

**ISRAEL NEWS**

*A collection of the week's news from Israel
From the Bet El Twinning / Israel Action Committee of
Beth Avraham Yoseph of Toronto Congregation*

by his successors.

Trump has now

corrected this error:

Jerusalem has been Israel's capital since 1948, and the sooner that the American flag flies over the American embassy there, the better.

The expected protests and violence from the usual suspects in the Middle East have already begun,

and more can be expected. Fear of these protests has deterred prior administrations from moving the embassy to Jerusalem. But it is wrong for America to bend to such efforts to intimidate us.

Congressional support will be overwhelming, as it should be; over 20 years ago, the House and the Senate legislated almost unanimously that the president should relocate our embassy to Jerusalem. Given the inevitable bureaucratic obstructionism, however, Congress must continue playing an important role — by constantly prodding the State Department and by providing prompt and adequate funding for building a first-class new embassy.

Trump has also extinguished numerous fantasies still thriving at the United Nations and in many national capitals around the world.

The first is that several General Assembly resolutions from the UN's early days in the late 1940s still have any force or effect. Trump's announcement, for example, means that Resolution 181 (creating an Arab and a Jewish state out of Britain's Palestinian mandate and establishing Jerusalem as a corpus separate — an independent city under UN Trusteeship Council authority) is a dead letter. Moreover, the so-called "right of return" for Palestinian refugees arising from Israel's 1947-49 war of independence, long out of date and flatly rejected by Israel, is now also on history's trash heap.

Trump's embassy decision helps bring into focus the real issues that now need to be addressed. The Middle East peace process has long needed clarity and an injection of reality, and Trump has provided it. Palestinian leaders have for decades said that moving the embassy would bring negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians to a grinding halt. That is true only if the Palestinians wish it, and this would demonstrate that their commitment to true peace that recognizes the permanence of Israel was a snowflake — insincere from the start.

No lasting peace can be based on illusions, and Trump's approach has thus made peace more likely. (Algemeiner Dec 12)

The writer, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, was the US ambassador to the United Nations and, previously, the undersecretary of state for arms control and international security.

Jewish Organizations' Disgraceful Rejection of Trump's Jerusalem Recognition

By Shmuley Boteach

President Donald Trump's decision to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and begin the process of moving our embassy there, was positively courageous. Given the cowardice of his predecessors on this subject, that is perhaps the correct adjective; however, the president simply corrected a longstanding injustice and recognized both historical and political reality. Most Jewish organizations understandably applauded Trump's action, but a surprising many condemned him — and thereby revealed their true level of support for the homeland of the Jewish people.

Given the antipathy of many Jews for this president, perhaps it is not surprising that groups from the left would criticize Trump. Still, I thought that Jerusalem was one issue on which there was near universal Jewish agreement in America — as there is in Israel, where the president's announcement was welcomed by politicians from across the political spectrum, with perhaps the exception of the far-left and Arab parties.

The Jewish Democratic Council of America supported the president's decision. But, in an unnecessary potshot asserted that the administration "has neglected efforts to meaningfully support peace between Palestinians and Israelis." Couldn't they hold their fire for just a few days and savor the moment on Jerusalem?

"Israel's capital is in Jerusalem and it should be internationally recognized as such in the context of an agreed two-state solution that also establishes a Palestinian capital in East Jerusalem," according to J Street.

The New Israel Fund, a group that funds organizations calling for the boycott of Israel, called the president's decision "dangerous, reckless, and irresponsible."

Americans for Peace Now, another far-left group that supports the antisemitic boycott, divestment and sanctions (BDS) campaign, said: "Trump is causing severe damage to the prospects of Middle East peace, imperiling lives, and degrading U.S. leadership."

Commentary...**Jews Sick of Oppression** By Gabi Avital

The excitement of preschoolers, along with their mothers and fathers, at the sight of the slender Hanukkah candles, is one chapter of the story of the Jewish people's existence in Israel and the Diaspora. The current reality, which surpasses anything we could have imagined, can be described as a tapestry on which the life of the Hebrew nation is embroidered. This tapestry weaves together acts of heroism interspersed with people of truth, righteous individuals, and even wonders and miracles. This tapestry bears the dark colors of the Jews' humiliating exile, where we had no real ability to resist, and is punctuated by persecutions and slaughters, rape and forced conversion. But still, woven into it, there is a steadfast spirit, the spirit of the Israelite nation, going back to Mount Sinai.

