



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

Reel
78

Box
27

Folder
1725

World Confederation of General Zionists, 1955-1956.

GENERAL ZIONIST ORGANISING COMMITTEE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

To the Leaders of
the General Zionists,
Telaviv.

73, Staverton Road,
Brondesbury Park,
London, N.W. 2.

18th August, 1955.

Dear Friends,

Now that the first shock of our defeat at the Knesset Elections is over, we General Zionists of this Country (working in conditions which are more difficult for General Zionists than in any other Country and who are constantly attacked and criticed by the Progressives and Mapai) deem it our sacred duty to impart to you our considered opinion concerning the bitter defeat which had been foreseen by us (although naturally we did not publicise our apprehensions). It would be a crime if we were to minimise the significance of our defeat and its consequences by shutting our eyes to the very grave mistakes which inevitably brought it about.

- (a) Our mistakes are entirely due to the fact that our leadership too frequently desired to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Take the "Kastner Case". It is almost impossible to imagine a more abnormal situation than the one created by our party after the judgment of the District Court. We did not move a resolution of no-confidence. We did not even vote for such a resolution. Yet after having abstained, we refused to leave the Government and it was only after we were ejected that we began to sound the alarm about the truly horrible aspects of the case. Meanwhile, we in Britain had the greatest difficulty in explaining the childish behaviour of our party in Israel. The whole credit for the Kastner episode went to Herut and rightly, while we lost all along the line.
- (b) Our party should have become the anti-Mapai party. Israel was yearning for such a party. It is because we put forward healthy anti-Mapai slogans that we scored a great victory at the Municipal Elections four years ago. But we had not the moral courage to become the real party dedicated to the task of uniting the maximum number of Israelis. We had not the moral courage to defend our just demands.
- (c) Mr. Rokach's action in regard to Sabbath observance in Jerusalem caused great bitterness among those Jews in Israel and the Diaspora who were ready to support us.
- (d) Our party rightly demanded the 10% limitation clause. But when Mapai with their Progressive satellites refused to carry it out, we, instead of leaving the Government, remained inside in a shameful position and revealed to the world that like Mapai we are also ready to sell our principles to retain office. Thus we threw away the fruits of our splendid victories and killed our high prestige all over the world.
- (e) In Anglo-Israel relations we, General Zionists, were, in the past, always for active resistance to Britain while the Progressives and part of Mapai were always ready to appease. Yet when we entered the Cabinet we completely forgot our glorious tradition. We thus foolishly threw away here also the fruits of our past participation in the struggle for Israel's freedom.

(f) Unlike Mapai, we are not a class party. We are the party of Kol Israel Chaverim. We have to try to unite the maximum number of Jews all over the world behind our flag, the flag of Theodor Herzl, the flag of General Zionism, and not of the so-called Progressives. Yet, despite our twenty-three members in the Knesset, we continued our unfair and sinful cohabitation with the Progressives. We continued to negotiate about merger with those who, as we told you repeatedly, boasted that they would "twist round their fingers these selfish ignorant Levantines". Now they gloat over our defeat and their unexpected additional votes.

(g) When our leaders visited this Country they behaved in a strange manner quite unsuited to the conditions which prevailed. They negotiated with our political opponents without our participation. After every such meeting the Progressives here ridiculed us and our leaders in public. It is only necessary to read the "Jewish Observer" to see how they ridiculed us and our leaders. We here have to suffer bitterly because of this. But what could we do, when our leaders were so self-confident, and took no heed of our words. The behaviour of the Israel General Zionists in the international Zionist movement was so maladroit that it not only brought us to despair in this country but also shocked our U.S. brethren.

(1) Rabbi Silver, like all of us, has his weaknesses, but Rabbi Silver is the leader of General Zionism in the Diaspora. Yet he was not used before or during the Elections in spite of all our urging.

We are doomed to decline and to become an insignificant force in Israel and perhaps to vanish entirely from the international Zionist arena unless radical changes are effected immediately. We have a difficult time before us. No one feels it more than we do in Britain. Great personalities and great movements can convert defeats into victories, but, if our movement takes the line of least resistance and adopts measures such as the dismissal of its staff without correcting the mistakes of the leaders, then we are indeed lost.

The vital changes which are indispensable, in our view, are the following:-

(1) An immediate break with the Progressives, putting an end to the World Confederation. The present stupid, undignified game of constantly unsuccessful attempts to merge must stop. There is a deeper gulf between us and the Progressives than between Progressives and Mapam.

(2) There is no hope whatever of saving the General Zionist party as an isolated party. If we continue as such, we have no future, we must become the central force uniting all anti-Mapai non-Marxist forces in Jewry. We must try to unite with Herut and with the non-Marxist religious elements.

(3) We must take upon ourselves the heavy responsibility of creating a strong non-Marxist anti-Mapai movement, aiming to abolish the last obstacles to free initiative and personal (instead of absentee) Zionism, by destroying the remaining so-called Socialist controls and monopolies. We must openly declare that we are more socially advanced than Mapai and even than Mapam and that we alone can restore confidence in Israel's economic stability, confidence undermined by Mapai and Histadrut. We must fight for the nationalisation

of the transport and health services against the reactionary policy of Mapai and other Marxists.

(4) In foreign policy, we must fight the diplomats of the London School (Sharett and others) who cannot shake off the traditions of the unhappy policy inherited from Dr. Weizmann of begging favours from Britain. Our foreign policy must be free from adventures but must aim at the creation of normal relations with all Israel's neighbours and the restoration of normal frontier relations, if necessary by force. In our foreign policy we, who are free from all pre-conceived doctrines, must remember the tremendous changes which are now in progress in the world and not tie ourselves to any bloc of Powers. Our motto for the present must be "Friends of all who desire our friendship but allies of none". We must be for real peace all over the world and especially in Israel where an illegal war is still in progress.

(5) We must continue our correct policy in the field of education in the Jewish way of life and of religion (which we manifested by our vote for the Jewish marriage laws) and react similarly where the same policy demands a respectful attitude to Jewish traditions (pig-breeding, Sabbath, missionaries and the like). No Israel party can grow strong which offends profound Jewish religious feeling.

