small drafting committee.

I think I can report best and save you time by now reading the draft resolution that our committee wants to bring to your attention for your consideration. There hasn't been time to have it typed but that will be done during the course of the day.

We wanted to start with a preambular paragraph that would reaffirm or state something of what unites us in the ideological sense. And this is what we've produced.

This Conference affirms the inalienable right of the Jewish People to its unique collective identity and the expression of that identity in religious, culture and language. This right is unconditional. In the exercise of this right the Jewish People needs and is entitled to self-determination and to its sovereign independence in its homeland.

The infamous United Nations resolution, by proscribing Zionism as racism is an attack not only on the State of Israel, but on the Jewish People as a whole and upon its faith which has sustained the Jewish yearning for the return to Zion from time immemorial. Zionism cannot be expunged from Judaism without cutting out the heart of the Hebrew prophets and psalms, mutilating our liturgy and law codes and completely truncating our heritage which has preserved us in our millennial tribulations.

Following this preambular paragraph we sought the way of bringing to the Jewish People what we consider to be the need for a totally new approach to the challenges of Jewish education. During the course of the debate in the committee a number of speakers said that this is not a time for more and more of the same. It is a time for presenting the Jewish people with a totally new order of challenge. And we tried to express our feelings in this respect in the following first operative paragraph, and I stress the word operative because it was our collective hope that this would not just be an affirmation of a principle, but that something concrete would be done about it. And so the first operative paragraph is "The physical defense and development of the State of Israel has as its counterpart the spiritual and ideological

advance of Jewish existence through Jewish education. The Jewish People must now accord to Jewish education this order of priority. The Jewish education of the Jewish People, and the young generation in particular is the guaranteed basis of our existence.

The Conference calls on the Jewish People to advance Jewish education in all its forms in order to strengthen the capacity of our people to realize its aspirations, to freedom and sovereignty in the Land of Israel and to develop its life everywhere in accordance with its imperishable values.

We then turned our attention to a point that was stressed by both the minister of education and culture in our committee and which was presented to this Conference in his opening address by the Prime Minister last night, namely, what are the immediate goals, what are we going to try to do today and tomorrow in response to the challenges that face us? We tried to tackle this problem by a section of our resolution entitled, "Immediate Programs of Jewish Education" and by another section dealing with Organization. The following is the suggestion of immediate programs of Jewish education:

- 1) To strengthen the study of the Hebrew language and culture in every Jewish family and by the provision of special ulpanim and to secure the recognition of the Hebrew language on an equal basis with other foreign languages in the public schools of all countries. Further, we call for the creation of additional chairs of Hebrew and Jewish studies in general universities;

- 2) Deepening the consciousness among the Jewish youth in Israel and the Diaspora of the values embodied in Jewish tradition and the Jewish spiritual heritage.

3) Strengthening the curriculum in the schools of Israel on Jewish life in the diaspora in order to deepen the identification of the youth of Israel with the totality of the Jewish People.

4) Strengthening the curriculum of the studies of the Land of Israel and Zionism in the Jewish schools in the diaspora.

5) To encourage among the Jewish youth an identity with the struggle of Syria, Iraq and the Soviet Union for redemption.

6) Increased support for formal and informal programs of Jewish education among youth, women and adult groups.

7) To expand the capacity of boarding schools and other educational facilities in Israel, taking secondary school pupils from abroad, to organize a network of families willing to adopt pupils from abroad and help them adjust in appropriate schools, to increase the number of Jewish students from abroad in the universities and yeshivot in Israel, and to set up centers in every country to provide information and guidance concerning study programs in Israel.

Now in the section of organization we tried to concentrate on those programs which can be realized in 1976. We have the benefit, not only in the committee but in the drafting committee of the presence of the minister of education and culture of the Government of Israel, Mr. Yadlin and of Mr. Chaim Finkelstein, the head of one of the departments of culture and education in the World Zionist Executive, and Mr. Chaim Chmiel, the director of the Tora Department of Culture and Education.

Therefore we have every reason in putting these proposals before you to feel that their practical implementation in 1976 can be assured. And so we propose the following:

The Committee calls upon the Government of Israel and the World Zionist Organization to sponsor, in conjunction with concerned Jewish organizations, a World Conference of Jewish Educators, students, youth counsellors and workers in the field of education. This Conference should take place in 1976 in Jerusalem and should be preceded by preparatory conferences on a national and regional basis.



Harman (continued): There should take place in 1976 in Israel a world conference of Jewish youth comprising students, members of youth organizations and graduates of Yeshivoth and universities. There will be convened in 1976 in Israel a world seminar on Judaism and Zionism for rabbies, community leaders and workers from all Jewish communities. Seminars in Israel will be organized in 1976 for Jewish writers and academics from all countries.

Let me say just a word of explanation about the last proposal. It was pointed out to us in the committee that there are in nearly all countries where Jews live, large and growing numbers of Jewish academics who have become specialists in various scientific and scholarly disciplines, and for whom it would be important to attract to an understanding of Zionism and Israel, and therefore these facilities should be made available for that purpose.

Now the final aspect of the work that we tried to grapple with relates to the question of human and material resources. I am sorry, another one of this immediate programmes for Jewish education that I omitted to mention I read now. To create one or several educational and cultural villages in Israel comprising boarding schools for young people from Israel and abroad, we shall also incorporate cultural and measured activities for young couples, vacationing families, Jewish study groups abroad and tourists, relevant components of the activities of these cultural villages, that will serve as examples for similar projects in the Diaspora.

The last chapter of our resolution relates, as I said, to human and material resources. And I just read out these proposals which I think are self-explanatory:

1) The Jewish teacher must be given a status according with the central role he must perform in shaping the Jewish future. Therefore the social and economic conditions must be such as to attract the finest minds to the Jewish teaching profession.

2) Jewish youth are called upon to mobilize for service in Jewish education.

3) Each Jewish community must develop its indigenous corps of teachers. The training facilities available in Israel and other countries must be strengthened for this purpose. In response to requests from Jewish communities to send senior educators from Israel on short visits abroad to give teachers in-service and refresher courses and on longer missions to fill keepers in the local Jewish educational systems.

4) To set up in Israel pedagogic institutions of Jewish studies from the Diaspora in cooperation with Jewish educational institutions abroad. These institutions would prepare study curricula, textbooks, and all the visual aids that would train teachers from abroad on their use.

5) Existing facilities in Israel for in-service training, further study and sabbatical leave for Jewish educators, social workers, and community workers in the Diaspora must be strengthened for the purpose of cementing the ties between the Diaspora and Israel.

And now comes the final proposal, which, of course, harks back to the first operative paragraph. And it reads as follows: There is an urgent need for the reordering of priorities in the Jewish world. A much greater emphasis must be placed on the priority of the financial needs of Jewish education.

Mr. Chairman, our committee did not feel that it could go further than this general statement in the last paragraph on the financial needs of Jewish education. But the tenor of all our discussion was that the time has come for a dramatic change in the emphasis and the priority accorded to Jewish education on the agenda of the Jewish people and on the allocation of its resources.

I would like to express, to beg the forgiveness of the plenary conference for some of the looseness of formulation in some of these proposals, but I believe that the spirit behind them is quite clear.

And finally let me say this. During the course of the discussion we found that in addition the overriding significance of this occasion as a demonstration of the unity of our people, then whenever we get together we hear of specific needs of Jewish communities in various countries for new programs or additions to existing programs, a number of very important specific proposals of this nature were raised both in the discussion and presented on paper, we felt that we ought to limit ourselves to this schematic approach to the problem as a whole, but it is our hope that we would like to convey to the convenors of this conference that when the Conference on Jewish Educators does assemble sometime during 1976, that in advance of it and in the local and regional conferences, that will precede it, there will be an opportunity of tackling these specific proposals, and giving them the weight which is their due. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman: thank you. I will ask Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson who chaired the working group for economic resources for Israel. (Interruption) Public solidarity.

Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson: Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, There was a very strong feeling in our working group on public solidarity that the resolution recently passed at the United Nations combining Zionism with racism should not be viewed entirely in a pessimistic vein. Because there was a strong feeling that never before had there been such a strong renunciation from the entire western world that indeed many countries reported, that the outcry against this resolution something that no-one had seen before. With this as a background we felt that it was essential for our committee to find ways to capitalize on those who expressed their shock, their resentment, and their good will towards Israel in order to bring them closer to Israel and the Zionist philosophy.

There was a great deal of caution expressed in our committee that we should not allow ourselves to become obsessed with this one resolution since unfortunately there are many other resolutions equally damaging which require our attention, such as the one that was passed this week, and other issues attacking Israel and the Zionist movement. However we were aware of the fact that the goal of this particular conference and this committee was to mobilize our forces against the combination of Zionism and racism, to mobilize the Jewish world and the non-Jewish world. And therefore with very great self-restraint we did not permit ourselves the luxury of entering into these other issues important as they are. We also felt it extremely important for us to have short-range and long-range programs, that we cannot wait in each case until the issue is upon us, in order to make positions and campaigns known to the rest of the world.

Therefore we feel that there is a wonderful opportunity to proclaim 1976 a year of solidarity, and that each country of the world is urged to set up a central coordinating committee to plan and implement every form

of activity. Now, of course, we understood that each country in the world has a different organizational pattern. And that one must take into account the existing conditions in that country. Nevertheless we wanted to point out that it was absolutely essential that all forms and all organizations be incorporated in this overall structure that should be created for this 1976 solidarity year. These committees are to be charged with immediate implementation of the programs that we will recommend to you, and we ask that they send to the coordinating committee that will be established in Jerusalem from members of the Zionist Executive and Government, reports of their activities, on their plans and on their implementations.

Now these are some of the proposals that we ask each country to support and to implement:

1) The month of May should be called the month of the victory over racism and the establishment of the State of Israel.

2) Each section of the world is to have a large meeting or rally in a location that is symbolic of the freedom in their own country.

Now if you turn to page 21 in the working papers that were prepared, you will find many suggestions as to where we think such meeting should be held, so I do not have to repeat to you some of the information which you can read in the working paper. We believe that time has come for a large mass campaign to collect signatures. Signatures from Jews and non-Jews, who will be asked to sign a simple statement, expressing their rejection of the United Nations resolution which equated Zionism with racism, and to express their solidarity and support for Zionism and the State of Israel. A few simple two-paragraph sample statement will be sent to each country of the world to be used as model for this campaign. It was suggested that this

campaign be as expensive as possible going into homes, synagogues, campuses, factories. Every place where people gather in order to collect the maximum amount of signatures. More details on how to implement this campaign is also found for your information in the working paper that was prepared.

We believe the time has come to convene a conference of Jewish scholars in Jerusalem. We think that the result of such a conference should be the creation of a think-tank which will be a framework for continuing dialogue on such issues that need position papers and should be on the highest intellectual level.

We believe we must call a conference of clergy and Christian lay-leaders to come to Israel, to meet with Jewish leaders in order for us to be able to have a dialogue with them and to answer all the questions that are troubling them.

Another proposal is that we should try to convene in Israel a conference of Christian women, together with the Jewish women's organizations, so that we can try to do an educational campaign on them on Israel and on Zionism. We believe that since in 1976 there is already planned an international convention of Jewish ex-servicemen, planned for January 1976, every country in the world is asked to see to it that a maximum attendance be sent to this conference because we believe that Jewish ex-servicemen, meeting together from all parts of the world will make an impact. I might add that although we thought of World War II ex-servicemen, it was pointed out to us, that there are still some ex-servicemen from World War I, and they should not be overlooked.

Charlotte Jacobson (cont.) It was also recommended that we have a world conference of holocaust survivors. Particulary, we suggest it be held during the month of May. So that from all around the world, those who are the survivors should gather here in Israel in the month of May.

Now, those are conferences that we think should take place in Israel. But we know that 's not enough. And we understand, as you will, that some of the most important work is to be done in our own countries. And, therefore, we think that regional conferences in all parts of the world bringing together intellectuals, representatives of labour, and all groupings, should be convened, in order to emphasise the increase the anti-semitism coming from both the right and the left, and to get their continued support on the fight which we are waging against the attack on Zionism.

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Now, friends, I must tell you that the ugly word of finances came into the discussion. Because many representatives of the countries said, "There are many wonderful ideas and we are think they are all important. But how can we finance them? And particularly since we know that we are competing today with Arab money of great magnitude begin being spent in the field of public relations.

And many people felt that, unless we hire and engage the best public relations minds in each of the countries, to assist us, we will not be able to find the sophisticated approach that we require today in the world.

Well, we did not attempt to find the answer, for this financial dilemma, but instead we are referring it to the central com-

mittee with strong recommendation that serious thought be given as to how we can really finance this ~~massive~~ ~~the~~ massive campaign that all of feel is so important.

It was also thought that perhaps the time has come for us to think of some worldwide framework for the affiliation of non-Jews who wish to identify with Zionism. We know that in all parts of the world there are many who accept and want to affiliate with Zionism. If we have to find the right structure in order to incorporate and make the use of their resources.

It was pointed out to us that 47% of the world population today, grew up with the State of Israel already in existence. Therefore, the challenge and the struggle for the establishment of the State is not part of their experience. And ~~for~~ from that point of view we recognize that we must find entirely new approaches to reach out to this 47 % ~~to~~ whom we cannot touch on the historical point of view.

