

History: Re-Birth of a Nation

The birthplace of the Jewish people is the Land of Israel (Eretz Yisrael). There, a significant part of the nation's long history was enacted, of which the first thousand years are recorded in the Bible; there, its cultural, religious, and national identity was formed; and there, its physical presence has been maintained through the centuries, even after the majority was forced into exile. During the many years of dispersion, the Jewish people never severed nor forgot its bond with the Land. With the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Jewish independence, lost 2,000 years earlier, was renewed.

**Remember the days of old,
consider the years of many
generations...
(Deuteronomy 32:7)**

Israel

The Jewish Homeland From Biblical Days

Written by **Professor Joshua Schwartz**

What makes a “homeland”? Is it the territory that binds an ethnic group together, a geographic entity possessing a long association with that ethnic group, perhaps its “country of origin” in which its national identity was born? This is how we usually think today of “Jewish homeland”: the term is often synonymous with “Jewish State,” “Homeland of the Jewish People,” “National Home for the Jewish People” and even State of Israel. These concepts, however, are modern and relate mostly to modern perceptions of national identity and geography. Perceptions change and, thus, so, theoretically, might homelands. Thus, a Jewish homeland might be planned or established in Uganda, Argentina, Birobidzhan, or a fictional one might be posited even in Alaska. However, what would make these a Jewish homeland and do these purported Jewish homelands of past and fiction fit the bill?

While it is not politically correct today to seek the answer to this question in the Bible or in Jewish religious tradition, it is exactly this Jewish literature that tells us “who are we” and “how we got there” and establishes the iron-clad bond between the People of Israel and the Land of Israel.



The story of Israel begins not in Israel but in Mesopotamia “beyond the River” (Euphrates). God Himself, however, called us out to come to Canaan, the Land of Israel (Joshua 24:2-4). The Book of Genesis provides more details: the saga of the Patriarch Abram (later Abraham), son of Terah, began in Ur of the Chaldeans in southern Mesopotamia. Terah took his family as far as Haran in northern Mesopotamia (Genesis 11: 27-32). God then instructed Abram to go “to the land which I will show you,” and this land was Canaan, the Land of Israel (Genesis 12:1-5). This land became the “Promised Land,” promised as an everlasting possession to the descendants of Abraham, “from the River of Egypt as far as the great river the Euphrates” (Genesis 15: 18-21). God renewed

ABOVE: Jerusalem's Old City contains Zachariah's Tomb and other ancient burials in the Kidron Valley. The Jewish cemetery of Mt. of Olives can be seen in the background.

WEB RESOURCES:

Israel Antiquities
Authority:
www.israntique.org.il

this pact with Isaac (Genesis 26:3), Jacob (Genesis 28:13) and Moses (Exodus 6:4). The basic perception is that the Jews constitute a nation and their proper or legitimate territory coincides with the land promised to or trodden by our Biblical forefathers.

However, while the borders of the “promised” land were quite extensive, the actual geographic entity in which the People of Israel resided during Biblical times and afterwards was somewhat more limited, although the boundaries often changed as a result of political or military developments and thus the de facto “homeland” changed from time to time. When God showed Moses the Land of Israel from Mount Nebo across the Jordan, he showed him Gilead as far as Dan in the north, the (future) lands of Naphtali, Ephraim, Manasseh, Judah, the Negev, and the Plain in the Valley of Jericho, as far as Zoar in the south (Deuteronomy 31:1-3). Other boundaries are mentioned in Deuteronomy (1:7, 11:24), in Joshua and in Ezekiel (47:15-20). David effectively ruled from Dan to Beer-Sheba (2 Samuel 14:2) and “Judah and Israel lived in safety, every man under his vine and his fig tree, from Dan even to Beer-Sheba, all the days of Solomon” (1 Kings 5:5).

Biblical reality and perceptions were translated by the Rabbis into law (halakhah). The Rabbis had little interest in historical boundaries from this or that period of Jewish sovereignty, whether from Biblical times, the Hasmonean state or Herodian kingdom, the latter two from Second Temple times. Similarly, messianic period boundaries, i.e. the extensive boundaries promised to the Patriarchs, were a matter for the messianic period. Halakhic boundaries are necessary in order to delineate those areas in which Jews were required to observe agricultural regulations such as tithing or the restrictions of the Sabbatical year, the “halakhic homeland” for the Rabbis.

These boundaries are carefully defined in Tosefta Sheviit 4:11 (and parallels) and were copied in full in an ancient synagogue inscription at Rehov, south of modern-day Beth Shean. While these boundaries are more modest than those of the “promised land”, they contain a great expanse of territory. From modern-day Raphia (other readings; Ascalon) the boundary runs north to Acre. From there the line runs north-northeast including parts of southern Lebanon, the Golan and parts of

Transjordan, especially the eastern Jordan Valley all the way to the south of the Dead Sea, returning westward to its point of origin. Ironically, this is what the Rabbis mistakenly perceived to be the boundaries of Israel during the period of the Restoration of Zion (536 BCE) when some of those exiled to Babylonia returned to Israel to rebuild land and Temple.

The history of the Jews in Israel from Roman times and afterwards represents the struggle of the Jewish people to maintain their hold on their ancestral homeland in the face of political, economic and, at times, religious challenges. Rabbinic law, in Israel emphasized the religious importance of remaining in and living in Israel, even in the face of difficulties and in spite of these difficulties. It became a transgression to leave, except under special circumstances. Diaspora Rabbis, often in the face of their own internal problems, were sometimes less enthusiastic about the need to “make aliyah” and some even claimed that a precipitous return to the “Jewish homeland” violated the “Divine punishment” for which the Jews had been exiled to begin with. Better, in their view, to wait for the Messiah and the messianic homeland.

The tension continues until today. “Homeland” Israel may be for the Jewish People, but there is not agreement as to how and when aspirations should be translated into practical imperatives. Some have done so; many more have not. Are Jews obligated to settle in the Land of Israel, the Jewish homeland? Few would respond with a blanket no. Many would answer: “timing is everything”. ♦



JOSHUA SCHWARTZ

Joshua Schwartz is Professor of Historical-Geography of Ancient Israel, Director Schulman Center for Basic Jewish Studies and Director, Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel.

Ingeborg Rennert Center
for Jerusalem Studies,
Bar-Ilan University:
www.biu.ac.il/JS/rennert/

BELOW: Maps of the Kingdoms of David and Solomon: 1077 - 997 BCE.

King David ruled Israel from 990 BCE to 968 BCE; and his son Solomon ruled after him until 928 BCE. David enlarged his kingdom and brought it to the peak of political and military power. Solomon “ruled over all the kingdoms west of the Euphrates River from Tiphshah to Gaza; he was at peace with all his neighbors” (1 Kings, 4:24).

