K5 Inception of the State

- **1.Balfour Declaration, White Paper and what came in between.** Gain a brief understanding of the sequence of events that took place between the two world wars.
- 2. Secular Zionist leaders. Who were they? How did they differ?

3.The State of Israel Did it fulfil our fantasy of how our state should be born?





BET CHALUTZI 5777 Two oaths that Hashem made with the Jewish People and one with the Nations of the world.

- 1. The Jews should not return to Israel en masse
- 2. The Jews should not rebel against the other nations (should not go to Israel without permission from the nations)
- 3. The other nations should not subjugate the Jews excessively

These oaths are one of the reasons that certain Jewish people do not support the State of Israel, though obviously many of the great Rabbis do.

However with Religious Zionism really starting to take course (as we have seen already) and secular Zionism starting to take centre stage (as we will see in a minute), Rav Teichtal in Eim HaBanim Semeicha (YOU MUST READ IT!) claims that the last two oaths are null and void, which in turn means the first one is meaningless and we have every right to return to our homeland.

There are about 12 responses to the 3 Shvuot ranging from some that imply it has never had practical implications to it being absolved in the world wars.

Ray Aviner has an essay on this, it is translated into English, worth a cheeky google search!

We have already seen in previous Ks that throughout the generations we have been persecuted and subjugated excessively, culminating in the Holocaust. Oath number three has clearly become null and void.

Furthermore as we will see now the second oath (through a series of events) has also become obsolete meaning that we are now at liberty to ignore the first one and return to Israel en masse! Woo!

The Balfour Declaration, White Paper and what came in between.

Balfour Declaration

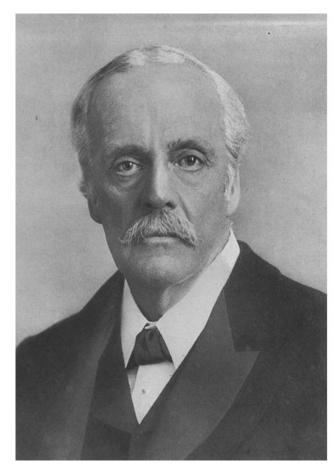
What was it?

A letter from Balfour – the Foreign Secretary, to Lord Rothschild – head of the English Jewish community, stating that the British government viewed with favour the established of a Jewish national home in the Land of Israel.

How did it come about?

Chaim Weizmann went round meeting people in positions of power, endeavouring to convince them of the justice of his cause. During WW1, due to restricted travel possibilities, he concentrated on meeting with British statesmen, including David Lloyd George (Prime Minister) and Author Balfour (Foreign Secretary).

(to be read in a Posh accent by.....)



Foreign Office, November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

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

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

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

Angen Bup

The draft of this letter, passed on by Lord Rothschild to Balfour, contained the following 3 elements, though not all were included in the final letter (see extra Chomer, its interesting how it developed):

- 1. The Jewish national home is the Land of Israel.
- 2. The unrestricted right of Jewish immigration.
- 3. Jewish internal autonomy.

IS JUDAISM A NATION OR RELIGION?

IN PARLIAMENT AT THE TIME OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION PEOPLE WERE UNSURE AS TO WHY A RELIGION DESERVES A COUNTRY. A DEBATE OCCURRED IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ABOUT WHETHER JUDAISM WAS A RELIGION OR NATION. IF IT WAS A RELIGION THEN THERE IS NO NEED FOR THEM TO HAVE THEIR OWN COUNTRY. LORD MONTAGU (A BRITISH CONSERVATIVE POLITICIAN) CLAIMED THAT JUDAISM IS A RELIGION AND DOES NOT DESERVE THEIR OWN STATE.

HOWEVER RAV KOOK (WHO WAS IN ENGLAND AT THE TIME) WAS QUOTED DURING THE DEBATE AS CALLING JUDAISM A NATION AND THE DECISION WAS MADE TO FOLLOW RAV KOOK SEEING AS HE MUST KNOW MORE ABOUT JUDAISM THAN LORD MONTAGU!

THE NEXT FEW YEARS...

Arab riots

At the end of WW1 the Yishuv, settlement in the Land of Israel, grew rapidly. As more and more Jews began to settle in the Land of Israel, (especially with the Third Aliya after WW11 with 40,000 people) the Arabs began to feel threatened by their Jewish neighbours and Arab leaders began encouraging mobs to attack the Jews. A number of riots erupted in

Chevron, Jerusalem and Haifa. Hundreds of Jews were slaughtered.

Peel Commission (1936-37)

A Royal Commission was appointed in August 1936 by the British government to examine the Palestine problem, following the outbreak of the Arab Revolt. The report published called for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and Arab state with a British-controlled corridor from Jerusalem to the coast at Yafo. (See MAP) However, the plan was rejected by the Arabs (with the exception of King Abdullah, (Trans Jord) and also caused a split in the Zionist movement.



1939: The White Paper

The white paper was a policy statement issued by the British government under Prime Minster Neville Chamberlain in which a number of concessions were made to Arabs. It contained 3 main points:

- 1. It called for the establishment of an independent Palestine, governed jointly by Arabs and Jews, thus abandoning the partition plan suggested by the (original) Balfour Declaration.
- 2. Jewish immigration to Palestine was seriously limited to 75,000 for the first 5 years and would later be contingent on Arab consent.
- 3. The sale of Arab land to Jews was to be severely restricted and controlled so that "Arab cultivators are to maintain their existing standard of life and a considerable landless Arab population is not soon to be created."

How does this change the British opinion on the Jewish homeland in Israel?

When put in historical context, this paper had a huge impact on the Jews. At a time of heightened Jewish persecution, on the eve of what was later to be known as the Holocaust, Jews were being prevented

from seeking refuge in the one place they thought they could call home. The paper also indicated

a change in Britain's attitude to the establishment of Jewish homeland in Palestine and marked a considerable setback in the Zionist agenda.

This paper remained the basis of British policy until 1947.

Secular Zionist Leaders

Asher Hirsch Ginsburg, Born in 1856, into a Chasidic family in Skvira, near Kiev (then part of Russia).

Founded a new movement, Bnei Moshe, in 1889, advocating his ideals.

He split from the Zionist movement after the First Zionist Congress, feeling that Theodor Herzl's program was impractical.

Settled in Tel Aviv in 1922 and died there in 1927.

"...The Arab, like all Semites, posses a sharp intelligence and great cunning...
[the Arabs] see through our activity in the country and its purpose but they keep silent, since for the time being they do not fear any danger for their future...
How careful must we be in dealing with an alien people in whose midst we want to settle!...If ever the Arab judges the action of his rivals to be oppression or the robbing of his rights, then even if he is silent and waits for his time, the rage will stay alive."

<u>Theodor Herzl (1860 - 1904)</u> See K4

Achad Ha'am (1856-1927)

IDEOLOGY: Cultural Zionism

Importance of Palestine and the Hebrew language is not their religious significance, but because they were an integral part of the Jewish people's history and cultural heritage. Believed

kibbutz galuyoth to be a messianic ideal rather than a feasible contemporary project. Rejected Herzl's notion Born in Belorussia, then in Russia, of the world would encourage Jews to move and establish accial Jewish state, feeling that only through Jewish self-deliance by ridsing Zionism Leader of the socialist zionist careful preparation, would the Zionist enterprise with coefficient. Opposed the Pusped for the establishment in Palestine of small self-then spiritual



Ze'ev Jabotinsky (1880-1929)

- Born Vladimir Jabotinsky in Odessa, the part of Russia (now part of the Ukraine), in October 1880.
- Raised in Jewish middle-class home and educated in Russian schools.
- Joined the Zionist movement after the Kishinev pogrom of 1903.
- Established the Jewish Self-Defence
 Organisation to safeguard Jewish
 communities in Russia..
- Founded the Zion Mule Corps in 1915, along with Joseph Trumpledor, to fight alongside the British against the Ottomans in WW1.

Kishinev Pogrom.

3 days of anti-Jewish riots in Kishinev, capital of the Russian province of Basarabia, in April 1903. Started after an anti-semitic newspaper blamed the murder of a Christian Russian boy on the lews.

IDEOLOGY: Revisionist Zionism

Revisionist Zionism is an outgrowth of Herzl's Political Zionism, established by Vladimir (Ze'ev) Jabotinsky. The declared goals of Revisionist ideology included putting relentless pressure on Great Britain,



Chaim Weizmann (1874-1952)

- Born in November 1874 in the village of Motol, Russia.
- Got a degree in chemistry from university Switzerland (and later taught chemistry in Manchester Uni!).
- Worked with Arthur Balfour, British Prime Minister at the time, to obtain the Balfour Declaration in 1917.
- Became president of the World Zionist Organisation in 1921 and again in 1935.
- Founded the (now called) Weizmann Institute of Science in Rechovot in 1934.
- Became first president of Israel in 1949.

IDEOLOGY: Centrist Zionism

Siding with neither Labour Zionism on the left nor Revisionist Zionism on the right, Weizmann was generally associated with the centrist General Zionists. In his own words: "We [the Jewish people] have never based the Zionist

movement on Jewish suffering in Russia or in any other land.

These sufferings have never been the mainspring of Zionism.

The foundation of Zionism was, and continues to be to this day,

the yearning of the Jewish people for its homeland, for a

national centre and a national life."

He supported both grass-roots colonization efforts as well as higher-level diplomatic activity in securing a national homeland for the Jews.



A state cannot be created by decree, but by the forces of a people and in the course of generations. Even if all the governments of the world gave us a country, it would only be a aift of words. But if the lewish people

"

David Ben Gurion (1886-1973)

- Born in Plonsk, Poland.
- Aged 14 he and two friends formed a youth club, Ezra, promoting Hebrew studies and emigration to Israel.
- He made Aliyah in 1906 and immediately became involved in politics, becoming chairman of Poalei Zion branch in Yaffo.
- He moved to Istanbul in 1912 to study law and changed his name to Ben Gurion.
- He became head of the World Zionist Organization in 1946 and president of the Jewish Agency Executive. As suh he became the de facto leader of the Jewish community in Palestine.
- On May 14th 1948, he proclaimed the establishment of the State of Israel and was the 1st to sign the declaration!
- He resigned in 1954 and served as Minister of Defence, before returning to office in 1955.
- He stepped down in 1963 and retired from political life in 1970 when he moved to Sde Boker where he lived until his death.
- Posthumously he was named one of Time magazine's 100 Most Important People of the 20th Century!



"For many of us, anti-Semitic feeling had little to do with our dedication [to Zionism]. I personally never suffered anti-Semitic persecution. Płońsk was remarkably free of it ... We emigrated not for negative reasons of escape but for the positive purpose of rebuilding a homeland ..."

So, how many of these great leaders that brought about Hakamat Hamedina were actually Frum?? Any?

Can Israel really be so great if it was started mainly by secular leaders?

Is this type of Israel a fulfilment of our 'dream' Israel for modern times? Living with the practicalities of the 21st century and a wish to accommodate all sects and denominations, would it really be right for us to instead see a state based on religious/halachic values as an ideal for the present?

Extra Chomer

Draft	Text	Changes
Lord Rothschild draft	1. His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people.	
18 July 1917 ^[57]	2. His Majesty's Government will use its best endeavours to secure the achievement of this object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with the Zionist Organisation. [54]	
Balfour draft August 1917	His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people and will use their best endeavours to secure the achievement of this object and will be ready to consider any suggestions on the subject which the Zionist Organisation may desire to lay before them. ^[54]	4. His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people: and 2. His Majesty's Government will use its their best endeavours to secure the achievement of this object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with be ready to consider any suggestions on the subject which the Zionist Organisation may desire to lay before them.
Milner draft August 1917	His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that every opportunity should be afforded for the establishment of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object and will be ready to consider any suggestions on the subject which the Zionist organisations may desire to lay before them. [54]	His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of every opportunity should be afforded for the establishment of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine and will use their its best endeavours to secure facilitate the achievement of this object and will be ready to consider any suggestions on the subject which the Zionist Oorganisations may desire to lay before them.
Milner- Amery draft 4 October 1917	His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish race, and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed in any other country by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality.	His Majesty's Government accepts the principle-that every opportunity should be afforded for views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine race, and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object and will be ready to consider any suggestions on the subject which the Zionist organisations may desire to lay before them , it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed in any other country by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality. [54]
Final draft	His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this	His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish race, and will use its their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this

object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed <u>by Jews</u> in any other country by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality. [54]

K4 Herzl and the Conference

- To look at how Jews were being persecuted outside of their land
- Herzl and the Dreyfus Affair.
- The Uganda Proposal. Is Israel so integral to a Jewish state?
- Theodore Herzl Hipster



or Chassid?







BET CHALUTZI 5777 In our first kvutzah we looked at <u>why</u> Israel was so important to the Jewish people and <u>how</u> it was the land promised to us from God.

K2 looked at Galut and how it has affected the Jewish people. Now we will delve in to why the Jews were forced out of their homeland, the persecution that followed for the Jewish people and the impact Theodore Herzl had on the creation of a Jewish state.

The Dreyfus Affair

The Dreyfus affair was a significant event which contributed to the development of modern Zionism. Whilst Jews in the Diaspora had been persecuted for hundreds of years, the Dreyfus affair contributed to Herzl's energy in his attempts to fulfil his vision of a Jewish State of Israel. Unbelievably it has also been made into a board game (see extra chomer).

In 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus of the French Army found himself charged with selling secrets to the Germans. He was court-martialled, found guilty and branded a traitor to France. He was publicly disgraced, his epaulettes torn from his shoulders and his sword broken, which was apparently a really nasty thing to do back then.

Later the Chief of the French army Intelligence unit discovered papers supposedly proving that

Dreyfus was guilty. Colonel Picquart was convinced that they were faked and that an anti-Semitic major in the army, created them. Picquart believed that Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy was the actual spy and after high-ranking military officials suppressed the new evidence, a military court unanimously acquitted Esterhazy after a trial lasting only two days. The Army then accused Dreyfus of additional charges based on falsified documents.

Suspicion continued to grow but all those who looked into the matter were chased off the scene. Meanwhile, Picquart refused to let the matter rest and was duly imprisoned for his efforts. On January 13th, 1898, Emile

Zola (not the footballer, the great novelist) wrote his now infamous letter "J'Accuse'.

He addressed it to the president and accused the top generals of the army of being behind a plot which was against the Republic. The sentence passed on Dreyfus was, he claimed, "a crime of high treason against humanity". To cut a long story short Dreyfus was found not guilty in 1906 after years of labour, was reinstated to the army and was promoted and Picquart was later to become the French war minister.

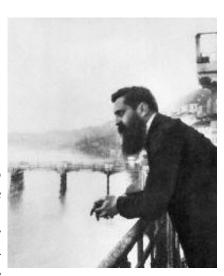
The trial in itself may not have been the trigger to the modern Zionist movement had it not been for a young journalist witnessing the events from the gallery of the court. His name was **Theodor Herzl** and if you've never heard of him then you should really holiday in Herzliya its quite lovely and very swanky (more information on the affair and its modern day impacts in extra chomer).

Herzl Comes To Life

"Im Tirzu...."

Herzl witnessed the public humiliation of Dreyfus in 'Invalides'. This event stirred something inside Herzl and affected him so much that his whole philosophy on how the Jewish people should act changed radically.

Herzl was born in 1860 in Budapest, Hungary to a family uninterested in Judaism. By the time he was 35 he was a well-known writer in a famous Viennese paper. He was sure the



future of the world was to join the general mainstream of society; to become part and parcel with its culture. While he experienced acts of anti-Semitism and probably heard the Y-word on countless occasions, none were powerful enough to make him rethink his ideology. Until the Dreyfus affair.

On 17th January 1896 the first extract of his book, 'Der Judenstadt,' was published in the Jewish Chronicle. The essence of the book was that **the Jews could not live anywhere except the Land of Israel.** Even in France, where the Jews were seemingly accepted into society, an event like the Dreyfus affair could still occur. This proved to Herzl that wherever the Jews are, there will always be factions of society that have an irrational hatred for them, unless that place is Eretz Yisrael, governed by the Jews.

Herzl had a vision of how the land of the Jews would be run: the wealthy and influential Jews would make all the decisions and form an unofficial government, and all the other Jews would adhere to any rulings decreed (basically what capitalism is based on but less subtle). However, all the influential Jews of the West, including Lord Rothschild, did not agree with this and went as far as to ridicule Herzl's suggestions. On the other hand, the much poorer Jews of Eastern Europe, the Ostjuden, raved about Herzl and treated him as a kind of Messiah.

Thus, Herzl knew that he would have to form his 'army' of supporters out of the Ostjuden. The only western Jew who joined Herzl was Max Nordau. He became Herzl's right hand man and drew up much of the practical programme of early Zionism. The first meeting of the army was arranged by Herzl and became the First Zionist Congress.

Thus, whilst Herzl had been a Zionist visionary from early on in his life, the Dreyfus Affair certainly catalysed his formation of an organised Zionist Movement which eventually led to the birth of the State of Israel.

We saw various Religious Zionist pioneers in K3. What Herzl did was trigger the start of the modern Political Zionist movement which grew and grew until the year 1948, Page 3

when we declared a State. This was one of the many forms of Zonism that was strong in the beginning of the 20th Century

The First Zionist Congress

The First Zionist Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland, in 1897.

There were 204 participants from 17 countries - 69 of whom were delegates from various Zionist societies and the remainder were individual invitees. In attendance were also 10 non-Jews who were expected to abstain from voting. There were 17 women present at the Congress, some of them in their own capacity and others who

Some achievements of The First Zionist Congress:

The formulation of the Zionist platform (the **Basel Program**).

The foundation of the World Zionist Organisation.

The adoption of **Hatikvah** as its anthem.

The suggestion for the establishment of a people's bank.

The election of Herzl as President of the Zionist Organisation

and Max Nordau, one of three Vice-Presidents.

accompanied representatives. While women participated in the First Zionist Congress, they did not have voting rights (#feminism #zionistshatewomen). Full membership rights were accorded them the following year, at the Second Zionist Congress.

The Basel program provided the guidelines for the work of the Zionist Organisation from its foundation at the First Zionist Congress until the establishment of the State of Israel. This included the promotion of settlement of the land, organisation of Jews living in Israel into groups and preparatory steps for attainment of government grants needed to establish the Jewish State.

After the first one, the Zionist Congress met every year (1897-1901) and then every second year (1903-1913, 1921-1939). After the Second World War, the

Congress met intermittently, approximately every four years until the present time.

Theodor Herzl wrote in his diary (September 1, 1897):

"Were I to sum up the Basle Congress in a word - which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly - it would be this: At Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I said this out loud today I would be greeted by universal laughter. In five years perhaps, and certainly in fifty years, everyone will perceive it."

The Uganda Proposal

Theodor Herzl sought support from the great powers for the creation of a Jewish homeland. He turned to Great Britain, and met with Joseph Chamberlain, the British colonial secretary and others. The British agreed, in principle, to Jewish settlement in East Africa "on conditions which will enable members to observe their national customs."

At the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basel on August 26, 1903, Herzl proposed the British Uganda Program as a <u>temporary refuge</u> for Jews in Russia in immediate danger. By a vote of 295-178 they

decided to send an expedition ("investigatory commission") to examine the territory proposed.

While Herzl made it clear that this program would not affect the ultimate aim of Zionism, a Jewish entity in the Land of Israel, the proposal aroused a storm at the Congress and nearly led to a split in the Zionist Movement. The Jewish Territorialist Organisation (JTO) was formed as a result of the unification of various groups who had supported Herzl's Uganda proposals during the period 1903-1905.

-Do you think a 'safe haven' would have been a good temporary solution?

-What would the State have looked like?

The Uganda Program was finally rejected by the Zionist movement at the Seventh Zionist Congress in 1905, but Nahum Syrkin and Israel Zangwill called an alternative conference to continue the plan of the Uganda scheme. When Uganda fell through for technical reasons, Zangwill looked for other places – Canada, Australia, Texas – to settle the Jews. However the organisation failed, as they were unable to secure a definite project.

So the Uganda Programme failed for technical reasons... [Hashem works in mysterious ways...]

For more information on the Jews in Russia see additional Chomer.

So, what would you have done?

Herzl - the leader and founder of the Zionist organisation - would have been perfectly happy (temporarily) to set up shop in Uganda?

Can there be a homeland outside of Zion? Would it have been temporary if we had?

Herzl Today in the 21st Century



In modern Israel today, one could say that Herzl has undergone a small revival in the form of an extra-parliamentary group called 'Im Tirzu'. By taking the famous tagline of Herzl, (If you will it, it is no dream), this movement has aimed to rejuvenate Zionism in Israel itself on Campuses around the country.

However, the group have caused controversy since their creation in the last couple of years. In May 2011, on Nakba Day, Im Tirtzu launched a campaign accompanied by a 70-page booklet called "נכבה הרטא" (Translate in your head!!) that describes the Nakba as "a lie that threatens to drown us like a tsunami" and have been accused of particularly extreme threats to Academic Institutions like Ben Gurion University for having an "anti-Zionist tilt". All in all, Im Tirzu is a clear example of a

particularly

a clear example of a ideas which have extreme.



אנשי "אם תרצו" מימין לשמאל: הסמנכ"ל עמית ברק, הרכז רועי ברק, ה היו"ר רונן שובל, הפעילה יערה ויקלר, הרכז מתן פלג, הפעילה הילה כהן פלג. בימים שבהם שוחטים פרות קדושות אנחנו רוצים להוליד אותן

As religious Zionists how can we relate to this modern reception of Herzl?

Are his ideas still valid today for the state of Israel going forward or has his vision of a secure homeland been fulfilled?

How do we as religious Zionists relate to Herzl in the 21st century?

Additional Chomer:

Before World War I most Jews were confined to the Pale - an area limited

mainly to what is today Lithuania, Belorussia and the Ukraine. It is known that at the beginning of the twentieth century there were five and a half million Jews living in the territory of the Russian Empire. Jews who were able to work their way into such large cities such as St. Petersburg and Moscow were similarly restricted. They were excluded from the ranks of government service, especially officers corps, elected offices, teachers, the foreign service, the civil service. Jews were also excluded from leading positions in shipping, railroad, insurance and mining companies. The laws of 1864, 1865, 1903 and 1912 barred Jews from acquiring or even managing rural land in the provinces of Vilna, Kiev, Grodno, Minsk and Tobsk.



The Jews suffered during the many pogroms. In 1904 and 1905, at the time of Russia's ill-fated war with Japan, pogroms were carried out by soldiers and by mobs. On October 1905 there was a wave of rioting which spread to all the most important Jewish centres. Odessa where over 300 persons were killed, and thousands injured, Kiev, Kishinev, Romi, Kremenchug. In a relatively short time, there were 64 outbreaks in the cities and 626 in the towns and villages, in which 800 Jews lost their lives and thousands were wounded. In the **Kishinev pogrom** of April 6, 1903, 45 Jews were killed by the mob. There was a solemn burial of the Scrolls of the Law that had been desecrated during the pogrom. Seven hundred houses were destroyed, 600 shops looted, 4,000 Jews remained homeless and destitute. In 1906 there were pogroms in Bialystok, with eighty dead.

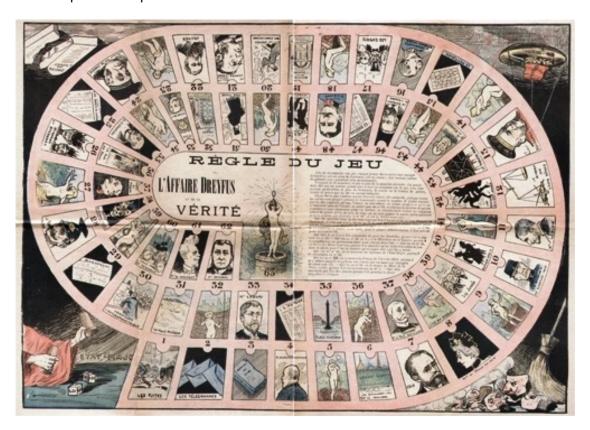
With the accession of Nicholas II, the last Tsar, there was an increase in anti-

Semitism. The greatest suffering for the Jews was caused by the continued mass expulsions. On March 29, 1891 under the then Tsar Alexander III, some 30,000 Jews living in Moscow, were rounded up and expelled, in the biggest and cruelest operation of the kind so far, they had constituted 86% of the Jews in Moscow. During the First World War, the Jews were accused of spying and collaboration with the enemy, and many of them were executed. On May 3, 1915, the expulsions reached their peak when 200,000 Jews of Kovno and Kurland were ordered to leave their homes within forty-eighty hours. An estimated total of over 600,000 were expelled, only 5% of whom succeeded in taking their movable possessions with them.

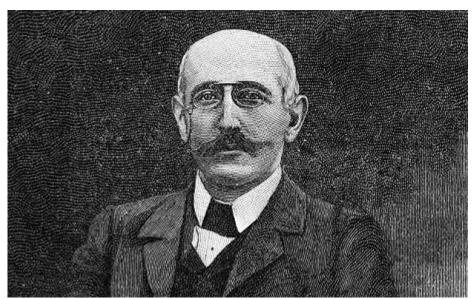
Earlier, Tsar Nicholas I decreed that Jews would have to join the Tsarist army for a forty year term. The 1827 law fixed a rate of Jewish conscription 40% percent higher than that of non-Jews. Under the terms of this law, the Jews had a quota of conscripts fixed for them, which was meant to be higher than that of the Christian population. Jews were called up for service every year, while for the general population it was every two years. The general draft age was from twenty to thirty-five, but for the Jews it was twelve to thirty-five.

Dreyfus affair board game

This large French game from 1898 depicts the events and principal characters, including Dreyfus himself, his military accusers and judges, anti-Semitic politicians and leaders, and his supporters such as the eminent French writer Emile Zola. Instructions in center of the game. Sold for \$1190 at auction which in post Brexit pounds is a lot.



Nationalists were fixated on the idea that there was a conspiracy against Catholicism – and the most obvious culprits were the Jews



Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935), the man whose case divided France Photo: ALAMY By Piers Paul Read 7:00PM GMT 28 Jan 2012

France in the last decades of the 19th century saw an extraordinary flourishing in the arts, the sciences and technology which, along with its climate of sexual permissiveness, earned this period the title of la belle époque. To celebrate these achievements, the French government prepared for a Universal Exposition in Paris in 1900, with an ambitious programme of building that included two railway stations, Gare de Lyon and Gare d'Orsay, and two exhibition halls, the Grand and the Petit Palais.

These plans were suddenly jeopardised, in the autumn of 1899, by an international campaign to boycott the exhibition, a result of the outrage felt throughout the world at the conviction, at a court martial in Rennes, of a Jewish officer, Alfred Dreyfus, on charges of passing secret documents to the Germans. This was his second court martial. The first, five years earlier, had led to a sentence of life imprisonment on Devil's Island. A campaign by his family, his lawyer and a small number of supporters had eventually uncovered overwhelming evidence that the traitor was not Dreyfus but another officer, Charles Walsin-Esterhazy. However, senior officers on the general staff and in military intelligence feared that to admit a miscarriage of justice would not just lose them their jobs but discredit the army. To thwart a revision of the case against Dreyfus, they resorted to a series of threats, forgeries and dirty tricks.

On January 13, 1898, France's leading novelist, Émile Zola, entered the fray with a polemic, J'Accuse, naming the officers responsible for the conspiracy against Dreyfus. It was hailed as heroic by the Left, outrageous by the Right, and provoked anti-Semitic riots throughout France. Opinion abroad was incredulous. How could France, the most civilised country in Europe, experience this eruption of medieval barbarism? Why had the case of one Jewish officer led to this rage against all Jews?

The fuse leading to this explosion of ancient animosities can be traced back to the revolution of 1789, which emancipated the Jews but also led to a persecution of Catholics so savage that it was, in the view of the historian Michael Burleigh, "tantamount to genocide". The mutual antagonism between conservative Catholics and radical republicans simmered throughout the 19th century. Unlike Britain, where radicalism was largely Christian in inspiration, in France it was militantly atheist – and the free-thinking heirs of the revolutionaries of 1789 made common cause, against what they perceived as bigoted and reactionary Catholics, with Protestants, Freemasons and Jews.

Thanks to the growth in industry and a money economy, Protestants and Jews had become rich and powerful: they controlled the "commanding heights of the economy". The conspicuous consumption and political corruption of this new plutocracy provoked resentment, particularly since, at a time of growing national rivalries, it was felt that neither Protestants nor Jews were "true Frenchmen of France". It became a fixation in the minds of French nationalists – not just rioters in cities like Rennes or Nantes but cultivated intellectuals – that there was a conspiracy to destroy France's Catholic identity. The most easily

identifiable enemies were the Jews, because many were rich and their talents had led to a disproportionate presence in the judiciary, the civil service, the press and even the army. Moreover, most came from Alsace, had Germanic names, and some, like Dreyfus, spoke with a German accent.

It is not always made clear in accounts of the Dreyfus Affair that many Dreyfusards were quite as anti-Semitic as their opponents. Zola himself has anti-Semitic stereotypes in his novels; so too the Dreyfusard authors Marcel Prévost and Anatole France. The officer who refused to "bury" the evidence that Dreyfus was innocent was vocally anti-Semitic, whereas a number of the anti-Dreyfusards abhorred anti-Semitism. Nor were the Dreyfusards all motivated by a disinterested passion for justice. Pierre Waldeck-Rousseau, a prominent lawyer, refused to defend Dreyfus for fear that it would jeopardise his political career. As a friend of Edgar Demange, who did take the brief, he must have known that the conviction was unsound, but he kept his head down until it became politically advantageous to join the Dreyfusards.

It was Waldeck-Rousseau, by then prime minister, who faced the prospect of an international boycott of the Universal Exposition. He advised the President to pardon Dreyfus, and arranged an amnesty for anyone involved in the affair. He then turned on the Catholic religious orders, making them scapegoats for the villainy of the dozen or so officers who had conspired to keep Dreyfus on Devil's Island. Only one of them was a practising Catholic but, on the pretext that Jesuits had been behind conspiracies against the government, Waldeck-Rousseau, and later Emile Combes, passed laws dissolving religious orders and closing Catholic schools.

To Waldeck-Rousseau, the religious orders were the "moral culprits" of the affair. "If Dreyfus and his friends become historians and write textbooks," wrote the anti-Dreyfusard author Maurice Barrès, "we shall be the villains in the eyes of posterity." That prediction has turned out to be more accurate than he could ever have imagined. In most histories, the anti-Dreyfusards are indeed the villains, their anti-Semitism linked to the behaviour of the Vichy government during the Second World War, and hence to the Holocaust. The injustices done to monks and nuns forced into exile, and parents who wished their children to be educated in Catholic schools, were airbrushed out of the picture.

In 1906, seven years after his pardon, Dreyfus was declared innocent by the French Court of Appeal, reinstated in the Army and awarded the Légion d'Honneur. He was never acquitted, as he had hoped, by his fellow officers in a court martial.

