



World Zionist Organization

120  
120 YEARS OF ZIONISM  
"ZIONISM IS AN INFINITE IDEAL"

Session of the Zionist General Council 37/2

# The First 120 Years of Zionism and Looking Forward to the Next 120 Years

Conceptual Summary of Discussions  
Zionist General Council and the Roundtables



*Zionisten-Congress in Basel.  
29. 30. und 31. August 1897.*

Design based on the invitation to the First Zionist Congress

**Tishrei 30-Heshvan 2 5777  
November 1-3 2016**



Friends,

A meeting of the members of the Zionist General Council offers an excellent opportunity to examine our approach, and to devise the requisite policy and changes for the current circumstances.

The 37/2 session of the Zionist General Council took place just a few days following to the start of events marking the 120th anniversary of the first Zionist Congress (Basel, 1897) at the official residence of President Reuven Rivlin, and with his blessing.

The World Zionist Organization (WZO) has been in existence for 120 years! That is a highly significant date and we intend to mark it with a number of events during the course of the year, with a view to regrouping and refreshing the Zionist idea among Diaspora Jewry and residents of Israel.

The roundtable discussions, the summaries of which are attached, impart our constant striving to examine ourselves, and to update the organization's value thinking. They will serve us as guides for our future Zionist work. We will thus be able to ensure that Herzl's words, that "Zionism is an infinite ideal" will have a practical significance, for our generation and for generations to come.

I would like to thank our friends who have contributed to these fruitful discussions, and the discussion group moderators, for their meticulous work.

Best wishes,

Avraham Duvdevani (Duvdev)

Chairman of the Executive, World Zionist Organization





Dear Friends,

I am delighted to present to you the summary of the discussions held at the last meeting of the Zionist General Council, on the subject of "The First 120 years of Zionism, and Looking Ahead to the Next 120 Years", which took place at Maaleh Hahamisha, last Heshvan.

This special session was attended by members of the Zionist General Council, from Israel and from the Diaspora.

The guest speakers are all noted lecturers of the highest order. In their addresses they raised new ideas for further discussions, which took place at the roundtables.

All the colleagues who participated in the discussions expressed deep involvement in the matter of advancing the Zionist movement, and I would like to particularly note the panel of youngsters, and their animated participation in the roundtables. Their message is important for the movement's renewal.

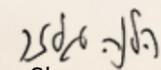
I quote from my address at the opening evening of the session:

"When the matter at hand is the movement or the life of a nation, there are many who will say that 120 years is only the beginning of the road, which is much much longer, and that its longevity should not be defined by a number but rather by infinity. Even so, 120 years is a sizeable period of time which enables us to consider where we were, what we did, what our successes were, where we need to improve and, mainly, to look forward and to outline the future, not only in terms of vision but also in terms of the ways to turn it into a reality.

If we want to realize the dream we also have to formulate operational plans to put it into effect.

In his book, The Jewish State, Herzl wrote: "If you will it, it is no dream."

Best wishes,

  
Helena Glazer

Chair, Zionist General Council



Dear Friends,

The 37/2 session of the Zionist General Council was held under the theme of the events marking the 120th anniversary of the first Zionist Congress – the Zionist Movement.

Herzl's vision of creating the Jewish state was realized 50 years after he announced it, and around 70 years since then, with the creation of the state of Israel, we are living the dream.

However, these were only the first 120 years. The Zionist General Council looked at the achievements, of which they have been not a few, and provided a stage for considering the goals of the next 120 years.

The members of the Zionist General Council, intellectuals and academics, and members of the younger generation of Zionist leaders presented us with that has been, and with a lot of hope for what is to come.

We are at the cusp of renewed Zionist momentum. We, in the Zionist movement, bear a heavy responsibility for the future of the Jewish people, and for completing the Zionist vision which has only been partially fulfilled.

The Zionist General Council is the principal platform for devising the way forward, and for setting the objectives which we are striving to attain.

This booklet expresses the responsibility and philosophy of this Zionism.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Herzl Center, the presidium and members of the Zionist General Council for committing to this important Zionist journey.

Best wishes,

  
Eli Cohen

CEO, World Zionist Organization

# Zionist General Council Program

**Tuesday 1.11.16**  
30 Tishrei, 5777

**4:00 - 5:00 PM**  
**Presidium Plenary of the Zionist General Council**

**5:00 - 6:00 PM**  
**Plenary No.1**  
Chairman, World Zionist Organization  
Mr. Avraham Duvdevani  
Chairperson, Zionist General Council  
Ms. Helena Glaser  
Report of the WZO Comptroller -  
Mr. Steven Stav

**6:00 - 6:30 PM**  
**Plenary No.2**  
In Memoriam  
Elections of Honorary Fellows - Rabbi Yehiel Wasserman

**7:00 - 8:00 PM**  
**Zionist General Council Opening Reception**  
Farewell Event for Mr. Jacob Gispan

**8:30 - 10:00 PM**  
**Plenary No. 3**  
120th Anniversary of the Zionist Movement  
Opening Address -  
Speaker of the Knesset, Mr. Yuli Edelstein  
Symposium:  
Prof. Aviva Halamish  
Prof. Jonathan Sarna  
Prof. Shmuel Trigano  
Moderator: Mr. Oren Nahari

**Wednesday 2.11.16**  
1 Cheshvan, 5777

**7:00 - 9:00 AM**  
**Meetings of Factions and Organizations**

**9:00 - 9:30 AM**  
**Plenary No. 4**  
99th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration  
The Balfour Declaration in the Mirror of Time -  
Prof. Shlomo Avineri

**9:30 - 10:30 AM**  
**Plenary No. 5**  
120 Years of Zionism  
Roundtable Discussions

**10:30 - 11:15 AM**  
**Plenary No. 6**  
The Next 120 Years of Zionism  
Zionist Future - Prof. David Passig

**11:15 - 11:30 AM**  
**Recess**

**11:30 AM - 1:00 PM**  
**Plenary No. 7**  
11:30-12:15 Discussion of Young Zionist Leaders;  
Moderator: Mr. Oren Nahari  
12:15 - 1:00 PM Roundtable Discussions

**1:00 - 2:00 PM Lunch Break**

**2:00 - 7:00 PM**  
**Plenary No. 8**  
Resolutions Plenary

**7:00 - 8:00 PM Dinner Break**

**8:00 - 10:00 PM**  
120 Years of Zionist Song

**Thursday 3.11.16**  
2 Cheshvan, 5777

**7:00 - 8:30 AM**  
**Meetings of Factions and Organizations**

**8:30 - 11:45 AM**  
Tour in Jerusalem  
In the Footsteps of Herzl  
**11:45 AM - 12:30 PM**  
**Recess**

**13:00 - 13:45**  
**Lunch Break at Hotel**

**2:00 - 3:30 PM**  
**Plenary No. 9**  
Summaries of Roundtable Discussions

**3:30 - 5:00 PM**  
**Plenary No. 10**  
Resolutions and Closing  
Hatikvah

# Symposium 120 Years of the Zionist Movement

## Addresses and Lectures Given During the Session



## Yuli Edelstein MK

We are approaching the 120th anniversary of the first Zionist Congress in Basel. That is a good sign, we've almost been through 120 years until the summer.

At least in the coming two months we can know who is enemy and who is friend. Anyone who tells us, in the next two months, the traditional blessing of "up to 120" is certainly an enemy. But, from the summer we will happily embrace the blessing of up to 120, and I think we have every reason to believe that we will carry on succeeding in the next 120 years.

As we approach this venerable age of 120 we can also think about some summaries. To what degree has the Zionist Movement about which Herzl said in Basel, I have founded the Jewish state, how much it has succeeded, what objectives has it attained, what has been carried out according to the plans, and what has been done so to a lesser degree. As long as it's for good objectives, and for further learning, developing, as I said, the challenges which we may not yet have achieved, I welcome this. It's our culture, in Judaism for generations to come. We spoke about that in the Knesset today. I think the Prime Minister spoke about it, that Herzl also was criticized from the very first moment; he had some very tough opponents. He thought about Ahad Ha'am, now should we declare him to be an enemy because he argued with Herzl? Of course not because, first and foremost, the debate was for a lofty ideal, and I would certainly say it was more tactical than strategic.

Without doubt, in terms of the basic objectives Herzl set, the Zionist Movement set, I think you can say that the reality exceeds all fantasy. The establishment of the state, and everything that has taken place in almost 70 years after the creation of the state, these are things that if Herzl had presented them at the First Zionist Congress in Basel, I think that he would not only have had his critics, but any reasonable person would have stood up and said, that man is a fantasizer, he isn't really capable of leading any practical movement.

But, it seems he had something, a combination of someone who knows how to dream and to set objectives – someone whom Viktor Frankl would have described as having to set their sets higher

in order to reach the target, because otherwise you never achieve your objective. So, apparently, Herzl set very high objectives and achieved something very very realistic. But, as I said, something that exceeds the reality.

Just thinking about it that we are now, and I say this based on my own experience. And I pinch myself every time, a state that 120 years ago was just a dream that maybe was not realistic, and the state only came into being in '48.

Today, as Speaker of the Knesset, I sit opposite colleagues from countries that have been around for hundreds of years, countries with 20-30, or maybe even 100 times our population, certainly in arithmetic terms, and they not only address me as their equal, they are hungry for our knowledge, our innovativeness, for many things we can offer.

The last example which took place a few weeks ago, when the Chairman of the National People's Congress of China, who firstly insisted on it. We met with him at the UN, at a conference of parliamentary heads around two years ago. He firstly insisted that the Speaker of the Knesset of Israel, and not because of my beautiful eyes, that the Speaker of the Knesset of Israel should visit China - a technicality, he has the authority to invite, in China everything is orderly, not like here where everything is improvised, he can invite two official guests a year. He insisted that one should be the Speaker of the Israeli parliament.

Moreover, a few months later he came for a visit here. What unity, suddenly there's a political turnaround? No, it's the same things, as I said, that Israel has to offer, and in China they need these things.

The only problem I had with visiting China was that I was sure that I now know how to say hello in Chinese. Anywhere you go and say Israel, they straightaway say either Israel or "drivi rigshen." So, during my visit there, I thought that drivi rigshen was hello in Chinese. You can smile, but you can also be very very proud with these stories.

The real question, another question, is whether our country, and in the Knesset for those of you who follow it, there are quite a few debates about this topic, as much as it doesn't sound pertinent, it is very pertinent.

If we as a society, as a democratic country, live according to Herzl's vision. My answer is unequivocal. My answer is unequivocal. I think that

we, even in this sense, are a little different from many other countries of the world. I will say it in the most problematic way, but that is my sense.

I also think, based on my life experience, that in many places around the world, that if the same nations, the same countries, had found themselves in the situation we were in in 1947, immediately following the UN declaration of the establishment of two states in Palestine, think about it, an attack by 5 countries, 5 armies. There was nothing that even resembled a serious economic infrastructure. There was a society the vast majority of which was made up of people who had just arrived from the cataclysm of the Holocaust, or other olim from other countries, and only minority of people who had been here half a generation or a generation.

In military terms you couldn't compare the military force here to the attacking forces.

International support? There was nothing of the kind. There weren't any diplomatic relations yet, just a few countries who declared they would establish diplomatic ties.

What is "normal" behavior in such circumstances? Normal behavior which I certainly consider to be abnormal. That means forgetting about all the stuff about democracy, an Opposition, elections. First we have to survive. Now, we first of all need a strong leader who knows what to do. He will lead us. And all this rubbish, Opposition, speeches, elections, voting, that's for when we are like France or Belgium. That's when we'll do that. Now is not the time.

From the first moment, apparently based on the tradition of those Zionist Congresses, from the outset, and we have the minutes and the documents at the Knesset - you are invited to see them too. From the first session of something that wasn't yet called the Knesset, the Opposition attacked the Coalition, and they explain to them that they assumed power that is not theirs, and that it's not a parliament at all, and they have to arrange new elections straightaway.

Not a single moment in all these years, and we have had some very tough situations, have we strayed from the path of democracy.

Anyone who wants to complain about the character of the state of Israel, and about if we are democratic enough, pluralist enough, they should always bear in mind this starting point, and think about the simple fact that you cannot argue with,

factually. In all the years, we have not strayed from the path of democracy for five minutes. Regardless of the situation, war, the Rabin assassination – we will mark that anniversary soon – disengagement, whatever, we have always stuck to this path.

I think, really, from the point of view of the challenges of the next 120 years, this will be part of the challenges, because I know that we frequently engage in struggles that need to be addressed. We still have our haters. And there is still the BDS, and we have the organizations. OK. I am the Knesset Speaker. I can't provide a correct definition of those bodies that make decisions, to the effect that there is no connection between the Jewish People and the Temple Mount, or Jerusalem. True, all that exists.

I would suggest maintaining these struggles. We have to fight. We have to attack, but we mustn't waste the next 120 years on these things. We are stronger than them.

How do I know, it even scares me, Helena didn't want to mention age. I am scared to mention that I have been a Knesset Member for over 20 years, and I was a minister in different governments.

I will also tell you, from my experience in various times. The worst thing that can happen to a public figure, to an elected representative, is that people are apathetic.

When you come to address a meeting like this, not of this kind with the people seated here this evening, but what you'd call a political meeting, and people shout at you, and stand up and ask searching questions, and leave in protest, you are doing well, you are OK. As soon they don't come, or when people come for a quarter of an hour, politely listen, applause for half a minute and leave, then you're in a very bad place.

Israel arouses interest all round the world. I can tell you once again, from my personal experience, from my various visits, to international forums, but why do I need to prove it to you. You know that perfectly well.

True, with our enemies too, but that's part of it, because we don't give them any respite, we don't give them any rest precisely for the reasons we mentioned now, a few minutes ago, because we are succeeding against all odds, because we remain democratic despite the terror and the wars and, by the way, I don't know, and I don't only say this to the audience of Zionists sitting here, I also

said this to my colleagues in many parliaments. The challenges with which European countries are now addressing for the first time, I don't know how they'll manage with them, whether they will stay completely democratic, and will fully succeed in combatting terrorism. I don't know. Please don't misunderstand me. I hope they do. But the upheavals that are still to come, and the problems over the horizon. Finding the right balance here is not easy. We are driving the world mad, so small, and with all the stories of breakthroughs in all sorts of fields.

