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# Cohort 5

## 2017 Israel Mission

### Sourcebook

This book belongs to \_\_\_\_\_



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## Logistical preparation for the Mission and Year Two

Introduction to the Israel.cleveland.next (icnext) Cleveland Mission

June 11-22, 2017

**Israel Mission Itinerary** - During your 10 days in Israel, you will explore half the length and all the breadth of Modern Israel. You will come to know the topography and the history of this fascinating land. In the course of exploring its centrality to Judaism and Jewish History, you will also consider the issues that confront Israel in the start of the 21st century and meet some of the people who make up the mosaic of life in Israel today.

The goals of this mission are to learn cultural, demographic and geographic facts, along with security challenges that face Israel. We will work on sharpening your Israel content knowledge skills, and using this acquired knowledge as a resource for engagement activities on behalf of Israel with other teens.

The itinerary is driven by the desire to see and experience as much as possible in the short time you have in Israel. The mission staff will be available to you to help make this an enjoyable, as well as a meaningful and insightful experience.

The Israel content knowledge approach for the icnext Cleveland Israel Mission:

1. Geo-political knowledge: Experience and learn the demographic, historic, and geographic facts, along with Israeli security challenges.
2. Culture knowledge: Experience the Israeli narrative (culture, the mosaic of Israeli people). The theme of the 2017 mission is Israel at 70. The theme will be manifested itself in three ways:
  - Israel at 70 – an update
  - Visions for Israel's next 70 years
  - The 4 Ha Tikva questions – connecting each experience on our Mission to one of these questions.
3. Mifgash: intimate (gathering, meetings) with Israeli teens at the Beit Shean/Emek Hamayanot Cleveland partnership.

### icnext Cleveland - Written Expectations

True to the mission of the icnext program, in Israel you will be expected to:

- Listen to speakers and take brief notes about the most important points.
- When possible, pose carefully worded questions to interview speakers. Ask yourself and the speakers, 'What is the relevance of this experience for Israel engagement?'
- Interview other Israelis whom you may meet.
- WRITE about the above in blog entries, newspaper articles, and Facebook observations.
- What you write will also be the basis of the ic.news magazine project to be completed during your second year. No one is exempt from these assignments.
- Remember, we use WRITING in this program for a reason; writing clearly and persuasively is the desired end result after you listen, ask, observe and gather your thoughts. Sharpening these skills will serve you well in Israel, in college, and in life!



### icnext Cleveland - Conducting an Interview

- Your first job is doing your homework about the person(s) you are interviewing. Learn a little about the group or denomination to which they belong. Consult your Sourcebook for advance reading, and write down some questions prior to your interview. Next, put them at ease by beginning with non- confrontational, non-threatening questions such as "Tell me something about yourself. Where were you born? Where did you grow up? What are your favorite memories growing up?"
- After you have gone through a few "softball" questions, you can begin with more in-depth questions. For example, you might ask an Ethiopian Jew whether or not he or she has ever experienced discrimination. If you get a one-word answer, DO NOT STOP THERE-ask a follow-up question.
- If the interviewee says he or she did not experience discrimination, give an example that person might not have thought of like: Did you ever feel you lost out on a job, or an apartment you wanted to rent, because of your skin color? Did anyone ever call you a slang name or not invite you to join a sports team or a party because of your color?
- Ask the person if he (or she) could change one thing about the way he is looked at or treated, what would it be? Again, if you get a brief answer, ASK FOR MORE SPECIFICS!
- Always appear interested and engaged in your interviewee's answers. Nothing stifles open responses more than someone who seems bored or is just asking questions by rote! Listen carefully to answers given as these may suggest/lead to questions you hadn't thought of before.
- Finally, NEVER rely on your memory for the answers to questions you've asked. Always have a notebook and pen ready or some kind of tablet or recorder to get the answers down in the interviewee's own words!
- Get the CORRECT SPELLING of that person's name!

### icnext Cleveland – Visual Storytelling Expectations

Your camera is your second tool to document your experience. Please use it as much as possible in a sensitive and thoughtful way:

- Document the most important experiences.
- **Place situation background clues in each picture.** This will add to a better visual storytelling image.
- Remember that next year's icnext exhibit will document the theme of "Food". This exhibit will be based on you taking high quality images.
- Please download your images to a portable hard drive (the mission staff will have it handy every day).
- Posing a human subject:
  - \* Posture – should match the theme of the image.
  - \* Watch the small details such as hand positioning, how the subject is holding their body and "stray hairs", etc.
  - \* Natural expression – it's better to get your subject to express a real emotion rather than to "fake it" – get them laughing rather than asking them to just smile.



- Landscape tips:
  - \* Stabilize your camera! Lean against something, set your camera on a surface.
  - \* Consider the sky. If the clouds are interesting, let them be a major part of the image. If the sky is dull, only let it occupy a small part of the image. (A third even?)
  - \* Interesting foreground. When you find an interesting landscape, make it more interesting by putting something visual in the foreground.
  - \* Subject. One of the more difficult things about landscape photography is clearly defining your subject. Use composition rules to make it clear what the subject of your photo is.

### Specific Assignments

1. Each day two or more icnext fellows will be in charge of posting to the icnext Cleveland blog.
2. Students are expected to take many pictures that document their Israeli Israel at 70 experiences:
  - a. With your Beit Shean/Haemek Hamayanot host family
  - b. During the mission's educational and cultural opportunities
3. Each students will have to submit a narrative with their pictures
4. Carry a notebook, paper and camera to write down any memorable quotes or important lessons or facts learned that day. Each quote or fact learned must be accompanied by the name and identifying credential of the person making the statement.

We will then share these quotes and observations in our daily Reflection sessions.

## Photographic and written assignments

**Magazine assignment** – All members of icnext Cohort 5 will submit an article for the icnext magazine based on the blogging assignments below. Specific focus for the blog will be determined through discussion with Tina Keller and Amnon Ophir.

(by 6/09) - Pre mission

- Explanation, expectation of our mission to explore the mission theme: “Israel at 70” and Visions for Israel for the next 70 years - Natalie C. and Noa M.

Sunday, 6/11

- *Photographers for the Day* - Jazzy G. , Leah R.
- Airport Discussion Leaders – Jen, Natalie, Galen, David (Catch 67)
- Writers for the Day
  - Airport Discussion – Ethen G. , Hadas G.

Monday, 6/12

- *Photographers for the Day* - Jazz G. and Leah R.
- Writers for the Day
  - Introduction with Zeev Ben Shachar - Ethen G.
  - Opening activity with Rotem Kislev - Hadas G.

Tuesday, 6/13

- *Photographers of the Day* - Jen L. and Ben M.
- Writers for the Day
  - Guy Ben Porat – Galen S.
  - “Or” - Hailey N.
  - Tour of Sderot - Eliana R.
  - Security Tour in the south – Mika C.
  - Yahal Porat - David M.

Wednesday, 6/14

- *Photographers of the Day* - Roni P. and Alexis G.
- Writers for the Day
  - “Jews on the Holy Basin” tour with Yaron Ovadia – Raanan S., Natalie C.
  - The separation wall, East Jerusalem tour - Noa M.
  - Interviews in the books Week - Tess K., Came K.
  - The orthodox community - Jen S.

Thursday, 6/15

- *Photographers of the Day* - Cami K., Raanan S.
- Writers for the Day
  - Salim Munayer – Jazzy G.
  - Tasting tour - Ben M.
  - Eden Farm - Roni P.
  - Meeting with Israelis- Alexis G.





Friday, Saturday - 6/16-17

- *Photographers of the Day* - Jazzy G and Jen S.
- Writers for the Day
  - Gilboa Hydroelectric Farm– Leah R.
  - Documenting the family on Shabbat – Galen S., Tess K., Cami K., Noa M., Natalie C.

Sunday, 6/18

- *Photographers of the Day* -David M. and Ben M.
- Writers for the Day
  - A tour of the Golan Heights with Sarit Zehavi – Hadas G. and Jen S.
  - A visit to De Karina Chocolate factory – Ethan G.
  - Netanel Afek - Hailey N.
  - Oded Rahav - Eliana R.
  - Meeting with Israelis - Ben M.

Monday, 6/19

- *Photographers of the Day* -Tess K. and Mika C.
- Writers for the Day
  - A visit to Have HaShomer - Natalie C. and Leah R.
  - A visit to Best HaGefen, an Arab-Jewish cultural center in Haifa - Jazzy G. and Roni P.
  - “Just Love”, a Musical at the Cameri Theater - Alexis G.

Tuesday, 6/20

- *Photographers of the Day* -Galen S. and Hailey N.
- Writers for the Day
  - Morning activity in Tel Aviv - Eliana R. and Mika C.
  - Park Ariel Sharon - David M.
  - A Tour with Oren Eilam - Raanan S.

Wednesday, 6/21

- *Photographers of the Day* -Eliana R. and Ethan G.
- Writers for the Day
  - Yad VaShem- Mika C.
  - Zeev Ben Schachar - David M. and Roni P.
  - Meeting with former Shlichim - Jazzy G.
  - Barchovot Shelanu - Jen S.

Thursday, 6/22 Post mission (by Friday 76/23)

- Mission Reflection - Natalie C., Noa M., Hadas G. and Ethan G.

## Cohort 5 Israel Mission and Year 2 Themes

- Israel at 70 – an update
- Visions for Israel’s next 70 years
- The 4 Ha Tikva questions – connecting each experience on our Mission to one of these questions.

**Year 2 Assignments** - Members of Cohort 5 are responsible for 4 things during Year 2:

- Participation in Year 2 meetings:
  - o August 27 – committee meetings (ADL committee training will take place Sept. 10, 17, and 24 in the morning – time TBD)
  - o September 10 – Cohort 5 reunion
  - o October 15 – scholar.in.residence
  - o October 29 – Super Sunday
  - o January 7 – scholar.in.residence
  - o February 18 – scholar.in.residence
  - o February 27 - @akiva Annual Celebration (with parents)
  - o April 22 – scholar.in.residence
  - o May 15 - @akiva Programs Graduation
- Participation in iDay (May 17, 2018)
- Year 2 Project (will require additional meetings)
- Help to docent the Photo Exhibit in different locations

**Year 2 Projects:**

- **Photo Exhibit Curators** – review all photographs taken during the Israel Mission, then select and assemble the Photo Exhibit. The Exhibit’s focus will be “Israel at 70 – an Update”. We will look at Israel through the lens of fashion, infrastructure, language, impact of digital age, diversity
- **ic.news** – produce 6, 2-page inserts for the Cleveland Jewish News
- **ic.play** – write and perform in a play about the Israel Mission experience. Script will be taken from blogs written on our trip.
- **ADL Training** – training in recognizing and responding to anti-Semitic, anti-Israel sentiment.

Photo Exhibit Curators	ic.news	ic.play	ADL Training
Jen	Natalie	Alexis	Galen
Leah	Noa	Cami	David
Jazzy	Jazzy	Tess	Hailey
Ben	Hadas		Mika
Roni	Ethan		Eliana
			Raanan



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## Prep reading for the Mission

## Prior to our Israel Mission, please finish

**...please finish reading the following articles:**

1. What the Israeli Right Gets Wrong About Security and the Occupation, According to Ehud Barak (Haaretz) p.11.
2. A Window Into the West Bank's 'Wildest, Most Violent' Areas By James Glanzmay (NY Times) p.18.
3. In Israel, a new generation of ultra-Orthodox Jews seek integration by Aron Heller (Times of Israel) p. 21.
4. Israeli Arabs p.23.
5. For now, Trump's peacemaking approach is all unfounded optimism by David Horovitz (Times of Israel) p.28.
6. Knowledge is Power (KIP) - Does Israel want peace or is it a warmonger? Israel's relations with its neighbors and the Palestinians by Sarit Zehavi p29.
7. Knowledge is Power (KIP) - The Real Reason for Chaos in the Middle East by Sarit Zehavi p33.
8. Knowledge is Power (KIP) - Jerusalem by Sarit Zehavi p36.
9. Jerusalem: Heart of Our Heart By Elie Wiesel 39.
10. The fact is and always will be that this city is holy to everyone - such is its blessing and its curse By Yossi Sarid p40.

While reading the articles write one or two sentences summarizing the subject matter. Bring these brief summaries on our trip - we will be discussing them before our departure from JFK.

**...please finish viewing the following:**

**Yes, Miss Commander**

<https://drive.google.com/drive/u/0/my-drive>

While watching the film write one or two sentences for each film summarizing the subject matter.

## Israel Inward

**What the Israeli Right Gets Wrong About Security and the Occupation, According to Ehud Barak**  
**Ehud Barak reviews 'Catch 67,' a book he says is steeped in right-wing ideology and therefore fails to identify the real threat facing Israel's existence**  
**By Ehud Barak May 13, 2017**

I opened Micah Goodman's new book, "Milkud 67" ("Catch 67: The Ideologies behind the Disagreements Tearing Israel Apart," Dvir, 224 pages, 94 shekels; in Hebrew), with great curiosity. After books that reveal "times past" – from "Maimonides and the Book that Changed Judaism" (published in English in 2015) to "Moses' Final Speech" (Hebrew, 2014) – he's suddenly writing about "times present." "Catch 67" confronts the conceptual foundations, theses and practicalities related to the most critical and emotional dispute of our generation, involving the direction in which we are headed – the future of the territories, the Land of Israel, security, peace arrangements.



Goodman maintains that as a result of the turmoil Israel has experienced in the 50 years since 1967, conflicting rigid ideologies have emerged on both the right and the left. Having become an integral element in each side's identity, they do not allow for an open, substantive discussion. To disengage from this situation, which he terms "Catch 67," he suggests downgrading the ambition "to solve the problem" into a more limited goal of "escaping from the trap," basically by transforming the problem from "existential" into "chronic." This will bypass the need for ideological compromise, avert a "collision of identities" and make possible the "amelioration of the Israeli discourse."

In Goodman's words, "The New Right and the New Left are something of a mirror image. The New Left no longer claims that withdrawal will bring peace, but that the continued presence in the territories will eventuate in a catastrophe; the New Right no longer claims that the continued presence in the territories will bring redemption, but that withdrawing from them will eventuate in a [security] catastrophe."

According to Goodman, in the eyes of the right (including, it should be noted, the messianic-religious right), "withdrawal from the Judean Hills and Samaria will shrink Israel to minuscule dimensions and turn it into a weak, vulnerable state that will ultimately collapse." In the eyes of the left, "continued Israeli presence in the territories will bring about Israel's moral disintegration, isolate it politically and cause its collapse demographically." The right asserts that "realization of the left's vision will lead to the state's total crash, the left asserts that realization of the right's vision will lead to the state's total crash."

Goodman thus creates symmetry between the arguments of the right and the left, and this, or at least so he maintains, is the basis for the catch. A hundred pages later, he writes, "It turns out that everyone is in the right. And because everyone is in the right, everyone is trapped."

I reject this conclusion outright. The Middle East is a tough neighborhood and the threats are real. However, Israel is the strongest state in the region, and the symmetry that Goodman invokes is nonexistent. He is comparing a definite threat to the future of the Zionist project with technical military risks (the deployment of a hostile force west of the Jordan River in the future, or missiles and terrorism from outside or inside in the immediate term), which, though not to be belittled, do not pose a threat to

Israel's existence and also have more than one possible response (for example, by way of technology, weapons acquisition or operational conceptions).

The catastrophe the left describes – “one state, which will lead to an Arab majority and a prolonged civil war, or, alternatively, an apartheid state steeped in violence and facing an ongoing threat of collapse” – is, lamentably, an accurate portrayal. Whereas the catastrophe the right describes is not of the same scale. Separation from the Palestinians does not constitute an existential threat, and the argument that in its wake it would be impossible to defend Israel, is incorrect. Most of those who have been engaged with Israel's security throughout the country's history, and who believe in security before and above every other consideration, view separation from the Palestinians in Judea and Samaria – combined with Israeli security control over the whole area for any foreseeable future – as part of every interim agreement. And they view “territorial compromise” and “two states for two nations” as part of any final-status agreement, when it comes. If we are not wise enough to consider a territorial compromise, we face a danger, not only to the state's character and its status internationally, but above all to security. Including the battle against terrorism.

Goodman builds us a magnificent edifice of propositions, perched on flimsy foundations of “symmetry,” that produces a “catch,” or trap. However, if there is no “symmetry,” the existence of the “catch” is questionable and turns out to be a state of consciousness, which is not fact-based. And as we are strong and understand the security interest well, an interim agreement, or a final-status agreement that we find acceptable, cannot pose an existential threat to Israel. As I turn the book's pages, I read about a “catch,” but as I look at reality, I see opportunities. We will always need to maintain operational alertness, alongside a realistic judgment of threats and readiness to act. But adoption of the book's pronouncements is liable to confound our reading of reality, aggravate dangers, blind us and prevent us from seeing the opportunities.

Goodman positions himself ostensibly in the center of the political map, analyzing and critiquing right and left alike. In fact, though, whether consciously or not, he adopts the basic assumptions of the right, as if they were engraved a priori in reality, even though some of them are blatantly untenable – and by doing so he contributes, regrettably, to their dissemination in the mainstream.

### **1967, per Goodman**

No systematic critique of Goodman's book is possible without being clear about his reasoning, whose gist is this:

The Six-Day War was a formative moment of national unity, which contributed to a brilliant victory. Its results sparked a painful dispute: Should the territories, particularly Judea and Samaria, be settled? Or will we, at the end of the day, have to return most of them in return for peace agreements? Since then, the clash between those who strive for peace and those who strive for the whole land has been tearing apart Israeli society from within.

Even 50 years after the war – a period that included the Oslo agreements and the Gaza “disengagement,” the Camp David talks of 2000 and Ehud Olmert's proposals, as well as two intifadas and three rounds of fighting in the Gaza Strip – the military confrontations did not end with a crushing victory, and the political efforts did not generate a breakthrough to achieve a final-status agreement. The dispute intensified and the ideologies have turned increasingly rigid, becoming part of the identity of each side. Identity is not something one replaces, nor does one discuss its change with those who possess a different identity, thus precluding a discussion informed by genuine mutual attentiveness.

### **How did the ideologies develop?**

Goodman sets forth the development of the conceptual narrative of three streams in Zionism: right, left and the religious-Zionist movement. In the beginning there were: a right wing that dreamed of liberal maximalism (Ze'ev Jabotinsky), a left wing that dreamed of a socialist "exemplary society" (David Ben-Gurion and Berl Katznelson) and religious Zionism of a mild and moderate character (Haim-Moshe Shapira), which dreamed of national resurgence spiced with Jewish heritage.

And then came 1967 and shook things up. In the religious-Zionist movement, a vision of approaching redemption was ignited. Shapira's moderate language was supplanted by the ideas of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook and his son Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. On the left, weakened by economic privatization, the quest for an "exemplary society" gave way (in the wake of the peace treaty with Egypt) to the idea of "peace." Subsequently, according to Goodman, the secular right suffered a setback when (in the wake of the first intifada) the liberal element overcame the maximalist thrust; and the Zionist left collapsed when the second intifada overcame the idea of peace. With all these ideas bruised and battered, only one concept remained strong and firm: that of (Kook-style) right-wing religious Zionism.

But nothing endures forever: In 2005, the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip dealt a blow to messianic Zionism and rattled confidence both in the implacable advance to redemption and in Abraham Isaac Kook's notion that the secular Zionists, by force of a somewhat mystical connection, would serve as the "messiah's donkey," by striving "without conscious awareness" to bring about the messianic goal. The messianic-religious right completed a hookup with the secular-maximalist right, and together, according to Goodman, they underwent a second turnabout after the Gaza pullout. Basically, the element of imminent redemption was weakened and, following the actualization of scenarios that Gaza would be taken over by extremists – leading to rocket attacks on Israel – security fears intensified. Thus, on the right, the "principle of redemption" was replaced by the "principle of security." According to Goodman, the Zionist left also underwent another turnabout (in the wake of the second intifada) and "converted the hope for peace into fear of [the consequences of] the crimes of the occupation."

### **What is to be done?**

Goodman finds a source of inspiration in a talmudic tradition – "both these and those are the words of the living God, but the halakha is according to the House of Hillel" (Eruvin 13b) – as the starting point for a new Israeli dialogue to be marked by openness and attentive listening. The basis for "the halakha is according to the House of Hillel" lies in the fact that unlike the House of Shammai, the followers of the House of Hillel made a point of voicing, and in some cases accepting, the approach of the House of Shammai before stating their own position.