And how different the Jewish spirit is. Nations' spiritual development, especially that of ancient Greece and Rome, were the result of their material development. That was also what led to them collapsing into the sea, leaving only faint traces of glory. That is not true for the Israeli nation. The way of life it took on at Mount Sinai, when it received the commandments from Moses, even before setting foot in their own land, is the driving force behind the tapestry threads, then and now. Even if some materialism was necessary to keep the eternal flame alive in the depths of the Diaspora, the return to Zion has reignited the spirit of heroism.

Let's think back to the days of the Greek Empire. The Greek nation, which according to legend was descended from Japheth, son of Noah, and which came to rule over countless kingdoms, behaved too arrogantly to its subjects. Most were absorbed into Greece. It is entirely possible that the battles waged by the priest Mattathias and his sons could have been avoided; it is possible that if the Hasmoneans hadn't had their backs to the wall and a large public following, history would have unfolded differently.

When the battles began, there being no other option, all rules of probability and sober assessment gave the Hasmoneans no chance at all against the Greeks, especially the waves of Hellenized Jews. The "religious, extremist" majority, which was sick of the oppression of the Jewish spirit, was tired of being informed on to Antiochus and beat all the odds to emerge victorious over the Greeks.

The Hasmonean Rebellion led to a series of later Jewish revolts against the Roman Empire over the course of some 300 years, until the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Even if some failed, they heralded the Jewish revival that was to unfold in the land of Israel some 1,800 years later.

Historian Paul Johnson, a gentile, goes back to the time of the Hasmonean Revolt in his book "A History of the Jews," and what he writes could apply to modern times: that any chance of reasonably comfortable Jewish-Greek coexistence was destroyed by a reformist Jewish faction that wanted to hasten the process of Hellenization.

The Jews who were most eager to capitulate to the Greeks, and later to the Romans, were the Jews who sought "peace and justice" at any cost. The Hanukkah prayer is nothing more than a prayer to minimize the harm caused by Hellenization. In those days, and at this time.

(Israel Hayom Dec 14)

Trump's Jerusalem Declaration Was Long Overdue By John Bolton

President Trump's announcement on Wednesday that the United States would recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital was both correct and prudent from America's perspective. Much more remains to be done to relocate the US embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, but this was a vital first step.

What is now critical is implementing Trump's decision.

Will the State Department actually carry out the new US policy — which State's bureaucracy strongly opposed — or will the entrenched opponents of moving the embassy subvert it quietly by inaction and obfuscation?

In 1948, the United States, under Harry Truman, was the first country to recognize the modern state of Israel upon its declaration of independence. Nonetheless, Truman, at the State Department's urging, declined to acknowledge Jerusalem as Israel's capital, a mistake continued

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Perhaps the most disappointing response came from Rabbi Rick Jacobs, president of the Union for Reform Judaism, who agreed in principle with the president — but said the group could not support moving the embassy “absent a comprehensive plan for a peace process.”

How absurd. Why should locating our embassy in Israel’s capital, the only capital in the world where we do not have an embassy, be tied to the peace process? For those who have been asleep for the last eight years, there is no peace process. Mahmoud Abbas has refused to speak to his Israeli counterpart since 2008.

And who is supposed to come up with this comprehensive plan? The State Department has been trying unsuccessfully for decades. Are we really supposed to hold our embassy hostage in the hope that Rex Tillerson or anyone else in the administration, the EU, or the UN will come up with the magic formula that has eluded everyone else?

There is no shortage of peace plans, many of which seem reasonable. The problem is not the plans; it is the Palestinians’ refusal to contemplate any compromise that accepts the existence of a Jewish state in the Middle East. Never was this clearer than in 2000, when Ehud Barak offered to withdraw from the entire Gaza Strip (before Israel did so unilaterally in 2005) and 97 percent of the West Bank, evacuate most settlements and give the Palestinians sovereignty over some parts of Jerusalem. Yasser Arafat vetoed the deal, and Palestinian Authority President Mahmoud Abbas rejected a similar offer in 2008.