We have already mentioned democracy, and military successes. But all that, as well as very important knowhow for which the world is hungry, and I think that in the next 120 years our challenges will be how to make this interest, this pressure of all these endless struggles which we will still have to address, into an attempt to prove that not merely the Jewish state came about as a result of the Zionist vision. Now the Jews have a place to go, even though that even with this target, another half, more than a half of our people still do not live in Israel. Something can be done in this area

too. But we have retrieved the ability to be a light unto the nations, in different fields which we have considered, and have yet to consider, and if with the words of Viktor Frankl I cited, we will aim higher, we will reach the objective without, or at least with less, day-to-day struggles.

So I wish us all that in the next 120 years, as many years of which God will grant us to live, also according to the vision of the prophets, and also that of Herzl, and of the founding fathers of this state, and to be a strong and prosperous state of Israel, and also a light to the nations.



## Prof. Aviva Halamish

From its inception, the Zionist Movement was in a race against time. And I feel we are doing that in a very practical way.

I want to go with you through the 120 years of the Zionist Movement. Of course there are various ideas about when exactly the Zionist Movement was born, as intimated by Oren Nahari. But, let's say we are talking about that first Zionist Congress, in 1897.

We are talking about a movement, about the WZO and about political Zionism, without going into all the details.

I think we all agree, and that also came out of the Knesset Speaker's address, that political Zionism is a success story; those who wish can say, at least we can say for now.

I would like to talk more about the journey, and how Zionism succeeded in formulating an agreed objective, an independent sovereign Jewish state in the Land of Israel.

Yes, there was the brief Uganda episode, there were those who talked about an international state, but that was the agreed objective.

The debate in the Zionist movement was primarily about the way, how to achieve this objective. And there was a debate, and you could say there still is, about the borders of the Jewish state.

In my short address I would like to explain, or to share my thoughts with you, how the Zionist Movement overcame disagreements, and achieved the objective – creating a state without civil war. We are talking about a national freedom movement which managed to achieve its goal, without a civil war within.

Now I'll return to the words of the Knesset Speaker, who highlighted, to my mind correctly, the matter of democracy.

The Zionist movement, the WZO from its inception was an organization based on the rules of democracy. There were elections, there was a legislative body, there was an executive arm, there was no judicial arm because of the lack of sovereignty. When there was a military arm it was answerable to the elected civil institutions.

From the second Zionist Congress there was the right to vote in the WZO, active voting and passive

voting for women, when most western countries had not yet granted women the right to vote.

That is one point, the fact that the Zionist movement was a democratic movement.

The second point is the ability of the Zionist movement to define the important matters for itself, and not to arrive at a situation of disagreement or division with regard to issues which are, I call this an unborn egg. That's how, in 1903, the matter of Uganda was overcome without relating to the actual problem, which seemed unsolvable at the time. They said, OK we'll send a committee to check, we'll discuss it at the next congress, Unfortunately, Herzl was no longer alive for the next congress. But the idea was to address procedure, and not to divide over a topic that was still unfinished, and there was no point in splitting over something like that.

I am skipping over a number of stations and going to 1931. In 1931 a Zionist Congress was held in which Ze'ev Jabotinsky, the leader of the Revisionist movement, said that the Congress should declare that the objective of the Zionist movement is the creation of a Jewish state in the Land of Israel, on both banks of the Jordan River.

The WZO did not define its goal as the establishment of a Jewish state. At Basel in 1897 they spoke about heimstadt, about a homeland.

It was the Zionists who basically devised the Balfour Declaration. They did not write "state", they wrote "a national home."

In 1931, when Jabotinsky said we need to declare that our goal is to establish a Jewish state in the Land of Israel, on both sides of the Jordan, that is ours and that is too, the Zionist Congress voted against that – not because they didn't want it, but because they understood that to make such a declaration when the Jews comprise 17% of the population of the western part of Eretz Israel, there was no point in making such a declaration which has no basis and no political chance.

In the same vein, in 1937, when faced with the Peel Commission partition proposal the Zionist movement accepted the principle of partition, it objected to the borders proposed by the Peel Commission, but accepted the principle of partition based on an understanding of the situation in Eretz Israel, and the situation of the Jews in Europe.

I am jumping forward again, skipping over World

War Two, during the course of which the decision was taken at the Biltmore congress, to establish a Jewish state in the whole of the Land of Israel, and once again they did not use the word state, rather the term “commonwealth”, so as not to annoy the gentiles, as they say.

Everyone knows why a bride enters under the chuppah, but there is no need to say it out loud. It was like that with the Zionist movement, whereby different words were always used but everyone knew that, ultimately, the intent was a state.

A very important point. We are today still in 2016, and we are already beginning to celebrate many jubilees which are waiting for us in 2017 – 120 years of the Zionist Congress, and 100 years of the Balfour Declaration, and 70 years of the UN Partition Plan, the 50th anniversary of the Six Day War etc.

Now I am moving forward to 1946, a year of closure for us. There was a conference in Paris, which is less well known than many other events. In view of the post-Holocaust situation, and in view of the fact that the fight for the Yishuv against the British was very successful in military terms, but did not move Zionism forward to reach its objective – establishing a Jewish state in entire Palestine, as had been decided in 1942 at the Biltmore congress, also at the Paris conference the executive of the Jewish Agency decided to reformulate the Zionist objective, and it was to establish in Palestine a sustainable Jewish state on a large enough territory.

I stress this because, in addition to the previous merits I noted from the point of view of the WZO, I want to note the fact that the WZO was an initiator, It initiated and moved things forward, after 1967.

My claim is that the UN decision which was taken on that November 29, was not forced on the Zionist movement. Rather the Zionist movement initiated it, from that Paris conference, and thereafter through diplomatic Zionist activity, by giving testimony to the UN committee in 1947, and ultimately a decision was reached to create a Jewish state in part of Eretz Israel, according to international law.

I want and I say this very carefully, disagree with the words of the Speaker of the Knesset, in the sense that we really realized all of Herzl’s vision. The political vision yes, without doubt. But we should remember that the book that came out

120 years ago, Der Judenstadt, also had a social vision. Herzl’s Jewish state was supposed to be an exemplary society of social justice, tolerance, without discrimination on grounds of race, sex, religion or nationality, there should be freedom of opinions, a welfare state, a state in which people work only 7 hours a day.

If you recall Herzl suggested a white flag with 7 golden stars, referencing the 7 hours of work, because the Jews go to their country focused on work.

All the residents must be covered by health insurance and pensions. No one is to be left to cope with sickness and poverty on their own.

Housing in the Jewish state will be in the form of workers’ housing, for anyone who makes a living from physical labor. These will be though uniformly designed houses for economy purposes, but they will be surrounded by gardens and will be pleasant in appearance, and the land will be owned by the state. Every child will have free education, from elementary school through to university.

In Herzl’s Jewish state religion and state will be separate.

I quote: “I will give great respect to the army and priesthood, as appropriate for their lofty position. But they should not expression an opinion on political matters.”

In Herzl’s state there was sexual equality, general freedom to vote for women and men. And we should remember once again, that we are still talking about a time when women in the United States did not have the vote.

Herzl’s political Zionism succeeded beyond all expectations. But the Jewish state, which is also a social manifest, still leaves us, for anyone who considers themselves part of this camp, still leaves us a great deal of work, and there is more to come.

## Prof. Shmuel Trigano

We are celebrating the 120th anniversary of the founding of the Zionist Congress. In other words, the initiative through which the Jewish people decided to establish itself as a sovereign nation after 2,500 years of invisibility, 90 years after the sanhedrin – judicial body - convened by Napoleon I in order force the Jews to waive any civil and political aspirations. When the Dreyfus Affair took place Herzl realized that the emancipation was fundamentally flawed.

In 1791, the French Revolution granted the Jews emancipation based on a convention which was not fully thought through. It granted them citizenship, not as Jews but as human beings, not as a collective, whatever that meant, a community, people or nation, but as individuals.

The famous saying of the member of the founding assembly expressed this well. I quote: “Everything to Jews as individuals, nothing to Jews as a nation.”

Abbé Grégoire himself, defender of emancipation, was responsible for establishing this principle. I cite him. “The plan we are devising is designed to achieve the extinction of the Jewish communities.” Anyone who does not comprehend the ramifications of this model does not understand anything about the fate of the Jews over the last 200 years, and the drama of the Jews as a people. If, indeed, the Jews as individuals were able to advance in society and to integrate in it, the Jewish people remained stuck in a no man’s land of the political modernism. However, it did not cease to exist, in circumstances that became increasingly more dangerous with the emergence of the nation states in Europe, and later in the east.

1848 was a defining year during which the nationals’ movement arose throughout Europe, and a new phenomenon emerged – anti-Semitism.

Herzl was among those who understood that anti-Semitism had political significance. It targeted the Jews everywhere as a people, and it targeted a people that was not supposed to exist following the emancipation. This was substantiated by history, as ultimately anti-Semitism swept the fate of the individuals into the fate of the people without those involved realizing it. This was proven by the Dreyfus Affair, and that was what was horrifically

demonstrated 40 years on, with the Holocaust, and with its global ramifications.

The emancipation half failed, as Herzl discovered. It needed correcting and the Jewish collective required having its status restored, so that it matched the individual status.

A citizen of the emancipation could no longer accept the situation in which he was designated only as an individual. He needed a specific nationality which could reinforce his citizenship and protect it, as a Jew and as a collective.

Similar to Pinsker, through this Herzl rediscovered the step taken by Jean-Jacques Rousseau with the social convention.

Indeed, that emancipation is the cornerstone of democracy which views the collective that defines itself as a sovereign entity, by virtue of the law, in order to create a state. However, this is not sufficient to ensure the operation of sovereign entity, and even though establishes democratic individualism it does not guarantee that the individual who is a citizen by law, as part of the sovereign entity, will obey that law as a subject of the state, as that is his other role.

In terms of that emancipation, as Yehuda Pinsker related to it, I set myself a rule that obliges me to protect myself from this uncertainty.

Rousseau found a solution in the shape of what he termed civil religion. He saw it as a sort of cult of citizenship which feeds off the defining myths and the history of the collective subjective, which we now call national identity. It is clearer in English – there is no citizenship without citizenry.

Indeed, the nations of Europe saw such development with the national movements, and the development of national identity immediately following the declaration of human and civil rights.

This initial failure of the democratic theory explains why the nation remained in the jungle at the very heart of modernity.

In 1848 the nations rose up in their masses against the imperialist powers of the 19th century, and the nations established themselves with their weapons, at the cost of a period of conflict and wars. But the nation states formed the framework in which the democratic regime could establish itself.

With these analysis components I am providing you, here, with the key to understanding the situation which we are currently experiencing with regard to

political Zionism, both in the international arena as well as in the Israeli and Jewish arena.

The status of the Jews, as a nation in the state of Israel, has not yet been regularized in what is purported to be the international community. This is the only country which is the object of a struggle for total decimation by other countries. This is the only people whose existence and legitimacy are doubted. The most serious element is not what the enemy thinks, it is what the post-democratic West thinks and, first foremost, Europe, which with the European Union looks like someone taking a backward step towards to an imperialist type regime.

We are living in an era dominated by ideology which is a mutation of post-modern narcissism. It serves as justification for the existence of the elite of global society, for the principle of their legitimacy. This ideology, and this is indeed one of the characteristics of narcissism, is hostile to the nation state. It opposes the basic idea of sovereignty, supports Western polemics, and reverses the actual principles of morality, by establishing a way of life based on inequality, based on non-reciprocity.

Unfortunately, this ideology resonates robustly in parts of the Jewish world, both in the Diaspora and in Israel. This incorporates a stream which is known by various names – post-Zionism, different Judaism - and is hostile towards the very principle of national sovereignty for the Jewish people, just as post modernism in Europe is against the nation state. Some of its outspoken adherents go so far as to deny the existence of the Jewish people, in the international arena, and even argue that the Jewish national identity is, fundamentally, conceptual.

Thus, Zionism now faces a stiff challenge, both on an internal and an external level.

The political existence of the Jewish state is, in fact, not the only thing that is questioned. Doubt is also cast on the in-built legitimacy of the sovereignty of the Jewish people.

Here, too, like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, we are touching on the social convention at the weak point of political Zionism. More precisely, this is an area that was not cultivated at all on the new continent where Zionism opened a window onto Jewish history.

While, for the Jewish people, this legitimacy has to be found not only beyond emancipation but also, I

believe, beyond that emancipation, it is an in-built dimension of its existence and is not contingent on any emancipation or any recognition. This hierarchical superior, who always liberates parties on an inferior level, as indicated by the use of term emancipation, which is reserved solely for certain categories of people - Jews, blacks and minors.

In complete contrast, the roots of Israel's legitimacy stem from the eternity of Israel (netsach Yisrael), in the actual principle of a sovereign Jewish entity, which the historic symbol of Jerusalem undoubtedly conveys in the clearest possible manner.

The UNESCO vote, which divests the Jewish people from any religious, historical and political connection with Jerusalem, indicates that our enemies clearly identified the clear objective of the movement against that legitimacy, and is hoping to destabilize it through its delegitimization on the international plane.

There is no need to talk about delegitimization anymore. The legitimacy does not require recognition by others. It declares itself. What is described here is the mission of the second era of Zionism.

We still have to implement and realize what Herzl was unable to consider in the historic era in which he lived. This is where we are at our weakest, and where we can, nevertheless, draw new strength.

Today, as we are not fully convinced by that legitimacy, we are exposed to this kind of attack.

The goal is to once again establish, to use Rousseau's terminology, the civil religion of the democratic Jewish state. We have to establish a venture of symbolic, educational, legislative, and political nature, in order to define it based on the analytical model I proposed to you, the model of the of the Jew and the human being, of the individual and of the collective.

I will say that just as Herzl reintroduced the Jews to the citizen, from now the aim is to restore the Jew to the human being. This is a struggle which must be waged on every stage of the free world but, first and foremost, in the arena of the Jewish people.

There is no opportunity, here, to reawaken and to spring into action for the WZO, after the creation of the state of Israel. I believe that Zionism has, once again, become the primary objective for the Jewish people.

