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SPECIAL DOCUMENT

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE THIRTY-FOURTH WORLD ZIONIST CONGRESS, 17–21 JUNE 2002

INTRODUCED AND EXCERPTED BY
WALID KHALIDI

This year, from 17 to 21 June, the Congress of the World Zionist Organization (WZO) was held in Jerusalem, the thirty-fourth such congress to be held since the World Zionist Movement was launched in Basel, Switzerland, by Theodor Herzl in 1897. At first the Congress met annually, then biennially, in various European cities, but since the establishment of Israel it has been meeting every four years, always in Jerusalem. The WZO can be said to have created the Jewish state, and its importance has continued to this day as a major fundraiser and mobilizer of support; the Congress is its highest legislative body. According to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency (JTA); (18 June 2002), the Congress is “the parliament of the Jewish people, which determines the policies and programs of world Jewry.” As such, its resolutions and proceedings, largely ignored in the Western media, deserve close attention.

The thirty-fourth WZO Congress was immediately followed by meetings of the Assembly and Board of Governors (BOG) of the Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI). These two organizations have been inextricably intertwined since the establishment of the Jewish Agency in 1929 under the British Mandate. The basis for the Jewish Agency’s establishment was Article 4 of the League of Nations’ Mandate for Palestine (1923), which recognized “a Jewish agency” as “a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating” with the Mandatory (Britain) in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. Article 4 recognized the WZO itself “as such agency,” empowering it to secure the cooperation “of all Jews” willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. Six years later, the WZO created a separate body to assume this function, the Jewish Agency (its name was changed in 1959 to the Jewish Agency for Israel), and the two bodies have existed side by side ever since. Both share the same chairman (Sallai Meridor), the same treasurer (Haim Chesler), and the same offices in the United States, and both have their headquarters in Jerusalem. In 1960, JAFI was granted tax-exempt status in the United States.

The 34th WZO Congress was attended by 1,200 delegates and alternates from Israel and other countries, while 300 “activists,” mostly young leaders, attended as

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observers. The 548 official delegates represented thirty-three different countries, though in essence the WZO Congress is largely an Israeli-American body, with 66.6 percent of the official delegates coming from Israel (190) and the United States (145). (Also from the United States were thirty-two Hadassah delegates who were not part of the official delegation.) The rest of the country delegates came from the thirty-one other countries in the following descending order: Former Soviet Union (32), France (24), Canada (19), England (18), Argentina (17), Australia (12), Brazil (10), Hungary (7), etc. There was only one delegate from Africa (South Africa) and one from Asia (India). Twelve other European and Latin American countries sent one delegate each.

Elections in the United States for the delegates to the 34th Congress took place in April 2002 under the auspices of the American Zionist Movement (whose president is Moshe Kagan) using on-line registration for the first time. According to the JTA (3 August 2002), all American Jews are eligible to vote if they subscribe to (1) the "Unity of the Jewish people and centrality of Israel in Jewish life"; (2) "the ingathering of the Jewish people in the historic homeland . . . through aliyah from all countries"; (3) "the strengthening of the State of Israel based on the prophetic vision of justice and peace; (4) "the preservation of the identity of the Jewish people through the fostering of Jewish, Hebrew and Zionist education . . ."; and (5) "the protection of Jewish rights everywhere." According to the Jerusalem Post Web site, 112,292 American Jews registered to vote for the 34th WZO Congress; 88,750 (79 percent) actually voted. This compared to 149,371 who registered to vote for the 33rd Congress in 1997 (the centennial anniversary of the 1st Congress), of whom 107,822 (72.19 percent) voted. According to the same source, one of the candidates in 2002 was a U.S. congressman, Representative Benjamin Cardin (D-MD).

The 145 official American delegates chosen for the 34th Congress came from eleven states—three representing religious organizations, eight representing secular ones. The three broad religious movements—Reform, Conservative, and Orthodox—together accounted for 84 percent of the total delegates. Though Reform was the largest group, with 42.24 percent, its numbers decreased compared to the last Congress in 1997, as did those of the Conservative movement. The Orthodox movement, on the other hand, registered significant gains, accounting for 20.23 percent of the total delegates in the 2002 Congress. The remainder of the delegates—only 16 percent of the total—was made up of secular groups. Of these, Meretz USA had the most delegates, followed by the Labor Zionist Movement, though the "left wing" lost delegates *vis-à-vis* the last Congress, while the representation of the right wing increased. A new American group, Herut USA, allied with the Likud, was represented for the first time.

The JAFI Assembly meetings that followed the WZO Congress ran from 21 to 24 June and had as its theme "Israel and the Diaspora: One Family, One Future." Five hundred participants from Israel and abroad attended. According to the JAFI Web site (27 June 2002), the Assembly called on JAFI to play a leading role in the fight against "anti-Semitism, anti-Zionism, and Holocaust denial." A meeting of the JAFI Board of Governors followed the Assembly gathering. Half of the 120 members of the BOG are from the WZO. Of the remainder, 20 percent are chosen by Keren Hayesod, the worldwide non-American central Zionist financial institution, and 30 percent from United Jewish Communities (UJC), the umbrella group of North American Jewish federations that underwrites the JAFI budget of more than \$350 million per

annum (according to the JTA of 18 June 2002) for expenditure on immigration and settlement and worldwide religious and political programs.