The dispute is not about land: it is historical, geographic, political, psychological and, perhaps most importantly, religious. It is unacceptable to the Palestinians that Jews should rule over Muslims, or have a state on what they consider Islamic territory. Look at their maps and their symbols, which show “Palestine” replacing Israel. I defy anyone to show me an official Palestinian map that depicts a Palestinian state beside Israel — with or without East Jerusalem as its capital.

And, incidentally, what right does J Street have to speak for the people of Israel in offering to divide the capital of the Jewish people? Talk about chutzpah.

Until the proponents of more peace plans accept the reality of the Palestinians’ agenda, they are wasting everyone’s time and creating the perpetual conditions for denying recognition of Israel’s capital. It is also hypocritical for countries to demand that America delay moving our embassy when they did not wait for the conflict to be resolved before opening consulates in Jerusalem to serve the Palestinians.

If anything, Trump’s critics have the situation exactly backwards. Now is precisely the time to recognize Jerusalem and move the embassy — because that may finally convince the Palestinians that time is not on their side. They cannot put off making concessions if they hope to remain credible in any discussions. Israel is not going to stop building settlements in land where 80 percent of Hebrew Biblical events transpired, and which form the very cradle of ancient Jewish history.

When the Palestinians rejected Menachem Begin’s autonomy offer in the late 1970s, there were less than 10,000 Jews in the West Bank. Today, the number is nearly 400,000.

Israel has shown that it is willing to make tough, even irresponsible sacrifices, as it did when giving up the Sinai to Egypt and withdrawing from Gaza. These proved to be serious strategic errors, as the Sinai has now largely become an ISIS state, and Gaza is controlled by genocidal Hamas. The Palestinians have also demonstrated nothing but obstinacy and squandered opportunities for statehood — in 1937, 1947, during Jordan’s occupation, in 1979, 1993, 2000 and 2008.

I pray for peace, but it will not be the result of a peace plan concocted by outsiders. Peace will come when Palestinians sit down opposite Israelis, accept Israel’s existence and demonstrate to the Israeli people — not the UN, the EU or anyone else — that they are prepared to coexist beside a strongly defined Jewish state. If they do, they will find Israelis willing to reach out to them as brothers. And that is the only peace formula that has any chance of success. (Algemeiner Dec 13)

Arise, Go Up to Zion By Nadav Shragai

The 25th day of the Hebrew month of Kislev 2,181 years ago was both a sad day and a happy one on the Temple Mount. The events that day, which ultimately became the foundation for the holiday we call Hanukkah, began with humiliation and insult but were followed by great jubilation and high spirits. The books of the Maccabees tell us how the Hasmoneans, having arrived in a liberated Jerusalem, tore their clothes and wept as they saw the desolate and desecrated Temple. But they also tell us about the “harps, lutes and cymbals” (1 Maccabees 4:52) that were used to celebrate the relighting of the menorah.

Fifty years ago, the same day also brought two diametrically opposed feelings: joy and sadness. While Israel had recently liberated the ruins of the Temple, the prevailing spirit on the Temple Mount was dictated by then-Defense Minister Moshe Dayan. Under his instructions, the Israeli flag had been taken down from the mountain, and the Israeli visitors were told they were to limit their worship to the site below, the Western Wall.

Dayan effectively gave control of the compound to the Muslims, preventing the Jews from praying there. He wrongly assumed that by doing this he could take out the religious component of the conflict. The decision

had the support of rabbis, who said it was forbidden for Jews to enter the area for prayer. They were too focused on their halachic interpretation to seize the moment. For all their talk, they forgot that having virtual Jewish sovereignty on the Temple Mount without actually exercising it is just make-believe. They had decided to relegate our role to that of the famous superhero who can see but cannot be seen.

This alliance of state and religion survived for three decades and had the effect of suppressing the bond between the Jews and holy compound. It also created the impression that the Western Wall, which is also holy, is a suitable alternative that could serve as a stand-in for the original. As a result, the Muslims got the false impression that the Jews who went to the Temple Mount were just “visitors,” like all other tourists.