(6) We must oppose by every means the introduction of Ben Gurion's Election system. This system would ensure the almost permanent domination of Mapai and its lackeys. Instead we must insist on our 10% minimum clause.

(7) The time for our participation in the Government is over. Under no circumstances should our leaders accept office unless there is a real emergency and then only together with Herut and Aguda.

(8) Above all, we General Zionists must be for economic independence, not self-sufficiency. Self-sufficiency means producing within Israel all the necessities of Israel. Real economic independence means that Israel produces or buys all things necessary.

(9) The present policy of Mapai and its hangers-on inevitably depends on large-scale schnorring. This schnorring business undermines the foundations of the State, demoralises its institutions and workers and creates conditions of incredible parasitism and corruption. For example, there are in Britain more than thirty institutions and movements at present engaged in raising funds publicly for Israel. As a result, Israel is losing its prestige and reputation. The word "Israeli" is becoming synonymous with Schnorrer. The tragic waste which goes on here and in Israel is the direct result of schnorring. We must make clear both in Israel and in the Diaspora that this cannot continue.

We have sufficiently outlined our views. We are sure they correspond to the thoughts and feelings of tens of thousands of true Zionists in all parts of the world. Their loyalty, like our own, remains unshakable. We are confident in our eventual triumph if only we really take to heart and profit by the bitter lessons of July 26th.

Yours in Zion,

SAMUEL LANDMAN.

Chairman.

GENERAL ZIONIST ORGANISING COMMITTEE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

To the Leaders of
General Zionist Movement.

73, Staverton Road,
London, N. W. 2.

19th September, 1955.

Friends,

At long last a definite date has been fixed for the twenty-fourth Zionist Congress, viz. July 10th, 1956, and we must now devote our close attention to the great task of mobilising all the forces at our disposal in preparation for the political struggle at the Congress. We cannot afford to suffer a defeat in the Congress Elections after the recent defeat in the Knesset Elections.

We who have been for so long engaged in a deadly political struggle in Britain - the headquarters of the Weizmannites, Progressives and neutralists - have bitter experience of the unscrupulous tactics and backstairs intrigues of our opponents and we know that they will stop at nothing to defeat our movement at Congress. We must be prepared in advance for all the traps and snares which are certain to be put in our path before the Congress and at the Congress itself by Progressives, Semi-Progressives and Neutralists under the leadership of Nahum Goldmann, Israel Goldstein and some members of the British delegation. We must leave no opening for them to cover up their manoeuvres.

The following steps seem to us essential:

- (1) We must without delay put an end to our "partnership" with the Progressives in the so-called "World Confederation of General Zionists". We must publicly leave it, if we cannot drive out the Progressives from it.
- (2) We must at once demand that our friends and supporters in every country should have the absolute right to a list of Congress Candidates under the heading of General Zionists. It is particularly important that no Congress list containing Progressives and/or Neutralists shall be permitted to use the title "General Zionists", as the Progressives in Britain and some other countries intend to do. In every country steps must at once be taken to secure that General Zionists should have their own list and that no Progressive or neutral or doubtful person should figure on such a list.
- (3) It is essential that from October onwards Continental Conferences of true General Zionists should be held in Europe and in North and South America. These Conferences should be followed by a World Conference of General Zionists devoted exclusively to our policy and procedure at Congress. The sooner these Conferences are held the better for our prospects of success. The latest date for such a World Conference seems to us to be December or January next.
- (4) In several countries the Progressives are the dominant party and our friends, the true General Zionists, are deprived of all possibilities of conducting a Shekel and Election Campaign. This is particularly the case in Britain. Our party in Israel must at once issue an appeal to our friends everywhere, especially in the United States, to establish a "General Zionist Congress Election Fund". This fund should finance our Congress Election Campaign, particularly in the countries where our friends are without means because of the dominance of Progressives and so-called neutralists.
- (5) Zionism has suffered enormously because since 1946 the World Zionist Organisation has had no President. The main factor in preventing the election of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver as President of the World Zionist Organisation at the Zionist Congress in 1946 was the "British Commonwealth bloc". This bloc was a stratagem devised by the Weizmannites in Britain and carried out by Bakstansky and his confidential

emissary Baum, then secretary of the General Zionist Administrative Committee of Britain and Editor of the Zionist Review. The character of this emissary is revealed by the fact that he was implicated in dishonest dealings with Zionist funds and disappeared.

Who can estimate how many Jewish lives were sacrificed and what favourable opportunities were missed because our great Silver was not the President of the World Zionist movement during the critical years in Palestine. Let us not forget that, despite this treacherous blow against him by the Progressives, it was mainly thanks to Rabbi Silver that the United States and the United Nations sided with Israel in the three critical years 1947-9. 'Silver for President' must accordingly be our main slogan for the Congress Campaign.

(6) It is high time that Nahum Goldmann and Berl Locker should vacate the positions of joint Chairmen of the Jewish Agency. They are between them largely responsible for the tragic decay in the Zionist movement. Goldmann is a very artful negotiator, but lacking in vision and foresight. Did he not strongly oppose the proclamation of the Jewish State in May, 1948. At a time when our movement needs above all inspiration, we need a different type of leader.

Berl Locker has brought an incredible muddle into the affairs of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. He can never rise above the narrow circle of petty party politics. We in Britain are still suffering from his pernicious influence. His authority and reputation have been based solely on his "success" at the British Labour Party Conferences. These Conferences year after year adopted pro-Zionist resolutions which were thrown completely overboard as soon as Labour came to power. One breath of Bevin blew all these resolutions to the winds. During his stay in London Locker bitterly opposed Ben Gurion's brave farsighted and statesman-like policy and it was Locker who together with the Progressives outlawed Ben Gurion in Britain. After such "successes" Locker's rightful place is to be relegated to the 'dustbin of history'. It is the tragedy of the Zionist movement that these two men should have remained its leaders for so many years while the great Silver has been kept in the background.

