

K1 – Why Israel?



- The promise of the Land of Israel
- To live in the land vs establishing a state
- The individual vs the nation





What is it about the small strip of land in the Middle East that is so important to us, the Jews? This question is one that we will return to over and over and one that our Chanichim should be encouraged to ask and grapple with.

The first time Israel is mentioned in Torah is 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**." (Bereishit 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 by Hashem to His people – to 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:

וְהִקְמַתִּי אֶת-בְּרִיתִי בֵּינִי וּבֵינְךָ, וּבֵין זָרְעֶךָ אַחֲרֶיךָ לְדֹרֹתָם לְבְרִית עוֹלָם, לְהִיּוֹת לְךָ לֹא-לֵהִימ, וּלְזָרְעֶךָ אַחֲרֶיךָ: וְנָתַתִּי לְךָ וּלְזָרְעֶךָ אַחֲרֶיךָ אֶת אֶרֶץ מִגְרִיד, אֶת כָּל-אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן, לְאַחֲזַת עוֹלָם, וְהָיִיתִי לָהֶם לֹא-לֵהִימ:

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

Rashi, quoting Bereishit Rabbah, explains why the phrase "**shall be Hashem to them**" is repeated in these two pesukim:

"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 to Bereishit 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).

Rashi and Ramban hold that mitzvot performed in Chutz La'Aretz only have a BeDiavad status. The Ramban says: You are only obligated to perform specific Mitzvot that can be performed outside of Israel (Tefillin and Mezuzah) in order that when you come to Israel you will know what to do and the Mitzvot won't be new to you...' (Vayikra 18:25)

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 tefiin
- 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.

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

Robert Frost

So, we should probably 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 fervour 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 as 'Yerushalayim', 'the holy city', 'the place which Hashem chose'...



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 as well as the massive Birkat Kohanim that

takes place on Chol HaMoed Sukkot and Pesach). 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 God. We say that each Shul is a "Mikdash M'at" a miniature Temple.

Can we relate to the Bet Hamikdash today?

What do you imagine it would be like?

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 generation of the individuals – the children of Ya'akov – passes away. Then we are introduced to a new idea.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־עַמּוֹ, הִנֵּה עַם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל רַב וְעֲצוּם מִמֶּנּוּ:

*"[Pharaoh] said to his people, 'Behold the **nation** of the children of Israel are many and stronger than us.'" (Shemot 1:9)*

And in Bereishit a covenant is made between God and Avraham. In Shemot this same covenant is made between God 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 Torah makes it clear that the correct place for this society is in its promised land.

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:

*"You shall observe to do as Hashem your God 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 God 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 God commanded to teach you, that you might do them in the Land into which you go to possess** [...] Hear O Israel, and take care to do it; that it may be well with you, and that you may increase mightily, as Hashem God of your fathers has promised you, in the **Land** that flows with milk and honey."* (Devarim 5:29-6:3)



The setting up of this state according to the Torah is the fulfilment 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 fulfil 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 fulfilment of Jewish religious duty, as it was ideally intended. (See Kuzari and Eliezer Berkovitz in additional chomer for more on this idea).

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 He has chosen us from amongst the nations and given us His Torah” (Birchat Hatorah)

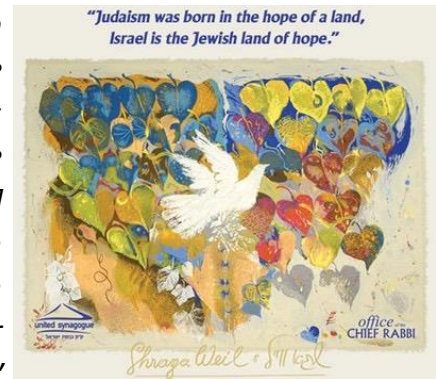
It may not be relevant to others and it may not be an argument in modern politics, but we must remember that for us the Land of Israel is much more than a refuge, much more than a nationalist enterprise. This is a paramount starting point for us at Bnei Akiva, first we must understand the historic connection 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 maleh', 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.

As we see today, no other nations look to 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. 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.”
(Rabbi Sacks: Home of Hope)





SUMMER MACHANE 5779

K2 – Jews and the diaspora



- **From national identity to the religion of the individual**
- A history of the Galut
- **Rav Kook vs Rav Hirsch:** The different perspectives on Galut
- **The Galut mentality:** Old Jew and New Jew



"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?" (Rabbi Sacks: Home of Hope)



Let's take a step back in time. After three Jewish wars against the Romans, vast numbers of Jews had been killed defending the land or had been taken captive. Ultimately Am Yisrael lost its independence, Eretz Yisrael was laid bare and the Temple was left in ruins. It was the worst destruction the Jews had ever known. No longer an independent nation living their own land most Jewish people were forced 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. In order to survive **the nation needed to adapt**. It had to shift 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". [But] 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 Syria to Switzerland and beyond. 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?

