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THE STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL FORM OF
THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
1897-1948

By

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The Structural and Functional Form of the
World Zionist Organization:1897-1948

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INTRODUCTION

The literature dealing with the Zionist movement as a national-political movement is abundant. The history of this movement, its political goals, policies, and political activities, have been the subject of intensive discussion and study since its establishment. However, the organizational set-up of the Zionist movement has not received equal attention. It is the purpose of this essay to dwell on this generally-ignored aspect of the Zionist movement, and to devote to it some of the attention it deserves.

The main objective of the present study, however, is to draw a picture of the Zionist "Administration which was operating within the British Administration." It focuses on the Zionist "state-in-the-making" and attempts to reveal the Zionist "shadow government" which was supposed to constitute a "nascent state of Israel."

The assumption which underlies the whole discussion is that it is impossible to treat any organization in isolation from the environment in which it operates.

Therefore, the present analysis of the Zionist Organization attempts to take into account the ever changing surroundings, especially the political ones, which bear considerable influence on the various aspects of the Organization. The numerous developments in the World Zionist Organization are discussed in a historical sequence so that the interaction between the Zionist Organization on the one hand and the varying political surroundings on the other is revealed.

* * *

The main body of the present study consists of six chapters:

Chapter I deals with the ideological and practical background of the Zionist movement which prompted the establishment of the Zionist Organization. The Chapter attempts to introduce the historical setting of the Organization.

Chapter II deals with the early organizational developments which in turn constituted the basis of the organizational set-up that was to emerge later on.

Chapter III describes the structure and functions of the Zionist Organization during the first World War and under the British Mandate up to 1929.

Chapter IV focuses on the constitutional and the actual organizational value of the Enlarged Jewish Agency, the name under which the Zionist Organization began to operate in 1929.

Chapter V offers an organizational description of the Zionist Organization during the period 1929 to 1948.

Finally, Chapter VI attempts to analyze the Zionist method in recruiting Jewish and "world" support to the ultimate Zionist aspiration of building a "Jewish commonwealth" in Palestine. In this Chapter, the major aspects of the favorable political environment through which the Zionist Organization operated will be indicated and discussed; but, so complex is this environment that, to have attempted/^{to}deal with all its facets and discuss them fully would have taken us far from the immediate topic of this essay.

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION

I. The Jews in the Diaspora:

During the Middle Ages, European Jewry was living under the "law of aliens."¹ Jews were culturally, geographically, and economically isolated from the surrounding societies, leading in their ghettos a separate and organic communal life of their own, as an independent entity.² The ghetto system was "a physical evidence of a basic fact of Jewish life in the era before the French Revolution."³ The triumph of liberalism, which followed the French Revolution, emancipated the Jews of France and Jews of other countries brought by Napoleon under France's occupation or hegemony; and, though this emancipation was temporarily halted after Napoleon's defeat in Waterloo, in 1815, it brought to an end the ghetto system in Western Europe.

¹"Jewish History and Society," The Encyclopedia Americana, ed. 1963, Vol. XVI, p. 78.

²Ibid.

³Howard Morley Sachar, The Course of Modern Jewish History (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1958), p. 25.

Even before Jewish disabilities began to be lifted by the action of European governments however, the situation of the Jews had begun to be influenced by the cultural movements sweeping across Europe. The Enlightenment in the West, which emerged during the last decades of the 18th century, left its impact on the lives of Western Jewry.⁴ Moses Mendelssohn was associated with Jewish Enlightenment because he awakened the "secular interests" of the Jews.⁵ Mendelssohn was the founder of the Haskalah movement, which strove to secularize Jewish life.⁶ At that time, however, the majority of world Jewry, then living in Eastern Europe, was still suffering from the European discriminative attitude against them.⁷ In Russia, the emancipation of Jews was exposed to a setback after the assassination of Alexander II, in 1881, and the result was a new tide of anti-Jewish actions, then labelled anti-Semitism.⁸ Russian Jewry has been restricted to a different kind of ghetto -- a territorial ghetto, so to speak -- the Pale of Settlement;⁹ and,

⁴Ibid., p. 46.

⁵Ibid., p. 49.

⁶"Jewish History and Society," op. cit., p. 91.

⁷Sachar, op. cit., p. 35.

⁸"Jewish History and Society," op. cit., p. 81

⁹Ibid.

under the influence of the new anti-Semitism, the restrictions to which the Jews has been subjected were intensified.

In short: by the first half of the 19th century, the tides of Enlightenment and Liberalism had resulted in the emancipation of the Jews in western Europe. The second half of the century witnessed the emancipation of the Jews in central Europe. But it was not until the second decade of the 20th century that emancipation at last reached eastern Europe.¹⁰

Side by side with the Enlightenment, however, another powerful force - Nationalism - was rising in Europe. Jewish nationalism, being "an offshoot of the general nationalistic trend in Europe," emerged in the last decades of the 19th century.¹¹

The Enlightenment, with the emancipation it generated, having dealt the Ghetto System a fatal blow, opened the door for the Jews to come into direct contact with European societies. The moment the Jewish communities got in touch with the European communities, the deep social, linguistic, and economic differences

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 90.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 100.

came out into the open. This was the case especially when the rising tide of European nationalism further emphasised the foreignness of the Jews.¹² The net result was that Liberalism, ironically, resulted in less liberal relations between the European and Jewish communities.

When the Jews found that the Enlightenment yielded an unexpected negative result i.e. a new strong tide of anti-Semitism, they responded in several ways, in the hope that these responses would serve, in full or in part, as an answer to the Jewish question.¹³

These responses were:

1. Pietism and Messianism: The advocates of this trend believed that deliverance would not come through natural or human means. The only way out of their problems was seen to be a divine one, through the Messiah, with whose coming the miracle would take place. Only then would the Jews be redeemed.¹⁴

¹²Ibid., p. 78.

¹³Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁴Ibid.

2. Assimilation: Some Jews believed that, as long as they insist on sticking to their communities and traditions, there would be no end to their sufferings. To relieve the Jews, the advocates of this assimilationist trend suggested the dissolution of the Jewish communities in the European societies.¹⁵

3. Migration: The advocates of this trend sought redemption through escapism. Some Jews emigrated from eastern Europe to western Europe or from Europe to the United States, South America, and Palestine.

4. Non-Political Colonization: The nature of this movement was philanthropic. It was supported by charities offered by rich Jews such as Baron de Rothschild and Baron Maurice de Hirsch who founded the Jewish Colonization Society, in 1891, to serve this purpose.¹⁶

5. Revolution: Some Jews believed that their sufferings resulted mainly from the then existing social, political, and economic conditions. A radical and a revolutionary upheaval, it was believed, would put an end to

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 82.

the misfortunes of the Jews. Hence the advocates of this line of thinking joined the communist and other revolutionary parties, declared war on the concept of nationalism, and shared in planning for the creation of a new harmonious society. The moderates among them worked for more liberalized and democratic governments, in the hope that they will alleviate Jewish grievances.¹⁷

6. Nationalism: The new wave of European anti-Semitism resulted also in Jewish political restlessness. This in the age of Nationalism increased the "ethnic and cultural consciousness" among the Jews and resulted in a new political-national thought.¹⁸

The new national school of thought rejected the answers mentioned above on the grounds that none of them constituted a real solution to the Jewish question. The school put forth a new Zionist answer that attacked pietism, assimilation, migration, non-political colonization, and revolution.

The major lines of thought in this new school are best understood through tracing the contributions

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁸ Ibid.

of four major Zionist figures -- Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Moses Hess, Leo Pinsker, and Theodor Herzl.

II. The Major Lines of Zionist Political Thought:

Political Zionism, as distinct from Religious and Cultural Zionism, could be understood through the contributions of the following Zionist political forerunners:

A. Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer (1795-1874):

Kalischer was born in 1795. Throughout his adult life, the concept of Nationalism dominated the European scene. It was perhaps natural, therefore, that the first manifestations of his Zionist ideas appeared when he was forty-one years old, in 1836. In that year Kalischer emphasised that the beginning of redemption would come through human effort and by the aid of governments to gather the scattered Jews in the Holy Land.¹⁹

Twenty six years later, Rabbi Kalischer published his important Zionist work "Derishat Zion" ("Seeking Zion"). In his pamphlet, Kalischer's main argument

¹⁹Arther Hertzberg (ed.), The Zionist Idea (New York: Doubleday and Company and Herzl Press, 1959), pp. 109-110.

aimed at undermining Pietism; he strongly believed in "a natural beginning of redemption."²⁰ He maintained that Redemption would not take place through the Messiah. "On the contrary, the redemption will begin by awakening support among the philanthropists and by gaining the consent of the nations to the gathering of some of the scattered of Israel into the Holy Land."²¹

Kalischer went further by trying to explain why redemption was to begin in a natural manner and not through the Messiah. He believed that what happened to man in the Garden of Eden and what happened later on to Israel was nothing but a test to man's obedience and Israel's faith. The Laws of the Torah that forbid eating the unclean animals and the dispersion of the Jews were nothing but "a further testing of faith."²² The immediate appearance of the Messiah will be no trial, hence, the Jews must realise that the Messiah will not appear and they must put an end to their long

²⁰ Ibid., p. 110.

²¹ Ibid., p. 111.

²² Ibid., p. 112.

waiting for his appearance. Influenced by the national movements in Europe, Kalischer demanded that his people should follow the example of the Italians, Poles and Hungarians.²³ Rabbi Kalischer believed that laboring on the land of Palestine was a holy effort. He called for "Jewish settlement in the land" because, without this, the ingathering of the Jews could not begin. To encourage settlement in the Holy Land, he suggested that an organization be established. The organization was to take the responsibility of "purchasing and cultivating farms and vineyards."²⁴

In sum, Kalischer's main contributions were his emphasis on the nationhood of the Jews, his call for Jewish settlement in Palestine, and his attack on Pietism.

B. Moses Hess (1812-1875):

Hess was born in 1812 at a time when Nationalism was at its Zenith. After considerable intellectual wandering he "became firmly convinced that the future

²³Ibid., p. 114.

²⁴Ibid., p. 113.

world needed to be organized as a harmonious symphony of national cultures."²⁵ One of his major contributions lies in the way he associated the fate of his own people with the "harmonious symphony" that he envisaged.

His classic work was "Rome and Jerusalem" (Published in 1862), in which he set forth to prove that the assimilationist trend was not a practical answer to the "Jewish question." He pointed to what he called "the ignorance and credulity of the mobs of Asia and Europe" who were ready to believe anything said against the Jews. He added that the Jewish people was "unfortunate, maligned, despised, and dispersed" but "the world has not succeeded in destroying it."²⁶ To him, the Jewish "race" was one of the oldest "races" of mankind. The Jews, according to Hess, succeeded in retaining their integrity despite the influence of changing climatic environments. "The Jewish type has conserved its purity through the centuries."²⁷

²⁵ Ibid., p. 118.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 119.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 121.

Hess believed that reform, conversion, education, and emancipation failed to make a Jew cease to be considered a Jew by the European societies.²⁸ Assimilation, as a means of escape from anti-Semitism, would prove to be as inadequate as had all earlier solutions, because the Jews living among other nations "cannot become rooted organically within them."²⁹ He maintained therefore that there would be no real solution "as long as the Jew denies his nationality."³⁰

Because of Hess' belief that the future would be the future of nations, and because of his firm belief in the existence of a Jewish nationality (without the "cult" of which even Judaism would not have persisted), he concluded that "only a national renaissance can endow the religious genius of the Jew."³¹

Hess, having a strong faith in a help to come from France, urged the Jews to found colonies in the Holy Land.³²

²⁸ Ibid., p. 120.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 119.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 121.

³¹ Ibid., p. 123.

³² Ibid., p. 133.

C. Leo Pinsker (1821-1891):

Pinsker was not only the most assimilated among Russian Jews, but also one of the most enthusiastic advocates of having the Russian language and culture dominant in the inner life, and even in the religion, of the Jews. He went beyond the "enlightened" Jews to the extent of becoming active in the affairs of "the Society for the Spread of Culture" among the Jews of Russia. Pinsker maintained that "the Russian regime would liberalize itself into a constitutional monarchy in which all people would be equal."³³

The outbreaks of violence which were directed against the Jews in 1881 shocked Leo Pinsker; he left the Society, declaring that "new remedies, new ways" had to be found.³⁴ One year later, in 1882, he published his new views in an "Appeal" to his people, entitled Auto-Emancipation.

Pinsker's Auto-Emancipation was mainly an attack against those who believed that European governments, after liberalizing themselves, would help the Jews and offer them the security they needed. He

³³ Ibid., p. 179.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 180.

conceived that anti-Semitism had made the status of a minority "untenable" for the Jews anywhere. Pinsker described the Jews as the "chosen people... for universal hatred,"³⁵ To him, they were everywhere aliens and accordingly despised. He declared that civil and political emancipation of the Jews was not sufficient to raise them in the estimation of the peoples. The real emancipation lay in the creation of a Jewish nationality of a Jewish people, living on a fixed territory.³⁶

Pinsker believed that the Jews were lacking what every other nation possessed, namely, a fixed territory on which a people should live together under one rule.³⁷ Experience, Pinsker concluded, taught the Jews that they "must have a home, if not a country of their own."³⁸

Pinsker's contributions were not restricted to the intellectual realm alone. He offered some practical and organizational proposals. A central organization was to be established with "the societies already in

³⁵ Leo Pinsker, Auto-Emancipation (London: Federation of Zionist Youth), p. 20.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 41.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 32.

existence" as its nucleus.³⁹ A national congress was to be held. A central office and, if not possible, "a directorate should be created to serve the same purpose.. The directorate together with an associated body of capitalists, as founder of stock company later to be organized, purchase a piece of land upon which in the course of time several million Jews could settle."⁴⁰

In sum, Leo Pinsker's major contribution lay in his call for immediate Jewish self-emancipation and in his attack on those who advocated the dependence of Jews on the liberalized governments which, they hoped, would emerge.

D. Theodor Herzl (1860-1904):

Herzl was born on May 2, 1860, in Budapest, Hungary. Living as an assimilated Jew, working as a journalist, he was cut off from Jewish culture, language, and religion. Anti-Semitism faced Herzl while he was a student at the university and faced him again in Paris where he worked as a correspondent for an Austrian Newspaper, Neue Freie Presse.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 35.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 38.

The turning-point in his life was brought about in 1894 by the case of Captain Dreyfus, which made of Herzl the Zionist he was to be later on. In 1895, Herzl made an attempt to meet Baron de Hirsch, the founder of Jewish colonization in Argentina, to tell him about the idea of a Jewish national state. When he failed with Hirsch, he turned to Baron de Rothschild, but with equal luck of success. Finally, in February 1896, Herzl published his "Der Judenstaat" ("The Jewish State").⁴¹

As Herzl puts it, the idea that he sought to develop in his pamphlet was "the restoration of the Jewish state."⁴²

Herzl started his discussion by stating that the Jewish question was still existing. He maintained that the Jewish question existed in all places where the Jews lived in "appreciable" numbers. In addition, the "question" would extend itself to new areas according to Jewish migration. "This is the case, and will inevitably be so, everywhere, even

⁴¹Hertzberg, op. cit., p. 203.

⁴²Ludwig Lewisoohn (ed.), Theodor Herzl: A Portrait for This Age (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1955), p. 233.

in highly civilized countries."⁴³ Hence, neither the dependence on liberalized governments, nor the Jewish emigration from areas dominated by anti-Semitism, would constitute a solution for the Jewish question. Emigration of the Jews, which was supposed to be a solution to their problem, would turn out to be a new factor that added to their misery and caused the outgrowth of anti-Semitism. The Jewish question, according to Herzl, was neither a social nor a religious question but a national one.⁴⁴

The Jews, Herzl maintained, constituted one people. The various oppressions and persecutions to which they had been subjected for centuries, failed to exterminate them. "The distinctive nationality of the Jews neither can, will, nor must perish."⁴⁵

Herzl believed that anti-Semitism, in the Middle Ages, was the result of European religious prejudices against the Jews. Consequently the Jews failed to assimilate even in the age of the Enlightenment and the result was a new tide of anti-Semitism.⁴⁶ The

⁴³ Ibid., p. 238.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 241.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp. 249-250.

only way out of their sufferings and problems was seen to be in emphasizing Jewish Nationhood and the establishment of Jewish Statehood. As a practical step towards the solution. Herzl proposed the establishment of two agencies - a Society of Jews and a Jewish Company.⁴⁷

III. The Major Zionist Practical Efforts:

Anti-Semitism, with all its ramifications in the Jewish world, did not have its results in the realm of ideas alone. In fact, the Zionist idea emerged in a politically fertile soil. The Zionist idea, which resulted from objective circumstances, became a subjective force having practical and material influences affecting the existing Jewish conditions.

Anti-Semitism, a negative aspect in Jewish life, together with the Zionist idea, a positive aspect, constituted two components of one force that largely influenced the future of world Jewry.

A. Hibbath Zion Societies:

Kalisher's organizational proposals, introduced in his pamphlet in 1862 (concerning the establishment of an organization to purchase land, to settle

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 252.

Jews on the land, and to provide a defence system) were approvingly quoted by Hess, in his book published in the same year. These proposals were welcomed and adopted by some enthusiastic Jews.

The early Zionist ideas, together with the pressing force of the violent outbreaks of 1881-1882 in Russia, gave birth to the Hibbath Zion (i.e., "the Love of Zion") movement. The Honevi Zion ("Lovers of Zion") organized themselves in societies which sprang among the Jewish communities, in general, and those in the East, in particular.⁴⁸

The Common aim of these societies was the promotion of Jewish settlement in Palestine by encouraging emigration to the Holy Land and assisting the settlers financially and morally.⁴⁹ The net result was the establishment of the first Zionist colonies in Palestine; Petah Tikva, Rishon Le Zion, Rosh Pinah, Zikhron Yaakov and Gedera were established in the early 1880's.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Herbert Parzen, A Short History of Zionism (New York: Herzl Press, 1962), p. 25.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Later on, when Pinsker introduced his proposals of work, in 1882, the Hibbath Zion societies, especially in the East, rallied around him after he agreed to consider Palestine as the national homeland.⁵¹

The first conference of Honevi Zion societies was convened in Kattowitz (Silesia), in 1884, and Pinsker was chosen President. The Odessa Committee became in the early 1890's the Executive Committee of the movement. The Executive played the role of "centralizing, coordinating, and directing the work of colonization in Palestine."⁵²

The "Lovers of Zion" led discussions, in their societies, on the question of Jewish settlement in Palestine "as an immediate and practical problem and urged the study of Hebrew as a living language."⁵³

The two major contributions of the Hibbath Zion movement to Zionism were its role in familiarizing the Jews with the necessity of emigration to

⁵¹Ibid., pp. 26-27.

⁵²Ibid., p. 27.

⁵³Israel Cohen, A Short History of Zionism (London: Frederick Muller, 1951), p. 28.

Palestine and its recruitment of the first Aliyah "Pioneers", who began the process of actualizing "the idea into a reality."⁵⁴ It is to be remembered that Nathan Birubaum (1864-1937), a leader of Hibbath Zion movement, was the one who coined the term "Zionism."⁵⁵

B. Herzl's Early Activities:

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Hibbath Zion movement gave way to a more crystallized, more developed trend of political Zionism—namely Herzlian Zionism.

"The essential advance of the new movement beyond its precursors lay in its assertion that national salvation could not be achieved by the piecemeal process of setting up isolated settlements, but only by securing full political autonomy, internationally guaranteed."⁵⁶ Another difference, not unimportant, stemmed from the dynamic personality of Theodor Herzl.

Herzl was not the type to lay down his ideas and proposals and wait for their implementation. He

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 38.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 33.

⁵⁶ Information Office of the Jewish Agency (ed.), The Jewish Case Before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine (Jerusalem, The Publishing Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1947), p. 279.

published his proposed solution to Jewish public opinion and started, by himself, in an endeavour to implement what he advocated in his Der Judenstaat.

Herzl made an initial attempt to meet the German Emperor but he failed. He then turned to Constantinople, where he met the Grand Vizier but failed to penetrate to the Sultan. His visit to Baron Edmond de Rothschild was as unsuccessful as his other efforts. "Herzl, with his own money founded a weekly journal, Die Welt, which first appeared in June, 1897," in which he preached his convictions and proposals.⁵⁷ At last, he was able to convene the first Zionist Congress which opened on August 29, 1897.

C. The First Zionist Congress:

The first Zionist Congress was an event of great significance in the history of Zionism. Two hundred and four Zionist participants (selected invitees, not elected delegates) from many parts of the world, met together, for the first time in Jewish history, to discuss their problems and set forth the needed solutions.

⁵⁷Nahum Sokolow, History of Zionism, 1600-1918, I (London: Longmans, 1919), pp. 268-269.

The two major achievements of the first Congress were the formulation of the Zionist Programs, "the Basle Program," and the establishment of a national organization, "the World Zionist Organization," to implement that program. The Congress resolved:

"The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law."⁵⁸

To attain the above-mentioned aim, the Congress defined four means:

- "1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
2. The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining government consent, where necessary, to the attainment of the aim of Zionism."⁵⁹

In addition to the two above-mentioned achievements, the gathering of that many Zionist figures,

⁵⁸ Cohen, op. cit., p. 45.

⁵⁹ Sokolow, loc. cit.

to deliberate on the means of attaining one goal, was in itself a great accomplishment. To Herzl, the Congress had a special meaning:

"Were I to sum up the Basle Congress in a word -- which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly -- it would be this: At Basle I founded the Jewish State.

If I said this out loud today, I would be answered by universal laughter. Perhaps in five years, and certainly in fifty, everyone will know it."⁶⁰

On May 15, 1948, the State of Israel was proclaimed and Herzl's prophecy proved to be, more or less, exact.

⁶⁰Theodor Herzl, The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, trans. Harry Zohn, ed. Raphael Patai (New York: Herzl Press and Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), II, 581.

CHAPTER II

THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION, 1897 - 1904

I. The First Zionist Congress - The First Step in Building the Organization:

The first official steps to create the Zionist Organization were taken in the first Zionist Congress. The actual proceedings of the Congress gave shape to the legislative aspect of the Organization. However, it is to be noticed that the actual proceedings of the first Congress differed, in some respects, from the proceedings of the congresses that were to follow. (See Appendix No. 1).

Two days before the formal opening of the Congress, a preliminary conference was convened. This conference determined the proceedings and the agenda of the first Congress.¹ A special commission was established to formulate the would-be Zionist Program.²

¹Alex Bein, Theodor Herzl: A Biography, trans. Maurice Samuel (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1940), p. 228.

²Ibid.

On August 29, 1897, the proceedings of the Congress were opened by Dr. Marx Lippe. After a prayer, Herzl read out his opening address. Then the Bureau of the Congress was elected. It consisted of Herzl as President of the Congress, three Vice-Presidents, four secretaries and four associate secretaries.³ Reports about the Jews in the various countries were read and the participants were distributed into various committees. The Zionist Program - "The Basle Program" as it was later to be commonly known, was adopted and many organizational resolutions were passed. Before the close of the Congress, an Executive Committee of twenty three members was elected.⁴

The first Zionist Congress had two unique aspects:

For one thing the Congress created the Organization, of the set-up of which the coming congresses were to constitute only one branch, namely, the legislative branch. The reason behind this was the

³Haiyam Orlan, "The Participants in the First Zionist Congress," Herzl Yearbook, VI (New York: Herzl Press, 1965), pp. 136 - 145.

⁴Ibid., p. 145.

fact that, to some extent, the first Congress performed the role of a constitutional convention.⁵

The second unique aspect was the fact that those who attended the first Congress were not real representative: none of them was elected.⁶ They were "participants" or de facto "delegates" .

A. The Need for an Organization:

In the first Congress, the Zionist leaders realized the necessity of having a strong, central, and permanent organization. They concluded that without such an organization, the "Basle Program" could not be translated into reality. The dispersion of the Jews resulted in a great waste of their efforts. A central organization would promote the national feeling of the Jews and integrate their powers. Without a central organization, the Jews could never become a political pressure group. Furthermore, the organization was needed to encourage Jewish migration to, and settlement in,

⁵Alan Taylor, Prelude To Israel (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1959), p. 4.

⁶Bein, op. cit., p. 240.

Palestine. It was also needed for raising the funds necessary for financing Zionist activities.

B. Difficulties in Building the Organization:

However, the process of building the Zionist Organization was by no means easy. Five major difficulties emerged:

For one thing, that period was of a constituent nature. The mere act of taking a decision in the Congress was not sufficient for the creation of the Organization. Plans were to be drawn, tested, modified or even cancelled. Organizational experience was lacking. Neither Herzl nor his colleagues had had such an experience. The organizational attempt of the Hovevi Zion societies was of no great help, because the structural and functional scope of the projected World Zionist Organization was much broader than that of the Hovevi Zion societies. Hence, organizationally speaking, the Zionists had to start from the zero point.

The second major difficulty stemmed from the fact that the Zionists had no funds at their disposal. For the creation and promotion of any

organization, the availability of capital is a vital element.

The geographical dispersion of the Jews was the third major organizational difficulty. The activities and undertakings of the Organization were to cover large sections of the globe. This would inevitably lead to difficult and intricate problems of direction, control, and coordination.

The third difficulty gave rise to a fourth one. The Jews were living under the jurisdiction of various states. The laws of many states were against the establishment of an organization of an international character, such as the proposed Zionist Organization was intended to be.⁷

Some governments, some groups, and a considerable number of the Jews themselves either passively disapproved or actively opposed the Zionist goals and policies.⁸ This non-acceptance and resistance was the fifth major difficulty that faced the establishment of the Zionist Organization.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid., p. 190.

C. Building the Administrative Set-up of the Organization:

Because of the Zionist's need for an Organization, and in spite of the various difficulties, the first Zionist Congress passed some organizational resolutions. From these resolutions, the following picture can be drawn:

1. The Central Organs:

The central administrative set-up of the organization was to consist of six bodies:

a. The Zionist Congress:

The Zionist Congress was to be the "supreme controlling organ of the movement."⁹ It was to convene annually "at the hour announced by the Zionist Actions Committee and in the meeting-hall it assigns." (See Appendix No. 1). Its size would depend on the number of shekel-payers. (The "shekel" was a small tax or membership fee equivalent to one German mark at that time). The Congress had to elect from among its members the President of the

⁹Israel Cohen, A Short History of Zionism (London: Frederick Muller, 1951), p. 47.

Organization, the Vice-President, the Smaller (Inner) Actions Committee, and the Greater Actions Committee (the General Council). Its members were to be elected by the shekel-payers in the various countries, every one hundred shekel-payers electing one delegate.¹⁰ The Zionist Congress was also to decide on all important matters pertaining to the Zionist affairs. (For the various bodies within the Congress, its by-laws and procedural regulations, see Appendix No. 1).

b- The Greater Actions Committee (The General Council):

It was to decide on all important issues when the Zionist Congress was out of session. "Five of its members were to constitute the actual Executive; the remainder were to be elected from the various national organization."¹¹ The Greater Committee consisted of twenty three members.

¹⁰ Bein, Loc. Cit.

¹¹ Ibid.

c- The Inner (Smaller) Actions Committee
(The Zionist Executive):

The members of this Committee were chosen from among the members of the Greater Actions Committee. They were to live in Vienna, or where the President of the Organization lived.¹² The Committee was to be the actual executive body, the function of which was the daily implementation of the Congress' resolutions. It had to report to the following Zionist Congress.¹³

d- The President of the Zionist Organization:

The President was elected by the Zionist Congress and responsible to it. He was to represent the Organization and speak on its behalf. He was to preside, during his mandate, over the Greater Actions Committee, the Smaller Actions Committee and the Zionist Congress.¹⁴

¹² Cohen, Loc. Cit.

¹³ Bein, op. cit., p. 480.

¹⁴ Josef Fraenkel, "Chaim Weizmann and Haham Moses Gaster," Herzl Yearbook, VI (New York: Herzl Press, 1965), p. 190.

e- The Vice-President of the Zionist Organization:

The Vice-President was to assume all the duties and rights of the President during the latter's absence. (See Appendix No. 1).

f- The Central Direction Office:

It was seated in the centre of the Organization to direct the Zionist local bodies.¹⁵

These were the "central" bodies in the World Zionist Organization.

2. Local Organs:

As to the "local" organs, the first Congress was faced with the difficulty of deciding on them because of the possible clash with the laws of the various countries. "The congress therefore had to content itself with the creation of a general framework, the integration of the various local bodies and the form of membership had to be left to each country."¹⁶

3. Membership:

Other organizational resolutions, pertaining to membership, were passed. Membership was to

¹⁵Cohen, Loc. Cit.

¹⁶Bein, op. cit., p. 240.

be granted to those who subscribed to the "Basle Program" and paid the Shekel. Paying the Shekel conferred the right to vote for a delegate to the (Zionist) Congress.¹⁷

In the first Congress, Herzl and Max Bodenheimer emphasised and stressed the Provisional character of the Organization.¹⁸

II. The Organizational Growth During the First Seven Years, (1897 - 1904):

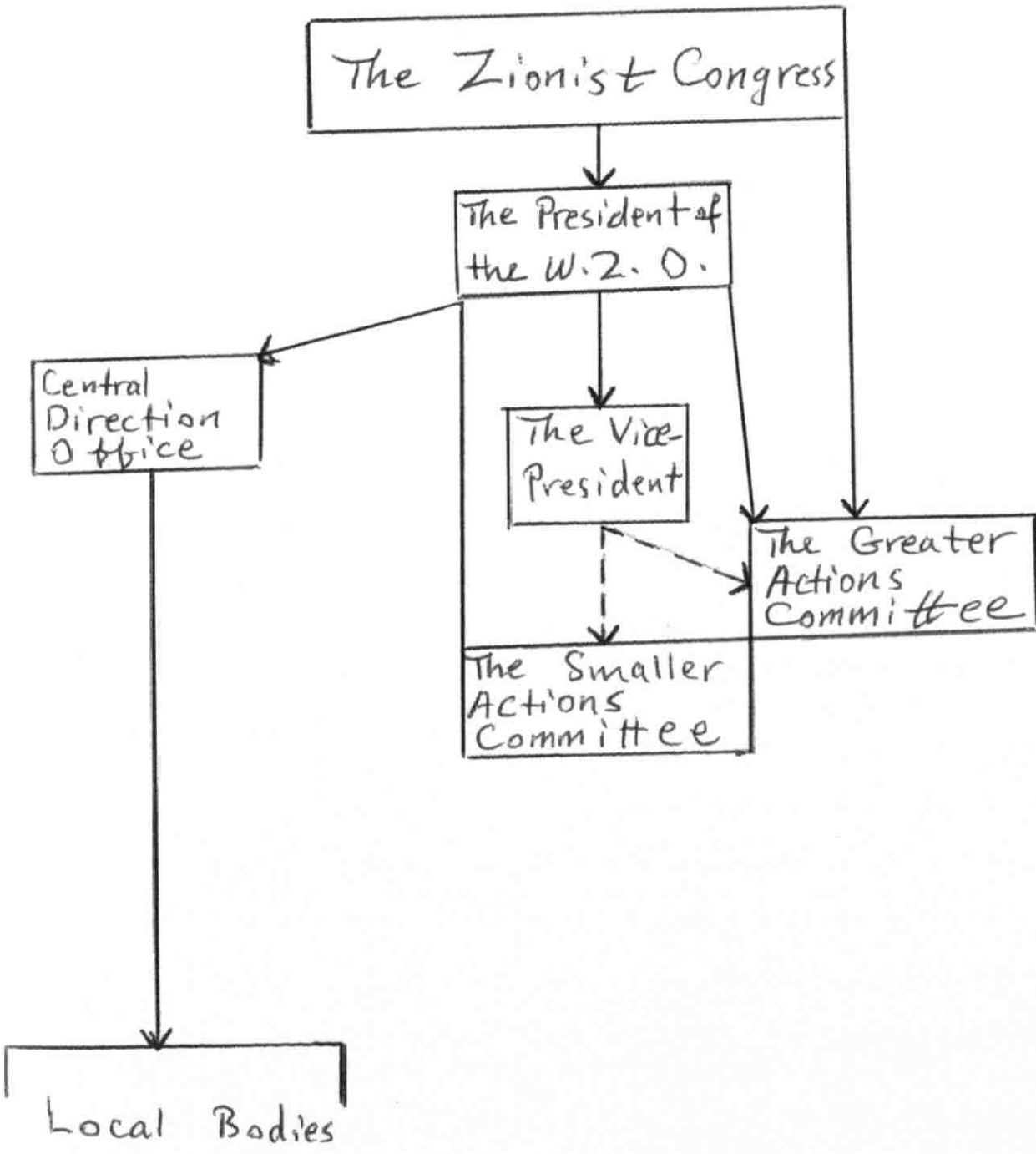
The organizational foundations of the Zionist movement were laid in the first Congress. The essential features of a permanent organization were drawn. However, these organizational bases were before long subjected to many developments. Various modifications were introduced in adaptation to the new needs and the changing environment.

