

# ILLUSTRIERTE NEUE WELT

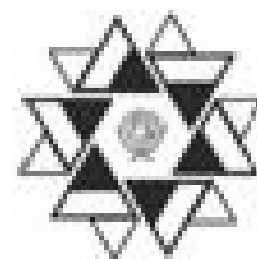
GEGRÜNDET 1897 VON THEODOR HERZL

## Theodor Herzl 150<sup>th</sup> Birthday

**2.5.1860**  
**3.7.1904**



Die Welt.



**W**e should all just convert to Christianity." A student giving this answer to a teacher asking how to solve the problem of anti-Semitism would undoubtedly be dismissed as a smart-aleck.

Even if his name was Theodor Herzl? This, in fact, is precisely how the visionary of the Jewish state first thought to put an end to the phenomenon: "In broad daylight, at twelve o'clock on a Sunday, the exchange of faith would take place in St. Stephen's Cathedral, with solemn parade and the peal of bells," he wrote in his diary, recording his earliest thoughts on the subject.

No less bizarre is that initially Herzl was not terribly bothered by the scourge of Jew-hatred, and even held his brethren partially accountable for its occurrence and went so far as to assert that there was a positive dimension to it. "In the Ghetto we have taken on a number of anti-social characteristics. Our character has been damaged by oppression and must be repaired through some other sort of pressure..." Anti-Semitism, he believed in his pre-Zionist days, would serve that purpose.

Such references account for the accusations hurled against Herzl that he was concerned merely with the preservation of Jewish bodies and not with the Jewish soul. Add to this that in his seminal work *Der Judenstaat* he suggested that the Jewish state might be established in Argentina, and that a few years later he proposed the Uganda option be explored, and it is not difficult to understand why his detractors accuse him of lacking Jewish sensibilities. And as if all this were not

enough to turn him into a Jewish anti-hero, there is Herzl's declaration that in the new state he envisioned, "We shall keep our rabbis within the confines of their synagogues..."

But to portray Herzl as anything other than an ardent defender of the Jewish faith with a deep affinity to the Land of Israel would be to do him a terrible injustice, drawing conclusions about the man on the basis of isolated snapshots of his life taken out of context, rather than appreciating the continuum and complexity of his personal journey.

The profundity of Herzl's meta-

from his fraternity for standing up against its anti-Semitic tendencies.

When he had yet to establish himself as a writer, he refused the offer of a prominent editor in Vienna to publish his manuscript if he would only agree to adopt a pen name less Jewish than his own. And even his plan for mass conversion would involve only the very young, thus making it "honorable, inasmuch as the leaders of this movement – myself in particular – would remain Jews..."

In any case, early in his short Zionist career, the "push" of anti-Semitism that propelled Herzl from a trajectory of

"a new blossoming of the Jewish spirit."

During his visit to Palestine in 1898, he arrived in Jerusalem late on a Friday. Though ill and suffering from exhaustion, he nevertheless walked the great distance to his hotel so as not to contravene the laws of the Sabbath. Whatever other considerations may have influenced him, this decision also evidences a growing respect for Jewish tradition that fully matured by the time he published *Altneuland* in 1902. In it, the hero of the novel – and Herzl's alter ego – gazes upon the eternal capital of the Jewish people for the first time. "Jerusalem!" cried Friedrich in a half-whisper, his voice trembling. He did not understand why the sight of this strange city affected him so powerfully...

His eyes overflowed... and the hot tears coursed slowly down his cheeks."

Herzl writes in a similar vein of Friedrich's Passover experience in Tiberias: "One guest at the Seder table pronounced the

Hebrew words of the Haggadah with the zeal of a penitent. He was finding himself again, and his throat was often so tight with emotion that he had to master his longing to cry out aloud."

The antecedent of these sentiments can be found in an autobiographical sketch he published in 1898, recalling his earliest memories of the Jewish elementary school he attended, which "center around the thrashing I got because I could not recall all the details of the Exodus from Egypt. Today there are many schoolmasters who would like to thrash me because I remember them too well."

These are but a few of the many examples testifying to Herzl's conscious return to his

*To be continued page 3*

## HERZL'S JEWISH JOURNEY

DAVID BREAKSTONE\*)

morphosis is perhaps best revealed in his autobiographical short story, *The Menorah*. "Deep in his soul he began to feel the need of being a Jew..." Herzl writes of the protagonist, who had long ceased to feel any connection with his forebears, until, because of incessant anti-Semitism "he now did something he could not have done in the old days – he began to love his Judaism with an intense fervor."

Such a statement suggests that Herzl's transformation was not only rational but emotive as well. In fairness, however, it need be recorded that even "in the old days" when he was not actively involved in Jewish life, Herzl consistently carried his Jewish identity with steadfastness and pride. As a student, he was expelled

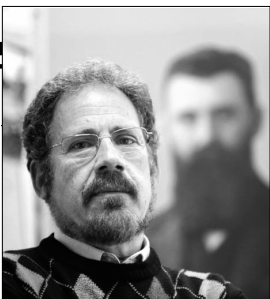
engagement with gentile society to an obsession with creating a Jewish one, became coupled with the "pull" of Judaism as a source of inspiration. The examples are many.

Following the First Zionist Congress, Herzl wrote in his diary of being called to the Torah on the Shabbat preceding it: "When I stood on the *bima* I was more moved than on any of the days of the Congress. The few words of the Hebrew blessing choked my throat with emotion."

In his opening address to the Congress he declared that "Zionism is a return to the Jewish fold even before it is a return to the Jewish land," and later asserted that the Jewish people did not merely aspire to settling on Jewish soil, but sought as well



PUBLISHER AND EDITOR IN CHIEF  
**DR. JOANNA NITTENBERG**



**DR. DAVID BREAKSTONE**  
FOUNDING DIRECTOR OF THE HERZL  
CENTER IN JERUSALEM and  
CHAIRMAN OF ITS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

This special edition honoring Theodor Herzl's 150th birthday was produced in collaboration with the Department for Zionist Activities of the World Zionist Organization.

On the initiative of Dr. David Breakstone, Head of the Department for Zionist Activities, World Zionist Organization, a trip was organized which followed Theodor Herzl's journey - from Paris through Basel, Vienna, and Budapest, to its culmination, Mount Herzl. It is thus a great honor for our newspaper to co-produce this special edition - all the more so as the "Illustrierte Neue Welt" was founded by Theodor Herzl.

Launched on June 4, 1897, Die Welt served initially as a journalistic outlet to promote the First Zionist Congress. Theodor Herzl, an acclaimed journalist and writer in his time, was not allowed to express his Zionist convictions in the Neue Freie Presse, even as one of its prominent staff-writers and reporters. The editor-in-chief, Moritz Benedikt, an assimilated Jew, feared that such "sectarian" ideas would only increase the pronounced anti-Semitism already prevalent in Austria.

Herzl founded the newspaper under great time pressure and financial constraints. Besides advancing Herzl's Zionist ideas the paper aimed also to be a forum where Jewish problems and possible solutions could be presented. The question of Jewish identity was a recurrent theme discussed in the Welt, where arguments between cultural and political Zionists loomed large. This multi-faceted subject, a topic of heated debate among Jews for over a century which even now retains its relevance, can be

thoroughly appreciated through the vast range of articles, often authored by such renowned writers as Martin Buber and Achad Haam. How did Jewish thinkers, how did Theodor Herzl himself perceive his times ? With contributions by Zionism's most illustrious proponents, such as Max Nordau, Franz Oppenheimer, Berthold Feiwel and many more, the editions of the first years of the Welt afford a profound and fascinating insight into the intellectual environment at the turn of the century. In no other contemporary publication were political events expressed with such authenticity.

A detailed account of the newspaper's changing destinies, from its origins to the present day can be found in the book "Wandlungen und Brüche - von der Welt zur Illustrierten Neuen Welt" (Rifts and Transformations - from the "Welt" to the "Illustrierte Neue Welt").

Today, one of the newspaper's special aspirations is to resuscitate the memory of forgotten or undiscovered artists and authors whose life and work was altered or disrupted in the wake of the Holocaust.

Several generations of German speaking Jews worldwide view the "Illustrierte Neue Welt" as a precious source of information on Jewish affairs in Austria, be it on contemporary or historical issues. Reports on Israel and expert analysis of the Middle East are the publication's main focus. In terms of audience and content, the paper's implicit mission is to function as a bridge - between Diaspora and Israeli Jews as well as the Jewish and the non-Jewish world.

We express our appreciation to  
**Keren Kayemeth LeIsrael**  
**Israel Ministry of Diaspora Affairs**  
and  
**Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs**  
for their support of the  
**Journey in Herzl's Footsteps**  
and this special supplement of  
**Illustrierte Neue Welt.**

Editorial Board

**DR. JOANNA NITTENBERG**  
Illustrierte Neue Welt

**DR. DAVID BREAKSTONE**  
World Zionist Organization

The Jerusalem Post salutes the participants  
on the Journey in Herzl's Footsteps  
and the delegates to the 36th Zionist Congress  
and celebrates with you the 150th anniversary  
of the birth of Theodor Herzl,  
visionary of the Jewish State.