## Prof. Yonatan Sarna

The conference marking the 120th anniversary of Zionism, to my mind, and particularly after hearing about Herzl, offers us a wonderful opportunity to look back to a true celebrated pioneering American Zionist Louis Brandeis. Indeed, his success makes it possible to draw very important conclusions for those, like us, who are looking to reignite their enthusiasm from Zionism. I would like to say, especially among left-leaning American Jews today, that Zionism will gain complete success. Yes, today American Jews lean to the left, and there lessons to be learned from that, first of all, that contemporary American Zionism has a painful shortage of a leader such as Louis Brandeis, in other words a respected liberal role model capable of translating the Zionist ideal into a language suitable for young idealist non-religious Americans in general and, in particular, young American Jews.

It should be remembered and, possibly, in this room it is remembered, that in the 1990s American Zionism was not an Orthodox topic. It was a universal topic. Conservative rabbis, Reform Jews, Hadassah Women and, most important for our purposes, secular Americans, supported it. And the fact that it had liberal role models, such as Louis Brandeis and Horace Kallen who proudly championed the Zionist cause, and encouraged their admirers to follow suit.

The great tragedy in the U.S., today, is that many of the country's prominent leaders, whether Jewish, and certainly if they are non-Jews, are stuck somewhere between ambivalence to antagonism towards Zionism and Israel, as are their supporters. If we want liberal young Jews to support Israel in the coming years we have to bring some of the important liberal thinkers over to Israel's side. Theodor Herzl and his friend Jacob De Haas understand that and used this strategy at the beginning of the 20th century when they made great efforts to recruit Brandeis to the Zionist cause. And, today, we need to identify and bring over to our side some of these which, if you will, are contemporary Louis Brandeises. And they will bring liberal American Jews with them, whose support is so important for Israel today. The second reason why Louis Brandeis is still relevant today, and it is important to remind this on this anniversary, is that he understood that Zionism in America has to be defined and protected in a

language that resonates the American ethos. He knew that words such as "negation of the Diaspora" would never win over hearts in America, and he dropped this element of Zionist ideology. He defined Zionism in terms of American history and ideals themselves when he talked about the first pioneers in terms of the Jewish founding fathers, and linked Zionism to American progressiveness, and the dissemination of American ideals.

Yes, it is easy to smile when you hear some of Brandeis's slogans, "to be good Americans, we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews, we must become Zionists. To be good Americans, we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews, we must become Zionists." or "by battling for the Zionist cause the American ideal of democracy, of social justice and of liberty will be given wider expression." It is easy to smile and to dismiss all this as naïve rhetoric, but for young American Jews looking for way to strike a balance between American liberalism and Zionism, these ideals were the stuff of magic. They flew in the face of anti-Zionist rhetoric, they allowed liberals to support Zionism as an expression of the ideals that these people admired in the United States of America.

To my mind, the alienation, from Israel, of Americans from the Jewish American left, today, is closely linked with the tragic neglect by Zionism of the rhetorical strategy and the heritage of Louis Brandeis. Today, instead of the Zionists the ideals of democracy, social justice, liberalism and the integrity of the way, too often we have left the arena to Israel's enemies.

If Zionism wants to win the support of liberal America, its language has to resonate the American ethos, and its values must connect with the areas with which American liberals connect, and to reinforce them. Louis Brandeis understood that 100 years ago, and we have to understand that today.

Finally, Louis Brandeis recognized that, in order to succeed, Zionism has to address the highest ideals of American Jewry. It has to offer them a mission, a sense of something more exalted than themselves, which they can strive to achieve. It is for that very reason, I feel, that Zionism sounds utopian to us. It promises life, liberty, happiness, education, financial freedom, equal opportunity for all, just like Herzlian Zionism as Prof. Halamish noted, sounds utopian. But these objectives were American progressive goals, and that is no coincidence. Brandeis himself said, "the ideals I have set in

America have to continue to exist in the Jewish state too.”

Zionism in Brandeis's time offer American Jewry an exciting sense of their ability to personally help to create a better world in Zion, a world in which democratic and liberal ideals are finally realized, and this feeling was exciting, energizing and uplifting. It drew thousands of people to this topic.

Today – I say this with some sadness – to my mind, Zionism is struggling to express any kind of mission which may attract and excite the masses of liberal Jewish youngsters in America. "Negation of the Diaspora" will certainly not work, no more than it did during Brandeis's time. And I am not sure that theoretical statements by the state of Israel, even if they are completely true, yes... "a startup nation"... will also draw American Jews. Young liberal Jews in America are looking for inspiration through lofty goals and ideals. They see to create a better and more just world.

Yes, there are many things here in Israel that can serve as a source of inspiration, and there are plenty of social justice projects that are crying out to be utilized. So, let's bring Americans here

not just for 10 days of Taglit-Birthright, rather to improve the lot of the disadvantaged and the downtrodden in Israel. Let's motivate young liberal Jews in America as Brandeis did, with big dreams. Let's lure American Jews through the vision of a better world, here in Zion. And then we should encourage them to spend a summer or a year or their whole lives fulfilling these dreams.

My friends, a century ago – this is the 100th year – a young judge, Louis Brandeis, intuitively understood how to draw liberal young Jews in America to the Zionist message. He, himself, acted as a role model for the meaning of being an enthusiastic Zionist. He defined Zionism in terms that resonate with all Americans, of all faiths. He made a connection between Zionism and the highest American liberal values. And he devised a lofty vision of Zionism, which inspired two generations. The Brandeis formula succeeded 100 years ago. In this anniversary year, let us commit to immersing ourselves in this formula, to update it and reuse it.



# 99 Years to the Balfour Declaration

## Prof. Shlomo Avineri

I would like to divide my address into three parts. Firstly, the backdrop to the Balfour Declaration; second, what the declaration covers, and what it doesn't; and, third, its implications over time.

November 2 1917. The next day the Times of London published concise information about the declaration as well as an item about Lenin and his cohorts taking over power in the USSR. That is an interesting instance whereby these two things, which were unconnected, nevertheless appeared together. And as an Israel and a Zionist Jew, I allow myself to consider where we are today and what happened to the Soviet Union. It's not bad. We are in a good state compared to the USSR which no longer exists. But there is a connection here.

When you ask yourself why, in the middle of World War One, when America was just joining the war, and the outcome of the war was not yet entirely clear, why Britain decided, in a slightly complicated manner – I'll go into that in a minute – to release a declaration of support for the Zionist movement, which as we know was not then a big or influential movement, when the Yishuv in Eretz Israel was comprised a population of 50,000-60,000, and most were from the old Yishuv.

The political reason for the Balfour Declaration was complex and, today, is a little fuzzy. America in the summer of 1917, and later, was about to join the war, to ally with Britain and France. In Russia, which was still ruled by the Czar, a little after the Czar was deposed, but Russia was still an ally of England and France against Germany, Austro-Hungary and Turkey.

And in the United States, joining the war was no simple matter. It wasn't just a decision by the President. It also had to be a decision by the Congress, the Senate, and there were two bodies in the United States, two powerful ethnic groups, which opposed America's participation in the war.

One group, incorporated German immigrants, who comprised a sizeable group, between 15 million and 20 million people in the United States, just before WWI, who opposed the United States joining the war against Germany, because of their links with Germany. Not political, rather historical and emotional.

In the other group, there was a large part of the Jewish public which mainly consisted of Jews of Russian extract, following the pogroms of 1881, 1882, during the revolution of 1905, who saw in Russia, and we must remember – at the time Russia was perceived to be the biggest anti-Semitic country in Europe, with the largest Jewish population in Europe, because Russia then also included Poland, the Baltic states, today's Ukraine, we know.

And there was a pact, today we forget it because of what followed in Germany, between German émigrés and the Jews, because the Jews objected to the United States entering the war alongside the anti-Semitic and Jew-oppressing Czarist Russia. Today people forget that.

And of the reasons for trying to persuade, in the United States, the Jews of the United States, that entering the war was good for the Jews, despite that meaning joining forces with anti-Semitic Russia, was, there was an idea and Weizmann himself who came from Russia, of course, knew very well how to leverage this idea, that support for the matter of Jews, among the Jews of the United States, would have a very positive resonance. We should remember these things.

The Balfour Declaration did not result from the fact that Weizmann convinced Lloyd George and said we want Palestine to be Jewish, like England is English, those are nice sentences but that is not persuasive. What is convincing if political interests, and Britain had political interests in this topic. That should be remembered.

And this is the period when Britain and France, and year-year and a half earlier, signed a secret accord, which was not publicly known at the time,

according to which, after they gained victory over Turkey in the Middle East, they would split the Middle East between them, and that is the Sykes-Picot Agreement.

In Arab propaganda the Balfour Declaration was perceived as part of the Sykes-Picot Accords. Untrue. In the Sykes-Picot Accords there is no mention of the Jewish and Zionist issue, rather as part of the new order, the new Middle East which we say today, that Britain and France, imperialist powers, decided between them, based on the premise that they would win and, indeed, they won and took the region. And the conqueror decides the future of the territories it takes, as was the practice back then. Today it is a bit more complicated, but then it was accepted practice.

This is the strategic political moment of the Balfour Declaration.

We have to remember that the Zionist movement, up to World War One, and I will return to that shortly, was primarily governed and led by Jews from Central and Eastern Europe. German Jews, Austro-Hungarian Jews, like Herzl, and of course Jews from Russia, where the operation of the Zionist movement was more complex, because it was not, it was not illegal, but Russia certainly was not an open society like Germany, Austro-Hungary, France and England, was an open society. That is one thing.

What is there in the Balfour Declaration?

First, it should be remembered that it does not include support for the creation of a Jewish state in Eretz Israel. Nevertheless, the Balfour Declaration is the first political diplomatic document, of support for the Zionist movement and its goals with regard to Eretz Israel.

One of Herzl's great achievements, and this is what I tried to show in my book on Herzl, is that the perception of Herzl's political Zionism holds that it is not enough to ensure aliyah, to buy land, to establish settlements – all that is very very important. However a small nation, and as a political journalist Herzl knew a bit of history,

a small people cannot win independence and achieve its political goals if it does not have the support of a major power. And Herzl was aware of the examples of Greece and Serbia. Greece in 1824 gained independence, against Turkey, not just because the Europeans thought that the Turks were repressing the poor Greeks. That's true. Rather it was because it was a British and Russian interest to weaken the Ottoman Empire, and that also allowed Britain and also Russia a certain foothold in eastern Mediterranean.

In other words, Herzl understood that it is necessary to enter the political arena, that it wasn't enough just to explain that you are right, that is self-persuasion. You need to explain that it will suit the interests of the party to whom you are talking. And that was the reason, that was also the reason why Britain encouraged the Arab revolt against the Turks. In Britain, in World War One, on the one hand supported the Arab national movement, Lawrence of Arabia, the uprising of Muslims against the Turkish Sultan who was also a Muslim khalif. It's not simple. And, on the other hand, also support for the Zionist objectives.

However, support for the Zionist objectives, which is important because it is the first breakthrough by the Zionist movement into international politics, Herzl appreciated the importance of the matter. But, ultimately, Herzl did not succeed. He tried to convince all the world's leaders and, during seven years of Zionist activity, Herzl met more political leaders, from the German Kaiser and foreign ministers and prime ministers, and the Pope, more than any other Jew, ever. And he managed to get the Zionist issue onto the agenda of international diplomacy and politics, but he never obtained the support he wished for and the movement, and the Balfour Declaration, is the first support obtained from a government of a power on the threshold of victory and of occupying Eretz Israel.

But I want to stress – the Balfour Declaration does not talk about a state. It is worthwhile remembering, that Britain, which had not yet taken Eretz Israel, does not exactly have control.

The question is what its right is, a question the Arabs raise and we cannot deny that this argument is not entirely absurd, who are the British to decide here, what are the British to decide of Sykes-Picot. There is clearly a problem here.

The Balfour Declaration talks about his Majesty's government looking favorably on the creation of a national home for Jews in Eretz Israel, and that is not by chance that the term used is "national home", which is not a state, but as this has a Jewish connection with Eretz Israel, and there is a future to this Jewish bond in Eretz Israel. Britain, in the Balfour Declaration, does not say it will control Eretz Israel, because it is not entirely clear, and I will get back to this immediately. But it supports the creation of a Jewish national home, in Eretz Israel. This is a document which no previous government ever issued, and it is a position that no previous European government expressed, and this is a great achievement of the Balfour Declaration.

Even so, and this cannot be ignored, even if it a little uncomfortable for us, that further on in a short letter from Lord Balfour to Lord Rothschild, it says that these things, none of these things, should impinge on the rights of the other communities. So they are not talking about national movement, other communities in Eretz Israel, and this of course refers to the Arabs, who are the majority in Eretz Israel, and this should not determine, harm the standing of Jews in other countries, as it means they would have dual citizenship or dual loyalty. No. They will continue to be loyal citizens of England, the United States, France etc.

In other words, there are reservations here and they cannot be ignored, and what the British said in effect – on the one hand, support for a Jewish national home and, on the other hand, without harming the rights of the other communities. It is a little like squaring the circle. How do you determine support for the establishment of a Jewish national home when the residents, the other communities, the Arabs, are likely to oppose

it. How do you square that?

And the tragedy of the British rule in Eretz Israel, from occupation in 1917 to 1948 is the result of a desire that does not always manage to reconcile these two parties, and England, naturally, failed because you cannot compromise, you need to take decisions with regard to aliyah, institutions etc.

However, and this is a matter of importance – the importance of the Balfour Declaration does not stem just from this important letter. This was a letter, what was important is what happened later. And how the Balfour Declaration became a cornerstone of the international policy, and Britain's standing here. Don't forget, in 1917 England did not yet control Eretz Israel. There is nothing that says we will rule Eretz Israel, this will be our position, the future of Eretz Israel is completely unclear.

From 1917 to 1920, the war ended in 1918, only in 1920 does the congress of the victorious powers – England, France convene at San Remo. Russia, of course, dropped out because of the Soviet revolution, Italy, Japan. The San Remo Conference determines the division of control in the regions of the Middle East, which were taken by force, from Turkey.

And it does not entirely realize the details of Sykes-Picot, but it more or less determines the framework, what is called Iraq, will be under British control, what is called Syria and Lebanon will be controlled by France, and what is called Transjordan, in Eretz Israel, will be under the British.

However, the political framework has not yet been precisely formulated.

The most important factor in Weizmann's activity in 1917-1920 was to cement the British declaration, which is a private letter, as the international policy, and this indicates Weizmann's standing. Today such things are forgotten.