In recent years, a miracle of sorts has taken place: A handful of passionate activists have managed to reignite the Israeli interest in the area. This has led to the Israel Police lifting some of the restrictions placed on Jewish presence on the site. Although we cannot hear the shofar being blown there, as the famous verse in “Jerusalem of Gold” says, and there is no menorah, the Jews are finally exercising their sovereignty by visiting the site — the only thing Dayan agreed to preserve. By the end of 2017, the number of Jews who will have visited the compound is expected to number 25,000.

The vast majority of Jewish visitors hail from the national religious sector, mainly because hundreds of rabbis amended their halachic approach to the area. That is unfortunate because the Temple Mount does not belong to just one sector and keeping it this way would be a missed opportunity on a historic scale.

The vast majority of Jews in Israel continue to view the mountain as if it was a belated bar mitzvah present, given to the state when it was 19. The bar mitzvah boy flipped a few pages and put it on a high bookshelf so that it is visible to everyone but accessible to no one. Every so often, he dusts it off and shows it with pride — as if he is a rare book collector — reminding everyone that this unique and ancient book is in his possession.

But there is only one problem with this: He never actually read the book he keeps touting; he never actually visited the Temple Mount. It is hard to change a longstanding practice. The Western Wall has already become the epicenter of Jewish worship in the area — and the curtain has been effectively drawn on anything that lies above and beyond.

Hanukkah is an opportune moment to lift this curtain. Flock to the mountain. “Arise ye, and let us go up to Zion, unto the Lord our God” (Jeremiah 31:6). Don’t pray there, because it is not permitted for Jews, but make sure to visit. Even that small gesture is a lot considering the current state of affairs. (Israel Hayom Dec 11)

When Lifesavers Opt For Death By Lital Shemesh

On Monday, two days of ongoing violent riots erupted near Ramallah in which rioters threw rocks and Molotov cocktails at IDF forces. The IDF Spokesperson’s Unit published footage of a Red Crescent ambulance helping transport rioters, disguised as wounded, to the demonstration. The ambulances unloaded the masked, fake wounded at the heart of the riots. Wrapped in Palestinian flags, the passengers joined their brothers in hurling rocks at our soldiers. All this took place under the auspices of an organization that is supposed to save human lives and help the wounded and injured, not give rides to terrorists who are looking to vent their spleen at IDF troops.

This wasn’t the first time that the Red Crescent has lent its hand to violence and terrorism. Two years ago, Yaakov and Netanel Litman were shot to death in a terrorist attack near Otniel. Dvir Litman, 16, was sitting in the front seat and watched helplessly as his father and brother bled out. A passing Red Crescent ambulance completely ignored their calls for help. The ambulance driver approached the site of the attack, told the Litmans to “call 101 [the number for Magen David Adom],” and drove off.

Immediately after the incident, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu asked the Foreign Ministry to demand that the Red Crescent explain why it abandoned wounded Jews, in violation of all humane and cultural norms, and threatened that Israel would take appropriate action against the Red Crescent. Not much has happened.

The Red Crescent is known for its willingness to volunteer its ambulances to hide and transport terrorists and weapons to be used in terrorist acts. The Palestinian Islamic Jihad has reported how it used an ambulance packed with explosives to carry out a terrorist bombing: in March 2002, an ambulance was stopped at an IDF checkpoint south of Ramallah. Underneath a stretcher carrying a sick child, soldiers found an explosives belt and bombs. The driver was Islam Jibril, a Tanzim fugitive who had joined the Red Crescent as a driver. In June of that same year, a doctor at a Jenin hospital was arrested after he was enlisted by Hamas to smuggle suicide bombers into Israel. When interrogated, he admitted that he had also smuggled weapons using ambulances.

We haven’t even touched upon the Palestinian industry of lies, “Pallywood,” which uses ambulances and prostrate actors playing wounded Palestinians to use to spread lies about Israel. What does the world think about it? Remember this: the International Red Cross, which sponsors both Magen David Adom and the Red Crescent, has objected to Magen David Adom operating in Judea and Samaria. International

hypocrisy at its finest.

In the meantime, terrorists continue to make cynical and brutal use of an organization that is supposed to save lives, and the Red Crescent gives terrorism a push. Rather than choosing life, the organization repeatedly chooses death, and the world stays silent. (Israel Hayom Dec 13)

Europe's War Against the Jewish State By Caroline B. Glick

Europe is the epicenter of the political war against Israel. Europe fights Israel on the streets of Europe. Europe fights Israel in the corridors of power in Brussels, other Western European capitals and the UN. Europe fights Israel in Israel itself.

