

educator's

handbook

teaching and

programming

material

complementing the

exhibition

celebrating the

visionary of the

Jewish state on the

100th anniversary

of his passing

Herzl:

Up Close and Personal

in pursuit of the Zionist vision



Department for Zionist Activities
World Zionist Organization



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H Herzl - Up Close and Personal

Preface

Theodor Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl: visionary of the Jewish state, founder and leader of the institutions that brought it into being.

His life lasted a scant 44 years and he dedicated only the last nine of them to the Zionist cause. But in this brief and extraordinary span of less than a decade, he was able to mobilize the forces and craft the infrastructure that would revolutionize the Jewish world and bring about the realization of the Jewish people's age-old dream of returning to Zion.

Herzl was well aware of the profundity and immensity of the mission he so passionately embarked upon. Immediately following the first Zionist Congress in 1897, he declared in his diary:

In Basle I founded the Jewish state. If I were to say this out loud today, people would laugh. But perhaps in another five years, certainly in another 50, everyone will recognize it.

Half a century later, true to this prophecy, the State of Israel indeed came into being.

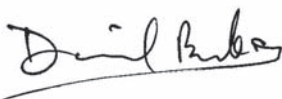
- Who was this man who so dared to dream?
- What were the circumstances in which he lived, and the influences on his life that brought him to the conclusion that the only answer to the Jewish question was a Jewish state?
- How was he able to convince others of the practicality of his implausible cause?
- What obstacles and disappointments would he face in his fervent struggle to secure a homeland for the Jewish people, and how would he persevere in spite of them?
- What, indeed, would a Jewish national home fashioned by Herzl look like - and how do contemporary realities measure up against his century-old blueprints?
- How do we understand the essence of Zionism today? In what ways does it continue to be relevant to our lives?
- How do we carry on meeting the challenges and fulfilling the promise of Herzl's vision?

Herzl: Up Close and Personal has been created to engage a new generation in an exploration of these questions. The introduction to this booklet states that its aim is "to involve participants in a dialogue between Jewish past and present." But that is only the beginning. Ultimately, what this dialogue is all about is preparing the participant to engage in forging the Jewish future in accordance with a vision fashioned by ideals, enriched by an understanding of history, tempered by a dosage of present-day practicality and driven by passion.

This is the challenge and this is the standard that Herzl established for those who are concerned about Jewish continuity. This is his legacy, and now it is ours to embrace. There is no better way to pay homage to the visionary of the Jewish state on the hundredth anniversary of his death than to make the Zionist cause that he galvanized our own.

We wish you a successful journey as you set out in pursuit of the Zionist vision. Echoing the words of Rabbi Nahman of Bratzlav, we are confident that wherever it leads you, it will bring you to the Land of Israel.

In trust that we shall indeed meet next year in Jerusalem,



Dr. David Breakstone

Head of the Department for Zionist Activities
World Zionist Organization

Theodor Herzl died in 1904 at the age of 44. During the eight years prior to his death, Herzl wrote his seminal ideological works *The Jewish State* and *Altneuland (Old-new Land)*, initiated the first Zionist Congress, founded the World Zionist Organisation and launched the Jewish national movement onto the world stage. His claim, made in an 1897 diary entry, that "at Basle I founded the Jewish State" was at once hyperbolic and prophetic. Had Herzl not existed, the State of Israel may still have come into being, but it would be hard to question his pivotal role in shaping modern Zionism.

Today's Jewish world looks very different to the one Herzl knew. The Jewish people at the end of the nineteenth century was situated overwhelmingly in Russia and eastern Europe. Millions of Jews faced oppression, poverty and periodic outbreaks of anti-Jewish rioting. Smaller Jewish communities in the West theoretically enjoyed equal rights but suffered from institutionalised discrimination and epidemic levels of assimilation. In the Islamic world - almost unknown to Herzl - Jews lived under varying degrees of tolerance and persecution. There was no State of Israel, and the Jewish world had yet to experience the horrors of the *Shoah* (Holocaust).

One hundred years later, the vast majority of Jews live in Israel or North America. Jews around the world - with a few exceptions - have achieved social and political equality and the opportunity of economic prosperity. Israel is a sovereign state with a Jewish majority. But while the problems may have changed, they have not gone away. Israel faces stark social, cultural and military challenges. Jews in the Diaspora live in the shadow of new varieties of antisemitism and with the challenge of maintaining a distinct identity in a cosmopolitan era.

The 100th anniversary of Herzl's premature death is an opportunity not only to look back and evaluate his achievements and those of the movement he founded, but to study and discuss the state of the Jewish people and Zionism in our own day.

Herzl - Up Close and Personal aims to involve participants in a dialogue between Jewish past and present. *The past* is represented by Herzl and the *fin-de-siecle* Jewish world. Participants will explore issues and dilemmas emerging from Herzl's life and writings and from the history and ideology of early Zionism. *The present* refers to the contemporary questions of identity, security and culture faced by Israel and Jews around the world.

This kind of dialogue begs the question of means and ends. Is our goal to learn about Herzl, up-to-date questions serving only as a trigger for discussion? Or is our real aim to discuss personally relevant issues of values and identity, the historical subject matter providing interesting study texts, but having no intrinsic importance?

In this case, both aims are valid. On one hand, this programme allows participants to acquire knowledge and engage with previously unfamiliar material. On the other, it enables them to ask and explore meaningful questions in a personal, open-ended way. Each of these learning styles strengthens and reinforces the other.

In one activity, for example, participants study Herzl's attitude to antisemitism, discussing their experience of the problem in light of his ideas. This process not only enriches the contemporary discussion, but encourages participants to engage with and evaluate Herzl's claims.

Herzl - Up Close and Personal invites participants to strengthen their connection with the Jewish past by hearing how it speaks to contemporary concerns. By putting personal and current questions in deeper historical perspective, participants will be able to sharpen their understanding of themselves, their communities, Israel and the Jewish world.

This learning process is based around five key themes:

- Growing Up Herzl: Jewish journeys, Jewish identity
- Transitions and Transformations: responding to antisemitism
- Blueprints for Utopia: the Jewishness of the Jewish State
- Willing Dreams into Being: translating Zionist visions into reality
- Reality Check: has Zionism achieved its goals?

The themes are dealt with in structured educational activities, each of which includes clear goals, instructions for the facilitator, learning activities, study texts and questions to guide discussion.

The Herzl - Up Close and Personal educational activities have been designed as a coherent whole in conjunction with the accompanying exhibition. The impact of the programme will be maximised by viewing the exhibition and participating in all five activities. However, the units are all self-contained and can be run independently. They do not assume prior knowledge on the part of the learners, but will be most meaningful for those who are familiar with and involved in Israel and Jewish communal affairs.



The activities in this pack are intended for those who are motivated to learn about and discuss issues of personal identity, Jewish peoplehood and Zionism. They are appropriate for adults of all ages. They are designed to be run by facilitators with skills and experience in teaching, group work, or informal education, and should be run in small groups of no more than twenty participants.

Jewish Journeys, Jewish Identity

Introduction

What shapes our identities as Jews? On one hand, being Jewish is a matter of choice in the modern world. Modern Jews are free to decide how and to what extent the fact of being Jewish influences their beliefs, practices and lifestyle. And yet being Jewish is not exclusively the product of autonomous decision-making. The decisions a person makes about his or her Jewish identity are shaped by upbringing, education, exigencies of social and professional life, and - all too frequently - experiences of hostility or even antisemitism. Although his life was historically - and perhaps geographically - removed from ours, Theodor Herzl's Jewish identity was shaped by many of the same factors that influence Jews today.

In this activity, participants trace out their own Jewish journeys, highlighting the experiences - both positive and negative - that have impacted on their Jewish identities and asking which of these experiences have strengthened or weakened their connection with Jewishness. By comparing their conclusions with some of the Jewishly meaningful experiences in Herzl's life, the participants will discuss experiences of antisemitism and other factors that may have made them feel uncomfortable or unwanted as Jews. At the same time, this exercise will highlight those events, incidents, and occasions that left them feeling proud and positive about their Jewishness. In this manner, participants will develop some insight into the social-psychological processes of identity formation, while grappling with a major issue which long occupied Herzl, and which remains as relevant today as it was then: the relationship of Diaspora Jews to their host societies.

Goals

- To explore the experiences that have shaped the participants' Jewish identities
- To investigate the tension between Jewish and non-Jewish ingredients of personal identity and to discuss possible ways of dealing with it
- To understand how Herzl's Jewish identity was shaped by his cultural milieu, including his experiences of antisemitism, and to enrich the participants' understanding of their own identities in this light

Unit outline

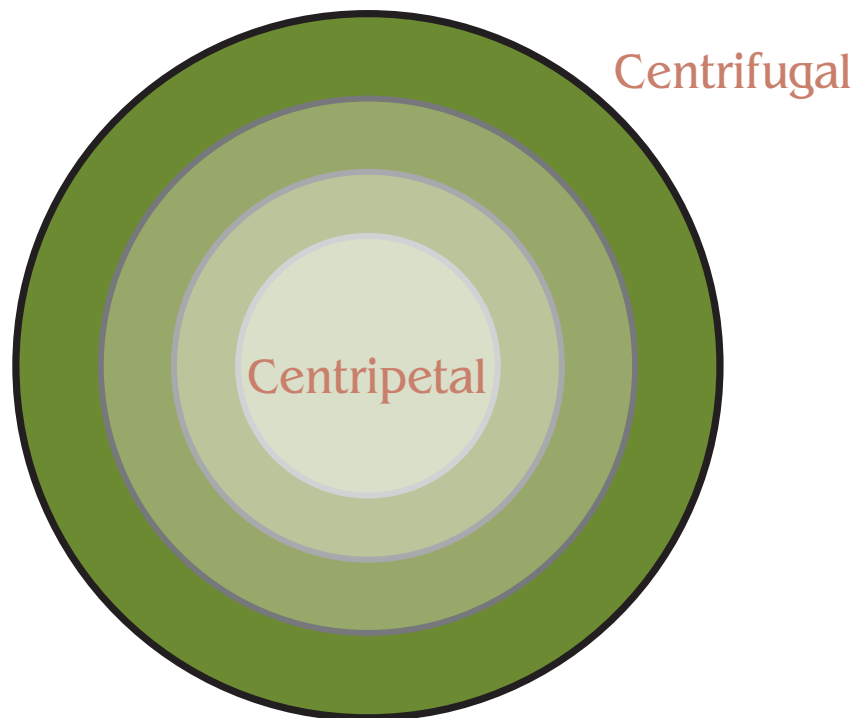
In this unit, the participants will:

- Write down and share the experiences that have shaped their Jewish identities,
- Study an article setting out a theory of Jewish identity formation,
- Analyse and discuss their Jewish experiences and identities in light of the theory,
- Learn about Herzl's "Jewish journey" by studying extracts from his diary.

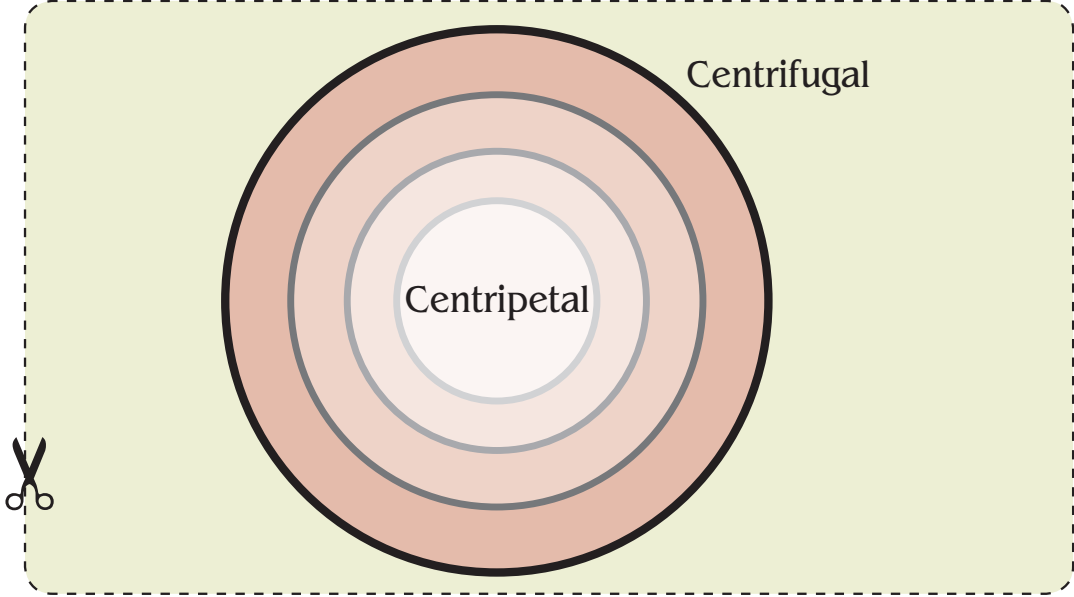
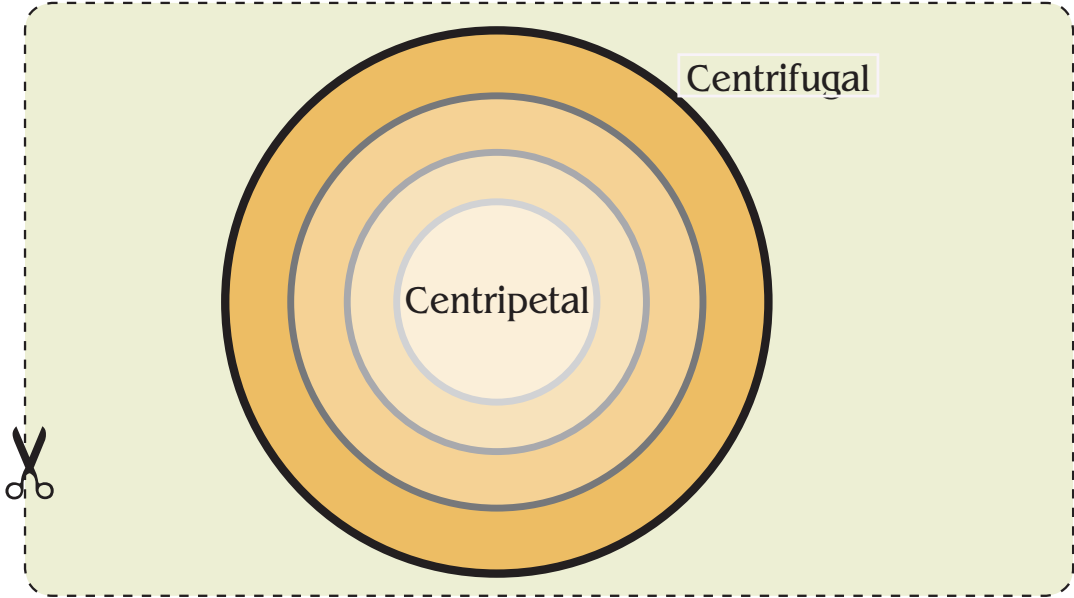
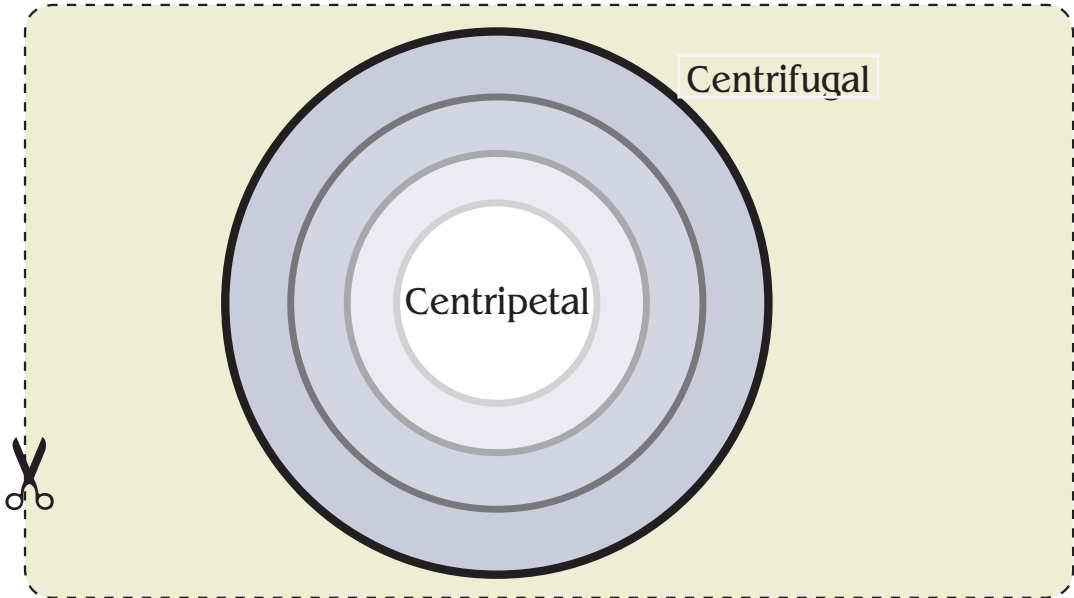
Instructions to the facilitator

1. If possible, the participants are asked to come to the first session having written out three or four imaginary diary entries that would provide a biographer with some insight into the experiences that have shaped how they feel as Jews. If not, the first few minutes of the session should be set aside for them to write down a few key experiences that have shaped them Jewishly.
2. Open the session by asking each participant to read out one or two key experiences from their 'journal entries.' When appropriate, and without interrupting the flow of the stories, ask the participants to comment on the ways in which the experiences strengthened and/or weakened the participants' Jewish identities.

3. Explain that the goal of this activity is to analyse the experiences that shape our Jewish identities. Hand out the extract from the article by Simon Herman (p. 11) and ask one of the participants to read it out. Herman writes that a basic human drive is the need to belong. In this context, he distinguishes between centripetal and centrifugal forces in the formation of Jewish identity: those factors which encourage Jews to identify as such, and those which militate in favour of identification with the surrounding culture.
4. The participants now receive handouts (p. 9) and pens. They are asked to plot three or four key experiences in the formation of their Jewish identity on a scale, extending from the centre of a circle towards the circumference: to what extent was each experience centrifugal or centripetal?



5. Lead the group in a discussion, in which the participants share and discuss the results of this exercise and address the following questions:
 - ✎ What kinds of experiences have a centrifugal affect on your Jewish identity, pushing you away from Jewish identification?
 - ✎ Which experiences have had a centripetal effect, strengthening your connection to Jewishness and the Jewish community?
 - ✎ What tensions and contradictions are there between Jewish identity and identification with your national culture?
 - ✎ How do you feel about and deal with these tensions?
 - ✎ In which situations have you experienced hostility or discomfort as a result of being Jewish, whether for objective or subjective reasons? (These situations might include awareness of antisemitism through the media or second-hand reports as well as personal experiences.)
 - ✎ What impact have these experiences had on your Jewish identification?
 - ✎ To what extent do your personal experiences reflect the relationship between your Jewish community and society in general?



6. In light of the discussion, the participants learn about Herzl's Jewish journey by reading extracts from his diary. Ask the participants to split up into small groups (2-4 people in each group). Their task is to:
 - Read each extract from the handout ("Herzl's Jewish Journey" - pp. 12-13),
 - Understand how Herzl felt about being Jewish at the time and what made him feel this way,
 - Imagine how similar experiences would make them feel,
 - Plot Herzl's experiences on the handout from section 4.
7. Reconvene the group and ask the participants to comment on similarities and differences between Herzl's Jewish journey (his formative Jewish experiences and the way he responded to them) and their own.

