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Jewish Agency, Silver's trip to Israel, 1948.

2nd copy

34, Alfasi St.,

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18th May 48

Ref. No. 184

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
New - York.

Dear Dr. Silver,

You may think it strange that in these days of strife and struggle and hardship in Jerusalem, which seems to have been hit more than other places, I should write to you in regard to far-reaching projects. However just because in these times one is unable to pursue constructive work - we are living somewhat from hand to mouth, deprived of fuel, short of water and many foodstuffs as well as light - that one seeks to plan for the future.

I should like to submit for your consideration, to the extent that your urgent duties permit, two subjects.

The first is with reference to the future of the World Zionist Organisation. I think it will be natural and proper that the Zionist movement will detach itself organisationally from the Jewish Agency which has evolved into the Jewish State. Close as the moral tie between the two will be, they will function separately or ought to do so. The main forces in the Jewish Agency, particularly in Palestine, will be devoted to the considerable tasks of the State. On the other hand, some of our Zionist leaders, living abroad, will be relieved of certain functions which they will be unable to fulfil because they will not be subjects of the Jewish State.

The Zionist Organisation will also be relieved of certain responsibilities which the Jewish State as such will have to assume. The Z.O. will have for its constituency the Zionists and Jews of the world outside Palestine. It will have before it a great cultural programme which however will involve close connections with the Jews in the Jewish State. However these connections will not be of a political character and therefore will be sharply differentiated from the activities performed by the Jewish State. Even though they may include economic and social projects as well as purely cultural undertakings, they will be initiated, directed and fostered by the World Zionist Organisation, and not by the machinery of the Jewish State representing its own territorial subjects including Arabs as well as Jews.

To perform this enhanced function of the W.Z.O., it will be necessary to strengthen it very considerably. It will have to develop a character and momentum of its own. The greater membership in the W.Z.O. will derive from the U.S.A., and the total English speaking Jewries will be the predominant element. Hence I think it only natural that American Zionists should take the lead in preparing the Z.O. for its new role.

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18th May, 1948

I think that a very important new factor will arise also in respect to the large funds raised abroad for Palestine. Neither the Jewish National Fund nor the Keren Hayesod will apparently be part of the machinery of the Jewish State. It is not clear to me whether or how the contributions raised abroad can be donated to the treasury of the Jewish State. I think that in due course we shall have to devise an arrangement whereby these monies, raised by foreign citizens, will be earmarked for specific projects. Arising therefrom the control of such projects will have to reside at least to some extent in the hands of the bodies responsible for raising these funds, bodies which will be affiliated to the Zionist Organisation and not to the Jewish State. Of course the National Funds will cooperate in economic projects with the Jewish State. I anticipate that they should receive concessions and special other rights. But I think it will be found, both from a legal and practical viewpoint, to be best if these funds are controlled by their donors who live abroad.

Hence I think that the Z.O. will become a much more important and decisive element in our movement than hitherto. I think therefore that we should prepare our plans accordingly. The organisation of the W.Z.O. would have to be brought into line with the actual prevailing conditions abroad and thoroughly modernised. While working out these reforms, I think we should prepare to enlist suitable competent personnel to serve the organisation in its new tasks. My mind naturally runs upon the fact that the association between the W.Z.O. and Eretz Israel will become much more important. The contact will have to be much stronger if the W.Z.O. is to carry out its programme adequately. It will need an Office or rather an administration in Eretz Israel, distinct from the department of the Jewish State. The relations between the two will be close and cordial, but there will be a distinct difference in function and competence. I hope that particularly in respect to this latter part of the new arrangements, I may be able to be of service. In any case I would submit that the subject be explored. I think that the Jewish State is interested in the existence of a strong World Zionist Organisation, but I do not think that the W.Z.O. can or should be controlled, even vicariously, by the Jewish State or its officials.

2. The second subject which has given me food for thought is in respect to Jerusalem. The city will be outside the confines or jurisdiction of the Jewish State. I understand that there is a proposal to enable Jewish citizens of the international zone of Jerusalem to be citizens, either alternately or concurrently, of the Jewish State. But it seems clear that the Jewish State will not be able to make Jerusalem its responsibility. I need not stress the stake which we have in Jerusalem. I have been thinking of the lines on which we can both aggrandize Jerusalem and at the same time fasten upon it Jewish stamp and influence. Jerusalem has been the object of many declarations of love and admiration, but such sentiments alone will not build it up. The city must have its economic basis and as you know, it is very poorly off in respect to its own economic resources. We do not seek to create an artificial prosperity for Jerusalem.

In thinking of the various possibilities of strengthening Jewish Jerusalem, I see only one main opportunity. There is little doubt that with the migration to the ~~city~~ ^{Seat} of the capital of the Jewish State of many

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18th May, 1948

departments of the Jewish Agency, a substantial part of the administrative and professional population will also move there, and with them a number of tradespeople and merchants, so that in the early future I anticipate a decline of Jewish Jerusalem.

The future of the city as I see it, is in its relationship to the Jewish world abroad as a cultural centre. If I might put it that way, the economic asset of Jerusalem is its spiritual asset. Beyond its natural beauty, Jerusalem has no other assets but its historic position as the centre and fount of our religion and culture. Hence it should be our purpose to make the town once again a great and vital force in Jewish life. Curiously enough in these past twenty-eight years during which we have intensified our development of Palestine, we have neglected very lamentably Jerusalem itself. Besides having our National Offices there (which will now mostly leave), one other thing was done in Jerusalem, namely the building of the Hebrew University. This of course is in direct harmony with my conception of the future of Jerusalem as what one might call "The University City of World Jewry". Unfortunately the University has not become the responsibility of the Zionist Organisation, or the Jewish Agency, or the Yishuv. For reasons with which you are quite familiar, the University has been allowed to be isolated to a substantial extent from the Jewish national movement. Dr. Magnes has expressed gratification that the University has retained its independence, but I do not think that freedom of opinion on the part of any important institution, need necessarily be purchased at the cost of divorce from the movement of which it should be naturally and integrated part.

I have written an article on this subject which I hope to send you, but would like in this letter merely to indicate my line of thought. It embraces a twofold conception. On the one hand I suggest that the City of Jerusalem (really the Jewish city) should incorporate the University, should build its future around the University, on the one hand facilitating its growth, and on the other hand benefitting as a city from that growth. At the same time I would like to see the Jews of the world contributing to the re-building of Jerusalem and its University as one harmonious community. The University should not be detached from the city in which it is found, and the University City should be the centre of a circumference surrounding World Jewry. The first part would be implemented through practical economic and constitutional measures on the spot - mutual obligations would be assumed by the City and the University; the second part I foresee through the creation of a "Jerusalem Civic Association" which would have members wherever Jews reside. This Association would rally the support sentimentally and practically both for Jerusalem the city and its university. I keep stressing the link between the two, because I see frankly a very poor future for Jerusalem, in spite of the greatest effort to introduce some industry and crafts, except in connection with the growth and activities of the University. On the other hand I do not think that the University should grow on its own isolated on Mount Scopus, though naturally it is bound to enjoy the proper authority and autonomy of every great college. (X)

This approach to the future of Jerusalem and the University will naturally involve a distinct change towards the latter on the part of the World Zionist Organisation. Certain members of the University may not accept this approach, but I think that others would be prepared to give it favourable

⊕ Enclosed herewith

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18th May, 1948

consideration. I certainly foresee substantial benefit to the University from such a plan and I believe that the Zionist Organisation in its future programme cannot ignore the existence and future of the University, while at the same time it certainly will have a definite obligation to Jerusalem the City.

I hope that the coming days will restore the atmosphere and the opportunity for discussing these proposals.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,



A PLAN FOR JERUSALEM
The University City of Jewry
By Elias M. Epstein.

This proposal is submitted to the Jewish public not as a complete and finalised plan, but rather to sound opinion and to test reaction. The writer will be happy to hear from those who are interested, and who may have suggestions to make towards the consummation of the conception of Jerusalem as a centre of World Jewry.

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Many would-be saviours of Jerusalem have raised their voices recently (so far they have not done much more than that), in favour of protecting the Holy City from being damaged in the course of the present struggle in Palestine. It is indeed one of the major counts against the Mandatory Power that it should not have safeguarded, before surrendering formally its trust, even this city of international concern. During the first and second World Wars, Jerusalem was held inviolate. It has been agreed by the United Nations and the Jews that Jerusalem should be placed under an international régime. Yet on the withdrawal of Great Britain from Palestine, no measures were taken to assure the integrity of the city which means so much to the world.

However, irrespective of the imminent fate of Jerusalem, and irrespective of whatever plans other nations may have in regard to its future, the Jewish people are themselves bound to determine their policy towards the town which indisputedly is so intimately a part of Jewry and Judaism. The name of Jerusalem is Hebraic - the City of Peace - and it is often called "David's City." For those to whom Palestine is the Holy Land where the Bible emerged, Jerusalem is its primary feature. Here most of the Prophets arose, and it is to Jerusalem, or Zion, that the Jews turn three times daily as they pray not only for the restoration of the land and the people, but also in anticipation of universal peace, the ideal of Isaiah.

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It must be admitted that Jerusalem has not benefited as much as other parts of the country from the developments in the wake of the Jewish National Home. The transformation of the Plain of Jesreel, the rise of the town of Tel Aviv, the revival of agriculture and industry, represent much greater progress than has been achieved in Jerusalem. We need not pause to analyse the

reasons, though we may regret the neglected opportunities. The new town is composed of a number of modern quarters, commercial and residential, and its two outstanding institutions:—at the head, quarters of the Jewish National institutions in Rehavia, and the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus. Little more has been created.

Jerusalem will not be incorporated in the Jewish State. If, as has been proposed with general agreement, it is to be internationalised, many interests apart from those of the Jews will be concerned, and seek to become established in the City. These interests at best may be tolerant of the Jewish significance of Jerusalem. They cannot be expected to promote the Jewish connection with the Holy City.

With the exclusion of Jerusalem from the Jewish State, it is bound to lose a considerable portion of those Jewish inhabitants whose work is directly or indirectly dependent upon the Jewish Agency. Most of the departments of that body will be transferred to the seat of the capital of the Jewish State. Indeed already, owing to the difficulties of communication between Jerusalem and the rest of the country, many officials and their staffs have moved temporarily to Tel Aviv. Although the Jews are most anxious to preserve the Jewish stake in Jerusalem, where they to-day constitute a majority of the city's population, practical considerations will inevitably oblige many of the national administrative offices to leave. In addition, a number of Jews who do not wish to live outside the Jewish State, will also migrate from Jerusalem. Thus Jewish Jerusalem may well decline like Safad and Hebron.