The opening of the 34th WZO Congress was presided over by the president of Israel, Moshe Katzav, accompanied by the mayor of Jerusalem, Ehud Olmert. The Congress was addressed on successive days by Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, Defense Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, National Security Council head Maj. Gen. Uzi Dayan, and leading opposition MK Yossi Sarid. Speakers from abroad included Professor Arthur Hertzberg of New York University and the Anglo-Jewish historian Sir Martin Gilbert. The Congress celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the Mizrahi Religious Movement (as a member of the WZO) and of the establishment of Keren Kayemet (the Jewish National Fund), the central WZO land colonization institution.

The 34th WZO Congress passed eighty-five resolutions subsumed under the eleven rubrics listed in the preamble. Only thirty-one of the eighty-five resolutions are reproduced below because of space constraints, but the titles of the other resolutions are provided. (For the full text of the resolutions, see <http://www.azm.org/election/resolutions.html>.)

The resolutions do not by themselves give full account of the true intent and policy of the Congress or its main components. For a more accurate picture, the minutes of the congressional discussions (not yet available) are essential, as are the accompanying media comments. The resolutions on *aliyah* (Res. 10–17), for example, give the impression of a consensus, whereas the issue remains divisive. According to Forward (21 June 2002) and JTA (18 June 2002), the WZO/JAFI treasurer, Chaim Chesler, goaded the Orthodox on 17 June with a statement to the effect that “one-half Jew [i.e., a non-convert from the former Soviet Union] living in Israel is as good as a Jew who prays three times a day but stays in Brooklyn.” This caused Orthodox delegates to storm the stage *en masse*.

Similarly, the resolutions on the “democratic” character of Israel (Res. 2–9) as well as on “pluralism” and “freedom of religion” (Res. 71–82) conceal hidden nuances and contradictions. According to Ha’Aretz (19 June 2002), when High Court president Abaron Barak on 18 June lectured the Congress on the need for equality of treatment between the Jewish and non-Jewish inhabitants of Israel, he was heckled by delegates of the National Religious Party and by secular right-wing ones. According to the same source, “members of the Zionist movement” are concerned by moves to make Israel “a state of all its citizens” rather than the state of the Jewish people. According to JTA (11 June 2002), Harvey Blitz, president of the Orthodox Union USA and a delegate on the Religious Zionist Movement slate, opposes “any resolution that endorses equal rights for all denominations [e.g., Orthodox, Conservative, Reform] and religions” in Israel. To Blitz, “a Jewish state has not just ethnic meaning but religious meaning.” It should be noted here that the term “democratic,” which occurs frequently in the resolutions, does not so much refer to relations between Jews and Gentiles (in this case, the non-Jewish inhabitants of Israel) but is rather used in opposition to the term “*halachic*” (Jewish religious law) in the intra-Zionist dialogue concerning inter-Jewish relations (Res. 71–82).

The nuances of the WZO resolutions are most apparent in those relating to settlement (Res. 18–22). Here there are two-layered implications. The reader initially has the impression that WZO is exercising self-restraint by confining its colonization effort to the Galilee, Negev, and Arava—all regions within Israel—only to learn from Ha’Aretz (16 June 2002) that the motivation is “concern about Arab and bedouin

growth in these regions.” Similarly, the reader would assume, from repeated references in Resolutions 18–22 to these regions inside Israel as the only ones subject to colonization, that the WZO opposes colonization in the occupied territories. But from *Forward* (21 June 2002), we learn of “new” WZO/JAFI programs “to transplant entire Jewish communities from the Diaspora to Israel” and that of nine groups slated for resettlement in the initial phase, three are due to settle in the West Bank. *Forward* (21 June 2002) also informs us that a cornerstone ceremony of one of the communities, a group of seventy families from Monsey, New York, led by Rabbi Mordechai Tendler, was scheduled to be held at the settlement of Kochav Yaakov, near Ramallah, during the very week the WZO/JAFI meetings were held. We also learn from the JAFI Web site (27 June 2002) that Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein, president and founder of International Fellowship of Christians and Jews, presented the JAFI BOG with a check for \$2 million earmarked for bringing Jews to Israel from all over the world. One wonders whether *Ha’Aretz* (17 June 2002) was alluding to these efforts when it reported at the opening of the 34th WZO Congress that “groups of new immigrants encouraged by the Zionist Movement and with financing from Christian fundamentalists are being sent to set up communities in Judea and Samaria.”

Two issues addressed by the 34th Congress deserve close attention. Resolution 36.4 calls for the establishment of “working groups” in every country “which will work with members of the legislature to bring about legislation that will outlaw [sic, emphasis added] anti-Semitism, and anti-Zionism, and Holocaust denial.” Resolution 54 specifically “calls upon the President of the U.S., Mr. George W. Bush, to pardon Jonathan Pollard and free him.” It further calls upon “all Jewish and Zionist activists in the world, and in particular in the United States, to participate in the activities to free Jonathan Pollard from continued imprisonment.”