(7) Before and at the next Congress we must try to secure a united front of all non-Socialist Zionists against the bloc comprising Mapai, Progressives and neutralists. We must in particular try to secure a united front with Herut, the movement with which we were so closely connected in the heroic days of the struggle in Palestine. We must not forget that Mapai and Progressives did not hesitate to deliver members of Herut to the Mandatory Power in those days.

(8) We must also aim at a united front with all non-Socialist religious elements. With these potential allies our policy must be liberal and flexible. The grave and costly mistakes committed by Rokach in religious questions must never be repeated.

(9) An Election manifesto must be issued at once by our party in Isreal directed to General Zionists all over the world. Such a manifesto can only be provisional. The definitive manifesto must come from the World Conference of General Zionists in December or January. It would, however, be a mistake to wait till then for a provisional manifesto. But this requirement should not be permitted to delay its publication at the earliest possible moment.

These suggestions are prompted by our ardent desire to profit by the lesson of our recent serious setback in Israel. Our party's only raison d'etre is that Isreal and the Diaspora are indivisible parts of one great Klal Israel. Hence our defeat in Isreal can be partly offset by success at the Congress. If we succeed at the Congress it may lead to a triumphant comeback for our party in Israel which we all earnestly desire.

Our leaders must never again confuse and frighten away their followers by trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Our party needs a clear and distinct policy and leaders who can be absolutely relied on to stick to it. With both these things we are certain of victory in the Diaspora and in Israel.

With best wishes for a Happy New Year,

Yours in Zion,

Samuel Landmann.

GENERAL ZIONIST ORGANISING COMMITTEE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

To The Leaders of
General Zionist Movement.

73, Staverton Road,
London, N.W.2.

18th November, 1955.

Dear Friends,

How to Regain Lost Ground.

In our two previous letters (of August and September) we showed how absurd it was for our party leaders in Israel to pursue a policy of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. Their failure to react properly in connection, for example, with the Kastner Case, the inequitable income tax discrimination in favour of Mapai, relations with Western Powers and Arab States, and especially in regard to our relations with the Progressives, revealed a preference for sitting between two stools, which brought upon our movement a spectacular defeat at the last Knesset Elections.

The only opportunity which now remains for recovering the lost ground is at the Zionist Congress in July 1956, but if our Party continues its present line it is sure to suffer a severe defeat once again, and this might result in its total disappearance.

Up to a few days ago, and since the new Government under Ben-Gurion was formed, we observe the same kind of contradictions in our policy. Thus Peretz Bernstein, for example, rightly calls for a wide Coalition Government (leaving out the Communists) and speaks of a preventive war as being justifiable in certain circumstances. Our Party quite properly cannot enter the present Government consisting of Socialists (Secular and religious). At the very same time our "partners" in the World Confederation, the Progressives, with whom we keep on discussing terms of merger, are inside the Government. Does this make sense? Such a Socialist Government is from every point of view harmful to the present interests of Israel when Soviet Russia and Conservative Britain are alike trying to wipe out Israel and when our main and perhaps only hope is the United States and particularly American Jewry. A Socialist Government of Israel cannot but alienate American Jewry and paralyse the efforts of United States politicians in their desire to help Israel, in view of the approaching Presidential Election.

Is it not tragic as well as absurd to find that our leaders, whose principles of home and foreign policy are sound enough, continue in practice to sit as partners with the Progressives, the stooges of Mapai, in the World Confederation of General Zionists. How ridiculous for our party which refuses to join the Progressives in the Government, to sit nevertheless with them in the Confederation. We cannot expect the Zionist world to take such a movement seriously.

No one will deny that to-day more than ever world Jewry and Israel need a strong General Zionist movement inside and outside Israel. Never was the leadership of United States Jewry

Over/

St. Lukes
Growth
Regular
Heart
08/19/99
Salem
Baker
anyone
David Silver

- 2 -

and particularly of Rabbi Silver so essential as now. Israel dare not miss making the most of the present favourable conjuncture in the United States where both political parties must for many reasons woo the Jewish votes by supporting Israel. The world-famous political commentator Walter Lippman recently stated that it was madness to imagine that the United States could at this time permit an attack on Israel.

The Sharetts, Goldmanns and Bakstanskys continue their blind and treacherous policy, harmful to Israel in the past and dangerous to Israel in the future. Here in Britain the Conservatives are strongly entrenched in power and Labour can have no decisive influence for four or five years. Neglect of the British Conservative Party at this critical moment is nothing short of treachery. Yet the ruling clique of the Zionist Federation, consisting of Poale Zion and their Progressive stooges continue to neglect completely political work among Conservatives and to restrict their efforts exclusively to the Labour Party. The only reason for this is that the British Poale Zion is an integral part of the British Labour Party.

What immediate steps can be taken by our party in Israel? They should (1) openly and at once break with the Progressives in the World Confederation either by publicly leaving it or by expelling the Progressives including those who call themselves Neutrals in Britain such as Sagall, Janner, Bakstansky, etc., (2) start an immediate campaign for the election of Silver as President of the Zionist Organisation, (3) convene a World Conference of General Zionists within the next two or three months. This conference should be held in the United States and should have Peretz Bernstein and Silver as joint Presidents.

The inept foreign policy of Israel has made many new enemies as well as losing valuable friends. General Zionism can come to the rescue by uniting all non-Socialist forces who are devoted to the State of Israel. Any delay, hesitation and irresolution, no matter how ably explained or justified, could spell the end of our party and movement.

Yours in Zion,

SAMUEL LANDMAN.

Chairman.

התאחדות העולמית של הציונים הכלליים

World Confederation of General Zionists

501 FIFTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Phone: MUrray Hill 7-8446

Cable Address: GENZIONIST, NEW YORK

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

President

MRS. SAMUEL W. HALPRIN

DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN

Vice Presidents

ABRAHAM KRUMBEIN

Treasurer

MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN

Secretary

Special Notice to all Confederation Branches

October 24th, 1955

EDWARD E. GELBER

DR. NAHUM GOLDMAN

ABRAHAM GOODMAN

ZVI HERMAN

MOSHE KOL

MORTIMER MAY

MRS. SAMUEL ROSENTOHN

JOSEPH SERLIN

MRS. HERMAN SHULMAN

DR. ABRAHAM STUPP

JACQUES TORCZYNER

Dear Friend:

The Sixth Session of the Zionist General Council which took place in Jerusalem last August was the final meeting of that body before the next World Zionist Congress convenes in Israel on July 10th, 1956.