The Zionist movement, with the outbreak of World War One, the epicenter of which was in Germany

and most of its leaders were in Germany, and most of its members were in Russia, because of the war, the Zionist movement in 1914, in effect, was shut down. Because you have people in the Zionist movement on both sides of the divide, whereby most of the leadership is German.

And the Zionist movement made a decision which one can understand, but it is a short-sighted decision. The Zionist movement decided that it is neutral, because there were Zionists on both sides and, in effect, the Zionist movement operated between 1915 and 1917 from a small office in neutral Copenhagen in Denmark, to provide a link to both sides of the warring factions.

One of the people who understood that being neutral in the war that will decide the world's fate, and ultimately the fate of Eretz Israel, the fate of the Jewish nation and of Zionism, being neutral in such a situation, is intolerable. That leaves you out of the game, and this was a person who was a doctor of chemistry, an activist, one of the leaders of the Zionist movement in England, as he lived in Manchester, that was Weizmann. Weizmann started activity he understood, without having a mandate from any Zionist body. Weizmann, individually and with deep understanding, and without receiving a mandate from anyone, started negotiations, connections, he knew very well how to leverage his personal and scientific connections, with the British government. That's how he got to the Balfour Declaration. But that was not the end.

Immediately after England took control of Eretz Israel, again, without a mandate from the Zionist movement, on his own bat and with his friends, Weizmann manages to persuade the British government to send a survey team to Eretz Israel – the Zionist Commission comprising Zionists from England, France and Italy, the chairman was an Italian Jew, because at the time Italy was an ally of France and England, and they came to Eretz Israel as a survey group. They did not receive a mandate to govern Eretz Israel, they did not receive a mandate from any Zionist body, but with his political insight, Weizmann managed to

leverage the delegation, as if he was starting to run things here.

The Zionist Commission arrives while half of Eretz Israel was still under Turkish rule – the north. He initiates the laying of a cornerstone of the Hebrew University, again, without a mandate from the Zionist movement. And it appears in the moshavot (agricultural colonies), in Tel Aviv, with Jewish British army officers in uniform, and this gives the impression that Weizmann represents the new regime, when all there was here was British military rule, under General Allenby who was running it as a temporary military regime. But that's how facts are established.

And Weizmann has success with political contacts, persuading the British and the French, that Eretz Israel, whose borders are not yet completely clear, that Eretz Israel should be under British rule, which contravenes the Sykes-Picot accord, that it should be under British-French rule. Weizmann manages to persuade the British that at the discussion concerning the future of this region, what subsequently took place at San Remo, the problem of Eretz Israel, due to the complexity and the Jewish aspect, should be discussed separately from the future of Iraq, Syria and Lebanon. And that was what was decided at San Remo.

And he convinces the British that, when British and French rule is established, by the League of Nations which was being formed at the time, and the League of Nations decides that these regions will not be colonies, because we are in the 20th century, rather they will be mandates, in other words England and France will be authorized to govern these regions, but to lead them to independence. That should be remembered. And there was a British Mandate in Iraq, and a French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon, and that subsequently propelled them, at the end of the 1930s and 1940s, towards independence, and also Eretz Israel.

And Weizmann manages to persuade the British to insist that, in the Mandate for Palestine, which was drafted in 1922 and 1923, the Balfour Declaration will be included in the international

paper which grants the mandate, the control of Eretz Israel to the British. This is an achievement that transformed a private letter that was very, very important from a public relations point of view, if you wish, to a document of international law. And all the demands of the Zionist movement from the British, who tried to find a balance between the Jews and the Arabs, and sometimes neglected the Jews at the expense of the Arabs, we know that, no, from a legal standpoint, and also internally in Eretz Israel and also at the League of Nations, they could not rely on this private letter, rather this private later became part of an international paper which is binding on the League of Nations. It is far more bureaucratic, far less dramatic, there were discussions about that. It appears in a number of League of Nations resolutions. It obliged Britain to periodically report to the League of Nations about what it was doing in Eretz Israel.

In other words, making a private document into an international document. It is not the Balfour Declaration which comprised the first international legitimization of Zionism, rather the Mandate for Palestine which, again, did not reference a Jewish state in Eretz Israel, rather a national home, and this spawns many conclusions regarding aliyah, settlement, rights etc.

In this regard it should, again, be remembered that Weizmann acted without a mandate, at a congress which took place in London in 1920, when he was chosen to represent of the Zionist movement with the victorious powers. The German and Austro-Hungarian Zionists were still not present, they were still not allowed to get to London in 1920, because they were former enemy subjects.

That is a great success, for example, when some of the Zionist leaders want something else. We always praise Zionist leaders and that's fine, but we should remember that sometimes they also failed. Not Weizmann.

Sokolov, for example, who was later to become the president of the WZO, suggested that control of Eretz Israel should be shared by England and

France. Weizmann was furious. The French had complex interests with the Christians in the Middle East, with the Maronites in Lebanon, they have the Mandate in Syria, why bring the French in, when you have British support?

Sokolov, with good intent, wanted to extend the scale of Zionist support. But he did not understand what Weizmann understood, that if you have one power supporting you, join it and don't try to bring in others.

There were other Zionists, such as Poalei Zion, for example Jabotinsky, who at the time was beginning his work in the Zionist movement as a member of the Achdut HaAvodah party. That should be remembered. They wanted the Mandate for Palestine to refer to the creation of a Jewish state in Eretz Israel.

And Weizmann had to work very hard to explain to these members that it would not succeed. No international body, the League of Nations, would issue a declaration in the Mandate for Palestine, that Eretz Israel, which had around 600,000-700,000 Arabs and about 50,000 Jews living in it, would become a Jewish state. It was not acceptable. Zvika mentioned the creation of other countries, and we should remember here, there were numerous international proposals, about creating new countries, and Zvika mentioned some of them, on each occasion it was in response to the national desire of the residents of those countries.

The Czechoslovakians wanted independence. They got it. The Poles wanted independence, in Iraq and Syria, ultimately there was support that these Arab states should receive independence, because the population wanted it.

In Eretz Israel, all support for the Zionist movement, everyone understood – that is support against the majority of the residents there. How do you circumnavigate that? You bypass it by releasing vague expressions such “national home”, without harming the rights of the others. You also have to understand the political wisdom.

In 1923, the Mandate for Palestine determines

what it lays out and only then, for the first time, is Weizmann elected as President of the WZO whereby it is clear that the focus of the Zionist movement shifts from Germany, Central Europe, to the country that controls Eretz Israel.

Ben Gurion, as someone who came on the Second Aliyah, was in Eretz Israel when the war broke out. But he was a Russian subject, like many of those who came with the Second Aliyah, who retained their Russian nationality, so as not to be entirely answerable to Ottoman law. And he understood that the most important thing was to stay in Eretz Israel when there is a war, and Ben Gurion tried, together with Ben Zvi, to persuade the Turks and the Jews in Eretz Israel to join the Turkish army, so that they could be in Eretz Israel with arms. The Turks were not convinced and they deported Ben Gurion to England, to Egypt.

He arrives in the United States, in the United States in 1915 he tries to persuade American Jews to join the Turkish army and to take part in defending Eretz Israel under Turkish rule. As you can imagine, in 1915 not many Jews were enthusiastic about joining the Turkish army.

When the United States joins the war, in 1917, Ben Gurion changes his approach and undertakes a campaign in the United States to recruit Jews to the British army. He joins the British army himself and returns to Eretz Israel as a British soldier.

Ben Gurion also understands, in the war, that as soon as the Turks lose control the problem is not joining the Turkish army but the British army. There were other leaders, such as Masaryk and Wizotsky who changed their position in WWI, because they realized which way the wind was blowing. As you can see, this is an intricate matter.

The importance of Balfour Declaration lay, first and foremost, in the first victory of the Zionist movement in gaining international support, thanks to the great effort made by Weizmann between 1917 and 1920, to include the Balfour Declaration and the principle of a Jewish national home in

an international document and this, naturally, also advanced Weizmann's standing, because he was perceived as a person who has the ear of the regime in Eretz Israel.

One conclusion that should be born in mind, which runs through from Herzl, through Weizmann and to the present day – a small country, a small nation, and we are today a small country and a small nation, but we are not entirely helpless as we were in 1917, or like we were during Herzl's time, in 1896. But a small nation still needs international support. Indeed, Israel received that, as did the Zionist movement in 1917, from Britain, as Israel gained the support of the United States in 1948, and from Stalin's Soviet Union, and Stalin sent the first arms to reach Israel legally, in 1948. That should be remembered. That shows that, when dealing with international politics, it is not sufficient to prove you are right, it is not enough to show you are moral. You need to prove that you have the power, not necessarily military power, but you need the support of international bodies and of international powers and, for now, who controls them is not important. It could be Stalin in 1948, it could be the imperialist British in 1917, it could be the imperialist British in 1956, not so successfully. In other words, if you play in the big boys' league, of international politics, you have to play by its rules. That does not mean that you have to lose your moral conscience. No. Certainly not to lose your sense of justice, but we are not at an intellectual seminar, we are at a seminar in a very very cruel world, and you have to know how to find a balance between internal justice and morals, and interests, not only yours but also of the parties whom you want to persuade to support you.

That is a very stiff test of leadership, which cannot be summarized in a leader article in a newspaper or a fire and brimstone speech. It necessitates a lot of compromises with yourself, sometimes with morals, sometimes with your justice and recognition of the fact that you need support. But sometimes, in order to get support, you also need to make compromises.

# Zionist Futurism

## Prof. David Passig

I would like to tell you about two challenges facing the Jewish people and the state of Israel in the 21st century. To do this, I will divide my address into three parts. In the first part I will explain how we think future, and then I will show you the historical context of the state of Israel and the Jewish people in the 21st century, you will see developing trends, and then – the two challenges specifically facing the Jewish people and the Zionist movement.

The first question, of course, is can the futures – in the plural - be identified. We don't always talk about a single future, we talk about a great many futures. Can we identify the futures which will shape the history of the Jewish people?

If we don't identify these futures, these scripts, we can't identify the patterns and, primarily, we can't identify the challenges that derive from the patterns.

How we perform thinking about the future, and challenges. This is not philosophy, rather rational methodical analysis, of challenges deriving from an historical context.

There are hundreds of methodologies which we use to perform future thinking. We can summarize all of them in a single sentence – mathematical and statistical models. We can summarize them in a single sentence, which says – all exploration of the future is based on one premise which says – there is logic to the how systems develop. And we look for this logic.

In fact, what I am arguing is that there is logic in the challenges facing the Jewish people in the 21st century.

How do we do that? We do that using many methodologies. The problem of all of us is that when we think future, we normally, and we all think future, we normally use one methodology.

We call this methodology linear extrapolation, which simply says that when you are here in the present, and you want to know what will be in the future - it can be 5, 10, 100 years from now, that's not important – you look back, as far as you have data from the past, that's excellent, the more distant your past is, that's better. You identify the vector and extrapolate the vector. We all do that. We do this for personal matters, we do this with regard to ethical matters, we do this for geopolitical things, financial etc. etc.

What is the reliability of this thinking with regard to identifying a future? In other words, to what degree does this model ensure, when I stand here, and I say something about here, that at the end of the day, what I said will occur, in percentages.

In statistics this is called the validity of forecasting. We will use the term accuracy, we are talking about something around 30%. When a person uses future thinking, in the best case, 30% of what he says will happen, will actually happen.

Now, 30% is not insignificant. The problem is that, when you know that in advance, that in the best case 30% is what will happen, and you continue using this.

Today, we argue, in fact, there is almost no system, that develops linearly. Our systems have become very complex, very complicated. The word "complexity" is a very important word which you should know. It's not intricacy, it is complexity of a much greater degree. As a result, today's systems have very strange curves.

To many people this seems like chaos, but today we know there is no such thing as chaos. Today, we know that this is order from a higher level. To us it looks like chaos.

We know there is logic here, and there is order, and we look for it, and today we have an enormous amount of models that describe all sorts of systems, using these models we try to understand what the next stage of the system will be, regardless of whether we are talking about

technological, financial, social or geopolitical systems etc.

In contrast with a lot of other disciplines, when we present a model we note beneath it a number which indicates the model's accuracy, so when I come to the decision maker and tell them – this model indicates that in five, ten years, such and such will happen, with regard to the reliability of the model, accuracy – 70%. Take that into account in the decision making process.

The human species is at a very primitive stage in terms of understanding systems, make no doubt about that. In 100 years' time we will understand systems very differently. But today, we are trying to understand the vectors, and it is very important to note how sure we are that we understand what is going on. Therefore, I will show you two great challenges with which the Jewish nation is faced today. The accuracy of these challenges, that this is what is going to be, is around 70%. It is not 100%, but close to 70%. And I just multiplied the accuracy of the linear extrapolation, and if we are now before these challenges materialize, and we start to address them today, we will not find ourselves in the 21st century constantly chasing our own tails. We are becoming proactive towards challenges which are about to become highly relevant for us.

Now I would like to show you the historical context of the Zionist movement in the 21st century. The global historical context, and after that I will do a zoom in to the state of Israel, and I will extract from that the challenges which I believe derive from these challenges.

The greatest challenges of the human species in the 21st century. An unusual historical context which is about to shape almost everything. We call this the demographic bust or the demographic winter. Over the last 50-60 years, all our experts have been telling us that the problem, of the human race in the 21st century is the population explosion. But the great problem of the human race in the 21st century is exactly the opposite. Our experts, over the last 50-60 years, carried

out a simple linear extrapolation and, apparently, failed abysmally.

So, in order to show what, in effect, is going to be in the 21st century, for the human race and later – what is going to happen in the state of Israel, the Jewish world, a bit of perspective - as far as we know, from a scientific standpoint, around 12,000 years ago, there were between a million to five million people in the world. By the way, around 60,000 years ago there were approximately 10,000 across the world. The human race gradually grew. There were periods in which we lost populations, but the human species continued until around 2,000 years ago, there were approximately 250 million people.

But, as soon as we got to 250 million people, the human race began to increase along an exponential curve. It takes the human race 1,800 years and it quadruples to a billion people. But, as soon as we got to a billion people we began to go wild. It took the human race only 130 years, three billion, and then, only 15 years – 4 billion. The next time, only 12 years – 5 billion. The systems went wild in the last 200 years.