### **Factual and logical traps**

Goodman's book is well-written, clear, articulate and readable. In contrast to the author's previous books, however, the subjects he deals with here are more earthly; their foundations rest on security, strategy and politics, which are not Goodman's fields of expertise. As a result, he falls into the same factual and logical traps that he warns us to avoid.

For example, time after time he urges us to depart from the fixation forced on us by the "ideology" that has become part of our "identity" and to concentrate on fact-based arguments and logic, through openness and attentive listening. However, the book's main parts, dealing with the "ideologies" and the political "arguments" put forward by the different streams, are saturated to the core with elements of the right wing's identity-based "ideology," which pose as substantive "arguments" even when they are blatantly untenable factually.

If I were not confident beyond any doubt of the author's intellectual integrity, I would say that this was an instructive example of post-truth and "alternative facts" being interwoven into a political debate. Since I am certain of Goodman's integrity, I can only assume that while writing the book he met, on the one hand, too many right-wingers who presuppose that their "ideology" is a priori embedded in reality and constitutes part of it. Which, of course, is not the case. And, on the other hand, that he apparently met too few left-wingers, people from the House of Hillel, or politically unbiased experts, who could have enlightened him.

### Deep anxiety

Security is perhaps the most important issue of all, and its presentation in the book suffers from two serious flaws. First, in numberless places throughout the book, the unfounded assertion appears, in various formulations, that without full Israeli control of the Judea and Samaria ridgeline, Israel is not defensible. The author's whole depiction of Israel's security situation is informed by deep anxiety, which is understandable emotionally but rests on a flimsy factual basis. And let it be said from the outset: We must not make light of any adversary or enemy. There is no mercy for the weak in the Middle East, and there is no "second chance" for those who are unable to defend themselves.

Israel must always be vigilant, strong and ready to vanquish every assailant. Israel is the strongest country in the region militarily, strategically and economically, and – if we forge our relations with the United States skillfully – will also be so diplomatically, and be able to maintain its qualitative military edge. Israel can and must weigh its future and its moves based on an understanding of the possibilities afforded by the position of strength I have described. Anxiety is not a healthy national strategy. If a regional power like Israel lapses into a pessimistic, passive, self-victimizing frame of mind, the result will be paralysis, missed opportunities to transform the situation from the ground up, and bleak prophecies that will (because of the paralysis) prove self-fulfilling. There is no mention of these simple truths in the book.

Israel's location and its small dimensions are termed "bad opening conditions that threaten Israel's very ability to survive." Regarding the importance of the Judea and Samaria hills, Goodman states as a matter of fact: "Without them the country is not defensible." Period. And he sums up, "The implication of all this is simple: Whoever controls the hills controls the center of life of the Jewish people," or, "The conclusion of the previous chapter is sharp and simple: Israel must not leave the territories that were conquered in the Six-Day War." Categorical. And he adds, "The combination of location and place creates a situation in which Israel is not only surrounded by enemies but also has difficulty defending itself against them." Half-true. Barely.

This is exaggerated, absolute and oversimplified. Small dimensions indeed, and if they could be extended by incantation, focused prayer or a flicker of wishful thinking, without risks and costs, we would all choose that route. But obviously that is not the case. Yet was it not from that constricted border (which it is indeed essential to change in a future agreement) that we embarked on the greatest of our victories, against three enemies? With two of them we already have peace treaties (albeit not ideal), while the third, Syria, has been wallowing in a civil war for the past six years. There is much to do, but for those who shape our actions, there's no room for fear.

And it is here that the second serious flaw in the author's understanding of security appears: its reduction to one dimension. The Judea and Samaria ridgeline that rises above the coastal plain is not without military value, but neither is it the be-all and end-all. Security is not only a dominating observation point and positions to emplace weapons. Security is a totality. It is the sum of military, civilian and diplomatic capabilities, and it is also national morale. These simple truths, too, go unmentioned in the book.



The right-wing version of the demographic challenge, which is presented in the book as deserving serious consideration, is totally wrong. It reminds me of the arguments of climate-change deniers, a collection of half-arguments and half-wishful thinking in the “alternative facts” style. Contrary to the author’s proposition that “it’s definitely possible to surmise that the Jewish majority is not about to disappear in the foreseeable future,” the demographic threat is definite, and the timespan for its actualization is measured in years, not in generations. These are facts. Not beliefs.

In his discussion of this subject, the author gives too much weight to the deniers of the demographic threat, whose reasoning is at times absurdly weak. He ignores the fact that the “demographic window of opportunity” will close very soon, and that the “demographic Judgment Day” is approaching – when the Palestinians will revise the character of their struggle and place at the center of their agenda the “one-state” demand” in the “state for all its citizens” version. The situation in which the extremists on both sides are calling for one state, dreaming of one state and working to achieve it, is transforming the “one-state” vision into the true existential threat to Israel in our generation.

### **‘The left,’ according to Goodman**

The second subject, in addition to security, that is addressed in the book with seemingly a priori ideological bias, is “the left.” Goodman reduces the left to a radical left that exists, if at all, on the margins of Meretz voters, and by doing so serves the arguments of the right wing, simplifying their (supposed) proofs.

The left, in his opinion, “changed again and... is engaged primarily with questions of human rights and the damage of the occupation.” Or, “The conclusion is that it is forbidden to withdraw from Judea and Samaria and entrust security... relying on faith in international guarantees.” And again: “Those who draw the Zionist lesson find it hard to believe that it’s possible... to risk leaving the territories and trust in guarantees from the world’s nations...”

What is at issue here? Has anyone on the left suggested dismantling the IDF? Forgoing freedom of operation in general? And self-defense in particular? Who is this “left” that’s being talked about? Does it include Moshe Dayan, Yitzhak Rabin, Haim Bar-Lev, Motta Gur, myself? The chiefs of staff who followed us? Are they the “naive” types who would rely solely on international guarantees? And who exactly on the right will teach us the meaning of security? Goodman is now revealing to us that the “security principle” is the political anchor of the right, and “international guarantees” are the flimsy prop of the left. Really?

“International guarantees” and the human rights dialogue are part of the left’s argument, but not its principal part. They are subordinate to the two primary tenets, whose test, according to the responsible left, lies in deeds. Not in talk. They are: (A) security, before and above everything; and (B) the “wholeness of the nation” and its unity take precedence over the “wholeness of the land.” Similarly, the “security principle” is part of the right’s argument, but its professional and substantive base is shaky, and peeking at us from beyond it, slightly tainted by messianism, are the doctrine of Rabbi Kook and the “one-state” agenda.

In the chapter dealing with the Jewish-halakhic aspect of the “catch,” we learn that both Maimonides and Rabbi Ovadia Yosef – the latter alluded explicitly to the question of the territories – ruled that piku’ah nefesh (saving of lives) and considerations relating to the risk to human life should tip the scales, and that at the end of the day, the decision is up to the professionals, meaning the experts. If they say that not returning the territories means immediate certainty of the danger of war and puts life at risk, then they should be returned. Here Goodman fails again, and with him, or before him, the right wing in Israel, in the test of acting according to the conclusions that arise from their arguments.

For what do the experts say? An absolute majority of Israel's security personnel, in the IDF, the Shin Bet and the police believe that Israel would be safer and more efficiently defensible if, within the Land of Israel that is so precious to all of us, a "separation line" were to be drawn that would include the "settlement blocs," the Jewish neighborhoods in East Jerusalem and a military presence along the Jordan River and at a few other strategic sites. Within that line, there will be a solid Jewish majority for generations, and on the other side, an appropriate area for a demilitarized, viable Palestinian state, with agreed-upon, bilateral security arrangements. Have these facts vanished from the author's line of vision? Could it be, heaven forbid, that these truths were shelved (they are expert facts and arguments, not opinions or political positions) because their assertion brings about the collapse of the "security principle" argument, which is all that precludes the identification or cataloging of the right as "messianic"?

Those who are in charge of our security on a daily basis and who make life-and-death decisions, must plan and operate according to reality as it is, not according to wishful thinking or political "belief." And the fact that almost all of them find themselves on the left side of this dispute should have signaled us clearly that this is indeed the reality. It's a pity Goodman did not see this.

The "blind spot" in the right's perception of the security task in the territories extends also to fighting terrorism. The book's security discussion rests on the implicit assumption that continued rule on the ground does not exact a price in the battle against terrorism. The truth is the opposite. The assessment of security personnel is that terrorism that springs from within a civilian population is more easily fought from behind a defined "separation line," with freedom of action across it, than from within a jumble of populations. The intimate mix hampers intelligence acquisition and impairs the ability to respond before there are victims.

The responsible left does not maintain that we should rely on someone else (Palestinian or other) exclusively. The responsible left maintains further that continued control of the territories as such entails a significant security risk. The responsible left maintains that a strong and ever-stronger IDF, backed by Israel's technological superiority and by the ties with the United States, is the foundation stone of security. And it is sustained by Israel's status internationally, its economic might and the internal unity within the country, as far as we succeed in preserving it. The responsible left maintains that considerations of "net security" together with demographics and the need to hold to the moral high ground, have created an imperative to separate from the Palestinians while ensuring security; that the goal remains "two states." The responsible left does not take as its point of departure a "liberal universalism," as Goodman claims, or justice for the Arabs, but considerations of "security first."

The responsible left is the political stream in Israel that carries within it the true Zionist lesson – that "we can rely only on ourselves" – bolstered by a comprehensive, broad, deep perception of the essence of security – a perception that addresses the horizon, not only the present, and grasps that in the 21st century, security is not only dominant hills, but a broad totality. It is the responsible left that continues to maintain the conception espoused by Ben-Gurion and Dayan, by Peres, by Rabin and by me, together with many others. It is the conception that actualizes in its vision and its deeds the building of the "iron wall" that led us to victories in our wars, that led Egypt and Jordan to make peace with us and that sustains us today in the struggle against terrorism. It is the broad conception whose implementation pushed the Arab world from the "three noes" of Khartoum in 1967 to the Saudi Initiative of 2002 and the "Arab League Proposal."

In contrast, the right wing, whose deep, true motivation is the "wholeness of the land" before – and even at the expense of – the "wholeness of the people," seeks to evade political decisions until construction outside the "settlement blocs" has created an irreversible situation. The chimes of imminent redemption resonate in their ears. They are voiding the "security principle," which they

adopted, of many of its components, by reducing its contents to issues of weapons emplacement and topography; by shutting their eyes to other aspects of security and to the aspect of time; and by ignoring the broad expert agreement on the compatibility of Israel's security needs and interests with the paradigm of the "two-state" solution, when the time comes. Above all, the right wing is at fault in ignoring the fact that a security concept should stem from a realistic, expert comparison of alternatives and risks, subject to the reality principle, and not a thrust for a predetermined faith-based solution.

### **A few comments on other issues raised in the book:**

#### **The national argument**

The national argument, which covers less than two pages, is perhaps the strongest bridge to creating the discourse Goodman craves. Judaism is indeed distinctive in having created a community of believers and a nation simultaneously. For me as well, and for many of my friends who are not religiously observant, the biblical homeland, the heritage of the Jewish people and the affinity for Zion, which were preserved across generations, are part of our identity. The relationship between Israeliness and Jewishness is deeper and more basic than that between the Italian national identity and Roman Catholicism. Every Israeli who grew up and fought here, feels a deep thrill at the encounter with the landscapes that were the cradle of our birth as a people, as a civilization and as the bearers of a universal mission.

The report that reached me in the expanses of Sinai in 1967 – that "The Temple Mount is in our hands!" – sent shivers through me that I will never forget. And again with Sebastia, Shiloh, Beit El, Hebron and on the stone steps at the top of the Beit Horon ascent. Those were jolting encounters with the chain of generations and the deepest of our roots. My heart goes out to those who say that forgoing parts of Judea and Samaria would be for them a personal rupture and a painful blow to the collective national will. It would be painful and difficult for everyone. Nevertheless, when we look at history, when one peruses an atlas and examines the borders of the Kingdom of the House of David, Israel and the Maccabeans down through the generations, it's clear that the geopolitical constraint created an accordion of contours of borders that changed from one generation to the next, as a result of clear-eyed understanding and the coercions of reality, and often at a steep price. It is the responsibility of the leadership in each generation to look at reality and make decisions with the aim of defending security, the future, our identity and our heritage. Reality is rife with contradictions, but the decisions have to be made and they are sometimes painful. That is the situation at present.

I will not go into the book's discussion of the Arab position, which boils down to: the sea is the same sea and the Arabs are the same Arabs. That is an inaccurate interpretation, which serves the overall thesis of the author and of the right wing in Israel. To begin with, the humiliation of Islam by the West in the past and its impact on the Arab world are facts. But they are facts that are beyond our control, and the force with which they are hammered home is exaggerated. If we accepted Goodman's thesis at face value, peace with Egypt and Jordan would not have stood a chance.

And again, the symmetry to which Goodman harks back is imaginary. There is no symmetry. Those who advocate leaving most of the territories would not rely on international guarantees but on the IDF, strategic capabilities, an alliance with the United States and Israel's overall strength. Neither "blind confidence in the gentiles" nor "blind confidence in God," in Goodman's words, but the basic Zionist lesson of reliance on ourselves. If we remain in all the territories, the occupation will indeed bring about our crash, as Goodman notes. But if we leave them, it's not the case that terrorism will run rampant among us. Just the opposite: It is now among us. When we leave, we will "spew it out." It will become terrorism from outside, which is easier to cope with.

#### **A Zionist response**

Goodman's overall thesis, though abundant with multifaceted analyses and with respect for all streams, is steeped in a right-wing agenda. The book's thesis is woven, at times with crude seams, such that

symmetry is created between the reasoning of the right and of the left – a symmetry that does not, realistically, exist. The result of the invented symmetry is the “catch,” from the “victims of which” the author wishes to forge a dialogue of openness and fraternal love. The reader, without realizing, absorbs more and more rightward-tilting ideas concerning security, demographics, the adversary’s stances and Israel’s possible room to act. Goodman is serving – unconsciously, I hope – the political approach of the messianic right and the “one-state” government. Amplifying their arguments, most of which are from the realm of faith and wishful thinking, he demands for them equal footing with the professional views of the absolute majority of the experts.

As part of the dialogue Goodman calls for, I suggest a different approach: a response that is Zionist and not Diaspora-based. Not a chess game with ourselves but urgent action to alter the reality. The situation is not symmetrical, and “catch” is an incorrect depiction of the reality. Where Goodman and the right wing see a catch and paralysis, I see an opportunity and a prospect. We face a “demographic window of opportunity” that is on the way to closing. It must be exploited. We have before us a one-time regional reality, which is creating a common interest between us and Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states, Egypt and Jordan. The collapse of states in the Middle East is also more of an opportunity than a threat, and even the Iranian threat has been deferred, even if it has not disappeared.

We must work urgently today to convene a regional conference that will focus on the struggle against terrorism, on putting a stop to Iran’s hegemonic and nuclear intentions, on regional infrastructure initiatives and on the Palestinian issue. In regard to the Palestinians, I recommend adopting the plan of action of the NGO Commanders for Israel’s Security. It has presented an interim plan to the public, one not contingent on the agreement of the Palestinian side, as a response to a situation in which it’s possible that a final-status settlement will not be achievable now. That is the proper response, so long as the other side is not ripe for a settlement. Internationally, we must fortify our relations with the United States – with the administration and with the American people – and, most important, with the Jewish people in the Diaspora, and above all with its younger generation.

To right way to extricate ourselves from the trap of the catch – to the extent that it does exist, if only in the gut of good Israelis – is through action. A talmudic debate between us is not enough. Israel must be set on the right track internally and embark on a journey externally – to restore the Zionist ability to decide and to act.

### **A Window Into the West Bank’s ‘Wildest, Most Violent’ Areas By James Glanzmay (NY Times)**

Hanamel Dorfman, 21, beside the rubble of a house that was demolished this month by the Israeli authorities in Yishuv Hadaat, a Jewish settlement outpost in the West Bank.

YISHUV HADAAT, West Bank — With shoulder-length hair tumbling from beneath his knit skullcap, Hanamel Dorfman, a radical young Israeli settler, explains matter-of-factly on camera how hilltop settlement outposts like his own will continue to proliferate across the [West Bank](#). From there, he says bluntly, Israelis will cross the Jordan River and start building on the other side. Reminded that beyond the river there is another sovereign nation, Jordan, Mr. Dorfman says with an unwavering gaze, “Everything is temporary.” The stunning statement comes in one of the final scenes of “The Settlers,” a documentary by an Israeli-American



filmmaker, Shimon Dotan, that opens a rare window into the reclusive and politically explosive “hilltop youth” movement.

The film, which had its premiere at the [Sundance Film Festival](#) in January and was shown for the first time in [Israel](#) on Monday evening, suggests that the fringe group of religious hippies is underestimated in its ability to influence Israeli politics and thwart any possibility of peace with the [Palestinians](#).

Mr. Dotan was born in Romania, immigrated to Israel as a boy and moved to New York in 1995. He introduced me to Mr. Dorfman and other settlers during a recent visit to Yishuv Hadaat, which is little more than a collection of mobile homes, a ramshackle synagogue and some playground equipment on the crest of a hill. We also went to the nearby outpost Esh Kodesh — the name means “Holy Fire” — where several residents welcomed us into their synagogue, but one chased our group down in a golf cart and expressed strong unhappiness about our arriving without asking their permission.

Mr. Dorfman, now 21, told me that Israel’s government was illegitimate because it did not rule based on the laws of the Torah. “It stays in its place in a pathetic attempt at survival,” he said. Mr. Dorfman said he had been arrested numerous times, but not for any major attacks on

Palestinians. Still, his ideology echoes a manifesto of a new group of extremist Jewish settler youth that Israeli security officials revealed last year.

Mr. Dotan’s film chronicles the germination of the early settler movement after Israel captured the West Bank from Jordan in 1967, including the ideas and religious zeal that fueled it, and explores its latest extreme element: the hilltop youth.

They are but a tiny fraction of the more than 400,000 Israeli Jews living in the occupied West Bank, but the object of mounting concern as they are blamed for extreme violence there, like the [arson](#) last summer that killed a toddler and his parents in the village of Duma.

“The Settlers” is one of the first close-up views of the motives and personalities in a group that rarely opens up to outsiders. Though mainstream settler leaders denounce violence and try to distance themselves from the radical youth in the hills, Mr. Dotan sees the hilltop dwellers as a natural outgrowth of the original movement.

“Those who push it forward today are the hilltop youth,” he said. “And it seems to me a very dangerous direction.”

Often depicted as uneducated hooligans, the youth in the film come off as raw but canny — an American like me might call them street smart — using acts of defiance and violence to achieve their aims. There is also an aura of romance: Mr. Dorfman, with his long sidelocks, wispy beard and rimless glasses, seems more like a hard-eyed John Lennon than a backwoods militant.

At one point in the film, a settler with a guitar sings Bob Marley’s “No Woman No Cry” in a mixture of English and Hebrew while sitting at a fire. But there are also expressions of virulent racism, a glorification of violence and a desire to replace the modern state of Israel with a full-scale biblical kingdom that would extend as far as Iraq.



In one scene at Esh Kodesh, Pinhasi Bar-On, 25, speaks playfully with several young children about his legal troubles, asking them if they will come along on his escapades when they get older.

“What will you do with me?” Mr. Bar-On asks, as if teaching a preschool class.

“Beat up Arabs,” one child says.

“Yes,” Mr. Bar-On says approvingly.

Mr. Dotan, 66, whose previous films include a feature based on a David Grossman novel (“The Smile of the Lamb,” 1986) and a documentary shot inside Israeli prisons (“Hot House,” 2007), said he had decided to explore the settlements because he views them as a threat to Israel from within.

Living abroad for decades had intensified his Zionism as he saw the Jewish state through expatriate eyes.

“If before that I had a very strong conviction that the state of Israel is probably the most meaningful thing to Jews all over the world,” he explained, “it became absolutely clear to me after spending time out of Israel.”

He said that he had interviewed more than 100 people across the West Bank and Israel for the film and that it had taken months to get access to the more radical outposts, where he tried to let the youth tell their story in their own words.

“Their world is farther away from my world than any other individual’s in the film,” he said. “With those guys, I feel completely disconnected. They do justify the killing and murder of non-Jews, period.”

As a storyteller, he added, “this gap that I felt probably attracted me to them more than to others.”

Yossi Klein Halevi, who studied the early settlers for his 2013 book, “Like Dreamers,” agreed with Mr. Dotan that the hilltop youth “have a significance far beyond their numbers.” Mr. Halevi, a senior fellow at the Shalom Hartman Institute, an educational center in Jerusalem, said the youth had “a strange mix between far-right and a hippie sensibility.” He said the mainstream “settler movement is terrified of these kids — it doesn’t know how to control them.”

