RESOLUTIONS OF THE TWENTY-EIGHTH
ZIONIST CONGRESS, 1972

The Twenty-eighth Zionist Congress met in Jerusalem between January 18 and 28, 1972. The Journal of Palestine Studies has been able to obtain a first English copy prior to editing of the Congress Resolutions, which are printed in their entirety below. The Journal wishes to express gratitude to H. E. Dr. George Tomeh, Permanent Representative of the Syrian Arab Republic at the United Nations, for providing the copy of the resolutions.

POLITICAL COMMITTEE

A. ISRAEL FRIENDSHIP LEAGUES

The Congress calls upon the Zionist Executive:

1. To give full support and active assistance to all Israel Friendship Leagues and Friendship Leagues with Israel in other countries in promoting the establishment of new Friendship Leagues or by what other name they are called in countries where they do not already exist and widening the scope of activities of those in existence at present.

2. To maintain contact and collaborate with non-governmental international bodies and organizations in order to widen the scope of information in regard to Israel and Zionism.

3. To collaborate with representative groupings in Israel in the professional, educational and cultural fields, as well as with service organizations, all of which maintain active contact with parallel institutions and kindred organizations abroad, strengthening relationships between Israel and other countries.

4. To extend the activities connected with Christian and other ecclesiastical groups in relation to the significance and meaning of Zionism and Israel.

5. To promote in every possible way the special publications appearing in various countries by the Friendship Leagues with Israel and other pro-Israel circles.

The Congress calls upon Zionist Federations:

a) To establish special committees where these are not already in existence, which will widen the scope of information available to non-Jewish personalities and organizations, including intellectuals, writers and artists, academics, politicians, and pro-Israel organizations generally.

b) To extend the efforts already being made in acquainting the clergy of all religious denominations with the significance and meaning of Zionism and Israel.

B. POLITICAL QUESTIONS

1. By meeting in Jerusalem, the capital of the State of Israel, on the 75th anniversary of the First Congress, the 28th Zionist Congress demonstrates its full identification with the State of Israel in its struggles, aspirations and ideals. Congress stresses the centrality of the State of Israel not only in the life of the Jewish people as such, but also in the life of every individual Jew.

2. Congress declares that the right of the Jewish people to Eretz Yisrael is inalienable. In the Six Day War the aggressors were beaten back. The land of our fathers was liberated and Jerusalem again became a united city.

3. The 28th Zionist Congress fully supports Israel’s fight for a just and lasting peace with secure borders, and reaffirms
the necessity of establishing true peace in the Middle East, thus opening a new area of prosperity and creativity for all peoples of the region. True peace can be achieved only by free negotiations between the parties, without prior conditions, and it must be based on binding peace treaties providing for agreed and secure boundaries.

4. The 28th Zionist Congress welcomes the continuing cease-fire between Egypt and Israel and is convinced that this situation must continue as a pre-condition for making progress towards the ultimate attainment of a meaningful and lasting peace. At the same time, the Zionist Congress expresses its concern about the belligerent proclamations and attitudes of the Arab leaders, primarily of the Egyptian leadership, thus generating a war-like atmosphere.

5. The 28th Zionist Congress declares that, in order to secure peace in the Middle East, it is essential that Israel's full capacity for self-defence be ensured, in view of the continuing massive supply of offensive weaponry to Egypt by the USSR and the intensification of Soviet involvement and active Russian military assistance to Egypt and to other Arab countries. The 28th Zionist Congress urges those countries in favour of stability and peace in the region to supply further defensive arms to Israel to enable her to prevent and resist aggression.

6. The 28th Zionist Congress affirms the principle of the freedom of religion and worship for all religions. Recognizing the universal religious significance of Jerusalem, Congress notes with satisfaction that since its unification the entire population of Jerusalem has been living together in peace and amity, in a spirit of cooperation and harmony, with full freedom of worship and free access to the Holy Places accorded to the members of all faiths.

C. THE JEWS IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES

The 28th Zionist Congress expresses the grave concern of the whole Jewish people for those of its brethren still languishing in the Arab States. Congress records its profound alarm about the fate of the vestiges of the Jewish communities still remaining in these countries, where they are held as hostages, as highlighted by the persistent news of the humiliation and oppression of the Jews in Syria.

With severe restrictions imposed on personal freedom and movement, on cultural, religious and community life, on economic activity, with evidence of arbitrary arrests, prolonged interrogations and physical and mental torture, the life of the Jews of Syria has become intolerable.

The 28th Zionist Congress proclaims that the Jewish people, as well as supporters of justice throughout the world, will continue to fight for the human rights of the Jews of Syria and other Arab countries in which Jews are persecuted and for the right enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights for any citizen freely to leave any country of residence in accordance with the fundamental principles of international justice.

The 28th Zionist Congress conveys its appreciation to those governments and international agencies, as well as to individual leaders in the intellectual, religious and political spheres, who have spoken out on behalf of our persecuted brethren. Congress calls upon them to persist in this humanitarian struggle to bring an end to oppression and persecution of those imprisoned and to procure their release and freedom.

D. The 28th Zionist Congress urges the government of West Germany to include within the framework of personal reparations those Jews who were persecuted by the Nazis during their conquest in Europe, but only recently received permission to leave.

The Congress believes that those who were persecuted but, despite all their efforts, did not succeed in emigrating until 1965, should not be prejudiced. It would be right that all those people should also benefit from the payment of personal reparations as provided by the West German government to the other persecuted Jews.

E. RESOLUTION ON SOVIET JEWRY

The 28th Zionist Congress recognizes with profound admiration the extraordinary struggle of Russian Jewry to return
to their historical homeland in Israel as an outstanding phenomenon in Jewish life. This heroic manifestation of Jewish rebirth and identification is welcomed as an inspiration to the Jewish people to return to their cultural and national inheritance in the Land of Israel. Congress realizes that the expansion of Aliya from USSR is the result of a great common struggle on the part of the Jews in the USSR, of the entire Jewish people, and of the world at large, and expresses its gratitude to the progressive and humanitarian forces in the world who have raised their voices on behalf of justice and human rights.

Congress notes the increase in Aliya from the USSR in recent months, but asserts that this development does not indicate that the USSR have changed their basic policy of denying to the Jews of the USSR the right to Aliya to Israel. Congress appeals to the Soviet Union to respond to the call of the Jewish people — “Let My People Go.”

Congress protests against the anti-Zionist campaign waged by the USSR, deplores and condemns the acts of discrimination in the USSR against Jews as a people and as individuals.

The 28th Zionist Congress protests against the manifestations of oppression and defamation against Jews who express their desire to go to Israel, and requests the government of the USSR to cease from their practice of dismissal of such persons from their employment, and their expulsion from universities, and to annul the oppressive requirement of payment of an emigration tax and other difficulties placed in the way of those who wish to go to Israel from the Soviet Union.

Congress directs itself to the Jewish people in Israel and in the Diaspora, as well as to all other people throughout the world, to continue and increase the struggle for the right of every Jew in the USSR to go to Israel whenever he may wish to do so, and not to rest, not be silent, until the release of every Jew imprisoned in the USSR on account of his wish to go to Israel has been achieved.

Congress sends out a message of solidarity and encouragement to all those who are languishing in prisons as a result of their courageous struggle on behalf of Jewish rights, and pledges its unceasing support of the Prisoners of Zion in their fight for justice and freedom.

COMMITTEE FOR ALIYA AND ABSORPTION

1. Aliya as the Centre of Activities of the Zionist Movement

In view of the fact that Aliya is the quintessence of the Zionist Movement, the Congress declares that the task of creating an aliya consciousness among the Jewish masses in the Diaspora must be the centre of Zionist activities.

Along with the miraculous phenomenon of the increasing aliya from the USSR the Congress believes that all the Jewish communities in the free countries should intensify aliya, particularly at this crucial hour, in order to take part in the task of the ingathering of our people.

The 28th Zionist Congress declares its deep satisfaction with the intensification of aliya from the entire Diaspora and calls upon the Zionist Executive to continue a ceaseless struggle on behalf of immigration of Jews from all countries and regimes.

2. a. USSR Jewry

The Congress warmly welcomes the beginnings of immigration from the Soviet Union and calls upon the Government of Israel to set in motion all the necessary preparations, mainly in the fields of housing, employment, vocational training and education in order to absorb the hundreds of thousands of olim who hopefully may immigrate. Congress calls upon the Government of Israel to encourage and assist the olim in settling throughout the country thus fulfilling their Zionist aspirations.

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1 Aliya: immigration.
2 Olch (olim): immigrant(s).
b. Georgian Jewry

The Georgian Jewry was among the first to wage the struggle for immigration and to preserve the spark of Judaism, under a regime of severe repression. Due to the special nature of this aliya, its problems deserve special attention. The Aliya and Klita authorities are requested to adopt such absorption methods as to conform to the social, religious and traditional aspirations of this aliya. Their good absorption requires that they be settled, as communities, in centres all over the country.

3. Fostering of Immigration

a. The members and leaders of the Zionist Movement are called upon to use all the means at their disposal to encourage the present and future flow of Aliya in their communities, especially through the intensification and the expansion of Jewish education.

b. As a step towards the personal fulfilment of the members of the Zionist movement, the Congress calls upon every parent to send at least one member of his family on aliya so that he may serve as a forerunner.

c. The Congress calls upon the Executive to continue its activities for the fostering of aliya and to initiate new programmes, as for example those which would develop a direct link between Israelis and Jews all over the world toward the end that the message of aliya be spread across the length and breadth of the Jewish world.

Attention should be paid to circulating maximum absorption information so that potential olim can make short and long range planning for their aliya.

d. The Congress views with favour the initiation of projects in the sphere of tourism to Israel for the encouragement of aliya, and the continuation of the Tour V'aleh programme, the organization of tours, seminars and various investment programmes in Israel. It recommends that the possibility of setting up joint projects with the Ministries of Absorption and Tourism be explored.