Ask them to consider the following questions:

- Simon Herman speaks of authentic, inauthentic, and marginal Jews. Which of these labels applied to Herzl?
 - How do these labels apply to you and your friends, colleagues, and family members?
 - What explains the differences between you?
 - Herzl came to feel himself part of - in Herman's words - "a socially stigmatized minority group." Is this an apt appellation for the Jewish community you are a part of?
8. In conclusion, ask the participants to consider the implications of this session in terms of Jewish identity in their own community. What approaches or policies might the individuals, families and the community adopt in order to foster positive Jewish identity development?

From 'Jewish Identity: A Social Psychological Perspective'

By Simon N. Herman (New York, 1977)

Membership in a socially stigmatized minority group generally has far-reaching psychological implications. This is particularly the case in regard to a group such as the Jews who occupy so singular a position in whatever society they are located....

Some Jews may readily accept their membership and all that goes with it, regarding it as a mark of distinction even if it subjects them to certain difficulties. They know where they stand and their membership in what they regard as a desirable group bolsters their self-esteem. Other Jews may see the membership as a stigma and may develop inferiority feelings about their Jewishness. But they generally cannot escape it; they can only deny it by a formal act of conversion, but even then, their Jewish origins will not always be forgotten by their Gentile neighbors (and will also be remembered by Jews in certain situations). In a sense such an individual is trying to reject a part of himself.

Jean-Paul Sartre has described the psychological plight of what he terms the "inauthentic" Jew. Unlike the "authentic" Jew, who seeks "to live to the full his condition as Jew," the "inauthentic" Jew denies it or attempts to escape from it. "Whenever he introduces himself in order to get away from Jewish reality, he senses that he has been accepted as a Jew and is at every moment regarded as a Jew. His life among Christians does not bring him the anonymity he seeks; rather, it is a perpetual tension."

A Tunisian Jew, Albert Memmi, now resident in France, who, after personally tasting the bitterness of the plight Sartre describes, returned to his people, observes: "I discovered that one does not easily cease to be Jewish, and that self-rejection never solves anything.... The net result was, on the contrary, constant self-contradiction, a veritable and painful distortion of the whole being which isolated me, singled me out more surely than the accusation of others." He proceeds to tell of his decision: "I decided that henceforth I would tell others and myself: 'Yes, I am Jewish - what of it? Yes, to some extent and on several points I am different from my fellow citizens, from other men.'"

In the life space of any minority group there are forces leading to positive identification with it on the part of its members and others which make for gravitation to the majority. Among those who gravitate strongly toward the majority will be persons who remain suspended between the two groups, the so-called "marginal men," who do not reconcile themselves to membership in the minority and at the same time cannot join the majority because of barriers in the way of their entry. Marginality is often accompanied by feelings of isolation and insecurity such as are reflected in the following words of a Russian Jewess (Larissa Bogoraz) alienated from the Jewish group and at the same time unable to feel herself Russian: "Who am I now? Who do I feel myself to be? Unfortunately, I do not feel like a Jew.... I am accustomed to the color, smell, rustle of the Russian landscape, as I am to the Russian language, the rhythm of Russian poetry. I react to everything else as alien... And nevertheless, no, I am not Russian. I am a stranger today in this land. But I would not like this fate for my children and grandchildren."



Herzl's Jewish Journey

Theodor Herzl was born in 1860 in Budapest. His family maintained nominal Jewish involvement, though they did attend a Liberal (Reform) synagogue, sent Theodor to a Jewish school, and ensured that he became Bar Mitzvah. Moving to Vienna, Herzl immersed himself in the realm of German culture, studied at the University of Vienna and shortly after graduating became a journalist. In 1891, Herzl was posted to Paris as the correspondent of the liberal Vienna daily, the *Neue Freie Presse*. Throughout these years, Herzl's attention began to turn increasingly toward the problem of antisemitism and the "Jewish Question." as reflected in the extracts from his diary below.

It should be noted that Herzl's experience with Judaism was not exclusively negative. The following paragraph from *Altneuland* suggests a more positive element in his Jewish upbringing. Friedrich, the protagonist of the novel and Herzl's alter-ego, glimpses Jerusalem for the first time:

"'Jerusalem!' cried Friedrich in a half-whisper, his voice trembling. He did not understand why the sight of this strange city affected him so powerfully. Was it the memory of words heard in early childhood? In passages of prayer murmured by his father? Memories of *Seder* services of long-forgotten years stirred in him. One of the few Hebrew phrases he still knew rang in his ears: 'Leshana Habaa be-Yerushalayim,' - 'Next Year in Jerusalem!' Suddenly he saw himself a little boy going to synagogue with his father... And here before him the walls of Jerusalem towered in the fairy moonlight. His eyes overflowed. He stopped short, and the hot tears coursed slowly down his cheeks."



Extracts from Herzl's Diary, 1895

1. When actually did I begin to concern myself with the Jewish question? Probably when it first crossed my path. Certainly upon reading Dühring's book [Eugen Dühring was among the pioneers of the new racial antisemitism in the late nineteenth century; Herzl read his book while at university].... In the course of the succeeding years, the question gnawed and tugged at me, it tormented me and rendered me profoundly unhappy. In fact, I always came back to it whenever my own personal experiences - their joys and sorrows - lifted me to a higher plane.
2. At first the Jewish question vexed me bitterly. There was perhaps a time when I would gladly have slipped over into some corner of the Christian fold. But, in any case, this was only a faint vagary born of adolescent weakness. For I can say to myself with the honesty demanded by this diary - which would be entirely worthless if I played the hypocrite with myself - that I never thought seriously of becoming baptized or changing my name. The latter can be borne out by an incident. When as a budding writer I brought a manuscript to the Vienna *Deutsche Wochenschrift*, Dr. [Heinrich] Friedjung advised me to adopt a pen name less Jewish than my own. I flatly refused, and said I would continue to bear the name of my father, and I offered to withdraw the manuscript. Friedjung accepted it after all.
3. Up till now I have heard with my own ears the cry of "Hep, Hep!" [a traditional anti-Jewish taunt] only twice. The first time was when I was passing through Mainz, in 1888. I entered a cheap cabaret and drank my beer. As I was leaving and pushing my way out through the noise and bustle to the door, a fellow called "Hep, Hep!" after me. Around him rose a chorus of guffaws....
4. The second time was at Baden near Vienna [in 1894].... I drove away, in the gathering night, to Baden. As my cab sped through the tunnel behind the Cholera Chapel, two young fellows, one of them in cadet uniform, were sauntering by. I believe I sat huddled in thought. Then I distinctly heard the cry from behind the carriage: "Saujud [pig-Jew]!"

I was enraged. I turned around bitterly in the direction of the two youngsters, but they were already far behind. In no time, too, my impulse to scuffle with street lads had vanished. Moreover, there had been no personal affront, for I was unknown to them: the insult was directed to my Jewish nose and beard, which they had glimpsed in the semi-darkness behind the cab lanterns.
5. I ... attained here [in Paris] a freer and more detached attitude toward antisemitism, from which I did not suffer, at least in any direct manner. In Austria or Germany I constantly have to fear that someone will shout "Hep, Hep!" at my heels. But here I pass through the crowd "unrecognized."
6. The Promised Land, where we can have hooked noses, black or red beards, and bandy legs, without being despised for it.... So that the derisive cry of "Jew!" may become an honorable appellation, like German, Englishman, Frenchman - in short, like that of all civilized peoples.

Source: *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, edited and translated by Marvin Lowenthal New York, 1956)

R

esponding to antisemitism

Introduction

The beginning of the twenty-first century has seen a resurgence of anti-Jewish hostility, aimed both at the State of Israel and at Jews in the Diaspora. At times it takes on verbal or cultural forms; at others it erupts into violence. Less than sixty years since the *Shoah* (Holocaust), the Jewish people is faced with the challenge of responding to a new wave of antisemitism.

How should this challenge be met? One approach is for Jews to keep their heads down, lowering their profile and relying on the authorities to deal with the problem. Another possibility is to engage the issue head on, lobbying parliaments, writing letters to the press and organising demonstrations, protesting attacks on Jews and the State of Israel. Some believe that the appropriate response is to strengthen Jewish educational and cultural work, fostering in young people a sound identity that gives meaning to being Jewish and enables them to withstand the hostility. Herzl, of course, is best known for his alternative proposal: evacuating the Diaspora and establishing a state where Jews would no longer fear antisemitism.

This activity offers the participants an opportunity to evaluate these responses to antisemitism and to ask if - and how - Herzl's Zionist strategy is relevant to today.

Goals

- To become acquainted with basic information relating to antisemitism in the contemporary Jewish world
- To debate how the Jewish people should respond to these issues
- To learn about the "Jewish question" in the late 19th century and understand how Herzl's approach evolved over time, both in terms of his diagnosis of, and solution to, the problem
- To discuss personal responses to Herzl's proposed solution to the Jewish problem

Unit outline

In this unit, the participants will:

- Study press items about contemporary antisemitism in small groups and report back on their findings,
- Discuss and evaluate strategies for responding to antisemitism,
- Study Herzl's understanding of antisemitism and his evolving response to it, based on his writings,
- Discuss Herzl's approach and its relevance for the contemporary situation of the Jewish people.

Instructions to the facilitator

1. Announce that the goal of this session will be to take a snapshot of contemporary antisemitism by discussing items from the press and to explore ways of combating it through studying Herzl's approach to the issue.
2. Split the participants into five small groups. Each group receives a task sheet (p. 16) and an article from the press about contemporary antisemitism (p. 22-23). Give the participants time for study and discussion. (*Feel free to substitute other articles on antisemitism, which might be more relevant to your community.*)



Task Sheet

Please read the article you have been given and discuss the following questions:

1. How do the antisemitic phenomena described in the article affect the Jewish community?
2. What social and psychological effects might there be?
3. What thoughts, feelings or questions do you have after reading the article or about antisemitism in general?
4. How do you believe Jewish individuals and the Jewish community should respond to this kind of antisemitism?



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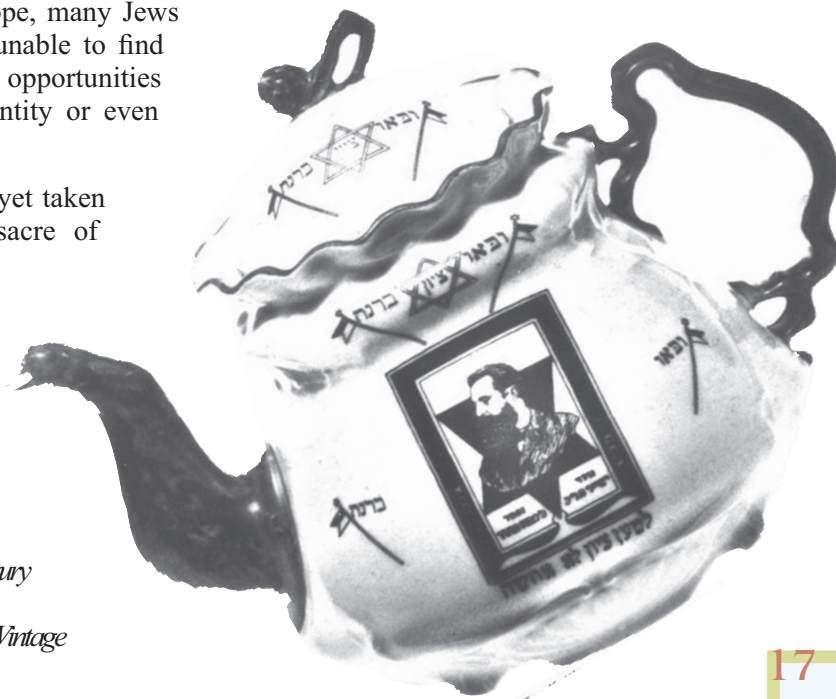


3. The group reconvenes and each subgroup reports back, very briefly summing up the antisemitic incidents they have learned about (only 10 to 15 minutes should be allowed for the report back stage).
4. Ask the group how they believe the Jewish people should respond to antisemitism today. To help structure the discussion, scatter several cards (p. 19) in the middle of the circle, each one highlighting a possible response to anti-Jewish hostility. The participants are invited to choose the card that best sums up their approach to the problem and share their choice with the group.

(Guide the discussion using some of the following questions:)

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of the various strategies?
 - Which strategies are the most effective in practical terms?
 - What psychological and emotional consequences might the various strategies have?
 - Which strategies serve to strengthen Jewish identity and which weaken it?
 - Under what circumstances should antisemitism be combated and when should it be ignored, minimised or accommodated?
 - How would our answers to these questions differ if we lived elsewhere in the world? (Encourage the group to identify with the antisemitic situation faced by Jews in specific countries and to formulate strategies accordingly.)
5. Give a short introduction to some of the similarities and differences between antisemitism now and in Herzl's time, stressing four key points:
 - Political and violent antisemitism were important issues 100 years ago as they are now, with events such as the pogroms in Russia and the Dreyfuss trial in France serving as the focus for public debate.
 - In fin de siècle continental Europe, many Jews faced discrimination and were unable to find employment or higher education opportunities without hiding their Jewish identity or even converting to Christianity.
 - The Shoah (Holocaust) had not yet taken place, and the wholesale massacre of Jews was inconceivable to most people.
 - There was no State of Israel - aliyah was not a realistic option and, of course, anti-Zionism did not feature in the antisemitic discourse of the time.

(For background on late nineteenth century antisemitism, see Howard Sacher, The Course of Modern Jewish History (Vintage Books, 1990), pp. 253-276)



6. Explain that despite the historical differences, the strategies under discussion include responses that echo Herzl's reactions to the Jewish problem in his day. The group receives extracts from Herzl's writings and a participant is asked to read them out (pp. 20-21). After each numbered passage, ask the participants to sum up Herzl's approach by asking them:
 - What does Herzl believe to be the causes of antisemitism, according to this passage?
 - How does he propose to combat it here?
7. Having read all three passages, the participants are invited to share their thoughts and feelings on Herzl's shifting approach to the problem of antisemitism. What led him to change his mind, and what are the advantages and disadvantages of each of the solutions he proposes, from conversion through adaptation and on to Zionism? Finally, the participants are asked to consider which of Herzl's insights into, or solutions to, antisemitism might be relevant to the contemporary situation of the Jewish people.



Theodor Herzl

Cards:

| | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| ✂ | <p>➤ Organised self-defence</p> | ✂ | <p>➤ Lobbying the authorities</p> |
| ✂ | <p>➤ Aliyah (emigration to Israel)</p> | ✂ | <p>➤ Disassociating from Israel</p> |
| ✂ | <p>➤ Emigration (other than to Israel)</p> | ✂ | <p>➤ Anti-racism education</p> |
| ✂ | <p>➤ Denying one's Jewish identity</p> | ✂ | <p>➤ Avoiding distinctive Jewish dress and symbols</p> |
| ✂ | <p>➤ Conversion to Christianity</p> | ✂ | <p>➤ Carrying on as usual</p> |
| ✂ | <p>➤ Strengthening Jewish identity through education</p> | ✂ | <p>➤ Other</p> |

Solving the Jewish Problem - Herzl's evolving approach

1. From Herzl's Diary, 1895

About two years ago I wanted to solve the Jewish question, at least in Austria, with the help of the Catholic Church. I wished to arrange an audience with the Pope ... and say to him: Help us against the anti-Semites and I shall lead a great movement for the free and honorable conversion of Jews to Christianity.

Free and honorable, inasmuch as the leaders of this movement - myself in particular - would remain Jews, and as Jews would urge a conversion to the majority-faith. In broad daylight, on twelve o'clock of a Sunday, the exchange of faith would take place in St. Stephen's Cathedral, with solemn parade and the peal of bells. Not with shame, as sorry individuals have hitherto gone over, but with a proud gesture...

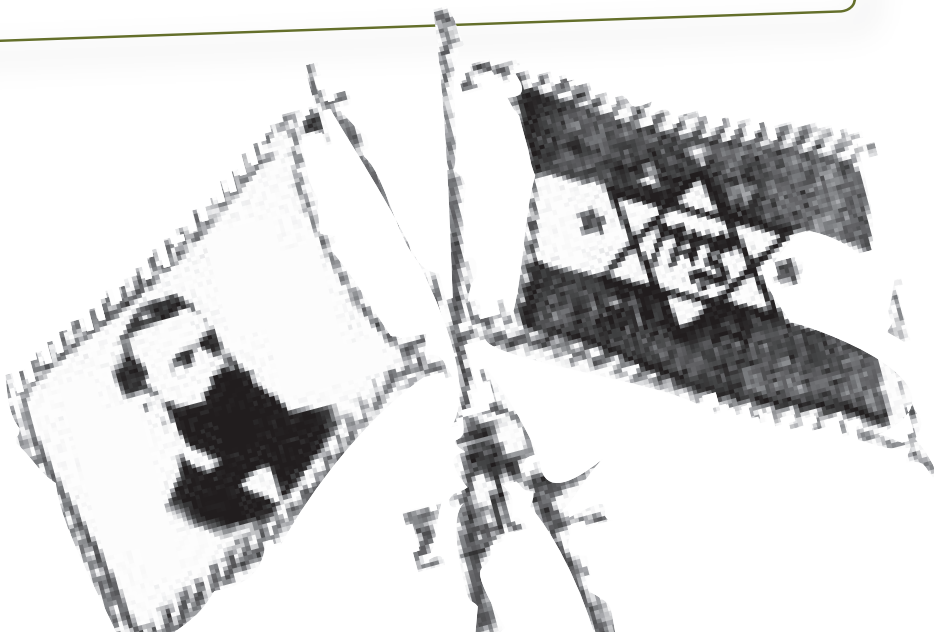
We, the steadfast leaders, would have constituted the final generation. We would have remained within the faith of our fathers. But we would have made Christians of our children before they reached the age of independent decision - after which conversion looks like an act of cowardice or calculation.

2. From Herzl's Diary, 1895

[Quoting a conversation with a friend from some years earlier:]

"I understand what antisemitism is about. We Jews have maintained ourselves, even if through no fault of our own, as a foreign body among the different nations. In the Ghetto we have taken on a number of anti-social characteristics. Our character has been damaged by oppression and must be repaired through some other sort of pressure....

However, antisemitism, which is a strong if unconscious force among the masses, will do the Jews no harm. I hold it to be a movement useful for the development of Jewish character. It is the education of a group by the surrounding populations and will perhaps in the end lead to its absorption. We are educated only through hard knocks. A sort of Darwinian mimicry will set in. The Jews will adapt themselves."



3. A solution of the Jewish Question

The Jewish Question still exists. It would be foolish to deny it. It exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. Where it does not yet exist, it will be brought by Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence soon produces persecution. This is true in every country, and will remain true even in those most highly civilised - France itself is no exception - till the Jewish Question finds a solution on a political basis.

We are one people - One People. We have honestly striven everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of surrounding communities, and to preserve only the faith of our fathers. It has not been permitted to us. In vain are we loyal patriots, in some places our loyalty running to extremes; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow-citizens; in vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native land in science and art, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have lived for centuries we are still cried down as strangers; and often by those whose ancestors were not yet domiciled in the land where Jews had already made experience of suffering. Yet, in spite of all, we are loyal subjects, loyal as the Huguenots, who were forced to emigrate. If we could only be left in peace....