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Jerusalem

One Nation's Capital Throughout History

Written by **Eli Hertz**

Jerusalem and the Jewish people are so intertwined that telling the history of one is telling the history of the other. For more than 3,000 years, Jerusalem has played a central role in the history of the Jews, culturally, politically, and spiritually, a role first documented in the Scriptures. All through the 2,000 years of the Diaspora, Jews have called Jerusalem their ancestral home. This sharply contrasts the relationship between Jerusalem and the new Islamists who artificially inflate Islam's links to Jerusalem.

The Arab rulers who controlled Jerusalem through the 1950s and 1960s demonstrated no religious tolerance in a city that gave birth to two major Western religions. That changed after the Six-Day War in 1967, when Israel regained control of the whole city. Symbolically, one of Israel's first steps was to officially recognize and respect all religious interests in Jerusalem. But the war for control of Jerusalem and its religious sites is not over.

Palestinian terrorism has targeted Jerusalem particularly in an attempt to regain control of the city from Israel. The result is that they have turned Jerusalem, literally the City of Peace, into a bloody battleground and have thus forfeited their claim to share in the city's destiny.

Jerusalem's Jewish Link: Historic, Religious, Political Jerusalem, wrote historian Sir Martin Gilbert, is not a 'mere' city. "It holds the central spiritual and physical place in the history of the Jews as a people."

For more than 3,000 years, the Jewish people have looked to Jerusalem as their spiritual, political, and historical capital, even when they did not physically rule over the city. Throughout its long history, Jerusalem has served, and still serves, as the political capital of only one nation – the one belonging to the Jews. Its prominence in Jewish history began in 1004 BCE, when King David declared the city the capital of the first Jewish kingdom. David's

successor and son, King Solomon, built the First Temple there, according to the Bible, as a holy place to worship the Almighty. Unfortunately, history would not be kind to the Jewish people. Four hundred ten years after King Solomon completed construction of Jerusalem, the Babylonians (early ancestors to today's Iraqis) seized and destroyed the city, forcing the Jews into exile. Fifty years later, the Jews, or Israelites as they were called, were permitted to return after Persia (present-day Iran) conquered Babylon. The Jews' first order of business was to reclaim Jerusalem as their capital and rebuild the Holy Temple, recorded in history as the Second Temple.

Jerusalem was more than the Jewish kingdom's political capital. It was a spiritual beacon. During the First and Second Temple periods, Jews throughout the kingdom would travel to Jerusalem three times yearly for the pilgrimages of the Jewish holy days of Sukkot, Passover,

and Shavuot, until the Roman Empire destroyed the Second Temple in 70 CE and ended Jewish sovereignty over Jerusalem for the next 2,000 years.

Despite that fate, Jews never relinquished their bond to Jerusalem or, for that matter, to Eretz Yisrael, the Land of Israel.

No matter where Jews lived throughout the world for those two millennia, their thoughts and prayers were directed toward Jerusalem. Even today, whether in Israel, the United States or anywhere else, Jewish ritual practice, holiday celebration and lifecycle events include recognition of Jerusalem as a core element of the Jewish experience.



ELI HERTZ

Eli Hertz, a recognized pioneer in the personal computer industry, was the Founder, CEO and President of Hertz Technology Group. Hertz has been cited in the United State Congressional Record by many Representatives. He is also the publisher and sponsor of books and articles regarding Israel and the Arab-Israeli conflict. A new volume on the Arab-Israeli Conflict: *Negotiating Over Quicksand – A Realistic Look at the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, is scheduled for release shortly.

LEFT: The tomb of King David is now located on Mount Zion in Jerusalem.

OPPOSITE PAGE:

LEFT: Present day Jerusalem at night. It is the Capital of Israel and the holy city for the three monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

RIGHT: Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem. Tourists stroll through Hurva Square near the Hurva Synagogue before reconstruction.

Consider the Following:

- Jews in prayer always turn toward Jerusalem.
- Arks (the sacred chests) that hold Torah scrolls in synagogues throughout the world face Jerusalem.
- Jews end Passover Seders each year with the words: “Next year in Jerusalem”; the same words are pronounced at the end of Yom Kippur, the most solemn day of the Jewish year.
- A three-week moratorium on weddings in the summer recalls the breaching of the walls of Jerusalem by the Babylonian army in 586 BCE. That period culminates in a special day of mourning – Tisha B’Av (the 9th day of the Hebrew month Av) – commemorating the destruction of both the First and Second Temples.
- Jewish wedding ceremonies – joyous occasions, are marked by sorrow over the loss of Jerusalem. The groom recites a biblical verse from the Babylonian Exile: “If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning,”⁴ and breaks a glass in commemoration of the destruction of the Temples.

Even body language, often said to tell volumes about a person, reflects the importance of Jerusalem to Jews as a people and, arguably, the lower priority the city holds for Muslims:

- When Jews pray they face Jerusalem; in Jerusalem Israelis pray facing the Temple Mount.
- When Muslims pray, they face Mecca; in Jerusalem Muslims pray with their backs to the city.
- Even at burial, a Muslim face, is turned toward Mecca.

Finally, consider the number of times ‘Jerusalem’ is mentioned in the two religions’ holy books:

- The Old Testament mentions ‘Jerusalem’ 349 times. Zion, another name for ‘Jerusalem,’ is mentioned 108 times.
- The Quran never mentions Jerusalem – not even once.



JERUSALEM’S POPULATION

Year	Jews	Muslims	Christians	Total
1844	7,120	5,000	3,390	15,510
1876	12,000	7,560	5,470	25,030
1896	28,112	8,560	8,748	45,420
1922	33,971	13,411	4,699	52,081
1931	51,222	19,894	19,335	90,451
1948	100,000	40,000	25,000	165,000
1967	195,700	54,963	12,646	263,309
1987	340,000	121,000	14,000	475,000
1990	378,200	131,800	14,400	524,000
2005	582,700	240,900	15,700	839,300

Even when others controlled Jerusalem, Jews maintained a physical presence in the city, despite being persecuted and impoverished. Before the advent of modern Zionism in the 1880s, Jews were moved by a form of religious Zionism to live in the Holy Land, settling particularly in four holy cities: Safed, Tiberias, Hebron, and most importantly – Jerusalem. ♦



EDITOR’S NOTE: Myths and Facts, Inc. is devoted to research and publication of information regarding U.S. interests in the world and particularly in the Middle East. Point of clarification: This Web site is not related to the publication “Myths and Facts” referred to after the following chart, which is a separate and independent hard copy and web-based publication written by Dr. Mitchell Bard as part of the Jewish Virtual Library site.