4. Aliya Movements

a. The Congress congratulates the Aliya Movements on their development in recent years as a driving force in Aliya.

The Congress calls upon the Executive to do its utmost to strengthen the aliya movement; to impose upon it the important task of imparting Zionist education to potential olim before their aliya so as to assure their successful absorption in the country. The aliya movement will foster pioneering settlement in border settlements, in the kibbutzim and moshavim and will support the programme of cooperative group settlements established on the basis of the wishes of the olim. The Congress calls upon the Executive and the Government offices to offer all possible assistance for these purposes.

b. The Congress believes that the aliya movement should be guaranteed the necessary means for its activities and for its development.

5. Olím Associations

The Congress confirms its former resolution (Resolution No. 31 of the 27th Congress) which stated: “The Congress recommends that the social absorption of olim be achieved with the active assistance of volunteer activities of Israelis. The olim associations should be an integral part of every authority dealing with the planning of aliya and social and economic absorption.”

In view of the importance of the above resolution which has not yet been implemented in full, the Congress calls upon the Zionist Executive for prompt action to fulfil the spirit and the letter of this resolution.

6. Activities of the Aliya and Klita Authorities

The Congress expresses its appreciation to all those who are active in the framework

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1 The Aliya and Klita authorities deal with immigration and absorption problems respectively.
of immigration and absorption, highlights their efforts which have been exerted in this work and urges them to continue to improve their services on behalf of the olim.

A. SHLICHIM

The Congress congratulates the shlichim on their work. In view of the various needs involved in the planning of aliya, the Aliya Department is requested to appoint suitable shlichim capable of relating to the professional, social and religious needs of the olim in their area.

B. INCENTIVES

The Congress recommends to the joint authority of Aliya and Klita the continuation of incentives which will serve as effective encouragement for Aliya. Should there be any change of incentive benefits, consideration should be given for a reasonable period of time to the rights of those who have already made preparations for aliya on the old incentives.

C. TEMPORARY ACCOMMODATIONS

aa. The Congress views with great satisfaction the valuable activities of absorption centres, hostels and ulpanim and calls upon the Executive to increase and strengthen them to meet the present needs of increased aliya.

bb. The Congress calls upon the Executive to continue to preserve Kashrut in all the aliya and klita institutions, and to see that there is no public desecration of the Shabbat and Jewish holidays in these places.

c. A great many olim have, in their countries of origin, been deprived of Jewish studies and of learning about Jewish tradition and Zionism. In order to reaffirm their Jewish and Zionist consciousness, the Absorption institutions must offer them not only a programme of Jewish and Zionist studies but must also create a Jewish and Israeli climate in which the Shabbat and holiday customs and spirit are preserved.

dd. The Immigration and Absorption Department, in coordination with the Ministry of Absorption, is called upon to take appropriate steps to make possible the professional training and retraining of olim in the absorption centres, in addition to their Hebrew studies.

D. HOUSING

aa. In preparation for an influx of hundreds of thousands of olim, the Congress calls upon the Government of Israel to make widespread preparations and to gather all the necessary resources to enable the State to provide for this aliya. The Congress considers the plan of the Ministry of Absorption to provide 50,000 housing units, and to plan for an additional 100,000 units, a mission which should be carried out without delay.

bb. Congress calls upon the Jewish world to gather the financial resources, knowledge, equipment and manpower to help realize the housing plans.

c. The Congress recommends spending for the construction of rental housing for olim throughout the country.

dd. Special attention should be given to the problem of housing for single, young and old olim.

E. EMPLOYMENT

The Congress calls on the aliya and klita authorities to find solutions to the employment problems of olim and recommends the following:

aa. Long range employment planning by extending working opportunities in existing fields and by creating new ones.

bb. Retraining of immigrants whose professions are not in demand under existing conditions in Israel and, insofar as possible, it is recommended that this process be started while still in the country of origin.

c. Regular issuing of forecasts indicating the employment openings which will be available at stated periods, this to serve

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1 Shlichim: Zionist “envoys” who reside for a period in countries with sizeable Jewish communities in order to encourage their emigration to Israel.
as a guide to the olim in the planning of his aliya.

dd. The Congress instructs the executive to ensure that Sabbath-observing olim are not prevented from obtaining work because of their beliefs and observances.

F. Information

The Congress demands that every immigrant be given full and accurate information, written in his native language, concerning existing services in the fields of education, health, national insurance, etc.

G. Social Services

The Congress notes with satisfaction the social services given to the olim, and urges improvement of these services and their continuation during the entire three-year period of olim rights.

7. Development Plans

The Congress calls upon the aliya and klita authorities to prepare such enlarged development programmes as will be commensurate with the increasing tides of immigration, and to mobilize all the necessary resources and encourage initiatives towards this end.

The Congress instructs the Zionist Executive in conjunction with the Government to offer immigrants who settle in development areas preferred conditions.

8. Religious Communities

The Congress notes with satisfaction the establishment of religious communities and calls for a continuation of this trend.

9. Youth and Students

a. Youth

The Congress calls upon the absorption authorities and the Ministry of Education to pay special attention to the children of olim within the temporary accommodations and schools. Special programmes must be arranged in order to enhance their understanding of the country and its culture. Special help must be given them to facilitate their integration into classes and into the society of their classmates.

b. Students

The Congress is in favour of the activities carried out in the area of absorbing students and youth within learning frameworks. The Congress calls upon the educational institutions and the Education and Culture Ministry to make preparations for the absorption of the increased immigration of students and youth.

10. Social Absorption

In order to give momentum to the social integration of the increasing streams of immigration from both East and West, the Congress believes that a suitable climate must be created in the country for this purpose. This should be achieved through the cooperation of Government, Jewish Agency and Zionist Organization, Labour Organizations, the Associations of Olim, Women’s Organizations and other voluntary groups.

11. Absorption of Prisoners of Zion and Veteran Zionist Leaders

a. The Zionist Movement hails the contribution of the Prisoners of Zion to the Zionist struggle and urges that steps be taken for their absorption and that arrangements be finalized for their pensions.

b. The 28th Zionist Congress reaffirms the resolution of the Zionist Executive Committee of July 1, 1971, which states: “The Zionist Executive Committee notes with satisfaction the increased immigration of veteran leaders in the Zionist movement, and recognizes a need for special care in order to facilitate their absorption in housing suitable to their particular needs.” The Congress urges the Absorption Ministry to implement this resolution, following its approval by the Congress.

12. Absorption of Artists and Intellectuals

The Congress recommends establishment of a special fund for absorbing artists and intellectuals.

13. Internal Immigration

The Congress instructs the Zionist Executive to concern itself with the subject
of internal immigration and to bring a systematic and detailed plan to the next meeting of the Zionist Executive Committee after the present Congress.

14. REHABILITATION IN SPECIAL CASES

The Congress charges the Executive with the task of rehabilitating special cases of olim who, for objective reasons, have failed to be integrated and whose regular eligibility for assistance has expired.

15. AID TO LARGE FAMILIES

The Congress instructs the Zionist Executive to investigate possibilities for providing aid to large families in order to facilitate their absorption.

COMMITTEE FOR YOUTH ALIYA

A. The 28th Zionist Congress applauds the achievements of Youth Aliya in the years since the 27th Congress and urges the continuation and expansion of these efforts in the following spheres:

1. Bringing youngsters without their parents to Israel from affluent countries and from countries of distress.

2. The educational absorption of these children and the children of new immigrants.

3. The cultural and educational absorption of disadvantaged Israeli children.

B. 1. The Congress affirms the resolution adopted by the Zionist General Council in July 1969: “The primary task of Youth Aliya is to bring Jewish children from the Diaspora to Israel and to look after their integration and education in its affiliated institutions. Faced with the danger of assimilation which is threatening Jewish children in the Diaspora, Youth Aliya must invest its best efforts in rescuing them by bringing them to Israel.”

2. The Congress notes with satisfaction that the education provided at the various institutions affiliated with Youth Aliya has helped trainees to find their places in Israeli society, has helped them develop into good citizens and taught them skills that make them an asset to their country. Tens of thousands of youngsters have received the benefits of this training.

3. The Congress calls upon Youth Aliya to intensify its efforts in encouraging and promoting aliya of youngsters from affluent countries and calls upon the World Zionist Executive to make available the funds for the full development of this programme.

C. 1. The Congress welcomes and supports Youth Aliya’s decision to absorb within the next two years an additional 4600 disadvantaged Israeli children into its framework as a first step in an expanded programme. The Congress expresses its conviction that Youth Aliya’s extensive experience in rehabilitation of disadvantaged children will, through this programme, make a valuable contribution to the solution of the problems of poverty, to the bridging of social gaps and to the social and educational advancement of these disadvantaged boys and girls.

2. The Congress calls upon the institutions of the Zionist Organization to increase their assistance to Youth Aliya to ensure the success of this programme. This assistance will provide for much needed additional dormitories, educational, social and recreational facilities, and for research and experiment in the education field.

3. The Congress reaffirms Youth Aliya’s long-standing policy of assuring each individual child the education required by his religious background through placement in appropriate institutions, youth villages, kibbutzim and day centres.

D. The Congress considers it necessary to make available to Youth Aliya a budget that will enable it to provide for the full needs of maintaining Youth Aliya’s wards in kibbutzim, youth villages and other institutions.

E. The Congress expresses its appreciation to all organizations the world over for their outstanding efforts and continued support on behalf of Youth Aliya.
COMMITTEE ON THE ZIONIST FEDERATIONS

1. TASKS INCUMBENT ON THE ZIONIST FEDERATION AT THE PRESENT TIME

The 28th Zionist Congress notes with satisfaction the manifestation of a renewed Zionist democracy which found expression in the success of the World Membership Drive, carried through in 44 countries, which enrolled in the ranks of the Zionist Movement more than 900,000 members. Furthermore, it is gratified with the fact that, for the first time in many years, democratic elections to the Zionist Congress were conducted in 23 countries.