The WZO Congress has a good track record in translating its resolutions into U.S. legislation and policy. This is attested by the adoption of the Zionist policies of opening the doors of the former Soviet Union to the mass emigration of Jews to Israel and of moving the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to “united” Jerusalem. Both these policies, initiated by the WZO, found their way in a relatively short time to Capitol Hill and Pennsylvania Avenue. It will be interesting to see how WZO Congress resolutions 36.4 and 54 will fare in comparison. The latter issue has been on the WZO agenda for at least the last two Congresses, and it seemed within reach in the final days of the Clinton administration. It will also be interesting to see how the definition of “anti-Zionism” will be handled. Will we all, for example, have to acclaim Ariel Sharon as a “Man of Peace,” or will the charge apply only to negative accusations of him as state terrorist?

Neither the elections in the United States for the 34th WZO Congress nor the week-long meetings of the Congress and the JAFI Assembly and BOG that followed warranted a single line or a single reference in, for example, the *New York Times*. The reason cannot be that the *New York Times* considers the affairs of the “parliament of the Jewish people” to be of no concern to the American Jewish community or to observers of the Middle East or to the American public at large. Is it not “news fit to print” when a U.S. congressman is standing for elections to the World Zionist Congress or when U.S. Christian fundamentalists are funding the transplanting of whole Jewish communities in New York and New Jersey to the West Bank? Whatever the reason for the media’s silence, Middle East scholars, and particularly graduate students, in U.S. universities and abroad are strongly urged to

explore the fascinating universe of the WZO/JAFI: its ideology, relationship to the "homeland," its rituals, its interlocking institutions, its political vocabulary, and its points of similarity and divergence in tactics, resources, access, and influence with the organizational arms of other ethnic pressure groups in the United States (Armenian, Cuban, Greek, Irish), and the bearing of all of this on U.S. national interest and foreign policy and on the peace and security of the Middle East.

RESOLUTIONS FROM THE 34TH WZO CONGRESS

The 34th World Zionist Congress, which convened in Jerusalem from 17–21 June 2002, adopted 85 resolutions relating to the programs, policy and governance of the World Zionist Organization. Resolution #1 concerned victims of terror in Israel. Other resolutions were organized around these overarching themes:

- Israel as a Jewish and Democratic State, Based on Zionist Principles
- Aliyah— An Expression of Zionist Fulfillment and a National Strategic Asset with a Focus on Western Countries
- Settlement as a Zionist Fulfillment Strengthening Zionist Awareness
- The Struggle Against Anti-Zionism, Anti-Semitism and Racism
- Renewal of the Covenant Between the Government of Israel and the Status of the World Zionist Organization within the National Institutions
- Klal Yisrael, Jewish Unity and the Centrality of the State of Israel/Zionist Commitment in Israel and the Diaspora— Developing a Relevant Zionist Program
- Development of Young Zionist Leadership within the Youth Movements and Student Organizations and among Young Adults and Their Inclusion Amongst the Decision-makers of the Zionist Movement
- Activity and Involvement in Israel Society
- Amendments to the WZO Constitution and Regulations

1. Solidarity with Victims of Terror

The 34th Zionist Congress, convened in Jerusalem, stands at attention in memory of the victims of murderous terror that died during the painful attacks being waged against Israel.

The Zionist Congress sends its condolences to the bereaved families and wishes of speedy recovery to the wounded.

The Zionist Congress extends wishes of encouragement to the soldiers of the IDF, to the Israeli police forces, to the border patrols and the security services that are all guarding our land and the lives of its citizens and prays for their safe return from their assignments.

The Zionist Congress commends the coalition government of Israel on its efforts to attain security and peace

ISRAEL AS A JEWISH AND DEMOCRATIC STATE, BASED ON ZIONIST PRINCIPLES

[. .]

2. Assurance of a Jewish Majority in the State of Israel

[. . .]

3. Implementation of the Principles of the Declaration of Independence

[. . .]

4. Israel—a Jewish and Democratic State

Whereas the Zionist Movement is holding up the Zionist flag, and
Whereas the State of Israel is defined as a Zionist state, and
Whereas the State of Israel is the creation of the World Zionist Congress,
Be it resolved that Israel is a Jewish Zionist and democratic state.

5. Establishing Basic Principles

Whereas the State of Israel was established as a Jewish, democratic and Zionist state,

Therefore be it resolved that the World Zionist Congress issues a call to base all its educational projects upon these same principles of Judaism, democracy and Zionism.

6. Flying the National Flag

At a time when the residents of the State of Israel are subject to terrorist attacks, Jews worldwide are exposed to a new wave of anti-Semitism and Israeli flags are burnt in demonstrations, the 34th Zionist Congress calls for national Zionist education in the land of Israel, as well as in the Diaspora.

Since the flag of the State of Israel is an important and meaningful symbol for the Jewish people, the 34th Zionist Congress, in accordance with the Flag Law that has been passed in the Knesset of Israel, has decided that the national flag will be placed or hung in all institutions, organizations and projects of, or supported by, the WZO and the Jewish Agency in Israel and in the Diaspora, and wherever possible to be hung in public places.

7. Equal Rights for All Citizens

The State of Israel is a Jewish democratic state, which respects the religious, cultural and social individualism and differences between all components of Israeli society.

The values of Zionism have been established according to the fathers of Zionism, and have been expressed in the Declaration of Independence. They have grown into a basic law in the Jewish democratic state, according to the visions of the prophets of Israel.

The State of Israel grants equal rights to all its citizens, with no difference regarding religion, race or gender.