Israeli officials estimate that a few dozen hilltop youth are responsible for the most violent acts on the West Bank. But Dror Etkes, who runs Kerem Navot, a human rights organization that opposes the Israeli occupation of the West Bank, said that there were about 100 far-flung outposts in the West Bank, with “many hundreds” of residents, and that large numbers of them participate in arson and vandalism of mosques, churches and olive groves.

Outposts like Esh Kodesh and Yishuv Hadaat that dot the hills above the settlement of Shilo, where Mr. Dotan filmed many of his hilltop scenes, are some “of the wildest, most violent areas of the West Bank,” Mr. Etkes said.

Mr. Bar-On’s views are so extreme that the residents of Esh Kodesh asked him to leave the outpost in February 2014. He was still living there during most of the filming of “The Settlers,” in which he openly admitted, “I’m a racist.”



"Arabs don't belong in our country," he said on camera. "Every morning I recite the prayer: Thank you, God, for not creating me a gentile. I'm a racist. I'll stop for a Jewish hitchhiker and not an Arab because I'm a racist."

Israeli security forces have recently moved to arrest the most violent elements of the hilltop youth, but several scenes in the movie suggest that the military is sometimes either confused by the fanaticism of the youth or, perhaps, not inclined to intervene.

Mr. Dotan said that at one point, his film crew was attacked and its equipment stolen, while Israeli soldiers stood by. (He said that he had lodged a criminal complaint, but that the police later informed him that it had been dismissed for lack of evidence.)

Mr. Dorfman seemed nervous as he showed us around Yishuv Hadaat, which is home to about 10 families.

He said his skullcap was hand-knit by his mother, who he said lives in a settlement close to Jerusalem. He wore black cargo pants emblazoned with a stylized image of Meir Kahane, the extremist rabbi who was murdered, captioned, "God will avenge his blood."

Another settler profiled in Mr. Dotan's film is Matti Blumberg, who lived in Esh Kodesh at the time and appears on screen harassing Palestinian farmers as they try to care for their fields and olive groves near the outpost.

"Maybe one day we'll tend to these trees," Ms. Blumberg says.

Mr. Dotan asks, Who determined that this land is yours?

"For starters, God did," she replies. "It says so explicitly in the Bible. It says, 'All the land which thou seest.'"

### **In Israel, a new generation of ultra-Orthodox Jews seek integration by Aron Heller (Times of Israel)**

Young Haredim increasingly want to have it all: a religious lifestyle and community, together with the benefits of modernity and work

A quiet revolution is arising inside the insular world of Israel's ultra-Orthodox Jewish community — chipping away at the ghetto walls its leaders have erected to protect against what they see as the dangers of secularism. More and more, young ultra-Orthodox insist they can continue to lead pious lives while also embracing technology, the modern workplace and their fellow Israelis. Experts have long warned that Israel faces long-term economic ruin if its fastest growing sector, known as the Haredim, continues to reject the mainstream education system, enjoy sweeping military draft exemptions, raise large families on taxpayer-funded handouts and devote



themselves almost entirely to their cloistered world of scripture and study. The current call for reform, however, is coming from within a community long resistant to outside pressures to change. Some are leaving ultra-Orthodoxy entirely — one in 10 is moving on to more moderate Judaism or secular life. But others like Avigdor Rabinovitch, a single, 25-year-old political science student at The Open University, are building a grassroots movement that strives to transcend a life of poverty and isolation, and to redefine what it means to be an ultra-Orthodox Jew in Israel. “It’s a new identity that I call ‘Israeli Haredim,’” said Rabinovitch, who organizes events for likeminded reformers. “We’re not trying to be like anyone else. We want to be ourselves but to open up to new worlds as well. We want to be involved and not just watch from the side.” After generations have shunned military service, more young Haredim are looking to improve their future job prospects by joining combat and intelligence units that have been set up for them. According to the military, some 2,300 enlisted during the last draft year, up from 288 in 2007. Far more are enrolling in higher education as well. Where only a third of Haredi males had jobs as recently as 2003, the employment rate for Haredi males has now passed the 50 percent mark, according to Gilad Malach, a researcher from the Israel Democracy Institute who specializes in the community. Haredi women have traditionally been the primary breadwinners, and their employment rates are close to 75 percent, he said. “I think it is a historic change,” Malach said. “In the past, in times of crisis, the Haredi world would deal by closing ranks and tightening the ghetto. But they realize that this just doesn’t work anymore — socially, culturally and financially.” The Haredim — Hebrew for “those who fear God” — make up about 8 percent of Israel’s 8.5 million residents.

Many rabbis fear immersion in mainstream society will expose them to secularism and cut into the prayer and study. Leaders speak proudly of centuries-old traditions of learning that they believe have allowed the Jewish people to survive the Spanish Inquisition, European pogroms, the Holocaust and other tragedies. Study in Yeshiva seminaries, they say, is no less important than military strength in protecting the country from modern threats and no less valuable than advanced academic degrees. For decades, a string of secular-led Israeli governments have maintained the status quo, either because of their dependence on ultra-Orthodox political kingmakers or out of fear of an angry backlash from a sector that hasn’t hesitated to block roads, clash with police or send tens of thousands of activists into the streets when ordered by their rabbis. Efforts to force them into the army and workplace have generally failed. Menachem Eliezer Moses, a Haredi lawmaker, said that, as individuals, ultra-Orthodox men can appeal to their rabbis for approval for military service, university studies and greater integration. But citing an ancient proverb, he said that as a rule religious study will always take precedence. “Studying Torah is a goal unto itself,” he said. “You take an 18-year-old boy who has yet to fill himself with knowledge and transfer him to another entity — that is a problem.” But reform advocates say such extreme exclusion is a relatively new phenomenon that has only taken hold in Israel, harming the community and pushing observant Jews away. Their brethren in the diaspora typically work for a living and do commerce with non-Jews. “According to tradition, the ultra-Orthodox worked and we need to get back to that,” said Moshe Friedman, a co-founder of KamaTech, a nonprofit that focuses on Haredi integration into Israel’s booming high-tech industry. “The grassroots movement is ahead of the politicians on this but they will slowly catch up.” High-tech is one of the areas where Haredim have thrived most. Their intense, methodical study of ancient religious texts has proven oddly applicable to computer programming. Friedman, 37, has fielded more than 5,000 Haredi requests for assistance and he’s helped launch more than 220 Haredi-led startups. He comes from a long line of distinguished rabbis and was educated in the community’s most prestigious yeshivas. While some in his circle have been baffled by his career path, he said his lineage and the fact he has maintained a strict Haredi lifestyle has given his cause credibility. “They know I am not out to destroy the Haredi world but to help it by providing people employment,” Friedman said. “The main challenge is proving that you can do this and

stay Haredi. If we can show that someone can go work at Google and stay Haredi, others will come.” According to a recent survey of Israeli society, large gaps remain between the priorities of the ultra-Orthodox and others. The Pew Research Center found Haredim to be far less likely than others to value career goals. Some 68 percent of Haredim said

being successful in a high-paying career was important to them, compared to roughly 90 percent of all other groups. Employment, though, is a far easier sell than military service or education reform. Draft exemptions go back to Israel’s establishment in 1948, when the government allowed several hundred gifted students to pursue exclusive religious studies to help rebuild great schools of Jewish learning destroyed in the Holocaust. As ultra-Orthodox parties became power brokers, the numbers mounted, with thousands of young religious men evading the draft to pursue seminary studies while most other Jewish men are conscripted for three years of mandatory service. The exemptions have caused widespread resentment toward the ultra-Orthodox. Those who have joined still often face harassment, derision and insults from their own community. The current government has rolled back legislation that aimed to gradually incorporate the ultra-Orthodox into the military. Many see education reform as the toughest hurdle. Because of their high birth rates, more than a quarter of all Israeli first-graders are Haredim who study in independent school systems that focus primarily on religion while barely teaching math, science or English. The result: Graduates go on to shun the work world and collect welfare to help raise large families in poverty. Betzalel Cohen is the Haredi principal of Jerusalem’s “Chachme Lev,” one of just a handful of new “Yeshiva high schools” that combine religious study with a secular education that prepares students for the nationwide matriculation exams. He said not all Haredi youths will grow up to become rabbinic prodigies and the high percentage of dropouts from traditional Yeshivas requires the community to find a proper framework that prepares them for life and the workforce. “It’s like sending everyone to medical school and saying all we need is doctors. All you will get is too many mediocre doctors and not enough jobs for them,” he said. “I really think the future of the Haredi community depends on what we are doing ... I’m the biggest threat to the establishment because I am saying ‘the emperor has no clothes’ and I’m offering an alternative.”

### Israeli Arab

#### Israeli Arabs Ethnic and religious groupings

In 2006, the official number of Arab residents in Israel (including East Jerusalem permanent residents many of whom are not citizens) was 1,413,500, about 20% of Israel’s population. According to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (May 2003), Muslims, including Bedouins, make up 82% of the entire Arab population in Israel, with around 9% Druze and 9% Christians.

The national language and mother tongue of Arab citizens, including the Druze, is Arabic, and the colloquial spoken language is of the Palestinian Arabic dialect. Knowledge and command of Modern Standard Arabic varies.



### Muslims

Outside of the Bedouin population, traditionally settled communities of Muslim Arabs comprise about 70% of the Arab population in Israel.

Muslims in Israel have the highest birthrate of any group: 4.0 children per woman, as opposed to 2.7 for Jewish Israelis, a natural reproduction rate of 3% compared to 1.5%. Around 25% of the children in Israel today were born to Muslim parents. The Muslim population is mostly young: 42% of Muslims are children under the age of 15, compared with 26% of the Jewish population. The median age of Muslim Israelis is 18, while the median age of Jewish Israelis is 30. The percentage of people over 65 is less than 3% for Muslims, compared with 12% for the Jewish population. According to forecasts, the Muslim population will grow to over 2,000,000 people, or 24-26% of the population within the next 15 years. They will also comprise 85% of the Arab population in Israeli in 2020 (Up 3% from 2005). (See the section on Demographics below for more on this issue.)

### **Druze**

The Druze are members of a sect residing in many countries, although predominantly in mountainous regions in Israel, Lebanon and Syria. Druze in Israel live mainly in the north, notably in Carmel City, near Haifa. There are also Druze localities in the Golan Heights, such as Majdal Shams, which were captured in 1967 from Syria and annexed to Israel in 1981.

It is in keeping with Druze religious practice to always serve the country in which they live; therefore the Druze population in Israel are Arabic speakers like their counterparts in Syria and Lebanon, they often consider themselves Israeli, and unlike the Arab Muslims and Arab

Christians in Israel they rarely identify themselves as Palestinians. As early as 1939, the leadership of one Druze village formally allied itself with pre-Israeli militias, like the Haganah. A separate "Israeli Druze" identity was encouraged by the Israeli government who formally recognized the Druze religious community as independent of the Muslim religious community in Israeli law as early as 1957.

The Druze are defined as a distinct ethnic group in the Israeli Ministry of Interior's census registration. While the Israeli education system is basically divided into Hebrew and Arabic speaking schools, the Druze have autonomy within the Arabic speaking branch.

The Druze of British Mandate Palestine showed little interest in Arab nationalism that was on the rise in the 20th century, and did not take part in the early Arab-Jewish skirmishes of the era either. By 1948, many young Druze volunteered for the Israeli army and actively fought on their side. Unlike their Christian and Muslim counterparts, no Druze villages were destroyed in the 1948 war and no Druze left their settlements permanently. Unlike most other Arab citizens of Israel, right-wing Israeli political parties have appealed to many Druze. Ayoub Kara, for example, represented the conservative Likud in the Knesset, and other parties such as Shas and Yisrael Beiteinu have likewise attracted Druze voters. Currently, a Druze MK, Majalli Wahabi of the centrist Kadima, as Deputy Speaker of the Knesset, is next in line to the acting presidency.

### **Christians**

Christian Arabs comprise about 9% of the Arab population in Israel, and approximately 70% reside in the North District (Israel) in the towns of Jish, Eilabun, Kafr Yasif, Kafr Kanna, I'billin, Shefa-Amr and many reside in Nazareth. Several other villages, including a number of Druze villages such as Hurfeish, Maghar, are inhabited by Christian Arabs. Nazareth has the largest Christian Arab population. There are 117,000 or more Christian Arabs in Israel. Christian Arabs have been prominent in Arab political parties in Israel and these leaders have included Archbishop George Hakim, Emile Toma, Tawfik Toubi, Emile Habibi and Azmi Bishara.



Notable Christian religious figures in Israel include the Melkite Archbishops of the Galilee Elias Chacour and Boutros Mouallem, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem Michel Sabbah, and Munib Younan of the Lutheran Church of Palestine and Jordan.

The only non-Jewish Arab judge to receive a permanent appointment to preside over Israel's Supreme Court is a Christian Arab, Salim Jubran.

### **Israeli Arabs - National Identity**

Israel's War of Independence in 1948 created a unique situation and an ongoing identity dilemma for the Arab minority in Israel. More than 100,000 Palestinian Arabs remained inside the borders of the newly-born state and subsequently became Israeli citizens. However, they remained nationally, culturally and religiously tied to the outside Arab world. These Israeli Arab citizens have since been torn between four circles of ethno-religious and national identities: Israeli, Palestinian, Arab, and religious (Muslim, Christian or Druze).

Israel's Declaration of Independence articulates equal rights for all citizens, but makes no reference to non-Jewish national or collective rights. Over the past few decades, Arab national identity has come into greater focus, generating growing collective awareness among and about Arab citizens. Two significant recent milestones in this awareness are:

1. The Events of October 2000 in which demonstrations held by Arab citizens in identification with Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip turned violent. Investigations of the violence and its causes led to greater recognition of Arab citizens' collective identity and awareness of the need to address Arab citizen relations with the Jewish majority and the state.
2. The "Future Vision Documents," four positions papers published between 2006-2007 by prominent Arab leaders and think tanks, aimed to define and promote Arab citizens' unique national identity and rights while connecting them to their history and national affiliation with the Palestinian people.

According to various polls and research, a significant portion of Arab citizens in Israel presently define themselves as Palestinian citizens of Israel who belong to the wider Arab world and Palestinian people. Thus, Arab leaders, activists and academics as well as a number of Jewish leaders talk about the need to recognize Arab citizens as a national or indigenous minority deserving collective rights. At times demands are also made to challenge the Jewish identity of the state and transform it into either a "state of all its citizens" or a "bi-national state."

Likewise, there have been periodic attempts to strengthen the Jewish identity of the state, such as enshrining the Jewish character of the state as a Basic Law, that are perceived as challenges to the Arab minority's status as equal citizens.

### **Israeli Arabs - Economic Development**

The need to integrate Arab citizens into Israel's advanced economy and close socio-economic gaps between Arab and Jewish citizens has been rising as a national priority in recent years. Low

labor participation, high rates of poverty and poor contribution to the country's GDP make economic development of Arab citizens a key factor for Israel's overall growth and social cohesion.

Though the Arab population comprises a little over 20% of Israel's citizenry, Arab economic output amounts to only 8% of the country's GDP, reflecting substantial socio-economic gaps and considerable

unrealized potential. While the Arab economy is ostensibly integrated into the national economy of Israel, in practical terms it is largely segregated. There are considerable differences in the level of economic development between the Jewish and Arab communities, which are reflected in statistics on income, employment, industrialization, and socio-economic status.

In recent years, the government has established internal bodies (notably the Authority for Economic Development of the Arab, Druze and Circassian Sectors at the Prime Minister's Office) and partnered with civil society organizations to bring numerous economic development programs to scale and invest unprecedented sums towards rapid and strategic economic development of Arab citizens.

While economic gaps between Arab and Jewish citizens are a result of various historical processes, persistent barriers to development are a result of (i) unequal government appropriation of economic resources such as land, industrial zoning, location of major anchor institutions (e.g. hospitals, universities and government offices) and public transportation (ii) under-developed professional capacities, exposure and qualifications within the population, and (iii) cultural barriers including those within Arab society and between Arab and Jewish citizens.

With these barriers in mind, government and civil society programs aim to develop industrial zones and parks; enhance access to housing, public transportation, adequate child-care options and higher education; increase employment opportunities including vocational and professional training, support for high-tech careers, job creation and equal employment policies; ensure access to government tenders and contracts; and more.

According to Prime Minister Netanyahu, who spoke at the annual Prime Minister's Conference on this issue in October 2013, "Much of our future growth will come from integrating Israeli citizens from the Arab sector in the country's economy. It's a rocket engine for growth and that's the policy that guides us when it comes to budget appropriation."

### **Jewish-Arab Relations**

Arab citizens make up a little over 20% of Israel's population. While diverse in its own right, this sizable minority is a significant component of Israel's diversity. The particular historic, social and economic realities of Israel's Arab citizens raise issues related to inclusion, equality and social cohesion, but also offer important opportunity for growth and social development.

Jewish-Arab relations in Israel have known various ups and downs over the years, and to a large extent, are intertwined with and affected by the ongoing conflict between Israel and the Palestinians and between Israel and neighboring Arab countries. For example, during the 90s, with the Oslo Peace Process, internal relations saw what is now perceived as a "golden age," while the outbreak of the Second Intifada in September 2000, the Second Lebanon War in the summer of 2006, and Israel's military operation in Gaza Strip ("Cast Lead" - December 2008; Operation "Pillar of Defense" - 2012), heightened the tensions. In particular, the October 2000 events have had a long-lasting negative impact on the fabric of Jewish-Arab relations.

On the state level there are a number of laws and structures that promote shared society between Jews and Arabs, including within Israel's Declaration of Independence and the recognition of Arabic as a second formal language. At the same time, there is no government definition regulating these relations and relatively little activity to promote better relations, with the exception of a few initiatives and programs within the Ministry of Education. Within civil society a wide variety of efforts to enhance better



relations, coexistence and shared society have been in existence for decades, albeit with fluctuating public support depending on the political tensions.

In popular discourse on majority-minority relations in Israel, Jews often point to three major concerns: (1) Demographic concern: The higher natural growth rate of the Arab population (2.5% compared with 1.5% among the Jewish population) is considered by some to be a threat to Israel's ability to sustain a Jewish majority over time. (2) "Re-opening of the '1948 Files'": This includes the demand for the state to assume responsibility for the 1948 Palestinian Nakba (literally, the "catastrophe" of the loss of Palestine). (3) De-legitimization of the State of Israel, and/or for its Jewish nature, and demands to recognize the Arab minority's collective identity and rights.

Arabs also list a series of concerns including (1) Erosion and questioning of their perceived belonging to the Israeli citizenry, manifested, for example in the discourse on population transfer under a future agreement between Israel and the Palestinian Authority (promoted, among others, by Foreign Minister Lieberman). (2) Encroachments on civil rights, manifested in, for example, legislative initiatives demanding "loyalty" of Arabs as a precondition for civil rights, (3) Police violence against Arab citizens (e.g. the 13 Arabs killed by police fire in the October 2000 events) and civic violence in the form of "Price Tag" hate crimes.

These negative trends of mutual fear and suspicion are reflected in various public opinion surveys, while other surveys point to positive trends such as growing "Israelization" among Arab citizens, and enhanced economic integration and mutual acceptance between the two communities.