In 1994, the Director of the Historical Section of the French Army stated that Dreyfus's innocence was merely "a thesis generally admitted by historians". He was sacked, and Dreyfus's innocence declared indisputable by his successor. It illustrated, once again, the difficulty of approaching with even-handed detachment this critical event in the history of France.

Piers Paul Read's 'The Dreyfus Affair: The Story of the Most Infamous Miscarriage of Justice in French History' is published by Bloomsbury this week

K3 Religious Zionism



- · A brief look into Religious Zionist leaders and their beliefs
- To gain an understanding of modern day Zionism and how it was born through Religious values and beliefs
- To take a look at Reishit Semichat Geulateinu and its contrast





Rational Religious Zionism.

> BET CHALUTZI 5777

It would be very difficult to pinpoint an exact starting point of the Religious-Zionist movement. Where would we begin?

Perhaps we would begin with the Bar Kochva rebellion, to which the prolific tanna Rabbi Akiva attributed messianic significance¹. This would certainly provide a pretext for the ideology that Mashiach would be the product of a natural sequence of events, which we must proactively strive towards fulfilling².

Alternatively, we could focus in on the events leading-up to the building of the Second Beit HaMikdash: The initiation of the process of return to Eretz Yisrael in the time of Ezra and Nechemiya, the "Koresh declaration" and the unenthusiastic response by the Jews of the time⁴ which lead to a limited spiritual level during the Bayit Sheni period⁵. All these events bare a chillingly similar parallel to the events associated to the more modern shivat tzion process.

But this, too, would not be an accurate starting point; the Torah itself is deeply "religious Zionist"! Built-in to the Torah's vision of Jewish life is that Am Yisrael will settle and inhabit the Land of Israel⁶, and the very end goal of Hashem taking Bnei Yisrael out of Egypt was that they settle the Land and live there in accordance to the Torah⁷.

Throughout time, gedolim have sought to settle the Land of Israel, such that the original Religious-Zionist movement has never ceased. Thus, there continues to be an unbroken chain dating back to the original calling of "לך לך \dots אל הארץ אשר אראך"8. It is as such that establishing a starting point of the modern Religious-Zionist movement is indeed a challenging task.

People often consider Rabbi Avraham Yitzchak Kook to be the father of modern Religious-Zionism. This is partially accurate. Much of the values endorsed by the Religious-Zionist movement are based on the teachings of Rav Kook, and as such he could be considered the ideological father of the movement. Yet, chronologically, Rav Kook cannot be selected as the first Religious-Zionist leader of modern times. In the year 5667⁹ Rav Kook writes of himself:

Page 2

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¹ Talmud Yerushalmi, Ta'anit 24a

² Rambam Hil. Melachim 11:3; Rav Avraham Yitzchak Kook, Ma'amarei HaRaaya pg. 203

³ Ezra, perek 1; Divrei HaYamim II perek 36

⁴ Ezra perek 2:64

⁵ Yoma 9b; Kuzari 2:23-24

⁶ See for example: Bamidbar 33:51-56; Devarim 1:8; Devarim 11:31

⁷ Shemot 3:8

⁸ Bereishit 12:1

⁹ 16 Kislev 5667, December 3 1906

Now, in the "second edition" [of the Religious-Zionist movement] – with evermore intensity and strength, more depth and sanctity – we seek to renew the spirituality of chibbat tzion [Zionism] as it was at the dawn of its childhood, and as it lived in the hearts of the holy men who began to develop and tend to it; as it was treasured in the hearts of Rabbi Tzvi Kalisher and Rabbi Eliyahu (Gutmacher) Greiditz and their collaborators ...¹⁰

Rav Kook sees himself, and the movement he is part of, as the "second edition" of modern Religious-Zionism. The advancements within the newly established Jewish settlement in Palestine were based upon the initiation of an earlier movement. Rav Kook and his fellow Zionists – from the most meticulously observant to the most vehemently anti-religious – were merely bearing the fruits of seeds planted into the collective consciousness of the Jewish People by "holy men" over a generation earlier, at a time when the Land of Israel was still desolate and barren.

Who were these "holy men", and in what way did they carve the path towards Zionism? Rav Kook refers to two "holy men" specifically as being the original champions of the Zionist idea: Rabbi Tzvi Hirsch Kalischer and Rabbi Eliyahu Gutmacher of Greiditz.

Rav Kalischer (1795-1874) was a Polish Rabbi who studied under the famed Rabbi Akiva Eiger of Posen. He introduced the notion that the Ultimate Redemption would not be the product of a miraculous cause, but rather the conclusion of a drawn-out process brought about by the actions of the Jewish people.

He writes:

Regarding the redemption of Israel, which we all await, one should not think that Hashem will descend suddenly from the heavens to the land to declare to His people: "Go out (from the exile)!" Nor will He send His anointed one [mashiach] in a moment to blast the 'great shofar' to the dispersed of Israel and ingather them to Jerusalem ... The promises of the

prophets will most certainly be fulfilled at the end of days ... but not hastily in one day, rather the redemption of Israel shall come slowly, slowly ... For the initial phases of the redemption will be by the awakening of the spirits of the heartfelt and the will of the kingdoms to ingather few of the many dispersed of Israel to the Holy Land ..." 11

Page 3

¹⁰ Igrot HaRaaya vol. 1 pg. 56

¹¹ See, for example, Shivat Tzion pg. 292

Rav Kalisher was proactive in developing a movement for Jewish settlement and agricultural work in the Land of Israel and strongly encouraged Jewish acquisition of the Land. Rav Kalischer's philosophy was laid out in his book by the name of "Drishat Tzion", meaning "The Seeking of Zion" (first published in 1862).

Rav Gutmacher (1796-1874) was a Polish-born German Rabbi and mystic. He was a contemporary of Rav Kalischer and they studied together under Rabbi Akiva Eiger in Posen. Rav Gutmacher was a proponent of the Jewish agricultural settlement of the Land of Israel. Upon receiving Rav Kalischer's book, Drishat Tzion, Rav Gutmacher was delighted to find an ideological partner, and the two worked together to advance the Jewish settlement in the Land.

Thus the trail to the sources of modern Religious-Zionism leads us to Posen, to the beit midrash of "HaGaon" Rabbi Akiva Eiger (from here on RAE). RAE (1761-1837) is acclaimed as one of the outstanding Torah scholars of recent generations. His notes to the Talmud and Shulchan Aruch have become commonplace in all modern editions. His yeshiva in Posen was a center of Torah at his time, and there he produced some of the leading scholars of the next generation including his son-in-law, Rabbi Moshe Sofer (known as the "Chatam Sofer").

While it cannot be proven that Rebbi Akiva Eiger shared the vision of his students – Rav Kalischer and Rav Gutmacher – there is a fascinating episode including them which shines light on the ideological roots of Religious-Zionism, and the historical roots of Zionism in general. We will summarise in short:

In the year 1836, Rav Tzvi Hirsch Kalischer introduces a proposal to perform korban Pesach on the Temple Mount¹². He initiates both political nous – soliciting Baron Rothchild to acquire the land of the Temple Mount from the Ottoman Turks (or at least to receive permission to perform the sacrifice) – and halachic genius to advance his proposal, which he ultimately sends to his Rabbi, Rabbi Akiva Eiger. RAE initially rejects Rav Kalischer's suggestion that it would be halachicly permissible to perform the korban, and when the latter appeals he forwards Rav Kalischer's letters to the Chatam Sofer to investigate (RAE was already old of age, and had received Rav Kalischer's first proposal just over one-year before his passing). The Chatam Sofer agrees with Rav Kalischer, that it is would be permissible to perform the korban Pesach (albeit he concludes that only this korban would be permitted), however he stipulates his ruling with a pragmatic point, stating that he does not believe the Ottoman

¹² The discussion can be found in Drishat Tzion, section III Page 4

Turks would allow for a Jewish ritual service to be performed on the Temple Mount¹³. The matter is thus not pursued further.

We have traced the roots of the modern Religious-Zionist movement back to the early-mid nineteenth century. This predates the birth of Theodor Herzl by nearly a decade, and the "First Aliya" by more than a generation. The movement towards settling the Land of Israel and the initiation of Jewish Nationalism did not begin in Petach Tikvah or Rishon LeTzion, and certainly not in Basel. Rather, it began in the yeshiva in Posen, where some of the greatest Rabbis of all-time discussed the possibility of re-instating the Korban Pesach. It began with the notion that the Ultimate Redemption would come about through a drawn-out process and a natural order brought about by the actions of the Jewish People. These concepts set the stage for the modern Religious-Zionist movement, and ignited the general Zionist movement. (footnotes are at the end of the chomer)

It is a common misconception that political Zionism (through Theodor Herzl) was the beginning of modern day Zionism. This Kvutza looks in to the beginnings of modern day Zionism and it's root in Religious values. We also take a look at how that affects the way we look at the State of Israel today.

Early Religious Zionist leaders.

¹³ Shu"t Chatam Sofer, Yoreh Deah 236 Page 5

Rav Yitzchak Yaacov Reines (1839-1915)

- □ Born in 1839 in Karolin (now Belarus)
- Studied at Eishistok "Kolel Prushim" and received Semichah from the
 - Volozhin Yeshiva before becoming the rabbi of Saukenai, Lithuania, from 1867
- □ In 1882 he founded a Yeshiva which included secular studies in the curriculum
- Was a member of the Zionist organisation, Chovevei Tzion, recognised the need for rabbis to support the new Zionist movement and Rav Reines was one of the first rabbis to answer Herzl's call to become part of the movement; as such, he attended the (1899). While most of his eastern and western European rabbinical colleagues remained opposed to political Zionism, in 1902 Reines published a book, Or Chadash al Tzion ("[A] New Light on Zion") which presents a call to a Zionist Judaism including a call to all include all Jews, economic productivity and training, and a renewed Judaism in thought, emotion, and action. He believed that whereas medieval lews saw the Divine hand in nature, contemporary Jews see the Divine hand in history especially surviving the exile to return to modern Zion. The same year, he organized a conference of the religious Zionist movement in Vilna, where the Mizrachi movement was founded. He was recognized as the movement's leader at its founding convention in Pressburg (today's ,) in 1904. At the fifth Zionist congress, the Swiss and radical student faction threatened to turn the movement in a direction which would lead away from religion. In contrast, Reines' Mizrahi branch became the strongest branch of the Zionist organisation in Russia. He supported the as temporary measure to save Jews from the Pogroms.

His thoughts centered on one idea: the settlement of the by Jews, in order to provide a home for the homeless Jews and transform the many Jewish beggars in the into a population able to support itself by agriculture. He began whiting in the Ha-Leva home propose that perfect the perfect of the perfect that perfect the propose that the propose the propos

He thought the time especially favourable for the carrying out of this idea, as the sympathy of men like Isaac Moïse Crémieux, , , and rendered the Jews politically influencially influ

Bonyn 98 San Gava, tatvia (then Russia), the oldest of 7 children.

Studied at the Volozhin Yeshiva from the age of 18 (headed at the time by the Netziv (Rav Naftali Zvi Yehuda Berlin, wrote the Emek Davar).

Moved to Eretz Yisrael in 1904 to become Rabbi of Yafo.

assuming the post of rabbi in Brick Lane, Whitechapel!! Returned to Eretz Yisrael in 1919 to become first Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi in 1921.

Founded Yeshivat Mercaz Harav in 1924 in Jerusalem.

Ok great now we know about some really cool people but what does that have to do with how we view the State of Israel?

Reishit Tzmichat Geulateinu (The Beginning of our Redemption)

A belief of some religious Zionists today is that the process of redemption has begun. The events that are unfolding today with regard to Israel are Reishit Tzmichat Geulateinu, the beginning of the building of the redemption. But what does this really mean? And why did they believe this?

If we look at the sources describing the future redemption, we see that they describe two very different, almost opposite, processes by which Am Yisrael will be redeemed. Many Pessukim in Tanach and Midrashim

Rav Kook was the great soul of religious Zionism. He saw in it the process of redemption, believing that the Jewish people were entering into the phase of history foretold by the prophets as the "At'chalta De'Geula" (the Beginning of Redemption), thiswas to the point of believing that Herzl was the Moshiach ben Yosef. Thirteen years after his death, the State of Israel was established, and it is his teachings which give content to the moral and Zionist mode of thought of the Jewish State. He built bridges of understanding between all Jews and all streams of Judaism. The teachings of HaRav Kook have influenced an entire generation, and continue, through the Yeshiva which base their learning on his teachings, to educate each generation in Israel, to the love of Torah, the love of Hashem, the love of Israel, and to a burning love for Zion.

state that the Geula will occur miraculously in a single moment, with Page 8

Hashem redeeming us b'yad chazaka uvizroa netuya (with a strong hand and an outstretched arm) similar to the Geula from Egypt all those years ago.

"As happens sometimes, a moment settled and hovered and remained for much more than a moment. And sound stopped and movement stopped for much, much more than a moment." Lucas Scott (a fictional character, quoting John Steinbeck, "Of Mice and Men")

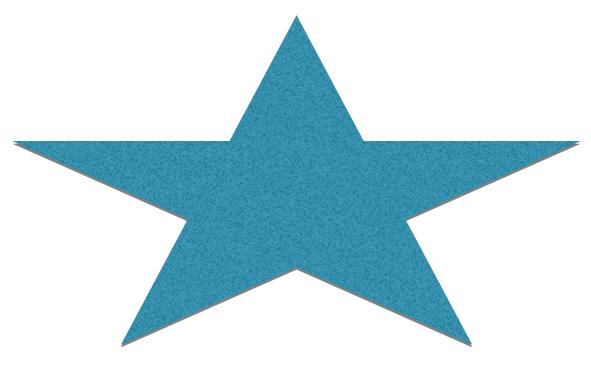
However, a famous Gemara in the Yerushalmi seems to contradict this view of the redemption:

תלמוד ירושלמי (וילנא) מסכת ברכות פרק א

רבי חייא רבא ורבי שמעון בן חלפתא הוו מהלכין בהדא בקעת ארבל בקריצתה וראו איילת השחר שבקע אורה. אמר רבי חייא רבה לר' שמעון בן חלפתא בי רבי כך היא גאולתן של ישראל בתחילה קימאה קימאה כל מה שהיא הולכת היא רבה והולכת

"R. Chiya the great and R. Shimon ben Chalafta were walking in the Arbel valley at dawn when they saw the glimmering of the morning star. R. chiya the Great said to R. Shimon ben Chalafta: 'My Master, so is the redemption of Israel – at first little by little, but as it progresses it grows greater and greater."

The Gemara in Sanhedrin offers an explanation, in the name of R.





Aleksandri:

תלמוד בבלי מסכת סנהדרין דף צח עמוד א

אמר רבי אלכסנדרי: רבי יהושע בן לוי רמי, כתיב (ישעיהו ס') בעתה, וכתיב, אחישנה! זכו - אחישנה, לא זכו .. בעתה

"R. Alexandri said: R. Yehoshua ben Levi pointed out a contradiction. It says 'in its time' [Yishayahu 60:22] and it also says 'I will hasten it' [ibid.]. [The solution is] if they (Am Yisrael) are worthy 'I will hasten it'. If they are unworthy 'in its time'."

Are these however not contradicting positions?

If we look around at the state of our generation in terms of our Shmirat
Torah uMitzvot, it doesn't seem like we have much hope of being
zocheh to a speedy supernatural geula... Never say never, but is So how did Rav k
seems more likely that geula will come slowly, kima kima, religious Jews we
through a gradual process, one stage at a time. So maybe this is Geula, whilst ma
sitting on the sid
doing anything??

But why do people think this is it?? What signs do we have that this is indeed Reishit Tzmichat Geulateinu?

A discussion is brought down in the Gemara in Masechet Megilla (17b) (not to be confused with 7b) regarding the Brachot of the Shemonei Esrei, showing how each Bracha describes a different event that will (or may) occur during the process of the Geula. These include the break out of war, the blossoming of the land, the return of the exiles to Israel and more. Any of these sound familiar?

Blossoming specifically is the clearest sign, find gemara in Sanhedrin saying that. Around daf 96

There is a Nevuah from Sefer Zechariah, depicting a scene from the future Geula of Am Yisrael:

זכריה פרק ח

ד) כה אמר יקוק צבאות עד ישבו זקנים וזקנות ברחבות ירושלם ואיש משענתו בידו מרב ימים: ה) ורחבות העיר ימלאו ילדים וילדות משחקים ברחבתיה:

5. So said the Lord of Hosts: Old men and women shall yet sit in the streets of Jerusalem, each man with his staff in his hand because of old age.



6. And the streets of the city shall be filled, with boys and girls playing in its streets.

So how did Rav Kook explain the fact that non-religious Jews were the ones bringing about the Geula, whilst many Talmidei Chachamim were sitting on the side with their heads in books not doing anything???

Let's הנפש של פושעי ישראל שבעקבתא דמשיחא, אותם שהם מתחברים באהבה אל ענייני כלל ישראל, לארץ ישראל ולתחיית האומה, היא יותר מתוקנת מהנפש של שלמי אמוני ישראל, שאין להם זה היתרון של ההרגשה העצמית לטובת הכלל ובנין האומה והארץ, אבל הרוח הוא מתוקן הרבה יותר אצל יראי ה' ושומרי תורה ומצוות... ותתוקן הנפש של היראים שומרי תורה ע"י שלמות הנפש שבפושעים הטובים ביחש לענייני הכלל...והרוחניות בהכרה והרגשה האנושית, והרוח של הפושעים יתוקן על ידי השפעתם של יראי ה"...והצדיקים העליונים...הם יהיו הצינורות המאחדים.

So there you have it. Every Jew has a role to play in our history. Both nationalistic vigour and a passion for Torah study are admirable and necessary traits for bringing about national salvation of the Jewish people. This belief forms the basis of religious Zionism today, and it stands at the root of Bnei Akiva's ideology. Probably pretty important to know...

Pragmatic Religious Zionism – Rav Soloveitchik

This messianic position of Rav Kook was the only stream of Religious Zionist thought up until the Rav (not to be confused with HaRav). The Rav was a rationalist philosopher who believed that when looking at History, we cannot prescribe meaning to events. Just like we cannot say why the Holocaust or other such events occurred, therefore philosophically we can't claim that the establishment of the State of Israel is a Reishit Semichat Geulateinu¹⁴. In years to come, once we enter the Messianic period, perhaps we can look back and say that this was the

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¹⁴ There is a lot of debate concerning the Rav's opinions on these matters as Kol Dodi Dofek seems to contradict his other works. Most scholars of his work, including his daughter Dr Tova Lichtenstein claim that Kol Dodi Dofek were not his actual beliefs.

period of Reishit Semichat Geulateinu but we cannot determine that now. For the Rav, Tzionut was a case of orlah, leket, shmittah, yovel... For his son in law, Rav Aharon Lichtenstein, an advocate of this stream of thought, he said in the Teffilot for Israel, 'T'hei Reishit Semichat Geulateinu.'

For many this position is also supported from a textual perspective. We spoke earlier about how the Messianic period will be a period of exponential positivity, that happiness and goodness will increase through these times. But is this the case? Can we really claim that only positivity has come since 1948? Rav Amital, whilst starting as a proponent of Rav Kook, struggled with the losses of his Talmidim during the wars that have plagued Israel and many others struggled with the 2005 disengagement. As a result, there has been a growing Religious Zionist movement in recent years that opposes the messianic philosophies of Rav Kook.

Can we claim that we have entered a Messianic period? If we can claim so, do we think that this is a messianic period?

Additional Chomer

"Reishit Tzemichat Ge'ulatenu":

What Kind of Redemption Does Israel Represent?

By Harav Yehuda Amital

A. JOY AND TREPIDATION

"You shall say on that day: I will praise You, O God; although You were angry with me, Your anger is turned back and You comfort me." (Yishayahu 12:1)

We experienced this verse on the day the State of Israel was declared. The fifth of *Iyar*, 5708 (May 14, 1948), was a day of God's anger, for we received the bitter news of the fall of Gush Etzion and the many victims who were slaughtered here. But it was also a day of God "turning back" and "comforting me."

Although intellectually I understand the importance of our celebration today, it is psychologically and emotionally difficult for me to rejoice. One reason for this difficulty concerns upcoming events in Gush Katif. One of the forty-eight traits by virtue of which the Torah is acquired is "sharing the yoke with one's neighbor." In other words, one must not let the other person bear his burden alone; one must not stand by and observe from the side. Rather, one must feel existential partnership with his brother who is in distress, and help share his burden.

Along with my anxiety for the residents of Gush Katif, I also have grave concerns, which should not be hidden, regarding the security situation following the disengagement, and regarding the political results of the disengagement process as well. My personal opinion is that until the coming of the Messiah, we will have problems with the Arab world; the question is just at what level.

Beyond these problems, there is another factor that clouds my joy: we are all part of Religious Zionism, a movement that is currently in deep crisis.

For these reasons, it is difficult for me to speak. Yet it is important to emphasize that my difficulty is only emotional. From an ideological perspective, I have no problem rejoicing on *Yom Ha-atzma'ut* this year. I danced and rejoiced on the fifth of *Iyar* 5708, when the State was declared without Gush Katif, without Jaffa, without Nahariya, and without the Old City of Jerusalem – so should I not rejoice today? We cannot deny that the current period is a bitter one, but then, too – when we heard about the fall of Gush Etzion – it was bitter, and nevertheless we rejoiced! Therefore the problem is more emotional than substantial.

This year we are hearing, for the first time, some voices from within the Religious Zionist camp calling on us not to celebrate *Yom Ha-atzma'ut* and not to recite *Hallel*. Although several leading rabbis have denounced this call, the very fact that rabbis have come out with a statement that "We have no portion and inheritance in the Lord of Israel" must give rise to very serious questions. What is the origin of this confusion, which has completely reversed the attitude of many people towards the State?

It seems to me that the main problem stems from the fact that among various groups, doubts have begun to arise concerning the expression, "reishit tzemichat ge'ulateinu, the beginning of the flowering of our redemption." What is the source of these doubts? They arise from the philosophy of a great man, Rav Zvi Yehuda ha-Kohen Kook zt"l, and principally from the philosophy of his students. Since I believe that the majority of Religious Zionism does not identify with the philosophy that I shall discuss shortly, and I count myself among that majority, I feel a need to express my opinion and to serve as their mouthpiece. I hope that you will listen to what I have to say, although this is not an opinion that is usually voiced.

B. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STATE

In fact, the concept of the "beginning of the redemption" (atchalta de-geula) was spoken about long before the establishment of the State. The students of the Vilna Gaon and the students of the Ba'al Shem Tov who made aliya to Eretz Yisrael decided that they were living at the time of the "beginning of the redemption." The son-in-law of R. Yehoshua Kutner brought a letter from Rav Eliyahu Guttmacher, one of the leading disciples of R. Akiva Eiger, written in the year 5634 (1874), in which he asserts that if there would be 130 families working the land in Eretz Yisrael, this would be considered the "beginning of the redemption."

Before the founding of the State, Rav Avraham Yitzchak ha-Kohen Kook *zt"l* decided that we are living in the time of the "beginning of the redemption" on the basis of the well-known Gemara (*Sanhedrin* 98a):

"Rabbi Abba said: There is no more revealed sign of the redemption than that which is written: 'And you, O mountains of Israel – you shall give forth your branches and bear fruit for My nation, Israel' (Yechezkel 36:8)."

His son, Rav Zvi Yehuda, also spoke about this — but in his time the State was already established. And so the question arose: what was so special about the establishment of the State? If the land began to give its fruit to the Nation of Israel before the creation of the State, and the "beginning of the redemption" was already upon us, then what great change came about with the State's birth?

The students of Rav Zvi Yehuda had an answer to this question: indeed, the establishment of the State brought about something new. In light of the Ramban's teaching in his comments on Rambam's *Sefer Ha-mitzvot*, they explained that the "beginning of the redemption" refers not to the Jewish nation dwelling in the Land of Israel, but rather to the absolute sovereignty of the Jewish nation over all parts of *Eretz Yisrael*. I heard this for the first time many years ago, and I was astounded to discover that they believed that a major component of the significance of the State was that it facilitated the fulfillment of the command to dwell in the Land of Israel and to conquer it, in accordance with the teaching of the Ramban. According to this understanding, if a major aspect of the purpose of the State is the fulfillment of the command to exercise sovereignty over *Eretz Yisrael*, then a State that hands over territories betrays its purpose, and we must question whether it is still "the beginning of the flowering of our redemption." According to this view, the State is invested with significance by virtue of its exercising sovereignty over all areas of the land. To my mind, this is the source of the doubts among the Religious Zionist public today concerning the significance of the State.

I do not believe in this approach. I can testify concerning myself that I recited the blessing of "*She-hechiyanu*" and I danced on the 29th of November 1947, at Be'erot Yitzchak, even though the U.N. had partitioned the land, and likewise in 1948. Our feeling was one of elation; it was as though there was an intoxicating drug in the air – Israeli independence. We weren't rejoicing because of what the Ramban taught, but rather because of the fulfillment of Herzl's vision. At that time, Rav Zvi Yehuda recounted: "I could not go out and participate in the festivities... for indeed, God's word – 'They have divided My land' (*Yoel* 4:2) – was being fulfilled... In that condition – my whole body shaken, wounded all over, cut up into pieces – I could not rejoice" (excerpt from "*Eretz Ha-Zvi*"). We – the simple Jews among whom I regard myself – didn't know about the Ramban. We knew that there was Israeli independence, Jewish sovereignty in our land – and we rejoiced over that.

C. JEWISH SOVEREIGNTY

I didn't invent this approach. In the previous generation, there were Rabbis who spoke about the "beginning of the redemption," the "revealed end," the "footsteps of the Messiah" – and a few years later came the greatest Holocaust that had ever happened in all of Jewish history. Anyone who thought that he was witnessing the signs of the complete redemption was proved wrong in the Holocaust.

When the State was established, some of the greatest Torah Sages in the world – some of whom I was fortunate to know – declared that although we are not living in the time of the "revealed end" of the "footsteps of the *Mashiach*," there is still great importance to the political freedom of establishing a State. Rambam writes that one of the reasons for the festival of Chanuka is that "Jewish sovereignty was restored for more than two hundred years" during the period of the Chashmonaim (*Hilkhot Chanuka* 3:1) – even though we know the low moral standing of the many members of the Hasmonean dynasty. The Mishna teaches that on *Yom Kippur* the *Kohen Gadol* would recite eight blessings, one of which is "Upon Israel" (*Yoma*68b). The Gemara explains that this blessing is "Upon Your nation, Israel, who need to be saved" (*Yoma* 70a). Rambam elaborates: "Its theme is that God should save Israel, and not let them be left without a king" (*Hilkhot Avodat Yom ha-Kippurim* 3:11). Again, although we know what type of kings ruled during the Second Temple period, and we know how deficient was their moral and religious level, Rambam nevertheless asserts that the "salvation of Israel" is expressed in sovereignty, royalty.

For these reasons, the Chief Rabbis, including Rav Herzog zt"l, ruled that the establishment of the State of Israel is "the beginning of the flowering of our redemption." A situation in which Am Yisrael has "a king" (sovereignty) and freedom is a harbinger of redemption. We have no previous accounts; following the Holocaust, any previous accounts are hidden away. We do not know what is supposed to happen, what is destined to take place, but there is no doubt that the establishment of the State of Israel is of great significance in its own right.

After the Oslo Accords, when Israel transferred a few cities to Palestinian control, I participated in a panel discussion in New York with some other Israeli rabbis. One of the questions raised was whether it was still possible to speak of the "beginning of the flowering of our redemption," following the handing over of territories to the Palestinians. One of the speakers answered that if Rav Kook spoke about the "beginning of the flowering of our redemption" in his time, we can certainly speak in such terms in our own times. In response, I said that, with all due respect to the teachings of Rav Kook, a Holocaust had happened in the meantime. Hence, I would not talk about drawing inferences from Rav Kook's time to ours. Rather, I would say that if we believed in "the beginning of the flowering of our redemption" in 1948, then we could certainly still use this term after the Oslo Accords.

When Rav Herzog spoke of "the beginning of the flowering of our redemption," he did not mean the messianic redemption; rather, he meant the simple redemption consisting of Jewish sovereignty in the land. The Chatam Sofer (parashat Shoftim, p. 37) comments that several times during the course of history, the Holy One wanted to redeem Israel with an incomplete redemption – as during the period of the Second Temple – but the nation of Israel refused, for we have no desire for an incomplete redemption, without Mashiach. The Chatam Sofer wrote this prior to the Holocaust, but after that terrible period during which people sailed aimlessly in boats, with no home, we understand that there was never any chillul Hashem – desecration of God's Name – like the Holocaust, nor any kiddush Hashem – sanctification of God's Name – like the establishment of the State. There can be no doubt that praise and thanks should be offered for the establishment of the State, even if it is not a messianic redemption, the "revealed end."

Indeed, in 1948 we did not speak of the *Mashiach*. We prayed for *malkhut Yisrael*, and sufficed with sovereignty comparable to that of the Second Temple period. There is no doubt that we attained at least that much. During Ezra's time, very few people came back to Israel; in our time – thank God, we have reached five, six million. We never had such numbers here!

The messianic feeling, the sense of the "revealed end," started after the Six-Day War. In realistic terms, it was difficult to understand how we had managed to defeat seven Arab armies with such ease. Admittedly, there were Torah giants who thought otherwise. In his typically resolute fashion, Rav Shlomo Goren z''l said immediately after the war, in a speech at Mossad ha-Rav Kook, that all the events of that war were not miraculous. As proof, he brought the verse, "And it was, when Pharaoh sent out the nation, that God did not lead them by way of the land of the Philistines ... for God said, 'Lest the nation regret [leaving] when they see war [approaching], and return to Egypt'" (*Shemot* 13:17). Could God then not perform miracles for Israel in the war to conquer the land, as He did for them in Egypt? What Rav Goren wanted to say was that this was proof that wars of conquest of *Eretz Yisrael* are not carried out through miracles, but rather through human means. Hence, since the Six-Day War was a war for *Eretz Yisrael*, it could not be miraculous. Admittedly, this approach remains an uncommon one. For a large sector of the public, the Six-Day War actually strengthened the view that the significance of the State of Israel is bound up with ruling over *Eretz Yisrael*, rather than with the actual fact of Jewish sovereignty, autonomy and freedom. These people regarded the war as a revealed miracle, and as proof of the imminent messianic redemption.

D. MAINTAINING THE JEWISH MAJORITY

At the same time, after the Six-Day War, some Jews – both religious and secular – stood up and said that the partition of the land that had been forced upon us by the U.N. during the British mandate should be nullified. One of these people was Prof. Yisrael Eldad, who said to me: "We're finished with the partition; let's get back to the Greater Land of Israel."