WEB RESOURCES:

The complete version of this article (including footnotes) can be found at:
www.mythsandfacts.com/Conflict/3/Jerusalem.pdf

Tel Aviv

The First Jewish City of Modern Times Turns 100

Written by **Ron Huldai**, Mayor of Tel Aviv – Yafo

Wenn ihr wollt, ist es kein Märchen - "If you will it, it is no dream".

These words were written by Benjamin Theodore Herzl, a liberal socialist, who took his first steps toward a Zionist movement in the summer of 1895 by marketing the idea of a Jewish State. Such a state would be the solution to the continuous persecution of the Jews throughout the world.

In early 1896, Herzl presented his solution to the public by publishing a book appropriately titled, "The Jewish State." The book presented Herzl's vision, including the characteristics of his imagined Jewish state, together with the means in which to make his vision come true.

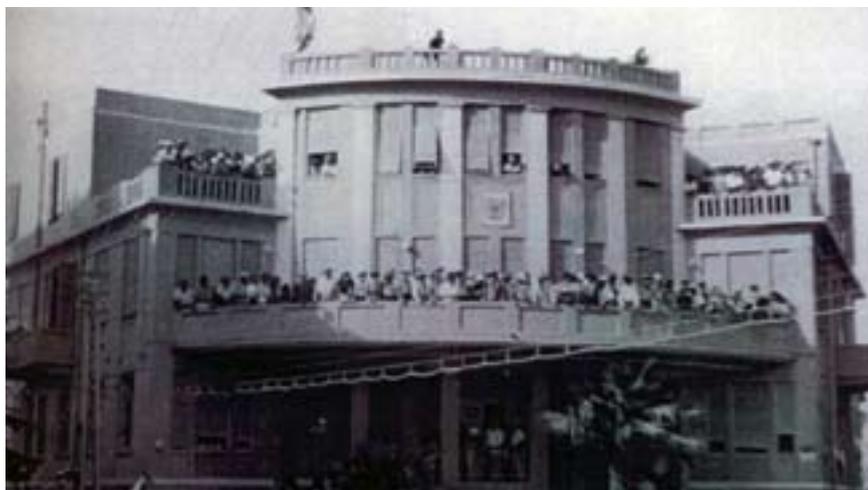
In the book, Herzl expressed his ambition to establish an exemplary land for the Jewish people built upon a tolerant, pluralistic, and progressive society. Interestingly enough, the economic capital of the future state is not Jerusalem (the religious and spiritual center of the land), but a new city—one with elaborately described social, cultural, industrial, technological, economic, demographic and urban spheres.

At the end of the book, Herzl writes: "Dream and practice are not as different as believed, because all human practices are based on dreams." Herzl's dream city would soon arise—and become the city of Tel Aviv.

In reality, the City of Tel Aviv was originally established as a neighborhood of Jaffa and not as a separate entity. Three milestones mark its establishment:

The first took place in 1906. It was during this year that a group of Jews from Jaffa rose against the difficult living conditions in the city – crowdedness, filth and especially the Turkish law obligating Jaffa's Jews to change apartments every year.

The publication of Herzl's book caused great excitement among Jaffa's residents and his visionary idea was adopted with the establishment of a new modern neighborhood outside of Jaffa using western European neighborhoods



ABOVE: Tel Aviv's original municipality.

LEFT: The "Seashell Lottery." The founders of Tel Aviv aimed to build a new neighborhood that would be independent of Yafo. Their vision was a city designed along the lines of the Garden City Movement, headed by the British city planner Sir Ebenezer Howard. They had in mind a green and spacious city, the very opposite of the urban squalor of Yafo.

BELOW: A popular pub-restaurant in downtown Tel Aviv serves couscous.



as its model. The new neighborhood would offer a new quality of life in the Land of Israel. There would be homes with vegetable gardens and rows of flowers, playgrounds for children, street lights and running water in the homes.

The second milestone for the city's development came in April 1909. A "Seashell Lottery" was held during the Passover holiday in which plots of land in the new neighborhood were divided among the founding families. 60 founding families—approximately 200 men, women and children – gathered in a sandy, desolate area not far from the seashore. Akiva Weiss, chairman of the new neighborhood, was responsible for the lottery ceremony of the first 60 plots. He collected 60 white and 60 gray seashells. Weiss wrote the names of the families that purchased plots on the white seashells and the number of each plot on the gray seashells. He placed the seashells in two separate hats and a boy and girl took out one gray and one white seashell from the respective hats. In this way, a plot of land was granted to each family. This lottery with seashells, thought Weiss, would symbolize the creation of a new neighborhood by the seashore.

The third milestone in the development of Tel Aviv would fall during June 1909 when the corner stone of the first home in the new neighborhood was laid. The neighborhood well was also dug on this day and work on the new neighborhood began.

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This period of early development led into what is called Israel's Second Aliyah-- made famous by the agricultural settlements established in the country by pioneers and mainly by the establishment of kibbutzim. As one can imagine, the construction of a new urban neighborhood was met with criticism and even condemnation by these agriculturally-inspired pioneers. They objected to the establishment of an urban bourgeois neighborhood based neither on agricultural work, nor communality.

The neighborhood residents claimed in their defense that "just as the city needs Jewish settlements and villages, villages need a Hebrew city to centralize trade and industry so we don't have to depend on others." And so, growth of this urban center continued.

The new neighborhood was called Tel Aviv. Zionist leader Nachum Sokolov, translated Herzl's Zionist novel *Altneuland* ("Old-New Land") into Hebrew under the symbolic title *Tel-Aviv* (tel meaning a hill of ruins, and aviv meaning spring), and thus inspired the name for the first Jewish city in modern Erez Israel.

At the outbreak of the First World War, Tel Aviv had only 140 houses and during the war its development was curtailed as the Turkish authorities temporarily expelled its residents together with Jaffa's Jewish residents. Only when Great Britain conquered the land in 1917 and the British Mandate began did the residents of Tel Aviv return. Progress on the city continued after the war.

Beginning in 1921, the city developed at a startling pace. That year, Jaffa's Arabs rioted in the city and 47 Jews were murdered. In the wake of this violence, many Jews left Jaffa for Tel Aviv, increasing the population of Tel Aviv from 2,000 in 1920 to 34,000 by 1925.

In 1925, the city symbol was designed with a lighthouse at the center and written "Again will I build thee, and thou

shalt be built" from the Biblical passage: "Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel; again shalt thou be adorned with thy tablets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry."

The Fourth and Fifth Aliyah (1924 -1939), during which the Nazis rose to power in Germany, saw an influx of immigrants to Tel Aviv and vast development of the city. It was during this period that the city began to develop its bourgeois – bon vivant character.