Immediately after the first Congress, "in almost every country in Europe in which there was a considerable number of Jewish population, in North and South America, in the Far East, and even in Austria and New Zealand, societies were formed which registered their

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

The Structure of the W.Z.O. in 1897



affiliation to the Zionist Organization."¹⁹ Zionist Federations were founded in the United States and Canada in 1898.²⁰ The Zionist Federation of England was founded one year later, in 1899.²¹

In the second Congress, (August 1898) the total number of "delegates" was four hundred i.e., twice the number of "participants" at the first Congress. Between the first and the second Congress, the number of Zionist societies had risen eight-fold.²²

Apart from this quantitative growth, there was also administrative evolution. There were two important aspects of the second Zionist Congress. It was the first one whose participants were elected delegates. As the convening of the second Congress signified that the Zionist Congress had become a permanent body, meeting at regular intervals.

The third Zionist Congress, which was convened in August 1899, witnessed a new increase in the number of delegates. This fact reflected a growth in membership.

¹⁹Zionism Israel Cohen, Theodor Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism (New York: Thomas Yoseleff, 1959), p. 168.

²⁰Ibid., p. 169.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 173.

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¹⁹ Israel Cohen, Theodor Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959), p. 168.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 169.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., p. 173.

Membership increased by one third in Russia and by one fourth in other countries, as compared with the second Congress.²³

In the third Congress, the provisional machinery of the Organization was replaced by a permanent one.

In the fourth Congress (August 1900), it was declared that the number of Zionist societies in England had increased from 16 to 39; in the United States, from 103 to 135; and in Russia, from 900 to 1146. Other countries also witnessed growth,²⁴

The fifth Congress, which was convened in August 1901, witnessed the emergence of the first Zionist party, "the Democratic Zionist Fraction."²⁵ In the same Congress, the Jewish National Fund, "Keren Keyemeth," for the aquisition of land in Palestine, was created. The Congress also revised and modified some statutes of the Zionist Organization. New statutes were introduced. A Congress Court for the settlement of organizational disputes was established. "New also was the provision

²³Ibid., p. 213.

²⁴Ibid., p. 228.

²⁵Ibid., p. 254.

which called for a biennial Congress, with a "Jahreskonferenz" (Annual Conference) for the intervening years, composed of the members of the larger Actions Committee, the Permanent Commission and the Bank Directorate."²⁶ Moreover, the international structure was also subjected to fundamental changes. The link between the central offices in each country with the Directing Office in Vienna was replaced by a direct link between the central offices and the Smaller Actions Committee.²⁷

Six hundred delegates participated in the sixth Zionist Congress. The number of Zionist societies had risen, within the two years since the fifth Congress, from 1146 to 1572.²⁸

III. Building the Financial Set-up:

A. The Zionist Bank (The Jewish Colonial Trust):

In his "Der Judenstaat", Herzl showed great interest in the establishment of a Zionist Bank. Hence, it was not strange that he started his efforts for the

²⁶ Bein, op. cit., p. 376.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Cohen, Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism, p. 324.

creation of a Zionist Bank as early as mid-November 1897.²⁹ Herzl's diplomatic activities made him realize that, without a bank, the chance of getting a Charter was small. Herzl approached many Jewish bankers and well-to-do persons but with little success.

As a sign of Herzl's great concern about the bank, he appointed David Wolffsohn, a well-to-do merchant and a Zionist leader, at the head of a bank commission.³⁰ Herzl exerted pressure on the commission with the purpose of having the subscriptions to the bank started before the second Zionist Congress. Three days before the opening of the second Congress, Herzl called for a Bank Conference where the Constitution of the bank and its purposes were discussed.³¹

Wolffsohn's report to the second Congress showed that, within few weeks of intensive work, four million franks had been subscribed.³² Hence,

²⁹ Bein, op. cit., p. 252.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 267.

³¹ Ibid., p. 268.

³² Ibid., p. 270.

the Congress passed a resolution urging for the full establishment of the bank (the Jewish Colonial Trust) to operate in "the Orient and especially Palestine and Syria."³³ But, later on, Herzl had to explain to the third Congress why the London Committee of lawyers advised that the activities of the bank should not be restricted to that area alone.³⁴

Herzl, who was the President of the Board of the Bank, had several clashes with co-workers, not excluding Wolffsohn, because he felt that the Bank activities were dragging. Moreover, Herzl called for a special bank conference on May 25, 1900, and appointed a new commission.³⁵

To safeguard the Zionist character of the Bank, one hundred of the two hundred Founder's shares were reserved for the members of the Actions Committee. These one hundred shares, which would yield no dividends, were devised to ensure that

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., p. 326.

³⁵Ibid., p. 341.

the Zionists would have the majority of votes at any general meeting of the shareholders. Moreover, twenty of the shares were to be assigned for trusted Zionists for life against possible changes in the character of the Actions Committee itself.³⁶

Because of internal problems (the personal conflicts within the bank commission and the lack of enthusiasm among the Jews in general, and external ones (the laws of some governments) Herzl was not able to announce the opening of the bank until the fifth Zionist Congress on December 26, 1901.³⁷

In the sixth Zionist Congress, it was announced that the Bank (the Jewish Colonial Trust) yielded an interest of 6000 pounds. An offshoot of the Bank, with a capital of fifty thousand pounds, had been established in Jaffa (Palestine) under the name of the Anglo-Palestine Company, later Bank.³⁸

³⁶Ibid., p. 327.

³⁷Ibid., p. 375.

³⁸Cohen, Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism, p. 324.

B. The Jewish National Fund (the Keren Keyemeth):

The idea of establishing a Jewish National Fund could be traced back to the first Zionist Congress. In that Congress, Professor Herman Shapira proposed the establishment of a Jewish national fund of ten million pounds, by voluntary contributions, for the purpose of purchasing land in Palestine.³⁹ Shapira died but his idea remained. It was the fifth Zionist Congress which passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish National Fund. The purpose of the Fund was "the acquisition of land in Palestine as the inalienable possession of the Jewish people. . . , built up entirely on voluntary contributions from Jews throughout the world."⁴⁰ By the six Zionist Congress, the Jewish National Fund had raised nearly 20,000 pounds.⁴¹

The basic Zionist financial institutions were thus established in Herzl's lifetime.

IV. The World Zionist Organization in Operation, 1897-1904:

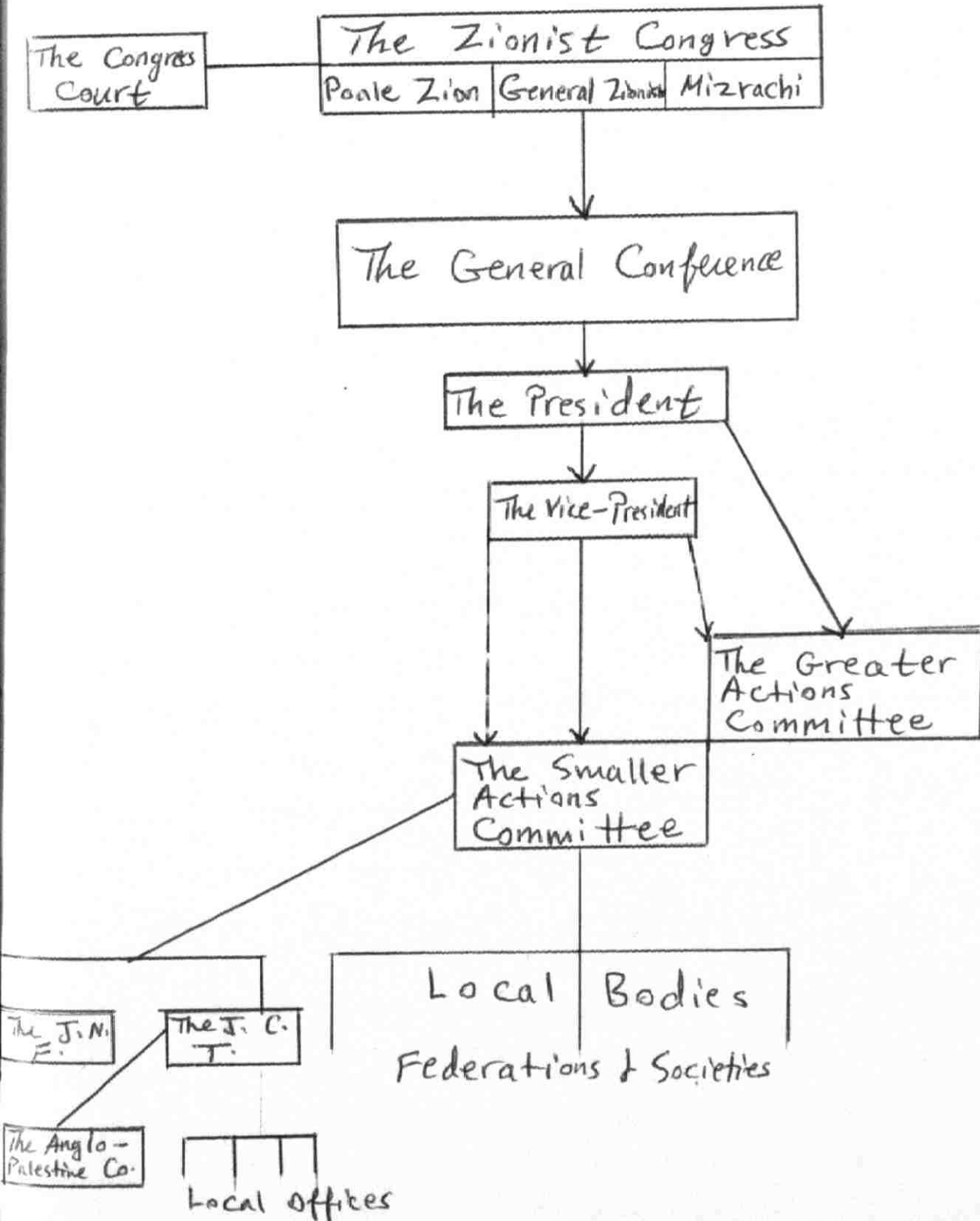
Taking "preparatory steps towards obtaining government consent, where needed, to the attainment of the

³⁹ Ibid., p. 157.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 255.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 324.

The World Zionist Organization in 1904



aim of Zionism" was the fourth item in Basle Program. In a sense, this item was an enforcement to Herzl's pre-Congress diplomatic activities. It was, also, an encouragement to him to resume these activities.

For organizational and personal reasons, Herzl's diplomatic efforts constituted the bulk of the Zionists' diplomacy. His activities were not restricted to one country or one goal. The heads and other high officials of several states were approached. Appeals, ranging from mere requests for the approval of Zionist goals to demands for an internationally-secured Chartered Company, were made. Three main processes of negotiation with Germany, Turkey, and England were initiated.

The negotiations with Germany aimed at creating a Chartered Company for Jewish immigration to Palestine under German protection.⁴² Herzl renewed his efforts to meet the German Kaiser through the Grand Duke of Baden;⁴³ Count Philip Zu Eulenburg,⁴⁴ the German

⁴² Bein, op. cit., p. 296.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 277.

⁴⁴ Cohen, Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism, p. 178.

ambassador at Vienna who was a friend and confidant of the Emperor; and von Bulow, the German Minister for Foreign Affairs.⁴⁵ As a result of these contacts, Herzl was summoned to an interview with the Kaiser during the latter's visit to Palestine.⁴⁶

On October 19, 1898, the Kaiser granted an audience to Herzl in Constantinople and -- according to Zionist records -- promised to ask for the demanded Chartered Company from the Sultan.⁴⁷ However, in his second audience with the Kaiser in Jerusalem on November 2, 1898, Herzl received only "an evasive reply."⁴⁸ Thirteen days later, the official German communique of Kaiser's visit to Jerusalem reported:

"Replying to an address by the leader of (Jewish) deputation, Kaiser Wilhelm said that his benevolent interest could be relied upon in all efforts which aim at furthering the welfare of the Turkish Empire . . . with a complete respect for the sovereignty of the Sultan."⁴⁹

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 179.

⁴⁶ Bein, op. cit., p. 280.

⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 293 - 296.

⁴⁸ Cohen, A Short History, p. 49.

⁴⁹Theodor Herzl, The Diaries, trans. and ed. Marvin Lowenthal (New York: The Dial Press, 1956), p. 298.

The direct meaning of such a statement was that the whole Zionist journey had failed.

Later on, several attempts were made to renew the Zionist-German relation; but all proved to be in vain.⁵⁰

Herzl's contact with German official circles were not his only ones. Several attempts were made to penetrate to the Ottoman Sultan. Herzl "used" Turkish officials⁵¹ and Jewish figures who had influence in the Sublime Porte.⁵² He bribed liberally intermediates and high officials of the Court; and his Diaries provide full information on the persons and the amounts involved. At last, after more than three years of constant efforts, Herzl was received by the Sultan on May 17, 1901. Herzl was not received in his capacity as a President of the Zionist Organization, but as an influential Jewish journalist.⁵³ In this round of negotiation, and in two subsequent ones (in February 1902,⁵⁴ and July 1902)⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Bein, op. cit., p. 466.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 316.

⁵² Herzl, op. cit., p. 332.

⁵³ Bein, op. cit., p. 352.

⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 379 - 380.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 393.

Herzl failed to attain his objectives. He insisted on having a Turkish "demonstrative declaration" with unrestricted Jewish immigration rights as a price for financing the Turkish Public Debt. The Sultan, on his part, insisted on restricted immigration, to parts other than Palestine, and under Turkish direction.⁵⁶ Hence, "Herzl, himself, came to the conclusion. . . that the direct road to Palestine was for the time being blocked."⁵⁷

In the summer of 1898, the pogroms in Galicia⁵⁸ and the failure of negotiations with Germany made Herzl think of Cyprus as an alternative to Palestine. In fact, it occurred to him to propose a Cyprus colonization program to the third Congress. Feeling the strong opposition of the Hovevi Zion, however, Herzl changed his mind and abandoned the idea.⁵⁹ In the spring of 1900, the massive Jewish emigration from Rumania brought the Cyprus idea back to Herzl's mind. But the revival of hopes due to his interview with the Ottoman Sultan,

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 380.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 393.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 412.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 413.

in 1901, made him again quit the idea.⁶⁰

On October 22, 1902, Herzl was invited by a British Royal Commission on Alien Immigration to present his solutions for the problems arising from the flood of Jewish immigration to England.⁶¹ Herzl's visit to England was an opportunity to meet several British officials. His interviews with Joseph Chamberlain,⁶² then British Colonial Secretary, and Lord Lansdowne, then Foreign Minister,⁶³ gave rise to the El-Arish plan. A letter of introduction to Lord Cromer, then bearing the emphemistic title of British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt, was given to Leopold Greenberg, an English member of the Zionist Actions Committee.⁶⁴ Herzl personally made a brief trip to Egypt, to meet Cromer and other British and Egyptian officials. But the report of a technical commission which was sent out to study and report on the plan was not in favour of the project. At last, the

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 414.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 415.

⁶²Ibid., p. 419.

⁶³Cohen, Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism, p.287.

⁶⁴Bein, loc. cit.

Egyptian Government rejected the scheme, and the whole project failed.⁶⁵

Immediately after the failure of El-Arish plan, Chamberlain offered Herzl a territory in East Africa.⁶⁶ Herzl and Greenberg hesitated to consider the offer but the new pogroms in Kishinev made Herzl "play the politics of the hour" and accept.⁶⁷ Herzl's acceptance of the offer was based on the assumption that he could use the East Africa project as a political counter in his negotiations with Turkey. Moreover, Herzl realized the significant political meaning of such an offer coming from a great power as England.

In August 1903,⁶⁸ and January 1904,⁶⁹ Herzl negotiated with Russian officials and the King of Italy respectively. Other negotiations with Pope Pius X,⁷⁰ the Austrian Government,⁷¹ many politically important figures and several well-to-do bankers,⁷² were initiated.

⁶⁵Nahum Sokolow, History of Zionism 1600-1918, I (London: Longmans, 1919), p. 296.

⁶⁶Bein, op. cit., p. 444.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Herzl, op. cit., p. 391.

⁶⁹Cohen, A Short History, p. 54.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Bein, op. cit., p. 336.

⁷²Ibid., p. 254.

Herzl's diplomatic activities continued till shortly before his death on July 3, 1904.

B. An Evaluation of Herzl's Diplomatic Activities:

The Organization's (or rather Herzl's) diplomatic activities yielded no tangible results. The negotiations with Germany, Turkey, and Egypt failed because of the negative attitudes of the three countries. Herzl's negotiations with England failed to produce tangible result mainly because of inner Zionist opposition.⁷³ However, these activities made two significant political contributions to the Zionist cause:

The first contribution was that Herzl's diplomatic activities made of the "Jewish question" a public international issue.

The second contribution was that the World Zionist Organization had received the needed official recognition by the governments with whom Herzl negotiated.

In addition, Herzl's diplomacy had some important consequences for the Zionist Organization. Thus, his

⁷³Herzl, lo. cit.

contacts with high government officials in Russia⁷⁴ and Austria⁷⁵ solved many Zionist organizational problems, especially those related to the Jewish Colonial Trust (The Zionist Bank). Furthermore, Herzl's various shifts or -- as they were called -- divergences from Zionist's goals, caused widespread dissent and endangered Zionist unity within the Organization more than once.

C. The Emergence and Nature of the Opposition in the Zionist Organization:

Criticisms, campaigns and opposition in the Zionist Organization were not new to Herzl. He had experienced such things from the very moment he wrote and published his pamphlet: "Der Judenstaat."⁷⁶ Later on, when Herzl called for a Zionist Congress, the opposition was renewed. Such opposition had come from non-Zionists. The first two Zionist Congresses, however, witnessed a unique kind of opposition. Some participants in the first Congress, who were invited by Herzl himself, constituted the

⁷⁴Cohen, Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism, p. 220.

⁷⁵Bein, op. cit., p. 254.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 192.

first opposition within the Zionist Congresses. The uniqueness of this opposition stemmed from the fact that the opponents were not against particular aspects of Political Zionism but against it as a whole. Anti-Zionists suffocated in the Zionist environment and hence the first opposition in the Zionist Congresses was put to an end. But a new kind of opposition (the Practicalist's opposition), which was stronger and more determined, was on its way:

From the very beginning Herzl believed that the first step in attaining the Zionist goal was in attaining a Chartered Company under the protection of some government. He aimed at getting an official permission for Jewish immigration to Palestine. Hence, it was natural that Herzl emphasized the fourth item of the Basle Program more than any other item. Other Zionists, mainly the veterants of Hovevi Zion societies, thought that efforts should be directed to the attainment of the first item in the Program. They maintained that "the programmatic encouragement of settlement of Palestine with Jewish agricultural workers, labourers and artisans" was more urgent than political activities. The advocates of this trend of thinking came to be known

as the "Practical Zionists" while the advocates of Herzl's line were called the "Political Zionists."⁷⁷ It is interesting to note that the difference was on emphasis rather on goals.

Herzl felt the existence of the "practicalists" as early as the first Congress but he managed to win the various Congresses to his side.⁷⁸ The "practicalists" remained to constitute an opposition all through the Zionist Congresses that were to follow. Their power increased year after year and their resistance to Herzl's emphasis on diplomacy grew deeper and deeper. It needs no mentioning that the "practicalists" line of thinking was reinforced by Herzl's successive diplomatic failures.

In the third Congress "a definite oppositional mood directed at Herzl himself, as well as against the Vienna Actions Committee," emerged.⁷⁹ Herzl was criticized because of some unobjective speeches he delivered in Great Britain. The Actions Committee

⁷⁷Taylor, op. cit., p. 8.

⁷⁸Bein, op. cit., p. 270.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 325.

was criticized on its decision to assign twenty Founder's shares for certain trusted Zionists.⁸⁰ Furthermore, Herzl and the Committee were criticized on what came to be known as the "cultural issue." The opposition was dissatisfied with the "indifference" of the Vienna Actions Committee to the revival of Jewish culture.⁸¹ This was the first time in which Herzl stood on the defensive in a Zionist Congress.

In the fourth Congress "there was no doubt that the oppositional mood had grown stronger. Weizmann criticized the "glowing" report of the Actions Committee on the growth of the movement. (Leo) Motzkin wanted something more than "vague" hints on political progress, a field in which Herzl always demanded a sort of blanket vote of confidence."⁸²

The first official opposition, which had a significant power, appeared in the fifth Congress. The "Democratic Zionist Fraction" was the first party within the Organization. The leaders of the

⁸⁰ Cohen, Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism, p.214.

⁸¹ Bein, op. cit., p. 328.

⁸² Ibid., p. 345.

"Fraction" were Leo Motzkin, Chaim Weizmann, Victor Jacobson, Martin Buber, Berthold Feivel, Lilien and Trietsch. These leaders rallied a minimum of thirty-seven delegates. The "Fraction" was strongly influenced by Asher Ginsberg (better known as Ahad Haam). They advocated "a more evolutionary, more deeply rooted nationalism, a greater degree of democracy in the leadership of the movement and a programme of immediate day-to-day activity of a cultural nature throughout the diaspora."⁸³

When the "Fraction" asked for the vote of the Congress on the "culture" resolutions, Herzl "forced his view through a violent discussion on a question of procedure. This method so embittered the opposition that it left the hall in a body and absented itself for an hour in a protest demonstration."⁸⁴

Organizationally speaking, the symbolic session of the "Fraction" was a dangerous precedent. It reflected the fact that differences among Zionists were getting deeper. It also meant that some delegates were ready to challenge the established rules

⁸³Ibid., pp. 372 - 373.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 374.

and the established leadership. A more serious consequence was the "increasing alienation between Herzl and some of the youth."⁸⁵

The dangers to which the fifth Congress was exposed were to find fuller expression in the sixth Congress, two years later.

The British East Africa offer introduced a new major field of difference among the Zionist leaders. Opposition to the offer started in the Smaller Actions Committee, where even Herzl's closest follower, Max Mordau, at first refused to accept it. More serious opposition faced Herzl in the Greater Actions Committee. The criticisms of the opposition were severe because they felt that the acceptance of the offer meant a divergence from the Zionist Program. The sixth Congress raised a vehement opposition against the British offer. But finally a resolution calling for sending an expedition to investigate the offered territory was adopted. The opposition behaved in the same manner as it did in the fifth Congress. Those who opposed the offer withdrew from the Hall, but Herzl was able

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 375.

to bring them back. A compromise was reached and the Congress closed peacefully.⁸⁶

The events that followed showed that the "peaceful" closing of the Congress was only apparant. An inner Russian Committee from among the opponents of the Congress' resolution was established. The financial bureau which controlled the Shekel collections came under the Committees' control.⁸⁷

It was Menahem Ussishkn, a member of the Actions Committee, who stood behind a new dangerous precedent in the Organization, when he publicly announced that he did not consider the Congress' decision (concerning the British offer) a binding resolution.⁸⁸

To be sure, opposition in the Smaller Committee, the Greater Actions Committee or the Congress, had appeared earlier: but this was the first time in which an opponent within the high organ of the movement criticized and even worked against the Zionist leadership outside the Zionist established organs.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 463.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 479.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 474.

The new opposition advanced further step. The Russian Committee, mentioned above, called for a conference for the Russian Zionist leaders in Kharkov (October 1903) to discuss the issues raised by the dispute between Ussishkn and Herzl.⁸⁹

The Kharkov Conference "adopted an ultimatum, to be delivered to Herzl, demanding that he should alter his method of administration and completely abandon the East Africa Project. It required that Herzl should give up his authoritarian way of handling affairs, that he should submit every serious question to the Greater Actions Committee a month before it met, and that the Vienna Executive should be responsible not to the Congress but to the Greater Actions Committee."⁹⁰ The ultimatum also demanded that Herzl promise in writing that he would entirely give up the East Africa project and that he would not submit to the Congress any project other than that of Palestine or Syria. The Conference decided that it would carry on progaganda all over the world in support of its opposition, and that, if Herzl rejected the ultimatum, the Shekel should no longer be sent to

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

Vienna but retained in Russia.⁹¹

The direct meanings of that ultimatum were the following:

1. The Conference and its resolutions were a usurpation of the powers of the Zionist Congress.
2. The conference in Kharkov wanted to impose the will of a minority upon the majority.
3. A new organizational set-up was to be established.
4. The leadership of the Organization was challenged and undermined.

Hence "Herzl's answer was the organization of an opposition to the opposition."⁹² On the defensive level, he sent letters to his faithful Russian Zionists demanding that they pay the shekel directly to the Colonial Trust offices. On the active level, Herzl demanded that meetings of protest against the "disrupters of unity" be held.⁹³ In England and in Russia there sprang up "Committees for the Defense of the Congress."⁹⁴

⁹¹Cohen, Herzl: Founder of Political Zionism, p.339.

⁹²Bein, op. cit., p. 482.

⁹³Ibid., p. 483.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 488.

The opposition's campaign and the Organization's counter campaign lasted for nearly six months until Herzl called for a meeting of the Greater Actions Committee in Vienna (April 1904).

The Greater Committee was able to bridge the various gaps. Hence, the unity of the Organization was restored and a new compromise between the two camps was reached only a few weeks before Herzl's death.⁹⁵

D. Autocracy and Dictatorship in the World Zionist Organization:

Until 1903, it was difficult to speak of a strong united opposition to Herzl.⁹⁶ However, the sixth Zionist Congress witnessed a group-opposition which wanted to make of the Congress "the occasion to depose the leader."⁹⁷

The opposition conference (Kharkov Conference), held in October 1903, was the place where the opposition spelled out all its demands.

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 497 - 498.

⁹⁶Fraenkel, op. cit., p. 186.

⁹⁷Barnet Litvinoff, To the House of Their Fathers (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1965), p. 111.

An analysis of the resolutions of Kharkov Conference reveals the existence of autocracy and dictatorship within the Zionist Organization. One of the resolutions raised the issue in direct terms when it required that Herzl should give up his "authoritarian way of handling affairs." A second resolution called for submitting important issues to the "Greater Actions Committee," one month before its meeting. This very point revealed the feeling that the Greater Committee was not given enough time to decide on the important Zionist affairs and thus its rights were usurped in one way or another. A third resolution taken in Kharkov was to the effect that the Vienna Executive should be responsible to the "Greater Actions Committee" and not to the Congress. This resolution implied that the opposition leaders felt that the Smaller Committee had a free hand in the absence of the Zionist Congress. Moreover, when the opposition demanded that Herzl should promise in writing that he would not submit to the Congress any project other than one relating to Palestine, it was implying that Herzl's dictatorship had in the past gone to the extent of modifying or cancelling the Zionist goals that were officially adopted.

These criticisms of autocracy and dictatorship were not the only ones. As early as the second Congress, Bernard Lazare, the French author and publicist, left the movement because he was dissatisfied with the lack of democracy within the Organization.⁹⁸ In 1899 and 1901 the Russian members of the Actions Committee "had objected to what they called Herzl's dictatorial direction of political actions"⁹⁹ and they had protested officially through the Actions Committee. The opposition, in the fourth Congress, referred to the "vague hints on political progress"¹⁰⁰ and demanded more details from Herzl. In addition, the "Democratic Zionist Fraction," which emerged in the fifth Congress, called for "a greater degree of democracy in the leadership of the movement."¹⁰¹

Many other references to Herzl's dictatorship were made by the opposition leaders. In his reference to the conflict with Herzl, Ussishkn said that "should

⁹⁸ Bein, op. cit., p. 174.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 479.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 345.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp. 372 - 373.

he lose that fight. . . Herzl's dictatorship would be assured."¹⁰² Moses Gaster, one of the most eminent Zionist leaders in Britain, "declared war upon autocracy in Zionism" by which he meant "Herzl's closest collaborators in London, primarily Leopold Greenberg and Joseph Cowen."¹⁰³ Moreover, Weizmann and Gaster suggested that the President of the Zionist Organization should not, at the same time, hold the presidency of the Zionist Executive.¹⁰⁴

Of the factors which gave rise to and fostered the trends toward dictatorship and autocracy within the Zionist Organization, the following were the most important:

1. The objective conditions which made Herzl emerge as a charismatic leader among the Zionists. "Herzl was the personification of the Organization and it was difficult to draw a line of demarcation between the movement and its leader."¹⁰⁵ However,

¹⁰² Fraenkel, op. cit., p. 187.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 188.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 190.

¹⁰⁵ Bein, op. cit., p. 247.

this factor might had disappeared gradually had it not been reinforced by a second factor, namely:

2. the inactivation of the people who surrounded Herzl. The Smaller Actions Committee "was composed of men who devoted to the movement whatever time they could spare from their daily occupation."¹⁰⁶ Their role was trivial to the extent that made Herzl, himself, coin the name of "Inactive committee."¹⁰⁷ But even if this factor had not been obtained, a third factor, inherent in the situation, would have been sufficient to develop a dictatorial attitude on the part of Herzl. This factor was
3. Herzl's personality and his way of understanding political action. Herzl, according to one of the members of the Smaller Actions Committee, "was at times capricious and liked to dominate others."¹⁰⁸ As to his understanding of political action, "Herzl believed that diplomacy should be secret and a personal responsibility. The letters Herzl received

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Simcha Kling, "Tehiel Tschlenow," Herzl Yearbook, VI (New York: Herzl Press, 1965), p. 89.

in political matters were therefore placed, not in the archives of the Zionist office, but in his private files."¹⁰⁹

Herzl's dictatorship was not the only factor that had "negative" effect on the Zionist Organization. Herzl was a sick man suffering from a serious heart condition. From time to time, he would take a period of rest, leaving the Organization's activities to nobody. Herzl was so sick as to ask Nordau, the Vice-President, as early as February 1898, to take over the Presidency of the Organization.¹¹⁰ In addition, Herzl was over occupied with too many duties. He was to handle almost all Zionist diplomatic activities, which were quite a heavy load. He had to preside over and prepare for the meetings of the Smaller Actions Committee and the Zionist Congresses. He was to create the needed administrative and financial organs of the Organization. He had to tackle the various problems to which the Zionists and Jewry as a whole were exposed. No less time-consuming was his work as a journalist (which he

¹⁰⁹Aex Bein, "Some Early Herzl Letters," Herzl Year-book, I (New York: Herzl Press, 1958), p. 301.