Sources: *The Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, edited and translated by Marvin Lowenthal (New York, 1956)

We are one people - our enemies have made us one in our despite, as repeatedly happens in history. Distress binds us together, and thus united, we suddenly discover our strength. Yes, we are strong enough to form a state, and a model state.... Let the sovereignty be granted us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the requirements of the nation - the rest we shall manage for ourselves....

We shall live at last, as free men, on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own home.

Sources: *London Jewish Chronicle*, 1896

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The cartoon discussed in this article can be found at:
www.usefulwork.com/shark/archives/001282.html
 or at

[www.honestreporting.com/articles/critiques/Der_Sturmer_in_the_UK\\$.asp](http://www.honestreporting.com/articles/critiques/Der_Sturmer_in_the_UK$.asp)

Anti-Sharon newspaper cartoon provokes charges of antisemitism

By Richard Allen Greene

LONDON, Feb. 27 (JTA) — The Israeli Embassy in London has accused a British newspaper of perpetuating the blood libel against Jews after it ran a cartoon that depicted Prime Minister Ariel Sharon eating a baby.

The cartoon in the Independent newspaper showed Sharon crouched in the ruins of a village, biting the head off a baby as helicopters circle overhead broadcasting the message "Vote Sharon."

"What's wrong.... You never seen a politician kissing babies before?" Sharon asks in the drawing.

The embassy filed its complaint via celebrated lawyer Anthony Julius, who successfully defended scholar Deborah Lipstadt when Holocaust denier David Irving sued her for libel in a highly publicized case in London in 2000.

"The complaint concerns neither politics nor art. It is instead about antisemitism," Julius argued. "The cartoon associates Prime Minister Sharon, a Jew, with a particularly dreadful crime allegedly committed by Jews – indeed, habitually and exclusively by Jews. It associates him with the blood libel."

Describing it as "a gruesome, appalling image," Julius says the cartoon "has an implicit politics, one which supposes Israelis to be murderous brutes, and Palestinians, martyred innocents."

The cartoon has provoked protests ever since it was published on Jan. 27, which was Holocaust Memorial Day in Britain and other European nations — and the day before Israel's general election.

About 30 complaints about it have come in to the Press Complaints Commission, a commission spokeswoman said.

The Board of Deputies, the umbrella organization representing most British Jews, was among the first to lodge a protest with the commission.

"Such a caricature goes way beyond acceptable political commentary," said the board's director general, Neville Nagler.

"Jews all over the world are facing the increasing threat of antisemitism. To see such a blatantly antisemitic caricature in a mainstream British newspaper is a matter of grave concern," he said.

The commission has not yet responded to the board's complaint, a board spokeswoman said.

But it has already rejected two complaints on the grounds that they did not come from Sharon himself, the object of the cartoon, the commission spokeswoman told JTA.

"The cartoon made reference to a named individual, but as he has not complained, the commission cannot take up a third-party complaint," she said.

The commission has asked the Israeli Embassy whether it is acting on behalf of Sharon.

The embassy's complaint charges that not only Sharon, but also the Israeli army and electorate, are the targets of attack.

The Independent rejects the charge that the cartoon is antisemitic.

Its editor-in-chief, Simon Kelner – who is Jewish – declined to speak to JTA.





But he told London's Jewish Chronicle newspaper: "I am Jewish myself, so I would be sensitive to anything antisemitic. This was a very powerful cartoon and it is clearly anti-Sharon. However, that is very different [from] being antisemitic."

The cartoonist, Dave Brown, also rejected the charge of prejudice.

"Not only did I have no intention of being antisemitic; I had no desire to make anti-Israel comment. At a time when the Israeli Labor Party was offering the choice of a settlement, I sought only to target a man and a party I consider to be actively working against peace," Brown wrote.

Norman Lebrecht, a former Jewish Chronicle columnist and now assistant editor of the Evening Standard newspaper, also dismissed the allegation that the cartoon was antisemitic.

He told JTA it was important to consider the image in the context of what he called the Independent's "stridently anti-Zionist, though not antisemitic, line."

"I thought the cartoon was unpleasant and unimaginative, but not overtly antisemitic," he said.

"Taken out of context, the cartoon might appear more offensive than it does in its intended placement and purpose. On the pages of the Independent, it supports an editorial line which, however much it may annoy the Israeli Embassy, does not make the cartoon, or the newspaper, antisemitic," he said.

But Winston Pickett of the London think tank the Institute for Jewish Policy Research said the cartoon could not be separated from a broader context — the history of the blood libel — no matter what the artist or editor intended.

"In the framing of this particular cartoon, there are antisemitic stereotypes: the eating of children," he told JTA.

"I have no problem with criticizing Sharon — that's open territory — but to bring in these motifs that are so clearly reminiscent of the blood libel, a medieval world-view, makes it dangerous," he said.

"There are red flags that should go off in your head: You don't put Jews eating babies. You wouldn't put a black Sambo on your front lawn," said Pickett, who writes about the cartoon in the forthcoming book "A New Antisemitism? Debating Judeophobia in 21st-Century Britain."

Pickett said the image was reminiscent of cartoons that appear in Arab newspapers: "I was able to locate a cartoon in Al-Quds that has the same image — Sharon eating babies out of a bowl with a spoon and blood running down his face.

"I am not accusing the [Independent's] editor or the artist of being professional anti-Semites, but these themes are dangerous," he said.

Cartoonist Steve Greenberg, who has won the past two American Jewish Press Association awards for cartooning, is also concerned that the image could cause problems.

"The cartoon, while technically well drawn and very powerful, is shrill, rather excessive and could very well stir up some Antisemitism on a visceral level," he told JTA by e-mail from California.

"Although the cartoon may be a political allegory based on Goya's work, the average reader will not see that and will only see Sharon (and by implication, Israel and perhaps Jews overall) as bloodthirsty, inhuman monsters," he said.

"I can see how the cartoonist uses the image and the 'baby kissing' twist to strong effect, but by ignoring the historic context of 'blood-libel' antisemitic cartoons, he wittingly or unwittingly perpetuates a dismal area of cartooning that plays to the worst instincts in some people."

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ADL finds U.S. antisemitism is rising

By Shlomo Shamir

(Haaretz, June 12, 2002)

NEW YORK - Some 17 percent of Americans - 35 million people - hold negative views and some hostility toward Jews, says a report released yesterday by the Anti-Defamation League. The special ADL survey found that this 17 percent holds "unquestionably" antisemitic views - what the report calls "hard-core antisemitism."

The survey also found that "another 35 percent [of Americans surveyed] were in a 'middle' category - having neither prejudiced nor unprejudiced views, yet not completely prejudice-free in their attitudes toward Jews."

The survey found that 48 percent of the American public "is prejudice-free in their feelings toward Jews - down from 53 percent in 1998."

At yesterday's news conference, held at the ADL's main office in Manhattan, the organization's top officials stressed that for the first time in years the number of Americans is increasing who believe classic antisemitic stereotypes of Jews.

"We are greatly concerned that many of the gains we had seen in building a more tolerant and accepting America have not taken hold as firmly as we had hoped, and have to some degree been reversed," said Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director. "While there are many factors at play, all the evidence suggests a strong undercurrent of Jewish hatred persists in America."

The survey was taken between April 26 and May 6 - 1,000 American adults took part.

A new finding established by the survey is that Antisemitism appears to be more prevalent among Hispanic groups than in the general population. The survey found that 35 percent of the Hispanic population belongs to the hard-core antisemitic group - "44 percent of foreign-born Hispanics hold hard-core antisemitic beliefs; 20 percent of Hispanic Americans born in the U.S. fall into the same category."

Survey authors and sponsors attributed Antisemitism in the Hispanic population to educational and religious factors. Referring to the Hispanic groups, Foxman said: "Religious background has always played a role in determining one's beliefs about Jews."

United States – Antisemitism Survey

The Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism (Government of Israel)

(January 21, 2003)

On 21st January 2003, the Gary Tobin Demographic Research Institute published the results of a survey dealing with aspects of American Jewry and the manner in which it is viewed by the broad public. The survey itself was conducted in May 2002, and included a sample of 1,013 people from all over the country.

Following are a number of data arising from the survey:

32 percent expressed the concern that a Jewish President would not operate in keeping with America's best interests if they contradicted those of Israel. 24 percent were of the opinion that Jewish control of the media results in distorted media. 34 percent said that the Jews wielded too much control over the financial markets. 37 percent agreed that the Jews were responsible for the killing of Jesus. 20 percent of the Democrats and the Independents tend to view the Jews as looking out only for themselves, as opposed to 12 percent among the Republicans. 21 percent view the Jews as a threat to the moral character of the United States. On the other hand, 49 percent of those asked view the Jews as resembling the Americans themselves when it comes to values and beliefs, and 24 percent do not have even one antisemitic belief.

The general trends as seen in this survey are: More young Americans below the age of 35 hold antisemitic views than do older ones. More Democrats hold antisemitic views than Republicans. Both these trends are different from those expressed in previous surveys.

Source: www.antisemitism.org.il

United States – ADL Study Shows an Increase in Antisemitic Theories

The Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism (Government of Israel)

(September 1, 2003)

The attacks on New York and Washington on 11th September 2001, have given rise to a new branch of global antisemitism. A study by the Anti-Defamation League published in the United States reports that this branch focuses on the dissemination of conspiracy theories and accusations that Jews in the United States and Israel are responsible for the attacks in which about 3000 Americans lost their lives. According to the report, despite the fact that two years have passed since the attacks, the stream of defamation of and accusations against the Jews and Israel regarding terrorism has not only not abated but has swelled. The conspiracy theories, disseminated mainly over the Internet, are divided into several main groups. First, there is the claim that the Israeli Mossad carried out the attacks, since only such an organization could ostensibly possess the sophisticated capability and knowledge to implement such comprehensive action. Another claim published in the United States concerns the "Art Students' Network"- according to which a network of Israeli spies posing as art students kept track of those suspected of carrying out the attacks, but did nothing to arrest them or to inform the authorities about their intentions. Then there is the claim that Israeli firms working in the United States ran the spy network that served as a cover for Israeli surveillance of suspected terrorists. Another theory being disseminated leans more in the direction of classic antisemitism claiming that the Jewish owners of the Twin Towers initiated the attacks in order to collect insurance money. Several sites also claim that Jews initiated the attacks in order to divert international criticism from Israel arising from the Intifada. The heads of the Anti-Defamation League are concerned over the fact that earlier predictions that antisemitic theories connected with terrorist attacks would die out have proven incorrect and that now, two years after the 11th September, they are stronger than ever. The authors of the report are also concerned about the possibility that the "success" of the antisemitic conspiracy theories could lead to further defamation of the Jews, connecting them to any major disaster or incident.

Source: www.antisemitism.org.il

Researchers report sharp rise in violent antisemitic incidents

By Yam Yehoshua

Haaretz, April 29, 2003

Last year saw a significant rise in the number of violent antisemitic incidents around the world. A total of 311 serious incidents were recorded during 2002, of which 56 were incidents that included the use of some kind of weapon. This compares to 228 serious incidents in 2001, of which 50 included the use of weapons.

These figures were released yesterday by Prof. Dina Porat, head of Tel Aviv University's Project for the Study of Antisemitism, Dr. Avi Becker, secretary-general of the World Jewish Congress, and Laura Kam Issacharoff, deputy director of the Anti-Defamation League.

Researchers stressed yesterday that the increase in the number of violent incidents, worrying in itself, was accompanied by a change in the targets of the violence. While most of the attacks prior to 2001 were against institutions associated with Jews (arson attacks on synagogues, desecration of Jewish cemeteries and so on) the past 12 months saw a 60 percent increase in the number of direct attacks against Jewish individuals, or people believed to be Jewish by the aggressors - most of whom were Muslims.

There has also been a shift in antisemitic hotspots. Today, after the fall of the Communist bloc, Western Europe in general, and France, the United Kingdom and Belgium in particular have become the focus for antisemitic activity. In France alone there were 55 recorded incidents of violent antisemitism in 2002, compared to 45 in the UK. Of the 31 incidents in Western Europe in which a weapon was used, 25 occurred in France.

Experts believe that this outbreak of antisemitism stems from the sweeping association between Jews, the United States and Israel. The same organizations and groups that spoke out against globalization and racism in the 1990s are now speaking out against the United States and the war in Iraq. The strong anti-American feelings stem in turn from a perception of the United States as an imperious world superpower, imposing its policies and economy on the rest of the world, purportedly with the backing of American Jews, world Jewry and Israel. The researchers call this situation "The axis of evil - from the Twin Towers to the war on Iraq."

"These figures make unhappy reading," said Prof. Porat yesterday. "In fact, last year was the most worrying since we started tracking antisemitic incidents 11 years ago. The number of antisemitic comments on a huge number of Internet sites is also increasingly steadily. The same is true for antisemitic graffiti, hate mail, bullying - as well as comments by academics and government officials. These comments are being taken as a kind of platform for violence."

According to Dr. Becker, "the rise of antisemitism in Western Europe comes in the disguise of freedom of expression. As far as I am concerned, this is the worst type of antisemitism. There seems to be an attempt by Europeans to shrug off responsibility for the Holocaust, by claiming that the Jews in Israel use the same tactics against the Arabs that the Nazis employed against the Jews. The rise is very worrying. We have reached a situation where even the publisher of *Der Spiegel* compared [Prime Minister Ariel] Sharon to Hitler. I don't think it would be right to speak in terms of a new Holocaust at this stage, but there is no doubt that Jewish communities are at war."

Those involved in the research readily admit that their figures do not tell the whole story, and

that they represent only part of the true picture. This is mainly because of the difficulty in defining what exactly constitutes an antisemitic incident.

"I cannot say with total confidence that every incident reported in these figures was motivated by antisemitism," says Prof. Porat.

"For example, there was a report of a monument that was damaged in the Netherlands, which, in retrospect, turned out to be nothing more than a homeless person looking for shelter for the night. In most cases, however, the aggressors leave behind evidence pointing to antisemitic motives, or come out and say directly that they are carrying out an antisemitic act. All in all, we are convinced that our report is reliable."

An additional problem that the researchers faced was that not all incidents are reported. In many cases, the Jewish communities prefer not to tell the local authorities about the attack at all, assuming that if the incidents are not made public knowledge, they will not encourage copycat attacks. In the final analysis, the researchers believe that the number of incidents reported is lower than the actual number.

European poll: 46% say Jews are 'different'

Haaretz January 26, 2004

A poll of nine European nations that was released Monday found that 46 percent of respondents said Jews in their nations were "different," and 35 percent said Jews should stop "playing the victim" for the Holocaust.

Some 9 percent of the respondents said they "don't like or trust Jews," and 15 percent said "it would be better if Israel didn't exist."

The poll by the Ipsos research institute for Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* was conducted in Italy, France, Belgium, Austria, Spain, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Germany, and Britain.

The poll, released a day before many European countries mark a day of remembrance for Holocaust victims, was the latest pointing to what Jewish leaders see as a worrying trend.

"Obviously the virus of antisemitism is far more resilient and determined than we might have thought in the past," said British-born Rabbi David Rosen, international director of inter-religious affairs of the American Jewish Committee, who lives in Israel.

Asked if Jews in their countries had a "mentality and lifestyle" different than other citizens, 46 percent said yes. About 40.5 percent said Jews in their country had "a particular relationship with money" and 35.7 percent said Jews "should stop playing the victim for the Holocaust and the persecutions of 50 years ago."

The poll also differentiated between the countries surveyed, finding that German, Austrian, Spanish and Italian hostility toward Jews was higher than that in the rest of the countries. In all the countries, antisemitic sentiment was positively correlated with anti-Israel sentiment.

More than 71 percent of those polled said Israel should leave the occupied territories and Palestinians should stop attacking Israeli targets.

More than 68 percent said they believed Israel had a right to exist but the government of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon was "making the wrong choices."

A poll published Friday in Britain's *Jewish Chronicle* newspaper found that nearly one in five Britons says a Jew would not make an acceptable prime minister, and almost one in seven believes the scale of the Holocaust is exaggerated.

In November, *Corriere della Sera* published a national poll that found that 51 percent of Italians think the mentality and way of life of Jews differs from those of other Italians, and 17 percent said it would be better if Israel ceased to exist.

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from The Coordination Forum for Countering Antisemitism (Government of Israel)
The Forum Report - February 2004
For updates see www.antisemitism.org.il

Belgium - Antisemitic Epithets Shouted at a Soccer Match of the Israeli Selected Team

Date: 28 January, Country: Belgium

On 28th January 2004, in the course of a soccer match played by the Israeli selected team in the city of Hassel as part of the preliminary European Championship games, antisemitic epithets were shouted from the stands. Some of the fans were painted in Hamas colors and carried the banners of Jihad, Hamas and Hizballah. When the game got started these people began shouting "Jihad" and "Death to the Jews". Shouts were also heard in Flemish: "Hamas, Hamas, all the Jews to the gas [chambers]".

Australia - A Molotov Cocktail Thrown at a Synagogue in Melbourne

Date: 22 January, Country: Australia

A Molotov Cocktail was thrown into a synagogue in Melbourne in the early hours of the morning of 22nd January 2004. The synagogue was closed. The shattered glass from the bottle and burns were discovered on the steps of the synagogue when the first of the worshippers arrived for morning prayers.

France - Antisemitic Graffiti in Marseilles

Date: 21 January, Country: France

On the night between 21st and 22nd January 2004, the following graffiti were discovered in the La Busserine section of Marseilles: "Juifs=Tueurs d'enfants" (Jews=murderers of children).

France - Antisemitic Graffiti on a Jewish Bookstore

Date: 19 January, Country: France

On 19th January 2004, antisemitic graffiti were daubed on a shop selling Jewish books. The graffiti were in white paint and had apparently been daubed during the morning.

France - Torching of a Vehicle Transporting Jewish Children

Date: 19 January, Country: France

On the night between 18th and 19th January 2004, a vehicle used in transporting Jewish children was set on fire. The vehicle was empty at the time of the incident. A complaint was registered with the police.

France - Stones Tossed at a Synagogue in Strasbourg

Date: 18 January, Country: France

On the night between 17th and 18th January 2004, stones were tossed at the Esplanade Synagogue in Strasbourg. The glass on the front door of the synagogue was smashed. A complaint was made to the police.

Belarus - Arrest of the President of the World Federation of Belorussian Jews

Date: 14 January, Country: Belarus

The President of the World Federation of Belorussian Jews, Jacob Gutman, was arrested by the Belorussian Police on charges of holding an unlicensed demonstration outside the Belorussian President's office in Minsk. On 14th January 2004, the Interfax News Agency reported that Gutman had intended on calling on President Lukashenko to stop the destruction of Jewish sites, Jewish cemeteries and monuments in memory of the Holocaust victims in Belarus.

Hungary - Arrest of the Burners of the Israeli Flag at a Right-Wing Demonstration

Date: 14 January, Country: Hungary

On Wednesday 14th January 2004, Budapest police caught two of those who had set fire to the Israeli flag on the previous Sunday during a right-wing demonstration against the Tilos radio station. The police publicized the name of one of the perpetrators, Giorgio Richard; the other's name has not yet been made public. Giorgio Richard is a member of the radical right-wing "Conscience 88" organization, and the police found radical propaganda material in his flat including "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion". The other man is also a member of a radical right-wing organization called "The Hunnish Federation". The two claimed that the flag had been shoved into their hands by another man, since they had only intended to burn a T-shirt with the radio station's logo on it. In any event, the two had been documented burning the flag. On 13th January, the office of Hungarian Prime Minister Madjshay published an announcement denouncing the flag burning and called on all those believing in Hungarian democracy to strongly condemn this act, and radical behavior in general.