This new reality obliges the Zionist Federations and their affiliates in all countries to transform the large number of sympathizers with the Zionist Movement into full and active members and to fulfil more energetically the tasks in the various important fields of activity of the Federations, so as to render the Zionist Movement a central force both in the life of the Jewish people as a whole and in the life of every Jewish community. In this way the Zionist Movement will become the effective medium for the implementation of the Zionist idea.

The Territorial Zionist Federations embrace all Zionists in their respective countries who personally subscribe to the Jerusalem Programme and pay a membership fee to the Federations directly or through their constituent organizations.

The Zionist Territorial Federations are the unified and comprehensive framework within which all organizations and institutions cooperate in order to plan and carry out the Zionist functions which are held in common by all of them.

2. PROGRAMME FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF THE ZIONIST FEDERATION

The Zionist Congress calls upon the Zionist Federations to examine, strengthen and improve their structure, organization and methods of work. Each Federation must work out and implement short and long-term comprehensive plans and the Zionist Executive must extend its full assistance to the Federations in the implementation of these plans.

The Congress reiterates that each Zionist Federation must convene territorial conferences at fixed intervals — at least one every two years — likewise set up its governing bodies (such as territorial councils, executive, etc.) in keeping with local conditions and the requirements of its work, and to incorporate in its constitution the system of elections to such institutions. In addition to the affiliated Zionist organizations, suitable representation must be given to the National Funds, the Aliya Movement, and affiliated organizations of the young generation and students, the young adult generation and the young adult sections of the parties, youth movements, women's organizations and similar bodies.

Each Federation should set up regional and local Federations wherever possible to carry out programmes of the Federations in their respective communities within which all organizations and institutions cooperate in order to plan and carry out their common Zionist tasks.

Each Zionist Federation and affiliated organizations shall conduct periodically a territorial Membership Drive, utilizing all the media of Zionist ideological information. Such Membership Drives must be conducted both through the medium of organizations affiliated to the Federation and directly by the Federation.

3. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERATION AND THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

a) Every Territorial Zionist Federation which shoulders responsibility for the implementation of the function of the Zionist Movement in its respective country shall be recognized by the Zionist Executive as the central and authorized institution in all matters affecting Zionist activities. The Congress decides that the functions and activities of the W.Z.O. shall gradually be transferred to the Federations in the various countries. Discussions with the Executive on this arrangement shall be started now, and the Executive shall report to the next session of the Zionist General Council on the progress of the implementation of this resolution.

b) In each Territorial Federation there
shall function committees (departments) charged with functions parallel to those of the Departments of the Zionist Executive. Members of the Federation Executive shall act as Chairmen of the various committees, assuming responsibility for the sphere of activity of each committee.

c) The Shlichim of the Departments of the Zionist Executive shall regard themselves as part of the Territorial Zionist Federation and participate in the work of the relevant committees of the Federation. The principal Shaliach of each department shall be responsible together with the Chairman of the committee for the sphere of activity of the committee to which he is attached, and it is desirable for him to act as co-ordinator of such a committee and as director of the relevant department of the Federation. By virtue of such duty, he shall participate in the meetings of the Executive of the Federation in an advisory capacity.

d) Wherever a number of Shlichim function, they shall constitute a team, headed by the representative of the Zionist Executive accredited to such a country. The representative of the Zionist Executive will maintain regular contact with the Chairman of the Federation and participate in the meetings of the Federation's Executive in an advisory capacity.

e) The Departments of the Executive shall decide on the annual budget for their activities in each country, in consultation with the Executive of the Federation and the principal Shaliach. The Executive shall ensure full co-ordination in so far as the budgetary allocations of the various departments for their activities in each country are concerned. The Federation shall receive full information on the budget and its implementation.

f) The Zionist Executive, in consultation with the Zionist Federation, shall determine when the above proposals shall become effective, taking into consideration the organizational conditions in each country. The Executive shall issue directives for the implementation of the above arrangements in stages, in accordance with the prevailing conditions in each country.

g) The Executive should consult with the Territorial Federations concerned in all matters relating to contact and cooperative efforts with local Jewish Organizations.

4. Financing of Federation Activities

It is the duty of the Zionist Federation to make every effort to finance its activities from their own resources, including membership fees payable by all members of the Federation.

5. Federation Staff

The Congress calls on the Zionist Executive to assist Federations in providing professional and ideological training programmes for the Federation staff, both in Israel and in the countries concerned.

6. The Young Generation in the Zionist Federation

The Congress makes it obligatory upon the Zionist Movement in all countries to employ every possible means — informational, organizational and constitutional — in order to attract and make possible the participation of new forces from among the young generation in Zionist activity. Emphasis should be placed on gathering those new elements from among the young adult generation, enlisting them in Zionist activity within the framework of the Federations and Zionist Organizations, and enabling them to fulfil responsible functions in the Executive institutions of the Federation.

Cognizant of the fact that the co-operation of the young adult generation is vital for the future of the Zionist Organization of the Territorial Federations, the Congress instructs the Executive to strengthen and develop the activities in this field and to see to it that the necessary means for this activity are placed at its disposal. The Executive is instructed to report to the Zionist General Council, at the next session, on progress made in this direction.

The Congress calls on the Executive and the Federations to set up a suitable framework to serve, encourage and guide the activities of the young adult generation and the young adult sections of the Zionist
parties, and to place at their disposal adequate budgets and Shlichim.

The Congress requests the Zionist Executive and the Federation to consult with the representatives of the young adult generation and the young adult sections in all matters pertaining to the promotion and expansion of activities in this field.

7. The Functions of the Territorial Zionist Federation in Jewish Communal Life

The Territorial Federation is obliged to ensure the regular course of communal life; the inculcation of the Zionist spirit into the cultural and educational activities of the community; the strengthening of ties with the State of Israel; and to assure the centrality of Israel in the community’s life.

8. Participation of Members of the Zionist General Council in Zionist Activity

Each member of the Zionist General Council is obliged actively to participate in the work of the Zionist Organization in his country of residence. The Congress recommends that the various groupings shall ensure that their representatives on the Zionist General Council shall be Zionists who occupy a leadership role in the activities of the Territorial Federations.

9. The Duties of the Individual Zionist

The following obligations stem from the tasks and functions embraced in the Jerusalem Programme and from membership in the Zionist Organization:

a) To realize his Aliya to Israel.

b) To be an active member of the Territorial Zionist Organization.

c) To endeavour to implement the programme of the Zionist Movement.

d) To study Hebrew, to give his children a Jewish education, and to bring them up towards aliyah and Zionist self-fulfilment.

e) To contribute and to be active on behalf of the Zionist funds and to actively participate in the consolidation of Israel’s economy.

f) To play an active role in the life of his community and its institutions, and to endeavour to ensure its democratic nature, to strengthen Zionist influence within the community, and to intensify Jewish education.

g) To work for the defence of Jewish rights in the Diaspora.

The Federations shall make every effort to inculcate a consciousness of these duties among their members and to demand from Zionist leaders to set a personal example in their implementation.

10. Admittance of New Member of the W.Z.O.

In accordance with Art. 5, se. 1 (a) of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization and upon the proposal of the Executive, the Congress resolves to admit the Zionist Organization of Paraguay as a Member of the World Zionist Organization.

LEGAL MATTERS

1. Appointment of a Committee for Amendments to the Constitution

The Zionist Congress resolves to charge the Executive with appointing, after consultation with the Presidium of the Zionist General Council, a committee consisting of public personalities and legal experts which shall examine the Constitution and Regulations for its implementation in view of the developments and requirements of the Movement after the promulgation of the Constitution, and shall draft proposals for amendments of the Constitution and the Regulations.

The Congress recommends in particular that this committee shall consider the matter of determining the Congress representation of Israel.

The committee shall submit its recommendation to the Zionist General Council for deliberation and decision.
2. Authorization of the Zionist General Council to decide on amendments to the Constitution

In accordance with Articles 15 and 64 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, Congress authorizes the Council to decide on amendments to the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization.

3. Admission of the Maccabi World Union as Member of the World Zionist Organization

In accordance with Art. 5, Sec. 4 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, Congress resolves to admit the Maccabi World Union as member of the W.Z.O. and in accordance with Art. 15 of the Constitution, the Congress authorizes the Executive to determine the conditions for the participation of the Maccabi World Union in the Congress, the General Council and other bodies of the W.Z.O., including the nature of its representation and the number of its representatives.

4. Admission of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities

In accordance with Art. 5, Sec. 4 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization, Congress resolves to admit the World Federation of Sephardic Communities as member of the W.Z.O. and in accordance with Art. 15 of the Constitution, the Congress authorizes the Executive to determine the conditions for the participation of the World Federation of Sephardic Communities in the Congress, the General Council and other bodies of the W.Z.O., including the nature of its representation and the number of its representatives.

5. Representation of the Israel Zionist Council in the General Council

Congress resolves to charge the Executive and the Presidium of the General Council with determining together the representation of the Israel Zionist Council.

6. Amendment to the Constitution

Congress resolves in accordance with Article 64 of the Constitution of the World Zionist Organization that the maximum number of the Members of the Congress Tribunal stated in Article 47 of the Constitution shall be 30.

COMMITTEE ON SETTLEMENT AND LAND DEVELOPMENT

A. Expansion of the Settlement Programme

1. The 28th Zionist Congress notes with satisfaction and appreciation the achievements of the Settlement Department which since the Six Day War has established over 50 new settlements throughout the country and along its borders. Congress conveys the best wishes of the Zionist Organization to all the new settlers, in mountains and valleys, the Aravah and along the border.