We cannot leave exclusively to the Jewish community of Jerusalem, even with such help as the heavily-burdened Jewish State may be able to extend to it, the sole responsibility for its future. Jewry throughout the world is faced today with a great challenge to conserve and extend the intimate and vital bond of the Jewish People with the city which, more than any other, is bound up with its religion and history.

It is also a great opportunity. There is available a base of Jewish interests in the town upon which we can build anew. We should therefore now consider — perhaps for the first time — a long-term plan for Jewish Jerusalem. Indeed, such a solemn and responsible project must be undertaken, if we are not to be weakened in the city which means so much to Jews of every outlook and country.

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Hence the fate and future, the character and function of Jerusalem, are not matters to be determined solely by its local inhabitants. It is both desirable and necessary that world Jewry should participate in the responsibility, and also in the practical plans for reviving and aggrandising the "City of Peace."

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Even while the British military forces still occupied Jerusalem in 1919, the renowned architect and town-planner, the late Patrick Geddes, was invited to propose designs for the improvement and expansion of the new Jerusalem. In December of that year he was in Palestine, and drafted plans which reflected the dignity and depth of conception typical of that great man. He even organised an exhibition of town-planning to bring home his philosophy to the then small community of Jerusalem. Geddes taught that every city had a message, which expressed itself in its architecture. He was anxious to give to Jerusalem the vesture which would suit, both historically and spiritually, the role assigned to the city. In an article which he wrote for "The Palestine Weekly" (January 1920), he concluded:-

"What was the contribution of Israel? It was the concept of unity - - of a great spirit dominating, transferring, creating it all. For this concept of unity Israel has stood these thousands of years. The nations have learned it from Israel - directly or indirectly. The concept of unity is the very soul of science - a faith in the unity of things runs through it all.

"But Israel gave yet another idea - a contribution that is no less significant and supreme: the idea that in the great cosmos there was also a moral unity of conduct, in which people do not speak of economics without morals, or morals without economics."

Unfortunately, this project of Geddes was above the minds of the then military rulers of Palestine, and beyond accepting some basic suggestions, they did not confirm his proposals. Mr. Maclean was asked to work out a more mundane plan, but even that was but only half-heartedly implemented. Professor Geddes was also invited to make plans for the Hebrew University, which were subsequently revised and developed by his son-in-law, Mr. Mears. These plans, too, were later modified, largely for reasons of economy. Thus Jerusalem lost the tremendous opportunity

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of embodying Geddes' vision of a noble city of unity.

One of the laws which Geddes laid down was that every city revolved around some central dominant feature, a river, a hill, or a manument. In approaching a plan for Jerusalem today, we have to consider really two cities - the old and the new. There is not perhaps much that can be proposed now in respect to the former. There the vested interests, which defeated Geddes, are still entrenched, and even elementary sanitary improvements might be resisted. The Old City has its core in the historic Temple area, occupied by the Mosque of Omar, and bordered on one side by the Western or Wailing Wall. Certain parts of the Old City have been well laid out and kept, for example, by the Armenians and Benedictine monks, and much could be done to eliminate the squalor and poverty of other parts, including the Jewish Quarter, which reflects little credit upon the Jewish people. Reform in the Old City, which at best could only bring certain modifications, depends upon a more enlightened attitude from all the Churches and the political bodies supporting them. It is to be hoped that an international régime of Jerusalem, if established, will not only secure free ^{and} constant access to the holy places on the part of all pilgrims, but also facilitate such re-planning as is feasible without destroying any antiquity. The Jews have but little property inside the walls, even the Jewish Quarter mostly belongs to others. Hence the difficulty of altering the congested conditions. If the necessary property could be acquired, many dilapidated houses would have to be demolished, a proper sewage system introduced, and new quarters planned. This could be done without violence to the character of old Jerusalem:- the new buildings could be grouped around the existing synagogues and Yeshivot providing for each of the many communities whose members live in the city. Appropriate forms of livelihood could be introduced in consonance with the sanctity of the area.

Jerusalem beyond the walled city provides a wider and presently more practical plane to realise our dreams. What is the central feature of the new city? It is the Hebrew University, crowning the summit of Mount Scopus. Still in its infancy, the University already dominates the Jewish town. But for the future it holds within it the key to the flowering and magnificence of a city that shall indeed be worthy of its unique site, its wonderful ~~rich~~ history, and its lofty ideal.

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The new city should be planned to grow round the Hebrew University. In forwarding this conception two major assumptions should be adopted. One is that the University is not merely to serve the inhabitants of Jerusalem, or even of Palestine, or the Middle East. In the rôle which Palestine must fulfil for the Jewish people as a whole, the University has a particularly vital and vivid part. Zion will indeed be the University City of Jewry, and not only of Jerusalem. We must envisage students, fellows, disciples, scholars, from all corners of the earth, coming there, to contact the ancient spiritual and moral fount of Jewish life and thought. They will come for many varied purposes, in accordance with their own individual lives and work. Some undoubtedly will give as well as take, and so enrich the seed-bed of our renewed culture. From the student who simply wishes to perfect his knowledge of Hebrew, to the professor intent upon research, the scientists as well as the philosopher; teachers, and social workers; rabbis and public men; physicians and chemists - many types of Jews, and also gentiles, will come to Jerusalem for the sake of its University, besides the local undergraduates who will complete their normal course of studies to equip themselves with a profession and a calling.

The second assumption is that we are not anxious for a town only of academic folk, however brilliant. Judaism does not divorce law from life. All its teaching is intended to raise the standards of our daily behaviour. Judaism eschews the ascetic and the monastic.- - it insists upon a full life, seeing in the material and the spiritual but two halves of one harmonious whole.

In becoming the University City, both these words - University and City - would have their due weight. It would not be confined to a university only, even though it be most comprehensive. The city would thrive as such, its autonomous administration striving to make it the jewel among cities to which poets have compared it. The synthesis between universalism and Judaism should be found in this city of peace from which the law went forth. Here learning and life should be wedded, for neither has meaning without the other. Therefore Jerusalem must be a pulsating normal city, in which its permanent inhabitants shall pursue their livelihood, economically and socially, on a sound natural foundation. We do not want an artificial, dull University town in which intellect is divorced from reality. The University must merge in and with the city.

Working along these lines, there is a task before us which indeed cannot be completed in one but perhaps several decades, but one well worthy of having dedicated to it our finest effort. From this viewpoint the University must be seen as an institution which is both the heir and inspiration of generations - part of the Eternal as well as Holy City. This plan will imply the branching out of the University institutes into all phases of both Palestinian and Jewish life. As at present, it will continue to combine the sciences and the humanities, searching for that unity of which Geddes wrote, and which some thinkers would identify as the essence of monotheism. One of the striking features of this modern age is the growing mutual approach of the men of science and of the spirit, an association which alone will save mankind from destroying itself with the products of its own progress, and enable it to subdue the machine to the mind.

In the blueprint for such a plan we may well find it necessary to create several universities in one. For the range of study, research and teaching, will be of great magnitude. There will certainly be many colleges to serve varied purposes. New Talmudical schools will arise to pick up again the continuity of our religious lore. Our greatest rabbis should preside at these schools to which disciples would come from all parts for short or long terms. The present already impressive Library will be extended by becoming the repository of all worthy Jewish publications, and the best of other nations. In this Library are the sole surviving copies of some works destroyed by Hitler. New books will be written in the hope of being found acceptable to the University Library. There will be Schools of History; the Archaeological Institute will be enriched; museums with specialised collections will be added. The Medical Faculty will be served by Jews, who have given so much in this field to other universities, and medicine will flourish under Jewish auspices as never before. The Chemistry and other Scientific Departments will likewise not lack students and research workers. A prominent feature of the Hebrew University will be the Fellowships awarded by Jewish bodies throughout the world, as well as by individuals sometimes by way of bequests. Indeed there will be few Jewish professors abroad who will not aspire to spend at least a year within the portals of Jerusalem University. Another popular feature will undoubtedly be a large number of guest lecturers, who have already been attracted in growing numbers. It will be part of the planning of the Hebrew University to provide suitable Halls of ./.

Assembly where learned societies will meet in conference, and international gatherings be welcomed. Perhaps some day the United Nations Organisation, when it becomes a more real instrument for implementing its purpose, may decide to hold its gatherings in the City of Peace.

In harmony with this conception of Jerusalem as a centre of World Jewry, it will be natural to organise Jewish national artistic events, such as a dramatic and musical festival at which the best of Jewish productions in these spheres would be seen, not only by Jewish but other visitors also. National pageants as well as ~~even sports events~~ would be arranged. Jerusalem would become an object of pilgrimage not only in view of its historic and religious character, but also as a focussing point of Jewish revival. In these festivals the talent of the whole of the Yishuv would participate as well as Jews from abroad.

Jewish Jerusalem should be provided with its own emblems and symbols. The coat of arms of the Jewish Borough should express something of its historic and universal as well as Jewish significance. Thus the rebuilding of Zion would become an inspiration wherever Jews live, and participation therein an additional noble means of identifying Jewry at large - the circumference of Israel - with the ancient centre of our people.

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The huge cost of such a vast scheme should not dismay us. It should be considered a privilege of every Jewish community or congregation, however small, to make a specific contribution to the University City. It may be a scholarship or an institute, a department or laboratory, a school or a garden, but there should be no centre of Jews anywhere without such concrete link with Jerusalem. Jewish individuals who have gathered wealth will surely be easily prevailed upon to endow the University to enable it to meet its manifold needs.

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If this plan should be accepted, it will not be difficult to organise the economic basis of the Jerusalem community. The mere serving of the requirements of all those working at and attending the Hebrew University will provide a livelihood for many tradesmen, craftsmen, builders, etc. In addition to the needs of students, scholars, teaching and administrative staff, Jerusalem will absorb very many tourists, travellers and visitors. Hotels and restaurants

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will constitute an important service. The fostering of domestic and folk-crafts, and in particular the making of liturgical articles will flourish. They should be of good quality and reasonable price - not the shoddy and expensive souvenirs too long tolerated. Experts should be invited to advise and train workers and to build up an export business on rational lines.

