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POST

ISZIONISM BECOMING

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THEANCHOROFJUDAISM

In this special issue, leading thinkers weigh in

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➤ 'Bibi: My Story': Exclusive excerpt from the upcoming 22 autobiography

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SAY WHAT? • By LIAT COLLINS

Le'olam ain le'da'at לעולם אין לדעת

Meaning: You never know/you never can

Literally: Forever there's no knowing **Example**: Le'olam ain le'da'at what the full consequences will be until after the event.



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J. Mark Interiors Teamwork Makes Your **Dream Work**

• by / Tammy Mantin

onsidering the dream of home ownership in Israel? The idea may feel both exhilarating and daunting. J. Mark Interiors is the team that you want to have by your side. Located in the heart of Jerusalem on King David Street, the showroom is in proximity to the holiest historical sites and steps away from the most majestic hotels. With a team of experts across two countries, your dream is in good hands from the beginning to end, and every step along the way.

Under the direction of founder and CEO Jeffrey Mark, J. Mark Interiors has grown from a fine interior design firm to an international architecture, design and project management enterprise. With the flagship showroom in New York having been established in





▲ Team J.Mark

1997, Jeffrey recently closed in on a quarter of a century of exquisite design work and masterful curation. He has built his business on dedication to excellence and customer care; he guides his team with the same values, while striving to achieve each client's distinct vision and unique needs.

Jeffrey relies on his

specializes in a full "turnkey package", encompassing the earliest stages of planning to the most minute details, yet the same attention is given to the smaller scale projects. Some begin with a completely raw space and a luxurious abode is created from a concrete box; other times an existing space is reimagined to match the client's vision. The J. Mark team often takes on projects at the preconstruction level, as they employ a large network of experts including construction teams, builders, craftspeople and service providers who work cohesively with the in-house team

Project manager BJ is the "man on the ground", handling logistics once work

impeccably trained architects and designers. Shimon and Eli work on floor plans to perfectly map out the client's space, creating multiple layers of plans - electrical, plumbing, lighting and more. Eli brings plans to life with 3D renderings reviewed with clients by Zoom with a virtual "live" walkthrough, going room by room and detail by detail. The team will proceed to selection of all the interior design materials, from tiles to appliances to furniture -- down to the very last accessory.

J. Mark Interiors

all times -- handling the showroom, appointments and countless other details. Michele, Tracy, Ilana and lackie can be found at the Cedarhurst, New York showroom. This equally stellar team is well-versed in all of the parts of the process and apprised of all projects, allowing clients to work with the local team in New York as needed. For new Jerusalem homeowners who live in the States, there is something magical about shopping in New York and finding a majestic dream home ready and waiting for you upon arrival across the world.

▲ Elegance from all angles

begins to ensure the project

matches the plans, timeline

and client satisfaction.

Dania oversees client

accounts to ensure all is

accurate, running smoothly

and according to client

budget. Avigail, Jeffrey's

personal assistant, can be

reached out to for help at

Jeffrey takes pride in specializing in "American

style" customer service, including shipping of samples from international vendors for clients to review. Team members in Israel are English speakers. Plans can be presented in inches and feet rather than meters if needed, so all clients can easily appreciate make you feel at ease."

the dimensions and the value of the materials. Whether in London, Toronto or anywhere else. clients will feel at ease with the J. Mark Interiors team on the ground.

"We have clients from all over the world. You can be sitting in your house in L.A. for instance and you can design an entire house with us over Zoom. We're trying to make you feel like vou're actually at the project," Jeffrey explains. "We understand that

being 7,500 miles away with a 10 hour time difference, trying to communicate with someone who doesn't speak your language just won't work. That's why J.Mark Interiors is able to help in the most convenient way, in whatever way it takes to

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OUR MUSICAL MEMORIES

My compliments on Dvora Waysman's Reflections piece ("Love your memories," October 7), especially the second paragraph. What mem-

I had a blind date with my wife-to-be in the summer of 1958. It was an all-Gershwin program at Lewisohn Stadium, City College of New York, where I was an undergraduate student. Van Cliburn, who had just returned from Moscow, having won the first Tchaikovsky Competition, was the soloist and played "Rhapsody in Blue," the orchestra being conducted by Leonard Bernstein. Of course, we had to Will produce the get married, as it was a most romantic evening.

Unfortunately, she passed two months shy of 58 years of marital bliss, about four years ago. I'm pleased that you and your husband had 65 years together.

And the Big Bands! As you wrote, "music from paradise." G'mar hatima tova, and please keep writing in The Jerusalem Post.

IRA M. GRINBERG

OUR LOWLY LEADERS

The October 7 Magazine had so many interesting articles, I'm hard-pressed to pick out one for special praise. However, there is one sentence from Rabbi

Stewart Weiss's column that I would like to comment on.

At the very end of his beautifully written "Our parent, our sovereign," he writes, "Who among the candidates commands our awe and respect, yet at the same time elicits our love?" Who indeed? Never mind love, never mind awe: who commands our respect?

I am sick of our so-called leaders, who cannot put the good of the country before their own egos. I forecast that

I forecast that this upcoming election same results as the previous four

Our parent, our sovereig



this upcoming election will produce the same results as the previous four, and that this time next year, we'll be back at the polling stations for another ride on the not-so-merry roundabout!

BRENDA GOLDBLUM Ierusalem

OUR MYSTERIOUSLY MISSING

I was very interested to read Alan Rosenbaum's article about Janusz Makuch, who founded Krakow's Jewish Culture Festival in 1988 ("Pathfinding pioneer," October 7). It was just a few years later that I found myself in Krakow as part of the March of the Living in Poland. We had spent a few days in that historic city after an emotional visit to Chelmo and Auschwitz and were debriefing from the horrors we saw there.

Krakow was a respite of sorts, allowing us to visit the vestiges of Jewish life there – including the Rama Synagogue and cemetery, where I had the opportunity to visit the grave of a distant ancestor, Rabbi Yoel Sirkis.

It was with a very pensive frame of mind, therefore, on the morning of our departure, that I witnessed the putting up of grandstands and lighting in the streets, accompanied by technicians of every sort. I asked some bystanders who spoke English what was happening and was

told, "Why of course tomorrow will be the start of the Jewish music, Jewish, food, etc. It is surroundings. very popular every year and thousands of people from all over Poland will attend."

I asked if these would be puzzled and repeated that Polish people will be coming.

I couldn't help but think that it was very nice that Poles wanted to enjoy Jewish music and food, but where were the ingly so. three million Polish Iews who had been murdered in the Holocaust?

MARION REISS Beit Shemesh The writer is a Holocaust educator and guide.

OUR IMPRESSIONABLE INFANTS

Regarding "Can Israel's anti-racism czar succeed?" (September 30): Racist sentiment is typically handed down from generation to generation. If it's deliberate, it's something I strongly feel amounts to a form of child abuse: to rear one's impressionably young children in an environment of overt bigotry – especially against other ethnicities and races.

Not only does it fail to prepare children for the practical reality of an increasingly diverse and populous society and workplace, but it also makes it so much less likely those children will be emotionally

content or (preferably) harmonious with their multicultural festival; there will be Jewish and multi-ethnic/multi-racial

Children reared into their adolescence and, eventually, young adulthood this way can often be angry yet not fully Jewish people and he looked realize at precisely what. Then they may feel left with little choice but to move to another part of the land, where their own ethnicity/race predominates, preferably overwhelm-

If not for themselves, parents then should do their young children a big favor and not pass down to their very impressionable offspring such bigoted feelings and perceptions (nor implicit stereotypes and "humor," for that matter). Ironically, such rearing can make life much harder for one's own children.

While there's research through which infants demonstrate a preference for caregivers who look like them (i.e. skin color), any future such biases and bigotries generally are environmentally acquired.

The earliest years are typically the best time to instill and even solidify positive social-interaction life skills/traits into a very young brain/mind. And one can imagine this would be particularly important to achieve within one's religious and educational community.

FRANK STERLE, JR. White Rock, British Columbia Canada

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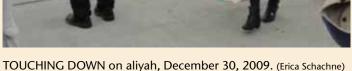
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FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Zionism – and Judaism – evolve before our eyes







DREAM, WILLED: Thank you, Theodor, for your vision. (Marc Israel Sellem)

Though I spent the first 32 years of my life in America and it was very good to me and my family, I always had the feeling of bidwhenever anyone asks what inspired said aliyah, I

I therefore find the question we're asking in this special issue particularly relevant:

reply, "It's simple: Zionism."

Is Zionism becoming the anchor of Judaism?

In this issue we bring you, dear readers, into a robust conversation at the very heart of the Jewish world, with perspectives from leading thinkers who share their views about this crucial

We are honored to have President Isaac Herzog deliver a special message to Magazine readers. The president proclaims that reclaiming Zionism is the mission of our generation! He emphasizes that Zionism is not only about establishing a Jewish state but also a "safe space" to debate the key questions facing the Jewish people.

Gol Kalev is author of Judaism 3.0: Judaism's Transformation to Zionism, which helped spark the conversation captured in this issue of the Magazine. He argues that Judaism is in the midst of a historic transformation and explains how recognizing that far-reaching implications in both countering exis-sitioned as incompatible with one another, are tential threats to Judaism and unleashing opportoday thriving hand in hand in ways that have

Natan Sharansky, perhaps viewed as the Dean of Zionism, shares with Magazine readers how he led

or as long as I can remember, I've chaired the Jewish Agency – to be not just about former portfolio manager, looks at Judaism as an considered myself a staunch Zionist. aliyah but a vehicle to connect to one's Judaism.

With 85% of Jews living in either Israel or North America, we are also honored to get the take of a former ambassador of the United States to Israel, ing my time until I could make aliyah. Naturally, and a former Israeli ambassador to the United

David Friedman, who served as the US's ambassador to Israel from 2017 to 2021, discusses Judaism's inseparability from Zionism, in spite of attempts to draw a wedge between the two. "To be a Jew is to be a Zionist," he argues.

Michael Oren, who served as Israel's ambassador to the US from 2009 to 2012 (also serving in the Knesset), shares his encounter with an attempt by an influential Jew to proclaim Zionism as dead, which in turn only increased Oren's commitment to and pride in Zionism.

Fleur Hassan-Nahoum, deputy mayor of Jerusalem with the city's foreign relations portfolio, notes that Zionism is not simply a national movement but "essentially the reunion of the Jewish collective soul with the Jewish collective

Yuval Cherlow, a founder of the Tzohar rabbinical movement and one of Israel's leading rabbis, discusses the evolution of tension between the national and religious aspects of Judaism Zionism is now the anchor of Judaism would have and explains how the two, "which were once popermanently, and positively, affected who we are as a nation and as a people.

Jennifer Pomeranz, an influential American the broadening of Zionism's mission - when he global energy and infrastructure executive and

"investment thesis" and explains why Zionism provides the necessary cultural bedrock needed for the success of Israel, and for the continuity of

Yael Rozenman-Ismael, daughter of a Palestinian Muslim mother and a Jewish father, explains how it is the outside world that often defines Judaism. While for most Jews, she was not Jewish enough in spite of her conversion - for the outside world she was always associated not just with Judaism but also with Zionism and Israel, even though she was Bolivian.

Finally, Yaakov Hagoel, a successor of Theodor Herzl as chairman of the World Zionist Organization, expounds on how Zionism has remained the beating heart of Judaism ever since its launch at the First Zionist Congress. Last month, Hagoel led the celebrations of the 125th anniversary of this congress at the Stadtcasino in Basel, Switzerland, where Herzl launched it in 1897.

The Magazine always aims to bring you into the crux of the discussion, whether through our eclectic articles or our occasional theme magazines, such as our 2019 Herzl package. Since then, five books have been written about Herzl and numerous articles published, equipping readers to be both participants in and trendsetters of the relevant issues of our days.

I hope you find this issue thought-provoking and, as always, welcome your letters and comments.

From my desk in Israel's capital,

Erica Schachne

Reclaiming Zionism: Our generation's mission

A special message from **President Isaac Herzog** to 'Magazine' readers

ionism was founded to build a Jewish national home. By working hand in hand, Jews in Israel and the Diaspora made that dream come true. But the establishment of a Jewish state was stage one of the Zionist vision, not its culmination. And it was the start of a great Israel-Diaspora partnership, not its end.

As Israel's detractors try to turn "Zionist" into a dirty word. I believe that we have a duty to reclaim Zionism as a statement of common purpose between Israeli and Diaspora Jews, in pursuit of tikkun olam healing our broken world.

This was the message I brought with me to the historic event celebrating the 125th anniversary of the First Zionist Congress in Basel in August. And this is the message that I would like readers to reflect on as they read this special *Magazine* and the thought-provoking question at its heart.