These people began to speak about a vision of the complete *Eretz Yisrael*, but they didn't notice the Arabs living within the borders of that "Whole Land of Israel." At the time of the establishment of the State, the Arab population within the borders of the country was relatively small, and there was a chance that the Jewish nation would remain the majority for

the long term. Today, after our conquest of Judea, Samaria and Gaza, there arises a risk that the State will not remain Jewish. When the government agreed that marriage and divorce would be handled in this country in accordance with religious principles, and that public institutions would observe *kashrut*, this flowed from the sense that this is a Jewish country. But in a Jewish country there must be a Jewish majority, and this is diminishing with time.

For this reason, since the Six-Day War, no government of Israel has dreamed of annexing Judea, Samaria and Gaza as part of the State of Israel. We annexed the Golan Heights, where there are no Arabs, and Jerusalem — based on the view that we could deal with the number of Arabs living there. But annexing Judea, Samaria and Gaza? How long could we hold on without giving the Arabs the right to vote? Even those on the far left admit that the Arabs should not be granted the "right of return," for this would destroy the Jewishness of the State.

Two approaches were proposed to deal with the problem of how to retain the entire land despite the demographic issue. One, led by Rechavam Ze'evi Hy''d and fundamentally secular, claimed that the solution was a "transfer" of the Arabs. Aside from the moral problem involved, no Arab state agrees to take in these Arabs. Still, the "transfer" approach arose from logical reasoning: if we want to annex the entire Eretz Yisrael, we must find a solution to the demographic problem.

A second approach, whose proponents included religious people with a zealous vision of a Greater *Eretz Yisrael*, claimed that the solution would be found with the coming of the *Mashiach*, and since the *Mashiach* is already knocking at the door, there is no need to worry about the pragmatic, actual ramifications of our actions. This messianic thinking - which perceived the *Mashiach* as already lurking somewhere in the Jerusalem mountains and soon to be revealed to us – is what led to this view.

To my sorrow, I have not merited Divine inspiration. I have never met a prophet who fit all of the Rambam's identifying criteria, who told me that the *Mashiach* is already on the way. When I established the yeshiva, the architect who thought up the shape of the *beit midrash* planned it without windows. I told her about the *tzaddik* in whose town a *shofar* blast was once heard, and the whole community thought that the *Mashiach* had arrived. The *tzaddik* poked his nose out of the window, sniffed gently, and said: "No. When the *Mashiach* comes, it will be possible to sense it in the air." A *beit midrash* needs windows, in order to be able to sense when the *Mashiach* is coming. If I haven't yet sensed the *Mashiach*'s footsteps — it is a sign that the *Mashiach* hasn't yet come...

In any event, we must rejoice today just as we rejoiced in 1948. We must recognize that just as the Holocaust was a gargantuan *chillul Hashem*, so the State of Israel is the greatest *kiddush Hashem*. We have a problem with giving away parts of *Eretz Yisrael*, but let us look at what the Holy One has done for us! We have an independent State, we are a prosperous country, and we are militarily strong. True, there is poverty and there are plenty of other problems, but it is difficult to conceive of the magnitude of the change that has been wrought in our condition over the past sixty years.

We are permitted to rejoice wholeheartedly on *Yom Ha-atzma'ut*. Despite our pain, we must follow Rashi's words, "At a time of mourning – one mourns; at a time of joy – one rejoices" (*Bereishit* 6:6). This is "a time of joy," and therefore let us declare without reservation, "This day – God has made; let us celebrate and rejoice in it!" (*Tehillim* 118:24).

[This sicha was delivered on Yom Ha-atzma'ut 5765 (2005).

It was adapted by Shaul Barth with Reuven Ziegler and translated by Karen Fish.]

K2

Jews + the

diaspora

- 'The wandering Jew' -to highlight the relentless cycle of finding a home and then being forced out.
- To see how the emphasis of Judaism shifted away from the nation and towards the individual (community) in the Galut - creating a new 'Galut mentality'.
- To see the positives of Galut, learning the Jewish narrative.















"How did a people survive for twenty centuries without a state, a home, a place where they could defend themselves? How did they sustain their identity when everywhere they were a minority? How did faith survive the massacres and pogroms, when Jews called and heaven seemed silent?"



Israel: Home of Hope

Let's take a step back in time. After 3 Jewish wars against the Romans, vast numbers of Jews had died or been taken captive defending the Land, but ultimately Am Yisrael lost its independence and Israel was laid bare. It was the worst destruction the Jews had ever known, and left the second Temple lying in ruins! The Jews were no longer an independent nation living in their land; the majority of them had left to become unwelcome guests in other people's lands. It seemed to many that this time the Jews and their Torah would certainly not survive. The nation needed to adapt, from one with a national and cultural epicentre, to one fully defined by its religion.

The Gemara in Bava Batra (60b) reports that following the Churban it was said, "by right we should issue a decree that Jews should not marry and have children so that the seed of Avraham will come to an end of its own accord"

"The simple Jews of this dark era of Jewish history refused to succumb to their leaders' dejection. Instead, they decided to rebuild Jewish life to the best of their abilities in spite of their adverse circumstances. This will go on to demonstrate courage of an unprecedented dimension. Without country, army, or finances, and surrounded by millions whose hatred for Jews was only too well known, these Jews found the strength to get married and raise families. Despite the total collapse of Jewish life as they knew it, they opted for the seemingly impossible."

Rabbi Nathan Lopes Cardozo: Thoughts to Ponder II p. 111.

So the Jews went around the world, from Babylon to Benidorm. With this Diaspora came new Jewish culture, new customs and traditions. Jews would go to a place and would either survive as a separate entity on foreign soil or try to be a part of the new society, whilst always staying true to their Jewish values.

How do you 'keep Jewish' when we are not in our own land?

3 years after the first Beit Hamikdash was destroyed the King of Yehudah was tired of living under Babylonian rule. He led a rebellion against the Babylonians and lost. This lead to a number of the Jewish children being captured and taken out of Israel. One of those children was Daniel, he understood that the most difficult thing about being in a different land was assimilation. Daniel therefore established some rules to prevent us from assimilating. One of these rules is lewish people not being allowed to drink wine with non-lews. Even though the exile after the destruction of the First Temple was only 70 years, we can see that measures were still put in place to ensure Jewish continuity in these circumstances. We see this even more strongly when Rabbi Yochanan ben Zakkai instituted extreme and highly controversial changes to key Jewish practices at the destruction of the Second Temple, readying the lews for a crushing, indefinite exile... He understood that now the Bet Hamikdash had gone, in order to make sure Judaism survive, things needed to change. Therefore, he instituted many things to help Judaism survive. E.g. Shofar blown in Beit Din on Rosh Hashanah outside of Yerushalayim, taking the Arbah Minim every day of Succot, Kohanim cannot duchan in shoes...

How would these, and similar decrees help Judaism survive?

Since the Beit Hamikdash ceased to be the central point of our Judaism, have we found another physical or tangible structure around which to base our Judaism?

Is our Judaism today more or less "practical" than it used to be?

As Jews, we were not always welcome in our new found "homes". If you visit virtually any



western European city you will find evidence of Jewish communities, in the plural; the community before the expulsion and after the expulsion. Between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries Jews were expelled from virtually every country in Western Europe including would you believe it... England!

A Timeline of Persecution

- 70 CE The Romans destroy the temple and crush the Jewish upheaval; the Bar Kochba revolt fails in 135 CE, thus ending the final Jewish revolt against Roman rule.
- Initially, many of the Jews made their way to **Babylonia** (Bavel) (where some communities were left over from the time of the destruction of the first temple) where they lived in relative safety, gaining wealth and continuing their learning (completing the Talmud). The community went through highs and lows but continued to exist, although it was majorly depleted, until 1952 when the Iraqi government expelled the Jews.
- For about 650 years the community in Bavel had been the centre
 of Jewish life, but with the death of Rav Achai Gaon in 1038 the
 centre of Jewry shifted continents. Communities sprang up in
 North Africa and others in France, Germany and Austria –
 which would be the foundations of the Ashkenaz dynasty.
- Gradually Jews from North Africa made their way over to Spain under the rule of the Muslim 'Moorish' Kingdom – the 'Golden Age' of Spanish Jewry flourished until the 12th century.
- During this same period the 1st Crusade and the 2nd Crusade left the Jews of Ashkenaz massacred. The 3rd Crusade followed in 1190 causing more violence and bloodshed, especially in England (York Massacre) – they are followed by 2 further crusades.
- 1290 Jews are banished from England, not to be allowed back until 1656 under Oliver Cromwell.
- 1306 The Jews are expelled from France

- 1348 The Black Death brings mob violence to Jewish communities across the affected areas, as Jews become the easy scapegoats for the epidemic
- As a result of the Crusades and other pogroms, the Jews of Ashkenaz gradually move into **Eastern Europe** e.g. Poland, Lithuania, Hungary, and Russia.
- In 1250 Spain becomes a Christian country and life gets increasingly uncomfortable for Spanish Jewry – after the viciously anti-Jewish Spanish inquisition led by *Torquemada* the Jews are expelled from Spain in 1492 (last day of the expulsion is the 9th of Av).
 - The Spanish inquisition, and subsequent expulsion, was the biggest catastrophe to strike the Jewish people since the destruction of the Second Temple.
- Sephardi Jews move from the Christian West to the Muslim East –
 Turkey, Greece, India, Italy, Egypt, Syria etc. Israel also
 sees a minor revival as Jews move back and populate areas such
 as Tzfat, Jerusalem, Gaza and Chevron. A large Sephardi
 community also developed in Holland made up mainly of
 Marranos from Spain who were immediately accepted back into
 Judaism the olderst shul in England was created by the Sephardi
 Jews of Holland
- 1567 Jews are expelled from Italy
- Between 1648 and 1653 nearly 100,000 Jews are killed when Bogdan Chmielnicki invaded Poland to fight for Ukrainian independence – the particularly cruel Jewish killings are known as the Tach V'Tat (representing the years 5408-5409) massacres.– Despite widespread Jewish protests, to this day there is still a commemorative statue of the 'heroic' Bogdan Chmielnicki standing in a public square in Kiev -
- Ashkenazi Jews gradually move back to Western Europe as Enlightenment spreads through the West.

•

Were there any positives of Galut?

- But what is it about the Galut that makes it such a terrible situation for Judaism to exist in, after all, Jewish life continued in the exile and Torah learning really took off???
- Jewish culture thrived in Galut!
- We managed to achieve the highest offices in the outside world!
- Without anti-Semitism what would the JC have to talk about?
- Unity in strife?
- External influences affected Jewish tradition. Just take a look at the massive effect that the Western Enlightenment had on the Jewish people

Are these really positives? - The Kookian approach

"Since the day the Temple was destroyed, Hashem has had nothing in the world except for 4 cubits of Halacha alone"

Gemara Berachot 8a

What does this mean?

Is this WHY 'Torah has taken off'?

IN THE GALUT WE ARE NOT IN OUR NATURAL (or national) SITUATION...

... You see, the Torah is effectively the story of the establishment of our nation in our land. The chosen nation has a chosen land, which it needs to dwell in for it to fulfil its mission on earth...anything else is second best! Judaism in its intended form is far more than just an individual's private performance of mitzvot – it is the national life of Am Yisrael B'Eretz Yisrael Al Pi Torat Yisrael (sound familiar?).

Throughout the long Galut, Jews were scattered all over the world. Without a land, or a state, or a government of our own, we had been stripped of our glory and our pride. Jews were reduced from being a fulfilled nation to living in dispersed communities and impoverished ghettos. We were the lowest of peoples, at the mercy of the gentiles wherever we lived. Our physical life was utterly destroyed - Judaism lost its true national character. The emphasis and understanding of Judaism became focussed around the individual and around his private service of Hashem. Out of no other choice, sanctification of Hashem became consigned to the individual - the focus of Judaism had shifted away from the nation and towards the individual Jew.

"There is no Torah like the Torah of Eretz Yisrael"

Bereishit Rabbah 16:7

Judaism wasn't intended for the Galut, and therefore the leaders of Jewry in the exile needed to ensure Judaism would still continue even in its current unnatural condition.

A great **RESCUE PLAN** developed to save the Jewish nation and enable it to survive in the lands of exile. A new way of life was shaped, based on an entire halachic system, designed to bring the Jew into a framework of distinct behaviour that would separate him or her from outside society by a kind of invisible wall.

The Jew was to remember at all times that he or she was not a full part of his/her neighbours' world and that the Jew was not at home in the neighbours' land. On the contrary, the Jew had another land, which was never to be forgotten - the Jew must always remember the reality of Galut

Does this idea conflict with Modern Orthodox values?

It was at this point and for this reason that the rabbinic authorities, who became the architects of Jewish national existence, built this idea into Jewish life in such a way that it would be accepted and not forgotten by Galut Jews.

<u>Methods</u>

Acts like these connected the Jew with Eretz Yisrael. Jews could live at all four corners of the earth, but ritually they never left the land of Israel.

The Loss of a nation

During the galut the Jews struggled with the idea of nationhood. It was particularly abstract to try and relate to unknown people, in unknown lands, speaking and unknown dialect as one's brother or sister.



'The nation will arise like a lion'

(Parshat Balak, B'midbar 23:24)

What do we do nowadays to remind ourselves that we are in Galut?

In Teffilah	At Weddings	Building a house	On Chagim
Face			Prayer for rain was said
Jerusalem	glass under	of the wall	during the winter months
	the Chuppah	undecorated	
Pray to	Put ash on the		A prayer was added after
Hashem to	Chatan's head		counting the omer about
end the			rebuilding the temple

exilews in Galut. Whilst Rav Kook preached Judaism was meant to be as a collective, that the Jews must be gathered within Israel, Rav Hirsch disagreed. Whilst he himself was not a Zionist and opposed the teachings of

R'Kalischer (see K3) he was also a believer in the benefits of Galut. He believed that the Jewish people could have more of a benefit spread out across the world then simply compacted within the borders of Israel.

What do we think? Do we believe that the Jewish people have more influence and benefit when in one place or when spread around?

Did the Judaism survive Galut or is it a product of Galut?

This is a particularly tough question to deal with and there is no simple answer. On one hand the Jews for centuries had been wondering, without direction nor objectives. Yet on the other hand would we have had the likes of Rambam without the Muslim world? Democracy in Israel without Western values? Or Modern orthodoxy without the enlightenment? It would be difficult to claim that there is an absolute answer to this question. What do we think?

What is the Galut Mentality?

"All people, **Jews** or gentiles, who dare not **defend** themselves when they know they are in the right, who submit to punishment not because of what they have done but because of who they are, are already dead by their own decision; and whether or not they survive physically depends on chance. If circumstances are not favourable, they end up in gas chambers."

(Bruno Bettelheim)

'As persecuted guests in hostile foreign lands the Jews went from being a nation who heroically defended themselves against the mightiest army on earth, to a group of communities who were the first in line whenever a scapegoat was needed. The Galut Jew was a weak and impoverished Jew who apologized and begged for his life in front of the gentiles.' Is this still the case nowadays? Many argue that the re-establishment of a Jewish homeland has re-invigorated the Jewish people. Rav Yosef B Soloveitchik says in his Sefer *Kol Dodi Dofek* that with Israel's establishment, the Jews are again able to defend themselves and "Jewish blood is not free for taking, is not *hefker*".

It is indisputable that Eretz Yisrael became an abstraction for many Jews in this period, which sadly remains with some communities until this very day - a mystical reality, divorced from the real world; they could say "Next year in Jerusalem" at Pesach and have no real expectation of going there.

Do you think that the State of Israel has changed the situation and minsdet of Jews in Galut?

"We constantly and very loudly apologize... Instead of turning our backs to the accusers, as there is nothing to apologize for, and nobody to apologize to, we swear again and again that it is not our fault... Isn't it long overdue to respond to all these and all future accusations, reproaches, suspicions, slanders and denunciations by simply folding our arms and loudly, clearly, coldly and calmly answering with the only argument that is understandable and accessible to this public: `Go to Hell!'?

We do not have to apologize for anything. We are a people as all other peoples; we do not have any intentions to be better than the rest. As one of the first conditions for equality we demand the right to have our own villains, exactly as other people have them. Yes, we do have provocateurs and draft dodgers, and it is even strange that we have so few of them under current conditions. Other people have also these kind of 'good', and, in addition, they have embezzlers, and pogrom-makers, and torturers--so what-- the neighbours live and are not ashamed.... Do our neighbours blush for the Christians in Kishinyov who hammered nails into Jewish babies' eyes? Not in the least, - they walk with head raised high and look everybody in the face; they are absolutely right, and this is how it must be, as the persona of a people is royal, and not responsible and is not obliged to apologize. We do not have to account to anybody, we are not to sit for anybody's examination and nobody is old enough to call on us to answer. We came before them and will leave after them. We are what we are, we are good for ourselves, we will not change and we do not want to."

Ze'ev Jabotinsky-'Instead of Excessive Apology'. 1911

Does this description seem accurate?

K1

Why Israel?

• To see the Jews of Tanach as 'Zionists'

• Temple Times: understand the important role of the temple itself

and try to sadness of

To need for

a Jewish



understand the 'bein hametzarim'. understand the and importance of state





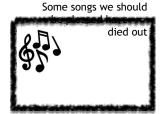


BET CHALUTZI 5777



What is it about the small strip of land in the Middle East that is so important to us, the Jews? It's a nice hot climate but it has neither water nor oil (although some natural gas and other fuel sources have recently been found!). The question is one that we will return to over again and one that our chanichim should be encouraged to ask and grapple with.

The first time Israel is mentioned is indirectly when Hashem speaks to Avraham. - "Hashem said to Avraham, "Go for yourself from your land, from your relatives, and from your father's house to **the land** that I will show you." After promising Avraham that He



will make him into a great nation He says "...to your offspring I will give **this land**." (Bereshit 12:1-7)

Many years have passed since this took place, and seeing as we are so many generations removed from this prophecy, it is hard for us to truly associate the Israel of today with the Israel - Eretz Canaan, from back then. But really it's the same place! And this is what is so important not to forget. As we get further and further into all the kvutzot and move on in history we must still always remember to come back to this point - that this is the land promised to us by Hashem. It's the land set-aside specifically for His people - for us!

In other words, is it possible for us to connect to Israel through a divine covenant from thousands of years ago?

When Hashem makes His covenant with Avraham (the covenant between the parts – Brit Bein H'Betarim) He says

ז וַהָּקְמֹתִי אֶת-בְּרִיתִי בֵּינִי וּבֵינֶךָ, וּבֵין זַרְעֲךָ אַחֶכֶיךָ לְדֹרֹתָם--לִבְרִית עוֹלָם: <u>לִהְיוֹת לְךָ לאלקים,</u> וּלְזַרְעֲךָ אַחְכֶירַ. ח וְנַתַתִּי לְךָ וּלְזַרְעֲךָ אַחְכֶירָ אֵת אֶכֶץ מְגֵכֶירַ, אֵת כַּל-אֶכֶץ כְּנַעַן, לַאְחֻזַּת, עוֹלֵם; והַיִּיתִי לִהָם, אֹלקִים

"I will establish My covenant between Me and you and between your offspring after you, throughout their generations, as an everlasting covenant, **to be Hashem to you** and to your offspring after you. And I will give to you and your offspring after you the land of your sojourns - Page 2

the whole of the land of Canaan - as an everlasting possession; **and I** shall be Hashem to them." (Bereshit 17:7-8)

Rashi, quoting the Bereshit Rabbah, explains why it is that the Torah repeats the phrase "**shall be Hashem to them**" when in the previous verse it says something very similar:

"and [in the Land] I shall be "Hashem". But one who dwells outside the Land [of Israel] is like one who has no Hashem." (Rashi (Bereshit 17:8))

The Gur Aryeh (Maharal of Prague, for bio see extra chomer) explains that there is a unique dimension to Israel's relationship with Hashem when they are in the Land of Israel as that is where Hashem's Providence is most intense. One who lives outside of Israel does not receive the same degree of Divine assistance.

Living in the Land of Israel is of utmost importance in Judaism and the land dominates our thoughts and prayers. Our prayers are directed towards Israel wherever we are in the world (see additional chomer: Shulchan Aruch).

We are unable to fulfil properly any of our 613 mitzvot while we do not live there. Both Rashi and The Ramban hold that in fact the Torah intends for all mitzvot to be observed in Israel specifically and only B'diEved while in Galut should we also do them there in order to keep familiarised with them for when we return. (Even those mitzvot which are not agricultural)

Rav Neventzal (the previous Chief Rabbi of the Old City) rules this way and takes it one step further. He says that if one were to don ones Tefillin in Chutz La'aretz in the morning, they still have a chiyuv to wear them later in the day when arriving in Israel. This stands true if one has the opposite journey. The reason for this is that there are two distinct mitzvot.

- 1) To wear teffilin
- 2) To keep mitzvot in Chutz La'aretz

Even those opinions who do not adopt the views of Rashi and Ramban, argue that keeping mitzvot in Israel is a greater thing than in Chutz La'aretz.

The Ramban says: You are only obligated to perform specific Mitzvot that can be performed outside of Israel (Tefillin and Mezuzah) in order that

Home: "The place where when you have to go there they have to let you in."

Robert Frost

when you come to Israel you will know what to do and the Mitzvot won't be new to you...' (Vayikra 18:25)

So we can live there but why do we need a state?

Along with the inherent importance of Israel for the Jews, the one place that was the manifestation of Jewish self-rule and religious fervor was the Bet Hamikdash in Yerushalayim. When



we pray for and concern ourselves with Israel

we focus more particularly on Jerusalem. Yerushalayim was the religious and political centre of Jewish life; "mikdash melech, ir melucha" "the Holy



place of the king, the city of kingship." It fulfilled both roles; religious and political and it demonstrates that our relationship to Israel should be both religious and political.

Yerushalayim and the Bet Hamikdash are mentioned over 700 times in various forms in Tanach; Yerushalayim, the holy city, the

place which Hashem chose...

III

It was Yerushalayim and the Bet Hamikdash which characterised Jewish chagim. Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot were all celebrated by mass pilgrimage to Yerushalayim (even today we see remnants of that pilgrimage over Shavuot). Yom Kippur was the time in which the Kohen

Gadol would act on behalf of ALL the Jewish people in the

Holy of Holies to atone for our sins.

The Bet Hamikdash was the centre of Jewish life. The important function of the Bet Knesset nowadays is an attempt to retain some of the power of the Mikdash in

maintaining our relationship with G-d. We say that each Shul is a "Mikdash M'at" a miniature Temple.

Looking at the Avot, and the sources surrounding those chapters in Bereishit (see additional Chomer for some examples) we get a tiny inkling as to how holy, special and central Eretz Yisrael is to our people. Looking simply at Bereishit, one might get the impression that living in Israel is something personal and individual. However, the Torah does not stop at Bereishit, it moves onto Sefer Shemot. It is clear from a cursory glance of the two books that Bereishit looks at the **individual founders** of the Jewish people, whereas Shemot is about the building of a **nation**. The very first perek of Shemot alludes to this. The children of Ya'akov all die - the individuals, however they give rise to a great NATION, as their children multiply and grow and become strong. In Bereishit a covenant is made between G-d and Avraham. In Shemot this same covenant is made between G-d and the whole people (at Sinai).

If one looks at all the laws given in the Torah, it becomes clear that they encompass all areas of life - social laws, economic, agricultural, ethical etc.

They are not laws that can be achieved by the individual alone, but can only be achieved in their fullest sense by a whole society. The laws make up a national constitution. It seems clear from the Torah that G-d intended this Divinely instructed constitution to govern the Jewish state in the Land that He chose.

This is spelled out to the Bnei Yisrael just before they enter the land. As they stand, after 40 years of wandering, on the Eastern Bank of the River Jordan, Moshe says to them:



"Hear, O Israel, the statutes and judgements which I speak in your ears this day, that you may learn them, and keep them, and do them...You shall observe to do as Hashem your G-d has commanded you: you shall not turn aside to the right hand or to the left.

You shall walk in the ways which Hashem your G-d has commanded you, that you may live, and that it may be well with you, and that you may prolong your days in the **Land** which you shall possess.

Now this is the commandment, the statutes, and the judgements, which Hashem your G-d commanded to teach you, that you might do them in the **Land** into which you go to possess it [...]

Hear O Israel, and take care to do it; that it may be well with you, and that you may increase mightily, as Hashem G-d of your fathers has promised you, in the **Land** that flows with milk and honey."

(Devarim 4:44, and 5:29-6:3)

The setting up of this state according to the Torah is the fulfillment of the Jewish nation's covenantal duty. If they abide by all these Mitzvot and run their society accordingly in the Land, then Hashem will perform His part of the covenant and cause them to prosper and be strong and happy.

So it's not just that they are going to live in the Land, rather they are going to get control over the land. For if they did not rule over the Land autonomously, then how could they possibly fulfill their covenantal duty to set up a national society according to the Torah? Therefore, the covenant can only really be fulfilled on a national level, in an autonomous Jewish state. An autonomous Jewish state in the land of Israel underpins the possibility of the fulfillment of Jewish religious duty, as it was ideally intended.

Page 6

Over to the Kuzari:

- 9. Al Khazari: I understand what thou meanest by 'His people,' but less intelligible is what thou sayest about 'His Land.'
- 10. The Rabbi: Thou wilt have no difficulty in perceiving that one country may have higher qualifications than others. There are places in which particular plants, metals, or animals are found, or where the inhabitants are distinguished by their form and character, since perfection or deficiency of the soul are produced by the mingling of the elements.
- 11. Al Khazari: Yet I never heard that the inhabitants of Palestine were better than other people.
- 12. The Rabbi: How about the hill on which you say that the vines thrive so well? If it had not been properly planted and cultivated, it would never produce grapes. Priority belongs, in the first instance, to the people which, as stated before, is the essence and kernel [of the nation]. In the second instance, it would belong to the country], on account of the religious acts connected with it, which I would compare to the cultivation of the vineyard. No other place would share the distinction of the divine influence, just as no other mountain might be able to produce good wine.
- 13. Al Khazari: How could this be? In the time between Adam and Moses were not prophetic visions in other places granted to Abraham in Ur of the Chaldaeans, Ezekiel and Daniel at Babylon, and Jeremiah in Egypt?
- 14. The Rabbi: Whosoever prophesied did so either in the [Holy] Land, or concerning it, viz. Abraham in order to reach it, Ezekiel and Daniel on account of it. The two latter had lived during the time of the first Temple, had seen the Shekhinah, through the influence of which each one who was duly prepared became of the elect, and able to prophesy. Adam lived and died in the land. Tradition tells us that in the cave [of Machpelāh] were buried the four pairs:

Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebeccah, Jacob and Leah. This is the land which bore the name 'before the Lord,' and of which it is stated that 'the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it' (Deut. xi. 12).

For more from the Kuzari and an article by Eliezer Berkovitz see additional chomer

What is the Kuzari saying? Are people living in Israel inherently better than others? What are the implication of this claim?

Over the course of Machane we will encounter many of the benefits of the Land of Israel, we will see that it is a place of refuge, a free homeland and a concept which has kept us united over thousands of years. However we must not forget that ultimately we relate to the Land as a Divine gift. That for some reason we have been chosen from amongst the nations;



"That He has chosen us from amongst the nations and given us His Torah" Birchat

Hatorah

It may not be relevant to others and it may not be an argument in modern politics, but we must remember that for us the Land of Israel is much more than a refuge, much more than a nationalist enterprise. This is a paramount starting point for us at Bnei Akiva, first we must understand the historic connection with Israel and how the country is etched into our psyche. We first must love and appreciate Israel and over the next K's we will learn about the Medinah.

In Parashat Chaye Sarah we read how Avraham bought the cave and field of Machpela in Chevron, 'b'kesef male', for the full amount of money. This phrase comes up again when David buys the threshing floor of Aravna, which later becomes Har Habayit. In Chaye Sarah, Rashi explains that the phrase comes to show that Avraham paid a fair price for the Land so that we can prove ownership in the future. But surely, and as we see today the gentiles will often dispute the Torah as a proof. Rather we can never expect to prove to others from our Torah that the land belongs to us, but if we ourselves do not internalise and understand fully our connection to the land then how can we bring a claim against any other inhabitants.

And to finish with words from the Emeritus Chief Rabbi...

There are eighty two Christian nations, fifty six Muslim ones but only one Jewish state. A country smaller than the Kruger national park, less than one quarter of one percent of the land mass of the Arab world. Israel is the only



place on earth where in four thousand years of history, Jews have formed a majority. The only place where they have been able to rule themselves and defend themselves [...] to live as a nation shaping its own destiny. [...] Only in Israel can a Jew speak the Jewish language, see a Jewish landscape, live by the Jewish calendar, walk where our ancestors walked and continue the story they began."

Chief Rabbi Sacks: Home of Hope

Now we will all skip together across the field and sing, 'oseh shalom bimromavvvvvv...'

Additional Chomer

Yitzchak and the Land of Israel

א וַיִּהִי כַעַב, בָּאַכֶץ, מִלְבַד הַכַעַב הַרָאשׁוֹ, אָשֶׁר הַיָּה בִּימִי אַבְּכָהַם; וַיַּלְךְ יִצְּחַק אָל-אָבִימֶלְךְ מֶלְרֵ-פְּלִשְׁתִּים, גְּכַרָה. ב וַירָא אֵלָיו ה, וַיאמֶר אַל-תֵּרֶד מִצְרָיִמָּה: שְׁכֹן בָּאָרֶץ, אֲשֶׁר אֹמַר אֵלֶירֶ

There was a famine in the land, aside from the first famine that was in the days of Abraham; and Isaac went to Abimelech king of the Philistines, to Gerar, Hashem appeared to him and said, "Do not descend to Egypt; dwell in the land that I shall tell you." Bereishit 26:1-2

On the words "do not descend to Egypt" Rashi says:

G-d said to him "do not descend to Egypt for you are a blemish free offering, and [territory] outside the land [of Israel] is not worthy of you"

Ya'akov and the Land

Bereishit 46:1-6

Ya'akov has found out that Yosef is still alive so he sets out to Egypt (as an old man) to go and see him before he dies. On his way to Egypt G-d appears to Ya'akov and says:

וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב יַעְקֹב אַל-תִּירָא מֵרְדָה מִצְרַיְמָה, כִּיּ-לְגוֹי גָּדוֹל אָשִימְךָ שֶׁם. ד אָנֹכִי, אֵרֶד עִמְךָ מִצְרַיָּמָה, וְאָנֹכִי, אַעַלְךָ גַּם-עָלה

"Jacob, Jacob...**do not be afraid** of descending to Egypt, for I shall establish you as a great nation there. I shall descend with you to Egypt, and I shall surely bring you up..." Bereishit 46:2-3

Hashem tells Ya'akov not to be afraid, but it doesn't say what Ya'akov was afraid of, so Rashi fills in the missing piece:

"He was distressed because he was forced to leave [the land of Israel] for [the area] outside the Land."