Tel Aviv hosted the first movie theater and "casino" in Israel. The "casino" was not for gambling, but was rather a café on the seashore established to strengthen the city's night life. The casino and movie theater contributed significantly to cultural life in Tel Aviv's early years. By 1936, Tel Aviv had become the largest city in the country, the center for agricultural produce, trade, and marketing, as well as for light industry and workshops. The city was also the Jewish settlement's public, economic and cultural services center.

In the wake of the 1936–39 Arab rioting, a local port independent of Jaffa was built in 1938. It served as an impetus to the city's development in spite of its small size and lack of modernity: Ships couldn't anchor and like the Jaffa port it was necessary to bring the goods and people by boat to shore.

Tel Aviv played a crucial part during the period of illegal immigration to Israel and the battle against the Mandate authorities in the 1940s. The city was the landing port for many ships carrying illegal immigrants, the underground arms industry was established in the city, and the underground movements used the city as their base. With the establishment of the State of Israel, Tel Aviv was the only Jewish city in the country numbering more than 100,000 residents.

In 1947, battles broke out again between Jews and Arabs along the southern and eastern borders of the city. They



TOP: Park and hotels on the Mediterranean shore in the evening.

BOTTOM: Present-day Tel Aviv has a population of just under 400,000. On any given day, 20% of Israel's entire population can be found in the city.



ended close to the declaration of the State of Israel with the conquering of Jaffa by the Haganah and Etzel forces. Most of Jaffa's Arab citizens fled.

Not only was May 14, 1948 a date to remember for all of Israel, but on this day of independence, the declaration was made in the old Tel Aviv museum on Rothschild Boulevard, which was originally the private home of Mayor Dizingoff, and today is the Independence Hall museum.

At the same time, Jerusalem was under siege and cut off from the rest of the country. As a result, Tel Aviv served as the capital of the State where the government offices sat and the first Knesset meetings took place in the old Opera House on Herbert Samuel Street. Only at the end of 1949 was Jerusalem declared the capital of Israel and the country's government institutions moved from Tel Aviv.

A number of Arab villages adjacent to the city were abandoned during the War of Independence in 1948. A short time later the buildings and areas were annexed to Tel Aviv. In October 1949, after the war, Jaffa was united with Tel Aviv and became part of the city municipality. Today 20,000 Israeli Arabs live in Jaffa. Most are descendents of the Arabs who remained in the city in spite of the war. In the initial years of the country Jaffa absorbed many new immigrants and today most of the city's residents are Jewish. The building in Tel Aviv had spread in all directions until a common border with neighboring cities was formed.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel 60 years ago, both the city of Tel Aviv and the country have grown in directions no one thought possible back then.

Today Tel Aviv's residents number just under 400,000, yet on any given day, 20 percent of Israel's entire population can be found in the city.

Tel Aviv is Israel's economic hub, home of the Tel Aviv Stock Exchange and many corporate offices and research and development centers. Economic activities in the city account for 15 percent of national employment. Furthermore, 40 percent of national employment in finance and 25 percent of national employment in business services is in Tel Aviv.

Tel Aviv is the country's cultural capital and a center of music, theater and the arts. Most of Israel's major centers for the performing arts are there, including five out of the country's nine large theaters.

The city houses the country's leading educational institutions, and through its modern and centralized transportation, allows for easy access to the city from all of Israel.

Tel Aviv's beaches, hotels, cafes, upscale shopping and secular lifestyle have made it a recognized international popular tourist destination. It also allows for a diverse composition of residents, young and old, religious and secular, students and business figures – the city has something for everyone.

In 2003, UNESCO declared Tel Aviv the "White City" - a world heritage site. The White City is the nickname for the historic urban fabric of Tel Aviv. Many of the city's structures were built in the international style characterized by its most prominent feature – the color white.

The White City is an urban fabric unique in the world and therefore possesses great historical importance. World recognition of this importance is a result of the city's more than 4,000 buildings that were built in the modernistic, eclectic and Bauhaus styles.

Today, we celebrate 60 years since the establishment of the state of Israel. Next year, Tel Aviv will mark 100 years since her birth. Tel Aviv has played a crucial role in the evolution of our homeland, from the place of the announcement of our independence to the central role she plays in economic, political and social life today. We stand on the threshold of a very significant milestone in our history ... 100 years to Tel Aviv, 100 years to the fulfillment of the Zionist vision.

As I reflect over our successes and even our failures, I am proud to have played a role in this journey of the Jewish people and am proud of all my fellow Jews around the world who have done the same. My vision and heart belong to a better Israel, to continued growth and prosperity through our collective efforts.

I truly believe that if Herzl were to see his city of Tel Aviv within the Jewish state of Israel, he would certainly agree that his dream has become reality. ♦

RON HULDAI

In 1998, Ron Huldai was voted the ninth elected Mayor of Tel Aviv-Jaffa, the first Modern Hebrew city, founded in 1909. He was reelected for his second consecutive five year term in 2003 and is running for re-election in 2008 (the number of terms for mayor are unlimited). He served since 1965 as a combat pilot and was recognized as a legendary combat pilot during the Six-Day and Yom Kippur Wars. He retired from the Israeli Air Force after twenty-six years with the rank of Brigadier General. Huldai's vision for Tel Aviv is to further solidify the city as the epicenter of pluralism and liberalism, higher education, commerce, entertainment, tourism, scientific achievement, quality of life and the focal point of Israeli art and culture. Mayor Ron Huldai serves as international chairman of the Tel Aviv Foundation.

WEB RESOURCES:

Tel Aviv-Yafo Home Page:
www.tel-aviv.gov.il/english/

Mandate for Palestine

The Legal Aspects of Jewish Rights

Written by **Eli Hertz**

Between 1917 and 1947, thousands of Jews throughout the world left their homes and moved to Palestine because they heard that a future national home for the Jewish people was being established there. The "Mandate for Palestine," an historic League of Nations document, laid down the Jewish legal right to settle anywhere in western Palestine, between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, an entitlement unaltered in international law. Fifty-one member countries - the entire League of Nations - unanimously declared on July 24, 1922: "Whereas recognition has been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country."