2. Congress is pleased to note that 284 agricultural settlements have attained economic, organizational and social independence, and approves of the Settlement Department's plans for the consolidation of additional settlements. The Congress wishes to see all the settlements firmly consolidated by the time the next Congress convenes.

3. While noting the achievements made so far, Congress considers it essential that the settlement programme be vigorously pursued as a basis for the rebuilding of the land, the dispersal of Israel's population, the strengthening of her economy, the conservation of her social values and the security of her borders.

B. Manpower and Absorption Problems in the Settlements

1. Congress notes with satisfaction the absorption in rural settlements of almost ten thousand olim who have arrived since the Six Day War. At the same time Congress expresses concern at the diminishing potential for rural settlement, despite the growth of the country's population.

2. Congress regards it as a focal goal of the Zionist Organization to attract olim to the rural settlements and calls upon the Settlement, Youth and Hechalutz, Education, Immigration and Absorption
and Information Departments to make a concerted effort to this end.

3. Congress calls upon youth and the younger generation in Israel and the Diaspora to regard settlement as a primary challenge, to set up pioneering settlement core groups, enlist in Nahal units and join those yeshiva students who are fulfilling the commandment of settling the Land of Israel.

The Zionist Executive is called upon to provide material assistance for the organization of settlement core groups among young Israelis and olim.

4. Congress welcomes the programmes of the Settlement Department for second-generation settlers, making provisions for them by diversifying the range of employment in the rural areas and integrating industry within the organic village structure.

5. Congress notes with satisfaction the announcement of the settlement organizations to the effect that they are able, within the existing settlements and on the basis of the present infrastructure, to take in thousands of additional families, and calls upon the competent agencies to step up the housing programme in the various settlements to facilitate the integration of these families.

6. Congress notes that the settlement authority will help every settlement agency and every suitable social group willing to settle on the land.

C. The Keren Kayemet and Land Development

1. The Congress notes with appreciation the report of the Keren Kayemet recording its achievements in the fields of land reclamation, building roads in rural and wooded areas since the Six Day War. Congress regards the systematic land development carried out by the Keren Kayemet as a pre-condition for the expansion of rural settlement.

2. Congress approves of the Keren Kayemet’s land development programme for 1972-75 and calls upon the Zionist Organization to make available to the Keren Kayemet all the financial resources required for the development of new areas for Jewish settlement and for expanding the land base of the mountain and border settlements.

COMMITTEE ON THE RELATIONSHIP WITH ORGANIZED WORLD JEWRY

1. a) The Congress takes cognizance of the wide range of present co-operation between the World Zionist Organization and Jewish bodies which are internationally active in the political, educational and religious fields. Congress notes, however, that such co-operation, and the relationships between the organizations concerned and the World Zionist Organization are frequently of an ad hoc nature. Congress expresses the view that a greater degree of planning and co-ordination are necessary in regard to policy and practical work and believes that in many cases co-operation between the bodies concerned could be intensified to their mutual benefit. Congress therefore instructs the incoming Executive to make a detailed study of the existing relations between the Zionist Organization and internationally active Jewish bodies with a view to achieving closer co-operation and co-ordination in every sphere of Zionist interest.

b) In this regard the Congress requests that special consideration be given to the World Jewish Congress, a body which was brought into existence with the support of the Zionist Movement and the functions of which are in many fields related and interlinked.

c) Congress believes that in the field of Jewish cultural activity there is a special need for the Zionist Movement to initiate a continuing process of consultation and co-operation on the highest level between major Jewish bodies throughout the Jewish world in order to consider together both the ends and the means necessary to enhance effectively the cultural standards of Jewish life.

2. Congress instructs the executive that wherever it is represented at international Jewish conventions every effort should be made to put the Zionist point of view forcibly and to ensure that it prevails;
and to this end it considers it essential that the representatives of the Executive and of the Zionist Movement generally should consult together before and if necessary during such conventions, in order to frame a common line of policy.

3. In those countries where there exists a national overall representative Jewish organization, close co-operation should be established with such a body to make more effective all Israel-orientated activity.

4. Congress instructs the incoming Executive to ensure that all territorial Zionist organizations and individual members of the Zionist Movement use their influence with the Jewish international, national and local organizations and associations which operate in the political, religious, youth, educational, welfare, cultural or social fields, in order to make them more and more Israel-oriented in accordance with the principle of the centrality of Israel in Jewish life.

**THE INFORMATION COMMITTEE**

**INFORMATION ACTIVITIES**

For information to be effective, it must be carried out in close collaboration with organizational measures. The ideological evaluation and the membership drive that preceded the 28th Congress have shown that the enlistment of new members and the activation and consolidation of the Zionist Organization can only be achieved by co-operation between its information and organization agencies.

Zionist information should also be extended beyond the organized ranks of the movement to embrace those who are searching for their Jewish identity as well as members of the Left and liberals who have become alienated from the Jewish people, and information programmes should be developed and actively pursued among various religious circles in order to bring them into the Zionist fold.

To ensure the continuity of Zionist leadership, priority should be given to programmes designed for the younger generation and more intensive information campaigns should be conducted among scientists, students and members of the liberal professions.

The Zionist Federations together with the Organization and Information Department and other Departments concerned should set up research and information centres on matters relating to the Jewish people, organize seminars for lecturers and various circles, and maintain contact with those who shape public opinion.

The experience of the numerous seminars held for youth movement delegates, students and university people in Israel under the auspices of the Organization and Information Department in collaboration with the Zionist Federations has shown that these seminars are a most effective information medium and that the relevant programme should be expanded.

Congress stresses the need to promote and increase the circulation of the Zionist press in the Diaspora and the periodicals published in Israel for the Diaspora. Encouragement should be given to the press catering to the younger generation and to student programmes and the Zionist Federations are called upon to intensify their contacts with representatives of the Jewish press.

Congress approves of the publications issued by the Organization and Information Department in collaboration with other Departments, such as "In the Diaspora," "Sources of National Thought," "Confrontations," Zionist paperbacks and others, and recommends the continuation and expansion of this literary programme.

In view of the growing importance of the mass communications media, the Zionist Organization is urged to develop modern information programmes including various audio-visual programmes (films and exhibitions).

**ISRAEL'S BROADCASTS TO THE DIASPORA AND TO ISRAEL**

1. The Congress conveys its appreciation to the Broadcasting Authority on establishing immediate contacts with the Jewish people in the Diaspora by means of various foreign-language broadcasts. The broadcasts to the USSR will go on record as a historic achievement.
2. Congress considers the expansion of the broadcasts a matter of paramount importance and urgency. The expansion should apply to French-language broadcasts for French-speaking Jews and to the broadcasts to Latin America. The Congress recommends that the resources required for this purpose be assured.

3. Congress attaches importance to the broadcasts of Kol Zion Lagola dealing with the inculcation of Jewish traditional values, especially in those countries where Jewish educational activities have been outlawed. Congress recommends the establishment, at the Zionist Organization, of a special committee to draw up detailed proposals for the implementation of this project.

Likewise the Congress attaches special importance to imparting Jewish and Zionist values to the residents of Israel by means of the Israeli broadcasting network, special emphasis being placed on programmes for the younger generation.

The Jewish Press

The 28th Zionist Congress notes with appreciation the role played by the Jewish newspapers in the Diaspora, which render loyal service to the cause of the nation and the State by combating assimilation, promoting Jewish education and preserving the national cultural and communal values of the Jews in the Diaspora.

Congress expresses its regret at the fact that the Jewish daily, “The Day Morning Journal,” closed down after having for seventy-five years served the biggest Jewish community in the world and expresses concern at the dangers that threaten the remaining Jewish press.

Congress recommends that the Executive of the World Zionist Organization take steps to ensure the appearance of the Jewish and Zionist press.

Ideological Guidelines for Information Work

1. The Zionist Movement is the national, social and spiritual liberation movement of the Jewish People. The establishment of the State has given an enormous impetus to the realization of Zionism. But as before, the mobilization of the whole Zionist camp is needed to strengthen the process of ingathering of the exiles and help in the development, advancement and consolidation of Israel.

2. The establishment of the enlarged Jewish Agency requires the redefinition of the uniqueness of the Zionist Movement as a realizing movement.

Its principal aims are immigration and settlement in Israel and the implementation of the “Jerusalem Program” for the concentration of the Jewish nation in Eretz Israel its historical homeland. The informational and educational tasks of the Zionist Organization in the Diaspora and in Israel have thus gained redoubled importance.

3. From the outset, the information programmes will be in the spirit of Herzl’s injunction: “Return to Judaism precedes the return to the Land of Jews,” in an endeavour to enhance the attachment to our spiritual heritage and the national and universal yearning for redemption, in the spirit of Israel’s prophets and the great preceptors of its Zionist revival.

4. Zionist information in the seventies will be carried out as follows:

   a) Against the background of the present condition of the Jewish nation throughout the world, the danger of the spread of antisemitism (at times in the guise of anti-Zionism) in the East and the West, growing assimilation and increased mixed marriages, lessons of the holocaust, the physical or spiritual survival of the Jewish people in the Diaspora is at peril.

   b) In cognizance of the fact that “solutions” to the “Jewish Question” and the ensuring of our national survival have one after another come to naught, both in the East and the West, both under dictatorial as well as liberal regimes, where Jews are facing persecution, national annihilation or spiritual decline and extinction.

   c) In face of the open gates of Israel which needs millions of additional Jews in order once and forever to safeguard the future of the Jewish nation and the security of the State.

5. The 28th Zionist Congress reaffirms that the paucity of ideas and the dichotomy between the declared ideological principles
and actual practice, having seriously hampered the Zionist Movement and detracted from its influence and credibility among the people as a whole and the younger generation in particular. [sic]

It accordingly urges the revival of the Zionist Movement as a revolutionary national, social and spiritual movement both in theory and in practice. This movement will be free of illusions concerning eternal exile, and the Congress wishes to state that the Jewish problem cannot be solved in any other way except through the Ingathering of the Exiles.