Jerusalem is surrounded by hills which already have become summer resorts. Rest Houses have been established in the villages roundabout where people from the plains take refuge in the hot summer. This activity, too, will expand, to serve not only residents of Palestine but also visitors from abroad.

Jerusalem has one raw material of its own - the stone of its hills. Marble can be quarried and the lovely pink rock known as "Jerusalem Stone". The softer limestone is crushed for gravel, etc. Thus a local building industry can be developed.

Another industry expected to flourish is printing, book-binding and publishing with which may be allied the illuminating of fine art folios and writing of Scrolls of the Law. Besides the University Press, Jerusalem should provide a great centre of book production both sacred and secular for the Diaspora.

Provided that these and similar plans are co-ordinated with the central project so that they merge into a harmonious pattern, Jerusalem may thus well become not only a great academic centre, and a beautiful city, its neighbourhoods spaciouly conceived, and its public places nobly determined: it will also become a prosperous city of contented people, working, and producing, and progressing.

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There is however a grave preliminary problem which must be tackled without delay if any considerable undertaking for the future welfare and wellbeing of Jerusalem is to be soundly carried out. We are not building a new city on empty ground. There already exists a population of many thousands, and its composition and status challenge us even before we can begin to implement any plan for improving Jerusalem.

The Jews of Jerusalem now number about 100,000. Such migration from the town as must be expected in the near future will be largely from the ranks of the administrative officials and professional classes, namely, the higher social circles. Now fully

half of the present inhabitants derive from communities which are backward economically and socially. Both in the Old City and the New there are unfortunately considerable slum areas, while in better but congested quarters, large poverty-stricken families live below the border-line of normal care. Not only Jews from the Orient, such as the Yemenites, but also Ashkenasi families are underprivileged. Much social welfare takes place among this part of the population, but no radical measures have yet been undertaken in order to raise quickly the social level of tens of thousands of needy families.

The children in these poor quarters whose both parents have often to work are neglected; they receive little or even no schooling. The street is their main environment, and delinquency naturally flourishes among them. At the same time the birth-rate in these sectors is much higher than that in the higher strata, so that if vital statistics remain unchanged, within a decade the majority of the population of Jerusalem will be composed of persons who have not had the benefit of adequate education and satisfactory nurture.

No project to enhance Jerusalem, to make it more attractive to immigrants, and to render it worthy of its history and future, can ignore this considerable proportion of depressed inhabitants. It is true that this problem should be shouldered by the Jews of Palestine, and certainly the Jewish national bodies have a duty to solve it, hardly less necessary than the promotion of agricultural settlement and the absorption of displaced persons from Europe. However, Jews abroad may participate in this work by providing personnel or guidance, planning, direction and instruction. An example of such co-operation is the proposed Community Centre which the Jewish Welfare Board hopes to establish. But much more than such measures is required. Better housing, extended educational facilities, social amenities, economic opportunities, must be provided on a well-planned and substantial scale, in order to rid Jerusalem of the grave drawback which its slum and backward population constitutes.

It should be observed that these people are by no means dull or incompetent. Those who have been given an opportunity of better upbringing have shown themselves to be intelligent, alert, and most patriotic. Hence it is a question of raising their standards of living, improving their environment and giving them the chance in ./.

life which is due to them. Because they live in Jerusalem, an additional obligation rests upon us to provide them with these elementary rights.

Jerusalem has [^]may Yeshivot where students are taught Rabbis but not a [^]trade or profession which would maintain them in Palestine. This, too, is a problem to be tackled by any body concerned with the future of Jerusalem. It is a thorny question, but a long-term plan, in co-operation with the Diaspora, which is seeking teachers and spiritual instructors for synagogue and school, could be worked out. The heads of the various Talmudical Colleges must surely recognise that the mere multiplication of idle rabbinical students in Palestine is not wise and cannot be maintained indefinitely.

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The carrying out of the plan here merely outlined, and which will require the study of many experts for its completion, calls for the ~~same~~ co-operation of the Jews of all the world. To this end it is suggested that there be established a Jerusalem Civic Association, which shall organise and apply the assistance which can thus be mobilised. This co-operation should by no means be confined to the raising of financial contributions for the various projects, religious, social, economic, and academic, which the new Jerusalem will call for. Not less, and in many cases more, important is the contribution which can be rendered in service. It should be a privilege and a joy for Jews of capacity to give some of the fruits of their thought and work to the revival of our ancient city. Such an Association would not compete with any existing bodies or funds. It would co-operate with kindred institutions, such as the Friends of the Hebrew University, and other bodies working in the interests of the Jewish cause in Palestine. But it would serve to rally and concentrate that particular sentiment which no other cause can as equally attract as Jerusalem itself. This Association should be organised on the widest democratic basis. It should be closely allied with the Jewish Municipality or Borough of Jerusalem, in whose hands will rest the daily welfare of the Jewish inhabitants and visitors in the town. By this means the Municipal Council ~~it~~ would achieve a special status, derived not from its local administrative authority, but from the connection between it and the Jews of the world. It would thus be endowed

with a greater responsibility, and would be obligated to adapt itself thereto.

The Association would have its Council and Secretariat at its seat in Jerusalem with branches in every country. The Council, containing members representing the Jewries of the world, would meet from time to time in Jerusalem itself, from whence it would issue its organ through which all members would be in touch with the Association's activity and plans.

An enormous reservoir of goodwill and gifts could be drawn upon by such an Association if initiated under the proper auspices. No person and no institution in Jewish life can be alien to Jerusalem which is Zion. We could appeal to the highest and best in our people for such a magnificent cause.

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THE EXECUTIVE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION
P. O. Box 92
JERUSALEM

Organisation Department

Ref. No. 202

July 8th, 1948.

To the Zionist Federations and Separate Unions
and to Palestine Offices.

Dear Sirs,

Enclosed please find a summary of proposals which are the outcome of deliberations held lately on the subject of the functions of the Jewish Agency (Zionist Executive) after the establishment of the State of Israel, and the demarcation of its fields of activity.

Among those taking part in the deliberations were: several members of the Executive and of the Praesidium of the Zionist General Council, the sub-committee appointed by the Permanent Organisation Committee of the Zionist Organisation, and representatives of the National Funds.

These proposals will be submitted to the Zionist General Council at its next session; we shall be glad to receive, in the meantime, your comment.

With Zion's greetings,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) E. Dobkin

E. Dobkin

MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE

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C O P Y

THE EXECUTIVE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION
P. O. Box 92
JERUSALEM

Organisation Department
Ref. No. 202

July 8th, 1948

PROPOSALS FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS
OF THE JEWISH AGENCY (ZIONIST EXECUTIVE)

to be submitted to the next session of the Zionist General Council.

A. The following departments will continue to function within the framework of the Jewish Agency (Zionist Executive) in Jerusalem after the establishment of the State of Israel.

1.) Colonisation Department: comprising new colonisation within the general scheme of colonisation already in operation; the Experimental Research Station in Rehovoth will from now onwards function under the joint authority of the Zionist Executive and the Israel Government.

2.) Immigration Department to comprise the following functions:-

- a) Training of prospective immigrants;
- b) Allocation of immigration certificates according to the different categories and the various countries;
- c) The selection of immigrants in their countries of origin, to be undertaken by the respective Palestine offices (with the exception of immigration permits for parents, wives and children of persons resident in the country, as well as for pupils who wish to study in schools in Palestine - such permits will be issued by the Immigration Department of the Israel Government).
- d) The transport of immigrants.

Note: (a) The Zionist Executive will submit the immigration quota to the Government for confirmation.

(b) The question of the care of immigrants upon arrival in the country will require further elucidation.

3.) Children and Youth Aliyah Department comprising all the activities of this Department both in the country and abroad.

4.) Economic Department - the supply of information abroad on economic matters in Erez Israel, mobilisation of private capital, propaganda for Palestine Products, tourism.

5.) Department of Organisation and Information

6.) Department for matters of education and cultural activities in the Diaspora.

Note: Zionist propaganda and publicity (including "Mossad Bialik" and "Mossad Harav Kook") will be within the competence either of the Organisation Department or of the Education Department.

7.) Youth and Hehalutz Department.

8.) Treasury Department.

9.) Department for the development of Jerusalem.

- B. The Zionist Executive will retain its interest in its subsidiary institutions (as well as in those of the Jewish Agency for Palestine) such as: the National Funds, banks, the "Bitzur" Company, the "Idud" Company, Palestine Development Company, P.A.S.A., "Zim" Navigation Company, 'Tephahot' Co., Industrial Fund, Agricultural Fund, Housing companies, the Hebrew University, the Haifa Technical High School etc.
- C. The Zionist Organisation will endeavour to win the sympathy of the world for the State of Israel and will, through its territorial branches, carry on propaganda activities abroad.
- D. As regards the status of the World Zionist Organisation in relation to the State of Israel and the coordination of their activities especially in the field of colonisation and immigration, a decision will be taken by the competent bodies after clarification of the questions involved.
- E. The question of the representation of Jewish rights in the Diaspora will be brought before the Zionist General Council for decision.
- F. 7-9 members will serve on the Executive of the Jewish Agency (Zionist Executive) in Jerusalem until the next Zionist Congress.
- G. The Zionist General Council should be requested to submit to the Zionist Congress for approval the decision to transfer all the rights of the Jewish Agency Executive to the Zionist Executive which alone will continue to function.

CONFIDENTIAL

July 25, 1948

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Observations by Jacob Rabinovitch

The purpose of these observations is not to exhaust the subject but to deal, as briefly as possible, with the most important aspects of the problem. It is expected that during the discussion some other aspects of the problem will emerge.

I. Background

1. The Zionist General Council passed at its meeting at Tel-Aviv on 6-12 April 1948 the following resolution:

"14. The jurisdiction and functions of the Executive of the Jewish Agency (Zionist Organisation).

With the establishment of Minhelet Ha'Am and the transfer of part of the jurisdiction and functions of the Executive of the Jewish Agency (Zionist Organisation) to it, the following will remain within the competence of the Executive of the Jewish Agency (Zionist Organisation):-

- 1) Colonisation projects;
- 2) The Organisation of Aliya in the Diaspora;
- 3) The Aliya of children and young persons;
- 4) Organisation, education, Zionist propaganda and cultural work;
- 5) Education in the Diaspora;
- 6) Hechalutz and youth matters;
- 7) The development of Jerusalem;
- 8) The Funds and other moneys at its disposal.

The Executive is to prepare a detailed plan for the jurisdiction and functions of the Zionist Organisation (Jewish Agency) based on this Resolution, and will submit it to the next session of the Zionist General Council."