The combination of the universal principles of Judaism on the one hand, and of the principles of democracy on the other, create the basis for the balance that is necessary for relations between majorities and minorities within the State of Israel.

The State of Israel is the state of the Jewish people and all its citizens.

8. Advancing the Study of Zionism

Since the establishment of the State of Israel according to the principle of a democratic Jewish state, according to the Declaration of Independence and according to Dr. Theodor Herzl's dream, the State of Israel has drawn its ideological inspiration from the principles of Zionism.

The 34th Zionist Congress appreciates the promotion of studies on this subject among Jewish students and young people in the Diaspora, and calls to expand and strengthen programs that provide Zionist knowledge as well as knowledge of the history of Zionism among the young generation.

9. Jewish Demography

At this time, the Zionist Congress views the issue of demography as being of critical importance for the Jewish-Zionist future of the State of Israel today; ensuring a large and stable Jewish majority is necessary. Present tendencies threaten this majority, and therefore it is necessary to urgently act in order to ensure a Jewish majority.

ALIYAH—AN EXPRESSION OF ZIONIST FULFILLMENT AND A NATIONAL STRATEGIC ASSET WITH A FOCUS ON WESTERN COUNTRIES

[. .]

10. Aliyah to Israel

The Zionist Congress has repeatedly determined that immigration to Israel from all over the world is the moral basis of the Zionist dream, and

Therefore, the Congress expects the Zionist Executive to do all in their power and act directly in order to encourage immigration into Israel in general, and from Western countries in particular, as well as to be actively involved in the absorption of immigrants in Israel.

11. Strengthening Judaism and Zionism in the State of Israel

Whereas immigration is a basic value of the Zionist Movement, and

Whereas immigration is the precondition for the existence of a Jewish Zionist democratic state, and

Whereas the World Zionist Organization is responsible for immigration, according to a covenant with the Israeli government, and

Whereas present conditions in different countries require action promoting immigration, and

Whereas the gathering of the dispersed is one of the basic components of the State of Israel,

Be it resolved:

that the Zionist Congress calls upon the Jews of the Diaspora to make aliyah to Israel and strengthen the Judaism and Zionism of the state.

12. Allocation of Resources to Encourage Aliyah

The Zionist Congress determines that immigration to Israel represents one of the central foundations of the Zionist vision, and that therefore it is necessary to act so as to increase the number of Jewish immigrants to Israel.

In order to achieve this, the Zionist Congress has decided to support educational programs for Jews living in the Diaspora with emphasis on students and youth who encourage aliyah efficiently and practically, and to budget resources, whether for programs that gradually prepare for immigration, or for programs that lead to direct immigration.

13. Establishing a Committee for Aliyah from Western Countries

Whereas the Zionist Movement is obligated to the future of the Jewish people in the Diaspora, to its unity as well as to its connection with the State of Israel, the Zionist Congress has decided to require the World Zionist Organization to hold talks with the Jewish Agency in order to establish a council of all factions of the World Zionist Organization with representatives of executive organizations and movements, international movements and youth movements to prepare a program for immigration from Western countries and the rest of the world.

The Zionist Congress calls upon its representatives within the Aliyah Department of the Jewish Agency to act toward the encouragement of immigration from Western countries.

14. Aliyah from France

The 34th Zionist Congress blesses the new immigrants, as well as all those dealing with immigration. At a time when the Jewish settlement is fighting its enemies from within and from without, every Jew who immigrates to Israel represents a major reinforcement of the Zionist establishment in the land of Israel.

The 34th Zionist Congress rejects the view expressed by a number of organizations in France, which have declared their retreat from the project of aliyah.

The 34th Zionist Congress congratulates the chairman of the Jewish Agency, as well as the Jewish Agency Executive, for their firm Zionist stance to continue to encourage the project of aliyah from France.

15. Absorption of Immigrants

[. .]

16. Matching Aliyah Shlichim to the Target Populations

[. .]

17. Encouragement of Aliyah from the West

[. .]

SETTLEMENT AS ZIONIST FULFILLMENT

[. .]

18. Encouraging Settlement

Jewish settlement in the State of Israel represents the expression of the fulfillment of the Zionist vision. Therefore,

It is hereby resolved by the 34th Zionist Congress to encourage, cultivate, assist and strengthen Jewish settlement of all types in the State of Israel.

[. .]

3. The Zionist Congress instructs its representatives on the Executive of the World Zionist Organization and in the institutions of the Jewish Agency for Israel, as well as the Jewish National Fund, to initiate, lead and guide processes within the Executive of the World Zionist Organization, in the Executive of the Jewish Agency and its institutions, and in the Jewish National Fund, in cooperation with the Israeli government, so as to promote and fulfill the following goals:

- i. Encouragement and stimuli for the absorption of new settlers in the Negev and Arava, as well as in the Galil.

- ii. Encouragement and stimuli for the absorption of new settlers, mainly of the young population, in settlements located in the region of the Negev and Arava, as well as in the Galil.
- iii. To keep land reserves and open territories, to create green lungs, as a land reserve for coming generations, and as a contribution to the quality of life and environment of the citizens of Israel.
- iv. Encouragement of combined economic and social activity among the rural community and urban settlements within the field of activity of the Jewish Agency, in the Negev and Arava, as well as in the Galil.
- v. To create integration in the fields of education, culture, society, economy, and local cooperation regarding municipal and other services among the rural settlers and settlers in rural areas, as well as community and urban changes in the Negev and Arava and in the Galil.