When we identify such a growth curve, regardless of the system, it could be a financial, social, political, biological system, regardless, we know – there is no system in nature, for which this is its growth curve, which can continue growing. One of the following two things always occurs – either something happens here and the entire system collapses, or something happens here and suddenly the curve takes a sharp turn in a new direction. And what we are left with is to investigate not if, but what and when.

How many people are there in the world today? 4 billion? 8 billion? Officially, there are 7.4 billion of us, but unofficially there are at least another 200 million people whom we know exist, but they are not registered anywhere.

They are called differently in each country. Here, in Israel, they are called infiltrators, in the United States they call them undocumented, in Europe they are simply called immigrants. In China, by the

way, they are called floating population, all sorts of terms of this type.

This group is very important. It creates ethnic, financial, political pressures and, of course, conflicts in the 21st century. I won't touch on that today. We all feel that something is happening, because of these groups.

I stress this number because, basically, everything that has happened in the last century comes from this number. We normally forget that. But, from the world wars through to the cell phone which we all hold in our hand, everything derives from this number. If they weren't so many people in the world, you and I wouldn't be holding this nice telephone in our hand. In English they call it "economies of scale". The scale, if there weren't so many people, no one would invest a fortune in research and development of this thing, in the hope of selling it to billions.

I estimate that in 2050 there will be around 10 billion people in the world. Up to 3-4 years ago it was estimated there'll be 11-13 billion people in 2030. But, in the last few years, we have identified very important patterns and, following that, it is currently estimated there will be 9-10 billion people in 2050. That means that in just 250 years the human race will have increased from 1 billion to 10 billion people, with all the implications of this, positive and negative.

The other question is how many people will there be in the world at the end of the 21st century? What we currently estimate, with an accuracy level of 80%, is that towards the end of the 21st century, the global population will crash back to 5-6 billion people.

So it appears that the 21st century will be very different from the 20th century. And the question is, how, along this graph, there are now books that are being written which try to understand how this will impact on personal life, family life and financial life and real estate, and everything. The truth is that what impacts on our life is not the numbers but the reasons for the numbers.

The reasons for these numbers are more important, and this relates to facts not patterns. One fact, for example, today in the world, for every 100 women there are already 117 men. What is the significance of 17% of the human race being without a biological horizon? Where this energy be released? And it will come out somewhere, without a doubt.

As far as we know, it is exactly the opposite of what occurred for thousands of years. In general, there were more women in the world than men. And we currently have 10 reasons, a list of 10 reasons that lead to this pattern, but it doesn't explain the entire phenomenon.

For example, one of the reasons is that, apparently, for thousands of years there were more miscarriages of boys than of girls. For some reason, it is harder to sustain a boy in the womb. So that is what happened, more girls were born, what happened is, possibility traditions developed whereby men married more than one woman.

Today, due to technology and medicine, God forbid to talk about infant mortality, that is terrible, so we disturbed the equilibrium. We will correct this later. But in the coming 50-60 years, it has already been determined, this is the world.

Today I can know what the crime rate will be in 50 years' time. I can know what technologies will develop. I can know which societies will develop and which will fail, and so on.

This primarily happens in undemocratic countries, without anyone interfering with our lives such as, for example, in China, over 20% boys.

In Israel we are talking about something around 51% women and 49% men. That is called optimum equilibrium. But the next reason is also relevant for industrialized western countries, including Israel – today. Today, not tomorrow, today, every 100 women, because of their fertility, for some reason, do not succeed in becoming 100 future women. They only produce 65 little girls. This means there won't be enough women in the 21st century. The 21st century, at last, belongs to women.

That, of course, is the mean macro. Let's see a little how this is reflected in our region. I am taking a very specific age group in our region, to try to understand what will happen. We have to understand that this age group will be in this region for at least another 60 years.

One could say many things about the next 60 years. In Israel, today, there are already 5% more boys than girls in this age group. This is going to change family life.

For example, in Egypt, there is a great difference between us and Egypt. In Egypt there isn't any - what we call mobility. Here, there is social mobility. I can be with this woman, and then with this woman. There, you are either married or unmarried. And this energy eventually comes out somewhere. It generally begins to be released in internal revolutions, for example, they have revolutions against Mubarak, and all the girls in the square are raped.

Where does this come from? ISIS who sell women for \$100. How do we get to a situation whereby, in Brazil, there are such terrible rapes, where does it come from that in the Muslim world 40-50 year old men marry 10 year old girls?

See what is happening in Jordan, like the Palestinians 6%, or Syria, or even in Saudi Arabia there are 20% more boys than girls. Only in this age group. By the way, in all the Saudi Arabian population, there are 27% more boys than girls.

If you are a leader and you see these numbers, you can say - I didn't see. At the end of the day, you will pay the price. But if you see these numbers, you can't say - I didn't see. It is very noticeable and everyone expects you, as a leader, to do something.

What are we doing? We examine the range of possibilities open for the leaders. What should be done. One reduces these possibilities to, say, three, and we give probabilities for the possibilities. They say - a leader, in such a place, in such a culture, has three possibilities to act and probabilities are given - possibility A, 60% is what he will do. Possibility B - 30%, possibility C, if there is a mad leader, 10%.

That's how we know what the future challenges will be with regard to that leader, using today's data.

We also know the solutions he will choose. And we have known for 30, 40 years, the solutions of Saudi Arabia and that is what they did, and they created a real mess, and because of that they import women.

So what they did, and it impacted on all our lives, it is called "madrasas" (schools). The Saudis invest billions of dollars in such religious schools, mainly for boys, also for girls. Why? Over 20% of these children will not be with a woman all their lives. Scary energy, particularly in this kind of corrupt regimes.

So, instead of building universities and educating them, they invest massive sums in such schools, they give fortunes to religious clerics and say to them - take care of them. Bring their energy levels down. Give them meaning in this world, and the next world.

The side effect of this - fundamentalism, the side effect of which - international terror. So, here you have another explanation for international terror, not religion, but biology.

It is important to remember that there are many levels of reasons, but this is reason which no one talks about.

Another reason, one of the most important patterns of the 21st century, which will shape the geopolitics of the 21st century, society, the economy, security and I impart all of this to you, so that we can understand that something entirely different is happening with us, the Jewish people. And this is going to lead to great challenges in the Jewish people, which I shall expound on.

This is the fertility rate. In order for a population to develop a woman has to give birth, through her lifetime, 2.1 children. Beyond that everything develops, below that everything diminishes. The perspective of the 1950s, was 3-4 children on average in the world. Today, all are below the replacement rate.

2050? There are some who will begin to wake up,

to understand that what the experts are telling is the population explosion is the problem, that is not the problem. On the contrary, the problem is there aren't any children. There are no populations.

That is one of the reasons for wars today. People always ask, how did Putin enter the Ukraine? What is he looking for there? Why did Putin get into Syria? Why is he interested in that?

What is happening in Russia, for example, - Russia at the start of the 21st century has a population of around 140 million, in the first quarter of the 21st century Russia is losing 20% of its population, around 20 million people. Because of such patterns, in the second quarter, another 20 million, From 140 million people down to 100 million, within 50 years. Anyone who thinks Russia won't do anything about this has learned nothing from history.

Normally, these kinds of cultures look for populations, look for new markets, and, where they can, they establish a presence.

Putin is not doing what he did, it is his historical context. It is the forces that are working on him. Of course this is the theory. I am also looking for clearer reasons. For example, a few years ago the same Putin founded a new youth movement, in Russia, a very violent one, very aggressive. By the way, nationalism has grown in these times. In Russia it is called Nashi, which means "ours".

But we have another ear. We should, at least, learning from history and be cautious, and the 21st century has its own problems.

In our region in 1950 - on average 6-7 children. And our neighbors are developing a narrative that will overcome us, and the world, through the womb. What happened was that they beat themselves. Mubarak, from 30 million to 90 million, within a short space of time, without infrastructures, without education. He thought, could this continue endlessly? The system beat itself.

Today, 2-3 children on average in the Muslim world, by the way, the Muslim population the

world over, its demographic collapse is running at the fastest pace compared with any other group in the world.

2050 - everyone is still below the replacement rate. There are good things in this, and bad things. I don't have the time to go into that here.

For now, in this brief context, we will see what challenges are facing us in the 21st century. In order to do this, let's see what the Jewish people will look like in the 21st century, at least from a demographic point on view, so that you can see there is a challenge here, two very serious challenges facing the Jewish people in the 21st century.

I want to place this on your table today. I believe we have to start addressing them now, before they take shape and become problems, so that we'll have enough time to think and also to reflect, and to come up with solutions, and to act before there are problems. This is called being proactive in history. So let's see. I am taking some ideas from this book.

In effect, I did a little exercise in this book. I said, if I were around in 1910, and if I had a methodology which was at least 60% accurate, could I identify what would happen between 1910 and 1948? Think 1910. There was no leader who did not say that the 20th century would be the century of globalization, the century of global peace. If someone had come in 1910 and said, I have a methodology with 60% accuracy, and which predicts that there will be a terrible war in a few years' time. How many people were killed in World War One? Anyone know? How many? Around 30 million.

If someone had come and said to me, in 10 years' time, the super powers - the British and the Ottoman, will crumble, or that 20 years later there will be an even more terrible war that will shape the whole of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, how many people were killed in World War Two? 70 million, two thirds civilians. One great slaughter.

So, I am going to take two great challenges that

I derived from this thought. But, firstly, have no doubt – for 100 years, for the whole of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, I collected a great deal of material. For 100 years, all of them, all the Jewish thinkers, all the professors of the Jewish people, failed abysmally at identifying the trends of the 21st century, in the Jewish people, all of them.

I have lists of all kinds of research work, and all kinds of sayings by the great people of the 20th century, or even prior to that and all of them, today I know why they failed. They did what we call linear extrapolation. And, of course, the question is, what can I add with newer methodologies.

It's incredible how, time after time after time, famous people, true scholars, simply fail to identify Israel of 2000.

I'll tell you a nice little story. 1947, Ben Gurion is about to declare the creation of the state of Israel. He invites Prof. Bachi to his office. At the time he was a Jewish Agency statistician. After the creation of the state he established the Central Bureau for Statistics. And he tells him, do a job for me. How many people can live in Israel? We are going to have aliyah, and a state and so on.

He goes away, does the work and brings him a report, and the bottom line of the report is that at most, in the year 2000, the state of Israel could accommodate 1 million people. It also came with a recommendation, not to create a state.

Lucky for us that Ben Gurion did not accept the recommendation, and here we are, no one dreamt in 1947 that in 2000 the state of Israel would be as you and I see it, no one, in their wildest dreams.

And the question is if I can come with a different methodology, to identify with slightly greater accuracy. I am sure that none of us today what will really be in the 21st century, but we have to try.

So, let's have a look at the Jewish context.

How many Jews were there in Eretz Israel? They

were called Hebrews, Israelites, 3,000 years ago. Exactly at the time of King David, how many Jews were there in this region?

By the way, I ran a genetic test and I discovered that my genes were here in Eretz Israel 3,000 years ago. 3,000 years ago. And, after that, 2,000 years ago my genes suddenly jump over to Rome. That's exactly the history of the Jewish people. They took all sorts of people from here as slaves, to Rome. And I wandered around Europe, until the expulsion from Spain, and in the expulsion from Spain 500 years ago, they threw out one of my parents to Morocco, and after that I am here, after 3,000 years, with my children, which is mad from an historical perspective.

In brief, as far as we know, at that time in Eretz Israel there were around 300,000 people. That's all. The religious narrative can reach 3 million, but there is no way there were 3 million people here.

The City of David – a capital – how many people lived in it? A total of 10,000.

How many Jews were there in the world 700 years ago? It was a very important period in the history of the Jewish people. The Golden Age. Spain. Around one million Jews in the world. A propos, apparently 70% lived in Spain. 70% of the Jewish people, half were lost to us in the expulsion from Spain. You and I, the product of that half of 70%.

That was 700 years ago. Now, 200 years ago? 200 years ago, how many Jews were there in the world? It is always important to keep note of these numbers. How many Jews were there in the world 200 years ago? Here's the figure – 3 million Jews.

And then something extraordinary happens. Within 140 years, how many Jews were there in the world before World War Two? The figure I find acceptable is 18 million. Prof. DellaPergola believes it was 16.5 million.

We have to remember that the global population rose from one billion to three billion. The population of Europe, by the way, out of that 18 million was 12 million in greater Europe, including Turkey. And the Europeans increase from 200

million to 500 million, and the Jews people grows from 3 million to 18 million, which is crazy, by any means. That, by the way, is one of the reasons, one of the reasons for anti-Semitism. They blamed us, you know. The mice that multiply manifold. So part of this is that we generated fright with our culture, and they always accused us. We don't have any disease and you are probably the ones that caused diseases, and so on.

Something extraordinary happens in 2016, in the history of the Jewish people, and we don't read about it in the paper. But, in order to understand it, we have to know how many Jews there in the world today.

One person who, I believe, is qualified to provide these numbers is Prof. DellaPergola, and he states this figure – 14.3 million Jews in the world, including Israel.

Now, that means that we have only started to recover from the great crisis of the 20th century.

And if you really want to understand the mindset of the Jewish people in 2016, note these two figures – had the Holocaust not occurred, and the state of Israel had come about, how many Jews would there be in the world today? According to Prof. Anita Shapira there would be 34 million Jews in the world today. See what we have lying in our subconscious. It is very heavy.

Another figure – if the Holocaust had taken place and there had not been a state of Israel, how many Jews would there have been in the world today? True, if, true, it is hard to do "if" in history, but it is a good exercise. According to Anita Shapira – just 6-7 million Jews in the world today.

The state of Israel saved the Jews, according to any criterion. In 1948 you all know there were 620,000 here. How many Jews in Israel today? We don't need to argue over that. We should know. The figure is 6.4 million, 6.8 million at most, if you include those with a question mark against them.

In other words, for the first time in the history of the Jewish people, after 2,500 years, the largest community of Jews lives in Israel, and this will

completely shape the 21st century, or the entire history of the Jewish people.

In 100 years the Jewish religion will be different. In 100 years Jewish identity, and certainly Israeli identity, and certainly the values, everything will be shaped by this.

Before I present the challenges before us, we have to estimate how many Jews will be in the world and in Israel in 2050. The Neaman Institute performed this work. The Neaman Institute talks about 18 million in the world, in the whole world. In Israel – 12 million Jews and another 3 million minorities. We are the only country in the world which stands to double its population by 2050.