2. On July 22 a cable was received in New York concerning the forthcoming session of the Zionist General Council containing, inter alia, the following passages:

"CONVEY HERewith FOR EXECUTIVE MEMBERS CONSIDERATION SUMMARY

PROPOSALS DRAFTED BY ORGAN COMMITTEE JOINTLY WITH ACEPRESIDIUM

FOR SUBMISSION ACTIONSON STOP THESE PROPOSALS WHILE AS YET

UNADOPTED FINALLY BY EXECUTIVE OR MEMSHALAH PRESENT FAIR

OUTLINE PREVALENT TENDENCIES QUOTE:

A) ZIC EXECUTIVE TO REMAIN SOLELY RESPONSIBLE FOR ACTIVITIES FOLLOWING NINE DEPARTMENTS:

- 1) COLONIZATION
- 2) IMMIGRATION, COMPRISING a) IMMIGRANTS TRAINING b) ALLOCATION OF CERTIFICATES ACCORDING CATEGORIES AND COUNTRIES WITHIN TOTAL IMMIGRATION "TO BE SUGGESTED PERIODICALLY BY ZIC EXECUTIVE AND CONFIRMED BY GOVERNMENT c) SELECTION OF INDIVIDUAL IMMIGRANTS BY LOCAL ZIONIST IMMIGRATION BOARDS d) TRANSPORT.
- 3) YOUTH ALIYAH COMPRISING ACTIVITIES ABROAD AND HERE.
- 4) ECONOMICS FOR MOBILIZING INVESTMENTS ABROAD SUPPLYING INFORMATION PROPAGATING PALESTINE PRODUCTS AND PROMOTING TOURISM.
- 5) ORGANIZATION AND PROPAGANDA
- 6) HEBREW EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN DIASPORA
- 7) YOUTH AND HECHALUTZ ACTIVITIES
- 8) TREASURY
- 9) DEVELOPMENT OF JERUSALEM

B) FOLLOWING QUESTIONS LEFT OPEN:

- 1) WHETHER IMMIGRANTS CARE IN PALESTINE UNDER JURISDICTION MEMSHALAH OR EXECUTIVE. LATTER SOLUTION LIKELIER VIEW NEW DEVELOPMENTS YOUR END.
- 2) WHETHER ZIC EXECUTIVE SHOULD ESTABLISH OWN POLITICAL DEPARTMENT OR CONDUCT ACTIVITIES FOR ENLISTING SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL WITHIN GENERAL PROPAGANDA FRAMEWORK.
- 3) WHETHER JEWISH DEFENSE RIGHTS DIASPORA BE INCLUDED WITHIN JURISDICTION ZIONORG.

C) ZIC EXECUTIVE TO RETAIN ALL RIGHTS IN KAYEMETH KERYESOD JDC UNIVERSITY TECHNION AND DIVERSE INSTITUTIONS AND COMPANIES.

D) COMPETENT BODIES ZIONORG AND ISRAEL TO FORMULATE PROPOSALS REGARDING SPECIAL STATUS ZIONORG IN RELATION TO ISRAEL AND COORDINATION THEIR ACTIVITIES ESPECIALLY CONCERNING COLONIZATION AND IMMIGRATION.

3. It will be observed that, contrary to the April Resolution which used the expressions "Zionist Organization" and "Jewish Agency" interchangeably, the new suggestions refer exclusively to the Zionist Organization, implying the discontinuance of the Jewish Agency. Such a policy would seem to be justified on the following grounds:

a. While it can be argued that the Jewish Agency continues to a certain extent, its existence (having assets and liabilities, being mentioned in some legislative acts of Israel, being "recognized" by some foreign powers for reasons mostly hostile to Israel), two facts stand out:

aa. There is no legal basis in international relations for the Jewish Agency. The Jewish Agency was a mandate-conditioned body and disappeared with the Mandate along with the British High Commissioner, e.g.

bb. The Jewish Agency was a legal and political fiction since 1937 (last session of the Council) and such a fiction cannot go on forever.

b. The Jewish Agency owed its existence to legal compulsion (Art. 4 of the Charter) and to certain realities of Jewish life (existence of pro-Palestine but non-Zionist elements in world Jewry). The first reason does not come into account. Whether there are still such important non-Zionist forces in the world which would justify the existence of a Jewish Agency (as different from the Zionist Organization) is a matter of speculation. Attention will be given to this problem in discussing the world-wide Corporation for Aliyah, Resettlement and Development (Par. 9 and 12b).

II. The Nature and Essence of the Proposals of this Paper

4. The Proposals contained in this paper, based mostly on a kind of logistics and not yet tested (through minimum error and trial) in the light of experience, are by their very nature only tentative. A clear-cut differentiation should be made between procedures aiming at a smooth and fruitful cooperation between Israel and the Zionist Organization, and the division of jurisdiction between the two bodies. The latter will have to undergo more than one modification in the process of cooperation while intelligently established procedures may save a lot of trouble from the very start.

5. It would be easy to reach agreement on the following basic procedural premises:

a. Distinctiveness. The State of Israel and the World Zionist Organization are two completely distinct bodies identified as such by distinct names, distinct character and distinct personnel. There is no need to elaborate on name and character, but it is important to draw conclusions from the third feature of distinction (personnel). This would mean that the leadership in the two bodies must be different and based on the principle of incompatibility of functions. (See, however, below under "b").

b. Mutual Official Representation. This distinctiveness, as formulated in section "a", does in no way contradict the fact of the tremendous scope of common interest of Israel and the World Zionist Organization. How could they best be coordinated? It is suggested that the cooperation can best be achieved by the presence in the Executive of the World Zionist Organization of a full-time

top-ranking member of the Government of Israel and by the presence in the Government of Israel of a full-time top-ranking member of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization. In so far as the State of Israel is concerned, this representative should be

- i. either Minister without portfolio in the Cabinet,
- ii. or under-Secretary of State in the office of the President of the State or in the office of the Premier,
- iii. or a "quasi-Ambassador" with all that this implies.

Distinctiveness must be administered in day-by-day work. It will be the task of these representatives with the assistance of their aides to do the job.

c. Settlement of Possible Conflict. The judicial and administrative practice of states with divided jurisdiction bear out the idea that there is a need for an organ to solve conflicts of jurisdiction. While the presence of the two representatives will reduce the number of conflicts, a device must be found to meet the emergency of a non-solved conflict. Following procedures are suggested:

- i. A paritary commission of the State and the World Zionist Organization,
- ii. A permanent arbitrator selected for a period of years,
- iii. The President of Israel may be charged with this task.

The distinctiveness as principle, its administration through mutual representation and the existence of a permanent organ for settling possible conflicts will reduce the importance of the substantive provisions of the competence of the two bodies, will enable the two bodies to formulate them in a more elastic language, leaving it to the practice and good sense of the organs of administration and settlement to make it work smoothly. (See also Par. 9.)

III. The Basic Approach

6. It is suggested that the problem of the relationship between Israel and the World Zionist Organization cannot be properly solved on the technical level (distribution of functions) unless there is a clear understanding of the dominant factors of our old history in our time.

With this understanding it is submitted that in the historical perspective the next period of Jewish history will be dominated by the fact of the existence of the State of Israel following the previous half-century which was dominated by the Zionist movement. The mainstream of the dynamics in the first half of the Twentieth Century was dominated by the movement, the second part will be dominated by the State.

It would appear that neither Ahad Haam (spiritual center) nor his antipode Jacob Klatzkin (separation of Israel and diaspora Judaism, vulgarized by the Irgun) offer a workable solution for the intricacies of the situation.

It is not the first time in Jewish History that the Jewish people lives partly under a sovereignty of its own, partly in the diaspora. In addition, the Jews are not the only people who live on two planes. There are diasporas of many peoples: Germans, Hungarians, Greeks, Russians, Spaniards. However, the value of our historical experience and of the experience of other peoples is insignificant (the proportion of the state-nation to the diaspora, the will of preservation and to the active tasks assigned to the two parts of world Jewry!)

7. The establishment of the Jewish State will face the Jewish people in Israel and in the Diaspora with a fourfold task:

- a. to consolidate the State of Israel,
- b. to go ahead with Aliyah, Resettlement and Development,
- c. to reorient the Zionist movement,
- d. to explore the possibilities for Israel to help and protect Jewish communities in distress.

8. In discussing the problem of the consolidation of Israel, we shall keep in mind the following two considerations:

- a. Unlike the majority of states Israel has been established not in the interests of the local population whose protection is normally paramount, but in the interests of the Jewish people as a whole, and especially those sections which are in distress and in need either of resettlement, or encouragement or assistance;
- b. While the State of Israel could be expected to defray the regular expenses of a static state, it would be unfair to burden it with the expenses inherent in its dynamics. This distinction is, however, purely mechanical and does not offer any exact practical criterion for the distribution of financial burdens between the State and the Diaspora. The whole set-up of the State is geared exactly towards these dynamics, thus increasing its personnel and budget. A fair method of participation of the State and the Jews around the world will have to be found. A possible key to the solution of this problem would lie in the preparation of two hypothetical budgets: one for Israel (as if there were no world Jewry) and another for pro-Israel world Jewry (as if there were no State of Israel).

9. In accordance with the basic purpose of the State of Israel (as outlined above "8a"), Aliyah, Resettlement and Development must go ahead. It is suggested to establish (under the laws of Israel?) a Corporation for this purpose, with the U.S.A. as the most important contributor, with branches in all Jewish Yishuvim to absorb the analogous activities of the Jewish Agency and preserving possibly the existing funds as parts of the over-all

corporation and including in the Board of Directors members of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and a representative of Israel. If the species "non-Zionist" should have survived the 14 May, why, they would be very welcome in such a Corporation!

It is admitted that, given agreement in principle, numerous details will have to be worked out, among them the relationship of this "monopoly concession" (without such kinds of concession it would not be workable) with the State of Israel.

It is easy to imagine that a vertical system of separation of functions between the State and the Corporation will not solve the problem, it will have to be supplemented by an horizontal one.