The significance of the Shekel as it remains, for the present, the basis of representation to the Congress, was stressed. The following resolution was adopted:

In accordance with article 80 of the Constitution, the General Council resolves to confirm the Emergency Regulation published by the Executive on January 17th, 1955. Simultaneously, the Executive is authorized by the General Council to extend the deadline of the Shekel Campaigns up to January 31st, 1956 at the utmost, if serious reasons justify such measure with regard to certain countries.

This means that the closing date of all Shekel Campaigns is - January 31st, 1956.

We are issuing a special call to all Branches of the World Confederation of General Zionists in all countries to intensify their Shekel Campaigns from now until the closing date - January 31st, 1956, and to extend the sale of Shekolim throughout their communities to the utmost.

It may be that many of our leaders, occupied with important organization activities and work in their communities such as fund-raising campaigns, etc. may tend to underestimate the importance of their Shekel activities. We therefore wish to emphasize the importance of the Shekel at this time. In large measure our strength and position at the forthcoming Congress depends on it.

As long as present procedures exist only Shekel-holders have the right to vote in the elections to the Congress. It is vitally important therefore, that we seek to register a large General Zionist Shekel enrolment so that we may have a strong and effective representation of General Zionists, from every country, at this important Congress.

May we call your attention to the fact that at the Actions Committee meeting in Jerusalem last August it was decided to repeal the following resolution adopted by the Actions Committee in Jerusalem in 1954:

Rights of Electoral Areas in the Diaspora in which Polling takes place

"Every electoral area in the Diaspora in which polling takes place and in which at least 25% of those entitled to vote go to the polls shall, with regard to their representation on Congress, enjoy the same status as Israel does under Sec. 25, para 4 of the Constitution of the Zionist Organization."

This means that only Israel is accorded double representation for the Shekel. This situation imposes upon us an additional responsibility since the bulk of the General Zionist constituency is outside Israel. As we represent the bulwark of the Zionist communities throughout the Diaspora, which provides leadership, spiritual strength and impetus to Zionist endeavor, we must make every effort to translate this position into commensurate representation at the next Zionist Congress.

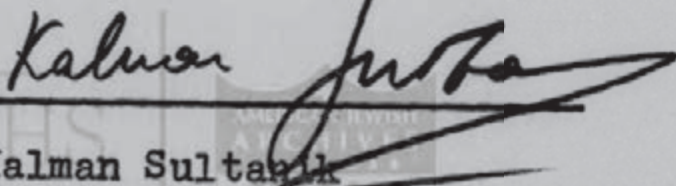
We earnestly appeal to all our Branches, therefore to concentrate

their efforts on spreading the sale of Shekolim to all members, friends and sympathizers of our great General Zionist Movement during the coming months, to January 31st, 1956.

With your whole-hearted co-operation we shall be able to take our rightful place at the World Zionist Congress in Israel next July 1956.

Trusting to hear from you as to your progress and success in this Shekel Campaign, we are,

Sincerely yours



Kalman

Kalman Sultanski

GENERAL ZIONIST ORGANISING COMMITTEE
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

To The Leaders of
General Zionist Movement.

73, Staverton Road,
London, N.W.2.

18th November, 1955.

Dear Friends,

How to Regain Lost Ground.

In our two previous letters (of August and September) we showed how absurd it was for our party leaders in Israel to pursue a policy of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. Their failure to react properly in connection, for example, with the Kastner Case, the inequitable income tax discrimination in favour of Mapai, relations with Western Powers and Arab States, and especially in regard to our relations with the Progressives, revealed a preference for sitting between two stools, which brought upon our movement a spectacular defeat at the last Knesset Elections.

The only opportunity which now remains for recovering the lost ground is at the Zionist Congress in July 1956, but if our Party continues its present line it is sure to suffer a severe defeat once again, and this might result in its total disappearance.

Up to a few days ago, and since the new Government under Ben-Gurion was formed, we observe the same kind of contradictions in our policy. Thus Peretz Bernstein, for example, rightly calls for a wide Coalition Government (leaving out the Communists) and speaks of a preventive war as being justifiable in certain circumstances. Our Party quite properly cannot enter the present Government consisting of Socialists (Secular and religious). At the very same time our "partners" in the World Confederation, the Progressives, with whom we keep on discussing terms of merger, are inside the Government. Does this make sense? Such a Socialist Government is from every point of view harmful to the present interests of Israel when Soviet Russia and Conservative Britain are alike trying to wipe out Israel and when our main and perhaps only hope is the United States and particularly American Jewry. A Socialist Government of Israel cannot but alienate American Jewry and paralyse the efforts of United States politicians in their desire to help Israel, in view of the approaching Presidential Election.

Is it not tragic as well as absurd to find that our leaders, whose principles of home and foreign policy are sound enough, continue in practice to sit as partners with the Progressives, the stooges of Mapai, in the World Confederation of General Zionists. How ridiculous for our party which refuses to join the Progressives in the Government, to sit nevertheless with them in the Confederation. We cannot expect the Zionist world to take such a movement seriously.

No one will deny that to-day more than ever world Jewry and Israel need a strong General Zionist movement inside and outside Israel. Never was the leadership of United States Jewry

Over/

and particularly of Rabbi Silver so essential as now. Israel dare not miss making the most of the present favourable conjuncture in the United States where both political parties must for many reasons woo the Jewish votes by supporting Israel. The world-famous political commentator Walter Lippman recently stated that it was madness to imagine that the United States could at this time permit an attack on Israel.

The Sharetts, Goldmanns and Bakstanskys continue their blind and treacherous policy, harmful to Israel in the past and dangerous to Israel in the future. Here in Britain the Conservatives are strongly entrenched in power and Labour can have no decisive influence for four or five years. Neglect of the British Conservative Party at this critical moment is nothing short of treachery. Yet the ruling clique of the Zionist Federation, consisting of Poale Zion and their Progressive stooges continue to neglect completely political work among Conservatives and to restrict their efforts exclusively to the Labour Party. The only reason for this is that the British Poale Zion is an integral part of the British Labour Party.