Russia - Antisemitic Newspaper Article

Date: 14 January, Country: Russia

On 14th January 2004, the antisemitic newspaper Duel (a paper of marginal importance aimed at readers from radical groups) published an article called "The Russian Community in the State of Israel, the Nazi State", signed by "The Public Council of the National Russian Community in the State of Israel". The article, full of antisemitic diatribes, claims that Israeli authorities have adopted a policy of persecuting members of minority groups, including ethnic Russians. "For more than half-a-year now the Russian community in Israel has been suffering from a complete media boycott initiated by Jewish groups in Russia and in Israel..... The State of Israel enjoys the support of Jewish organizations in Russia, which no less than official Israel, is interested in trampling down the Russian community in Israel".

France - Cancellation of the Appearance of the Comedian Dieudonne Following his Antisemitic Remarks

Date: 13 January, Country: France

In the wake of the antisemitic remarks made by the comedian Dieudonne, his appearances were cancelled in seven cities in France. For example, on 13th January, after plans had been made for Dieudonne to appear in the city of Roanne in the Rhone-Alpes region, the Mayor of Roanne issued a press release stating that he had cancelled the comedians appearances that were to have taken place there on 20th and 21st January. This came following a petition signed by 500 people in Roanne protesting his appearances.

Hungary - Right-Wing Demonstration With Antisemitic Overtones

Date: 11 January, Country: Hungary

On 11th January 2004, a right-wing demonstration was held in Budapest opposite a radio station in that city where on Christmas Eve one of its broadcasters had called over the air for the murder of all the Christians. Neither the reason behind this or the broadcaster's ethnic origin are clear. Some 4000 people participated in the demonstration under the watchful eye of the police. A nucleus of radical right-wingers burnt the Israeli flag, in an unusual act the likes of which had not been seen in Hungary for 40 years.

Belgium - Antisemitic Remarks About Jewish Business People

Date: 8 January, Country: Belgium

On 8th January 2004, the daily newspaper De Nieuwe Gazette published the remarks of a woman cabin attendant with the Sobelair Charter Air Line. The woman said that she was afraid that the air line's owners were about to sell it to "the Jewish friends of the company directors", or as she put it "the rabbis of bankruptcy" (les rabbins de la faillitè).

France - Attack on a Teacher at the "Maimonide" School in Paris

Date: 7 January, Country: France

On 7th January 2004, a woman teacher at the "Maimonide" School in Paris was attacked. The attack started out as a mugging, but when her attackers noticed the "Franc-Macon" (the French Freemasons) symbol she was wearing around her neck, they set fire to her hair. Although the woman teaches at a Jewish school, she is not Jewish. The attackers apparently thought that the symbol she was wearing was a Star of David, and that is why they attacked her. A complaint was made to the police.

Venezuela - A Jewish Agency Representative Received a Threatening E-Mail Letter

Date: 6 January, Country: Venezuela

On 6th January 2004, a threatening e-mail letter was received by the Jewish Agency Representative in Caracas. The letter read: Take care when you leave the house. If you are not a Jew or an American this is not relevant.

Australia - Antisemitic Propaganda in a Bookshop in Sydney

Date: 5 January, Country: Australia

A Jewish woman who went into a bookshop in Sydney to purchase a book called "The Holocaust in History", was told by the salesclerk that he did not understand why she was interested in that book and that other Holocausts had been carried out against the Cambodians and Africans. He added that he was fed up with the Jews and with their complaints regarding World War II, that the Jews were perpetrating genocide against the Palestinians and getting away with it because the Jews control the world.

Europe - The European Commission Canceled the Conference on Antisemitism

Date: 4 January, Country: Abu-Dhabi

The President of the European Union Commission, Romano Prodi, decided to cancel the conference on the subject of the increase in antisemitism which was to have taken place in Brussels. His decision came in the wake of sharp criticism from the leaders of the Jewish communities in Europe of the antisemitism existing within the Union. In a wake of a letter these leaders had published in the 4th January 2004 edition of the Financial Times, Prodi announced that the conference had been cancelled.

Bolivia - Antisemitic Graffiti Opposite the Wall of the Jewish Community Building in La Paz

Date: 2 January, Country: Bolivia

On 2nd January 2004, antisemitic graffiti including swastikas, the SS symbols and the words Free Palestine and Juden Raus, were discovered sprayed on a wall opposite the Jewish Community Building in La Paz.

Australia - A Fist Fight Against an Antisemitic Background in Sydney

Date: 1 January, Country: Australia

On New Years Eve of 2004, a group of Jewish youths left a party and went to a park in Sydney where they met up with four others who were drinking and doing drugs. After a few exchanges of words, the others shouted at the Jews "Dirty South African Jews, go back to South Africa". A short confrontation ensued and the Jewish youths left. A group of the other youths followed them and were joined by more of them. A fist-fight broke out in the course of which one of the Jews was hit in the head with a glass bottle and another one was hit in the chest. The young thugs left the scene after they had beaten up the Jews.

Brazil - The Translation into Portuguese and Publication over the Internet of Hitler's "Mein Kampf"

Date: 30 December, Country: Brazil

A three-year "project" has recently been completed in which the Portuguese translation of Adolf Hitler's book "Mein Kampf" was transferred to a computerized file. The digital format was disseminated to neo-Nazi and nationalist organizations all over Brazil. This file is very easily disseminated to e-mail addresses. This act puts paid to the efforts to get rid of the last printed copies of the book in Brazil, whose distribution is illegal in that country.

Antisemitism: The blood motif

By Amnon Rubinstein

Haaretz, October 20, 2003

The antisemitic outburst by Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad at the Islamic summit conference he was hosting last week is not surprising. Back in 1984 Malaysia - a country in which there are no Jews - prevented a visit by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra because of its intention to perform a work by a Jewish composer (Ernst Bloch's "Schelomo - A Hebrew Rhapsody") and this even before the intifada and with no connection to Israel. In 1997 Mohamad blamed Jewish billionaire George Soros for the currency crisis in his country.

Therefore, what is more worrying than the statement itself is a different phenomenon: that Mohamad's claim that, among other things, the Jews control the world, received the blessing of the Egyptian representative and aroused no reservations among the 57 states that participated in the conference and supported the renewal of the boycott of Israel. Indeed, the attitude of the Muslim world - Arab and non-Arab - toward both Israel and Jews, has become threateningly more extreme. Anyone who believes that it is necessary to make a supreme effort to end the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, or to reduce its dimensions, will see in this development yet another reason to do so.

However, Arab-Muslim antisemitism also has an independent source and therefore it is difficult to believe that it will disappear even if the conflict ends. The antisemitism from the Arab-Muslim workshop, which is full of statements dripping with hatred, in fact increased during the Oslo years. In March 2002, Al Riyadh, the Saudi Arabian government daily, described how Jews slaughter a non-Jewish boy and use his blood to bake cakes.

Following a harsh reaction from the United States, the editor of the newspaper published a kind of apology. However, no real apology ever came from Egyptian television for the broadcast of the antisemitic series "Headless Horseman." Egyptian intellectuals, as well as President Hosni Mubarak's advisor Osama Al Baz, did express reservations about the series, but "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," which was mentioned in the series, was reprinted and distributed in Egypt following the series.

In August of this year, Syrian Defense Minister Mustapha Tlass vehemently rejected the criticism of his book "The Matzah of Zion," which was first published in 1968 but was recently translated. In the book, the defense minister repeats the old canard of the Damascus blood libel of 1841 and describes how the Jews murdered a French priest in order to use his blood to bake matzos. Tlass relates how the Jews, with the help of their money and their influence, succeeded in saving the murderers from trial and how they tried to cause the affair to be forgotten, but in vain: "Today every mother knows that she must warn her son about the Jew who will put him into a sack, slaughter him and use his blood to bake the Matzah of Zion."

The use of the Damascus libel by Muslims is interesting. The element of blood is a key part of the mythology of Christian antisemitism, which sees the spilling of blood as an essential element of Judaism because of the covenant of circumcision, which involves blood. When Shakespeare put the famous monologue into Shylock's mouth, presumably the audience of its day thought: True, you have eyes and when you are pricked, you bleed, but you are circumcised and therefore you can't be like me.

The motif of blood in Christian antisemitism is also expressed in the belief - commonly held



until very recently - that Jewish men menstruate. This characteristic is also attributed to Leopold Bloom, the hero of James Joyce's "Ulysses." Jewish men menstruate because they are not real men.

The blood motif originally had no Muslim parallel. The Jews are an inferior subject people but they are not different bodily from Muslims, who are also circumcised. The Damascus libel was therefore imported to the Muslim east from Christian Europe. This process is occurring even more strongly in our own time. "The Protocols," for example, are an import from Czarist Russia.

The problem is that in recent years there has also been movement in the opposite direction.

Mahathir Mohamad and his ilk are fanning the fires of European antisemitism, which had appeared to have been extinguished. The most recent example of this reciprocal relationship is France, whose President Jacques Chirac prevented the publication of a harsh condemnation by the European Union of Mohamad's statement.

While, with respect to Arab-Muslim antisemitism, we can perhaps console ourselves that it will perhaps wane when peace prevails in the Middle East, with respect to increasing European antisemitism, fanned by the encouragement it is getting from the Arab-Muslim world, it is impossible to enlist similar consolation.

Cigarette Box, Switzerland. 1903 (The Sixth Zionist Congress) made by S Tyber Beset. Lent by The Central Zionist Archives.



The Jewishness of the Jewish State

Introduction

The definition of the State of Israel as a Jewish Democratic State raises more questions than it answers. For one thing, how can the particularistic concept "Jewish" coexist with the universal one, "democratic"? What happens when these values collide? No less controversial, what exactly does the term "Jewish" mean? Does it imply that Israel should be run according to halacha (Jewish law) as defined by Orthodox rabbis or does it simply mean that Israel is culturally Jewish? Perhaps the term means no more than that Israel's population contains a majority of Jews.

These theoretical questions find constant practical expression in Israeli current affairs. Should non-kosher delicatessens be able to sell ham and bacon in Israeli town centres? Should non-Jewish citizens be allowed to buy homes in areas designated for Jewish settlement? Should secular Israeli school children be made to study Bible, Talmud and Jewish history? Moreover, what should be the attitude of a Jewish state to social issues such as racism, poverty and sex discrimination?

These issues are not new. The debates about the Jewish nature of the Jewish state go back to the earliest Zionist thinkers. In this unit, participants will explore Herzl's utopian vision, study the controversy it aroused and ask the question: what would an ideal Jewish society look like?

Goals

- To consider diverse views of the shape an ideal Jewish society would take and to ask in what ways Jewishness might be translated into social and cultural reality
- To study the controversy between Herzl, Berdichevski and Pines over this issue and analyse the place of Jewishness in their visions of Zionism
- To understand the relevance of these questions for contemporary Israeli society
- To formulate and discuss personal opinions on the issue

Unit outline

In this unit, the participants will:

- Study Herzl's utopian novel, *Altneuland*, and discuss to what extent it depicts an ideal Jewish society (small group work and report-back),
- Study the debate between Herzl, Berdichevski and Pines on the nature of an ideal Jewish society,
- Discuss the issue of what constitutes a "Jewish society" and which Jewish values are the most important for the State of Israel.



Greeting Card (detail) The Hebrew Publishing Co. New York.
Lent by The Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem

1. Open the activity by explaining that Zionism has always had a strongly utopian element. The early Zionist thinkers not only sought to found a Jewish state, but to create a perfect society – perfect, that is, in terms of whichever religious, liberal, social-democratic or Marxist ideology they happened to have believed in.
2. Next, introduce Herzl's visionary novel, *Altneuland*, and hand out extracts from the book (pp. 39-42). The participants break into small groups of 2-4 and are given time to scan the headlines and choose two or three extracts which interest them. Ask the participants to study these extracts and discuss two questions:
 - In what ways is the "New Society" envisioned by Herzl an ideal one?
 - In what ways is it an ideal Jewish society?
3. The participants reconvene and are invited to share and discuss their answers to the two questions. Having given the groups time to report back, open a discussion using the following questions:
 - What is the difference between an ideal society and an ideal Jewish society?
 - Is Herzl's vision Jewish?
 - How might you attack his vision for not being "Jewish enough"?
 - According to which criteria did you answer the previous two questions?
 - Is the Jewishness of a society reflected in religious norms (eg. Shabbat, the Temple, the role of rabbis), in cultural ones (the currency, the theatre,) or in social values (tolerance, democracy, social justice)?
4. At an appropriate point, explain that Herzl's vision aroused furious controversy in the Zionist movement of the time. The participants now receive extracts (pp. 43-44) from two of Herzl's ideological opponents: Micah Joseph Berdichevski and Yehiel Michael Pines. Briefly introduce the two thinkers and ask a participant to read out the texts.

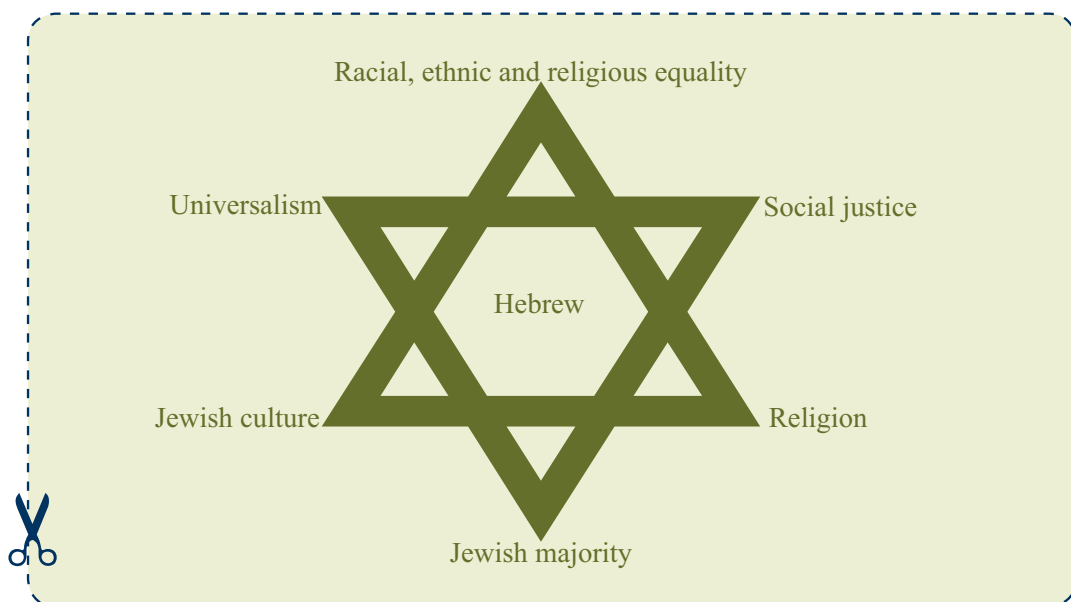
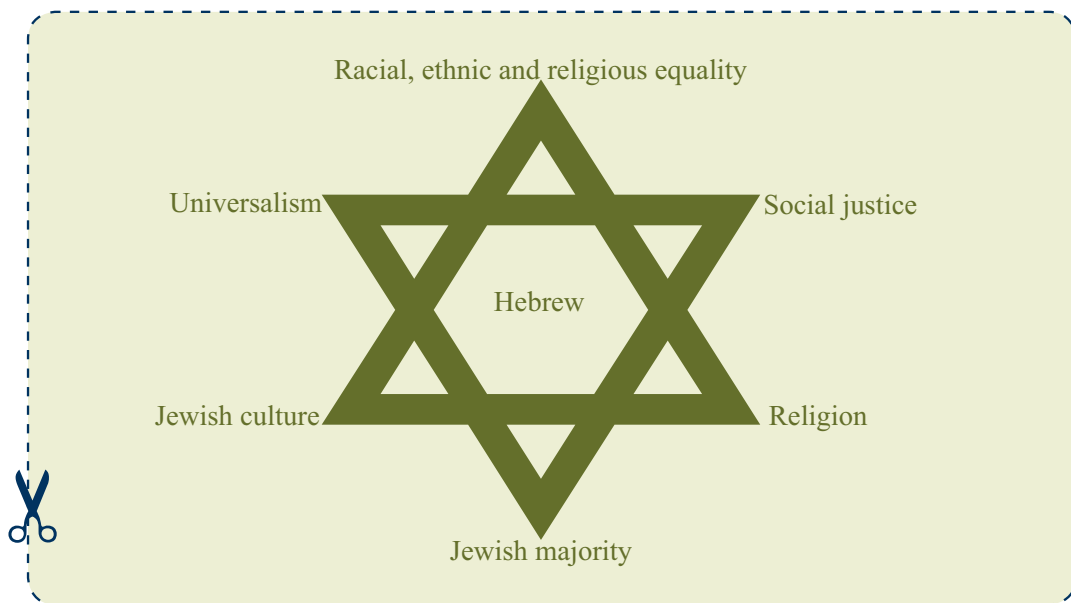
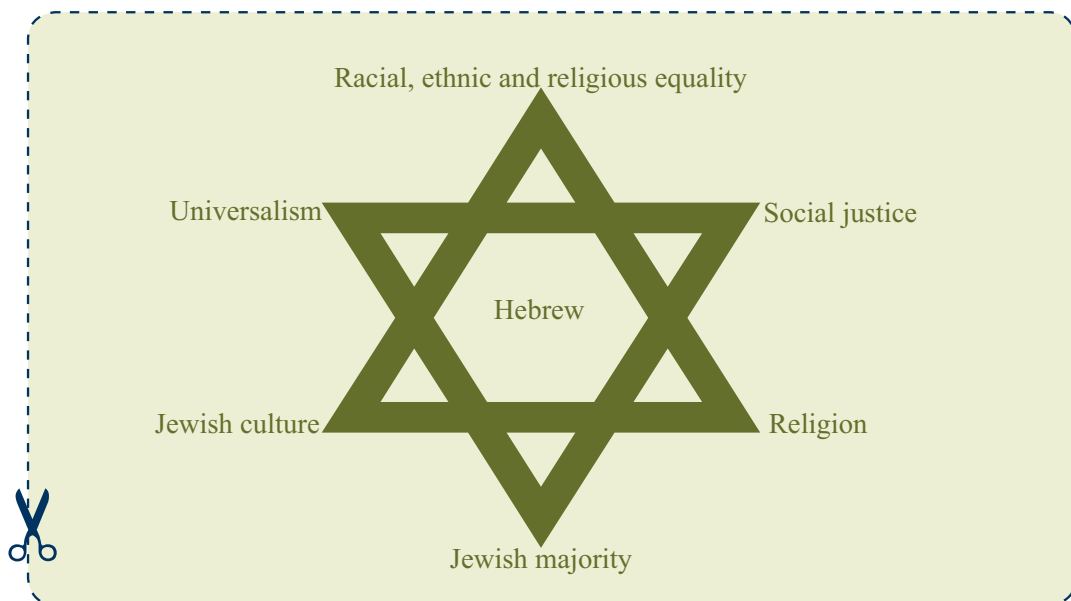
While neither of these texts describes a vision of an authentic Jewish society, both implicitly criticise Herzl. Berdichevski takes issue with Herzl's unspoken assumption that the Jewishness of a society rests in its adoption of traditional Jewish values, whether these be religious, cultural or ethical. Whereas Herzl's Jewish vision is contained in the use of the shekel, biblical themes at the theatre, the adoption of the sabbatical year and so on, Berdichevski argues for jettisoning this oppressive baggage and understanding that Jewish culture must be created by a free, dignified Jewish people, unburdened by the past.