10. Turning now to the World Zionist Organization in its activities other than those involved in the Corporation (preceding Par. 9), the following considerations should be borne in mind:

a. The idea to make the World Zionist Organization an irredentist organization on the theory of the only partial (territorially) fulfillment of the Basle Program by the establishment of the State of Israel must be discarded in a most determined way. What is going to be the attitude of Israel toward groups inside the State with such tendencies is certainly a matter for the State, but we would imperil gravely the good faith and international standing of Israel by erection of a world-wide irredentist organization. By the way, the first "irredenta" was more in Austria than in Italy.

b. Having removed this demagogically appealing slogan for the World Zionist Organization, it is now incumbent upon us to give an affirmative answer to the mission of the World Zionist Organization in Jewish life:

aa. It will, first of all, function as a World Union of Friends of Israel and will mobilize world opinion (Jewish and non-Jewish) in its favor,

bb. It will be the center of extra-Israel reserves in power and energy to be made serviceable to the State of Israel,

cc. It will be the organization for the fostering of the ideals of the Jewish everlasting cultural continuity in close cooperation with the competent organs of the State of Israel.

11. The relationship between Israel and the World Zionist Organization (or Israel and the Diaspora) could not and should not be a one-way proposition. "Give and take" should be the slogan. We discussed in the previous paragraph the "take" aspects. Now a few words on the "give" aspect, only by way of hint rather than by concrete indication:

- a. The very existence of the State of Israel and his presence as a member in the traditional family of nations and much more so within the framework of the United Nations will, if used with caution and wisdom, prove to be a positive factor particularly for Jewries in distress. This realization is pregnant with important political and organizational problems.
- b. The magnificent example of Hebraization of the children in the D.P. camps through endeavors of teachers coming from Israel should serve as an indication of what can and may be done in making the Hebrew language, literature and culture the property of Jewish communities and individuals all around the world.

IV. Organizational and Technical Consequences

12. These are the basic conclusions to be drawn from the above:

- a. The World Zionist Organization should continue under new terms of reference, its organs more or less the same. The Shekel as symbol of membership should be retained.
- b. The Corporation for Aliyah, Resettlement and Development to be established immediately with the possible absorption or subordination of existing funds.
- c. The administrative machinery of the State of Israel to be reviewed in the light of the trinity of State, Corporation and Organization.
- d. Liaison and cooperation between the three basic bodies to be organized analogous to the suggestions made in "5b" and settlement of conflicts in accordance with "5c".

13. The administrative machinery of Israel (and not only the WZO or CARD) should be adjusted to the specific elements of the situation. Two examples may be adduced to illustrate this idea:

- a. Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For budgetary (the urgent necessity to maintain a disproportionately large staff in the center and in the periphery due to the dynamic nature of Israel) and diplomatic (the necessity to give attention to Jewish needs outside of Israel and the legitimate desire to avoid charges of a Hebrew equivalent for "Ausland-deutschtum") reasons, it may appear advisable to break up the Ministry in two different sections: the Ministry Proper under the Memshala and an Institute of International Problems under the World Zionist Organization and the Corporation for Aliyah, Resettlement and Development. The problem of the unification of the Zionist Organizations in various countries in support of Israel is not to be neglected.

b. Ministry of Education. Again for practically the same reasons certain functions should remain within the jurisdiction of the Ministry, others (Hebrew education abroad, courses in Hebrew and Judaism in Israel for people coming from abroad) may be assigned to the World Zionist Organization,

The same results mutatis mutandis will appear out of an analysis of the field of activities of the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, Finances, etc.

The real problems of distribution of functions will arise in connection with Aliyah and development. The sub-committee of the Organizational Commission of the Actions Committee made the following suggestions concerning this division of functions:

"In regard to colonization, the Minister of Agriculture of Israel will deal with the existing agriculture and will care for the general development of agriculture for the benefit of all inhabitants of the country, while new colonization for immigrants will remain within the jurisdiction of the Zionist Organization, acting through an appropriate department or a special institution to be established for this purpose."

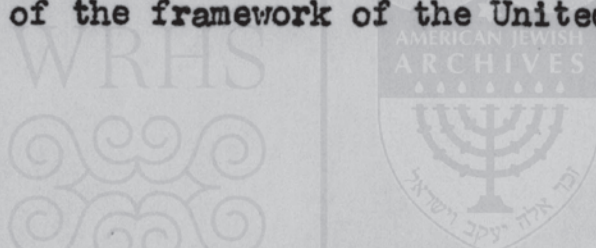
In regard to immigration the suggestions of the same sub-committee are as follows:

"It will be within the jurisdiction of the Government of Israel to grant visas and guard frontiers, while the Zionist Organization will maintain jurisdiction over education in view of Aliyah, for Hachsharah, for the division of certificates by countries, for the selection of all immigrants and their transportation to Israel. In so far as the absorption of the Olim is concerned, this would be within the jurisdiction of a common organ of the State and the Zionist Organization."

The last suggestion does not commend itself to this writer.

14. If Jerusalem should become internationalized and safely so, the problem of the site for the World Zionist Organization, for the Corporation of Aliyah, Resettlement and Development will be solved by itself. Jerusalem will also become the center of many other world Jewish organizations. The fact that Jerusalem will be outside the frontiers of the State of Israel is positively an advantage. It may thus become the real center of world Judaism as contrasted with the capital of the State of Israel. The proximity of these two centers and the specific nature of the Jewish community in Jerusalem will also be factors of great importance. It is obvious that under such a structure Jerusalem will also become a common interest of both the State of Israel, which according to the Statute will have a specially accredited representative with the Governor-General, and the World Zionist Organization. The methods of cooperation should be the same as indicated above on a broader scope.

15. There appears to be some misunderstanding in regard to the assumption by the World Zionist Organization of functions which are not within the jurisdiction of such organizations as the World Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, Board of Deputies of British Jews, the Anglo-Jewish Association, Alliance Israélite Universelle. There should be no interference on behalf of the World Zionist Organization with activities on behalf of Jewries in distress. In so far, however, as both international and national Jewish organizations will be working with the United Nations for the Jewish cause on such subjects as, for instance, an International Bill of Rights, Convention on Genocide, War Crimes, etc., it is obvious that all these organizations will seek the support of the Government of Israel from the very moment it will be admitted to the United Nations. It is premature now to establish the exact scope of activities of the representation of Israel in the United Nations in favor of world Jewry. A word of caution should, however, be said here in regard to the policy of the State of Israel in so far as the position of individual Jewries is concerned. It would be a tremendous burden for the young state, having sufficient worries of its own, to bring it in conflict with other states every moment when some small Jewish community in Central America or somewhere else finds itself in distress. Obviously, Israel cannot remain indifferent to the position of Jews all around the world. This principle of solidarity of a Nation with its co-nationals in the Diaspora has been recently demonstrated in the United Nations by the action of India in favor of Indians in South Africa. It would not be unjustifiable within the framework of the United Nations, but it would be onerous outside of the framework of the United Nations in day-by-day diplomacy.



August 3, 1948

The President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I wish to express to you my deepest gratitude for the support which you have given to the establishment of the State of Israel. Without your support and friendship to the Jewish people, the re-establishment of the independent Jewish State - the dream and hope of countless generations - would not have been realized today.

I have the honor to draw your attention to the following pledges contained in the Israel plank of our Party's platform, adopted at the recent National Convention of the Democratic Party:

"President Truman, by granting immediate recognition to Israel, led the world in extending friendship and welcome to a people who have long sought and justly deserved freedom and independence. We favor full recognition of the State of Israel.

"We affirm our pride, too, that the United States, under the leadership of President Truman, played a leading role in the adoption of the Resolution of November 29, 1947 by the United Nations General Assembly for the creation of a Jewish State.

"We approve the claims of the State of Israel to the boundaries set forth in the United Nations Resolution of November 29 and consider that modification thereof should be made only if fully acceptable to the State of Israel.

"We look forward to the admission of the State of Israel to the United Nations and its full participation in the international community of nations.

"We pledge appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources.

"We favor the revision of the arms embargo to accord to the State of Israel the right of self-defense. We pledge ourselves to work for the modification of any Resolution of the United Nations to the extent that it may prevent any such revision.

"We continue to support within the framework of the United Nations the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the holy places of Palestine."

You will have noted that the objectives of this plank are also supported by the platform of the Republican Party.

The subject of Palestine, falling as it does within the field of foreign relations, is one in which the President is generally free to act on his own, without need for specific action by Congress. In view of the urgent need of the newly created State of Israel for the measures of support pledged in our platform, I hope that you will make a special effort to achieve without delay the objectives pledged by the Democratic Party. Knowing that public sentiment, as formulated in the platforms of both major political parties, would be behind you, and that all constitutional means for action are in your hands, I hope that you will give immediate implementation to the pledges contained in the Democratic platform on Palestine.

Two of the pledges contained in our Party's Palestine plank are particularly significant in that they are capable of immediate fulfillment:

- (1) The pledge of full (de jure) recognition to the State of Israel, and
- (2) The pledge of appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources.

I am enclosing a legal memorandum entitled "De Facto and De Jure Recognition of Israel" in support of my contention that our Government has the power to accord immediate full (de jure) recognition to "the Provisional Government of the State of Israel."

To date, the following nations have accorded full (de jure) recognition to the Provisional Government of the State of Israel: Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Czechoslovakia, Dominican Republic, Finland, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Panama, Poland, Rumania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

I was very happy with your appointment of Dr. James G. MacDonald to serve as Special Representative of the United States of America to head the mission of the U.S.A. in Israel. It would have been more appropriate, however, if you had appointed Dr. MacDonald as a Minister to the State of Israel, enjoying all the prerogatives and rank which go with that office. The title of Special Representative rather than Minister does not accord to the United States Representative to the State of Israel the rank and status which a United States diplomatic representative should command. Why should Dr. MacDonald not enjoy at least the same rank to which the diplomatic representatives of other countries have been named? If the United States would accord full (de jure) recognition to the Provisional Government of the State of Israel, then Dr. MacDonald could be

appointed as a Minister, a Legation could be established in Israel, treaties of Commerce and trade, etc. could be negotiated between the Governments of the United States and the State of Israel. I hope that our Government will accord full (de jure) recognition to the Provisional Government of the State of Israel without delay.

I am informed that the Provisional Government of the State of Israel, through its Special Representative in the United States, Mr. Elishu Epstein, has applied to the Export-Import Bank in May 1948 for a loan of 100 million dollars; that there have been several informal conferences between the representatives of the Provisional Government of the State of Israel and the Export-Import Bank; that the Export-Import Bank is willing to approve the loan from an economic point of view; and that action on the application for the loan now awaits the approval of the Department of State and the President. I am also informed that Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the State of Israel, had discussed this loan with you and that your reaction was most favorable. It is my understanding that the monies will be spent in the United States for agricultural machinery, fertilizer, industrial and other necessary materials.