19. Aliyah Groups for Settlement

[. .]

20. Agricultural Settlement

[. .]

21. Recognition of Keren Kayemet Le'Israel

The Zionist Congress congratulates the Jewish National Fund, its heads and leaders, contributors and employees, on 100 years of productive activity.

The Zionist Congress expresses its admiration and appreciation for the activities of the Jewish National Fund throughout the years of its existence and activity, and in all fields of its Zionist activity, educational and economic— the redemption of the land, and its reclamation and enhancement.

[. .]

22. Settlement as Zionist Action

1. The prime national missions stand today before settlement as guarding the nation's lands and an answer to the demographic challenge in peripheral areas. These require special efforts for their development, population and the basis of distant desert and lightly populated areas.

The 34th Zionist Congress sees the settlement activities as a preferred aim of the World Zionist Organization and places on the Zionist Executive the task of working to establish and found Jewish settlement in the Negev and the Galil.

This activity will be done in full co-operation with the government of Israel, the Jewish Agency and Keren Kayemet Le'Israel, in order to realize all of the resources of the state and the Jewish Agency in place for this target.

2. Since the 33rd Zionist Congress the settlement project has sustained difficult tests of stormy days, conflict and bloody riots.

The Zionist Congress sends greetings of support to settlers and blesses the Settlement Department and its workers on the efforts made to provide fitting solutions to the urgent living needs of the settlers in light of changing realities.

STRENGTHENING ZIONIST AWARENESS

[. .]

23. Jewish Zionist Education

[. . .]

24. Preparing Programs for Developing Jewish Education

The formal and informal Jewish education of young people as well as adults, and the education of the entire Jewish family, constitutes the basis for the development of Jewish identity, for the reinforcement of identification with and belonging to the Jewish people, and for the reinforcement of Zionist consciousness.

Therefore, the 34th Zionist Congress has decided to instruct the Zionist Executive to present to the first session of the Zionist General Council a strategic and operative program for the development, expansion and foundation of the Zionist aspect within Jewish education, based on Jewish heritage, tradition, history and culture.

25. Preservation of the Hebrew Language and Its Culture

[. . .]

26. Imparting the Hebrew Language in the Diaspora

Whereas the Hebrew language must serve as a common platform for the Jewish people, and

Whereas a common language allows a dialogue to take place between all portions of the Jewish people, and

Whereas we are living in a "global village," in which it is necessary to reinforce the connection between Jews within this framework,

It is hereby resolved by the Zionist Congress to act towards the imparting of the Hebrew language to the Jewish people in the Diaspora.

27. Deepening of Jewish Identity

In order to heighten the Zionist awareness within the system of Jewish education and amongst the Jewish communities and youth, the Zionist Congress calls for the support of the expansion of the reservoir of suitable educators who are capable of relating to the religious and secular streams in the Diaspora for the deepening of Jewish identity, knowledge and familiarity with Jewish sources, the roots and values, for raising the mutual responsibility and the emphasis of the centrality of Israel in the life of the nation.

28. The Promotion of Zionist Education

The Zionist Movement has to strengthen formal and informal Zionist education, the connection to the State of Israel, and the need for Zionist realization and aliyah to Israel.

The strengthening of the connection between Jews in the Diaspora and the State of Israel and its residents comes as a result of the continuing work over years, and depends upon Jewish Zionist education. The expansion of the circle of members who join the Zionist Movement in all its factions, unions and organizations depends on hasbara activity, on continuing education and on the recognition of the rightness of the ideals of the Zionist Movement.

Whereas the Jewish National Fund operates in the area of Zionist education, helps and promotes the activity of the magshimot movements, we consider it of the utmost importance to strengthen Zionist education, deepen the knowledge and experience that are part of the acquaintance with the history of the Zionist Movement, its principles and realization in the modern age.

Therefore, the Zionist Congress asks of the Jewish National Fund, the Zionist Movement and the Jewish Agency, until such time as the Education Department changes its structure, to establish an operative committee for the creation of a strategic structure for cooperation that will bring about a development in Zionist education, Hebrew culture and the strengthening of the centrality of Israel based on knowledge, the acquisition of excellence in language and culture and the experience of visiting the country.

This committee should encourage the unification of resources, in order to reinforce Zionist education in Jewish communities worldwide, as well as among the youth and young people in Israel, with the intention that the combining of human resources among the organizations will bring about the creation of a strategic and operative program for the coming years.

A committee of the Zionist Movement will be elected immediately following the Zionist Congress. It will maintain contact with the Jewish National Fund and the Jewish Agency to examine methods of cooperation, with the aim of establishing a combined structure.

A report must be presented to the Zionist General Council in 2003.

[. .]

29. Jewish-Zionist Identity

[. .]

30. Ways of Strengthening Zionist Consciousness

[. .]

31. Informal Education

[. .]

32. Deepening Zionist-Jewish Education According to the Principles of the Declaration of Independence

[. .]

33. Increasing the Budget for Youth Movements

The 34th Zionist Congress praises the youth movements, student organizations, and young leadership standing at the forefront of the struggle on campuses worldwide against expressions of anti-Semitism and demonstrations against the State of Israel.