Europe's war against Israel is a passive-aggressive campaign fought and denied simultaneously. But in recent years, the mask has fallen over and over again.

In the days that have passed since US President Donald Trump's dramatic announcement that the US recognizes that Jerusalem is Israel's capital and is beginning to take concrete steps to move its embassy to the city, Europe's war against Israel has again become impossible to deny or ignore. Europe's response to Trump's announcement has been extreme, violent and more outspoken than the response of the Arab world.

The EU-funded Palestinian Authority reacted to Trump's move by exhorting its subjects to riot and attack Israelis.

Sunday, Yassin Abu el-Qura heeded his call. Qura stabbed Asher Elmalich in the heart and critically wounded him. Elmalich was a security guard at Jerusalem's central bus station.

According to Channel 2, Qura is a member of a prominent family of Fatah members with close ties to the PA and its EU- and US-funded and trained security forces. His father is the commander of one of the security forces in Salfit, in Samaria. Two of his brothers are also PA security officers. Around the same time Qura was stabbing Elmalich, the British government announced it was providing the PA with 20 million pounds in supplemental budgetary funding.

Qura's attack was notable because it took place against the backdrop of lackluster attendance at PA-organized protests. As former US Middle East mediator Aaron David Miller tweeted on Sunday, the low attendance at these demonstrations, like the low attendance at anti-US and anti-Israel demonstrations in the Arab world is an "indication of how much the region has changed [in recent years] and the loss of centrality of [the] Palestinian issue. [The] Palestinian street is exhausted; the Arab street has disappeared."

But while the Arab street was indifferent to Trump's declaration, the European street went berserk. Thousands of protesters assembled in London and Paris, in Berlin and Stockholm. They burned Israeli flags and called for the annihilation of Israel and the murder of Jews.

Physical attacks on Jews have been an integral component of the anti-Trump riots in Europe. Saturday night a group of 20 rioters firebombed a synagogue in Gothenburg, Sweden where Jewish children were holding a party. Friday a man clad in a keffiyeh attacked a Jewish restaurant in Amsterdam with a club while screaming Allahu Akbar.

European officials have refused to call these attacks hate crimes. As they see it, attacks against Jews in the name of hatred for Israel are totally justified. For instance, as The Jerusalem Post's Benjamin Weinthal reported in January, a German regional court found that perpetrators of a 2014 firebombing of a synagogue in Wuppertal had not committed a hate crime. Instead, the court ruled the Arab German perpetrators firebombed the synagogue as a result of their legitimate concern over Israel's military operations against Hamas terrorists in Operation Protective Edge.

They all received suspended jail terms.

And whereas the Europeans refuse to condemn antisemitic attacks launched in the name of rejection of Israel, they rapidly condemned Trump for accepting Israel's right to its capital city. Everyone who is everyone, including EU High Commissioner on Foreign Affairs Federica Mogherini, French President Emmanuel Macron, British Prime Minister Theresa May and German Chancellor Angela Merkel slammed Trump for recognizing reality. They insisted he "endangered" prospects for peace and threatened to throw the region into "even darker times."

Then there are the anti-Israel campaigns that the EU and its member states wage against Israel in Israel. In the aftermath of Trump's declaration on Jerusalem last Wednesday, Israeli Arabs carried out violent riots in Wadi Ara, forcing the closure of sections of Highway 65 which connects Tiberias with central Israel. An Israeli girl was hospitalized after being wounded by rocks thrown at the passenger bus she was traveling in on Saturday night. A photographer for Yediot Aharonot was attacked and his motorcycle was smashed while he tried to report on the riots.

The EU has invested tens of millions of dollars radicalizing the Israeli Arab community in recent years. Organizations including Adalah, Baldana, Massowa, Zohrot and the Negev Coexistence Forum have indoctrinated, urged and paid Israeli Arabs to abandon their Israeli identity, view themselves as Palestinians and reject Israel's right to exist.

Survey data shows that a large and growing majority of Israeli Arabs wish to integrate into the wider Israeli society. And yet, with effectively unlimited funding from European governments, radical, irredentist forces inside the Israeli Arab community have managed to intimidate their

opponents into silence and incite their members to reject Israel.