There were 12 million in Europe in 1938. 100 years after that there will be 12 million in Israel. That's the historical context. And 6 million still scattered around the world.

But I am more interested in how many will be here at the end of the 21st century.

By the way, the Neaman Institute carried out this work, but what I am about to show you now, the party responsible for carrying out the work is the UN. It has an amazing project. I recommend you all get to know The Population Project. How many Jews will there be here in 2100. Are you ready? Here's the figure: 24 million in Israel. 24 million people, with around 20 million Jews. Mark that.

We are, apparently the only country in the world which stands to treble its population in the 21st century. The entire world will go through an entirely different pattern and we, now, not only quantitatively, there will be younger people, people we call entrepreneurs etc.

Now, what are the trends?

There is a tremendous challenge here. In fact, the Jewish people, in the last 120 years, has undergone an extraordinary historical process. It is called Zionism. What it did was to take modern tools to realize this vision of a state for the Jews. Primarily diplomatic tools, and here we are as a result.

At first there were debates. To begin with the majority of the Jewish people did not agree. But the Zionist movement came and said – enough of praying. We have prayed. Now we have to act. To act with modern tools. And the result is, of course, extraordinary.

But, in fact, the Zionist movement did something which you could call a very interesting philosophical step. The Zionist movement said – let's forget, there are lots of groups within the Jewish people, with agendas, with vision, a different vision, of what a state for the Jews should be. They said, let's forget. Let's put our thoughts and wishes about what we want to be to one side, and let's focus on one thing. I give this a title. They call this a pact of fate. Let's unite the people around our bitter fate throughout thousands of years.

And let's build a national home so that fate does not repeat itself. And, as a result, they succeeded in gathering groups with a different vision and a mission. There were some who wanted a religious state and others wanted a country of all its citizens, and there were those who wanted a more capitalist world and a socialist world, and all sorts of opinions. We set that to one side.

That is, the State of Israel until now, was founded on what we call a pact of fate.

Now, when I am going to learn as a researcher of the future, a futures researcher, from the past, in other cultures and we are not the only ones who have taken this measure. I find that this pact of fate is disposable glue. It holds firm, at most, for 2-3 generations. After that it falls apart, and then people rediscover, try to realize their initial vision. And their children are no longer threatened. They are free.

Therefore, the pact of fate generally ends in collapse. In other cultures the pact of fate ends in the murder of leaders and civil wars. And in this process, the same entity, the same group of people, has to define what we call a pact of designation – mission, what is that entity's right to exist, at least for the next century.

The state of Israel began a process of disintegration of a pact of fate around 20 years ago. Each pulls in its initial direction, and for this we also become very violent towards each other. The solidarity collapses.

One of the ways to identify futures is to find patterns. I find the following – the history of the Jewish people until now, can be divided into four eras. Each era has a leadership of a certain type. There is a certain mindset, there are role models of a certain type, there are values of a certain kind, there is a certain kind of economic approach, a certain religious concept and so on. Thus far, four eras. We have apparently begun the fifth period in the history of the Jewish people.

I found that each era, at least the first three eras, lasted around 500 years, whereby the last 200 years of those 500 years always featured internal revolutions and chaos and arguments. At the end of each era, there was generally an enormous disaster for the Jewish people.

The fourth era lasted around 1,800 years, and we apparently entering the fifth era.

Now, I want to understand what the challenge is that is facing the Jewish people in the fifth era. Let's take a look at the characteristics of the previous eras. The first era was the era of the forefathers, approximately from Abraham until we entered the Land of Israel. The source of this authority is the patriarchs and matriarchs. They are also role models, and by their behavior they also dictate the values, and we learn from this and they, in practice, sustain the first phase of the Jewish people.

This people entered the Land of Israel and maintains the mindset of the tribes. The problem is that, within a short space of time, around 100-200 years at most, these tribes begin to hate each other. They kill each other. We all know the story from the Bible, the concubine on the hill, they are frightened by what they manage to do and are capable of doing, so they go to him and say to him "be our king", even though in the Torah it says "do not set a king over you", this king

will lead you stray, will bring corruption and will bring murder. They say, we have no choice. Come, Saul, unite us. Saul starts, he was apparently a very open-minded person. He allowed all sorts of groups to act as they wish, and gave them stages in all sorts of places, and slightly different religious traditions and systems everywhere, and then David came and said, it won't work that way.

And, with great cunning and with extraordinary power, he says – I will establish a single place, a political place, a political center, a religious center, we will place it in Jerusalem because that belongs to Judah and Benjamin, and succeeds in this, with what we shall term amazing cunning. His son, Solomon, maintains this and establishes a glorious entity. People from all over the world come to learn from this thing.

But, within a short period, after Solomon dies, around 30 years, if I am not mistaken, ten of the Jewish tribes say we don't want to be with you. We call them the ten lost tribes, as if they were lost. They were not lost, they said – we don't want to continue being with you.

Imagine that, one day, Tel Aviv says we don't want to part of the state of Israel. But they disperse and go to Syria. By the way, they really do disperse around the region. There are some intriguing research papers that say that the Taliban have Jewish genes. But that is very logical, they really do behave like Jews. But that's a different story.

Then we have a period which takes around another 200 years, and this era ends in a terrible disaster, with the destruction of the First Temple and the dispersal of the Jewish people. A few years later, out of a total of one million to one and a half million Jews who went to Babylon, all told 40,000 say let's go back to the Land of Israel, to build the Second Temple.

The majority of the Jewish people said, leave us alone. What is this?

And we are, of course, starting the third era, but the second era, the main characteristic of which is that the role model is the stateliness, the kings.

The kings were responsible for morality, they had stature, they had religious and political standing, and so on. Then the third era begins – who are these people who assume the leadership in the third era?

Priests. The priests come along and say, it didn't work with tribes, nor with kings. Alas. We'll show you, our model with us assuming transcendental authority via a temple, we will maintain a much better people, and a better nation and society and economy, but also, quickly, that also failed badly. There was an extraordinary destruction and we are scattered around the world, and we begin the fourth era, which we have apparently ended, and we have begun the fifth period.

Who are these people who are role models in the fourth era? Did anyone say? Rabbis, yes, they came and said, forget the other models, only a model of education, of study, only a model of authority which really comes from scholarliness, and not from some type of family lineage, only that which can hold the people and it kept us for 1,800 years. Judaism, the religion and the traditions developed over these years, and it seems we have completed this era, you and I have been through several reference points.

The important reference point is now, 2016, a more important reference point is 2020, whereby 50% of the Jewish people is living in Eretz Israel and a more important reference point is around 2040, no later than 2050, 70% of the Jewish people will be in Eretz Israel.

We have begun the fifth period of the history. You don't have to be a genius to realize there is something happening here, and the question is what is it? Who are the people who are going to be our leaders, in the fifth era? What do you think? I won't tell you. I recently just finished writing a book about this.

The state of Israel was created based on a pact of fate. We need a pact of designation. Just to make things clear, what the state of Israel's pact of designation is. It has to be. Thus far we have established a state for Jews. Now we need to

build a Jewish state.

What is a Jewish country? There was never anything like that in the history of the Jewish people, a Jewish state.

Now, we have to understand, Bibi sticks to his position that if the Palestinians do not recognize us as a Jewish state, there is no agreement. And then the whole world says, what is a Jewish state? Define a Jewish state for us.

And we have to define what a Jewish state is, a modern, democratic Jewish state with large groups of minorities. If we don't define it we will be in dire straits. I believe that this is a great challenge facing the Zionist movement of the 21st century, and we have to contribute to achieving this mission.

It has already begun with all kinds of unofficial groups, with all sorts of discussions. But we have to begin unifying all this thinking, to bring different groups from around the world, inside Eretz Israel, even fringe groups, we have to define a pact of designation for a Jewish, Israeli, modern state for the 21st century.

To make this clearer, for example there is a pact of designation for our great nation in this era. Generally, a pact of designation is expressed in two words. What is the pact of designation of the United States? - personal freedom. What is the pact of designation of France? - three, they always have more - liberté, égalité, fraternité. A propos, right now the European community is creating a new entity for itself, of large groups and they have to define a pact of designation. This is on their table. They haven't decided yet.

Does anyone know what is on the table? The person who proposed a pact of designation to the European community was Giscard d'Estaing. They

are still discussing it. As soon as they reach a decision it will be seen all over Europe, and it will certainly impact on the euro, and they are talking about something like Unity in Diversity.

There are philosophers who say it is complicated, it is not clear and that's it. Normally such a process takes a long time. There are ups and downs. And the question is, of course, what can there be in Eretz Israel. I believe that this is the second challenge facing the Jewish people. I recommend accepting it, taking it and starting to engage in it. What is a pact of designation for a modern democratic Jewish state in which the majority of the world's Jews live, with close ties with the world. What is this entity? If we don't do this, we, the state of Israel, will be in trouble. The Jews of the world are in trouble, and we, I am scared of saying this out loud, may also undergo this process, if we don't do this soon. I said that generally a pact of fate collapses with the assassination of leaders and with civil war. Assassination of leaders has already taken place. It would be terrible if this carried on happening to us, and this generally ends with the climax of a process of disintegration of a pact of fate, which is generally civil wars.

# Roundtables

## Main Points and Insights into the Future



**“Out Congress will live on forever, not just until the redemption from the old troubles, but with even greater vigor after that. Today we are here (in Basel)... Where will be next year?”**

(From Theodor Herzl’s address at the opening of the First Zionist Congress, August 29, 1897)

## About

In the spirit of Herzl’s vision, that Zionist activity would continue “with even greater vigor” after the creation of the state, 120 years after the First Zionist Congress a decision was made to hold a roundtable event during the 37/2 Session of the Zionist General Council. The purpose of the activity was to generate discussion about the achievements of the Zionist Movement thus far, and the goals and challenges it faces for the future. In order to create interesting, respectful and effective discussion each table was presided over by a professional moderator from the Herzl Center, and a representative of the Magshimim movements.

The role of the representatives of the Magshimim movements was to present “the voice of the next generation” based on the approach that, without this voice, no work plan of the Zionist Movement will be complete.

During the course of the activity, the participants offered insights, recommendations and ideas based on the list of issues on which the discussion focused. At the end of the activity, each table submitted its end result in the form of a document including the main points of the group’s discussion, and recommendations for the future.

## Behind the Scenes

In order to ensure the accuracy of the content, and to tailor it to the objectives and participants in the Zionist General Council a special committee was established, chaired by WZO Director General Mr. Eli Cohen and Zionist General Council Chair Helena Glazer. The committee included Mr. Herzl Makov, secretary of the Zionist Supreme Court, Human Resources Director Mrs. Anna Givati, Deputy Director of the Herzl Center Michal Liberman-Galon and Educational Director of the Herzl Center Mrs. Shlomit Sattler. The committee worked, for months, on devising the activity framework, formulating the value issues which would serve as the focal point of the discussion, putting together a precise blend of speakers and, of course, training the team of moderators..

## Main Topics for Discussion

Following lengthy discussions a decision was reached on 8 topics that feature on the world Zionist agenda. Based on a broad perspective, and consideration of the topics raised until the present day, it is possible to reach conclusions and operational recommendations for the Zionist executive.

The topics:

1. Israel’s place in the consciousness of the Zionist world in the Diaspora
2. Futurism (focusing on new media in the service of the Jewish people)
3. The Hebrew language
4. Community
5. Youth movements
6. Exemplary society - achievements and challenges
7. Kibbutz galuyot- ingathering of the exiles and aliyah
8. Leadership

The 8 topics closely matched the addresses of the various speakers, and it appears that we struck a chord with the wise. For the next day’s roundtable activity the members of the Zionist General Council convened for a joint plenary session at which roundtables representatives reviewed the discussions which took place in their respective groups, and shared the main points of the document they created, with regard to the work plan for the Zionist world.

## The Main Points and Operational Recommendations Presented Pursuant to Roundtable Activity

**“It is not incumbent upon you to finish the task, but neither are you free to absolve yourself from it.” (Edicts of the Fathers)**

The Jewish nation in general, and the Zionist movement in particular are characterized by a deep sense of history which connects past and present, and present and future, on a daily basis. The seeds that were sown, somewhere back in the late 19th century, blossomed into an exciting vision in the shape of the state of Israel, and prosperous Zionist activity in the Diaspora. The challenges, the aspirations, the dreams and desires that emerged from the words of the members of the Zionist General Council can certainly be translated into actual action. There is much work to be done, and it requires the efforts and involvement of each of us, and hopefully the work will never end, as Herzl told us: “Zionism is an infinite ideal.”

## General Conclusions

1. The unique character of the WZO enables it to conduct activities that focus on what unites us, rather than what differentiates us.
2. The messages the WZO aspires to disseminate need to be immediately refreshed, highlighting the way in which it implements its ideas, the principal resource of which is new media.
3. The eight topics selected for discussion are inseparably interconnected. For example, advancing female leadership is a product of the idea of an exemplary society.
4. “If you will it, it is no dream”: There wasn’t always agreement, but the discussions were conducted in a good spirit, and the debate was respectable and respectful..



# 01

## Topic 1: Israel's Place in the Consciousness of the Zionist World in the Diaspora

### General:

- The discussion featured extensive agreement. Many of those who sat at the roundtable felt this was one of the central issues the WZO needed to address.
- In some cases there was discussion about the precise definition: Was the approach based on the Zionist world in the Diaspora only, or on the Jewish world in the Diaspora in general. Another issue that came up looked at the centrality of Israel in the awareness of the Zionist world.
- There was agreement that, in this regard investment should primarily be made in the 18-40 year old age group.

### Ways of furthering the topic within the framework of the WZO:

1. Reinforcing Zionist identity, the bond with Israel and the sense of pride in Israel's achievements.
2. Support for a wide range of youth movements and young adults in the Diaspora, and not only in the traditional Magshimim movements.
3. Rebranding the state of Israel.
4. In-depth familiarization with Israeli society, the challenges it faces and the issues with which it has to cope, as well as the successes.
5. Reciprocity – to also teach the Jews in Israel about Zionists in the Diaspora, and not only the other way round.
6. Reinforcing the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora can help to address the problem of assimilation.