## Israel in its the Neighborhood

**For now, Trump's peacemaking approach is all unfounded optimism**

**Op-ed: Pundits have spent the week trying to discern the strategy behind the nuances of the president's thoroughly well-intentioned visit. But thus far, there is no strategy by David Horovitz (May 25, 2017)**

For decades, we've watched American administrations wrestle with the nuances of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, gradually formulating and recalibrating their positions — seeking to make progress for Israel's sake, for the Palestinians' sake, seeking to defang a pretext for terrorism, seeking the near-impossible deal. And when US President Donald J. Trump came to the Middle East this week — to Riyadh, Jerusalem and Bethlehem — the Arab and Israeli leaders he met, and the pundits who watched him, subjected his every utterance to the spectacularly nuanced scrutiny they applied to all those other administrations over the years. Where is the administration headed? What to make of what he said, of what he didn't say? But Trump is no sophisticate where matters of Middle East political maneuvering are concerned. And neither has he surrounded himself with Middle East sophisticates. The former administration experts on our region, and the best brains the US think tanks can produce — thus far, at least, almost none of them has been drawn into the Trump administration brain trust. For now, therefore, it's worth internalizing that where President Trump and the Middle East peace process are concerned, there is no strategy for the pundits to try to figure out. It's not even a case of "What you see is what you get" — because there's no telling what we may get. It is, rather: What you see is what there is. Not carefully, warily calculated formulations, hinting at the subtle agenda beneath. But Trump front and center. Trump from the heart. Trump from the gut. And what you see is a president who believes in his deal-making skills, and wants to think he can apply them to regional politics. [THE TIMES OF ISRAEL | www.timesofisrael.com](http://www.timesofisrael.com) What you see is a president who is wary of Muslims, but is now, rhetorically at least, distinguishing between the religion and its adherents, on the one hand, and the political manipulation of the religion by evil people, on the other — hence his talk in Riyadh on Sunday of "Islamist extremism" and "Islamist terror." Not Islamic extremism; not Islamic terror. What you see is a president instinctively supportive of Israel — of a strong nation, with a glorious history, that knows how to look after itself. You saw it in his history-making "private visit" to the Israeli liberated, holiest place for Jewish prayer — kippah on head, respectful, empathetic. It is an unsophisticated love — a birthright Israel-style love — that the Palestinians are doing their best to cloud. (After unsophisticated love for Israel, there often follows dismay at the realization that not everything is quite as clear-cut as one had thought. The more you know, the more complicated it can get; the challenge for Israel and its supporters will become more acute if Trump engages more deeply, to see him maintain his Zionist sensibilities amid the complex narrative of our reality here.) What you see is a president who, to hear his remarks about Jerusalem, would for sure have changed the plaque on the West Jerusalem consulate to say "Embassy," and may yet do so, but who in pledging to make that change while on the campaign trail knew little about the potential implications and ramifications. What you see is a president who is well-disposed toward Jews. They're part of his family.



Several hold key administration positions. They're his lawyers. They're his former lawyers now filling key posts like special envoy and ambassador to Israel. What you see is a president who thinks America under Obama exuded weakness in the Middle East and was an unreliable ally of Israel, and intends to change all that. What you see is a president deeply hostile to the regime in Iran, who has given senior positions to exmilitary figures who share and outdo him in that hostility, and who heard from King Salman and others in Riyadh how widely feared Iran is, and how central to this region's problems and to threats beyond this region. What you see is a president who, on this trip, was keenly aware of Evangelical support for Israel, and who wanted to ensure that his visit would play well back home for the Republican party. What you see is a president who has now spent considerable time with Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas, who has doubtless been presented for the first time with passionate advocacy for the Palestinian cause, and who chose only to implicitly confront Abbas in public with the imperative to stop inciting terrorism and funding terrorists and their families, but who knows that the Republican Party is itching to financially punish the Palestinian Authority if the issue is not resolved. What you see is a president who may get sicker of the whole Israeli-Palestinian quagmire the deeper he gets drawn into it. Who may banish Abbas from his White House like George W. Bush banished Yasser Arafat. Or not. Who may become impatient when Benjamin Netanyahu tells him that, no, sorry Donald, there are concessions we simply cannot and will not make. Or not. What you see is a president who really, truly, doesn't care if there's a one-state or a two-state solution because, at least until this trip, he had little sense of the significance of either, and may not have even now. What you see is a president who wants to proclaim that he brokered the impossible deal. But who, embattled at home, will be constrained and preoccupied. And who plainly has no instant solution, because nobody does. (We need the long-haul approach, as I stressed in this piece on the eve of his visit.) What you see is a president, thus far, who is doggedly attached to the charmingly optimistic, thoroughly well-intentioned and dangerously false notion he set out when hosting Abbas at the White House early this month, that solving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict "is something that I think is, frankly, maybe not as difficult as people have thought over the years." In his Israel Museum speech, the last event of his whirlwind Middle East trip, he insisted, in a departure from his prepared text, that Abbas and the Palestinians are "ready to reach for peace." Speaking slowly, as though addressing small children, he continued, "I know you've heard it before. I am telling you. That's what I do. They are ready to reach for peace." And, he went on, still extemporizing, after his meeting with "my very good friend, Benjamin, I can tell you also, that he is reaching for peace. He wants peace." To which one can only say two things: One: Would that it were all so simple. Two: Nobody, but nobody, knows quite what will happen when — or if — President Trump allows himself to recognize that it is not.

### **Knowledge is Power (KIP) - Does Israel want peace or is it a warmonger? Israel's relations with its neighbors and the Palestinians by Sarit Zehavi**

1. In the 1929 Hebron massacre, 67 Jews were murdered, and it led to the destruction of the Jewish community in Hebron, which had existed for 400 years. In the shadow of these events there also occurred a massacre in Tsfat, and Jews were killed in Jerusalem and in other Jewish colonies throughout the territory as well. During the Arab Revolt against British rule from 1936-1939 more than 600 Jews were killed by Arabs who were taking out their anger on them. It should be noted that during the events of the Arab uprising thousands of Arabs were killed, but most of them at the hands of other Arabs as part of the clashes between the Nashashibi and Husseini families.
2. On November 29, 1947, the UN General Assembly passed Resolution 181 authorizing the distribution plan. According to the decision, after the end of the British Mandate in Israel and less than a

year after the decision, two countries would be established: one for Jews and one for Arabs. This map is the map of the approved partition plan. According to it, large parts of the Galilee, the Coastal Plain and Jerusalem would fall under the rule of the Arab country. Despite this difficulty, the Jews accepted the resolution, but the Arabs refused to recognize a Jewish state in Eretz Yisrael and went to war. It lasted about a year and a half, beginning in May 1948 with the British withdrawal from the country and the establishment of the State of Israel and the IDF. Aside from the Arabs living in Israel, neighboring Arab countries also participated: Egypt, Syria, Jordan, as well as forces that were sent from Iraq. Eventually the war ended with a ceasefire between the parties. As a result, no Arab country was established and its land within the state of Israel was under the control of Arab countries.

3. The 1967 borders are actually the borders of the Jewish state since the end of Israel's War of Independence from 1949 until June 4, 1967 – the onset of the Six-Day War. This is a country slightly larger than the one presented in the UN partition plan, but still with a very narrow waist, 12 km from the border to the sea. In the Six Day War, Israel conquered many territories of its Arab neighbors: the Gaza Strip from Egypt, the West Bank (or Judea & Shomron) from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria.

4. Why did Israel start the Six Day War? It must be understood that the war was preceded by many months of siege and Israel feeling threatened. Additionally, Arab countries frequently made it clear that they did not recognize the Jewish state and that it was a matter of time before they would attack and destroy it. Furthermore, Egyptian President Nasser promoted a pan-Arab ideology which threatened Israel. In the months before the war Egypt drove the emergency United Nations forces out of the Sinai, blocked the Straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping, consolidated Egyptian military command with the armies of Syria and Jordan, and the Iraqi and Saudi expeditionary forces. Egypt then streamed its forces into the Sinai Peninsula. Israel's response was to call up its reserves. Israel's reserve mobilization is a financial burden and they generally would prefer not to do it. About a week before the war the Egyptian attack plan was publicized at the last minute and under pressure from the Soviets they canceled the attack. Israel thus decided to launch a preemptive action.

5. Israel - Egypt Relations

a. After the Six-Day War, Egypt initiated the Yom Kippur War in 1973. Egypt instigated this war, in which Syria also participated, in order to overcome its sense of defeat in the Six Day War. Israel, which had been the under the perception that the Egyptians were deterred from attacking Israel again, was surprised by the Arab attack on the holiest day for Jews. Eventually the war ended in another ceasefire, but it later led to the opening of negotiations between Israel and Egypt and the historic visit of the President of Egypt to Israel in 1977.

b. The peace treaty between Israel and Egypt was signed in 1979, under which Israel withdrew completely from the Sinai Peninsula, and evacuated the Jewish communities built there during Israel's 12 years of rule (about 3,000 people).

c. Peace with Egypt has been preserved to this day and has survived the change of government and the instability of the Arab Spring in Egypt (Photo: Egyptian President al-Sisi). Today both countries benefit from low profile security coordination. However, the fate of the Sinai Peninsula has not been as good, as a daily war is being waged there between Daesh and Egyptian armed forces and Egyptian control of the peninsula is questionable.

6. Jordan – On purpose I chose a whimsical photo here, of the late King Hussein lighting Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's cigarette. The two men signed a peace treaty between Israel and Jordan in 1994. The agreement was the culmination of a secret relationship between the two countries, preceded by good relations between the Zionist movement and Hussein's father Abdullah, who established the Kingdom of Jordan with the assistance of the British. Jordan is the only country that absorbed Palestinian refugees and gave them equal rights. The rest of the Arab countries confined them to refugee camps and have perpetuated the poverty of these people. In the picture, King Abdullah II, has made sure to

maintain the good relations between Israel and Jordan, while faced with pressure from Islamic influences within the framework of the Arab Spring. Jordan is still in charge of the Islamic shrines on the Temple Mount, as the rulers of West Bank until 1967. The peace treaty with Jordan was made possible by advances in negotiations with the Palestinians and the feeling in the early nineties that Israel was on its way to an agreement with them. Under the agreement the waters of the Jordan River are also regulated and divided between the two countries.

## 7. Syria

- a. In the Six Day War, Israel conquered the Golan Heights. The main motivation of this action was the defense of the Galilee communities who had come under fire every day from Syria, who held advantageous topography. In addition, the northern Golan Heights are sources of water for the Sea of Galilee and Syria attempted to divert the waters of the Jordan. It was important for Israel to preserve these water sources.
- b. Syria has never signed a peace treaty with Israel and has never had secret relations with Israel. However, until the Civil War, Israel enjoyed a completely quiet border on the Golan Heights. The Assad regime preferred to help with the arming and training of Hezbollah in Lebanon.
- c. During the nineties there were intensive contacts regarding a peace agreement with Syria. Israel expressed its willingness to withdraw from the Golan Heights to the international border. But the Syrians insisted on the border of the Six Day War (June 4th, orange, in the photo), this line would have allowed them access to the Sea of Galilee, and Israel refused. In addition, Israel wanted the peace agreement to solve the problems with Hezbollah in Lebanon, and demanded that Assad stop supporting this terrorist group, which received training in Syria and Syrian-made or Iranian-made (via Syria) weapons. Damascus refused and the negotiations ended without results.
- d. Since the outbreak of civil war, the Assad regime has lost control of most border areas with Israel, except for a small portion of the northern Golan Heights. Battles take place in this area on a daily basis. This has resulted in a completely unquiet border, where armed militias that support the Assad regime, such as Hezbollah, are taking advantage of the situation to carry out terrorist attacks against Israel, and in addition, there are instances where unintentional mortars directed against the rebels have landed in Israeli territory.

## 8. Lebanon

- a. South Lebanon has been used for years as fertile ground for terrorist activity against Israel - first the Palestinian terrorist nests and then Hezbollah. Hezbollah was established in 1982 by Iran, and is actually the long arm of Iran in the Middle East. Its radical Shi'ite ideology promotes the export of Islamic revolution and does not recognize the existence of Israel.
- b. Israel has had several rounds of war with Hezbollah in Lebanon, after the organization did not allow there to be peace in the North of Israel and attacked civilians and soldiers in different ways on the border. In 2000, Israel withdrew from southern Lebanon after 18 years of struggling against terror. It was a unilateral withdrawal, without an agreement. Hezbollah continued its terrorist activity after the withdrawal, although the United Nations certified that Israel was not holding any Lebanese territory. After the recent conflict in 2006, relative calm has been maintained, but Hezbollah continues to rearm and prepare for the next confrontation.
- c. Southern Lebanon has become the world's largest weaponry warehouse, in which there are about 40 thousand rockets and more than triple that amount north of the region supervised by the UN. The official position of Lebanon is that it will discuss a peace treaty with Israel only after the Palestinian problem is solved, however, Hezbollah actually controls the country, both politically as a blocking third in the government and security-wise, as it is stronger than the Lebanese army itself, and does not recognize the right of Israel to exist.



d. Here you can see, on the left, a map released by Israel with Hezbollah's military deployment in villages in southern Lebanon, and on the right, the ranges of the Hezbollah rockets in southern Lebanon.

#### 9. Palestinians -

a. In 1992, a leftist government which supported reaching an agreement with the Palestinians and, in fact, a two-state solution, was elected in Israel. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin signed the Oslo Accords with Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader who headed the PLO. According to the agreements the Palestinian Authority and the Palestinian security apparatuses were established. As part of the Oslo Accords the West Bank and Gaza Strip were divided into three categories:

- Area A: areas under civil and security control of the Palestinian Authority.
- Area B: areas under civil control of the Palestinian Authority and security control of Israel.
- Area C: areas under civil and security control of Israel - for future negotiations. Mostly empty areas or settlements.

b. As part of further interim agreements signed later, also by Netanyahu, the Palestinian Authority controls Area A and has partial control of Area B. Thus, the majority of the Palestinian population lives under the Palestinian Authority.

c. Opposition to the Oslo Accords in Israel was great, especially in the face of murderous terror attacks carried out by Hamas during the negotiations. In November '95, Rabin was assassinated by a Jew who opposed the agreements. The murder deeply shocked Israel. Although many Israelis were divided on Rabin's path regarding the Palestinian issue, the killer is not supported in Israeli society. He was tried and is sitting in jail. Israel observes Rabin Memorial Day each year, on which children learn the values of democracy.

d. On the Palestinian side, Hamas continued devastating terrorist attacks in Israel. Suicide bombers blew up buses, restaurants, and more. In October 2000, the second intifada broke out, which proved that Arafat had not in fact abandoned the path of terror. It led to the failure of another round of talks between Israel and the Palestinians.

e. This map shows the Palestinian Authority's territories. In the green areas the Palestinian Authority has partial control (administration only) or full control (including security). That is to say, in 14 years the Palestinians have gained control over a large part of the area. However, terrorism has continued and there is growing support for Hamas within the Palestinian Authority, after it has already managed to gain control of Gaza. Additionally, the Palestinian Authority has not improved the refugee camps that are in Gaza and the West Bank. Those are refugees from the war of '48.

f. The negotiations are stuck. It's true. Both sides have seriously discussed an Israeli withdrawal, evacuating half a million people who live in the West Bank for the past 50 years. Israel was willing to compromise even on Jerusalem. Talks took place with the two-state idea, which was born in the 1948 partition plan, which the Arabs it.

g. It is important to clarify that the idea was two states for two peoples. Abu Mazen's refusal in the last round of negotiations and Arafat's before him, to recognize Israel as a Jewish state, actually undermines the entire logic of two countries.

h. The refugee issue - Can you imagine a situation in which Europe returns the Syrian refugees to Syria? That the USA does the same? Everywhere in the world except in our region, refugees gain a new life. International law does not recognize second, third, or fourth generation refugees at all. In our region the Palestinian refugee problem has been perpetuated; the refugees' great-grandchildren, who have never lived in Israel, continue to dream of returning to it. Return of the refugees (we are now talking about, including offspring, millions) in full, means to undermine again, the Jewishness of the State of Israel and yet, even in this matter, Israel was ready to compromise. It should be noted that in '49, slightly more than half a million refugees left the country. Today we are talking about six times that number.

i. Another word about refugees: Israel absorbed about 850,000 refugees from Arab countries. These Jews, who had lived for centuries in Arab countries, fled for their lives in the forties when the Arab states were fighting for independence from the rule of the British Mandate. They left behind a very large amount of property but they never received compensation or any kind of serious acknowledgement of their situation.

#### 10. Conclusion:

- Over the years it became extremely difficult for Arabs to accept the existence of Israel. We have managed to reach a peace agreement with each country that has recognized Israel's right to exist.
- Israel was willing to make concessions which were controversial with the Israeli public in order to make peace with its neighbors, but one thing upon which it will not compromise is its neighbors' recognition of its right to exist. Sadly, not every country has arrived to this point.
- It should be noted that Israel has a secret relationship with other Middle Eastern countries with which it shares interests, for example against Iran. It also has a desire to strengthen the moderate regimes in the neighboring countries of Egypt and Jordan.
- The cartoon you see here was painted in 1956 in the context of the Sinai Campaign - Israel launched the operation to eradicate the Fedayeen who would enter the communities along the southern border and carry out terrorist operations there. You can replace the characters but the reality has not changed. Israel has been confronted with terrorism for many years. In the next lecture on Gaza we can discuss this issue in depth.

### **Knowledge is Power (KIP) - *The Real Reason for Chaos in the Middle East* by Sarit Zehavi**

#### 1. What is the Sykes-Picot Agreement?

a. It was an agreement between France and Britain which was signed in 1916 during the First World War, between two superpowers who had realized that the Ottoman Empire was about to fall apart and who sought to divide the Middle East up between them. According to this agreement, France would control the blue areas on the map, and would retain its sphere of influence over area A while Britain would control the red areas on the map and would retain its sphere of influence over Area B.

b. Israel, in yellow, would be under international administration.

c. This agreement was never implemented. The Middle East looks completely different now. So why is this still relevant? The agreement is a symbol of foreign involvement in the Middle East, then it was Great Britain and France, and now it is the United States and Russia.

d. The agreement laid the foundation for the establishment of nation-states in the Middle East, according to the Western perception.

2. However, the nation-states that were established contained a mosaic of ethnic and religious communities, and it was difficult to find common ground between the residents. In contrast to the West where common values are based first and foremost on equality and freedom, in the Middle East after World War, dictatorships that oppressed their citizens were established. Loyalty to the state was a tenuous and extremely shaky. In fact, we are talking about a situation of identity crisis. Inserted into this was also a religious theme. This explains why so many young people today are joining Daesh (ISIL), or

### 1. Sykes-Picot Agreement



Islamic State) now: aside from a low socio-economic background, exposure to Western culture in which there is greater freedom, dignity and equality, along with the inability to implement this in their home, and an identity crisis – has all brought many young people to search for hope elsewhere. The extremist ideology purports to return these young men their honor. It speaks to an identity that exists in these societies and ensures that the Islamic State will return something to them that was lost with the artificial national order created by the great powers, and it also explains their hatred of the West. Furthermore, we can add in a feeling of adventure and a sense that Daesh is the new trend after the decline of Al-Qaeda.

3. In fact, in the Middle East now there is a very large war between Shi'ites and Sunnis. This war is underway in several countries, notably: Yemen, Syria and Iraq, and in a more limited manner in other countries: Bahrain, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia. Some notes on this subject:

a. Shi'ites make up only 15% of Muslims worldwide.  
b. The conflict between Shi'ites and Sunnis goes back to the beginning of Islam, a debate over who has the inheritance of the Prophet Muhammad, who had no sons, only daughters. The Shi'ites believe that it should be the son-in-law of the Prophet, Ali, and his sons. While the Sunnis believe that it could be any member of Muhammad's tribe, the Koresh tribe. Over the years it has created two streams within Islam with different theology and customs. These two streams have been fighting each other.

4. Iran is the leader of the Shi'ite world. The feeling among the leaders of the Sunni countries, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, is that Iran is trying to dominate the Muslim world, undermining the Sunni Arab regimes in many countries. Thus, for example, there is a very serious concern in Saudi Arabia regarding Iran's nuclear project. Today in the Middle East one can point to three local powers:

a. Saudi Arabia – a tribal royalty, rich in oil, which will run out eventually. Saudi Arabia is an Islamic state in accordance with the law practiced within it, their belief in Salafi Islam – a return to Islam's grassroots. Bin Laden was a Saudi. Saudi Arabia funds extremist Sunni groups operating in Syria and Iraq, and in the beginning also funded Daesh and Al-Qaeda. Now the top Saudi officials understand that Daesh is dangerous to Saudi Arabia, so they are cooperating with the coalition.

b. Iran - The world leader of the Shi'ite theocracy in which the Supreme Leader controls the belief that there is no separation between religion and state. It supports Shi'ite militias in various countries in the Middle East: Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hezbollah in Bahrain, the Assad regime in Syria, the Houthi rebels in Yemen.

c. Turkey - In recent years, it has been undergoing a process of Islamization under the rule of Erdogan, who was elected democratically but who has definitely hurt democracy in Turkey. Now, the European Union is offering a host of incentives to Turkey regarding its process of joining the European Union and there is a question of how it will affect the nature of this huge Sunni state.