By any measure, Zionism has been a tremendous success: It has revived an ancient language, restored dignity and security to a battered people, and created a vibrant and dynamic national culture. But Zionism represents a historical revolution for another reason: Zionism created a powerful vehicle for Jewish collective action. Put simply, it is through Zionism that the Jewish people are making some of their most dramatic contributions to humanity.

Zionism has created a framework for Jews to work together, in science and culture, technology and the arts, defense and religion, in ways previously unimaginable. It has created a platform for Jews to shine their light on the world and put into practice the wisdom, the values, and the ideals of generations.

I recently returned from Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II's funeral, and I was very proud to meet with so many world leaders who came up to me to express wonderment and admiration at Israel's achievements. Sometimes people outside our borders see things more clearly than we can, in our day-to-day lives. Israel, in all facets of its diverse society, is a huge force for good in the world, thanks to the collective action facilitated by Zionism.

As mentioned, Israel's detractors are trying to turn "Zionist" into a dirty word. In 1975, it was the UN General Assembly resolution equating Zionism with racism, which my father famously tore up at the UN plenary (it was revoked 16 years later). Today, it is anti-Israel activists using "Zio" as a slur, leading one major social media company recently to consider censoring "Zionist" as a curse word! This is a despicable and often antisemitic attempt to break

At the same time, we are witnessing two fascinating shifts in the Diaspora. On the one hand, Israeli culture is increasingly shaping and defining Jewish culture. But on the other, many Jews, especially young Jews, are questioning what meaning Israel and Zionism have for their lives, especially as they come under pressure from those challenging Zionism's basic legitimacy.

It is in the face of these twin challenges that we must reclaim Zionism.

I BELIEVE that the meaning of Zionism is chiefly responsibility: responsibility for our deep-rooted Jewish identity, responsibility for our cohesion as a diverse and opinionated people, and responsibility for the well-being and prosperity of our precious Jewish and democratic state. Zionism means responsibility to address our challenges together, as one people, in the framework of our multi-ethnic, multicultural state. It means responsibility not only for our shared fate but also for our shared

It is through Zionism that the Jewish people, as a collective, are able to make magnificent contributions to whole worlds of intellect and culture, to fighting the global climate crisis, to dispatching emergency aid to disaster zones, to developing revolutionary technologies, and to setting a moral example.

It is through Zionism, moreover, that the lewish people can revitalize aspects of Jewish tradition in our ancestral homeland, endowing them with new meaning and allowing Jews to live in a Jewish space, in Jewish time, in Hebrew. Zionism is an indispensable mix of old and new, and it is through Zionism's link between land, people and state that we can connect to our deepest roots and tap into ancient reservoirs of meaning, fulfilling a millennia-old

Zionism, to borrow a famous phrase, does not mean the "end of history" for the Jewish people. Zionism has not solved the great dilemmas of Jewish history. It has not stopped the historical pendulum swinging between the demand for normality and the pursuit of individuality, the demand to blend into the family of nations and the pursuit of a unique Jewish destiny.

Instead, Zionism created a platform for Jews to explore their identity as an independent political community. It created a "safe space," if you will, where the Jewish people could continue arguing and debating about their big questions, safe from the fears that had always haunted them: fears of antisemitic persecution on the one hand, and fears of the erasure of their distinctive culture on the other



No less importantly: Zionism is not just the mission of Jews living in our ancestral homeland. It is a collective endeavor for Diaspora Jews, too. It is a project that unites us, a shared commitment to making our world a better place. For Diaspora Jews, Israel is a home away from home, a place where they can contribute to and draw from vibrant culture, and where their outside perspectives can enrich our sense of global vet grounded peoplehood.

Only together can we address our shared challenges. Only together can we work for the sake of the future, in the name of the past. We must reclaim Zionism, therefore, as a positive affirmation of our collective resolve; as a source of pride in what we can achieve when we work together, in body and spirit.

This holiday, as we read this Magazine in our sukkot, let us remember that the Wandering Jew now has a permanent home, and let us reclaim our sense of purpose about the good that we can do with this

I wish you all a happy Sukkot, and happy

The writer is the 11th president of the State

PRESIDENT ISAAC HERZOG

I believe that the meaning of Zionism is chiefly responsibility



A shift in global consciousness of what is Judaism

Zionism is becoming the anchor of Judaism. Recognizing this could address the existential threat of Israel bashing and unleash tremendous opportunities

• GOL KALEV

e are in the midst of a historic transformation of Judaism. Whether one likes it or not, Zionism is becoming the organizing principle of the Jewish nation-religion. It is the primary conduit through which both Jews and non-Jews relate to Judaism, whether positively or negatively. It is the one aspect of Judaism that evokes emotions, passion, anger, pride and engagement.

Zionism, the national expression of Judaism, is becoming its organizing principle (Judaism 3.0) in the same way that Rabbinic Judaism, the religious expression of Judaism, was during 2,000 years of exile (Judaism 2.0), and the Temple and physical presence in Judea prior (Judaism 1.0). This in-turn only strengthens the religious aspect of Judaism.

The robust conversations that were sparked by the publication of my book *Judaism 3.0 - Judaism's Transformation* to Zionism are a testament to the broad interest in Zionism. In recent weeks, the America-Israel Friendship League hosted a Iudaism 3.0 webinar with more than 13,000 participants, the Begin Center reported its highest attendance since COVID when it hosted its second Judaism 3.0 event, and the Brazil Jewish Academy even initiated a curriculum course to study the intricacies of Judaism 3.0 and Herzl. I am pleased that *The* Jerusalem Post decided to develop this conversation and invited leading thinkers to share their insight on the issue. The president of Israel, in his special message to this Magazine's readers, states it clearly: Reclaiming Zionism is the mission of our generation!

Theodor Herzl, the father of Zionism, wrote: "How can we tell the power of an idea? When we see that nobody can ignore

it - whether he is for it, or against it." Zionism today is the one aspect of Judaism that cannot be ignored, including, as Herzl acknowledged, in opposition. Indeed, for many American Jews, criticism of Israel has become the No.1 Jewish-related activity. Facebook posts such as "As a Jew, I am embarrassed about Israel" are indicative that it is Zionism, just as Herzl envisioned, that brings Jews back into their Judaism.

In Chicago, Zionism did something that was unthinkable till recently: It brought unaffiliated Jews to synagogue! They came to declare that they are anti-Zionist. The debates, resolutions, and votes created unprecedented engagement with Judaism. Once in synagogue, the under-engaged Jew is more likely to consume other Jewish experiences, including cultural and religious.

The power of the Zionist ideal is also expressed through the Iewish value of tikkun olam – repairing the world. Israeli innovations and medical breakthroughs have turned the Jewish state into the tikkun olam state.

Tikkun olam has been identified as a primary Jewish connector for Jews in America, home to about 80% of Diaspora Jewry. But the vast majority of Jews engaging in tikkun olam do not do so through Jewish organizations but individually or through community-wide charities, alongside non-Jews. With Zionism as the anchor of Judaism, an American Jew can now partake in the collective Jewish mission of tikkun olam simply by centering his Jewish identity around Zionism - by recognizing that we are in Judaism 3.0.

positive, such as through Israeli wine, Israeli Netflix series and tikkun olam, or in negative through criticism of Israel, has replaced a reluctant connection through duty and guilt that characterized much of American Jewry outside the religious Orthodox minority (estimated to be 10%). The connection to Judaism through Zionism is now initiated by Diaspora Jews themselves, and not by "Jewish authorities." Hence in Judaism

Indeed, an organic connection to Judaism, whether in

3.0, the connection to Judaism is not only organic and natural but also sustainable.

And still, it has yet to be broadly recognized that Zionism is the organizing principle of Judaism. This is both since, as Herzl stated, transformations of such magnitude take a long time and because there were insurmountable hurdles in Israel's first 70 years.

Hurdles to the transformation of Judaism now removed

These hurdles include Zionism evolving in the 20th century to be over-associated with secularism and even rejection of religion (not by Herzl's design), the initial objection of the haredim, Israel's association with socialism, as well as its financial and security difficulties. This while across the sea in America, fears of dual-lovalty and adherence to the homogeneous American ethos deterred lews from centering their Jewish identity around Zionism.

Those hurdles are now removed. In Israel there is a long-term shift of power and ethos from the secular minority to the religious/traditional majority, a religious rapprochement among the seculars (the rise of global consciousness of what is Judaism. Once there the Israel-bashing populace in bizarre manners, such of the Datlaf - the "Sometimes Religious" - as the predominant stream of Israeli secularism), the haredi objection is gone, and so is Israel's socialism and survival challenges. In America, there is now a broad embrace of heritage-identity and cultural-pluralism anchored in common American values. For example, US Vice el-bashing threat President Kamala Harris celebrates her Jamaican and Indian national heritage, and Sen. Marco Rubio his Cuban. In today's America, the American Jew who wishes to be like his neighbor would accentuate, not suppress, his Jewish national identity – Zionism. This does not (Rubio is not a Cuban citizen nor agrees with the Cuban government's policy). It means a closer alignment to the consensus American ethos. Zionism is an expression of the American Jews' Americanism, even before it is an expression of his Judaism.

This while the outside world continues to look at the Jews as it always has: in a national context. As there is a global shift away from "gray," centrism and ambiguity toward clarity, the polars and bluntness, recognizing that Zionism is now the anchor of Judaism would lead to a more genuine relationship of the world with the Iews. It would provide Iewish clarity.

But recognizing that we are in Judaism 3.0 has much further implications than answering the question of "What is the state of Judaism?" It would also help counter contemporary threats to Judaism. First and foremost, the existential threat of Israel-bashing.

Judaism 3.0 helps counter Israel-bashing

Like the nascent antisemitism movement in Herzl's times, Israel-bashing is an amorphous and difar more advanced and poisonous than antisemitism was in the 1890s.

Back then, sectorial newspapers, like the French La Libre Parole, and individuals like composer Richard Wagner, argued that Jews are polluting humanity.

Today, it is credible mainstream organizations that create this global consciousness. This year alone, CNN helped instill the notion that the Jewish state assassinates journalists, and Amnesty International that the Jewish state commits crimes against humanity.

Herzl argued that in such circumstances hasbara (public diplomacy) is futile. He mocked "committees against antisemitism," since one cannot change dogmatic minds. A radical solution was needed: A Jewish political movement, Zionism, that will usher in the . Iewish state.

Similarly, Israel-bashing is by now too entrenched in mainstream society to be countered through rational arguments. A radical approach is needed: The change



ISRAEL BASHERS must stay in Judaism 2.0: Waving the Palestinian flag high at an "All Eyes on Palestine" rally in New York, 2021. (Timothy A. Clary/AFP via Getty Images)

Zionism, Israel-bashing becomes Jew-bashing, and this alters the nature of the threat.

Judaism 3.0 extracts the hidden asset from the Isra-

Unlike in Herzl's time, we have a latent asset: Hating Jews is no longer fashionable. While being anti-Zionist is a rite of passage in certain circles, being anti-Jewish is a career-ending taboo. This is especially so in the media and politically correct-sensitive organizations which, mean agreement with Israel's policies, nor citizenship in addition to their positive work, are also the breeding ground for Israel-bashing.

> Israel bashers must stay in Judaism 2.0. This allows them to achieve both of their objectives: pursue with vigor their age-old opposition to Judaism (through Zionism), and maintain their modern-day claim that they love the Jews. They can even claim to have a zero-tolerance to antisemitism (the threat to Judaism in the 20th century), while partaking in Israel-bashing (the threat to Judaism in the 21st century). Once it is accepted that Judaism has transformed and Zionism is its anchor, this premise is robbed from them.

> Israel-bashing is not only dogmatic but also lethal. It poses both the populous retail component, grounded in Occupationalsim - Westerners who hijack the Palestinian cause and adapt it to their needs, and the theoretical institutional destruction mechanism, like the International Criminal Court and the United Nations. Such mechanisms were effective in handling previous pariahs such as South Africa and Ba'athist Iraq. Israel's warm peace with its Arab neighbors and

a trajectory toward de facto normalization with verse movement. Yet, Israel-bashing of the 2020s is the Palestinians led Israel bashers to crystallize the nature of their opposition: This is no longer about the Palestinians nor about the Israeli-Arab conflict. This is about humanity

> Wagner spreading his gospel that Jews pollute humanity had devastating consequences. Today, Amnesty International, agencies of the United Nations and other credible organizations that spread their gospel that the Jewish state "commits crimes against humanity" puts Judaism and Jews in grave danger again.