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**DR. ARIEL MUZICANT**  
PRESIDENT OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES  
OF AUSTRIA

## ON MAY 2<sup>ND</sup> 2010 WE COMMEMORATE THE 150<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY OF THEODOR HERZL.

Born in Budapest, Herzl lived most of his life in Vienna. It was this city of "the fin de siècle" with 175.000 Jews from all corners of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, which influenced his development from a journalist to a driven fighter for the establishment of a new Jewish homeland. It was also the city of Sigmund Freud, Arthur Schnitzler, Gustav Mahler, but also of Adolf Hitler, Karl Lueger (the anti-Semitic mayor of Vienna) and Schönerer.

Herzl, an assimilated Jew, witnessed the Dreyfus affair in Paris to become the founder of the new Zionism. He created the idea of the Jewish return to its spiritual and physical roots, the emancipation of the Jewish people.

Today, in a world where Israel's enemies try more and more to delegitimize the right of the Jewish people to live in their land of Israel, it is important to repeat the fact that Israel is and has for more than three thousand years been the physical and spiritual home of the Jewish people.

Thanks to Herzl and his colleagues, thanks to millions of Jews who have since immigrated to the Jewish State, Israel is today the home to 7,2 million people and since 62 years the center of the Jewish world.

## AVIV SHIR-ON

AMBASSADOR OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IN AUSTRIA

This year the State of Israel is celebrating 62 years of independence, yet the idea of an independent Jewish state has existed for thousands of years. It began when the children of Israel accepted the belief in one God and established the Kingdom of Israel, where King David made Jerusalem the national and religious capital of the Jewish people. History, however, led to the destruction of that Kingdom and to the exile of its people. Throughout the years, little was done to achieve the dream of a national revival apart from praying "next year in Jerusalem".

The new, independent State of Israel is one of the greatest success stories of the 20th century, one we all are proud of. But this story actually started back in the 19th century when people of vision and initiative understood that in order to fulfill the hope of resurrection in Eretz Israel, the Jewish people has to be more politically active and at the same time had to inhabit and build the historic home-land. There were quite a few of them, and we must be grateful to those who founded Petah-Tikva and Rosh-Pina, Tel Aviv and Deganya, but more than anybody else we need to acknowledge Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl, the Jewish journalist from Vienna and the initiator of Zionism, the political national liberation movement of the Jewish people in modern times. He practically created the State of Israel back in 1897 and also founded the newspaper "Die Welt" which was transferred into "Illustrierte Neue Welt" you are holding now in your hands.

Theodor Herzl was a man of vision, but he also had the courage to act and the

ability to persuade others. He was able to create an idea and a movement that grew and gained influence and became the most important factor in the establishment of the State of Israel. The Holocaust was a tragic catalyst of this process, but it is amazing how accurate Herzl's prediction was some 45 years before the Shoah, when he said in Basel in 1897 that in 5, 10 or 50 years an independent Jewish state would be created. And it was exactly 51 years later, in 1948, that the independence of the State of Israel was proclaimed.

As someone who was born in the free Jewish state and who had the privilege to represent the State of Israel as ambassador in Switzerland and does so now in Austria - the two countries that played an important role in the life of Herzl, and therefore have a place of honor in the annals of the Zionist movement - I thank and cherish Herzl.

Theodor Herzl, an assimilated European but proud Jew, proved how one person of vision, conviction and determination can change the course of history. The same way the "Illustrierte Neue Welt", the paper that was founded by Herzl as "Die Welt", has continued for 113 years to deal with issues that are important to the Zionist movement and the Jewish people, Israel will continue Herzl's vision of an independent, strong and prosperous Jewish state that hopes to realize the peace that he envisaged in the near future.



TIMETABLE  
THEODOR HERZL

- 1860 2.5. born in Budapest.
- 1866 Jewish Elementary School in Pest.
- 1870 High School in Pest.
- 1875 Protestant School.
- 1878 Death of his sister Pauline.  
The family moved to Vienna.  
Inscription att the University in Vienna - faculty of law.
- 1880 First comedy – "Kompaniearbeit".
- 1881 Novel "Hagenau".  
Joins the student fraternit "Albia". (Studentenverbindung)
- 1882 Comedy "Causa Hirsch Korn".  
First confrontation with antisemitism. Leaves "Albia".
- 1883 Doctorate of law from the University of Vienna. Work at court.
- 1885 Freelance author.
- 1886 Journeys to Berlin, Normandy, Italy.
- 1884-1887 "Tabarin", "Muttersöhnchen", "Seine Hoheit", "Der Flüchtling", "Neues von der Venus", "Buch der Narrheit", "Wildddiebe".
- 1889 25.6. Married Juliane Naschauer.
- 1890 Production of "Flüchtling" and "Die Künstler" at the Burgtheater.
- 1890 29.3. Birth of his daughter Pauline.
- 1891-1895 Paris correspondent for "Neue Freie Presse".
- 1891 10.3. Birth of his daughter Trude.
- 1894 Dreyfus trial. Play "Das Neue Ghetto".
- 1895 Essay "Das Palais Bourbon". Impressions from the French parliament.  
May – letter to Baron Hirsch.  
First activity concerning Zionism.
- 1896 "Der Judenstaat".
- 1897 4. 6. Founded the newspaper "Die Welt", editor his brother in law Paul Naschauer.  
29.8. First Zionist Congress in Basel.
- 1898 26.8. Second Zionist Congress in Basel. October – journey to Palestine.  
2. 11. Audience with Kaiser Wilhelm.
- 1899 Third Zionist Congress, Basel.
- 1900 Fourth Zionist Congress, London.
- 1901 26.-30. 12. Fifth Zionist Congress in Basel. May – meeting with Abdul Hamid.
- 1902 "Altneuland".  
20.5. Birth of his son Hans.  
February – journey to Constantinople.  
October – meeting with Chamberlain.
- 1903 Massacre in Kishinev.  
August – journey to Petersburg.  
August – Sixth Zionist Congress, Basel.  
Uganda project – separation
- 1904 25. 1. Audience with the Pope.  
Audience with Viktor Emanuel III.
- 11. 4. Conference – concillation.  
Deterioration in health.  
3.7. Death in Edlach., buried in Vienna
- 1949 his body was transferred from Vienna to Jerusalem.



The worldwide family of Keren Hayesod – UIA takes pleasure in welcoming all participants of the World Zionist Congress and the special Journey in Herzl's Footsteps.

We join all AmYisrael in celebrating Theodore Herzl's 150<sup>th</sup> birthday.

*"Dreams are the foundation of all man's deeds."*

We were born out of your dream, and continue to realize your vision every day.

Amb. Avi Pazner  
World Chairman

Johanna Perugia-Arbib  
Chairman,  
World Board of Trustees

Greg Masel  
Director General



SHAPING OUR FUTURE. TOGETHER.



Taking my father's example, I have devoted my life to serving the State of Israel as a diplomat, first as Israel's Ambassador to Italy and then to France, and later as World Chairman of Keren Hayesod – UIA. In this position, I tried to follow your example and do my best to help the Jewish people and build the State of Israel.

May your vision of a Jewish State in the land of Israel live on for all future generations.

With my admiration and thanks,

Amb. Avi Pazner  
World Chairman, Keren Hayesod – UIA

DEAR BINYAMIN ZEEV HERZL,

Your character and actions have constantly inspired me and thousands of young Jewish leaders throughout the world. Already at a very young age, you wrote about the greatness of our people, and explained that only such a tremendous people could weather the storms of time and survive.

You transformed our thousand-year-old dreams into a political goal and lead the dreamers into a national political movement. Just like Moses you finally led your people to the Promised Land. Already at the age of 37 you published "Der Judenstaat", managing against all odds, to convene the first Zionist Congress one year later. For young Jewish leaders living in small European Jewish communities like myself, you've proved time and time again that what seems impossible to implement today can be realized tomorrow.

History proved that your diagnosis and prognosis were right; the only way to ensure the existence and survival of our people was to establish an independent and sovereign state for our people, one that is strong enough in terms of its identity and culture in order to ensure a Jewish future.

As we approach your 150th birthday, your vision has become a reality that outshone all imagination with immigrants from over 100 countries, speaking over 80 languages revitalizing the magnificence of our culture and our ancient language of Hebrew. Much, however, remains to be done until we truly can call ourselves a "light unto the nations", realizing the exemplary society you envisioned in "Altneuland". Much remains to be done until we can re-revitalize the Zionist movement that you once founded. Either we re-think, reform, unite and depoliticize the WZO in accordance with your visions and principles, empowering a new generation of young, visionary leaders, or we'll face the tragic fragmentation and demise of your movement.

It is the duty of young Jewish leaders to draw inspiration from your character, vision and actions by passing on the banner of Zionism to our children, grandchildren and Jewish communities around the world to ensure that your legacy triumphs during the 21st century.