5. As stated the main wars with the most casualties are taking place today in Iraq and Syria. Daesh has managed to conquer large swathes of these two countries. Daesh actually arose in countries in which there was civil war. The organization, which was established in 2006 as part of Al-Qaeda in Iraq, split off from the parent organization and in the summer of 2014 bored its way into the international community's consciousness when it conquered major cities in Iraq and Syria. In practice, the war against Daesh has added another conflict to the Middle East on top of the Shi'ite-Sunni conflict. This is now a Sunni-Sunni conflict. This conflict is fed by conflicting interests and internal politics rather than substantial ideological differences. So you can now see Al-Qaeda murdering Daesh fighters in different places in Syria, and the Iraqi tribes fighting against Daesh.

6. How is this connected to the Jews? The answer is simple. It's not.

a. Muhammad designated Mecca and after that, Medina, as the Muslim holy cities. Jerusalem is only the third holiest city after these two, because according to Islamic tradition Muhammad tied his horse to the Western Wall before he rose to visit heaven.

- b. Under the various Muslim empires there were Christians who "benefited" from the status of dhimmis. This meant that they could continue to live modestly according to their faith, but had to pay taxes to the state. In addition, Muhammad had extensive conflicts with the Jews in half of the Arabian Peninsula, where he expelled or massacred three Jewish tribes. The Jews are referred to as monkeys and pigs in the Koran. The last two centuries of different anti-Jewish traditions have now been added to ideas taken from Western anti-Semitism. In this video you can see a spiritual Shi'ite man who speaks of the Shi'ite conflict with Daesh, but who mentions the Jews.
- c. Thus in the Iranian, Qatari and Jordanian press, the Jews became those behind Daesh and in the Turkish press the US is named as being behind Daesh. Prominent Muslim clerics from different countries, such as Egypt and Iraq, write that what drives the West is the Jews and the power of the Jews is due to US support. In fact, Jews or Zionists are behind Daesh's aim to destroy the Muslim nation. All this rests on ancient Muslim sources, calling Jews monkeys and pigs in the Koran, even though the origin of this phrase can be interpreted in many ways, and Muhammad's many wars against Jews. This provides distraction from the struggle against Daesh and combating anti-Semitism.
- d. A recent survey by the Anti-Defamation League in 100 countries, found that 74 percent of respondents across the Middle East and North Africa have anti-Semitic opinions.
7. One last word on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. From all that has been said until now, one can agree that the State of Israel is in a very complicated neighborhood; A neighborhood where extreme ideology is gaining a foothold across all the areas that border Israel, whether it be Daesh on the Syrian border and in the Sinai Peninsula, Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas in Gaza, or Hezbollah in Lebanon. Israel's main concern today is that an agreement with the Palestinians, which means losing control of the West Bank, will allow the extremist elements within the Palestinian society, to pose a danger to the stability of Israel. However, there was a willingness to reach an agreement with the Palestinians, but also a demand to recognize Israel as a Jewish state, in which Arab citizens continue to have equal rights. The Palestinians refused, and the rest is history.



## Jerusalem

Knowledge is Power (KIP) - Jerusalem by Sarit Zehavi

Who Really Ignited Jerusalem, and Why It Is So Explosive?

1. The sanctity of Jerusalem to the three monotheistic religions:

a. Judaism - Jerusalem is a holy city for the Jews; it has been the capital of the Jewish people throughout its entire existence in the Land of Israel. David conquered Jerusalem in 1000 BCE and forty years later King Solomon built the First Temple. According

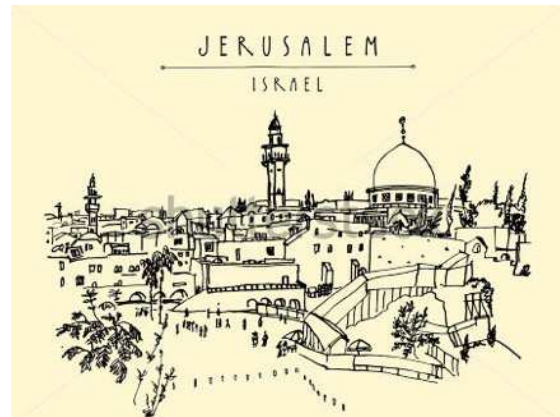
to Jewish tradition, Jerusalem is the center of the world. Under the Dome of the Rock is the stone, from which, according to tradition, the world was created. Therefore, this is the only place where the Divine Presence dwells. The temple was built there. There God chose to dwell. In addition, according to tradition, the Temple Mount is actually Mount Moriah where Abraham came to sacrifice Isaac. Jerusalem is mentioned 656 times in the Tanach. The destruction of Jerusalem was considered a great tragedy in Jewish history and the longing to return for the restoration of Jerusalem has been a central national and religious motif in the consciousness of the Jewish people.

b. Islam - Jerusalem is considered the third most sacred city of Islam after Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia. The source of its holiness stems from the story of the rise of Muhammad to heaven (Isra and Mi'raj). According to Muslim tradition, Muhammad flew on his flying horse from his mosque in Mecca to the "the farthest mosque," which according to the interpretations was in Jerusalem, where he landed and then ascended into heaven and met with the Prophets and accepted the prophecy. Later interpretations also consecrated the Western Wall, as part of a statement that Muhammad tied his horse, named Buraq, to the Kotel. Today, the traditions have changed so much so, that the meeting of Muhammad with the Prophets is described as having occurred in the mosque itself, where Muhammad led the prayer with the Prophets, and not in heaven, as was believed. In addition, Jerusalem was the first direction of prayer for Muslims. Today, Muslims pray toward Mecca. At the beginning of his trip, Muhammad wanted to persuade the Jews to join him, and tried to bring Jewish traditions into Islam. When he saw that it was no use, he changed these practices. One of them was the direction of prayer.

c. Christianity - Jerusalem is sacred to Christianity because this is the city in which Jesus was crucified and buried. The Way of the Cross is a tourist site to which many Christians make pilgrimages and walk the path that Jesus walked with the cross. Christianity, however, did not wish to make Jerusalem its capital.

d. This picture shows an address that was engraved on the wall in the temple, in the corner in which people stood and blew (blasted) the shofar. On it is written Trumpeting Place. The inscription is dated to the Second Temple period. The coin is older and was found about a month ago at the base of the southern wall of the Temple Mount compound. It says "Hezekiah son of Ahaz, King of Judea." This is from the eighth century BCE. We will soon return to the subject of archeology.

2. History: Control of Jerusalem as seen here has changed hands many times over the years - Jewish, Greek, Roman, Christian, Muslim, and so on. The Jews suffered with any change of government. Wars destroyed the temples, damaged the sanctity of Judaism, and during certain periods Jews were not allowed to enter Jerusalem to pray there. Muslim rule in the city that lasted on and off for a thousand





years, did not result in any significant upkeep of the city. As Mark Twain described it in his book "Innocents Abroad" in 1867: "Jerusalem is mournful, and dreary, and lifeless. I would not desire to live here. "

Some important milestones on the timeline before us:

- The destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, from this point until the establishment of Israel there was no political Jewish existence in Israel.
- The Arab conquest of the land and the construction in 636 of the Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa mosque in subsequent years by the Umayyad caliphs who ruled Syria. Construction was completed in 705. This was all part of the Muslim empire that spread out through the Middle East.
- In 1187, Saladin freed Jerusalem from the Crusader rule that had lasted nearly a century. From this point on, until 1917, Jerusalem was under Muslim rule. Saladin became a symbol and his name was mentioned in various speeches that referred to the liberation of Jerusalem from the Jews in the present era.
- 1948 – The battles in the War of Independence ended in a situation where Israel did not control the Old City, and the city remained divided. The Old City continued to be in the hands of Jordan.

3. In order to understand the geography of Jerusalem, look at this map. First it is important to note that since the end of the 19th century, and regardless of the state of Israel, Jews have been the majority in Jerusalem. Today there are 804,000 inhabitants of Jerusalem, of which 63% are Jews, 35% are Muslim and 2% are Christian. More than a third of the Jews live in the eastern parts of the city. After the Six Day War, Israel annexed the eastern parts of the city and many other neighborhoods around it. The construction in so-called East Jerusalem is actually construction in Jerusalem. When you look at a map you realize that you cannot really divide the city. Today, despite the wave of terror in Israel there is coexistence in Jerusalem: wedding invitations, commerce, the mixed city creates economic interests which are moderating factors of terrorism. For example, 35,000 workers from East Jerusalem earn a living in the western part of the city. Most of the East Jerusalem Arabs do not have Israeli citizenship, because it is not required, but they have a residency card. According to a recent survey, 52% of them do not want to become citizens of a Palestinian state if it is established.

4. The issue of the Temple Mount - it is important to point out several different locations in this picture. It should be noted that the Dome of the Rock was not built as a mosque and was to be used for individual prayer. Today it is used as a mosque for women, and inside one can see the foundation stone. Solomon's Stables mosque is an underground mosque that was renovated by the Muslims in violation of the status quo on the Temple Mount in 1996. These are halls from the period of Herod that have become the biggest mosque in the country, holding 10,000 worshipers. In 1999, the Palestinians dug a deep hole of 1500 square meters on the Temple Mount to a depth of 13 meters and removed 10,000 tons of earth containing items of archaeological interest and discarded it outside of the Old City. Thus they were able to open up a main entrance to Solomon's Stables. Israeli archaeologists are presently engaged day and night in sifting through the discarded earth.

The status quo on the Temple Mount is a document created after the liberation of Jerusalem in 1967 and designed by then-Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. According to the document Israel created at its own initiative after gaining control of the Temple Mount, it returned control of the Mount to the Muslim Waqf. Waqf means "holy endowment." This practice exists for all holy sites of Islam; they belong only to a Waqf institution which is essentially a religious institution. At the same time, in the peace agreements with Jordan, Israel officially recognized Jordan's relationship with the Temple Mount and its sponsorship of local history.

According to the status quo document Jews could visit the Temple Mount, in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence of Israel, according to which Israel will allow free access for all religions, but Jews could not pray on the Temple Mount. This section did not seem problematic, because back then most rabbis

prohibited entrance of Jews to the Temple Mount. Today there are more and more rabbis who permit entry and prayer on the Temple Mount. A movement has developed in Israel that strives to allow Jewish prayer on the Temple Mount, but the Israeli government has made it clear that it does not intend to change the status quo in Jerusalem.

5. Al-Aqsa in danger: We said that in a recent survey conducted by the TWI, 52% of the Arab residents of East Jerusalem prefer to remain under Israeli sovereignty. However, according to the same poll, 60% of them are supporters of Hamas. How can this be? It must be understood that for years Palestinian children and Muslims around the world have been taught that the mosques are in danger:

- Israel wants to change the status quo and to pray on the Temple Mount.
- Israel wants to destroy the mosques and build the Temple in their place.
- Israel is digging under the Temple Mount and endangering the mosques..

This is libel. Despite the opinions of certain persons within and outside of the government, the Israeli government has no intention of changing the status quo. However, although the document does not make sense, it is contrary to human rights and is often violated by the Palestinians who through rioting try to prevent Jews from visiting the Temple Mount (even if they are not going to pray).

Israel does not want to destroy the mosques. There are Jewish extremists who carried out or attempted to carry out actions to harm the mosques. These attempts were thwarted by Israeli security forces and people were tried. These actions are not part of the Israeli consensus. There have been a few isolated cases in which Jewish terrorists and one Australian Christian succeeded in carrying out terrorist activities on the Temple Mount, they were tried and/or expelled from the country. These actions have no connection to the Israeli government and it condemns them and is working to thwart them.

Aside from one instance which was not coordinated with the Israeli government and which was stopped almost immediately, Israel has never dug under the Temple Mount, not for archeology or for any other reason. Archaeological excavations carried out by Israel in the area were outside the walls. In the previous picture, you could see the line of the Western Wall tunnels along the Western Wall without penetrating the perimeter. All this is done, even though it is clear that this exact place is holy to Judaism. Moreover, those who dug under the Temple Mount compound and risked the danger of collapse were the Islamic Waqf. The most famous case is Solomon's Stables but it is not the only case.

Last but not least – the recent events. In a very unusual step, the police entered the Al-Aqsa mosque, after receiving information that youths had barricaded themselves inside. There they discovered a deposit of stones, Molotov cocktails, pipe bombs and for all intents and purposes, preparation for riots and damage to the sanctity of the place by the Muslims themselves who wanted to thwart Jews from visiting the Temple Mount.

The libel "Al-Aqsa in danger" was fueled by a variety of means, including incitement to violence inside the mosques on the Temple Mount itself. The cartoons presented here are just an example. Last September, for the 20th time the "Al-Aqsa in danger" festival was celebrated, led by the main leader of the campaign, head of the Islamic Movement in northern Israel, Raed Salah. In his speech, Salah called for Muslims to go to Jerusalem, free it, and make it the capital of the Islamic caliphate.

6. Contrary to Israel's policies against Jewish terror, the Palestinian Authority glorifies the children who go out with knives to stab Jewish children in the name of the struggle over Al-Aqsa. One of the first events of this third Intifada, was the stabbing to death of two Jews in the alleys of the Old City in October 2015. Security cameras on site caught the wife of one of the dead men running in panic to call for help. Arab merchants in the alley stood and watched. One of them sipped a can of cola in his hand. No one came to help.

Still, I chose to show you a slightly more optimistic video summary. Regardless of the children undergoing brainwashing in this video, one brave Arab came and asked the preacher to stop. At the end the children were urged to continue. The expression that they are shouting – “Khaybar” – refers to the

Battle of Khaybar, the most fertile and richest oasis in Hijaz (present-day Saudi Arabia). Jews were tolerated in Khaybar and that characterized the relations of between the Muslim rulers and the Jews over the years. Today, however, the practical meaning of this call is to kill Jews.

### **Jerusalem: Heart of Our Heart By Elie Wiesel**

Jerusalem is above politics.

*Nobel Prize-winning author and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel today took out a full-page ad in the Wall Street Journal, in the form an open letter to President Obama, with whom Wiesel visited the Buchenwald death camp last year. Here is the text of the letter.*

For Jerusalem

It was inevitable: Jerusalem once again is at the center of political debates and international storms. New and old tensions surface at a disturbing pace. Seventeen times destroyed and seventeen times rebuilt, it is still in the middle of diplomatic confrontations that could lead to armed conflict. Neither Athens nor Rome has aroused that many passions.

For me, the Jew that I am, Jerusalem is above politics. It is mentioned more than six hundred times in Scripture—and not a single time in the Koran. Its presence in Jewish history is overwhelming. There is no more moving prayer in Jewish history than the one expressing our yearning to return to Jerusalem. To many theologians, it IS Jewish history, to many poets, a source of inspiration. It belongs to the Jewish people and is much more than a city, it is what binds one Jew to another in a way that remains hard to explain. When a Jew visits Jerusalem for the first time, it is not the first time; it is a homecoming. The first song I heard was my mother's lullaby about and for Jerusalem. Its sadness and its joy are part of our collective memory.

When a Jew visits Jerusalem for the first time, it is a homecoming.

Since King David took Jerusalem as his capital, Jews have dwelled inside its walls with only two interruptions; when Roman invaders forbade them access to the city and again, when under Jordanian occupation. Jews, regardless of nationality, were refused entry into the old Jewish quarter to meditate and pray at the Wall, the last vestige of Solomon's temple. It is important to remember: had Jordan not joined Egypt and Syria in the 1967 war against Israel, the old city of Jerusalem would still be Arab. Clearly, while Jews were ready to die for Jerusalem they would not kill for Jerusalem.

Today, for the first time in history, Jews, Christians and Muslims all may freely worship at their shrines. And, contrary to certain media reports, Jews, Christians and Muslims ARE allowed to build their homes anywhere in the city. The anguish over Jerusalem is not about real estate but about memory.

What is the solution? Pressure will not produce a solution. Is there a solution? There must be, there will be. Why tackle the most complex and sensitive problem prematurely? Why not first take steps which will allow the Israeli and Palestinian communities to find ways to live together in an atmosphere of security. Why not leave the most difficult, the most sensitive issue, for such a time?

Jerusalem must remain the world's Jewish spiritual capital, not a symbol of anguish and bitterness, but a symbol of trust and hope. As the Hasidic master Rebbe Nahman of Bratslav said, "Everything in this world has a heart; the heart itself has its own heart."

Jerusalem is the heart of our heart, the soul of our soul.

**The fact is and always will be that this city is holy to everyone... by Yossi Sarid****(Such is its blessing and its curse)**

For Jerusalem, a response to Elie Wiesel

For Jerusalem's sake I, like you, will not rest.

With great interest I read the beautiful open letter you penned to the U.S. president that appeared in the Washington Post, Wall Street Journal and International Herald Tribune on Friday, and which will appear in the New York Times today. From it I learned that you know much about heavenly Jerusalem, but less so about its counterpart here on earth.

An outsider reading your letter would probably have concluded that peace has already taken root in the City of Peace. He would learn that in Jerusalem, Jews, Christians and Muslims worship their gods unimpeded, that "all are allowed to build their homes anywhere in the city."

Someone has deceived you, my dear friend. Not only may an Arab not build "anywhere," but he may thank his god if he is not evicted from his home and thrown out onto the street with his family and property. Perhaps you've heard about Arab residents in Sheikh Jarrah, having lived there since 1948, who are again being uprooted and made refugees because certain Jews are chafing from Jerusalem's space constraints.

Those same zealous Jews insist on inserting themselves like so many bones in the throats of Arab neighborhoods, purifying and Judaizing them with the help of rich American benefactors, several of whom you may know personally. Behind the scenes our prime minister and Jerusalem's mayor are pulling the strings of this puppet show while in public deflecting responsibility for this lawlessness and greed. That is the real reason for the "new and old tensions surfacing at a disturbing pace" of which you warn in your letter.

For some reason your historical survey missed an event of the utmost importance, namely the destruction of the Temple. If we are already citing events that happened here 2,000 years ago, let us recall the Sicarii, who blinded by religious zeal murdered opponents within the Jewish community and brought on us the disaster of our 2,000-year exile. We have no choice, you and I, but to ask whether history is now repeating itself.

You, my dear friend, evoke the Jews' biblical deed to Jerusalem, thereby imbuing our current conflict with messianic hues. As if our diplomatic quarrels weren't enough, the worst of our enemies would be glad to dress this epic conflict in the garb of a holy war. We had better not join ranks with them, even if unintentionally.

The fact is and always will be that this city is holy to everyone - such is its blessing and its curse. That's why the solution to the Jerusalem problem can't wait for the end of the Middle East conflict as you suggest, because it will have no end if its resolution is postponed until "the Israeli and Palestinian communities find ways to live together in an atmosphere of security."

"Jerusalem is above politics," you write. It is unfortunate that a man of your standing must confuse fundamental issues and confound the reader. Is it not politics that deals with mankind's weightiest issues, with matters of war and peace, life and death? And is life itself not holier than historical rights, than national and personal memory - holier even than Jerusalem? The living always take precedence over the dead, as must the present and future over the past.

There is nothing in our world "above politics." Yes, politics creates problems, but only through it can those same problems be resolved.

Barack Obama appears well aware of his obligations to try to resolve the world's ills, particularly ours here. Why then undercut him and tie his hands? On the contrary, let's allow him to use his clout to save

us from ourselves, to help both bruised and battered nations and free them from their prison. Then he can push both sides to divide the city into two capitals - to give Jewish areas to the Jews and Arab areas to the Arabs - and assign the Holy Basin to an agreed-on international authority.

Only then can Jerusalem be maintained as “the world’s Jewish spiritual capital,” as you write. The Jewish spirit does not need Sheikh Jarrah, Silwan, Abu Dis and Shoafat to fulfill God’s command to Abraham to “Arise, walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it.”



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## The Mission

## Welcome to Israel



## Excerpt from Herzl's *The Jewish State* (1896)

The Jewish question persists wherever Jews live in appreciable numbers. Wherever it does not exist, it is brought in together with Jewish immigrants. We are naturally drawn into those places where we are not persecuted, and our appearance there gives rise to persecution. This is the case, and will inevitably be so, everywhere, even in highly civilized countries—see, for instance, France—so long as the Jewish question is not solved on the political level. The unfortunate Jews are now carrying the seeds of anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America...

We have sincerely tried everywhere to merge with the national communities in which we live, seeking only to preserve the faith of our fathers. It is not permitted us. In vain are we loyal patriots, sometimes super-loyal; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens; in vain do we strive to enhance the fame of our native lands in the arts and sciences, or her wealth by trade and commerce. In our native lands where we have lived for centuries we are still decried as aliens, often by men whose ancestors had not yet come at a time when Jewish sighs had long been heard in the country. The majority decide who the "alien" is; this, and all else in the relations between peoples, is a matter of power. I do not surrender any part of our prescriptive right when I make this statement merely in my own name, as an individual. In the world as it now is and will probably remain, for an indefinite period, might takes precedence over right. It is without avail, therefore, for us to be loyal patriots, as were the Huguenots, who were forced to emigrate. If we were left in peace...