Some in our Judaism 3.0 discussions push back on this, arguing that the solid support for Israel in world governments would put such populous sentiments in check. Indeed, Israel is blessed to have unshakable relationships even with allies it has disagreements with. Yet, here too, we should look to Herzl who refuted such arguments: "Even if we were as near to the hearts of princes... they could not protect us. They would only feel popular hatred by showing us too much favor." Indeed, we already see European governments cater to

is a broad recognition that Judaism has transformed to as in votes on UNESCO resolutions implying that Jews have no historic ties to Jerusalem.

As long as there is an illusion that Zionism is a "passing phenomenon" that can be defeated like Communism or Ba'athist Iraq – the populous opposition will only intensify. A broad recognition of Judaism 3.0 would end that illusion

Shift in global consciousness

The transformation to Judaism 3.0 is simple. It does not require legislation or halachic changes. It is happening in one's consciousness, in one's basic approach to Judaism.

Such shift of consciousness of what is Judaism occurred before. Judaism's original organizing principle was centered on the Temple and the physical presence in Judea (Judaism 1.0). When the Temple was destroyed and Jews exiled, Judaism adopted a new organizing principle - Rabbinic Judaism: The synagogues replaced the Temple, the insular ghetto replaced the insular life in Judea, and the yearning to return to Zion replaced the actual presence in Jerusalem (Judaism 2.0). After some time, the terms "Rabbinic Judaism" and "Judaism" became synonymous.

It is possible that in the Middle Ages, some argued they love the Jews - those who (used to) worship in the Temple and live in Judea – but hate the Rabbinic Jews: those who worship in synagogues, live in European ghettos, wear a kippah and celebrate Hanukkah. Once there was a global recognition that Judaism has transformed to "Judaism 2.0," one could not hide behind this fake facade. Similarly, once there is a global recognition that we are in Judaism 3.0, one would not be able to hide behind the fake facade of loving the Jews who (used to) go to synagogue but hating the Zionists. Sooner or later, the terms "Zionism" and "Judaism" will likely be used synonymously.

Herzl predicted that the Jewish state will exist, not due to the nations' moral obligation but because it will be the necessity of the world. Indeed, Israel is becoming such a necessity - not only through its technological innovations but also through its daring social experiments and unwavering commitment to mutual assurance and to tikkun olam - committing extreme advancements for humanity.

We are in the early days of Zionism. Recognizing we are in Judaism 3.0 will unleash Judaism's great potential and carve a clearer path for the world's nations to benefit from the crisp light that is emanating from Zion.

The writer is author of Judaism 3.0: Judaism's Transformation to Zionism (Judaism-Zionism.com).

We are in the early days of Zionism

ZIONIST IOURNEY: Theodor Herzl aboard the vessel reaching the shores of Palestine at Jaffa Port, 1898. (Wikimedia Commons)

GOL KALEV: 'Zionism today is the one aspect of Judaism that cannot be ignored.' (Hanna Taieb)







Staying Jewish through Zionism



PRISONER OF Zion Natan Sharansky with his mother after his release from the Soviet Union. He landed in Israel on February 11, 1986. (Moshe Shai/Flash90)

I discovered there are only two factors that can slow down the assimilation: tradition and Zionism

• NATAN SHARANSKY

hen I grew up in the Soviet Union, I knew that I was Jewish because it was written in the ID of my parents. But there was nothing positive in this word – no tradition, no religion, no language, no history. The only Jewish thing in my youth was antisemitism – both in the street and in the official policy of restrictions. Only after the Six Day War in 1967 did I become a proud Zionist. And through Zionism, I discovered the power of Jewish history, culture and tradition, and later in prison, religion.

People are coming to their Jewish identity from different directions. Some through religion, some through tradition, some through national pride, and some through different streams of Zionism. Labor Zionism, Revisionist Zionism, Religious Zionism, etc. All these sides of Judaism become components of one's Jewish identity.

There is no doubt that today Israel is taking more and more center stage in this confluence of Jewish identities. This is in line with the vision of Theodor Herzl. He was able to see the future, predict the future and build the future. He believed that the Jewish state would be established within 50 years, and indeed that is exactly the time it took from the First Zionist Congress in 1897 to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948

But at the same time, he was wrong in his prediction that after the creation of the Jewish state there would remain no Jews in the Diaspora; they would either make aliyah or would voluntarily assimilate. This didn't happen. Today, after almost 75 years since the creation of the State of Israel, half of the Jews still live in the Diaspora. But in some indirect way, his prediction is still true. Zionism, connection to Israel, has become a central part of Jewish identity for Jews from different diasporas. And those who don't have it are more vulnerable to assimilation

As a Jewish activist, member of the Israeli government and, later, head of the Jewish Agency, I visited almost every Jewish community in the world. They all in one way or another face the danger of assimilation. And I discovered that there are only

two factors that can slow down the assimilation: tradition and Zionism. If you have one, you can work on connecting yourself to the second. Either way, your Jewishness is not under immediate danger.

But if you don't have any connection, neither to tradition nor to Israel, your grandchildren probably will not be Jewish. This experimental rule is true for North America, South America, France, Russia, Australia or any other place in the world.

With that in mind, I was part of a transformation of the Jewish Agency. Until that time, many viewed the Jewish Agency as simply the tool for aliyah. And so, the representative of the Jewish Agency had to knock on the doors of every Jew and ask him or her, "Why are you here? How dare you not make alivah?" I didn't want to be such a commissar of Zionism.

Of course, when it comes to saving Jews from Ethiopia, Russia, or today from Ukraine, the Jewish Agency always has to be – and is – ready for such operations. But most of the Jews today live in the free world. And their aliyah is not aliyah of escape, it is aliyah of free choice. And to make this choice, they have to feel a strong connection with their identity and the State of Israel. And if you want to mobilize Jews to fight antisemitism, or to strengthen their communities, or to slow down assimilation, we need the same – to strengthen their Jewish identity.

I put this principle at the center of our activity. Our way to do it is to organize different encounters between Jews and Israel. Our programs became connected into a spiral of Israel experiences, from meeting Jewish Agency emissaries in summer camps, schools, universities and communities to traveling to Israel for short programs like Birthright; longer programs like Onward; and numerous Masa projects up to one year. As a result, you increase the number of people who make aliyah of choice, as well as those who become more involved in the communities, take part in the fight against antisemitism, defending Israel, and so on.

I was accused by some that I changed the nature of the Jewish Agency, turning it from the single aim of making aliyah to a kind of tourism ministry. But soon it became obvious to everybody that strengthening the Zionist component of our identity is the most effective way to encourage aliyah of choice.

Judaism without Zionism - not sustainable

There is a movement today by some liberal Jews to try to build Jewish identity that is totally disconnected from Israel.

Embarrassed by continual criticism of Israel as the "colonialist," "white supremacy project," they prefer to distance themselves from it. We have reached American Jewish tradition, they would say, we don't need nationalist Israel to define our identity. After all, they say, in thousands of years of Jewish history, Israel as a state was not a part of Jewish identity most of the time. Of course, it's ridiculous to try to ignore the differences in Jewish identity before and after the creation of the State of Israel.

Their efforts remind me of the activity of the so-called Yevsektsiya – Jewish department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. They wanted Jews to join the "progressive" cause of communism, and remain Jewish. That's why they were against religion and led the process of closing synagogues.

They were against Hebrew and prohibited Zionist literature. At the same time, they encouraged Yiddish and were responsible for opening chairs for the study of Yiddish in universities and the creation of various cultural institutions in Yiddish. But soon it became clear that assimilation was accelerating, and there were fewer and fewer people interested in these institutions.

When the central components of Jewish identity were taken away, few were really interested in remaining Jewish.

The writer is a human rights activist and author who spent nine years in Soviet prisons as a refusenik during the 1970s and 1980s. He served in various Israeli government cabinet positions, including deputy prime minister (between 2001 and 2003), and served as the chairman of the Jewish Agency from June 2009 to August 2018.

Is Zionism distinct from Judaism?

DAVID FRIEDMAN

he latest fad in the seemingly never-ending reimagining of antisemitism is the assertion that one can safely contest the existence of the State of Israel while simultaneously admiring the religious precepts of Judaism, thereby avoiding the trip-wire that makes one an antisemite.

"I don't hate Jews, only Israel" has now become a mantra that provides a comfortable ideological home to many, even those professing adherence to the Jewish faith.

It's a crock. This argument fails on theological, moral and even practical grounds.

Theologically, there is no daylight between Zionism – the movement that has successfully brought the Jewish people back to its biblical homeland – and Judaism itself. Indeed, the covenantal relationship between God and Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (as well as the vision of many prophets) – which is at the core of Judaism – is based almost entirely upon God's promises to install and promote the Jewish nation inside the Land of Israel.

There are many biblical commandments that can only be performed within the Land of Israel. The rewards promised to the Jews who keep God's commandments all entail successful settlement of the land; in contrast, failure to observe God's will is believed to cause expulsion and exile.

Rashi, the greatest of many biblical commentators, even goes so far as to say that the story of creation in the Book of Genesis is presented primarily to establish a legal entitlement of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel – if God created the world, one cannot contest His decision to give a part of it to the Jews.

Being an anti-Zionist is also deeply offensive from a moral perspective. Israel is the only Jewish state. Opposing its right to exist is to oppose the right of the Jews, and only the Jews, to a state of their own. There are about 80 countries with an official religion, ranging from Hindu to Buddhist to Christian to Muslim. None is criticized for having a state-sponsored faith. Only the Jewish people, who regrettably has a past like no other people in terms of its trials and tribulations living under the rule of a foreign sovereign, is denied a homeland by anti-Zionists. Such denial is incompatible with Jewish survival and decidedly antisemitic.

Practically speaking, you also can't have Judaism without Jews. And in the absence of Zionism, there might no longer exist the critical mass needed to sustain the Jewish faith. In 1948, there were about five million Jews in America, six million Jews elsewhere in the Diaspora, and 600,000 Jews in Israel. Today, the number of American Jews has remained constant, the rest of the Diaspora has dropped, and the number of Jews in Israel has increased about twelve-fold! And there is no basis to see these trends reversing. Accordingly, to deny the Zionist dream today is to deny the Jewish faith the where-withal to carry on.

For much of our history, the return of the Jewish people to its biblical homeland must have seemed to our ancestors as a cruel and unattainable illusion. But even then, Jewish liturgical prayer was replete with verses beseeching the Almighty for a return to Zion and Jerusalem. Judaism and Zionism always have been inextricably intertwined throughout the ages.

The beginnings of the State of Israel presented a more nuanced, even confusing, interplay between Zionism and the Jewish faith. The challenges of building a Jewish nation were so daunting that complete subordination of the needs of the individual to those of the state was required. The outgrowth of that collective commitment led to a socialist enterprise that did little to prioritize religious observance. But even under those difficult circumstances, the Bible was studied. Even an atheist knew he was fighting for the "Promised Land." Whether or not he observed the commandments.



DAVID FRIEDMAN at the Kotel: 'Israel is the only nation where Judaism can be fully actualized.' (Rob Ghost/Flash90)

Israel's founding prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, never had a Bible far from reach.

Today, much of the Zionist dream has been realized. Israel is a first-world nation, more than just surviving in a difficult neighborhood. The Jewish holy sites that it controls are accessible to all, Jewish or gentile, who come to worship in peace. Now more than ever, Zionism has merged into Judaism itself. If one is a Jew who believes in God's biblical covenants to our forefathers and foremothers, Zionism is an integral part of the package of one's faith.

Israel is the only nation where Judaism can be fully actualized. It is the only place where Jews can pray using the same liturgy in the same location and in the same language that was used 2,000 years ago. While there may have been dark days in our past where Jews gave up on the Zionist dream, thankfully they are long gone.

To be a Jew is to be a Zionist – the two have always been inseparable, now more than ever.

The writer served as the United States ambassador to Israel from 2017 to 2021. He is the author of a best-selling memoir, Sledge-hammer: How Breaking with the Past brought Peace to the Middle East.

'I don't hate Jews, only Israel' – it's a crock

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Zionism by any other

argued at the confab

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name would still

mean all of this, I

A more nuanced Zionism



• MICHAEL OREN

n the summer of 2014, at the height of Operation Protective Edge in Gaza, as thousands of Hamas rockets rained on Israel, I was called to an emergency meeting in the US. Fully engaged in defending Israel in the international media, I was loathe to leave for even a single day, but the request was made by a major donor to Israeli causes and could not be easily refused. More compelling, though, was the subject of the "confab," as the donor called it. Together with other Israeli writers, I would tackle the question: "Is Zionism dead?"