Several people emphasized the need ~~to~~ to continue educational activities on Israel and Zionism in third-world countries, ~~in spite of~~ ~~and~~ ~~in~~ ~~spite~~ ~~of~~ their unfavorable attitude. And, in this connection, it was suggested that we might find individual scholars and young people who would meet their counterparts, individual people, in these countries, to try to break through this ice that has developed within these countries.

It was pointed out to us that, in the world in which we live today, most people get their daily educational background from the radio and television, rather than from reading material. And, therefore, we must give greater

emphasis and attention to answering attacks against Israel when they appear on radio and television. This aspect must take more and more of our attention over that of the usual printed word which we think answers those who attacked us on the radio and television.

I think that I can state that the discussion of the working paper itself brought forth a tremendous amount of additional ideas, and all of them are worthy of consideration. Unfortunately, the short time factor, because we had a very large committee, and we wanted everyone to talk, made it impossible for me to get the minutes transcribed of all the recommendations. However, it will be prepared, and sent to the Central Committee, where we hope that all these ideas and suggestions will be carefully screened, approved and acted upon.

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The discussion was very serious, very high level. Everyone was aware of the fact that we are on a new battle front, that calls for new ideas and new strengthening of the things in which we believe.

And, in closing this very brief report, of this very long committee session, I want to express my appreciation to Mr. Max Veron, to Mr. Yaakov Suer, and to the entire committee which helped in the preparation. Thank you..

Chairman: Next, Fred Lautenberg, the General Chairman of the UJA in the US, reporting on economic resources for Israel.

Mr. Lautenberg: Madam Golda Meir, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Dulzin, friends, please accept our apologies, too, for not having been ready when earlier called on. There was an awful lot of work, and I perhaps won't surprise you if I say there wasn't always unanimity, but we came quite close. But it took time to get close.

We had 4 subjects under discussions in the Economic Research Committee. We talked about investments, exports and business development, bonds, the appeals, UJA and Keren Hayesod, and a recommendation on a fund for the unity and strength of Israel.

Mr. Nissim Golan was the co-chairman of the committee, and I must say that I believe that it was a most productive effort, and was pleased that the spirit of cooperation and the intelligent discussion that took place

First, I would like to read a resolution relating to business development.

Whereas the working group on economic resources for Israel recognises the need within Israel for the expansion and of investment, development of additional exports and in general the promotion of the sale of Israeli products worldwide, to carry out that purpose, the following is recommended :

1. That the Minister of Trade shall appoint an economic council to carry out the purposes of this resolution. That such council shall consist of members of the

Israeli Government, Israeli manufacturers, Israeli businessmen, and manufacturers and distributors living in countries outside Israel.

2. There shall be appointed by the council ~~a~~national committees worldwide, whose responsibilities shall be to interest companies in making investments in Israel, developing import and sale of Israeli products. The existing councils and org anisations shall be utilised if they are in e xistence, and additional councils shall be organised promptly.

There shall be appointed local community task~~s~~ forces to carry out the purposes in this subsection, and all~~f~~ this work, there shall be close liason, good communica tions and smooth paths to follow with the Israeli Gov- ernment agencies and those established abroad.

The Israeli Government shall review, on an on-going basis all laws and regulations affecting investment and export, so that Israel shall be competetive for for investment dollars, and regard to problems of tax incentives, grants, and long-term loans.

Extra efforts shall be made to expedite the processing of applications from business firms seeking approval to operate ~~i~~n Israel.

To encourage buyers, retailers, importers, manufacturers and consumers, to buy products made in Israel.

To develop trade missions to Israel.

To develop trade fairs in Israel, Israel weeks, and so on and so forth. And in all of the major communities outside of Israel.

To provide industrial know-how, training and technology to Israeli manufactures, to improve quality of merchandise sold and the productivity of Israeli factories.

To develop models of profitablility of those companies that have succeeded in Israel.

To convene various economic conferences, either in Israel or in other countries, to educate these manucturees and businessmen on the value of investing in Israel, and the benfit of exporting to the European Common Market.

And that these meetings and conferences shall be conducted as we conduct our bus inesses, with an objective in mind of creating a profitable incentive-motivated opportunity here in the country.

And this council shall periodically report to the Mimister of Trade and Industry on the results of its activities and proposed plans.

That was the resolution dealing with investment and business.

The next subject was bonds. The conference noted the central

role served by the Israeli Bond Organisation, in mobilising resources for the development of Israel's expanding economy, and its infra-structure. Bonds must continue to be the main instrument for enlarging the circle of those involved in the economy, by increasing its sales to individuals and communal organisations as well as to the non-Jewish public, and by obtaining new purchases by such organisations as unions, banks, pension funds, insurance companies and other fiduciary instruments, thereby responding in a positive way to the Arab economic warfare against Israel and the Jewish people.

The conference resolves to establish a committee composed of the organisations represented in the committee on economic resources, to study effective ways and means in which the organised Jewish communities can assist in the achievement of these goals.

The next was the subject of campaigns. The conference acknowledges the United Jewish Appeal and the Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal Campaign, as vital instruments for the meeting of the human needs of Israel, and as a moving force for the expression of the identification of the Jewish people of the Diaspora with the people of Israel.

The conference calls on each Israeli and Jewish organisation, and

on the leadership of each Jewish community, to mobilise their full strength to assist the campaigns in fulfilling their task.

The conference calls on every Jew to intensify his efforts and to increase his annual contribution to these appeals, as an expression of Jewish solidarity, with a view to strengthening the links between our communities and Israel, and to resolve the human needs here.

As a bit of information, I would like to report to you on some recent meetings that, I hope, will give you an indication on what's possible in our communities.

Some of us just arrived from London yesterday, where we held an historic large contribution meeting. The minimum contribution was \$250,000. We had a large gathering, and people from Europe, South Africa, Israel and the United States. About 60 contributions, about 120 people. It was a marvelous gathering of Jews from all over the world, who had a chance, not only to reinforce their commitment to Israel, but to get to know one another, and to share the problems and the interest that we all have as Jews.

It was a fantastic meeting. We raised over 18 million dollars in one meeting. And we hope that it set a precedent for action

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that we're going to take in the future.

We, obviously, have to raise our free dollars to UJA and Keren Heyesod, because our obligation as committed Jews is to close the social gap in this country, and to provide resources for the strength and vitality of its future. And when we view poverty in the shadow of this great hall, we know that we haven't done our job. It is our responsibility.

Campaigns are ahead. In the United States and Canada, and other parts of the world. But we need your total support. Every Jewish organization has to re-affirm its commitment by forcing and requiring that its individuals involved in its good work also contribute to the various appeals. It cannot be done without your full support.

I point out to you, a note of encouragement, because in this year 1975 it's been a difficult economic year all over the world, and nevertheless, I report from the United States, in my capacity as Chairman of the appeal there, this is the first 11 months, we raised far more cash than we did the same time last year. And that, aside from the war year 1973, this was the largest cash income year that the United Jewish Appeal has ever had. So we know that the job can be done. It

takes effort. It takes dedication. It takes commitment. It takes sacrifice. Minimum sacrifice, I might add. We're talking about money.

We had about 2 weeks to go. A mission to Israel from the United States, which we call our "koach" mission, a thousand young people, criteria was under age 40, come to Israel together, to show as a sign, to give a sign of the support and commitment of our youthful leadership. And I know, and I heard from every responsible leader who had a chance to meet with these people, that it was a mission of great success.

We identified ourselves by wearing the same blue jacket, with the word "koach" in English on the back, and in the front in Hebrew, and they were highly visible. And when they disembarked from the airplane at Lod, I think it was a great moving spirit, and a forceful reminder to people here that we were solidly with them. And when they marched in Jerusalem, as they did, in a body, I know that they were joined by Israelis, physically as well as in spirit. And I understand it is not easy to arouse a crowd when you have a parade in Israel. But they were there in spirit, again, as well as being. The reports were fantastic, because in addition to providing a great moral lift, they raised about 50% more money for the

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same group than they did last year. But, even more importantly, on their return home, these people have assumed positions of leadership in their campaign, and believe me, they are the soldiers and the leaders of tomorrow in our American Jewish communities. And we can rely on them because the commitment is deep, thoughtful and ideological, and they will represent leadership tomorrow.

In the spirit of this conference, UJA has made an important decision. And we hope that many other organisations will follow.

Next week we have our annual conference in New York City. We will have over 2,000 people there. And it's difficult logistically to handle a group of this size, no matter where they are. We are going to increase the difficulty. We're going to bring the group here next year. This is where our annual conference is going to be. This is where we think the real commitment can be made, because it's made with understanding at the same time.

So we plan to be here, more than 2,000 of us, in October 1976. And we hope that we set a pattern for all of the organisation with their annual meetings.

The Committee strongly endorsed the recommendation that a major permanent fund be established on an endowment basis, the yield to be used to promote Jewish identity and commitment of our youth all over the world. To be used for Jewish education, and to bring as many young people to Israel as is physically possible.

The plan is to raise this money from contributors as endowments, above and beyond their regular giving. A committee of the Jewish Agency is being appointed to develop an approach to achieve this goal, and it will be submitted to all of the Jewish communities and organisations for their review and implementation.

Mr. Lautenberg (Contd) We believe this project is vital. The fostering of our Jewish consciousness on our young, to provide the vital commitment to the Jewish ideals and values that we all cherish.

And in closing I need not remind you, I am sure, that this conference in its deliberations, in this short time, cannot solve the multitude of problems that we face. There is a way to solve these problems, and it is by the deeds of ours and the action that we take after we return to our communities and we ~~can~~ demonstrate our commitment by our personal leadership and by our contributions, by our efforts and by our energy.

And more importantly sharing the total responsibility, organization to organization, and individual to individual. For if we fail it will not be the failure of abstract community organizations, it will be the failure, friends, of individuals. Of you and me, and we cannot permit it to happen. Thank you very much.

CHAIRMAN - Mr. Dulzin. We will now hear Abba Eban who is opening the general discussion and after him we will hear the report of Bill Whiteman.

Mr. Abba Eban. Mr. Chairman, Prime Minister, Golda Meir and delegates, to the Conference of Jewish Solidarity, I am grateful for this opportunity.

I have met most of you before but never in conditions such as these. An outrage has been done against the interests, the honour and the rights of our nation, and we have come

here to voice our indignation, but also to indicate our resolve. The long and tragic dialogue between the Jewish people and the rest of humanity has reached a special point of intensity.

From every international platform we are assailed, abused, cajoled, advised - it is the Jewish people's turn to speak. For Jewishness is not an accident - it is an essential attribute in the history of mankind. Nothing perpetuates it more than the attempt to suppress it - the talent for translating external hostility into inner strength is as old as the Jewish people itself. The more they afflicted them, the greater they became, that is the first Egyptian judgement on Israel.

Our national experience has given birth to a unique anxiety which some writers have described as the essence of the Jewish conditions. The question today is whether we shall make our anxiety fertile or whether we shall squander it in an explosion of self-pity.

The temptation for this is very great - from the fortress of its territorial, mineral, monetary and therefore diplomatic strength, Arab nationalism has gone out to battle, not against a particular Israeli interest or policy, but against the very legitimacy of our nationhood.

And the assault finds the Israeli society at a low point of its self assurance. If international hostility increases, if immigration dwindles, if emigration soars, if tourism languishes, if investment declines, might we not come within sight of the greatest of all our dangers?

What is the greatest of our dangers? It is the danger lest Israel be no longer firm in the conviction of its own eternity. Netzach Yisrael is our only sustaining myth.

So the occasion of this Conference is the U.N. Resolution, but the theme of the Conference is the Jewish mood, and the Israeli response.

Now the typical Israeli qualities have always had something to do with resilience, optimism, a belief in the inherent surmountability of problems, a kind of creative effrontery that sweeps excessive rationality aside, an intuition that the Israeli enterprise can only flourish in growth and movement, and a concern for resilience and elevation in the expression of the national goals.

The inspiration for all these qualities has always come from faith and history. It cannot come from anywhere else. Israel can only prosper from positions firmly planted in Judaism, Jewish humanism, intellectual vitality and social idealism.

Without these three enlarging dimensions we would be of puny size, and of meagre repercussion.

Now since Israel is in a deep predicament of morale, and of condition, we look beyond ourselves for reinforcement, because those who seek our downfall - make no mistake - are very numerous, very powerful, and ominously self-confident.

We know the answer - the answer for Moslem solidarity for Israel's downfall is a dramatic assertion of Jewish

solidarity in defence of central Jewish interests. I think that Israelis are ready for a new definition of our partnership - all of us in Israel, and in the world, all Jews everywhere, are prepared to think well of Zionism when it becomes the target of Gentile attack. But let us be honest enough to admit that the dignity of that word was dimished by frivolity within our own midst, long before the Moslems and the Communists drafted their odious text - let us not make such errors again - we cannot make a word laughable today and expect it to be revered tomorrow. Israelis and Diaspora Jews have many things to change in their relations with each other - Israelis should have a stronger and more humble consciousness of their need for world Jewish reinforcement.