But I think we shall not be left in peace.

### Prayer for the State of Israel

אבינו שבשמים, צור ישראל וגואלו, בָּרַךְ אֶת מְדִינַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, רֵאשִׁית צְמִיחַת גְּאֻלַּתֵּנוּ. הַגְּן עֲלֶיהָ בְּאֲבֵרַת חֶסֶדְךָ, וּפְרֹשׁ עֲלֶיהָ סִכַּת שְׁלוֹמְךָ, וְשַׁלַּח אֹרֶךְ וְאַמְתָּךְ לְרֵאשִׁיָּהּ, שְׂרִיָּה וְיוֹעֲצִיָּהּ, וְתִקְנֵם בְּעֶצֶה טוֹבָה מִלְּפָנֶיךָ. חֹזֵק אֶת יָדֵי מַגְנֵי אֶרֶץ קְדֻשְׁנוּ, וְהַנְחִילֵם אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְשׁוּעָה וְעֻטְרַת נְצֻחֹן תַּעֲטֹרֵם, וְנִתַּת שְׁלוֹם בְּאֶרֶץ וְשִׁמְחַת עוֹלָם לְיוֹשְׁבֵיהָ. וְאֵת אֲחֵינוּ כָּל בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל פְּקֹד-נָא בְּכָל אַרְצוֹת פְּזוּרֵיהֶם, וְתוֹלִיכֵם מִהֲרָה קוֹמְמוֹת לְצִיּוֹן עִירְךָ וְלִירוּשָׁלַיִם מִשְׁכַּן שְׁמֶךָ, כְּכַתוּב בְּתוֹרַת מֹשֶׁה עֲבָדְךָ: "אִם יִהְיֶה נִדְחָךְ בְּקֶצֶה הַשָּׁמַיִם, מִשָּׁם יִקְבָּצֶךָ ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ וּמִשָּׁם יִקְחֶךָ. וְהִבִּיאֶךָ ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶל הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר יָרְשׁוּ אֲבֹתֶיךָ וִירְשֶׁתָּהּ, וְהִיטִבְדָּךְ וְהִרְבֶּךָ מֵאֲבֹתֶיךָ" (דברים ל, ד-ה). וְיַחַד לְבַבֵּנוּ לְאַהֲבָה וּלְיִרְאָה אֶת שְׁמֶךָ, וּלְשִׁמֹּר אֶת כָּל דְּבָרֵי תוֹרַתְךָ. וְשַׁלַּח לָנוּ מִהֲרָה בְּן דָּוִד מְשִׁיחַ צְדָקָה, לְפָדוֹת מַחְבֵּי קַץ יְשׁוּעָתְךָ. הוֹפֵעַ בְּהַדָּר גָּאוֹן עֲזָדְךָ עַל כָּל יוֹשְׁבֵי תֵּבֵל אֶרֶץְךָ, וַיֹּאמֶר כָּל אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁמָה בְּאֶפְרוֹ: "ה' אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מֶלֶךְ, וּמַלְכוּתוֹ בְּכָל מְשֻׁלָּה". אָמֵן סְלַח.

Our God in Heaven, Rock and Redeemer of Israel, bless the State of Israel, the first manifestation of the approach of our redemption. Shield it with Your loving-kindness, envelop it in Your peace, and bestow Your light and truth upon its leaders, ministers, and advisors, and grace them with Your good counsel. Strengthen the hands of those who defend our holy land, grant them deliverance, and adorn them in a mantle of victory. Ordain peace in the land and grant its inhabitants eternal happiness. Lead them, swiftly and upright, to Your city Zion and to Jerusalem, the abode of Your Name, as is written in the Torah of Your servant Moses: "Even if your outcasts are at the ends of the world, from there the Lord your God will gather you, from there He will fetch you. And the Lord your God will bring you to the land that your fathers possessed, and you shall possess it; and He will make you more prosperous and more numerous than your fathers." Draw our hearts together to revere and venerate Your name and to observe all the precepts of Your Torah, and send us quickly the Messiah son of David, agent of Your vindication, to redeem those who await Your deliverance. Manifest Yourself in the splendor of Your boldness before the eyes of all inhabitants of Your world, and may everyone endowed with a soul affirm that the Lord, God of Israel, is king and his dominion is absolute. Amen forevermore.

### Prayer for the IDF

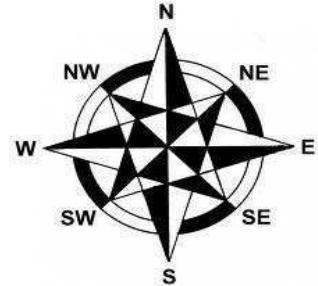
מִי שֶׁבְּרַךְ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיַעֲקֹב, הוּא יְבָרַךְ אֶת חִילֵי צְבָא הַגְּנָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל, הַעוֹמְדִים עַל מִשְׁמַר אֶרְצֵנוּ וְעָרֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִגְּבוּל הַלְּבָנוֹן וְעַד מִדְּבַר מִצְרַיִם וּמִן הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל עַד לְבוֹא הָעֶרְבָה בַּיּוֹם וּבַיָּלָד. יְתֵן ה' אֶת אוֹיְבֵינוּ הַקָּמִים עֲלֵינוּ נִגְפִים לְפָנֵיהֶם. הַקְּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא יִשְׁמַר וְיַצִּיל אֶת חִילֵינוּ מִכָּל צָרָה וְצוּקָה וּמִכָּל נִגַע וּמַחֲלָה וְיִשְׁלַח בְּרָכָה וְהַצְלָחָה בְּכָל מַעֲשֵׂה יְדֵיהֶם. יְדַבֵּר שׁוֹנְאֵינוּ תַּחֲתֵיהֶם וְיַעֲטֹרֵם בְּכֹתֵר יְשׁוּעָה וּבְעֻטְרַת נְצֻחֹן. וַיִּקְרָא בְהֶם הַכָּתוּב: כִּי ה' אֱלֹהֵיכֶם הֵהָלַךְ עִמָּכֶם לְהִלָּחֵם לָכֶם עִם אִיבֵיכֶם לְהוֹשִׁיעַ אֶתְכֶם: וְנֹאמַר אָמֵן:

God Who blessed our forefathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, -- may God bless the fighters of the Israel Defense Forces, who stand guard over our land and the cities of our God, from the border of the Lebanon to the desert of Egypt, and from the Great Sea unto the approach of the Aravah, on the land, in the air, and on the sea. May the Almighty cause the enemies who rise up against us to be struck down before them. May the Holy One, Blessed is God, preserve and rescue our fighters from every trouble and distress and from every plague and illness, and may He send blessing and success in their every endeavor.

May God lead our enemies under our soldiers' sway and may God grant them salvation and crown them with victory. And may there be fulfilled for them the verse: For it is the Lord your God, Who goes with you to battle your enemies for you to save you. Now let us respond: Amen.

### The Story of the Compass

"When I was a child I had a beloved uncle who brought gifts every time he visited. One day he gave me a little compass and taught me how to find the north. I took the compass with me everywhere I went, and the first thing I did was find out where the north was. In every place the needle showed the north. At school, in the playground, in my room, in Father's store. On his next visit, my uncle asked me a riddle: If you stand right at the north pole, where will the needle point?"



His question stumped me, and he rejected every answer I could think of. Then he told me: There, in the north pole, the needle will go mad. It will point up, down, sideways, every which way. The compass is good for showing the north in every place on Earth except for the north itself.

That is what my uncle said. And the moral?

How easy was Zionism when all it consisted of was longings for Zion. In all the corners of the Diaspora, in Poland and Russia and Yemen and Morocco, the needle pointed the way, showed us what must be done. But from the moment we came here, to Zion, the needle went mad."

("The World A Moment Later" by Amir Gutfreund)



### Our Logistical Leader and Educator

Our logistical leader and educator in Israel will be Rotem Kislev. Rotem was born in Kibbutz Be'eri and grew up in Moshav Nir Israel, a small community village in the South of Israel. During her high school years she was an active member in the Be'ni HaMoshavim youth movement as a Chanich and Madricha. In addition, she took part in LEAD organization, an organization for leadership development. After school she did a year of service (ShinShin) in Cleveland volunteering in the Jewish community. It was a very meaningful and eye opening time for Rotem, as she experienced the life of American Jews and met the lovely people of Cleveland. During her time in the army she served as an officer in the International Cooperation Division.



This summer she is working with the Israel Experience and is looking forward to meeting you on icnext.

## Sunday, June 11 - Departure from Cleveland

UA1704 11JUN CLEWR 1030A 1207P

UA084 11JUN EWRTL 440P 1015A



Photographs of the Day - Jazzy G., Leah R.

Airport Discussions leaders - Jen, Natalie, Galen, David (Catch 67)



Airport Discussion – Ethen G., Hadas G.

## Monday, June 12 (Arrival in Israel- 5:30pm)



Photographs of the Day - Jazz G. and Leah R.



Introduction with Zeev Ben Shachar - Ethen G.  
Opening activity with Rotem Kislev - Hadas G.

10:15am - Arrive in Israel - Meet local staff

12pm - Leave Airport

12:30 - Stop for Lunch

1:00 - Opening conversation with Zeev Ben Shachar



Ethen G.

3:00 - Head south

5:00 - Check in + dinner at Mashabei Sade

7:00 - Opening Program – Rotem Kislev



Hadas G.

8:00 - Daily Reflection

Good night

**Overnight: Mashabei Sade, Negev**



**Zeev Ben-Shachar** is Jerusalem U's Director of Israel Education. He oversees curriculum development and is Senior Educator for the JU Israel Gap Year Program, a leadership development program for post-high school students studying in Israel. The course – taught in over 20 schools to 500 students – provides a comprehensive foundation of Israel-related knowledge and addresses the issues at the heart of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Zeev lectures widely at synagogues, youth movements, Jewish federations, college campuses and national and international conferences, in Israel and abroad, in English and Hebrew. He has a BA in Psychology from Harvard – later teaching there and receiving a certificate of distinction for teaching – and a Masters in Middle Eastern Studies from Tel Aviv University. He was a soldier and commander in the IDF's Sayeret Givati Brigade. Among his many talents, Zeev is also a spinning instructor and personal fitness trainer in Jerusalem. He has even combined his passions in a “Spinning Through Israel Course,” in which he takes students on a virtual cinematic tour of Israel while both teacher and class are pedaling on their spinning bikes!



## Tuesday, June 13 - The South



### Photographs of the Day - Jen L. and Ben M.

9:00am - Guy Ben Porat in Mashabei Sade

**BLOG** Galen S.

11:30 - "Or" movement- Building the Future of Israel- Building up the Negev and Galilee (at their offices in Be'er Sheva)

**BLOG** Hailey N.

1:00pm - Lunch

2:30 - Visit Sderot and tour with Orna Bader

**BLOG** Eliana R.

4:00 Geopolitical tour along the border with Gaza

**BLOG** Mika C.

6:00 - Drive to Jerusalem

8:00 late check in + dinner

9:00 A meeting with Yahal Porat. JAFI

**BLOG** David M.

10:00 Day Reflection

Good Night

**Overnight: Bait Vagan, Jerusalem**





**Dr Guy Ben-Porat** was born in Israel (1967), studied at Tel-Aviv University and Johns Hopkins University (Ph.D. in Political Science). In his first book *Global Liberalism, Local Populism; Peace and Conflict in Israel/Palestine and Northern Ireland* he explored the peace process in Israel and Northern Ireland. His latest book engages with processes and dilemmas of secularization in contemporary Israel. He is the father of two daughters and lives in Lehavim, in the south of Israel.

**The Or Movement** - Currently the vast majority of Israelis live near the country's center, while the Negev and the Galilee remained less inhabited. The problem stems from the fact that current projections



predict that Israel's population will likely double, approaching a number of 16 million. This would see as many as 12 million of those individuals living in the central "Gush Dan" region of the country, likely resulting in overcrowding, unsustainable traffic, a large mark up in housing prices, and an altogether lower quality of living. The "Or" movement intends to decrease the country's reliance on its center by bringing the Negev and the Galilee to their "Full inherent potential". In effect this means making

communities in the remaining 70% of the country's land more feasible and sustainable. Already eight new communities have been established, with 64 older communities having been strengthened and expanded upon. Thanks to "Or" there are also numerous other smaller renovations and infrastructure projects currently under development and as many as 6,755 families at different stages in the moving process.

### The Negev



For many visitors, the Negev, the desert part of the trip, leaves the strongest impression of Israel. It does not have as many historical sites as Jerusalem or the Galilee, but it probably looks much more like the Israel many first timers expect to see, with vast empty spaces and camels and Bedouin on the horizon. The Negev has an important role in Israel's heritage

and a chief role in the vision of the future.

The word Negev appears in the Bible and translates to "dry". The Biblical commentator Rashi explains "it is called Negev because at all times it is dry, there is no shade from trees and the sun is always shining and drying it out." The modern Hebrew word for desert, "*Midbar*", means place of grazing. The Bedouin sheep and goats will also depict that aspect of the desert. Since the Negev is in the southern part of the country, "*Negev*" took on the meaning "south" as well.

The Negev is the name of the southern "triangle" of the State of Israel. Its north and east borders are natural borders: the Arava rift valley in the west (which is also the border with Jordan) and the Beer Sheva valley in the north. The eastern border of the Negev—a straight line—is the Sinai Peninsula and the international border of Egypt. There are no natural landmarks that delineate this border. The Negev



highlands are made up of mountains between 600 and 1000 meters tall. The climate in the Negev is dry —200mm of rain fall annually in the Beer Sheva area, 100mm in Mitzpeh Ramon, and only 25mm in Eilat. Even though rain is sparse in the Negev, flash floods in the river beds are common in the winter months, but the rocky terrain doesn't allow for infiltration of the water. The Negev has unique geological formations such as the three Machtshim (craters), and has natural resources important for different industries.

The Negev holds an important role in Jewish history as well. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived in the Negev. King Solomon made a road that ran through the Negev, connecting Judeah to Eilat (Etzion Gever). Similar to today, this road connected the Jewish kingdom to the markets of the Far East. The scenery of the Negev was also the inspiration for some of the Psalms and for the words of the prophets. These deep roots led the Negev to be central in David Ben Gurion's Zionist vision of the development of the Negev.

Today the Negev is home to a wide variety of lifestyles. Beer Sheva is the capital of the Negev and has all the provisions of a modern city, such as a university, a hospital, a shopping mall, etc. The Negev is home to development towns, kibbutzim, moshavim, Bedouin towns and encampments, and the many hikers and nature lovers from all over the country that find inner peace in its wilderness.

### Sderot



Sderot is a western Negev city in the Southern District of Israel. According to the Israel Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), at the end of 2006 the city had a total population of 19,300. The city has been an ongoing target of Qassam rocket attacks from the Gaza Strip. In March 2008, the mayor said the population had declined by 10%-15% (aid organizations say the figure is closer to 25%) as families left the city in desperation. Many of the families that remain cannot afford to move out or are unable to sell their homes.

Less than a mile from Gaza, Sderot has been the target of Palestinian rocket attacks that have killed 13 residents, wounded hundreds, caused millions of dollars in damage, disrupted daily life and wreaked havoc on the local economy. According to MSNBC, "nearly everyone [has been] traumatized by the frequent sound of air-raid sirens and explosions of incoming projectiles". All local schools have been fortified. From mid-June 2007 to mid-February 2008, 771 rockets and 857 mortar bombs were fired at Sderot and the western Negev, an average of three or four each a day.



**Yahal Porat** - married 3 lives in Jerusalem for the past 18 years. He is director of 3 partnerships of jewish agency with NY, Memphis and Venezuela. Formerly Shaliach to Manchester Uk where he was awarded excellency for his community work. Yahal is an organizational development consultant as well as mediator. His father and his great uncle where both Shlichim for JAFI. The latter - to the USA before the state of Israel was born. Today Yahal seals a lot with strategic thinking within the jewish world and futurism.

## Wednesday, June 14 - Jerusalem - Part 1



### Photographs of the Day - Roni P. and Alexis G.

7:00am Breakfast

8:00 - The Holly Basin Tour with Yaron Ovadia, including the temple mount (security permitting) the old city of Jerusalem, Jewish Quarter and the Kotel



**Raanan S., Natalie C.**

1:00pm - Packed lunch at the Haas Promenade

1:30pm - Continue touring with Yaron Ovadia: Haas Promenade and security borders



**Noa M.**

3:00 - Interviews at the Hebrew Book Week festival at the First Station



**Tess K. , Came K.**

7:00 - Dinner at the hostel

8:00 - The Society for Advancement of Education (SAE) hosting a conversation with : Ms. Vered Bachar and Rabbi Bezalel Cohen, representatives of the orthodox community



**Jen S.**

9:30 Daily Reflection

Good Night

**Overnight - Bait Vagan, Jerusalem**



**Yaron Ovadia** was born in Jerusalem and spent most of his life in the ancient city. His Favorite Tours are related to The Israeli-Arab conflict, relations between the religions and Jerusalem in the conflict. B.A. in Middle East studies and Islam from the Hebrew University Masters Degree in Middle East studies and Islam from Ben Gurion University, Thesis paper about the Palestinian National Identity. Nature guide from the society for the protection of nature in Israel (SPNI) israel tour guide – Tourist guide from the ministry of tourism Linguistic editor from Beit-Berl College.

### **The Holy Basin**

Jerusalem has long been considered a huge issue in the Israeli-Palestinians Question. In 1947, when the United Nations put forward a plan to partition the land into two states, it proposed placing Greater Jerusalem and Greater Bethlehem into an international zone called the “Holy Basin.” This Holy Basin would be neither part of Israel nor Palestine, to remove the sensitive region from the conflict. However, as fate would have it, the partition plan was rejected by the Palestinians who then launched a war to destroy Israel in May 1948, together with armies from Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt and Iraq. At war’s end, the Holy Basin was divided with the western half of Greater Jerusalem and Hebrew University falling under Israeli control, and Greater Bethlehem and the eastern half of Jerusalem falling under Arab control (Jordan annexed the area and granted the Palestinian Arabs there citizenship). The sensitivity over the Holy Basin is due to the fact that it holds many holy sites for the three monotheistic religions. A short list includes:

- The Temple Mount/ The Noble Sanctuary (Jerusalem). *Jewish and Muslim*
- Al Aqsa Mosque (Jerusalem). *Muslim*
- Dome of the Rock (Jerusalem). *Jewish and Muslim*
- The Wailing Wall / Kotel (Jerusalem). *Jewish*
- Church of the Holy Sepulchre (Jerusalem). *Christian*
- Dormition Abbey (Jerusalem). *Christian*
- The Old City (Jerusalem). *Jewish*
- Church of the Nativity (Bethlehem). *Christian*
- The Tomb of Rachel (Bethlehem). *Jewish*

There are many other churches, synagogues and mosques in the Holy Basin, however, these sites are considered sacred as various events are believed to have occurred at these locations. For Christians, the churches were built on the various spots where Jesus and Mary are thought to have had significant life events. For Muslims, the Al Aqsa Mosque is considered to be the place where Mohammed ascended to heaven. For Jews, the Temple Mount is not only considered to be the place of two Temples, but also the spot where Abraham brought Isaac for a sacrifice.

### **The Society for Advancement of Education (SAE) hosting a conversation with : Ms. Vered Bachar and Rabbi Bezalel Cohen**



**Ms. Vered Bachar**, A graduate of the prestigious Mandel School for Educational Leadership, was chosen by the Society for Advancement of Education (SAE) to establish and run a new and groundbreaking Science and Arts High School for ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) Girls, opening in September 2018.

Before joining the SAE, Vered Bachar developed and directed programs for children at risk at the Wolfson Foundation, a program that operates in 50 ultra-Orthodox schools in the periphery of Israel. In the framework of her work, she brought together therapists from different sectors, creating professional connections. Vered studied Jewish studies at Midreshet Neve Yerushalayim, studied art at the Aumann School and completed the Joint Distribution Committees (JDC) "Learning from Successes in Third Sector Organizations" headed by Prof. Yona Rosenfeld.

Thirty years ago, Ms. Bachar made a life changing decision when she and her husband, who were previously leading a secular lifestyle, decided to become Haredi. She lives in Jerusalem with her husband and six children and combines her family life together with personal and professional growth. She focuses on gender conflict and the status of women in Israeli society in general and in the Haredi society in particular, as well as on the processes of change and creation of religious identities in Israel.