Pines, in stark contrast, polemicises against the idea that Zionism can be divorced from religion. To Pines, Jewish national and religious identities are one and the same. Authentic Jewish nationalism must therefore be based on observance of the Torah. Herzl's New Society, relegating Judaism to the private realm and dominated by Jews with only a vague connection to Torah and *mitzvot*, clearly falls short of the mark.



5. Bearing in mind the above, lead the participants in a discussion, based on the following points:
 - What are Berdichevski's and Pines' attitudes to Jewish tradition?
 - How might their attitudes lead them to criticise Herzl's vision?
 - How might Berdichevski's and Pines' visions of a new Jewish society differ from Herzl's? What would their societies look like, Jewishly? (Encourage participants to imagine what Berdichevski and Pines might have had to say about concrete issues such as public Shabbat observance, Jewish studies curricula in schools, national holidays, the content of popular culture, the authority of rabbis and so on).
 - Which of the three visions – Herzl's, Berdichevski's and Pines' – do you identify with more?
 - Which of the three societies would you prefer to live in? Why?
 - What, if anything, of the visions of an ideal Jewish society is it possible to implement in the Diaspora? What is impossible to create outside of a Jewish state?
6. Concluding exercise: each participant receives a card featuring a Star of David (p. 38). At each corner of the star is a value drawn from the visions we've studied in this activity. Ask each participant to choose the one or two most important values upon which s/he believes the Jewish State should be founded, and invite them to share their choices with the group.

If the participants have good background knowledge about Israeli society and current affairs, you may like to conclude with one last question: how does contemporary Israeli society reflect (or fail to reflect) the values you have chosen? What concerns does this raise for you?



From *Altneuland* by Theodor Herzl

Altneuland is Herzl's utopian novel, published in 1902, in which he sets out his vision of the new Jewish society to be established in the Land of Israel. The book relates the story of one Friedrich Loewenberg, an educated central-European Jew, unable to find employment as a result of antisemitism, who takes up the offer of living on a desert island as the companion of a non-Jewish recluse named Kingscourt. Returning to civilisation after twenty years, the pair decide to visit Palestine and find that it has been transformed out of all recognition. There they meet David Littwak, a leading member of the New Society. He and his family agree to show Friedrich and Kingscourt around the country and answer their questions.

Women's Rights

"... Miriam is a teacher at the girls' high school," [said David Littwak of his sister]. Her subjects are French and English."

"So the poor girl has to drudge at giving lessons," growled Kingscourt.

David laughingly took up the implied reproach. "She does not do it for a livelihood. I don't have to let my sister starve, thank Heaven. But she has duties and performs them, because she also has rights. In our New Society, the women have equal rights with the men."

"All the Devils!"

"...Don't imagine that our women are not devoted to their homes. My wife, for instance, never goes to meetings.... She nursed our little boy, and so forgot a bit about her inalienable rights. She used to belong to the radical opposition. That is how I met her, as an opponent. Now she opposes me only at home, as loyally as you can imagine, however."

Social Equality and the Welfare State

[David Littwak:] "In philanthropy, too, we have created nothing new. We have merely systematized the old facilities, centralized them properly. We are thus able to care for every sick and needy applicant. There are fewer demands on public charity here because conditions - I have the right to say so - are better on the whole...."

Here, everyone has the right to work - and therefore to bread. This also implies the duty to work. Beggary is not tolerated. Healthy persons caught begging are sentenced to hard labor. The needy sick have only to apply to the public charities. No one is turned away...."

Jewish Culture

The ladies were already in evening dress.

"These gentlemen," said Sarah, "will probably not care to go to plays which they can see as well in London or Berlin or Paris, though, as it happens, there are excellent French and Italian companies in Haifa just now. I should think they would find the Jewish plays more interesting."

"Are there Jewish plays?" queried Friedrich in surprise.

"Haven't you already heard," teased Kingscourt, "that the theater is completely judaized?"

Sarah glanced at the paper. "At the national theater tonight is a biblical drama called 'Moses.'"

"A noble theme," remarked David.

"But too serious. There's 'Sabbatai Zevi' at the opera. And at some of the popular theaters there are Yiddish farces. They are amusing, but not in very good taste. I should recommend the opera."

Jewish Money

David turned to the saleswoman. "How much for both pairs of gloves?"

"Six shekels."

"All the devils!" marveled Kingscourt. "What's that?"

David smiled. "Our currency. We have renewed the ancient Hebrew coinage. A shekel is equal to a French franc. Since you are not provided with Palestinian currency, allow me to pay for you."

The Holidays

An enormous touring car stood before the Littwak home. It was a divine spring morning... Friedrich was happy, inexplicably happy. He was young again, exuberant. He teased his charming companion. "How about your school, Miss Miriam? Have you hung your duties on a hook for a while?"

"He knows nothing!" laughed Miriam. "Absolutely nothing at all about Jewish things. Allow me to inform you, sir, that our Passover vacation began today. We are going to visit my parents at Tiberias because we shall celebrate the Seder there. Didn't David tell you anything about it?"

"Your brother hinted to me several times that we should hear more about the Jewish exodus in Tiberias. So that was what he meant....Well, I still remember the Egyptian exodus from my childhood."

"He may have meant something else, too," said Miriam thoughtfully.

The Status of Arabs and Social Justice

"One question, Reschid Bey," interrupted Kingscourt [addressing an Arab friend of David Littwak]. "These gentlemen will pardon me, but you are much too modest. Were not the older inhabitants of Palestine ruined by the Jewish immigration? And didn't they have to leave the country? I mean, generally speaking. That individuals here and there were the gainers proves nothing."

"What a question! It was a great blessing for all of us," returned Reschid. "Naturally, the land-owners gained most because they were able to sell to the Jewish society at high prices, or to wait for still higher ones. I for my part, sold my land to our New Society because it was to my advantage to sell."

"Didn't you say a moment ago that those groves we passed were yours?"

"To be sure! After I had sold them to the New Society, I took them back on lease."

"Then you shouldn't have sold them in the first place."

"But it was more advantageous for me. Since I wished to join the New Society, I had to submit to its land regulations. Its members have no private property in land."

"Then Friedrichsheim does not belong to you, Mr. Littwak."

"Not the plot. I leased it only till the next jubilee year, as my friend Reschid did his groves."

"Jubilee year? Please explain that. I really seem to have overslept myself on that island."

"The jubilee year," explained David, "is not a new but an ancient institution set up by our Teacher Moses. After seven times seven years, that is to say, in the fiftieth year, land which had been sold reverted back to its original owner without compensation. We, indeed, arrange it a bit differently. The land now reverts back to the New Society. Moses, in his day, wished to distribute the land so as to ensure the ends of social justice. You will see that our methods serve the purpose none the less. The increases in land values accrue not to the individual owner, but to the public."

Rabbis

The crowd of farmers opened a passageway in their midst for a visitor. "Here comes Reb Shmuel!"

Reb Shmuel was an aged, bent man of most gentle demeanor. He took David's hand in both of his and greeted him cordially. Obviously, he did not side with Mendel and the opposition [Mendel is a follower of Rabbi Geyer, the leader of a campaign for Jewish exclusivism in the New Society].

Miriam told the strangers in an undertone that the white-bearded rabbi had come with the earliest group of immigrants. When he came this fertile plain was still waste land; the plain of Asochis over there-behind the mountain range to the north-was covered with swamps, and the broad Valley of Jezreel to the south still showed the effects of age-long neglect. Rabbi Shmuel was the comforter of the people of Neudorf, most of whom had come from Russia to take up the struggle with the ancient soil. He had been and remained a simple country rabbi, staying with his village congregation, though he had often been called by large urban communities. He was universally honored for his wise and God-fearing life. The eastern part of the village called the Garden of Samuel, where he had his little home, had been named in his honor. When he preached in Neudorf on festival days, people came long distances to hear him.

Cosmopolitan Tiberias

As soon as first-class hotel accommodations were available in Tiberias, the tourists had streamed thither. Experienced Swiss hotel-keepers had been the first to recognize the climatic advantages and scenic beauty of the spot, and prospered accordingly.

The car now passed some of these hotels. Men and women on the balconies were watching the kaleidoscopic traffic on the lake and the highroad. White-clad young men and girls played tennis in courts behind the hotels. Hungarian, Roumanian and Italian bands in national costume performed on several large terraces. All of which the travelers noted on the wing, their destination being somewhat beyond this point. They drove through Tiberias from north to south, glancing down neat little side streets which branched off from the main thoroughfare. There were vast, silent mansions in beautiful open squares, stately mosques, churches with Latin and Greek crosses, magnificent stone synagogues. The little Oriental harbor teemed with traffic. At the southern end of the town were more hotels and villas on a beautiful thoroughfare stretching along for a distance of half an hour's walk. Everywhere there were gardens. At the end of the thoroughfare at the hot springs came the bathing establishments.

Shabbat in Jerusalem

Friedrich's first visit to the Temple was on a Friday evening... The streets which at noon had been alive with traffic were now suddenly stilled. Very few motor cars were to be seen; all the shops were closed. Slowly and peacefully the Sabbath fell upon the bustling city. Throngs of worshippers wended their way to the Temple and to the many synagogues in the Old City and the New, there to pray to the God Whose banner Israel had borne throughout the world for thousands of years...

Whatever a man's attitude toward religion, he could not escape a reverent mood in the streets of Jerusalem when he saw the quiet throngs exchange the Sabbath greetings as they passed.



Jerusalem as a City of Universalism

The spell of the Sabbath was over the Holy City, now freed from the filth, noise and vile odors that had so often revolted devout pilgrims of all creeds when, after long and trying journeys, they reached their goal. In the old days they had had to endure many disgusting sights before they could reach their shrines. All was different now. There were no longer private dwellings in the Old City; the lanes and the streets were beautifully paved and cared for. All the buildings were devoted to religious and benevolent purposes - hospices for pilgrims of all denominations. Moslem, Jewish, and Christian welfare institutions, hospitals, clinics stood side by side. In the middle of a great square was the splendid Peace Palace, where international congresses of peace-lovers and scientists were held, for Jerusalem was now a home for the best strivings of the human spirit: for Faith, Love, Knowledge... Its activities are by no means limited to Palestine and the Jews, but include all countries and all peoples.

Art, Science and Religion

The so-called moderns of his [Friedrich's] day had objected to Zionism, to the idea of the national rebirth of the Jewish people, on the ground that it would be a stupid reaction, a kind of millennial terrorism. And here was Isaacs [an artist] declaring it to be nothing of the sort. There was anything but intellectual deterioration in the New Society, even though everyone was allowed to find salvation in his own way. Religion had been excluded from public affairs once and for all. The New Society did not care whether a man sought the eternal verities in a temple, a church or a mosque, in an art museum or at a philharmonic concert.

Education

"Thank you, sir," said Kingscourt. "I understand now. And will you please complete your favor by telling me where all these children come from?" (They were walking past playgrounds where half-grown youngsters were playing English games. The girls were busy with tennis, the boys with cricket and football.)

"They come from the schools near this park. The classes are led out here by turns for athletic games. Physical exercise is considered quite as important as mental development."

"They seem to belong only to well-to-do families," commented Friedrich. "All of them are clean and neatly dressed."

"Not at all, sir. They come from all kinds of homes. We do not permit distinctions of any kind in our schools, either in clothing or in anything else. The only differences are those created by the pupils themselves through effort or natural talent. Our New Society is thoroughly opposed, however, to any leveling process. To each according to his deserts!"

"We have not abolished competition. Conditions are alike for all, as in a race or prize competition. All must be equal at the beginning, but not at the end..."

Source: *Old New Land*, translated by Lotta Levensohn (New York, 1987)

Micah Joseph Berdichevski

Micah Joseph Berdichevski (1865-1921) was a distinguished Hebrew writer and Zionist thinker. He was born into a distinguished line of rabbis in Russia and, in his youth, excelled in traditional Talmudic and Hasidic studies. When caught studying secular works, he was disowned by his father. Migrating to Western Europe, he came under the influence of Nietzsche, whose belief in the "transvaluations of all values" informed Berdichevski's revolutionary attacks on traditional Judaism.

From "Wrecking and Building" (1903)

Our hearts, ardent for life, sense that the resurrection of Israel depends on a revolution - the Jews must come first, before Judaism - the living man, before the legacy of his ancestors.

We must cease to be Jews by virtue of an abstract Judaism and become Jews in our own right, as a living and developing nationality. The traditional "credo" is no longer enough for us.

We desire to elevate our powers of thought, to enrich our spirit, and to enlarge our capacity for action; but let us never force our spirits into set forms which prescribe for us what we may think and feel.

It is not reforms but transvaluations that we need - fundamental transvaluations in the whole course of our life, in our thoughts, in our very souls.

Jewish scholarship and religion are not the basic values - every man may be as much or as little devoted to them as he wills. But the people of Israel come before them - "Israel precedes the Torah."...

We must cease to be tablets on which books are transcribed and thoughts handed down to us - always handed down....

Such a choice promises us a noble future; the alternative is to remain a straying people following its erring shepherds. A great responsibility rests upon us, for everything lies in our hands! We are the last Jews - or we are the first of a new nation.



Inkstand marble and bronze. Lent by Amnon Te'ens, Tel Aviv

Yehiel Michael Pines

Yehiel Michael Pines (1842-1912) grew up in a religious home in Russian-held Poland but, in addition to his traditional Jewish studies, was given a secular education. Already known as an idiosyncratically worldly defender of Orthodoxy, Pines made aliyah in 1878. Although he was associated with secular nationalists Ben Yehuda and Ahad Ha'am, Pines was critical of them and became an early pioneer of religious Zionism.

From "Jewish nationalism cannot be secular" and "Religion is the source of Jewish nationalism" (1895)

I have no sympathy with the currently fashionable idea, with the movement to make the Jewish people a pure secular nationality in place of the combination of religion with nationality that has enabled us to survive to this day...

It is as if one were to try to deprive a living body of its soul in order to revive it by electric shock, which may have value in resuscitation, but is no substitute for real vitality.

Any other people can perhaps have a national aspiration divorced from its religion, but we, Jews, cannot. Such nationalism is an abomination to Jews. Moreover, it cannot succeed, since it has no roots in our reality. What is Jewish nationality divorced from Jewish religion? It is an empty formula, nothing but pretty phrases. After all, what is "nationality" if not a concept, or, in other words, a thought-image. But a thought-image which has no basis in reality is an illusion. What other basis in reality can there be for the thought-image of Jewish nationality except the unity of the Jewish people with its Torah and its faith?

Source: *The Zionist Idea*, edited by Arthur Hertzberg (Jewish Publication Society, 1959)

Certificate - issued by Jewish National Fund



T ranslating Zionist visions into reality

Introduction

The Jewish people in our time faces serious challenges of security, identity and demographics. Zionists, along with other committed Jews, are faced with the responsibility of deciding how to respond to these challenges. Should they emphasise the security of the State of Israel, lobbying on its behalf, sending donations and investing in the Israeli economy? Should the focus be on building a strong connection between Israel and the Diaspora: sending teens and adults on trips to Israel and bringing young Israelis to work as educators in Diaspora communities? Or maybe the priority for Zionists should be aliyah - a personal commitment to live in Israel.

The Zionist movement in Herzl's time - and shortly after his death - faced similar dilemmas. Three schools of thought emerged. Practical Zionists believed that the necessary revolution in Jewish life could only be achieved through aliyah and settlement in the Land of Israel. Political Zionists (Herzl among them) argued that diplomatic and fundraising work was the priority, in order to secure international support for the creation of a Jewish State. Cultural Zionists claimed that Zionism's main aim was a spiritual renaissance and, to this end, resources should be invested in educational and cultural work.

What lessons can we learn from these three ideologies, and in what ways are they relevant to the contemporary situation of the Jewish people? These are the questions with which participants will grapple in this unit.

Goals

- To study the debates that took place in the early Zionist movement and become familiar with the ideologies and strategies of political, cultural and practical Zionism
- To discuss how contemporary Jewish communities and the Zionist movement should set priorities and allocate resources in an effort to realise their visions
- To explore the ways ideologies and values are translated into reality through - and reflected in - decisions over strategy



Post Card from the 50th Anniversary of the 1st Zionist Congress in Basle.

Unit outline

In this unit, the participants will:

- Study the Basle Programme,
- Study the ideologies of Political, Practical and Cultural Zionism (in small groups) and report-back their findings,
- Simulate an Allocations Committee meeting in which Zionist priorities are debated and determined,
- Reflect on the simulation, discussing the relevance of the various strategies for the contemporary Zionist world.



1. Open the session along the following lines: Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland in 1897. The key achievement of the Congress was the adoption of the Basle Programme, a declaration of the ideological and strategic goals of Zionism.

Hand out copies of the Basle Programme (p. 49) and ask a participant to read it out. By analysing the document with the participants, explain that the Programme reflected a compromise between three tendencies within the nascent Zionist movement:

- Political Zionists, led by Herzl, who believed in the primacy of diplomatic and organizational work in order to achieve an internationally recognised charter for the creation of a Jewish homeland,
- Practical Zionists, who wanted to prioritise immigration, land purchase, settlement activity and agriculture in the Land of Israel, and
- Cultural (or Spiritual) Zionists who defined Zionism first and foremost as a nationalist awakening of the Jewish people and felt that the movement should prioritise Hebrew educational and cultural work, for example founding Hebrew-Zionist educational institutions and publishing new Hebrew literature and periodicals.

Herzl always prioritised organisational and diplomatic work on the assumption that it would be possible to obtain a charter for the settlement of the Land of Israel within a few years, and that illicit settlement activity before this was achieved might endanger the entire enterprise. After his death in 1904, it became clear that no charter was imminently forthcoming. As a result, a debate erupted over the future course to be taken by the Zionist movement.

2. The participants split up into three small groups. Each group receives extracts from one of three articles:
 - Theodor Herzl, "First Congress Address" (Political Zionism) (p. 50)
 - Menahem Ussishkin, "Our Program: An Essay" (Practical Zionism) (p. 51)
 - Ahad Ha'am, "The Spiritual Revival" (Cultural Zionism) (p. 52)

Give the participants time to study the articles. Ask each group to make a note of advantages and disadvantages that they can see in the strategy they are studying.

3. Reconvene the group and ask representatives of each group to present their strategy, together with its advantages and disadvantages.
4. Suggest to the group that debates over strategy often reflect more fundamental disagreements. For example, many of the political Zionists were from assimilated, western European backgrounds and saw Zionism as a solution to antisemitism. As a result, they wanted a fast solution to the problem and were relatively unconcerned about issues of Jewish culture and identity. Cultural and practical Zionists, on the other hand, tended to be eastern European, more strongly rooted in Jewish national culture and aimed at effecting a more fundamental, long term revolution in what it meant to be Jewish. As such they had a tendency to ascribe more importance to the Land

of Israel and to the cultural revival and were prepared to take a more gradualist approach.