Diaspora Jews - I choose these words carefully, without offence, Diaspora Jews should close the gap between the ardour and sincerity of their rhetoric and the relatively inadequate strength of their concrete involvement.

Now, the change in Israeli consciousness is, I think, already at work. There used to be an illusion here and there, that Israel would find all that it needed within its own context, that Jewish spirituality might be obsolete, that all we needed was a national self-assertion ^{with} ~~that~~ our flag fluttering assuring in the breeze, and the emblems of soveriegnty around us in profusion.

So that the relics of galut Zionism might be set firmly in a lower place.

I am not convinced that last month's Zionist awakening poignant as it was, has laid all of this folly to rest. If we have indeed broken out of a fictitious autarchy, into a broader Jewish universism, then we have made a break through, and not one single hour too soon, Since Zionism, after all, is the immediate theme of this week's encounter, let us have a very clear idea of what it is about.

There has grown up, especially here, a confused notion that equates Zionism with everything that is virtuous and free of sin - pay your taxes, patrol your neighbourhood work harder, strike a little less, behave well in buses, and you will receive an accolade for Zionist virtue. Now the truth is that good citizenship is admirable in itself, but it is not the same as Zionism. If Zionism means everything in general, then it will mean nothing in particular.

Zionism is not a vague catalogue of innocence, but a very concrete idea, focused on a new concept of solidarity. Let me attempt a definition. A Zionist is one whose passionate conviction proclaims three things - all the past generations of Jews are \ddagger my fathers - all communities of Jews everywhere in the world, are my brethren, the Land of Israel is my people's home. The words are simple.

The trouble is that there is nothing in all history or

all the world similar to this particular triple solidarity across time and space and land, and one of our difficulties in the explanation of our cause, is the uniqueness which defies analogy. There is an unscholarly, but deeply rooted prejudice which holds that to be unique is to be abnormal.

Historians like Toynbee construct their neat orderly systems for explaining human destiny and if some fact does not accord with their learned system, they do not change the system, they get very angry with the rebellious fact.

Now I have suggested simplicity as a definition of Zionism - to the outer world we should speak in equal candour - but here the key word is not uniqueness - here the key word is equality. In a world of 145 nations and of 20 Arab States, there is going to be a Jewish State as well.

There has never been, there is not, there is never going to be a Middle Eastern history without the sovereign State of Israel at its centre and at its heart.

If there is an international tapestry it must in all truth and honour have a Jewish thread.

Territories and islands that have written nothing in the long book of history, nations whose names do not resound anywhere, states that have to grope anxiously and vaguely for some proof of their specific identity are admitted into the international family without any

question or any scrutiny. Very well, perhaps there is no harm in this, but we cannot accept their judgement on the older, deeper roots of our nationhood. It is only as a people in its land, in its tongue, and in the climate of its patrimony, it is only thus that the Jewish people can hear what it has to hear, say what it has to say, do what it has to do, 27 years ago on 11th May, 1949 after a ruthless scrutiny and dialogue and cross examination, to which incidentally no other States has ever been submitted, we set up our flag in the organized international family.

We tore down that No Jews Admitted sign from the family of nations, and it is never going to be set up again. Now these basic ideas about our identity should not be submitted for anyone's approval - they must be declared as axioms - one of the speakers in Committee this morning said that we should be ^{cool} ~~calm~~, and answer always with our brains alone. I appeal to you do not carry this coolness too far. Part indignation, if it is sincere and well founded does have its own conviction.

The point is that there are matters affecting Jewish identity and Jewish interests, on which Jews have an autonomous and unilateral power of decision.

Let us refuse to ask any State to recognize Israel's right to exist because our right to exist in history and law is independent of anybody's recognition of it.

What we must seek, concretely, of Israel's right to security and to peace.

We would therefore be making life much too easy for ourselves if we were to fight on the relatively convenient ground of the anti-Zionist resolution alone. Never in the history of international institutions has any Resolution of an international body encountered such vehement revulsion by enlightened governments, parliaments, by the intellectual community, by the world press, as the squalid resolution of November 10th. Now this should encourage us not to sink into a desperate fatalism - to fall in love with an embattled apocalyptic solititude. Let us not pretend to be more lonely than we are, in the free diverse pluralistic societies, the truth is that there is no such thing as a United attitude to Israel - there are different attitudes - various aspects to our policy and interest - we have strong support in our rejection of the anti-Zionist Resolution on the basic legitimacy of our statehood, on the human quality of our enterprise, on the gallantry of our social and cultural regeneration - we are heavily supported in our claim for the release of Soviet and Syrian Jews from bondage, we have not achieved a just understanding of our concept of a final peace, and we are really supported on the hard necessities by which we maintain ourselves alive and secure within the tragic context of the conflict.

But the real attack against us is a political attack on behalf of which ideology has once been mobilized with security and to peace.

poor results for the mobilizers.

Those who supported us on the Zionist Resolution were a small minority of votes, but a great part of the world's strength, of the world's productive power, science culture, and a totality of the world's freedom.

But on other issues - we do not have their support.

So let us not run away from the more embattled sectors.

Our information strategy must be planned on the scope far beyond the predicaments of the November Resolution

and here we might need a balance between policy and

opinion, we cannot subordinate central policy to the

convenience of opinion. Policy can make semantic or

tactical investment on behalf of the opinion struggle -

that is a matter that depends, of course, ultimately, not

on this room, but perhaps on other corners of this building

but we should understand that what is called information

does have inherent limitations, especially when it comes

to security.

I ask myself the question - what happens if our closest

friends desire us to satisfied with a lesser security,

the release of Soviet and Syrian Jews from bondage, we

and a more diminished sovereignty than is capable of

acceptance by any majority of the members of this House.

Whose view should then prevail - the answer can only

be sought on the level of responsibility.

within the tragic context of the conflict.

In the final resort - when there is sacrifice of life and blood, it is sacrifice of Israeli lives, and of Israeli blood alone.

Because we are alone in the sacrifice of life and blood, we claim respect for our solitude of responsibility in determining what the minimal conditions for our survival must be.

On the other hand, let us not take the comfortable view that all who differ from us are merely motive by avarice, by oil, by rancour.

Now these elements do exist - there is even a new species of anti-Zionism that moves mysteriously up and down in conformity with the tourist trade, but not everything is malicious. Or expedient. There are some authentic intellectual difficulties amongst our friends, indeed within our own Jewish people which do need a serious and respectful response.

One problem is, that as a result of our neighbours' aggression in 1967 we were compelled to witness a transformation of the particular Israel, which nearly all the non-Arab world had known and recognized for two decades. There was not only a vast inflation in size, but more important, a dramatic change in the human composition. Israel wants to be a Jewish State. By destiny and vocation but through decisions taken by others, its human composition was transformed. This generates a complex series

of repercussions, such terms as nationhood, identity, democracy, equality, are all matters in which the Middle Eastern Israeli condition seem to have been settled, lucid and straightforward, are now presented as though they are intricate and confused.

They are not intricate at all, but contradiction can be resolved by peace with secure boundaries, so conceived as to ensure Israel's permanent Jewish preponderance. ~~tkz~~

But peace does not depend only on Israeli will - it requires Arab cooperation. So here we are, with the anomaly for Israel to become itself in the deepest human and democratic sense, it needs the assistance of its adversaries.

When we said a Jewish State, we say something that has historicm spiritual, qualitative implications, it is a complex notion, it needs to be explored in an act of exercise of Jewish responsibility.

We have spoken so much in the last day or two about better days, when we were more easily understood, but perhaps I have better reason than anyone to remember the atmosphere of those days in which Israel's flag was planted within the international family, I am not prepared to be regarded as an authority on the United Nations. I am an objective authority on the U.N. in the sense that the prophet Daniel was an authority of man eating lions.

But I do remember, and I have noticed the change. There are three different conditions. International policy was then governed by nations, most of whom, through their Christian experience, at least had no difficulty in thinking of the land and the people with each other. They knew, whether they liked it or not, that the Jewish people's sense of origin and destination is linked eternally with this land. Secondly, the memories of the holocaust were still alive, and some consciences were still bruised.

And, thirdly, the United Nations then took a serious view of itself. It was celebrating its short hour of grace, its only five years of effectiveness - there was a feeling that a vote might have consequences, roughly corresponding to the Czechs, and the expectation of consequence is a very important barrier to irresponsibility.

None of these three conditions now exists. We must therefore expect a continual flood of such misrepresentation.

Abba Even (cont.) I once said that if 70 Arabs and their allies wanted to say that the earth is flat, they could get an vote for that in the United Nations. But I should have added, and I now add, that by saying that, the earth would not become flat.

Similarly, by saying that Zionism is racism, Zionism does not lose any of its inherent nobility.

And my final words are about the need for a change by Diaspora Jews in the degree of their involvement. Your present involvement is moving, vital. It is unique, it is unprecedented, but it is not enough. It is not enough. We do not want you to be concerned only with our image. We want you to fortify our reality. We insult world Jewry if we ask it only to improve the label, and not to join us in perfecting the product. The Hebrew of the bible, the kibbutz, the Moshav, pioneering Zionism, religious Zionism, our elected democracy, the first formative academic and scientific institutions in Israel, all, in short, that is distinctive and original in our society, was created by voluntary Zionism in the pre-State era. The State of Israel has given protection, enlargement and stability to all of these, but its own creative originality as a State, belongs to the future.

That future must be our common work. What is it then, that we need from you? Beyond that which se already offer. Some of the resolutions reflect this need.

First of all, we need a transformation in your physical adherence. If you want to tell us that we must fulfil our destiny with 3 million Jews, perhaps fortified with whatever we can rescue from the Soviet bondage, and with some increments here and there, you are entitled to say that to us, but then you must know what you are saying.

If you say that to us, then we must reply, That is not enough for Israel to maintain its long term security. That is not enough for Israel to save itself from inundation by the surrounding demographic flood. That does not make our cultural particularity certain. That does not created a viable domestic market to be the basis for a prosperous trade. That is not the basis for a self-regenerating culture. It is not enough.

If American Jewry ca not give us one third of one percent of manpower each year, one third of one percent is 20,000. If you cannot give this, is there not a danger that your most ardent rhetoric may not be taken at its full value by your fellow countrymen. There must be an increase of involvement not only in quantity, but in character. Could not American

Jews build a whole city in Galilee, contributing the resources, materials, techniques, plans and population, with other communities taking total responsibility for similar enterprises in due proportion. From Jewish scientists and technologists we want not just expert advice, but the direct integration of their talent in the enlargement of our productivity and research.

From Jewish businessmen we need not only their checks and bonds, but the transfer to us of the immends productive and managerial skills by which they have enriched the free societies. From Jewish spiritual leaders and scholars and writers, we need not only a running commentary, but a common dialogue in common terms on the mean of the Jewish vocation in the history of our times,

At every level we need a new nature and a new intimacy of involvement. Jewish communities abroad acknowledge that Israelis exceed them in the inner harmony of our existence, and in the totality of our involvement with the Jewish faith. Let Israelis confess that the Jewish communities of the world command a greater scope and quqlity of intellectual resources than we have yet managed to concentrate or to generate here.

Let us, therefore, face each other in a firm consciousness of our equality and of our rectitude. Of course there is imper-

fection, but after all, all that we seek from history is our share of freedom in this little piece of Jewish earth. Which is all that the Jewish people has managed to save from the agony and wreckage of its martyrdom.

So above the restless and turbulent contentious and untidy struggles of our daily life, there is a hidden nobility. The everlasting things that matter to a nation, forgotten peaks of beauty, honour, sacrifice. The unforgotten hours that we have lived together in joy and tears, help us, then, by your decisions and actions to sustain our burdens. To give new strength. To hold our purpose and our honour steady to the common end.

If you do all this, then be assured, from all this grief and travail, there is a new tomorrow waiting to be born.

C h a i r m a n : I regret very much that our time is getting more and more limited, and I have a long list of friends and colleagues who are asking for the floor. I will have to limit the time, unfortunately, but there is no other way out. And I will ask those who will follow in the debate to limit themselves to between 5 and 7 minutes maximum. So that we'll be able to achieve our goal in this debate.

The next speaker is Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, President of Amer-

ican Jewish Congress, Vice President World Jewish Congress, Member of World Zionist Organisation Executive. It's written here.

Rabbi Hertzberg: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Meir, Ladies and Gentlemen.

One of the least enviable tasks in the world is to follow Abba Eban on a platform. And, nonetheless, I am delighted that I am, because the things that he said, from the Israeli perspective, are precisely those that I would like briefly to respond to.

The very first remark is, that we are met here, in the Knesset, in Israel, at a moment of challenge to the Jewish people, and that at this moment of challenge the very forces which a short generation ago, or was it a long generation ago, before the creation of Israel, the very forces which were divided, are here in this room.

I am enough of a historian to remember, I am even old enough to remember, that even under the challenge of the Nazis, there were those who wanted to mute the boycott, there were those who were non-Zionists, even beyond the day of the declaration of the State of Israel. There were those in the Diaspora who were speaking of other solutions, and of other non-solutions.

And there is a great and a high moment in the history of our

people, then when we are calling, not as a state, and not as a Diaspora, but as a people, that there are no other ideas anywhere in the Jewish world. And that the heirs and the successors, not only of those who fought as Zionists in the 1940's, but of those who fought other things even as great as that, are here without question, as part of the same people.