Ms. Bachar holds a Bachelor degree cum laude in Humanities from Bar Ilan University and an MA degree cum laude in Conflict Management and Resolution from Ben Gurion University.



**Rabbi Bezalel Cohen, head of Hachmey Lev Yeshiva** is a Haredi graduate of the Lithuanian Yeshiva system, including Kol Torah, Ponevezh and Mir, and holds a B.Ed. Between 2003-2010 Cohen worked for JDC-Tevet's employment initiative, advancing Haredi enrollment in the Israeli workforce, academic studies and military service, and at the same time took part in the foundation of the KEMACH Agency, which provides assistance to ultra orthodox students of academic and vocational institutions.

He also worked for the Friedberg Foundation, on enrolling Haredim in academia; and for SHACHAR, enrolling Haredi technicians in the Israeli Air Force.

He is an outspoken and widely published social activist who has written policy papers for the Floersheimer Institute for Israel Studies in Jerusalem, The Jerusalem Institute for Israel Studies, and The Israel Democracy Institute.

He was a regular contributor to the periodical journal "Eretz Acheret," and published many articles and posts on ultra orthodox forums, as well as on his own blog "Betoch Ami". Between 2010-2012 he was a member of the Mandel School for Educational Leadership and thereafter started working for the Society for Advancement of Education to found the Hachmey Lev Yeshiva - a high school yeshiva for mainstream ultra-orthodox boys seeking to excel in religiosity, biblical studies and all fields of knowledge, leading to a high-quality matriculation certificate and is currently head of the Yeshiva.



## Thursday, June 15 - Jerusalem - Part 2



### Photographs of the Day – Cami K., Raanan S.

7:45am Breakfast

8:30 - Salim Munayer- an Arab Israeli professor - the relationship between Israelis, Arabs and Palestinians

**BLOG**

**Jazzy G.**

11:30 - Tasting tour in Machane Yehuda Market + lunch

**BLOG**

**Ben M.**

2:00 - Drive to Beit She'an

4:00 - Eden Farm

**BLOG**

**Roni Peleg**



### The Mifgash

6:00 - Meet Israeli friends at the **Kurdish Village in Yardena.**

- Welcome Reception, Kurdish dancing, social activity
- Kurdish dinner
- Drum circle & Israeli songs

**BLOG**

**Alexis G.**

9:00- Good night

**Overnight: Beit Shean and Emek Hamaayanot - Home hospitality**



**Salim Munayer** - Executive Director as well as founder of Musalaha Ministry of Reconciliation, Munayer has been working to bring Israelis and Palestinians together for more than 25 years. Born in Lod as one of six children, he received his BA from Tel Aviv University in History and Geography. He received his MA from Fuller Theological Seminary, graduate studies in New Testament from Pepperdine University and his PhD from the Oxford Center of Mission Studies in the UK. Munayer has published a number of books on Reconciliation, Christians in Israel, and

the Palestinian Authority. Salim serves as an adjunct professor at Fuller Theological Seminary as well as a professor at the Bethlehem Bible College and was academic dean of the school from 1989-2008.



**Assaf Boker** is 29 years old and lives in Tel Aviv with his girlfriend. Growing up to a father who was a career diplomat Assaf has spent most of his childhood outside Israel in different countries across Europe. As a result of his childhood he has developed two major passions – meeting new people and teaching about Israel.

Assaf served in the Gaza envelope region for most of his service as commander in the combat intelligence unit. After finishing his service Assaf followed his passion for teaching about Israel and worked for three summers in Camp Ramah in California as an educator.

Assaf is a graduate of the Hebrew University with a double major in political science and international relations. For the past four years he has been working as a licensed tour guide introducing Israel to a large spectrum of groups. His philosophy is not avoid hard questions but rather dive in deep and try to get a full understanding of Israel and the region. Assaf strongly believes that no question should remain unasked. Assaf specializes in geopolitical tours and seminars that handle the hard issues regarding the state of Israel in the Middle East. These tours and seminar are heard by a wide variety of different audiences.

**Eden Farm** - an agricultural experimental station established in 1937 and still used by agriculturalists from the Valley of Spring to study a variety of subjects including plant varieties, agro-technology, innovations, removal of barriers and closing gaps in knowledge.



## מפגש Mifgásh

Etymology - From the root פ־ג־שׁ (p-g-sh).

Noun - מפגש (mifgásh) m (plural indefinite form מפגשים, singular construct form מפגש, plural construct form מפגשי)

1. A gathering, meet-up, convention: a pre-planned meeting of members of an organization, party, movement, or the like.

פגישה (p'gishá) f (plural indefinite form פגישות, singular construct form פגישת, plural construct form פגישות)

1. A meeting: an instance of meeting.

2. Meeting: the act of meeting.

PGISHA, CHATZI PGISHA	MEETING, HALF A MEETING	פגישה, חצי פגישה / רחל
Pgisha, chatzi pgisha, mabat echad mahir, Kitei nivim stumim - ze dai Veshuv hetzif hakol, ve shuv hakol his'ir Mishbar ha'osher vehadvai.	Meeting, half a meeting, a quick glance, pieces of vague phrases enough And again flooded, and again stormed all a heavy wave of happiness and distress.	פגישה, חצי פגישה, מבט אחד מהיר, קטעי ניבים סתומים – זה די... ושוב הציף הכל, ושוב הכל הסעיר משבר האשר והדוי.
Af secher shichechah - baniti li magen Hinneh haya kelo haya. Ve'al birkai echra , al sfat agam so'en Lishtot mimmeno li rvayah	Even a dam of forgetting - I built a shield Here it is as it never was. And I will fall on my knees, on a roaring lake's shore, to drink my fill from it.	אף סכר שכחה – בניתי לי מגן – הנה היה כלא היה. ועל ברכי אכרע על שפת אגם סואן לשתות ממנו לרויה!



**The Region** - Beit Shean is a city in the North district of Israel, which has played an important role historically due to its geographical location at the junction of the Jordan River Valley and Jezreel Valley.

The mayor of Beit She'an is Jacky Levy. Beit She'an was the hometown and political power base of his father, David Levy, a prominent figure in Israeli politics. About 18,000 people live in the municipality.

### The Beit-She'an-Valley of Springs-Cleveland Partnership

The Beit-She'an-Valley of Springs-Cleveland Partnership is one of the veteran partnerships in the unique initiative of the Jewish Agency, to build connections between Israel communities and Jewish communities around the world. It began in 1995 and has been a platform for community development and various connections between Beit She'an, Valley of Springs and Cleveland ever since. Every activity emphasizes using empowering cooperation, and creates interpersonal and inter-community relationships which affect different aspects of life – whether it's community pride and responsibility or Jewish and Zionist identity – of all the participants and their various social circles.



The Partnership is being lead by a steering committee, combined of municipalities' representatives and volunteers, residents of the region's community and Cleveland.

As part of the Strategic Planning Process, which took place in 2011-2012, it has been decided that the Partnership will focus on three main fields: education, community development and tourism. This will be done through the two unique tools of the Partnership: volunteerism and the connection to the Jewish community in Cleveland.

Valley of Springs is a regional council in northern Israel that encompasses most of the settlements in the Beit She'an Valley. Each Kibbutz and Moshav has a fascinating history. The mayor of Valley of Springs Regional Council is Yoram Karin. About 13,000 people live in the sixteen Kibbutzim and six Moshavim located in its municipal territory. Tourists from all over the world and Israel travel to Beit She'an, to tour the impressive dig site and learn about 5,000 years of history. And there's more to see and taste in the region – parks and springs, delicious meals from the home hospitality project, unique agricultural farms and sites such as *Eden farm* or *Bio Bee*, beautiful private gardens and collections, fascinating people who tell the stories of the region and its history.

The main means of transport in Beit She'an is the bus, and the city is served by the Egged buses for long-distance (bus 961 to and from Jerusalem) and Kavim for short-distances (411 and 412 to and from Afula).

### Telling the Story of Aramaic-speaking Farmers in the Jordan Valley by Eli Ashkenazi (Haaretz)

A center for Kurdish culture will illustrate a missing chapter in the history of agricultural settlement in Israel

Travelers heading north through the Beit She'an Valley know many of the places linked to the area's fascinating past: Nir David and Gesher, built as tower and stockade settlements in the late 1930s; Beit Alpha, with its ancient synagogue mosaic. But who ever heard of Yardena?



Residents of the moshav, a few kilometers north of the town of Beit She'an, hope to change that, with the establishment of a Center for Kurdistan Cultural Heritage. "It's important to us that along with the story of heroism told at the tower and stockade settlement of Nir David, the story of the Kurdistan Jews who held on to the land in difficult conditions also be heard," says Gadi Yehuda, whose parents were among the founders of Yardena 60 years ago. "It's a story of Zionist settlement that has to be included in the whole," says Yehuda, who was born on the moshav.

Gadi and Mali Yehuda in traditional dress on Moshav Yardena in the Jordan Valley. Yaron Kaminsky

Yardena was established in late 1952 by immigrants from Kurdistan. They worked in construction in Jerusalem but dreamed of working in agriculture. The Zionist organizations helped them realize their dream in the Jordan Valley, a scorching hot place surrounded by barren soil, near the border with Jordan. During the War of Attrition the moshav was on the front line. Still, according to Yehuda, "for our parents, this was the fulfillment of the yearning to be farmers in the Holy Land." "The place was considered the boondocks," continues Yehuda, "and in today's understanding, it was illogical to settle there, and not, for example, on the mountain ridge. But at that time, a settlement next to the border was seen as a forward post and our parents were proud to fulfill this ideal."

Over the years, immigrants from several villages in Kurdistan settled there. Yehuda says, "three, or four generations ago, Yardena residents all came from one family." It is a homogeneous community that according to Yehuda and his wife, Mali, "is half-Kurdish." "They always took pride in their origins," she adds. "They were never embarrassed about their culture, customs, language or cuisine and made sure to preserve them." Yehuda attributes this to the fact "that Kurds are stubborn and sort of warriors."

That is part of the story that the Yehudas, along with other moshav members, want to tell in the Center for Kurdistan Cultural Heritage and for the History of Kurdish Agriculture Settlement in Israel. The center is being established with the support of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Emek Hamaayanot Regional Council and other organizations.

Yehuda acknowledges that over the years the moshav acquired "the image of an underprivileged community compared to the surrounding kibbutzim. There were those who saw us as dumb Kurds, some of whose parents were illiterate, while the parents of the kibbutz children went on missions in service of the state." When in the mid 1970s he began studying in the first class of children from Yardena to study with kibbutz children, he experienced many scuffles before developing warm friendships with those same kibbutzniks.

With the decrease in population - "our parents would have 10 children, while we have only three," notes Yehuda - the school has closed its doors. After some renovation, the same building now houses an exhibit of items depicting the history of the community, a photo collection and a place to hear stories of the early days. Volunteers from the moshav teach visitors a traditional dance, speak in the disappearing Aramaic language and bake Kurdish bread with them. The moshav members are also planning to open a Kurdish restaurant and an art gallery and perhaps bed-and-breakfast accommodation as well.



## Friday, June 16 - Mifgash



**Photographs of the Day – Jazzy G and Jen S.**

8:30am - **Pumped storage energy & wind power- visitor center on mount Gilboa- tour and learn about the projects.**

**BLOG**

Leah R.

10:30 - Water activity and lunch in the Kibbutzim Creek

1:30- Shabbat with the Host Families - Documenting

**BLOG**

Documenting the Shabbat Experience - **Galen S., Tess K., Cami K., Noa M., Natalie C.**

**Overnight: Beit Shean and Emek Hamaayanot - Home hospitality**

## Shabbat, June 17 - Shabbat

Spending Shabbat with host families

Motzaei Shabbat/After Shabbat -

a. Discussion - Sammi R. Erica K. b. Social activity with the Israelis

**BLOG**

Documenting the Shabbat Experience - **Galen S., Tess K., Cami K., Noa M., Natalie C.**

**Overnight: Beit Shean and Emek Hamaayanot - Home hospitality**



### **Gilboa Hydroelectric Pumped Storage Power Plant -**

This pumped storage project is designed to take advantage of the difference in electricity prices. (Low tariff at night and high tariff at day time). As such, water is pumped to an elevated reservoir during the night, using net electricity, and is dropped, through a penstock or a tunnel on turbines during the peak tariff hours manufacturing Hydro - Electricity. The Upper Gilboa pumped storage project is rated to manufacture 300 Megawatt and is presently at the construction stage.

## Sunday, June 18 - The North



### Photographs of the Day - David M. and Ben M.

8:00- Travel to the North

8:30 - Tour of the Golan Heights with Sarit Zehavi

**BLOG**

**Hadas G. and Jen S.**

12:30pm Lunch

1:00 - A visit to the "De Karina" Chocolate factory and hear about an immigrant's life work.

**BLOG**

**Ethan G.**

2:30 - A meeting with Netanel Ofek, former Beni Akiva Cleveland Shaliach

**BLOG**

**Hailey N.**

4:00 - A meeting with Oded Rahav, an environmental activist about the "dead" of the Dead sea

**BLOG**

**Eliana R.**

6:00 Final Program with the Israelis

- Speed date- youth in Israel
- Extreme adventure and ODT activities
- Israeli bonfire and cook together dinner on the fire "poyke"
- Ending session "incites I take home with me" Final program with Israelis

10:00- Good night

**Overnight: Beit Shean and Emek Hamaayanot - Home Hospitality**





**Major (Res.) Sarit Zehavi** served for over 14 years in the Israeli Defense Forces specializing in the Military Intelligence Corps - first at the Research and Analysis Division, followed by a stint at the OC Northern Command. During her distinguished military service, she gained wide experiences in briefing hundreds of delegations, ranging from US Senators and politicians, in addition to global military VIP's as well as journalists and visiting delegations – including JFNA, Keren Hayesod and many global Jewish organizations..

Sarit focuses on multi-disciplined material, based on her expertise on the Arab media specializing in: Lebanon, Turkey, and national security issues and challenges along Israel's volatile northern border. She also holds an M.A. degree

on Middle East Studies from Ben Gurion University. Sarit is a mother of three and a proud resident of the northern Galilee.

**The Golan Heights** is a high basalt plateau in the northeastern corner of Israel. It was formed millions of years ago by erupting volcanoes, whose extinct cones, such as Mt. Bental, still line its eastern rim. Beneath its otherwise mostly flat rocky landscape are huge bodies of ground water (aquifers), which fill up from cold wet winters and melting snow from neighboring Mt. Hermon. This is the source of the region's numerous perennial streams and beautiful waterfalls, such as Yehudiya, Zavitan, and Devora, which flow into the Sea of Galilee and Jordan River. In addition to being attractive hiking and swimming spots, these waters provide Israel with 30% of its fresh drinking water.



The Golan Heights, (or Ramat Hagolan), has been inhabited since prehistoric times. In the Bible, it is referred to by several different names: Golan, Horon, and Bashan.

Sometimes people say the “dolmens” (the giant stone ‘tables’) scattered about the region are the furniture of Og, King of Bashan, who the Bible claims was a giant. During the Second Temple period, the Golan Heights had a large Jewish population and it was a center of olive oil production. In 66 CE when the Great Revolt against Rome began, the Roman army placed an emphasis on conquering major Jewish centers in the Golan Heights in order to sever the link between the Jews of Eretz Yisrael and their brethren in the Diaspora. A particularly fierce battle was fought at Gamla, which became known as the “Masada of the North”.

Jewish life in the Golan Heights didn't end with the destruction of Gamla. In the Mishnaic and Talmudic periods, the Golan's Jewish communities flourished, as attested to by the numerous ancient synagogues discovered throughout the region. The “Talmudic Village” and basalt stone synagogue in Katzrin are particularly fine examples of the rich Jewish material culture at this time.

Over the past 30 years, the Golan has been a source of contention between Israel and Syria. Prior to 1967, the Golan was in Syrian territory. The Syrian army took advantage of its dominant elevation over farms and villages “below” in Israel to shell and snipe at them on a regular basis. Numerous casualties were inflicted on the Israeli civilian population. Many children in the kibbutzim below the Heights spent virtually every night of their childhood in bomb shelters. On one occasion, the Syrians even tried to divert the headwaters of the Jordan River at the Banias in order to deprive Israel of its main source of fresh drinking water.

This changed in June 1967. In a series of lightning strikes over 2 days, Israel captured the Golan Heights during the Six Day War. This began a new period in the history of the region. In the wake of the soldiers

came civilians who began exploring the region as hikers, scientists, and archaeologists. Soon kibbutzim, moshavim, and other settlements began to appear, as a new generation of Israeli pioneers began to follow in the footsteps of their ancient and modern forefathers.

The peace of the region was shattered once again on Yom Kippur 1973. A column of Syrian tanks tried to break through the Israeli lines at Kuneitra and several other points. In the course of 3 days of intense fighting in Emek Habacha (the Valley of Tears) a small number of Israeli tank soldiers defeated a far superior Syrian force in numbers and sophistication of equipment. By the time a cease-fire was declared, the Israeli army was "banging on the door to Damascus". Today there are 30 Jewish settlements in the Golan and over 18,000 residents.



**Oded Rahav**, "The Fish from Cyprus" - entrepreneur, social activist, moshavnik and one of the six swimmers who broke the world record by swimming from Cyprus to Israel and was among the first to swim cross the Dead Sea.



Oded will cross oceans to make this

place a better one.

A fascinating story about taking action, showing responsibility, determination, decision making, friendship and a lot of tahini to eat..

## Monday, June 19 - From Beit Shean to Tel Aviv



### Photographers of the Day - Tess K. and Mika C.

7:30am - Reflection

9:30 - A visit to Chavat Hashomer, an IDF base

**BLOG**

**Natalie C. and Leah R.**

11:30 - Lunch

12:30pm - A visit to Beit HaGefen, an Arab-Jewish cultural center in Haifa

**BLOG**

**Jazzy G. and Roni P.**

3:30 - a drive to Tel Aviv

5:00 Check in + Dinner at the Hotel

7:00 Day Reflection

8:30 - "Just Love", a musical at the Cameri theater

**BLOG**

**Alexis G.**

Good Night

**Overnight: Deborah Hotel, Tel Aviv**



**Havat HaShomer (Guest Guard)** is the basis of recruits army belonging to the Education and Youth Force . Base of talented recruits recruits special populations ( Mca"m ) level of musketry 2002 front back-end service units. The base is located in Lower Galilee near the settlement Ilaniyah . It is passed basic training unique military.'s basic training course is longer than the rest of basic training courses for special populations. previously called the project name "Raful's kids", on - where its founder Rafael Eitan .

Today it serves as a basis for special populations rookies with adjustment problems. The purpose of course is to give the soldier around "protected" it could develop adaptable, all this under the slogan through the life of the base - "Thanks to faith in man" - a term distinguished from the rest of the base military bases with an emphasis on the soldier at the center, special treatment conditions. The base are four companies. Track of the contents are transferred to the standard track Rifles 02. In addition, recruits receive educational programs, relating to the Holocaust , general values and Israel's wars . The soldiers also go on tours in Jerusalem and northern Israel.





**Beit HaGefen**, an Arab-Jewish center founded in 1963 as a pioneer in the field of intercultural dialogue, is a nonprofit organization that strives to establish equalitarian and shared spaces that contain the diversity of identities and cultures in Israel and worldwide. The center is a key player in instilling the intercultural attitude and constructing a shared society, and leads social and community centered processes in the spirit of democratic values, while providing tools for dealing with the complex issues inherent to a society comprised of many cultures.

Beit HaGefen is active in the fields of culture, art, education, and tourism, while maintaining a connection with the community and constantly expanding the circles of collaborations with institutions that strive to promote similar goals in Israel and worldwide. Our activity is based on the conviction that an encounter and an interpersonal familiarity with another culture – its stories, cultural and spiritual assets, are essential for breaking down barriers and building trust between the different national and religious groups living in Haifa and in Israel.

Beit HaGefen's professional team has extensive experience in developing and implementing programs that engage with intercultural dialogue for a broad range of audiences. Beit HaGefen creates diverse projects with the different disciplines in which it operates: theater, library, youth club, women and girls empowerment, culture, music, and more.

### **In Israel, secluded Arab village wants to be a tourist must-see by Abby Sewell (LA Times)**

The freeway that hugs Israel's Mediterranean coast doesn't have an entrance or exit for Jisr az-Zarqa. To reach the Arab village, people use a one-lane tunnel that passes under the highway.