### Difficulties and Complexities

1. Funding difficulties and resources – to make it possible to send missions from the Diaspora to Israel and vice versa.
2. The state of Israel and its representatives do not know how to take criticism (even if it is offered politely, and out of a sense of care for Israel). This complicates dialogue between Diaspora Jews and Israelis.
3. With regard to the sensitivity of Diaspora Jews, who called themselves Zionists, to the question of why they don't live in Israel, there is a lack of understanding, or an orderly attitude towards the identity and role of the Zionist living in the Diaspora..

### Proposals for Implementation

1. To address the ignorance of young people in the Diaspora – primarily by leading visits by young Diaspora Jews to Israel, focusing on significant funding and devising a visit with quality content. In addition to gaining a basic knowledge of Israel, such visits can serve as a basis/incentive for aliyah at a later stage.
2. Expanding the ranks of the WZO in the Diaspora, to the 20-40 year old age group, so that they become actively involved and "mediate" between the Diaspora communities and communities in Israel.
3. Stressing the uniqueness of Israel as a power that grew out of nothing, like a startup nation, and other unique achievements.
4. Generating WZO follow-up in communities for Taglit and Masa program participants.
5. Nurturing the connection between Israeli Zionist activists and young Zionist activists in the Diaspora, through missions and joint activities in Israel and abroad.
6. Employing tools from the new media domain, with a view to bridging the geographic distances, and as the basis for maintaining daily contact.
7. Utilizing contemporary Israeli culture (art, music, cinema, theater etc.) as a means of bringing people closer and removing obstacles.
8. Ensuring the compatibility of shlichim to the communities, institutions and organizations in the Diaspora.
9. Strengthening the sense that, despite what sometimes comes across in the media, Israel is not isolated, and that the Jewish people in the Diaspora is right behind it.
10. Formulating a convention which obliges the entire Zionist world, and formalizes and anchors the relationship between Zionists in the Diaspora and the state of Israel.
11. When attending international conferences, such as sessions of the Zionist General Council, care should be taken to form heterogeneous work groups which incorporate Israelis as well as participants from abroad.

# 02

## Topic 2: Youth Movements

### General

- The working premise of the WZO, on the one hand, and on the other hand of the youth movements, should be: the ties between the bodies are substantial, ethical and binding. This is not a give-take relationship, rather a bond of trust based on the history and shared vision which are designed to leverage the Zionist-educational impact of youth movements in Israel and the Diaspora, and to generate cross-fertilization between the bodies.
- Some of the participants raised doubts with regard to the necessity for the historic youth movements. In other words, whether their historic role had ended, or not. If not, things needed to be sorted out, and decisions are required as regards the movements in which investment should be made, and what their goals are.
- The WZO's involvement in the activities of youth movements should be of an educational-fundamental nature, and not just involve budgetary support. A dedicated and unique channel of communication should be established between youth movement representatives and representatives of the WZO management, which facilitate discussion about the essence of the relationship and how to apply it.
- Criticism was voiced that the WZO invests significant resources in Magshimim movements in the Diaspora and little resources in Zionist youth movements in Israel.

### Ways of furthering the topic within the framework of the WZO

1. To acclaim the contribution made by Zionist youth movements over the years (for example, through a booklet in which members of the executive, past and present, relate their experiences with youth movements).
2. Creating a primary channel of communication through a joint committee or by other means, in which the movement representatives and WZO management members maintain deep and orderly dialogue.
3. The movements are the future: the basis for Zionist education and, hence, their great importance.
4. To maintain open dialogue shared by all the Magshimim movements, to listen to them and to clarify their main objectives, and the uniqueness of each movement, and to invest resources in them accordingly.
5. Promoting cooperation between the movements, in Israel and abroad, for the purpose or pooling resources.
6. Holding a session of the Zionist General Council, devoted to the youth movements.

### Difficulties and Complexities

1. Budgetary difficulties.
2. Tension arose between the matter of strengthening the Zionist community in the Diaspora and the fact that youth movement encourage aliyah, which leads to the young Zionists and activists leaving their communities forever.
3. Lack of cooperation between the streams and the movements.
4. Generations gaps which lead to differing and divergent approaches between the youth movements and the WZO management.
5. Overall weakening of the youth movements due to various factors, and principally because of the era of the social networks in which youth prefer virtual activity over participating in recognized community activities.
6. The tension that emerged between the desire of the movements to creates content independently, without monitoring or outside advice, and the wish of the WZO management to be centrally involved in what goes on in the movements.

### Proposals for Implementation

1. Funding the activities of the Israeli youth movements, and their inclusion by the WZO.
2. Creating and exporting relevant and interesting educational programs for the movements abroad.
3. Arranging a separate congress for the Zionist youth movements in Israel and abroad.
4. Organizing activities for graduates of youth movements – students, and providing them with assistance, such as funding for psychometric tests for alumni who want to make aliyah.
5. Including the youth movements in the 120th First Zionist Congress anniversary events, inviting them to conferences and activities, and also taking responsibility for arranging events in the aforementioned framework.
6. Establishing a roundtable – an orderly and efficient channel of communication between representatives of the movements and the WZO management (possibly via the Education Department). Regulations will be drafted for the working relationship, which are acceptable to both sides, with a detailed explanation of the goals, representatives, frequency of meetings etc. The minutes and summaries of meetings will be circulated by email to all the relevant parties in the WZO and movements.
7. Resource allocation for the production of up-to-date quality educational sets by the WZO, for the exclusive use of the youth movements. The content will be written by professionals within the WZO (for example, the Herzl Center) together with representatives of the youth movements. The sets will be translated into various languages and will be distributed abroad, in hard copy, and will also be available online. The educational sets will be augmented by special training/course presented by the movements' representatives at the Herzl Center.

## Topic 3: Leadership

### General

- There is a need for an orderly definition of the philosophy and objectives of the WZO relating to leadership. The absence of such material leads to a situation in which the concept becomes clichéd, with no clear substance behind it.
- Young leadership should be actively encouraged.
- Leadership in the Diaspora should represent everyone, and not just a particular age group or philosophy.
- Leadership has to address numerous concepts, such as Future Leadership, Spiritual Leadership etc'.

### Ways of furthering the topic within the framework of the WZO

1. Actively and creatively encouraging young leadership
2. Strengthening the bond between leader and community. The relationship has to be based on trust, openness and listening.
3. Encouraging female leadership.
4. Establishing personal relationships between the members of the WZO executive and the Zionist federations, and young leadership cadets.
5. Pooling the entire topic of leadership in one WZO department, which will be responsible for the topic, and will provide regular reports and consult with the other departments.

### Difficulties and Complexities

1. A sense of "leadership crisis", principally among young people.
2. Problematic intergenerational transition – the members of the older generation find it difficult to leave, while the younger people do not want, or unable, to take on responsibilities.
3. Fundamental discrepancies in the viewpoints of the older and younger members of the community. There are various reasons for these gaps, including the global political situation, the high level of social network activity among young people compared with the relative detachment of older people from these networks, a different perspective on the centrality of Israel etc.
4. The leadership topic is dispersed between various WZO departments, whereby each one addresses the field differently, and sometimes without synchronization (both in Israel and abroad)..

### Proposals for Implementation

1. Placing the emphasis on leadership of young women aged 18-40, with special reference to young mothers, who are given few opportunities to voice their opinions. Young mothers have special needs, and seminars and suitable programs should be devised for them so that they can take an active role in the young leadership.
2. Identifying gifted youngsters, aged 18-40, from among WZO activists, and WZO employees, and investing in them and developing them as "a managerial reserve."
3. Creating a platform of mentors which will allow the current Zionist leadership (in Israel and abroad) to individually launch the leaders of the future, or novice leaders.
4. Creating a toolbox for the current leadership in Israel and the world. Some of these leaders have been carrying out their role with great dedication for a long time, and they should be enriched with content and ideas, through content meetings with experts or through other means (for example, through cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs).
5. Appointing a member of the Zionist management to be responsible for the field of leadership, and for defining the goals, implementation and synchronizing between the different departments.

## Topic 4: The Hebrew Language

### General:

- Imparting Hebrew is a central value of Zionism, and thought should be devoted to the most operative and relevant way to achieve this.
- In 2018 the 110th anniversary of the publication of the first volume of the Ben Yehuda dictionary will be marked, and the WZO should provide a suitable solution for this.
- The place of Hebrew in the gatherings and activities of the WZO is unclear. The role of the language, as an official language in activities in Israel and abroad, should be defined explicitly and definitively,

### Ways of furthering the topic within the framework of the WZO

1. The Hebrew language fuses the past with the future, and can serve as another link between Israeli Jewry and the Diaspora.
2. The Hebrew language is an integral part of our identity and heritage.
3. As part of the events marking 120 years of the First Zionist Congress, attention should also be devoted to the complex and fascinating subject of Herzl and the Hebrew language.

### Difficulties and Complexities

1. In comparison with past years, today less Jewish children in the Diaspora learn and understand Hebrew (including children who attend Jewish schools).
2. Parents in the Diaspora do not always understand why it is important to invest in their children's Hebrew studies.
3. There are not enough frameworks that are suitable for Hebrew study.
4. The feeling from the community in the Diaspora is there is no need for "Ulpan" Hebrew, rather studies should focus on Hebrew which can serve a practical use for people on trips to Israel, or for conversations with Israelis.
5. Many representatives taking part in WZO activities in Israel and the Diaspora find it easier to speak and lecture in their mother tongue. There is concern that if all the WZO conferences are held in Hebrew those attendees will not take an active role, and this may alienate potential attendees.

### Proposals for Implementation

1. Devising a professional, high quality and virtual course designed to make Hebrew studies accessible.
2. Devising training and assigning them to teachers and moderators who can present the above course in Israel and the Diaspora.
3. Taking a decision that the main/official language of WZO international conferences will be Hebrew.
4. Devising and distributing "user-friendly" and "practical" Hebrew study kits that are relevant for young people who do not wish to learn "ulpan Hebrew".
5. Initiating serious high quality academic research that will indicate the main trends in Hebrew study around the world, relating to the needs and difficulties of the students. This research will serve as a database for formulating a comprehensive and relevant program for Hebrew teaching in the Diaspora.
6. Organizing a symposium, which will be open to the general public, on the topic of Herzl and the Hebrew Language, which will focus on the presence of Hebrew and the teachings of Herzl, and the various congresses. The day will be based on a festive format, and will incorporate experts and cultural figures with a view to exposing the topic and attracting a large audience.
7. Establishing an intra-organizational committee which will work on marking the 110<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of the first volume of the Ben Yehuda dictionary, in 2018.



# 05

## Topic 5: Aliyah and Kibbutz Galuyot

### General:

- Aliyah and kibbutz galuyot (ingathering of the exiles) comprise a central value of Zionist ideology
- There is sometimes the sense that the work has already been done, and the majority of the Jewish people lives in Israel. However, aliyah is still a major challenge.
- In addition to actual aliyah, investment is required in educating people to appreciate the importance of this subject, both for the oleh but also for Israeli society that takes in the oleh.
- Absorption in Israel has become an ongoing challenge.

### Ways of furthering the topic within the framework of the WZO

1. Providing practical tools that will assist people who are interested in making aliyah, such as assistance with studying Hebrew, or professional training that is relevant for the Israeli job market.
2. Providing up-to-date and relevant information for people interested in making aliyah.
3. Attention should be given to the unique aspects of each country in the Diaspora and, in turn, to olim from various countries with different needs.
4. Attention should be given to aliyah as part of the widespread educational activity conducted by the WZO, in Israel and abroad, with a view to highlighting this work in general and, in particular, looking at the WZO's contribution in this area.

### Difficulties and Complexities

1. Youngsters who make aliyah on their own do not have a support framework. This situation is exacerbated when their family, which stays abroad, does not encourage the move.
2. A lack of budgets for activities designed to encourage aliyah and practical guidance.
3. Aliyah by young people from the Diaspora strengthens Israel but also leads to weakening of the community and Zionist activity abroad. This makes the topic a subject of ambivalence for the communities.
4. Olim returning to their country of origin following failed absorption.

### Proposals for Implementation

1. Subsidies for Hebrew study and establishing study facilities based on a virtual format that is accessible to all.
2. Investing in shlichim and activists who will engage in promoting aliyah, and preparing people for aliyah.
3. Reinforcing the role of the Magshimim movements as leaders of aliyah, by means of seminars and dedicated budgets.
4. Formulating activities "for all the family" which relate, in an enjoyable and purposeful way, to the challenges, questions and specific complexities of families with small children which are planning to make aliyah, and distributing those activities



# 06

## Topic 6: Community

### General

- Belonging to a community greatly helps to develop a sense of identification with the Zionist idea whereby the community initiates and operates frameworks and events which enable the individual to participate in Zionist activity.
- The community serves as a supportive social framework and, as such, has the power to create and support ongoing Zionist activity, rather than one-time events.
- The community is a cohesive and bonding Jewish institution, which is generations old, and this makes it possible to leverage community power in Israel and the Diaspora for Zionist activity.

### Ways of furthering the topic within the framework of the WZO

1. Training community shlichim for the Diaspora.
2. Special consideration of the topic of the family and the family unit, and its place in the Zionist movement.
3. Consideration for the subject of the community in Israel, as a nurturing element for Zionist activity.
4. Creating partnerships between communities in Israel and Diaspora.

### Difficulties and Complexities

1. Budget difficulties for funding community shlichim.
2. The sense of belonging and commitment to the community may, sometimes, be a disruptive factor in relation to making aliyah.
3. While there are numerous cohesive Zionist communities in Israel they have no connection with, or access to, the WZO and vice versa.

### Proposals for Implementation

4. Establishing a platform which helps to build the family, for example consolidating Zionist activity designed "for all the family" on Jewish holidays.
5. Establishing channels of dialogue with community heads in the Diaspora, and understand their needs (for example, assistance with organizing activities based on the Zionist calendar).
6. Creating a project based on ties with communities in Israel. Someone from the organization should be appointed to take over the field, to clearly define its goals and to create a network of Zionist communities in Israel that are in ongoing contact with the WZO, and take an active role in the community with regard to educational activity in Israel and activities in the Partnership together with Diaspora communities (for example, the Herzl Center offers attractive programs for "hiking communities" which go to the Herzl Center from all over Israel).
7. Creating virtual communities based on Zionist themes (from Israel and abroad).