Daniel Schatz

Daniel Schatz serves as President of the Zionist Federation of Sweden and is the youngest serving President of a Zionist Federation. He is a board member of the World Confederation of United Zionists and a Substitute Member of the WZO Vaad Hapoel.

ILLUSTRIERTE  
NEUE WELT

HERZL'S JEWISH  
JOURNEY

roots that are strangely ignored by those who maintain that he was estranged from his heritage and really not at all interested in a Jewish state, but rather a state for the Jews that would be thoroughly cosmopolitan in its orientation. Again, they make reference to only one aspect of the New Society he describes in *Altneuland*: "In the middle of a great square was the splendid Peace Palace, where international congresses of peace-lovers and scientists were held, for Jerusalem was now a home for all the best strivings of the human spirit: for Faith, Love, Knowledge." But as those describing this scene continue to walk, they chance upon another façade: "What was that wonderful structure of white and gold...? It is the Temple! The ancient prophecies had been fulfilled... Once more the pillars of bronze stood as in the olden days, when Solomon was king in Israel." But Herzl wasn't satisfied with reconstructing the Temple; he was careful to make sure it would not stand empty: "Slowly and peacefully the Sabbath fell upon the bustling city. Throngs of worshippers wended their way to the Temple... there to pray to the God Whose banner Israel have borne throughout the world for thousands of years."

These are not the words of a confirmed secularist, detached from his Judaism. Furthermore, they constitute only one of numerous references to a society infused with Jewish values. Perhaps the most sympathetic, wise and beloved character in the book is the revered Rabbi Shmuel, among the leaders of the community who enjoin its members to take every measure to ensure that "the stranger will feel comfortable among you" and warn them that "All you have cultivated will be worthless and your fields will again be barren, unless you also cultivate freedom of thought and expression, generosity of spirit, and love for humanity."

There is much in these words that echoes the admonition of the Biblical prophets. Herzl, as did Moshe, felt it imperative to impress upon those he was leading that the promise of the Promised Land is conditional, the condition being the worthiness of the society created within it. When he wrote that the New Society need keep its rabbis "within the confines of their synagogues" he was referring to the necessity of keeping them from meddling in politics, not from raising issues of morality in public discourse. To the extent that *Altneuland* reveals Herzl's true wishes, it is apparent that he related to Israel's spiritual leaders as his natural allies when he declared before the Zionist Congress that "Those of us who are today prepared to hazard our lives for the cause would regret having raised a finger if we were able to organize only a new social system and not a more righteous one."

Those who would yet suggest that this is all coincidental, that Herzl's ideals developed independently of the Jewish tradition and without any reference to religion, need only turn to the last page of *Altneuland* to be convinced otherwise. Here the visitors to this flourishing, tolerant, harmonious society enquire of its founding fathers as to what made its emergence possible. Each answers in accordance with his own perspective: the reunited people, new means of transportation, will power, the forces of nature, self-confidence... "But the venerable Rabbi Shmuel arose and proclaimed: 'God.'"

These are the closing words of the novel. They cannot be dismissed as accidental, and attest eloquently to the course of Herzl's Jewish journey.

\*) Dr. David Breakstone is the founding director of The Herzl Center in Jerusalem and Chairman of its Executive Council. He has a doctorate from Hebrew University in Israel education and heads the Department for Zionist Activities of the World Zionist Organization.

TO HERZL, OUR  
INSPIRATION.  
DEAR THEODOR,

You willed it. And here it is: The modern Jewish state, in all its addictive, relentless complexity and wonder.

From the four corners of the earth we have congregated, and achieved the vision that only the most optimistic – only you and believers like you – could have hoped to realize.



We have revived our ancient homeland and retooled our ancient language. We have fashioned a refuge where Jews can determine their own destiny, and made it so attractive that Jews live here by choice, not just by need. We have defied this promised land's lack of natural resources by exploiting the limitless resource of our own innovation and determination. And we have survived despite the best efforts of our neighbors to throttle us.

You should be proud.

Our establishment has not cured anti-Semitism, as you had hoped it would. The disease went into remission after the horrors of the Nazi era, but it has re-emerged now, metastasized as hysterical opposition to the existence of a Jewish nation.

Ironic, isn't it? You had imagined that if we were able to shed our dependence on the indulgence of other nations, and were permitted to take ourselves off to our historic territory to assert our own nationhood, we would gain a new international acceptance. Instead, in the bitter tradition of distortion and misrepresentation that you encountered when covering the Dreyfus trial in Paris more than a century ago, our battle to survive against ruthless enemies in a vicious region is misportrayed and misinterpreted – and now, as then, ordinary people, misled by those who are dishonest, are steered toward mistaken conclusions that threaten our wellbeing.

Zionism didn't kill off anti-Semitism. It merely prompted a new pernicious outgrowth: anti-Zionism.

All these decades later, many of the frustrations and challenges you felt when you sat at your typewriter – the anger at the skewing of truth, the determination to correct the record, and the desire to engineer changes for the better – are shared by your successors at their 21st century keyboards.

You used your newspaper, *Die Welt*, to share and advance the bold ambitions of the Zionist idea. My colleagues and I try to use ours, *The Jerusalem Post*, to explain the nuanced challenges of the Zionist reality – both to the Jewish nation in Zion and abroad, and to those opinion-shapers and policy-makers who impact it.

We who live in the new Zion are sometimes intolerant and shrill, sometimes our own worst enemies. Freed of the need for self-effacement and unity when minority guests in someone else's land, empowered as a majority, we can be violent and uncompromising toward each other. But we are also capable of the most remarkable selflessness and generosity.

Ultimately we are a family, a faith, a nation. And we insist on surviving.

We have survived a war of one kind or another at least once a decade. We survived a strategic onslaught of terrorism not long ago – designed to force us to abandon this land and go live elsewhere. Now we must survive and morally overcome new types of warfare unthinkable in your era – facing enemies who fire at our civilians from behind *their* civilians, and then cry foul to the international community when we fire back. And looming in the distance is another existential enemy, seeking terrifying weaponry to dominate this region and wipe out our fragile restoration of Jewish self-determination.

That, too, we will survive. The Jewish people will not easily relinquish this reborn homeland.

You willed it. We insist upon it.

David Horowitz

The writer is editor of "The Jerusalem Post"

While the different Haredi political parties presently participate to varying degrees in Israeli government, they are not as fully involved in the Zionist movement today as they were when the State of Israel was established. In 1947, Agudat Israel arrived at an arrangement with the Jewish Agency that allowed it to participate fully in the national leadership, and its representative, Rabbi Yitzhak Meir Levin, even signed the Declaration of Independence and served as Minister of Welfare until resigning in 1952. Against this background, I would suggest that an investigation of the history of cooperation between the Haredim and the Zionist Movement would reveal a story of missed opportunities that are regrettable. There was a time when the leaders of the Haredi public could have participated in the Zionist revolution and influenced the masses of Haredi Jews to join the Zionist Movement and even immigrate to Palestine before the Holocaust.

The Haredi reaction to Zionism in the late 19th century, however, was distrustful and hostile. The great Hovevei Zion leaders, such as Pinsker,

travels became familiar both with the dreadful poverty and living conditions of the Jews in Eastern Europe and Herzl's political Zionism. As a result, he determined to meet with the author of *The Jewish State*, for reasons described by his son:

"And when he saw that poverty was spreading among the Jews, and the spirit of Judaism was on the wane, this distressed him sorely. And when the Zionist idea was published, he firmly supported it... Therefore he was very disappointed when he saw that the God-fearing Jews, who were the most important part of the nation, opposed the Zionist Movement. For this reason he visited the home of the Zionist leader Dr. Herzl, when he was in Vienna in 1909."

Glikzman himself transcribed his meeting with the founder of the Zionist movement as follows:

**Glikzman:** "You Zionist leaders are working for the Jewish people. Therefore it is your duty to proceed in the way prepared for you by our holy Torah... You have the duty to go to the elders of Israel, and because the majority of the Jewish people are in Russia, therefore, Sir, you must first go

HAREDIM AND THE ZIONIST  
MOVEMENT: MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

DR. MOTTIE FRIEDMAN

Lilienblum, and Smolenskin, were scholarly and erudite, and their national awakening derived from their recognition of the failure of the Emancipation. Their Zionism did not develop for religious reasons and was not oriented to the messianic redemption of the people, but rather to political redemption which would release the Jewish people from the travails of the Diaspora.

For the Haredim, however, redemption is supposed to be miraculous and any human initiative to settle the Land of Israel, except for purposes of praying and learning Torah in order to hasten the redemption was prohibited - particularly if carried out by Jews who are not Torah-observant. They therefore saw Zionism in the same way that they had previously seen the Enlightenment and the Reform movement, i.e. a threat.

There were Haredim of another kind, though, Zionists including Rabbi Samuel Mohilever and Rabbi Yitzchak Yaakov Reines, who saw in political Zionism the beginning of the redemption and worked very energetically for it, or alternatively did not see any harm in Zionism that came to alleviate the tribulations of the Diaspora. They were attacked by others who made serious and bizarre accusations against Herzl. Primarily they described him as an assimilated Jew whose his only wish was to conspire against the Jewish heritage and the rabbis.