Three 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 led 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 Jewish people not being allowed to drink wine with non-Jews. 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 clearly when Rabbi Yochanan ben Zakkai instituted extreme and highly controversial changes to key Jewish practices at the destruction of the Second Temple, readying the Jews for a crushing, indefinite exile (these mainly revolved around changing the established practice from what

had been done in the Temple, to things which involved the whole nation and were performed 'zeicher l'mikdash' – in memory of the Temple). He understood that with the Beit Hamikdash gone things needed to change, in order for Judaism to survive.

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?

A Timeline of Persecution

As Jews, we were not always welcome in our newfound "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!



- 70 CE – The Romans destroy the temple and much of the land.
- 135 CE – The Bar Kochba revolt is put down thus ending the final Jewish revolt against Roman rule. Most of the Jewish people is now in exile.
- 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 in some form until 1952 when the Iraqi government expelled the Jews.

- 1038 – With the death of Rav Achai Gaon dies the Jewish diaspora shifts its centre away from Bavel. 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.
- 1200s – Moorish kingdoms in Spain fall to the Christians.
- 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.
- 1492 – Under the viciously anti-Jewish Spanish inquisition led by *Torquemada*, Jews are expelled from Spain (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 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 oldest shul in England was created by the Sephardi Jews of Holland.
- 1567 - Jews are expelled from Italy.
- 1648 – 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?

- Jewish life and culture have continued in the exile and Torah learning really took off.
- 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?

A Judaism for the Galut – The Rav Kook approach

"Since the day the Temple was destroyed, Hashem has had nothing in the world except for the four 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 and their four cubits of Halacha.**

"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.

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

- **In Tefilla:** We face Yerushalayim; pray for the ending of the exile.
- **At weddings:** Place ash on the chatan's head; smash the glass.
- **Building a new house:** Leave a patch of wall undecorated.
- **On Chaggim:** Prayer for rain introduced in the winter months; prayer added after the counting of the omer.

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. 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. While this may have saved Judaism as a religion, Rav Kook maintains that the concept of Judaism as a nation has been lost. It is particularly abstract to try and relate to an unknown individual, in unknown lands, speaking an unknown dialect as one's brother or sister.

A Judaism for the Galut – The Rav Hirsch approach



borders of Israel.

Rav Shimshon Raphael Hirsch had a different perspective regarding the Jews in Galut. Whilst Rav Kook preached that the ideal form of Judaism is 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 Rav 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 than simply compacted within the

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

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.

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

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 weak and impoverished, 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 Soloveitchik says in *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*".

Do you think that the State of Israel has changed the situation and mindset 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 kinds 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?

Does building up our national account of persecution allow us to ignore our mistakes and not apologise?

K3 – Religious Zionism



- Searching for the beginnings of Religious Zionism
- A brief look into Religious Zionist leaders and their beliefs
- Reishit Semichat Geulateinu: Messianic and Rational Religious Zionism



The beginnings of Religious Zionism

Is it possible to pinpoint exactly where and when Religious Zionism started? Perhaps it begins with the Bar Kochva rebellion, to which the prolific tanna Rabbi Akiva attributed messianic significance. This is one of the earliest examples we have of the suggestion that the birth of the messianic age will be brought about by our own efforts.

Alternatively, we could focus in on the events leading to the building of the Second Beit HaMikdash. At the time there were several efforts made to encourage the Jews to return to Israel. The spiritual leaders Ezra and Nechemiya had limited success, and even the "Koresh declaration" was met unenthusiastically by the Jews of the time. As a result, there was only a limited spiritual revival during the Bayit Sheni period. All these events bare a worryingly similar parallel to the events associated to the more modern shivat tzion process. (Sources for these people and events can be seen in the additional chomer.)



The Cyrus Cylinder at the British Museum

But this, too, would not be an accurate starting point; the Torah itself is deeply Religious Zionist! Built into the Torah's vision of Jewish life is that Am Yisrael will settle and inhabit the Land of Israel, 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 Torah.

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:

וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֶל אַבְרָם, לֵךְ לְךָ מֵאֶרֶץ וּמִמּוֹלַדְתְּךָ וּמִבֵּית אָבִיךָ, אֶל-הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֲרָאָךְ.
"And Hashem spoke to Avram saying 'Go for yourself, from your land and from your birthplace and from your father's house, to the land which I will show you'" (Bereishit 12:1)

We can see that establishing the starting point of the 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 5667 (December 1906) Rav Kook writes of himself:



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. (Igrot HaRaaya I pg. 56)

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.

Early Figures of Religious Zionism

Rav Kalischer (1795-1874) was a Polish Rabbi who studied under the famed R. 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 ..." (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" (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 R. 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" R. Akiva Eiger (1761-1837). R. Eiger 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 centre 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 (the "Chatam Sofer").