What immediate steps can be taken by our party in Israel? They should (1) openly and at once break with the Progressives in the World Confederation either by publicly leaving it or by expelling the Progressives including those who call themselves Neutrals in Britain such as Sagall, Janner, Bakstansky, etc., (2) start an immediate campaign for the election of Silver as President of the Zionist Organisation, (3) convene a World Conference of General Zionists within the next two or three months. This conference should be held in the United States and should have Peretz Bernstein and Silver as joint Presidents.

The inept foreign policy of Israel has made many new enemies as well as losing valuable friends. General Zionism can come to the rescue by uniting all non-Socialist forces who are devoted to the State of Israel. Any delay, hesitation and irresolution, no matter how ably explained or justified, could spell the end of our party and movement.

Yours in Zion,

SAMUEL LANDMAN.

Chairman.

Letter from Mr. S. Landman.

To: Mr. P. Bernstein,
P.O.B. 1778,
Tel Aviv,
Israel.

9th December, 1955.

Dear Mr. Bernstein,

I greatly appreciate your reply dated November 27th to our Circular letter No. 3 to the Leaders of the General Zionist Movement. I am convinced that frank speaking and hard thinking cannot but benefit our movement and Israel.

We have never alleged that our being together with the Progressives in the Confederation has had the slightest influence on the Knesset Elections. Our reference to our sitting together in the Confederation was merely an illustration of what we consider to be the most unfortunate feature of our party policy during the last few years, viz., hunting with the hounds and running with the hare.

We were defeated at the Knesset Elections because of the lack of clarity in our economic and foreign policy, because of our childish behaviour in the Kastner Case, and because of Rokach's blunders in regard to religious questions. (Thousands of votes were lost by Rokach alone). The Knesset Elections are however a thing of the past. Our future now depends on the next Congress and here our being together with Progressives in the Confederation is a decisive factor and will definitely bring us defeat. How can you, my dear leader, with your vast knowledge and experience overlook one of the first principles of political life, viz., that one may sit with political opponents in the same Government but not in the same party. We General Zionists, however, refuse to be in the Government with the Progressives yet remain in the same party (World Confederation). This anomaly must result in the destruction of our movement. We in London claim to know a little of what goes on in our movement in Europe and the English-speaking Countries. The Progressives are actively ~~6666xxxxxxx~~ discrediting our movement. It is most painful for us to be told at every step that the General Zionist leaders, particularly in Israel, are ready to barter away their souls for a mess of pottage, i.e. that the only reason for our remaining inside the Confederation is because of money.

If we do not leave the Confederation now before the Congress we may be driven out ignominiously after the Congress. The time to leave the Confederation is now, It is late but not yet perhaps too late.

We have never claimed, as you suggest, that the policy of our party should be "determined exclusively by the peculiar situation in the British Federation". We are the avant garde of General Zionism in the camp of the enemy. We believed that our leaders would make full and proper use of our special knowledge and experience arising out of "the peculiar situation of the British Federation". Alas, our leaders have so far shown no signs of profiting by our information and knowledge. We pointed out that Nahum Goldmann's suggestion of merger was a cunning tactical move to paralyse our movement. Where is merger now? Ou sont les neiges d'antan? We are being cheated and deceived by the cunning Progressives who are in mortal fear of Silver's becoming President of the World Zionist Organisation which as you know we regard as essential in present conditions. The Mapai and their progressive stooges are ready to endanger the very existence of Israel only to keep Silver out. We the General Zionists of Britain regard it as our most sacred duty to secure Silver's return. As most of our leading members are personally connected with Israel it is therefore also in our personal interests to see this happen. We know that Silver is hesitating, but we strongly hope that if a call comes to him from wide circles of Jewry and particularly from yourself and your colleagues he may yet agree to stand. But to ensure his election very serious preliminary work is necessary now.

In view of the great importance of the issues you have raised I should like to send a copy of this letter to all who received our Circular No. 3 and would request your permission to do so.

Yours sincerely,

Leon Ilutovich Esq.,
Zionist Organization of America,
145 East 32nd Street,
New York. 16.

22nd December, 1955

Dear Mr. Ilutovich,

In reply to your letter of the 15th inst, I shall now deal with the important problem of our relations with the Progressives. Knowing you as a clear and practical thinker we are disappointed by your timid and formal attitude to this cardinal problem, a problem of life and death to us Klalim.

The strength of the Progressives up to now has been their clinging to formalities and to shibboleths. Unless we can shake off these formalities and legalistic quibbles we are doomed. We should have divorced the Progressives long ago, but now after our defeat in the Knesset elections and our being outside the Government (in which the Progressives sit) our continued cohabitation with them means nothing less than the death of our movement. At a time when the future of Israel and our movement are in the balance and world shaking events are taking place, we cannot permit our fate to be dependent on legal or legalistic formalities. In Britain it is known that there is always a legal way around a difficulty.

What have we to do now? Our party in Israel and the American Z.O.A. have to pass resolutions putting an ultimatum before the World Confederation to expel the Progressives on the grounds that they act against all the principles of General Zionism and that by their participation in the Left Socialist Government have allied themselves 100% with Socialism against General Zionism.

The ultimatum must have a very brief time limit particularly because the Zionist Congress may be held in April. When the ultimatum is refused we Klalim at once leave the Confederation, call an emergency World Conference of Klalim and break with the Progressives and neutralists everywhere. The Progressives would then see that we mean business, and since the major portion of income is from the United States where the Jews are certainly not Socialist, this would mean a revolution in the distribution of the funds. All the Goldmanns, Goldsteins and Bakstanskys would be frightened to death. It would mean, at long last, the proper establishment of a Koi Israel Chaverim Zionist party which would appeal to every Jew in the same way as the Poale Zion tries to appeal to every worker. It does mean a spiritual

revolution not only in Zionism but in the life of our people. Our movement would then be the distributors of the hundreds of millions of dollars given by Jews to Israel and which are too often wasted on fruitless and fantastic socialist experiments.