A few verses later it describes their journey down to Egypt and it says:

ו וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת-מִקְנֵיהֶם, וְאֶת-רְכוּשָׁם אֲשֶׁר רָכְשׁוּ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנַעַן, וַיַּבֹאוּ , מִצְרָיְמָה: יַעְקֹב, וְכַל-זַרְעוֹ אִתּו

"They took their livestock and their possessions which they had amassed in the land of Canaan and they came to Egypt - Jacob and all his offspring with him." Bereishit 46:6

Rashi picks up on a subtle point in the pasuk:

"But what he had amassed in Padan-aram he gave to Esav for his share in the cave of Machpelah. Ya'akov said "Possessions [acquired] outside the land are not worthwhile for me"

"One in the Diaspora who gets up to pray should face the Land of Israel and should direct [his prayer] also to Jerusalem, the Temple and the Holy of Holies. One standing in the Land of Israel should face Jerusalem and direct [his prayer] also to the Temple and the Holy of Holies. One standing in Jerusalem should face the Temple and should direct [his prayer] also to the Holy of Holies" Shulchan Aruch, Orach Chayim 94:1

Kuzari continued

It was also the first object of jealousy and envy between Cain and Abel, when they desired to know which of them would be Adam's successor, and heir to his essence and intrinsic perfection; to inherit the land, and to stand in connexion with the divine influence, whilst the other would be a nonentity. Then Abel was killed by Cain, and the realm was without an heir. It is stated that 'Cain' went out of the presence of Lord (Gen. iv. 16), which means that he left the land, saying: 'Behold, Thou hast driven me out this day from the face of the earth, and from Thy face shall I be hid' (ib. v. 14). In the same way is it said: 'But Jonah rose up to flee unto Tarshish from the presence of the Lord' (Jonah i. 3), but he only fled from the place of prophecy. God, however, brought him back there out of the belly of the fish, and appointed him prophet in the land. When Seth was born he was like Adam, as it is said: 'He begat in his own likeness, after his image' (Gen. v. 3), and took Abel's place, as it is said: For God has appointed me another seed, instead of Abel, whom Cain slew Page 10

(ib. iv. 25). He merited the title: 'Son of God,' like Adam, and he had a claim on the land, which is the next step to paradise. The land was then the object of jealousy between Isaac and Ishmael, till the latter was rejected as worthless, although it was said concerning him: 'Behold, I have blessed him, and will multiply him exceedingly' (ib. xvii. 20) in worldly prosperity; but immediately after it is said: 'My covenant will I establish with Isaac' (v. 21), which refers to his connexion with the divine influence and happiness in the world to come. Neither Ishmael nor Esau could boast of a covenant, although they were otherwise prosperous. Jealousy arose between Jacob and Esau for the birthright and blessing, but Esau was rejected in favour of Jacob, in spite of his strength and the latter's weakness. Jeremiah's prophecy concerning Egypt was uttered in Egypt itself. This was also the case with Moses, Aaron and Miriam. Sinai and Parān are reckoned as belonging to Palestine, because they are on this side of the Red Sea, as it is said: 'And I will set thy bounds from the Red Sea, even unto the sea of the Philistines, and from the desert unto the river' (Exod. xxiii. 31). The 'desert' is that of Parūn, 'that great and terrible wilderness' (Deut. i. 19), being the southern border. 'The fourth river is Euphrates' (Gen. ii. 14), designates the northern border, where there were the altars of the Patriarchs, who were answered by fire from heaven and the divine light. The 'binding' of Isaac took place on a desolate mountain, viz. Moriah. Not till the days of David, when it was inhabited, was the secret revealed that it was the place specially prepared for the Shekhinah. Araunah, the Jebusite, tilled his land there. Thus it is said: 'And Abraham called the name of the place, The Lord shall see, as it is said to this day, in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen' (ib. xxii. 14). In the Book of the Chronicles it is stated more clearly that the Temple was built on mount Moriah. These are, without doubt, the places worthy of being called the gates of heaven. Dost thou not see that Jacob ascribed the vision which he saw, not to the purity of his soul, nor to his belief, nor to true integrity, but to the place, as it is said: 'How awful is this place' (ib. xxviii. 17). Prior to this it is said: 'And he lighted upon a certain place' (ver. 11), viz. the chosen one. Was not Abraham also, and after having been greatly exalted, brought into contact with the divine influence, and made the heart of this essence, removed from his country to the place in which his perfection should become complete? Thus the agriculturer finds the root of a good tree in a desert place. He transplants it into properly tilled ground, to improve it and make it grow; to change it from a wild root into a cultivated one, from one which bore fruit by chance only to one which produced a luxuriant crop. In the same way the gift of prophecy was retained among Abraham's descendants in Palestine, the property of many as long as they remained in the land, and fulfilled the required conditions, viz. purity, worship, and sacrifices, and, above all, the reverence of the Shekhinah. For the divine influence, one might say, singles out him who appears worthy of being connected with it, such as prophets and pious men, and is their God. Reason chooses those whose natural gifts are perfect, viz. Philosophers and those whose souls and character are so harmonious that it can find its dwelling among them. The spirit of life, pure and simple, is to be found in beings which are endowed with ordinary primary faculties, and particularly adapted to higher vitality--viz. animals. Finally, organic life finds its habitat in a mixture of harmonious elements, and produces--plant.

15. Al Khazari: These are the general rules of a science which must be classified. This does not concern us now, and I will ask thee about it when we speak on the subject. Continue thy discourse on the special advantages of the Land of Israel.

16. The Rabbi: It was appointed to guide the world, and apportioned to the tribes of Israel from the time of the confusion of languages, as it is said: 'When the Most High divided among the nations their inheritance' (Deut. xxxii. 8). Abraham was not fit to gain the divine influence, and to enter into a mutual compact, until he had, in Palestine, made the covenant with Him 'between the pieces' (Gen. xv. 17). What is now thy opinion of a select community which has merited the appellation 'people of God,' and also a special name called 'the inheritance of God,' and of seasons fixed by Him, not merely agreed upon or settled by astronomical calculations, and therefore styled "Sabbath of the land" 'feasts of the Lord.' The rules regarding purity and worship, prayers and performances, are fixed by God, and therefore called 'work of God' and 'service of the Lord.'

Eliezer Berkovitz explains something similar:

The Torah offers us a national constitution based on religious principals. It is, indeed, correct to assert that no Judaism is possible without Jewish national existence...

Judaism cannot be realised by the individual. It must be grounded on an autonomous life-unit, which, of course, is not quantitative but a qualitative term... The autonomous life-unit is no gathering of individual believers; it is the organic group which command over its social, economic, cultural and political relations...

This means that for Jews to live dispersed all over the world in the midst of strange surroundings, necessarily moving to the rhythm of a life different from that of the Jewish national unit, is an unnatural form of 'Judaic' existence. Galut [the exile of the Jewish people from sovereignty of the Land of Israel] may at times be a historic necessity, it may produce its own great values, but it must always be looked upon as a periodic transition, something temporary, not only from a national point of view but also from that of the realisation of Judaism. Complete realisation is an impossibility in Galut. Many important precepts of the Torah have to be put into cold storage, as it were, for the duration of the Galut, simply because lews lack the concrete basis to which to apply them. The whole system of Jewish jurisprudence, for instance, has been shelved, for naturally enough in the Galut there exists only 'Dina d'Malchuta', the law of the state in which lews happen to live. All the social and economic regulations relating to possession of a national land are Hilch'ta l'Mshicha [religious duties that cannot be fulfilled until a Messianic return to sovereignty in the Land] as long as the Jews live in exile. Even where realisation is possible, it is only partial and stunted. For instance the Dinim [religious laws] of the Even ha'Ezer section of the Shulchan Aruch [one of the four main sections of the most authoritative code of Jewish religious law], which in normal times constituted the law for an important part of Jewish family and social life, have been more and more reduced in the Galut to a mere religious ceremonial. The 'legality' of that sphere of Jewish life rests on the respective marriage and divorce laws of the state in which Jews happen to live. What has remained of the Talmudic order Nashim [dealing with the laws incumbent upon and concerning women] in actual practise is a mere fraction of the original. This is also true of many other parts of Judaism in the Galut. It is natural that the Shabbat as envisaged in a Jewish community determining its own social and economic life is in

accordance with its own conception of a Day of rest is entirely different from a Shabbat observed in the midst of a society which takes its rest in its own manner on its own Sunday. In respect of every Jewish activity in the Galut we are confined with the fact that Judaism, being a Way of Living, can only be realised to a limited extent in the midst of surroundings over which lews have no decisive influence. Galut Judaism is bound to remain a shadow Judaism... Judaism is sacrificed when it has to be realised by Jews whose everyday life is determined by an alien environment. Originally it was the harmony in the existence of a nation which produced the rhythm of its own life. For us Jews monotheistic universalism requires a Jewish national unit where the potentialities of Judaism are fully realisable, i.e. a Jewish nation master in its own home. Judaism may be able to survive for yet a long time in the Galut, but only in the Jewish National Home can it be naturally and completely realised. The national unit is the instrument, the National Home its place of realisation. Let us not forget too for a single moment that we cannot start anew today: we can but continue. For that reason the place of the Jewish National Home is historically given. There is only one Zion and only one Jerusalem, one Holy Land, one Eretz Yisrael. (Berkovits, 1943, pp. 68-75).

Maharal of Prague

Judah Loew ben Bezalel, alt. Loewe, Löwe, or Levai, (c. 1520 – 17 September 1609)^[1] widely known to scholars of <u>Judaism</u> as the **Maharal of Prague**, or simply **The Maharal**, the <u>Hebrew acronym</u> of "*Moreinu ha-Rav Loew*," ("Our Teacher, Rabbi Loew") was an important <u>Talmudic</u> scholar, <u>Jewish mystic</u>, and philosopher who served as a leading rabbi in the city of Prague in Bohemia for most of his life.

Within the world of <u>Torah</u> and Talmudic scholarship, he is known for his works on <u>Jewish</u> <u>philosophy</u> and <u>Jewish mysticism</u> and his work *Gur Aryeh al HaTorah*, a supercommentary on <u>Rashi</u>'s Torah commentary.

The Maharal is particularly known for the <u>legend</u> that he created <u>The Golem of Prague</u>, an animate being fashioned from clay, using <u>mystical powers</u> based on the <u>esoteric</u> knowledge of how <u>God</u> created <u>Adam</u>. This legend, which first appeared in print nearly 200 years after the Maharal's death, states he created the <u>golem</u> to defend the <u>Jews</u> of the Prague <u>Ghetto</u> from <u>antisemitic</u> attacks; particularly <u>blood</u> <u>libels</u> emanating from certain prejudiced guarters. [2] There are no contemporary accounts of this occurring.

Rabbi Loew is buried at the <u>Old Jewish Cemetery</u>, <u>Prague</u> in <u>Josefov</u>, where his grave and intact tombstone can still be visited. His descendants' <u>surnames</u> include Loewy, Loeb, Lowy, Oppenheimer, Pfaelzer, and Keim.

K6

Undergroun d Movements

- To learn about who the resistance movements were in 1940's Palestine
- To take a look at the 'new Jew'; no longer the underdog.
- To think about whether there is a difference between those movements and modern day terrorists



BET CHALUTZI 5777 Each year, when we set time aside on Yom Hazikaron to remember Israel's fighters, we generally think of those young men and women, our own age, who fell wearing the uniform of TZaHaL (Tzava Hagana L'Yisrael) [We will be looking at the IDF in K9]. However, we must remember that TZaHaL was preceded by a number of other movements who fought valiantly for many years before the establishment of the State. They did not have any of the resources or expertise available to modern day armies. They were underground fighters, battling to build a state but also to protect the Jews who were already living in the Land of Israel [the Yishuv].

Our Kyutza is dedicated to:

- Getting to know these fighters
- Seeing the role they played in the picture of the Jews
- Looking at their actions.

A Brief Recap of the Situation in Palestine

1936-39 Arab Uprising

The Yishuv leaders realised that it was best to let the British deal with the Arab uprising, lest the Jews be seen as part of it. The Irgun and Haganah decide on a policy of havlaga (restraint). Though there were ambushes and attacks on Jews across Palestine, the forces would only defend and would never actively attack Arabs.

This changed after the Peel Commission in October 1937, when the Irgun broke away from the policy and decided to bomb major Arab population centres. The day of the breaking of havlaga was July 6th 1938 when the Irgun bombed a market in Haifa killing 21 and wounding 52.

The Haganah termed the Irgun 'terrorists' and absolved themselves from the bombings. However, they did form new units and squads for a policy of 'aggressive defence' under the training of a mystical Christian Scotch Captain, Charles Page 4

Wingate who hoped one day to stand at the head of a Jewish Army.

The White Paper 1939

In reaction to the restrictive White Paper of 1939, the Haganah organised demonstrations and actively began to help Jews from Europe to enter Palestine illegally. They adopted a cause of "illegal immigration, illegal settlement and illegal military action" in an attempt to soften the restrictions placed on Jews by the British. They hoped to change British policy and to pressure the Brits to hand over the Mandate to the UN.

The White Paper made the British the number one target for the Irgun, who would use all methods possible to get the British out and open up the channels of immigration.

When WW2 broke out, both decided it was best to leave the British alone; an attack would a) help the Nazi's and b) galvanise the British against the Zionists. In 1940, Avraham Stern broke away from the Irgun to form Lechi who would fight the British, war or no war and would use any measures against the British Empire to get them to leave; they also wanted population exchange of local Arabs, moving them to non-lewish areas.

Movement Breakdown

Haganah (na na na na na!!)

- **1.** Originally founded to protect the Yishuv.
- **2.** Tactics were decided in accordance with political needs, aiming to open the borders to free Jewish immigrants.
- 3. Struggle was to be conducted with the minimum amount of bloodshed: only the British army will be attacked, not civilians.
- **4.** The armed struggle was only part of the political struggle for the realisation of the Zionist ideal.

In 1920, the group was formed under British auspices. The Haganah's role was purely defensive, and it had the support of the Zionist Organisation. By 1936, a training programme had been developed in cooperation with the British armed forces and light arms were brought in from Europe. In reaction to the restrictive White Paper of 1939, the Haganah organised demonstrations and actively began to help Jews from Europe to enter Palestine illegally. The Palmach was set up in 1941, and was the Haganah's task force and formed the legendary Jewish Brigade during WW2.

<u>Irgun</u>

- 1. War is against the British, who have turned Eretz Yisrael into a military base.
- 2. Decide on targets and methods of action with the intention of causing maximum damage to the British forces.
- 3.Armed struggle will be accompanied by political activity and propaganda which will weaken the British will to fight us.
- 4. The Arabs are not our enemy and their rights will be guaranteed in the eventual Hebrew state.

The Irgun was founded in 1931 as a reaction to Arab attacks -particularly the massacres of 1929. Its members believed that the purely defensive strategy of the Haganah was inadequate and that the initiative should be taken against the Arabs. In 1936, the Irgun was re-organised and when Menachem Begin became leader of the Irgun in 1943, its policy was to bring as many immigrants into



Palestine as possible, but during the war it would not attack British military targets.

Lechi (Stern Gang)

- 1.Independence will be achieved only by a concentrated war of Liberation against the occupying power.
- 2.Use all methods in the fight against this army and all its supporters.
- 3. War of liberation will transform the Yishuv into an independent lobby, able to find allies who will support it against Britain. The Arabs of Eretz Yisrael and the neighbouring lands are likely to join the anti-imperialist struggle.



4. Members of the movements are volunteers able to withstand the great strain placed upon freedom-fighters; they must therefore be selected with great care.

In 1940, Avraham Stern broke off from the Irgun and formed Lechi, with the basic goal to maintain pressure on the British by continued military attacks. He was upset that the British were not responding at all to the attacks of the Irgun and so the Stern Gang stepped up the attacks. The Stern Gang became the most extreme of the terrorist radicals. Avraham Stern was a revolutionary Zionist and thus believed in a 'Kingdom' of Israel and wanted to gather in the exiles. The declaration of the state was just the beginning.

It is important to understand that these groups disagreed considerably about what was the best method for helping the building of a state. The Haganah and the Yishuv leadership believed strongly that the Irgun were undermining their case. The Irgun and the Stern Gang felt that the Yishuv leadership was letting the British get away with turning back immigrants to Europe. Tensions mounted betwee

Would you have joined any?

Which would you have joined?

King David Hotel Bombing



The Haganah and the Irgun got together for one incident, the bombing of the King David Hotel on Monday 22nd June 1946. The death toll from this was 91 people,



including 28 British officers. Many questions remain over this incident, primarily as to whether a warning was given and why the Irgun changed the scheduled time of attack agreed upon with the Haganah. Let's see what everyone says about it...

JOHN SHAW [not to be confused with Josh Shaw, this joke remains in the chomer due to tradition not any inherent humour] (Chief Secretary - Government of Palestine):

"At twenty minutes to one on 22nd of July, 1946, there was a dull but very considerable explosion. It was a sort of terrific bump which shook the whole building, brought down a lot of the ceiling and pictures on the walls in my room, and covered the whole place with dust with an impenetrable pall of smoke or fumes and dust which brought practically total darkness."

When the smoke cleared, the southern wing of the King David Hotel was no more. The offices of the Chief Secretary of the British Mandatory Government and military headquarters in Palestine had been destroyed. Rescue squads found 91 bodies beneath the rubble.

MENACHEM BEGIN (Irgun Commander):

"We did not imagine that even one life would be lost. We did our best to ensure that everyone would be evacuated from the hotel.

Everything had been coordinated between the operations officer of the Haganah and our own officer. The timing, the warning - which was given in advance. The explosion occurred - just as we had planned it - about half an hour after the telephone warning was given. There were three warnings by telephone. Well, the matter was looked into and it became clear that we did not intend to harm even one person in the hotel because there were human beings, because of the ethics of our war. It was not the hotel which we attacked, but the wing which housed the central British government in Palestine, and British military headquarters, as well as British intelligence for the entire Middle East. This was an entirely legitimate objective. In any event, however, people were liable to be hurt in other parts of the hotel, therefore we did all we could to prevent losses. We gave them enough time to evacuate people, down to the last man. The British did not heed our warnings."

JOHN SHAW:

"No, definitely not! That is a very old story which was put out by Mr Begin and the Irgun after the event. I don't want to comment on the story, except to say that it is absolutely untrue – that no warning was made to me or any member in the building or reached us in any way whatever. And even if it had been done, even supposing I'd received it, I could not in the time available have evacuated the staff."

ADINA NISSAN (Irgun)

"He's lying! It's an outright lie! I, Adina Hai Nissan, received an order to phone the King David Hotel...I called up and said: 'This is the Irgun. We have placed explosives in the hotel. Clear out! This is a warning! 'I repeated the announcement in three languages. I informed them. So help me. I warned them.

I know that I informed them. I called them – and not only them. Afterwards, I also called The Palestine Post. I called the French Consulate acknowledged having received my telephone message.

The death toll shocked the Jewish community. Haganah commanders blamed the disaster on the Irgun; they said the

explosion occurred contrary to what had been agreed upon, at a time when the building was full of people. The Irgun commanders insisted that the operation was coordinated with the Haganah in all its details. The dispute ended the short period of cooperation between the Haganah and the Irgun and Stern Group.

ISRAEL LEVI (Commander-Operation King David Hotel):

"I understand that they reacted harshly because of the casualties. This is a sign of an absurd people, without pride. I would not call them proud. People with pride would say 'We did it. We didn't want to kill anyone. We are sorry for the deaths '- and that is all. Instead of saying that they were sorry for the deaths, for all that occurred, they actually feared for their own skins... With every passing day after the operation, from the time the first slanders were cast the morning after, when all the newspapers and leaders came out furiously against the operation, against the Irgun for perpetuating such action, it caused matters to worsen steadily. If you ask me if I would cooperate with such people, the answer is: No I would not!"

The British reacted furiously to the blowing up of the King David Hotel. Twenty-seven thousand soldiers and policemen stormed Tel Aviv. A strict curfew was imposed and careful searches carried out to find the attackers of the King David Hotel.

Manachem Begin was at the head of the 'wanted' list and every policeman and detective had a copy of his picture. Begin however, had disguised himself and was living under the alias of Rabbi Israel Sassover.

The Change in the Jew

The Zionists felt that a Jewish state could not emerge on its own but needed a radical change in the way that Jews acted and were perceived. An issue we touched on earlier of the 'golus Jew' will be explored here a little further. Compare these two memorials, both of them on display in Yad Vashem's main courtyard.

Yad Vashem's website describes the ghetto fighters, and glorifies the image of the Jewish warrior. :

"The monument is situated at the edge of Warsaw Ghetto Square, where the official opening ceremony of Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day takes place each year. The first sculpture, entitled "The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising" depicts men, women and children bearing arms, and fighting courageously against the background of the burning ghetto. In the center stands the leader of the uprising, Mordechai Anielewicz, holding the flame which ignited the spirit of rebellion. The sculpture emphasizes the heroism of the second sculpture, entitled "The Last March", depicts the final journey of the Jews to the death camps."

How do they differ?

What message give?

The top image around Titus's below), why is



does each one

is designed arch (see this so?

Here is a letter written by Mordechai Anilewicz to his comrade Yitzchak Zuckerman who was hiding outside the ghetto:

April 23rd 1943

It is impossible to put into words what we have been through. One thing is clear, what happened exceeded our boldest dreams. The Germans ran twice from the Ghetto. One of our companies held out for 40 minutes and another, for more than 6 hours. The mine set in the 'brushmakers' area exploded. Several of our companies attacked the dispersing Germans. Our losses in manpower are minimal. That is also an achievement. Yechiel fell.

He fell a hero, at the machine gun. I felt that great things are happening and what we dared do is of great, enormous importance...

It is impossible to describe the conditions under which the Jews of the ghettos are now living. Only a few will be able to hold out. The remainder will die sooner or later. Their fate is decided. In almost all the hiding places in which thousands are concealing themselves it is not possible to light a candle for lack of air.

With the aid of our transmitter we heard a marvellous report on our fighting by the 'Shavit' radio station. The fact that we are remembered beyond the ghetto walls encourages us in our struggle. Peace goes with you my friend, perhaps we may still meet again! The dream of my life has risen to become fact. Self-defence in the ghetto will have been a reality. Jewish armed resistance and revenge are facts. I have been a witness to the magnificent, heroic fighting of Jewish men of battle.

[The fighters of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising fought against the Nazis for a month, longer than the French resisted Nazi invasion.]

"For the first time in the annals of our exile, Divine Providence has amazed our enemies with the astounding discovery the Jewish blood is not cheap! [...] If we want to courageously defend our Page 12

continued national and historical existence, we must, from time to time, interpret the verse of "an eye for an eye" literally. So many "eyes" were lost in the course of our bitter exile because we did *not* repay hurt for hurt. The time has come for us to fulfill the simple meaning of "an eye for an eye" (Exodus 21:24). Of course, I am sure everyone recognizes that I am an adherent of the Oral Law, and from my perspective there is no doubt that the verse refers to monetary restitution, as defined by Halacha.

However, with respect to the Mufti [Haj Amin al-Husseini, Grand Mufti of Jerusalem who collaborated with Hitler and led the armed opposition to the Yishuv and State of Israel] and Nasser [Gammal Abdel Nasser, PM and President of Egypt who led the Suez Campaign and Six Day War], I would demand that we interpret the verse in accordance with its literal meaning- the taking of an actual eye1 pay no attention to the saccharine suggestions of known assimilationists and of some Jewish socialists who stand pat in their rebelliousness and think they are still living in Bialystok, Brest-Litovsk and Minsk of the year 1905, and openly declare that revenge is forbidden to the Jewish people in any place, at any time and under all circumstances. "Vanity of vanities!" (Ecclesiastes 1:2) Revenge is forbidden when it is pointless, but if one is aroused thereby to self defence, it is most elementary right of man to take his revenge. [...]

For good reason the Torah relates that two of its great heroes, Abraham and Moses, took sword in hand to defend their brethren: "And when Abraham heard that his kinsman was taken captive, he led forth his retainers" (Genesis 14:4). "And when Moses saw the Egyptian smite a Jew ... he struck down the Egyptian" (Exodus 2:11-12). This behaviour does not contradict the principle of loving kindness and compassion. [...]

His [G-d's] present desire is that the blood of Jewish children who were slain as they recited the eighteen benedictions of the daily [Amida] prayer shall also be avenged. When G-d smote the Egyptians, He sought to demonstrate that there will always be accountability for the spilling of Jewish blood. [...] A people that

cannot defend its freedom and tranquility is neither free nor independent. [...]

Let us not forget that the poison of Hitlerite anti-Semitism (which made Jews fair game to all) still permeates this generation, [...] the antidote for this venom that poisoned minds and dulled hearts is the readiness of the State of Israel to defend the lives of its citizens."

Rav Soloveitchik: Kol Dodi Dofek pp. 37-41.

The actions of Mordechai Anilewicz transcend simply what happened in the Warsaw Ghetto, in fact it reverberates throughout the Jewish psyche. Whilst the concept of a Jewish retaliation is not unique, this uprising takes on a special status. From the very depths of both Jewish and Human history, Anilewicz and his guerilla force showed that the Jews are no longer cattle to be herded to their fates. The Jewish people now took ahold of their destinies and would no longer be wantonly held ransom without fighting back. No longer are we slaves to fate.

Dealing with the past: Terrorism versus Freedom Fighter

"One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."

This statement above is one of the most important yet troubling tenants of society. This quote opens up violence to justification, to nuance and to debate. Whilst we in this room may condemn stabbings and bombings within Israel, there is another side. In a way which is possibly similar to attacks of retaliation by pre-Palestine Jews, oppressed blacks in South Africa and civilian uprisings in the Arab Spring, debate must always have nuance and for any individual to be called a terrorist, others must applaud their actions.

Do our opinions in this discussion stem from an innate abhorrence to violence or do we ever support it for the greater good? Do we use the terms terrorist, freedom fighters and "self-defense" as absolute labels which we attribute to different sides of a disputation or are these terms in fact fluid?

Ultimately it was MK Zoabi who has said:

"Whoever stan

ds by a just cause cannot possibly be called a terrorist" Do you agree or disagree??

Additional Chomer

Our enemies called us terrorists. People who were neither friends nor enemies, like the correspondents of the New York Herald-Tribune, also used this Latin name, either under the influence of British propaganda or out of habit. Our friends, like the Irishman O'Reilly, preferred, as he wrote in his letter, to "get ahead of history" and called us by a simpler, though also a Latin name: patriots. General McMillan, who succeeded General Barker as G.O.C. of the Government's forces in Eretz Israel, thought that "terrorists" was too good for us. He claimed that it had acquired a certain aura of heroism; moreover, it implied that the terrorists aroused fear in the British troops. Therefore—the General ordered—they must not be called terrorists any longer, but "murderers," "thugs" and . . . McMillan added half-a-dozen more of the pleasant epithets from the vocabulary of the barrackroom. His order, however, did not make any difference. The British Press and the British troops continued to call us by the name which, in their General's opinion, suggested bravery on our part and fear on theirs. They called us "terrorists" to the end. No doubt there was a psychological explanation of this.

And yet, we were not terrorists. The original Latin word "terror" means fear. If I am not mistaken the term "terror" became current in political terminology during the French Revolution. The revolutionaries began cutting off heads with the guillotine in order to instil fear. Thenceforward the word "terror" came to define the acts of revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries, of fighters for freedom and oppressors. It all depends on who uses the term. It frequently happens that it is used by both sides in their mutual exchange of

pends on who uses the term. It frequently happens that it is used by both sides in their mutual exchange of compliments.

The historical and linguistic origins of the political term "terror" prove that it cannot be applied to a revolutionary war of liberation. A revolution may give birth to what we call "terror," as happened in France. Terror may at times be its herald, as happened in Russia. But the revolution, A revolution, or a revolutionary war, does not aim at instilling fear. Its object is to overthrow a regime and to set up a new regime in its place. In a revolutionary war both sides use force. Tyranny is wined. Otherwise it would be liquidated overnight. Ighters for freedom must arm; otherwise they would be crushed overnight. Certainly the use of force also wakens fear. Tyrannous rulers begin to fear for their positions, or their lives, or both. And consequently they try to sow fear among those they rule. But the instilling of fear is not an aim in itself. The sole aim on the one side is the overthrow of armed tyranny; on the other side it is the perpetuation of that tyranny.

The underground fighters of the Irgun arose to overthrow and replace a regime. We used physical force because we were faced by physical force. But physical force was neither our aim nor our creed. We believed in the supremacy of moral forces. It was our enemy who mocked at them. That is why, notwithstanding the enemy's tremendous preponderance in physical strength, he it was who was defeated, and not we. That is the law of history. We rejoiced at the opportunity to try to prove that this law operated not only in the century of idealism, the Nineteenth Century, but also in our own century of materialism and cruelty, not only in the "springtime of the nations" but also in their Fall. We were thankful that we were able to prove it, not only for our own people, but for humanity as a whole. But what has a struggle for the dignity of man, against oppression and subjugation, to do with "terrorism"? Our purpose, in fact, was precisely the

determination to free our people of its chief afflictionr. How could we continue to live in this hostile rld in which the Jew was attacked because he was a -how could we go on living without arms, without omeland, without elementary means of defence? We he Irgun Zvai Leumi arose therefore to rebel and t, not in order to instil fear but to eradicate it. The nition of that gallant Irishman, Paul O'Dwyer, was haps accurate as far as the nerves of the government rials were concerned. But historically we were not rorists." We were strictly speaking anti-terrorists.

What did Begin have to say about being labelled a terrorist...

Let's see how the World Wide Web defines terrorism:

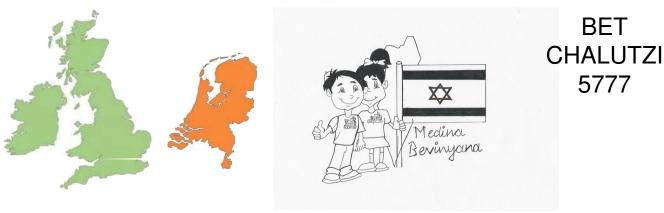
The unlawful use or threatened use of force or violence against people or property to coerce or intimidate governments or societies, often to achieve political, religious, or

- ideological objectives. (JCS Pub 1-02) www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/army/fm/100-20/10020gl.htm
- A criminal act that is undertaken with the purpose of achieving political gain. It may or may not be directed against a particular government, and it may or may not be statesponsored. Defining terrorism is a very controversial subject because of the differing motivations of those who practice it. As the old saying goes, "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."
 www.icons.umd.edu/pls/reslib/display_glossary
- Acts of murder and destruction deliberately directed against civilians or military in non-military situations.
 www.jafi.org.il/education/hasbara/glossary.html
- Any act including, but not limited to, the use of force or violence and/or threat thereof of any person or group(s) of persons whether acting alone or on behalf of, or in connection with, any organisation(s) or government(s) committed for political, religions, ideological or similar purposes, including the intention to influence any government and/or to put the public or any section of the public in fear.
 www.ecis.org/finance/paisdefin.htm
- "Systematic use of terror, manifesting itself in violence and intimidation. Terrorism has been used by groups wishing to coerce a govt in order to achieve political or other objectives, and also by dictatorships or other autocratic governments in order to overcome opposition to their policies."
 www.embassy.org.nz/encycl/t3encyc.htm
- the unlawful use of or threat of, violence against persons or property to further political or social objectives.
 www.saskschools.ca/curr_content/law30/international/internationalvocab/vocab.html
- refers to the use of violence against non-combatants for the purpose of achieving a
 political goal, on a scale smaller than full-scale warfare. Acts of terrorism can be
 perpetrated by individuals, groups, or states, as an alternative to an open declaration of
 war, and are often carried out by those who otherwise feel powerless. States that
 sponsor or engage in the use of violence against civilians use neutral or positive terms
 to describe their own combatants, such as freedom fighters, patriots, or paramilitaries.
 Click the link for more information. and spies
 encyclopedia.thefreedictionary.com/POWs
- the calculated use of violence (or threat of violence) against civilians in order to attain goals that are political or religious or ideological in nature; this is done through intimidation or coercion or instilling fear wordnet.princeton.edu/perl/webwn
- Terrorism refers to the use of violence for the purpose of achieving a political, religious, or ideological goal. The targets of terrorist acts can be government officials, military personnel, people serving the interests of governments, or civilians. Acts of terror against military targets tend to blend into a strategy of guerrilla warfare. According to one view, one person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter. Random violence against civilians (non-combatants) is the type of action en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism

K7-Hakamat Hamedina



- 1.To understand the factors leading to Hakamat Hamedina. What were they?
- 2. To identify how important each one was?