By dead, the donor did not mean Israel, per se, but rather the very word "Zionism." The term, it was posited, had become irredeemably tainted in the West and especially on American campuses. Even pro-Israel Iews were reluctant to define themselves as Zionists. Any attempt at resuscitation would be useless. Instead, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people should adopt a new name, one that was less provocative and toxic. Our task, as Israelis, was to come up with a substitute

I disagreed, forcibly, as did several other invitees. For well over 100 years, I recalled. Zionism was the idea that inspired generations of Jews to leave their homes to labor in the swamps and des-

erts, to fight off successive attempts at genocide, and reclaim their will to live after the Holocaust. Zionism gave hope to those who crossed the Ethiopian deserts or languished in Soviet prisons.

Zionism had produced one of the most dynamic, creative, powerful, and unerringly democratic nations in the world - the only "ism" of the 20th century to succeed and succeed massively. All that we would forget, I asked, just because some American students were labeling Zionism racist?

Yet preserving the word "Zionism" achievements. On a far deeper level, Zionism had become integral to Jewish identity. Of course, one could be anti-Zionist - radical leftist or haredi and still be Jewish, but by disavowing the nation-state of the Jewish people, home to the world's largest Jewish community, the anti-Zionist Jew was opting out of our nation. The anti-Zionist Jew was a fugitive from sovereign responsibility, a refugee from Jewish history, a footnote.

Repudiating Zionism, moreover, failed to protect Jews from antisemitism. Supporters and detractors of Israel alike were barred from women's rights marches and other progressive protests and targeted by neo-Nazis. The thugs who beat up Jews on American streets do not ask about their opinions on Israel.

ZIONISM HAS given rise to complex moral dilemmas: Then-ambassador to the US Michael Oren with Sudanese refugees at Ktzi'ot Prison, 2012. (Moshe Shai/Flash90)

RATHER THAN shaking my commitment to "Zionism," the confab reinforced it. The meaning of the word had changed over the years, from a simple belief in the right of the Jewish people to self-determination in our ancient homeland to something much richer and more nuanced. Zionism was about Jewish strength and Jewish compassion, our ability to defend ourselves while selflessly assisting others.

Zionism was about balancing modernity with tradition, East and West, and diversity with national identity. Zionism was the testing ground for Jewish values, a barometer without which the integrity of those values cannot truly

Zionism by any other name would still mean all of this, I argued at the confab, and Zionism by any other name would still be condemned by those who hate Israel. Rather than substituting another word for it, we should rally around Zionism and exalt it.

As patriots during the American Revolution transformed "Yankee Doodle Dandy," a song devised by the British to mock them, into an anthem, so, too, must we embrace Zionism in the face of its detractors. While we must recognize the fact that Zionism has given rise to complex moral dilemmas, we must also relish the privilege of grappling with those dilemmas within the context of was not only about honoring Israel's an independent Jewish state. "Zionist," our motto should be, "and proud of it."

I recalled that confab eight years later, last summer after another violent exchange with Gaza. Together with my grandchildren, I visited a water park in Holon. Thousands of children of different races, religions, and ethnic backgrounds splashed together in the fountains. This, too, is Zionism, I thought, the movement that created this haven only a day's drive from Damascus, Baghdad and Beirut. This is Zionism, an idea well worth preserving and fighting for.

The writer - who served as Israel's ambassador to the US (2009-2013), as an MK (2015-2019) and as deputy minister in the Prime Minister's Office (2016-2019) – is the author of the forthcoming

Zionism: Reunion of the Jewish collective soul

with the Jewish collective body

• FLEUR HASSAN-NAHOUM

n the 125th anniversary of the First World Zionist Congress, we embark upon a much-needed conversation: Is Zionism the new incarnation of our

Are we indeed in Judaism 3.0, as Gol Kalev posits in Judaism 3.0: Judaism's Transformation to Zionism? Was the self-determination of the Jewish people in our homeland, as we briefly enjoyed 2,000 years ago, always the ultimate goal for our people?

Zionism is undoubtedly the most exciting and successful Jewish movement of the last hundred years. The vision was noble and bold; the planning, operation and sheer determination of the Zionist leadership unparalleled; and the result a miracle. Our new country was granted its birth certificate by the world, but it was the Zionist movement that conceived, carried and gave birth to the modern State of Israel.

However, Zionism is not simply a national movement but essentially the reunion of the Jewish collective soul with the Jewish collective body. After 2,500 years of exile – where the Torah, our customs, memory, and tragically also our suffering, kept us together as a tribe – today it is guaranteed by the Zionist enterprise that brought us back as independent and free people to our ancestral homeland.

Zionism is the movement that brought us home to the land that was promised to us by God and the land that shaped our identity as a people, as Kalev expresses. It is also the way the entire world now relates to the Jewish people and how we relate to ourselves, for good and bad.

Judaism 3.0 means to me that our soul now has a body, thanks to the Zionist movement, and therefore easier to decipher, relate to, attack, criticize, hate, love and admire. We are finally independent and thereby visible and present and, most significantly, not easily ignored.

This affects every Jew around the world, whether they identify or not, whether they live in a community or not. Today Jewish education in the Diaspora is increasingly centered around Israel; the stage of our people's narrative is here to learn in and learn from, to visit and explore. Programs like Birthright have become a milestone in the life of every young Diaspora Jew, and Independence Day is a Jewish holiday.

I see my position as a deputy mayor of Jerusalem as a Jewish position and a Zionist position all in one, and one and the same. I have the privilege every single morning of waking up serving and representing the city that has always been the epicenter of our people, where King David reunified the Jewish tribes into one nation and is the focal point of our daily prayers. The revival of Jerusalem as our sovereign capital was part of our yearning for thousands of years and also part of Herzl's vision.

After thousands of years of suffering and oppression, Zionism has guaranteed Jewish survival in the modern era. I believe the biggest gift I have given my children is that my husband and I chose to build our lives here and they were born in Israel. As Sabras, their Judaism is tied into this land in a wholly inseparable way and, as a

The writer is deputy mayor of Jerusalem in charge of foreign relations, economic development and tourism. She is also co-founder of the UAE-Israel Business Council and Gulf Israel Women's Forum

We are finally *independent and thereby* visible and present and, most significantly, not easily ignored

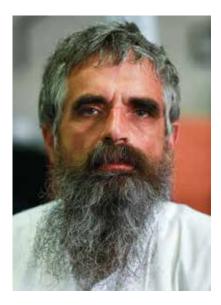
> FLEUR HASSAN-NAHOUM speaks at a protest in Jerusalem's Safra Square against construction in the Rehes Lavan (White Ridge) nature reserve.





Judaism and modern Zionism





YUVAL CHERLOW: There are also clear positives that have emerged as a result of this 'identity conflict.' (Aryeh Katz)

Zionism's effect has been a complete *altering of who we* are as a nation

From conflict to

collaboration

YUVAL CHERLOW

s is well known and recorded, the early years of the modern Zionist movement were marked by considerable opposition from many rabbinical authorities.

This opposition can be attributed to two primary factors.

The first and more well known relates to rabbinical criticism over the notion that humanity should be in any way the driving force behind the establishment of a Jewish national entity - out of the sincere belief that such an act contradicted their messianic vision.

That vision served as a central tenet of Jewish faith for centuries of life in exile and was predicated upon an ideal that the coming of the Messiah would be a sudden godly act. Therefore, we as people should not be intervening in that process.

The second reason for their opposition, and in many ways the more practical reason, was based on a deep suspicion - indeed outright fear - that modern Zionism represented a sort of alternative approach to Jewish peoplehood.

Until the rise of this movement in the very late 19th century, while there had been splinter factions over the years over how to practice the faith, for the most part Jewish identity had been linked to a fervent biblical tradition and adherence to a code of Jewish law and ethics we know as Halacha. For perhaps the first time in Jewish history, a movement sought to replace the concept of the Jew with the concept of the Zionist – or in

THE ZIONIST identity didn't overcome the Jewish identity, nor did the opposite occur: An IDF soldier puts on tefillin. (Yonatan Sindel/Flash90)

later decades, the Israeli.

While the implications of this revolutionary shift were still unknown in the early decades of the movement when the rabbinic opposition was at its strongest, in retrospect we know that it resulted in changes that have in every way changed what it means to be a Jew.

Most fundamentally, it encouraged a geographic shift of where a Jew should live. But in addition, with that came the resurrection of an ancient language, changes and additions to the Jewish calendar, entirely new perspectives on religion-state issues through the establishment of a Chief Rabbinate and a system of religious courts, along with many other fundamental changes that affected nearly every aspect of traditional Jewish life.

While the concept of the traditional Jew remained, this process undoubtedly represented a dramatic alteration of what it meant to be a Jew and - in the eves of those critics - a frightening dilution of our people's very identity.

Perhaps most troubling in their minds was the establishment of national agencies operating beyond the purview of Halacha. Israeli citizenship was a national, rather than religious, designation, and even the Law of Return defined Jews in terms that were not always in conformance with traditional Halacha.

Upon establishment of the state, the laws and the very feel of the land would stray even farther from tradition in an effort to make it a nation of modern culture and society - in ways that often prioritized the secular ideal over the ancient halachic ones.

While the early Zionist leaders respected our ancient tradition and endeavored to create a mixture of the old and the new, the reality is that there was no escaping that these two worlds were at odds in this modern land of the Jewish people. What started as competing ideals would lead to all-out cultural and political conflict and become a deep-seated source of strain for the continued growth of Zionism and this state it had created.

On the one hand, there are many who view the very success of modern Zionism as an abomination which destroyed their traditional Jewish world, and who use the term "Zionists" almost as a curse. even as many of those virulent critics live in the land and are actual beneficiaries – and sometimes even partners – in its growth.

On the other side of the equation are to ancient Jewish values will act as a con-

tradiction - even obstacle - to creating a modern secularized state that promotes values such as equality for all, universalism and pluralism, and believe that failure to adopt those ideals is a handicap that impedes our national progress and pride.

Until this day, many view this conflict as nothing less than tragic.

Yet, there are also clear positives that have emerged as a result of this "identity conflict" and the historical and sociological processes that have come to light over the past century as the Zionist and then Israeli experiments have blossomed into such tremendous successes.

Most fundamentally, whereas Zionism was primarily created as a movement to create a geographic home for the Jewish people, its effect has been a complete altering of who we are as a nation. Whereas 120 years ago Jews were almost exclusively defined based on religious terms, today we are as much a political, social, academic and cultural force. The halachic and ethical codes that charted our course for nearly 2,000 years in exile became the model that inspired this modern transformation, with Judaism acting as a shining light for how ancient principles can affect modern ideologies.

In this regard, Zionism in general and religious Zionism in particular have positively contributed to all aspects of religious life in Israel and the Diaspora. There can be no diminishing the importance of this movement for who we are as

In many ways, what was viewed initially as a source of conflict, which so frightened the rabbinical community of past generations, became the source of a collaboration integral to who we are as a Jewish nation today.

Despite those early fears, the Zionist identity didn't overcome the Jewish identity, nor did the opposite occur. Rather, they benefited from each other in ways that no one could have ever anticipated.

Importantly, the Jewish worlds of previous centuries continue to exist in more conservative elements of our society - specifically the haredi world, proving that their concerns of being eradicated by Zionism were misplaced.

The necessary conclusion is that it is worth recognizing that this "identity conflict" was a blessed development and is in many ways responsible for allowing the fusion of "Jewish" and "Israeli" that makes up our modern existence.

The two values, which were once positioned as incompatible with each other, are today thriving hand in hand in ways that have permanently and positively affected who we are as a nation and as a people.

The writer is director of the Tzohar Center those who fear that the over-adherence for Jewish Ethics and a founder of the Tzohar Rabbinical Organization.



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A business perspective



JENNIFER POMERANZ: 'Israel, by most metrics, has outperformed. (Bryan Taylor Johnson)

Israel has acquired material hard and soft power

ISRAEL NOW produces more fresh water than it consumes. (Pictured: Barn swallow drinks water in the Negev: Haim Shohat/Flash90)



Zionism as the secret to Israel's success

• JENNIFER POMERANZ

' srael doesn't have the backdrop of an obvious success story. Iran's supreme leader tweets that Israel should be "uprooted and destroyed," all the while accelerating the country's nuclear enrichment program. Attacks from Hamas, Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad persist. The Palestinian conflict is intransigent. Israel has been the target of coordinated invasions from larger countries - multiple times. There is a movement devoted to boycotting, divesting and sanctioning Israel. During most of its history, it lacked water and energy security, had a relatively small population and limited landmass.

Yet in the face of these challenges and geographic realities, Israel has neither fallen nor stagnated. Rather, it has experienced robust economic and geopolitical success.