Our unity is ideological in a very deep sense, I'll get to that. But it is in the most immediate sense pragmatic. There are dissents in this room. Let's not mute them. There are disagreements about all kinds of things. And yet, when we were challenged in the United Nations by various governments, some of them we thought were friendly, which voted against us, the various Jewish organisations which have something to do with tourism, unanimously cancelled out on one of them. And my own, for that matter, ~~wrote~~ wrote to every one of its members, who intended to go to Mexico, and asked him to go instead to Israel. I had the privilege of signing that letter the other day before coming here.

In my own organisation, the American Jewish Congress, and we are not unique, we are not hesitating to go to the annual meetings of the various major American corporations, and to challenge them, as stockholders, on their boycott policy. And there is no one in the American Jewish community whom I have heard say, Sha, Sha, let's mute the counter-attack.

I could go on in this vein, but there is a unity in counter-reaction, a unity in feeling, a unity in sensibility, which has welled up within the Jewish world, which is so radically different from what we had, that in itself is profoundly significant.

Now, what is it that unites us? We are not united this day because we've been attacked by anti-Semites. I think I agree with what Mr. Eban was saying. We are being attacked by anti-Semites for what we are. Nachman of Breslav once said, There is no lie in the world which is not carried by an element of truth. There is no anti-Semitic lie which has gained effective currency, which is not a Satanic reflection of something which true about Jews.

In Herzl's time, and in Ginsberg's, the Jews were a landless people, and therefore unique. They tried to pretend that they were like everybody else. They called themselves Jews of the Mosaic persuasion, etc.

Herzl boldly said, We are not Israelites. *Wir bin Juden. And he called it the Judenstadt. The Jews' State. Not the Jewish State. The Jewstate. The answer to the anti-Semites, Yes we are, and this we shall be. We are, in this room, saying, the anti-Semites are saying that the Jews are a unique people. That the Diaspora has a unique unparalleled connection to the State of Israel. That the Jewish people, in its own inner music, rings differently. And we are not running for cover, and say-

ing, No, it isn't true, we are just like everybody else. We are gathered in this hall to say, Yes, it is true. And we affirm it. And we will have it in our own terms.

And so, then, what is "a response" from the Diaspora? The response is, in the first place, and I here I enter on somewhat tenuous or somewhat slippery, or somewhat difficult ground, the response is, in the first place, complete and utter solidarity with Israel. With its people and its Government. The Diaspora behaves and will continue to behave on the matters of vital concern to Israel, to its modalities, as part of the Jewish people, but as a disciplined part of the Jewish people. There will be discussions, and there will be defence, and there will be arguments. But ultimately, it is the people of Israel and its Government which will lead us in our efforts for the future of Israel and the political world.

One other comment, and then my 7 minutes are done, and it is this. There are none of the tasks of Jewish life which are now partisan. Aliyah is not partisan. It is part of the on-going sensibility of the whole of the Jewish world, including its so-called non-Zionists, if there are any left around.

Aliyah is more than respectable. And it is part of the life, not only of the community, but of families, within which so many

of us are raising, if its too late for ourselves, our children. So many of whom are here, and more of whom are coming. And that effort must be central to our response.

But, above all, what must be central to our response, is that this meeting has to be regarded as an opening and a preparatory meeting. With the Jews in ~~this room~~ and what they represent we are reasonably sure. It is the other half which is not here that worries me.

And there is an old, old sentence, Et asher yeshno po imanu hayom, ve'et asher einenu po imanu hayom. Those who are with us, and those who are not with us.

In the name of the centrality of Israel, and the dignity of the Jewish people and its survival; what we hope from this meeting is that this meeting will reach out to that half of the Jewish people whom we do not represent, but which fares, or can be made to care.

We, the Jewish establishment around the world, have organised perhaps 50% of world Jewry. And it is the other 50% which is sensitive. And I hope that what we will do from this meeting, is reach the others, because they are available to us, and organise ourselves. A united Jewish people can never be defeated.

Chairman: Mr. Trevor Chinn, Chairman of the Campaign Committee,
Joint Israel Appeal of Great Britain.

Mr. Chinn: Mr. Chairma , Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Meir, Ladies
and Gentlemen.

As I travelled here, yesterday, I wondered what might be achieved from this conference. First, I feel it has created a sense of unity and raised our own personal levels of enthusiasm and commitment. And it may be that if that was all that it had done, it would have been worthwhile at this time.

Within the time span, clearly the objectives could not have been made clear to the participants before their arrival. However, maybe the make-up of the participant himself does reflect certain objectives.

There are points of difference in this conference. The meeting has been called by the leadership of the State of Israel, acting properly as the leadership of the Jewish people. The meeting represents a totality of the Jewish world, and is addressing itself to a totality of Jewish efforts and Jewish problems in a time of crisis.

The subject matter does not reflect any major new concept. The difference might be that we should actually implement these ideas and do so together.

The conference has set the scene of common causes in Jewish life. What comes from it will depend on us, the delegates.

Jewish experience has usually been based on a reaction to outside forces. In a situation of increasing Jewish isolation, we are reacting. I sense a change of mood in Israel, as in the Diaspora. We are all realising that the things that we have to do must be done. We can only do them together.

However, we are talking at this conference about implementation. Implementation, largely, in the Diaspora. Anti-Semitism today is an attack on Israel. But it is a dire threat to Diaspora Jewry.

If our enemies attack us all, surely we must fight back together. How do we, therefore, present, not only the appearance of a united front, but also create a reality of unity? We must learn from our past experiences, failures as well as successes.

The partnership between Israel and World Jewry must be two-way. There are good analytical reasons why the Jews of Israel often do not understand the Jews of the Diaspora. But Israel must look out-

wards, to understand Diasporal Jewry. There is massive ideological commitment in the Jewish world. Its expression and appearance are different from the past.

When we so often weigh up what has not happened, please remember, Jews do come here on Aliyah, Jews do visit, and, above all, Jews do work and do give.

Israel and the fund-raising movement is the new Jewish religion. Let us not minimise its importance. Giving leads visiting, and learning. It leads to thought and study. It recaptures Jews. Giving is a very clear expression of solidarity. And you should realise that large numbers of the younger generation of Jews are extraordinarily active in the fund-raising movement. They give their time, their money and their effort. And I think there can have been no more inspiring statement of Zionism, and Zionist commitment, of our young generation, than the recent "Koach" mission.

End of Tape no. 6

Fundraising is also needed by us as much as it is needed by Israel. Because it gives us a purpose, an activity, a practical task. Israel must learn to understand this motivation and how to reinforce it, and the practical implications of those lessons. I sense a new mood in Israel; it must be developed. I sense a new determination in the Diaspora; it must be intensified. We may have to work through new structures, or non-structures to reinforce these moods.

Four points: 1. The Jewish people look to us at this meeting for leadership in these difficult days. We have a responsibility to return with a practical message of implementation to give them acts of solidarity in which they can participate; 2. The world is watching what the Jews will do. We must be seen fight back. Our enemies must not get away with their attacks without retaliation. We must not only react, we must over-react. As the Prime Minister said last night, an unprecedented Jewish commitment for all the world to see--demonstrations, rallies, signatures, anything that will bring Jews together in large numbers so the world will see that we care. 3. This conference is about solidarity. We must implement that in communal unity. We, the leaders of our community, must agree to work together, to implement the practical resolutions of this meeting. 4. Israel must meet its responsibility of giving a spiritual lead to the Jewish people. To do, is important, but understanding of a Jewish purpose, why we must do, is equally vital. If the Jewish people today fail in the task of Jewish education, we hand over the victory to the enemies of our people by our own default. Jewish education must no longer be the stepchild of communal effort. And we must come to the realization that in the years to come, the link between Israel and the Diaspora will be based on common acceptance of language and culture.

Our communities are heterogeneous and we must build on the various strengths of our different organizations, but we must now agree to agree on certain practical issues. We must forget previous divisiveness and at least accept the resolutions of this conference as commitments of us all. In the partnership between Israel and world Jewry, we must face the fact that we in the Diaspora are failing. Abba Eban was right in what he said. We have failed in aliyah, we have failed in tourism, we have failed in trade and investments, and as a fund raiser, I must admit a lack of adequate success even in fund raising. Above all, together the Jews in this land and abroad have not succeeded in solving the social gap. After all these years, surely we must admit there has to be something wrong in how we are going about it. Let this conference be a new beginning. In the words of Theodore Herzl, the wonderful force of enthusiasm must fight against the terrible force of habit. We are facing the challenge of our history. We are meeting at the time of Chanuka, a festival commemorating Jews who were able to unite to fight a common enemy with all the historic realization of a history that was then 2,000 years old. They had learned the message of the prophets, they had learned the lessons of a people often defeated through its own divisiveness. We now have our own homeland for which Zionism has yearned for 2,000 years. We must face the historical imperatives implied. We must ensure the quality of the life we yearn for, both in Israel and in the Diaspora, together.

I serve on the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency, as a so-called "non-Zionist". Till November 10, I was therefore a non-Zionist. As so often in Jewish history, the outside world has told us what we are. I am therefore, now, a Zionist. And I am determined to honor my commitment to Jewish history and to the Jewish people.

Finally, as a fund raiser I must be practical. Remember, what each one of us fails to do, will not be done.

DULZIN: We still have one report of a committee, if you will recall, and I understand that Bill Wexler is ready, the chairman of the Committee of Aliyah Voluntary Service. Mr. Bill Wexler, please.

WEXLER: Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, Members of the Conference. My committee spent four and a half, or approximately five and a half hours this morning, going over what I have listened to in the last two speeches, as possibly the most important item on our agenda: aliyah, volunteerism and settlements. I don't and I didn't have the feeling that aliyah has played any dramatic role, either in this conference or in Jewish communities or in Jewish organizations, either international or national. In days gone by, when Jews were streaming into this country from depressed lands, and after the enthusiasm of the 1967 war, 20-25,000 American Jews were streaming into the country. The matter of absorption and of settlement was such that everyone seemed to be satisfied. As you have heard over and over again, this is not the case today.

Unfortunately this year, immigration and emigration will more than likely produce a minus number. The purpose of the call of my committee is very simple. The time has come and is long past due to involve every Jewish community, to involve every Jewish national and international organization in the very serious problem of populating this land. I am not going to take the time, after listening to Abba Eban, and other speakers talk about Israel, the unity of the Jewish people, the centrality of this country, or what aliyah should mean. A million or two million Jews are a necessity. A conference which spends its time discussing fund raising, as important as it may be, or countering Arab propaganda or UN resolutions, is not doing the job that it should do. We were fortunate in our committee to have every department involved in aliyah and klitah present. Plans were

projected, but I am not going to take the time to give them to you now, which called for the involvement of Jewish communities, Jewish cities, twinings of groups with development towns and new settlements, kibbutzim, moshavim, and the whole series of things that can be done if an intelligent, well-intentioned Jewish community wants to do it. And it must do it.

I was here in 1973 during the Yom Kippur war. I saw an entire country literally closed down because the manpower was not here to man the factories and to pick the fruit and to do everything else that had to be done. What a difference a million people would make in this country. What a difference a million people coming into this country would make, and the communities that could be built and the hospitals and the schools and the roads and the industries that would come with this, with the Jewish technology and science and know-how. It is very difficult in a four hour period with a group that really is not aliyah-centered, to begin to discuss the many, many problems and the plans of aliyah, of volunteerism, of new settlements that are being projected. And I am sure that because of the necessity of conditions in this country there will be master plans for one year and five years and ten years. And there will be Jewish know how and computer services if you need, so that we will know exactly how many people we need--doctors, engineers, lawyers, welders, bricklayers or whatever it may be. So that aliyah will not become a one-on-one basis or a hit-and-miss basis by some shaliach who may live in Atlanta, Georgia and work ten or twelve states and expect to do a job.

It is our responsibility if we want a state to grow, if we want to see a truly thriving Jewish state, to for the first time in our lives begin to think seriously of aliyah. All of the organizations and the communities and to begin to support even those groups in your country--youth groups, that are interested in coming to Israel, either as volunteers or for

full time. There are projections for 1976 for 30,000 youngsters to come to this country--not the five that they are getting at the present time. High school youngsters, college youngsters, six-month programs, one-year programs, to man not only the moshavim and kibbutzim, but in social service and in hospital work and to do the many other things that the hundreds of thousands of youngsters living in the free world are in a position to do by giving one year or six months or three months of their life to come here and live in a Jewish atmosphere and to experience Israel, and to make a contribution, if you please, to the growth of this country.

We were told of projections for 30 new communities in the north and in the south. With the thousands of people it will take that can do every type of work. It is hoped that this projection can take place in the next two years. What better way to build a country, to fortify a country, to secure a country, to build an economy. We were told of plans to help to implement development towns, some 30 of them at the present time, that are crying for Jewish manpower to do all of the work that has to be done.