The 34th Zionist Congress calls upon the Executive of the WZO to allocate a special budget for Zionist activism at universities and other educational institutions and youth movements, in light of the broadening of the struggle and expressions of hatred, which are daily passing new heights.

34. Establishing an Informal Education Department in the World Zionist Organization

[. .]

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ANTI-ZIONISM, ANTI-SEMITISM, AND RACISM

[. .]

35. Training Shlichim to Deal with Expressions of Anti-Semitism

[. . .]

36. The Struggle Against Anti-Zionism, Anti-Semitism, and Racism

[. . .]

The Zionist Congress hereby resolves:

1. That the Zionist Federations urge all Jewish communities throughout the world to act vigorously against the scourge of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism; and

2. Calls upon the Executive of the Jewish Agency to establish a professional team, based in Jerusalem, to coordinate the fight against anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in an active and dignified way;

3. To set up groups of experts who will work with opinion makers, the communications media (press, radio, and television) and intellectuals to combat the scourge of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism currently widespread in some of these circles and put forward positive, constant, and proactive information about Israel;

4. To establish where necessary in every country working groups which will work with members of the legislature to bring about legislation that will outlaw anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism and Holocaust denial;

5. To form groups of jurists whose role would be to lodge complaints and initiate prosecution against political, media, or other bodies which disseminate anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist hatred;

6. To establish, in conjunction with the World Union of Jewish Students and other Jewish student Zionist organizations, an apparatus to monitor anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist activity on the college campuses and to expose the disseminators of hate propaganda, and to provide students of all ages with information and strategies to respond to anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism on and off college campuses;

7. To form groups of educators who will carry out an extensive and probing examination of textbooks, dictionaries, and encyclopedia, in order to expunge them of all anti-Semitic, anti-Zionist, and Holocaust-denial content;

8. To recruit ethical and moral persons, governments, and parliaments throughout the world in order to warn governments that have demonstrated weakness in combating anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism in their countries;

9. By carrying out these actions, the Zionist Movement, its organizations and members will struggle to achieve full cooperation and unity with global and national Diaspora Jewish organizations worldwide.

The Zionist Congress calls upon the government of Israel to mobilize all its power to assist in realizing these activities and to strengthen its ties with the Jewish communities around the world in the spirit of the dictum that *kol Yisrael aravim zeh Bazeb*—all Jews are responsible for one another.

RENEWAL OF THE COVENANT BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL AND THE STATUS OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION WITHIN THE NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

[. . .]

37. The Council of the Jewish Colonial Society/Appointment of the Presidium of the Zionist General Council

[. . .]

38. Co-Chairs

[. . .]

39. Renewed Discussion on the Covenant with the Israeli Government

[. . .]

40. The American Zionist Movement

[. . .]

41. Renewal of Funding to the Zionist Federations

[. . .]

42. Mandate of the Zionist Federations

Whereas the Zionist Federations are the primary operational arm of the World Zionist Organization, and

Whereas these Zionist Federations operate without a clear and enunciated mandate from the WZO in terms of their areas of responsibility and activity,

Be it hereby resolved that the following be adopted as the official WZO platform regarding the role of the Zionist Federations around the world, and the World Zionist Organization calls upon the Zionist Federations to implement the following Zionist program of action:

A. Aliyah

The promotion of aliyah in cooperation with the offices of the Jewish Agency (local and in Israel); maintenance of connection between Olim and the communities from which they came.

B. The Israel Experience

Promotion of Israel experiences of all sorts and duration for the entire Jewish community; initiation of new Israel experience frameworks to fulfill otherwise unmet needs.

C. Zionist Education

Promotion of Zionist education in local Jewish educational frameworks, both formal and informal; organization of informal adult Zionist educational opportunities; development of educational frameworks for those returning from the entire spectrum of Israel programs and experiences.

D. Hebrew Education

Promotion of the teaching of spoken and modern Hebrew in local Jewish educational frameworks, both formal and informal; promotion of adult Hebrew education, including the establishment of Hebrew Ulpanim where none exist; encouragement of all Jewish communal leaders to engage in the study of spoken Hebrew.

E. Israel Advocacy

Cooperation with the local representation of Israel's Foreign Ministry and local groups, including students, in the organization of Israel advocacy in the community, including public lectures, political lobbying, and the monitoring of and responding to local media reportage on Israel.

F. Shaping Israel

Creation and promotion of multiple options for the engagement of Diaspora Jews in shaping Israel as a *chevra l'mofet*, an exemplary society, including cooperative ventures between Israeli and Diaspora Jews.

G. Cultural Nationalism

Restoration of the dimension of Zionism that is cultural nationalism rooted in the Jewish heritage, and revitalization of the concept of Israel as homeland; encouraging the participation in the deepening of the Jewish national culture with Israel at its center, based on Jewish heritage, history and tradition.

43. The Status of the Zionist Federation

[. .]

44. Increasing the Budget of the World Zionist Organization

The World Zionist Organization, which is the operational institution of the Zionist Congress, watches its budget reduced from one year to the next.

The Jewish Agency has reduced its participation in the budget of the World Zionist Organization.