What is the secret for this unlikely suc-

In my experience from running a global equity investment portfolio, as a CEO and serving as a public company board member, there are many factors to long-term corporate success. There is vision, competitive positioning, attractive returns on capital, a reasonable regulatory, macroeconomic and political environment, as well as leadership skills and alignment. While not the only condition, "a good culture" is broadly recognized as a critical foundation for long term organizational success. Many companies underperform because of their cultures, sometimes due to the trickle-down effect from preservationist executive managements and sleepy boardrooms. They lose market share, lacking the culture to adjust to an ever-evolving marketplace. A strong culture has many benefits including efficient problem-solving, smart innovation and adaptation. Successful corporate cultures share many charac-

teristics with Israeli culture, such as resilience, creativity, pragmatism, transparency, individualism, cooperation and alignment.

Israel's secret to success is the culture of Zionism. Zionism has attracted Jews globally because it fulfills an innate drive for belonging and evolving. Empirical research from social psychologists, social ecologists and biologists continues to find evidence supportive of the importance of belonging as a need ingrained in our species. It has also have found that culture is an underappreciated factor in human evolution. With a repeated history

evolving but not belonging.

Zionist culture benefits from strong alignment. The big-picture strategy homeland security and development - are shared. Alignment is also critical in long-term organizational success. Corporations with misaligned divisions tend to work far harder to reach goals (if they can agree on the objective in the face" as Russia invaded Ukraine. Israel's first place). Zionism indeed serves as the ideological bedrock of Israel. Some 99% of Israeli Jews vote for Zionist parties, and it has broad buy-in. In Israel, teamwork, blunt honesty, adaptation and problem-solving are possible despite strong disagreements, passionate arguments and competing agendas. With strong alignment, diverse perspectives improve outcomes. Why? It expands human capital and reduces risk. It isn't surprising Israel is succeeding.

'If you will it, it is no dream'

- Theodor Herzl

Israel, by most metrics, has outperformed. Israel has acquired material hard and soft power. It was not endowed with rich natural resources, a sizable or protective landmass or a large population. Yet GDP per capita has risen to the top 20 list. The economy has low relative volatility (GDP outperformed many more mature countries during the global financial crisis in 2008 and COVID in 2020). The country has prutractive relative population growth. Natural resources are no longer a point of weakness. With a history of water scarcitv. Israel now produces more fresh water than it consumes. Similarly in energy, Israel was almost fully dependent on imports and now is self-sufficient in natural gas and has a growing renewables industrv. Its military and intelligence services have thwarted multiple better-resourced invasions. Israel's regional geopolitical thanks to its pragmatic approach to negotiations with the Arab world from the Camp David Accords in 1978, the Wadi Araba Treaty with Jordan in 1994 to more recently the 2020 Abraham Accords and normalization agreements with UAE, Bahrain, Sudan and Morocco.

Is Zionism a 'Light unto the Nations'?

small a thing for you to be my servant... a successful value-added culture is a bad I shall submit you as a light unto the nations." Theodor Herzl predicted the Jewish state would exist because it would be a "necessity to the world." In Gol Kalev's book *Judaism 3.0*, he explains that Israel is becoming that necessity which is a logical extension from the biblical scripture. He concludes "Israel's success" asset management firm, as well as CEO has turned Zionism to be a light to the and board member of private and public nations." Zionism's culture of prob- companies in the US.

of expulsion despite societal contribulem-solving, achievements and learntions, Jews have a collective memory of ings are and should continue to be leveraged to solve complex global challenges. This is because people, companies and countries are attracted to useful successful stories and seek to learn from them

A model for democratic sovereignty against a larger aggressor. Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky called for Ukraine to be a "big Israel with its own ability to militarily compete and win wars against more populous, wealthi er and notionally better-armed neighbors in 1948, 1967 and 1973 continues to motivate and inspire confidence for countries whose sovereignty and democratic ideology are challenged.

A counterterrorism and cyber expert as a partner in global security. Israeli military, intelligence capabilities and technology lead in cyber and counterterrorism expertise helping nations and individuals globally. For example, the Mossad reported it prevented at least 50 terror attacks in 20 countries planned by Islamic terror groups and Iran. Israeli university researchers announced a material finding that has helped prevent cyberattacks on critical infrastructure impacting millions of people. Google, Oracle, Microsoft and others successfully updated their software after reviewing these findings.

A leader to countering growing global water insecurity. According to UNICEF, there are four billion people who dent debt levels. It has experienced at- experience water insecurity at least one month per year. This figure is expected to increase, according to climate experts. Though water has been scarce in Israel since biblical times, successful technologies such as drip irrigation, wastewater recycling, and reverse osmosis desalination, as well as effective strategic planning and strong execution, have dramatically shifted Israel's water insecurity. Israel, now an exporter of water, is also educating global partners position has also materially improved to help improve this critical global resource constraint.

Zionism, which addresses the innate drive for belonging and evolving, has created a culture of success in Israel. This success has not just benefited Jewish people and Israeli citizens but has also helped solve problems for people around the world. It's time for the voices The Book of Isaiah reads, "It is too against Zionism to realize that fighting return on their investment.

> The writer has about 20 years' experience in investment, leadership and governance positions in global energy, transport and infrastructure. She's served as a managing director and portfolio manager for a global

The Zionist 'arraigo'

YAEL ROZENMAN-ISMAEL

or most of my life, the only box I have allowed myself to be placed in is that of a citizen of the world.

By geography, I am a Latina; by citizenship, I grew up Bolivian; by genealogy, "complicated" is an understatement. I am half-Palestinian, half-Muslim, three-fourths Arab, onefourth Sephardic, and somewhere in the mix, Catholic and Polish Ashkenazi.

My three siblings and I are the product of a Bolivian Palestinian mom and a Bolivian Jewish dad. Our grandparents came from Lifta, Bethlehem, Syria and Poland. My kitchen was an explosion of cultures and flavors – and gefilte fish.

And what about religion?

Our parents gave us the gift to freely choose our religion. And so, at the age of 12, I chose Judaism and underwent conversion, taking all the steps necessary to do so: study, beit din, mikveh, etc. This was a process that I repeated years later in an Orthodox manner. A process that was not culinarily easy; I had to replace my Syrian grandma's kibbeh and my Palestinian mom's magluba with cholent.

And yet, it has always been obvious that even if I had chosen to become Catholic as my mother desired, I never would have escaped my Judaism. My mother named me Yael, not Maria Teresa, which quite frankly would have sounded a bit weird with my very Ashkenazi last name: Rozenman.

A pattern accompanied my life: In spite of my conversions, I was not Jewish enough for most other Jews, while at the same time, I was very Jewish to non-Jews. To some non-Jews I was not only Jewish, I was also Israeli, and this is in spite of the fact that I was not an Israeli citizen nor had I spent much time in Israel.

Three years ago, this anomaly got a twist, as I made aliyah. In doing so, I have completed a cycle that adheres to the definition of myself employed by those outside Judaism.

So where does Zionism come into this? Zionism is a path toward home. Zionism has no political adherence. It is neither a calling for expansion nor a religious movement. It is a guaranteed parcel of land within what was once known as the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Somewhere Jews can have a secure place to escape to, live in or feel what in Spanish we call *arraigo*, which roughly translates to "a sense of belonging because of one's roots." It is home and the basic identity of a people.

Within it and by Israeli law, Zionism identifies Jews as a people, not as a religion. Zionism, as Gol Kaley claims. is now the anchor of Judaism and embodies the unity of Jewish identity. Therefore, while things are far from perfect, thanks to Zionism I feel a stronger cohesion to Judaism.

LESS THAN 100 years after my family moved, I am back in Israel. It feels like home because I am a product of this land and a hilarious biblical union.

The Rozenman-Ismael family comes from Yitzhak and Ishmael. Isaac Attie, my Syrian Jewish great-grandfather, founded the Arab Club of Tarija in Bolivia and also became one of that town's most revered mayors. He and his brothers moved to South America in the 1920s, while his sisters moved to what is now Israel.

Ishmael Aquila, known in Bolivia as Haj Ismael, my polyglot Palestinian great-grandfather, was an avid and very educated businessman. He imported and distributed European high-end consumer goods, professional tools and textiles. His brother, Ali Akilah, moved to Jordan and founded the Akilah Hospital, where many prominent figures in Iordan were born.

My Arab side (Jewish, Muslim, Christian) comes from centuries of traditions of education, food and trade. I am not divided at heart. I am the product of profound love and cultural similarities. For me, the Jewish, Muslim and Christian traditions of the Arab side of the family are one and the same. Except for the religious aspects, separating one from the other would be impossible. Yet the outside world sometimes is blind to this.

Before the 1970s, it was not strange for Jews and Arabs (Jewish, Christian, Muslim) to be part of a close-knit community. My mother and her brother were part of Cochabamba, Bolivia's Maccabi basketball team. My parents met when they were four and began dating at 15 because, at that point, the friction was not as high as exists today. They were not brought up as enemies.

Zionism, as a home for the Jewish people, cannot and should not mean creating a segregated society. By no means is it an apartheid state, but as a state it has failed to form a cohesive multicultural society. The sense of "the other" is palpable among Jews and Arabs, and all their variations.

There are four different school systems ascribing to differing cultural identities, with no commonality in curricula. Other than when doing business, there are rare circumstances that actively promote regular interaction of Christian, Muslims, Druze, Bedouin and the entire array of Jews. Empathy, compassion and fraternal bonds are created through common intersection and awareness, preferably from childhood. The lack of integration within our borders is a ticking bomb of social problems, and it's

YAEL ROZENMAN-ISMAEL (speaking at Jerusalem's Begin Center): Zionism is a path toward home. (Avigail Tresgallo)

Zionism is the acceptance that we belong to this side of the world - a recognition of our Abrahamic origins, which we share with our neighbors. Zionism is a guaranteed parcel of land where Jews celebrate their Semitic origin. It is the right time to have this conversation, and I am glad to be part of it. We must protect our heritage and also respect that of our family.

מרכז מורשת

מנחם בגין

My story might be one of the most extreme, but it is the story of most Jews as defined by non-Jews. Most of these Jews arrived in Israel because of arraigo/essence. not for money or in search of opportunity. They arrived due to their ancestors. and this was their undeniable home. The source of their soul - and their neighbors know this.

The writer is an entrepreneur and corporate strategist, who has served as CEO of a number of companies in Latin America and Israel.

CHANGED CULINARY traditions: Cholent being consumed in Mea

She'arim. (Illustrative: Nati Shohat/Flash90)

Zionism, as a home

cannot and should

for the lewish people,

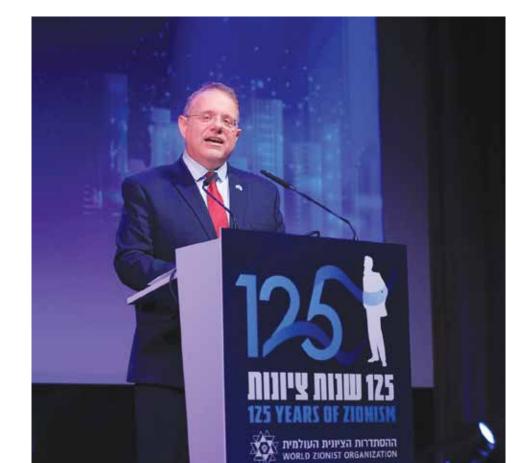
not mean creating an

unintegrated society



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Zionism: The beating heart of Jewish life for the past 125 years



YAAKOV HAGOEL speaks at the 125th anniversary of the First Zionist Congress, in August in Basel, Switzerland. (World Zionist Organization)

What was true 125 years ago is still true today

THEODOR HERZL with a Zionist delegation in Jerusalem, November



• YAAKOV HAGOEL

n the first day of the First Zionist Congress, right before it all began, Benjamin Ze'ev [Theodor] Herzl went up to the podium for the first time to speak. He chose his words carefully because time was short and "each of us will serve the greater purpose in the best way possible if we save the precious moments of the Congress." Nevertheless, he had to remind the event attendees of one central insight:

"Zionism has already succeeded in accomplishing a wonderful thing, which was previously considered impossible: the close connection between the most modern foundations of Judaism with the most conservative ones. Since this happened, without one of the two sides having to make concessions that were perceived as unhonorable or sacrifices, this is proof to add – if more proof was even needed – of the fact that the Jews are a nation. Such unity is only possible against the backdrop of a nation."

From the beginning, and at its core, the Zionist movement was an association of those who disagreed. At the Zionist conference in 1897, the disputes were between the more pious parts of the Jewish world, whose delegates came from Eastern Europe, and the more modern parts that came from the West.

The disagreement was acute: Questions about cultural, religious and settlement issues were on the agenda, and heated conversations followed. But at the same time, as Herzl pointed out, the very existence of the Congress and the very existence of the discussions indicate that the agreement on

the importance of Zionism was more comprehensive and valuable than any dispute.