I don't know how seriously you take this. I talk to you as a new immigrant. I talk to you as one that is living in a small country of 3 million Jews, the size of a medium size city in the United States of America, that is bubbling and tossing and twisting and turning and that gives one tremendous satisfaction, of helping in whatever way each one can to make a contribution to the survival of this country and the survival of Jewish life everywhere in the world. There are tremendous problems. Everybody can point them out--aliyah, klitah, housing--but there isn't anything that can't be resolved and can't be settled with the know-how that we have, with the money that can be poured into this country with the industry that can be created, with

the gross national product that can be increased if some of our wealth and some of our know-how and some of our technology is brought into this country. The UJA over a period of years could go out of business.

If you decided to bring some of your know-how into this country after a plan has been worked out so that one can understand what will be successful and what won't be successful as far as business and export is concerned. We have made many recommendations. I am not going to take the time to spell them all out. You will have an opportunity to read them. The Prime Minister in whose wisdom this conference was called, in conjunction with the Jewish Agency-World Zionist Organization will have an opportunity to certainly help to implement, but nothing is going to be done if aliyah continues to be a business of a shliach sitting in some community and is not the business of the community itself.

There is only one recommendation, in addition to our imploring you once again to do all that you can to help to resolve the problem of Soviet Jewry. The prisoners of Zion are still the truest Zionists today of any Zionists. And the problem of the possible emigration out of Arab lands of those who are still living in conditions out of which they would be able to come, if with our help it can be produced. The committee also recommended and this was very important--we tried not to spend too much time talking about the problems of bureaucracy, the chasing around, the lack of a central address for housing and for jobs and for all of the important things that become so necessary. One doesn't realize how important these things are until you come to this country and you see in some cases the millions and millions of man hours that are being wasted because of a system that must be and can be improved. The recommendation was that the government of Israel

and the Jewish Agency establish jointly an independent high-level representative commission to review the present instrumentalities and processes of all facets of aliyah and absorption in Israel and abroad and to issue a public report within a specified time. This must be done.

On the matter of settlements I want to read a statement. There are many areas in Israel requiring settlement to insure proper development and security. Some areas lack sufficient manpower while others contain virgin land demanding the creation of new communities. Continued settlement of the land in urban and rural areas, and development towns meet the imperative needs of Israel. The prompt expanded settlement in various areas of Israel in accordance with the policies of the government constitute appropriate, affirmative response to the hostile acts of the United Nations. We call for the formation of garinim in order to create new or join existing settlements and development towns and for overseas communities and organizations to implement this concept within their aliyah promotion efforts. Mr. Chairman the full report will be submitted to the group later. Thank you for the time.

DULZIN: Thank you. As you know, Bill Wexler is a past president of the American Bnei Brith and international Bnei Brith. But his present and future is not less significant. He is an oleh hadash and we welcome him and wish him well and we hope his good example will be followed by many Americans. Now I will call on Phil Garonofsky of Canada, who is the Chairman of the United Israel Appeal and a Member of the Board of Governors of the Jewish Agency.

Mr. Granovski: Mr. Chairman, it was midnight last night when I was approached to make some comments today, reacting to what has been said, so I have no prepared speech, which I assure you is to your benefit. Having partaken in economics committee, I of course associate myself with Frank Lautenberg's report to you earlier. However I would like to place four issues before you for your consideration, and say a few words about how they relate to Canada, my country.

First concerning aliya. I appreciate the fact that we all want as many people, especially as possible to move to Israel. However, the issue of the Israelis, who have left Israel for other countries abroad, has not been tackled. I might say to you that in Canada alone, there are in excess of 30,000 former Israelis who have moved there. Second, concerning Russian immigrants, who rather than having come to Israel have moved to countries such as Canada. In my community of Toronto alone during the past two years there have immigrated one thousand Russian immigrants. And they present a great problem to us.

Basically the problem has to do with Jewish education. When they arrive, there is a battle, at the airport, as soon as they get off the plane, as to which Jewish dayschool, and which organization can latch on to them first. The result of this is that about 70 per cent of Russian immigrant children in our community attend dayschools. This compares to 25 per cent of our local children who attend day-schools. I might tell you that on a per capita basis we spend more money on Jewish education than any community in North America that I know off. I want to get to that in a moment. But the problem that they present is that they have to learn two languages. First there is the language of our country, and the second is the Hebrew language. Which creates

a great deal of emotional problems. Not only for these children, but for their parents as well.

Now with that I want to lead into Jewish education. At the present time approximately 75 per cent of the money that we raised to our United Jewish Appeal campaign goes to Israel. The balance of the 25 per cent remains for our local needs. Of that 25 per cent 50 per cent is used for Jewish education. And at the moment this is all for day-schools. Our budget this year for day-schools, for the Toronto community alone, is in excess of \$2 million. And a three and a half year study was just done and debated Sunday before I left for Israel, and if that study is approved, it will increase our cost of Jewish education by an additional \$3 million. Now the reason I give you these statistics is as follows:

There is only one place at the present time that these funds, these additional funds, can't come, and that is from the Israeli portion of our United Jewish Appeal campaign. We have said at this conference, many Israeli Cabinet Ministers have said it, the Israeli Prime Minister has said it, that Jewish education in the Diaspora is of prime importance. So we have a dilemma. Do we take that money which we say is of prime importance and spend it on Jewish education locally, or does that money go to Israel. I think this is a matter that must be discussed, and I place that before you for consideration.

And finally I ask you after all these wonderful resolutions, who will be charged with carrying them out in our various communities, in our various countries. Thank you very much.

Chairman: I will call on Mr. Elmer Winter, President of American Jewish Committee, and after him Mr. Joseph Burg, Minister of the Interior, the State of Israel.

Mr. Winter: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Rabin, Mrs. Meir, ladies and gentlemen, I will be very brief. Now as I picked up this morning the copy of the Jerusalem Post, I am sure you all saw, I must say that I was disturbed by the headline which reads, "Jewry must plan total defence, in face of Soviet-Arab onslaught." I don't believe that that headline accurately describes this conference on Jewish solidarity. As I see it, we are not here to plan a defence in the face of the Arab-Soviet onslaught. We are here to plan an offence. We have to act not react. Initiate not respond. And I think this is the challenge before us in this meeting. We cannot allow the Arab world to define who we are or what we are. We will do this for ourselves, reaffirming for all times our historic association with the Land of Israel. And to this end we will certainly need to develop a master strategy.

You know more than 50 years ago, actually in February 1924, Lewis Marshall who was one of my illustrious predecessors, in consultation with Dr. Weitzmann called and led a national conference to consider how American non-Zionists might help invest financially in the upbuilding of Palestine, and to formulate an appropriate plan for American participation in an enlarged Jewish Agency. His prophetic vision anticipated this particular day. November 10, 1975 confirmed for all of us, if confirmation was indeed required, that no matter what divides Diaspora Jews ideologically, in policy or in practice, we are bound in common faith and in a shared future. Last night, Prime Minister Rabin outlined our agenda for us with great precision. I would like now very quickly to comment on each of his points, and how we will meet this challenge.

On the subject of education or commitment there is no question that the Jewish solidarity and Jewish identification will move forward as our educational

institutions and matters improve. All of us need to be concerned with this. We in our organization, for example, will be releasing a three-year study on new curricular approaches to Jewish education. We are doing research on inter-marriage and its impact on Jewish identification. We are holding consultations on the quality of Jewish life. And we have launched the Jewish Academy without walls, a unique program of Jewish education on a college level in association with Haifa University.

On the subject of aliya, there is no-one in this hall who questions the need for aliya. Aside from the historical imperatives we all know that limping factories cry out for more manpower. However, the solicitation of this manpower about which I have some knowledge or any other kind of aid must not be done in such a way as to leave the Jewish communities in the Diaspora so weakened and vulnerable, either in their self-perception of their resources that they are no longer able to help themselves or Israel. A prominent Zionist said recently that the greatest help for Israel would be if American Jewry would become another Pumbedita. That is to say, if it maintained its integrity, its creativity which can flourish, with its vitality, is reaffirmed in its own terms. In that sense even as I proudly and publicly acknowledge the uniqueness of Israel and the spiritual energy that radiates out of all of us in the Diaspora, I am obliged to point out that what is really central is the unity and indivisibility of the Jewish people.

On the question of journey to Israel, most Jewish organizations are involved in this program in the States. But I put it to you that we are not doing enough, and are not doing well enough. While an organized group tour in Israel is a virtue in itself, I cannot help but wondering how a tour concentrating

only on monuments, archaeological digs, ancient synagogues and the like, can help the visitor understand, really understand Israel's achievement and problems. The only Israeli some tour groups talk to is the guide. We have to pay attention not only to the promotion of tourism, but to the quality of the experience itself.

In our committee we have a special department that deals exclusively with encouraging Americans, both Jewish and Christian to see Israel for themselves. Our Israel office in existence over 15 years fashions tailored programs to meet the individual needs of each group. At this moment there are 22 legislatures from the State of California in Israel, a program coordinated by our Israel office. They are studying, they are listening, they are learning. And we pledge to step up our activities, and urge other organizations to do as well in this particular area.

Finally almost as if we anticipated the Prime Minister's call, I want to announce that our Board of Governors, our top lay-groups, one hundred strong from all over the United States, for the first time in the American Jewish Committee history, will meet here in Israel, come next February.

My friends, as I see today, this marks the beginning, not the end of a process, and so I would like to suggest briefly the conditions under which this public solidarity can find continuing expression in the days to come. We need to improve our methods of consultation. Decisions on matters that affect us all should not evolve nor be directed from a single source. Ways should be institutionalized so that the decision making process can be appropriately shared. All of us have to learn to listen a little harder. Even at this very conference and in the preparation for it, we should be more involved in the dynamics of changing attitudes, rather than as sometimes

happens, find each partner trying to justify previously fixed positions. There needs to be a greater continuity as our solidarity finds fresh expression. We need not so much resolutions and statements, sometimes unfortunately prepared in advance, as much as a process that reflects continuing development and will move us forward, and we will be sustained in this direction.

Finally I should like to conclude by suggesting that as we rally to the cause of Israel and the Jewish people, we need to define our several publics and focus on their interests. Our Jewish public needs one kind of approach as we strengthen our solidarity. Our non-Jewish public may need a completely different approach, utilizing the best brains of our many friends. In any case the peril is so great, the enemy is so strong, and the danger is so present, that we believe we must reorder our priorities in the committee. I assure you that we will redeploy our staff and mobilize our resources in order to secure the lives of the Jew both here and abroad for all times. And we urge all Jewish organizations here in this hall to do the same. Thank you very much.

Chairman: I call on Dr. Burg, and after him Mr. Fred Hollister, Chairman European Council for Jewish Communities Services.

Mr. Burg: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, dear Golda, Rabbies, distinguished Chief Rabbies, and friends. This morning in the committee for Public Relations and the public decor that we should bring out of this situation to all our friends and also to some of our enemies, I saw that the first suggestion was that this year Independence Day on the fifth of May, should be a very great occasion. And I remarked and I believe it is true and we should never

forget it, that we have no time to wait until May. Because we are in a situation where constant action and instant reaction is asked of us. And I would like to say that as an outcome of this conference there should not be any no-man's land between the government or the Zionist organization or the Jewish organizations committed like the representative of the committee that we heard just now, and all the other Jewish kehillot and communities. No no-man's land. No waste of time and no waste of money. Because the truth has to be said. We came into this country for the revival of Judaism and now we have to fight for the survival of Jews. This is the task that we should remember, that the historic unity of Israel's soul and Israel's soil is now under discussion. This unity of Jewish geography, of Jewish history is under discussion. If I would have time as the Minister of Interior of the State of Israel, I would give you figures that would bely all the attacks that are made on us concerning our attitudes to the Arab people.

But I believe one figure should be mentioned. During the last seven years when the Government of the State of Israel decided on a policy of open-bridges. It is not the Golden Gate Bridge, it is not the Washington Bridge, but when we decided on the policy and the policies of open-bridges, since then 4 million, one hundred thousand entries were granted to Arabs coming from Arab countries. And I believe this figure, 4,100,000 entries during the years speak for themselves, and gives the absolute lies to our attackers. This conference was called upon out of the very deep, I would almost dare say existential concern of all of us. When we heard about the United Nations resolution the equation of racism and Zionism, applied to Jews of this generation, that are the victims of racism. That first of all was the theory by Gobineau, by Chamberlain, by Rosenberg, and then it was translated by Hitler, Himmler and Eichman after they had the ideological

justification for their racism. So in our eyes not only it was falsification of history. Not only it was a mental cruelty to the remnants of remnants of she'erit ha'pleita. Perhaps this kind of United resolution will be printed in text-books of children in schools, in the world, then we know that a new very lieful and deceitful argument against the Jewish people is borne.

And to do this to the generation of Auschwitz is not only mental cruelty, but they have to say it all over the world, that things that cannot be forgiven should not be forgotten. This is the basis of this gathering here today, and I know the difficulties you have when you come back. Because let us be very open. The infrastructure of the Jewish communities all over the world is a very weak one. Until you reach families who want their children to go to Jewish schools, it will take time. But that is the job. Young leadership in education, because we have to strengthen our identity and our self-identification. Longing for Judaism and belonging to Israel.