# 07 + 08

## Topic 7: Futurism and Topic 8: Exemplary society

### General

- An “exemplary society” and “futurism” were constants in all the ideas “for implementation” raised by participants in the Zionist General Council. An exemplary society is a central value in the teachings of the Visionary of the State, and almost every step taken by the WZO also helps to advance the Zionist society and the state of Israel towards the vision of an exemplary society.
- Futurism is a wide definition which incorporates many of the proposed solutions, for example the use of new media which allows immediate and meaningful connection between Zionists in Israel and around the world.

As such, both issues will be addressed together, the exemplary society and the essence to which we aspire, and futurism as a solution for numerous problems and a sober viewpoint towards the future.

### Ways of furthering the topic within the framework of the WZO

1. Generating in-depth dialogue based on discussion of the areas which have made the society “a model” over the 120 years, and which issues will lie at the center of creation of the model in the coming 120 years.
2. Placing the topic of the exemplary society on the Zionist-public agenda in Israel, and in the Diaspora, by various means.
3. Investment in academic research designed to analyze future trends in the Zionist world, in order to devise a meaningful strategic plan for the coming two decades.

### Difficulties and Complexities

1. Futurism – some of the older adults are not well versed in new media, and this made arouse a sense of aversion.
2. An exemplary society – a hazy and quite basic definition. It is not always clear what the intention is when the phrase “exemplary society” is used. Moreover, various movements and streams will interpret the concept differently, and possibly even in a contrasting way.

### Proposals for Implementation

1. Creating applications which help to further the WZO’s goals. Today, we are all “connected” to Smartphones and, as such, to “teaching youth in their own way.” For example, an idea for The Daily Word application was raised, whereby the user could learn a new word in Hebrew every day, using their cell phone.
2. Holding seminars and special discussion sessions, with a view to defining the “exemplary society” more clearly, with the emphasis on specific areas which can, and should, be applied in order to become such a society.
3. Transferring the training sets and activities produced by the WZO to digital media, to make them accessible to youth movements around the world.
4. Bringing the subject of “an exemplary society” to the fore so that it can be expressed in the activity of every department. This will ensure that subject is addressed from different angles, and will reach numerous groups.
5. Creating strategic cooperation with international bodies engaged in social activism and tikkun olam, in a manner that resonates with Herzl’s teachings and heritage.
6. Futurism – this offers almost limitless possibilities to the Zionist world – in the media, through the dissemination of messages and material, and through advocacy.

## Our Speakers

**Yuli Edelstein** is the Speaker of the Knesset and an MK for the Likud party. Previously, he served as the Minister of Immigrant Absorption and the Minister of information and Diaspora in the Israeli government. Mr. Edelstein was born in 1958 in Czernowitz in the Soviet Union. In 1979 he sought to immigrate to Israel but was refused. In 1984 he was arrested by the KGB for his Zionist activity, was convinced and sentenced to three years of hard labor in a Soviet labor camp, and served his sentence in the Gulag. After his release in May 1987 he immigrated to Israel with his family.

**Professor Aviva Halamish** is a historian at the Open University of Israel, and Editor-in-Chief of the Open University of Israel Press. Her research encompasses the history of the Jewish people and of Palestine in the twentieth century. She authored or edited over a dozen books and published scores of articles on various aspects of her fields of expertise. She has been involved for many years in history teaching at the education system as a teacher, lecturer at courses for teachers, member of The Ministry of Education committees and academic consultant to textbooks for junior and high schools; she is a member of Israel Council for Higher Education.

**Jonathan D. Sarna** is, during this year fellow at the Israel Institute for Advanced Studies. He is University Professor and the Joseph H. & Belle R. Braun Professor of American Jewish History at Brandeis University, where he chairs the Hornstein Jewish Professional Leadership Program. He also is the past president of the Association for Jewish Studies and Chief Historian of the National Museum of American Jewish History in Philadelphia. Author or editor of more than thirty books on American Jewish history and life, his American Judaism: A History won six awards! Prof. Sarna is a fellow of the American Academy of Jewish Research.

**Shmuel Trigano**, is professor emeritus at Paris University (Sociology). He founded several institutions for Jewish Learning in France. He created two journals Pardès (Jewish Thought) and Controverses (New Antisemitism). He published twenty-four books related to Jewish Thought and Political Philosophy. His last book, The New Jewish State, will be soon published in Hebrew (Sela Meir).

**Oren Nahari** has been Head of the Foreign Desk and World News Editor for Channel 1 Television, Israel Broadcasting Authority, since 1993. He founded the highly acclaimed on-going foreign news programs, "Seeing the World", "Globe" and "World Coverage". A television and radio anchor, moderator and editor, Mr.

Nahari appears on Israeli and foreign television and radio as an expert on foreign news and current affairs. He has published several best-selling nonfiction books. He initiated the series "History, Ideology and Music" IBA Symphony Orchestra and holds lectures together with musician Gil Shohat. He acts as facilitator for the Intermezzo programs of the Israeli Philharmonic Orchestra.

**Prof. Shlomo Avineri** is Professor of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. He served as the Director General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. His books, including "The Zionist Idea and National Movements" have been translated into many languages. Prof. Avineri served as a visiting professor at Yale University, Cornell University, University of California, Oxford, Australian National University (Canberra) and the Central European University (Budapest). Prof. Avineri is a research fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, the Institute of Economics and International Relations in Moscow and Israel Prize laureate.

**Prof. David Passig** is a futurist, lecturer, who specializes in technological, social and educational futures. Prof. Passig holds a Ph.D. degree in Future Studies from the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities and the author of bestseller books such as "The Future Code", "2048" and "Forcognito – The Future Mind". Each has received Israel's coveted Gold Book Award. Prof. Passig is Associate Professor at Bar-Ilan University (BIU), Ramat-Gan, Israel, where he heads BIU's Graduate Program in Communication Technologies as well as BIU's Virtual Reality Laboratory. He has served as the chief advisor to the Commissioner for Future Generations in the Israeli Knesset. He is currently a member of the Israeli National Council for R&D.



# Zionist General Council Participants:

## The Zionist Executive

Avraham Duvdevani, Chairman, David Ben Naeh, Debbie Ben Ami, Dr. David Breakstone, Rabbi Tzvi Graetz, Dina Hahn, Yizhar Hess, Marina Koritny, Dr. David Korenfeld, Gilad Kariv, Sergio Edelstein, Dr. Shimon Ohayon, Aviad Oshri, Esther Mor, Dror Morag, Nerya Meir, Arnon Giladi, Gael Gruenwald, Gusti Yehoshua Braverman, Gil Segal, Jesse Sultanik, Shimon Sousan, Yaron Shavit, Nathan Sharanski, Ranny Trainin, Oria Caspi, Masha Lubelsky, Alex Selsky, Shai Pinto, Jacques Kupfer, Modi Eliezer Zandberg, Yaacov Hagoel, Silvio Joscowicz, Ellen Hershkin, Yehiel Wasserman, Gary Zaltzman

## Honorary Fellows

David Manor, David Fuchs, Dov Puder, Hana Melamed, Haya Shamir, Jerome Michael Epstein, Luis (Eliezer) Dalman, Tova Ben Dov, Tzvi (Quito) Hasson

## Presidium of the Zionist General Council

Amiad Taub, Arie Azoulay, Claude Machline, Dalya Levy, Daniel Cohen, Dario Teietelbaum, Francine Stein, Galia Wolloch, Haim Cohen, Haim Katz, Haya Cohen, Helena Glaser, Hernan Felman, Itzhak Mati, Jack Kahn, Judith Aleda Cohen, Karma Feinstein Cohen, Ksenia Dobron, Lea Anna Muehlstein, Leah Reicin, Matias Dobzewicz, Michael Chlenov, Na'ama Schultz, Nili Nehorai, Ravid Azulay David, Rita Fruman, Rivka Lazovsky, Solly Sacks, Stephen Steve Denenberg, Shalom Shlomo HaLevi, Yehuda Shteinberger, Yigal Bibi, Zvi Raviv

## Alternates to the Presidium

Alan Schneider, Ami Ifrah, Assaf Weiss, Carlos Alberto Tapiero, David Bernstein, Demian Matias Stratievsky, Efrat Katash, Eliezer Shefer, Elizabeth (Elisheva) Baskin, Esther Serok, Faina Zmitrichenko, Frieda I. Ross, Hila Drechler, Itzhak Dei, Itzik Simchon, Janine Gelle, Joel Jacobs, Lior Finkel-Pearl, Lior Haimovitch, Lior Targan, Meir Kahlon, Moshe Cohen, Nurit Yardeni-Levy, Roi Abekasis, Rubi Shemesh, Shimon Sousan, Shirli Shavit, Terri Davis, Yehonathan Dobov, Yosef Tarshish, Yossi Tzadok, Zeev Shvartz

## Zionist General Council Members wish Voting Rights

### Arzenu

Mark Samuel Anshan, Antony Arkin, Steven Bob, Deborah Blausten, David Bernstein, Shoshana Dweck, Olivier Delasalle, Sandy Hollis, William Hess, Joshua Weinberg, Erika Siegfried-Tompson, Dalya Levy, Bennett Miller, Lea Anna Muehlstein, Andrew Keene, John Rosove

### B'nai B'rith

Alan Schneider, Amos Meron, Avraham Huli, Eduardo Kohn, Elana Heideman, Michael Nathan, Sarah Goepfinger, Yoseff Shachor

### Confederation

Friedrich Thul, Jim Schiller, Leonardo Chullmir, Salomon Louis Vas Dias

### Hadassah

Annabelle Yuval, Barbara Goldstein, Elizabeth Alpert, Esther Serok, Judy Shereck, Marlene-Edith Post

### Hanoar Hatzioni

Bendeguz Moldovan, Deborah Wilkorwski

### Heads of the Zionist Federation

Marcel Engelmayr, Alberto Bierman Levy, Dr. Danny Lamm, Leslie Rothschild

### Herut

Gaston Binyamin Sayada

### Lavi Olami

Ilan Roth, Nachi Eyal

### Maccabi World Union

Carlos Alberto Tapiero, Omer Levitner, Stella Syrkin, Rodney Sonders, Zvi Raviv

### Na'amat International

Clarice Schucman Jozsef, Doris Wexler, Shirli Shavit

### Ohavey-Zion

Rubi Shemesh, Shifi Sananes

### The Student Delegation

Yosef Tarshish

### Wizo

Helena Glaser, Loraine Warren

### World Beytenu

Alon Shahar, Dmitry Shiglik, Ksenia Dobron, Tsipi Manheimer, Udanin Mikhail

### World Union of Progressive Judaism – Reform

Rabbi Daniel Freeland, Rita Fruman, Sonja Guentner, Steven Howard Burnstein, Ziva Nicole Heller

### World Council of Synagogues – Conservative

Alan Silberman, Alan Silverstein, Alejandro Simon Bloch, Matias Dobzewicz, Reut Yahav

### World Emunah

Frieda I. Ross, Judith Cohen, Michelle (Mindy) Stein, Tamar Rabin-Laufer, Temma Klausner

### World Likud

Dor Harlap, Elizabeth Berney, Felicia Moualem, Hernan Felman, Igal Harary, Kevin Ross, Lior Targan, Mati Itzhak, Mauricio Oberlander, Murray Sion Mizrahi, Nili Nehorai, Pinchas Feinberg, Shalom Edri, Tzokit Aharon, Vicky Cittance, Yifat Ovadia, Yves Hazout

### World Mercaz

David Sefton, Dr. Marilyn Gail Lishnoff Wind, Edgardo Daniel Band, Gillian Susan Caplin, Janet Tobin, Marion Mayman, Randall Brown, Steve Wernick, Vernon Howard Kurtz

### World Mizrahi

Avraham Batito, Doron Peretz, Harvey Blitz, Jerome Yosef Blau, Jack Kahn, Joshua Pomerance, Judy Livovsky, Karma Feinstein Cohen, Maxine Piczenik, Solly Sacks, Sondra Sokal, Yifa Segal

### World Union of Meretz

Alain Grabarz, David Dormont, Dario Teietelbaum, Efrat Levy, Shanna Orlik, Susana Edith Gelber

### World Organization of Orthodox Communities and Synagogues

Amiad Taub, Eliezer Shefer, Itzhak Dahan, Rabbi David Tabachnik, Smadar Sheinin

### World Sephardi Federation

Albert Levy, Andre Derhy, Angel Calderon, Haim Cohen, Jacqueline Schwartz, Liliane Shalom, Meir Kahlon, Moise Amselem

### Yesh-Atid

Sandy Renee Starkman

### Zionist Council in Israel

Ata Pharchat, Irit Ahdoot, Yigal Bibi, Yossi Tzadok

### Zionist Union

Arieh Azoulay, Ravid Azulay David, Tal Elovitz, Bniamin Boblil, Hila Drechler, Dalia Hibner, Patricia Tiomno Tolmasquim, Moran Israel, Haya Cohen, Jerry Lewis, Demian Matias Stratievsky, Efrat Katash

## Participants in an Advisory Capacity

### Comptroller of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency

Steven Stav

### Deputy Legal Advisor to the World Zionist Organization

Adv. Baruch Rubin

### Legal Advisor

Adv. Fern Braniss

### Zionist Supreme Court Judges

Adv. Shoshana Berman, Adv. Rena Shashua Hasson

### Secretary of the Zionist Supreme Court

Herzl Makov

### Secretary of the Zionist Executive

Adv. Reuben Shalom

### WZO Director General

Eli Cohen

### Professional leadership

Dov Barel, Eran Berkowitz, Haim Bennazeraf, Itzhak Stiglitz, Mark Dovev, Moshe Preisler, Nava Amidi-Dagul, Tzofia Dimant-Yossef, Yaakov Aharoni, Yaniv Nachmias

### Chairman, Employees' organization

Hanan Mor

## Zioist General Council Bureau

### Director of the ZGC

Anna Givati

### Staff

Nava Avisar, Bracha Cohen, Adi Dotan, Itzik Yaakov, Levana Arnon, Meira Azenkot, Michal Liberman Galon, Naftali Levy, Ronit Bash, Shalom Dotan, Shiran Yaakov, Shlomit Sattler, Yaki Bar-David

*in Basel*

*1997*

*Photo*





**World Zionist Organization**

**120**   
120 YEARS OF ZIONISM  
"ZIONISM IS AN INFINITE IDEAL"