This then brings us to the EU's role in subverting Israeli politics more generally. For the past several months, leftist political strategist and self-styled anti-corruption dragon slayer Eldad Yaniv has been leading a political campaign to demand that Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu be indicted. Yaniv's campaign has involved weekly demonstrations against Netanyahu which are widely covered by the media.

Netanyahu's supporters have repeatedly pointed to chants and placards at those demonstrations spending less time calling for Netanyahu to be indicted than they spend calling for him to be overthrown. That is, Netanyahu's supporters allege Yaniv is manipulating the public by using unproved allegations of corruption to diminish public support for the government in the service of the radical Left.

Last Saturday's demonstration in Tel Aviv bore out those allegations. Prominently displayed was a giant, brightly illuminated sign that read "BDS." Radical demonstrators called for Israel to be destroyed and vowed never to defend "Zionism."

According to an investigative report on the demonstration published Monday in Israel Hayom, among the demonstrations' major financial backers and organizers are One Voice, a US-registered NGO that receives financial support from the EU, the British Muslim Organization and Labour Friends of Palestine. Other groups similarly receive money from EU governments and government-funded NGOs. In other words, according to the report, the EU is funding Israeli groups that are working openly to overthrow the democratically elected government of Israel.

On Sunday and Monday Netanyahu visited Paris and Brussels to confront Europe's leaders and challenge their hostility toward Israel. He told his European hosts that their opposition to Trump's recognition of reality in respect to Jerusalem was indefensible. Far from harming the cause of peace, Trump's recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital advanced it. After all, there is no way a sustainable peace can be based on rejection of reality, he argued.

As the lukewarm responses Netanyahu received from the likes of Mogherini and Macron made clear, the Europeans behind the war against Israel have no intention of permitting reality to get in their way.

They aren't waging their political war geared toward delegitimizing Israel internationally, even at the expense of their local Jewish communities, and subverting Israel's government domestically to advance peace. They are doing it because they think their interests are served by waging war against Israel.

Ahead of Netanyahu's trip to Europe and US Vice President Mike Pence's visit to Israel later this week, the PA announced its leaders would boycott Pence in retaliation for Trump's recognition of Jerusalem. The Palestinian notion – supported by their Israeli far Left supporters – is that the EU should replace the US as the mediator.

During his meeting Sunday with Netanyahu, Macron rejected those suggestions. And that makes sense. Because even if he wanted to supplant the Americans, there is no chance he would succeed. Israel will never permit the Europeans to mediate anything. Their war against Israel internationally and inside of Israel itself has achieved one clear result. The Europeans have convinced Israelis not to trust them, not to admire them, and not to consider them friends. (Jerusalem Post Dec 11)

Zionism and the Changing Global Structure

By David Hazony and Adam Scott Bellos

There is nothing weirder than the gap between the American Jewish conversation about Israel, on the one hand, and the real day-to-day lives of Israelis on the other. American Jews are re-litigating the twentieth century, while Israelis are living the twenty-first.

American Jews ask: will Israel make peace or live forever by the sword? Why does the occupation never end? Will antisemitism destroy us all? Do Jews have a right to every inch of the biblical lands? Will Netanyahu cause a break with American Jews? Will Israel's democracy be ruined by demography? How will the tiny Jewish state survive against an ocean of enemies? These are questions Israelis have mostly stopped asking, and American Jews cannot understand why.

The answer is that everything has changed. The strategic, economic and cultural opportunities facing Israel have drowned out the existential threats. The old anxieties have been overrun by both Israel's successes and failures.

Successes: it is now a vibrant and powerful country, and its power has changed the thinking of national governments not just in Europe but also across the Arab world. Today Israel has only one real strategic enemy – Iran, which has been the force behind all of Israel's wars in the past decade-and-a-half.

Economically, the Jewish state has become a global leader in technology, from agriculture to autonomous vehicles. It has solved its two biggest problems of nature: water and energy. Culturally, it has become an exporter in everything from film to art to wine to architecture to electronic music.

Israelis now count their Nobel prizes the way Jews used to.