I believe this is the formula that we have to take up. And I was thinking if I should say this. In 1933 when hundred of thousands of Jews in Germany had begun to suffer for something they did not understand, it was Martin Baber with the help of Ernst Simen that started educational work because this is the big and tragic difference between our generation and the former one. Our fathers knew what to die for when they had to die, and our youth not always knows what to live for. And in this antithesis, this between plenty of vitamins and the scarcity of Jewish values we have to find our work. Against the erosion of friendship information, identification, education, and against the United Nations we have to stand as a united nation.

I quoted this morning, I would like to repeat in my concluding remark famous words of Thomas Penn said 180 years ago, when he spoke about sunshine soldiers and summer patriots. My friends, this is a time of trial, where we have to prove that we are better than sunshine soldiers and summer patriots. That we are more, that we are Jews and we are proud of being Jews.

This is what you should take with you, the message of urgency and the urgency of the message.



4.12.75

Mr. Dulzini: Mr. Fritz Hollander and after him Mr. Daniel Trilling of the Argentine.

Mr. Hollander: Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Golda Meir, delegates. When I here take the floor I do it as the chairman of the European Jewish Community Services and I say it because it was mentioned here that certain voices could not be heard and I do it because in this organization only a few East European countries participate and I want to tell you that unanimously with their participation agreed upon a resolution which is true and which is obvious from the groups be represented, whatever our ideology we vehemently refuse the allegation contained in the latest UN resolution on Zionism which tries to deny the Jewish People the right of national determination. We, who suffered most, more than any other people, from racial discrimination have always been in the forefront of the struggle against racial discrimination.

Simultaneously we express our solidarity with Israel, a State which in its declaration of independence claimed equal rights for all its inhabitants independent of religion and race.

But, Mr. Chairman, we've not come here to read resolutions, I only did it for this particular reason. I think it is expected from all of us that we give guidance to Jews in the world who are longing for guidance and who are not only reading this one resolution but all the other resolutions before and the very resolutions of the last days. We want mutual advice.

In America there is a saying, in the Senate, of advice and consent. We cannot ask the right, or Israel cannot have the right, of giving the consent of what Israel is doing or not doing or what the smaller or bigger groups of Jews in the world are doing.

But we can achieve, and we hope that this conference is a beginning, mutual advice, advice that we need to give guidance to our brethren but we do hope that we also through this one day can come to the point towards the outside world that as the oldest nation of the Middle East takes the political and human initiative in the problem of the Palestinians. And finally such peace that enables Israel to become the State we are all dreaming about, the State that is built on peace and justice. (applause)

Mr. Dulzin: Thank you. Now I will call upon Daniel Trilling, and after him Rabbi Fabian Schoenfeld, president, Rabbinical Council of America.

Mr. Trilling: I see the problems that we are concerned with here, we find ourselves now facing this shameful attack that the UN has made because of this resolution equating Zionism with racism. This declaration has reached a new stage in our lives and this means that we must come, must find new qualities and new ways of reacting. We must give concrete firm answers to our people. We must find new ways. We must not continue only to defend ourselves but we must change our strategy and we must take up this challenge and have a firm declaration to counterattack. We must think of the future and this means work that we will do together with the new generation.

We must do this work on the basis of certain basic premises. I'd like to give a few points. First of all, new proposals, new political and ideological positions that are necessitated by the new situation. We must have concrete proposals that the Jews can accept. We must show reality such as it is, what is good and what is not so good, what we must do and what we cannot do, what we have done and what we have

not done, so that we can have adequate answers, so that the identification will be strong and real and frank and what we have done and not done because this is a challenge which is flung to the new generation.

We cannot have ambiguous answers. We must have deep, searching answers, and concrete answers. The anti-Zionist resolutions, because of the opportunists of the right and of the left and the Arab influence - all this means we must say that Zionism is a liberation movement, Zionism is a challenge and we must explain this to the whole Jewish People.

Secondly, we must find new methods of work so that we can reach the young people in schools, universities. At the same time we must have working plans which go deeper and which are clearer and in the next 6 months, or give 6 weeks, 2 months or a year to Israel, so that you can get to know the Israeli people and to get to know the realities of the people.

We, in Latin America, have some experience of this and also it is necessary to find new methods of work to have days of discussion, to have information programs at universities and elsewhere, to have special seminars set up. We mustn't forget the basic work which must be done with youth movements.

Third, and last, point - the organized Jews in each locality must work out techniques which are adequate and suitable for its own place and region, to work with its own community. Nobody can work more effectively and knows better how to work and what to do than those who are there on the spot because we live in the same reality and know best how to work out the ways of working.

The youth must know what role to play both within and outside the community. This will give a certain maturity to the youth and will give them the capacity to promote and to carry out wide-ranging plans which will be effective. And for this we must receive and work within a certain independence, autonomy, because only by means of having the youth, the youth organizations having more political, economic and educational autonomy will they be able to carry out their work. The young people will also be able to do much better work for themselves and for the community.

The work-force is there, the desire to work is there, what we need are the right conditions to be able to carry out this work. Thank you. (applause)

Mr. Dulzin: Thank you. Now Rabbi Schoenfeld, and after him Prof. Alan Pollock, a member of the World Zionist Organization of the United States.

Rabbi Schoenfeld: Mr. Chairman, in my seven minutes I want to take this opportunity to express our deepest thanks to the Prime Minister for having called this conference and our deep appreciation for the presence of Mrs. Meir here, for us American Jews especially this is a great occasion.

I read the criticisms in the Israeli press before I came here and in America, too, regarding the purpose of this conference. I would like to say to the Prime Minister and to all of us that if nothing else is achieved other than the command which Esther gave to Mordecai, leych kenoss et kol hayehudim, we already have achieved something. We have achieved, I believe, other things as well.

I think that what we have to be very much concerned about, especially those of us who live in America, there was a kind of euphoria lately about the United Nations resolution and the reaction in the Western communities, the speech of Patrick Moynihan, Ivor Richard of Britain, some kind of yesirua we thought had come, and there's a great danger in this, the danger that words will be spoken to please us, but the actions of some were different. It is in this connection that I'd like to refer to something the Prime Minister said last night, he said he believed the Jewish People must be more aggressively provoked.

I believe that the Gov't of Israel does not realize sufficiently the most powerful weapon that it has, which is the Jewish communities throughout the world and especially the American Jewish community. We are ready, eager, able and capable of speaking up loudly and clearly for Israel. We want to assure the Gov't of Israel, this is no news to them, the American Jewish community is ever-ready and ever-willing and ever-eager to do this. But there is one point that needs to be stressed here. The point has been made by the Prime Minister and others, the vote was an attack not only on Jews and Jewry but on Judaism.

I think the time has come for us to fulfill the saying of Navi Yirmiyahu, that we have to stress not simply the historical roots of Zionism but the Biblical roots of Zionism. I say this not as an Orthodox Rabbi, as pragmatically speaking and as an American Jew, or rather as a Jew living in America, that the Biblical roots of Zionism is what will carry the day for us .

If we think of Zionism as having begun with Herzl, or even with the Balfour Declaration, that would be a tragic mistake. It is not the United Nations that gave us the State of Israel. It is the prophetic vision, it is the haftacha of HaKodesh Baruch Hu to Avraham Avinu, I believe we must stress them wherever and whenever we can. If this indeed is an attack on Judaism, then let this be a Judaic response and it is this kind of an approach to the problem is what I think we have to emphasize and stress.

I again would like to thank the Prime Minister for this conference - Jews getting together ~~is~~ ^{is} sufficient for all of us. We have come here because this is an etza'ra and if this will result in more aliya, if this will result in more fundraising, ma tov u'ma na'im. But the main purpose already has been achieved - we're here, we're here together because Am Yisrael Chai. (applause)
Dulzin: Alan Pállock and after him Eric Moonman, Chairman, Zionist Federation of Great Britain.

Alan Pállocks: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Meir. First of all let me express my appreciation for being called with the others to come to this conference. I think all of us understand that there is tremendous concern and tremendous hope and expectation on the part of all the Jewish People throughout the world because of this Conference. And therefore it's with a heavy heart that I say I fear we may not be meeting our responsibilities and the responsibilities of the Jewish People.

I want to say very very clearly that those who have said that the attack of the United Nations is not merely an attack on the State of Israel but an attack on the Jewish People are correct.

One of the reasons for the enormous response, emotional as it was, of the Jewish People throughout the world is there is a basic realization that the very concept of the Jewish People is under attack and therefore the concept of the Jewish People has to be defended.

One of the things that I'm concerned with so far is that I've not yet heard from the leadership of the Jewish world assembled here a reaffirmation of their support of the concept of Jewish Peoplehood and what it represents. It is more than, and we must go beyond the unity of the Jewish People in our concern and support of the State of Israel.

As was pointed out before, unfortunately throughout history the goyim define important terms for us, and just as in Hitler's time the term Jew received its ultimate definition so today the term Zionism receives its definition by what the United Nations has decided. There is now one definition of a Zionist and that is he who believes in the Jewish People and he who believes that the State of Israel is the center of the Jewish People. We who are all gathered here accept this and therefore I believe that it is incumbent upon us as Jewish leaders, every Jewish leader who pretends to be one, to represent the people of the Jewish world, to stand up proudly and say Yes, I am a Zionist, Zionism is the national liberation movement of the Jewish People and the Jewish People will go and defend its national liberation movement. I think that at the minimum this is the first thing that must come out of this conference, not only the conference as a whole, but every Jewish leader and every Jewish organization represented here.

Consonant with that we must be very careful to understand that one of the bases of the attack that is being perpetrated at least in the United States and I fear throughout the world is a conscious attempt by the Arabs and their sympathisers to make a distinction between Judaism which they say is kosher and Zionism and the Jewish People which is racist, and therefore we must say as Abba Eban said with indignation^{indignation}(?) if we must - We will not allow anyone else except the Jewish People to define what the Jewish People are. There is only one definition and that is our definition and we must stand up proudly and firmly and over and over again and say - There is the Jewish People, it is one people, it is a united people, Israel is the center of the Jewish People, Zionism is the movement which expresses the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish People, and anyone who is a leader of that people must lead in that direction.

Also I think it is clear, everything that we have said so far in this conference is crucial - we must strengthen ourselves as Jews and Israel as the Jewish land, and everything which can be done in the short term and in the long term to strengthen Jewish identity, in a meaningful way, through education, is crucial.

But there is another overriding concern today and tomorrow and next week - the Jewish People is under attack and the Jewish People must defend itself. And the resolutions that came out in the discussion of the Committee on Public Support is simply not enough. Beyond all the things that are being discussed, one of the things that I think our Jewish People expect from this Conference is a clearcut program for action, immediate, in terms of explaining to the world

to our Jewish world and to the non-Jewish world what we will do to meet this challenge and this attack on the very nature of the Jewish People. (applause) I think therefore that one of the things that we must do, fully understanding that in an immediate conference it cannot be done, and in great complexity, the differences in the various countries all kinds of different programs must be worked out. But from this conference must come a call not merely for a committee of solidarity but if you want an emergency committee to plan action right now, depending on the different countries what programs must be done to meet every group within the Jewish community and every group in the non-Jewish community.

We take for granted the support of the Jewish People, and it is there, but unfortunately too many of our Jewish people don't even know what the issues that are being raised are. Therefore one of the things that must be done by every Jewish community throughout the world is an undertaking immediately that every Jewish organization, every synagogue and every Hebrew school today and tomorrow and the next week, we'll go down to the lowest level that we can, every Jewish family, to explain what is Zionism, what is the Jewish People, what are the ties of the Jewish People to the land and the State of Israel. Our own Jews need this if we are to be buttressed to fight the battle that lies ahead until we have made the revolution in education and that will create a new generation of Jews that will know this as their very life-blood.

Similarly among the non-Jews, we have various groups in our communities and each of them must be reached, not only by international conferences nor by national resolutions, but be it the women's

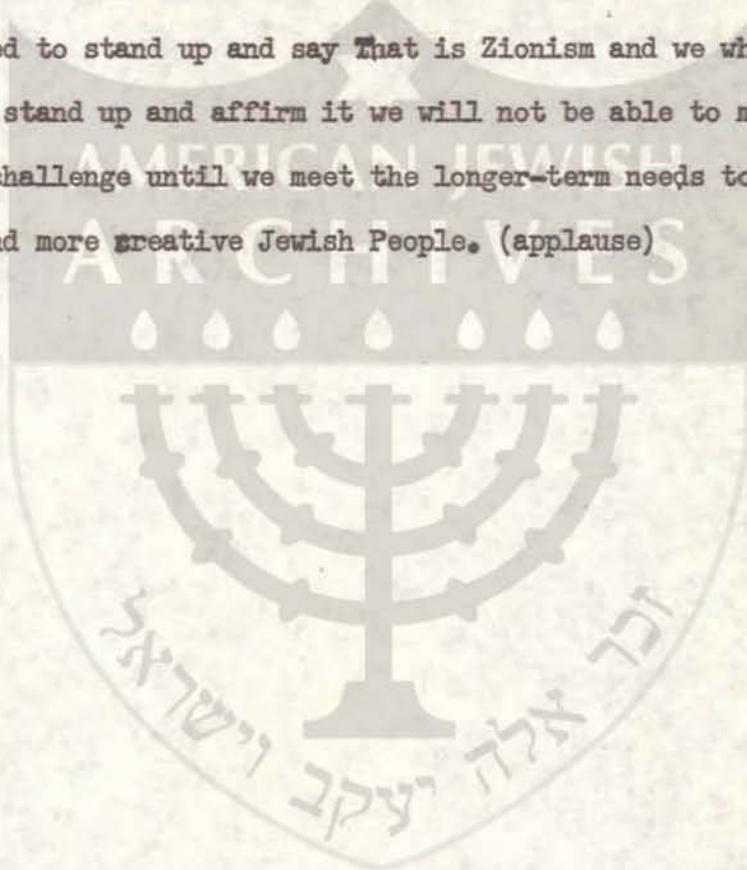
organizations or the Labor Movement, the minority groups in all of our various communities, every one of them must be reached and only the united effort of the Jewish People can reach them, to make them understand what is the Jewish People.