¹¹⁰Bein, op. cit., p. 264.

maintained all along) and his work as a novelist. The extent to which this last-named avocation could be demanding and time-consuming may be gouged from Herzl's remark that his drama "The Sinful Mother" occupied his attention "more than the Congress, my uncompleted Congress address, the Grand Dukes and the Princes and my slave-drivers of the Neue Freie Presse."¹¹¹

The net result of Herzl's dictatorship, illness and over-work were:

1. More chances for dangerous clashes and disunity within the Organization;
2. Less ability, on his part, to perform all the important functions of the World Zionist Organization effectively;
3. More chances for discontinuity in Zionist activities in case of his death. This last factor made Barnet Litvinoff say: "Without Theodor Herzl there was no Organization."¹¹²

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 332.

¹¹²Litvinoff, op. cit., p. 96.

E. General Remarks:

The preceding discussion reveals four major operational features of Zionism:

1. The leadership of the World Zionist Organization during Herzl's lifetime was flexible and adaptable, always ready to make territorial and strategic compromises. This flexibility manifested itself in two ways:
 - a. Flexibility in relation to external conditions and setbacks. When the Zionist leadership failed to get Palestine, it turned its sights towards Cyprus. When Cyprus seemed inaccessible, the Zionist leadership made an attempt to colonize El-Arish. When El-Arish plan failed, the Zionist leadership was ready to go as far as accepting a land in East Africa. Now, whether this flexibility was an inherent element of adaptability in the Zionist movement as such, or merely a result of the pressing conditions of the early years of Zionism and of Herzl's personal propensities, remains a debatable question.
 - b. Flexibility in relation to internal Zionist opposition. As we have noted in the fifth

Congress a compromise between the respective positions of the Zionist leadership and the "Democratic Zionist Fraction," on the "cultural" issue, was forged. In the third Congress another compromise was reached on the distribution of the twenty Founders shares which were to be given to trusted Zionists. A third compromise was initiated in the sixth Congress on the "Uganda" project. The fourth major compromise between the "disrupters of unity" and the Zionist leadership was reached in the meeting of the Greater Actions Committee on the Uganda plan and other issues.

2. The Zionist leadership was of a dictatorial and autocratical nature. All powers and functions were concentrated in the hands of few Zionist leaders. This dictatorship and autocracy of the Zionist leadership proved to be a cause of internal tension within the Organization.
3. The Zionist Organization was not an integrated body. It is true that the objective conditions -- such as the dispersion of the Jews and the broad scope of the Organization -- limited significantly the degree of integration of which

the Zionist Organization was capable. But it is also true that the inner composition of the Organization was a greater cause of lack of integration in the Organization. There was a sharp division between the "Westerners" on the one hand and the "Eastern" Zionists on the other.¹¹³ The Zionist Organization was composed of three political groupings: the Poale Zion -- the socialist Zionists; the Mizrachi -- the religious Zionists; and the General Zionists.¹¹⁴ "Criscrossing these parties were the 'practicalists', who demanded the immediate resumption of settlement work in Palestine, and the 'politicalists', the Herzelian Zionists who insisted on a Charter to provide a legal foundation for colonization."¹¹⁵ Herzelian Zionism was there as well as Cultural Zionism (advocated by Ahad Haam and his followers) and religious Zionism (advocated by the Mizrachi). Hence, the World Zionist Organization was able to

¹¹³Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 54.

¹¹⁴Herbert Parzen, A Short History of Zionism (New York: Herzl Press, 1962), p. 25.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

"gather" the various kinds of Zionism --
but it was not able to "integrate" them.

CHAPTER III

THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION: 1904-1929

I. The World Zionist Organization: 1904-1914:

The disappearance of Herzl's charismatic leadership procrastinated the activities of the World Zionist Organization momentarily. The period that followed Herzl's death witnessed a severe struggle for power. The various kinds of Zionism, within the Zionist Organization, were competing with one another. The immediate post-Herzl period was one of competing ideologies.¹

Few weeks after Herzl's death, a coalition triumvirate was appointed. This very step revealed the effect of Herzl's absence from the Zionist scene. Max Nordau, David Wolffsohn, and Otto Warburg constituted the triumvirate. The first two were "politicalists" while Warburg was a "practicalist."² This proportion of representation signified that the "politicalists" were still in power.

¹Herbert Parzen, A Short History of Zionism (New York: Herzl Press, 1962), p. 38.

²Ibid.

At the seventh Congress, held in August 1905, the "Uganda" project was abandoned. As a result, the "Ugandists" under the leadership of Israel Zangwill, seceded from the Organization and established the International Territorial Organization (I. T. O.).³ The secession of the "Ugandists" reduced the ideological varieties inside the Zionist Organization.

The Palestine Office in Jaffa (established in 1908) was dominated by the "practicalists." The Office was "to work out and to report upon proposals of various undertakings and to supervise their work."⁴ The Palestine Office initiated the first Zionist systematic development of colonization in Palestine and with the help of the Jewish National Fund, it built a residential suburb-" the nucleus of present-day Tel Aviv."⁵ It also created the Palestine Land Development

³Ibid.

⁴Adolf Bohm, The Jewish National Fund (The Hague: The Head Office of the Jewish National Fund), p. 29.

⁵Information Office of the Jewish Agency (ed.), The Jewish Case Before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine (Jerusalem: The Publishing Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1947), p. 281.

Company which was officially registered in England, in 1909. The Development company was mainly owned by the Keren Keyemeth, the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Anglo-Palestine Bank and (later on) the Keren Hayesod. The Company "purchased land for private individuals and groups as well as for the Jewish national bodies. About seventy per cent of the land acquired by the Jews was bought through it."⁶

Under the supervision of the Palestine Office, the then existing financial instruments played a significant role in the up-building of the Jewish National Home. The Jewish Colonial Trust, operating through its subsidiary the Anglo-Palestine Company, granted short-term loans to Jewish merchants, artisans and farmers.⁷ The Anglo-Palestine Company, through a principal branch in Jaffa and local branches in Jerusalem, Hebron, Haifa, Beirut, safed, and Tiberias, aided the colonists in matters of taxation, law, and land purchase.⁸ For Training the colonists, a School of Arts and Crafts was established in Jerusalem, in

⁶ Esco Foundation for Palestine, Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), I, 343.

⁷ Bohm, op. cit., p. 50.

⁸ Ibid., p. 29.

1906.⁹

The Jewish National Fund carried out a significant program of development. Many special subsidiary Funds were established through the initiative of the National Fund. These included the Olive Tree Fund (Tree Fund later on), the Workmen's Dwellings Fund,¹⁰ and the Co-operative Settlement Fund.¹¹ Moreover, the Jewish National Fund provided some private societies, such as the Co-operative House-Building Society, with loans.¹² The Jewish National Fund aided the Jewish educational system (especially the Jewish Technical Institute and the Hebrew University in Jerusalem) by providing the various schools with fund and building-sites.¹³ It goes without saying that the Jewish National Fund, through the grants and loans it provided, controlled, all of the abovementioned subsidiary Funds and institutions.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 35.

¹¹Ibid., p. 44.

¹²Ibid., p. 47.

¹³Ibid., pp. 47-52.

In addition, the National Fund trained urban laborers and undertook certain social measures to safeguard the Jewish Laborer's interest.¹⁴ The nature of these tasks and services encouraged the non-Zionists or even the anti-Zionists among the Jews to contribute financially to special undertakings of the National Fund.¹⁵

These efforts and undertakings resulted in the immigration of 40,000 Jew to Palestine during the period 1904-1914, as compared with only 25,000 immigrants during the longer period (1882-1904).¹⁶

As to the old struggle for dominating the Administration of the Zionist Organization, it was not until the tenth Congress, in 1911, that the "practicalists" took over. In this Congress, Warburg became the President of the Zionist Organization and the Inner Actions Committee was retained in the eleventh Congress, in 1913.¹⁷ The "politicalists", who failed to organize

¹⁴Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 46.

¹⁶Israel Cohen, A Short History of Zionism (London: Frederick Muller, 1951), p. 254.

¹⁷Parzen, op. cit., p. 42.

themselves in an opposition party, were out of the Zionist scene.¹⁸

These developments opened wide the doors for intensive work in Palestine. However, the first World War interfered and the whole Zionist enterprise was suspended.¹⁹

II. The World Zionist Organization: 1914-1921:

A. The War Years:

The outbreak of the war had grave effects on the World Zionist Organization:

In the first place, the Zionist administrative set-up was disorganized. The Central Office of the Organization was cut off from the Zionist constituent organizations in Turkey, Russia and the West. Hence, a Zionist Bureau in Copenhagen (a neutral capital) was established to minimize the rising problem of communication and coordination.²⁰

¹⁸ M.I. Bodenheimer, Prelude To Israel: The Memoirs of M. I. Bodenheimer, trans. Israel Cohen, ed. Henriette Hannah Bodenheimer (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1963), p. 198.

¹⁹ Bohm, op. cit., p. 30.

²⁰ Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 165.

A second major handicap emerged when many active Zionists were either imprisoned or exiled. The Anglo-Palestine Bank was closed and the watcher's organizations, "Hashomer," was dissolved.²¹ The Zionist foundations in Palestine were discontinued or in some cases destroyed. The Yishuv (the Jews living in Palestine) suffered from bitter economic and political conditions and their number was reduced from 85 thousands in 1914 to 55 thousands in 1918.²²

Moreover, the war isolated the Organization from its members, especially those of Russia. The Zionist world was divided into three separate parts: The Zionist communities under the Allied, the Central, or the neutral governments were isolated from each other.²³ This situation reduced the financial contributions and the active participation of many Zionists to a minimum. In addition, the "Inner Actions Committee consisting of enemy nationals -- Russians and Germans -- could not function as a group."²⁴

²¹Cohen, op. cit., p. 68.

²²Ibid., p. 78.

²³Don Peretz, The Middle East Today (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 251.

²⁴Parzen, op. cit., p. 53.

However, two major developments emerged on the Zionist scene. These developments were capable of pulling the Zionist Organization out of the existing confusion and disorganization. The first development was the emergence of Chaim Weizmann's charismatic leadership in England, while the second was the active role the Zionists played in the United States.

Weizmann who was not a member in the Inner Actions Committee and who "was sharply opposed to leaving power in the hand of the old Executive"²⁵ played the role of the de facto leader of the Organization. Weizmann and some of his colleagues looked upon England as the best ally for Zionism and "constituted" of themselves a political committee.²⁶ Later on, two members of the Inner Actions Committee (Sokolow and Tschlenow) joined Weizmann in London.²⁷ The Zionist policy during the war was outlined by Weizmann in one of his letters to Mr. Scott, the editor of the Manchester Gardian, in 1914. This policy, which

²⁵Weizmann, Loc. Cit.,

²⁶Ibid., p. 183.

²⁷Ibid., p. 184.

became the official Zionist policy all through the decades that were to follow, consisted of four goals:

- "1. An Allied victory,
2. the establishment of a British Mandate in Palestine,
3. an understanding that such a British mandatory would then facilitate the entry of a million or more Jews into Palestine. . . , and
4. an understanding that the Mandate would terminate in a Jewish controlled Palestine."²⁸

To the attainment of these goals, Weizmann, Sokolow, Tschlenow, and Moses Gaster managed to win many Gentile Zionists from among the British key-officials.²⁹ The political work was conducted through the Zionist Bureau, which was opened in London in July 1917.³⁰ The British Palestine Committee was created to win the Jews of England to the Zionists' plans and to offset the opposition of the non-Zionist English Jews. Through that Committee a successful Zionist campaign was carried out.³¹

²⁸Alan Taylor, *Prelude to Israel* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1959), p. 12.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 13-15.

³⁰Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

³¹Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

The role played by the second newly-emerged Zionist "center" in the United States was by no means less significant. The Zionists in the United States assumed the responsibility of "furthering the Zionist goals in the war crisis."³² With the initiative of Shmarya Levin, a member of the Inner Actions Committee, an emergency Conference of Zionists convened in New York, on August 30, 1914. The Conference created "the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs." Louis Brandeis (later Judge), who was elected Chairman of the Provisional Committee, played in the United States the same role played by Weizmann in Britain. Brandeis was as successful as Weizmann in bringing "persons of prestige and power into the Zionist ranks."³³

All these developments in England and the United States meant that the official Copenhagen Executive was ignored, and bypassed.

Weizmann and his colleagues in England together with Brandeis and his colleagues in the United States

³²Parzen, op. cit., p. 54.

³³Ibid., pp. 54-55.

"closely collaborated to coordinate Zionist policy and the views of the two governments (the British and the American) with respect to the Palestine issue."³⁴ The net result was the Balfour Declaration, which was issued on November 2, 1917.

For furthering the objects of the Balfour Declaration, a Zionist Commission consisting of representatives of the Jews left for Palestine in April, 1918. The Commission was "to represent the Zionist Organization in Palestine and act as advisory body to the British authorities there in all matters relating to Jews or which may affect the establishment of a National home for the Jewish people in accordance with the Declaration of His Majesty's Government."³⁵

Again, this major task was not handled by the Zionists of England alone. The Zionists of America assumed a great part of the responsibility. The administrative aspect of rehabilitating

³⁴Ibid., p. 56.

³⁵J.M.N. Jeffries, Palestine The Reality (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), p. 221.

the Yishuv was mainly handled by the Zionists of England. The necessary funds were provided by the Zionists of the United States. The 1918 Convention of the Zionist Federation in the United States approved a District Plan to procure the needed funds. The Zionists of every community in the United States "were mobilized into one district or body directly responsible to the national organization, now named the Zionist Organization of America."³⁶

As to the financial instruments, the Reparation Fund (later on named the Palestine Restoration Fund) was created in July, 1917, to finance the Zionist work in London, Paris, and Palestine.³⁷

B. The First Three Post-War Years:

1. The Zionist Commission in Palestine:

During the period 1918 - 21, the Zionist Commission operated as a "government-in-the-making!" Its administrative set-up consisted

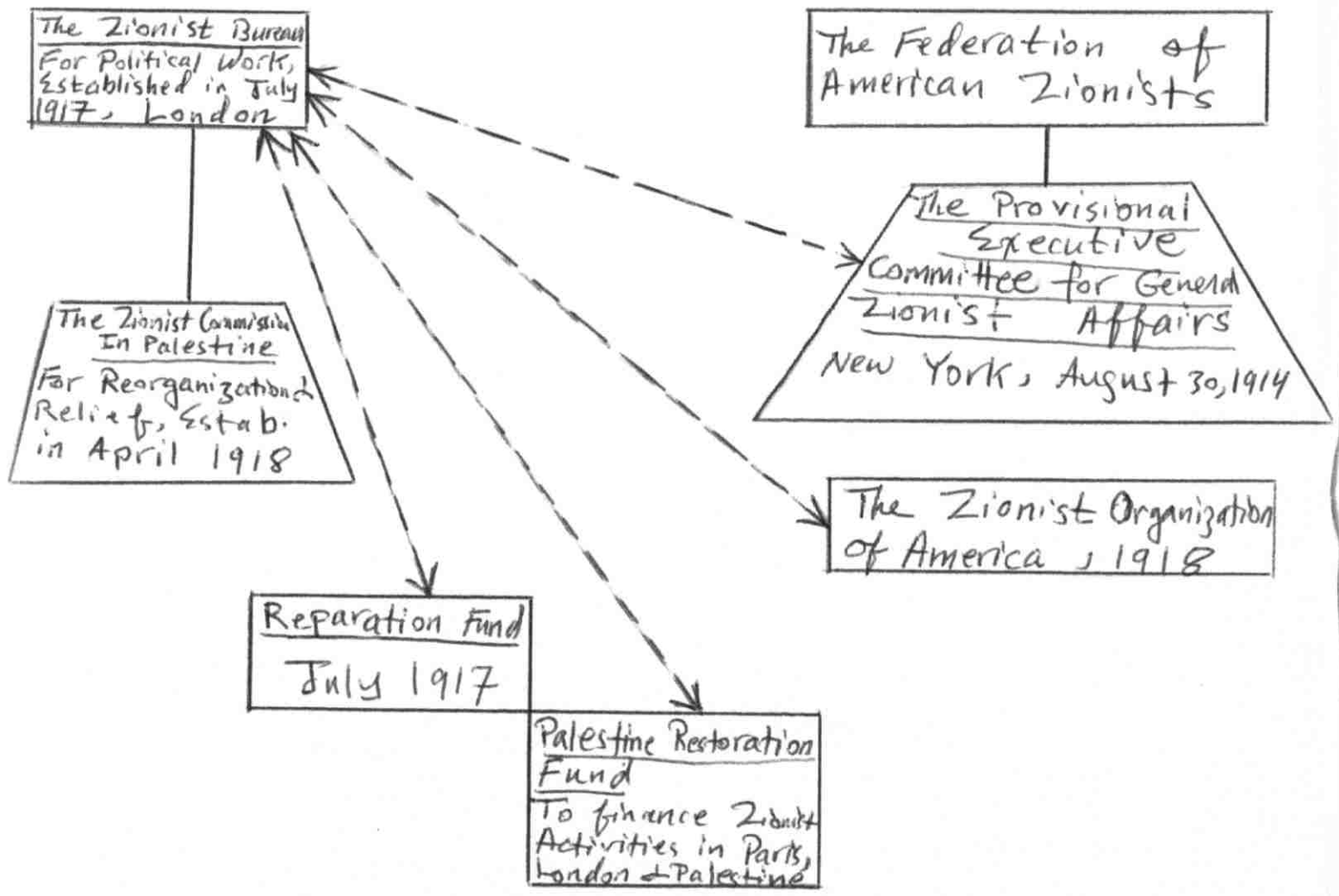
³⁶Parzen, op. cit., p. 62.

³⁷Cohen, op. cit., p. 87.

The Zionist Provisional Set-up During the First World War (1914-1918)

In England & Palestine

In the United States



of several departments - Political, Relief, Agriculture and Colonization, Technical Affairs, Statistics, Publicity, Trade and Industry, Immigration, Education, Finance Loans, and Labor. The "cabinet" of the Zionist Commission had a President, a Vice-President, a Treasurer, a Controller, a Secretary, a Chief Accountant and members. Moreover, the Commission had District Commissioners in Jaffa, Haira, Galilee, Safed, Tiberias, Cairo, Alexanderia, and Port Said.³⁸

The Zionist Commission "was placed in quasi-authority over the Jews in Palestine."³⁹ It initiated the elections for a "Constituent Assembly" through which the Jewry of Palestine was controlled. It also established several permanent civil courts.⁴⁰

The Functions of the Commission grew to the extent that made the Chief Administrator of Palestine write:

³⁸Jeffries, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

³⁹Ibid., p. 310.

⁴⁰Ibid.

It (the Commission) had extended its size gradually, till in the spring of 1920 it consisted of a full hundred members. . . It had arrogated to itself the privileges of a ruling hierarchy, and was endeavouring to act as a Government within the actual Government, and outside of it also, through its intimate relations with the statemen in England. . . a complete administrative machine is operating, in fact its departments correspond in number exactly to my own. This Administration within an Administration renders good government impossible.⁴¹

2. Reorganization of the World Zionist Organization:

During the first world war, the Zionist Organization, as it had evolved by the eleventh Congress, in 1913, hardly existed. The Zionist Congress did not convene all through the war years. The meetings and functions of the Greater Actions Committee were hampered. The members of the Inner Actions Committee were dispersed and isolated. However, the Zionist movement was compensated by the emergence of a new phenomenon, namely, de facto leadership. Some Zionist leaders, though empowered by no Zionist authority, nevertheless went beyond the formal structure of the Organization and assumed the leadership of the Zionist movement. It is

⁴¹Ibid., p. 309.

ironical that the new informal and unofficial leadership was able, mainly because of favorable political conditions, to achieve what the official leadership had failed to accomplish.

By the end of the war, however, the expanded wartime operation of the movement had necessitated an organized machinery. The de facto leadership (Weizmann and Sokolow in particular) therefore called for a Zionist Conference in London, in February 1919. In that Conference, Weizmann acquired some formal status by being elected to the Inner Actions Committee. A Central Office replaced the provisional Zionist Bureau. Moreover, the Conference increased the "Zionist Character" of the Zionist Commission in Palestine. "In effect, this Conference gave legal sanction to the de facto political office through which Weizmann and other Zionist leaders in England had been operating."⁴²

A much more important Conference was convened in London, in July 1920. Two hundred and fifty delegates attended the Conference, with

⁴²Taylor, op. cit., p. 38.

active participation by the Zionists of America. Judge Louis Brandeis was elected Honorary President, and Weizmann's leadership received greater formalization when he was elected to the Presidency of the Organization. Sokolow was chosen to the Chairmanship of the Executive. More important was the decision of the Conference to establish a Central Immigration Office, with "Palestine Offices" under it to encourage immigration and recruit settlers. The immigrants were to be chosen on the basis of age and physical fitness. They were to be trained as agriculturists or as artisans by the local committees which were in charge of the Palestine Offices. The local committees were selected, on a coalition basis, in proportion to the numerical power of the various Zionist parties. The London Conference also established a Reorganization Commission; and the Central Office was reorganized into five departments-Political Affairs, Organization, Finance, Immigration and Publicity.⁴³

In the London Conference, the basic financial set-up of the Organization was completed by the

⁴³Cohen, op. cit., pp. 86 - 87.

establishment of the Keren Hayesod, "the Foundation Fund," for immigration and colonization. Not less than twenty per cent of the money raised by the Fund was to be given to the Keren Keyemeth. Immigration activities, education, and other social services were not to receive more than one third of the remainder. Two-thirds of this last amount was to be invested in "permanent national institutions or economic undertakings."⁴⁴

The nature of the functions of the Keren Hayesod aroused a conflict between Weizmann and his colleagues on one side and Brandeis' followers on the other. The Brandeis-Weizmann conflict reflected their different conceptions of Zionism. The Brandeis group wanted "the concentration of the Zionist Organization's activities on Palestine as against. . . Diaspora Nationalism."⁴⁵ However, the ideological differences manifested themselves in organizational terms. The objects of conflict became the Keren Hayesod and the Zionist Organization of America. The Weizmannists looked upon the

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 87.

⁴⁵ Elmer Berger, "Disenchantment of a Zionist," Middle East Forum, XXXVIII (April, 1962), 23.

"Keren Hayesod" as a "national treasury" the resources of which were to be used for "all national work" and controlled by the World Zionist Organization. To the Brandeisists the Keren Hayesod was to "aid a limited colonization project" under the control of the Zionist Organization of America.⁴⁶ The Zionist Organization of America, according to the Weizmannists, was to be a subsidiary organ, organically connected with the World Zionist Organization. The Brandeis group maintained that the Zionist Organization of America "could be a part of the World Zionist Organization and still exercise autonomy in fundamental problems and policies."⁴⁷

After the London Conference, Weizmann left for the United States upon an invitation from some members of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America. In consequence, the whole conflict was transferred to the United States. "On April 17, Weizmann unilaterally "proclaimed" the establishment of the Keren Hayesod, on his and the World Zionist Organization's own terms."⁴⁸ In doing

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 24.

that, Weizmann confronted the Brandeis administration with a fait accompli. Later on, the Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America which was held in Cleveland, Ohio, June 5 - 8, 1921, supported Weizmann's line and the Brandeis followers resigned their offices.

3. The Twelfth Zionist Congress:

The twelfth Zionist Congress convened in Carlsbad, in September 1921. The convening of the Congress was, in a sense, a restoration of the legislative branch of the Organization, which had been in abeyance for eight years. (The eleventh Congress met in 1913).

The composition of the Congress revealed a change in the centers of power within the Zionist Organization. The Brandeisists were not represented. The delegates from Russia, who had constituted the majority in all previous Congresses, were not able to participate. However, the Congress witnessed a significant increase in the number of Palestine delegates. The Congress was attended by 445, besides many ex officio, delegates.⁴⁹ The number of Shekel-payers was around (770,000), i.e. 60 times as many as they had been at the time of

⁴⁹Cohen, op. cit., p. 89.

the preceding Congress. As to the political and social groupings within the Congress, there were 306 General Zionists, 97 Mizrachi and 38 Labor parties.⁵⁰

The Congress decided to transfer the Head Office of the Jewish National Fund from the Hague to Jerusalem. A Colonization Department under the direction of one of the members of the Executive was created. The position of the Anglo-Palestine Bank was reinforced by increasing its capital to one million pounds sterling. Much more important was the formulation of a new constitutional structure.

According to the new constitution, there was to be a President of the Organization and a Chairman of the Executive. The members of the Executive were to be thirteen out of which six members were to constitute the Palestine Executive (which replaced the Zionist Commission). The remainder were to constitute the London Executive. The whole Executive was chosen on a coalition basis so that all Zionist parties were represented in

⁵⁰Ibid.

proportion to their numerical power.⁵¹

The numerical growth of the Organization necessitated other organizational modifications: For the election of a delegate to the Congress, two hundred shekel-payers were no more sufficient; two thousand and five hundred were needed. For the recognition of a Separate Union (i.e., Zionist groupings within the Organization, distinguished by social, religious or political principles), the number was raised from three thousand to twenty thousand members.⁵²

III. The World Zionist Organization Under the British Mandate:

The first World War was over on November 11, 1918 with the victory of the Allied powers. The British Mandate over Palestine was confirmed on July 24, 1922. The Balfour Declaration was embodied in the preamble and Article 2 of the Mandate. These developments meant that the first three goals of the four Zionist war-goals, mentioned under B (item 1) of this chapter, had been fulfilled. The fourth goal, namely, the upbuilding of

⁵¹Ibid., p. 91.

⁵²Ibid.

the Jewish national home, became the major item on the Zionist agenda.

By 1922, the number of Jews in Palestine was eighty three thousand (in percentage 11.1 of the total population).⁵³ The total number of immigrants in the twenty-five years that followed amounted to around 151 thousand, compared with around 25 thousands during the twenty-two years preceding 1904.⁵⁴ This growth in immigrant's numbers was due to three major factors:

First: Herzl's death gave way to the domination of the "practicalists" who introduced a new Zionist policy. The new policy concentrated Zionist efforts on the immediate building of the Jewish national home.

Second: The Ottoman resistance to Zionist policies was replaced by British support demonstrated in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.

Third: The machinery and the functions of the World Zionist Organization grew in size and scope.

The Zionists knew that "it would depend mainly on the zeal and enterprise of the Jews whether the Home

⁵³Ibid., p. 259.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 254 - 255.

would grow big enough to become a state."⁵⁵ Hence, a fait accompli state in Palestine became the next Zionist target and a "legal and administrative framework" was the means by which the Zionists sought to attain their goal.⁵⁶

Article 4 of the Mandate served as the basis for the Zionist "legal and administrative framework." The Article called for the establishment of a Jewish agency as a public body to advise and cooperate with the Administration in all matters pertaining to the creation of the Jewish national home and to the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine. The same Article recognized the World Zionist Organization as the Jewish agency.⁵⁷

A. The Zionist Machinery Under the Mandate:

The structure of the Zionist Organization which played the role of the Jewish agency was mainly designated in the twelfth Zionist Congress. The operating set-up was as follows:

⁵⁵The Jewish Agency for Palestine, op. cit., p. 282.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 283.

⁵⁷Israel Cohen, The Zionist Movement (London: Frederick Muller, 1945), p. 34.

1. The Legislative Branch:

The legislative branch of the Organization operated on three levels:

- a- The Zionist Congress: At the top was the Zionist Congress, which met bi-annually to adopt the major political and practical lines of policy pertaining to the up-building of the Jewish national home. The Congress was to approve the budget of expenditure and to elect the President of the Organization and the Zionist Executive.⁵⁸
- b- The Central Council: The Central Council (abolished in 1927) was the annual conference which assumed the rights and duties of the Zionist Congress when the latter was out of session. The Council consisted of the "Actions Committee and representatives of the Federations, the Separate Unions and the financial institutions."⁵⁹
- c- The Greater Actions Committee (The General Council):
The Greater Actions Committee, which was to

⁵⁸ Esco Foundation for Palestine, op. cit., p. 335.

⁵⁹ Cohen, The Zionist Movement, p. 131.

meet every three months, decided "on matters of principle."⁶⁰ The Actions Committee consisted of the Executive, a representative of the Jewish Colonial Trust, a representative of the Keren Hayesod and a representative of the Keren Keyemeth.⁶¹

The founder shares of the Jewish Colonial Trust were owned and controlled by the members of the "Actions Committee." With the dissolution of the Central Council in 1927, the Actions Committee, which came to meet every six months, assumed the responsibility of fixing the budget in non-Congress years.⁶²

2. The Judicial Organs:

a- The Zionist Court: The Zionist Court was to settle disputes between Zionist bodies and between Zionist bodies and individuals. It was also to decide on the validity of elections to the Congress.⁶³

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid.

- b- The Court of Honour: The Court of Honour was created to handle disputes between individual Zionists.⁶⁴

The Congress Attorney, who represented the Zionist Organization in the proceedings of the abovementioned Courts, together with the Chairmen of the two Courts, were all members in the Central Council.⁶⁵

3. The Executive Branch:

- a- The President: The President of the World Zionist Organization headed the executive branch. The President managed Zionist affairs through a Central Office of five departments - Political, Publicity, Organization, Immigration and Finance.
- b- The Zionist Executive: The Zionist Executive was composed of a London Executive for Political work and a Palestine Executive for practical work.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

The London Executive operated through three special bureaus in Rome, Geneva, and Paris. The Rome Office was to handle Zionist affairs in Italy while the Geneva Office was to keep in touch with the Permanent Mandate Commission of the League of Nations. The third Office was to manage Zionist affairs in France.⁶⁶ Connected with the London Executive was the Financial and Economic Committee (discontinued in 1927) to advise the Executive on matters relating to the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Jewish National Fund, and the Palestine Foundation Fund.⁶⁷

The Palestine Executive was the central "executing" body in Palestine. It controlled the "political" system of Palestine Jewry through the Vaad Leumi (an elected National Council) and the Asefath Hanivharim (a Constituent Assrmbly), and supervised the "religious" system through the Rabbinical Council and the Rabbinical Courts.⁶⁸

The "local" bodies of the World Zionist Organization were either organized Federations or Separate Unions.⁶⁹

⁶⁶Taylor, op. cit., p. 41.

⁶⁷Cohen, The Zionist Movement, p. 132.

⁶⁸Taylor, op. cit., p. 41.

⁶⁹Esco Foundation for Palestine, op. cit., p.335.

B. The Machinery for Building "the Jewish National Home":

1. The Palestine Executive:

The Palestine Executive "was the official Jewish agency with which the Palestine Administration consulted in matters relating to the building of the Jewish national home."⁷⁰

The Palestine Executive operated through various Departments: Immigration, Labor, Statistics, Political Affairs, Public Health, Education, Agricultural Colonization, Industry and Trade Departments.

a- The Immigration Department: The Immigration Department, through the Palestine Offices all over the world, recruited and secured the settlement needs of the new immigrants. The Immigration Department was to negotiate with the Administration over the immigration quota and the composition of the immigrants, and to obtain the necessary immigration certificates. In addition, it advised and guided the would-be immigrants through the Palestine Offices abroad.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 336.