I write to you in the hope that the voice of British General Zionists is not to remain a Kol Kore bemidbar.

Since writing the news has come in regarding Beigins proposal for a merger with Herut. We here are strongly in favour. The Progressives did not listen to Klalim when they decided to join the present Coalition and the Klalim need not consult the Progressives before accepting the merger with Herut.

Yours sincerely,



CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LT=International Letter Telegram

1201

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

(34) •

CTA297

CT CDV041 21 PD INTL=CD LONDON VIA RCA 25 0100=

LT ABB1 SILVER=

198/0 Shake

CLEVE=

TEMPLE EAST 10TH AND ANSWER

DEC 25 AM 10 12

HAVE CABLED BERNSTEIN BRITISH GENZIONISTS URGING
IMMEDIATE NEGOTIATIONS MERGER HERUT SAVE MOVEMENT
AND HELP ISRAEL=

GREETINGS LANDMAN=

BRITISH GENZIONISTS

SAMUEL LANDMAN

WILLESDEN 0828

73. STAVERTON ROAD
BRONDESBURY PARK
LONDON, N.W.2.

Rabbi Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
19810 Shaker Boulevard,
Cleveland,
Ohio.

28th December, 1955

Dear Rabbi Silver,

/ In case you have not seen them I enclose copies of
/ the three circular letters sent during recent months by the
British General Zionists to the leaders in Israel and copies
of my recent exchange of letters with Mr. Bernstein thereon.

We here see in your leadership the only hope of saving
our party and movement from decline and possible eclipse. I
am convinced that one of the motives for fixing the next Zionist
Congress in April instead of July is to give Mapai more scope
for exploiting the General Zionist defeat at the last Knesset
Elections.

As usual the Progressives are being used to damage us.
All our urging for the last two years that our movement should
expel the Progressives from the World Confederation of General
Zionists has so far been in vain.

/ I would respectfully draw your attention, in this regard,
to my letter to Ilutovich of the 22nd December with details of
how it should be done. Immediate action is needed; we have
already suffered heavily from hesitancy and procrastination.

We cordially welcome your appointment as Chairman of
the Bond Drive. We trust that the exceptional authority and
powers which this gives you will help to save our movement.

Yours sincerely,

Landman

GENERAL ZIONIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

73, Staverton Road,
London, N.W.2.

CIRCULAR NO. 4.

January 7th, 1956.

To the General Zionist
Leaders in Israel.

Dear Friends,

A Programme for Action.

Several of the points which we stressed in our previous communications are daily becoming evident and gaining wide support in Zionist circles.

We were the first to demand after the Knesset Elections that the Opposition in the Knesset must be united and that the General Zionists together with Herut and Aguda must form a common united front. This proposal now is receiving backing from many quarters and has in fact been suggested in the recent letter of Menahem Beigin to Peretz Bernstein. We insisted long before the Knesset Elections that it is vital for Israel and for the Zionist movement that Silver should at length become the leader of World Zionism. We think it is a crime in present conditions not to make full use of that great man whose outstanding gifts, devotion and influence have played so conspicuous a part in the creation of the State of Israel. This has been tacitly acknowledged even by Mapai, whose leader Eshkol has invited Silver to become Chairman of the U.S. Bond Drive. We cordially welcome this invitation and are confident that under Silver's leadership the Bond Drive will be a resounding success.

However, we cannot too strongly renew our warning that time is short and that unless the Klalim in Israel take heroic measures to strengthen the position of our party we may be overtaken and swept away by events and entirely disappear as a factor in the history of our nation, notwithstanding the wisdom of our analysis and the soundness of our programme. If this happens it will be due only to the myopia and timidity of our leaders and their mistaken tactics. It was the Klalim's correct diagnosis and justified political demands which brought to our Movement unprecedented successes in municipal and Knesset Elections of 1951. It is equally true that it was the folly and mistaken tactics and failure to use the fruits of victory since 1951 which discredited our Party and brought about the inevitable defeat of July 1955. We uttered warnings long ago and now regret that out of exaggerated loyalty we did not make these warnings public in time before the Knesset Elections.

The mistaken tactics to which we drew attention and which have been fatal in the past are, we deeply regret to state, still being followed, and we must again state them openly.

The three outstanding and fatal weaknesses are (1) the unnatural desire of our Party in Israel to sit on two stools, (2) the failure to interpret the widespread feelings of the masses and (3) the extraordinary timidity and fear of breaking with old routine. These vices explain the strange behaviour of our Party in the Kastner Case. Our leaders refused to take the initiative at any stage of this Case and were ejected from the Israel Government without even the possibility of explaining to the voters the reasons for our strange behaviour. Next, comes the complete disregard by some of our leaders in Israel of widespread and deeply-rooted religious feelings. This has estranged and alienated a large part of the masses and lost our Party tens of thousands of voters. Thirdly, our demand that Silver be invited to Israel before the Knesset Elections was not acted upon. It is to-day difficult to find any Israeli who doubts that Silver's presence in Israel on the eve of the Elections would have been of enormous help to the Klalim.

The endless talk since 1951 about a merger with Progressives, against which we protested vehemently, has turned out, as we foresaw, to be only a cunning move by Nahum Goldmann and his friends to discredit our Party, reduce our vigilance and paralyse our activity. It should by now be clear to everybody that the Klalim differ from the Progressives incomparably more than Progressives differ from Mapai.

Certain immediate steps must be taken by our leaders in Israel and in the Diaspora. They are as follows:-

A. In Israel. Negotiations must at once begin to create a united non-Socialist

Opposition consisting of our Party, Herut and Aguda. It is to be regretted that the Klalim did not take the initiative and there is not a moment to be lost in entering on such negotiations with Herut and Aguda. Such a united opposition front must be based on the following principles:-

- (a) Opposition to Socialism and encouragement of free initiative, fight against Bizbuz (squander) and for economic independence of Israel (by deeds and not only words), and respect for traditions of Judaism.
- (b) An active foreign policy based upon the necessity of fighting British anti-Israel policy in the Middle East, friendship with U.S. and if possible also with U.S.S.R. Preparedness to hit first so as to avoid annihilation by an enemy when strong enough to achieve this.