Since the Jewish Agency, Keren HaYesod and the Jewish National Fund are subsidiary companies of the World Zionist Organization and the worldwide formation for fund raising is intended for Zionist activity,

The Zionist Congress demands all fund-raisers to increase budgeting in order to ensure the attainment of the goals and tasks of the World Zionist Organization, which is operating according to definitions that have been made in the covenant of the Israeli government with the World Zionist Organization (Article 1 in the appendix to the covenant between the Israeli government and the World Zionist Organization).

The Zionist Congress calls that a proper budget from these sources will be at the disposal of the World Zionist Organization in order to fulfill its missions.

45. Budget of the World Zionist Organization

[. .]

46. The National Institutions

[. .]

KLAL YISRAEL, JEWISH UNITY, AND THE CENTRALITY OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL/ZIONIST COMMITMENT IN ISRAEL AND THE DIASPORA—DEVELOPING A RELEVANT ZIONIST PROGRAM

[. .]

47. Rewriting the Jerusalem Program

[. .]

48. Establishing an Operative Zionist Program Relevant to the Present Time

[. .]

49. Strengthening Identification with the State of Israel

[. .]

50. One Hundred Year Anniversary of the Establishment of Religious Zionism—The Mizrachi Movement

The 34th Zionist Congress of 2002 marks one hundred years since the establishment of the Mizrachi Movement in the Jewish year 5662, as well as its joining the World Zionist Organization.

The Zionist Congress congratulates and praises the Mizrachi World Movement and all its branches for the nurturing and cultivation of generations of religious Zionists, Bnei Torah and activists, who are integrated in all fields of Zionist activity: in aliyah, settlement, religious Zionist education, security, science, creativity and social involvement.

51. Hasbara

Whereas the need for Hasbara and Zionist education has become increasingly critical over the past few years as anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic attacks have intensified, and as the ideology of post-Zionism has been promulgated, and

Whereas knowledge of and commitment to Zionist principles cannot be assumed, particularly among the younger generation, and

Whereas support for Israel has become increasingly tenuous among Jews and non-Jews alike in recent years, and

Whereas those who oppose Israel have become increasingly vociferous and sophisticated in their anti-Zionist campaigning,

Be it hereby resolved that the World Zionist Organization, through the Department for Zionist Activities, accepts the mandate to actively engage in Hasbara and Zionist education, through the use of all modern technological means— internet, television and radio— in order to strengthen the Jewish and Israeli heritage, and be it further resolved that a special committee be established immediately, which will decide on effective ways to implement this, after having consulted with the Department for Zionist Activities, and whereby the possibility of cooperation with the Jewish Agency should be considered.

Be it further resolved that the budget of the World Zionist Organization should reflect the implementation of this decision.

52. Jerusalem

1. Jerusalem has always been a central focus of Zionism, the symbol of the Jewish People, and its spiritual and cultural center, and its historic capital, it is to her that the Jewish people continue to turn from all over the world.

2. The Zionist Movement firmly stands behind the demand of the Israeli government and of the Jewish people to safeguard the unity of Jerusalem as the capital city of Israel.

3. In order to strengthen Jerusalem as a symbol of the Jewish nation, the Zionist Congress attributes great importance to the channeling and encouragement of immigration to Jerusalem.

4. Jerusalem is an important center for the higher education of the Jewish people, including the Hebrew University as well as other academic institutions of higher learning, and secular and religious educational institutions on a high level, in the fields of the arts and different occupational fields. The effort will continue to direct Jewish youth to come and receive education for a period of time in Jerusalem, to encourage the participation of Jewish students in academic studies at the Hebrew University and in different colleges and yeshivot in Jerusalem.

5. The Zionist Congress calls upon the Jewish public throughout the world to continue to come to Jerusalem as tourists and visitors, and especially visits to Jerusalem by young people and students, despite the security problems. Visits of this kind are an important layer in the continuing existence of the Jewish People.

6. It is necessary to continue the effort to strengthen Jerusalem's economy in those areas special to her, among them tourism, medicine, hi-technology, culture, higher education, government, national institutions, and to expand infrastructures and the support of the channeling of special encouragement given on behalf of the Jewish People and the state, to Jerusalem.

53. Zionism in Israel

[. .]

54. Pardon for Jonathan Pollard

The 34th Zionist Congress:

Calls upon the president of the United States, Mr. George W. Bush, to pardon Jonathan Pollard and free him;

Calls upon all Jewish and Zionist activists in the world, and in particular in the United States, to participate in the activities to free Jonathan Pollard from continued imprisonment;

Charges the Zionist General Council to adopt a plan of action to achieve the freedom of Jonathan Pollard. Such plan shall include educational and supporting activities.

55. Solidarity

[. .]

DEVELOPMENT OF YOUNG ZIONIST LEADERSHIP

[. .]

56. Youth Movements and Students

1. The Zionist Congress asks the Jewish Agency to return the responsibility for youth movements to the World Zionist Organization, including all budgets and the issue of shlichim.

2. The Zionist Congress calls upon the Jewish Agency to increase the number of shlichim operating in informal education throughout the world.

3. The Zionist Congress suggests that 25% of the budget of the Education Department of the Jewish Agency be dedicated to informal education worldwide.

4. The Zionist Congress calls upon schools and other organizations of the communities throughout the world to open their doors to cooperation with youth movements and Zionist youth and student organizations.

5. The Zionist Congress calls upon the State of Israel to economically support international Zionist youth movements and students who have signed the Jerusalem Programme, to give Zionist youth movements in Israel priority and to increase the budget for the support of these movements.