The State of Israel is in need of American support. Israel is utilizing all its resources in order to establish its State on a firm democratic foundation. Its economy must be reorganized, developed, and expanded. Israel is absorbing weekly thousands of Jewish displaced persons from Europe and elsewhere.

The American Army in Germany is now feeding countless displaced persons - tens of thousands of Jewish displaced persons among them. These Jewish displaced persons wish to go to Israel. America has done much for these victims of Hitlerism. By helping to resettle the Jewish displaced persons in Israel, the American Government would be relieved of the burden of maintaining them in displaced persons camps, and would thus actually save the American taxpayer millions of dollars.

In view of the fact that both our Party and the Republican Party pledged appropriate aid to the State of Israel in developing its economy and resources, I hope you will do everything within your power to see that the Export-Import Bank loan is granted immediately. Such a loan would not only be a great act of humanitarianism but would also be in line with the best American tradition.

It would be very much appreciated and very helpful if you would instruct our delegates to the United Nations to take the leadership in the Security Council in proposing immediately the admission of the State of Israel to membership in the United Nations and to use our best efforts to secure Israel's admission, at the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly in Paris.

Respectfully,

(Signed) Sol Bloom.

Legal Memorandum on "De Facto and De Jure Recognition of Israel"

- - - -

1. There are several instances in the last few decades in which the United States has recognized a provisional government without waiting upon elections or upon the establishment of a permanent government:

(a) Russia after the Revolution when we recognized the "Provisional Government" established by Kerensky. Full recognition was granted -- despite the fact that the government itself was de facto in character, weak and later overthrown by the Soviet authorities. See I Hackworth 135-136.

(b) Poland after the recent war. The Potsdam Declaration specifically indicates that recognition was granted by Great Britain, the U.S.S.R. and the United States to the "Polish Provisional Government of National Unity." The interesting thing here is that recognition was unqualified at a time when future elections were contemplated and Poland's borders remained to be delimited.

(c) France after liberation. We unqualifiedly recognized the "Provisional Government of the French Republic", although it was understood that elections remained to be held and a new constitution framed and adopted.

2. There would seem to be no reason or warrant for making the nature of our recognition -- de facto or de jure -- turn on whether the particular government is provisional or final. What a new sovereignty chooses to call its government -- whether it decides to regard it as provisional or otherwise -- is irrelevant from the viewpoint of another country which must determine whether or not to recognize that government. The Provisional Government of Israel is the legal, de jure government of that country, and what procedure the Israelis choose to follow before drafting a constitution, establishing a permanent government, etc. has no bearing whatever on the issues before the United States.

3. The United States is properly concerned with matters such as these: Whether in fact the Israeli government is in possession of the machinery of the state; whether it governs with the assent of the people; whether it can fulfill its international obligations. But assuming these tests are met -- and so far as I am aware no one has denied that Israel can meet these tests -- to withhold full or so-called de jure recognition because the Israelis happen to have described their own government as provisional is an act of political expediency not law.

4. American history offers illustrations where appropriate use has been made of limited recognition. For example, in the case of various South American republics established by revolution; where power has been transferred from one to another group and where the authority of the government in power is under obvious challenge -- de facto recognition may be appropriate. But certainly no one in the State Department has yet suggested that the "Provisional Government of Israel" does not fairly meet the historical tests of recognition. What appears to have happened is that those who were loath to recognize Israel seized on the word "Provisional" in the title of the government and then developed a legalistic thesis that since the government was "provisional", American recognition would only be "de facto." From the viewpoint of reason and precedent this is an absurd non sequitur.



AMERICAN FRIENDS FOR AVIATION IN ISRAEL, INC.

Suite 1016, 250 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

August 3, 1948

Dr. Schwadron
Zionist Emergency Council
542 Madison Ave.
New York City, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Schwadron:

For your information may I present the following facts pertaining to the American Friends of Aviation in Israel.

I was sent here by the General Council for Aviation in Israel (Moatza Klalith Le Teufah), of which I am a member of the executive board. The president of the General Council of Aviation in Israel is Dr. Bougratshov.

I was sent here to organize an American organization which would sponsor the activities of the General Council for Aviation in Israel with funds raised through membership fees of \$10 yearly and \$100 for life membership.

The General Council for Aviation in Israel is a non-partisan public body which aims to promote the development of civil and auxiliary aviation in Israel. It seeks to do the following:

1. Increase the number of aeronautic schools for the training of aviation personnel: pilots, ground crews, mechanics, etc.
2. Set up gliding schools where youth may be taught the fundamentals of flying.
3. Establish a small complete factory for the manufacture of planes.

During the war, the General Council for Aviation in Israel has been placed on an emergency footing. Its facilities and personnel are used as an auxiliary force, - the Council cooperates closely with the military air force and war effort. It is actively engaged in taking care of the welfare needs of air force personnel, looking after their entertainment (clubs, reading rooms, etc.) and housing needs.

The American Friends of Aviation in Israel has been formed to help bring these aims to fruition, and to endeavor to acquaint this country with the aviation needs of Israel. As a special project during the emergency, we shall strive to raise sufficient funds through our membership drive to supply the General Council for Aviation in Israel with air ambulances and machinery and equipment for repairing aircraft in Israel.

On the committee of the American Friends of Aviation in Israel are the following: Judge Morris Rothenberg, honorary chairman; Benjamin J. Weinberg, Treasurer; M. Kolati,

GIVE ISRAEL WINGS



AMERICAN FRIENDS FOR AVIATION IN ISRAEL, INC.

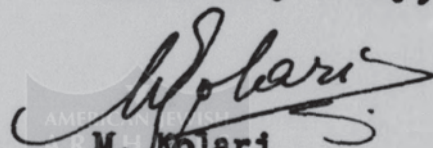
Suite 1016, 250 West 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

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executive secretary. On the national committee are the following: George Abrahams, Alexander Besalkin, Congressman Emanuel Celler, Herman H. Cohen, Sundel Doniger, Jacob A. Fine, Rabbi Shieh Hyams, Moses L. Kove, Solomon Melup, David Philips, Zimel Resnick, Nathaniel S. Rothenberg, Nathan Saland, Hyman Wohl, David Zeitani, and Congressman Arthur G. Klein.

I stress again that the American organization is a non-partisan membership organization and that I am responsible for all of its present and future activities.

Yours very truly,


M. Kolari
Executive Secretary

ar/mk

Copies to:

Rabbi Aba Hillel Silver
Dr. Emanuel Neuman
Major Reuven Dafne
Teddy Kollect
Consul General Anthur Lurie

ROSENBLATT & ENSELMAN
COUNSELORS AT LAW

TELEPHONE HANOVER 2-0590
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BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT

80 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK 4, N.Y.

August 5, 1948

Air Mail

Dr. A. H. Silver
c/o Jewish Agency
Provisional Government of Israel
Tel Aviv, (Palestine)
Israel

Dear Dr. Silver:

I telephoned the New York office of the Jewish Agency on Tuesday as per the suggestion in your letter of July 30th, but was unable to reach you. However, I had a long talk with Dr. Goldstein about a program for General Zionism which I expect he will discuss with you. Here I merely want to outline a plan which might form the basis for a possible definitive party platform.

In a small country like Israel, the land problem is a fundamental issue, especially where immigration will necessarily force up land values, as a prelude to a wild speculation which must result in harmful effects upon the whole body politic. Over a quarter of a century ago, Judge Julian W. Mack, then President of the ZOA, in a foreword to my book of essays entitled "Social Zionism", had this to say in reference to the Pittsburgh Platform:--"The Pittsburgh Program represents in part this social view: the author of 'Social Zionism', as one of its makers, is especially fitted to expound its principles, especially insofar as they relate to land and taxation".

In the January 25, 1948 issue of the Palestine Post, an article on the land problem appeared by me which was widely republished and commented upon in the Hebrew press. In a nutshell, the proposition envisaged an early bond issue by the Government of Israel for about three hundred million dollars, with which to purchase, under the powers of eminent domain, all the urban (and suburban) and non-agricultural land, converting these titles to ground rent (exclusive of buildings and improvements) into public property--at the present real values, as determined by a state "land board", and before the inevitable increases due to immigration. (I would not disturb agricultural holdings in which land speculation is less rife, and which is the natural field of activity for the Jewish National Fund.)

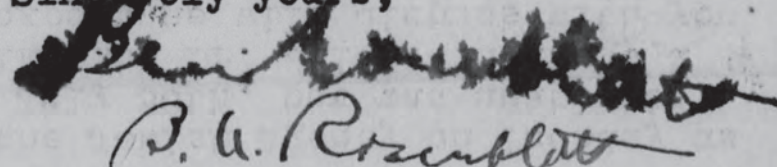
The ground so acquired by the state would be leased back, at the same time, to the present owners, for a period of 49 years, with a similar renewal privilege, but subject always to a reassessment every 7 years

of the increasing ground rent periodically at 5% of the capital value (somewhat similar to the famous Columbia University lease to the Rockefeller interests in Radio City). This would result in an increasingly larger return to the state treasury, while the whole "land bond" issue could be redeemed in about 25 years by the difference between the ground rents collected by the state and the rate of interest on the bond issue (which should be floated at no higher cost than 3 1/4%).

The purchase money obtained from the state by the present landlords would prove the highest incentive for individual initiative, since they would have to employ such funds for productive purposes, especially in building operations, in order to meet the annual ground rent to the state. (I am sure that money so employed, under the watchful eyes of investors in competitive industry would prove of far greater benefit to the public than a similar amount poured into the treasury of a Socialist state for "public works".) Such a program forms a logical challenge to a "managed economy", and comes with good grace particularly from the American branch of the Jewish Agency. In any event, it must prove a good starting point for an economic offensive in line with your highly successful political offensive during the last few years. If I can help in any way, you have only to call upon me, as I expect to leave for Palestine, with my wife, in about 6 weeks.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



B. A. Rozenthal

BAR/am

Letters to

Arab-Jewish Resettlements

Benefits of Arab Peoples Pointed Out in Population Exchange

Times 8/6/48
TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

James Batal's letter, published in your issue of Aug. 3, brings back memories. Five years prior to the Arab-Jewish war in Palestine and before there was a question of hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees from Palestine, the writer of these lines advocated—in his book, "The Middle East: Crossroads of History," and in articles in Harper's, and later in support of the Hoover Plan—an Arab-Jewish exchange of population as the soundest and the most constructive solution not only for the Palestine problem, but also for the problems of the Arabs, and specifically for Iraq's shortage in agricultural population.