The Two Most Significant Events in Modern History Leading to the Creation of the Jewish National Home:

I. The Founding of Modern Zionism: Benjamin Ze'ev (Theodor) Herzl

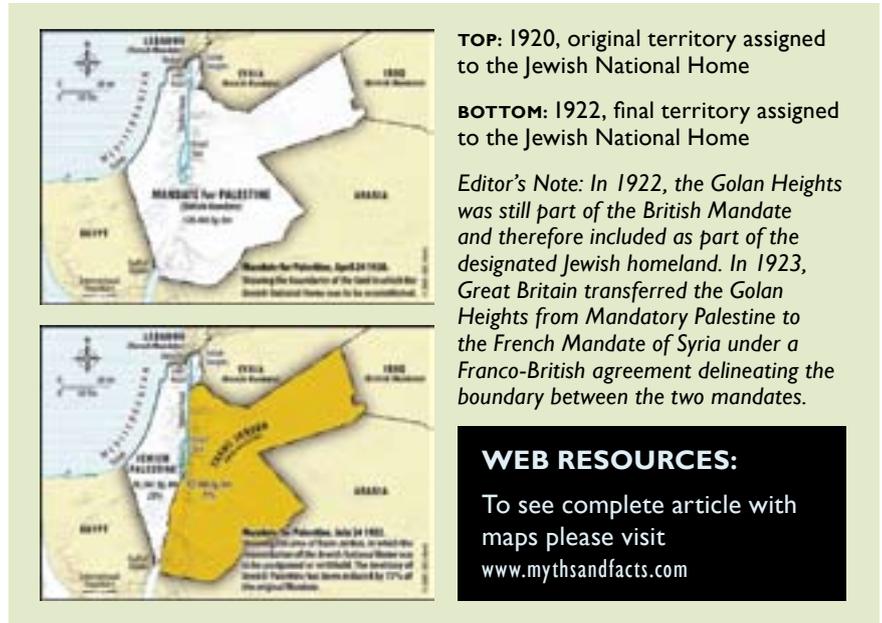
After witnessing the spread of anti-Semitism around the world, Herzl felt compelled to create a political movement with the goal of establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine. To this end, he assembled the first Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897. Herzl's insights and vision can be learned from his writings:

"Oppression and persecution cannot exterminate us. No nation on earth has survived such struggles and sufferings as we have gone through.

"Palestine is our ever-memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of marvelous potency.

"The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State.

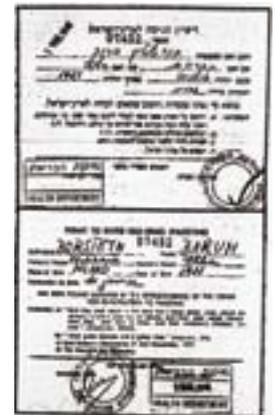
"The world resounds with outcries against the Jews, and these outcries have awakened the slumbering idea. ... We are a people - one people."



"IN PALESTINE AS OF RIGHT AND NOT ON SUFFERANCE ... "

"When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance."

- Winston Churchill, 1922



ABOVE: A permit to enter Palestine, issued during the British Mandate for a Polish immigrant.

ELI HERTZ

Please see previous bio in Jerusalem article, page 18.

II. The Balfour Declaration

The British Foreign Office, November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild, I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

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

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Signed,

Arthur James Balfour,
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs ♦

1948:

Israel and the Palestinians

Written by **Efraim Karsh**
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Sixty years after its establishment by an internationally recognized act of self-determination, Israel remains the only state in the world that is subjected to a constant outpouring of the most outlandish conspiracy theories and blood libels; whose policies and actions are obsessively condemned by the international community; and whose right to exist is constantly debated and challenged not only by its Arab enemies but by segments of advanced opinion in the West.

During the past decade or so, the actual elimination of the Jewish state has become a cause célèbre among many of these educated Westerners. The "one-state solution,"

as it is called, is a euphemistic formula proposing the replacement of Israel by a state, theoretically comprising the whole of historic Palestine, in which Jews will be reduced to the status of a permanent minority. Only this, it is said, can expiate the "original sin" of Israel's founding, an act built (in the words of one critic) "on the ruins of Arab Palestine" and achieved through the deliberate and aggressive dispossession of its native population.

This claim of premeditated dispossession and the consequent creation of the longstanding Palestinian "refugee problem" forms, indeed, the central plank in the bill of particulars pressed by Israel's alleged victims and their Western supporters. It is a charge that has hardly gone undisputed. As early as the mid-1950's, the eminent American historian J.C. Hurewitz undertook a systematic refutation,[1] and his findings were abundantly confirmed by later generations of scholars and writers. Even Benny Morris, the most influential of Israel's revisionist "new historians," and one who went out of his way to establish the case for Israel's "original sin," grudgingly stipulated that there was no "design" to displace the Palestinian Arabs.



BELOW: Haj Amin al-Husseini, the mufti of Jerusalem who allied himself with Hitler's Nazi Regime in order to drive the British from Palestine and prevent Jews from entering.



LEFT: Jewish Communities Lost In The War Of Independence.

During the War of Independence, a number of Jewish communities were captured, mostly by the Jordanian army – Kibbutz Beit Ha-arava and Kalya north of the Dead Sea, the four kibbutzim of Gush Etzion west of Bethlehem, Atarot and Neve Yaakov north of Jerusalem, and the Jewish Quarter in the Old City of Jerusalem. Kfar Darom, near Gaza, was captured by the Egyptian army. In addition, when the War of Independence broke out at the end of 1947, the remnant of the Jewish community of Hebron fled.

The recent declassification of millions of documents from the period of the British Mandate (1920-1948) and Israel's early days, documents untapped by earlier generations of writers and ignored or distorted by the "new historians," paint a much more definitive picture of the historical record. They reveal that the claim of dispossession is not only completely unfounded but the inverse of the truth. What follows is based on fresh research into these documents, which contain many facts and data hitherto unreported.

Far from being the hapless objects of a predatory Zionist assault, it was Palestinian Arab leaders who from the early 1920's onward, and very much against the wishes of their own constituents, launched a relentless campaign to obliterate the Jewish national revival. This campaign culminated in the violent attempt to abort the UN resolution of November 29, 1947, which called for the establishment of two states in Palestine. Had these leaders, and their counterparts in the neighboring Arab states, accepted the UN resolution, there would have been no war and no dislocation in the first place.

The simple fact is that the Zionist movement had always been amenable to the existence in the future Jewish state of a substantial Arab minority that would participate on an equal footing "throughout all sectors of the country's public life." The words are those of Z'ev Jabotinsky, the founding father of the branch of Zionism that was the forebear of today's Likud party. In a famous 1923 article, Jabotinsky voiced his readiness "to take an oath binding ourselves and our descendants that we shall never do anything contrary to the principle of equal rights, and that we shall never try to eject anyone."

Eleven years later, Jabotinsky presided over the drafting of a constitution for Jewish Palestine. According to its provisions, Arabs and Jews were to share both the prerogatives and the duties of statehood, including most notably military and civil service. Hebrew and Arabic were to enjoy the same legal standing, and "in every cabinet where the prime minister is a Jew, the vice-premiership shall be offered to an Arab and vice-versa."