6. To inculcate the idea of the singularity of the Zionist movement it is essential to define the duties and rights of Zionists as compared with those of friends of the State of Israel. Zionists must make it their duty to link their own fate with that of Israel as potential olim; they are required to learn Hebrew and to educate their children in the Jewish-Zionist spirit so as to prepare them for Aliya; to assist all aliya movements and Zionist and pioneering youth organizations. Their activities in the communities must be directed toward increasing the influence of Zionism and the development of the Hebrew schools. They must be ready to defend the State of Israel and the rights of the Jews wherever they may be; and contribute themselves and solicit from others contributions designed to strengthen the State of Israel and enhance its absorption capacity. On the other hand, Zionists are entitled to a privileged position among the Jewish Organizations in the Diaspora and should be given advisory status in the forming of Israel's external and internal politics.

7. The effectiveness of Zionist information will be tested by the Zionist credibility of the leadership and Zionist workers in the various countries. They must set an example for every Zionist by implementing their ideals and coming to Israel themselves. If they do not go on Aliya within two terms of office they cannot continue to hold office.*

8. The Congress maintains that in view of the many distortions and falsifications of Israel's image and the vicious attacks by antagonists and enemies, it is incumbent upon the Zionist Organization to set up the information drive about Israel as a country aspiring to live in security and true peace and upholding the principles of democracy despite the present state of emergency. Notwithstanding certain undesirable manifestations which have to be eradicated, Zionist information can be proud to hold up Israel's numerous achievements — as a spiritual centre of the Jewish nation in the ingathering of the exiles, the revival of the nation's culture, the reduction of social gaps and the gap among the communities, the extensive development of agriculture and industry and the shaping of a pluralistic society as well as the establishment of a diversified economy comprising publicly, privately and collectively owned enterprises. Israel is laying the foundations for a regenerated life based on social justice in the hope of continuing to develop towards becoming an extraordinary people. This gives us the authority to tell the young generation in the Diaspora, which is straying in alien fields, that the paths towards pioneering action and the reconstruction and regeneration of society lead to Israel.

9. STANDING COMMITTEE AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

Following the statement made by the Presidency of the Congress which has been affirmed by the Plenary Session as follows: "The 28th Zionist Congress decides to establish a Standing Committee which will examine the principles of Zionism and will formulate, before the end of 1972, a proposal for the basic principles of Zionism and a definition of the obligations of the Zionist and their implementations. These proposals will be brought before the General Zionist Council for discussion and resolution,"

It is suggested that a World Ideological Conference, in which intellectuals and

* In accordance with the legal opinion expressed by the Legal Advisor of the World Zionist Organization, this resolution is inconsistent with the Constitution of the Zionist Organization and therefore not valid. [Original note]
members of ideological movements will participate, be held during the course of 1972. This conference will attempt to clarify and work out Zionist ideology. Within the framework of this conference discussions with representatives of the younger generation should be included.

10. The Zionist Council in Israel

The Congress views with concern the apathy and confusion prevalent among a section of the younger generation in Israel with regard to Judaism, Zionism, the image of Israeli society and the tasks which they have to fulfil in all those spheres. This apathy and perplexity may be traced to several sources such as: the inadequate time devoted to purposeful Jewish and Zionist education; the lack of a carefully cultivated attitude to Diaspora Jewry and their problems, and the undermining of national and social values in Israeli society. With the help of the Youth and Hechalutz Department, the Israel Zionist Council must continue to be active in this sphere, to make the youth aware of these problems and to initiate topics for discussion which will bring about a more positive and active attitude towards Zionism and the Jewish people.

The following activities should be developed:

a) The expansion of Jewish-Zionist education for the younger generation in Israel by means of compulsory classes in Judaism, Zionism and clarification of the problems of Israeli society, and an integration of these subjects in the curricula of elementary schools, high schools and institutes of higher learning, and the training of suitable teachers for these subjects.

b) The establishment of permanent seminars where the younger generation and high school students in general and members of youth movements in particular will be educated towards identifying themselves with the values of Judaism and Zionism. These seminars will also provide a great deal of information about the functions and activities of the Zionist movement.

11. The Congress supports the activities of the Zionist Council in its attempts to increase the political and social awareness as well as the awareness of Zionism among the younger generation, and calls on the Zionist Executive to allocate additional funds for this purpose.

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN ISRAEL

1. The Zionist Congress expresses its profound concern about the social, cultural and economic gap in Israel with its potentially dangerous effects on the unity of the nation, the security of the country and the absorption of immigration. The Congress accordingly urges the Government of Israel, the Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization to design and implement such actions as are required for the rapid closing of the social gap. The Congress regards this demand as one of its greatest and most pressing goals towards the materialization of the Zionist ideal.

2. The Congress appeals to the Government of Israel and the Jewish Agency to establish a central authority holding far-reaching responsibilities and powers. This authority should possess all necessary financial means to establish social services to co-ordinate and centralize the efforts to eliminate poverty. This should be accomplished together with the efforts to bolster the absorption facilities of Israeli society. The Congress recommends that the director of this authority should be chosen from the Sephardic community.

3. a) The Congress commends highly the activities of those voluntary groups in Israel who have worked within existing frameworks to battle this crisis. The Congress calls for the intensification of these activities and their being made public among the citizenry of Israel.

b) In order to deepen the consciousness of the need for reducing the gap and of social problems in general, the Congress recommends to include these problems in the curricula of the secondary schools.

4. The Congress appeals to the Jews of the Diaspora to intensify the drafting of financial resources and creative abilities among World Jewry. This will help greatly to enable Israeli society to overcome its problems of poverty and misfortune which is the lot of its less progressive elements.
5. The Congress turns to the Government of Israel to implement an intensive construction programme in order to eliminate slums in all senses of the word and to assure suitable living conditions for large families now living in congestion as well as for young couples lacking sufficient economic means. Attention should be paid to the assimilation of different communities and their easy absorption into the social and cultural life of Israel. The Zionist movement must take the initiative in drafting the means for this programme from world Jewry in coordination with groups working in these fields. At the same time, the movement must call on the Israeli public to concentrate all its resources toward this goal and to avoid non-essential construction.

6. The Congress appeals for an encompassing ideal plan which will ensure the economic and vocational progress of low-income and large families such that they will be assured of adequate income and an inclusive social insurance that will answer the needs of poor families. Families will be treated on the welfare, health, educational and vocational training levels.

7. The Congress regards the rapid solution of the cultural and educational gap in Israeli society as an essential step towards the inner unity of the nation. Therefore the Congress appeals to the Israeli Government, to the Jewish Agency and Zionist Federations to act towards the modernization of Israel's educational system. This programme must provide a long school day, even from the youngest grades, and the raising of the educational level of primary schools (including full treatment of children requiring nutrition, help in homework or well-rounded educational activity).

This system must provide the full material facilities for these aims. Particular efforts are needed to widen and deepen the curricula of high schools and post-high-school education, as well as vocational and technological education among youth, those originating from Asia and Africa. Student and youth centres must be established for the implementation of a wide educational programme. Informal educational institutions also must be strengthened (youth movements and organizations). The network of neighbourhood centres and libraries must be enlarged. Attention should be paid to the problems of those youth who are unemployed and not learning. Programmes should be arranged for the easy absorption of youth from these communities who have finished army service. The latter often do not have high-school diplomas. These programmes should be set up under the auspices of universities and provision should be made for the easy continuation, upon completion of these studies, into college-level studies. Likewise, there must be considerable enlargement of student grant facilities for those needing such during their periods of study. These facilities must provide for the upkeep of at least 2,000 students of Asian or African origin in institutes of higher education.

In order to preserve the cultural values of the various communities in Israel, the Congress calls upon all the factors engaged in educational work in the Zionist Movement to give suitable expression to the cultural values of the Oriental communities, their form of life in the Diaspora and the story of their aliyah and absorption in Israel, and to stress their role in the upbuilding of the country, the settlement of the Negev and the establishment of development townlets and border settlements.

8. The Congress appeals to the management of the Jewish Agency to widen the scope of Youth Aliyah activity in order to guarantee the maximal absorption of youth from the poverty sector at the youngest possible ages. Likewise, the Congress demands that the activities of the education fund be expanded toward closing the educational gap.

9. The Congress calls upon all the youth of World Jewry and Israel to come to the aid of our nation in its political and security struggle, to solve its social problems through a large volunteer programme. This programme must include youth trained in education, social and community work, and other experts for work with youth.

10. The Zionist Congress appeals to all those affiliated with the Zionist movement and to the Israeli public to accept responsibility for the social absorption of immigrants through the adopting of immigrant families by native Israeli families and
through the absorption of immigrant children in Israeli educational frameworks. A mutual appreciation of various cultures must be achieved among the different communities and information on the cultural heritage of the various communities. [sic]

11. The Zionist Congress proudly commends Israel's record of the safeguarding of humane morals during battle and during difficult crises which tried the nation. The Congress calls upon the Zionist movement to work for a moral and social climate in Israel's society through more intense Jewish and Zionist education faithful to the traditional and historical values of the movement among all walks of Israeli life.

COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN THE DIASPORA

The 28th Congress expresses the concern and anxiety of the entire Zionist Movement about the future of Jewish education in the Diaspora. The educational crisis is a painfully real fact in spite of the development of primary and secondary Hebrew day-schools, Yeshivot, and institutions of higher learning and Hebrew language classes. Only a fraction of the Jewish children in the Diaspora receive a full Jewish education. Schools suffer from a serious shortage of staff and material resources, while the Jewish family is, in most cases, no longer able to impart to its children Jewish national traditions. The wave of assimilation threatens to engulf major sections of the Jewish communities. Only the bulwark of Jewish education, firmly founded on Jewish culture and tradition and on the spiritual values of Judaism, can save our nation from spiritual annihilation.