It was this constructive and humanitarian character of the idea that has appealed to the mind of Herbert Hoover, the statesman and engineer, and prompted him in November, 1945, (once again, long before there were Arab refugees from Palestine) to propose the Hoover Plan for the settlement of both the Palestine and Iraq problems. In the words of Herbert Hoover:

"There is a possible plan of settling the Palestine question and providing ample Jewish refuge. It is at least worth serious investigation, for it offers a constructive humanitarian solution.

"In ancient times the irrigation of the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys supported probably ten million people in the kingdoms of Babylon and Nineveh. The deterioration and destruction of their irrigation works by the Mongol invasion centuries ago, and their neglect for ages, are responsible for the shrinkage of the population to about three and a half million people in modern Iraq * * * .

Development in Iraq

"My own suggestion is that Iraq might be financed to-complete this great land development on the consideration that it be made the scene of resettlement of the Arabs from Palestine. This would clear Palestine completely for a large Jewish emigration and colonization. A suggestion of transfer of the Arab people of Palestine was made by the British Labor party in December, 1944, but no adequate plan was proposed as to where or how they were to go.

"There is room for many more Arabs in such a development in Iraq than the total of Arabs in Palestine. The soil is more fertile. They would be among their own race, which is Arab speaking and Mohammedan. The Arab population of Palestine would be the gainer from better lands in exchange for their present holdings. Iraq would be the gainer, for it badly needs agricultural population.

"Today millions of people are being moved from one land to another. If the lands were organized and homes provided, this particular movement could be made the model migration of history. It would be a solution by engineering instead of by conflict." * * *

The Arabs have preferred all along the ways of conflict and war to those of engineering and construction. For that, I submit, they can blame nobody but themselves. If there are today many thousands of homeless Arab refugees from Palestine, the responsibility is to be laid at the doors of the Arab leaders who started the war in Palestine.

It is only fair to state that neither the World Zionist Organization nor the Government of Israel has thus far officially endorsed the plan for exchange of populations. Indeed, when upon the publication of the Hoover Plan the American Zionist Emergency Council was asked to comment on it, it was careful to state: "* * * We have always been willing to cooperate with the Arabs in solving the Palestine problem and in the general development of the Middle East. It was the Arabs who refused our offers. Whether their attitude will be different in the case of the Hoover Plan is not for us to say. Should they respond to the idea, we shall be happy to cooperate with the great Powers and the Arabs in bringing about the materialization of the Hoover Plan."

Zionist Position

Essentially, the Zionist position has not changed since 1945. Mr. Batal misrepresents the situation when he speaks of a forcible exchange of populations. The exchange can come about only by consent of both sides. Should real patriotism take the place of war-mongering and spiteful obstructionism with the Arab politicians, they would agree to an exchange of populations, which would greatly benefit the Arabs of Palestine, the Arab countries of the Middle East, as well as Israel and the Jews who now live in the Moslem countries.

If they remain adamant to the call of reason, no exchange of populations can take place. But the Arab refugees from Palestine who run away because of fear or the propaganda of their own leaders will remain, I fear, homeless and hungry for a long time to come.

ELIAHU BEN-HORIN.

Jackson Heights, N. Y., Aug. 3, 1948.

No room for signature. Guess the name!



AIX-LES-BAINS
L.M. Rossignoli

Monday, Aug. 9, '48

dear Abba,

WE hope you've had as pleasant a crossing as we did. We've been here since Friday evening & Fan is taking her cure. This hotel is magnificent. We have a large, beautiful room with a little balcony facing the mountains & overlooking the town of Aix and the lake. Excellent food. It's really just about perfect - and not too expensive! - I think it comes to about \$10.00 a day per person including "pension".

If there are even kosher restaurants in town for an occasional Jewish meal & we had the good fortune of finding some

Of long talks with Robkin. I'll tell
you about them. For the moment there's
this: He told me it was planned to have a
political report by Sturtok + ~~2~~ then three
papers on organizational matters. One
by himself. Would I give the second?
When I asked who would give the third, he
could not mention any name but said
it should be a paper on the spiritual plane
marking the transition, geulah, etc., etc.
such as Bialik might have given if
he were alive.

I told Robkin that you should be
asked to speak along with Sturtok. If it
had to be one American it must be you
rather than myself. He's a shifty
fellow whom I don't trust across the
room. I've been thinking since then
& it suddenly flashed upon me that
the person he has in mind for the 3rd
paper "on the spiritual plane" may be - Lipsky
who, I had heard in New York, was going to
attend the A.C. meeting.

(2) Zionist friends who looked after our needs as if we were little children & they our parents.

If Virginia intends to take a cure - I understand she has been thinking of that - it may be worth considering coming out here. It's an overnight ride from Paris by sleeper. The trip during the day takes about 9 hours & is a bit tedious. We don't like to urge or even recommend a place; but we are finding it just grand. There are easy trips to nearby places, including Geneva etc. I'll probably return here from Palestine or else meet Fan in Paris. If Virginia decides to come out we'll try to arrange a room for her at this hotel, which is the only one we can recommend. Just let me know.

My present plan is to be back in Paris Friday morning & fly Saturday night. The next plane is Tuesday -

(3)

the 17th. I'm very much tempted to change to that one, since I need the additional few days rest here and the 16th is an wedding anniversary. (That doesn't count in Zionist schedules.) Do you think it would be too bad if we got to Palestine Wednesday night, which means Thursday? I suppose if you and I didn't get there before Thursday they would adjust themselves accordingly & perhaps delay the opening of the Action Committee meeting to Monday the 23rd if need be. They did so in April because some of the people were delayed from Jerusalem & elsewhere. If you're inclined that way let me know. ~~I say~~ If you decide to fly Saturday night I'll go by the same plane.

I suggest in any case that you call me up as soon after your arrival as possible, Wednesday or else Thursday morning at the latest.

I've had a number of preliminary talks with people in Paris - including a couple

If my hunch is right, the idea must be a two-fold one: (a) to give a general review which would extol Weizman, Shertok, the Mapai etc. (b) to build up Lipsky in order to help the opposition gather some prestige. In the circumstances I'm dead opposed to Lipsky's speaking and perhaps our line should be: one, political report - Shertok; two: a general review on the spiritual plane - yourself; three: 2 papers on organizational problems Dobkin & myself. If you give the so-called "spiritual" paper you can say whatever you choose on political matters as well & it will cut out Lipsky or whomever else they have up their sleeve but haven't divulged.

Another matter: In Paris Rothemberg (and his wife) attended 2 ^{little} receptions in my honor and on both occasions he behaved admirably, going so far as to say quite

openly that your line (& mine) proved
to be correct & referred to other Jewish
leaders, including Wise, whom he
mentioned by name, who had thought
we were going too far ~~etc.~~ etc. etc.

Privately he told me that he had
told Wise before sailing that he
couldn't go along with the opposition
and that without yourself we would
probably never have come through to
victory. — Moreover he is basically
in agreement with us in organizational
matters, believes the W. J. O. Executive
should not be seated in Palestine etc.

For these reasons I think we ought to
be nice to him in Paris and in Tel Aviv.
This time I would let him lead off
in the general debate, particularly on organi-
zational problems instead of Goldstein, who
has had that distinction twice already. If you
see him in Paris try to give him some attention.
His wife is quite nice. ^{Joining in affectionate} regards to you & Virginia.

2008

Hotel Mennige
Rue de Rivoli 34

Timbre à date.

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ABBA HILLEL SILVER ~~HOTEL~~

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SENT DENIAL TO GEORGE ALLEN AND MARGOSHES WHO WROTE STRONG ARTICLE
ON SUBJECT STOP ON GOVERNORS DIRECTION DULLES WISHES MEET YOU
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ALSO SAID NO DEAL BUT WILL TALK DEWEY NEXT FEW DAYS +

[undated]

THE ORGANISATION OF THE GENERAL ZIONISTS IN ISRAEL

PARTY PROGRAMME suggested by JOSEPH SAPPIR

One has to limit oneself to discussing two main issues:

- a) The nature of the General Zionist Party and its relations with the Zionists Organisation, and more particularly with the General Zionists abroad;
- b) The nature of the regime to which the party aspires within the framework of the State.

Judging from the state of affairs today, and to the potentiilities with regards to a possible extension of the party in this country, the following can be adduced:

- 1) The Party in Israel is the party of the wider circles of the middle classes, as well as of those workers who are not members of other parties. Membership within a professional union of workers does not disentitle one to belong to the General Zionist Party.
- 2) The task of General Zionism has not come to an end with the establishment of the State. True, the Zionist Organisation can no longer serve as a political factor as far as the territorial problems of the State are concerned; but it can, and will have to serve as a political factor in respect of those Jews who will desire to immigrate to Israel.
- 3) The Zionist Organisation will be entrusted with the function, of the organisation of the Jews abroad for immigration, of the immigration itself, and of all the activities connected with the settlement of the immigrants in this country. It will be concerned with the maintenance of the new immigrant for a certain period, with finding him employment, residence, settling him on the land etc. After this initial period the immigrant will be taken care of by the State, exactly as all other citizens.
- 4) The form of the State is not the affair of the Zionist Organisation.

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT

There exists no divergence of opinion in respect of certain elementary principles, and they should therefore pass without mention as far as the Party programme is concerned.

It is obvious that the elections must be democratic: equal, universal, without any distinction of sex, race etc. Certain safeguards will have to be provided to prevent falsifications. Nor is there any argument in respect of the rights of the citizen, safeguarding against his subordination, and generally observing the accepted rules of the freedom of the individual.

The civil service should properly be outside the orbit of any party. The civil servant should be entitled to be a member of any professional union, but he will be forbidden to join any political party. On entering into the civil service he will be obliged to leave his party and undertake not to join any other party.

THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

The form of government of the State should safeguard the equality of all citizens to exercise freely their rights in respect of all economic fields of activity in whatever form he chooses. The

economy will be planned, but nothing should be done to put an end to, or interfere with the legitimate development of private initiative. Even the cooperative economy will be subject to planning and supervision.

Without planned economy we shall be unable to maintain our position. Unrestricted economic development can be damaging, and when encountering obstacles can bring about crisis. The State will have to supervise over the economy of the individual or a group of individuals in order to assure the maximum effectiveness and efficiency of the economy on the one hand, and in order not to eliminate the little man from the economic structure, on the other.