But also failures: the Yom Kippur war and the Oslo Accords taught Israelis about the horror that flows from self-delusion. The endless

Palestinian terrorism has taught them that not every malady can be cured, that some must instead be managed. Rabin's assassination proved the danger of messianic frenzy. Socialism sank in a sea of red ink.

Yet as Israelis are busy doing Zionism – building a prosperous, forward-facing, secure Jewish state – and Americans are wringing their hands about Zionism; nobody is really engaged in new Zionist thought.

The last serious attempt to reinvent Zionism from the Right, as a theological movement built on settlement of Judea and Samaria, collapsed with Rabin's assassination and the Gaza withdrawal, both so long ago that new IDF recruits don't remember them. The last attempt to reinvent it from the Left collapsed with the failure of Oslo and the Second Intifada. Failures left only one path forward: just live and succeed and stop trying to explain it all.

The result is a strange combination. As a project, Zionism is roaring. As a vision, however, it is coasting.

Israel has made its choices: security over messianic peace-seeking, capitalism over socialism, pragmatism over utopia. The country exists, and its foundations are now stronger than those of many other developed democracies. American deliberations about Israel's "right to exist" suggest a surplus of spare time and an absence of imagination. Israelis do not struggle with the questions that grip American Jews because they have been resolved, by choice or by history, or left permanently unanswered, which is also an answer.

More urgent than answering old questions, however, is the quest for new ones. What should Israel's role be in the coming century – not just for Jews, but for the world? A century that began with terrorism and the tech bubble, and will likely see economic upheaval resulting from automation and artificial intelligence, and societal upheaval from the shattering of national and communal identities – this is the world that a Jewish state must find its place in if it is to survive.

The new Zionism will focus less on statecraft and more on expansive creativity. Put another way: Zionism's last century was about creating the conditions for Jewish survival in a sovereign state; its next century will be about thriving, building outward, and sharing with the world.

The next phase of human history will turn on creativity. As machines replace men (there will be no cab drivers, coal miners, or preparers of fast food in 30 years), wealth and power will rest increasingly on humankind's singular added value: the new thought.

As the global economic structure shifts, new great powers will rise. Smaller countries will be less impeded by their lack of manpower. Larger ones will suffer if they cannot be flexible and make swift changes. The question of national agility will come to dominate the historical ledger. The next phase in Zionism will have to address Israel's place in this new world.

Westerners have only recently started to feel the heat coming from the creative furnace that drives the Israeli soul.

"Start-Up Nation" opened a window to a different Israel from the one you hear about on the news.

Yet start-ups are only one outward manifestation of what is a much deeper role Israel will play. Israel could more aptly be called the "Creative State": in everything from social programs and unique nonprofits to music and television and medical and cognitive and culinary sciences, Israelis are everywhere applying their brash, do-it-differently style to endlessly reinventing life.

Israeli culture has no patience for how things have been done in the past. There is no Hebrew expression for "best practices." The assumption that someone else has figured things out for us in advance is anathema in the Creative State. The affirmation of life requires constant change. Soar, or sink.

Israelis, in other words, are the Jews of the 21st century.

How did this happen? And why now? From its beginning, Israel has lived in a permanent state of "innovate or die." The knowledge that Jews never have the luxury of a quiet life. That self-criticism does not have to undermine unity; on the contrary, it can be the glue that binds our collective confidence that we are on the best path possible.

That if we are going to beat the odds, we will need to find new ways to build a military, to find water and energy, to absorb immigrants, to speak and think and live.

Today, Israel leads the way in "tikkun olam" as well, even if Israelis never call it that, even if American Jewish kids would scoff at the idea.

Both businesses and non-profits in Israel are at the cutting edge of everything that makes life better. This is not, as the haters stupidly suggest, a question of branding. Israelis do not leave their families suddenly to jump on airplanes and race to sites of natural disasters around the world for the sake of building their global image. They do it out of a genuine belief that life is good, that with experience and ability come obligation, and that using your mind to offer urgent and effective help, and to build yourself in the process, is just how you are raised.

Little-known fact: Israelis are second only to Americans in charitable giving as a percentage of GDP. And they have a lot less disposable income.