5. Inform the group that the goal of the next stage of the activity will be to explore some contemporary implications of the historical debate they've been learning about. Ask them to imagine that they are the Allocations Committee of the local Zionist Federation (or equivalent organisation in their country), whose job is to allocate the funds raised over the past year to the various projects that the organisation supports.
6. Scatter cards (p. 48) featuring various project proposals in the middle of a conference table. The group's task is firstly to arrange them in order of priority, and secondly to decide what proportion of a \$100,000 budget (or equivalent) will be allocated to each project, writing the sums allocated on the appropriate cards. The group, of course, may decide to refuse funding altogether to any of the projects.
7. Having given the group time to construct a set of priorities and a budget allocation, encourage them to reflect on and discuss the results. Base the discussion around the following questions:
 - How do you feel about the budget you've constructed? What do you like about it and what makes you feel uncomfortable?
 - Some of the budget headings reflect "internal" work - focusing on processes within the Jewish community and Israel, whereas others are more "external" - focusing on Israel's and the Jewish community's relations with non-Jews. Which of these areas should we be prioritising and why?
 - Which of these budget headings benefit Israel and which are for the good of the local Jewish community? Which area needs to be prioritised?
 - What difference would it have made if Israelis were to participate in the activity? Would their priorities be different?
 - Which of the three kinds of Zionism are reflected in the budget you've constructed? Which, if any, is the most relevant for today, and why?
 - What Jewish-Zionist values are reflected in the budget? What values have been de-emphasised? (Examples of values: education, pride, self-defence, connection to the Land, community, saving life, aliyah...)
8. To conclude, ask the participants to invent a name for the kind of Zionism they believe to be relevant today. They are free to draw on the three names that have featured in this activity, but should make sure that the kind of Zionism they dream up is relevant to the current needs of the Jewish people, as they understand them. To this end, each should write a single paragraph encapsulating the essence of the Zionism they personally embrace. The participants are invited to share their thoughts with the group.

Cards:




➤ Other




➤ Supporting *Keren Kayemeth Le'Israel* (the Jewish National Fund) (land reclamation, afforestation, development of water resources, environmental issues)



➤ Jewish Agency programs for Israel's socially and economically disadvantaged



➤ Hebrew and Zionist education in local Jewish schools



➤ Assisting needy immigrants in Israel




➤ Young Emissaries programme bringing young Israelis to work in community schools and Jewish summer camps




➤ The local Community Security Organisation



➤ Support for Rabbis for Human Rights




➤ Grants and subsidies for community members who make aliyah



➤ Donations to *Magen David Adom* in Israel



➤ Israel trips for teens and adults



➤ Pro-Israel political lobbying and advocacy



➤ Support for the victims of Arab terror

The Basle Programme

Adopted by the First Zionist Congress, 1897

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

The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

1. The promotion, on suitable lines, of the colonisation of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.
2. The organisation and binding together of the whole 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 toward obtaining government consent, where necessary, for the attainment of the aim of Zionism.



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Political Zionism

Theodor Herzl, "First Congress Address," 1897

...We shall never be able, nor shall we desire, to speak of [nineteenth century Zionist] attempts at colonization in Palestine and in Argentina otherwise than with genuine gratitude. But they spoke the first, not the last word of the Zionist movement. For the Zionist movement must be greater in scope if it is to be at all. A people can be helped only by its own efforts, and if it cannot help itself it is beyond succor. But we Zionists want to rouse the people to self-help. No premature, unwholesome hopes should be awakened in this direction. This is another reason why public procedure, as it is planned by our Congress, is so essential.

Those who give the matter careful consideration must surely admit that Zionism cannot gain its ends otherwise than through an unequivocal understanding with the political units involved... The confidence of the government with which we want to negotiate regarding the settlement of Jewish masses on a large scale can be gained by plain language and upright dealing. The advantages which an entire people is able to offer in return for benefits received are so considerable that the negotiations are vested with sufficient importance a priori. It would be an idle beginning to engage in lengthy discussions today regarding the legal form which the agreement will finally assume. But one thing is to be adhered to inviolably: The agreement must be based on rights, and not on toleration. Indeed we have had enough experience of toleration and of "protection" which could be withdrawn at any time.

Consequently the only reasonable course of action which our movement can pursue is to work for publicly legalized guarantees. The results of colonization as it has been carried on hitherto were quite satisfactory within its limitations. It confirmed the much disputed fitness of the Jews for agricultural work. It established this proof for all time, as the legal phrase has it. But colonization in its present form is not, and cannot be, the solution of the Jewish question. And we must admit unreservedly that it has failed to evoke much sympathy. Why? Because the Jews know how to calculate; in fact, it has been asserted that they calculate too well. Thus, if we assume that there are nine million Jews in the world, and that it would be possible to colonize ten thousand Jews in Palestine every year, the Jewish question would require nine hundred years for its solution. This would seem impracticable.

On the other hand, you know that to count on ten thousand settlers a year under existing circumstances is nothing short of fantastic. The Turkish government would doubtless unearth the old immigration restrictions immediately, and to that we would have little objection. For if anyone thinks that the Jews can steal into the land of their fathers, he is deceiving either himself or others...

When once a satisfactory agreement is concluded with the various political units involved and a systematic Jewish immigration begins, it will last only so long in each country as that country desires to be rid of its Jews. How will the current be stopped? Simply by the gradual decrease and the final cessation of antisemitism. Thus it is that we understand and anticipate the solution of the Jewish problem.

Source: *The Zionist Idea*, edited by Arthur Hertzberg (Jewish Publication Society, 1959)

Practical Zionism

Menahem Ussishkin, "Our Program: An Essay" (New York 1905)

Menahem Ussishkin was a pioneering member of *Hibbat Zion*, the Jewish national movement which sprang up following the Russian pogroms of 1881. He became a leader of Russian Zionism and urged the Zionist movement to prioritise settlement work in the Land of Israel as the best way of achieving its aims. Ussishkin made aliyah in 1919, and in 1923 he was appointed head of the JNF, a position he was to hold for 20 years.

So thoroughly has everyone been convinced of the impossibility of undertaking anything serious in Palestine, that I consider it necessary to make clear what a broad field for activity Palestine offers, even under present conditions. I desire to point out that we have far too limited powers at our command, in order to carry out all the work which already exists there.

We must consequently proceed at once to the purchase of land. *Geulah ha'Arez*, the "redemption of the land," must be our watchword at the present moment. We must buy in every way, with all the means at command, all land, no matter what, that is to be had at present, for there is no plot of ground in Palestine which will not be useful, sooner or later, for one purpose or another....

This is the condition of the Labor Problem in Palestine. Among many thousand Arabs there are only a few Jewish laborers. That is in the broadest sense of the word a sore spot in our colonization. And, however difficult and unpleasant the solution of this problem may be, it must be obtained immediately and unconditionally. Otherwise, the whole colonization of Palestine is built upon sand, or, rather, upon a volcano....

It is, then, once for all necessary to replace the Arab laborer by Jews. But how are we to go about it?

A Jewish Universal Society of Workmen, composed of unmarried young men, physically and mentally sound, must be formed. It should be the duty of every member of this society to go to Palestine for three years, in order to perform there his military duty to the Jewish people, not with musket and sword, but with plow and sickle. These thousands of young people will be obliged to present themselves in the colonies, in order to offer their services as laborers at the same wages as the Arabs receive....

After three years of service for his people, he will have the right to devote himself to his own fortunes. By forming such a society we attain another object, not less important. The bond between the Jews of Palestine and the Jews of the lands of the exile will cease to be a paper one (prayers, books, periodicals), and will become a living one. Hundreds of young people will carry to Palestine the feelings and the ideas of those who work for Palestine, while other hundreds will transmit to us from Palestine the feelings and the ideas of those who work in Palestine.

But shall we have young people ready for such sacrifices? I would fain hope that we shall. If we had the "Bilu" at the beginning of the eighties, I am convinced that we shall now have thousands. Youth is very susceptible. It craves self-sacrifice. It only requires to be called and to have the way pointed out to it. This I am now doing.

Cultural Zionism

Ahad Ha'am, "The Spiritual Revival" (Minsk, 1902)

Ahad Ha'am was the penname adopted by Asher Ginsberg (1856-1927), Russian Jew, Hebrew journalist and Zionist leader. Ahad Ha'am grew up in a religious home but, surreptitiously reading the classics of European culture, he lost his religious faith and began to define himself as a secular nationalist. Ahad Ha'am made aliyah in 1921 and lived in Tel Aviv until his death.

And now a new Zionism has arisen, and has adopted the term "political" as its descriptive epithet. What, we may inquire, is the precise point of this epithet? ... It was taken by the political Zionists to mean something like this: The earlier Zionists included in Zionism everything germane to the development of the Hebrew national individuality; whereas for us it only has a political aim. Zionism for us means simply the foundation in Palestine, by means of diplomatic negotiations with Turkey and other powers, of a "safe refuge" for all oppressed and persecuted Jews, who cannot live under tolerable conditions in their native countries, and seek a means of escape from poverty and hunger. Even the Basle programme helped to fix this idea in people's minds, because in its first paragraph it defined the aim of Zionism thus: "To found in Palestine a safe refuge for the Jewish people," and made no mention of the Jewish nationality.... [T]he Zionist concept became narrowed down, and lost half its meaning...

Every true lover of Zionism must realize the danger which it incurs through the diffusion of the idea that it has no concern with anything except diplomacy and financial transactions, and that all internal national work is a thing apart, which has no lot or portion in Zionism itself. If this idea gains general acceptance, it will end by bringing Zionism very low indeed. It will make Zionism an empty, meaningless phrase, a mere romance of diplomatic embassies, interviews with high personages, promises, *et hoc genus omne*. Such a romance appeals to the imagination; but it leaves no room for creative work, which alone can slake the thirst for activity.

When, therefore, we demand a clear and explicit statement that work for the revival of the national spirit and the development of its products is of the very essence of Zionism, and that Zionism is inconceivable without such work, we are not giving utterance to a mere empty formula, or fighting for a name. We are endeavoring to save the honor of Zionism, and to preserve it from that narrowness and decay which will be the inevitable, though undesired, result of the action of those leaders and champions of the movement who wish to confine it to the political aspect....

And so the foundation of a single great school of learning or art in Palestine, the establishment of a single university for the study of language and literature, would be, to my mind, a national work of the highest importance, and would do more to bring us near to our goal than a hundred agricultural colonies. For such colonies are, as I have said, nothing more than bricks for the building of the future: in themselves they cannot yet be regarded as a central force capable of moulding anew the life of the whole people. But a great educational institution in Palestine, which should attract Jews of learning and ability in large numbers to carry on their work on Jewish national lines in a true Jewish spirit, without constraint or undue influence from without, might even now rejuvenate the whole people and breathe new life into Judaism and Jewish literature.

Source: *Selected Essays of Ahad Ha-'am*, translated and edited by Leon Simon (Jewish Publication Society, 1962)

Has Zionism achieved its goals?

Introduction

Zionism aimed to revolutionise Jewish life. Herzl believed that the establishment of a Jewish State and the consequent mass emigration of Jews from their Diaspora homes would put an end, once and for all, to antisemitism, and would enable Jews to live their lives as free, proud, creative individuals. Other ideologues made similarly revolutionary claims, arguing that Zionism would solve the problems of the Jewish people on social, economic, cultural or religious fronts.

Has Zionism succeeded? On one hand, the State of Israel has been created and, with it, a new national basis for Jewish political, economic and cultural life. But Zionism still has much unfinished business: peace and security have yet to be achieved, Israel faces serious social and cultural problems, and Jews in the Diaspora continue to confront the challenges of assimilation and antisemitism.

In this concluding activity, participants will evaluate Zionism's successes (and failures) and, in this light, discuss the path that contemporary Zionism should take. Finally, they will ask what is perhaps the most important question of all: what are my responsibilities to the Jewish people and the Zionist movement - what can I do?

Goals

- To examine the ways in which Herzl's vision for the Jewish people have been realised and the areas in which his goals have not been achieved
- To critically evaluate Herzl's goals
- To explore alternative, contemporary formulations of the aims of Zionism
- To define practical Zionist priorities and goals on a personal level



Unit outline

In this unit, the participants will:

- Read Eliezer Schweid's claims as to the success of Political Zionism,
- Analyse Schweid's claims by studying media items on the subjects of immigrant absorption, Jewish demographics, and peace and security (small group work),
- Explore alternative aims for the future of Zionism by discussing the positions of Hillel Halkin, Shlomo Avineri, Arnold Eisen and David Breakstone,
- Formulate aims for contemporary Zionism by discussing the Jerusalem Programme.

Instructions to the facilitator

1. Hand out copies of the extract from Eliezer Schweid's article, "The Goals of Zionism Today" (p. 56), and ask a participant to read it out. Explain that during this activity, the group will be evaluating Schweid's claim that Herzl's political Zionism has achieved its goals.
2. Split the participants into three groups. Each group will be asked to evaluate one of Schweid's claims - made in 1996 - in light of contemporary reality, as reflected in media items (p. 57-66). The media items are intended to provide perspectives and thinking points rather than an objective snapshot of the situation. Participants should feel free to draw on their own knowledge and understanding of the situation of Israel and the Jewish people when coming to their conclusions.

3. Having had time to study, discuss and come to conclusions, the participants reconvene. The subgroups teach the others what they have learned and present their conclusions as to the success of political Zionism.
4. Ask the group to discuss the following questions in light of their presentations: to what extent has Zionism shown itself to be a solution to the problems faced by the Jewish people? Are there areas in which it has created more problems than it's solved?
5. Explain that Herzl's political vision was far from being the last word on Zionism. Herzl himself, in addition to a spectrum of other ideologues, believed that Zionism's role was to effect a fundamental social or spiritual revolution in the Jewish people. Since the creation of the State of Israel - the clearest achievement of Jewish nationalist objectives - Zionist thinkers have continued to debate their movement's ultimate vision and aims.

Having evaluated Zionism's past achievements, the group will now turn its attention to the question: what should be the aims of Zionism in the twenty-first century? Read the extracts by Hillel Halkin, Shlomo Avineri, Arnold Eisen, and David Breakstone together with the group (pp. 67-68).

- Halkin argues that Zionism has always stood for the negation of the Diaspora and the belief that the only place that can guarantee a Jewish future is Israel. As such, the goal of Zionism is and must be aliyah.
 - Avineri believes that Israel serves as a focus of values and identity for the Jewish world, something that can only be achieved if it offers a radical challenge to Diaspora Jewish culture. The aim of Zionism is to strengthen the values of nation building and communal solidarity in Israel and prevent the Jewish State from becoming just another consumer society.
 - To Eisen, Zionism means recognising the interdependency of Israeli and Diaspora Jews and deepening these communities' understanding of, and commitment to, each other. This is to be achieved through a common process of meaningful grappling with ideas of Jewish tradition and peoplehood,
 - Breakstone maintains that Zionism has never been only about territory and security, but also about the fashioning of an ideal society. He suggests preoccupation with the former has kept the movement from pursuing a higher vision, and calls now for the emergence of a "positive Zionism" which he sees as the joint responsibility of Jews in Israel and the Diaspora.
6. Having clarified all four positions, lead the group in discussion, based on the following questions:
 - What are you attracted to in the four visions and what troubles you about them?
 - What does each vision have to say about the shape of Israeli society and culture?
 - What is the attitude of each thinker to Diaspora Jewry? How do you react to these attitudes?
 - What responsibilities do Israeli and Diaspora Jews have for implementing each vision?
 - In what ways do the various visions make you feel empowered as a Zionist? What elements make you feel marginalised or disempowered?
 7. Concluding activity: Hand out copies of The Jerusalem Program adopted in 2004 (p.69) and have one of the group members read it out loud. Ask each of the participants to choose a plank of this Zionist platform that s/he feels is particularly important, meaningful, problematic, or challenging. Lead the participants in a discussion of some of the comments made, and ask if there are additional elements of Zionism that they believe should be included in The Jerusalem Program.

Note: If time permits, the following is offered as an alternative concluding activity:

The Jerusalem Program adopted in 2004 constitutes a substantive change from the Jerusalem Program of 1968 (p. 70). The article by David Breakstone, "Herzl's Zionism: Unfinished Business" (p. 72), offers some insight into some of the changes that were made in order to ensure that the World Zionist Organization, founded by Herzl more than 100 years ago, continues to remain relevant to an ever-changing Jewish world.

We suggest you pass out the sheet comparing the texts of both the 1968 and 2004 versions of The Jerusalem Program (p.70), along with the "Rationale for the Adoption of a Contemporary Zionist Platform" (p.71) and ask the participants to analyse the differences between the two versions. (You can help them along by making reference to the article noted above.) Ask them how they feel about the new Zionist agenda, and to discuss the extent to which they believe it will be internalised by the Jewish world as a whole, and by the particular Jewish community of which they are a part.

8. Finally, note that Zionism is not only about ideas, but also deeds. Based on the group's responses to The Jerusalem Program, ask the participants to consider what real and practical steps they might take, either individually or collectively, to advance the cause of Zionism today.

From "The Goals of Zionism Today" by Eliezer Schweid (1997)

Has the State of Israel Achieved Its Goals?

It has been claimed that Zionism is close to achieving at least one of its critical goals, and in my opinion this claim is sufficiently proven. If we define Zionism as Herzl's political doctrine, the State of Israel did not achieve this goal at the time of its establishment, but it has achieved this goal, or is very close to achieving it, today.

Israel is already the largest Jewish center in the world, and within twenty years it will almost certainly be home to a majority of world Jewry. The following factors will bring this about:

- ⌵ Israel will take in immigrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union, and it may absorb immigrants from other places where Jews still meet with hardship.
- ⌵ Israel is demographically healthy. Although Jewish population growth is not keeping up with the Palestinian population growth, it nevertheless experiences natural increase, and the Israeli Jewish age pyramid is sound. It has a majority of young people and a minority of elderly people.

Among diaspora Jewry, the opposite holds true. Its population is rapidly dwindling because of assimilation through intermarriage, which in the United States has already surpassed the rate of fifty percent of current marriages. Furthermore, diaspora Jewry does not exhibit natural increase. Because diaspora families have few children, the age pyramid shows a majority of elderly Jews and a minority a young Jews.

Within twenty years, these trends of increasing Israeli Jewish population and dwindling diaspora Jewish population will make the State of Israel the largest, most consolidated, and most stable Jewish center in the world. This is an impressive achievement.

- ⌵ The peace process is leading to normal relations with the countries of the region. If the process is successful, the people who dwell in Zion will find themselves living in a sound political environment.

Because of these factors, among others, one may say that Herzl's political vision has been realized. Herzl's political vision for diaspora Jews has also been realized, for he believed that diaspora Jewry would, by virtue of the existence of a Jewish State, live under conditions of tolerance and safety similar to those prevailing in the diaspora today. Bear in mind that when the State of Israel was established, even American Jews were far from feeling secure and at home. Hence, from the political perspective, Zionism has met its goals.