Growing up, fifth-generation Jisr resident Ahmad Jarban felt marooned. Jisr had no high school of its own back in the 1980s, and he had to take two buses to get to school in another village 15 miles away.



When the students from Jisr got off the bus, he said, the local Arab children would shout "*Ghawarna!*" The Arabic word means "valley dwellers," but people from other villages who looked down on the people of Jisr used it as an insult.

"Imagine traveling by bus two hours to get to school and the first thing that happens is other kids sitting on the wall chanting at you, '*Ghawarna, ghawarna!*'" said the 46-year-old Jarban — or Ahmad Juha, as everyone in the village calls him, after a popular character in Arab folk stories.

Nearly all of the villagers come from one of two clans; they are either a Jarban or an Ammash. Most live in gray cinder-block homes packed into narrow streets. There is no room to build out, so families build up, adding second and third floors as their children grow up, marry and start families of their own.

The last remaining all-Arab village on the coast of Israel and one of the poorest communities in the country, Jisr has been isolated from its Jewish and Arab neighbors for decades.

Now, Juha and some of the other 14,000 Arab Israeli residents want to use the village's seclusion as a selling point.

They hope to attract tourists looking for an untouched beach on the country's northern coast or curious about life in an undisturbed Arab Israeli enclave — and, in the process, bring an end to the isolation of Jisr az-Zarqa.

But those against-the-odds efforts are jeopardized by turmoil playing out beyond the village's boundaries.

Jisr is bounded to the east by the freeway; to the west by the Mediterranean, where children play soccer on the beach and a handful of fishermen continue to eke out a living; to the north by a nature preserve that includes old Roman ruins; and to the south by Caesarea, a Jewish resort town whose homeowners include Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.



A decade ago, the Caesarea Development Corp. built an earthen barrier on the beach between the communities, blocking the view of Jisr from beach houses on the northern end of Caesarea and the sound of the call to prayer at the local mosque.

"We woke up one day and came to work at City Hall, and suddenly there were tractors working," said Yaacob Jarban, Jisr's civil engineer.

Caesarea maintained that it was an acoustic wall, Jarban said, but he, like many of the villagers, believes the homeowners of Caesarea were worried about the view of an Arab village dragging down their property values. A spokeswoman for the development corporation did not respond to a request for comment.

In a country where Arabs make up about 20% of the population, the village is separated from other Arab communities nearly as much as from its Jewish neighbors.

In 1948, amid fighting between Arabs and Jews surrounding the creation of Israel, there was no fighting in Jisr.

Arabs living in nearby villages fled, but "we didn't even think about it, never even thought about leaving our lands," said Gamil Jarban, 72, a retired fisherman, who said his father built the first house in Jisr. He said the people of Jisr were left alone because they were peaceful.

"Even when the Jews came here, they didn't want these people to leave the village," he said.

Because of this, residents said, other Arabs saw the people of Jisr as collaborators. Until a decade or so ago, people from other Arab towns refused to marry people from Jisr, local historian Mohammed Ammash said.

Ammash insists that the earlier residents of the area weren't collaborators, but were duped into giving up their land. In the 1920s, Jewish settlers hired residents to drain adjacent swampland. The residents agreed to give up that eastern portion of their traditional lands and settle where the village is today, Ammash said.

He refers to the arrangement as "our Nakba," or catastrophe, referring to the word used by Arabs for their 1948 exodus.

Juha has always believed that his village has potential. He opened his first business, an electrical repair shop, after high school. Later, he ran a pool hall, a cafe for men and a grocery store, where he met his wife, Haifa.

Now Juha operates Jisr's first backpackers' hostel, a project that many residents hope will jump-start tourism and transform the village. Juha calls the hostel a "social business." Volunteers are sometimes allowed to stay for free in exchange for working on community projects or teaching English to the village children.

Juha opened the hostel in collaboration with Neta Hanien, a Jewish Israeli woman who had visited Jisr and also saw potential. The pair shrug off the unusual cross-cultural nature of their partnership, but Juha said he was surprised and touched by the support they received when they launched a crowd-funding campaign.

"We feel that today, more than ever, our vision is important," Hanien said. That vision, she said, is "using tourism as a means to create interaction between the residents of the village and others — Jewish Israelis or other tourists."

Natan Uriely, chairman of the tourism department at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in Beersheva, said Jisr is in an ideal location, but he's skeptical of the village's ability to build a thriving tourism industry.

Many Jewish Israelis still remember that a Jewish motorist was killed by a rock thrown from a bridge in Jisr during the second intifada, a period of Israeli-Palestinian violence in 2000, Uriely said.

"Although there is potential, the place is marked by Jewish Israelis as a place that might be unsafe," he said.

At the same time, there was no unrest in Jisr during the war in the Gaza Strip last summer or in the months that followed, unlike in Jerusalem and elsewhere.

"There's a very small impact, if at all," said Jarban, the engineer. "It's not something you feel. People here are busy with their own problems."

Still, tourism in the village — both by Israelis and foreigners — dropped off dramatically after the Gaza warfare. Hanien said business was brisk for the first six months at the hostel, which opened in January 2014, but then slowed.

A week before Christmas, although the hostel was nearly empty, Ammash led a group of Jewish tourists through the village. Others passed through while hiking the nearby Israel Trail, or stopped to visit the cluster of huts on the beach where Jisr's fishermen dock their boats.

Jisr now has its own high school for youngsters such as 16-year-old Maisan Jarban, who said he learned his nearly fluent English by playing video games.

He said he plans to go to college in Jordan. At this point, fewer than 10% of locally educated students attend universities, high school principal Murad Ammash said.

The teenager hopes to earn a nursing degree and return to Jisr to get married and start a family in the top two floors of his parents' home.

"It is my village; this is where I grew up," he said. "So I can't just leave here."

In the future, Juha said, he hopes there will be more reasons for ambitious young adults to remain here.

"In a matter of 10 years, the change is going to be here," he said. "Because the new generation is already getting the seeds of the change and the sense that they can make the change themselves."



**“JUST LOVE”, the musical** - Tel Aviv of the sixties and early seventies. Against the backdrop of the dramatic love story of Rachel and Akiva we are taken back to one of Israel’s most turbulent, creative, and significant periods. Those highly-charged days are brought back to life with the songs written in the young country of the time, music that became the soundtrack of our life: “You and I Will Change the World”, “Get Out of It”, “Don’t Give Up on Me”, “The Deeper the Bluer”, “I’ll Wait for You”, “What’s With Me”, “It Will Come”, “Hagar”, “When You Cry”, and many more.

Rachel’s parents and Akiva’s colorful bohemian friends, each entrenched in their beliefs and worldviews, hurl the young couple between hope and despair, between death and life.

Will Rachel and Akiva’s uncompromising love overcome all the difficulties and become a life of self-realization, creativity, and stability in the critical years between 1967 and 1973?

A sweeping musical replete with humor that is not ashamed of posing incisive questions on our existence here, and which offers us the perhaps naïve possibility of looking back at times when we dreamed and believed.

## Tuesday, June 20 - Tel Aviv and more



### Photographers of the Day – Galen S. and Hailey N.

7:00am - Breakfast

8:30 - Photographic workshop with Dafna Shalom

**BLOG**

Eliana R. and Mika C.

11:30- Lunch and a tour of Nachalat Binyamin market

2:00pm - A visit to Ariel Sharon Park

**BLOG**

David M.

4:00 - Back in the hotel

6:00 - Dinner

7:00 - Day Reflection

8:00 - A night tour with Oren Eilam

**BLOG**

Raanan S.

11:00- Good night

**Overnight: Deborah Hotel, Tel Aviv**





History Considering its size and importance today, it comes as a surprise that Tel Aviv was nothing but a sand dune 100 years ago. Tel Aviv actually began as a suburb of Jaffa, the adjoining city with which it melded in 1950. Jaffa (meaning “beautiful”) is an ancient venerable town that is mentioned in both the Old and New Testaments. According to Jewish tradition, Noah’s son Japheth, from whom the town took its name, established Jaffa after the Flood. Jonah, it is said, was swallowed by a whale after he left the port of Jaffa, and Peter performed the Miracle of Tabitha here. In Greek mythology, Andromeda was chained to a rock in Jaffa port.

First inhabited 4,000 years ago, Jaffa was once a Philistine town. King Solomon later used the port to bring cedars from Lebanon which were used for the great Temple in Jerusalem. Though King Herod built Caesarea to replace Jaffa as his main port, Jaffa became important again under Moslem and Crusader rule. Jaffa became so crowded, noisy and dirty that a group of Jews decided to create a garden suburb that became Tel Aviv. They bought uninhabited sand dunes north of Jaffa, formed an association called “Achuzat Bayit” and divided property into parcels of land by drawing lots.

The romantic name Tel Aviv (“Hill of Spring”) was chosen for the new community in 1910 partly because of its associations with rebirth and revitalization, and partly because it recalled the vision of Ezekiel. In the biblical Tel Aviv of Babylon, the exiled prophet saw the vision of animated dry bones, which drew him back to Israel. Another association is that Theodor Herzl’s visionary book Alteneuland (Tel Aviv).

It is amusing today to think that Tel Aviv’s founders once banned commercial enterprise in the city. That ban, of course, did not last long; after the First World War (during which the settlers of Tel Aviv were dispersed), the town took enormous commercial strides. In 1921 it became a separated township and the first modern Jewish city in the world. By 1924 Tel Aviv had a respectable population of 35,000 grew to over 200,000 by 1948.

Tel Aviv’s most significant moment in modern history came when David Ben-Gurion proclaimed the State of Israel on May 14, 1948, in the home of Mayor Meir Dizengoff. Since the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzchak Rabin in 1995 at Kikar Malchei Yisrael, this central Tel Aviv Square, which has been renamed Rabin Square, has become a pilgrimage site.



**Dafna Shalom** is a photographer and a multidisciplinary artist. She studied at ICP- international center for photography in NYC and graduated from Hunter College with a degree in fine arts. Shalom exhibits her works in Israel and internationally. Her works are in private and public collections



**Oren Ailam** believes that we all possess an internal weirdness, which we self-contain to satisfy social norms. Instead, we should project our weirdness into the public sphere, allowing it to raise dialogue and communication with others. Furthermore, he believes that shedding light on the most boring and mundane aspects of life is important. If we can find inspiration in the grayest areas of our being, we will develop a much richer appreciation for more thrilling aspects of life. As he sees it, extremely normal is still extreme.

Oren Ailam graduated from the Bezalel Academy of Arts and Design and is a street

artist and industrial designer. In his art, Oren integrates poetic writing and technology into street objects. He pushes the limits between collaboration with the municipalities and under-cover illegal street art. His poems have provoked media attention and discussion, connecting him to diverse peoples, including adventurous travelers, victims of trauma, religious Jews who lost their faith, non-believers who found faith, the transgender community, and beyond.

## Wednesday, June 21 – Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and back home



### Photographers of the Day - Eliana R and Ethan G.

7:00- Breakfast  
7:30 - Travel to Jerusalem  
9:00 -Visit to Yad VaShem

**BLOG** Mika C.

12:30pm - Lunch on Mount Herzel.  
1:30 - "The End is the Beginning: Making Sense of our Israel Journey" workshop with Ze'ev Ben Shachar, Jerusalem U.

**BLOG** David M. and Roni P.

4:00 - Travel Back to Tel Aviv  
6:00 - Dinner  
6:45 - Meeting with Former Shlichim

**BLOG** Jazzy G.

9:00 - Night tour with Barechovot Shelanu

**BLOG** Jen S.

2:00am Day Reflection  
**Overnight: Deborah Hotel, Tel Aviv**

## Thursday, June 22 - Going back home

7am - Breakfast  
8:00 - Travel to the Airport  
**Depart on:**  
**UA085 22JUN TLVEWR 1215P 510P**  
**UA3773 22JUN EWRCLE 850P 1030P**

## If This is Our Future by Daniel Gordis

<http://danielgordis.org/2010/05/07/if-this-is-our-future/>

Imagine this, if you can. A prestigious university in the United States, with deep roots in the American Jewish community, invites Israel's ambassador to deliver its annual commencement address. But instead of expressing pride in the choice of speaker and in the country that he represents, the university's students, many of them Jewish, protest. They don't want to hear from the ambassador. (See his Facebook page.) He's a "divisive" figure, the student newspaper argues, and the students deserved better.

Tragically, of course, there's nothing hypothetical about the scenario. Brandeis University recently decided to award honorary degrees to Michael Oren, Dennis Ross and Paul Simon, among others, at its May 23 commencement, and Ambassador Oren, an extraordinary orator among his many other qualities, was invited to deliver the commencement address.

But the days in which Jewish students on an American campus would have been thrilled to have the Israeli ambassador honored by their school are apparently long since gone. Brandeis's student newspaper, *The Justice* (how's that for irony?), deplored the choice, writing that "Mr. Oren is a divisive and inappropriate choice for keynote speaker at commencement, and we disapprove of the university's decision to grant someone of his polarity on this campus that honor."

The ambassador is a polarizing figure? Why is that? Because, the editorial continues, "the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is a hotly contested political issue, one that inspires students with serious positions on the topic to fervently defend and promote their views."

This is where we are today. For many young American Jews, the only association they have with Israel is the conflict with the Palestinians. Israel is the country that oppresses Palestinians, and nothing more.

No longer is Israel the country that managed to forge a future for the Jewish people when it was left in tatters after the Holocaust. Israel is not, in their minds, the country that gave refuge to hundreds of thousands of Jews expelled from North Africa when they had nowhere else to go, granting them all citizenship, in a policy dramatically different from the cynical decisions of Lebanon, Syria and Jordan to turn their Palestinian refugees into pawns in what they (correctly) assumed would be a lengthy battle with Israel.

Israel is not proof that one can create an impressively functioning democracy even when an enormous portion of its citizens hail from countries in which they had no experience with democratic institutions. Israel is not the country in which, despite all its imperfections, Beduin women train to become physicians, and Arab citizens are routinely awarded PhDs from the country's top universities. Israel is not the country in which the classic and long-neglected language of the Jews has been revived, and which produces world class literature and authors routinely nominated for Nobel Prizes.

Nor is Israel the place where Jewish cultural creativity is exploding with newfound energy, as the search for new conceptions of what Jewishness might mean in the 21st century are explored with unparalleled intensity, particularly among some of the country's most thoughtful young people. No longer is Israel understood to be the very country that created the sense of security and belonging that American Jews – and these very students – now take completely for granted.

No, Israel is none of those things. For many young American Jews, it is only the country of roadblocks and genocide, of a relentless war waged against the Palestinians for no apparent reason. For everyone

knows that Palestinians are anxious to recognize Israel and to live side-by-side with a Jewish democracy. That, of course, is why Hamas still openly declares its commitment to Israel's annihilation, and that is why Hizbullah has, according to US Defense Secretary Robert Gates, accumulated "more missiles than most governments in the world."

None of this is to suggest that Israel is blameless in the ongoing conflict with the Palestinians, or that the present government has a plan for ending it. Those are entirely different matters. The point is that even if these students hold Israel partially (or even largely) accountable for the intractable conflict with the Palestinians, even if one believes that it should have conducted Operation Cast Lead differently, or even if one disapproves of its policies in the West Bank, for example, it is a devastatingly sad day for world Jewry when those issues are the only ones that one associates with Israel, when mere mention of the Jewish state evokes not the least bit of pride from students graduating from a prestigious institution long associated with the very best of American Jewish life.

WHAT WOULD have happened had Brandeis invited President Barack Obama to deliver the commencement address? Obama is, after all, not exactly a non-divisive figure. He is president of a country at war in Iraq and in Afghanistan, places in which (a small number of) American troops have committed their share of atrocities, a country in which civil rights issues are still far from resolved, in which the bounty of America is still far beyond the reach of millions of its citizens.

One suspects that the students would have been thrilled to hear Obama, despite the fact that many do not agree with his policies. They would have been honored to host him despite the fact that some must be disappointed that he has not lived up to his campaign promise to call the Turkish treatment of the Armenians a "genocide," despite the fact that he is intent on pursuing the war in Afghanistan, to which many of the students must certainly be opposed. They would have been delighted by Obama's presence because even if they disagree with some of his views or some of America's actions, they understand that the US is more than Obama, and more than this war or that policy. And they are, quite rightly, enormously proud of what America stands for and what it has accomplished.

But that kind of instinctive pride in the Jewish state is, sadly, a vestige of days gone by, even for many American Jews.

Reading some of the reactions to Oren's invitation, one is struck by an astounding simplicity, and frankly, an utter lack of courage to stand firm against the tidal wave of unbridled hostility toward Israel.

Jeremy Sherer, president of the Brandeis J Street U Chapter, wrote to The Justice, "I am... bothered [by the invitation to Oren] because I disagree with his politics." That's what education is now producing – people who want to hear only those with whom they agree? "I'm not exactly thrilled," Sherer wrote, "that a representative of the current right-wing Israeli government will be delivering the keynote address at my commencement."

Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu, of course, is now busy fending off members of his coalition who are far to the right of him, like Moshe Feiglin and Avigdor Lieberman, and whether or not one takes him at his word, he is the first head of the Likud to endorse a two-state solution, no small matter for those who know the history of the Likud. But Sherer makes no mention of that complicating data, for it doesn't fit his overarching conception of the intrinsic evil of Israel's "right-wing" government (of which the Labor Party is also – inconveniently for Sherer – a member).

The president of the Brandeis J Street U Chapter, who writes that he's of "Israeli heritage" (whatever that means), did not see fit to say a single positive word about Israel. Not one. One wonders what the "pro-Israel" part of J-Street's "pro-Israel, pro-Peace" tag line means to Sherer.

Ironically, though, some of the attempts to defend the invitation to Oren were no less distressing. A student representative to the Board of Trustees writes in a disappointingly anemic piece to the *The Justice* that Oren “is being invited for his academic achievements, not his political ones,” and then launches into a recitation of Oren’s many academic accomplishments.

Here, too, however, not a single positive word about Israel, or of the honor that having not only a world-class historian, but also its representative to the US, might be for the university. That sort of pride appears nowhere in *The Justice*’s editorial, the *J-Street* representative’s piece or the op-ed defending the invitation. For too many American Jewish undergraduates, it’s simply no longer part of their vocabulary.

Imagine that Sherer had written something like this: “I disagree passionately with Israel’s policies regarding the Palestinians, and welcome President Obama’s new pressure on Israel to bring the conflict to a close. But as a Jew who understands that despite my disagreement with Israel’s policies, the Jewish state is key to the Jewish revival of which my entire generation is a beneficiary, I honor Ambassador Oren for his service to a country of which I am deeply proud in many ways, and I look forward to welcoming him to campus.”

Or if the pro-Oren op-ed had said, “There is a radical disconnect between our generation and today’s Israeli government. Many members of my generation believe that Mr. Netanyahu and his government either do not know how to speak to us, or are uninterested in doing so. Ambassador Oren’s appearance on campus is a perfect opportunity for the Israeli government to address us and our concerns; I urge our campus to listen carefully to what may well be a watershed address at this critical period in Israel’s history and in the relationship between Israel and the future leadership of American Jewry.”

Imagine. But nothing of that sort got said.

Indeed, the seeming refusal of any of the student articles to say even one positive thing about the Jewish state was all the more galling given other events that took place across the globe on the very same week that the Oren controversy was unfolding. At the University of Manchester, pro-Palestinian protesters tried to attack Israel’s deputy ambassador to the UK, some holding Palestinian flags up to the windows of her car and others climbing on the hood and trying to smash the windshield. In Berlin, a Danish street art duo known as “Surrend” blanketed several neighborhoods with maps of the Middle East in which the State of Israel had been removed, with the term “Final Solution” at the top. The Scottish Labor Federation reaffirmed its support for a boycott of Israel, and the student government at the University of California, Berkeley fell just one single vote short in a bid to override a veto against a divestment bill; a similar bill was also debated at UC San Diego.

None of the writers to *The Justice* felt that they had to distance themselves from those views, even as they critiqued or supported the invitation to Ambassador Oren.

The student-thugs at UC Irvine, who disrupted Oren’s speech on campus in February, have won. They have set the standard for how one treats any mention of Israel on any campus. Israel is nothing but a legitimate whipping post even at institutions of higher learning, and sane discussion of its rights and wrongs need not be defended, even in communities ostensibly committed to civil and intelligent discourse.

Tragically, even these students at Brandeis, one of the great institutions of American Jewish life, had nothing terribly different to say to the world. Theirs are only more tepid versions of the delegitimization now spreading across the international community like wildfire.

One shudders to imagine a future in which they might be our leaders.