If this was the position of the more "militant" faction of the Jewish national movement, mainstream Zionism not only took for granted the full equality of the Arab minority in the future Jewish state but went out of its way to foster Arab-Jewish coexistence. In January 1919, Chaim



LEFT: Armistice Lines 1949-1967.

In the spring and summer of 1949, agreements were signed between Israel and its neighbors establishing Israel's armistice lines. To some extent, these lines overlapped the borderline of Palestine during the British Mandate period, or they were close to it, with the exception of the Judea and Samaria region, and the surrounding area of the Gaza Strip. These lines were drawn up, on the assumption that they would be temporary, and would be replaced within a few years by permanent borders.

Much of the international border between Mandatory Palestine and Egypt became the armistice line between Israel and Egypt. The armistice line with Lebanon was close to the international border that existed during the British Mandate period, and overlapped it.

These two lines did not correspond to the battle frontlines as they existed during the cessation of hostilities, and Israel withdrew in both cases to the mandatory borderline, which became the armistice line. The armistice lines with Syria and Jordan closely corresponded to the frontlines.

Weizmann, then the upcoming leader of the Zionist movement, reached a peace-and-cooperation agreement with the Hashemite emir Faisal ibn Hussein, the effective leader of the nascent pan-Arab movement. From then until the proclamation of the state of Israel on May 14, 1948, Zionist spokesmen held hundreds of meetings with Arab leaders at all levels. These included Abdullah ibn Hussein, Faisal's elder brother and founder of the emirate of Transjordan (later the kingdom of Jordan), incumbent and former prime ministers in Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, and Iraq, senior advisers of King Abdul Aziz ibn Saud (founder of Saudi Arabia), and Palestinian Arab elites of all hues.

As late as September 15, 1947, two months before the passing of the UN partition resolution, two senior Zionist envoys were still seeking to convince Abdel Rahman Azzam, the Arab League's secretary-general, that the Palestine conflict "was uselessly absorbing the best energies of the Arab League," and that both Arabs and Jews would greatly benefit "from active policies of cooperation and development." Behind this proposition lay an age-old Zionist hope: that the material progress resulting from

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Jewish settlement of Palestine would ease the path for the local Arab populace to become permanently reconciled, if not positively well disposed, to the project of Jewish national self-determination. As David Ben-Gurion, soon to become Israel's first prime minister, argued in December 1947:

"If the Arab citizen will feel at home in our state, . . . if the state will help him in a truthful and dedicated way to reach the economic, social, and cultural level of the Jewish community, then Arab distrust will accordingly subside and a bridge will be built to a Semitic, Jewish-Arab alliance."

On the face of it, Ben-Gurion's hope rested on reasonable grounds. An inflow of Jewish immigrants and capital after World War I had revived Palestine's hitherto static condition and raised the standard of living of its Arab inhabitants well above that in the neighboring Arab states. The expansion of Arab industry and agriculture, especially in the field of citrus growing, was largely financed by the capital thus obtained, and Jewish know-how did much to improve Arab cultivation. In the two decades between the world wars, Arab-owned citrus plantations grew sixfold, as did vegetable-growing lands, while the number of olive groves quadrupled.

No less remarkable were the advances in social welfare. Perhaps most significantly, mortality rates in the Muslim population dropped sharply and life expectancy rose from 37.5 years in 1926-27 to 50 in 1942-44 (compared with 33 in Egypt). The rate of natural increase leapt upward by a third.

That nothing remotely akin to this was taking place in the neighboring British-ruled Arab countries, not to mention India, can be explained only by the decisive Jewish contribution to Mandate Palestine's socioeconomic well-being. The British authorities acknowledged as much in a 1937 report by a commission of inquiry headed by Lord Peel:

The general beneficent effect of Jewish immigration on Arab welfare is illustrated by the fact that the increase in the Arab population is most marked in urban areas affected by Jewish development. A comparison of the census returns in 1922 and 1931 shows that, six years ago, the increase percent in Haifa was 86, in Jaffa 62, in Jerusalem 37, while in purely Arab towns such as Nablus and Hebron it was only 7, and at Gaza there was a decrease of 2 percent.

Had the vast majority of Palestinian Arabs been left to their own devices, they would most probably have been content to take advantage of the opportunities afforded them. This is evidenced by the fact that, throughout the Mandate era, periods of peaceful coexistence far exceeded those of violent eruptions, and the latter were the work of only a small fraction of Palestinian Arabs. Unfortunately for both Arabs and Jews, however, the hopes and wishes of ordinary people were not taken into account, as they rarely are in authoritarian communities hostile to the notions of civil society or liberal democracy. In the modern world, moreover, it has not been the poor and the oppressed who have led the great revolutions or carried out the worst deeds of violence, but rather militant vanguards from among the better educated and more moneyed classes of society.

So it was with the Palestinians. In the words of the Peel report:

"We have found that, though the Arabs have benefited by the development of the country owing to Jewish immigration, this has had no conciliatory effect. On the contrary . . . with almost mathematical precision the betterment of the economic situation in Palestine [has] meant the deterioration of the political situation." ♦

WEB RESOURCES:

For the complete article with annotated footnotes please visit: www.commentarymagazine.com

BELOW: A miniature train taking the workers from their camp to the "Sdom" Potash Factory in the Dead Sea.



The Holocaust and the Establishment of Israel

Written by **Dr. Robert Rozett**

It is often said that a straight line runs from the Holocaust to the establishment of Israel. The reasoning for this is that the former ended in 1945 and the latter came about just three years later. Some see the creation of the state of Israel as a kind of consolation prize to Jews for suffering through the gargantuan murder. Others have expounded theological and even eschatological explanations for this connection. Such conjectures are well beyond the scope of historical inquiry.

Commonly it is asserted that the nations of the world voted for the partition of British Mandatory Palestine between Arabs and Jews, paving the way for the Jewish state, because they felt sympathy toward the Jews and not a small measure of guilt in the wake of the Holocaust. Although this might be true to a certain extent, the most crucial support given Israel did not derive from such motivations. The support given by the Soviet bloc, imperiously led by the notorious murderer and anti-Semite Joseph Stalin, derived purely from realpolitik. Stalin's backing rested chiefly on his hope to introduce an element of instability in the region, a Jewish entity amidst a sea of Arab opposition, and then use it for his own purposes. Like a significant segment of his electorate after the war, U.S. President Harry S. Truman personally seemed to have sympathy for Jewish national aspirations, but his support included other and more decisive factors, chiefly America's desire to forestall open conflict in Palestine between Jews, Arabs and the British, who controlled the country. Courting the pro-partition element in the electorate also contributed to Truman's stance.