1. Factors leading to Hakamat Hamedina

What factors played a role in Hakamat Hamedina?

- 1. The Zionist movement.
- 2. Jewish settlement of the land the different aliyot.
- 3. The Holocaust, leading to...
 - i) Illegal immigration.
 - ii) Jewish resistance.
- 4. Diplomatic relations Balfour Declaration, Peel Commission, UN Resolution.

Zionism.

See previous Ks

Jewish settlement: the Aliyot.

In 1867, Mark Twain visited Palestine, a desolate country with only 20,000 Jews and said gloomily:

"There is not a solitary village throughout its whole extent-not for thirty miles in either direction. There are two or three small clusters of Bedouin tents, but not a single permanent habitation. One may ride ten miles hereabouts and not see ten human beings."

Before the state existed, SIX main Aliyot occurred; this shaped how the state developed. These people weren't the first to make Aliyah, but they were the first mass migration to Israel in nearly 2000 years.

"Well, I think I've made 44 films and only like four times I've played real characters. I'm just drawn to people who have a pioneer spirit, this extraordinary energy and commitment to their cause."

Liam Neeson

When reading about the next six Aliyot, think about whether people could be motivated by push and pull factors or whether it is anachronistic (not appropriate to the time) to think about early aliya

in these terms. Here is a contemporary Oleh (Gideon Bratt) to help you on your way:

When you ask the average oleh why they made Aliyah, they will probably answer that they made Aliyah because they are a lifelong

Zionist and that they feel at home in Israel. They may add they like the culture or even the weather. If religious, they may well also answer that the land of Israel is the homeland of the Jewish people, that it's the land where Tanach took place, and possibly that the modern state of Israel and the ingathering of exiles from four corners of the earth is a stage in the Jewish redemption.

All these are legitimate answers. Indeed, to varying degrees, I agree with all of them. There is, however, one overriding reason why I decided to make Aliyah.

Despite what you may have heard, Aliyah is really not so hard. There are, though, some significant challenges to overcome; leaving friends and family, and learning a new language to name just two. In order to make such challenges worthwhile, what is the thing that gets me through? What is the one overriding motivation to live in Israel?

For me that can be answered simply: to be a builder.

Now, before you start thinking of olim in hard hats wolf-whistling at passing women, let me explain.

The theme of Bet Chalutzi is 'medina bevinyana', a 'state in building'. You will teach your Chanichim about much of the pre-state history of Israel and the Jewish people in the 19th and 20th centuries. The early Zionist pioneers worked the land, developed agriculture and commerce, established the national institutions that were the precursor to the state. Post-1948, early Israeli leaders created the IDF, absorbed thousands of new immigrants and formed Israel's education system, transport networks and industry.

Their task, however, is far from over. Israel is, in global terms, still in its infant stages. There is a long way to go but it is now, in its youth, that we have the best opportunity to build Israel.

And that is, essentially, why I decided to live in Israel. It may not always be easy, but having the opportunity, both on an individual level and also as part of a wider nation, to influence the state, make it what we want it to be, what our prophets envisaged it to be, is our national mission.

And that mission (without wanting to sound preachy) can only be carried out in one place...

THE FIRST ALIYAH

1882-1903

At the end of the 19th century, small groups and individuals were the first pioneers to venture to Palestine. These individuals were mainly from movements such as Chibat Tzion, a movement in Russia, which encouraged Aliyah by teaching its members agriculture and settlement building. Another organisation was BILU (named made from the initials of Isaiah: 2:5 "House of Jacob, come let us go up."), whose aim was to bring about the political-economic, as well as spiritual-national revival of the Jewish people through settlement in Israel.

The first Aliya took place in two shifts, 1882 - 1884, and 1890 - 1891. 25,000 people went but unfortunately conditions were tough. Many suffered from climate related problems and illness from malarial swamps and many died. Furthermore, there was also a lot of hostility from the Ottoman's and tough economic problems.





However, despite this hardship rural settlements were built, 28 new moshavim had been set up and 90,000 acres of land had been purchased for urban settlements (including Jaffa/Yaffo). In 1901, the Jewish National Fund (JNF) was founded, whose objective was to purchase and

develop land. It acquired its first parcel of land (800 acres in Chadera) in the spring of 1903 and focused on greening the land through the planting of trees. The JNF got involved in tree planting for many reasons, taking its inspiration from the Torah...

"When you besiege a city for many days to wage war against it to seize it, do not destroy its trees by swinging an axe against them, for from it you will eat, and you shall not cut it down; is the tree of the field a man that it should enter the siege before you? Only a tree that you know is not a food tree, it you may destroy and cut down, and build a bulwark against the city that makes war with you, until it is conquered."

Devarim 20:19

'Pioneers are a special breed of people. They take the world as it exists and begin to transform it into what it could become'

-Udo Erasmus

THE SECOND ALIYA 1904 - 1914

The whole 'Uganda' proposal caused seemed to set back the settlement of the land of Israel, as did Herzl's early death. But there were more pioneers still to come. The Kishinev pogroms took place in Czarist Russia, and became a symbol in Jewish history as the first notorious pogrom of the 20th century as well as being a catalyst for the second aliya.

The Kishinev Pogrom began relatively 'innocuously' with the shattering of windows but quickly developed into an all-out attack upon 1,500 Jewish homes, shops and Jews themselves. The government administration and supporters favoured the pogroms and the police did nothing for 2 days. On the third day, life went back to normal. The Jews emerged from their hiding holes and walked the streets as they did before. As a result, self-defence was taught in all settlements and towns. This new paradigm became a part of everyday life and for this reason the Hashomer Watchmen's Association was established (1909 – 1920).

The Hebrew language had been reintroduced in the first aliya. Ben Yehuda had introduced the concept before that. By the second aliya, both Hebrew press and literature were in circulation.

The second aliya saw, all together, 40,000 people journey to Israel but was interrupted by the outbreak of WW1. 10,000 Jews died of illness and hunger, and many others left the country. The population dropped from 85,000 to 60,000. But development work and the growth of settlements still went on.



"A goal without a plan is just a wish."

-Antoine de Saint-Exupery

THE THIRD ALIYA 1919 - 1923



35,000 people made aliya as a direct response to two primary factors:

- The Bolshevik Revolution (Russia) 53% of immigrants
- Post war pogroms (Ukraine) 36% of immigrants

The Balfour declaration took place in 1917 and gave new encouragement and there were some who had come from America.

The third aliya expanded the map of Israel with many more kibbutzim and moshavim. JNF purchased land in the Jezebel Valley and 26,000 Jews settled there.

THE FOURTH ALIYA 1924 - 1928

67,000 new olim entered the land.

More middle-class people, primarily from Poland, entered Israel and they had occupations which included shopkeepers, tailors, etc. Economic sanctions had been



placed on Polish Jews and therefore this aliya was also known as the 'Grabinski Aliya' after the polish finance minister.

The new olim dwelt in towns, building up the coastal area. They invested their capital in factories, small hotels, restaurants shops and most of all in construction.

The population of Tel Aviv in 1922 was 13,000 and by 1925 it was 40,000!

In 1926 13,000 people arrived but after economic crisis more than half left. In 1927, 5,000 people left and only 2,300 arrived.

By 1928, 500,000 Arabs and 150,000 Jews lived in Palestine. JNF had increased Jewish ownership of land to 250,000 acres of land.

THE FIFTH ALIYA 1929 - 1939



There were a few people who made aliya in 1929 but numbers increased significantly following the rise to power of Hitler in 1933. 164,000 immigrated legally to Israel between 1933 and 1936 and thousands more entered illegally. Over ¼ were from Germany and Austria, and 80% of new settlers entered cities and towns.

The Haifa port was completed in 1933 and by this time Jerusalem was heavily populated. A lot of the olim that came into the country already practiced academic professions such as medicine. Even more kibbutzim and moshavim emerged.

In 1936 Arabs call general strikes against Jews and Britain, crops and trees that had been planted were destroyed. Jews decided on a policy of Havgala (self restraint). Britain restricted immigration to 80,000.

The fifth aliya was the beginning of the 'youth aliya'. 5,000 Jewish children were rescued from Eastern Europe from 1933).

THE SIXTH ALIYA 1940 - 1947

113,000 journeyed from Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungry and other European countries. The White Paper did not stop the new influx of olim, but a lot of them were illegal immigrants (also known as Ma'apilim).

The restriction from 1934 – 48 was called the Aliya Bet. When these Jews were escaping the Nazis and were caught entering Israel they were interned in Cyprus by the British Mandatory authorities. They were released and allowed into Israel in 1948.

At the end of 1947 303 Jewish settlements had been created and $\frac{1}{2}$ million acres of land belonged to the Jews.

Around the end of WWII the Jewish population stood at 475,000. By the time the state was established, there were 600,000 Jews living in Israel on a cultivated land. This state was not created by the politics of Ben Gurion, but rather by the blood and toil on the land of these chalutzim. Do you agree?

The Shoah

See K*

It's impossible for us to speculate why it was that the Holocaust took place. We cannot be so presumptuous as to claim to understand G-d's plan. As Iyov (Job) pul ידעתי, כּי-כל תוכל; ולא-יבצר ממך מזמה...לכן הגדתי, ולא אַבין:

יָדַעְוּנִי, כִּי-כֵּל וּנוּכָּל; וְלֹא-יִּבָּצֵר מִמְּךָ מְזִּמָּה...נָכַן הַגַּּדְוּנִי, וְלֹא אָבִין;יִּטּ נִפְּלָאוֹת מִמְּנִּי, וְלֹא אֵדָע. איוב מב:ב-ג

"I know that you can do everything, and that no purpose of yours can be thwarted...therefore I have uttered that which I did not understand."

It is difficult to deny that the Holocaust did play a role in the creation of the state of Israel.

The creation of Israel was the consequence of Jewish sufferings. We have used the image of the jigsaw puzzle to show how each necessary piece was slotted into place. As we have seen, the great eastern massacres of 1648 led to the return of a Jewish community to England, and so to America, thus in time producing the most influential Jewry in the world, an indispensable part of the geopolitical context in which Israel could be created. Again, the massacres of 1881 set in motion a whole series of events tending towards the same end. The immigration that produced was the background to the Dreyfus outrage, which led directly to Herzl's creation of modern Zionism. The movement of Jews set in motion by Russian oppression created the pattern of tension from which, in 1917, the Balfour Declaration emerged, and the League of Nations Palestine mandate was set up to implement it. Hitler's persecution of the Jews was the last in the series of catastrophes which helped make the Zionist state."

(A History of the Jews – by Paul Johnson)

But how did it lead to the establishment of the State of Israel?

The main problem after the War was finding a home for all the DP's (displaced persons – term used by the Allies for survivors in Europe with no home). The Jewish leaders, both in Palestine and around the world, imagined that, in view of their suffering during the war, and in view of the Jewish support for the Allies

during the war, the gates of Palestine would be thrown open to admit those few Jews who had survived the war in Europe.

To their horror, Britain stood by the White Paper of 1939. The Jews had been expected to be able to welcome its fellow Jews, but instead they were in a mood of utter frustration.

They, therefore, resorted to other tactics...

Illegal Immigration.

Since Britain was standing strong and not allowing the survivors of the Holocaust into Palestine, they decided to take matters into their





own hands. Even while the War was still in progress, the Jews had succeeded in evacuating a limited number of refugees from Hitler's Europe and smuggling them into Palestine. After the War the 'Illegal Immigration' was stepped up. It was known in Hebrew as *brichah* (fleeing) and was organised methodically. What started as a trickle during the war now became a flood. The entire operation had to be carried out in secret, because the British despatched agents to seek out these vessels and inform the local authorities of the 'illegal' activities. When they discovered a boat, it was intercepted and boarded, then taken to the Palestine port of Haifa where the Jewish refugees were taken off and sent to internment camps in Cyprus. Often, considerable force was used against them, and unfortunately the officers and men sometimes resorted to brutality to overcome resistance.

The best known case is that of the ship Exodus which brought 4,500 survivors, those aboard were not allowed to disembark, and the ship was sent back to Germany. This saga was followed with astonishment all round the world and was very embarrassing for Britain.

When discussing the holocaust and Israel's establishment we are treading into murky waters. If we were to claim that Israel's establishment was caused due to the Holocaust, we end potentially justifying the holocaust, which would be outrageous. Furthermore, factually it is on shaky grounds historically. On one hand the decimation of European Jewry led to fewer potential migrants. This led to the question of a Jewish Majority within Palestine. Furthermore, the process of independence was already quite far down the line, surely the declaration was inevitable.

... After three decades of Zionism in Palestine, there was still no clear timetable for the Jewish state, but no doubts remained that Jewish independence was on the horizon. The social, political, economic and military foundations of the state to-be were firm, and a profound sense of national unity prevailed. The Zionist

dream was about to become a reality. There is therefore no basis for the frequent assertion that the state was established as a result of the Holocaust...." (Tom Segev in "One Palestine Complete" pp 490-491) The Holocaust may well have sped up the process due to international sympathy at the time, but it is quite likely that the state would have been declared regardless. (See extra chomer for more on this)

Jewish Resistance

(See K7) The Jews of Palestine responded in another way to Britain's closed door policy. They set up underground resistance movements which attempted to destroy British military targets. The British reinforced their troops stationed in Palestine, but this did not stop the attacks from continuing. The morale of the British troops plummeted and this together with the universal



criticism over the Exodus affair and the world learning more and more about the gruesome details of the Holocaust, put more pressure on Britain to pull out of Israel all together. This pressure came most heavily from the United Kingdom as more and more British were being killed in Israel. **The British finally gave up, returning the Mandate for Palestine to the United Nations in 1947.**

These factors, combined with pre-existing efforts, led to the founding of the State of Israel in 1948 – just three years after World War II ended. "The First World War made the Zionist state possible. The Second World War made it essential." Just as Herzl had predicted years before, the Jews needed a homeland they could call their own. Unfortunately, it took the Holocaust to make the Jews themselves and the rest of the world realise just how true this was.

Diplomatic Relations.

See K5 for Balfour Declaration etc.

After the British renounced the Palestine Mandate, control of Palestine was handed over temporarily to the United Nations to find a more permanent solution to the problem. On May 15, 1947 the UN appointed a committee, UNSCOP (United Nations Special Committee On Palestine), composed of representatives from eleven states.

After spending three months conducting hearings and general survey of the situation in Palestine, UNSCOP officially released its report on August 31 and recommend the creation of two states, one Jewish and one Arab, in Palestine. The plan was approved by the United Nations on November 29, 1947, known as the Partition Plan.

So there you have it, hakamat hamedina in brief (majorly brief!).

So which factor do you think was most important in bringing about the state of Israel?

'The state was inevitably going to come about, the question was just when.'
Is this statement true?

Extra Chomer

It's Wrong to Suggest Israel Was Direct Result of Holocaust

Moshe Arens 02.02.2010 02:17

Updated: 8:10 AM

Obama exposed his ignorance regarding Zionist movement's history in his Cairo speech last year.

The United Nations has declared the day the Auschwitz death camp was liberated as International Holocaust Memorial Day. It was only appropriate that Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, was invited to address the ceremonies commemorating the 65th anniversary of the liberation by the Red Army of that place of horrors. In the minds of some, the establishment of the State of Israel is linked to the Holocaust, or even seen as a direct result of the Holocaust. U.S. President Barack Obama, probably unaware of the history of the Zionist movement, implied as much in his speech in Cairo last year.

But the truth is almost the exact opposite. The extermination by the Germans of six million Jews during World War II came close to putting an end to the

dream of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine. The reservoir of Jewish immigrants to Palestine was decimated. Vladimir Jabotinsky, in his testimony before the Peel Commission in London on February 11, 1937, spoke of the aim of Zionism as the establishment of a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan River in which there would be room for "the Arab population and their progeny and many millions of Jews." At that time, the Jewish population of Palestine was no more than 400,000.

By the time the war had ended, millions of Jews had been exterminated in Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek, Sobibor and the killing fields of Russia. To Zionist leaders, it became clear that not only were there not enough Jews to constitute a solid Jewish majority, which was the condition for establishing a Jewish state, on both sides of the Jordan River, but that Jewish immigration would not even suffice to establish such a majority in the entire area west of the Jordan.

It was the mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, who grasped the full potential of the destruction of European Jewry for ending Zionist aspirations, and therefore allied himself with Hitler. Arab leaders in Egypt and Iraq similarly found good reason to hope for Hitler's victory. Yet after the war, the Yishuv (the Jewish community in pre-Palestine) and the remnants of European Jewry, who overcame British efforts to block their way to Palestine, had enough vitality and strength to bring about the establishment of the State of Israel in part of the territory that the League of Nations had originally mandated to Britain for the establishment of a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan River.

In Israel, we commemorate the Holocaust every year on the day the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt began. It is significant that we pay homage to the Jews of Europe who were exterminated on the day the Jewish survivors in the Warsaw Ghetto rose up to fight the Germans and their Ukrainian henchmen. It was the first uprising against the German conqueror in Europe.

The Warsaw ghetto fighters knew they had no chance of defeating the far superior German forces. They received neither help nor encouragement from Washington, London or Moscow. It was only a year later, after the Germans had laid waste to the ghetto and killed and deported the remaining inhabitants, that the world began to appreciate the full significance of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising.

Today, it is seen as an integral part of the history of World War II. It is a lasting testimony to the few hundred courageous youngsters who dared to challenge the German conqueror. Although defeated in the ghetto, their victory is written in the pages of history.

It was on the eve of the uprising, on April 18, 1943, that Leon Rodal, Pawel Frenkel's deputy in the Betar-led resistance, the Jewish Military Organization,

said to Ryszard Walewski, who with a group of his fighters had joined Frenkel's organization: "We will all fall here. Some in battle, weapons in hand, and others as vain victims ... Maybe someday, after many years, when the history of the struggle against the Nazi conqueror is written, we will be remembered, and, who knows, we will become like small Judea that fought mighty Rome in its day, the symbol of man's spirit that cannot be suppressed, whose essence is the fight for freedom, for the right to live, and the right to exist."

read more: http://www.haaretz.com/it-s-wrong-to-suggest-israel-was-direct-result-of-holocaust-1.262586

K8 -In defense of Israel



Israel's wars. What were they? How did they affect Israel?

The IDF.

Our Fight - Modern Anti-Semetism





BET CHALUTZI 5777 Independence Day, the TV stations in Israel screen the name of every soldier who has fallen for the country. A name flashes on the screen for a second or two, then the next name appears. You go to bed, you get up, the names are still flashing. It takes 24 hours. That's how they observe Memorial Day"

Chief of Staff Leo McGarry - The West Wing

The War of Independence

November 1947

Mediterranean Sea

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On 29 November 1947, the UN passed the Partition Plan (see left). The next day the Arabs declared war upon the Jewish Yishuv. Six months before a Jewish state was officially declared, the War for Independence had begun. The Arab forces of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon were significantly larger than Israel's and were better equipped. Yet, coordination and organisation were lacking and the Arab armies were often at odds with each other, seeking to incorporate territory from Palestine into their own states. Despite their small numbers, the Jews were well organised, well disciplined and well trained.

The war was marked by long periods of fighting and temporary cease-fires. Fighting officially ended in January 1949, at which time Israel held the 5,600

square miles allotted to it by the UN partition plan, plus an additional 2,500 square miles. Transjordan held east Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria and Egypt held the Gaza strip.

From January to July 1949, armistice agreements were signed with Egypt, Lebanon, Jordan and Syria based on the frontlines as they were at the end of the fighting. These lines created the borders of the new state (see right) and Israel hoped that the armistice agreements would lead to official Arab-Israel peace treaties.

The Arab states, however, refused to recognise Israel's existence and remained in a state of war with the Jewish state. They continued their boycott of the Jewish state, which was instituted by the Arab League in 1945, which prohibited all Arab peoples from conducting business both with Israel and with other companies who do business with Israel. They also embarked on a campaign to isolate the Jewish state in the

international community. The Arab states provided little help to Palestinians who became refugees after the war.

Only Jordan offered Palestinian Arabs citizenship. Refugee camps were set up and maintained primarily by the UN and other international relief organisations.

The Sinai Campaign

October 1956

In the early 1950s, Egypt violated the terms of the Egyptian-Israeli armistice agreement and blocked Israeli ships from passing through the Suez Canal, a major international waterway. It also began to block traffic through the Straits of Tiran, a narrow passage of water linking the Israeli port of Eilat to the Red Sea. This action effectively cut off the port of Eilat - Israel's sole outlet to the Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Closure of

the Suez Canal and the Tiran Straits damaged Israel's trade with Asia, for it meant that foreign ships carrying goods bound for Israel and Israeli ships carrying goods bound for the Far East had to travel a long and costly circuitous route to the Atlantic and Israel's Mediterranean ports.

At the same time, Palestinian Arab *fedayeen* launched cross-border infiltrations and attacks on Israeli civilian centers and military outposts from Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Israel hoped that its harsh reprisals would compel Arab governments to restrain infiltrators from entering Israel. In 1955 alone, 260 Israeli citizens were killed or wounded by fedayeen.

Fedayeen (meaning 'freedom fighters' in Arabic) is a term used to describe several distinct, primarily Arab, militant groups that are not connected to an organized government or military. They are usually deployed for a cause where the government has been viewed as having failed. They are associated with the role of resistance against occupation or tyranny. During the 1940s, the fedayeen were a group of civilians that volunteered to combat the British occupation of Egyptian land around the Suez Canal.

In July 1956, Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, threatening British and French interests in oil supplies and western trade. Israel, along with Britain and France, decided to plan an attack on Egypt with 3 main aims:

- 1. Destroy the 'Fedayeen' bases in the Gaza Strip and on the Sinai Border
- 2. Prevention of an Egyptian attack on Israel by destroying their airfields in Sinai
- 3. Opening the Gulf of Eilat to Israeli shipping

On October 29, 1956, Israel began its assault on Egyptian military positions, joined by France and Britain on October 31. They captured the whole of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula, which remained in their hands until November 5.

Although the operation was a brilliant military success, it was a diplomatic disaster. The UN Security Council denounced the attack and Britain and France quickly withdrew their troops. The U.S. also voiced strong opposition to the joint attack and pressured Israel to withdraw from Egyptian territory. Egypt was recognised as the legal owner of the canal and Israel was forced to withdraw her troops from the Sinai. A UN peace force would patrol the Israeli-Egyptian border to prevent fedayeen attacks, and UN troops were

posted at Sharm el-Sheikh to guarantee free passage of Israeli ships through the Straits of Tiran. The Suez Canal remained closed to Israeli shipping.

The Six-Day War

June 1967

In May 1967, Egypt and Syria took a number of steps that led Israel to believe that an Arab attack was imminent. On May 16, Nasser ordered a withdrawal of the UN forces stationed on the Egyptian-Israeli border that had been there since 1957. On May 22, Egypt announced a blockade of all goods bound to and from Israel through the Straits of Tiran. Syria increased border clashes with Israel along the Golan Heights



and mobilized its troops. Nasser and other Egyptian leaders also began to intensify their anti-Israel rhetoric and repeatedly called for a war of total destruction against Israel.

Arab mobilization compelled Israel to mobilize its troops, 80 percent of which were reserve civilians.

Militarily, Israeli leaders feared the consequences of absorbing an Arab first strike against its civilian population, many of whom lived only miles from Arab-controlled territory. Against this background, Israel launched a pre-emptive strike against Egypt:

Egyptian Front:

June 5th: 7am. Israel decides to act pre-emptively. Based on excellent intelligence Israeli pilots destroy 416 Egyptian aircraft (393 never got off the

ground). Ground forces then attacked Egyptian positions in Sinai and Gaza.

June 8th: **1pm**. Russians propose a truce in the Sinai to which both sides agree. 7 divisions had been crushed by an Israeli force of half the size and Sinai and Gaza was in Israeli hands

Jordanian Front:

PM Levi Eshkol sent a message to King Hussein saying that if Jordan stayed out of the war Israel would not attack.

Deceived by false Egyptian reports of victory in the Sinai and 'Tel Aviv in flames', they reject the offer and start shelling West Jerusalem and the outskirts of Tel Aviv.

June 6th. Israel responds to shelling by capturing East Jerusalem and the Old City, including Har HaBayit. On the same day the Jordanian front collapsed and the entire block of Yehuda and Shomron fell into Israeli hands. Jerusalem is officially annexed.

June 8th. Ceasefire operative

Syrian Front:

Syria was also deceived by Arab propaganda and it continued shelling the Galil.

June 10th. Israel captures the entire Golan Heights and ends the war. In six days Israel had more than tripled her size, but had lost 777 soldiers with 2,586 wounded. Egypt alone had lost almost 15,000 men.

The Yom Kippur War

October 1973



In an effort to force Israel to unilaterally surrender captured lands, Egypt and Syria jointly attacked Israel on October 6, 1973, Yom Kippur. Other Arab states contributed troops and financial support. Caught by surprise, Israel suffered severe losses in human life and equipment. Following an Egyptian refusal to accept a cease-fire and a Soviet airlift to the Arab states, the US sent an airlift to Israel enabling her to recover from earlier setbacks.

Following a cease-fire, the war officially ended on October 22, 1973 but fighting continued on the Egyptian-Israeli front and when hostilities finally ended, Israel held an additional 165 square miles of territory from Syria, and had encircled the Egyptian Third Army on the west bank of the Suez Canal. Egyptian forces held two areas of Israeli territory along the east bank of the canal. Israel, Egypt and Syria all held prisoners of war.

In late December, at the request of the Soviet Union, a Middle East peace conference opened in Geneva. Insisting that Israel first evacuate from territory gained during the war, Syria refused to attend. The conference quickly adjourned in failure.

U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger then successfully coordinated troop disengagement agreements (<u>not</u> peace treaties) between Israel and Egypt in January 1974 and between Israel and Syria in May 1974. Israel withdrew from all the area it had acquired from Syria during the 1973 war in addition to some areas gained in 1967. The Egyptian-Israeli agreement called for Israeli withdrawal from parts of the Sinai. Prisoners of war were exchanged and the Arab world ended its oil embargo (started during the war).

Impact of the war

On a tactical level, the end of the war saw Israel with territorial gains in the Golan Heights and the encirclement of the Egyptian third army. However, the Arab side had succeeded in surprising Israeli both strategically and tactically. A report later stated: "From a purely military point of view, the first and most important Arab success was the strategic and tactical surprise achieved. While this was aided to no small degree by mistakes made by Israeli Intelligence and the political and military leadership in Israel, the bulk of the credit must go to the highly sophisticated deception plan mounted by the Egyptians. This deception must be marked as one of the outstanding plans of deception mounted in the course of military history." For the Arab states (and Egypt in particular), the psychological trauma of their defeat in the Six-Day War had been healed. In many ways, it allowed them to negotiate with the Israelis as equals. The war also had a strong effect on the population in Israel. Following their victory in the Six-Day War, the Israeli military had

become complacent and shock and sudden defeats that occurred at the beginning of the Yom Kippur War sent a terrible psychological blow to the Israelis, who had thought they had military supremacy in the region. The casualty rate was also high. Per capita, Israel suffered three times as many casualties in 3 weeks of fighting as the United States did during almost a decade of fighting in Vietnam.

The Agranat Commission

Could Israel have seen this coming? When else has a similar complacency led to national defeat?? Hint: SEFER YEHOSHUA. Yay! Tanach time!!

Anger against the Israeli government (and Dayan in particular) was high and Shimon Agranat, President of the Israeli Supreme Court, was asked to lead an inquiry, the Agranat Commission, into the events leading up to the war and the setbacks of the first few days. The Committee sat for 140 sessions, during which they listened to the testimony of 58 witnesses.

The Agranat Commission published its preliminary findings on April 2 1974 and placed the onus of responsibility for Israel's failings on Chief of Staff David Elazar, the Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Command the Chief of the Souther Command the Chief of the Souther Command the Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Command the Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Command the Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Command the Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Command the Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Command the Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of The Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Souther Chief of The Ch

June 1982

Brief History of Lebanon

Part of the Ottoman Empire until 1918, when it became part of the French Mandate of Syria. It was largely Christian, with a few Druze and Muslims.

It gained independence in 1943 and took part in the War of Independence in 1948.

Civil war broke out in 1975, whose roots lay in the complicated and diverse sectors within the country. The influx of Palestinian refugees between 1948 and 1970 coupled with the existence of 3 main societal factions, the Maronite Christians, Shiite Muslims and Sunni Muslims, led to the outbreak of a conflict. The Syrian Government has a strong influence over Lebanon.

After the events of Black September (1970), which resulted in the expulsion of the PLO from Jordan, it established itself in Southern Lebanon.

In Lebanon, the fragile state of no-war/no-peace, in place since 1973, began to break down as the PLO strengthened its mini-state in Lebanon, established PLO military training centres, and escalated artillery attacks on civilians in northern Israel. Israelis were forced to spend long periods of time in bomb shelters.

The First Lebanon War

The attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London on June 3, 1982, prompted Israel to attack PLO targets in Lebanon. Defence minister Ariel Sharon devised "Operation Peace for Galilee," a plan for a limited invasion of 25 miles into Lebanon to wipe out PLO positions in southern Lebanon and thus safeguard Israel's population in northern Israel. Broader aims of the operation included the complete eradication of the PLO's military, political and economic hold over Lebanon, evicting Syrian forces from Lebanon, and facilitating the creation of a Christian-dominated Lebanon, able to form a peace treaty with Israel.

On June 6, Israeli ground troops began their advance into Lebanon and quickly overran PLO positions in the south. Israel went on to

lay siege to the PLO in West Beirut leading

to a PLO surrender and agreement to evacuate Lebanon.