⁷¹ A. Ulitzur, Two Decades of Keren Hayesod: A Survey in Facts and Figures, 1921 - 1940 (Jerusalem: The Eretz Israel (Palestine) Foundation Fund, 1940), p. 34.

The would-be immigrants were trained through the Halutzim (pioneers) societies which spread all over the Jewish world.⁷² The last step in the immigration process was to assist the immigrants en route to Palestine, to welcome them upon arrival, and to provide them with temporary hostels in Tel-Aviv and Haifa.⁷³ All these activities were carried out by the Immigration Department.

- b- The Political Affairs Department: The Political Affairs Department executed the Zionist policies drawn by the London Executive.⁷⁴ The Department "represented the Zionist Organization in its relations with the Palestine Government and with foreign representatives and non-Jewish organizations in the country."⁷⁵
- c- The Public Health Department: The Public Health Department, through the Board of Health, collaborated with the Government's Public Health

⁷²Cohen, The Zionist Movement, p. 156.

⁷³Ulitzur, op. cit., p. 35.

⁷⁴Esco Foundation for Palestine, op. cit., p. 337.

⁷⁵Ulitzur, op. cit., p. 137.

Department.⁷⁶ The Board of Health (established in 1926) was composed "of representatives of the Palestine Executive, the Vaad Leumi, the Hadassah Medical Organization, the Kupath Holim, and the Jewish Physicians Association to supervise the Jewish public health activities in the country."⁷⁷

- d- The Department of Trade and Industry: The Department of Trade and Industry (previously known as the Department for Urban Settlement), with the cooperation of the Statistical Department, dealt the problems of urban economic branches, furnished information, and offered loan funds.⁷⁸ The activities of the Economic Board for Palestine (established in 1921) fostered the commercial and industrial undertakings in Palestine.⁷⁹
- e- The Education Department: The Education Department maintained the Hebrew Schools in Palestine. (By the year 1928, the Zionist educational

⁷⁶Cohen, A Short History, p. 121.

⁷⁷Ulitzur, op. cit., p. 124.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 90.

⁷⁹Israel Cohen, The Progress of Zionism (London: The Zionist Organization, 1943), p. 63.

network embraced over 200 schools, with nearly 20,000 pupils).⁸⁰

f- The Agricultural Colonization Department: The Agricultural Colonization Department, helped by the activities of the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (P.I.C.A.), established agricultural settlements.⁸¹ The main two types of settlements were the Moshav Ovdim (the smallholder's settlements) and the Kvutzah (the collective settlement).⁸²

g- The Department of Labor: The Department of Labor (established in 1921) participated in the absorption of the new immigrants and consolidated the Jewish worker's position. The Labor Department, with the help of the Solel Boneh (a building guild contracting for large-scale works), encouraged public works and harmonized relations among labor organizations on the one hand and the workers and

⁸⁰ Cohen, A Short History, p. 119.

⁸¹ Cohen, The Zionist Movement, p. 159.

⁸² Cohen, The Progress, p. 20.

employers on the other. The Department established worker's camps and participated in the cultural work through the Cultural Committees of the labor organizations.⁸³

2. The Central Administrative Machinery:

The abovementioned Departments were under a "central" administrative machinery (the General Secretariat, the Central Registry, and the Financial Department).

a- The General Secretariat: The General Secretariat linked the members of the Palestine Executive with the various Departments, administered personnel matters, and supervised the various offices.⁸⁴

b- The Central Registry: The Central Registry served the various Departments in all relevant matters.⁸⁵

c- The Financial Department: The Financial Department served as a pre-auditing and a post-auditing tool. The Department co-

⁸³Ulitzur, op. cit., pp. 74-76.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 143.

⁸⁵Ibid.

ordinated the departmental budgets into one general budget, allocated the needed amounts of money, and kept the accounts of all Departments. The Financial Department, through a special Collection Office, raised up the necessary fund.⁸⁶

The funds necessary for the upbuilding of the Jewish national home were provided by the Zionist financial instruments, the Mandate Government, and some independent Zionist groups.

C. The Zionist Financial Instruments:

The World Zionist Organization had three financial organs. As stated earlier, the first two, the Jewish Colonial Trust and the Jewish National Fund, were established during Herzl's era, while the third one, the Palestine Foundation Fund, was created in 1921.

1. The Jewish Colonial Trust: The Jewish Colonial Trust was a joint stock company founded by the second Congress to serve as the financial instrument of the World Zionist Organization. It began

⁸⁶ Ibid.

operating in 1902.⁸⁷ The Jewish Colonial Trust carried on its activities in London, Constantinople (Anglo-Levantine Banking Company) and Palestine (Anglo-Palestine Company).⁸⁸ (For more details see Chapter I).

2. The Jewish National Fund (Keren Keyemeth):

The Jewish National Fund was the major Zionist tool for purchasing land. Its fundamental principle was: "Jewish labor upon Jewish soil."⁸⁹ The land purchased by the Fund was to be the collective property of the Jewish people. The land acquired by the Fund was to "remain the permanent possession of the Jewish people."⁹⁰

The Jewish National Fund was controlled by "the Zionist Congress and its mandatories."⁹¹ The authorized bank for the transactions of

⁸⁷ Cohen, The Zionist Movement, p. 75.

⁸⁸ Bohm, op. cit., p. 20.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 22.

the Fund was the Jewish Colonial Trust.⁹²
The Fund operated through the Board of Directors, which was seated at the Head Office in Jerusalem. The Board had many local collecting agencies controlled by District or Town Commissioners.⁹³

The method used for collecting money fall into three major categories; general donations, special forms of donations (bequests and endowments), and donations for special purposes (Workman's Dwellings or Cooperative Settlement Funds).⁹⁴

3. The Palestine Foundation Fund (The Keren Hayesod):

With the establishment of the Foundation Fund in 1921, the basic Zionist financial machinery was completed. The Fund was to act on all matters relevant to the carrying out of the Balfour Declaration." It appeal for and receive subscriptions, loans, gifts, legacies, bequests and donations in money or in any other

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid., p. 55.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 57.

form, and hold, realise and invest according to the discretion of the Board of Directors."⁹⁵

The Board of Directors was appointed and controlled by the Executive of the Zionist Organization. The Managing Directors were chosen from among the members of the Board. In 1926, the Head Office of the Fund was transferred from London to Jerusalem.⁹⁶

The Foundation Fund provided the Zionist Executive in Palestine, the Political Department in London and the Hadassah Medical Organization, with some of their financial needs. Moreover, many Zionist companies such as the Palestine Electric Corporation, the Palestine Potash Company and the General Mortgage Bank of Palestine, were recipients of funds from the Keren Hayesod.⁹⁷

The budget of the Fund was to be approved by the Zionist Congress or by the Zionist General Council (the Greater Actions Committee) in

⁹⁵Ulitzur, op. cit., p. 9.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 10.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 25.

non-Congress years.⁹⁸ The Head Office of the Fund submitted to the Zionist Congress reports on its financial activities.⁹⁹

The expenditures of the Fund were allocated into two major fields; immigration and settlement on the one hand and public services and national organization on the other.¹⁰⁰

D. The Independent Zionist Institutions:

Of the independent Zionist institutions which contributed to the up-building of the Jewish national home, the following four were the most important:

1. The Brandeisist's "Palestine Economic Corporation" which operated on "business principles" and contributed to the growth of the basic industries.¹⁰¹
2. The Women International Zionist Organization (W.I.Z.O.) which was devoted for the vocational and agricultural training of women pioneers and

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ Cohen, The Progress, p. 62.

¹⁰¹ Esco Foundation for Palestine, op. cit., p. 345.

the promotion of child welfare in Palestine.¹⁰²

3. The American Zionist Women Organization (the Hadassah) which worked in the "fields of medical care and public health" through the Hadassah Medical Organization.¹⁰³

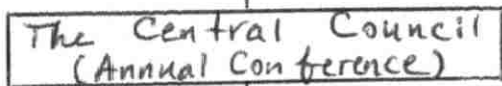
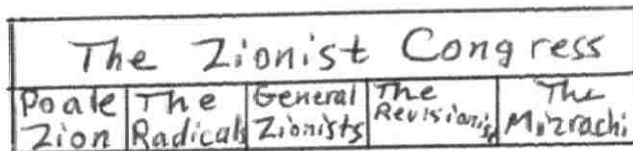
4. The Palestine Jewish Colonization Association (P.I.C.A.) which was established in 1925 to administer the estates previously founded by Baron Edmond de Rothschild.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 344.

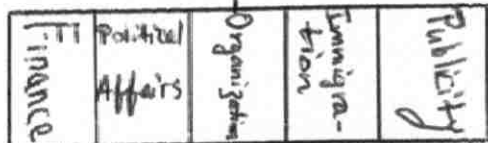
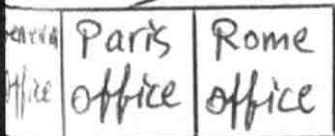
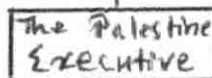
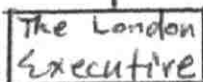
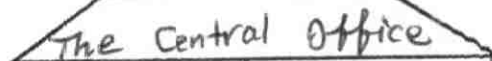
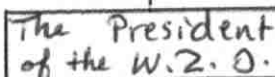
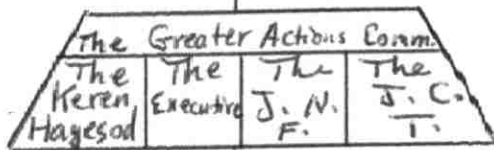
¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 347.

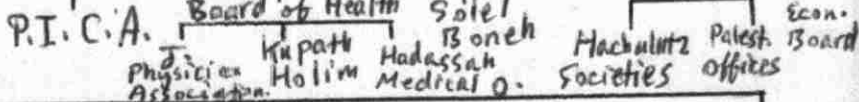
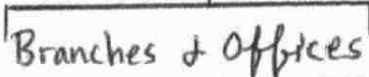
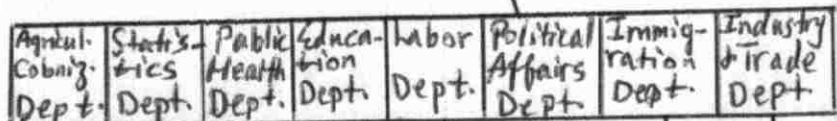
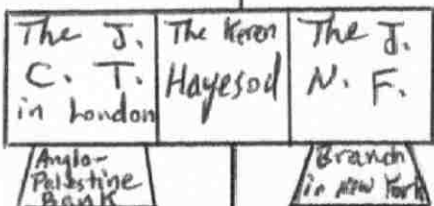
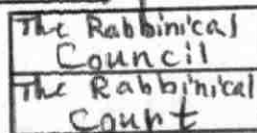
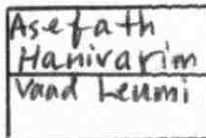
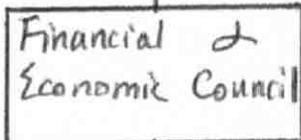
The World Zionist Organization in 1929



(abolished in 1927)



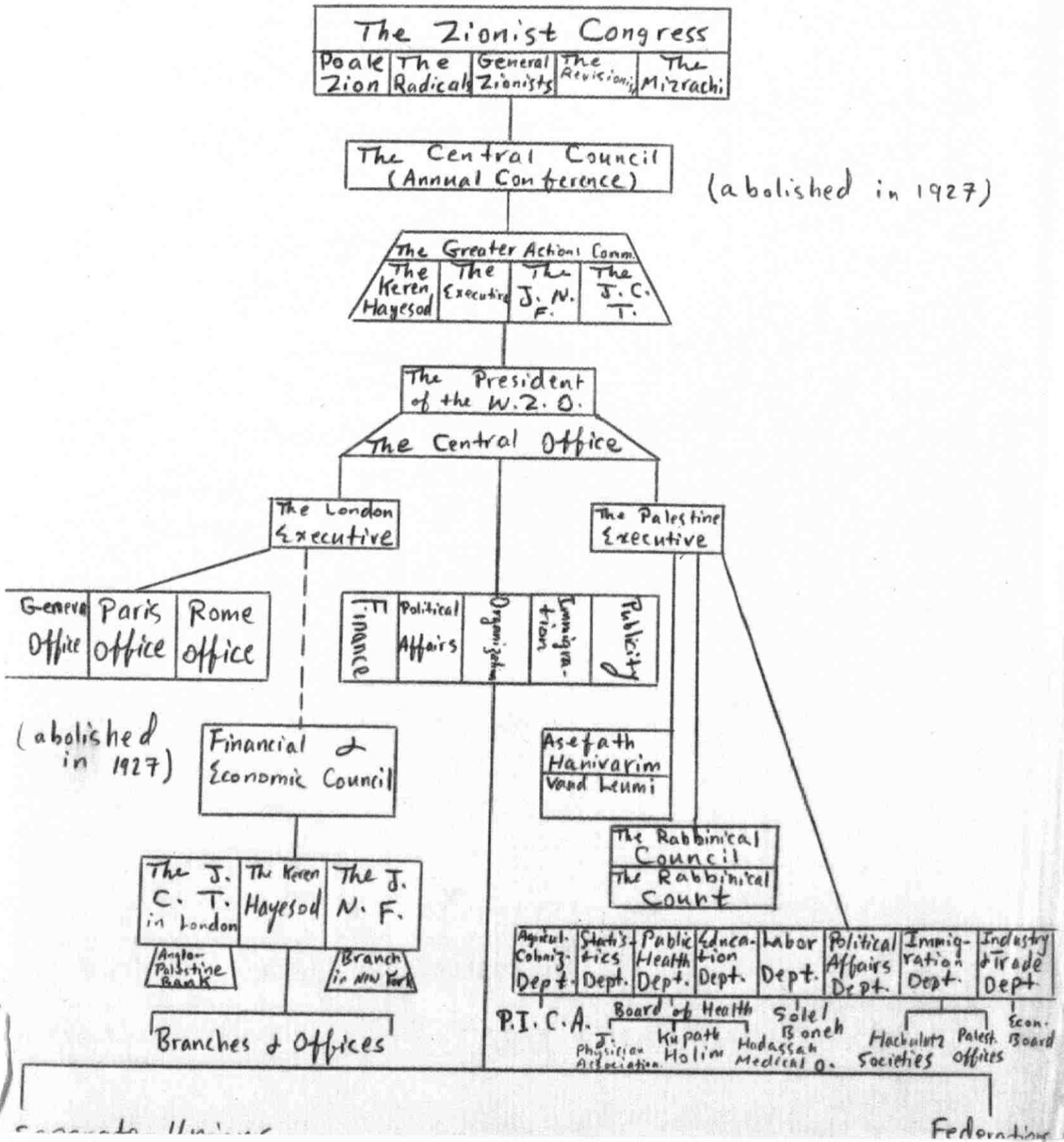
abolished in 1927)



eparate, Unions Local Bodies

Federations Local bodies

The World Zionist Organization in 1929



The Zionist Congress

Poale Zion	The Radicals	General Zionists	The Revisionists	The Mizrahi
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The Central Council
(Annual Conference)

(abolished in 1927)

The Greater Actions Comm.

The Keren Hayesod	The Executive	The J. N. F.	The J. C. T.
-------------------	---------------	--------------	--------------

The President of the W.Z.O.

The Central Office

The London Executive

The Palestine Executive

Geneva Office	Paris Office	Rome Office
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Finance	Political Affairs	Organization	Immigration	Publicity
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(abolished in 1927)

Financial & Economic Council

The J. C. T. in London	The Keren Hayesod	The J. N. F.
Anglo-Pal. Bank		Branch in NY

Asefath Hanivarim Vard Leumi

The Rabbinical Council
The Rabbinical Court

Agri. Coloniz. Dept.	Stat. Dept.	Public Health Dept.	Educa. Dept.	Labor Dept.	Political Affairs Dept.	Immig. Dept.	Industry & Trade Dept.
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Branches & Offices

P.I.C.A.	Board of Health	Solel Boneh	Hadassah Medical O.	Kupath Holim	Chachulutz Societies	Palest. Board	Econ. Board
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Federation

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

I. General Background:

Article Four of the Mandate for Palestine stipulated that -

"An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."¹ (Emphasis Supplied).

Weizmann was the most enthusiastic leader among the Zionists to see such an agency come into existence,

¹J.C. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record: 1914-1956, II (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1956), p. 235.

and to have it enlarged so as to include non-Zionist Jews as well. The "link" between World Jewry and the Zionists, through the Keren Hayesod was insufficient to meet all the requirements of the Zionist plans. Weizmann's advocacy of extending the Jewish agency was supported by the following reasons:

First, the Zionists' position in their contacts with the various states or officials would be enhanced if they could operate through an agency publicly created by the League of Nations.

Second, the participation of non-Zionist Jews would provide the World Zionist Organization with considerable financial benefits. In Weizmann's words:

"Chiefly, though by no means exclusively, I had in mind the leaders of the American Jewish community, the mainstay of the Joint Distribution Committee. This philanthropies were many fold and generous, and Palestine might occasionally be included among them as a peripheral interest."²

It was not without significance that Louis Marshal and Felix Warburg, the two eminent non-Zionist leaders,

²Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error: An Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 304.

told Weizmann, after the meeting of the Constituent Assembly of the Enlarged Jewish Agency, that his "financial troubles were over."³

Third, the Enlarged Jewish Agency was a means to secure the participation of some eminent Jews who occupied key positions in official circles and who enjoyed high prestige in various countries. The enrollment of such pivotal figures would facilitate the Zionists' activities and thus serve their cause.

Fourth, underlying Weizmann's method of "converting" non-Zionists was his belief that the co-operation between the non-Zionists and the Zionists would, sooner or later, win the non-Zionists to the Zionist side. The Keren Hayesod experience on the one hand and Weizmann's ability to "convert" Felix Warburg on the other, paved the road for a new manifestation of Weizmann's method, namely, the Enlarged Jewish Agency.⁴

Fifth, the extended Jewish Agency was seen as an instrument to offset the ever-growing Jewish resistance to Zionist principles and policies, especially since Jewish

³Ibid., p. 314.

⁴Weizmann, op. cit., pp. 309-312.

resistance had begun to cast doubt on the Zionist Organization's claim to represent the "Jewish People."

Nevertheless, some Zionist leaders opposed the principle of an extended agency and resisted every effort toward its creation. They maintained that the Jews who were willing to participate in the upbuilding of the national home could join the Zionist Organization itself.⁵

Other Zionist leaders (the Radicals and the Revisionists) apposed the principle of enlargement on methodological grounds. They maintained that the Agency (the Zionist Organization) should be enlarged on a democratic basis; the non-Zionists should be elected and not selected. The advocates of this line "contended that the direction of Zionist policy could be entrusted only to Jews with strong nationalist convictions, and that it would be prejudicial to Zionist ideals to allow 'assimilationist notables' to take part in exercising the rights of the Jewish Agency."⁶

Weizmann and some other leaders were in favor

⁵Ibid., p. 378.

⁶Israel Cohen, A Short History of Zionism (London Frederick and Muller, 1951), p. 125.

of convening a congress for the "various great organizations already at work."⁷ They held that a "World Jewish Congress," with elected delegates, was impractical and dangerous, because it might result in a non-Zionist majority of delegates.⁸

The establishment of the Enlarged Agency was not a side-issue. Weizmann wrote:

"The idea of the Jewish Agency was debated at our Actions Committee meetings, our conferences and Congresses, as stormily as our relations with Great Britain."⁹

At last, the opposition was outvoted in 1925 when the 14th Congress resolved that the Agency should be extended. However, many organizational resolutions, in regard to the would-be Jewish Agency, were passed to safeguard the Agency from falling into the hands of the "assimilationist notables." (These resolutions were embodied in the Constitution of the Agency, which will be discussed in the following pages).

⁷Weizmann, op. cit., p. 380.

⁸Ibid., pp. 307-308.

⁹Ibid., p. 307.

The sixteenth Zionist Congress, held at Zurich in 1919, confirmed the various resolutions of the 1925 Congress and called for immediate steps to enlarge the Jewish agency.¹⁰ Consequently, the Constituent meeting of the Council of the Enlarged Agency was held on August 12, 1929, and the Zionist Organization formally yielded most of its rights to the emerging "Enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine." It was not until August 6, 1930, that the British Government officially recognized the newly established Agency.¹¹

II. The Constitution of the Enlarged Jewish Agency: 1929

The Enlarged Agency was created "to discharge the functions of the Jewish agency as set forth in the Mandate."¹² In concrete terms, the Enlarged Agency had five aims: encouraging and furthering immigration, meeting Jewish religious needs, fostering the Hebrew language and Jewish culture, acquiring land, and promoting agricultural colonization.¹³

¹⁰Cohen, op. cit., p. 126.

¹¹Palestine Royal Commission, Report Submitted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty: July 1937. (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1946, p. 126.

¹²The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (London: The Office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1929), p. 4.

¹³Ibid., pp. 4-5.

The following organizational set-up was contrived for the achievement of these aims:

A. The Administrative Organs:

1. The President of the Agency:

The President of the World Zionist Organization was to be the President of the Agency "unless otherwise decided by an affirmative vote of three-fourths of the membership of the Council as constituted at the time."¹⁴

2. The Council of the Agency:

The Council of the Agency resembled the Zionist Congress in the Zionist Organization.

The Council was "the supreme governing body" where the ultimate authority" in all matters within the jurisdiction of the Agency" lay.¹⁵ The Council was vested with the power to decide on "the guiding principles of policy."¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

As to the Council's composition, half of its seats were to be occupied by the representatives of the Zionist Organization while the other half was reserved for the "representatives of the non-Zionists."¹⁷ The representatives of the Zionist Organization were to be appointed by the Zionist Congress while the non-Zionist members were the appointees of the "non-Zionists of various countries."¹⁸

The Council was to meet biennially to consider the various reports of the executive branch, to scrutinize the balance-sheet and accounts, and to adopt the future budget.¹⁹ Moreover, the Council was to choose a Chairman or Joint-Chairmen from among its members.²⁰

3. The Administrative Committee:

The Administrative Committee of the Agency corresponded to the Greater Actions Committee

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

²⁰ Ibid.

of the Zionist Organization.

The Committee consisted of forty members. Half of the seats were filled by the Zionist members of the Council from among their own number while the second half was to be filled by the non-Zionists of the Council from among their number.²¹

The Chairman of the Administrative Committee was to be appointed by the Committee itself. Its meetings were to be held every six months in order to assume the duties and rights of the Council during the latter's absence.²²

4. The Executive of the Agency:

The status of the Executive of the Agency matched the status of the Zionist Executive in the World Zionist Organization.

The Executive was to conduct the current affairs of the Agency. The Executive was to be appointed by the Council, subject always to it

²¹ Ibid., p. 7.

²² Ibid.

or its mandatory (the Administrative Committee). Half of the members of the Executive were to be appointed by the Zionist Organization while the second half was left to the non-Zionist members of the Council.²³ If the non-Zionists of the Council failed to nominate members up to the prescribed number, the Zionist Organization was entitled to fill in the vacancies.²⁴

The Executive Offices of the Agency were to be seated in Jerusalem. The President of the Agency, together with some members of the Executive, were to constitute the Agency's Office in London. The London Office was to "be especially charged with the conduct of business between the Mandatory and the Agency."²⁵

B. The Financial Organs of the Agency:

1. The Palestine Foundation Fund:

The Foundation Fund was to be the main financial organ for covering the Agency's budget. The Fund's

²³Ibid., p. 8.

²⁴Ibid., p. 9.

²⁵Ibid., p. 10.

Board of Directors was to be under the Council's direction and Control. Half of the members of the Board were to be appointed by the Zionist Organization while the second half was left to the non-Zionist members of the Council.²⁶

2. The Jewish National Fund:

The land acquired by the Jewish Agency were to be purchased through the Jewish National Fund. The land was to be rejestered in the name of the Fund "as the inalienable property of the Jewish people."²⁷

C. The Relationship Between the Enlarged Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization:

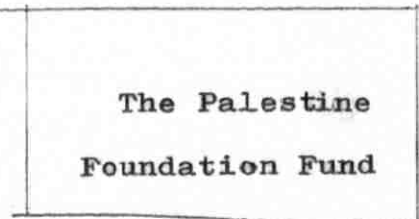
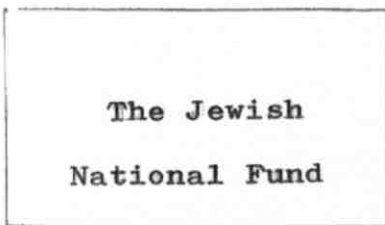
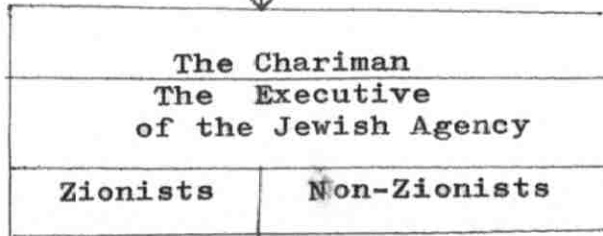
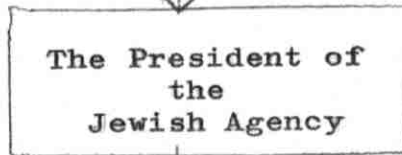
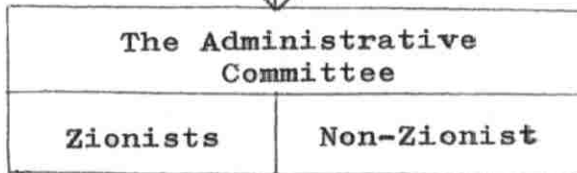
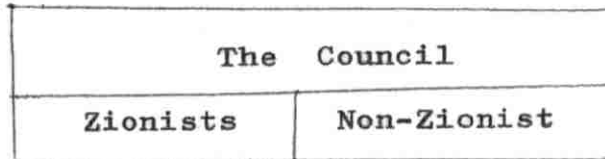
1. Constitutional Analysis:

Article 1 of the Enlarged Agency's Constitution considered a "Zionist" as a person who was "associated with the Agency in the capacity of a member and representative of the Zionist

²⁶Ibid., p. 11.

²⁷Ibid.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE OF
THE
ENLARGED JEWISH AGENCY



Organization."²⁸ The same Article identified a "non-Zionist" as a person who was "associated with the Agency otherwise than in the capacity of a member and representative of the Zionist Organization."²⁹

This definition of a "non-Zionist" is misleading.

It is misleading because of the fact that it referred to a "non-Zionist" in terms of the Constitution's definition of a "Zionist". As it is insufficient to define a certain term by saying what the term "is not", it is also insufficient to consider a "non-Zionist" as he who "is not" a "Zionist" within the Constitution's definition.

The incorrectness of the definition, moreover, is derived from the presence of Zionists outside the circle of the World Zionist Organization. For not every "Zionist" was necessarily

²⁸Ibid., p. 4.

²⁹Ibid.

"a member and representative of the Zionist Organization."

This state of affairs proved advantageous to the Zionists for the following reasons:

First, the looseness of the Constitution's definition enabled them to dominate the Agency by appointing as "non-Zionists" those who in fact were "Zionists."

Second, "by associating important non-Zionist Jewish groups with the development of the national Home in Palestine, the Zionists had succeeded in making them Zionists by implication."³⁰

Article 4 (paragraph 2) of the Constitution provided that "there shall be a President of the Agency, who, unless otherwise decided by an affirmative vote of three fourths of the membership of the Council as constituted at the time, shall be the President for the time being

³⁰ Alan R. Taylor, Prelude to Israel: An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy: 1897-1847 (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1959), p. 46.

of the Zionist Organization."³¹

The underlined conditional clauses were pretentious and with no significance because one-half of the Council was appointed by the World Zionist Organization itself. The underlined clauses implied the "impossible" when they assumed that there could ever be a possibility of three-fourths vote, on the Presidency issue, in the Council. Hence, the only meaning of paragraph 2 in Article 4 was that "the current President of the Zionist Organization was to be, ex officio, the President of the Jewish Agency."³²

The meaning of Article 7 (paragraph 2) is explicit to the extent that needs no comment. The Article provided that:

"If nominations up to the prescribed number shall not be made by the non-Zionist members of the Council, the Zionist Organization shall be entitled to fill the seat or seats remaining vacant."³³

³¹The Jewish Agency for Palestine, op. cit., p. 5.

³²Moses Lasky, Between Truth and Repose (San Francisco: American Council for Judaism, 1956), p. 13.

³³The Jewish Agency for Palestine, op. cit., p. 9.

Accordingly, Article 1, Article 4 (paragraph 2) and Article 7 (paragraph 2) of the Constitution made of the Jewish Agency an agency with a potential Zionist majority.

Moreover, Article 5 (paragraph 3) of the Constitution stipulated that "the Zionist Organization shall appoint its representatives in accordance with its own constitutional practice. The non-Zionists of various countries entitled to representation on the Council shall appoint their representatives in such manner as may appear in each case to be best suited to local conditions."³⁴

This last paragraph meant that the "non-Zionists" had no machinery to elect or even select their representatives to the Council. Those non-elected "non-Zionists" of the Council were empowered to appoint the "non-Zionists" of both the Administrative Committee and the Executive of the Agency.³⁵ Thus, neither the

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 7-8.

"non-Zionists" of the Council, nor the "non-Zionists" of the Administrative Committee or the Executive, were real representatives of World Jewry. In addition, it is unnecessary to indicate that such a situation opened the door wide for the Zionists to actualize and to enhance their potential majority status.

In sum, the Constitution of the Enlarged Agency was formulated in such a manner that left the Zionist opponents of an extended Agency with no grounds for objection:

1-The Zionists had fifty per cent of the votes in the various organs of the Enlarged Agency with the result that not a single decision could be taken without their consent.

2-The Zionist Organization representatives were highly disciplined, in contrast with the various groupings within the non-Zionist "bloc."

3-Moreover, Article 7 (paragraph 2) entitled the Zionist Organization to fill the vacant positions of the non-Zionist members, hence the extension of the Jewish Agency was

an act of pure gain on the part of the Zionists. In fact, "a great many. . . members and officers of the Zionist Organization in their respective countries. . . were appointed to the Agency as Non-Zionists."³⁶

Therefore, to conclude, "this Constitution, which on the surface gives the appearance of equal power and responsibility of non-Zionists, in fact made non-Zionist participation unreal and impotent."³⁷

2. Historical Analysis:

The actual process through which the Jewish Agency was extended, and the actual process through which the Enlarged Agency operated in the years that followed, prove that the "non-Zionists" were neither real representatives of world Jewry nor effective participants in the Agency's affairs.

As to the process of extending the Agency, Weizmann believed that excluding the powerful

³⁶Lasky, op. cit., p. 14.

³⁷Ibid., p. 12.

groups of American Jews "on grounds of purely formal democracy" was a "grave mistake."³⁸ At the same time, Weizmann realized that "the 'ultra-democratic' machinery of the Congresses was wholly unattractive to the non-Zionist leaders of the Jews."³⁹ [Emphasis Supplied]. As such, the idea of a "World Jewish Congress" was abandoned and the "various great organizations already at work" were invited to participate in the establishment of the Enlarged Jewish Agency.⁴⁰ The "leaders of the American Jewish Community, the mainstay of the Joint Distribution Committee"⁴¹ were the chief participants. Louis Marshal, whose capacity to represent the American Jewry was challenged by the Zionist leaders themselves,⁴² was the pivotal figure among the Jewish leaders who enlarged the Agency.