Those who hurled such accusations against Herzl, however, did not really know what his opinion of the rabbis was. In this respect, the story of Avraham Zvi Glikzman is instructive and demonstrates the great missed opportunity regarding cooperation between the Haredim and the Zionist Movement in Herzl's time.

Glikzman was a contemporary of Herzl, a devout Haredi who frequented the Kotzk and Gur courts, a scholar knowledgeable in the ways of the world. He was a merchant, and on his

to the Jewish metropolis in that country... and also in Poland... Do this [and] God will give you success and you will acquire the approval of the great rabbis. Then we can really hope that, with the grace of our Creator... all the Jewish people will be with us.

**Herzl:** "You are quite right... but I will be able to do so only after we obtain a permit from the Russian government to hold Zionist meetings there."

**Glikzman:** "I do not believe that we will obtain this permit, because our supreme government has forbidden all peoples under its rule to hold meetings and I do not believe that it will make an exceptional allowance for us, the Jews."

**Herzl:** "...there is nothing to prevent the honorable rabbis from Russia from coming to Basel. Why do they oppose the Zionist Movement? Do we not wish to help those who are dying of hunger and our Haredi rabbis oppose us."

**Glikzman:** "Forgive me, Sir, ...if I find in myself the courage to tell you that you alone are guilty in this. Why did you involve the cultural issue in Zionism?..."

**Herzl:** "Our movement does not have any concern at all with religious matters and our sole wish is to help our wretched, persecuted and poor brethren, to prepare for them a place where they can live in peace and earn their living honorably in the land of our forefathers. And if despite all our acts and fulfillment of promises the Haredim in Russia do not believe in us, do they not have for this a satisfactory, easy and very simple suggestion: let the Haredi rabbis come to Basel to the meeting as a group and en masse, so that they will have a decisive majority at the meeting, then they will be able to do all that they wish. Indeed, to sit at home calmly, tranquilly and complacently, while our own brethren are beaten and persecuted... How is it possible to sit and do nothing when Jews are in trouble? Is this love of fellow Jews? Will this also be called worship of the Creator?"



Haya Harel

A HOMELAND  
HERZL'S TOUR  
(26.10. 1898 – 4

On October 26th, 1898, Herzl arrived in Eretz Yisrael, heading a small Zionist delegation. His purpose was to hold a diplomatic meeting with Wilhelm II, the German Emperor, then touring Turkey and the Holy Land with the aim of fortifying Germany's influence in the East. En route, Herzl's delegation made a stopover in Constantinople, where he held a preliminary audience with the Kaiser. They discussed Herzl's proposal to establish a Jewish Charter Company in the Land of Israel, under Germany's sponsorship. While Herzl departed from him much encouraged, the definitive meeting was scheduled for Jerusalem.

Herzl's ten day tour of Eretz Yisrael would be his one and only visit here and became central in its impact on his Zionist vision and focusing his activity towards it.

What did Herzl see in Palestine of 1898? What were his impressions of the country and its residents? How exactly did his physical encounter with the place influence his perceptions and vision?

Aliyah (immigration to Israel) and  
Settlement

Herzl's political Zionist perception was that the Jewish People's hardship would be resolved by the establishment of a Jewish State, secured by international agreements. Although his book of the same name proposed two alternative territories for the envisioned Jewish sovereignty – Israel or Argentina – by April 1896 (two months after its publication), Herzl was utterly convinced that, *"the masses do not wish to go anywhere except the Land of Israel, and there, they yearn to go with all their soul"*.

Herzl's position on migration and the already existing settlements were integral to his overall political program: Although opposed to ongoing immigration prior to the attainment of legal sanctions, he nonetheless advocated enhancing existing settlement.

Herzl maintained a multi-faceted relationship with various circles in the Land of Israel even prior to his arrival there. He corresponded with many people living there and received visitors from Palestine in his Vienna home, establishing a contact network of 'reporters' who constantly updated him on events. His visit to Israel in person, however, enabled him to form his own impressions of Jewish settlement in the Land.

Jaffa and the Colonies

Herzl's first experience in the land and its inhabitants was a thrilling but traumatic experience, as he immediately encountered "poverty and misery" in the form of a long-neglected Jaffa. From there he traveled to the "renowned *Mikveh Israel* school" and the colonies of *Rishon LeZion*, *Ness Ziona* and *Rehovot*.

This was Herzl's opportunity to subject his views on the existing settlements to a reality test. His attitude to the colonies was ambivalent: on the one hand, he objected to philanthropy, administration through patronage, and the lack of advance planning which he felt characterized both Baron de Rothschild's colonies and the Zionist pioneer settlements; on the other, he regarded them as empirical experimental stations for examining existing human resources and the country's development potential.

*Rishon LeZion* – held to be *"the jewel of the new Jewish colonies"* – was to Herzl only a symbol of Baron Rothschild's patronage, while Rehovot constituted a genuinely independent settlement. In Rishon LeZion, indeed, Herzl found affirmation of his fundamental premise – that national colonization would do better not to rely on philanthropy but, rather, on extensive planning and labor. He wrote about the extent to which, *"the fear of Monsieur le Baron hovers over everything. The poor colonists have swapped one fear for another"*.

In *Ness Ziona* Herzl was received with great

# ELAND VISIT

## OF ERETZ YISRAEL

### 1.1898)

enthusiasm, but that visit did not impress him greatly. In relation to Rehovot, however, he was overwhelmed with genuine excitement, *"About twenty young fellows who put on a kind of show, lustily singing Hebrew songs and swarming about our carriage... our eyes filled with tears when we saw those fleet, daring horsemen into whom our young trouser-salesmen can be transformed..."*

On Friday morning, after his 2 day visit to the colonies, Herzl returned to Mikveh Israel, to participate in the welcoming of the German Kaiser.

#### The Meeting in Mikveh Israel

Herzl's brief encounter with the Kaiser at Mikveh Israel – although reduced to a mere discussion of the heat – created immense excitement and left an indelible impression on everyone present: the German Emperor had halted his horse, in order to exchange words with the leader of the Zionist Movement! The event was photographed – however, when it



was later found that none of the film frames had captured both men together, a creative photo-montage became the only testimony for posterity of Herzl's meetings with the German Kaiser during his journey to Eretz Yisrael.

#### Jerusalem

Herzl arrived in Jerusalem late on Friday afternoon, October 28, 1898, just as the Sabbath descended upon the city. To avoid desecrating the Sabbath, he walked for over half an hour from the train station to his hotel. Despite his exhaustion, Jerusalem, *"with its skylines by filmy moonlight, made a powerful impression on me. The silhouette of the*

*Fortress of Zion and David's Citadel are magnificent"*.

Herzl spent 5 days in Jerusalem in anticipation of his forthcoming appointment with the German Emperor, time which he dedicated to touring the city, visiting David's Citadel, the Western Wall, *Bikkur Cholim* Hospital, the synagogues in the Jewish Quarter, the "Tombs of the Kings", and the Mount of Olives.

During these tours he managed to study the city, together with its potential and centrality to his program, and sketch an outline of his plan for its development:

*"I would separate the old city with its ruins*

*and bar all vehicular traffic inside it: only places of worship and philanthropic institutions would be permitted to remain inside the old walls. And the wide circle of surrounding hillsides which would turn green under our hands, would be the location of a glorious New Jerusalem."*

#### The interview with the Kaiser

On November 2nd 1898, the Kaiser received the Zionist delegation led by Herzl at his Jerusalem encampment. At the brief meeting, the Kaiser withdrew his earlier political promises and Herzl sensed fundamental change of policy position since their encounter in Constantinople. Nonetheless, Herzl recorded the meeting in his diary, commenting that, *"this brief reception will be preserved forever in the history of the Jews, and it is not beyond the realms of possibility that it will have historic consequences, too."*

Indeed, while Herzl did not accomplish his intended diplomatic goal, his audience with the Kaiser was of great importance: Herzl had been received as the representative of the Jewish People by the ruler of a world power such as Germany, to whom he had declared his people's right to self determination in Eretz Yisrael. This constituted the first real achievement in all his diplomatic maneuvers to place the Jewish question on the world agenda and thus transform it into a political issue.

After his audience with the Kaiser, Herzl visited *Motza* – a neighboring settlement – where he also planted a cypress tree. Next morning he returned to Jaffa, from where he sailed back to Europe two days later, aboard a ramshackle freighter exporting oranges.

#### Epilogue

Herzl's encounter with *Eretz Yisrael* and its inhabitants left an indelible mark on him, just as it did on the many people he saw or met with during the tour. His charismatic personality and leadership created a profound impression wherever he visited – together with a growing and marked sense that the Jewish People had finally found a deserving leader.

The visit reinforced Herzl's own connection to the *Eretz Yisrael*, impacting on him both rationally and emotionally, in terms of the centrality of Israel and Jerusalem in his Zionist program. From then on, he channeled his diplomatic activity single-mindedly towards securing an agreement regarding the Land of Israel – although he occasionally accepted various tactical and operative compromises for the sake of instituting sovereignty for the Jewish People and establishing its right to self determination and a state of its own.