What was true 125 years ago is still true today. A few weeks ago I arrived in Basel, together with hundreds of participants from all over the Jewish world. Everyone came to mark that historic event, the First Zionist Congress. The attendees came together to remember the past, bless the present and plan for the future.

When I looked at the hall where the ceremony was held, all of the shades of Jewish identity in the 21st century were spread out before me: men and women, religious and secular participants, Israelis and residents abroad, conservatives and liberals, young and old – an outstanding mosaic of beliefs and opinions.

But what was true then is still true now – the faith in our people and the movement. The importance of the Zionist movement and the vitality of the Zionist action burned in everyone's heart with a unifying fire, which was many times stronger than all of the differences.

Along with the joy and excitement, I was troubled by the question: Will we be able to maintain this special community even in the next 125 years? How will we keep the various tribes of our people united around the Zionist anchor, without fortifying each one in his place, each community within its walls?

These reflections accompanied me in the days after the ceremony to mark the 125th anniversary of the First Zionist Congress; the days of the month of Elul and the High Holy Days. These are days of remembrance, days of learning lessons, days of personal correction, but also national correction. They come after the month of Av, in which the Jewish people remember and mark the loss of their ancient sovereignty in the Land of Israel – and above all – the reason that led to it: the baseless hatred and the internal division – which ignited Jewish society from within, even before the flames of the enemy breached the outer walls.

Jerusalem, "the city that joins us all together," which makes all of Israel friends and come together as one, has become the center of conflict between sectors, the scene of power struggles and takeover attempts. In Jerusalem, the tribes of Israel fought each other, until it fell as a ripe fruit into the hands of those who sought her harm.

When more than 120 years ago the Jews began to return to their land, these memories rang in their heads like huge warning bells. The new Land of Israel, they promised themselves, would be different. There will be no strife in it, no injustice will be committed in it, and no hatred will exist in it.

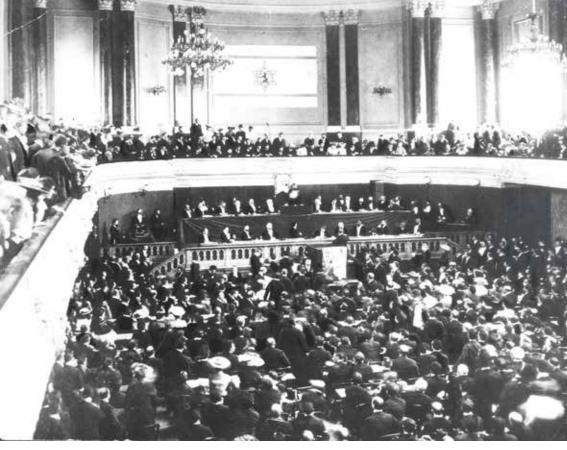
Many of them wanted to create a state that would allow everyone to live in their community and each community to live according to its own way and faith – all within a common framework of the traditions of the past, the values of the present and the hopes of the future. Herzl himself sketched the framework for this when he wrote in his book *The Lewish State*:

"When we leave Egypt for the second time, we will not forget the 'meat pots' behind us. In every new place, everyone can and will return to old habits, but they will be better, more beautiful and more pleasant this time."

UNFORTUNATELY, this road has been abandoned. Over the years, many were required to leave behind the full "pots of meat" they had brought with them to the Land of Israel, on their way by foot or by immigration ships. Patience was replaced by temper, and the desire for a plurality of customs with a desire for uniformity.

In the first years of the state, the leaders tried to overcome the baseless hatred by blurring the huge differences among the immigrants from the various countries, and by adapting them to the Sabra culture of the "old residents" of Israel; the "new Jew" with the fluttering crystal and the Israeli slang was the only mold to which all immigrants were asked to conform to.

David Ben-Gurion, Herzl's successor, quoted: "In the melting pot of Jewish brotherhood and military discipline," he declared in his article "Uniqueness and Purpose," "flowing



from foreign passports and differences between men, the nation will be refined and purified from its lost foreign particles, the divisions between sectors will be erased, and the loyal unity of a nation renewing its youth will be forged."

But forced social uniformity is not a magic cure, and there is no power of a bear hug to bridge a deep and essential difference. The reaction was sharp: from the 1980s to the present, the values of "multiculturalism" flourished as a counter-reaction to the values of the "melting pot."

I have no doubt that those advocating "multiculturalism" are also trying to escape baseless hatred, but they do so while withdrawing from any common space and any discussion of collective identity. Instead of solidarity, they ask for tribalism, in which each group gathers within itself, takes care of the private interests of its members and disconnects from those sitting next to it, "each man leading his own Israel."

Both sides of the coin – the quest to find one way for everyone or the quest to split our society into as many ways as possible – are destructive to me. On both sides lies the despair of the possibility of maintaining a complex situation of "unity without uniformity," a situation in which the principled partnership between the various communities of the Jewish people is stronger than the differences between them.

I believe that the task of our generation is to keep walking on a third path, the golden path between the "melting pot" and "multiculturalism." We need the recipe that will consist of all the Jewish "meat pots" and the knowledge to prepare a magnificent feast using all of them together.

We need the path where we can walk together in unity, each person and his faith, a group and its customs – without erasing the differences, but also without breaking into thousands of different and isolated communities. Such unity, as Herzl wrote, "is only possible against the backdrop of a nation." If we are a nation, then it is our duty to succeed in this.

If we make sure to tread this path, we will have the power to reach social, cultural and moral prosperity together.

May we be blessed to have courage, strength and practicality in the Zionist movement in the next 125 years as well!

 $The \ writer \ is \ chairman \ of \ the \ World \ Zionist \ Organization.$

OPENING OF the Second Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland, August 1898. On the podium, center stage, Herzl is seen indistinctly, delivering the keynote address. To his L: Max Nordau, Zionist Organization cofounder with Herzl; to his R: Max Mandelstam, Zionist leader in Russia. The Zionist movement flag is seen — two blue stripes, and a shield of David containing seven stars and a lion.

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Jerusalem Mayor Moshe Lion

'Jerusalem is in the midst of a revolution'

'Jerusalem is finally

emerging from its

traffic iams'

ALAN ROSENBAUM

ntering the spacious office of Jerusalem Mayor Moshe Lion, the first thing I Tzomet Pat region and the city center. hear is the crackling of sunflower seeds emanating from the mayor's largepalmed hands as he stands in conversation with an associate. His business concluded, the visitor departs, while Lion, wearing his trademark blue tie the city is adding 1.6 million square meters of office space for businesses. "When and white, long-sleeved shirt, returns to sit at his tidy desk as our interview begins.

"I believe that Jerusalem is in the midst of a revolution," the mayor begins, adding that his ultimate goal is to turn the capital into a magnet for all of Israel's citizens and for Jews throughout the world. In order to realize this dream, Lion says that the city needs to build more housing, add more workspace for businesses and improve transportation services.

ments were built each year in Jerusalem. We are now building 6,000 apartments Hadassah Medical Center personnel. annually, almost triple the previous average. In 2021, we built 5,400 units. In 2022, we will complete 6,000 units, and the numbers will be even greater in 2023. We must give young couples and families who want to live in Jerusalem the ability to purchase apartments."

Lion adds that of the total number of apartments that are being built, between 1,500 and 2,000 units will be rentals that will be constructed in Pisgat Ze'ev, the

With the new housing that the city expects to add in the next several years. additional working space will also be needed in Jerusalem. To that end, says Lion,

> I took office," he says, "there was a total of four million sq.m. of office space in the city. We are now expanding this space by almost 50%. We are building in Har Hotzvim, near the city entrance, in Givat Ram and in other areas throughout the city."

Lion says that two biotech companies and two computer firms will be moving to Jerusalem in the near future. He expects that other companies will follow suit and move to the city to stimulate local employment, while benefiting from

"Over the past 15 years," Lion explains, "between 2,000 and 2,300 apart-the capital's ecosystem of talent, such as students from Hebrew University and

THE MAYOR then discussed the subject that has perhaps affected Jerusalemites more than any other - the constant traffic. "In the past year, Jerusalem is finally emerging from its traffic jams," he says. Lion notes that the extension of



Jerusalem's Red Line light rail to Hadassah and Neveh Yaakov will be opening this coming May, significantly reducing the traffic burden. "Anyone who wants to go to Hadassah Ein Kerem will prefer to travel via the light rail rather than worry about finding parking," he says.

Lion adds that the municipality is also working on the construction of the Green Line light rail system from Gilo to Mount Scopus, which will pass through Tzomet Pat, Givat Mordechai, Binyenei Ha'uma and Bar Ilan Street.

lines open, the number will increase to 500,000 riders per day. This is a significant number that will greatly lessen traffic jams. Anyone who does not want to get involved with traffic jams will take the light rail. It is 'greener,' and it will be faster because trains will come every few minutes.'

The Jerusalem Municipality has already begun work on the light rail's Blue Line, which will travel between Gilo and Ramot, passing through Hebron Road and Keren Hayesod, Emek Refaim and King George streets en route to Ramot.

Lion also speaks highly of the recently opened Highway 16, which provides direct access to the southern and central sections of rona are coming to Israel. It is my hope that the entire Jewish people will return the city from the west. "This new road shortens the travel time to Jerusalem, and we are also seeing a significant decrease in traffic at the main entrance to the city from Highway 1," he says.

These three factors – additional housing, more jobs and better transportation options – will attract greater numbers of people to the city, the mayor says. He 25 of the city's high schools are listed among the top 100 schools in the country.

LION NEXT turns his attention to the eastern section of the city. He mentions the Jack, Joseph and Morton Mandel Community Sports Center that is being built in Beit Hanina as an important addition for residents.



IN GAZELLE Valley, a Jerusalem green lung.

LAYING TRACK for the light rail's Red Line, in Kiryat Hayovel going toward Hadassah.

The municipality's Silicon

Wadi plan will establish

an innovation quarter for

hi-tech companies in east

Jerusalem

"This is the first sports center the city has built in east Jerusalem since 1967," he says. "I am delighted that the municipality is involved in this project because previous administrations have not invested sufficiently in the eastern side of the city. I am working hard to invest more in east Jerusalem in sport and societal infrastructure and schools in order to provide an educational system that will offer Israeli matriculation exams (bagruyot) that will enable graduates to continue in higher education."

Of particular interest to the mayor is the municipality's Silicon Wadi plan, which is intended to establish an innovation quarter for hi-tech companies in east Jerusalem. The project provides for the construction of multi-storied office towers covering 127,000 square meters in the Wadi Joz neighborhood, with the city soon receiving construction permits from the district committee. Lion says that entrepreneurs have committed to the construction of two of the towers. He estimates that the project will be completed within the next three to four years.

Lion states that the city has already rented office space on Salah Al-Din Street for hi-tech employment for residents of east Jerusalem. He says that the city "Currently," he says, "the light rail services 250,000 riders per day. When these conducted a survey and found at least 1,000 young Arabs in east Jerusalem who

> have trained in hi-tech but cannot find work in the field. "Many residents of east Jerusalem are not finding work in hi-tech in the western part of the city," he says; "but if we build a hi-tech center for them in the city's eastern section, it will be much easier for them to find work."

> Given that the world has recently seemingly emerged from the coronavirus pandemic, it is only natural that the mayor extends a blessing of good health in the New Year for the city of Jerusalem. "We have experienced two difficult years, but the hotels are at full capacity for the holidays. Many Jews who waited for the end of co-

to Jerusalem.'

As our interview comes to a close, Lion avers that heading the city of Jerusalem is the most challenging mayoral job in the world. "It is a job that comes with many challenges. When Jerusalem is quiet and peaceful, then the situation for the entire Jewish people is peaceful. If, God forbid, things are not adds that Jerusalem's educational system is an attraction for young families, as calm in Jerusalem, then the situation for the Jewish people will also be unsettled," he said.

> "I am trying to ensure that Jerusalem is good for its residents, and that the entire Jewish people will rejoice in its positive position.'

This article was written in cooperation with the Jerusalem Development Authority.

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Blissful years

An exclusive excerpt from Benjamin Netanvahu's soon-to-be-released autobiography, 'Bibi: My Story'



'BIBI, MY STORY': Benjamin Netanyahu gives the reader an inside view of his eventful life. (Pictured: Oct. 11; Marc Israel Sellem)

youngsters in his charge. When I was twelve, Yoni, relying on my drawing skills, asked me to design a pennant for his troop. He was delighted by what I produced, and when the kids in Yoni's scout troop saw the pennant, they asked me why I didn't rejoin.