³⁸Weizmann, op. cit., p. 380.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 376.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 381-382.

To put it in Weizmann's words, the Joint Distribution Committee "suffered. . . from a great weakness: it had very few men to give us who could participate in executive work on the level of their Zionist opposities in the Agency. Whereas the Zionist men of the Executive were elected at Congresses after a severe struggle, . . . the Executive of the Joint Distribution Committee were appointees. . . When the Agency was in fact constituted their position in the mixed Executive was somewhat precarious."⁴³

The "precariousness of the" position of the non-Zionists was aggravated by two other factors: Marshals' death in the month that followed, and the "great economic crash of 1929."⁴⁴ These two incidents reduced the financial support expected by the Zionists to a minimum.⁴⁵

The Jewish Agency's Report to the Anglo-American Committee described the later composition of the Agency in the following words:

⁴³Ibid., p. 381.

⁴⁴Lasky, op. cit., p. 41.

⁴⁵Ibid.

"As time went on. . . the provision of equal representation was found to be impracticable and the Zionist membership of the Executive increasingly outnumbered that of the non-Zionists."⁴⁶
[Emphasis Supplied].

By 1937, the Executive of the Enlarged Agency was composed of all the members of the Zionist Executive with only three non-Zionist members.⁴⁷ Due to the eruption of World War II, the "communal bodies" which participated in the extension of the Agency were destroyed and thus the Enlarged Agency "was converted into a Zionist body."⁴⁸ The reintegration of the Enlarged Agency continued "so that by the end of World War II, the Agency and the World Zionist Organization were once again virtually synonymous terms."⁴⁹

⁴⁶The Jewish Agency for Palestine, The Jewish Case Before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine (Jerusalem: The Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1947), p. 333.

⁴⁷Palestine Royal Commission, Report Submitted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty: July 1937 (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1946), p. 126.

⁴⁸Taylor, op. cit., p. 8.

⁴⁹"Anon.", The Jewish Agency for Israel (Jerusalem: "Israel Digest", 1962), p. 8.

In fact, nothing was more revealing than the description given by Dr. Maurice Karpf, the then non-Zionist member of the Agency's Executive.

Karpf wrote:

". . . The Zionists. . . embarked on a policy, almost from the beginning, of progressively whittling down the non-Zionist influence and participation in the Agency. To accomplish this end, they took advantage of a clause in the Constitution of the Agency whereby any member of the Zionist Organization could serve on the Agency as a non-Zionist. In this way a number of Zionists came to serve on the Agency as non-Zionists with the result that the latter were outnumbered, outargued and outvoted whenever important issues arose. . .

"Moreover, the Zionists in the Agency represented a world-wide movement. They were presumably responsible to parties whose views they were obliged to espouse and which could unseat them for cause. The non-Zionists were responsible to no one but themselves, represented no movement, and with some outstanding exceptions had little preparation and frequently even less background for dealing with problems coming up for consideration at the Agency meeting.

"During the years that followed the Constitution of the Enlarged Agency, the non-Zionists were never happy or comfortable in the relationship or the position in it to which they were relegated. Although they were supposed to be equal partners, equality was denied them from the very first. They were constantly reminded that they had no constituency and were prevented from helping to develop a suitable organization except such as was unacceptable to them because it would have further weakened them. They were made responsible before the world for policies

and actions in the formulation of which they had no part and with which they were out of sympathy. Their proposals were ignored in times of peace and they were coerced into agreement or submission in times of strife by threat or fear of lending comfort to the enemy. They were slighted or insulted when they attended meetings and they were accused of indifference when they stayed away because of the uselessness of attendance. . .

"Nevertheless, the non-Zionists had no way of making their position felt because they were outvoted in the Council and Administrative Committee and were never allowed their full strength on the Executive, the functioning arm of the agency, the constitutional provision to the contrary notwithstanding."⁵⁰

From the foregoing discussion, three conclusions may be derived:

First, the non-Zionists who participated in the creation of the Enlarged Jewish Agency were not representative of world Jewry.

Second, neither the Constitution nor the actual operation of the Enlarged Agency provided the non-Zionists with effective participation in the Agency's decision-making processes or activities.

⁵⁰As cited by Elmer Berger, "The Legal-Historical Background Relevant to an Adequate United States Government Legal-Policy", (Chapter II, Monograph Published by the American Council for Judaism), pp. 132-133.

Third, The Enlarged Agency was dominated and controlled by a Zionist majority so that it was nothing but an organ, or a tool, in the hands of the World Zionist Organization .

CHAPTER V

THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION: 1929-1948

I. The World Zionist Organization: 1929-1939:

The Enlarged Jewish Agency which emerged in 1929 formally represented the Jewish people, negotiated on its behalf, and decided on all matters pertaining to the establishment of the Jewish National Home. Accordingly, the Zionist Organization yielded its rights and duties under the Mandate to the newly established Agency. The Zionist Organization confined its work "to educational activities in the Diaspora and organization activities."¹

In reality, however, these organizational changes were on only surface-deep. For the Enlarged Agency was nothing but a tool in the hands of the World Zionist Organization.

Nevertheless, this state of affairs resulted in a formal existence of two apparently distinct and

¹Information Office of the Jewish Agency (ed.), The Jewish Case Before the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine (Jerusalem: The Publishing Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1947), p. 176.

separate organizations: the Enlarged Jewish Agency and the World Zionist Organization.

The Enlarged Agency carried out the political work through its Offices in London. The same administrative set-up and the same machinery for building the National Home which had operated under the Palestine Zionist Executive in the twenties, continued to operate in the thirties, but under a different name: the Palestine Offices of the Jewish Agency. At the same time, the organizational set-up of the World Zionist Organization (the Congress, the General Council, and the Zionist Executive) was maintained.

During the ten years that followed 1929, five Zionist Congresses were held. The size of membership grew from 393,220 shekel-payers in 1929 to 1,416,280 shekel-payers in 1939.² The composition of the Zionist Congresses underwent significant changes. The center of power shifted from the General Zionists, who split into two factions (A and B) to the Labour Party. The two divisions of the General Zionists together were represented by 171 delegates, as compared with

²Israel Cohen, A short History of Zionism (London: Frederick Muller, 1951), p. 262.

216 delegates for Labor.³ The Mizrachi representatives increased from 51 in 1929 to 65 in 1939, while the Radicals increased from 12 to 13 in the same period.⁴

The Revisionists, who advocated an extremist policy against Britain, seceded from the Organization in 1935 and founded the New Zionist Organization. A minority of Revisionists under the leadership of Meir Grossmann, organized itself in the Jewish State Party and remained within the Zionist Organization.⁵

During the same period (1929-1939) the various organs of the Enlarged Agency were in regular operation. The Council of the Agency, which always convened immediately after the Zionist Congress, was nothing but an "echo" of the Congress. At the end of every session, the Agency Council reiterated the resolutions already adopted in the preceding Zionist Congress.

The Agency Executive represented the Jews before the various commissions of inquiry which came to

³Ibid.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 137.

Palestine, year after year, to find solutions for the increasing tension between the Arabs and the Zionists. The two major activities of the Agency were the immigration and the settlement of Jews in Palestine. The "legal" immigrants between 1929, numbered around 232,000.⁶ Because of this flood of immigrants, the Agency carried out a policy of industrial and town development to increase the absorptive capacity of the country.⁷ The various Departments of the Agency (described in Chapter II as the Departments of the Palestine Zionist Executive) continued their work in their respective fields. The activities of the Education and Health Departments of the Agency were handed over to the Vaad Leumi in 1932.⁸

II. The Zionist Organization During World War II

A. The Effects of War on the Organization

The outbreak of World War II had devastating effects on the Zionist Organization:

⁶ Israel Cohen, The Zionist Movement (London: Frederick and Muller, 1945), p. 320.

⁷ Palestine Royal Commission, Report Submitted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty: July 1937 (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1946), p. 127.

⁸ Information Office of the Jewish Agency, op. cit., p. 153.

First, the number of Jews was reduced from 16,725,000 in 1939 to 11,000,000 in 1945.⁹

Second, many active Zionist Federations in Europe were banned or destroyed.¹⁰

Third, the Zionist legislative machinery, including that of the Enlarged Jewish Agency, was suspended.

Fourth, the income of the Jewish Agency and the Palestine Foundation Fund was drastically reduced.¹¹

Fifth, additional duties (such as the rescue and relief of European Jewry) emerged. These new responsibilities exhausted a significant part of the Organization's budget.¹²

Sixth, new problems of communication, control and coordination faced the Headquarters of the movement.¹³

⁹The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Reports of the Executives Submitted to the Twenty-Second Zionist Congress of Basle, December 1946 (Jerusalem: The Executives of the Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1946), p. i.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 17.

¹¹Ibid., p. 7.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid., p. 25.

However, in spite of the many obstacles created by the War, the Zionist Organization carried out its programmes effectively. The Zionist Executive, in contrast to the Zionist Executive during World War I, was capable of handling the Zionist's affairs. The Zionist machinery, especially in the United States, managed to consolidate and organize American Jewish sympathy, and translate it into financial support and active participation in the relief activities.

B. The Zionist Machinery During the War

With the exception of the Inner Zionist General Council, all organs of the legislative branch of the Zionist Organization were paralyzed during the war: The Zionist Congress, the Greater Actions Committee, the Council of the Enlarged Jewish Agency, and the Administrative Committee of the Agency, were all suspended.

However, all executive organs of the Zionist Organization continued their regular operations.

1- The Zionist Machinery in Palestine:

a- The Inner Zionist General Council

The Zionist General Council, at its meeting on August 16, 1937, elected "from among its members and alternates, permanently resident in Palestine, an Inner Zionist General Council. . . charged with the duty of considering all recommendations made by the Executive on all current political problems."¹⁴

The Inner Council was composed of the Chairman of the Zionist General Council, two representatives from the Vaad Leumi, and twenty-eight representatives of all Zionist parties in proportion to their powers.¹⁵

With the eruption of war in 1939, the rights vested in the Zionist General Council were transferred to the Inner Council.¹⁶ Consequently, the latter became the most important Zionist body during the war years. Both the Zionist Executive and the Agency Executive were to submit their budgets to the Council for approval. More

¹⁴Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 11-12.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 12.

important was the Council's role in appointing Zionist representatives to the various institutions, in enlarging the Zionist Executive, and in formulating the Zionist policies.¹⁷

b-The Zionist Executive:

As already indicated the Zionist Executive was the chief executive organ of the World Zionist Organization. During the War, the Zionist Executive was responsible to the Inner Zionist General Council.¹⁸

The War-time Executive was originally elected in the twentieth Congress, held in 1937, and was retained by the following Congress, held in 1939.¹⁹ During the War the Executive depended solely on income coming from shekel sales in England, Palestine, Canada, South Africa and the United States.²⁰

¹⁷Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 6.

²⁰Ibid., p. 4.

c-The Executive of the Jewish Agency:

Under the 1929 Constitution, the Executive of the Jewish Agency was to be composed of equal numbers of Zionists and non-Zionists. However, the Executive which operated during the War was dominated by the members of the Zionist Executive.²¹ In the absence of both the Council and the Administrative Committee of the Agency, the Executive "rendered regular account of its activities and . . . obtained assent to all major departures"²² from the Inner Council of the World Zionist Organization.

The Executive carried out its programs for upbuilding the Jewish National Home through the following Departments, Sections and Subsections, Bureaus, and Offices:²³

1-Financial Department

2-Secretary Political Department

3-General Secretary

²¹Ibid., p. 71.

²²Ibid., p. 71.

²³Ibid., p. 502.

- 4-Economic Department
- 5-Immigration Department
- 6-Sections for the Absorption of Immigrants
- 7-Relatives Research Bureau
- 8-Youth Immigration Office
- 9-Agricultural Settlement Department
- 10-Section for Middle-Class Settlement
- 11-Technical Department and Housing Section
- 12-Agricultural Experimental Station
- 13-Labour Department
- 14-Office Supervising Labour Exchanges
- 15-Maritime and Fishing Department
- 16-Department for Trade and Industry
- 17-Department for Artisans and Small Trade
- 18-Economic Research Institute
- 19-Department for Settlement of German Jews
- 20-Department for Settlement of Jewish Ex-servicemen
- 21-Information and Press
- 22-Statistical Department
- 23-Bialik Foundation
- 24-General Archives
- 25-Supplies Department
- 26-Transport Bureau

These Departments and institutions were located in four centres - Jerusalem, Tel-Aviv, Haifa, and Rehovot. The Executive of the Jewish Agency effectively directed and coordinated the widespread activities of these Departments.²⁴

The General Secretariat acted as the "liaison" between the Executive and the various Departments and played a special role in managing the Departments' activities.²⁵ Moreover, the General Secretariat operated as a "Personnel Commission" for the Jewish Agency. The Secretariat dealt with the recruitment and dismissal of personnel in the various Departments. It fixed the salaries and grades, and transferred the staff from one department to another. In doing all this, the Secretariat maintained close contact with the Treasurer, who directed the Agency Offices.²⁶ The various Departments were to submit their budgetary proposals to the Treasurer, who then referred a draft budget to the Inner Zionist

²⁴Ibid., p. 500.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid., p. 501.

Council for approval.²⁷

In spite of the War, the Jewish Agency intensified its work so that its expenditure in the period 1939-1946 was LP 17,682,118 as compared with LP 3,122,177 during the period 1932-1939.²⁸ Consequently, the Agency staff increased from 229 employees in 1939 to 689 in 1945, distributed in four centers:²⁹

Jerusalem	-	386
Tel-Aviv	-	125
Haifa	-	052
Rehovot	-	126

d-Financial Institutions:

The activities of the Jewish Agency were mainly financed from four sources:

(i) The Keren Hayesod, which was "the main financial instrument of the Agency for the purpose of covering its budget."³⁰

²⁷Information Office of the Jewish Agency, op. cit., p. 166.

²⁸The Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency for Palestine, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 501-502.

³⁰Israel Cohen, The Progress of Zionism (London: The Zionist Organization, 1943), p. 61.

During 1939-1945 the Keren Hayesod transmitted to the Agency 63.8 per cent of its total income.³¹

(ii)The Keren Keyemeth, which remitted to the Agency 8.8 per cent of its total income during the same period.³²

(iii)The Palestine War Needs and Rescue Fund, which was established by the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi in 1941-42.³³

(iv)The Joint Distribution Committee.³⁴

A little over half the funds provided by these organs was spent in two major fields: immigration, and agricultural settlement. The combined expenditure on these two activities accounted for 53.1 per cent of the total expenditure of the Agency during the war years.³⁵ The activities

³¹The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, op. cit., p. 9.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., p. 10.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid., p. 13.

of the Political and the Resettlement of Ex-Soldier's Departments absorbed 19.4 and 3.7 per cent of the total expenditure respectively. The shares of Trade and Industry, and Housing Departments constituted 5.8 per cent respectively.³⁶ The expenditure on Education and Culture was 6.0 per cent, while the money spent on Administration constituted 1.8 per cent of the total expenditure.³⁷

2. The Zionist Machinery Outside Palestine

a-Communication Machinery:

The War swept away many Zionist centers in Europe. The Zionist activities, performed in 51 countries, before 1939, were limited after the outbreak of the War to only 25 countries.³⁸ The contacts between the center of the Organization in Jerusalem and the branches abroad were in danger of suspension. The Organization Department, which was supposed to overcome

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 16.

the difficulties resulting from War conditions, decided to establish offices for the Agency Executive in London, Geneva, New York and Washington.³⁹

(i) The London Office:

In London, an auxiliary Zionist Office was established to keep contacts between the branches of the Movement in the British Empire and overseas, and the Headquarters in Jerusalem.⁴⁰

(ii) The Geneva Office:

The Geneva Office was the most important Zionist organ for the countries of Europe during the War. The Office was the center from which the news and instructions of the Zionist Executive were transmitted to all parts of Europe. Whenever direct communication between the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem and the Geneva Office was severed, the Zionist Federation in Yugoslavia, and later the Jewish Agency Office in Istanbul, provided new channels of communication.⁴¹

³⁹ Ibid., p. 25.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 27.

The Geneva Office published the weekly News Letter, which was the major source of information available to the Zionists in Europe. The Office also published the monthly Information de Palestine.⁴²

(iii) The New York and Washington Offices:

The Jewish Agency established two Offices in New York and Washington to keep the Executive in Palestine in constant contact with the Zionist branches in the United States.⁴³

(iv) The Latin American Department:

The Jewish Agency Offices in the United States established an auxiliary department (the Latin American Department) to link the Zionist branches in Central and South America with the Zionist central organs in Palestine.⁴⁴

⁴² Ibid., p. 29.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

(v) Other Means of Communication:

Besides communication through letters and press, contacts between the Zionist Headquarters and branches were enriched by personal visits by the members of the Executive and the President of the Organization. Moreover, the delegates of the Jewish Agency and the National Fund acted as links between Headquarters and Zionist units abroad.⁴⁵

The Organization Department of the Zionist Organization provided a system of "information service." The Palcor Telegraphic Agency supplied the Zionist world with information through cables and weekly or daily news bulletins in three languages: English, French, and Russian.⁴⁶ The Information Bureau of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem published the weekly Digest of Press and Events.⁴⁷

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 27.

Publication of the two central Zionist organs, the weekly Haolam and the monthly New Judea, was not interrupted during the war.⁴⁸

b-Rescue Machinery:

The fact that the Nazi Regime made of the European Jewry one of its special targets necessitated intensive efforts on the part of the Zionists to rescue the Jews and to transfer them to safe areas. For this purpose, the Department of Immigration of the Jewish Agency established temporary offices in Geneva, Lisbon and Istanbul. The Istanbul central Office cooperated with the other Offices which were controlled by "the United Rescue Committee" in Palestine and saved several thousands of Jews.⁴⁹ The American War Refugee Board, which was established in 1944, and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee played in the United States the same role played by the Rescue Committee in Palestine.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 152-153.

⁵⁰ J.C. Hurewitz, The Struggle for Palestine (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1950), p. 197.

Moreover, the Palestine Offices in Warsaw, Bucharest, Budapest, Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Bratislava, Teheran, Trieste, Sofia and Stockholm continued their activities in recruiting and transferring Jewish immigrants into Palestine.⁵¹

c-The American Zionist Emergency Council:

The American Zionist Emergency Council was formed as early as 1939. The Council was "to coordinate Zionist work in the United States and to maintain contacts with the various sections of the Zionist movement abroad."⁵²

The Council's constituent elements were eminent Zionist leaders appointed on behalf of the Jewish Agency, the Zionist Organization of America, the Women's Zionist Organization, the Poale Zion, and the Mizrachi. The Executive of the Emergency Council was composed of representatives of all these groups together with the Jewish Agency members.⁵³

⁵¹The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, op. cit., p. 153.

⁵²Esco Foundation for Palestine, Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 1078.

⁵³Ibid., p. 1079.

The Council worked on a national scale. It controlled 76 state and regional branches, divided into some 380 local committees. This machinery was geared "to educate and arouse American public opinion in behalf of the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."⁵⁴

The Council's role was described as follows:

- 1- It "sought the cooperation of political, journalist, labour, and professional circles."⁵⁵
- 2- It induced individuals "to join the American Palestine Committee which by the close of the war had a membership of 6,500 public figures."⁵⁶
- 3- It initiated the establishment of the Christian Council on Palestine at the end of 1947 "to enlist the aid of Christian clergy of all denominations. By V-E Day this group numbered close to 2,400 members."⁵⁷

d-Two Zionist Conferences During the War:

During the Second World War, the Zionists realized that the United States had become the most influential power in world-politics. "In

⁵⁴Hurewitz, op. cit., p. 201.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 210.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Ibid.

the past, America had proved to be a valuable source of financial assistance to the movement, but during the War it also emerged as the new centre from which political help could be sought."⁵⁸ Consequently, the Zionist leadership shifted its emphasis from London to Washington and the Zionist machinery in the United States carried out an intensified programme to secure official and public support to their cause.

The American Zionist Emergency Council, which felt the necessity of formulating new Zionist policies, called for an Extraordinary Zionist Conference at Biltmore on May 9, 1942.⁵⁹

(i) The Biltmore Conference:

The Conference was attended by six hundred delegates representing Zionist bodies in the United States.⁶⁰ Dr. Weizmann, then President of the World Zionist Organization

⁵⁸ Alan R. Taylor, Prelude to Israel: An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy, 1897-1947 (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1959), p. 59.

⁵⁹ Esco Foundation for Palestine, op. cit., p. 1080.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

(and, therefore, of the Jewish Agency), David Ben-Goriun, then Chairman of the Zionist Executive (and the Jewish Agency Executive), and Nahum Goldman, then Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the World Jewish Congress, were the most eminent among the Zionist leaders who addressed the Conference.⁶¹

Although the Conference lacked the authority of a Zionist Congress, nevertheless it formulated what came to be known as the "Biltmore Programme." The three major resolutions of the Conference were embodied in items 6, 7, and 8 of the Programme. Item 6 called for "the fulfilment" of the "original" purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, by affording the Jews the opportunity to found in Palestine "a Jewish Commonwealth."⁶² Item 7 stipulated that "a Jewish military force fighting

⁶¹Taylor, op. cit., p. 574

⁶²J.C. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record: 1914-1956, II (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1956), p. 235.

under its own flag and under the command of the United Nations" was to be established.⁶³ Finally, item 8 urged that "the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for upbuilding the country, including the development of its unoccupied and uncultivated lands; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world."⁶⁴

The Biltmore Programme was officially adopted by the Inner Zionist General Council, the Zionist Organization of America, the Zionist Executive, the Jewish Agency Executive, the Women's Zionist Organization of America (Hadassah) and the various Zionist political parties.⁶⁵ The

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Esco Foundation for Palestine, op. cit.,

Program became the official policy of Zionism throughout the years that followed.

(ii) The World Zionist Conference in London:

As the war was approaching its end, the need for convening a new conference to deliberate on the various Zionist issues and problems was felt. After considerable effort the Conference was convened in London from August 1st to August 13th, 1945.

As other Zionist conferences, the London Conference was of a "demonstrative and advisory character."⁶⁶

Ninety-six delegates from seventy countries attended the Conference. All members of the Zionist Executive, some members of the Zionist General Council, representatives of the Jewish National Fund, the Palestine Foundation Fund, and the Women International Zionist Organization (W.I.Z.O.) and observers from various countries participated in the work of the Conference. The Conference

⁶⁶The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, op. cit., p. 12.

resolutions were approved by the Inner Zionist General Council.⁶⁷

These two Conferences compensated, in a sense, for the absence of the Zionist legislative organs. Moreover, the position of the Zionist leadership, in its relations with foreign states, was enhanced by these semi-official Zionist meetings.

III. The Zionist Organization After World War II: 1945-1948:

The Inner Zionist General Council, feeling the intensity of the political efforts which were being exerted with regard to the future of Palestine, decided, after the World Zionist Conference in London in 1945, to form a Political Committee in the United States. This Committee was "to deal with all political problems and all questions relating to the representation of the Jewish Agency in the United States."⁶⁸ It consisted of eight members, four of whom were members of the Agency Executive. The Committee was subject to the control and direction of the Palestine Agency Executive.⁶⁹

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 6.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 7.

1. The Twenty-Second Zionist Congress:

The last important meeting of the Zionists before the creation of Israel was the 22nd Zionist Congress, which convened at Basle on December 9, 1946.

The Congress was attended by 385 delegates representing 2,158,920 Shekel-payers. The Congress witnessed a significant drop in the number of delegates representing Labour, from 216 delegates in 1939 to 101 delegates in 1946. The General Zionists, with their 123 delegates in 1946, were the majority party. The 13 delegates of the Radicals in 1939 were doubled in 1946. The Revisionists, after the dissolution of their New Zionist Organization, increased from 8 in 1939 to 67 in 1946.⁷⁰

The Congress reaffirmed the political demands which were voiced in the Biltmore Programme.⁷¹ However, the Congress adjourned without electing a President or an Executive. Therefore, the

⁷⁰Cohen, History of Zionism, p. 262.

⁷¹The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, op. cit., p. 11.

Zionist General Council appointed a coalition Executive with David Ben-Gorion as its Chairman; the Presidency post, however, remained vacant.⁷²

2. The Structure of the Zionist Organization

During the Second World War, a complete formal and actual reintegration of the Jewish Agency into the World Zionist Organization took place. Neither the proceedings of the twenty-second Zionist Congress (the first after the War) nor the proceedings of the twenty-third Zionist Congress (the first after the establishment of Israel) made any reference to the Council or the Administrative Committee of the Enlarged Jewish Agency. However the Executive of the Agency, which was dominated by the members of the Zionist Executive, remained in existence.⁷³

A picture for the structure of the World Zionist Organization, as derived from the proceedings of the 22nd and 23rd Zionist Congresses, may be drawn as follows:

⁷²Herbert Parzen, A Short History of Zionism (New York: Herzl Press, 1962), p. 112.

⁷³The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Reports of the Executives Submitted to the Twenty-Third Zionist Congress at Jerusalem, August 1951 (Jerusalem: The Executives of the Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1951), p. 159.

a-The Legislative Branch:

The Zionist legislative branch consisted of:

- (i) The Zionist Congress, which continued to be the supreme governing body of the Organization.
- (ii) The Zionist General Council, which enjoyed the rights vested in the Zionist Congress in the interval between sessions. The Council was composed of all members of the Zionist Executive, two representatives of the Vaad Leumi, and representatives of the Boards of Directors of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod.⁷⁴ The Zionist General Council had an elected Presidium.⁷⁵

b-The Judicial Branch

The Judicial organs of the Zionist Organization were the following:

- (i) The Congress Court, which settled disputes among Zionist units.⁷⁶
- (ii) The Court of Honour, which settled disputes between individuals and Zionist organs.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

c-The Executive Branch:

(i) The President: As already stated, the twenty-second Zionist Congress was adjourned without electing a President for the World Zionist Organization.⁷⁸

(ii) The Zionist Executive: The Zionist Executive was the supreme executive body of the Organization. Some members of the Executive were stationed in Jerusalem, the Executive's principal center, while the remainder were stationed in New York, the second center.⁷⁹

The Zionist Executive consisted of five departments and institutions:⁸⁰

- 1-The Organization Department
- 2-The Youth and Hechalutz Department
- 3-The Treasury
- 4-The Central Zionist Archives
- 5-The Editorial Office of Haolam

⁷⁸Chaim Weizmann, Trial and Error: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), p. 443.

⁷⁹The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Reports to the Twenty-Third Congress, p. 4.

⁸⁰Ibid.

(iii) The Executive of the Jewish Agency:

All members of the Zionist Executive were members in the Executive of the Jewish Agency.⁸¹ The members of the Agency Executive were distributed among the three centers of the Organization, namely, Jerusalem, New York, and London.⁸²

The various departments, sections and subsections of the Executive which operated during the War, were still in operation. Moreover, the Executive maintained Offices in Paris, London, Geneva, New York, and Washington.⁸³

d-The Fund Raising Organs

The Zionist Organization had a network of fund raising organs. The most important components of this machinery which have been working for the last half-century, were the following:

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 159.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Reports to the Twenty-Second Congress, p.25.

(i) In London:

The fund-raising machinery operating in London consisted of:

- 1-The "Keren Keyemeth Leisrael Limited", which was established as an English corporation in 1901.⁸⁴
- 2-"The Eretz Israel (Palestine) Foundation Fund Keren Hayesod Limited," which was incorporated in London in 1921.⁸⁵

(ii) In the United States:

Branches of both the Keren Keyemeth and the Keren Hayesod were established in the United States. These branches, which were controlled by the mother corporations in London, consisted of:

- 1-"The Jewish National Fund (Keren Keyemeth Le Israel, Inc.," which was established in 1910 as an American corporation.⁸⁶
- 2-"The Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), Inc.," which was founded in 1922.⁸⁷

The "United Palestine Appeal, Inc." which was established in 1927, made successive

⁸⁴ Moses Lasky, Between Truth and Repose (San Francisco: American Council for Judaism, 1956), p. 23.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 21.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 20.

annual agreements with the Joint Distribution Committee to unite their collection of money under what came to be known as the "United Jewish Appeal."⁸⁸

(iii) In Palestine:

The Headquarters of both the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Keyemeth were located in Palestine. In addition, there was the Jewish Colonial Trust, which had several branches abroad.

e-The Constituent Branches of the Organization

The Zionist branches, which constituted the World Zionist Organization in 1946, existed in 55 countries other than Palestine. These branches were distributed in five centers:⁸⁹

- 1-In Europe - 17
- 2-In America - 24
- 3-In Africa - 08
- 4-In Australia - 02
- 5-In Asia - 04

The Zionist associations and groups without the status of territorial Zionist Federation,

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 18.

⁸⁹ The Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, Reports to the Twenty-Third Congress, p. 10.

existed in 29 countries; in Europe 7, in America 12, in Africa 6, and 4 in Asia.⁹⁰ The Zionists among the Yishuv of Palestine were organized "through the branches of the Separate Unions and parties."⁹¹

The Separate Unions recognized by the Constitution of the Organization were the following:⁹²

- 1-The Mizrachi Organization
- 2-The Union of Poale Zion
- 3-Hashomer Hatzair
- 4-The Jewish State Party
- 5-The Order of Ancient Maccabeaus

In addition, there were three Zionist parties which were neither Federations nor Separate Unions. These parties were:⁹³

- 1-The Confederation of General Zionists
- 2-The Union of General Zionists
- 3-The Left Poalei Zion Party

3. New Organizational Developments:

When political developments began to accelerate in the United Nations and Palestine after 1947, the Zionist General Council established a

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 17.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid., p. 18.

National Council and a National Administration to carry out some urgent Zionist plans.

The thirty-seven members of the National Council consisted of elected representatives of the Zionist Organization resident in Palestine, the Executive of the Vaad Leumi, and other representatives of public bodies not represented on these two institutions.⁹⁴

The National Administration (established on April 18, 1948) consisted of thirteen members and was responsible to the Council.⁹⁵

On May 14, 1948, David Ben-Goriun, the Chairman of the Zionist Executive, the Jewish Agency Executive, and the National Administration proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel.⁹⁶

The Provisional Government of the New State was formed from the members of the Jewish Agency Executive. David Ben-Goriun became Prime Minister

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 210.