The land of the past had revealed its dormant promise to Herzl, who realized that its human resources had the potential to create an infrastructure for the Zionist enterprise of the future; He saw past the harsh realities of neglect, filth, unbearable heat, anxieties and apprehensions that had marked his visit, to a new vision of Israel – **a transformation of both man and land** – which he later developed extensively in his utopian novel, *Altneuland*.

In *Altneuland*, Herzl envisioned the future society of Israel as democratic and pluralistic, characterized by complete equality and tolerance. Indeed, in *Altneuland*, Herzl – who had clearly observed the Arab population's poverty during his tour of the country – specifically defined the Arab minority's equality of status within that "new society." *Altneuland* thus represents Herzl's socio-political vision as the leader of the Zionist movement: in it, he presents his people with a new motivating force, capable of propelling a model society in its historic 'chosen land' towards the development of a new ethos – one that embodies both the moral and spiritual perfection of an eternal ideal.

*"If you will it, it is no legend"....*



The definition of the State of Israel as a democratic Jewish state was officially introduced in 1985 in an amendment of a basic law. The meaning of the expression is controversial. As regards the concept of a democratic state the differences of opinion are not great and there is a consensus on many points. However, there is widespread disagreement over the concept of Jewish, and various approaches have developed for its interpretation. Supreme Court President Emeritus, Justice Aharon Barak ruled that a narrow interpretation must be given to the concept of Jewish and he even translated this into practical language: **"the crux of this is the right of every Jew to immigrate to the State of Israel where the Jews will be a majority, Hebrew the official language."**

Theodor Herzl in his book "The Jewish State" presented the Jewish problem and its solution, and his new look political plan for establishment of a sovereign state of the Jewish people with the consent of the powers of that period. The title of the book, "The Jewish State"), can be interpreted in two ways and it is difficult to know what Herzl intended precisely when he wrote it. Did he mean a state for the Jews who were dispersed throughout the world or did he perhaps mean a Jewish state? There is of course a great and fundamental difference.

A state for the Jews means granting sovereign territory to

the Jewish people. Every Jew will be entitled to immigrate to it, the official language there will be Hebrew and the Jewish people will conduct its life there, but its nature will not necessarily be Jewish. On the other hand, a Jewish state includes not only sovereign territory but also the Jewish nature, which is also subject to very broad interpretation.

In the Declaration of Independence the State of Israel was defined as a "Jewish state in the land of Israel". However, its nature was never legally defined (and of course the word democratic does not appear).

If we look at the state of affairs in the State of Israel today, certainly it can be defined with both meanings. Indeed, on the

numerous internal struggles concerning the image of the Zionist Movement and the image of the state in the making. In this context, at the Zionist Congress of 1902, already at its inception, a great and open dispute broke out on the question of culture and education. Known as the cultural controversy, this dispute could have split the Zionist Movement. Some of the Zionists who belonged to the Haskalah Movement argued that the Zionist Movement should work to renew Judaism culturally and impart a secular national culture according to the Zionist Movement, which would be the factor unifying all the Jews instead of religion which for centuries had been the main and unifying element in the life of the

## A JEWISH STATE

one hand, there are Jewish symbols that can define it as a Jewish state: the Sabbath is the official day of rest with all the consequent implications, in the IDF and public institutions only kosher food is served, marriage and divorce are under the jurisdiction of the rabbinical courts only, and there are many more examples. Furthermore, Torah learning and prayer can be heard throughout Israel and religious institutions occupy an important place. On the other hand, however, there are other elements that make it only a democratic state, and sometimes even undermine the foundations of its Jewish nature, for instance the prevailing judicial activism; frequently the religious establishment is prejudiced and its Jewish nature is also impaired in many areas. There are voices that advocate a state for all its citizens, there are people who wish to see the state as democratic and Jewish and not Jewish and democratic.

The history of the Zionist Movement is paved with

Jewish people. This question was brought to the Congress and it led Rabbi Reines to form the Mizrahi Party. Later, after the establishment of the State, fundamental questions also arose as to the image and nature of the State, and these continue to this very day.

In their vision the prophets of Israel saw the Jewish people returning to their homeland from the four corners of the earth. The process of the third Return to Zion commenced before the establishment of the Zionist Movement, but received considerable impetus with its creation. Today the State of Israel is a sovereign state, in the family of nations in the world. It has an army, a police force, a democratic regime, an advanced legal system, and of course a state emblem and anthem, as well as a flag which flies on the masthead; and every Jew may and can come to Israel.

The State of Israel is not just a state for the Jews, as a territorial area, in which the Jewish people comes together to create

sovereignty and government procedures; the State of Israel is not merely a country out of the list of countries. The Jewish people has returned to its land after two millennia, by virtue of its historic right to Israel, which was promised to us in the Covenant made with Abraham (brit bein habetarim) and therefore the delicate balance must be found between Israel as a democratic state and Israel as a Jewish state. There is no dispute over the private domain where a man can do as he wishes; the disagreements concern only the public domain. What will the Jewish street be like? What will be its nature on the official day of rest, the Sabbath day which, according to religious belief, is a sign between G-d and the Jewish people? What will the foundations of the State of Israel be? And there are many more examples. This question also applies to the education system: what are the concepts and values that a child will learn in a state school? What will the attitude be to the eternal values of the Jewish people? This does not contradict the need for real concern in maintaining the rights of the minorities living in the state as regards freedom of religion and education, each according to his own religion and faith.

There are many questions and as many opinions, but I believe that if we are willing and open-minded, and if we demonstrate goodwill and understanding, it is possible to bridge the differences and build here a stable society in a democratic Jewish state, which will be a light unto the nations. We will pray to the Almighty "Bless the State of Israel... Guide its leaders and ministers with your light... and help them with Your good counsel"

#### Rabbi Yehiel Wasserman

Member of the Zionist Executive and Head of the Department for Religious Affairs in the Diaspora  
) Literally: "the State of the Jews"



Prof. Ariel Feldstein

# A JEWISH STATE OR A STATE FOR THE JEWS?

**Herzl's book *The Jewish State (Der Judenstaat)* begins with the words: "The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State." This first sentence reveals Herzl's ideological basis and suggests his solution to "the Jewish question."**

As a man of the nineteenth century, Herzl was influenced by the fundamental processes occurring at the time, affecting Europe in general and the Jews scattered across it in particular. One of these processes was the emergence of nationality, a phenomenon which had budded during the French revolution at the end of the 18th century and gained momentum with the 1848 Spring of Nations revolutions, the 1860 unification of Italy and the 1870 unification of Germany. This trend also evoked the question of collective identity among the Jews. Jews debated whether belonging to the Jewish group was a matter of religious affiliation, a position that led to the use of expressions such as "Germans of the Jewish persuasion," or whether it was a nationality-based concept.

According to Herzl, that sense of belonging was based on national identity. "I do not believe that the question of the Jews is social or religious [...]. It is a matter of nationality and in order to resolve it, we must first turn it into an international political issue requiring the attendance of civilized nations." His conclusion was definite and unequivocal: "We are a people, one people." Herzl, who had deliberated the question of identity while still a law student at the University of Vienna, found a solution to it at the end of 1895. Like the German, Italian and French peoples, the Jews too were a national unit. He reached this realization only after the Jews had tried to "assimilate everywhere among the people around us, keeping only our fathers' faith." Their sincere efforts to integrate into the society among which they lived were futile. They could not take root and although the emancipation gave them hope of fitting into the general society and merging with the majority, anti-Semitism overturned their attempts. "We have been loyal patriots, and in some places even excessively so, in vain; in vain we sacrifice our lives and possessions [...] In vain we work to glorify the names of our birth-lands. Even if we have been residing in them for hundreds of years, we are still being branded as foreigners." Jews are destined to be alien in the countries where they have lived for many generations and in some places had even preceded the arrival of those who now belong to the crystallizing national group. "The majority determines who the alien in the country is; it is a question of power, like everything else in international relationships."

This complex reality, Herzl believed, compelled Jews to search for ways to crystallize their own national identity and to pave the way to the establishment of a nation state. If Jews are granted sovereignty "over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation, the rest we shall manage for ourselves." Herzl's reference to the establishment of a state indicates that he meant a Jewish state in the national sense. His entire political activity was directed toward achieving that goal. Regarding that state's location, Herzl said: "Palestine is our unforgettable historical homeland. Its name alone might serve as a mighty inspiration for our people to congregate." He did not intend that new Land of Israel state to restore the house of David kingdom and did not mean to build the Third Temple; it was envisioned as a nation state where "the theocratic urges of our rabbis would not be granted power. We would know how to keep them inside their synagogues." The legal system was not to be shaped by the

legacy of the prophets of Israel and was not to be based on the age-old Jewish *Halacha*. "There need to be modern rules [...] an exemplary legal system could be created, infused with all the rightful social requirements of the present." His suggestion for the state's symbol, the flag, expressing the state's national identity and essential principals, also did not derive from the Jewish symbols, but rather expressed social values. I imagine "a white flag, with seven golden stars. The white field symbolizes our pure new life; the stars are the seven golden hours of our working-day. For we shall march into the Promised Land carrying the badge of honor."