The state will be entitled to restrict the unlimited possibilities of all TRUSTS, whether these belong to private individuals, an anonymous company, or a group of individuals, etc.

The State will lend a helping hand, through its legislation and financial means, to all sections of the economy of whatever kind. Disqualifying anyone or any institution in this respect can only be justified on the ground that it is bound to cause damage to the individual or the public, or if it is tainted with criminal illegality.

There is no justification for any national inhibition on the part of the State practised on any economic institution on the ground that it uses hired labour. The mere fact of using hired labour should not be considered a disqualification. The State will be entitled, from the standpoint of organised planning, to give preference to this or that economic institution, say to a farm as against an industry, but it shall in no way prejudice against an institution which employs hired labour vis-à-vis one which does not.

There is no purpose in differentiating between the agricultural and industrial economy. Zionism has never found any fault in hired labour. The main thing is that the wages should be decent, and should not smack of the exploitation of the worker. Provided this condition is observed there is no need to do away with hired labour, neither in industry and commerce, nor in agriculture.

Self labour is not a Zionist injunction, and we, as General Zionists, are not obliged to accept it as such. Self labour is merely a social ideal, not a Zionist duty. There is no reason why the General Zionist should give preference to any particular form of economy, for this would rob him of his title - general. If we cared to give such preference we should have had to give it to the system most current among our members, namely that of private initiative and enterprise. But being General Zionists we shall not demand any such preference, nor shall we agree to any other preference.

From a Zionist and a nationalistic standpoint there is also no disqualification in private ownership of land or of means of production so long as these do not serve as a source for speculative profits.

Within the existent regime in this country we, General Zionists, shall have to care for our members and protect their interests as a whole. There are plans for organising this mass of individuals as a particle within the framework of the economic structure of the State.

All economic enterprises bearing the characteristics of a public service, should be considered public (The State, the Local Councils, etc.) This can include the railways, bus services, the national Bank, health insurance, old age pensions, etc. Certain amenities of the individual will have to be borne by the public, they will be for the benefit of the general public and borne by the State.

As regards monopolies, such as water etc., there is every justification for their being taken over by the State. Industries

related to the Manufacture of arms and of national importance (Chemical industries, etc.), or bearing a distinct monopolistic nature can be taken over by the State.

Even from the national standpoint it is indispensable that private capital should participate in the upbuilding of the State, and there is no justification for establishing such a form of government which will drive it out. But enterprises such as an electric company or an extensive irrigation enterprise, which can be set up by way of a concession, should be the concern either of the State or the public.

SOCIAL SERVICES

Our demand should be that health insurance, old age pensions, insurance against sickness, etc., should be under the care of the State. We should also demand free education for the children.

TAXES.

The taxes should be progressive and paid in accordance with the means of the individual. They should by no means be destructive in respect of private enterprise. The State should not permit economic exploitation or exaggerated or speculative profits. Capital is entitled to legitimate profits, but the State should not allow individuals to enrich themselves unjustifiably.

LABOUR.

Labour should be organised. There should be set up State Labour Exchanges under the management of State officials, and not under Party secretaries of the various political parties. To the Labour Exchange there should be attached a council of Employers and workers on a parity basis.

We shall demand obligatory national arbitration and shall oppose strikes and lock-outs, at least at the early stages of the State. The economy should be based on decent wages of the labourer, and government planning should see to it that decent wages should normally be forthcoming without loss to the enterprise.

EDUCATION

Education should be uniform, and at the same time should not prevent those who wish to give it a religious colouring, to do so. There would therefore be two kinds of schools: a secular one and a traditional one, in accordance with a definite statute, which will be imposed on all schools of a uniform government standard. Those who will not accommodate themselves to this government school will be able to provide for private schools, which will be assisted financially by the government to a lesser extent than the expense each pupil involves at a government school. The reason being that through the establishment of private schools the cost of education in respect of the government school rises automatically. We are to oppose class education. Such schools should not be maintained by the State, but should receive grants as in respect of private schools. The character of the education system as regards the various social problems will have to be settled by the State.

RELIGION

It is impossible strictly to differentiate between religion and the state. These have been closely associated (people, religion, race, etc.) for thousands of years. An appropriate synthesis will have to be found between the religious requirements of the Jews as a people and the State.

THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION

The above mentioned principles laid down in respect of the State will have to be applied and maintained in respect of the ZIONIST ORGANISATION, for instance as regards equality of immigration, doing away with the system which fixes quotas for immigration according to party consideration, care for the immigrant disregarding all party associations - care on a state basis, which will not enjoin any immigrant to join a certain party immediately upon his arrival.

Zionist delegates abroad should be delegates of the Zionist movement as a whole, and not as party delegates who will sow dissension in the dispersion.

So long as the expected form of government is not established we should have to care for the interests of our members within the existing regime, and provide ourselves with the adequate means. For this purpose we shall have to call upon circles close to us for financial assistance.



THE ORGANISATION OF THE GENERAL ZIONISTS IN ISRAELPARTY PROGRAMME suggested by ISAAC GRUENBAUM

After every turning-point in Zionism, especially after a favourable political turning-point, people are wont to say: We have reached our goal, and we have only to consolidate what has been achieved. This was so after World War I, when such views were expressed by Brandeis' group, and such ideas are now being heralded from America.

One has to bear in mind the following introductory principles:

1) The establishment of the Jewish State is only the beginning of the process of materialisation of the Zionist ideal, as envisaged by Herzl. The unremitting pressure in the Diaspora on the one hand, and the development of the State on the other hand, are bound to bring about the continuation of this process until its complete realisation, unless it encounters on its way such mighty obstacles which it would be unable to overcome.

The Zionist Organisation would therefore be unable either to put an end to its activities or restrict them, but would rather have to extend them and bring them into accord with both the needs of the State and the continued realisation of the Zionist ideal.

2) The establishment of the State does not bring about a differentiation between the citizens of the State and those of the Jewish dispersion. Without the aid of World Jewry there is no hope that the Jewish State would be able to withstand the onslaught of the neighbouring countries, nor would it be able to develop and consolidate its positions. The principle of unity of the Jewish people all over the world must needs be strengthened by the existence and development of the State. The latter should serve as a unifying centre of the Jewish people in its dispersion, as well as a gathering place for all displaced Jews, and those who might one day be displaced.

3) The main and decisive task of the State of Israel, most particularly at its early stages, is to provide room in the fatherland for the absorption of the Jewish masses in the Diaspora.

The State has to adjust its activities in order to enable mass immigration. It has to adopt a settlement policy for both village and town, and its economic regulations and activities are to correspond to this primary and main aim.

4) In respect of the above the task of General Zionism remains as it was before, - the task of a party the supreme criterion of which is the realisation of the Zionist ideal.

To this criterion all aspirations and activities of General Zionism must be subordinated. This supreme principle must dominate all activities of the organisation of the General Zionists in the established State.

5) The establishment of the Jewish State makes it obligatory to take a stand in respect of certain decisive matters of the State, whereas formerly, prior to its establishment, one could be content with generalisations, or even avoid those issues altogether.

- - - - -

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT

1) The State of Israel is to be based on the principle of democracy and absolute equality of all citizens. The rights of the

citizens will be unlimited in all spheres of life, unless the safety and development of the State demand otherwise. Equal rights will be guaranteed without distinction of religion, race, language, sex and class.

2) Authority will be vested in Parliament, which will be dependent on the existence and free association of political parties.

3) Parliament will be elected by means of general, equal, secret and proportional voting, aiming at the prevention of splits among the electorate, or the dissociation of the elected from the voters. The right to vote or be elected will be equal to all citizens in the State without distinction of sex, class, language, race or religion.

4) The President of the State will be elected in such a manner that he represents the entire populace, and will thus be in a position to act as mediator between the various parties. He nominates the Prime Minister, who forms the government, which will be responsible to Parliament. The President will also serve as the Commander of the armed forces of the State, which will be supervised by the General Staff in peace time, and subject to a Commander-in-Chief during war.

5) The State will be secular. Freedom of conscience will be guaranteed to all citizens, and no punitive provisions will be made in respect of transgressions against religion. The State will neither intervene in nor settle religious affairs. Religious bodies will be free in respect of all their internal affairs. The State guarantees freedom to practise religion to all its citizens as well as all religious sects.

THE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE STATE

1) In the state of Israel, the main task of which is to absorb mass immigration, first consideration will be given to settlement, especially agricultural settlement.

2) Settlement generally, and agricultural settlement in particular, must be first and foremost labour settlement. Plantation settlement should be avoided, that is farm management based on hired labour,

3) The forms of settlement will be free without any intervention on the part of the State.

4) Land for agricultural settlement should be that of the Jewish National Fund, that is in the ownership of the nation, until such a time when a State Law is promulgated which will nationalise the cultivated land.

5) So long as private agricultural holdings are not inconsistent with the above-mentioned provisions, the State should assist them, provided that they are not based on hired labour.

6) Within the framework of settlement an important part will be allocated to town building and town development. This will be grounded in industrial development and the exploitation of the natural resources and the potentialities with which the country is endowed as result of its geographic position. The State will lend a helping hand in the above-mentioned plans of development, but will prevent the exploitation of the State for their own benefit by wealthy individuals. The transactions of the private capital would be subject to the supervision of the State.

7) In regard to the system of taxes the principle of equality will be applicable, duly safeguarding that the burden of the taxes should correspond to the financial means of the payer.

EDUCATION

- 1) The State will have to take steps that Hebrew is transformed into the common language of all citizens both in speech and in writing.
- 2) The rights of all languages spoken by minorities in the State will be guaranteed in accordance with their numbers and places where they are concentrated. These rights will be maintained in respect of public activities, in the sphere of education, the legal system, most particularly in respect of its preliminary stages, as well as in the sphere of administrative relations.
- 3) Popular education will be guaranteed by the State with a view to providing in due course free education to all. Education will be secular.
- 4) The State will guarantee the freedom of citizens to establish schools as they please, provided that the Tuition Programme, which will be obligatory according to state law in respect of elementary schools, will be observed. Such private schools will receive government grants in accordance with the number of pupils registered with them.

THE JUDICIARY SYSTEM

- 1) The Judiciary will be independent. Justices will be appointed for life.
- 2) There will be lower and higher courts, headed by the Supreme Court whose members will be appointed by the President of the State on the advice of the Minister of Justice.