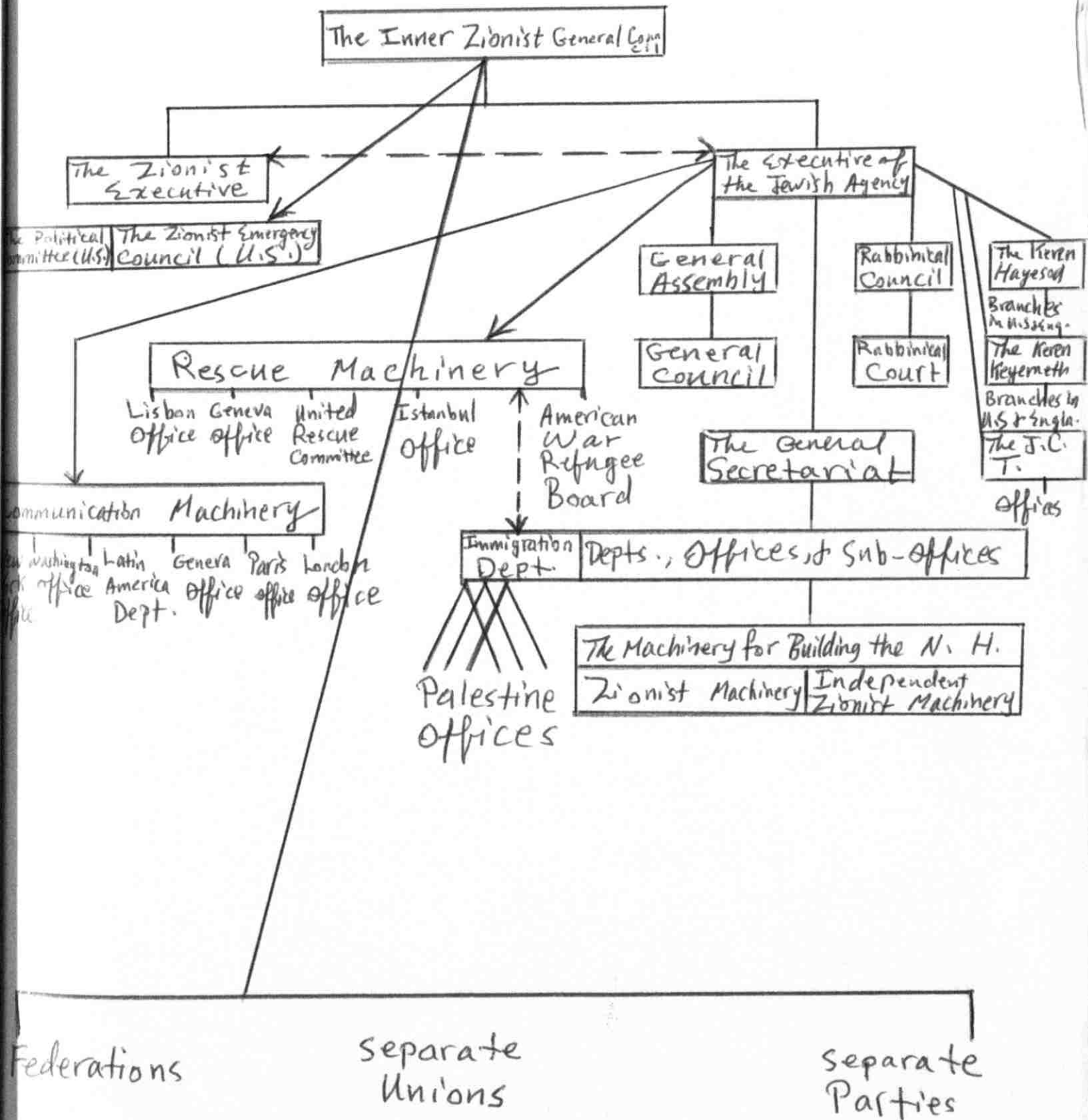
⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 212.

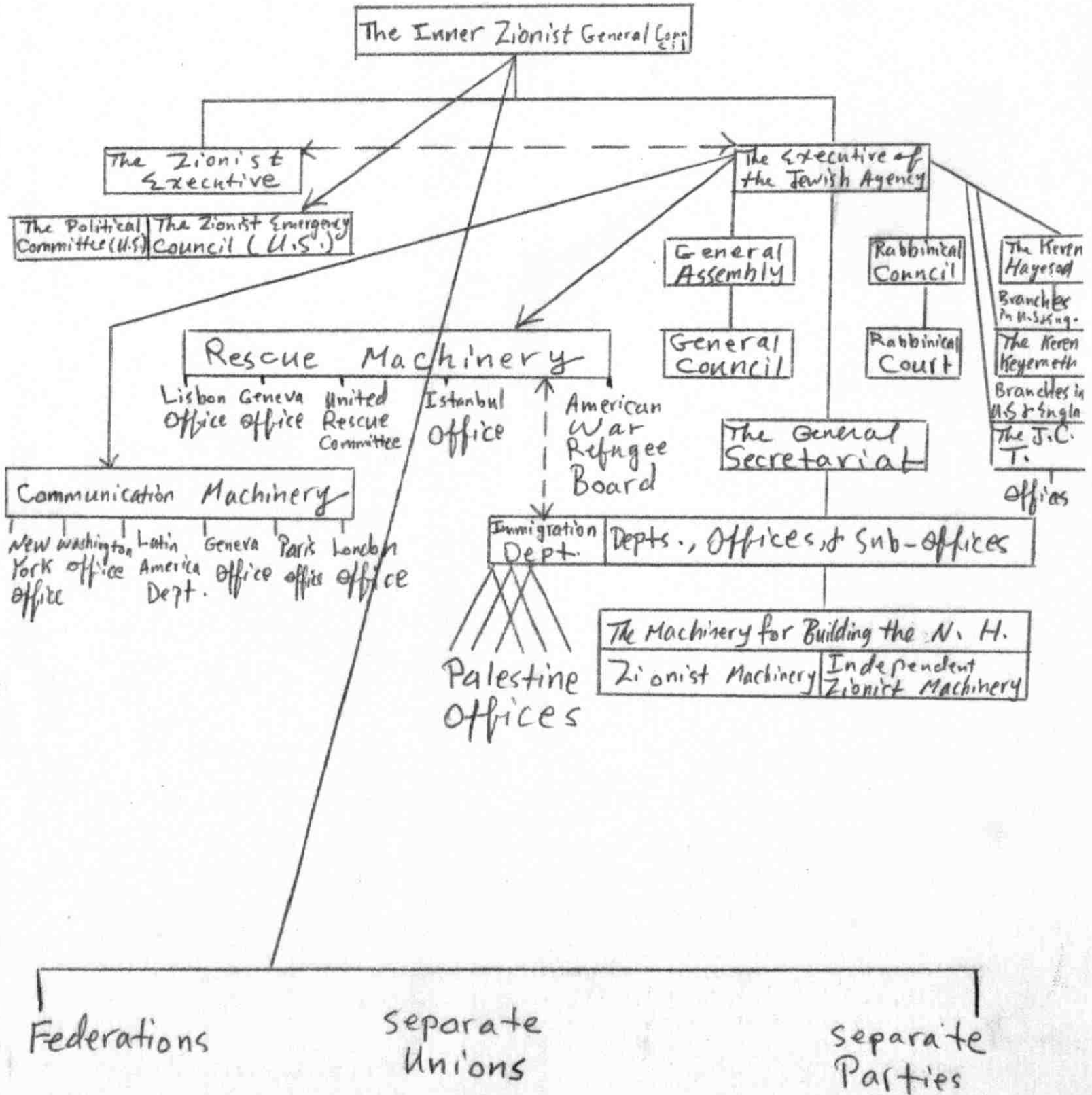
and Minister of Defence, and Haim Weizmann (who had been a President of the Zionist Organization for more than twenty years) became the President of the new State.⁹⁷

⁹⁷Cohen, A Short History, p. 225.

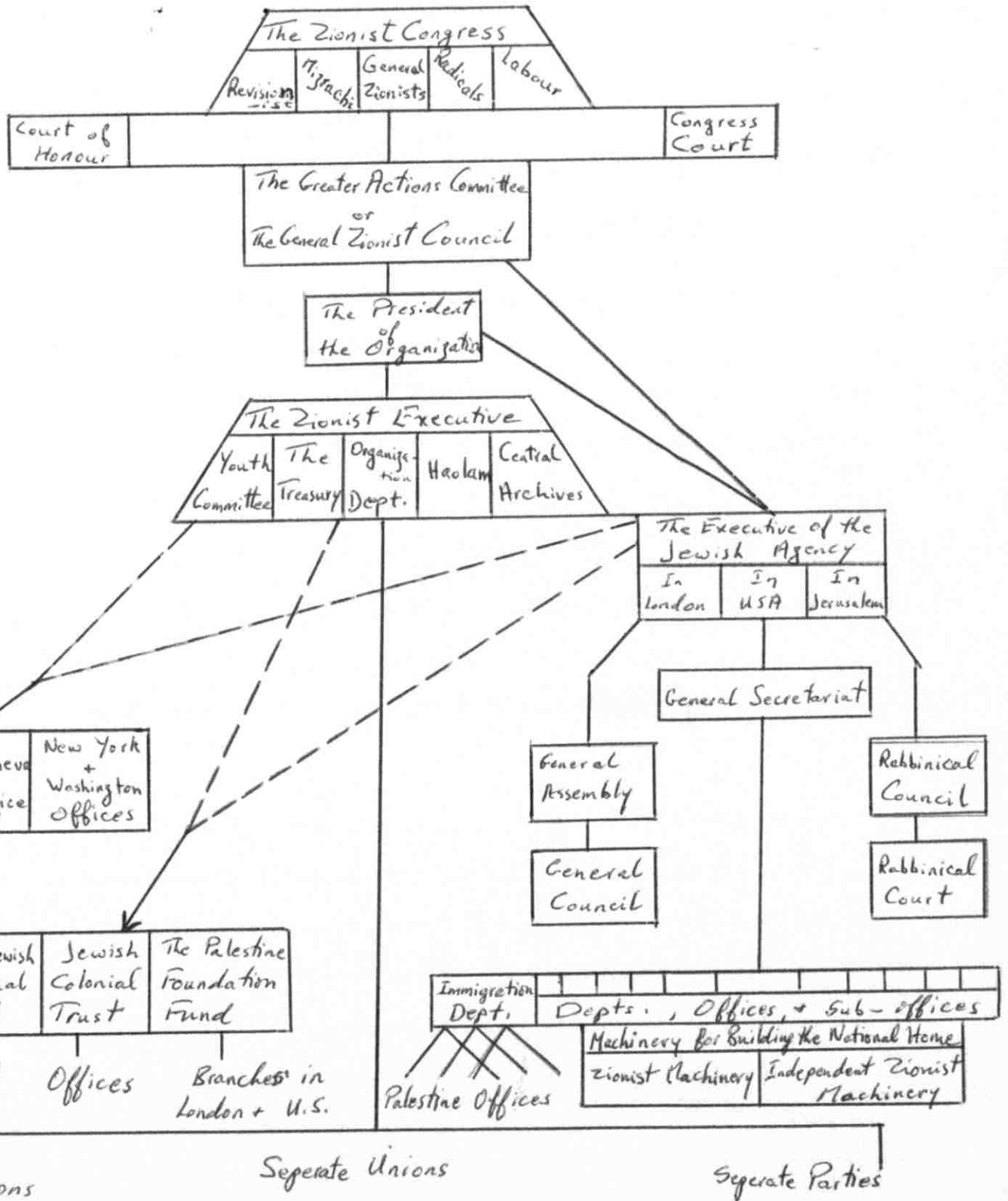
The Structure of the W.Z.O. During the War (1939-1945)



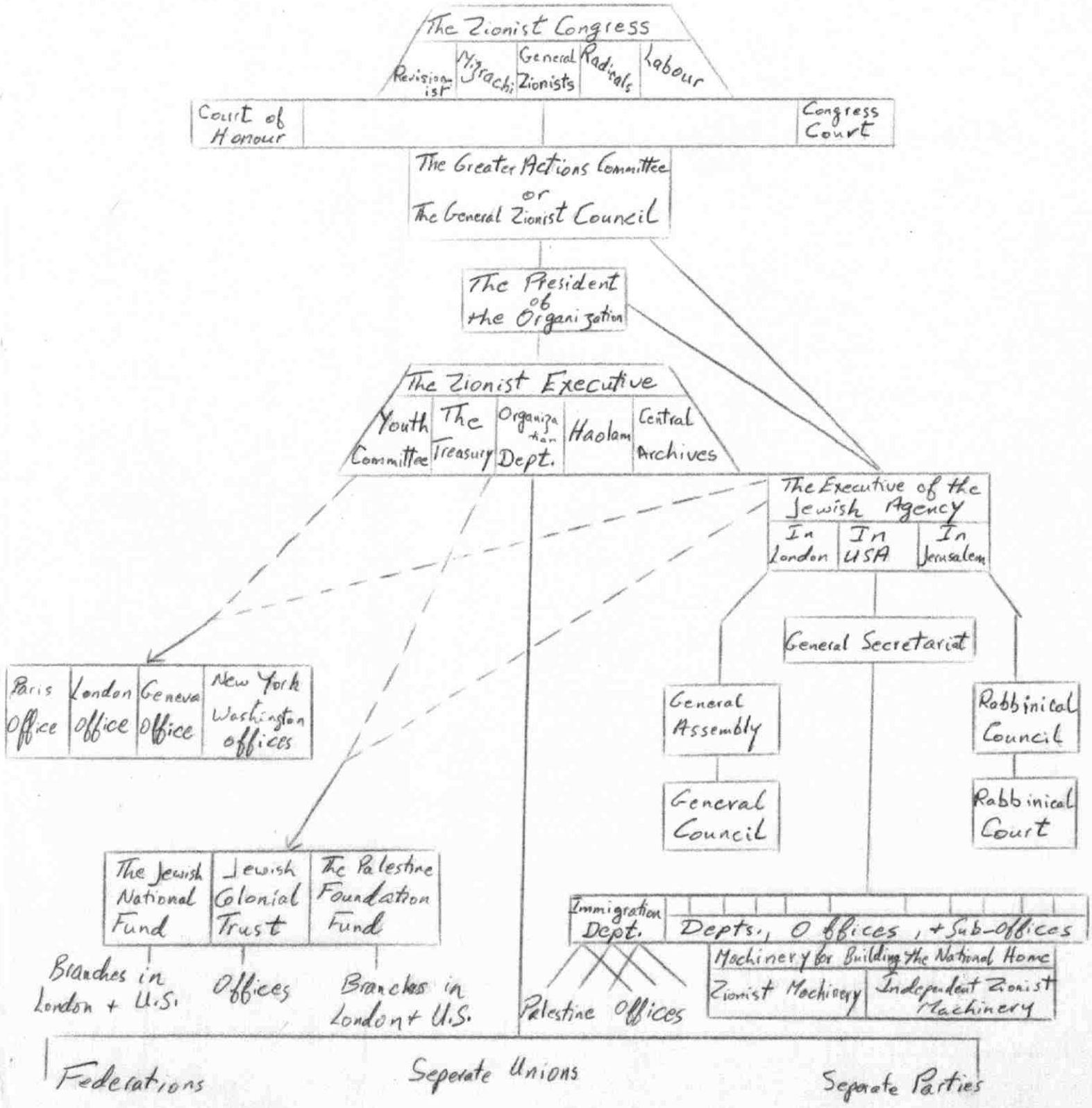
The Structure of the W.Z.O. During the War (1939-1945)



The Structure of the World Zionist Organization in 1948



The Structure of the World Zionist Organization in 1948



CHAPTER VI

INTERACTION WITH THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

I. The World Zionist Organization and "the People of Builders"

A. The Factors Necessary for Building the Zionist State:

A Zionist author¹ once named five factors that are necessary for building a state -- an idea, a leader, an organization, a people of builders, and world support. All these five elements have played a significant role in creating the Zionist state, Israel.

As to the first factor, there was the Zionist idea which was portrayed in Chapter I through the writings of Theodor Herzl and three of his fore-runners -- Rabbi Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Moses Hess, and Leo Pinsker.

The Zionist movement was provided with Theodor Herzl for a leader. His was a special kind of leadership, a Charismatic one. The Zionist movement (as shown in Chapters II, III, IV, and V) had several

¹Harry Essrig and Abraham Segal, Israel Today (Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1964), p. 64.

other leaders who carried out what Herzl had begun.

The third factor, the organization, is the main theme of the present study.

The two remaining factors, "the people of builders" and the world support, constituted, more or less, the major part of the "external" environment in which the Zionist Organization operated. These factors were decisive in the creation of the Zionist State. Had not the Zionists been able to adapt themselves and their policies to the surroundings, the Zionist State would not have emerged.

B. The People of Builders:

According to the Zionist plans, world Jewry was to constitute "the people of builders." However, not all Jews were enthusiastic for either the Zionist idea or Zionist policies. World Jewry, in regard to the Zionist idea and Zionist policies, was divided into four categories:

1. **The Zionists:** These were either members of the Zionist Organization and other Zionist institutions, or Jews who supported the Zionist idea without being organized in any Zionist body. The members

of the Zionist Organization (those who payed the Shekel) were a minority among the Jews. At its peak, the number of members of the World Zionist Organization constituted less than 18 per cent of World Jewry.² The average percentage during the period 1898-1946 was less than 6 per cent.

2. The Active Non-Zionists: These are Jews who supported Jewish emigration to, and settlement in, Palestine, without necessarily subscribing to all the elements of the Zionist creed or endorsing all Zionist policies, and without enrolling in the World Zionist Organization or affiliated Zionist groups. This category also embraces some of the Jewish emigrant-settlers -- e.g., Jews who either escaped to Palestine because of Anti-Semitism or went to it in fulfillment of religious, social and historical convictions. An example of this category was the membership and leadership of P.I.C.A.

3. The Inactive Non-Zionists: These were neither supporters nor opponents of Zionism and Zionist

²Israel Cohen, A Short History of Zionism (London: Frederick Muller, 1951), p. 262.

policies. Indifferent to the whole issue, they acted as though it were of no concern to them.

4. The Anti-Zionists: These are the Jews who opposed and resisted the Zionist plans during the period covered by this study. In England, the formidable anti-Zionist opposition was led by the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association.³ In the United States, the anti-Zionists were mainly organized in the American Jewish Committee.⁴ Moreover, the Central Conference of American Rabbis was one of the earliest opponents of Zionism in the United States.⁵

The weight of the anti-Zionist's influence, who resisted the "National Home" and "the Jewish people" concepts of Zionism, was effective to the extent that their demands or objections were taken into

³Paul Goodman (ed.), The Jewish National Home (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1943), p. 17.

⁴Alan R. Taylor, Prelude To Israel: An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy, 1897-1947 (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1959), p. 77.

⁵J.M.N. Jeffries, Palestine the Reality (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), p. 153.

account by the British Government, and found their way into the text of the Balfour Declaration in the form of the second of the famous safeguard clauses in that document.⁶ Moreover, successive British Royal Inquiry Commissions, which came to Palestine several times during the Mandate, confirmed the existence of powerful anti-Zionists among the Jews of Palestine.⁷

The Zionist Organization needed the participation of all Jews; hence its endeavours to win their support in order to be able to secure the coveted international recognition of Zionist aspirations. This Zionist need was strengthened by two major factors:

First, The Zionists were required to comply with Article IV of the Mandate, which called upon the Zionist Organization "to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."⁸

⁶J.C. Hurewitz, Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East: A Documentary Record, 1914-1956, II (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1958), pp. 25-26.

⁷Alan R. Taylor, Prelude To Israel: An Analysis of Zionist Diplomacy, 1897-1947 (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1959), p. 52.

⁸Hurewitz, op. cit., p. 108.

This was the case especially when Weizmann feared that the Joint Distribution Committee's "universal acceptance. . . might invite disqualification of the Zionist Organization under Article 4 of the Mandate."⁹

Second, the Zionist Organization was in an urgent need of Jewish moral, financial, and man-power support for the upbuilding of the National Home.

The minority status of the Zionists, the attitudes of the Jews towards Zionist policies, and the Zionist's fear of challenges to their claim to represent the "Jewish people", were best revealed in Weizmann's speech to a Zionist meeting in Rumania on December 12, 1927. Weizmann admitted:

"We Jews got the Balfour Declaration quite unexpectedly; or, in other words, we are the greatest war profiteers. . . The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was built on air. . . Every day and every hour of these ten years, when opening the newspapers, I thought. . . the British Government would call me and ask: Tell us, what is this Zionist Organization? Where are they, your Zionists? . . . The

⁹ Elmer Berger, "The Legal-Historical Background Relevant to an Adequate United States Government Legal-Policy" (Chapter II, Monograph published by the American Council for Judaism), p. 99.

Jews, they knew, were against us; we stood alone on a little island, a tiny group of Jews with a foreign past."¹⁰

And again, on July 1, 1931, Weizmann confessed:

" . . . I often asked myself what we . . . I and my friends who were speaking for the Jewish people. . . could answer were we asked to 'show our credentials'. . . and to prove our right to act as the representatives of world Jewry. That no such question was ever put is perhaps the strongest proof of the intuitive understanding of those men who spoke with us on behalf of Great Britain, and who saw us, not as the nominated or elected representatives of this or that group, but as the spokesmen of a people in the making. And this attitude is the more surprising when one remembers that these so-called 'big Jews,' and the official Jews, were then very strongly opposed to Zionist ideals and aspirations."¹¹

Thus, the Zionists were in dire need of Jewish support. The method used by the Zionists to secure the active participation of Jews for the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth was of a "unique" character. It reflected Zionist skill in organizational maneuvering.

C. The Zionist Method of Recruiting Jewish Support:

As early as 1898, at the second Zionist Congress

¹⁰ Paul Goodman (ed.), Chaim Weizmann: A Tribute on his Seventieth Birthday (London: Victor Gollancz, 1945), p. 199.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 207.

at Basle, Herzl called for "capturing the (Jewish) communities" as one of the Zionist's "next targets".¹² "Capturing the Jewish communities" became a slogan reflecting both the Zionist method and the Zionist political objective, with regard to world Jewry, throughout the years that followed.

The first step in "capturing" the Jews was to "attach" to the Jewish citizens of other states, the "label of membership in a 'Jewish' political collectivity called the Jewish people."¹³ For the attainment of this purpose, Herzl's "most accessible and easily implemented tool" was propaganda.¹⁴

It was Weizmann who, later on, carried even further the implementation of Herzl's political objective of "capturing the Jewish communities." Weizmann, however, gave new dimensions to both the goal and the method as advocated by Herzl. In doing that, Weizmann used "whatever devices or tactics which offered the most promise of working in any given local."¹⁵

¹²As cited by Elmer Berger, "The Factual Background Relevant to a United States Government Legal Policy." (Chapter I, Monograph Published by the American Council for Judaism), p. 30.

¹³Berger, Chapter II, p. 32.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 98.

Besides effectuating a change in the status of world Jewry who were citizens of different states, Weizmann wanted to secure moral, financial, and manpower participation of Jews. Propaganda was not his only means. Zionist skill in organizational maneuvering was Weizmann's chief means. "Voluntary association is a cardinal and fundamental concept in a democracy but, as a corollary, free citizens should be vigilant about every action of every voluntary association to which they belong. The ideal is rarely achieved in practice. Weizmann and the World Zionist Organization 'public body' counted upon such departure from the ideal."¹⁶

Weizmann's approach was "organizational" -- not individual -- with great diversion from "any genuinely democratic approach."¹⁷ This undemocratic organizational method manifested itself in the following forms:

1-The Enlarged Jewish Agency:

The method through which the Jewish Agency was extended, in 1929, was a clear evidence of the

¹⁶Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁷Ibid.

Zionist's undemocratic organizational method through which non-Zionist Jewish participation was secured. Chapter four of this study concluded that the non-Zionist Jews in the Enlarged Agency were neither real representatives of world Jewry nor effective participants in the formulation and implementation of the policies of the Agency. Even Louis Marshall, the chief non-Zionist architect of the Enlarged Agency, believed that the new Agency "would not perform any functions which could be constructed as involving its supporters in a national-political undertaking."¹⁸ Had he lived, Marshall would in all probability have resisted what the Agency came to be.

In brief, Rabbi Elmer Berger's reference to the Enlarged Jewish Agency as "the subversion of humanitarian non-Zionism by Political Zionism"¹⁹ sums up the Zionists' method of recruiting non-Zionist support through the Enlarged Agency.

2-The American Jewish Congress:

The second example of the Zionist strategy of

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 102.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 94.

employing "fronts" or "synthetic devices" to attract world Jewry, was the American Jewish Congress.²⁰

As early as 1918, the Zionists initiated the convening of the American Jewish Congress, in Philadelphia, to deal with the problem of securing "full rights for the Jews of all lands at the end of World War I."²¹ Some 335,000 American Jews, out of a total of 3,300,00, were said to have voted for delegates. Not before long, the Zionists confessed their effective control of the Congress meetings.²²

Another American Jewish Conference was held, in 1943, to "create the appearance that the American Jewish community was unified in support of the Zionist demand for a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine."²³ Nevertheless, the Conference turned out to be self-defeating, because of the resistance of the American Jewish Committee.²⁴

²⁰ Ibid., p. 154.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., p. 155.

²⁴ Ibid.

3-The Zionist Organization in the United States:

As the Second World War was approaching its end, it became evident that the world balance of power was shifting to the United States. Hence, the United States, which had been a major source of financial assistance to the Zionists, come to be looked upon as a source of political assistance as well. The Zionist organizations which had been operating in the States for a long time were dexterously manipulated to that end. Again, the Zionist undemocratic organizational method of maneuvering characterized the Zionist organizations in the United States.

a-The Zionist Administrative Organizations:

The Zionist Organization of America, the Hadassah and many other Zionist groups were operating "under domestic law as if they were American institutions. They enjoyed the privileges -- some accorded by the Government of the United States -- of voluntary American Organizations."²⁵

²⁵Elmer Berger, "The Historic Legal Claims and Aggressions of the Zionist-Israel Sovereignty Against citizens of States other than Palestine / Israel who are Jews" (Chapter IV, Monograph Published by the American Council for Judaism), p. 50.

b-The Zionist Fiscal Agencies:

The Zionist fiscal agencies which operated in the United States as "charitable" and "voluntary associations" were, in fact, organs of a political body, the World Zionist Organization. Through this kind of maneuvering, the Zionist Organization was able to "trap" the "American Jews who rejected the Zionist concept of the Jewish people as a national-political entity."²⁶ Moreover, the Zionist organs were capable of arranging a "marriage between a genuine philanthropy (the Joint Distribution Committee) and the fiscal arms of a foreign public body (the United Palestine Appeal)" and to direct it to the "political advantage of the public body."²⁷

More interesting was the fact that the money raised by these "charitable voluntary associations" was used to finance the Zionist Organization's branches in the United States, which were exerting pressure upon the American Government

²⁶ Berger, Chapter II, p. 10.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 80.

to secure its support for Zionist goals.²⁸

II. The Zionist Organization and "World Support"

Like any other organization, the World Zionist Organization did not operate in a vacuum. The political surroundings were in constant interaction with the Organization. It is doubtful whether the Organization could have achieved its goal of creating a Zionist state had it not operated in favorable political conditions, or had it not succeeded in rendering the conditions favorable to itself.

The first fifty years of the Organization's existence passed through two historical periods, as far as power politics was concerned. The first period, starting with the opening of the twentieth century and lasting until the end of the second World War, was the golden age of Great Britain. The years that followed witnessed the emergence of the United States as the leading power in the Western camp. The relationship between each of the two giants, on the one hand, and the World Zionist Organization, on the other, would be of special concern to us in the forthcoming discussion.

²⁸Ibid., p. 186.

1-The Zionist Organization and Great Britain:

Nadav Safran, a Zionist author has pointed out that Great Britain had created the necessary conditions without which the actualization of one of the major Zionist ideas-- namely, the creation of Israel -- would have been impossible. He writes:

"While Zionism provided the leadership and drive and mobilized the resources for the total Jewish endeavour in Palestine, the whole under-taking would have been impossible had not Britain sponsored the Zionist movement at the end of the first World War and given it the opportunity to establish a secure base in the country through the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate."²⁹

However, the Balfour Declaration was not the first, nor the only, friendly British gesture to Zionism. The Balfour Declaration should be seen as the climax of a series of British offers to the Zionist Organization; El Arish project in 1902, Uganda in 1903, and finally Palestine in 1917. When Britain entered into negotiations with the Zionist Organization to provide the latter with a territory for the proposed "Jewish National Home," it indirectly provided the Zionist Organization with the needed international recognition.

²⁹Nadav Safran, The United States and Israel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 233.

a-Britain's Political Recognition of the Zionist
Organization

Before the Mandate was assigned to Great Britain in 1922, and even before British troops occupied Palestine in 1918, Great Britain declared in 1917:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."³⁰

Again, on July 24, 1922, Britain renewed its promise and embodied the Balfour Declaration in the preamble and in Article II of the Palestine Mandate. Articles, IV, VI, VII, XI, XV, XXI, and XXIII of the Mandate recognized the Zionist Organization as representative of the world Jewry, and defined the various means it envisaged to bring about a Jewish national home in Palestine.³¹

³⁰Hurewitz, op. cit., p. 26.

³¹Ibid., pp. 106-111.

The Mandate was a new, direct reinforcement of the international Zionist political status which had been indirectly granted in the negotiations of 1902.

b-Britain's Role in Encouraging Zionist Immigration:

As for Britain's role in encouraging Zionist immigration into Palestine, it may be best described through official Zionist figures on immigration.

When the British Mandate was issued, the Jewish population in Palestine numbered 83,000 Jews. By the end of the Mandate, the number had risen to some 665,000 Jews.³² This rise, vehemently opposed by the Arabs, was made possible only by Britains encouragement of Jewish immigration and protection of Jewish settlement.

The British favour to the Zionists with respect to immigration could be best understood also in the light of the truism that, without the necessary human element, no state could have been built. The obvious importance of Zionist

³²Cohen, op. cit., pp. 255-259.

immigration to statehood was succinctly expressed by one of the architects of the State of Israel.

Munya Mardor wrote:

"Immigration became essential for the immigrant's sake, and equally for the sake of accomplishing our Zionist ideals."³³

And again:

"There could be no continued existence for the the Yishuv already within the country, and no hope for the future of our people as a national unit, without immigration."³⁴

The immigrants, who entered Palestine under the British Mandate, became a "weapon" and a "principle means" for the achievement of the Zionist national objectives.³⁵

c-Britain's Role in Building the Zionist Army:

Britain's contribution to the building of a Zionist army goes back to the First World War, when Britain founded the Zion Mule Corps.³⁶

³³Munya M. Mardor, Strictly Illegal (London: Robert Hale, 1964), p. 53.

³⁴Ibid., p. 55.

³⁵Ibid., p. 53.

³⁶"Jewish Brigade" The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. Cecil Roth, 3rd ed. (1966), p. 1042.

During the First World War, the 38th battalion which was the first Jewish fighting force, the 39th battalion, and the 40th battalion were in operation. By 1919, these three units comprised some 5,000 persons.³⁷

The Haganah (Defense), The forerunner of Israeli Army, was the major Zionist military organization which received indirect, and sometimes direct, assistance from Great Britain through the Palestine Administration.

Britain's contributions to the creation of a Zionist army were in three directions: allowing Haganah to grow, providing the Zionists with both direct and indirect military training, and allowing and encouraging Haganah to acquire arms.

(i) Allowing Haganah to Grow:

Formally speaking, the Haganah was illegal.

But "it was a tongue in-cheek, almost affectionate kind of illegality."³⁸ Although the

³⁷ Ibid., p. 1043.

³⁸ Arthur Koestler, Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine 1917-1949 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1949), pp. 72-73.

Administration did not provide the Haganah with an "official sanction", it tolerated the Hagandah's existence.³⁹

(ii) Direct and Indirect Military Training:

The British Administration moved one step further, in 1936, and granted some members of Haganah a legal status. The British authorities appointed these members as a Supernumerary Police Force to defend the Zionist settlements.⁴⁰ More revealing was the agreement which was arrived at between the Haganah and a special branch of Middle East Headquarters, known as G.S.I. (J.) during the second World War. According to that agreement "the Haganah groups were armed and trained for guerilla."⁴¹ A secret training school for training "guerillas of Haganah in the hill country south-east of Haifa" was established by the British Administration.⁴²

³⁹ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 73.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 85.

⁴² Ibid., p. 86.