On August 23, Bashir Gemayel, a Maronite Christian, was elected the President of Lebanon, giving hope for a future Lebanese-Israeli peace treaty. A multinational peacekeeping force arrived in Lebanon in order to supervise the departure of the PLO and PLO headquarters were transferred to Tunisia.

Israel achieved its aims only in part. The PLO state-within-a-state was indeed dismantled, however Syria remained in 35% of Lebanon and the Christian-dominated Lebanese government was not strong enough either to conclude a peace treaty with Israel or to bring stability to a divided and conflict-ridden country.

In June 1985, Israel withdrew from Lebanon, except for forces stationed in a security zone (a strip of land 3 to 5 miles wide along the length of the Lebanese-Israeli border). Over the years, the zone shielded Israeli civilian settlements in northern Israel from cross-border attacks and prevented terrorist infiltrating the country, however it also cost Israel the lives of many of its soldiers. In 1999 Ehud Barak pulled troops out of the security zone.

The second Lebanon war.

This war was a military conflict in Lebanon and northern Israel, primarily between Hezbollah paramilitary forces and the Israeli military. It started on 12 July 2006, and continued until a UN brokered ceasefire went into effect on 14 August 2006, though it formally ended on 8th September 2006 when Israel lifted their naval blockade of Lebanon.

The Conflict began when Hezbollah fired Katyusha rockets and mortars at Israeli military positions and border villages, diverting attention from another Hezbollah unit that crossed the border and kidnapped two Israeli soldiers (Ehud Goldwasser and Eldad Regev) and killed three others. Israeli troops attempted unsuccessfully to rescue the abducted soldiers, losing five more in the attempt. Israel responded with massive air strikes and artillery fire on Lebanese civilian infrastructure, including Rafik Hariri International Airport, which Israel said Hezbollah used to import weapons, an air and naval blockade, and a ground invasion of southern Lebanon. Hezbollah in turn launched rockets into northern Israel and engaged the IDF in guerrilla warfare from harden positions.

The conflict killed over 1,400 people, most of whom were Lebanese civilians, severely damaged Lebanese infrastructure, displaced about 900,000 Lebanese and 300,000 Israelis and disrupted normal life across all of Lebanon and northern Israel. Even after the ceasefire 256,000 Lebanese remained internally displaced and much of Southern Lebanon remained uninhabitable due to unexploded cluster bombs.

On 11th August 2006 the UN Security Council unanimously approved UN Resolution 1701 in an effort to end the hostilities. The resolution, which was approved by both, the Lebanese and Israeli governments in the following days called for the disarming of Hezbollah for Israel to withdraw and the deployment of the Lebanese soldiers and an enlarged UN force in Lebanon UNIFIL in southern Lebanon. The Lebanese army began deploying in southern Lebanon on 17 August 2006. The blockade was lifted on 8th September 2006.

On October 1st most Israeli troops withdrew form Lebanon through the last of the troops continued to occupy the border straddling the village of Ghajar until December 3rd 2006.

The Final chapter

On July 16 2008, the final chapter in the second Lebanon war was written, with the prisoner exchange that took place...

An interesting question arises from this war...should we put soldiers' lives at risk in order to save other soldiers?

2. Todays wars.

Operation Cast Lead, Israel's most recent significant engagement is not considered to be a war. Militarily its success is questionable, however around the Middle East and much of the world it is considered as a failure. Why? How have the conceptual frameworks shifted in today's world to make a war more than just what happens on the field of battle. What is the significance of pictures like this...



Operation Pillar of Defence

As with most wars, both parties blame the other side for the commencement. Israel blames the start on a requirement to retaliate following over a 100 missiles aimed at the south of Israel, the attack on an Israel Jeep inside Israeli borders, an IED explosion and tunnelling. Hamas claim that these actions on their part were themselves a reaction to blockades and the continued occupation. Across the 8-day operation, Israel hit over 1500 sites in air strikes including rocket launch pads, government depots, weapon caches and apartment blocks. Whilst there were many Palestinian casualties during the war, some of them were caused by misfiring Palestinian rockets and for "collaboration" with Israel. Nearly 1500 projectiles (of which 142 landed in Gaza) were fired into Israel, including Iranian-made Fajr-5, Russian-made Grad rockets, Qassams, and mortars. Cities across in Israel were targeted including Jerusalem and for the first time since 1991, the Tel-Aviv region was hit. Furthermore, there was a bus bombing in Tel-Aviv injuring 28 which was linked to the war. This was the time period where the Iron Dome really came into effect as it intercepted 421 rockets. Canada, Germany, the United Kingdom, the United States, and other Western countries expressed support for what they considered Israel's right to defend itself, or condemned the Hamas rocket attacks on Israel whereas China, Iran, Russia, Egypt, Turkey, and several other Arab and Muslim countries condemned the Israeli operation. After days of negotiations between Hamas and Israel, a ceasefire mediated by Egypt was announced on 21 November with both sides claiming victory.

OPERATION PROTECTIVE EDGE - מבצע צוק איתן

Operation Protective Edge was a military operation carried out by the IDF against Hamas in the Gaza strip in the summer of 2014. Israel launched the operation on July 7, after an escalation of rocket fire upon Israeli towns and cities. According to the IDF, 450 rockets were fired from Gaza onto the South of Israel from the beginning of 2014 until the beginning of the operation.

On June 12, 2014 three Israeli teenagers – Naftali Frankel, Gilad Shaer, and Eyal Yiftach were kidnapped. Israel blamed Hamas and claimed they had unequivocal evidence to prove it. While Hamas applauded the kidnapping, they neither assumed nor denied responsibility for the kidnapping. On June 13, Israel opened Operation Brother's Keeper – a large scale crackdown on Hamas infrastructure in the West Bank – in order to track down the missing boys, whose wellbeing was unknown. Included in this operation were attacks against Hamas targets in Gaza. On June 30, the bodies of the three boys were found near Chevron.

On July 1 the boys were buried in Modiin. That day, IAF struck 34 Hamas targets in the Gaza strip in response to over 20 rockets fired onto Southern Israel. That night (between July 1-2), 16 year old Arab boy, Mohammed Abu Khadir was kidnapped and according to autopsy was beaten and burned alive – by a group of Israeli men.

These events contributed to the escalation of violence leading to Operation Protective Edge.

On July 14 Egypt announced a ceasefire that was supported by PA president Mahmoud Abbas, which was accepted by Israel but rejected by Hamas who continued the rocket bombardment. On July 17, at approximately 4:30am, IDF intercepted a cell of thirteen terrorists invading Israel through tunnels from the Gaza strip. Between 10:00am-3:00pm a UN brokered Humanitarian Ceasefire was initiated. During this time, Hamas fired at least three mortars into Israel and at least four rockets were fired at Beer Sheva; as the ceasefire expired the rocket-fire escalated. The IDF opened a ground offence within the Gaza Strip.

On July 26 another Humanitarian Ceasefire was brokered by the UN; this one for twelve hours. Israel extended this unilaterally for an additional four-hours, and was met by Hamas rocket-fire in this time. Despite this, Israel announced it would extend the ceasefire by an additional 24-hours, during which time it continued uprooted Hamas terror-tunnels into Israel.

On August 1 Ban Ki-Moon and John Kerry brokered a 72-hour ceasefire that was mutually accepted by Hamas and Israel. Shortly after the ceasefire took affect at 8:00am, Hamas fired rockets into Israel and attacked an Israeli position involved in uprooting Hamas tunnels, killing two soldiers and taking one – Hadar Goldin – hostage. Eitan Fund chased after Goldin and was able to determine his death, but was unsuccessful in retrieving him.

Hamas claims that attack occurred before the ceasefire was in effect. Goldin's body remains in Hamas custody until today.

On August 3, IDF pulled most of its ground troops out of Gaza. Despite this, Hamas rocket-fire on Southern Israel and IAF fire on Gaza continued. On August 5 IDF pulled out its remaining ground troops from Gaza, and claimed that it had succeeded in dismantling Hamas' tunnel network. A 72-hour ceasefire began.

After several more partially-successful ceasefires, on August 26 Hamas and the Islamic Jihad accepted the Egyptian brokered ceasefire which was to last for one-month, and signified the end of the operation. Both Israel and Hamas declared victory.

Over 2100 Arabs were killed in Operation Protective Edge, between 35-70% were civilians (according to various reports) including approximately 500 children. Mahmoud Abbas has adopted the militant to civilian casualty ratio of 1:2. Palestinian officials estimate that some 17,000 homes in Gaza were destroyed with another 13,000 partially damaged, and the estimated cost of damage approximately \$7.8 billion.

According to the IDF, over 4500 rockets were fired at Israel from Gaza during the operation, killing 7 civilians (including 1 Thai civilian) with over 1,000 injured or treated for shock. 64 IDF soldiers were killed and 1,620 were injured. 735 rockets were intercepted by Israel's Iron Dome and an addition 188 failed to reach Israeli territory (some landed in Gaza causing damage or casualties). 32 Hamas tunnels were destroyed, including 14 which were open on the Israeli side.



Unfortunately, for Israel to survive in the face of its enemies it needs to fight and ultimately soldiers will be killed. War is generally seen as unnecessary and barbaric, but beneath all the horrors and bloodshed, can anything good come out of war? What does Religious Zionism have to say about the wars of Israel? How are the different wars viewed by Religious Zionism?

4. The IDF.

MISSION STATEMENT

"To defend the existence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the state of Israel. To protect the inhabitants of Israel and to combat all forms of terrorism which threaten the daily life."

BASIC VALUES

Defense of the State, its Citizens and its Residents - The IDF's goal is to defend the existence of the State of Israel, its independence and the security of the citizens and residents of the state.

Love of the Homeland and Loyalty to the Country - At the core of service in the IDF stand the love of the homeland and the commitment and devotion to the State of Israel-a democratic state that serves as a national home for the Jewish People-its citizens and residents.

Human Dignity - The IDF and its soldiers are obligated to protect human dignity. Every human being is of value regardless of his or her origin, religion, nationality, gender, status or position.

MAIN DOCTRINE

Israel cannot afford to lose a single war
Desire to avoid war by political means and a credible deterrent posture
Defensive on the strategic level, no territorial ambitions
Preventing escalation
Determine the outcome of war quickly and decisively
Combating terrorism
Very low casualty ratio

Is it only an Israeli army or a Jewish army as well? (raid of Entebbe is in the extra chomer, but there is a whole T dedicated to it)

Our Fight - Modern Anti-Semetism

Over the past year, the Labour party has dipped into turmoil regarding anti-Semetic tendancies, which has led to a full blown investigation which Labour have not come out of positively. The whole investigation has faced many criticisms, one being that criticising Israel, is not anti-Semitism. As a result, it is worthwhile to try to define anti-Semitism and what is and isn't acceptable to say.

- 1. Reframing traditional anti-Semitism To begin with, substituting the word for Jew in traditional rhetoric, for Zionist (or "Zio" for that matter), is certainly something questionable. We have heard terms such as the "Zionist Media" and the claim of a "Zionist Outpost" (shout out to our friend at the NUS Malia Bouattia for that one) and both of these simply seem like a replacement of the word Jew for Zionist.
- 2. Criticising Israel this in itself should not be considered anti-Semitic and should be in the spirit of a democracy. To be a Zionist doesn't mean to support Israel unequivocally, no matter what. We should and must, discuss Israel with integrity and honesty and to critic and to praise in rightful measures. That being said is there a point where this could cross over into anti-Semitism?
 Natan Sharansky when head of the Jewish agency certainly believed so. He claimed that criticising Israel becomes anti-Semitism when any of these three conditions aren't met;

"The first "D" is the test of demonization. When the Jewish state is being demonized; when Israel's actions are blown out of all sensible proportion; when comparisons are made between Israelis and Nazis and between Palestinian refugee camps and Auschwitz - this is anti-Semitism, not legitimate criticism of Israel. (See Jeremy Corbyn in extra Chomer)

The second "D" is the test of double standards. When criticism of Israel is applied selectively; when Israel is singled out by the United Nations for human rights abuses while the behaviour of known and major abusers, such as China, Iran, Cuba, and Syria, is ignored; when Israel's Magen David Adom, alone among the world's ambulance services, is denied admission to the International Red Cross - this is anti-Semitism.

The third "D" is the test of delegitimization: when Israel's fundamental right to exist is denied - alone among all peoples in the world - this too is anti-Semitism"

Do we agree with Sharansky's three D test?

- 3. George Gallaway Any debate?
- 4. Anti-Zionism this is a point that is in part the third D of Sharansky's 3D test, but deserves its own point. If Zionism simply means the belief in the right of Jewish self-determination, then being 'anti-Zionist' does not mean criticising Israeli policy, it means denying the simple right of Jewish self-determination in their national and historic homeland! This was the fundamental issue in Naz Shah MP's facebook post (it must be said that she has apologised and recanted her statement).



So this brings us to the fundamental question, what are we to do? How do we fight this battle of words, a battle which has become sadly important once again, do we study it academically or do we take a stand? If we do take a stand, how do we take a stand?

Things to think about...

War. What is it good for? Absolutely nothing...?? What is the effect on Society of having a nation of soldiers?

Can an army ever be truly ethical and maintain a high moral standard for its soldiers?

1976: Israelis rescue Entebbe hostages

Israeli commandos have rescued 100 hostages, mostly Israelis or Jews, held by pro-Palestinian hijackers at Entebbe airport in Uganda.

At about 0100 local time (2200GMT), Ugandan soldiers and the hijackers were taken completely by surprise when three Hercules transport planes landed after a 2,500-mile trip from Israel.

About 200 elite troops ran out and stormed the airport building.

During a 35-minute battle, 20 Ugandan soldiers and all seven hijackers died along with three hostages.

The leader of the assault force, Lieutenant Colonel Yonatan Netanyahu, was also shot dead by a Ugandan sentry.

The Israelis destroyed 11 Russian-built MiG fighters, which amounted to a quarter of Uganda's air force.

The surviving hostages were then flown to Israel with a stopover in Nairobi, Kenya, where some of the injured were treated by Israeli doctors and at least two transferred to hospital there.



Speaking at the Israeli Knesset (parliament) this afternoon, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin who ordered the raid said: "This operation will certainly be inscribed in the annals of military history, in legend and in national tradition."

Air France plane seized

The crisis began on 27 June, when four militants seized an Air France flight, flying from Israel to Paris via Athens, with 250 people on board.

The hijackers - two from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and two from Germany's Baader-Meinhof gang - diverted the plane to Entebbe, where it arrived on 28 June.

The hijackers - who were joined by three more colleagues - demanded the release of 53 militants held in jails in Israel and four other countries.

Uganda's President and dictator Idi Amin arrived at the airport to give a speech in support of the PFLP and supplied the hijackers with extra troops and weapons.

On 1 July, the hijackers released a large number of hostages but continued to hold captive the remaining 100 passengers who were Israelis or Jews.

Those who were freed were flown to Paris and London.

Among them were British citizens George Good, a retired accountant and Tony Russell, a senior GLC official, who arrived in London on Friday.

The crew was offered the chance to go but chose to stay with the plane. The remaining hostages were transferred to the airport building.

The hijackers then set a deadline for 1100GMT for their demands to be met or they would blow up the airliner and its passengers. But their plan was foiled by the dramatic Israeli raid.

On the night of July 23, 2006, an Israeli aircraft intentionally fired missiles at and struck two Lebanese Red Cross ambulances performing rescue operations, causing huge explosions that injured everyone inside the vehicles. Or so says the global media, including *Time* magazine, the BBC, the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and thousands of other outlets around the world. If true, the incident would have been an egregious and indefensible violation of the Geneva

Convention, and would constitute a war crime committed by the state of Israel.

But there's one problem: It never happened.

Of all the exposés and scandals surrounding the media's coverage of the Israel-Hezbollah conflict in Lebanon, **The Red Cross Ambulance Incident** stands out as the most serious. The other exposés were spectacular in their simplicity (photographers staging scenes, clumsy attempts at Photoshopping images), but often concerned fairly trivial details. What does it matter whether there was a **big** cloud of smoke over Beirut, or a **really big** cloud of smoke, as one notorious doctored photograph showed? The *fact* that the media was lying was indeed extremely important, and justified the publicity surrounding the exposés -- but what they were lying *about* was often minor, a slight fudging of the visuals to exaggerate the damage.

The ambulance incident, however, was anything but trivial. The media accused Israel of the most heinous type of war crime: intentionally targeting neutral ambulances which were attempting to rescue innocent victims. If true -- and it is almost universally accepted as true -- then Israel would lose any claim to moral superiority in the conflict. The commanders who ordered the strike should be brought up on war-crimes charges. As it is, the worldwide outcry over Israel's purported malfeasances grew so strident that the country was pressured into a ceasefire. The media's depictions of Israel's actions so influenced public opinion that Israel felt compelled to end the fighting right at the moment it was starting to gain the upper hand. And as a result, Hezbollah has now claimed victory.

The Red Cross Ambulance Incident was perhaps the most damning of all the evidence against Israel, and the most morally indefensible. Other incidents were open to debate: in those cases where Israel bombed buildings that turned out to have civilians inside, Israel claimed either that it didn't know the building was occupied, or that it was trying to hit a Hezbollah stronghold elsewhere in the same building; or that the strike was a mistake, an errant missile. But targeting clearly marked ambulances, and hitting them directly -- there's no possible excuse for that. So this specific incident contributed to the outrage over the war, eventually causing Israel to stand down.

Which makes it all the more shocking to learn that **the attack on the ambulances most likely never occurred**, and that the "evidence" supporting the claim is in fact a hoax.

This is where the story apparently first broke: in a newsletter press release issued by the Red Cross itself:

The latest of these incidents occurred on 23 July, at 11.15 pm in Cana, a village in southern Lebanon. According to Lebanese Red Cross reports, two of its ambulances were struck by munitions, although both vehicles were clearly marked by the red cross emblem and flashing lights that were visible at a great distance. The incident happened while first-aid workers were transferring wounded patients from one ambulance to another. As a result, nine people including six Red Cross volunteers were wounded.

Notice how this initial description is fairly neutral: no mention of who fired the munitions, or what type they were, or the extent of the damage.

July 24: Associated Press

The story went global when Kathy Gannon of the Associated Press included a description of the incident in a human interest story filed just a few hours later. The story ran in <u>dozens of newspapers</u>, including the *Los Angeles Times*. The AP version of the incident is much more elaborate than the initial report. Here is the relevant section:

...the Lebanese Red Cross suspended operations outside Tyre after Israeli jets blasted two ambulances with rockets, said Ali Deebe, a Red Cross spokesman in Tyre. In the incident Sunday, one Red Cross ambulance went south of Tyre to meet an ambulance and transfer the wounded to the hospital. "When we have wounded outside the city, we always used two ambulances," Deebe said. The rocket attack on the two vehicles wounded six ambulance workers and three civilians - an 11-year-old boy, an elderly woman and a man, Deebe said. "One of the rockets hit right in the middle of the big red cross that was painted on top of the ambulance," he said. "This is a clear violation of humanitarian law, of international law. We are neutral and we should not be targeted." Kassem Shalan, one of the ambulance workers, told AP Television News that nine people were injured. "We were transferring the wounded into our vehicle and something fell and I dropped to the floor," he said. Amateur video provided by an ambulance worker confirmed Deebe's account of damage to the vehicles, showing one large hole and several smaller ones in the roof of one ambulance and a large hole in the roof of the second. Both were destroyed.

The story finally reached the *The New York Times* on July 30, again repeating the by-now-accepted fact that a missile went through the center of the cross:

Missiles hit two Red Cross ambulances last weekend, wounding six people and punching a circle in the center of the cross on one's roof. ... "We heard on the news they were bombing the Red Cross," said Zaineb Shalhoub, a 22-year-old who survived the bombing.

As the final quote above indicates, the media coverage in the Middle East about the ambulance incident was much more widespread and partisan than the Western coverage described here: it was a major story immediately, and the Middle Eastern media declared in no uncertain terms from the very start that the attack was not just intentional, but part of a systematic campaign to strike Red Cross ambulances.

By the beginning of August, the story had spread to the rest of the world's media outlets, and became accepted as an unquestioned fact about the war: *Israel is targeting ambulances*

Chief Rabbi condemns 'offensive' Corbyn anti-Semitism comments

- 1 July 2016
- http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-36676018

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Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn has been accused by the Chief Rabbi of making "offensive" comments at the launch of a Labour party probe into anti-Semitism.

Rather than rebuilding trust with the Jewish community, Mr Corbyn caused "greater concern", Ephraim Mirvis said.

During his speech, Mr Corbyn said Jews were "no more responsible" for Israel's actions than Muslims were for "those various self-styled Islamic states".

Mr Corbyn later denied he was comparing Israel and so-called Islamic State.

It comes as MP Angela Eagle, who resigned from the shadow cabinet earlier this week, **indicated she may challenge Jeremy Corbyn** to a leadership contest.

Mr Corbyn had been speaking at an event to report on an **inquiry** set up following the suspension of MP Naz Shah and ex-London mayor Ken Livingstone amid claims of anti-Semitism.

The party would not tolerate racism of any kind, he said.

However, former Chief Rabbi Lord Jonathan Sacks added his voice to the complaint that Mr Corbyn appeared to compare the state of Israel to so-called Islamic State (IS), calling it "demonisation of the highest order, an outrage and unacceptable".

The comments showed "how deep the sickness is in parts of the left of British politics today", **he said in** a **statement.**

He said IS was "a terrorist entity whose barbarities have been condemned by all those who value our common humanity. In the current political climate, when hate crimes are rising and political rhetoric is increasingly divisive, this is all the more shocking."

'Anti-Semitic slurs'

Mr Corbyn had said: "Our Jewish friends are no more responsible for the actions of Israel or the Netanyahu government than our Muslim friends are for those various self-styled Islamic states or organisations."

When later asked if he was comparing Israel to a terrorist group, Mr Corbyn said: "No, no of course I'm not. The point in the report is that you shouldn't say to somebody just because they're Jewish, you must have an opinion on Israel. Any more than you say to anyone who is a Muslim you must have an opinion on any vile action that's been taken by misquoting the good name of Islam. I just ask people to be respectful and inclusive in their debate."

Shadow Foreign Secretary Emily Thornberry later phoned the Israeli Ambassador in London to apologise for any offence caused by Mr Corbyn's remarks. A source close to Ms Thornberry said Ambassador Mark Regev "had no issue with the speech".

But a spokesman for Mr Regev said he had "welcomed Emily Thornberry's unequivocal apology following Jeremy Corbyn's unacceptable remarks" and said reports that he had no problem with the speech were "erroneous".

Meanwhile, Labour MP Ruth Smeeth called for Mr Corbyn to "resign immediately", claiming he failed to intervene when "anti-Semitic slurs" were directed towards her in front of him at the event.

Ms Smeeth, who is Jewish, walked out of the press conference after comments by one of the leader's grassroots supporters which she said suggested she was in collusion with the right-wing media.

After the event, she <u>released a statement</u> saying his failure to intervene showed a "catastrophic failure of leadership", and added her voice to the **chorus of Labour MPs calling for their leader to resign**.

"It is beyond belief that someone could come to the launch of a report on anti-Semitism in the Labour Party and espouse such vile conspiracy theories about Jewish people, which were ironically highlighted as such in Ms Chakrabarti's report, while the leader of my own party stood by and did absolutely nothing," she said.

She said she had previously made no comment on his leadership, she but felt "a Labour Party under his stewardship cannot be a safe space for British Jews".

A Labour Party spokesman said: "All allegations of anti-semitism are taken very seriously by the Labour Party and that is why Jeremy asked Shami Chakrabarti to produce her report the conclusions of which we will consider carefully."

At the event, Ms Chakrabarti, the chairwoman of Labour's inquiry into anti-Semitism, had said the Labour Party was not overrun by anti-Semitism or other forms of racism but there was an "occasionally toxic atmosphere".

But she said there was "too much clear evidence... of ignorant attitudes".

'No more Nazi metaphors'

Ms Chakrabarti's inquiry has made 20 recommendations but she said she does not approve of lifetime bans for party members.

Mr Corbyn said he put his weight behind the inquiry's "immediate implementation".

He called for an end to Hitler and Nazi metaphors and comparisons between different human rights atrocities.

"Diluting degrees of evil does no good," Mr Corbyn said.

"Racism is racism is racism. There is no hierarchy, no acceptable form of it," he said.

Recommendations made by the inquiry include:

- Abusive references to any particular person or group based on actual or perceived physical characteristics and racial or religious tropes and stereotypes, should have no place in Labour Party discourse
- Labour members should resist the use of Hitler, Nazi and Holocaust metaphors, distortions and comparisons in debates about Israel-Palestine in particular
- There should be procedural rule changes to improve the party's disciplinary process and the adoption and publication of a complaints procedure
- The appointment of a General Counsel to the Labour Party to give advice on issues including disciplinary matters and to take responsibility for instructing external lawyers
- The party should increase the ethnic diversity of its staff

Ms Shah, the MP for Bradford West, was suspended after social media posts emerged in which she suggested Israel should be moved to the United States.

Mr Livingstone was then suspended after claiming Hitler supported Zionism, as he tried to defend Ms Shah.

No update on these cases were given as Ms Chakrabarti said due process must be followed.

Anti-Semitism and Zionism

- Anti-Semitism is "hostility and prejudice directed against Jewish people" (OED)
- Zionism refers to the movement to create a Jewish state in the Middle East, corresponding to the historic land of Israel - anti-Zionism opposes that
- Some say "Zionist" can be used as a coded attack on Jews, while others say the Israeli
 government and its supporters are deliberately confusing anti-Zionism with anti-Semitism to
 avoid criticism.

What's the difference between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism?

K9

Life in Israel

- To look at the political spectrum and motivations in Israel.
- To understand the differences between politics in Israel and elsewhere.

Before we take the perilous journey of

engaging with
Israeli politics,
it is worth
noting a few
things. You
may have
heard Hadag
'Shirat
Hasticker'.



Nachash's

rap song

written by famous Israeli author David Grossman; it is exclusively made up of the slogans seen over the years on the bumper stickers of Israeli cars. It's an ingenious idea and gives us a window onto the feelings and varied nature of the Israeli people.

If you have ever travelled on public transport in Israel, you will be well aware that everyone has an opinion, each bus driver or falafel man truly believes that they would make a great Prime Minister and that they are the one to solve the country's problems. It is also a mistake to really think that a political ideology can be properly represented by a bumper sticker or a coloured ribbon. Israeli politics is extremely complex and each aspect is connected to every other social, economic and religious issue in the country.

As such we approach the subject with caution and must beware not to think ourselves or allow our chanichim to think that we or they have conquered the issues. We will try our best to scratch the surface and understand what it is that drives Israeli politics and what issues are considered important in the State of Israel.

The Israeli Political Spectrum

The single issue which used to dominate Israeli politics was security. However, in the most recent elections we saw things starting to shift.

In the summer of 2011 Israel saw 'tent cities' popping up around the country protesting against the, what they call, social injustice in Israel. Daphne Leef, one of the founders of the protests started a campaign on Facebook to bring down the prices of rent in Tel Aviv. This began a country wide protest against the high cost of living compared to the salaries of average Israelis.

The issues these protests raised became the key issue in both the 2013 and 2015 elections, competing with security issues for precedence. As well as the social issues becoming more important, people also seem to have become apathetic to security issues mainly because no one can see an end to the dispute in the near future.

What are the issues which drive politics in the UK?

What sort of things would we consider political?

For those of you who didn't do Politics A-Level In a very non-nuanced nutshell

Extreme Left Wing = Do anything for peace

Extreme Right Wing = Israelis living in every part of Israel (inc Gaza & West Bank)

Here is a quick guide to the parties in the 20th Knesset, how one ranks them and on which left to right scale is a matter of lots of controversy so I will do my best. Furthermore, Bnei Akiva is non-partizan, not apolitical, which means that despite my best efforts to remain impartial in the break-down some opinions may slip through...my bad. These opinions do not reflect the movement.



Likud- Likud currently has 30 seats and is the main centre right party in Israel. Likud believes in the right of settlement within the land of Israel, and the river Jordan to be the permanent eastern border (despite Bibi having a penchant for flip-flopping on this matter depending on his audience). They have a moderate stance on separation between religion and state and typically favour the status

quo position. Most current Likud members support the Jewish settlements in the West Bank and oppose Palestinian statehood and the disengagement from Gaza. Likud 's main focuses of the election were security and Iran. Likud are often criticised for not focusing enough on economic policy which has been seen in the fact that they published no manifesto in the last election due to part divisiveness.

Machane Zioni (Zionist Union) - This political alliance links together Avi Gabbay's Labour party and the Hatnuah Party of Tzipi Livni, who previously was the justice minister. They are very pro a two state solution. Machane Zioni had the second highest proportion of votes in the election, mainly due to the dissatisfaction with Netanyahu, fueled mainly by many Israeli economic woes concerning the rise in the cost of living especially the cost of housing. They also want



to increase general welfare, health and education and plan to fund this through closing tax .loopholes as oppose to tax hoicks. Machane Zioni currently have 24 seats in the Knesset

Kulanu- popular Likud minister Moshe Kahlon resigned from the Knesset 3 months before the 2013 election, and announced in 2014 that he would form a new political party of "clean" law makers to focus on reducing the costs of living in Israel and has said he will target the dairy institute. Previously In the Knesset, he worked to pass a bill to reduce electricity charges for poor families and headed an inquiry into bank fees. Kahlon is also



credited with leading the "Cellular Revolution", a set of moves that allowed new competitors to enter the cellular communications market in Israel, including Golan Telecom which led to a decrease in the price of cell packages. So basically all of you who were in Israel last year have this man to thank, as without him your phone bills would have been mental. After the election and some very difficult negotiators Kulanu joined the coalition, receiving 3 ministerial portfolios, including finance minister and minister of housing.



Habayit Hayehudi: The inheritor of the now-defunct National Religious Party's constituency has joined Tekuma (one of the founding factions of the Ichud Leumi/ National Union party) in a Religious Zionist list that hopes to attract traditionally observant voters as well and bring back the proud heydays of religious Zionism. They are strong to their religious roots and opinions as seen in 2013 when

they vetoed a bill to give gay fathers equal tax benefits but at the same time believe in Charedi conscription. Despite the sector's figuring prominently in every facet of Israelis life, it has been sorely under-represented in the Knesset in recent years. It now has Naftali Bennett, former CEO of the Council for Judea and Samaria and successful hi-tech

entrepreneur, at its head. Bennett massively boosted the standing of Habayit Hayehudi in the 2013 elections by being a compelling, charismatic leader and targeting the wider Israeli public with nationalist policies and sentiments, rather than focusing primarily on religious people.