6. The Zionist Congress calls upon the Jewish Agency to lower the costs of educational programs in Israel, such as Shnat Hachshara, so as to allow the leaders of those movements to come to Israel, receive proper training for Zionist work in communities throughout the world, and prepare for aliyah afterwards.

7. The Zionist Congress calls upon the Zionist Federations worldwide to integrate at least 25% of young people into the Federations' leadership.

8. The Zionist Congress turns to young people throughout the world to make aliyah to Israel and to integrate themselves into the Zionist Movement.

57. Inclusion of the Young Generation Within the Zionist Leadership

[. . .]

58. Training Young Leadership

[. . .]

59. Assisting the Educational Programs of Youth Movements

[. . .]

60. The Agenda of the Hagshama Department

[. . .]

61. Youth Representation in the World Zionist Organization

[. . .]

62. Inclusion of Young Leadership in the World Zionist Organization

[. . .]

63. Development of Zionist Leadership

[. . .]

64. Solidarity with the State of Israel

[. . .]

65. Establishment of a Committee to Work on Integrating Student Organizations

[. . .]

66. Strengthening Student Organizations

[. . .]

67. Young People and Students

[. . .]

68. Doubling of the Budget of the Shlichut Map

[. . .]

69. Expansion of Activities of Zionist Youth Movements

[. . .]

70. Establishing a Planning Committee for the Integration of the Young Generation

[. . .]

ACTIVITY AND INVOLVEMENT IN ISRAELI SOCIETY

[. . .]

71. Jewish Pluralism

Whereas previous Zionist Congresses have accepted a commitment to pluralism and support for equal rights for all streams in Judaism and have viewed these subjects as essential for the preservation of the unity of Am Yisrael and its connection with Zion (decision no. 93 of the 32nd Congress and decision 21 of the 33rd Congress), and

Whereas The Zionist Congress attaches great importance to subjects related to Jewish pluralism and recognition of the right of choice of word, thought and deed of secular and religious Jews of all streams, as a central element in viewing Israel as a Jewish Zionist and democratic state, sees them as important and central in the world view of Zionism in this age, and is interested in strengthening the involvement of the representatives of the WZO in promoting these issues,

The Zionist Congress congratulates the decision made by the High Court of Justice regarding the issue of conversion (20/02/2002) and calls upon the government of Israel to ensure the implementation of this decision according to its spirit and wording.

Therefore the Congress calls upon the chairman of the Zionist Executive and the Executive and its representatives in the Jewish Agency to take all actions necessary to make clear to the government of Israel and the Knesset that any action to move forward with the conversion law at this time would bring about a serious undermining of Jewish unity, just when there is a crucial need for a united front of world Jewry in support of Israel.

The Zionist Congress praises the Jewish Agency and all those who have participated in the establishment of the Joint Institute for Jewish Studies. Only extensive national effort, built upon cooperation between the different streams in Judaism, has the power to respond to the challenge of converting the many immigrants from the Russian Federation who are not Jewish and wish to convert.

The Zionist Congress expresses its support of the implementation of free choice in marriage in Israel, and calls upon the Knesset to legislate a marriage law that will allow any citizen of Israel to marry according to his/her worldview, whether in an Orthodox-religious, Conservative, Reform or Reconstructionist ceremony, or in a secular civil ceremony.

72. Strengthening Education for the Jewish Family

[. .]

73. The Zionist Council in Israel

[. .]

74. "The People of Israel are Responsible for One Another"

[. .]

75. Rights and Civil Duties

1. The Zionist Movement determines that military service is part of the basic civil duties in Israel. The Movement calls upon the government to suggest alternative frameworks of parallel civil service for members of minorities, for religious women, and for additional groups, not recruited into the army. This service will provide its graduates with full rights, equal to the rights of those who have completed their military service.

2. The Movement calls to prevent new legislation that allows rabbinical courts power over civil courts in matters of the family.

76. Legislation of a Basic Law for Freedom of Religion

1. The Zionist Congress supports and joins the struggle for the legislation of a Basic Law for freedom of religion.

The Zionist Congress considers this of utmost importance for the unity of the Jewish people in general, for the creation of equality between the different streams in Judaism.

The Zionist Congress supports the elementary principles of the Basic Law for freedom of religion, which are:

- i. No discrimination based on religion
- ii. Equality for all streams within Judaism.
- iii. Freedom of choice between "religious and civil" marriage and divorce

2. The Zionist Congress demands of the Interior Ministry to recognize non-Jewish parents of children who serve in the IDF and who are Israeli citizens according to the Law of Return, and to grant them Israeli citizenship immediately.

3. The Zionist Congress calls upon the government of Israel to enact a law that will allow IDF soldiers to be buried without relation to their religious stream or ethnic origin.

77. The Role of the Israel Department

[. .]

78. Social Involvement of Students in the Diaspora

[. .]

79. Support for the Israeli Government and the Security Forces

[. .]

80. Recognition of the Druse in Israel

[. .]

81. The Zionist Youth Council

[. .]

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION AND REGULATION**82. A New Constitution for the World Zionist Organization**

[. .]

83. Representation of the Young Generation at the Zionist Congress

[. .]

84. Authorization

[. .]

85. Transferring the Draft Resolutions That Were Not Discussed

[. .]