The indirect British training of Zionists was mainly through the Zionist divisions within the British army. During the second World War "more than 30,000 Jews joined the British forces."⁴³ In the autumn of 1944, the Zionists were permitted to establish their own "Jewish Brigade Group."⁴⁴ The "Jewish Brigade" was "based on the three Jewish battalions of the Palestine Regiment, to which was added supporting and ancillary (Palestine Jewish) units."⁴⁵ By the end of the war some 26,000 Palestinian Jews had served in the British Armed Forces.⁴⁶ (It is interesting to note that Moshe Dayan, who became the Chief of Staff in the Defence Army of the State of Israel, was one of those Zionists who were recruited by the British in 1941).⁴⁷

⁴³Ibid., p. 80.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 83.

⁴⁵"Jewish Brigade", op. cit., p. 1038.

⁴⁶Barnet Litvinoff, To The House of Their Fathers: A History of Zionism (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1965), p. 232.

⁴⁷Koestler, op. cit., p. 76.

(iii) Allowing and Encouraging Zionist Arms Acquisition:

A Zionist source has confessed:

"Churchill had long been in favour of arming the Jews, and he was enthusiastic towards Weizmann's plan to collect and train a Jewish army in Egypt, beyond the sight of Palestine's Arabs."⁴⁸

The Zionists acquired arms through direct and indirect British support. The British authorities tolerated the smuggling of arms and in some cases they even "issued --- arms to Haganah."⁴⁹ The British Administration gave legal status to the 15,000 Jews who constituted the Jewish Settlement Police. Every one of these Jews was provided with a British rifle and all members of the Jewish Settlement Police "were technically in Haganah service too."⁵⁰

To sum up the effects of the British military help to the Zionists, let us quote Arthur Koestler:

"The veterans of the Jewish Brigade became, exactly as the (British) Administration had foreseen, the nucleus of the future Israeli Army and the decisive factor of the Arab defeat."⁵¹

⁴⁸ Litvinoff, op. cit., p. 226.

⁴⁹ Koestler, op. cit., p. 70.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 74.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 83.

d-The Role of Britain in Encouraging the Growth
of Zionist Enterprise

The Zionist Commission was sent to Palestine, in 1918, to act as an "advisory body" to the British authorities in matters relating to the establishment of the Jewish national home.⁵² Not before long, the Commission began to act beyond its "advisory" capacity. Consequently, conflicts of authority between the British Military Administration and the Zionist Commission "occurred on a certain scale."⁵³ The Chief Administrator of Palestine, himself, complained about and protested against the Zionist Administration which operated within the British Administration.⁵⁴ Later on, he recommended the abolition of the Zionist Commission.⁵⁵ The Commission, however, continued its challenge because it was depending on the "cloudless benevolence pervading every Government office in London."⁵⁶

⁵²Jeffries, op. cit., p. 221.

⁵³Ibid., p. 309.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 313

The Jewish Agency, which replaced the Zionist Commission, was also allowed to grow to the extent that it amounted "to a Government existing within the Mandatory Government,"⁵⁷ Moreover, the "Jewish non-territorial state" which developed under the Mandate was subjected to criticism by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, in 1946.⁵⁸ The Zionist enterprise, which was allowed to grow and operate under the Mandate, was nothing but "a nascent Israel."⁵⁹

e-Britain's Role in the United Nations:

Great Britain abstained from voting on the Partition of Palestine in the General Assembly in 1947.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Britain's stand was

⁵⁷ Palestine Royal Commission, Report Submitted by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty: July 1937 (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1946), p. 128.

⁵⁸ Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Report to the United States Government and his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom (Washington: Department of State Printing Office, 1946), p. 27.

⁵⁹ Taylor, op. cit., p. 73.

⁶⁰ Yearbook of the United Nations, 1947-48 (New York: Department of Public Information, United Nations, Lake Success, 1949), p. 247.

illusory. For the four British Dominion which until then had always followed "the mother country," "deserted" it for the first time and adopted the Partition resolution.⁶¹ A Zionist source described such an occurrence as "a miracle!"⁶²

2. The Zionist Organization and the United States:

Since 1942, "the United States has followed a pro-Zionist policy."⁶³ The reasons for this were various:

First: When Britain was no more able to "meet the threats" to its interest "from inside and outside" the Middle East, the responsibility for what Britain had started in Palestine was handed to the United States to carry over.⁶⁴

Second: The well-organized Zionist lobby, which exerted "great pressures, sometimes incredible,

⁶¹ David Horowitz, State in the Making (New York: Alfred-A-Knopf, 1953), p. 311.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Lawrence de Bivort, "United States in Middle East: Policy vs. National Interests," Issues (New York: American Council for Judaism, Vol. 19, November 2, 1965), p. 45.

⁶⁴ John C. Campbell, Defence of the Middle East (New York: Council of Foreign Relations, 1958), pp. 12-14.

and much propaganda" on the United States Government and public opinion.⁶⁵

Third: American domestic politics, which was reflected in Truman's famous apology to the Arab delegates who met him:

"I am sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism; I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents."⁶⁶

Fourth: The world sympathy for Jews, who had been one of the special targets of Hitler's persecutions during the Second World War.⁶⁷

As to the depth and intensity of the Zionist pressure campaign in the United States, James Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, wrote in his Diaries:

"Lovett (the Under Secretary of State) reported on the result of the United Nations action on

⁶⁵ Harry N. Howard, "The United States and Israel: Conflict of Interest and Policy," Issues (New York: The American Council for Judaism, Vol. 18, November 4, 1964), p. 16.

⁶⁶ William A. Eddy, F.D.R. Meets Ibn Saud (New York: American Friends of the Middle East, 1954), p. 37.

⁶⁷ Bivort, Loc. cit.

Palestine over the week end. He said he had never in his life been subject to as much pressure as he had been in the three days beginning Thursday and ending Saturday night."⁶⁸ (These were the days in which the Partition Plan was discussed in the United Nations General Assembly).

Harry Truman, the President of the United States, observed:

"The Zionist, on the other hand, were impatiently making my immediate objective more difficult to obtain. They wanted more than just easier immigration practices. They wanted the American Government to support their aim of a Jewish State in Palestine."⁶⁹

President Truman, later on, admitted:

"The facts were that not only were there pressure movements around the United Nations unlike anything that had been seen there before but that the White House, too, was subjected to a constant barrage. I do not think I ever had as much pressure and propoganda aimed at the White House as I had in this instance."⁷⁰

Moreover, President Truman left no shadow of doubt about the Zionist pressure when he noted:

"Top Jewish leaders in the United States were putting all sorts of pressure on me to commit American power and forces on behalf of the Jewish aspirations in Palesting."⁷¹

⁶⁸ James Forrestal, The Forrestal Diaries, ed. Walter Millis (New York: The Viking Press, 1951), p. 346.

⁶⁹ Harry S. Truman, 1945 Year of Decisions, "Memoirs," I (New York: The New American Library, 1965), p. 166.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 186.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 71.

More important than these Zionist pressures was the fact --revealed by subsequent events-- that President Truman was unable to withstand those pressures. The net result was an American policy which favored and supported the Zionist goals. This policy manifested itself in the following:

a. The United States and Zionist Immigration into Palestine:

Both President Franklin Roosevelt and his successor, President Harry Truman, yielded to the Zionist pressures with regard to Jewish immigration into Palestine. Moreover, the two Presidents used their influence on Britain to encourage immigration.

To start with, President Roosevelt, as early as March 9, 1944, (which was an election year) authorized the Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council to declare that "the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939."⁷² In addition, the platform of the Democratic Party (Roosevelt's Party) declared on July 20, 1944:

⁷²George Kirk, Survey of International Affairs, 1939-1946: The Middle East in the War (London: Oxford University Press, 1954), p. 316.

"We favour the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."⁷³

President Truman's first "positive" step towards encouraging Zionist immigration into Palestine was taken on August 31, 1945. Truman asked Clement Attlee, the British Prime Minister "on behalf of the United States Government to admit 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine."⁷⁴

Again, on October 4, 1946, (which was a Congressional election year) Truman went further and called for the immediate entrance of 100,000 Jews into Palestine and recommended a Partition Plan along lines suggested by the Jewish Agency.⁷⁵

b. The United State's Role in the United Nations General Assembly

During the fateful discussion of the Partion in the General Assembly, in the fall of 1947, the delegates of the United States to the United Nations

⁷³Ibid., p. 318.

⁷⁴Richard Stevens, American Zionism and United States Foreign Policy (New York: Pageant Press, 1962), pp. 134-135.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 155.

closely cooperated with Jewish Agency representatives and effectively coordinated their efforts in the direction of adopting the Plan.⁷⁶

The White House was highly involved in the American-Zionist combined pressure campaign."By direct order of the White House every form of pressure, direct and indirect, was brought to bear by American officials upon those countries outside of the Moslem world that were known to be either uncertain or opposed to partition. Representatives or intermediaries were employed by the White House to make sure that the necessary majority would at length be secured."⁷⁷ Hence, pressures were exerted on China, Ethiopia, Greece, Haiti, Liberia, and the Philippines, "all of which intended to vote against partition," with the result that only Greece withstood the Pressure.⁷⁸

⁷⁶Horowitz, op. cit., pp. 255 - 256.

⁷⁷Summer Welles, We Need Not Fail (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948), p. 63.

⁷⁸Sydney Fisher, The Middle East: A History (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1959), p. 583.

At last, the Partition resolution was adopted by a vote of 33 to 13, with 10 abstentions, on November 29, 1947.⁷⁹

David Horowitz, one of the Jewish Agency representatives to the United Nations, evaluated the United States role in the General Assembly in the following terms:

"The United States exerted the weight of its influence almost at the last hour, and the way the final vote turned out must be ascribed to this fact."⁸⁰

C. Prompt Recognition of the Zionist State:

The State of Israel was proclaimed on May 14, 1948, and the United States extended de facto recognition within 11 minutes of the proclamation.

"The recognition was granted before it had even been requested by the Provisional Government of Israel."⁸¹

⁷⁹United Nations Yearbook, 47-48, op. cit., pp. 246-247.

⁸⁰Horowitz, op. cit., p. 301.

⁸¹Stevens, op. cit., p. 206.

III. Conclusion:

In conclusion, the Zionist Organization, through its skill in organizational maneuvering and pressure campaigns, was able to create the necessary conditions for the attainment of its highest goal, namely, the establishment of a Zionist State. The favorable political environment in which the Organization operated --rendered even more favorable by Zionist diplomacy and propaganda-- provided the Zionist leaders with the opportunity to develop those administrative, financial, and military organs without which the achievement of the Zionist goals would have been uncertain.

APPENDIX I

Orders Relating to the Zionist Congress Adopted

By the first Zionist Congress - August

1897

I. Opening and Constituting of the Congress

1. Opening of the Congress

The Congress meets at the hour and place announced and assigned by the Zionist Action Committee.

2. The Chairman of the Actions Committee or his representative (Vice-Chairman), in case of the former's hindrance, presides the chairs until the election of the President takes place, and opens the congress.

3. Scruting of the Poll

After the opening, the congress decides in the very first place upon those claims for admission to participation in the congress, which have been rejected by the Action-committee but are still maintained by their candidates. In order to settle these cases, the meeting (Assembly) elects from amongst its members, with the exclusion of Action-committee members, a five-person Sub-committee for legitimacy (Proof of indentivity). On the basis of the report submitted by that Sub Committee, not later than the beginning of the next sessions, the congress takes a decision without debate. Persons, whose membership is in question, have neither a seat nor a vote in the congress before that decision is made.

4. Presidency and Office of the Congress

The Congress elects from amongst its midst, in one single election procedure, the President, the first and 2nd Vice presidents, 4 Assessors, 5 Secretaries (for Hebrew, German, Russian, English, French) and 20 monitors. These officials form the office of the congress.

5. Obligations and Rights of the President

The President presides over the meetings, administers (handles) the standing orders, and represents the congress officially. He has the right to decide, according to his own free judgment, upon controversies arising from the application of the standing-orders. He has the right, in case of disorder, to interrupt the session and adjourn the meeting. He has the right to sit on Sub-committee meetings with a vote in an advisory capacity. He entrusts 2 delegates, for the period of the congress, with the management of the Treasury and Book-keeping (accountancy; controls and approves of (ratifies) the disposals falling within the powers of these 2 delegates; and requests the necessary personnel to occupy the office and arranges for the stenographers' services.

6. Obligations and Rights of the Vice-President

The 1st Vice-president, and in case of hindrance, the 2nd, assumes all the duties and rights of the President, for that period, if the latter (the President) is hindered.

7. Assessors

The assessors assist the President in conducting his office, control the work of the Secretaries and render advice to the President in deciding over controversial matters of the standing orders. They direct the scrutinies in resolving elections and arrange for ascertaining election results.

8. Secretaries

The secretaries take down (and prepare) the minutes of the meetings: they edit the stenographic reports of the meetings, read to the assembly whatever pieces of writing are received, include the names of those who wish to speak on the Speakers' List, keep these memoranda as well

as the presented applications in consecutive order, and when the need arises, translate speeches, proposals and petitions. Upon instruction from the president, they bring about whatever necessary measures result from the taken decisions.

9. Monitors

The monitors have to assist the President in managing the "police" of the meeting. They are to see to it, with the help of the personnel put at their disposal for such purposes, that quiet and order are maintained and observed inside the meeting-hall; stop interruptions from the gallery (Spectators Benches) and suppress them; superintend those rooms reserved for delegates, and regulate the contacts with representatives of the Press.

II. General Duties and Rights of the Delegates

10. The Delegates have seat and vote in the Congress.

III. Items of the Meetings

11. Items of the congress meetings are:

1. Statements of Accounts and Reports of the Actions Committee
2. Proposals of the Delegates
3. Interpellations
4. Petitions

12. Reports of the Actions Committee

The order of the reports submitted by the actions committee is determined by the president according to his judgement.

13. Proposals of the Delegates

Every delegate has the right to make proposals. Proposals mentioned under ~~para.~~ 18 al. 1 are to be submitted in writing 14 days before the opening of the congress to the Secretariat. Proposals submitted during the congress session must be supported by at least 20 delegates.

14. Every Delegate has the right to address interpellations to the President of the Congress as well as the Actions committee. Interpellations addressed by a delegate to the Actions Committee are to be submitted to the President in writing, with at least 20 signatures. Interpellations addressed to the president of the congress need no formalities.

15. Petitions

Petitions or other applications addressed to the congress must be presented by a Delegate or his representative (deputy).

IV. Treatment of the Statement of Accounts, the Reports, Proposal and Petitions

16. Treatment of Proposals

The Actions Committee presents the statement of accounts. In order to examine the financial management the congress elects a sub-committee of 9 members.

17. Treatment of Proposals and Specifically of a Proposed Project

- a) Before the floor is open for the discussion of a proposal, the mover (proposer) is given the word to base (give reasons for) his proposal. If the submitted proposal were to comprise a detailed project for the modification or creation of an institution, its establishment or the provision for it, the congress must, in the very first place, take a decision whether this project should be brought up before the assembly or rather recommended to an already existing sub-committee or another one to be elected yet.
- b) The Congress can also decide: 1) To adopt the proposed project in bloc. 2) To open the special debate immediately. 3) To adjourn the meeting, 4) To decide upon the going-over to the Agenda.
- c) In case the proposed project is recommended to a sub-committee that has to be elected, the election of that sub-committee should take place immediately. The President

- determines when that sub-committee has to submit its report.
- d) At the end of the general debate, the proposal (motion) to accept the (proposal) project en bloc or to adjourn the meeting, or to recommend it to a sub-committee or to pass on to the Agenda, (is in order) . If such a motion is not made or defeated, the congress enters into the special debate immediately.
 - e) The president determines what parts of the proposal during the special debate should be discussed separately or together, or
 - f) Motions for modification or additions can be made by every delegate to every single part, as soon as the Debate is open.
 - g) The congress can decide, by means of a motion to do so, even during the special debate, to adjourn the meeting or to refer the issue to a sub-committee, or go over to the Agenda, with or without a motions.

18. Motion to Close the Debate

The motion to close debate can be made any time, but without interrupting a speaker, and must be put to a vote by the president immediately.

If the majority votes to close debate, those on the speakers' list, for and against the motion being discussed, could choose one speaker from among themselves. By failures to attain an agreement, the ballot becomes decisive. After closing the debate only elected speakers, Reporters and proposers have the word. The congress can also decide to close debate without having to listen to other speakers; however, the last word is reserved in such a case for the proposer (mover). Even in the case of a factual correction the president can give the floor after closing the debate.

19. Dealing with other Proposals

The president uses his judgment to determine the manner in which to deal according to the Agenda with motions that do not include a detailed proposal to modify or create an institution, and to establish or provide for one.

If the mover expresses his opposition to the president's decision, the president must address himself to the congress and ask for their decision on that issue.

20. Motions relating merely to the formal agenda, need not be submitted in writing and could be put to a vote or a decision by the president right away.

21. Dealing with Interpellations

Under no circumstances is a meeting, which has already begun, to be interrupted by an interpellation. The Interpellator can give an immediate answer, so as to postpone his interpellation for a later session, or decline to do so by presenting reasons for the answer requested. A discussion of the issue can follow the answer of an interpellation or its rejection only when the majority of the delegates moves to do so. Concerning the question, as to whether to open the debate immediately or to postpone it till the next session, the president is to use his own free judgement in deciding.

22. Dealing with Petitions

All petitions are to be referred to a sub-committee; they are to be included, with a brief description of their content, in a list of items to be appended to the stenographic reports. The reading of a petition occurs only upon the outspoken instruction from the president. (the chair).

V. Rules of Order Concerning General Meetings

23. Agenda

The Agenda for the first meeting is to be set by the actions-committee and announced by the Interium president at the opening of the congress; the agenda for the following meetings is to be prepared by the president and announced before the end of each meeting.

24. Opening of the Meetings

The president calls the meeting to order at the assigned hour. It is up to his discretion to make announcement and read before the

Assembly written memoranda, before the Agenda is taken up.

25. The general meetings of the congress are public.

26. Minutes

The Minutes for each meeting are to be prepared by requested secretaries. They are to include the items discussed in the meeting, all made motions with the names of the movers, the text of the issues put to a vote, and the results of the vote with the taken decisions.

27. Stenographic Reports

The Secretariat prepares stenographic reports on the meetings and publishes them by means of printing.

28. Speaker's Order

The meeting is to be conducted in German. It is left to the delegates to use Hebrew, Russian, English and French in their speeches, but the text of these speeches is only to be translated in an abridged form.

No Speaker has the floor before asking the president, who gives him the word. If the president wishes to participate in the Debate as a Speaker, he must resign the chair.

The speakers address the Assembly from the floor or from their seats.

29. The Speakers are to be heard in the order of their request. It is open to every speaker, as soon as he is in order, to exchange his turn with that of another whose turn comes up later on, or to concede his right to another delegate. No delegate is allowed to speak more than twice on the issue at hand. If given the floor and happens to be absent, the delegate loses his word.

30. Immediate permission to speak can be requested by those delegates who wish to speak to the standing orders. Personal remarks are allowed only after the closing of the debate or in case of adjourning at the end of the meeting.

31. Speaking out of order enables the president to call for "in order".

The president can forbid the speaker to continue after 2 warnings "out of order".

32. If a delegate were to infringe upon the polite practice and procedure in his speech, the president can interrupt his speech or deny him the right to speak completely.
33. The questions is to be read immediately before the vote and, when necessary, translated by the secretary.

As a rule, amended motions are to be put to a vote before the original motion, more general motions before the rest.

However, it is up to the President insofar as he deems it conducive to the simplification and clasification of the vote, to put first a major issue to a vote and a decision.

34. After closing the discussion (question) the president announces the order in which he has decided to put the issues to a vote. A debate over this order is not necessary (is superfluous).
35. The right to vote is to be exercised personally by all delegates; no delegate present in the meeting is allowed to abstain.

The vote takes place by means of standing up and remaining seated.

If the result of the vote is judged by the president as doubtful, the voting take place by means of secret ballot.

This is to be applied regularly during elections also. In case of a tie (equal vote) the motion has been lost.

In all cases decisions can be taken or made, without any further formalities, by means of acclamations.

36. The official head does not vote at all, with the exception of elections.

37. Every election, with the Exception of the president's will be decided by means of simple majority. The Election of the president needs an absolute majority.

In case no results come out from the election to this or that office, the decision between 2 candidates, who have received most of the votes, i.e. who together have received the highest number of votes, is by lot drawn by the chairman of the meeting.

VI. Regulations for Committee Meetings

38. As long as these rules of order do not contain any prescriptions concerning number of members in a committee, the congress is to determine this from one case to another.
39. The elected Committees are free to chose from amongst the Assembly those delegates whom they trust with special knowledge of the issue at hand, so as to participate in the meetings with an advisory vote.
40. Minutes are to be taken during the meetings of the sub-committees and submitted to the president upon approval by the sub-committee. These minutes are to include all motions and decisions made during the meeting.
41. Every decision of the sub-committee must be made with an absolute majority of votes.

The chairman of a committee meeting can cast a vote only in case of a tie.

The committee elects a secretary (Reporter) who formulates the result of the deliberation in a report and must speak for the decisions of the majority of the sub-committee in front of the meeting of the general assembly.

APPENDIX II

ZIONIST SOCIETIES BY THE SECOND ZIONIST CONGRESS

AS TAKEN FROM

JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA

Country	New	Old	Total
Russia	350	023	373
Austria	176	042	218
Hungary	032	228	260
Rumania	100	027	127
England	012	014	026
Germany	025	000	025
Italy	012	009	021
Bulgaria	015	001	016
Switzerland	006	000	006
France	003	000	003
Belgium	002	000	002
Turkey	002	000	002
Denmark	001	000	001
Servia	001	000	001
Greece	001	000	001
Egypt	002	000	002
The Transvaal	006	000	006
America	050	010	060

¹Jewish Encyclopedia, 1905 ed., Vol. XII (New York: Funk and Wagnalls), p. 676.

APPENDIX III

STATUTE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AS ADOPTED

BY THE TWELFTH ZIONIST CONGRESS - 1921.

As adopted in its revised version by the 12th Congress and on the basis of the Congress decision authorizing the Executive Committee to make stylistic changes and corrections.

1. Zionism strives after the creation of a homeland (Heimstette) for the Jewish people in Palestine, guaranteed by public law.
2. The Zionist Organization comprises all those Jews who recognize the Zionist program and pay the fees (Schekel).

I. Organization:

A. General Regulations:

3. Sec. 1- The Organization is constituted of Home associations (units) and Task units. Members of a Task unit can also belong to the local home units. However, they have to pay the fees once only.

Sec. 2- In each country the Home association can unite with the local groups of the Task units to form a study group for solving certain common problems. This applies also to the local groups of the task units among themselves.

Sec. 3- The formation of more than one home association in one country is to be allowed only as an exception in certain limited areas, and only with the permission of the Executive upon hearing the local governing body of the home association in question.

4. Admission of a smaller association (a group of Fee-payers!) to the Home association is subject to the approval of the governing body. In case that approval is denied, the association in question has the right to bring the matter before the Executive, which takes a final decision after hearing the governing body of the home association.
5. Members of the Organization living in one area or in more neighboring areas should join together in groups of fee-payers.
6. The whole management of the Organization is in the hands of the congress (Section D), the Central Committee (Section E), the Action-committee (Section F) and the Executive (Section G).
7. Sec. 1- Directions (Orders) issued by a higher body (Be it the Executive, the local governing body, or the directory of an association) within its own jurisdiction, are binding for all the organs falling under its domain.

Sec. 2- The organs of the movement are responsible for the activities of their functionaries (officials) within their sphere of action.

8. Insofar as there are laws in one country that run counter to the organization intended by these statutes, the Executive is authorized, by means of proposals submitted by the executive committee and upon the approval of the central committee, to make provisional exceptions to such a statute. In urgent cases the Executive can allow such measures pending upon approval by the central committee.

B. National Units ("Home Associations"(units))

9. All fee-payers belonging to the same home association are to elect a standing committee of delegates to meet at least every other year according to the home statutes.
10. The standing committee of delegates has the duty of consolidating the home statutes and

administering the Home association according to the statute of the Organization and that of the Home association, and of electing an executive committee to deal with the business of that home association.

C. Task units

11. Sec. 1- Every 20,000 Fee-payers holding special views within the Zionist Organization can form a task unit upon the approval of the action-committee.

Sec. 2- The Action committee has to examine the Regularity (orderliness) of this formation during the 2nd meeting by the very latest, after the written proposal has been submitted.

12. Against the decision of the Action committee appeal to the central committee is in order. Whereby the latter takes a final decision on the proposal.

13. If the number of those Fee-payers belonging to a task unit goes down to less than 10,000, the congress, i.e. the central committee (with 2/3 majority) can declare the task unit as dissolved.

14. Regulations concerning Home associations and their executive committees apply to task units accordingly.

D. The Congress

15. The congress is the highest legislative (law-making) body of the Zionist Organization.

16. The Regular Zionist Congress meets at least every other year at a place and time assigned by the action committee. The convening is called for by the Executive.

17. The tasks of the congress are specifically:

a) Acceptance and Examination of the report of the Executive concerning its proper

activity and the activity of all zionist institutions.

- b) Statement of the working-program and the Budget for the next administrative period on the basis of motivated (justified) bills.
 - c) Acceptance of and Deliberation over the proposals of the Executive, the action-committee, the central-committee and the delegates, as well as taking decisions concerning such proposals;
 - d) Acceptance of and Deliberation over the interpellations of Delegates.
 - e) Elections
18. Elections held by a congress (with the exception of those elections for the time of the congress) retain their validity till the end of the succeeding official congress, insofar as the congress or this statute does not state explicitly something to the contrary.
19. The affairs of the congress are to be conducted according to standing orders determined by the congress.
20. Besides elected Delegates, members of the action-committee (Sec. 46) have the right to participate in the congress. They enjoy the full rights of delegates.
21. Sec. 1- An extraordinary congress can be convened any time by the Executive, by the action-committee, or by the central committee. It includes those delegates already elected by the last official congress and those persons, mentioned under Sec. 20., who happens to be in office during the period of the Extraordinary congress.
- Sec. 2- The agenda of the extraordinary congress is to be determined by:
- a) the decision of the convening body
 - b) proposals submitted by 1/5 of the members participating in this session of the convening body.

c) the proposal of the Executive in this meeting.

Sec. 3- The Extraordinary congress can change this agenda.

22. The proceeding of an extraordinary congress are subject to the same regulations as in the case of an ordinary congress.
23. Every member of the organisation obtains active right to vote at the age of 18 and ^{be} elected to the congress when reaching the age of 24.
24. Local governing bodies and Directories of units must undertake measures to prevent repeated exercise of right to vote by the same voter.
25. Sec . 1- Every home associations elects a delegate [in view of the stipulation under article 26] for each 2000 schekels according to the election regulations during the congress year. A surplus of 1000 schekel over 2000, 4000, 6000 etc. schekels qualifies for the election of one further delegate.
- Sec . 2 - Home Associations extending to one or more countries and paying at least 1000 schekel, have the right to elect a delegate, although they have not reached the number of 2000 schekels.
- Sec. 3 - Home Associations, who have not attained the number of 1000 schekels, as well as unions and groups of unions (schekel paying groups) in countries where there is no home association, can unite together in order to reach the required number and so as to form an electoral group that could participate in the elections. The number of their delegates as determined by Sec.1, and 2 respectively. Such an agreement should be reported to the Executive by the time assigned is the electoral rules. In case such agreements fail to take place on time, the Executive will undertake the formation of such electoral groups.
- Sec. 4- The Home association in Palestine has the right to elect one delegate in returns for every completed 1000 schekels.

Sec. 5- The Task Unit or associations has the right to decide upon agreement with separate Home associations, for its schekel payers living in the area of these home associations, to vote together with the home association and not within the task association.

Sec.6- The task associations elect in every country, according to the same procedure as the Home associations in that country.

26. Sec. 1- The Central Committee, eventually the actions committee, has the right to change the numbers of 2000 and 1000 schekels determined by the previous sec.25 in a valid manner for the succeeding congress, if the Executive recommends such a change, and in order that the number of delegates should not exceed 400 or be less than 250

Sec. 2- The numbers mentioned in sec. 25 cannot be increased for the 1st 10,000 schekel payers in every home association as well as in every home group of a task association.

27. Sec. 1- Elections of the delegates to the Congress is directly and by secret ballot.

Sec. 2- Every Elector has one vote.

27. Sec. 1- Other electoral modalities, such as the deadline for paying those necessary schekels required for calculating the number of delegates, are to be stipulated in election regulations.

Sec. 2- Regulations for Election must provide for rules to guarantee the representation of minorities.

Sec. 3- Regulations for Election are to be prepared by the Executive and approved by the Central Committee.

Sec. 4- The Executive determines the deadline for elections.

29. Governing bodies of Home and local associations have the right to annul an undertaken election for the time being, by means of a written protest, and to arrange for new elections.

30. Legality of congress elections is to be determined conclusively by the Congress Court. The Court must convey its decision to the Congress in the 2nd session by the latest. No debate and no passing of a resolution are to follow.
31. The mandate of each delegate is for the period of the convening congress to which he has been elected, and extends till the elections for the new succeeding congress, within the home or task association. It expires at the latest when the newly elected congress meets.
32. Sec. 1- Every delegate has a vote in the congress.
Sec. 2- Delegates are not bound by orders and instructions.
33. Mandates of delegates are not transferable.
34. Simultaneously with the election of delegates substitute delegates are to be elected in case the former are hindered.
35. The agenda of every congress must be published, at the latest 3 weeks before the beginning of that congress.
36. The Election of the Congress-Presidium by the congress takes place upon the suggestion of the Actions-Committee.

E. Central Committee

37. Sec. 1- A central committee is to be formed for deliberation over and making decisions on important matters in the Zionist Organization during the time intervening between 2 congresses.
Sec. 2- It has the same tasks as those of the Congress. In addition to that it must also deal with business especially transmitted by this statute and by the congress.
Sec. 3- The Central Committee has no right to change the statute of the organization or decisions made by the congress, nor to elect any of the

following: Actions-Committee, the Executive, the Financial and Economic Councils (Boards).

Sec. 4- However the Central Committee has the right by a 2/3 majority of the present members to dissolve the Executive, the financial and economic councils (Boards) respectively. The Executive can call for an extraordinary congress against such a decision, and that congress must meet within 2 months from the end of the Central Committee meeting, at a place and time to be determined by the Central Committee. The Executive must announce publicly its decision to call for an extraordinary congress till the last session of the Central Committee. In case this is not done, the Central Committee conducts substitute elections for the dismissed members.

Sec. 5- The Central Committee can also conduct substitute elections for the posts of withdrawn members of the Executive. Otherwise it becomes its duty to ascertain those elections undertaken by the Action Committee.

38. The Central Committee is composed of:
- a) Members of the Actions-Committee, insofar these do not belong to the Executive (Sec. 53 and Sec. 55, Sec. 4)
 - b) The president of the last Congress.
 - c) A representative from each of the Directory of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Keren Kajemeth Leisrael (Jewish National Fund) and the Keren Hajessod;
 - d) The Chairman (President) of the Congress Court, the Court of Honour and the congress lawyer.
 - e) Representatives of the Home and Task Associations.
39. Home and Task Associations must report the results of their election to the Executive within 3 months after the end of the congress, as well as any changes or summons.

40. Sec. 1- Every Home and every Task Association has the right to send a representative against every 10,000 schekels, and in case of a surplus of 5000 schekels over 10,000, 20,000 etc. another additional representative to the Central Committee.