Bennett drew admiration in Israel for appearing on foreign media where he staunchly defended Israel during Pillar of Defense, and more recently in his 2015 election campaign, he put forward the notion that Israel should "stop apologizing" and show pride in the face of criticism – an appealing message for many Israelis.. Bennett opposes the creation of a Palestinian state: "I will do everything in my power to make sure they never get a state." After the election and some very difficult negotiations Bayit Yehudi joined the coalition, receiving three ministerial portfolios including the controversial Ayelet Shaked as justice minister. Bayit Yehudi's grand ambition is to annex area C of the west bank and offer citizenship to all Palestinians living there.

Yesh Atid is the party formed by TV personality Yair Lapid (note the rhyme) to appeal to the middle class and centrist voters. He once asserted in his then-column in Yediot (not Bnei Akivas) Acharonot that Yom Kippur was a punishment invented by the rabbis and doesn't appear in the Torah. Yesh Atid's policies like Kulanu) focus on the cost of living, and



integration of the Charedim in to the society. In recent years he has tried to move away from his anti-religious reputation, by appealing to what they call the 'moderate' orthodox who are dissatisfied with the sometimes far right religious approach of Bayit Yehudi

The 2015 election was triggered after Netanyahu and Lapid were unable to agree on a budget and the prime minister pushed Yesh Atid out of the coalition. Yesh Atid believes in striving for peace according to an outline of "two states for two peoples", while maintaining the large Israeli settlement blocs and ensuring the safety of Israel. They focus heavily on social justice and the middle class economic needs, such as housing. They are also a party famous for being anti-corruption and this can be seen in them persuing policies to ban ministers convicted of corruption for life.



Yisrael Beitainu- The secular, nationalist Yisrael Beiteinu was founded by Moldovan émigré Avigdor Lieberman as a home for soviet-born Israelis. Lieberman became foreign minister in the 2013 election after running in joint slate with Likud. Lieberman split from Likud in the summer of 2014 citing differences of opinion, which were reportedly focused on his criticism of the prime minister's restraint in handling the Gaza escalation. Through his career he has

however advocated a two state solution of sorts but with forced land swaps. Whilst you may think that this is relatively left wing he has also said that members of Israel's Arab minority who were disloyal to the state should be beheaded, and wants Israel to introduce the death penalty for terrorists. He was considered to be a part of the "anyone but Bibi" camp, Yisrael Beiteinu saw its popularity plummet, partly due to an investigation into

alleged corruption by party officials. Yisrael Beiteinu decided not to join the coalition surprising many people. The reasons cited included objecting to; deals that Netanyahu had made with other parties in the coalition; Netanyahu's 'weak' stance towards terrorism; and an "opportunist", "conformist" and not "nationalistic" government. This was at least until recently when Lieberman accepted ministry of defence and immigration absorption. It seems that Lieberman has lowered his insistence on the death penalty and requested that it applies only in military court.

Shas: Founded as a political party for ultra-Orthodox Sephardim, Shas has played "kingmaker" in right, center and left coalitions over the past two decades. At first Shas followed a moderate policy on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict, after Yosef had declared that lives were more important than territories, but has since moved to the right, and opposes any freeze in Israeli



settlement activity in the West Bank. In addition, it is skeptical towards the US Obama Administration's intentions regarding the Peace Process and has begun to support a consolidation of Israeli Settlement interests, especially regarding yeshivas and Jewish Holy Sites in the West Bank. Shas puts itself forward as the representative of truly poor or underprivileged people in Israel. Therefore, it gathers support from secular Jews and Israeli Arabs, as well as religious Sefardi Jews. Since the passing of Shas's spiritual leader they went from 11 seats to 7, but are back in the coalition and have begun work to reverse laws on conversion, kashrut certification and have delayed the Charedi integration in to the Israeli army.

Yahadut Hatorah: The Chareidi Lithuanian and Chassidic list stuck together and continued with its well-seasoned MKs who turn to the Council of Torah Sages for guidance. UTJ has said that it is willing to join coalition governments that are dedicated to engaging the Palestinians in peace negotiations, primarily because the social and religious policies it pursues are a greater priority to the party and its constituency. UTJ are also in the government with 2 deputy ministerial positions.

Meretz is a left-wing, Zionist, social-democratic political party and currently chaired by Zehava Gal-On. The party emphasizes a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, social justice, human rights (especially for ethnic and sexual minorities), religious freedom, and environmentalism, the party also strongly sees the importance of separating religion and state. As a bastion of the left they also fight for exploited worker's rights. It sees itself as the

political representative of the Israeli Peace movement in the Knesset. Initial polls had Meretz on the border line of the Government but eventually they entered with 5 seats having beaten the thresh hold by less than %0.7.

Joint List (הרשימה המשותפת) – Since the raising of the electoral threshold to 3.25% shortly after 2013 election the 4 Arab parties ran on the same list.

Hadash - previously on 4 seats and headed by Ayman Odeh – head of the Joint list. They are a far left party supporting communism and Arab-Israeli relations. They support a withdrawal of Israel from the West Bank, right of return for Palestinians and have a strong environmental platform claiming a desire to nationalise natural resources. Confusingly Hadash is Marxist, in that it is anti-Nationalist but it supports a two state solution and in 2015 they endorsed BDS.

The United Arab list - called ra-am, they have ran on a joint list with Ta'al since 2006 and previously had 4 seats. They garner support from Israeli Arabs and Bedouins and are strong advocates of a two state solution with East Jerusalem as its capital.

Balad [(who previously had 2 seats) including Haneen Zoabi] is a party that claims to "struggle to transform the state of Israel into a democracy for all its citizens, irrespective of national or ethnic identity." They push for a two state solution and call for Palestinian right of return. Their platform also includes calls for social justice for all and equal rights for all. When asked about Iran's nuclear weapons Zoabi responded "The real danger is the IDF.... It is more dangerous to the world, more dangerous to everyone, more dangerous to the Palestinians, to Israelis, to have Israel as the only powerful state.... The violence of the Israeli army is an outcome of Israel's convenient feeling that no one will restrict her." Also when Netanyahu tried to have her expelled from Knesset she declared that "an attempt to deter the Palestian people in the internal occupied territory (i.e. within Israel) because he sees the internal Palestinians as a rebel cause, while he maintains good relations and security coordination with the PA in the West Bank" Draw your own conclusions...

The Arab population of Israel comprises approximately 20% of Israel's population. It also gets a lot of support from the Bedouin population, and advocates the creation of a Palestinian State in the West Bank, Gaza and East Jerusalem.

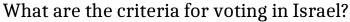
Ale Yarok...very nice. Believe it or not they actually have other policies such as a belief in free market trade and the expansion of gambling and prostitution.

The results of these elections made it really hard for the prime minister to form a coalition. Israel's prime minister finalised the formation of a right wing coalition



government on just minutes before the midnight deadline. The coalition currently consists of Likud, United Torah Judaism, Shas, Kulanu and the Bayit Yehudi and Yisroel Beyteinu parties. Resulting in a very religious government.

Which would you vote for and why?





Should we be voting for parties which stand for our own ideology <u>or</u> for parties which have more political sway (eg. Likud, Zionist Union)? Analysists say that Bibi's "last minute scare mongering tactics" drew a lot of support from other right wing parties to himself.

Parties with Knesset seats

The following parties are represented following the 2015 elections:

Party	Leader			
Likud	Benjamin Netanyahu	23.40%	30	+12
Zionist Union	Isaac Herzog	18.67%	24	+3
Joint List	Ayman Odeh	10.54%	13	+2
Yesh Atid	Yair Lapid	8.81%	11	-8
Kulanu	Moshe Kahlon	7.49%	10	New
The Jewish Home	Naftali Bennett	6.74%	8	-4
Shas	Aryeh Deri	5.73%	7	-4
Yisrael Beiteinu	Avigdor Lieberman	5.11%	6	-7
United Torah Judaism	Yaakov Litzman	5.03%	6	-1
Meretz	Zehava Gal-On	3.93%	5	-1

In general there are four main ways to divide the parties.

- The first is **Security** and conflict resolution.
- The second is on the **Religious** secular divide, Meretz, the Arab Parties and parts of Labour on one side, Bayit Yehudi, UTJ, Shas on the other. Yesh Atid and Kulanu are in the centre, (although Yesh Atid are slightly more religious) Likud are also in the centre with Yisrael Beyteinu leaning towards the religious.
- The next scale is on **minorities**, Arab, Sephardi, Russian, Ashkenazi. Many of the parties serve specific minorities and the White Ashkenazi has normally dominated it is starting to change (Perez was a big social mover in that way).
- The last is on the scale that most countries use which is **economic** and **social**, which in the main follows the conflict resolution scale though the religious parties normally, flip over to the left and Kadima and Likud dominate the right.

<u>Some political trivia:</u> One of the Israeli communist parties split in 2006 over whether or not Israel should have supported the Falklands in 1982.

What is the difference between peace and security? Is it significant that we talk more about the latter?

What do you think about the fact that social issues are becoming higher priorities to Israeli voters, competing with security concerns? What does it say about Israel?

<u>Israeli Politics - Different from Other Politics</u>

The traditional left are no longer really left however they are still looking to reestablish themselves and try and rebuild the peace process. Along which lines are up for discussion though in op-eds in Israeli

newspapers there have even been calls for returning the Golan for a permanent deal with Syria. The left still envisage a Palestinian state along mainly pre 67 lines though keeping the Etzion bloc and Malee Adumim. There is actually a growing calls for a one state solution with many different variants, this does remain a fringe movement.



The right-wing at the moment has little vision for conflict resolution. They are opting for a policy of conflict management and a wait and see policy. Their only goal is security but have no agreed end plan at the moment this mainly comes after the disappointment of the disengagement both from Lebanon and from

Gaza that has lead to Kasams, Katyshuas and Fajr-5's.



The Religious Zionists were doing fine until Disengagement. Except for a bump in the road with the withdrawal of Sinai (1982), nothing challenges their ideology of the state as the vehicle of redemption for Israel. When Oslo came around the settlements for the first time were being portrayed as obstacles to peace rather than security patriots. It all came to a head 12 years ago with the pull out. The evacuation and the treatment of those who were displaced from their homes and

livelihoods have thrown a spanner into the religious Zionist works. Some places even stopped saying the prayer for the state. Never the less it is the Dati Lumi who are still disproportionately represented in top units and high up command positions in the IDF. The current response to the conflict is now a pre 48 idea, no Palestinian state but allow all those who wish to stay in the greater land of Israel citizenship but not allow a right of return. To suggest that the religious Zionist groups must fit into the right wing of society is in fact a fallacy and there are variant opinions.



Traditionally the Chareidim have viewed the state with disdain and used their party as a power broker between the major parties swinging the balance of power and guaranteeing them money for kollels and yeshivot and exception from army services, often upsetting the secular Israeli's who have seen them as a drain on the state. This came to a head at the 2015 Gay Pride march in Jerusalem which culminated in an ultra-orthodox man going on a stabbing rampage leaving a girl dead and others wounded.



Lastly we have the Israeli Arabs. There are firstly 3 main Arab parties each with different ideologies. So why don't they have more power? It is the practice that some of the major parties will offer an Israeli Arab a high place on a party list in exchange

for support from the local populace. Also many middle class Israeli Arabs vote for main stream parties.

Conclusions

So we've looked at the politics but what does it mean to us? How are we going to make politics in a far off country seem relevant to our chanichim?

Politics in Israel is not something that belongs to politics students and people in tweed jackets (or corduroy if you're an indelicate Johnson). It is something alive. When we speak about politics we are thinking about the way our country exists grows and develops. It is not something, it is not distant, it is important to US. We must think about the best way to get involved, should we be standing in elections or blocking roads but either way we can't divorce ourselves from this very important aspect of Israel. It is important that when we learn politics with our chanachim, that its more than just about whether a party supports the two state solution but that there is so much more to it. The material in this K is the raw ingredient; it really is 'chomer'. We have to translate this in to something relevant and useful for our chanichim. The way our country runs and the direction it takes in the future is what it means to be a part of Jewish destiny, of playing an active part in the unfolding of Jewish history.

Maybe this was the genius of 'Shirat HaSticker'. It is a song, which exemplifies life in Israel today. Everyone has an opinion on the future of the Jewish People in the Jewish State. In this kvutzah, we must show that to be a Religious Zionist today means to understand the full spectrum of Israeli Society and to play an active part in the development of life in Israel today.

<u>Additional Chomer</u>

History Timeline

nistory 11	<u>meme</u>
Nov 2, 1917	British issued the <u>Balfour Declaration</u> , viewed by Jews and Arabs as promising a "National Home" for the Jews in Palestine.
1936-1939	Arab Revolt led by Haj Amin Al-Husseini. Over 5,000 Arabs were killed according to some sources, mostly by British. Several hundred Jews were killed by Arabs. Husseini fled to Iraq and then to Nazi Germany.
May 15, 1948	Israel War of Independence (1948 War). Declaration of Israel as the Jewish State; British leave Palestine; Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Jordan, Saudi Arabia declared war on Israel. Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian invasion began. See 1948 Israel War of Independence (1948 Arab-Israeli war) Timeline (Chronology) and Israel War of Independence
April 3, 1949	Armistice - Israel and Arab states agree to armistice. Israel gained about 50% more territory than was originally allotted to it by the <u>UN Partition Plan</u> .
Oct. 29, 1956	Suez Campaign. In retaliation for a series of escalating border raids as well as the closure of the straits of Tiran and Suez canal to Israeli shipping, and to prevent Egyptian use of newly acquired Soviet arms in a war, Israel invades the Sinai peninsula and occupies it for several months, with French and British collaboration.
May, 1964	PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization) founded with the aim of destroying Israel. The Palestinian National Charter (1968) officially called for liquidation of Israel.
May, 1967	Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser closes the straits of Tiran to Israeli shipping and dismisses UN peacekeeping force. Negotiations with US to reopen the Straits of Tiran fail.
June 5-10,1967	6-day war . Israel destroys the Egyptian air force on the ground, conquers and occupies Sinai and Gaza, then conquers the West Bank from Jordan, and Golan Heights from Syria. UN resolution 242 called for Israeli withdrawal, establishment of peace. 1967 Six Day War Timeline (chronology)
Oct. 6, 1973	Yom Kippur War (October War). In a surprise attack on the Jewish day of atonement, Egypt retook the Suez canal and a narrow zone on the other side. Syria reconquered the Golan Heights. Following massive US and Soviet resupplying of the sides, Israel succeeded in pushing back the Syrians and threatening Damascus. In Sinai, the IDF crossed the Suez Canal and cut off the Egyptian Third Army.
March 26, 1979	Peace treaty signed between Egypt and Israel.

June 7, 1981	Israel destroys Iraqi nuclear reactor in daring raid.
Oct. 6, 1981	Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is assassinated while on the reviewing stand of a victory parade.
June 6, 1982	Massive Israeli invasion of Lebanon to fight PLO.
Sept. 13, 1993	Oslo Declaration of Principles - Israel and PLO agree to mutual recognition.
Sept 28, 1995	Oslo Interim Agreement signed. Palestinian Authority to be established.
Nov. 4, 1995	Israeli PM Yitzhak Rabin assassinated by right-wing Israeli fanatic Yigal Amir. Rabin is replaced by Shimon Peres
June, 1996	Right-Wing Likud leader Benjamin Netanyahu elected Prime Minister in Israel, replacing Shimon Peres.
Sept, 1996	"Al-Aksa tunnel riots - Arab sources spread the false rumor that a gate opened in an underground tunnel tourist attraction by the Israeli government, endangered the foundations of the Al-Aqsa mosque. This caused several days of rioting and numerous casualties.
Jan 18, 1997	Israel and Palestinians reach agreement on Israeli redeployment in the West-Bank city of Hebron
Oct. 1998	Wye River Plantation talks result in an agreement for Israeli redeployment and release of political prisoners and renewed Palestinian commitment to correct its violations of the Oslo accords including excess police force, illegal arms and incitement in public media and education.
May 17, 1999	Israel elects Labor party leader and Former General Ehud Barak as Prime Minister in a landslide. Barak promises rapid progress toward peace.
March, 2000	Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations fail when Hafez Assad rejects an Israeli offer relayed by US President Clinton in Geneva.
Sept. 28, 2000	Palestinians initiated riots after Israeli opposition leader <u>Ariel Sharon</u> visited the Temple Mount, which is also the location of the Haram as Sharif holy to Muslims.
Sept. 11, 2001	Terror attacks on World Trade Center in NYC and the Pentagon carried out by fanatic Islamic Al-Qaida group headed by Osama Bin Laden initiate US war on terror. Israel and Palestinians agree to a cease fire, but it is not implemented.

Feb 6, 2001	Right-wing Likud leader <u>Ariel Sharon</u> elected Prime Minister in Israel replacing Ehud Barak and promising "peace and security."
March-April 2002	Israel conducts operation Defensive Wall in the West Bank, following a large number of Palestinian suicide attacks on civilian targets. Saudi peace initiative adopted at Beirut summit.
Jan 28, 2003	Elections in Israel give wide margin (40 seats) to right wing Likud party, returning PM <u>Ariel</u> <u>Sharon</u> for another term.
March 19,2003	US begins invasion of Iraq by a strike against a building where Saddam Hussein and other leaders are meeting. Baghdad falls, April 9.
July 9, 2004	International court of Justice (ICJ) rules that the Israeli security barrier violates international law and must be torn down.
Nov 11, 2004	Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat dies.
Jan 9, 2005	Mahmoud Abbas elected President of the Palestinian National Authority.
Jan 10, 2005	Ariel Sharon forms unity government with Labor and United Torah Judaism parties in Israel.
April 2005	Ariel Sharon visits US President George Bush at his Texas ranch. Syrian Army leaves Lebanon, officially ending Syrian occupation.
May 26, 2005	Mahmud Abbas visits US President George Bush at the White House, an important symbolic gesture signaling US backing for Abbas and Palestinian aspirations. Israel releases 400 Palestinian prisoners including some with blood on their hands. Britain confirms "low level" negotiations with Hamas.
June, 2005	Violence flares in Gaza. US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice visits Palestinian and Israeli leaders to ensure coordination of Israeli withdrawal from Gaza. Israeli PM Ariel Sharon and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas meet in Jerusalem June 21. Sharon announces that Palestinians have promised to coordinate regarding Gaza withdrawal. PM Abbas postpones Palestinian legislative elections in order to change the election law, amidst growing concern that Hamas will trounce Abbas's Fatah party in the elections. Lebanese elections give a decisive majority to the opposition to Syria, led by Saad Hariri, son of slain leader Rafiq Hariri.
Aug. 15, 2005	Disengagement - Israeli evacuation of Gaza settlements and four West Bank settlements began on August 15 and was completed August 24.

SHIRAT HASTICKER

К9

SONG OF THE BUMPER-STICKERS

Dor shalem doresh shalom, tnu tzahal lenatze'ach, am chazak oseh shalom, tnu letzahal lekaseach,

A full generation demands peace, let the IDF win, a strong nation makes peace, let the army mow them down,

ein shalom im aravim
al titnu lahem rovim
kravi zeh hachi achi
gius lekulam, ptor lekulam,
ein shum ye'ush ba'olam
yesha zeh kan
na nach nachman me'uman
no fear, mashi'ach ba'ir
ein aravim ein pigu'im

no peace with the Arabs, don't give them guns, combat's where it's at, bro draft for all, exemption for all there's no despair in the world judea and samaria is here na nach Nachman from Uman no fear, the messiah's in town no arabs, no bombs

bagatz mesaken yehudim
ha'am im hagolan
ha'am im ha transfer
test beyerka
chaver, atah chaser
hakadosh baruch hu
anachnu bocharim becha
b'chirah yeshirah zeh rah
hakadosh baruch hu
anachnu kana'im lecha
yamutu hakana'im

the supreme court endangers jews
the nation with the Golan
the nation with the the transfer
test in Yirka
my friend, you are missed
the holy one, blessed be he
we vote for you
a direct vote is bad
the holy one, blessed be he
we are jealous to you
may the jalous die.

kamah ro'a efshar livlo'a aba terachem aba terachem kor'im li nachman ve'ani megamgem kamah ro'a efshar livlo'a aba terachem aba terachem baruch hashem ani noshem.

how much evil can be swallow? father have mercy, father have mercy my name is Nachman and I stam-stammer how much evil can be swallow? father have mercy, father have mercy blessed be He, that I breathe...

medinat halachah - halchah hamedinah mi shenolad hirvi'ach yichyeh hamelech hamashi'ach yesh li bitachon bashalom shel sharon chevron me'az uletamid umi shelo nolad hifsid chevron ir ha'avot shalom transfer kahane tzadak a state of religion - the state is gone whoever's born benefits long live the king messiah i'm secure in Sharon's peace Hebron always was and will be whoever was not born missed out Hebron of the forefathers hello to transfer Kahane was right

CNN meshaker tzarich manhig chazak sachtin al hashalom

CNN lies
a strong leader's needed
nice going on the peace

K10



- 1. Israel at 69. To see what the country is like? What has it achieved?
- 2. To identify: A Jewish State or A State for the Jews?
- **3. To learn about Chalutziut (Pioneering)** What was it? Why was it important? Is it still relevant to us nowadays?
- 4. **Me, myself and Israel.** To recognise what does the country means to YOU? Why is it special? What are your hopes, dreams and expectations for the future?





BET CHALUTZI 5777 What's Next? - President Jed Bartlett

Israel, the 100th smallest country, with less than 1/100th of the world's population, can lay claim to the following achievements in just 69 years...

For the intellectuals: Israel has the highest ratio of university degrees to the population in the world.

Israel has the highest average living standards in the Middle East.

For the politicians: Israel is the only liberal democracy in the Middle East.

In 1984 and 1991, Israel airlifted a total of 22, 000 Ethiopian Jews at risk in Ethiopia to safety in Israel.

Israel has the largest fleet of aircraft outside of the United States.

For the feminists: When Golda Meir was elected Prime Minister of Israel in 1969, she became the world's second elected female leader in modern time

Relative to its population, Israel is the largest immigrant-absorbing nation on earth. Immigrants come in search of democracy, religious freedom, and economic opportunity.

According to industry officials, Israel designed the airline industry's most impenetrable flight security. U.S. officials now look to Israel for advice on how to handle airborne security threats.

Israel's Maccabi basketball team won the European championships in 2001.

'Mighty Morphin' Power Rangers' was produced by Haim Saban, an Israeli whose family fled persecution in Egypt. (more recent than ours)

Israel has the world's second highest per capita of new books.

For the environmentalists: Israel is the only country in the world that entered the $21^{
m st}$ century with a net gain in its number of trees.

Israel has more museums per capita than any other country.

Israeli scientists developed the first fully computerized, non-radiation, diagnostic instrumentation for breast cancer.

An Israeli company developed a computerized system for ensuring proper administration of medications, thus removing human error from medical treatment. Every year in U.S. hospitals 7, 000 patients die from treatment mistakes.

Israel's 'Givun imaging' developed the first ingestible video camera, so small it fits inside a pill. Used to view the small intestine from the inside, the camera helps doctors diagnose cancer and digestive disorders.

Researchers in Israel developed a new device that directly helps the heart pump blood, an innovation with the potential to save lives among those with congestive heart failure.

In response to serious water shortages, Israeli engineers and agriculturalists developed a revolutionary drip irrigation system to minimize the amount of water used to grow crops.

For the computer geeks: Israel has the highest percentage in the world of home computers per capita.

Israel leads the world in the number of scientists and technicians in the workforce, with 145 per 10, 000, as opposed to 85 in the U.S., over 70 in Japan, and less than 60 in Germany, with over 25% of its work force employed in technical professions. Israel places first in this category as well.

The cell phone was developed in Israel by Motorola, which has its largest development center in Israel.

The Pentium MMX Chip technology was designed in Israel at Intel.

Voice mail technology was developed in Israel.

The technology for AOL Instant Messenger was developed in 1996 by four young Israelis.

Under constant threat of violence or war, Israel's achievements have nonetheless been immense. It has taken a desolate landscape and turned it into a place of farms, forests and fields. It has taken immigrants from more than a hundred countries, speaking more than eighty languages and turned them into a nation. It has created a modern economy with almost no resources other than the creative gifts of its people. It has sustained democracy in a part of the world that had never known it before. It has taken Hebrew, the language of the Bible, and made it speak again. It has taken a people devastated by the Holocaust and made it live again. Israel remains a Petach Tikva, a gateway of hope

'Israel at 60. A dream fulfilled' by Chief Rabbi Sir Jonathan Sacks

The (classic) BIG Question: A Jewish State or a state for the Jews??

"One of the things that I love about Israel is how when you are there, Judaism is not peripheral to your life; it is the centre of your life. Before every Chag, the supermarkets are filled with references to it. In Jerusalem, Shabbat truly feels like a Shabbat. Friday is mad busy but once the sirens blare, the serenity begins. You can walk through many streets and barely see any traffic. This is how Judaism is meant to be kept.

However the reason why there is no traffic in the street is because some roads are blocked, buses don't run and people can't go shopping because the canyons are shut. The religious have created this Jewish utopia and as a result have stopped the chilonim living their lives. In this kvutzah we will look at all the sides to this debate and why it is still being heard 58 years after the State was declared."

Some Rosh of BC (who probably still complains about BA) however many years ago

The issue raises 2 key questions:

Was Israel established as a state for the Jews or as a Jewish state? Which way should it be?

First let's take a look at the declaration of the state...

Accordingly we, members of the People's Council, representatives of the Jewish Community of Eretz-Israel and of the Zionist Movement, are here assembled on the day of the termination of the British Mandate over Eretz-Israel and, by virtue of our natural and historic right and on the strength of the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, hereby declare the establishment of a **Jewish State** in Eretz-Israel to be known as the State of Israel...

...The State of Israel will be open for Jewish immigration and for the Ingathering of the Exiles; it will foster the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; it will be **based on freedom**, justice and peace as envisaged by the prophets of Israel; it will ensure **complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of religion, race or sex**; it will guarantee **freedom of religion, conscience?** language, **education and culture**; it will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and it will be faithful to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

So, it's not so clear what was intended for Israel even at its inception. This makes things all the more complicated now, in deciding how much Halacha is allowed to influence the legal process and political running of the country...

Onto our second question - what do **YOU** think Israel should be, both realistically and ideally?

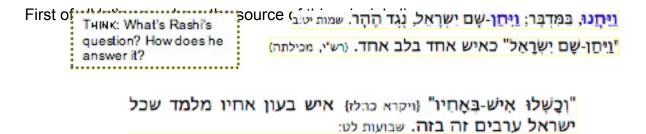
i) Israel should be a Jewish State.

"If we don't believe in religion, what are we doing in this land? G-d promised it to our ancestors on condition that we observe the Torah. If we do not, then we are here as conquerors. We were united over the ages not by common ethnic descent nor by a common history, territory or language...but by a common faith."

Rabbi Zvi Weinman

Some people believe that the State of Israel is not just a State for Jews, but a Jewish State. If people are not willing to follow Halacha, there are plenty of other places which allow Jews to do as they please. Behind this philosophy lies the principle of areivut, responsibilty, i.e. that Jews are responsible for one another and therefore if one person sins, all Jews suffer.

Interesting take on things... Let's look into that...



Understand the pshat (simple translation).
What's the context of the pasuk?
What inference does the gemara make and how does it do this?

Arevut does not only apply to the performance of a mitzvah on behalf of someone else, but also to the mutual responsibility of every Jew with Am Yisrael for the good of the whole. Hashem does not punish only individuals, he also punishes the nation and the sins of each individual have a huge impact on the nation as a whole and Hashem's relationship with us.

Does the din of arevut give us a right to put pressure on the government (and thus all Jews in Israel) to adhere to Halacha?? More than that, does it obligate us to do so, just as we are considered to still be obligated in a mitzva if someone else hasn't fulfilled it (like making kiddush for someone else when you yourself have already made it)?

How would such a policy work practically, regarding non-Jews living in Israel (now around 25% of the total population!)?

Anothe הוֹכָחַ תּוֹכִיחַ אָת-עַמִיתֶךָ, וְלֹא-תִשַּׂא עָלָיו חַטָא. ויקרא יט:יי

The mitzva of tochacha, rebuke. Then end of the pasuk seems to suggest that not rebuking your fellow Jew causes you to be held responsible for his sin (at least according to Ramban's interpretation of Onkelus). How can this be? To what extent are we obligated to rebuke our fellow Jew and under what circumstances? Does the enactment of a law requiring that every Jews keep shabbat constitute rebuke?

"Our Rabbis tell us that, in the days of Shlomo, when the Holy Ark stood ready to enter the Holy of Holies, it was found there was no room. Even so, they brought it in and relied on a miracle. It seems that this [situation] has returned [with] the establishment of the State of Israel, that is known to be totally Holy-for the Land of Israel and People of Israel are Holy. There is no place for the Holy Ark and the Torah!....Though there was no natural room in the Holy of Holies for the Ark of the Covenant...there was a miracle. Thus we, with Hashem's help, will do and we will succeed. From on high a spirit will come to our brothers and sisters, and the Ark of the Covenant will finally have its place in the State of Israel. Then the words From Zion will come the Torah and the Word of Hashem from Yerushalayim will be fulfilled--not just for Israel, but for all who dwell on this earth. "

Rav Herzog: Oohh are ya?
Born in Poland in 1889 and moved to the UK in 1898 with his parents. His thesis, which made him famous in the Jewish world, concerned his claim of re-discovering Techelet. Served as rabbi of Belfast 1916 to 1919, was appointed rabbi of Dublin in 1919 and then served as Chief Rabbi of Irish Free State between 1922 and 1936. He succeeded Rav Kook as Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi after he died in 1937 and maintained the position until his death in 1959.

Rav Herzog, 19 Av, 5708

From 'A HALACHIC STATE ACCORDING TO RAV YITZCHAK ISAAC HALEVI HERZOG'

Rav Herzog viewed the newly established state as a 'mikdash umiklat', a Holy place and a refuge that was not only the beginning of redemption for the Jewish People, but also the beginning of the repair of the entire world. Still, Rav Herzog was far from completely satisfied with the new state, as it seemed there was no place for the Holy Ark and the Torah. Rav Herzog had dreamt of a Jewish State governed in accordance with Jewish Law. Even before the creation of the State of Israel, he had met with leading rabbis to determine halachic solutions to problems that would face the new state. Indeed, Rav Herzog was able to make some progress in national observance, particularly in the area of personal status (marriage, divorce, conversion). Still, his goal of a Medinat Yisrael al pi haTorah has not yet been achieved – full holiness would not be at hand until the State of Israel will be under the authority of the Torah of Israel.

ii) Israel should be a State for the Jews.

Professor Ariel Rosen-Zvi, former dean of Tel Aviv university, and one of the authors of a proposed constitution for the State of Israel, believes that religion must not be imposed by force, it can only function within the framework of freedom of choice. Every person is entitled to freedom of religion and conscience.