Herzl continued to develop these basic principals in his book *Altneuland (Old New Land)*, 1902, where he elaborated on and highlighted the national aspects of the Jewish state, distinguishing between the religious identity of the Jews and their national identity. His ambition was that the establishment of the Jewish state would allow Jews to behave in a "normal" manner, to define themselves as a nation, and to establish a nation state would eventually become part of the family of nations.

In his writings, Herzl does not address the means of crystallizing the Jewish people, which over hundreds of years lived in the



Gil Troy

Laschner's line from *Altneuland*: "I am proud to be a Jew ... Because, if I were not proud, I should still be a Jew. I therefore prefer to be proud."

The line still resonates because it captures the two dimensions of modern Jewish identity – destiny and desire; the fact that those of us born Jews did not choose to be Jewish and the reality that in a world of great freedom, we are all Jews-of-choice. In other words, belonging to the Jewish people is often the easy part, deciding what to do with that heritage we choose to embrace is the challenge. Six decades into the existence of the Jewish State which Herzl envisioned, both the acuity of his insight and its relevance as a recipe for healthy Jewish living remains impressive.

Herzl's insight about Jewish identity applies to the Israeli condition in the twenty-first century as well. The idealism of the first generation has faded. The privations of the second generation mostly have gone too (thankfully). Most of today's 2.5 million young Israelis have been born into a Jewish State whose existence they have always taken for granted, achieving the normalcy Herzl promised. But too many young Israelis lack the pride in Judaism, Zionism, Israel itself, Herzl dreamed they also would have – and would prescribe for today.

Too many young Israelis today are being seduced by the siren song of modernity. Especially in secular Israel, the lure of the "I" is eclipsing the feeling of "us" that sustained us as a people – and built the state of Israel. Many are entranced by the new cosmopolitanism crossbred with a hyper individualism, a false promise that we can transcend national boundaries, cut ourselves off from tradition and simply be islands unto ourselves, encased within our own technological test-tubes. Isn't that the Apple

Diaspora as a minority. In many cases, Jews kept their religious identity but also wished to attain the national identity of the majority they lived among. Since Jews did not live on their own land, it was very difficult to unit them around a single national identity. One of Herzl's chief opponents, Ahad Ha-am, believed that was the essential problem with Herzl's ideological plan. In his article "The First Zionist Congress," he discussed the achievements of the Congress convened by Herzl in Basle. "So the **national** solution to the Jewish question no longer remained in the privacy of the inner circle and found it self in the public sphere; it was explicitly communicated to the entire world, in a plain clear language – such as has never happened since the people of Israel exiled from their country." According to Ahad Ha-am, only through extended long-term educational work "the hearts would open" and Jews would be able to view themselves as members of the Jewish nation. Before this was achieved, the political arena should not have been addressed. The establishment of a Jewish state into which Jews from the different Diasporas would gather should have been postponed, since at the time they did not view themselves as similar, besides the issue of their religious belief. Consequently, "'prophets' rather than 'diplomats' would save the Jews." Herzl did not consider this substantial matter very much since he was extremely occupied with gaining ground in the political level. In his view, attaining the charter on Palestine from the Ottoman Empire and the recruitment of the European powers' support preceded

significant crystallization of a national Jewish identity. In the reality in which Herzl operated he could not invest considerable effort on both fronts simultaneously.

Herzl also did not discuss the issue of the possibility of separating the Jewish religious identity and the national one, that is, whether a Jew could be only a religious rather than a national Jew. In his writing he considered the approach to the foreigner living in the Jewish state "If those of a different faith, or different nationality, would live among us, we would respectively protect them and grant them legal equal rights." According to him, the acceptance of the other was an incredibly important, liberal and superior value, which the state of Israel could realize, creating for the outsiders a reality that was unlike the one experienced by the Jews themselves in Europe. But he did not address the fundamental question, a question which in 2010 dominates the Israeli public agenda: is the State of Israel the home of the Jewish people and therefore the right of return should be granted only to those proving to be a part of the Jewish faith? What is the status and rights of the "others" in it? And what should be written in the nationality slot the identity card? Should it be "Jewish" or perhaps the State of Israel should recognize the existence of an "Israeli" nationality? That is an essential issue which relates not only of the Jews who are Israeli civilians but also to the relationship between them and Jews living in the Diaspora. We must deal with this matter if we are concerned about the fate of the Jewish people.

## JEWISH PRIDE THROUGH EDUCATION!

Promise, to each his own I-Pod, to each his own thinkpad?

In Israel – as in the rest of the West -- we see an identity crisis, a values crisis, an addiction to the Internet, growing violence and sexual abuse, a breakdown of families and – not surprisingly – of morality. It is no coincidence that the moral crisis of the modern world, the meaning crisis of the modern world, emerges in the wake of the mass abandonment of Jewish tradition, Jewish values, Jewish rituals, Jewish structures, Jewish pride. We have created a "whatever" culture, a "why bother" society, generations of Jewish pagans with a mass addiction to the me-me-me, my-my-my, more-more-more, now-now-now, Mall-Mall-Mall shopping and leisure imperatives of the modern

***Too many young Israelis today are being seduced by the siren song of modernity.***

world. And -- let me not overstate – while there are many, many blessings we enjoy of freedom, of comfort, of safety, of medical breakthroughs, of enlightenment, of prosperity, of serenity, we have to acknowledge the mass social wreckage modernity has wrought, the many broken souls, the many derailed lives, all our goodies, all our indulgences, somehow produce.

Israelis, Herzl would say, are desperately in need of Jewish education, of Zionist education. Ultimately, we can find salvation in more Jewish education because Jewish education is not just about learning the facts but mastering life, Jewish education is not just about thinking but doing, Jewish education is not just about understanding the world but fixing it – Tikun Olam-- Jewish education is not just about skill-building but identity-building. In short Jewish education is values education toward pride in our heritage – and that is the added value we so desperately need in modern Israel today.

If the Israelis of tomorrow learn about the

Jewish commitment to justice, about the Zionist zeal for egalitarianism and community, they will understand Herzl's vision that states: "We, in our new society, will not measure a man by his wealth. Let us measure our fellow man by his merits." If the Israelis of tomorrow embrace the Jewish ethics of honesty, the Zionist ethos of modesty, they will fulfill Herzl's ideal that "politics here is neither a business nor a profession, for either men or women. We have kept ourselves unsullied by that plague." And if the Israelis of tomorrow internalize the Jewish quest to fix the world by embracing tradition, the Zionist dream of redemptive nationalism, they will bury the rampant cynicism of today and agree with Herzl that "Everything needed for the making of a better world exists already." With that restored pride and idealism together we can "make the experimental land for humanity. Over yonder.... On that ancient soil, Old-New-Land!"

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

If the Israelis of tomorrow whom we must educate today can understand those emotions, appreciate Jewish memory, feel a part of the Zionist narrative, and tap into the values that flow from those feelings, ideas, and dreams, we will thrive. But without that passion, without that engagement with the past, without that pride in who we were and who we can be, we will have to struggle to survive – and wonder why even bother.



## THE JEWISH STATE AND THE HERZL LAW

ILAN SHALGI

Former Member of Knesset

In Basel I created the Jewish state," wrote the young journalist, Binyamin Zeev Herzl, in his diary, with amazing self-possession, on 3rd September, 1897 - two days after the closing of the Zionist Congress that he himself initiated, staged and led. Although only 37, he rapidly became the leader and the guide whom the Jews regarded as the new Moses and whom non-Jews named, 'the King of the Jews.' A mere eighteen months earlier, Herzl published the pamphlet, "The Jewish State," since when he had devoted his life, money and health to the promotion of the Idea that burned within him: the rescue of the Jewish people from its bitter fate and salvation from the terrible destiny that he prophesied for the future. Herzl wrote a landmark manifesto about the Jewish state, mentioning national sovereignty along the lines of 19th century European 'Spring of Nations'. In his book, *Altneuland* (Old New Land), several years later, he was also able to ride the wave of his imagination and describe the life and society that would be created in that state of the future which he envisioned.

Herzl was a secular Jew but proud of his Judaism, similar to the vast majority of his supporters in the founding years and to contemporary Zionists in our own time. In his book, *'Der Judenstaat,'* (The Jewish State) he writes explicitly, *"Shall we, then, end up by having a theocracy? No! Faith unites us, knowledge makes us free. Therefore we shall permit no theocratic velleities on the part of our clergy to arise... The army and the clergy shall be honored to the extent that their noble functions require and deserve it. But they will have no privileged voice in the State..., for otherwise they might cause trouble externally and internally. Every man will be as free and as unrestricted in his belief or unbelief as he is in his nationality."* Herzl knew that it was religion that had preserved us as a people, and understood that he would need the Rabbis for support of his vision, as leaders of their communities. Although he did not observe Kashrut and Shabbat meticulously in his private life, he had the wisdom to attend services at the synagogue in Basle on the day before the opening of the Zionist Congress; and in his diary, he described the depth of emotion he felt when called to the Torah. It is absolutely clear to the reader of the *'Der Judenstaat,'* *'Altneuland,'* and Herzl's Diaries that the visionary of the State intended to establish a state for the Jews, and not a Jewish state - to found a national homeland for the Jewish people that was wretched because it was dispersed among the nations, subject to discrimination, humiliation and persecution - the products of malignant anti-Semitism. Before his eyes, Herzl envisioned a modern state guided by the pluralistic Jewish heritage, combined with scientific development and the rules of social justice.