B. In the Diaspora. The first thing to do is to break at once with the Progressives in the World Confederation of General Zionists. This must be done either by Klalim leaving the Confederation or by expelling the Progressives from it. Before this step there must be a gathering of all true Klalim from every country and at this Convention no Progressive or neutralist should be admitted. This Convention should be summoned by Z.O.A. and Klalim in Israel and be presided by Silver and Bernstein. The present unnatural cohabitation of Klalim with Progressives may not seem very strange in Israel where the Knesset plays the leading part and the World Confederation is almost unknown. In the Diaspora, however, it makes our General Zionist movement ridiculous in the eyes of all thinking Zionists, who call us "androgynous" and refuse to take us seriously. What can be said of a General Zionist Movement whose only legal representatives in London are Janner and Bakstansky who continue to outlaw true General Zionism in Britain and refuse to affiliate a Zionist Society because its Chairman supports the Klalim? What can be said of a Movement which remains passive when its own representatives in Britain are refused the right to use the words 'General Zionist' at the head of their election list of delegates to Congress?

How can a Movement enjoy respect when, having in its ranks the Z.O.A., the strongest and the richest Zionist body in the Diaspora, and also the second largest non-Socialist Party in Israel, it continues to remain allied with its bitterest opponents - the Progressives - in one Confederation, for the sake, it is said, of imaginary financial advantages?

Secondly, we must come out openly with a demand that the President of the World Zionist Organisation should be Silver. We must proclaim the patent facts that the times are too serious, and Israel is in too great a danger to permit us not to make the fullest use of our great leader. We suspect that one of the motives for fixing the Congress in April instead of July was the desire of the Mapai and Progressives to retain the inept Goldmann and Locker at the head of the World Zionist Movement and to keep Silver out.

The above are only the heads of a programme for action and struggle. The fate not only of the General Zionist Party but also to a large extent that of the Zionist Movement in general and above all of the State of Israel depends on its fulfilment. Let us hope that this time the call of British General Zionists will not be a voice in the wilderness - Kol Kore bamidbar - and that we shall not again have to say with bitter regret "we told you so".

Yours in Zion,

SAMUEL LANDMAN.

Chairman.

הסתדרות הציונים הכלליים בישראל

מפלגת המרכז

הועד הפועל

מברקים: נציון תלאביב
Cables: GENZION TELAVIV

ת ל א ב י ב

ח.ד. 1778

רחוב החשמל 33

טלפון 6096-7-8-9

בתשובה נא להזכיר

מס.

ט"ז באדר תשט"ז

יום

28.2.1956

לכבוד
ד"ר א.ה. סילבר
קליבלנד
ארה"ב.

ד"ר סילבר היקר והנכבד,

הנני מתכבד להמציא לכב' את
תכניתנו לימי שחיתו בארץ ומאד נודה לו
אם יאשרה או יעיר הערותיו לגביה בחוזר.

הננו מחכים לידיעה מכב'.

בכבוד רב,

י. ת. ס. י. ר.
המזכיר הכללי

הצעת חכנית לימי בקור ד"ר א.ה. סילבר
23 במרץ 56 - 5 באפריל 56

תאריך	היום	פרטים
23/3	ששי	קבלת פנים בשדה התעופה בלוד
24/3	שבת	במוצאי שבת - מסיבת קוקטייל בבית אחד החברים מראשי המפלגה (או הזמנה לקונצרט, תיאטרון)
25/3	ראשון	לפנה"צ - בקור אצל ראש עיריית תל-אביב וראש עיריית למת-גן וטיורים
26/3	שני	אחה"צ - מושב הועד הפועל הארצי
27/3	שלישי	בקר פרטי בירושלים (לפי בקשת ד"ר א.ה. סילבר)
28/3	רביעי	סיור בירושלים וקבלת פנים ע"י הסניף "בג'מבורי של "המכבי הצעיר"
29/3	חמישי	חנוכת המוסד 10 לפנה"צ - סיור בכפר 11:30 - תפילה ושעור בחג"ך לחלמידים 13:00 - אחרונים עם הנחלת המפלגה והקורטורים 15:30 - טקס פתיחת המוסד 1. נאום יו"ר המפלגה 2. דברי ברכה: א. יו"ר הנהלת הסוכנות ב. סר החקלאות שירת מקהלת החלמידים נאום ד"ר סילבר יו"ר הטקס - ח. דגיאלי התקנה סיור בגליל
30/3	ששי	בחירה
31/3	שבת	יציאה מחיפה ועליה לירושלים
1/4	ראשון	עושה את החג בירושלים
2/4	שני	תל-אביב: לפנה"צ - ישיבת קורטורים הכפר אחה"צ - טקס פתיחת המרכז הופואי של קופת חולים ציונים כלליים
3/4	שלישי	בערב - בנקס חגיגי מטעם הכפר בבית ציוני אמריקה
4/4	רביעי	בערב - עצרת המונים בגן בית ציוני אמריקה מטעם המפלגה והסתדרות ציוני אמריקה
5/4	חמישי	עוזב את ישראל

General Zionists

התאחדות עולי אמריקה וקנדה
ASSOCIATION OF AMERICANS AND CANADIANS IN ISRAEL

1 LEVONTIN STREET

P. O. B. 2163

TEL AVIV

PHONE: ~~XXXXXX~~ 67868

רחוב ל'בונטין 1

ת.ד. 2163

תל אביב

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ : 1970

April 9, 1956

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

During your recent visit to Israel we were aware of the fact that you were extremely busy and we, therefore, did not wish to impose upon your time, much as we would have liked to have approached you with regard to the work of our Association. We therefore have waited until your return to the United States and are now calling to your attention a subject which we will be discussing with delegates to the Zionist Congress and with others among the leaders of the Zionist movements in the United States and Canada.

The enclosed is a statement which we have prepared outlining the proposal which we are submitting for consideration by the Zionist bodies in the United States and Canada. We feel very strongly that the Association is doing an invaluable job in Israel and that it merits the full support of Zionist movements abroad. We believe that the Association should be adopted by the Zionist movements in the United States and Canada, and that Americans and Canadians in Israel should cease to be the orphans of Western Zionism.