At the start and finish of the recently renovated Yad Vashem Holocaust History Museum, a black-and-white, somewhat grainy film clip appears. A large group of children in the town of Munkachevo, today a part of the Ukraine, are singing the Jewish national anthem, Hatikvah (The Hope). In the first presentation they are part of a video art display by Michal Rovner that evokes aspects of Jewish life before the Holocaust. At the end of the museum they appear in the display about the establishment of the state of Israel. It is clear that almost all of the children who aspired to come and live in the Jewish homeland never had



LEFT: The Yad Vashem Candelabra is a memorial light for the six million Jews who perished in the Holocaust. The candelabra is the symbol of Yad Vashem, and it is lit every year on Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day.

the opportunity, since, along with their families, they were ruthlessly murdered in the Holocaust.

This is perhaps the leading tie between the Holocaust and the founding of modern Israel. The Zionist enterprise gained momentum at the dawn of the 20th century and by the time the Second World War had broken out, over 600,000 Jews resided in Mandatory Palestine. Across the face of Europe, scores of thousands more eagerly awaited an opportunity to move to the vibrant Jewish enclave. They were thwarted, however, by miserly immigration quotas set by the British to appease Arab opposition to the Jewish national home. Perhaps hundreds of thousands more, although not yet ready to make such a move, considered immigration an alternative, especially in light of the generally deteriorating situation for Jews in much of Europe during the 1930s and into the war itself. The unfolding events of the Holocaust brutally crushed this

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WEB RESOURCES:

Yad Vashem:
www.yadvashem.org.il/



LEFT: A monument at Yad Vashem to the millions of Jews who were murdered in the death camps, resembles the barbed-wire fence that surrounded the camps. A closer look reveals that this fence is made of twisted bodies, screaming soundlessly to the heavens. An identical sculpture stands on the site of the Dachau concentration camp.

BELOW: An exhibit at Yad Vashem, National Memorial and Museum of the Holocaust, showing what Jewish life had been reduced to.

option, leaving only the surviving remnant at the end of the war the possibility of fulfilling their wishes.

Among those who survived the Holocaust, many voiced a desire to reach the shores of Palestine, while they took the first steps toward rebuilding their shattered lives. The Bricha (escape) movement sought to bring tens of thousands of Jewish survivors to European ports and from there set sail for the Land of Israel. But as long as the British remained responsible for the Mandate, such boats were intercepted and their passengers generally taken to Cyprus to languish in internment camps until 1948. In the decade following the declaration of Israeli independence, some 250,000 Jews who had suffered through the years of Nazi hegemony and murder on European territory – or had fled eastward into Soviet Asia – reached Israel’s shore. Tens of thousands more decided to join the fragments of their families in other places, but still remained profoundly attached to the fledgling state.

The contribution of Holocaust survivors and their descendants to Israel is incalculable. In every field of human endeavor, they made their imprint. On a different level, the impact of the Holocaust on Israel has been immense. Our ongoing measures to study, teach about and commemorate the events of the Holocaust play a pivotal, although far from exclusive, role in Israeli consciousness. It would be wrong to try to understand contemporary Israel only through the prism of the Holocaust, but any attempt to understand Israel without taking into account its influence would be equally off target. ♦



Israel's Declaration of Independence

An Assessment After 60 Years of Statehood

Written by Professor **Emanuel Gutmann**, Hebrew University

This declaration, the first official document of the then newly created State of Israel, is even today of unique significance. Not only did it formally declare the independence of the State and the establishment of its (temporary) governmental institutions, but it also contains a brief list of the fundamental elements of human and civil rights, which were to become the guiding principles for the new state, that includes (almost) all those basic values and norms without which no free society is imaginable. The exultant and yet solemn tone of this groundbreaking document is all the more remarkable if viewed against the historical circumstances of its adoption: a raging civil war with the Arab population of Palestine and the imminent invasion by the armies of all Arab neighboring – as well as of more distant – countries, with, at that moment of time, quite uncertain results.

The text of the declaration can be seen as being composed of eight discernible sections and clauses, quite unequal in their respective lengths, plus the list of its 37 signatories (12 of whom could not be present at the actual signing ceremony, most of them for security reasons). These sections are the following:

I. The historical section in which the factors on which the claims of the Jewish people to a state of its own in Eretz-Israel (Palestine) are enumerated. This quite lengthy first third of the declaration surveys in concise terms the historical connections of the Jews over generations and millennia, in factual terms, declaratory statements and with a strong sense of longing. More specifically, this section singles out what are perhaps the eight key parts of this relationship of the people with its land: 1. the political, cultural and religious formation of the Jews into a nation in Eretz-Israel and its independence there; 2. the incessant hope of the nation to return to its homeland; 3. the actual, continuous waves of aliya (immigration), the settling in the country and the longings for independence there; 4. the path breaking Balfour Declaration of 1917: the first international recognition of the historical connection between the Jewish people and Palestine and the right to establish there its national home; 5. the

unavoidable lesson from the Holocaust of the necessity to renew Jewish independence; 6. the legal and illegal immigration into Eretz-Israel of Holocaust survivors; 7. the contribution of Jews in Eretz-Israel to the Allied war effort against the Nazis, a contribution which created their right to belong to the nations which had established the United Nations; and finally 8. The November 1947 U.N. resolution that recognized the irrevocable right of the Jewish nation to establish a state of its own.

II. The normative section, which claims the right of the Jewish nation, like that of all other nations, to its independent, sovereign state. This section asserts that this is a “natural” right, and as such as not depending on the willingness of other states or that of international organizations, although their declaratory support is appreciated, as well.

III. The declaratory section, which proclaims the creation of the State of Israel. This one-sentence section is, operationally, the most significant part of the declaration. Besides the announcement of the very fact of the coming into existence of the state, this section also for the first time named it by its name, “Israel” and/or “State of Israel” (both versions appear in the text). This name was at that time quite innovative, and even surprising, yet it was undoubtedly the most appropriate choice.

BELOW: David Ben Gurion reading the Declaration of the Independence of Israel in the Museum in Tel Aviv.



IV. The institutional section. Here, after a brief mentioning of the exact day and hour of the beginning of independence, the establishment of the central organs of government is announced, namely the Temporary State Council, which became the legislature, and the Temporary Government, i.e. the executive. These were to be superseded by regular organs after the coming into effect of a constitution.