And yes, the Creative State is a Jewish state, and not just because it's full of Jews. Israel's creativity emanates from a cultural predilection for restlessness, self-criticism and change that have characterized Jewish life for thousands of years. Israelis are, on the most profound level, Jews. Even, perhaps especially, those who are not Jewish.

The origins of it are deep in the Jewish soul and historical memory – a people that had to rapidly adapt to new situations and changing existential threats, a people who for whom creative thinking and mutual care correlated with survival. A people who, in their most profound and ancient moral teachings, found an organic and intuitive balance between Self and Other, between particularism and universalism, between utopian dreams and dark skepticism.

Already in early Zionist thought, we find the Creative State envisioned. Theodor Herzl imagined a global economic magnet in the Jewish state. Ahad Ha'am saw cultural institutions forming that would spread the Jewish spirit throughout the world. Decades before the political state could become reality, Zionists developed their own swiftly morphing language, their own elite universities, their own poetry, their own agricultural and military innovation, their own creative universe.

The Zionists were following millennia of Jewish traditions about the centrality of creativity and change to man's place on earth. The Hebrew Bible – probably the first book to reach the masses in any language – did more than any other single work to change the course of human history.

It opens with a Creation story in which God makes the universe, culminating on the Sixth Day in man, formed "in our likeness and our image."

Man is presented as God-like – but at that point in the story, God is nothing but a Creator of good things.

Similarly Noah, the father of all mankind, is not merely the savior of humanity; he is also described by the rabbis as a great innovator, who made the tools for tilling the soil. (He also invented wine, it seems.) Moses, too, was the paradigmatic agent of positive revolution, leading slaves in Egypt to freedom in their promised land. David wrote Psalms as he envisioned a Temple to God (and sang of the spiritual virtues of wine, as well).

Solomon wrote Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes as he built great cities. The Prophets were about anything but the status quo, articulating a wholly new world order.

The rabbinic tradition, too, was supremely creative.

Even at the peak of their exilic preservationism, the rabbis emphasized aesthetics (hidur mitzva) and creativity in Jewish ritual. They recast Sukkot, originally a harvest celebration, as a holiday about beauty. They encouraged "innovation in prayer" as the highest form of spiritual expression. Rabbinic writings in the middle ages included philosophy, liturgical poetry, and entire schools of innovative legal exegesis – revering the hiddush, innovation, above all – a creative intellectual tradition that was not reserved for the elites.

With the modern Emancipation, Jewish creativity was unleashed to the world in every field, and in the creation of new fields. From Marx to Einstein and Freud, Jews reinvented the physical, psychological and political worlds.

With Zionism, all that creativity was channeled into a space of sovereign freedom and collective endeavor. Although it has taken more than a century for the world to see it, Zionism has always been about the Jews channeling the power of their creative-moral intellect into every facet of human life.

There is, of course, room to worry. Israel's political, economic and strategic security will never stop being a priority. More important, however, are the core questions of education and parenting, which are the secret sauce. Israelis' creative-moral impulse cannot simply be counted on to continue forever; it must be nurtured, articulated, explored. Investments must be made. Jews are not superhuman – in Germany before the war, their success often blinded them to the looming threat; in America, their creativity has become diluted, along with their education and identity.

Both of these can happen to Israelis as well.

The absence of new Zionist articulation is therefore a problem, and not just for Israelis. It is, in all likelihood, the real reason for American-Jewish angst about Israel, as well. If "Zionism" feels to them like a worn-out word, it's because today it represents worn-out ideas. Zionism as a political project has achieved or exceeded Herzl's and Ben-Gurion's most ambitious dreams. Yet as a cultural project, it has never really been known by American Jews, who have not troubled themselves to study Hebrew or participate in Hebrew culture. For many young American Jews, thirsty for social justice, Zionism is as stale as last year's snowfall.

A new phase in both world and Jewish history requires new thought and new thinkers, asking questions of a nation blazing a new path for humanity. Israel will never have the world's largest army, its most plentiful natural resources, or its biggest factories. But in our new world, a world of AI and automation, it may not need them.

What it will always need – indeed, on this will its survival depend – is clarity of purpose, fidelity to its cultural soul and commitment to the continuity of its multi-millennial creativity that has brought about its successes until now.

What it needs is a new generation of Zionist thinkers and articulators, to help us understand where we are all going, and to remind us why.

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