We are hopeful that the delegates who are coming to Jerusalem will agree to support our proposal and will act upon it when they return to the United States. We hope that we can also count on your support of this proposal, and we would appreciate it immensely if you would indicate to your associates in the Zionist Organization of America that you are in favor of establishing the link between the Zionist movement and our Association which we propose.

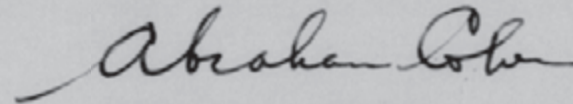
You will be interested in knowing that our Association has among its active members an excellent cross section of Americans and Canadians who have been making a first-rate contribution in economic and administrative circles in Israel. Among our former national chairmen is Mr. Lee Harris of the Palestine Economic Corporation of New York and Mr. Leo Krown who was previously one of the directors of the Israel Meteorological Service and is now director of the Israel Bond Office. Our present chairman, Mr. Moshe Goldberg, is administrative manager of the American-Israeli Paper Mills. Mr. Carl Alpert is one of

April 9, 1956

our vice-chairmen. Our secretary is Mr. Haim Sanderson who was until recently Deputy Director of Customs for the Government. Our treasurer is Mr. David Crohn, Manager of the Mortgage and Savings Bank, a subsidiary of P.E.C. The members of our Executive Committee include Mr. Daniel Avivi, who is in charge of electronics engineering for the Ministry of Defense, Mr. Murray Greenfield of the Z.O.A. House, Mr. Menachem Kraicer, director of the United HIAS Service in Israel, Mr. Jacob Quat, academic secretary at the Technion, and Mr. Werner Loeb, who is in the Economic Division of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

If you should wish to have any more details about our work and our ideas for implementation of the proposed link, we should be very pleased to make them available to you.

Sincerely yours,



Abraham Cohen
Executive Secretary

AC/sem
enc.



A CALL FOR CLOSER TIES BETWEEN AMERICANS AND CANADIANS IN ISRAEL AND THE ZIONIST MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

*

For the past five years the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel has been carrying on its work without any direct ties with the Zionist movements in the United States and Canada. This is the only organization of its kind in Israel which has no such ties with the Zionist movements from which its members came. This lack has handicapped the Association and interfered with the fullest possible development of its service to newcomers. At this moment also there is a serious question as to whether the organization can continue to exist unless such ties are established. The time has come to change this situation.

The Association was established by Americans and Canadians here, and is the only organization here which is geared specifically to help Americans and Canadians get settled in Israel, and stay settled if difficulties arise later. It is an organization manned and directed by Americans who know intimately the background, aspirations and needs of the Americans who come to Israel, and who have set themselves the aim of helping newcomers who find themselves immersed in a new setting, facing language difficulties, fluctuating rules and regulations, different patterns of living, economic difficulties.

The Association achieves its objective through individual personal service. Newcomers are contacted on arrival and informed that the Association is at their disposal. Operating with a very small staff, it offers a prompt and understanding hearing, reliable and responsible information about laws and regulations, guidance and help in dealing with government and Jewish Agency departments, help in meeting emergencies. People come in with problems of housing, customs, citizenship, military service, loans, employment, business opportunities, foreign exchange regulations, etc. The Association has up-to-date information on all these questions, and advises people directly and responsibly. There is no going from office to office, and from desk to desk. When necessary we represent individuals before official bodies in order that they should get proper consideration.

This personal service is the keynote and primary emphasis. In addition, branches of the organization in the three major cities provide social, cultural and educational activities, and an easier introduction into the general life of the country. Furthermore the organization has been working actively and with considerable success, alone or within the Council for Western Aliya, to increase the public facilities and help for newcomers, and for changes in regulations and attitudes which have been a burden and deterrent to successful settlement. It is generally recognized in Israel that much of the improvement which has taken place in recent years as regards the settlement of immigrants from Western countries is due to the work done by organizations such as ours.

The difference between our Association and the organizations of other western groups is very marked. The others are actually branches or affiliates of their respective Zionist Federations, whereas the Association of Americans and Canadians in Israel has no connection with the Zionist movements in the United States and Canada. British and South African newcomers have the direct support of their Zionist organizations. Only the Zionist movements in the United States and Canada, the most important movements in the Zionist world, have no connection with their former members in Israel. There is missing the living channel through which mutual

aid and experience can move between Israel and the home country, and there is less feeling of security and continuity.

The time has certainly come to establish a real organic link between the Association and the Zionist movements in the United States and Canada. The Association should become the arm of the movements in Israel in relation to immigrants and prospective immigrants. Under such an arrangement the Association could be of assistance to Zionists in the United States and Canada who have been considering settling in Israel, but have been floundering around in their search for answers to their questions. We would be able to help people plan their coming so that it could be effected with more certainty and without frustration. Conversely, it would be possible to give more assistance to newcomers and to help them still more to effect a happier and speedier integration. It would make it possible to get proper recognition for the personal contributions to the development of the country made by American and Canadian settlers.

Since its inception the Association has been completely and gloriously non-partisan in membership, leadership, orientation and services. No attempt has ever been made by anyone to restrict membership or services to any one or more parties, or to control the organization in the interests of any party. In this spirit, it is submitted that the link which is proposed here should be with the entire Zionist movement, rather than with any one or more groups within it.

The small budget of the Association which runs to only \$7,500 per year has been provided largely by the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, thanks in very good measure to the interest shown by the American members of the Executive. The continuation of the Agency allocation after April 1956 has been questioned, and will be under consideration during the period of the Zionist Congress. If the organizational link between Israel and America is forged in the manner recommended here, the question of the budget will be solved.

The Association has made a place for itself in Israel, and its usefulness and importance cannot be doubted. It fills a vacuum which would otherwise exist. Experience has demonstrated this, and there can be no turning back. It has to be strengthened in order to continue and expand its area of helpfulness. This can be accomplished if it becomes an integral part of the Zionist movements in the United States and Canada.