Source: The Zionist Imperative: An Anthology of Contemporary Thinking (WZO)

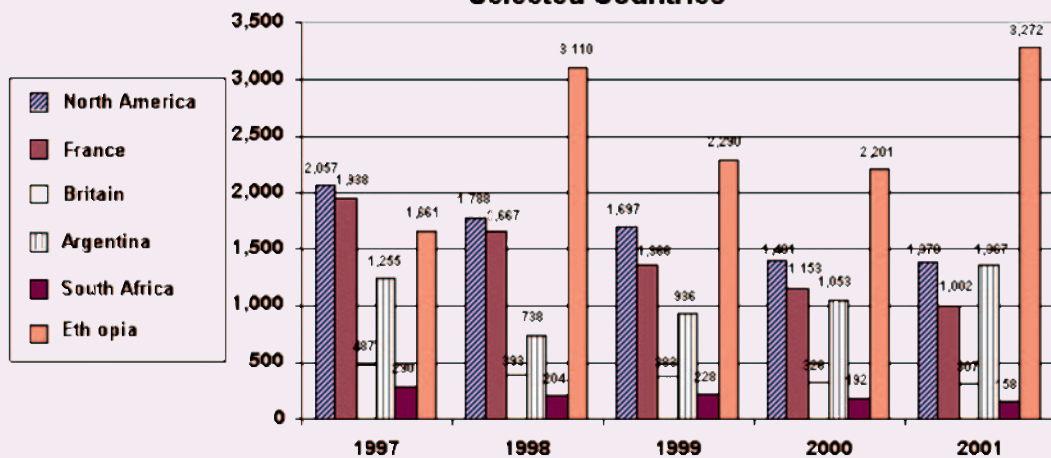
GROU P 1

ALIYAH AND ABSORPTION

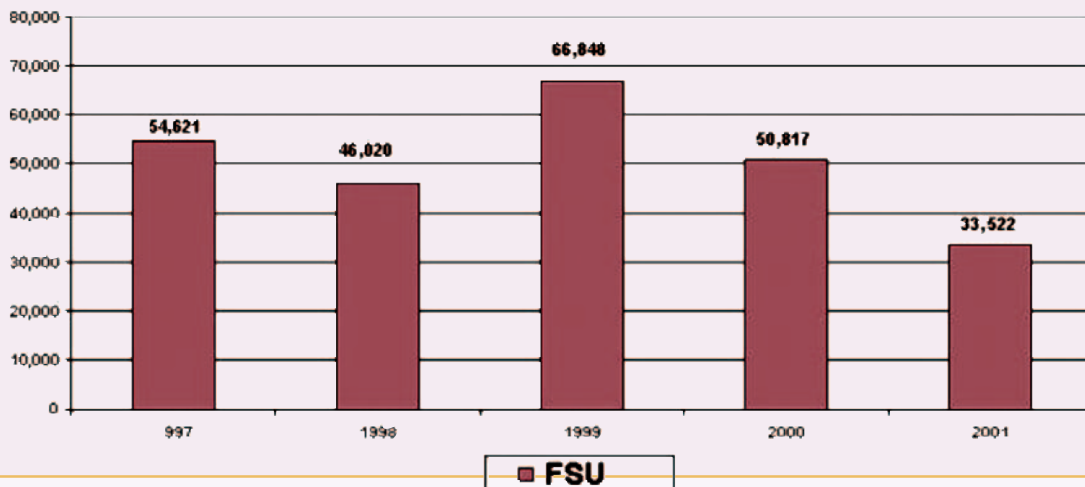
Study the following articles and statistics and discuss the following questions:

- Why is aliyah important to the State of Israel and the Jewish people?
- How many *olim* have arrived in Israel in recent years?
- How do you rate the success of the State of Israel and the Zionist movement in attracting and absorbing new *olim* (immigrants)?
- Has Zionism achieved its goal of absorbing immigrants?

**Aliyah Statistics 1997 - 2001
Selected Countries**



**Olim from the FSU
1997-2001**



Source: online at www.jafi.org.il/aliyah/dept/bog/feb2002

"Staying Power" - successful aliyah stories

Name: Avi (originally Arthur) Livne, 76.

Family in Israel: A wife, Batsheva (originally Beatrice), three of their four children, and six grandchildren, aged 1-17. All of them live on kibbutzim. **Hometown:** Brooklyn, N.Y.

Aliyah: First time in 1947 as a volunteer on the illegal immigrant ships, including as a crew member on *The Exodus*. He returned to the United States to study in 1953, and made aliyah again in 1977.

The motivation: "Because I was a Jew - and I feel the same way today."

Life in the Diaspora: "I had it good there, especially when I think that if my grandparents hadn't gone to the U.S., I would have been born in Europe."

Residence in Israel: Kibbutz Barkai, near Hadera. Four hundred residents, a "typical kibbutz" that is in the process of shifting from collective to private ownership.

Occupation: Now retired. Avi was a business executive in the U.S. and raised poultry on the kibbutz. **Daily routine:** Works in the kibbutz dining room three mornings a week, studies history and archaeology at Tel Aviv University twice a week, volunteers at the Diaspora Museum one day a week, plus frequent visits to children and grandchildren.

Shabbat: "Very busy with all sorts of things like listening to classical music and using the computer."

The intifada: "I'm terribly sorry that it exists both for them and for us. We're both caught in a difficult situation and I believe that most of them are good people."

The recession: "We're part of a world-wide recession and when the U.S. gets out of it, so will we."

High points of life in Israel: Family, the kibbutz, celebrating holidays, especially *Tu Bishvat*, the Jewish Arbor Day. ("We never had the chance to plant trees in the U.S.")

Hopes and dreams: "To have my grandchildren live in peace and security, with their hopes and aspirations ahead of them; that they shouldn't have to worry about the army. I want us to do the just thing for everyone inside Israel, as well as for our neighbors."

Name: Aaron Tobin, 17

Family in Israel: Parents, three sisters (ages 15, 19 and 21), grandfather. Hometown: Boston, Massachusetts.

Aliyah: In 1986, at the age of 5 months.

The motivation: "My parents wanted us to live as Jews in the Holy Land. I'm happy with that decision because I have a good life."

Life in the Diaspora: "I think it's much more meaningful to live as Jews in Israel. It's the promised land for us."

Residence in Israel: Efrat, a large settlement in the Etzion bloc near Jerusalem, with "lots of Americans."

Occupation: Student at a yeshiva in Kochav Hashahar settlement, close to Beit El, where he stays in dormitories from Sunday until Thursday. He has a part-time job cleaning a synagogue.

Daily routine: Wakes at 7 A.M., prays, studies from 8:30 A.M. until 1 P.M., and again from

3 P.M. to 5 P.M. In the evenings, he studies, plays pool or basketball, or goes to the computer room. Aaron goes into Jerusalem once a week (when he gets permission).

Shabbat: Goes to shul and meets old friends; they hang out in a hut that Aaron and a friend built.

The intifada: "The only real way for it to finish is if you believe in God. It's obviously not an option to kill all the Arabs or kick them out and we obviously can't live with them. The politicians think they have ways, but there are no real good ideas, so the only way is to put it in God's hands."

The recession: "Every time I read the paper, it puts me in a bad mood, so I don't know exactly what's going on. But I'm really thankful for the stuff that I do have and I try and give as much as I can."

High points of life in Israel: "I have lots of good friends. It's very open, no one really tells me what to do, even at my school."

Hopes and dreams: "I hope to get somewhere good in the army and be able to do as much as I can there."

Name: Danya Cohen, 26.

Family in Israel: An aunt and her family, plus one cousin. Hometown: Columbia, Maryland. ("A serene place to live, but a bit superficial.")

Aliyah: In 1999. The motivation: "It was unplanned." She was on her way back from working for the Zionist youth movement, *Habonim Dror*, in South Africa when she encountered some Britons from the same youth movement, who were establishing a city kibbutz. "I thought I'd give it a try."

Life in the Diaspora: "It's privileged - the kind of privilege you can't appreciate until you can view it from the outside."

Residence in Israel: She is a member of the *Kvutsat Yovel*, a small collective in Migdal Ha'emek, a northern development town. Its seven members live in three apartments in close proximity and share their income, resources and much of their time together.

Occupation: Grant writer for two Arab nonprofits: one in Nazareth, which promotes alternative education, and one in Haifa, which focuses on housing and education, plus coexistence between Jews and Arabs.

Daily routine: Goes to work by bus (10 minutes to Nazareth, an hour to Haifa). In the evenings, usually eats dinner with the group, goes to meetings or meets friends.

Shabbat: Eats a Shabbat meal and studies the weekly Torah portion with the group. On Saturdays, Danya relaxes, meets friends or travels.

The intifada: "It's sad how both elements of Israeli and Palestinian society have become more entrenched in their opinions and extreme in their views, and that less Israelis are able to see the negative consequences of the occupation."

The recession: "It's also sad that the government chose to sell out its own voters - mostly the lower and middle classes - by cutting social welfare programs in order to stimulate the economy by rewarding the rich."

High points of life in Israel: The constant engagement with political issues, the excitement and being part of Jewish nationhood.

Hopes and dreams: "So many, but first, I hope the people of the Middle East will come to their senses soon."

Source: *Staying Power* by Charlotte Halle, *Haaretz*, November 11, 2003

Immigration nosedive

By Michele Chabin - Israel Correspondent

The Jewish Week, January 9, 2004 - www.jewishweek.org

Some call the reduction in olim distressing; others say it's a good thing.

Jerusalem - Since late December, when the government released its annual immigration report, interested parties have been putting their own spin on the numbers.

Viewed from one vantage point, the figures are distressing: roughly 23,000 people immigrated to Israel in 2003, down from 34,000 in 2002. This is the lowest number since the collapse of the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s, when some 200,000 people a year immigrated to Israel. Not since 1988, when 13,000 olim arrived, has the number of immigrants been so low.

There are those, however, who say that any immigration at this time is encouraging, given the severe economic and security situation in the country. That 23,000 brave souls decided to cast their lot with the Israeli people, they maintain, demonstrates that Israel is still an attractive place to live.

Those in the "glass-half-full camp" also point to the fact that aliyah from many Western countries actually increased last year, particularly from North America.

For the first time since the late '60s, when North American Jews flocked to Israel in excited droves in the aftermath of Israel's triumph in Six-Day War, American and Canadian *olim* represent a significant percentage of new immigrants, according to a report just published by Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics.

Of the roughly 23,000 people who made aliyah in 2003, about 2,400 of them came from North America, compared to 2,000 the year before.

"You speak about the number of olim being low, but you need to keep it in context," urges Michael Jankelowitz, a spokesman for the Jewish Agency, the Israeli body that facilitates aliyah.

"Since the fall of the iron curtain, 1.6 million Jews have left the FSU. Of these, one million have made aliyah. This was the biggest reservoir for aliyah and you can't expect the number of olim to be what it was in the beginning of the '90s."

The fact that thousands of immigrants "chose to make aliyah in spite of the intifada, in spite of the economic situation, is a major achievement of Israel and the Jewish people," Jankelowitz says.

Ra'anana Gissin, one of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's top advisers, agrees. "I look at it in the positive sense," he says. "Despite the current situation, aliyah continues. You'll see, when the economy improves significantly that number will double."

Regardless of the reasons for the downturn, Larissa Remennick, an expert on aliyah at Bar-Ilan University, believes that it is already having an important effect on the demographic front.

"The demographic problems in Israel are getting worse. It is more difficult to keep a balance between Jews and non-Jews," she says.

Immigration, Remennick says, "has been the major source of population growth on the Jewish side" during the past quarter century. Natural increase among Jews is lower than that of the non-Jewish, Arab population.

The only exception is Orthodox Jews, who tend to have many children.

Remennick says that the huge influx of Russian Jews has also had a major impact on the local political and religious scene.

"The absolute majority are non-religious and they have been politically conservative from the outset. They tend to vote for center and right-wing parties like *Likud* and *Yisrael Beiteinu*."

During the last national election, she says, "a very big proportion of Russian speakers voted for Shinui," a party that enjoyed huge success based on its anti-religious, pro-secular platform. "This support reflects the outlook of a big chunk of the Russian electorate."





David Rosenberg, an economic commentator, says the immigration wave that began in late 1989 and lasted until the mid-'90s "was very positive for the economy in the long term. It brought a very educated and talented workforce and an increase in the demand for products and housing."

In the short-term, however, the economy was burdened.

"These immigrants didn't arrive in Israel with jobs," Rosenberg points out "Unemployment was almost 12 percent. The country bore the cost of absorbing them, of teaching them Hebrew and providing for them until they entered the workplace."

Rosenberg stresses that the Russian aliyah "didn't happen in a vacuum. It occurred during the peace process, when new markets were opened."

Had the influx started five years earlier, Rosenberg theorizes, "it's not clear whether the economy could have accommodated them."

Nor is Rosenberg certain that Israel would currently be able to absorb, say, 200,000 new immigrants a year as it did in the early '90s - if something triggered a sudden large wave of aliyah.

"The economy isn't in very good shape right now. It would not be helpful to have more and more immigrants right now. The unemployment rate is very high as it is. The kinds of jobs available are low paid, unskilled jobs."

As things stand, Rosenberg says, "it might be preferable to have an immigrant ready to clean a floor rather than someone who writes software. "

Despite the dearth of jobs in high-tech and other highly skilled fields, more than 2,000 North Americans decided to move to Israel and try their luck.

"We're glad we came," says Avi Levine, a 30-year-old computer expert and father of four young daughters. "We'd been dreaming of aliyah for a long time. The economy and terrorism aside, this is the place for Jews to be. "

Thanks to a dose of idealism, as well as a grant and other support from the immigrant organization *Nefesh B'Nefesh*, the Levines seem to be making a go of it.

"Sure there are challenges," Levine says. "Helping the kids adjust to a new language in a new school. Getting used to new products. Fortunately, we made friends right away and had a bit of a financial cushion since we sold our home in Monsey."

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ROUP 2

JEWISH DEMOGRAPHICS

Study the following articles and discuss the following questions:

- In demographic terms, what success has Israel chalked up and what challenges does it face?
- Can Israel's Arab citizens be described as a "demographic problem?" Why or why not?
- How might Israel try to deal with its demographic issues?
- Has Zionism achieved its demographic goals?

Jewish demographic study: Most Jews will be living in Israel

By Jessica Steinberg

JERUSALEM, February 14, 2002 (JTA) — Thirty years from now, most of the world's Jews will be living in Israel, the Jewish Agency for Israel says.

This projection was released as part of a new world-wide Jewish demography research project launched this week by the Jewish Agency....

Among the statistics released by the Agency:

- World Jewish population, currently about 13.2 million, is expected to reach 15.6 million in 2080.
- Sometime after 2030, Israel will be home to the majority of world Jewry. This will be the result of aliyah and the shrinking size of Jewish communities abroad due to assimilation and low birth-rates. Currently, 37 percent of the world's Jews live in Israel.
- The Jewish population in the Diaspora is older than in Israel. According to a 1995 survey, 27 percent of Israel's Jewish population is younger than 14, compared to 17.6 percent in the Diaspora. Only 11.5 percent of Israel's Jewish population is over 65, compared to 18.5 percent in the Diaspora.
- Mixed marriages are reducing the number of Jews because only a fraction of the children of such marriages regard themselves as Jewish.
- In 2080, 81 percent of Jewish children under 14 will live in Israel.

"Two of the most serious problems for Jewish demography are birth rates and intermarriage. Living in Israel has a clear advantage over the Diaspora in both cases," DellaPergola said.

"When it comes to intermarriage, had the millions of immigrants who came from the former Soviet Union over the last decade stayed in their own countries, it is reasonable to assume that 90 percent of their children would not be defined today as Jewish," he said.

Commenting on DellaPergola's findings, Housing Minister Natan Sharansky said Tuesday, "The reality of these figures is that Israel is the safest place for the Jewish future, even in these difficult times, when Jews are killed almost every day."

Also commenting on the figures, Jewish Agency Treasurer Chaim Chesler focused on the non-Jews who have come to Israel, primarily from the former Soviet Union.

Some "275,000 new immigrants are not Jewish according to halacha, or Jewish law, Chesler said. "But they have joined their destinies with that of Israel. They serve in the army, and they have paid a heavy price in blood in the course of terrorist attacks."

Calling the issue of their non-Jewish status a "social time bomb," Chesler called on the Orthodox Chief Rabbinate to find a "lenient" solution that "will enable those who so desire to become part of the Jewish people."

Demographer: Holy Land already has non-Jewish majority

Haaretz, September 12, 2003

A Haifa University demographer said Tuesday that there is already a majority of non-Jews within the total area of Israel, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Demographer Amnon Sofer also said that recent estimates of the number of Palestinians to be enclosed on the Israeli side of the West Bank fence had been vastly exaggerated, and that the maximum number would not exceed 30,000.

"At this very minute, within the western land of Israel from the [Mediterranean] Sea to the Jordan [River], there is already a non-Jewish majority," Sofer told Israel Radio....

Asked about the possible influence of future Jewish immigration from France and elsewhere, Sofer said that the society must also take into account the influence of the burgeoning population of the Holy Land as a whole.

Even if predicted immigration from France, the United Kingdom, and Belgium does not materialize, "within 17 years, some six million people will be added to the population, most of them poor Palestinians".

"This land is entering into a demographic-ecological whirlwind."

Netanyahu: Israel's Arabs are the real demographic threat

by Aluf Benn and Gideon Alon

Haaretz, December 18, 2003

Israel's growing demographic problem is not because of Palestinians, but of Israeli Arabs, Finance Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said yesterday.

Speaking at the Herzliya Conference on security, Netanyahu said Israel had already freed itself from control of almost all Palestinian Arabs. He said he could not foresee a future in which "any sane Israeli" could try to make Palestinians either Israeli citizens or "enslaved subjects." The Palestinians would under all circumstances rule themselves and administer their own affairs, he said.

"If there is a demographic problem, and there is, it is with the Israeli Arabs who will remain Israeli citizens," he said. The Declaration of Independence said Israel should be a Jewish and democratic state, but to ensure the Jewish character was not engulfed by demography, it was necessary to ensure a Jewish majority, he said.

If Israel's Arabs become well integrated and reach 35-40 percent of the population, there will no longer be a Jewish state but a bi-national one, he said. If Arabs remain at 20 percent but relations are tense and violent, this will also harm the state's democratic fabric. "Therefore a policy is needed that will balance the two."

The economy is the single most important factor that will lead to Jews immigrating to Israel, he said. "I go mad when I see that because of low taxation in Moscow, there is now a capital flow there. If we want Jews to come here, we need a flourishing and dynamic economy. If we want Israeli Arabs to integrate, we need a flourishing and dynamic economy."

He said it was necessary to improve education standards, especially for Arab citizens. Netanyahu said that the "separation fence" would also help to prevent a "demographic spillover" of Palestinians from the territories.

Uzi Dayan: "A state's citizens can never be a demographic threat."

By Yair Ettinger

Haaretz, December 19, 2003

Finance Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's statement that the demographic threat to the state "focuses on the Israeli Arabs" continued to resonate in speeches at yesterday's Herzliya Conference organized by the Interdisciplinary Center. Netanyahu's statement was condemned by several speakers during a session on the subject of the Arab population.

Brigadier General (res.) Uzi Dayan, head of the "Forum for National Responsibility," distanced himself from Netanyahu's comments, saying: "A state's citizens can never be a demographic threat." The chairperson of the Arab Monitoring Committee in Israel, Shwaki Hatib, added that the remarks constituted "wild incitement," "poisoned" the public debate and should "light up a warning sign for the whole of Israeli society."



Playing Leaflet for Learning Hebrew Eretz-Israel 1904.
Designed and illustrated by Miriam Riter-zedek published by Barlevy, Tel-Aviv

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ROUP 3

PEACE AND SECURITY

Study the following articles and discuss the following questions:

- Are you optimistic or pessimistic that peace is a likely prospect for the near future?
- To what extent does Israel's future depend on achieving peace with the Palestinians?
- Has Zionism achieved its goal of peace and security for the Jewish people?

Peace? No chance

By Benny Morris

The Guardian, February 21, 2002

In 2000, turning his back on the Oslo process, [Yasser] Arafat rejected yet another historic compromise, offered by Barak at Camp David in July and subsequently improved upon in President Bill Clinton's proposals (endorsed by Barak) in December. Instead, the Palestinians, in September, resorted to arms and launched the current mini-war or intifada, which has so far resulted in some 790 Arab and 270 Israeli deaths, and a deepening of hatred on both sides to the point that the idea of a territorial- political compromise seems to be a pipe dream.