V. The constitutional clause, which promises the speedy adoption of a constitution. It stated that the constitution should come into effect not later than October 1, 1948, that is to say, within 3½ months from the date of the declaration. However, to this day, Israel has no (formal) constitution. Instead, most, but certainly not all, matters which are ordinarily included in a constitution have by now been enacted as so-called “basic laws,” which do not have, however, with minor exceptions, constitutional preference or judicial review power. Great efforts have been made over the years to bring to an end the final adoption of a full constitution, but so far these efforts have been unsuccessful, primarily because of serious disagreements over matters of human rights and legal equality, individual and collective.

VI. The section of principles, which are earmarked to become the guidelines for the public norms in the newly created state. From an educational and normative point-of-view this section may well be seen as the most important part of the declaration. Actually it is quite brief, yet it is most comprehensive and conveys all that needs saying in well-chosen keywords, each one of which stands for wide-ranging situations and behaviors. Thus this section foresees and promises that Israel will be based on liberty, justice and peace in accordance with the visions of its prophets of old; shall practice full social and political equality of rights for all its citizens regardless of religion, race and gender; and promises freedom of religion, conscience, language, education and culture. Furthermore, the state will be open for Jewish immigrants from all corners of the globe, will actively be engaged in the development of the country for the benefit of

all, will protect the Holy Places of all religions and shall be loyal to the principles of the U.N. Charter. Likewise, Israel will be ready to cooperate with organs and representatives of the United Nations in the implementation of the November 29, 1947, U.N. resolution and the creation of an economic union in the whole of Palestine (as envisaged in that resolution).

Two observations are warranted here: it should be clear that these visions and promises are based both on Jewish as well as universal values, of which equality and freedom are the most prominent, and that besides far-reaching attention to individual rights, provisions are made to institute and safeguard collective rights in matters such as religion, culture and education. It should be obvious that in this regard the authors of this declaration had primarily the Israeli Arab population in mind.

VII. The appeals section, containing calls for peace and collaboration to the Israeli Arabs, Israel’s neighboring states, the Jewish people abroad and the UN. These calls are directed to one domestic factor and a number of foreign ones. The domestic factor is the Israeli Arabs, and the appeal to them makes it quite clear that Israel is a Jewish state with a sizable Arab minority, and the call for peace and participation in the building of the state is tied to the provision of full and equal citizenship, which means first and foremost proportional representation in state institutions. Calls for peace and good neighborly relations are addressed to all neighboring states and their inhabitants, and include Israel’s readiness to contribute its share to the development of the Middle East. One should be aware that these calls for peace and collaboration were made at the time when the invasion of the Arab armies into Israel started, with the express intention on their part to prevent Israel’s coming into existence, and after six months of Arab-initiated intense violence against the Jewish community in then Palestine. A further call was directed to the UN, to accept Israel as a member-state; this was acted upon only a year later. Finally all Jewish communities in the Diaspora were called upon to support Israel by way of immigration and nation-building in its effort to achieve the age-old goal of national redemption.

VIII. The invocative clause with its appeal to the “Rock of Israel.” The last part of the declaration, the signatures, is opened by this clause, which had been its most controversial one. Most of the religious signatories were dissatisfied by



ABOVE: Official Gazette publishing the Proclamation of the State of Israel on May 14, 1948.

BELOW: New immigrants, survivors of the European Nazi camps after their arrival at the Atlit Reception camp.



KLUGER ZOLTAN, © COURTESY OF GPO-ISRAEL NATIONAL PHOTO COLLECTION

the term “Rock” as synonym for God, while others would have preferred not to have any reference to him, by whatever term. At the end, a compromise prevailed, with the text staying as stated. Perhaps it should be mentioned that after the signing the ultra-orthodox signatories declared their dissatisfaction with the declaration’s spirit and letter.

Sixty years later, there is no gainsaying that by and large Israel has been faithful to a considerable extent to the lofty ideals expressed in its declaration of independence. Indeed, much has been done to put them into practice. One rather formal and yet quite significant proof of this is contained in an early ruling of Israel’s Supreme Court, which stated, inter alia, that although the declaration is not a constitutional law, inasmuch as it “expresses the nation’s vision and its beliefs, it is our obligation to heed the principles declared therein when we are to interpret and give meaning to the laws of the land.”

One crucial term, which for unaccountable reasons does not appear in the text of the declaration, is “democracy” or “democratic”, perhaps because it seemed so obvious to its drafters to be superfluous. Whatever the reason, this obvious omission was rectified years later when the phrase “the values of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state” were used in the opening paragraphs of two basic laws, one of which is entitled “Man’s honor and his liberty” and the other “freedom of occupation.”

Altogether, in view of the dismal record in these matters in not a few states around the world during all these years, not to speak of almost all the countries in Israel’s closer or wider vicinity (the latter presenting, in the eyes of most Israelis, no acceptable comparison, anyway) and taking into account some of Israel’s domestic difficulties, as well as its rather precarious geopolitical location – which make its recourse to measures which nowadays are subsumed under the name of defensive democracy unavoidable -- this state of affairs seems to be a not inconsiderable feat.

Notwithstanding all these considerations and concurrently with the admiration expressed by numerous observers in view of the above, criticisms, some more severe than others, have been expressed about all kinds of developments that in the eyes of these critics have not been partially or fully in accordance with the text and/or spirit of the declaration. Here we mention briefly only a few of these, as factual presentation, without any attribution of blame or accusation:



Israel’s quite remarkable economic development with its consequential considerable average rise of the living standard has also given rise to the ever-growing income differentiation between rich and poor, bigger than in most other developed countries; although by and large the processes of absorption of the very substantial waves of immigrants have been a considerable success from most points of view, one would have expected more widespread satisfactory achievements by some of these groups; the Arab population of Israel, in spite of the impressive progress it can show for many years, has still to be considered as being discriminated against in more than one way, which is not an uncommon feature in many bi- and multi-ethnic or multi-cultural democracies; women’s equality, although guaranteed by one of Israel’s first laws, is annulled in matters of marriage, divorce and some other family affairs by the same law; and freedom of religion, which nowadays is commonly comprehended as including freedom from religion, is indeed largely implemented but not without considerable exceptions.

The democratic character of the state demands not only meticulous observation of legal and other dimensions of equality and all kinds of freedom, as promised in the Israeli Declaration of Independence, but also of their mutual dependence. There is little likelihood to achieve freedom without considerable equality, as well as the obverse. Yet hardly any modern state around the world fully fulfills these demands of what one can call the ideal type of democracy, and Israel presents no exception to this observation. But it can certainly be considered to be one of the better ones. ♦

ABOVE: The *Jubilee Chimes* performance at Givat Ram, Jerusalem, in honor of the 50th Independence Day of the State of Israel.

EMANUEL GUTMANN

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