It's been said over and over again, 47 percent of the world was born after the State of Israel was created, 47 percent of the people do not even know the word Zionism because for too many of us, a generation ago we were concerned about divisive influences within the Jewish community and there were people who then argued ideologically Is Zionism necessary, etc. And for too many us we performed a sin before human history and Jewish history. We said Zionism does not have to become the central force because now Israel is here and everyone will unite on the minimal common denominator which is Ahavat Zion, support of Israel. Therefore too many people around the world do not even know what is the definition of Zionism and what it truly means and therefore we have to explain it to them.

But let me close if I can by saying that in addition to united efforts there must come forth a call at least that in every country an emergency conference go and plan, every organization, who has the contacts with which group, who will devote themselves, who will reach them and who will unite them to reach these elements in the community. But let me finish as I began, there were perhaps in past generations important ideological distinctions and people who had different visions on what might be the ultimate future of the Jewish People. History has taught us all a bitter lesson and all of those who had ultimate visions are either burned in the ashes of Auschwitz or those of the left in the labor camps of Stalin, or in

the churches in America or elsewhere in the world.

There is only one answer that history has proven correct for the ultimate solution and survival of the Jewish People all over the world and that is a strong and viable State of Israel, and any Jew all over the world can only survive in terms of which he is personally connected with that Jewish State. That is Zionism. And unless we are prepared to stand up and say That is Zionism and we who believe in it will stand up and affirm it we will not be able to meet the immediate challenge until we meet the longer-term needs to affirm a better and more creative Jewish People. (applause)



Chairman, Mr. Dulcin: Erich Moorman who besides being President of the Great Britain Zionist Federation is Member of Parliament in Great Britain.

Interruption: Mr. Chairman, friend, I would like to be wholly practical.

Chairman: Just a second, I will announce the gentleman after you, Prof. Eduardo Vitta of Italy.

Mr. Moorman: I think there is, Mr. Chairman, an understandable feeling, and I think the last speaker reflected this. That the resolutions themselves couldn't possibly sharpen up our feelings, and indeed the ideas. Now I am not surprised at this, and I don't think he should be. Because we met for a few hours, and it would be quite remarkable if we could indeed, not only analyze the problems, also in fact start to consider the options and the to go on to begin the implementation process. Life, and indeed our ideas are not like that. But the number of people I have spoken to suggested this that certainly if we can begin to divide and distinguish what some of these ideas are before we leave tomorrow, then we will have made some progress

Let me give some practical examples of this. I think the first thing is, and of course the conference was absolutely right for many reasons and on many levels. But it certainly seems to me that the campaign and the work that we had expected to do in 1976 has got to be positive. And this is why the conference had to take place. I think that so many of us in our own countries have seen and have been involved in a defensive posture, that we needed to come together. Not only for the psychological uplift, but also for an organizational stimulus. So if we are saying then that many of these ideas have got to be positive, I think that one of the things we got to learn to understand is that the campaign is for a purpose. One

of our recommendations of course in the session on public resources was a mass signature campaign. A first class idea. But then you got to go on and ask yourself, signatures for what. Because anybody, indeed any group that wanted to get signatures, can get them fairly quickly. It is not a great difficulty. In fact someone sinister said cynically that in some countries you can almost rent yourself a signature group. The fact of the matter is we are going to get the signatures, it seems to me, so that Jews can be converted, more convinced, more active as Zionists. But that is not enough in itself. It seems to me we then want to go on and convince and influence non-Jews. And this seems to me to be the essential feature of what we are trying to do.

The other thing I would say, again in a very practical way, is whatever we decide to do, whatever is put down as a formula, we have to be prepared for alternative strategies. At the moment we are concentrating on the resolution of November 10. But there could be new developments. There could be new situations that could arise, and we could well in fact be thrown off course within a fortnight, within three weeks. And therefore while I am not suggesting in any way that we should broaden this campaign, because the value of the campaign is to keep it as closely specialized as possible, I do think it is terribly important when the writing takes place that there should be alternative strategy to cope with some of these problems.

I think that we go back to our own situations, in our own countries, and internally if we look at the value of getting more Jews to be active, the more Zionists to be active, then of course, we want to use it for a purpose. We want to get politicians more convinced of the role that is performed,

we want to get the church more active, we want to get youth more active. But all these things seem to me will fail unless we are able to distinguish that there is one public relations strategy, one activity for Jews, and another for non-Jews. And if there is a fault at all in this conference there maybe other, but there is one fault, it is we rather scramble the whole idea of the market, we have not distinguished that the market is on one level Jews and another level non-Jews. We must be absolutely clear before we go back to our countries that we understand this difference.

The other point I would make, of course, is that we don't exist within national boundaries. Some of us in fact live in large countries, some in small countries within a regional grouping. Do recognize that the European community for many of us in Europe, of course, means that we can share information. And reference has been made to the Public Resources committee of the need to have a regional rally. There are problems with that, but I think it is something that we ought to be looking at. And some of us are beginning to share information on behalf of Israel on a regional basis.

And my last point is this. It came up in the Public Resources Committee by a very indignant representative from South America. And he was absolutely right, that of course the strategy, just as I said we got to distinguish the differences right the way through to be effective, because I wish sometime that many of our active Jews would begin to use the techniques of management that they use in their business in terms of fund raising and indeed in terms of work for Zionism, the fact of the matter is this. There were 70 countries that voted against Israel. Some of them you could clearly write off because it might be impossible

to even begin to change the attitude and their stands. I refer to the Comicon countries. But there is no doubt whatsoever that the public relation job within some of those countries, some of them in South America cannot be written off, and therefore I would suggest that the foreign office of Israel, and indeed through its embassies throughout the world, through Jews who either in those countries or in neighboring countries have a particularly important job to do. I am not suggesting you are going to convert government policies, but I am a politician and I know if you work hard enough, you can begin to influence those countries who took the vital decision against Israel. That must be part of our task as well.

And I don't say it because Your Majesty's Government acted correctly on November 10. I am glad it did. But I think we would be very foolish to imagine that we have to ignore totally the strategy that those countries need. This is why the South American delegate who I hope will speak later, was indignant, and this is why we must also ensure that we can help them to bring about some influence through the embassies in our countries toward these others.

Chairman: Prof. Eduardo Vita, and after him, Fay Schenk, President of the Zionist Federation of U.S.A. (The Professor is not here.)

Mrs. Schenk: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Meir. It would certainly not be to my credit if I were to launch myself on a speech at this time, nor would it be to your enlightenment. The fact remains that you have listened very attentively to some million speeches, and to some excellent resolutions and discussions that have come out of the work groups. I have only to say one or two things. As the President of the American Zionist Federation

it is interesting for us to know, for all of us to know, that we do represent about a million Zionists. All the Zionist groupings that are in existence in the United States are members of the American Zionist Federation. And even though there are ideological differences, still the common denominator is there, and it works in a very cohesive and united way. We have listened to the injunction of, naaseh ve'nishma, because actually we have begun doing. But we know that as we come out of this very important conference, and we are happy that it was called, even though there were some demurs on the part of many, we are happy that it was called because here we have learned, it has buttressed us, it has fortified us, it has given us a new encouragement to go back and do that which we have been doing, only to accelerate it and do it in a finer, in a more exquisite way. In a way that will have greater impact and greater importance.

Now as I said earlier at the work session which I attended, the fact remains that we take for granted sometimes our own Zionism. And we also believe that others are Zionists, and half the time people who may call themselves Zionists, but in the main those who do not perhaps call themselves Zionists, and as Allan Pollak said, are chavai Israel, who do almost all the tayat mizvet, but don't accept for themselves the appellation of Zionism. They are Zionists perhaps but they don't realize it.

But I repeat what is really missing is the educational factor. Something that we have assumed, we have taken for granted, and yet we have not really dug in, and bothered to explain, to analyze, to teach, and this is what we must do now. This is what we have begun doing. We believe

that ^{it/}is the Zionist Federation in the United States, it is upon us to carry the major responsibility. And we respect with a great deal of admiration each one of the Jewish organizations that has a special expertise, that has fulfilled itself magnificently in its own way, toward Israel. Aliya, tourism, love of Israel, giving Bonds, UJA. All of these things, and yet we believe that we can utilize their good offices and their expertise and gather them together, and this is what we are working on now. To try and bring together, they are not disparate organizations. They are Jewish organizations with different motivations, perhaps. But now it is for us to bring them together, to gather them under this one canopy. Yes, Alan Pollack was right, everyone should be calling himself a Zionist today. Whether they ever did before. Now is the time. And we of the American Zionist Federation will make every effort to bring them together, to work together, to enhance the whole image of Zionism. We are under attack, and we will make the definition. You are perfectly right. We will not allow others to make the definitions for us. We will accept for ourselves that which we know to be right, and that which we know to be correct..

We say this is the time to revive and understand our classical ideas, our historical, fundamental, our ideologically Zionism. This is all for us to do through the seminars, through the teachings, through the decimation of information, altogether. Zionist organizations and Jewish organizations who may not call themselves Zionists, but really and truly, I believe that they are.

We were referred to last night, and so we are a am k'shay oref. It is that thickneckness that enables us to carry on in the face of whatever kind

of opposition or attack or vilification. And that is what makes us the am elam that we are.

Chairman: Now I will call on Mr. Joseph Kemer, the chairman of the Keren Hayessed Belgium, and after him Mr. Kotlovitz of Israel.

Mr. Kemer: Mr. Chairman, Prime Minister, Mrs. Meir, ladies and gentlemen, I will, Mr. Chairman, not take up the seven minutes which you have allotted to me. I bring you two quotations. Every Jew in the world has been drawing conclusions from the sad situation which developed over the last few weeks. And I am quoting from a speech from Anwar Sadat who the world calls a moderate Arab. This is what he said in Kuwait a few weeks ago: "I shall applaud everybody who will destroy the State of Israel." Is this the land of Israel, or is this Palestine? Zionism is the classic movement for freedom. It came to fulfillment through a fight for freedom. Those who claim that Zionism is an instrument for colonialism are deliberately distorted facts and history which occurred in front of the eyes of our own generation.

Of course the Zionist movement and the Halutz youth movement turned a desert into a fertile garden. But the main factor which brought Zionism into practical fulfillment, which means to each the status of sovereignty and independence was a fight for freedom against foreign colonial rule in the land of Israel. The Jewish fight for freedom set an example to be followed by many African and Asian countries. They may deny it, being forced by the petro-dollars, but the truth is and will prevail.

And the second quotation, I bring you without any comment. You will find it on the last page of the Diary of Anna Frank which she wrote two days before she was taken away to be one of the six million victims of the Holocaust.

"It is a great wonder that I have not despaired of all my hopes, for at present it is absurd to expect them to come through. Nevertheless I must stick to that, for in spite of everything I still believe that human kind is basically good. I could not, even if I wanted to, to base everything from that suffering and turmoil. I see the world turning into wasteland. I hear the sound of approaching thunder, whose end is to kill us all. I fear the castigation of millions of human beings. And inspite of all this, it is enough for me just to raise my eyes to the heaven and immediately I return to believing that everything will end well. That even this evil will be obliterated from the earth, and that peace and tranquility will return to the world. In the meantime I must hold fast to my ideals. Maybe they will be realized in some future time."

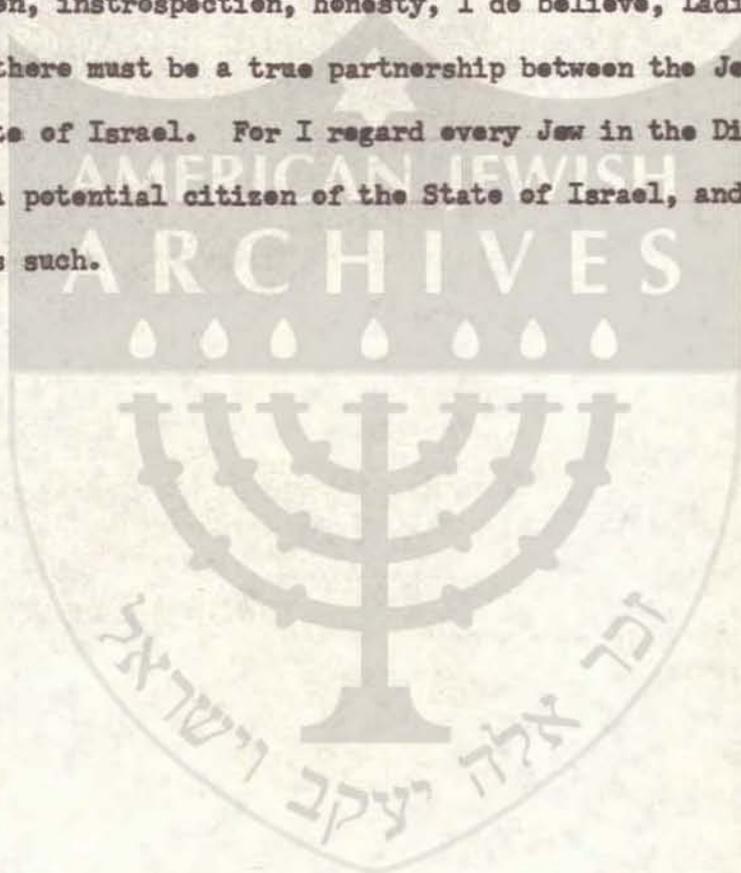
Ladies and gentlemen, everybody of you possesses the Diary of Anna Frank. May I ask you when you return to your homes that you take again this book from this wonderful girl of ~~thirteen~~ years which was written just in the middle of the Holocaust.