The Zionist Congress affirms that —

a) It is the duty of every Zionist to study the national tradition and learn the Hebrew language which must be the second language of every Jew in the Diaspora. It provides the means for fostering Jewish culture, preparing those who are learning it for aliyah and integration in Israel and enriching the spiritual life of the Jews in the Diaspora.

b) It is the duty of every Zionist to give his children a Jewish education. No Zionist who fails to impart a Jewish and Zionist education to his children can serve in any office in the Zionist Movement. *

c) Concern for Jewish education and the inculcation of Jewish culture is acknowledged as the supreme duty of the Zionist movement, including the Zionist Federations, the Zionist organizations and every individual Zionist wherever he may be.

d) A message of solidarity goes out to Zionists in countries where the study of Hebrew is outlawed, who are sacrificing their lives in order to learn the language and culture of their people. Their devotion and attachment to the Hebrew language ought to serve as an example for the Jews of the free countries.

e) The Zionist Movement is called upon to be the vanguard of the campaign, to be conducted with the participation of the community leaders, aimed at strengthening awareness of the need for Zionist-Jewish education, and to use daring, non-routine methods to enlist the organized communities in an effort to maintain and expand the Jewish education system.

f) The Zionist Federations and organizations are called upon to establish education committees to further Jewish and Zionist education and ensure that educational needs should have priority in the distribution of the community funds.

g) The centrality of Israel and the primacy of aliyah should be a central goal of Jewish-Zionist education, whatever the framework, and Zionists are required to fight for this goal.

h) Congress calls upon the Zionist Executive together with other factors to set up a World Education Fund to provide incentives and infrastructure investments.

* In accordance with the legal opinion expressed by the Legal Advisor of the World Zionist Organization, this resolution is inconsistent with the Constitution of the Zionist Organization and therefore not valid. [Original note]
for Jewish education and to finance the educational programmes of those communities which need such support. Full collaboration shall be ensured between the educational agencies and the Zionist youth movements which are making a major contribution to the education of the younger generation.

i) Congress appreciates the good work of the Departments of Education and Culture in the Diaspora and urges that the necessary means be made available to them for the expansion and intensification of their activities. To further the educational programmes for coming years, the Departments are called upon to carry out the following projects:

1) To draw up a long-term programme to meet the needs of Jewish education, in collaboration and coordination with all the appropriate agencies and above all with the Zionist Federations, in accordance with local conditions.

2) To promote the establishment of a reserve of teaching staff for Jewish education and attract suitable candidates for this purpose who regard Jewish education as an avocation and a national goal; to initiate and promote the establishment of rabbinical and teachers' training colleges in the Diaspora; to train first-class professionals to be the leaders of Jewish education in the future; to provide training facilities for educators abroad, with the aid of experts from Israel; to raise the status of the Jewish educator and enhance his prestige by improving his working conditions and providing for his education and further training; to expand the facilities available in Israel for the education and advanced training of teachers from the Diaspora and to expand and foster the Israeli teaching staff capable of filling educational posts in the Diaspora.

3) Recognizing the importance of the Hebrew day schools, to promote the expansion of the network of primary and secondary day schools, including Yeshivot, as well as other forms of education.

4) To expand the teaching programmes in Israel for youth, students and yeshiva students from the Diaspora as an integral part of the Jewish and Zionist education of youth in the Diaspora.

5) To develop curricula, teaching material, textbooks and teaching media for Jewish schools in the Diaspora, in collaboration with educational agencies abroad and using modern technology and the educational know-how and philosophies evolved in Israel.

6) To extend the study of the Bible among youth and adults.

7) To intensify Jewish cultural activities among adults by publishing basic books on Judaism and other great works of our cultural heritage, setting up libraries, organizing seminars for cultural workers, sending intellectuals and artists abroad and developing a network of classes and teaching facilities. To assist in the establishment of university chairs in Hebrew, Jewish History and Judaism, and to help student organizations and yeshivot in their educational programmes.

8) To pay attention to small, isolated communities by training manpower and developing suitable teaching material for the inculcation of Jewish and national values.

9) To publish teaching and educational material for the Jewish home, explaining the values of Judaism and enabling parents to supplement the Jewish education given to their children at school.

10) To support the activities of parents' groups and assist in their establishment.

j) The 28th Zionist Congress welcomes the co-operation between the World Zionist Organization and the Ministry of Education and Culture of the Government of Israel and calls upon them to collaborate in intensifying Jewish consciousness and Zionism in the schools in Israel and the Diaspora. Intellectuals and educators in Israel and in the Diaspora and institutions of higher learning should be made to participate in this programme.

k) Congress appeals to the Zionist Executive and the National Zionist Federations to collaborate with the World Hebrew Union and assist it in its operations.

l) The Zionist Organization and its Education Departments are called upon to collaborate with the teachers movement on behalf of the Keren Kayemet and to lend it their full support in the attainment
of its goals, for the intensification of Zionist education in the schools.

m) Congress appeals to the education departments of the World Zionist Organization to consolidate the education network in the Sephardic communities in the Diaspora and to enhance their commitment to Israel by promoting their specific values.

COMMITTEE ON BUDGET AND FUNDS

A. BUDGET

1. The Congress takes note of the financial report of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization - The Jewish Agency, for the period 1.4.67 to 31.3.71, and points out that the annual budgets were carried out according to their specifications.

2. The Congress takes note of the Comptroller's oral report on his inspection activities and subjects for the period between the 27th Congress and the present Congress.

3. The Congress takes note of Report No. 15 of the Comptroller of the World Zionist Congress as well as the remarks of the Executive as presented to the Congress.

4. The Congress approves the recommendations of the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee as presented in the Comptroller's report, including the reports which the 27th Congress authorized the Committee to deal with.

5. The Congress takes note of the Proposed Budget of Needs of the Jewish Agency to a total of 775 million dollars.

5a. The Congress recommends to the Executive to present to the Permanent Committee for Budget and Finance of the Actions Committee the detailed Budget of the Jewish Agency, and bring the Committee's conclusions before the authorized institutions of the Jewish Agency.

6. The Congress recommends to the Executive of the World Zionist Organization to take steps to set up a Permanent Committee for Budget and Finance of the Assembly of the Jewish Agency in which the Permanent Committee for Budget and Finance of the Actions Committee will be included in accordance with its proper composition.

7. The Congress approves the budget framework of expenditure of the World Zionist Organization for the period 1.4.72-31.3.73, to a total of IL 128,992,500 ($30,712,500) as well as the estimated income for that period to the same amount, and authorizes the Zionist Action Committee to discuss and decide on the details of the expenditures directly or, should it so decide, by the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee.

8. The Congress approves the budget framework of expenditure of the Keren Kayemet Le Israel for the period 1.4.72-31.3.73 to a total of IL 79,800,000 ($19,000,000) and also the estimated income for that period to the same amount, and authorizes the Zionist Action Committee to discuss and decide on details of the budget of expenditure directly, or, should it so decide, by the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee.

9. The Congress delegates its authority regarding budget and finance to the Zionist Action Committee, and authorizes it to discuss and decide for the period from Congress to Congress on all budget and finance matters either directly, or, should it so decide, by the Permanent Budget and Finance Committee.

B. FUNDS

1. Contributions by Jews throughout the world to the Keren Hayesod United Israel Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal.

Five years after the Six Day War, there is an increasingly heavy burden weighing on the citizens of Israel, stemming from security expenditures required for the defence of the State. In view of this, the Congress calls upon the Zionist camp, and the entire Jewish nation, to take part in an immediate and massive rescue action, enlisting its resources through the Keren Hayesod - the United Israel Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal. The aim — meeting the urgent needs of increased immigration and absorption (and especially those from the Soviet Union), the needs of settlement and youth aliya, the
need to reduce the social gap, particularly in the fields of education and housing.

2. The Central and Senior role of the Keren Hayesod - The United Israel Appeal.

   a) The Congress re-emphasizes the central and senior role played by the Keren Hayesod - The United Israel Appeal and the United Jewish Appeal.

   b) The Congress insists that recognized Israeli institutions dealing in raising money for the goals assigned them, must coordinate the timing of their activity with the offices of the central bodies of the Keren Hayesod - The United Israel Appeal, and of the United Jewish Appeal, to preserve the senior rights of these latter two.

3. The Zionist Movement and Appeal Activities

   a) The Congress calls upon the Zionist organizations in various countries to increase the participation of their members in the activities of the Keren Hayesod and the United Jewish Appeal.

   b) The Congress emphasizes the necessity for participation by the Zionist leadership in the activities of the Appeal both through personal contributions by the leaders and their friends, and through placing Zionists in positions of central activity. The Congress emphasizes again that every member in the movement is duty-bound to serve as an example, by his personal contribution to the Appeal, and his devotion to its work.

   c) The Congress again determines that a person who does not fulfil his duty to the Keren Hayesod - the United Israel Appeal or to the United Jewish Appeal will not be able to hold any post in the Zionist Movement, whether on the local or the national level, or in any institution affiliated with the movement.

4. "The Year for New Workers"

The Congress notes with satisfaction the proclamation by the Keren Hayesod that 1972 should be a year for new workers. The Congress calls upon the Zionist organizations in various countries to lend their support to the leadership of the Appeal by enlisting new active members.

5. The Next Generation

The Congress welcomes the efforts by the Keren Hayesod - the United Israel Appeal and by the United Appeal to add young forces to its ranks of active members. The Congress calls upon the next generation in the Zionist Organizations, and especially upon the Zionist Youth Movements, to take an active part in carrying out this mission, in order to ensure continuation in the Appeal leadership.