Sec. 2- A home association extending over the area of one or more countries and paying at least 1500 schekels has the right to send a delegate or representative, even though the member of 10,000 schekels is not reached.

Sec. 3- Home associations failing to reach the number of 1500 schekels can join with other similar associations, in the same situation, for the purpose of attaining this number and sending a common representative.

41. Sec. 1- Decisive for determining the number of delegates (representatives) from each Home or task association in the central committee is the number of schekels collected during the last closed "schekel-year" (Congress year) from each association and paid off to the Executive.

Sec. 2- A schekel-year is considered closed with the expiration of the deadline fixed by the Electoral Regulation.

42. Sec. 1- The manner of election (is left for) the Home and Task associations. These must include the necessary regulations in their association's statute.

Sec. 2- Together with the elections of a representative his substitutes should be elected in case of his continuing encumbrance.

Sec. 3- Every member has a vote in the Central Committee.

43. Sec. 1- The Central Committee is convened by the Executive.

Sec. 2- The Central Committee must, upon a written petition from one third of its members, be convened by the Executive within one month and before the deadline of 2 more months at the most.

44. During the year when no congress is held the Central Committee meets for the purpose of consultation and decision-making over the budget, as well as that of receiving the report of the Executive (Annual Conference).
45. Sec. 1- The standing orders of the Central Committee, which have to be approved by the congress, has to contain regulations concerning the convening, competence to pass resolutions and the specific proceedings of the Central Committee.
- Sec. 2- Otherwise the standing orders of the congress are accordingly applicable to the proceedings of the Central Committee.

F. Action-Committee

46. Sec. 1- The Action-Committee is composed of:

- a) Members of the Executive
- b) Those 3 members of the financial and economic board as mentioned under Sec. 55. Sec. 4.
- c) A representative from the Directory of each of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kaymeth) and the Keren Hayessod.
- d) 25 members elected by the congress

Sec. 2 - Only the 25 members mentioned under

- a) Have a right to vote in the action-Committee.

Sec. 3- Substitutes are to be elected by the congress for those elected members of the A.C. residing in over sea countries and in Palestine, in case these latter are hindered from attending the meeting in question.

Sec. 4- A substitutes for each of the remaining members must be elected by the congress, in case of continuous hindrance.

Sec. 5- Representation of A.C. members by substitutes (Sec.3) is inadmissible in the congress (Sec.20).

47. Sec. 1- The Action Committee has to meet once every three months at least.

Sec. 2- The Executive has to see to it that regular convening takes place.

Sec. 3- Upon written petition signed by 8 of its elected members of the A.C. must be called to meet within 2 weeks and within an extension of 4 more weeks at the most.

48. The Action Committee elects its own chair. This chair has the right to convene the A.C. at any time.

49. Sec. 1- The Action Committee serves in the capacity of consultation and control in the carrying out of all business acted upon by the congress or the Central Committee, as well as the supervision of all Zionist institutes.

Sec. 2- It is the task of the Action-Committee, to make particular decisions within the Budget determined by the congress or the Central Committee.

Sec. 3- When unexpected circumstances call for it, the Action-Committee can with a 2/3 majority undertake modifications in the determined budget.

Sec. 4- The Central Committee has the right to make decisions on urgent and important matters of the Zionist Organization, insofar as these do not contradict those decisions of the congress or the Central Committee.

50. For the decision making capacity of the Action-Committee the presence of at least 13 elected members is required.

51. The Action-Committee is accountable to the congress and the Central Committee.

52. Members of the Action-Committee are entitled to a compensation for those expenses arising from their participation in the meetings.

G. Executive

53. Sec. 1- The Executive has the task of directing the Zionist Organization, implementing the decisions of the Congress, the Central-Committee and the Action-Committee, as well as dispensing with current business.

Sec. 2- It is composed of 9 - 15 members, a part of whom should be residing in Palestine, whereas the other part outside Palestine, but in one area.

Sec. 3- The Election of the Executive is by the congress upon proposal of the permanent committee, which has to hear petitions of the Palestine Zionist before.

Sec. 4- The congress can elect, in a special electoral motion, a president for the organization and a president for the Executive.

Sec. 5- The seat (residence) of the Executive is to be determined by the Congress simultaneously with the election of that Executive.

Sec. 6- The action committee elects new members to replace those withdrawing from the Executive. These substitute Elections are to be submitted afterwards to the Central Committee for confirmation.

54. Members of the Executive residing in Palestine are to represent the Zionist Organization in Palestine and to administer the business of the organization overthere.

55. Sec. 1- The Congress elects a 5-7 members "financial and economic board" of the Zionist Organization.

Sec. 2- This financial and economic board has to examine questions of an economic and financial nature, work out plans in that field and submit them to the Executive for its decision. All matters pertaining to this field must be handed over by the Executive to the "Financial and Economic Board for examination and treatment.

Sec. 3- The financial and economic board has to initiate the implementation of decisions by means of the respective organs of the Zionists Organization.

Sec. 4- 3 members of this board, appointed by the congress, have seat and vote in the Executive in all matters pertaining to the competence of the board. These members have the same rights as those of the Executive, in both the Actions-Committee and the Central Committee.

Sec. 5- The same regulations of the statute apply to the question of recalling or substituting members of the financial and economic board, as in the case of the Executive.

Sec. 6- In urgent cases, however, the Executive can conduct substitute elections for the withdrawing members of the financial and economic board, pending upon later confirmation by the Actions Committee and the Central Committee.

56. Both the Executive and Financial and Economic board are responsible before the Action-Committee, the Central-Committee and the congress.

57. In organizational questions, insofar this statute does not state otherwise, it is admissable to complain to the Actions Committee against the decisions of the Executive.

58. Sec. 1- The Executive has the right, with the approval of the Action-Committee, and is dependently of the home and task associations, to make arrangements concerning the collections of schekels and securing other business of the organization and of propaganda as these are assigned by the Actions-Committee.

Sec. 2- This decision of the Actions-Committee must be made by a 2/3 majority.

H. Minutes

59. Minutes are to be taken on the meetings of the Congresses, the Central Committee, the Action-Committee and the Executive according to the particular regulations of these bodies.

60. Sec. 1- The minutes of the congress are to be published, insofar as the congress does not decide anything to the contrary.

Sec. 2- Publication of the minutes of the meetings of the Central-Committee, the Action-Committee and the Executive is to take place to the extent set by those bodies; in case of absence of directions, the Executive decides the extent to which such a publications can be undertaken.

II. Period of Administration:

61. The period of administration (annual report of accounts) extends from July 1st to the 30th of June in the following year.

62. Book-keeping of the Executive must be concluded by the 30th of June every year. Records and documents must be submitted annually to the inspectors for scrutiny, before the meeting of the congress (i.e. the Central Committee).

III. Revenues of the Organization:

63. Revenues of the Zionist Organization consist of the shekel, as well as contributions and donations of all sorts.

64. Sec. 1- The shekel (with reservation to the regulations under sec. 58) is that annual contribution of the members collected by the Home and Task Associations so as to cover the current expenses of the Zionist Organization at large; it must be collected by these associations at regular intervals determined by the Executive and handed over to the Executive without any deductions

Sec. 2- Only those schekel receipts issued by the Executive or its authorized bodies are valid.

65. Sec. 1- The annual schekel to be exacted from every Zionist amounts to at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ shillings or the equivalent in another currency. The Actions-Committee determines afterwards the exact sum of schekels in the particular countries. Within the area of a certain currency the schekel rate (price) must be maintained uniformly.

Sec. 2- The Actions-Committee has the right, under consideration of the economic situation of individual countries, to set this sum lower in exceptional cases for certain currency areas.

Sec. 3- In Palestine the schekel amounts to one shilling.

66. Sec. 1- In order to cover a certain estimated or actually arising deficit the congress as well as the Central Committee can exact from the entire home and task associations extra sums, according to the number of members belonging to each association. These Extra sums must be handed over to the Executive without any deductions.

Sec. 2- Every association decides independently concerning the kind of coverage for its demanded extra sum (with reservation to the regulations under sec. 54).

IV. Inspectors:

67. The congress elects 2 inspectors and their representatives for the purpose of checking the orderlines (regularity) of book-keeping and accounts (cash-books) of the Executive.

68. Sec. 1- The Inspectors must submit a written report either to the congress, the Central Committee, or to a Financial Committee elected by the congress or the Central Committee.

Sec. 2- They are authorized, if the need arises, to seek the help of an official (public) accountant.

69. Inspectors and their representatives cannot be members of the Actions-Committee.

V. Congress Court and Court of Honour:

A. Congress Court

A Congress Court is to be formed by the congress:

70. In order to arbitrate and settle points of controversy between the Zionist bodies, as well as between representatives of such bodies in their capacity as member of the Zionist Organization or such differences between Organizations and member, as well to scrutinize and pass judgment on the regularity of congress elections.
71. In order to maintain and preserve the interests of the Zionist Organization at congress courts, a congress lawyer is to be elected by the congress from among the members of the Zionist Organization, and a representative in case of hindrance.
72. Proceedings before the congress court are only admissible when the successive appeal to the regulations of the Home or Association statute has been exhausted.
73. Before the decision the congress lawyer has to submit a written expert opinion upon demand from one party or from the congress court.
74. Sec. 1- The congress court takes a final decision on cases submitted to it.
- Sec. 2- The decision is to be communicated to the parties concerned in written form.
- Sec. 3- The proceedings before the congress court must provide the parties with the possibility of representation and, upon the petition of one party, the possibility of oral hearings and trial.
75. Sec. 1- The congress elects a president for the congress-court and eight assessors.

Sec. 2- The congress court convenes regularly in the presence of three members (a president and two assessors), and in matters pertaining to scrutiny of elections in the presence of five members (a president and four assessors).

76. The congress court has to work out standing orders, which need to be approved by the Central Committee.

B. Court of Honour

77. Sec. 1- The court of honour is composed of seven members. The president and the assessors are to be elected by Congress. It convenes in the presence of three members (a president and two assessors).

Sec. 2- The specific regulations concerning the Court of Honour are to be determined by a special statute, which needs to be approved by the Central Committee.

Sec. 3- Proceedings before the Court of Honour are, as a rule, to succeed those proceedings of those substances appertaining to the regulations in the statutes of Home or Task associations.

VI. Statute alteration

78. Sec. 1- Amendment of this statute can only be decided by congress.

Sec. 2- Sec. 1 and Sec. 78 can only be amended in such a way that in 2 successive official congresses the alteration be decided by 3/4 majority of those members attending the congress.

VII. Final Stipulation

79. This statute comes into force immediately after its adoption. On the same day the organization statute adopted by the 10th Zionist Congress is rescinded (annulled).

APPENDIX IV ¹

Agreement embodying the Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine signed at Zurich, the Eighth Day of Ab, 5689, corresponding to the Fourteenth Day of August, 1929.

Whereas on November 2nd, 1917, the following declaration, commonly known as the Balfour Declaration, was made by His Britannic Majesty's Government:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country";

And

Whereas the Mandate for Palestine, as confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24th, 1922, entrusts the administration of Palestine to His Britannic Majesty as Mandatory, and makes the Mandatory responsible for putting into effect the declaration of November 2nd, 1917, recognition being given in the Mandate to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine; and

Whereas Article 4 of the Mandate makes provision for the recognition of an appropriate Jewish Agency as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating

¹The Jewish Agency for Palestine, Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine (London: The Office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1929).

with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country, and designates the Zionist Organisation as such Agency, with directions to take steps, in consultation with the Mandatory Power, to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home: and

Whereas, with a view to securing such co-operation, the Zionist Organisation has proposed the establishment of an enlarged Jewish Agency, in which adequate representation shall be given to non-Zionists to enable them, jointly with the Zionist Organisation, to participate in the privileges and responsibilities of the Jewish Agency, and

Whereas the undersigned representatives respectively of the Zionist Organisation and of bodies of Jews in various countries not affiliated with the Zionist Organisation and desirous of participating in the Jewish Agency, have met together for the purpose of framing a Constitution for the enlarged Agency;

IT IS HEREBY AGREED AS FOLLOWS :-

Definitions.

1. For the purposes of this Agreement:-

"The Mandate" means the Mandate for Palestine as accepted by His Britannic Majesty and confirmed by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24th, 1922.

"The Agency" means the enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine as constituted by this Agreement.

"Zionist" means a person associated with the Agency in the capacity of a member and representative of the Zionist Organisation.

"Non-Zionist" means a person associated with the Agency otherwise than in the capacity of a member and representative of the Zionist Organisation.

The adjectives "Zionist" and "non-Zionist" have the corresponding connotations.

Title of the Agency.

2. The Agency shall be known and described as the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Object of the Agency.

3. The object of the Agency shall be "to discharge the functions of the Jewish Agency as set forth in the Mandate," it being understood that the Agency shall deal with the matters within its scope in such manner as shall conduce to the realisation of the following aims, namely:
 - (a) Jewish immigration is to be encouraged and furthered to the fullest extent practicable, it being recognised that immigrant workers, as well as immigrants of independent means, shall be accorded favourable consideration.
 - (b) The activities of the Jewish Agency shall include within their scope provision for meeting Jewish religious needs, it being clearly understood that individual freedom of conscience shall remain safeguarded and assured.
 - (c) The Hebrew language and Jewish culture are to be fostered.
 - (d) Land is to be acquired as Jewish property, and, subject to the provisions of Article 10 of this Agreement, the title to the lands acquired is to be taken in the name of the Jewish National Fund, to the end that the same shall be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people.
 - (e) The Agency shall promote agricultural colonisation based on Jewish labour, and in all works of under takings carried out or furthered by the Agency, it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed. So long as the requirements of economic efficiency are fulfilled, the social form of any settlement which may be established in Palestine shall be deemed to be a matter for the settlers, provided always that it shall be left to the judgment of the Jewish Agency to determine the economic soundness and practicability of any proposed plan of colonisation before appropriating any of the funds within its control for any particular settlement.

4. (1) The organs of the Agency shall be
 - (a) The Council;
 - (b) The Administrative Committee;
 - (c) The Executive.
- (2) There shall be a President of the Agency, who unless otherwise decided by an affirmative vote of three-fourths of the membership of the Council as constituted at the time, shall be the President for the time being of the Zionist Organisation.
5. (1) The Council shall be the supreme governing body of the Agency. It shall be the final authority in all matters within the jurisdiction of the Agency, and, subject always to the provisions of Article 3, shall lay down the guiding principles of policy.
- (2) The Council shall be composed as to one-half of representatives of the Zionist Organisation, and as to the other half of representatives of the non-Zionists of various countries according to the allotment shown in the Schedule to this Agreement, subject to any modification of such Schedule which may from time to time be made by a vote of not less than two-thirds of the entire membership of the Council as constituted at the time. The Zionist Organization shall at all times be entitled to the same number of seats as are reserved, in accordance with the Schedule or any modification thereof by the Council, for the non-Zionists actually entitled to representation on the Council at the time.
- (3) The Zionist Organisation shall appoint its representatives in accordance with its own constitutional practice. The non-Zionists of various countries entitled to representation on the Council shall appoint their representatives in such manner as may appear in each case to be best suited to local conditions; provided that it shall be recognised as a guiding principle that the method of appointment shall, so far as practicable, be of a democratic character. The members of the Council shall be appointed prior to every ordinary meeting of the Council.

- (4) If the seat of a member of the Council shall fall vacant otherwise than by reason of the expiry of his term of office, the vacancy shall be filled as follows:
 - (a) If the body which appointed the member whose seat has fallen vacant shall have so decided, the vacancy shall be filled by the person first on the list of the deputy-members appointed by such body as provided in Article 8.
 - (b) In the absence of any such decision, the body which appointed the member whose seat has fallen vacant shall be entitled to make a fresh appointment.
- (5) The Board of Directors of the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund (Keren Keyemeth Leyisrael), and the governing bodies of such other organisations as the Council may hereafter determine, shall each be invited to send a representative to attend meetings of the Council, but such representatives shall have no vote.
- (6) Ordinary meetings of the Council shall be convened by the Executive once in two years. At every ordinary meeting the Executive shall report fully on all the activities of the Agency and on conditions in Palestine. The Executive shall also submit a detailed statement of the financial position of the Agency, supported by an audited balance-sheet and statement of accounts. The business of the meeting shall include the consideration of such report, balance-sheet and accounts, and the adoption of a budget for such period as the Council may determine.
- (7) In case of emergency, the Executive, with the approval of the Administrative Committee, may at any time convene an extraordinary meeting of the Council, and shall convene such a meeting if so directed by the Administrative Committee. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may also be convened by the President of the Agency in the circumstances mentioned in Article 12 (4).

- (8) The Council shall appoint a Chairman or Joint-Chairman, and may appoint an Associate Chairman and one or more Vice-Chairmen.
- (9) The person occupying the _____ at any meeting of the Council shall not thereby lose any voting-rights he may possess as a member of the Council, but he shall have no additional or casting vote in the event of an equality of votes.
6. (1) The Administrative Committee shall consist of forty members, of whom twenty shall be appointed by the Zionist members of the Council from among their own number, and twenty shall be appointed by the non-Zionist members of the Council from among their own number it being understood that the Committee shall be regarded as forming a single whole with a collective responsibility to the Council. The members of the Executive shall be entitled to attend meetings of the Administrative Committee, but shall have no vote.
- (2) The members of the Administrative Committee shall hold office from one ordinary meeting of the Council of the next. Any vacancies occurring between two ordinary meetings of the Council shall be filled as follows:
- (a) If the vacancy be among the Zionist members of the Administrative Committee, it shall be filled by the Zionist Organisation.
- (b) If the vacancy be among the non-Zionist members of the Administrative Committee, it shall be filled in such manner as may be determined by the remaining non-Zionist members of the Administrative Committee.
- (3) The Board of Directors of the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund (Keren Keyemeth Leyisrael) and the governing bodies of such other organisations as the Council may hereafter determine, shall each be invited to send a representative to attend meetings of the Administrative Committee, but such representatives shall have no vote.

- (4) The Administrative Committee shall appoint a Chairman and may appoint an Associate-Chairman. It shall also have the power to set up such sub-committees and advisory committees as it may from time to time deem desirable.
- (5) The Administrative Committee shall meet from time to time in the interval between meetings of the Council for the purpose of receiving and considering reports from the Executive, and, during such interval, deciding questions of policy and exercising general authority and supervision over the activities of the Agency and the conduct of its affairs. Whenever action shall have been taken by the Council, the same shall be binding on the Administrative Committee except that
 - (1.) The Council may confer upon the Committee such discretionary powers as it may think fit;
 - (ii.) The Council shall be deemed to have conferred upon the Committee authority to vary or depart from a decision of the Council if the following conditions are satisfied;
 - (a) A proposal to vary or depart from a decision of the Council shall not be considered by the Administrative Committee unless the Committee shall first have decided by a vote of three-fourths of the members voting that unforeseen circumstances have made it impossible or undesirable to give effect to such decision.
 - (b) Any such proposal shall likewise require to be carried in the Administrative Committee by a vote of three-fourths of the members voting.
- (6) So far as circumstances permit, the Administrative Committee shall meet once in six months. The time and place of its meetings shall be fixed by its Chairman, in consultation with the President of the Agency. The Chairman, with the concurrence of the President of the Agency may at any time convene

an extraordinary meeting of the Committee, and shall convene such a meeting if so requested by the President of the Agency or by not less than one-third of the members of the Administrative Committee.

7. (1) The Executive shall be charged with the conduct of the current business of the Agency, in accordance with the Constitution of the Agency and with such directions as may from time to time be given by the Council or by the Administrative Committee in the exercise of their respective constitutional powers.
- (2) Unless and until otherwise determined by a majority both of the Zionist and of the non-Zionist members of the Council, the Executive shall be appointed as follows:
- (a) Subject to the provisions of sub-paragraph
 - (b) the Council shall, at every ordinary meeting, appoint an Executive to hold office until the next ordinary meeting of the Council. The Executive shall consist of such number of persons, being an even number, as shall be fixed by the Administrative Committee at a meeting to be held not more than six months before every ordinary meeting of the Council. Of the persons so appointed, one-half shall be persons nominated by the non-Zionist members of the Council, and the remainder shall be persons nominated by the Zionist Organisation; provided that if nominations up to the prescribed number shall not be made by the non-Zionist members of the Council, the Zionist Organisation shall be entitled to fill the seat or seats remaining vacant.
 - (c) For the period ending September 30th, 1930 the Executive shall consist of twelve persons, of whom eight shall be persons nominated by the Zionist Organisation and four shall be persons nominated by the non-Zionist members of the Council. From October 1st, 1930, until the first ordinary meeting of the Council after that date the Executive shall consist of eight members, of whom four shall

be persons nominated by the Zionist Organisation, and four shall be persons nominated by the non-Zionist members of the Council. Until October 1st, 1930, and thereafter until the first ordinary meeting of the Council after that date, the non-Zionist members of the Council shall be deemed to have delegated their right of nomination to the non-Zionist members of the Administrative Committee, and the persons nominated as members of the Executive, up to the prescribed number by the non-Zionist members of the Administrative Committee shall be deemed to have been duly appointed by the Council; provided that if nominations up to the prescribed number shall not have been made by the non-Zionist members of the Administrative Committee within six months of the date of this Agreement, or within six months of October 1st, 1930, as the case may be, the Zionist Organisation shall be entitled to fill the seat or seats remaining vacant.

- (3) Vacancies in the Executive occurring otherwise than by reason of the retirement of members on the expiry of their term of office, shall be filled by the Administrative Committee in such manner that a nominee of the Zionist Organisation shall be replaced by a nominee of the Zionist Organisation, and a nominee of the non-Zionist members of the Council shall be replaced by a nominee of the non-Zionist members of the Administrative Committee.

The Executive

- (4) The Executive shall be regarded as forming a single whole with a collective responsibility.
- (5) The Executive Offices of the Agency shall be in Jerusalem. An Office of the Agency shall be maintained in London under the direction of the President of the Agency, in conjunction with such members of the Executive as may be designated by the Council in consultation with the President and shall be specially charged with the conduct of business between the Mandatory Power and the Agency.

- (6) The Executive, while ordinarily meeting in Jerusalem or in London as the case may be, shall be at liberty in exceptional circumstances, to meet at any other place which may be preferred by a majority of the members of the Executive.

Representation of Absent Members

8. (1) For every member either of the Zionist or of the non-Zionist section of the Council or the Administrative Committee, the body appointing such member shall be entitled to appoint not more than three deputy-members, who shall hold office for the same term as though they were members.
- (2) Any member who shall not be personally present at a meeting of the Council or of the Administrative Committee, as the case may be, shall be entitled to be represented by any person, whether resident in the same country or not, whose name is included in the list of deputy-members. If he resides in another Continent from that in which the meeting is held, he shall, as an alternative to being represented by a deputy-member, be entitled at his own option to give authority in writing to any other member of the Council or of the Administrative Committee, as the case may be, to vote on his behalf; provided that no one person, whether attending as a member or as a deputy-member, shall be entitled to cast more than four votes in all, including his own, at a meeting of the Council, or more than two votes in all, including his own, at a meeting of the Administrative Committee. For the purposes of this paragraph, Palestine shall be regarded as part of Europe.

Erez Israel (Palestine) Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod).

9. (1) Unless and until otherwise determined by the Council, the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod) shall be the main financial instrument of the Agency for the purpose of covering its budget.

- (2) The Zionist Organisation undertakes, as from the coming into force of this Agreement, that
- (i) The power of appointing the Directors of the Palestine Foundation Fund conferred upon the Executive of the Zionist Organisation by the Articles of Association of the Erez Israel (Palestine) Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesod), Limited, shall be exercised in such manner as the Council of the Agency may direct, provided that the Zionist and non-Zionist members of the Council respectively shall be entitled to nominate one-half of the persons to be appointed by the Executive of the Zionist Organisation as herein provided.
 - (ii) The Board of Directors shall place the whole of the nett proceeds of the Fund at the disposal of the Agency, which shall, on its part, include in its budget due provision for the discharge of liabilities existing at the date of the coming into force of this Agreement.
10. (1) Nothing in this Agreement shall affect the organisation or status of the Jewish National Fund (Keren Keyemeth Leyisrael), its relations with the Zionist Organisation, or its right to appeal to the Jewish public for financial support, after due consultation with the Agency.
- (2) Save as hereinafter specified, all lands acquired with funds derived from the Jewish Agency shall be put chased under the direction of the Jewish Agency through the medium of the Jewish National Fund (Keren Keyemeth Leyisrael), and the title to the lands so acquired shall be taken in the name of the Jewish National Fund, to the end that the same shall be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people; provided, however, that the terms and conditions upon which the property so held by the Jewish National Fund shall be used, occupied, leased or possessed by any person, association, or corporation shall be first approved and sanctioned by the Jewish Agency, and that any changes or modifications that may at any time be made with respect thereto shall

likewise have the approval and sanction of the Jewish Agency; and provided, further, that this shall not be deemed to be intended to discourage the purchase of lands with private funds, so long as such lands are not acquired for speculative purposes or in hostility to the plans of the Jewish National Fund or of the Jewish Agency, and that the latter shall, in the exercise of its discretion, be enabled to invest part of its funds in the purchase of shares, bonds, debentures, or other securities of any corporation now existing or hereafter organised in order to facilitate the purchase of lands in Palestine by private individuals; nor shall it be deemed to interfere with the carrying out of any policy that may be adopted by the Jewish Agency to aid those seeking to settle on the land with means of their own, in such manner and upon such conditions as shall not be inconsistent with the fundamental policy set forth herein.

Membership of the Agency

11. (1) In addition to the non-Zionists of various countries whose representatives are included among the signatories to this Agreement, representation in the Agency shall be open to bodies of Jews in other countries not affiliated with the Zionist Organisation, on their acceding to this Agreement through duly authorised representatives, and they shall thereupon become entitled to representation in the Council according to the allotment shown in the Schedule hereto, subject to any modification of such Schedule by the Council as provided in Article 5 (2).
- (2) At every meeting of the Council the credentials both of the Zionist and of the non-Zionist members shall be examined by a Credentials Committee, to be composed of Zionist and non-Zionist members of the Council in equal numbers. In the event of there being an equal division of votes in the Credentials Committee, the matter shall be decided by the Chairman of the Council.

Termination of the Agreement

12. (1) The enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine constituted by this Agreement may be dissolved by a vote of not less than two-thirds of the entire membership of the Council, as constituted at the time, at a meeting of the Council held after three months' written notice to the members that action is proposed to be taken at such meeting with respect to the dissolution of the enlarged Agency.
- (2) Any party to this Agreement, other than the Zionist Organisation, may give notice to the President of the Agency of its intention to withdraw from this Agreement, and such notice shall, unless cancelled, become operative as to such party at the end of one year from the date on which it was given, and such party shall thereupon cease to be entitled to representation on the Council.
- (3) If any of the parties referred to in the immediately preceding paragraph shall fail to be represented, either directly or as provided in Article 8, at two successive ordinary meetings of the Council, such party shall be deemed to have withdrawn from this Agreement, and to have ceased to be entitled to representation on the Council. The Council, or in the interval between meetings of the Council, the Administrative Committee, may, however, reinstate such party within one year from the date of the last ordinary meeting of the Council at which it was not represented.
- (4) In the event of the withdrawal, either as provided in paragraph (2) or in paragraph (3) of this Article, of parties to this Agreement entitled in the aggregate to not less than one-third of the total number of non-Zionist seats on the Council, as shown in the Schedule hereto, subject to any modification of such Schedule by the Council as provided in Article 5 (2), the Zionist Organisation may give notice of withdrawal in the manner and under the conditions prescribed in paragraph (2), and on such notice becoming operative, the enlarged Agency as constituted by

this Agreement shall be dissolved. Without prejudice to the right of the Zionist Organisation to withdraw as provided in this paragraph, it shall be the duty of the President of the Agency, before notice of withdrawal by the Zionist Organisation shall have become operative, to cause the matter to be brought before the Council, and if necessary to convene an extraordinary meeting of the Council for this purpose.

- (5) In the event that action shall be taken for the dissolution of the Agency under the provisions of this Article, the resolution or other action taken by the Council with respect thereto, together with a statement setting forth the vote taken thereon by the Council, shall be entered upon the proceedings of the Council, and a transcript thereof, certified to be correct by the President of the Agency, shall thereupon be delivered by him to the Secretary of the Zionist Organisation for transmission to the Government of the Mandatory Power.

Amendments

13. This Agreement, with the exception of Article 3 and Article 4 (2), may be amended at a meeting of the Council by a vote of not less than two-thirds of the entire membership of the Council as constituted at the time. Any amendment of Article 3 or of Article 4 (2) shall require a vote of not less than three-fourths of the entire membership of the Council as constituted at the time. No amendment shall be considered at a meeting of the Council unless the members of the Council have had not less than three months' written notice of such meeting and of the terms of the proposal amendment.

Regulations

14. The Administrative Committee shall have authority to make regulations not inconsistent with this Agreement relating to matters concerning the conduct of the business of the Agency, including:

- (i.) The period of notice required for meetings, including extraordinary meetings, of (a) the Council, (b) the Administrative Committee;
- (ii.) The quorum required for meetings of (a) the Council, (b) the Administrative Committee, and the rules of procedure governing such meetings;
- (iii.) The method of appointment, term of office, and functions of the Chairman or Joint-Chairman, the Associate-Chairman and the Vice-Chairman of the Council, and of the Chairman and the Associate-Chairman of the Administrative Committee, and the manner in which interim vacancies in these offices are to be filled.

Such regulations shall be laid before the meeting of the Council next following the meeting of the Administrative Committee at which they were made, and shall cease to have effect unless confirmed by the Council.

Coming into force of the Agreement

15. This Agreement shall come into force as from the date of signature. A copy shall be forthwith transmitted by the Zionist Organisation to the Government of the Mandatory Power, which shall be requested to recognise the enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine constituted by this Agreement as the Jewish Agency referred to in the Mandate, and shall also be requested to give an assurance that, in the event of the dissolution of the enlarged Agency as herein provided, the Zionist Organisation shall be deemed to have, for the purposes of Article 4 of the Mandate for Palestine, the same status in all respects as it had before the enlargement of the Jewish Agency.

SIGNED AT ZURICH-

The Eighth Day of Ab, 5689, corresponding
to The Fourteenth Day of August, 1929.

FOR THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION:

Chaim Weizmann
Nahum Sokolow.

FOR THE NON-ZIONISTS OF:

BULGARIA	Eli Sidi.
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	Joseph Popper.
EGYPT
ESTONIA	Zevi Essenstadt.
FRANCE	Robert Bellak.
GERMANY	O. Wassermann.
BRITISH EMPIRE	
GREAT BRITAIN	
NORTHERN IRELAND	
AND IRISH FREE STATE	O. E. D'Avigdov Goldsmid.
CANADA... ..	
SOUTH AFRICA	
GREECE	Leon Recanati.
HUNGARY	Ignaz Friedmann.
ITALY
LATVIA	O. Grusenberg.
LITHUANIA	G. Wolff.
PALESTINE	Josef Meyuckas.
POLAND	L. Ader.
... ..	Samuel Goldflam.
ROUMANIA... ..	J. Mucinic.
... ..	E. Bercevicici.
SWITZERLAND	J. Dreyfus-Brodsky.
... ..	Louis Marshall.
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA }	Felix Warburg.
... ..	Lee K. Franke.
YUGOSLAVIA	I. Alcalay.

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