UHAYNATAN NIMALNAE

(Courtesy Simon and Schuster)

Back in Israel: Blissful Years

n 1959, Father ended his leave from the encyclopedia.

We made the sea voyage back to Israel on the ocean

liner *Israel*, stopping in Gibraltar to feed the monkeys

and in Athens to tour the Acropolis. The Katamon

neighborhood kids greeted us like returning heroes. Un-

I briefly joined but never immersed myself in the Israeli

branch of the international scouts movement, unlike Yoni,

I answered in jest that I was afraid I'd fail the test of knotting ropes. They didn't get the joke. "No, Bibi, you don't have to worry. You're sure to pass it."

who had become a devoted scout leader, idolized by the

Some of my friends had parents with concentration camp numbers tattooed on their forearms. This was seldom spoken of in the open, until the capture of the Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann. Seized by Mossad agents in Argentina in 1960, Eichmann was brought to Israel to stand trial.

"What do you think is the best punishment for him?" Mrs. Rubenstein asked our class.

She heard us out and then answered her own question: "The best revenge is to take him around the country and show him what we've done here."

The court thought otherwise. Eichmann was sentenced to death, the only person in Israel's history to be executed. Years later I would offer a different answer to Mrs. Rubenstein's question. The most important response to Eichmann and his boss Hitler was to ensure that such a horror never befalls the Jewish people again. My standing with my classmates took a hit when some of them received acceptance letters to an elite junior high school to which we had all applied. I had not reasked me what the problem was.

"Nothing," I said.

She persisted. Finally, I revealed the source of my misery. "Oh my God," she said.

"You mean this envelope? It's been lying here for weeks." Thus I entered the prestigious Leyada School.

IN THOSE days most Israeli children studied the same core curriculum, consisting of Bible study (more historic and literary than religious), Hebrew, math, history, geography, science, some sampling of the Jewish Oral Law, and English (a freebie for me).

Although most of my friends came from homes that supported the Labor Party in politics, there was no palpable divide among us children

Besides, though my father had decidedly conservative leanings, he didn't belong to any party and we never discussed party politics at home. He certainly didn't disparage Israel's government in front of his children.

I distinctly remember one telling exception that occurred soon after we moved to our new home on Haportzim Street in 1953. Our house adjoined a beautiful Arab-style residence that the government had requisitioned to serve as the home of Finance Minister Levi Eshkol, who later replaced David Ben-Gurion as prime minister. One day a caravan of government cars stormed into the neighborhood and stopped in front of the residence. All the neighborhood ran to them.

children were shocked to see the spectacle of VIPs coming out of those limousines. My father and I went out to the porch to take in the scene.

After a moment Father dismissively uttered one word, "Pkidim" (bureaucrats), and went back inside the house. This was undoubtedly the germination of a lifelong skepticism toward bureaucracy that I've carried with me ever since.

Yet I remember this incident precisely because it was so rare. If my parents' ideological beliefs were evident at all, it was only during family occasions like my Bar Mitzvah party, which was held in our Haportzim Street home. Among the guests were many prominent right-of-center writers and intellectuals, some of whom, like the great poet Uri Zvi Greenberg, have since assumed legendary fame and whose inscriptions I cherish in the books they gifted me.



YONI SET the standard: Benjamin with his older (Photos: Courtesy Netanyahu

MY BAR mitzvah was marred by my father's acute appendicitis. His fiercely loyal brothers filled his place and accompanied me to the President's Synagogue in the Rehavia neighborhood to read the customary portion of the Bible, where I had to deal with another challenge. The reading that week was from [The Book of] Kings 1, describing how the agceived such a letter. Noticing my somber mood, my mother ing King David took Avishag, the Shunammite woman, to warm his bed. Somehow I made it through the embarrassing text. In this and in so many other events of my early years. Yoni always stood by my side.

He continued to be admired by all. In an athletic competition between high schools in Jerusalem, he won the broad jump for his school and twisted his ankle on the landing. His schoolmates, elated by the victory he gave them, carried him on their shoulders all the way home. I was reminded of this incident years later, when Yoni was still alive, when I read A. . Housman's poem "To an Athlete Dying Young":

The time you won your town the race We chaired you through the market-place; Man and boy stood cheering by, And home we brought you shoulder-high.

After Entebbe, when Yoni was carried home by his grieving soldiers, this poem echoed in my mind with its full tragic force. While Yoni and I were as close as two brothers could be, he cared with equal devotion for Iddo. One day, as sevenyear-old Iddo walked home from school, he saw a bent old lady dressed in black walking toward him with what looked to him like a stove on her back and a cane in her hand. Reminded of a Grimm fairy tale, he decided she was a witch out to hunt little boys.

Seeing Yoni with a group of his friends not far away, Iddo

After Entebbe, when Yoni was carried home by his grieving soldiers, this poem echoed in my mind with its full tragic force

BENZION & ZILA Netanyahu.

THE COUPLE with their three young





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THE THREE Netanyahu brothers (from L): Benjamin, Yoni and Iddo.

YONI IN uniform, with a smiling

A FAMILY moment.

"What's the matter, Iddo?" Yoni asked him. "What happened to you?"

"A witch," Iddo panted, pointing breathlessly to the nearby field. "I see a witch!

Howls of laughter erupted from Yoni's friends.

"A witch, he sees a witch," they taunted. Iddo grew ever more dejected for not being believed.

Yoni remained quiet. Seeing this, his friends stopped laughing. Yoni put his arm around Iddo's shoulders and walked his little brother home. A short time later a friend gave Iddo a little sparrow he found in the woods. Iddo was delighted with his newfound pet. He put it in a cardboard box with a screen, padded the cage with dry grass, scattered bread crumbs in it and put in a tiny dish

"You know what dror [sparrow in Hebrew, also the word freedom. That's why this bird is called 'freedom.' Because it can't live without it."

Iddo set the bird free.

The next year, the three of us were sitting in the long entrance hall of our home. "You're in the desert with another person, and you only have one canteen of water," I said, presenting Yoni with the classic Talmudic dilemma.

"Either of you would need to drink all the water in the canteen to save himself. You can't split it. What would you do, take it for yourself or give it to the other person?"

Yoni thought a moment before answering. Then he said, "It would depend on who the other person was. If it were Iddo, let's say, I'd give him the water.'

Iddo and I looked at our 15-year-old brother and we knew: he would do it.

ONE AFTERNOON in 1962, my parents announced that our blissful years in Israel were coming to an end. They brought all three of us into our dining room to break the news that we would go to America once again for a few years so Father could again pursue his historical research while teaching graduate and doctoral students at Dropsie College in Philadelphia (it later became part of the University of Pennsylvania).

We broke into tears. Our world collapsed. Yoni was an ardent scout leader and class president. Iddo and I would have to leave our classmates again. Our second journey for "liberty"] means?" Yoni gently asked Iddo. "It means to America had none of the excitement of our first visit. We knew America, we liked many things in America, but America was not our home. Yoni considered staying in Israel for his remaining year and a half in high school but decided against it. He gritted his teeth and came along.

Yoni knew that at eighteen he would leave home and go to the army. "This," he explained, "is the last time I would live with Father and Mother."

'Bibi: My Story' will be released by Simon & Schuster on





WITH IDDO at a memorial ceremony for Yoni on Jerusalem's Mount Herzl, 2021. . (Olivier Fitoussi/Flash90)

REMEMBRANCE OPPOSITE their childhood home: Yoni Square, at the intersection of Haportzim and Halamed Hei streets. (Erica Schachne)

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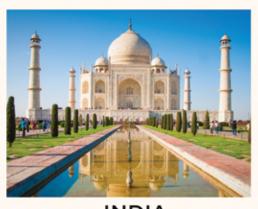


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ORI BEN SHLOMO, CEO and founder, JGive. (Eric Sultan-Makor Rishon)

JGive Platinum: Israel's first donor-advised fund

JGive's online platform for donations in Israel enables both domestic and foreign donors to contribute directly to their charity of choice and receive a single tax receipt in their own currency

• LIOR NOVIK

e are here in Israel with boots on the ground so that our donors can be certain that their money matches their goals and objectives. We are here to help them answer all their local philanthropic needs," says Ori Ben Shlomo, founder and CEO of JGive, a nonprofit social impact organization that operates the first donor-advised fund (DAF) in Israel, and whose mission is to grow the culture of charitable giving in Israel.

IGive was founded in 2014 by the Asor Fund and developed a technological infrastructure that makes giving accessible to the general public from Israel and abroad, enabling digital donation - securely and ef- and how their money is spent. ficiently – to thousands of charitable organizations.

JGive Platinum, a service provided by JGive, offers its donors the option to manage their charitable giving through a donor-advised fund, an innovative charitable vehicle that has gained popularity in recent years. It's like having your own private charitable foundation for a fraction of the cost and without the bureaucracy. This digital platform enables you to plan, manage and track your contributions.

For Americans and other foreigners, it allows them to donate in their own currency and get a single tax receipt in the same currency. Thanks to IGive's strong ties to the charities themselves and is recognized as a tax-exempt public charity. It has its physical presence in Israel, donors do not need to use external intermediaries in order to ensure transparency. They also have a clear idea of where

"This is a tool that many donors in the US are

already familiar with and use all the time. Many major American financial institutions operate such funds for their clients," says Ben Shlomo.

"The tax advantage is very significant, and so is the order and organization," he explains. "There are quite a few leading philanthropists, businessmen and companies in Israel and around the world that donate to dozens or hundreds of nonprofits a year, and it's difficult to get receipts. Using our digital platform, one can download a receipt for all donations, which makes managing the event much simpler."

'A philanthropic mission statement'

Rimone Hersch, managing director of JGive Platinum, adds that the organization's goal is to help people who do good do it in a smarter way. "As part of our donor services, we also provide philanthrop-

The technological infrastructure developed by |Give enables secure digital donation to thousands of charitable organizations in Israel, from Israel and abroad

THE IGIVE Platinum Donation

platform. (Photos: JGive)

ic advice to those who are looking to build their giving strategy. This could include building a philanthropic mission statement, helping the donor find their giving passion, or even connecting them with suitable grantees so that they feel secure that their money went to the right place," she says.

JGive Platinum can also facilitate the process for donors to request and receive impact reports from the charities to which they are granting, allowing them to have full transparency and understanding of how their charitable funds affect real change.

"IGive Platinum can also be used as a tool to build your philanthropic legacy by getting your family involved with your charitable activities," Hersch says. "You can set up an intergenerational fund for your children or grandchildren so they can begin to explore the causes that are closest to their hearts and discover where they want to

contribute – or set up an account as a gift for life-cycle events such as weddings or bar/bat mitzvahs. It is something you can keep in the family and help Israel as well.'

donor-advised fund's structure has several significant advantages, one of which is the ability to

RIMONE HERSCH, managing director, JGive Platinum. (Courtesy Rimone Hersch)



\$10,000

separate the time of deposit from the time of grant-

"Unicorn founders, for example, that had a high income in the current tax year may want to donate a significant amount to charity before the tax year's end but also may want to strategize over time how best to grant that money and how to build their philanthropic mission statement," says Ben Shlomo. "The immediate tax receipt helps them this year with their tax

planning, but the structure gives them the flexibility they need to donate strategically.

"In this way," the JGive CEO says, "the founder of the fund can distribute the money to the charitable organizations at their own pace, with the option of even setting up a recurring monthly payment if they so choose. This also relieves pressure and gives them time to decide, strategize and build a philanthropic mission statement regarding whom they want to donate to and when.

Encourage giving to Israel'

JGive not only helps donors, but its tools also serve the organizations themselves. "One service we provide is the possibility to receive payments from the country through digital means such as Bit or Apple Pay, and also receive funds from the US and other countries such as England or Canada in a way that will be permitted by the tax authorities," Ben Shlomo explains.

He adds that two-thirds of the total donations that arrive in Israel each year are from abroad, and Israeli charities must have the ability to receive funds from donors there in such a way that they can receive tax credits in their countries of origin.

"Our goal is to encourage giving to Israel and operate within the ecosystem of the charities and organizations that work toward this," says Ben Shlomo. "We have built a kind of marketplace for this purpose, but it is more of a giving place, with the correct tools for all the different players in the world of giving.'

JGive's advanced platform also provides an array of professional and digital services that help charities fund-raise within their communities with ease.

"We have over 1,400 associations that use our tools," Ben Shlomo says.

"We conduct personalized campaigns. The idea behind this is to change the culture of giving so that the charity can harness the community to raise funds. In addition, we have a 'pro' department whose advisers are akin to coaches who improve the ability to raise donations and whose goal is to maximize the charity's ability to raise funds.