6. The United Israel Appeal (Keren Hayesod - The Jewish National Fund)

The Congress calls upon the Jewish public in Israel to increase its contribution to the United Appeal, the Keren Hayesod - the National Jewish Fund. This is the voluntary channel by which citizens of Israel take part in the activities of the the Zionist Movement, especially in the area of immigration, absorption and agricultural settlement. The Congress calls upon the Zionist Council in Israel to take an active part in this United Appeal.

The Jewish National Fund

The 28th Zionist Congress congratulates the Jewish National Fund on the 70th anniversary of its foundation at the 5th Zionist Congress in Basle.

The Congress confirms the principle of the land being national property, a principle which has become the basic element of the agricultural and social system in Israel; it expresses its appreciation of the historical function the Jewish National Fund has fulfilled in the great enterprise of Zionist settlement in Eretz Israel by means of land redemption and development, the building of new roads, opening of new areas for settlement and the improvement of natural resources and ecological conditions of the country by means of extensive afforestation.

The Congress confirms once more that in force of the Convention signed in 1960 between the Government of Israel and the Jewish National Fund, and approved by the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish National Fund became the recognized instrument for land redemption and development and afforestation.
The Congress recognizes the important role of the Jewish National Fund in Zionist activities in the Diaspora, in the educational sphere and the raising of funds, its aspiration to reach every Jewish household every day of the year by dint of its popular character and its traditional methods of fund raising. It calls upon all the Zionist organizations throughout the world to support the Jewish National Fund in the fulfilment of its functions and it considers it as vitally important to strengthen collaboration between the Zionist Federation and the Jewish National Fund in every country throughout the world.

It resolves that to the advantage of the Zionist Movement, and in the spirit of the resolutions of the Executive Committee ever since the 27th Congress, which recognize the independent status of the Jewish National Fund with the World Zionist Organization, the Zionist Executive to be elected and the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund are requested to propose ways for the strengthening of collaboration between them and to prepare recommendations which will be presented for the approval of the Zionist Executive Committee.

COMMITTEE ON YOUTH AND STUDENT AFFAIRS

1. Youth Movements

a) The 28th Zionist Congress notes with satisfaction that the efforts made by the Halutzic and Zionist youth movements have given rise to the consolidation and expansion of these movements in several countries of the Golah. Nevertheless, it is clear that the potential of the youth movements as an educational force has not been fully exploited, and for this reason the Congress calls on the Youth and Hechalutz Department and on the youth movements to find ways and methods which will answer the needs of the youth of the seventies without adversely affecting the basic values of Zionist fulfilment.

b) Congress deems it essential to give preference to those educational frameworks which educate youth towards Zionist fulfilment by means of Aliya to kibbutzim, moshavim, development areas and other forms of settlement.

c) While stressing the importance of work within the Zionist youth movements, Congress deems it essential that the shlichim of the youth movements do their utmost to widen the scope of their activities also outside their movements. Congress calls on the youth movements to direct their shlichim and youth leaders to play an active role in programmes which will attract the Jewish youth to Israel, and to encourage Aliya within communal and other frameworks which are not specifically Zionist. These activities will be on a completely non-party basis.

d) Congress notes with satisfaction that there are movements in the Golah belonging to different ideological trends which are able to attract various groups of youth. However, in certain places too many such movements exist, especially in small communities. Congress, therefore, instructs the Youth and Hechalutz Department to approach the executives of these movements in order to prevent unnecessary competition among them.

2. Roof Organizations for Youth and Promotion of Zionist Activity within the Community

a) Congress notes with satisfaction the establishment of Zionist Youth Councils in many countries, following upon the membership drive and the ideological discussions, and calls upon all the leaders of Zionist and Jewish youth organizations abroad to cooperate in the implementation of joint programmes (seminars, demonstrations, actions on behalf of Jews in countries of distress, etc.) in order to attain a greater measure of Jewish solidarity and awareness of the centrality of Israel in Jewish life.

b) The Zionist Congress calls upon the roof organizations for youth to have their constituent organizations become an active force in the community, in Jewish education, activities on behalf of the Jews in the countries of distress, and to encourage and assist Aliya.

c) Congress calls upon Zionist youth in the Golah to be active within the community and to share in the responsibility for its programmes, with a view to persuading
its members that Zionism is the sole solution to the Jewish question in all countries.

d) Congress notes with satisfaction the expansion of the shlichut programme and the development and expansion of the projects relating to Israel within the Jewish organizations and community movements in the world. It calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department to persist in these activities in order to ensure the attachment of organized Jewish youth to Israel and enhance the growing tendency among youngsters to confront the problems of their Jewish identity and the question of Aliya.

e) Congress appeals to all Jewish communities and Zionist Federations to regard the Youth Councils as an essential framework for activating the younger generation and exerts them to tender to these Councils their fullest moral and material assistance.

f) Congress notes with satisfaction the existence of various organizations in the Golah, belonging to different ideological trends, which are able to attract various groups of youth and students. However, in many places attempts are being made by non-youth political groups to establish their own movements for the sake of enlarging their party influence. Since total resources for student and youth work are limited, Congress therefore calls upon the parties to approach existing Zionist Youth Councils to solicit the Councils' support before non-youth groups establish new youth organizations, or alternatively that the parties themselves fund and service such organizations.

3. MEANS OF ENCOURAGING ALIYA AND PROJECTS IN ISRAEL

a) In line with the demand put forward by the Zionist Congress for the strengthening of Aliya and the Zionist imperative of personal fulfilment, Congress stresses the need for a radical, uncompromising approach to Aliya by all Zionist youth organizations.

b) In order to prepare the educational, psychological and practical ground for Aliya of youth, Congress exhorts every Jewish boy and girl, at the earliest possible stage of their maturity to spend at least one year in Israel in one of the existing programmes (the college programme, Shenat Sherut, Sherut La'am, etc.).

c) Congress notes the achievements of the Youth and Hechalutz Department in increasing the number of young people taking part in short-term programmes whose scope is increasing from year to year. This is of decisive importance educationally and as a means of furthering Aliya.

d) Congress recommends that the Youth and Hechalutz Department deepen and intensify the Jewish and Zionist content of the curricula offered to youth groups coming to Israel.

e) Congress recommends that the Youth and Hechalutz Department give priority to programmes designed for the training of youth and student leaders.

f) Congress calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department to prepare emergency programmes for making adequate provision for the thousands of volunteers likely to come to Israel at time of crisis.

g) Congress urges that diverse programmes be established for the Aliya of youth by setting up Aliya groups, and developing new experimental projects in the field of rural and urban settlement, etc.

4. INVOLVEMENT OF ISRAELI YOUTH IN THE SOLUTION OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN ISRAEL

a) Organized Israeli youth is urged to take the initiative in bringing additional assistance to the economically and socially disadvantaged strata of the younger generation, with a view to helping them integrate into Israeli society.

c) Israel's youth movements are urged to take action for the promotion of social integration between veterans and newcomers and between different social strata within their own movements.

d) Congress calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department to initiate, in association with other Zionist Organizations, programmes for the aid and advancement of disadvantaged youth, and to encourage and assist the youth movements and young Zionist organizations in these activities.
5. Zionist Activity Among Israeli Youth

a) Congress notes with satisfaction the establishment of the Institute for Zionist Education of the Youth and Hechalutz Department and the various programmes sponsored among Israeli youth by the Israel Zionist Council, comprising seminars and courses for the clarification of the nature of Zionism which were attended by tens of thousands of young Israelis. However, in view of Israeli youth's apathy to the Zionist enterprise, Congress urges the continuation of these programmes which are essential in order to foster Zionist awareness, understanding of the needs of the Jewish people, Jewish solidarity and the commitment of youth to its Jewish heritage.

b) Congress once again calls upon the Executive to ensure that Israeli youth and Jewish youth from abroad visiting in Israel should meet and associate as much as possible.

c) In the light of the tendency notable on the periphery of Israel's youth to disassociate itself from Aliya and from the link between Israel and the Jewish people, Congress calls upon the Israeli youth and Israeli students abroad to play a more active role in the integration of new immigrants and in the strengthening of ties between Israel and the Jewish people.

d) 1. The Zionist and Halutzic youth movements in Israel are the main and most effective tool for educating the youth in Israel for Zionist and Halutzic fulfilment. The 28th Zionist Congress therefore urges:

a) that educational and Zionist activity among youth in Israel be increased, and directed to Halutzic fulfilment in general, and the Kibbutz in particular. In addition, Zionist educational and ideological activity among youth of the settlements should be increased;

b) that further means and tools be given to the Youth and Hechalutz Department, in order to intensify and expand its many activities among Israel's youth.

2. In order to strengthen the ties between the youth in Israel and the Zionist Movement, the Congress urges that suitable representation be granted to Israeli youth in the Zionist General Council, the Congress, and other elected bodies of the World Zionist Organization.

6. Activities among Students

a) Congress calls upon the Youth and Hechalutz Department and upon all agencies active among Jewish students to promote and enhance the growing trend among Jewish youth to intensify the search after their Jewish identity, affiliation with the Jewish people and its roots. This should be done by helping to develop and consolidate the Jewish content that forms the basis of Jewish and Zionist education while carefully preserving the idea of Israel's centrality.

b) In response to the changing mood among the Jewish students in the Golah, Congress calls upon the Zionist Executive to place greater emphasis in its educational programmes, seminars and publications on the Jewish spiritual heritage and cultural development of Israel.

c) Congress urges the Youth and Hechalutz Department and all agencies active among students to diversify their modes of activity and show flexibility in implementation of their projects in order to reach the largest possible number of Jewish students. The Zionist students' organizations must remain open as they have in the past to all shades of the ideological and organizational spectrum of the Zionist Movement.

d) Congress urges the expansion of the educational facilities for student leaders from all Jewish student organizations offered by the Youth and Hechalutz Department by way of seminars in Israel and abroad.

e) Educational activities among students are carried out mainly in small settings (campuses, local and national organizations). While recognizing the importance of student organization on a continental or world-wide scale, Congress calls upon Jewish communal leaders at local and national levels to promote student activities similar to those of the North American Jewish Student Appeal. Congress also calls for support of the activities of student ideological organizations linked to the Zionist Movement.

f) The 28th Zionist Congress:

Expresses its disappointment at the non-participation of some national branches of
WUJS in the membership drive of the Zionist Movement.