The US has no official religion in accordance with Thomas Jefferson's "wall of separation" between Church and State. Although Rosen-Zvi does not recommend the American 'wall of separation' to Israel, he does not go to the other extreme either. Both sides, religious and secular, must learn to compromise, or it may prove to be impossible to live together. "All religious laws must be withdrawn except those having general application. For example, we need a day of rest, so it is reasonable to choose Shabbat. Anybody wishing to take a bus or visit a cinema on their day of rest should be able to."

Professor Ariel Rosen-Zvi

What does the Torah have to say about kfiah datit (religious coercion)?? Is it applicable today?

iii) A compromise?

Another opinion as to the status of Israel is that secular Jews require the country to be free and the religious Jew must go along with that, <u>but at the same time</u>, the secular Jew must cooperate in <u>keeping the nation Jewish</u>. They believe that a compromise can be reached. The Knesset should still base its decisions as far as possible on Jewish law and tradition. Concerning the Shabbat observance, this camp would ban industry and working but allow leisure activities to remain open.

Compromising on religion

What will the Israeli Sabbath look like? On the face of it, the choice lies between two models: Bnei Brak or Hong Kong - halakha (Jewish traditional law) or money. The draft law of the National Religious Party (NRP), however, proposes a third type - the Israeli Sabbath.

By Yedidia Stern 2007

(For full article see additional chomer)

The Israeli Sabbath is a sober example of the irrelevance of the so-called status quo. Some 230,000 Israelis work on Saturdays in commercial centers, which are visited by some 40 percent of the

population who have an annual consumption rate of more than NIS 5 billion. The Bnei Brak model has been overpowered by that of Hong Kong.

The name of the draft law is an eye-opener - "The Sabbath - a day of culture and rest." The religious-Zionist rabbis are not proposing a religious Sabbath, or a holy Sabbath; they are seeking a cultural Sabbath, a Sabbath of rest. A stranger would not understand that the word "culture" is a rude word in certain religious contexts. The only time this word appears in the Bible is in the phrase, "the culture of people who sin," and on this phrase, piles and piles of exegesis have been written. This is what is new: The NRP rabbis hope that the Knesset will decide to pass legislation that makes the Sabbath a day of culture. Like Bialik, they also oppose "a culture of potatoes."

The contents of the draft law reveal it is strikingly distant from the world of religion. From the point of view of Jewish traditional law, there is no difference between desecrating the Sabbath by "industry, commerce and services," by operating public transportation in "a vehicle whose capacity exceeds 12 places," and desecrating the Sabbath in a manner of "culture, entertainment and leisure," by having public transportation in a smaller vehicle. The rabbis are proposing to exchange the religious status quo for a new Israeli Sabbath arrangement, one not based on religious principles, content and norms.

Switching gears

What, then, is motivating these rabbis? The explanation of the draft law is explicit: The distinction between what is allowed and what is forbidden in the draft law "is not made because of religious reasons but rather for socioeconomic, cultural, historic and national reasons." These words represent a basic revolution in the concept of the role of the national-religious rabbinate. The rabbis of the cities and the heads of the yeshivas have taken it upon themselves to further an all-Israel agenda that is not a religious agenda. They have exchanged the aspiration for religious legislation with the aspiration for Jewish legislation that is not based on reasons that are basically religious. The inner core of the proposal shows us that the rabbis are interested in maintaining the Jewish face of the State of Israel even outside the framework of halakha. "Judaism" is also a unique culture as well as a national framework. "Judaism" is not merely the observance of the 613 religious precepts but also a system of social values, a social stance and a tapestry of joint historical memories. Halakha is a strong spice in a Jewish dish, but it does not say everything there is to say about it."

How far can such a compromise take us? Is it really the ideal? And how can it be ensured the 'correct' balance is struck between religious coercion and individual freedom?

So how did Israel get so far in such a short space of time??

Chalutziut.

"Chalutziut means..." (sing-a-long!!1)



The term first appears in... guess where... Torah!! Indeed, it does. In Sefer Bamidbar, chapter 32:

17. We will then arm ourselves quickly [and go] before the children of Israel until we have brought them to their place. Our children will reside in the fortified cities on account of the inhabitants of the land.

יז. וַאֲנַחְנוּ נֵחָלֵץ חֻשִׁים לִפְנֵי בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד אֲשֶׁר אִם הֲבִיאֹנֵם אֶל מְקוֹמָם וְיָשַׁב טַפֵּנוּ בְּעָרֵי הַמִּבְצָר מִפְּנֵי יִשְׁבֵי הָאָרֶץ:

In what context does it appear? What does this tell us about the meaning of the word? (think before reading on...)
Think, think

Based on the text, the term "Chalutz" refers to someone who is armed. The word "Chalutz" is the part of the body between the rib cage and the hip. Therefore, one who is armed with a sword, which rests on his "Chalutz" area, is referred to as a Chalutz, because he is prepared for battle. In Bamidbar, Bnei Yisrael are preparing to enter Eretz Yisrael and they need to be armed, because their first tafkid on entering the land is kibush haaretz, conquering the land (as we see in sefer Yehoshua).

The term "Chalutz" resurfaced over the last 100 years with the emergence of modern Zionism. With its revival, the definition changed. In 1917, Joseph Trumpeldor founded a movement called "HaChalutz" which dealt with establishing agricultural settlements. The members of the 6 Aliyot (see K7) were the new chalutzim, who saw the greater good of the state and were willing to make personal sacrifices for it. When they arrived in Israel it was one big swamp (well, almost) and through their forward thinking and unbelievable willpower, Israel has become the flourishing

 $^{^{\}rm l}$ Evidently there used to be a song, but apparently its died out...oh well Page $\mid 9$

country that it is. Israel is the only country to move from 3rd world status to 1st world status (this fact can't be verified but it sounds cool right?) and it wasn't only done by the opening of Marzipan in the Rova (and subsequent closure, Harova girls didn't put in enough effort) and any 'Maccabeats' concerts. But rather by good old fashioned hard work and a spirit of togetherness.

But is Chaluziut relevant today? Israel's all built up now – what more is there for us to do?

Answer: Of course it is!! A man's (or woman's) work is never done! So what is the chalutziut of the 21st century?? Any ideas?

There's a new kind of chalutziut attracting Israel's young, national religious population. Hesder graduates and National Service veterans are setting up small religious communities in development towns and border areas to make a concentrated dent on the educational and social/religious situation in outlying areas. From Katzrin in the Golan Heights to Eilat in the south, these Orthodox couples are imbued with a desire to make their contribution to improve today's Israeli society. Until the Six Day War, kibbutz members were considered the chalutzim of Eretz Yisrael. They drained the swamps, tilled the soil and selflessly gave their all to establish the modern State of Israel.

After 1967, the mantle of idealism passed to the mitnachalim, the settlers in the newly-liberated areas in Judea and Samaria, the Gaza Strip and the Hebron region. Young, religious families looking for challenges in the 1970s and '80s could find no better framework for their energies than joining a settlement, establishing a presence in the abandoned, ancestral homeland and revitalising a Jewish presence there, despite the predominant Arab population.

But some members of the religious Zionist camp were concerned about another "wilderness" that has existed in Israel ever since its establishment 50 years ago: the wide gap, maybe even widening, between Orthodox and secular citizens. Initially, individual groups of garinim Torani'im [religious nuclei] began to move to cities such as Beit Shemesh, Maalot, Kiryat Shmonah, Dimona, Lod and Ashkelon. Some began with a kollel, while others were initiated by groups of teachers and community workers who sought to raise the standards of education and services in development towns. Some were initiated by local residents who invited the garin to set up centers. Others were chosen by chance by a group of newly married yeshivah students ready to learn in outlandish locations.

Three years ago the garinim set up an umbrella organization, called Gachelet (Garinim Chinuchi'im Leumi'im Torani'im B'Eretz Yisrael, translated: National Torah Religious Units in Israel) for common purposes and unified efforts. The Hebrew word itself means ember. Etc. etc."

(Taken from 'Can a new brand of Torah pioneers create a revolution in Israeli life?' By Leah Abramowitz)

You get the point... Chalutziut isn't dead. It can take many different forms, the article highlighting just one of them. The days of Kibbutzim and building up the land may be coming to an end, but the chalutzim have moved inside cities and factories and are still pioneers of their fields. From Ilan Ramon to the Israeli Nobel prize winners, chalutziot still exists.

From the hachshara volunteers in Bet Shemesh to the Sherut Leumi volunteers helping with terror victims, chalutziut still exists. This is because chalutziut was never just about working the land or physical work, rather it was a mentality, an idea that you were working for something that was bigger than just you. Chalutziut requires "rosh gadol", a willingness to step outside ones comfort zone for the greater good of the whole and an ability to assess the "tzorech hasha'a" (the current need) and act accordingly. Above all, it requires a true commitment to torat yisrael, am yisrael and eretz yisrael.

As David Ben Gurion put it:

"What is 'chalutziut'? It is the recognition in a historical mission and the commitment under all circumstances without fear of any difficulty or danger to fulfil this mission. Chalutziut is the moral capability and spiritual necessity to live everyday according to an implicit command and a claim of destiny."

3. Me, myself and Israel.

The theme of this Machane is Medinah Bevinyanah, it's a factual and historical analysis of the establishment and the continual story of the existence of Israel. By the end of this Machane we may well consider it too have been a success should our Chanachim be able to quote the Balfour declaration, tell you what year the first Zionist congress was and know the name of Theodore Herzl's newspaper that he wrote for, but is this the bar we aim for? Of course we believe that this is an ideal, but is it the ideal? I think we as a tzevet should be in some ways disappointed should our chanachim leave Holland without an understanding as to why we have taken this History tour. This is the final Kvutsah of this Machane and as a result this is our final opportunity to turn round to our chanachim and show them how inseparable Israel is from the Jewish psyche. Take this chance to convey to our Chanachim our personal attachment to Israel. This must be our measure of success, not whether our chanachim know every fact and figure around the subject, but that our chanachim should WANT to know every fact and figure. For this will be an indication that we have instilled a love of Israel within them.

A final question for us a madrichim to think about now we are at the end, we teach Aliya in Bnei Akiva yet the Aliya we teach is almost blind. We do not ask people to go to kibbutz or even development towns, rather just go and live. Are we not just those immigrants going to Israel and stealing their jobs (#brexit #dailymail) and leaving those born in Israel with the bad ones. Could it be our Aliya is not actually appreciated by your average Israeli? Should we be doing something with our Aliya once we've all taken the plunge? Or to go even further, is Aliyah the answer? Should we display our Zionism in other ways which may be beneficial to Israel in other ways?

Extra Chomer

David Reuben asked recent Olim from BAUK The Big Question... What is your favourite thing about Israel?

I guess it would have to be walking round the streets where I live and knowing that the place has such religious and historical meaning- Gabi Sacofsky

My daughter is a sabra, But seriously the fact that everyone is like one family. For example I went to the Iriya to get a parking permit and gave my daughter to a random guy working there to hold whilst I sorted stuff out. Wouldn't do that anywhere else!- Sophie Sacofsky

That everyone looks out for each other!- Avishav Engle

The fact that the country has so much unity without any sort of uniformity.- Yos Tarshish

Being socially acceptable to wear flipflops and a machane t shirt to any occasion. - Ellen Steel

That people are always asking me what my favourite thing about Israel is. No one ever asked me my favourite thing about England. It is easy to get bogged down in day to day life and the complications of living in this complex country but being asked my favourite thing makes me realise how I must not take it for granted and challenges me to open my eyes. - Raoul Wootliff

I love that were ever you are in Israel you always feel at home and people always are helpful it's like one big family. - Sara Flasher

That you can see, hear, feel, taste and smell the Golan.- Michael Rainsbury

First class customer service or the ability to play an active role in the future of the Jewish People. - Simon Levy

The homely atmosphere and feeling comfortable as Jew wherever I go.- Aron Gillis

Almost all the fresh produce available at the shuk and supermarkets is grown in Israel, so I get to buy eco-friendly, seasonal fruit and veg and support Israeli farmers at the same time! Also, I love that in my neighbourhood in Jerusalem you can stand in one place and see the city, open park land (quite often with Arabs grazing their goats) and the start of the Judean mountains at the same time!— Shira Goldstein Filarski

Some contentious issues:

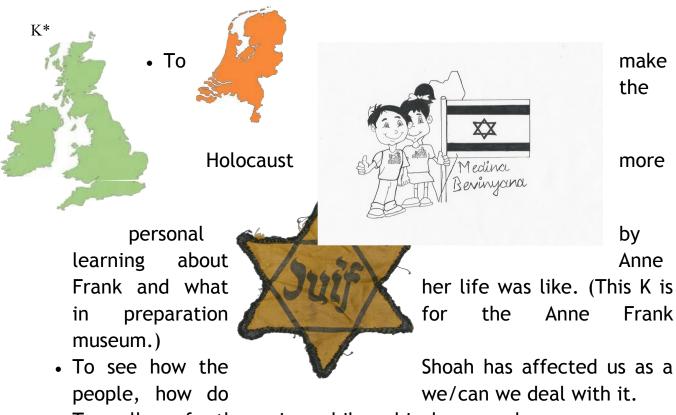
Buses running on Shabbat. #bcbanter

Israel's policy with regard to the public bus services is that there are no buses that run within a city throughout Saturday (except for Haifa, which due to historical reasons has a reduced bus service). With regard to buses that run between cities, there are no buses at all on Friday afternoon/night. Some services start from some cities on Saturday afternoon before Shabbat is over (e.g. Eilat) but no buses leave to, or arrive from, Jerusalem during the hours of Shabbat.

Which of the following statements best sums up your feelings about the situation? You must pick one of the statements, even if none of them sums up exactly how you feel.

- **a)** There should be respect for Orthodox Jews and traditional *halacha* and thus there should be no buses at all on Shabbat, anywhere.
- **b)** The majority of the country is secular so there should be no restrictions at all on buses on Shabbat. However, bus drivers should not be discriminated against if they don't want to work on Shabbat.
- c) Things should stay exactly as they are at present.
- **d)** There shouldn't be any legal restrictions on buses running, but we want Shabbat to be special and so there should be a clear educational policy to try and persuade people to make Shabbat special and this would include choosing not to travel on Shabbat.
- **e)** There should be a limited bus service on Shabbat a basic minimum service so people can get around but different enough from weekdays to make Shabbat special.
- **f)** It is unfair that people who own cars or can afford taxis can travel on Shabbat whereas those who can only afford public transportation are discriminated against. Either all transportation should be banned (including using private cars) or it should all be allowed.
- **g)** Public transport should be allowed but, in order to encourage Shabbat to be special, tax and other financial incentives should be offered to firms who don't run buses or citizens who don't use them.
- **h**) Public transport should run with a restricted service throughout Shabbat but only non-Jews should be allowed to use them (on production of one's identity card).

K* Shoah



• To really go for the serious philosophical approach.

BET CHALUTZI 5776



"Whoever destroys a single soul (from Israel) is as though he has destroyed an entire universe, whoever saves a single soul (from Israel) is as though he has saved an entire universe."

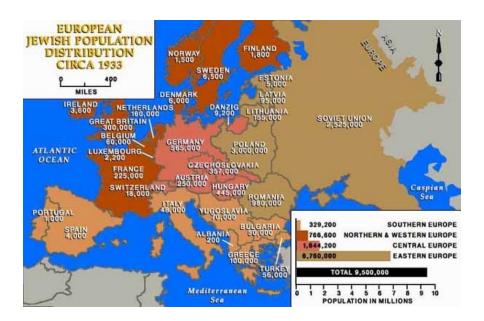
Sanhedrin 37a

"each is a world in his own right; each is special in his own way, each is the only one of his kind in the world- there is no one else like him."

Rav Amital: Eight Princes p. 8.

"Remembrance is fundamental to Judaism. The word *zachor*, 'remember', in one or other of its forms, appears no fewer than 169 times in the Hebrew Bible. The past is not lost: we remain connected to it to the extent that we remember it, honour it and keep faith with it. [...] The dead cannot be brought back to life, but we can act in such a way as to ensure that they did not die in vain by showing that the faith for which they died still lives."

Rabbi J. Sacks on Yizkor





Estimates of Number of Jews Killed:

50,000	50,000	27%
28,900	28,900	44%
78,150	78,150	66%
0	0	0%
60	60	0.7%
1,500	2,000	44%
7	7	0.3%
77,320	77,320	22%
134,500	141,500	25%
60,000	67,000	86%
550,000	569,000	69%
		17%
		78%
	28,900 78,150 0 60 1,500 7 77,320 134,500 60,000	28,900 28,900 78,150 78,150 0 0 60 60 1,500 2,000 7 7 77,320 77,320 134,500 141,500 60,000 67,000 550,000 569,000 7,680 7,680

Lithuania	140,000	143,000	85%
Luxembourg	1,950	1,950	56%
Netherlands	100,000	100,000	71%
Norway	762	762	45%
Poland	2,900,000	3,000,000	90%
Romania	271,000	287,000	47%
Slovakia	68,000	71,000	80%
Soviet Union	1,000,000	1,100,000	36%
Yugoslavia	56,200	63,300	81%

When looking at these sorts of numbers it tends to boggle the mind. It's incomprehensible. The number 6,000000 is also hard to get ones head around. Maybe if we said that 6,000002 people were killed in the holocaust it would help us understand that this 6 million is made up of individual people – mothers, daughters, best friends, husbands, girlfriends, first cousins, grandparents etc. When that number is used it tends to depersonalise what went on. So instead of concentrating on the bigger scale, let's hone in on one person – a 13 year old girl at the same stage of life to our chanichim. If we can really learn about, and be aware of what this one girl went through, maybe we can gain a better understanding of the Holocaust as a whole.

"One single Anne Frank moves us more than the countless others who suffered just as she did, but whose faces have remained in the shadows. Perhaps it is better that way: if we were capable of taking in the suffering of all those people, we would not be able to live."

Primo Levi

Anne Frank, with her parents and sister and four other people, went into hiding in the sealed-off back rooms of an office building in Amsterdam in 1942, when the Nazi invaders intensified their persecution of Jews. For two years they remained safe but in August 1944 they were betrayed. Anne died in the concentration camp called Bergen-Belsen. Everyone except her father, Otto Frank, perished. Anne's intimate diary was found by accident. It records the strains of her unusual life, the problems of growing up, her falling in love and her unswerving faith in her religion.

On Deportations:

Our many Jewish friends and acquaintances are being taken away in droves. The Gestapo is treating them very roughly and transporting them in cattle cars to Westerbork, the big camp in Drenthe to which they're sending all the Jews....If it's that bad in Holland, what must it be like in those faraway and uncivilized places

where the Germans are sending them? We assume that most of them are being murdered. The English radio says they're being gassed." - October 9, 1942

On Nazi Punishment of Resistors:

"Have you ever heard the term 'hostages'? That's the latest punishment for saboteurs. It's the most horrible thing you can imagine. Leading citizens--innocent people--are taken prisoner to await their execution. If the Gestapo can't find the saboteur, they simply grab five hostages and line them up against the wall. You read the announcements of their death in the paper, where they're referred to as 'fatal accidents." - October 9, 1942

Describing her Despair:

"I've reached the point where I hardly care whether I live or die. The world will keep on turning without me, and I can't do anything to change events anyway. I'll just let matters take their course and

concentrate on studying and hope that everything will be all right in the end." - February 3, 1944

"...but the minute I was alone I knew I was going to cry my eyes out. I slid to the floor in my nightgown and began by saying my prayers, very fervently. Then I drew my knees to my chest, lay my head on my arms and cried, all huddled up on the bare floor. A loud sob brought me back down to earth..." - April 5, 1944

On Her Old Country, Germany:

Fine specimens of humanity, those Germans, and to think I'm actually one of them! No, that's not true, Hitler took away our nationality long ago. And besides, there are no greater enemies on earth than the Germans and Jews." - October 9, 1942

On Still Believing:

"It's a wonder I haven't abandoned all my ideals, they seem so absurd and impractical. Yet I cling to them because I still believe, in spite of everything, that people are truly good at heart.

It's utterly impossible for me to build my life on a foundation of chaos, suffering and death. I see the world being slowly transformed into a wilderness, I hear the approaching thunder that, one day, will destroy us too, I feel the suffering of millions. And yet, when I look up at the sky, I somehow feel that everything will change for the better, that this cruelty too shall end, that peace and tranquillity will return once more" - July 15, 1944

On Writing:

"I finally realised that I must do my schoolwork to keep from being ignorant, to get on in life, to become a journalist, because that's what I want! I know I can write...it remains to be seen whether I really have talent...I need to have something besides a husband and children to devote myself to!... I want to be useful or bring enjoyment to all people, even those I've never met. I want to go on living even after my death! And that's why I am so grateful to Hashem for having given me this gift, which I can use to develop myself and to express all that's inside me!"

When I write, I can shake off all my cares. My sorrow disappears, my spirits are revived! But, and that a big question, will I ever be able to write something great, will I ever become a journalist or a writer?" - April 5, 1944

On Childhood and Perception of the World:

How true Daddy's words were when he said: all children must look after their own upbringing. Parents

can only give good advice or put them on the right paths, but the final forming of a person's character lies in their own hands.

How wonderful it is that nobody need wait a single moment before starting to improve the world.

I don't think of all the misery but of the beauty that still remains.

Anne Frank's Timeline:

June	1929	Anne Frank born in Frankfurt, Germany.
	1933.	The Frank family moved to the Netherlands.
	1934.	Anne began school in Amsterdam.
May	1940	Holland was occupied by Germany.
April	1941	All Dutch Jews were required to wear a yellow star.
June	1942	Anne received a diary for her birthday.
July	1942	Anne's sister, Margot, was ordered to report to Nazi authorities.
July	1942	The Frank family hid in a secret annex behind the office of her father's business in
	Amsterdam.	
July	1942	the Van Daan family joined the Franks in the secret annex.
Nov	1942	Fritz Pfeffer joined the annex.
Aug	1944	Frank family was betrayed and arrested.
Sept	1944	Franks taken to Auschwitz.
Oct	1944	Anne and Margot were taken to Bergen-Belsen.
Jan	1945	Anne's mother died at Auschwitz.
Jan	1945	The Russian Allies liberated the remaining Jews in Auschwitz including Anne's father.
March	1945	Anne and Margot died in concentration camp of typhus.
	1947	Anne's diary was published – fulfilling her dreams of becoming a published writer



Here is an excerpt from previous chomer for Machane dealing with the Shoah.

"I think we are all aware of the atrocities of the Holocaust, and the horrors our fellow Jews had to endure. It is always important to keep learning about it and making sure the future generations are taught so that the world never forgets it and never lets it happen again. However for the purpose of this Kvutza the emphasis is going to be on the effects the Holocaust had on the creation of the State."

The section was entitled 'Silver Lining'. As Madrichim ourselves, we will spend much of this kvutza thinking about the way that we approach the Shoah.

What do you think of the silver lining approach?

If it was assured that the State of Israel was to be established if you were to give your life, would you?

Is there a problem with suggesting possible explanations of terrible events?

In 2015 as part of it's holocaust programming the question posed on 'the Big Question' was Is the time coming to lay the Holocaust to rest? How do we as a group of Jews feel about this question?

A survivor's thought:

"I saw the hand of Hashem, but not the explanation, the meaning; He spoke to me - but I understood nothing. We saw the hand of Hashem, we saw Hashem's word, but what was He saying?"

Rav Amital: A Kaddish p. 8.

First of all we must reinforce the message that the Shoah was the greatest tragedy to befall the Jewish people in two thousand years if not ever:

"as for the monstrous murders devised against us, the House of Israel, from the end of 5702 [summer 1942] and on - according to my knowledge of rabbinic literature and Jewish history in general, there has never been anything like them."

The Holy Fire: Rabbi Kalonymous Kalman Shapira

Significant events in history are reflected by the way in which we portion history into periods. For instance we know that the birth of Jesus was significant because time is referred to as either before or after, similarly with industrialisation and possibly in the future we may refer to pre and post internet eras. The Shoah has had a similar giant impact on Jews and Judaism that many people speak of post-holocaust-theology. The underlying assumption is that the Shoah was not just another event in the chain of Jewish history but one which could fundamentally alter our religion and relationship to Hashem.

Some different approaches to Judaism after the Shoah

Emil Fackenheim:

Fackenheim took the opportunity to enunciate what he called the "614th commandment," which forbids Jews to hand Hitler yet another, posthumous victory.' Thus, he asserted, Jews are compelled to learn from and remember constantly the lessons of the past - in essence, to survive. In 1971 he affirmed the relevance of Holocaust theology not only for Jews but for all humanity. In 1976 he presented a new methodological approach - that of taking *midrash* (medieval commentaries on Hebrew scripture) as the point of departure for Jewish theology. Fackenheim described this new approach to Jewish thinking: stories, images, and mystical concepts rather than philosophy could supply the keys to the meaning of Judaism. His new view of Jewish ethnicity, the relevance of the Holocaust for all humanity, and midrashic method of theologizing were expressed in The Jewish Return into History: Reflections in the Age of Auschwitz and a New Jerusalem (1978) and To Mend the World: Foundations of Future Jewish Thought (1982). Fackenheim also explored the idea put forth by modern Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, who argued that the occurrence of the Holocaust is sufficient evidence that Hashem must have abandoned humanity for a time. Yet Fackenheim disagreed, arguing that the surviving Jews and the resistance to Nazi Germany pointed to evidence that many indeed heard the voice of Hashem, and in essence was indeed true to that 614th commandment.

Elieizer Berkovits:

After the Holocaust, Berkovits asserted that Hashem's "absence" in Nazi Germany should be explained through the classical concept of *hester panim*, "the hiding of the divine face." Berkovits claimed that in order for Hashem to maintain His respect and care for humanity as a whole, He necessarily had to withdraw Himself and allow human beings—even the most cruel and vicious—to exercise their free will.

Can we call Hashem merciful if, for the sake of freewill, He lets things like the Shoah happen?

Richard Rubenstein:

Rubenstein emerged in the 1960s as a significant writer on the meaning and impact of the Holocaust for Judaism. His first book, *After Auschwitz*, explored radical theological frontiers in Jewish thought. In Rubenstein's argument, the experience of the Holocaust totally shattered the traditional Judaic concept of Hashem, especially as the Hashem of the covenant with Abraham. In the covenant, the Hashem of Israel is the Hashem of history. Rubenstein argued that Jews could no longer advocate the notion of an omnipotent Hashem at work in history or espouse the election of Israel as the chosen people. In the wake of the Holocaust, he believed Jews have lost hope and there is no ultimate meaning to life.

As children of the Earth, we are undeceived concerning our destiny. We have lost all hope, consolation and illusion.

In *After Auschwitz*, Rubenstein spoke of the "death of Hashem" and that the covenant had died. He did not mean he was now an atheist, nor that religion had to be discarded as irrelevant. He tried to explore what the nature and form of religious existence could possibly comprise after Auschwitz. Rubenstein suggested that perhaps the way forward was to choose some form of paganism.

Do you think that the Shoah must/has fundamentally changed our experience of Judaism?

In what ways can you see the legacy of the Shoah in a. Anglo Jewry and b. World Jewry?

We've thought about thinking; now what about doing?

"Judaism has always distinguished between and "Existence of Fate" and an "Existence of Destiny", between the "I" which is the progeny of fate and the "I" which is the child of destiny. [...] [Fate] is an existence of duress, [...] simply one line in a [long] chain of mechanical causality. [...] From the start, the man/object, imprisoned, against his will, [bound up] in the chains of existence stands perplexed and confused in the face of the great mystery called suffering. Fate mocks him [...] the fear of extinction assails him and crushes his body and soul. [...] At this stage man begins to ask weighty questions. He

searches for the rational foundations of suffering and evil. [...] The sufferer employs the powers of rational abstraction (with which the Creator endowed him) to the point of self deception: denial of the existence of evil in the world.

Judaism, with its realistic approach to man and his status within existence, understood that evil does not lend itself to being obscured and glossed over, and that every attempt to diminish the import of the contrast and cleavage in existence will not bring man to inner peace or to comprehension of the existential secret. There is evil in the world. [...] He who would deceive himself by ignoring the split in existence and by romanticizing life is but a fool and a fabricator of illusions.[...]

What is an Existence of Destiny? It is an active existence, when man confronts the environment into which he has been cast with an understanding of his uniqueness and value, freedom and capacity; without compromising his integrity and independence in his struggle with the outside world. [...] According to Judaism, man's mission in this world is to turn fate into destiny- an existence that is passive and influenced into an existence that is active and influential [...] and thus he becomes Hashem's partner in the work of creation. [...]

The "Child of Destiny" is very realistic and does not flinch in anticipation of a face-to-face confrontation with evil [...] he says in his heart, "there is evil, I do not deny it, and I will not conceal it with fruitless casuistry. I am however interested in it from a halakhic point of view; and as a person who wants to know what action to take. I ask a single question: what should the sufferer do to live with his suffering?" [...] We do not wonder about the ineffable ways of the Holy One, but instead ponder the paths man must take

when evil leaps up at him. [...]

Suffering comes to elevate man, to purify his spirit and sanctify him, to cleanse his mind, [...] to sensitize his soul and expand his horizons. [...]

Just as good obliges man to perform deeds of a higher order and demands creative and innovative actions from the individual or the populace, so does suffering require the repair of the soul and the cleansing of life. [...] In short, man must solve, not the question of the causal or teleological reason for suffering with all its speculative complexity, but rather the question of its curative role, in all its halakhic simplicity, by turning fate to destiny and elevating man himself from object to subject, from thing to man."

Rav Soloveitchik: Kol Dodi Dofek pp. 1-11.

Is this an objectively positive way to deal with suffering?

K*

Shoah as Chillul Hashem

We as Jews are commanded to 'mekadesh shem shamayim', to sanctify the name of

heaven.

"You shall not desecrate My Holy Name (Chillul Hashem), rather I

should be sanctified among the Children of Israel (Kiddush

Hashem). I am Hashem Who makes you holy."

Vayikra 22:32, Parshat Emor

The act of Kiddush Hashem is defined as "The propagation of human acknowledgement and

recognition of Hashem and His holiness." (Nechama Leibowitz). As we have seen above some people have felt that the Shoah was a case of 'hester panim', a situation in which Hashem's

presence was hidden from the world. As such the world failed to notice Hashem and His holiness

in the world. As Hashem's chosen people were slaughtered throughout Europe there was a

distinct lack of Kiddush Hashem. If anything the decimation of the Jewish people constituted the

greatest Chillul Hashem in Jewish history.

Does this remind you of another redemption the Jewish people have been through? Is it unfair

to compare the two?

Although we are confining this kvutza to the Shoah itself it may be worth viewing it in this context to consider in what possible way such a chillul hashem could be countered. We will see in

subsequent kvutzot the inherent obligation as Jews today to rectify this Chillul with great Kiddush

Hashem on our personal and national lives.

The survivor's mission: "I am a simple person. Nevertheless, I sensed that I

had to garner all the power within me, doubling and redoubling it, in order to

recompense for those who are no longer with us. This knowledge gave me the

daring and courage to accomplish things that were far beyond my normal

abilities."

Rav Amital: Forty Years Later p. 86.

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