"Another audience we are targeting is corporations," he adds. "We have developed a tool to encourage giving among employees so that if you work in a specific office and you have donated to a charitable organization, our platform can provide vou with your tax credit on your payslip. We have also built an arsenal of additional tools for employers, such as contribution matching."

This article was written in cooperation with JGive.

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THE DIASPORA

Israel assists Hurricane Ian survivors



VOLUNTEERS FOR the United Hatzalah Mission to Puerto Rico worked with local first responders in Anasco in the wake of Hurricane Fiona. (United Hatzalah)

Israel has a tradition of dispatching humanitarian aid after disasters

A United Hatzalah delegation to Florida provides first psychological aid in hurricane's aftermath

> KEREN SETTON THE MEDIA LINE

he aftermath of Hurricane Ian has left wreckage that has rarely been seen in the southeast US and areas in the Caribbean.

Various reports on the number of casualties caused by the recent hurricane indicate that the death toll is not yet final, as Ian is believed to be one of the most powerful storms to hit the region in the last century.

As part of the effort to help the victims, volunteers from Israel are bringing aid to the area.

The United Hatzalah (UH) organization has sent a delegation aimed at providing first psychological aid to those coping with the harrowing aftermath of the devastating hurricane.

The delegation of seven members, which is made up of five Israelis and two local volunteers, is also able to provide first aid medical care and other humanitarian assistance.

"We offer psychological first aid," said Raphael Poch, a member of the Psychotrauma and Crisis Response Unit treating PTSD sufferers, after decades who is also the international media of wars and terrorist attacks. This has spokesperson for United Hatzalah. "We

saw there is a need for psychological and emotional stabilization at the scenes of traumatic incidents," he said.

Friedson, director International Emergency Management for UH, arrived in Florida on Sunday and is part of the initial assessment

"It is a chaotic scene," he described. "We are here to help people who lost their loved ones, their homes, but also to help the first responders who themselves are often traumatized."

During the years in which the organization operated mainly in Israel, it developed a series of protocols and methods to deal with the immediate psychological trauma that comes with experiencing sudden upheaval, be it from natural causes or other causes.

The Psychotrauma and Crisis Response Unit is now in Florida. Established six years ago, it consists of volunteers who are psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers and other therapists. Its first mission to a hurricane disaster area was in 2017 during Hurricane Harvey, which hit Texas and Louisiana.

"If trauma is treated in time, the person can process the trauma in a healthy manner and move on; if it's not treated in time, it can develop in the end into post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)," Poch explained. "Those who receive treatment are much more able to function than those who don't," he

THE FIRST goal of the responders is to help victims realize that the immediate danger has passed.

"We find this extremely effective in the field," Friedson said.

During their stay, the United Hatzalah team intends to guide local first responders on how to help people with psychological trauma with follow-up

Just before heading to Florida, the volunteers had finished a mission in Puerto Rico helping victims of Hurricane Fiona

On the first day of the Florida mission, they treated dozens of people.

"The real answer to any human tragedy is acts of love and kindness. The fact that people come from different countries, to help people they do not know and will probably never meet again, that does a lot for the mental state of those suffering to know that people from all over the world care about what happens to them," Poch said. "That already alleviates one of the big causes of emotional and psychological trauma, which is a sense of loneliness, and that makes a huge difference."

Israel has extensive experience in resulted in the understanding that

the mental care of survivors is no less important than their physical well-being.

"An ambulance comes and helps the physically wounded, but what about all the bystanders and all the people who are emotionally affected and dealing with the incident?" Friedson said.

"We provide tools to community leaders and local first responders. We are not coming to replace anyone but as an add-on to local efforts going on," Poch said.

Israel's consulate in Miami also took part in relief efforts and dispatched supplies to people affected by the hurricane over the weekend.

"We as Israelis, out of appreciation and recognition of our special relations with the US, immediately stand by the people of Miami," said Maor Elbaz-Starinsky, consul general of Israel

"The thoughts and prayers of all Israelis are with the people of Florida, and all those who remain in the path of this devastating storm," Prime Minister Yair Lapid tweeted as the devastation wreaked by the hurricane became clear-

"The impact of groups like UH... during times of need is great. I've seen it time and time again all over the world, of course also during the Champlain Towers tragedy in Surfside," said Bal Harbour Mayor Gabriel Groisman. "Actions speak louder than words, and the actions of these nonprofit groups demonstrate that the relationship between the US and Israel runs deep. Their help is always appreciated."

Elbaz-Starinsky and other staffers filled up cars with dry goods, water, fuel and flashlights and headed to the epicenter of the disaster zone.

"People immediately stood in line for supplies; it is difficult to imagine how much this aid is needed," he told The Media Line.

According to Elbaz-Starinsky, the Israeli government has made an official offer of aid. There has been no response

"We are examining in which ways we can be most beneficial," he added.

Israel has a tradition of dispatching humanitarian aid after disasters. Through its military home front command or volunteer organizations such as United Hatzalah, Israelis are often seen in the epicenters of crises. For many victims, sometimes from countries that do not have warm or any relations with Israel, it is the first contact they have with Israelis.

"Our goal is to help where we can," Friedson said. "An added bonus we constantly find is that the people we help have never met Israelis and are so grateful and appreciative for our response and are happy to see we aren't what is portrayed in the news."



The power of pink

reast Cancer Awareness Month is back, so this week look for companies that offer special pink products and help in the fight!



Join the good fight

With the Estee Lauder Group leading the way as it has done for many years, raising funds for the fight against breast cancer, many companies join the cause during the month of October by selling special pink ribbon products. Now Ofer Malls around the country have joined the One in Nine organization, offering a pink string bracelet with pearls, designed by Etti Kobo, for NIS 19, which will be forwarded to the organization.



Great news for makeup buffs who miss the American brand Becca Cosmetics - or to be more specific, the Becca highlighters and shimmers. Now, under the aegis of Smashbox and re-branded as Smashbox Loves Becca, the Skin Protector Pressed Shimmering, which makeup artists adore, is available in Israel and we absolutely love it. Brush lightly over

cheekbones, nose and chin for instant glamor. NIS 135. Available at April stores, Super-Pharm. Be and Mashbir, as well as the brand's flagship store and online, smashbox.store





While you are sleeping L'Oreal Paris introduces a new night serum that promotes the skin cells' renewal process that takes place during the night. Midnight Serum is based on unique antioxidant formulas containing vitamin E extracted from bitter oranges. Results are seen after one night – the skin looks fresher and more hydrated. After one week, the skin looks more radiant. According to the company, tests reveal that after one month, the texture is smoother, fine lines are less noticeable, and skin feels firmer. Apply on clean skin before going to bed. NIS 130 (now available

Kind to the skin

The Kind to Skin collection by Simple is everything I believe in – clean, nofrills packaging, gentle ingredients that don't irritate the skin, and vitamins. A new package, introduced this fall, offers a chemical-free

formula with pro-vitamin B5, vitamin E and chamomile for your daily regimen. The package includes facial wash, makeup removing wet wipes and hydrating cream with SPF 15 - good enough for the fall. Enjoy. NIS 89.90. Available at Super-Pharm stores and online.



Wonder ael

New from French dermo-cosmetic company La Roche Posay, Hyalu B5 Aquagel is a moisturizer with SPF 30 broad spectrum protection, specifically formulated for instant, healthy-looking, glowing and supple skin. The hyaluronic acid moisturizer is non-greasy, fast-absorbing and invisible on the skin, which will feel immediately soothed and hydrated. The non-comedogenic (pore clogging) and hypoallergenic formula makes the gel suitable for all skin types, including sensitive skin. NIS 189. Available at private pharmacies and kupat holim (health fund) pharmacies.



(Shav Franco)

From the iconic Lash Sensational series, Maybelline's new Lash Sensational Sky High Mascara is equipped with an innovative, flexible brush resembling a skyscraper. It combs lashes thoroughly and evenly, covering even the smallest hair. The concentrated black pigment formula, enriched with bamboo extract, silk and beeswax, lengthens and increases the volume of eyelashes for up to 24 hours. NIS 50. Available at pharmacies and beauty shops, as well as online at maybelline.co.il



Photo finish

Ja-De introduces a new makeup primer that ticks all the right boxes. The primer, until recently used mostly by makeup artists, helps prime the skin before applying foundation, allowing for more natural-looking skin, while using less foundation. Ja-De Essential Tinted Radiance Primer also adds more glow and a fresh, finished look, Enriched with a combination of antioxidants such as hyaluronic acid, collagen and vitamins, the soft pigments eliminate fine lines and imperfections. NIS 149. Available in stores and online at www.gade.co.il



Pretty sheets

One never has enough bed linens, and we loved the new sets marketed for the holidays by Vardinon. The new fall collection includes Ur-

ban designs, as well as elegant classic styles Prices start at NIS 349.90 for a single set. Perfect for the coming cooler months.

Fall naturals







Good morning

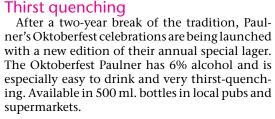
Coffee aficionados, this is for you. Starbucks

has added a new flavor to

its collection from Guate-

mala. The coffee capsules, suitable

I like it with a drop of milk. Kosher.



for use with Nespresso machines, belong to the light roasted

beans' style, offering round and gentle flavors, as well as sweet

aromas, perfect for preparing a gentle cup of morning coffee.



A very good night's sleep

Many people like to start the New Year not only with new cloths but also with linens, such as sheets and towels. I didn't wait for anyone to bring me my favorite sheets and gave myself the gift of a good night's sleep with one of my favorite brands - Soham. A maker of excellent mattresses, Soham's bed linens fit my thick mattress

snugly. They never move or slide, and they are soft and welcoming on cold winter nights, yet not too warm to use during hot summer ones.

Arad Textiles introduces its Modern Classics fall

collection. It includes high-quality towels, designed

bed linens and tablecloths. I love the new soft col-

ors and the softness of the towels, www.aradtextile.

Getting ready for fall, I got the new cotton jersey sheets, offered in nine sizes, sets and separates. The collection is offered in white, pastels and dark shades, such as rich burgundy and charcoal gray. The long-fiber cotton adds comfort and durability, while the knitting makes these sheets soft. The jersey knit also helps fit the sheets nicely with no extra fabric, and the sheets look ironed at all times. Love them. NIS 449 for a 120-cm double set, which includes sheet, duvet cover and two pillowcases. Available online at www.soham.co.il.

decided to get a new pot that would be elegant enough

just about every size you may need,0 and the finish is

indeed elegant. The pots and pans range from 18 cm.-32

cm. All the pots and pans are made from layers of alu-

minum, making them light and durable, with nonstick

coating and glass tops. Safe for use on any kind of stove.

NIS 115 - NIS 730. Look for the entire range online at sol-



(Adi Gilad)



(Gold Fish Studio)



(Gal Ben Zeev)

Tesla suitcases

tam.co.il/ or in stores.

Oven to table

Traveling over the holidays proved more challenging than past years, but traveling with good, light and strong luggage is always an important part of any trip. New in Israel, Tesla luggage offers excellent, lightweight PC (polycarbonate) suitcases, with telescopic three-stage handles (for better fit), quality regular and extension zippers, as well as four 360-degree wheels and an elegant finish. Three sizes - 20 inch (NIS 470), 24 inch (NIS 520) and 28 inch (NIS 700). We loved the purplish-blue color, but the cases also come in bold burgundy, shiny silver and conservative black. Now I just need to decide where to go!



(Studio Rikushet)

Extra soft

Badin fabric softener introduces a new scent amber – and we loved it. It joins the large collection of softeners, all with new branding, which protect the textile fibers, adding a long-lasting scent and extra softness. NIS 16.90 to NIS 47.90

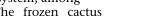


Cactus delight

Have you ever tasted cactus branches? Apparently popular in Mexico, the leaves (branches, really) of the cactus can be eaten both cooked and raw and have a lot of health benefits. The Israeli Tzabar - Cactus and Succulents Farm now offers frozen, ready to eat cactus greens for boiling, frying, cooking or whatever you want to make from them. We used the product as a vegetable in our recent Asian style stir-fry and liked it.

We especially liked the idea that it may lower our cholesterol count, reduce heartburn, improve the urinary system and bolster the immune system, among

other benefits. Wow! The frozen cactus greens will keep for up to 24 months in the freezer. NIS 20. Available at natural food stores, Teva Castel, Nitzat Haduvdevan, and online at www.ocf.co.il



(Sharey Media)

Olive oil for less

I think I used more than a bottle of olive oil for the holidays' family dinners and will probably finish at least another bottle for the Sukkot meals. So finding a good oil that costs less was a real revelation. Rami Levy introduced his private label oil, sold for NIS 13.90 for 750 ml. We have to say, it is every bit as good as brands that cost double. Look for it.



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