Congress notes with satisfaction the existence of student groups which expressed their loyalty to the Zionist Movement through the Membership Drive. Urges that the Executive of WUJS recommend to the next Congress of its organization a thorough re-examination of its organizational structure and ideological platform. Recognizes the work done by WUJS in the field of Aliya, information on behalf of Israel on the campuses, Jewish-Zionist education and the protection of the rights of the Jewish minority. Calls upon the Zionist Executive to continue to extend support to WUJS.

g) Congress does not recognize WUJS as being the only representative of all Jewish student opinion throughout the world and therefore calls on the Executive to support other Jewish student organizations.

h) Special note should be taken of independent national campus organizations, such as Yavneh, which serve a wide spectrum of student needs. Because of their variegated programmes these organizations are able to reach and attract many students who cannot be reached by groups concentrating only on Zionist programmes. Since these organizations do carry on many significant Zionist activities Congress calls upon the Zionist Executive to support them in order to increase the level of their Zionist activities and in this way attract more students to Zionist programmes and ideology.

i) This Congress recognizes the importance of promoting specific Zionist activities for students of Yeshivot Gevohot and requests the Youth and Hechalutz Department to promote and develop such activities.

7. Regional Programmes

a) Congress notes with satisfaction the successful implementation of the "American Plan" which has proved its viability in spite of the budgetary limitations that have curbed its momentum, and calls upon the Executive to continue and expand this programme as well as the various other regional programmes embarked upon.

b) In view of the success that is being recorded in such regional programmes as the American Plan, Congress urges the Executive to develop a regional programme for the Jewish communities in Latin America.

8. Young Adult Organizations (Mishmerot Tzeirot)

Congress supports the concept of the establishment of Young Adult Organizations (Mishmerot Tzeirot) in the Golah and calls upon the Executive to act towards the implementation of this idea.

9. Shlichim

a) The Congress urges all the shlichim sent out through the Zionist Executive and active within the youth movements or organizations to regard themselves as forming a unified mission sent out to the country in which they are working. The representatives of the Executive who are in charge of coordinating the activities of the various movements and shlichim are exhorted to make the fullest possible use of the shlichim abroad within the general community.

b) The Congress directs the Executive to take part in the screening of all shlichim and to make sure that only shlichim suited for their tasks be sent abroad.

c) Congress directs the Zionist General Council which will convene in approximately one year's time to ratify the principle to be proposed for the allocation of shlichim and the manner in which it is to be implemented according to the criteria suggested by the Youth and Hechalutz Department together with the youth movements. The resolutions passed by the special sub-committee of the Youth and Students' Committee should be passed on as recommendations to the Zionist General Council. Criteria for the Allocation of shlichim should include:

1. One year's Hachshara Courses in Israel, the Institute for Youth Leaders abroad or some other facility for the training of youth leaders in Israel.

2. Youth movement members and members below the age of 30 who go on Aliya
and declare their membership upon arrival shall according to our criteria be regarded as immigrants.

10. General

a) Congress urges the Youth and Hechalutz Department to organize a conference of at least two days duration of all youth delegates who will be attending:

1) The ideological conference soon to be held.
2) All meetings of the Zionist General Council.
3) The 29th Zionist Congress

Such conferences should be held for clarification of views before the above events take place.

b) Congress notes that the Keren Hayesod-United Israel Appeal has become active within the younger generation. Congress calls on all Jewish youth to give their utmost assistance in building the State of Israel, and towards assisting Jews living under oppression, by contributing to the Keren Hayesod, the financial arm of the Jewish Agency.

c) Recognizing the demands made upon the means of the World Zionist Organization and the limitations of those resources. Congress urgently requests that the Executive provide the Youth and Hechalutz Department with the necessary means to enable it to carry on the existing programmes and that it initiate the new programmes suggested in the body of the resolutions adopted by this Congress.

ELECTIONS

Chairman of the Zionist Executive

The 28th Zionist Congress elects

Mr. Louis A. Pincus

as Chairman of the Zionist Executive.

Members of the Zionist Executive

Jerusalem:
Mr. Mordechai Bar-On
Mr. Arieh L. Dulzin
Mr. Hayim Finkelsztajn
Mrs. Haya Jaglom
Rabbi Mordechai Kirshblum
Mr. Joseph Klarman

Mr. Moshe Krone
Mr. Andre Narboni
Mr. Avraham Schenker
Mr. Ezra Z. Shapiro
Dr. Raanan Heitz
Mr. Moshe Rivlin (Associate Member)

New York:
Rabbi Dr. Arthur Hertzberg
Rabbi Richard Hirsh
Mrs. Charlotte Jacobson
Rabbi Israel Miller

Dr. Allen Pollack
Prof. Rabbi Emanuel Rackman
Mr. Kalman Sultanik
Mr. Jacques Torczyner

The Zionist General Council

Congress elects 111 Members and 222 Deputy Members of the Zionist General Council as well as Members without voting rights (Virilists) in the following composition:

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VIRILISTS: (until the 28th Congress)

Mr. Bezalel Bazak  
Jerusalem  
Mr. Jacob Halevy 
Handcross

Mr. Yeshayahu Bernstein  
Tel Aviv 
Mr. Abraham Hartzfeld 
Tel Aviv

Mr. Aba Bornstein 
London 
Mr. Edel J. Horwitz 
Johannesburg

Mr. Yehuda Braginsky 
Givat Hashlosha 
Mr. Marc Jarblum 
Tel Aviv

Mr. Joseph Dal ski 
Johannesburg 
Mrs. Sara Kafri 
Kfar Yehoshua

Prof. Benzion Dinur 
Jerusalem 
Mr. Smultz Kahan 
Paris

Mr. Beinesh Epstein 
New York 
Mr. Yitzchak Kubowitzky 
Tel Aviv

Mrs. Judith Epstein 
New York 
Judge Louis E. Levinthal 
Philadelphia

Mr. Max Melech Freilich 
Sydney 
Mrs. Irma L. Lindheim 
Mishmar Haemek

Mr. Leon Gelman 
Tel Aviv 
Mr. Berl Locker 
Jerusalem

Dr. Yehoshua Guvrin 
Tel Aviv 
Mr. Jacob Marrus 
New York

VIRILISTS: (elected by the 28th Congress)

Mr. David Beth-Aryeh  
Israel  
Lord Janner 
Great Britain

Dr. David Bukspan 
Israel 
Mr. Arnold Luksenburg 
France

Mr. Beno Cohen 
Israel 
Prof. Raphael Mahler 
Israel

Mr. Pinchas Cruso 
U.S.A. 
Mr. Julian Mercer 
Australia

Mr. Moshe Erem 
Israel 
Mr. Anselm Reiss 
U.S.A.

Mr. Mendel Fisher  
U.S.A. 
Dr. Maurice Sage 
U.S.A.

Mrs. Bert Goldstein  
U.S.A. 
Mrs. Tamar de Sola-Pool 
U.S.A.

Dr. Israel Goldstein 
Israel 
Prof. Marie Syrkin 
U.S.A.

Mr. Alimelech Gutkin 
Israel

FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

Dr. Nahum Goldmann

FORMER MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE

Rabbi Leon Feuer 
U.S.A. 
Dr. Emanuel Neumann 
U.S.A.

Prof. Ben Halpern 
U.S.A. 
Mr. Sam Rothberg 
U.S.A.

MEMBERS (Distribution according to parties — the full list will be published later)

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<th>Members</th>
<th>Deputy Members</th>
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<td>Labour Zionist Movement</td>
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<td>Confederation of General Zionists</td>
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<td>Mizrachi-Hapoel Hamizrachi</td>
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<td>World Union of General Zionists</td>
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<td>W.I.Z.O. (4 + 1 in advisory capacity)</td>
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LEGAL BODIES

By virtue of Article 54 of the Constitution Congress elects as Chairman of the Congress Tribunal

Justice Moshe Landau
By virtue of Article 53 of the Constitution Congress elects as Attorney of the World Zionist Organization

Advocate Zvi Klementinovsky

By virtue of Article 54 of the Constitution Congress elects the following as Deputy Chairmen of the Congress Tribunal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Judge Louis E. Levinthal</th>
<th>U.S.A.</th>
<th>Dr. David Merez</th>
<th>Israel</th>
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and the following as Members of the Congress Tribunal:

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<td>Adv. Louis Bloomfield</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>Prof. Isaac H. Klinghofer</td>
<td>Israel</td>
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<td>Dr. Jacob Braude</td>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>Adv. Eleazar Lipsky</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
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<td>Prof. André Chouraqui</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Adv. Nathanel Rottenberg</td>
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<td>Adv. Daniel Cohen</td>
<td>U.S.A.</td>
<td>Mr. Abaram Salomon</td>
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<tr>
<td>Judge S. Elkayam</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Adv. Meir Silverstone</td>
<td>Israel</td>
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<td>Dr. Anna Gelber</td>
<td>Israel</td>
<td>Adv. B. Zanani</td>
<td>Israel</td>
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and the following as Deputies to the Attorney of the Zionist Organization:

Adv. David Herman, Israel
Adv. Joseph Kushnier, Israel

OFFICE OF THE COMPTROLLER

Congress elects

Mr. Meir Benzion Meiri

as Comptroller of the World Zionist Organization.