Standing by Herzl's newly dug grave at the funeral in Vienna in July 1904, David Wolffsohn - Herzl's right-hand man and

successor to the leadership of the Zionist Movement, said: "We swear to you that your name will be sanctified and remembered, for as long as there remains one Jew alive on this earth. At this difficult moment, we remind you of your oath in the Sixth Congress and we swear it in your wake, *'If I forget thee, Jerusalem, let my right hand forget its cunning'.*" Here, it is appropriate to reveal that Jerusalem almost betrayed Herzl's remembrance after the election of an ultra-Orthodox mayor. The national memorial ceremony in 2003 at Mt. Herzl, on the 99th anniversary of Herzl's death, was not attended by the Mayor of Jerusalem, nor did any of his deputies lay a wreath on behalf of the City of Jerusalem on the grave of the visionary of the State, alongside the wreaths of the President of the State of Israel, the Prime Minister and the Knesset. I was upset that the Speaker of the Knesset, Reuven Rivlin, and myself - the Chairperson Knesset Committee for Education, Culture and Sport - were the only Members of the 16th Knesset to participate in that ceremony. It pained me that Jerusalem, which is Zion, was apparently denying the founder of Zionism and, furthermore, that its elected officials did not respect Herzl's memory. There and then, at Herzl's graveside, the Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl Law was born (the official Herzl Memorial Day to mark Herzl's Heritage and Achievements, 2004.)

The legislative process in the Knesset Committee for Education, Culture and Sport was facilitated by the World Zionist Organization and the Shalem Center, and saw completion when the Knesset Plenary approved it in the third reading, ten days before the Centennial Anniversary of Herzl's Death. The Mayor of Jerusalem indeed participated at the Memorial Ceremony for the Centennial Anniversary of Herzl's death and laid the wreath on behalf of the Israel's capital at the tomb of the Visionary of the Jewish State. When the Knesset passed the 'Herzl Law', it also decided to mark 'Herzl Day' every year on 10th Iyar, the date of Herzl's birthday. *Inter alia*, this law determines that the Knesset shall hold a special discussion each year to mark 'Herzl Day'; it further establishes that IDF bases and schools shall hold values-based educational programs. The opening article of the law defining its aims determines that it is incumbent to bequeath Binyamin Zeev Herzl's vision, heritage, and achievements for generations, to commemorate him, and to bring about the education of future generations, and the structuring of the State of Israel, its institutions, goals and image in accordance with his Zionist vision. Thus, we have succeeded in inscribing our appreciation to Israel's founder in the Book of Laws of the Jewish State, as well as the message to future generations that David Wolffsohn's oath at Herzl's graveside a century earlier will be fulfilled.

Herzliya, 31st January, 2010.



## THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT AS A RENEWABLE REVOLUTION

MASHA LUBELSKY

*"Unless you also cultivate freedom of thought and expression, generosity of spirit, and love for humanity. These are the things you must cherish and nurture", only then will Zion truly be Zion".* (Altneuland)

In those sharp words Theodor Herzl defined the Jewish State which took form and shape in his mind's eye. This imaginary state was supposed to apply a modern model, almost utopian, of social existence. A number of rather revolutionary paradigms were supposed to be in the framework of this model - certainly revolutionary in terms of the accepted norms of the bourgeois world of the Austro-Hungarian Empire from which Herzl received his values. In the first place, this revolutionism was expressed by the existence of a full democracy in the Jewish State, where minorities also benefit from equality and their rights are protected. The same is written in relation to women - to whom Herzl granted suffrage in his vision, many years before this right became a political reality in western countries - and for Arabs, who received complete equality of rights in this old-new Jewish state. Herzl's revolutionary thought addressed not only Arab men, but also Arab women, whom he granted with full political rights and a status which their sisters do not enjoy in many Arab countries even today. There were other

revolutionary paradigms, intended to shape the State of the Jews, related to the education system, the development of advanced industry, as well as the moral and non-military essence of the future Jewish society. In Herzl's vision, this society had no racial characteristics and it assesses its members first and foremost by universal liberal criteria, rather than through a filter of ethnic origins, religion, race, gender, or political opinion.

Had Herzl lived today, how would he have continued his Zionist drama? Whom would he have cast as his main characters in his epic play that fantastically became reality in our lives? Would he have been disillusioned by the old-new state and work on moved on to more (so-called) realistic lines, from disappointment in human nature? Maybe the contrary is true? Would Herzl's utopian vision have become sharper and more radical in the face of the dangers and difficulties encountered by the Jewish State?

At the core of Herzl's Zionist utopia lay a revolutionary spirit and a desire to create new world agendas based on the belief in the power of an idea to change those agendas and that, *"All the Deeds of men are only Dreams at first. And in the end, their Deeds dissolve into dreams"* (Altneuland, Epilogue). In my opinion, the Herzl of the 21st century would continue working out of the same revolutionary perception adapting it to the changing reality. I have no doubt that Herzl would have had a more significant grasp of the centrality of the State of Israel as a State of the Jews in relation to the worldwide Jewish Diaspora. The bitter experience of the Jews in the 20th century would not have caused Herzl to lose hope: on the contrary, it would have strengthened his faith in the essentiality of an

established Jewish national state. Herzl's hopes that anti-Semitism would vanish from the world with the establishment of a Jewish state would, however, obviously have been shattered. Indeed, as time goes on, it appears that the old anti-Semitic ghosts that worried Herzl at the close of the 19th century have raised their heads anew - for a second and even a third time. Nonetheless, I believe that for this reason Herzl would have doubled his efforts to remedy the flaws in the Israeli society with respect to its moral standards, social gaps and its treatment of minorities. The obvious dictum, whereby the world judges the Jewish State more critically than it applies criticism to itself, would have been positively acclaimed by Herzl, whose perception of the Jewish world, and particularly the exilic Jew, was no less critical than a number of the great European anti-Semites of his time. In other words, Herzl would have expected modern national Jews to conduct themselves more morally than he would have expected of the ordinary person. Moral and democratic existence were, in his view, the best remedy for the flaws of the Diaspora.

***Herzl's hopes that anti-Semitism would vanish from the world with the establishment of a Jewish state would, however, obviously have been shattered.***

birth to our days, this issue acquires greater significance. As long as the movement was part of a revolutionary process that permitted changes, it was characterized by high levels of quality, morality, adherence to its goal and a feeling of justice. As the revolutionary process was slowed, to the point where it has become almost static today, the standards of those characteristics deteriorated to their present unimpressive level. It might therefore be logical to assume that the key to the return of the feeling of social justice, high moral standards, together with the high quality of both idea and deed is to be found in the capacity to relaunch the Zionist revolutionary process.

It is possible that the restarting of the Zionist revolution is no longer feasible - whether due to the ossification of the system, educational failures over several generations, or to paralyzing foreign influences. Nonetheless, were charismatic Herzl living among us today he would find the way and the words to enable the resumption of this revolution.

The Zionist drama would thus sip from the fountain of youth, shake itself up, renew itself and turn towards a better future, with us at its side. For, in the final analysis, we all have dramatic roles - whether as leading or minor characters - in the same play composed by the visionary of the state. In this respect, Israel's residents daily implement the famous Shakespearean image - whereby *"All the world's a stage"* on which we are all players - in the most real and profound sense. The renewal of the Zionist revolution would open a new act in Herzl's drama, which might even digress from the scope of the legend and create a reality far beyond the realms of imagination.



Theodor Herzl's body was transferred from Vienna, Döblinger Friedhof, to Jerusalem.



Galya Richler-Gerbler

Even a century after the Dreyfus Affair, only the tip of the iceberg has been revealed. The fact that the main figures behind it were never investigated brought it to a complete end for ever. The affair took place against the backdrop of the rise of modern anti-Semitism in late nineteenth century Western Europe. French Jews, which until then had believed that they were about to be integrated completely in French society, was dismayed by the waves of xenophobia and anti-Semitism that swept through their country. The country that more than any other country professed universal values of equality, fraternity and friendship, was powerless to actually apply them.

Herzl spent the years 1891-1895 in Paris as a foreign correspondent for a Jewish-owned Viennese newspaper, *Neue Freie Presse*. Reporting "the Dreyfus Affair" from this viewpoint was part of his work and took place towards the end of his posting. However, Herzl was also an author, a Jew and a man who believed strongly and constantly in the principle of justice.