Mr. Kotlevitz: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Meir, assembled guests. I am sorry if I will have to strike a discordant note in this atmosphere of silk and congratulation and back-slapping. After having heard the wonderful speeches, full of a lot of cliches, and after having looked around, I see all the new faces at this conferences, and after having heard the attacks made on the Jewish people that have failed the State of Israel, I think it smacks somewhat ofchutzpah. The Jewish people failed? Let us have some introspection. Let us be honest with ourselves. The Jewish people gave the State of Israel millions, a

great deal was squandered. That is true. The Jewish people gave the State of Israel hundreds of thousands of people. We cannot keep them. The Jewish people opened the doors, the Iron Curtain of Russia. They were the pioneers, and they brought in here, with help, hundred thousand people. How many of them are going back? I do not say it to the outsider. I say it to the Israeli. I say it to the Zionist. I say it as one who has lived through four wars here. Even before the State of Israel. I did something for the State. And I am sorry, terribly sorry, we are not true with ourselves, we are not honest with ourselves. We come here, and I attended the meeting of aliya committee. We come here and make proposals, very ordinary, very mendaine, very day-to-day, and we lose sight of the fact, the primary fact that we are standing on the brink of an abyss, and that if we are not careful we might be pushed over the abyss into nothing. I am not an alarmist, but I cannot forget that there were prophets before the Second World War. In the time of Hitler, eh yes, I want to be honest and brutal. We had our Wises, and our Goldmans who told us everything is fine, and don't shout, don't scream. And we failed. So I want to avoid this. But when I hear my friends, when I hear, Herzberg and Abba Eban tell us the State of Israel, the leadership of Israel, they will lead, we shall follow, I ask myself what kind of partnership is this. This is not partnership. A partnership, a true partnership is one of mutual faith and openness.

And I want to say this, we would not have come to this sorry state that we are in if we had realized that in this world we have one ally who stands ready to give their whole, and that is the Jewish people. And if we had heeded what was said by some of us immediately after the Yom Kippur War,

and incidentally it was not the Jewish people that was to blame for the great debacle of what overtook us. It wasn't the Jewish people. If we had heeded what was said by us, the American Jewish people could have stemmed and stopped the avalanche that is on us. And so I say, ladies and gentlemen, in respect, honesty, I do believe, Ladies and gentlemen, there must be a true partnership between the Jewish people, and the State of Israel. For I regard every Jew in the Diaspora as a citizen, a potential citizen of the State of Israel, and let us regard it as such.



DULZIN: I would like to make just one remark. Obviously we have the right to defer, but I am sure that everybody spoke with honesty. Now, Shenkar. After Mr. Shenkar, Elias Sheriff, the President of the Zionist Federation in Uruguay.

SHENKAR: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, Mrs. Meir, Ladies and Gentlemen. I can't refrain from commenting that my friend, Mr. Cutlewitz, is guilty of far worse cliches than he accuses the entire assembly of. Negative cliches, cliches that will not help us in any sense, in dealing with our problems, because they are not the truth of the situation. I say this with all the questions I have, with all the criticisms I have of what should be and shouldn't be with regard to the society of Israel and with regard to the policies of Israel. But let us put the picture straight. One might think after listening to what we just heard that Israel is responsible for most of the problems that confront us, that Israel is basically responsible for what happened at the United Nations and that we didn't win a victory in the Yom Kippur War, but that we had a debacle in the Yom Kippur War. I think that we have to put these matters somewhat straighter than they have been put by the previous speaker.

I want to make three brief points. One, the attack on us is both ideological and political. And our answer has to be in kind. We cannot decide here, that we will ignore the ideological and concentrate on the political nor can we decide that we will concentrate only on the ideological and ignore the political. Therefore, I think that we will have to face up to the fact that we cannot do overnight what we didn't do over 20 years or more, in terms of our educational processes, in terms of our defense of Zionism, in terms of

the action that we undertook. There are two fronts. There is the external front and there is the internal front. The United Nations Resolution on November 10, equated Zionism with racism. Its purpose was clearly political, to undermine the basis of the Jewish state. There used to be people who used to debate whether every anti-Zionist was also an anti-Semite. I think that today there can no longer be a question about it. Because when the attack on the State of Israel spills over into anti-Semitism, spills over into the question of the basic unity of the Jewish people, our counter attacks have to take into account that this is no longer a question. And in dealing with the external front, we will have to take also into account the nature of the regime that voted against Zionism, that voted against the State of Israel. Both on the right and on the left. We will have to make quite clear that here we are fighting a great battle externally. But it seems to me that the key battle is on the internal front. I want to add to what has been said other terms, by others before.

We have brought up our Jewish communities with a love of Zion. The fact is not only have we brought them up. Zion has become a kind of substitute for the basic factors which provided Jewish continuity, whether it was in the religious field, the community field, or even in the family. Israel has become the kind of substitute for all of the things that used to be part and parcel of our life. But I think we should also say to ourselves in this great ideological-political battle that friends of Israel, no matter how important they are, don't equal Zionists. Friends of Israel are only potential Zionists, if they translate the idea of Zionism into the action of Zionism. I think that we have to use the outpouring the instinctive outpouring of support which has come about in these days, not only as a short term factor

that we have to use for political purposes, but we have to set up those channels by which we can convert this outpouring of support into some kind of permanent relationship with Zionism, with the Zionist movement, with the State of Israel, beyond the point of friends of Israel.

It has been said, I think Mr. Eban said it, that hazbarah, propaganda, information, public relations--we have all kinds of names for this--is basically a function of policy. And I think that here there can be no question, but that we have to examine ourselves, just as the government of Israel and the people of Israel have to examine themselves, in terms of seeking the answers to the problems that were put on the agenda for us. But I think that we must also at the same time ask ourselves why there aren't more young people with us right in this room. Why the leaders of the various communities didn't insist when they were invited that they wanted to bring younger people with them, in order to hear what we have to say here. I think also that we should have had the youth movements here. I think we should have found a way in order to make them our partners, because if we will not make them our partners, if we only treat them as objects of our concern, and not as partners in this great challenge that is before us, which is the fulfillment of all of these things that the committee talked about-- and most importantly, the commandment of aliyah, I think that we will have failed in our function. Therefore, I think that we have to be quite aware that what the Zionist Movement meant, what we talked about in our fund raising campaign, the great constructive activity, the pioneering background--Mr. Eban said before most of the achievements of Zionism are the creation of the pre-State era-- we have to better ask ourselves, what are we adding to those achievements. How are we renewing those achievements? Are we putting them on the agenda

in order to convert ideas into action and relate our action to our basic ideas for which we have been attacked. It is a sad business that Jews know more about Zionism from what our enemies say, than what we say ourselves. I think we have to examine ourselves in this sense, in order to make those changes--and it has to be changes. It can't be business as usual if we want to achieve all the things that we should achieve. Thank you.

MR. LEO SHERF(URUGUAY): (Translated from Spanish) I shall speak in Spanish. Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen. I speak on behalf of the Federation in Uruguay and the community in Uruguay and I should like to associate ourselves with a violent rejection of the resolution of the United Nations. It is not by chance that all the anti-Semites in the world are happy. It is at the same time not a coincidence that there are bombs and acts of terrorism. There is anti-Semitism throughout the world and this is reflected in the United Nations. If such resolutions can be adopted with applause this is something that we should think about because it is an act--we should see that this is applause of destruction of the world. This has nothing to do with international morality.

In this land that was a desert, we have built and cultivated the land, we have built factories and homes, and we have transformed not only the country but we have transformed the Jewish people. Herzl spoke not only of the return of the people, but of the return of the people to its own spirit, to its own dignity, to the dignity of the Jew. The work has taught us this. The Jews have, by working and rebuilding the land, rebuilt themselves.

In 1920, it was written that the victory in transforming the desert into fields which are cultivated--this must be written with sweat and tears and work, high in the mountains of the Galil and down in the Negev. Each part of this reflected the spirit of Zionism. The life is flourishing in the Galilee of yesterday and today and there is nothing better to counter this resolution, to contrast the Arabs who have come here to find work throughout the last century. Terrorist bombs cannot change this reality, and neither can the power of the oil countries change it. Zionism is not in conflict with the family of the nations, but it is, but if we take the United Nations, their price is to adopt a resolution which will work against this resolution because they are merely intimidated by the power of the oil countries.

We must arouse the conscious of the world, but to do this, we must be strong and we must decide not only to be preachers--Zionism is not only a passive thing, but it is a people, marching on, continuing its work, accomplishing in reality, with energy and this shameful resolution, we shall fight it, as the Israelis have built the land. We must have a unity among the people. You must have unity of those who do not want to succumb to this brutal force and to extortion. Someone said that we must not sell out; this is something we should not forget. We should be inspired by the pages of the Bible and we should sound a clear call. The voice of our prophets calling on the fraternity throughout the world will be much stronger than the applause of the United Nations, and Zionism will go on building and creating as it has until now.

The words of Isaiah and of Herzl will continue to inspire and our reply will be the presence of a complete solidarity and unity among the Jewish people.

GREENSTET: Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman, Mrs. Meir. I speak for us as Jews. We cannot raise, as we heard today, \$80 million, but we have per capita probably the highest aliya in the world--I speak also for Sweden, and I believe for some other small countries. We came to show our solidarity, but in that connection I want to stress two points.

First, we should have conferences like this today, but on a regional basis, where Jewish leaders from countries who have more or less the same problems, would be able to have direct discussions with Israeli officials. I don't mean with the prime minister, but I also do not mean with the under secretaries' under secretaries.

Secondly, we have at hand the weapons to counteract anti-Zionism, but we have weaker weapons to repel the attack regarding the so-called Palestinian question. We hope Israel's information and policy will give us the answers. We would like to sell those answers to Israel's and our mutual benefit.

JANNER: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen. Just a closing gesture. We have been here for a day and to the best of my knowledge, with the exception of the eloquent words of Abba Eban, nobody has paid a tribute, as I believe this conference should do, to our very good allies. At this time, we should treasure the allies we have got. We should be glad that in spite of unemployment, in spite of the oil problem, in spite of the pressures from the Arab world--and they were very great--we had a number of countries, a considerable number of countries, who firmly stood by us and I believe, that we from this world conference of Jewish leaders should say we salute you and we thank you.

Secondly, I suggest that it is wrong that we leave here without indicating that we as Jews are not only concerned with Jewish affairs, and racism against Jews. I have listened carefully for any condemnation of racism from anyone directed against others in this world, but we Jews have always been concerned about racism against others. We have always been in the forefront of every attack on racism, in every country, and we have always been the first sufferers from racism and that is why this resolution is so disgraceful. I believe that from this conference we should send out a message that we salute those who are being persecuted in other lands, not only our brethren in the Soviet Union, but others throughout the world, because we care and because if we are only for ourselves, we are as nothing.

And finally, Mr. Chairman, may I ask that we pay one special tribute to a man, who to me symbolizes all that is best outside Jewry, and that is Dr. Andre Sakarov, who some of us had the honor of nominating for the Nobel Prize and who receives it next Wednesday through his wife because he is not allowed to go. And when he received this prize, Jews in the Soviet Union cried out with delight. He was the man, who in spite of his troubles after all stood up for them at the time of the Leningrad trials and when he was refused permission to go out to Oslo to collect the prize, our brothers in the Soviet Union complained. But you know our communities haven't and when we had this racist resolution in the United Nations, in the midst of all his troubles, Prof. Sakarov stood up and he denounced from the depths of his own misery, the racist resolution directed against the Jews. And he is not a Jew.

I ask, Mr. Chairman, that in our resolutions--if not in the formal ones, then at least informally--we pay our tribute to this great and saintly tzaddick that we recognize that there are others in the world suffering against Jews. I have listened carefully for any condemnation of racism along with us, that we as Jewish leaders pledge ourselves to the Jewish cause, but that we recognize that there are other causes that we Jews must work for, and we salute those who work at our side for our own people and for others.

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DULZIN: With this we adjourn our afternoon session. We promised at 6:30 and we kept our promise. The next session will start at 8:45.

The major address will be given by Mrs. Golda Meir.

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