....The Palestinian leadership, and with them most Palestinians, deny Israel's right to exist, deny that Zionism was/is a just enterprise. (I have yet to see even a peace-minded Palestinian leader, as Sari Nusseibeh seems to be, stand up and say: "Zionism is a legitimate national liberation movement, like our own. And the Jews have a just claim to Palestine, like we do.") Israel may exist, and be too powerful, at present, to destroy; one may recognise its reality. But this is not to endow it with legitimacy. Hence Arafat's repeated denial in recent months of any connection between the Jewish people and the Temple Mount, and, by extension, between the Jewish people and the land of Israel/Palestine. "What Temple?" he asks. The Jews are simply robbers who came from Europe and decided, for some unfathomable reason, to steal Palestine and displace the Palestinians. He refuses to recognise the history and reality of the 3,000-year-old Jewish connection to the land of Israel.

....I don't believe that Arafat and his colleagues mean or want peace - only a staggered chipping away at the Jewish state - and I don't believe that a permanent two-state solution will emerge. I don't believe that Arafat is constitutionally capable of agreeing, really agreeing, to a solution in which the Palestinians get 22-25% of the land (a West Bank-Gaza state) and Israel the remaining 75-78%, or of signing away the "right of return". He is incapable of looking his refugee constituencies in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Gaza in the eye and telling them: "I have signed away your birthright, your hope, your dream."

And he probably doesn't want to. Ultimately, I believe, the balance of military force or the demography of Palestine, meaning the discrepant national birth rates, will determine the country's future, and either Palestine will become a Jewish state, without a substantial Arab minority, or it will become an Arab state, with a gradually diminishing Jewish minority. Or it will become a nuclear wasteland, a home to neither people.

Peace is only a question of time

by Yair Hirshfeld

The Oslo agreements were not a coincidence of history. In practical terms, the Israeli and Palestinian leaderships finally agreed that violence got them only deeper into trouble. In political terms, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Chairman Yasser Arafat needed the legitimacy of a deal. In conceptual terms, the Oslo agreements, signed in September 1993, had been conceived 15 years earlier, in September 1978, when Prime Minister Menahem Begin and President Anwar Sadat signed the Camp David accords....

Failed negotiations can be of great historical relevance as they often produce concepts and ideas that do show the way for conflict resolution. The Clinton proposals suggested the restitution of 97 percent of the territories of the West Bank and Gaza occupied in 1967, a comprehensive plan to deal with the Palestinian refugee issue and the division of Jerusalem into a Jewish and a Palestinian city.

The roadmap, issued almost two years later and supported by the US government, the European Union, Russia and the United Nations, devised a three-stage plan to get there. First, end violence and create stabilization; second, establish a Palestinian state with provisional borders; and third, go for a comprehensive peace deal.

In spring 2002 in Beirut, an Arab summit conference agreed on a complementary plan that could actually lead the way to peace between Israel and all 22 Arab states, in the event that the roadmap and the Clinton proposals were put into practice.

At the moment, every side still fears that the other side is out to trick it. Yet on the Israeli side, most of the taboos preventing a permanent status agreement have been broken. The PLO has been recognized, the majority of Israelis supports the two-state solution, the partition of Jerusalem is no longer a taboo, and the understanding on territorial arrangements is that they will have to be based on the June 4, 1967 line with equal exchange of territories. It is not certain that the taboos have been broken on the Palestinian side. In order to reach a deal, the Palestinian side will have to recognize that the Jewish people has the right to exercise its right of self-determination in Israel. Regarding the refugee issue, in the common search for a fair and just resolution, both sides will have to recognize that the right of return of the Palestinian people is to their homeland the State of Palestine whereas the right of return of the Jewish people is to their homeland the State of Israel.

Any student of history knows that the moment when both the Israeli and Palestinian peoples have conceptually agreed on the guidelines of a peace agreement, getting there will only be a question of time and political architecture.

In my view, we should all agree that the time has come to redouble our effort and get there as soon as possible.

Source: www.bitterlemons.org, September 8, 2003

The aims of Zionism: four visions

1. Hillel Halkin

The same classical Zionist beliefs that justified modern Jewish settlement in Palestine, and that justified the establishment of a Jewish state, justify this country to this day. These are so simple that they can be presented as an ordinary syllogism:

1) It is natural for a Jew who is committed to his Jewishness to seek to perpetuate Jewish life in himself and in his people. 2) For objective historical reasons, Jewish life in the Diaspora is doomed; and, conversely, such life has a possible future only in an autonomous or politically sovereign Jewish community living in its own land, that is, in the State of Israel. 3) Therefore, it is natural for a Jew who is committed to his Jewishness to desire to live only in Israel....

And I must confess that sometimes, when in musing about these things the scales of habitual reality drop from before my eyes, I am forced to blink in astonishment: here, on the one hand, after two thousand years, is the miracle of a reborn Jewish state, and here, on the other, are millions of individuals in the Diaspora claiming to be committed Jews, seeking even, often at considerable expense and inconvenience to themselves, to live as such, yet freely rejecting the opportunity to partake in that miracle and defend its struggle to survive. Can it be?

Source: *Letters to an American Jewish Friend*, Jewish Publication Society, 1977

2. Shlomo Avineri

Israel can continue to be the normative focus of identity for Jews abroad only if it is different from Jewish life in the Diaspora. If Israel becomes only a mirror-image of Diaspora life, if it becomes, for example, just another Western consumer society, then it will lose its unique identification for world Jewry....

Zionism is a revolution against the drift of Jewish life, which pushes so many Jewish people, precisely because of the determination and stamina acquired to overcome their tribulations, to look for relatively neat and easy occupations rather than to confront the challenge of building a national society, whose meaning is an overall responsibility and not just caring for oneself and one's own....

Therefore Zionism has ultimately no chance unless it constantly revolutionizes Jewish life in Israel and stops it from coagulating into the traditional historical molds of Jewish social and economic behavior. Israel can, therefore, remain for the long range the normative center for world Jewry only if it will remain a society different from Jewish Society in the Diaspora: the struggle for maintaining this difference will have to continue as the central facet of the permanent Zionist revolution.

Source: *The Making of Modern Zionism*, Basic Books, 1981

3. Arnold Eisen

American Jews will probably never come to care deeply about Israeli Jews or vice versa (except in moments of emergency, when mutual dependence is clear) unless both communities can be brought to care about Jewish peoplehood and tradition... We need to build and strengthen diverse communities of Torah: groups of Jews bound to one another in ties of tangible obligation, engaged in serious dialogue of varied sorts with Jewish history and traditions....

These are the activities to which I would henceforth give the name Zionism: efforts undertaken by the Jewish people in Israel and the diaspora that link Jews, wherever they are, to Israel and that enable all Jews who wish to do so to settle in and build the Jewish State....

Israel remains of incalculable importance to the political and cultural thriving of diaspora Jews - and, I would venture to say, the reverse is the case as well. To be a Zionist means, to me, to recognize our interdependency and to act on it - arguing all the while, for the sake of Heaven no less than of Zion, over how the Jewish State should be Jewish and what the state of Zionism is in the State that Zionism founded.

Source: "The State of Zionism, the Jewish State" in *Zionism: The Sequel*, Hadassah, 1998

4. David Breakstone

...We have failed to present a Zionist challenge - a Zionist imperative - appropriate to an era of prosperity, tranquility, and peace. We all knew what Zionism was when it was about securing and then protecting a Jewish homeland. These basics having been accomplished, Zionism has, for many, become passé, and for some, literally a thing of the past...

But [this] post-Zionist position is fundamentally flawed. Its basic fallacy is its premise that the causal rationale of Zionism was the creation of a safe haven for persecuted Jews. While this concern has indeed always been fundamental to the movement, it has never been its sole purpose, nor the articulation of its loftiest aspirations. The post-Zionists view the emergence of Zionism against a background that is far too narrow, and altogether too negative: antisemitism, pogroms, and the disappointments of emancipation. They essentially overlook the affirmative dimension of Zionist thinking that has been so central to the movement since its inception - the passion for creating a *chevrat mofet*, an exemplary society. It is this worldview, what I would call *positive* Zionism as opposed to *crisis* Zionism that... offers a *vision of Jewish life* and not only *a solution to the Jewish problem*. It is the joint responsibility of Jews everywhere, and the compelling mission that continues to make Zionism vital, contemporary and engaging.

Source: "From Crisis Zionism to Positive Zionism", *Haaretz*, November 5, 2003

The Jerusalem Program

Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, brought about the establishment of the State of Israel, and views a Jewish, Zionist, democratic and secure State of Israel to be the expression of the common responsibility of the Jewish people for its continuity and future.

The foundations of Zionism are:

1. The unity of the Jewish people, its bond to its historic homeland Eretz Yisrael, and the centrality of the State of Israel and Jerusalem, its capital, in the life of the nation;
2. Aliyah to Israel from all countries and the effective integration of all immigrants into Israeli Society;
3. Strengthening Israel as a Jewish, Zionist and democratic state and shaping it as an exemplary society with a unique moral and spiritual character, marked by mutual respect for the multi-faceted Jewish people, rooted in the vision of the prophets, striving for peace and contributing to the betterment of the world;
4. Ensuring the future and the distinctiveness of the Jewish people by furthering Jewish, Hebrew and Zionist education, fostering spiritual and cultural values and teaching Hebrew as the national language;
5. Nurturing mutual Jewish responsibility, defending the rights of Jews as individuals and as a nation, representing the national Zionist interests of the Jewish people, and struggling against all manifestations of anti-Semitism;
6. Settling the country as an expression of practical Zionism.

Adopted as the official platform of the World Zionist Organization by the Zionist General Council, June 2004.

The Jerusalem Program Textual Comparison of 1968 and 2004 Versions

| The Jerusalem Program (1968) | The Jerusalem Program (2004) |
|---|---|
| The aims of Zionism are: | Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, brought about the establishment of the State of Israel, and views a Jewish, Zionist, democratic and secure State of Israel to be the expression of the common responsibility of the Jewish people for its continuity and future. The foundations of Zionism are: |
| The unity of the Jewish people and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life; | The unity of the Jewish people, its bond to its historic homeland Eretz Yisrael, and the centrality of the State of Israel and Jerusalem, its capital, in the life of the nation; |
| The ingathering of the Jewish people in its historic homeland, Eretz Israel, through <i>aliyah</i> from all countries; | Aliyah to Israel from all countries and the effective integration of all immigrants into Israeli society; |
| The strengthening of the State of Israel which is based on the prophetic vision of justice and peace; | Strengthening Israel as a Jewish, Zionist and democratic state and shaping it as an exemplary society with a unique moral and spiritual character, marked by mutual respect for the multi-faceted Jewish people, rooted in the vision of the prophets, striving for peace and contributing to the betterment of the world; |
| The preservation of the identity of the Jewish people through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew education and of Jewish spiritual and cultural values; | Ensuring the future and the distinctiveness of the Jewish people by furthering Jewish, Hebrew and Zionist education, fostering Jewish spiritual and cultural values, and teaching Hebrew as the national language; |
| The protection of Jewish rights everywhere. | Nurturing mutual Jewish responsibility, defending the rights of Jews as individuals and as a nation, representing the national Zionist interests of the Jewish people, and struggling against all manifestations of anti-Semitism; |
| | Settling the country as an expression of practical Zionism. |
| <i>Adopted at the 27th Zionist Congress, June 1968.</i> | <i>Adopted by the Zionist General Council, June 2004.</i> |

Rationale for the Adoption of a Contemporary Zionist Platform*

Whereas the Zionist idea and the Zionist imperative have evolved over the years in response to changing circumstances in the Jewish world, and as these circumstances have changed significantly since 1968 when the platform of the Zionist movement was last revised, and

Whereas Zionism continues to come under attack both from those who reject its underlying premises (anti-Zionists) and from those who claim it has fulfilled its mandate with the securing of a Jewish state (post-Zionists), and

Whereas the Zionist vision has always included the creation of an exemplary Jewish society (*chevrat mofet*) in the historic Jewish homeland and the development of a vibrant national culture anchored in Jewish heritage, in addition to the establishment of a secure homeland for the Jewish people, and

Whereas these challenges remain as real and as significant today as ever, requiring that the Zionist movement continue to be a vital and relevant movement with the active participation of the entire Jewish people, and

Whereas Zionism is the responsibility of the Jewish community in Israel no less than it is the responsibility of the Jewish people in the Diaspora, and

Whereas the current Zionist platform - the revised Jerusalem Program of 1968 - does not present Zionism in the broad and inclusive terms necessary to engage Jews the world over, including Israel, in the contemporary spectrum of Zionist tasks, and

Whereas the current Zionist platform lacks sufficient direction for concrete expression of Zionist commitments,

Be it resolved that the World Zionist Organization adopt the proposed Zionist platform in place of the current Jerusalem Program ratified in 1968.

** Presented by MERCAZ Olami to the 34th Zionist Congress, 2002*

Herzl's Zionism: Unfinished Business

by David Breakstone

"Those of us who are today prepared to hazard our lives for the Zionist cause would regret having raised a finger if we were able to organize only a new social system and not a more righteous one," declared Theodor Herzl more than a century ago. The visionary of the Jewish state, who far too often is mistakenly perceived as having concerned himself exclusively with seeking a political and territorial solution to the "Jewish question," was also a passionate advocate of fashioning a utopian society in the Land of Israel. Zionism, he was convinced, would not only bring about an end to anti-Semitism by doing away with the abnormality of Jewish homelessness, but would also give birth to a community characterized by social justice, equal opportunity, and the fair distribution of resources.

Unfortunately, we cannot escape the conclusion that Herzl was wrong on both counts. Jews around the world are facing a virulent wave of anti-Semitism on a scale not witnessed since the Holocaust. And Israeli society is plagued by a multiplicity of problems far too serious to dismiss as simply being those that characterize any western democracy.

But that his prophesy has heretofore gone unfulfilled diminishes neither its relevance nor its power to inspire. Only two months before he died, Herzl bequeathed future generations an ethical will that remains as pertinent today as it was a century ago. "I truly believe that even after we possess our land, Zionism will not cease to be an ideal," he wrote. "For Zionism includes not only the yearning for a plot of promised land legally acquired for our weary people, but also the yearning for moral and spiritual fulfillment."

There is no better way to honor the father of the Jewish state on the hundredth anniversary of his passing, than to internalize the meaning of these words. It is against this background that the June gathering of the Zionist General Council in Jerusalem becomes so significant. Rededicating itself to the ideals of its founding father, the World Zionist Organization amended its platform, the Jerusalem Program, and in doing so, established an agenda for the Zionist movement that is both exceedingly contemporary and refreshingly traditional.

Central to the revised Jerusalem Program is a new plank explicitly stating that Zionism is about *fashioning* the Jewish state, and not only *defending* it. If until now the WZO was preoccupied with bringing Israel into being and guaranteeing its survival, it has now determined that it must also concern itself with the character of Israeli society. In an extraordinary expression of solidarity and singularity of purpose, the more than 160 delegates from 28 countries present pledged themselves unanimously to "strengthening Israel as a Jewish, Zionist, and democratic state and shaping it as an exemplary society (*chevrat mofet*) with a unique moral and spiritual character, marked by mutual respect for the multi-faceted Jewish people, rooted in the vision of the prophets, striving for peace and contributing to the betterment of the world (*tikun olam*)."

The old-new Jerusalem Program also asserts for the first time and for a new generation that Zionism is "the national liberation movement of the Jewish people." In an age when others insidiously portray Zionism as an instrument of occupation and oppression, this is an important reminder of its true nature and fundamental nobility of purpose.

The platform also emphasizes the mutual responsibility that the Jews in Israel and the Diaspora have in working together to assure their continuity and common future. This is as important a message for Israelis as it is for Jews abroad, asserting as it does that Zionism is not only about living in Israel and "settling the country as an expression of practical Zionism," but also about acting upon the needs of the Jewish people worldwide.

Asserting that these needs – dealing with the well-being of Jewish life outside of Israel – are legitimate concerns of the Zionist movement, is another innovation of the new Jerusalem Program. "Ensuring the future and the distinctiveness of the Jewish people by furthering Jewish,





Hebrew and Zionist education, fostering Jewish spiritual and cultural values, and teaching Hebrew as the national language” suggests a commitment to the forging of a Jewish national culture that transcends territorial borders. **The 2004 Jerusalem Program, then, articulates a Zionism that does not negate Jewish life in the Diaspora.** Indeed the “centrality of the State of Israel and Jerusalem, its capital, in the life of the nation” is clearly affirmed, but the added reference to the Jewish people’s “bond to its historic homeland,” along with the specification that Zionism is also about “defending the rights of Jews as individuals and as a nation... and struggling against all manifestations of anti-Semitism” indicate an ongoing concern with the quality of Jewish life everywhere.

This is not to say that the ingathering of the exiles is no longer a priority of the Zionist movement. **“Aliya from all countries” remains an essential plank of the platform,** new wording that refers to the “aliyah of choice” and “aliya from the west” that have only recently become the focus of World Zionist Organization and Jewish Agency campaigns. This re-focusing expresses a renewed commitment to the classical Zionist tenet that living in Israel represents the pinnacle of Jewish self-fulfillment. But it is also an expression of a growing recognition that there is a dwindling reservoir of Jews in distress outside of Israel, coupled with an emerging understanding of the looming demographic threat to Jewish sovereignty in the State of Israel. Partly in recognition of this reality and partly out of an evolving social consciousness, the new Jerusalem Program also calls for “the integration of all immigrants into Israeli society.” **All of this is essential to safeguarding another of the foundations of Zionism now defined by the Jerusalem Program, “strengthening Israel as a Jewish, Zionist, and democratic state.”**

This revised manifesto is testimony, then, not only to the ongoing relevance of Herzl’s dreams, but also to the determination of the Zionist movement he founded to address emerging realities. A century may have passed since Herzl’s death, but the matters that occupied him continue to be germane to the Jewish world today. Anti-Semitism has yet to be vanquished, assimilation and ignorance continue to threaten Jewish life everywhere, and the ideal social order he portrayed in his utopian novel *Old-New Land* is yet to emerge. But the old-new Jerusalem Program of 2004 constitutes an unequivocal declaration that our *will* to meet these challenges is as resolute as ever - and that, according to Herzl, should be a harbinger of good things to come.

Dr. Breakstone is a member of the Zionist Executive and the head of the Department for Zionist Activities of the World Zionist Organization. An abbreviated version of this article appeared in *The Jewish Week*, July 16, 2004.

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ROYAL COMMISSION ON ALIEN IMMIGRATION,
86 Great George Street,
Westminster, S.W.

Dear Sir,

Mr. Steinberg informs us that you will be in London in the early part of next month, and that you will be able to give valuable evidence before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration which is now sitting.

As the Commission would much like to avail themselves of the opportunity of hearing your views on this question, I wish to ask if you will be willing to give evidence.

The Commission sit every Monday and Tuesday, and I should be very much obliged if you will give me an opportunity to see you and arrange to fix a Royal Commission provided, of course, that you are willing to do so.

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

J. C. ...

**A project of the
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in conjunction with
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Herzl:

Up Close and Personal

in pursuit of the Zionist vision

teaching and programming material complementing the traveling exhibition celebrating the visionary of the Jewish state, giving life to the man and the ideals that motivated him, and conveying Zionism as the rich and compelling ideology it continues to be today



Department for Zionist Activities
World Zionist Organization