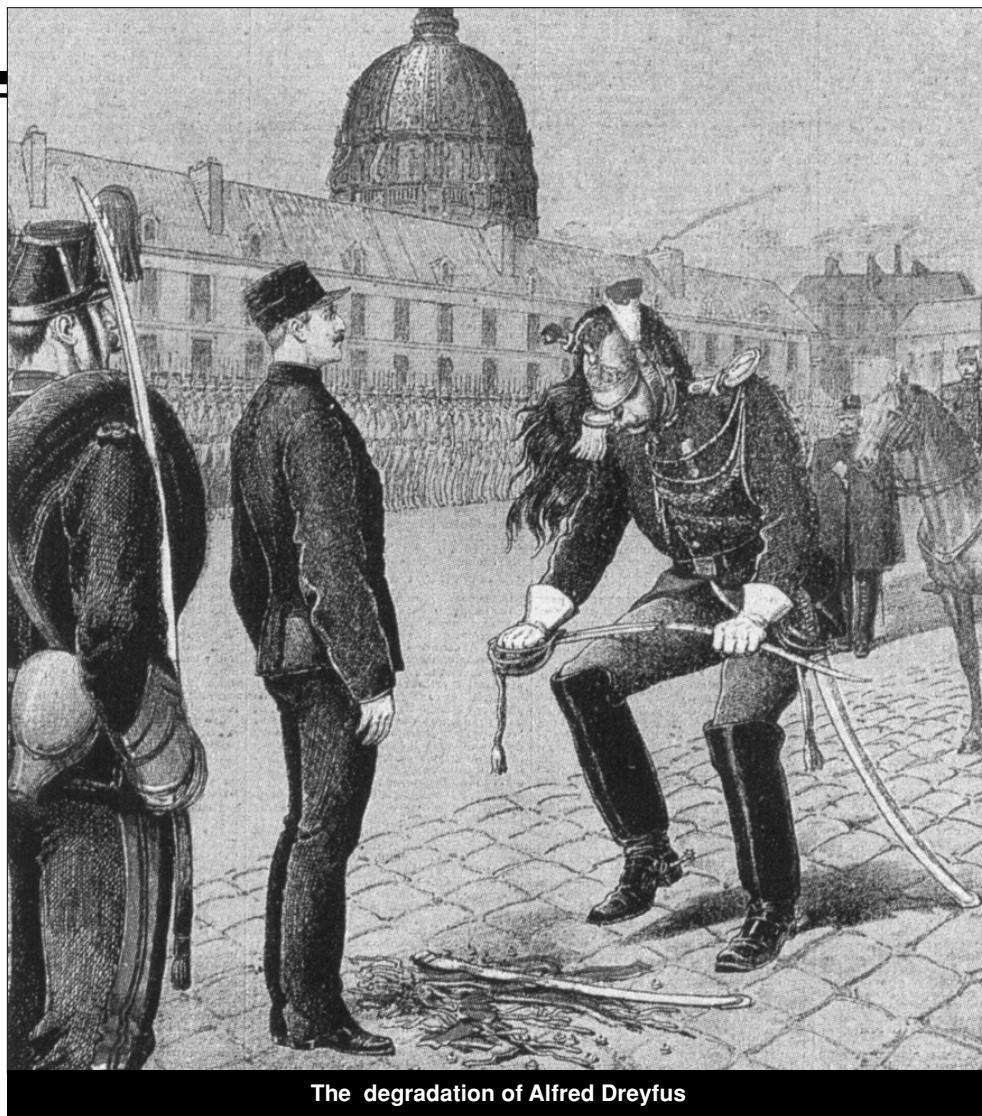
One of Herzl's articles, over which academic research is divided in its attitude, includes a sentence with which Herzl described the influence that the Dreyfus Affair had on him. In that article, "Zionism", Herzl specified the process of his return to Judaism and how he arrived at the Zionist solution:

"... In truth, there is not much to be proud of in the way in which we arrived at Zionism. We were brought to it by the new enemy, by anti-Semitism, which attacked us precisely when we were in a process of complete disintegration. I still remember the impression made upon me, when in 1882, as a young man I read Dehring's book on the Jewish question... I think that until then I did not know at all that I was a Jew. Dehring's book acted upon me like a punch in the stomach... Indeed from such an awakening and until a conscious decision, as expressed in the present Zionist Movement, the distance is still very great. For myself it took me twelve or thirteen years, and am sorry for relating this. Perhaps I may do so for two reasons: firstly, because we learn every decent thing most unflinchingly from ourselves, and secondly because this is somewhat topical. **Indeed the Dreyfus trial made me a Zionist. Not the trial being conducted now in Rennes, but the original trial in Paris, which I witnessed in 1894.**"

In fact, in his article Herzl clarified the two stages that he traversed: the first, the process of returning to Jewish nationalism after reading Dehring, and the second, the fact that the new trial brought him to recognize the tremendous influence that the first trial had had on him. Just as it took him some twelve years to admit to himself the influence of Dehring's book, so the acknowledgement of the shock caused to him by the Dreyfus Affair came late. The fact that he did not write about the affair. The academic research on Herzl erroneously attributes this to the absence of an influence or, worse still, negates the relation between the affair and Herzl's consolidation of the Zionist idea. Every person, if he looks an instant deep inside himself, may discover that one of the most formative events in his life is precisely an incident that he has never recounted; for the more painful the insult the more difficult it will be for us to tell others of

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The degradation of Alfred Dreyfus

## SHOCKING IMPRESSION

it and so the process of suppression will be stronger.

Through study of Herzl's reports on the affair, it is possible to examine the process that he underwent during it. The arrival at the Zionist solution was not only because of the Dreyfus Affair, but this affair constituted the end of the process.

Herzl was very impressed by the figure of the accused, since he was the embodiment of all Herzl's aspirations for the new Jew. He stood upright without servility, he was integrated in the national population in a key function, and he took pride in and accepted his Jewishness. Dreyfus was all that Herzl wished

to change in the Jewish people as expressed in his work "The New Ghetto". Yet notwithstanding, in his trial it was clear to Herzl that Dreyfus was not tried as an individual, but a whole nation, its past, present and future, was hanging round his neck. This knowledge created a breaking point for Herzl in his belief in the Emancipation as a solution to the 'Jewish question'.

Over time Dreyfus was no longer perceived by Herzl as a private individual. Already during the trial he became a symbol of the Jew as a victim. The figure who seemingly influenced Herzl's perception in this sense was the Jewish socialist, anarchist and publicist

Bernard Lazare. Lazare was the first person outside Dreyfus's family who understood that this was a blood libel and launched a struggle on his behalf. Already in spring 1895 Lazare wrote an article called "A Judicial Error, The Truth about the Dreyfus Case". The article was published only on November 1896. One of the issues attacked by Lazare at the beginning of his manifesto was the unwillingness of French citizenry to accord Dreyfus a retrial.

Herzl's criticism went one step further, and what Lazare said euphemistically, namely that the whole world already knew the distorted details of the trial except for the French public, Herzl said explicitly in his 1897 article "The Situation in France". It is not that the French public did not know, but that the French people "does not want the Jewish captain's guilt still to be questionable... Everything is oriented to one purpose, to keep the Jew where he is, on Devil's Island."

**When Herzl criticised the trial he criticised the fact that Dreyfus was not tried as an individual, but his trial was a trial against the entire Jewish people.**

"The question is: Whose sin does he bear? Whose? They did not scream "Shame on Dreyfus!" but "Shame on the Jews!"...

### Did the mob scream "Death to the Jews"?

Two questions that still constitute a bone of contention in the research world with regard to Herzl and the Dreyfus Affair are interconnected. The first is informative: did Herzl indeed hear the cry "death to the Jews" screamed by the Parisian mob at the degradation ceremony? The second question is how much the affair influenced Herzl in shaping an ancient idea of a 'Jewish State' into an up-to-date plan of action – the Zionist Movement.

In Herzl's article "Zionism", he emphasized the call of the masses: "Death to the Jews!"

Another observe in the ceremony was Maurice Paléologue. He worked in the French department for investigation of foreign affairs. Paléologue entered in his diary: "I was present at the ceremony... Outside the gate... an enormous crowd... whistled and yelled: "Death to the Jews! Death to the traitor! Death to Judas Iscariot!"

This was also remembered by Nordau who attended the ceremony.

Nordau wrote in his eulogy to Herzl (Basel, July 27, 1905):

"The streets began to resound with the echo of the shouts: "Death to the Jews"! Then Herzl paid great attention. The most sensitive point of his existence - his pride - received a rude blow."

The end of the first part of the Dreyfus Affair is also the end of the course of Herzl's pre-Zionist life and the beginning of a new era for him. Seemingly all the seeds sown before then germinated in the spring of 1895, in his work "The Jewish State".

The solution that he proposed included the stages that he himself underwent. The first return to their nation - namely the return to Jewish identity, and the second, settlement on the soil of their homeland - this is the Zionist solution, a national home in the land of Israel. **"For the Jews there is no other succour and salvation, other than the return to their nation and settlement on the soil of their homeland. I wrote this in my book "The Jewish State" in 1895, under the shocking impression of the first Dreyfus trial."**

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