While it cannot be proven that R. 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 Kalischer introduces a proposal to perform korban Pesach on the Temple Mount (Drishat Tzion, section III). On the political side he solicits Baron Rothchild to acquire the land of the Temple Mount from the Ottoman Turks (or at least to receive permission to perform the sacrifice). On the halachic side, he sends his proposal to his Rebbi – R. Akiva Eiger. R. Eiger initially rejects Rav Kalischer's suggestion that it would be halachically permissible to perform the korban, but when the latter appeals he forwards Rav Kalischer's letters to the Chatam Sofer to investigate (R. Eiger was already old of age and had received Rav Kalischer's first proposal only a 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 Turks would allow for a Jewish ritual service to be performed on the Temple Mount (Shu"t Chatam Sofer, Yoreh Deah 236). 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 reinstating the Korban Pesach. It began with the notion that the Ultimate Redemption would come about slowly through 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.

(Full biographies of Rav Kalischer, Rav Gutmacher and Rav Kook can be found in the additional chomer.)

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 are Reishit Tzmichat Geulateinu. But what does this really mean? And why do 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 state that the Geula will occur miraculously in a single moment, with 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.

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

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. (תלמוד ירושלמי: ברכות פרק א)

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.' (Yerushalmi: Brachot Perek 1)

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

אמר רבי אלכסנדר: "רבי יהושע בן לוי רמי, כתיב: (ישעיהו ס') 'בעתה', וכתיב: 'אחישנה'!
זכו - אחישנה, לא זכו - בעתה". (תלמוד בבלי: סנהדרין צח.)

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 [the redemption will come] '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 it seems more likely that geula will come slowly, kima kima, through a gradual process, one stage at a time. So maybe this is the start...

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) 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 breakout of war, the blossoming of the land, the return of the exiles to Israel and more. Sounding familiar?

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



כה אמר ה' צבאות "עד ישבו זקנים וזקנות ברחבות ירושלים ואיש משענתו בידו מרב ימים. ורחבות העיר ימלאו ילדים וילדות משחקים ברחבתיה." (זכריה פרק ח:ד-ה)

So says Hashem: "Old men and women shall again sit in the streets of Yerushalayim, each man with his staff in his hand due to old age. And the streets of the city shall be filled with children playing in them!" (Zechariah 8:4-5)

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 have a go at reading an extract taken from 'Orot' (lights):

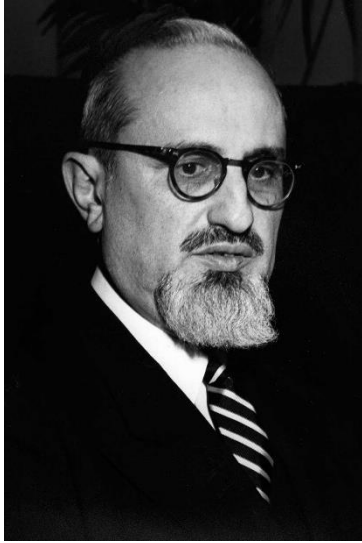
"The soul of secular Jews at the time just before the messianic era, those that are tied lovingly to the people of Israel, the land of Israel and the rebirth of the nation, is more

complete than the soul of 'faithful' Jews, who lack the appreciation for the good of the whole and building of the nation and the land. But the spirit is much more complete in the observant Jews. The observant will be improved by the completeness of the soul of the secular, who are good in relation to things relating to the whole...And the spirit of the secular will be completed by the influence of the observant...and the highest of the righteous...will be the uniting channels."

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 ביחס 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 (The Rav)



This messianic position of Rav Kook was the only stream of Religious Zionist thought up until the Rav. 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 Geulateinu. In years to come, once we enter the Messianic period, perhaps we can look back and say that this was the period of Reishit Semichat Geulateinu but we cannot determine that now. For the Rav, Tzionut was a case of orlah, leket, shmittah, yovel (While his book Kol Dodi Dofek seems to

bring a much more deterministic approach to the historical events surrounding hakamat hamedina, it is disputed amongst his closest disciples as to whether or not it contains the true thought of the Rav.) For his son in law, Rav Aharon Lichtenstein, an advocate of this stream of thought, he said in the Tefillot for Israel, 'Thei 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 still struggle 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?

For an understanding of the religious ideology behind Anti-Zionism, and the Religious Zionist response, see the additional chomer.

K4 – Herzl and the Conference



- To see the interplay between **the persecution Jews in Europe and its impact on Zionism**
- **To learn about Dreyfus Affair**
- To see Herzl and the **Zionist Congress**
- **The Uganda Proposal:** Is Israel so integral to a Jewish state?



Having looked at the Jewish people in their exile and the (re)birth of Religious Zionism we will now explore how those ideas come together – the impact of Zionism on European Jewry.

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. Papers had been found in his offices and supposedly in his handwriting. Experts were summoned. One determined that it was not Dreyfus' handwriting, while another claimed that due to the very fact that it didn't look like his handwriting, he must be guilty!

He was court-martialled, found guilty and branded a traitor to France. In a public parade before a baying crowd, after days locked up without food, he was publicly disgraced. His epaulettes were torn from his shoulders, the buttons of his uniform ripped off, and his sword taken and snapped in front of him. Remember this scene, we're going to come back to it

A colonel in the French army, Georges Picquart was convinced that the papers used to convict Dreyfus had actually been the work of an anti-Semitic major in the army, Ferdinand Esterhazy. Despite amassing significant evidence that Esterhazy was the true spy, high-ranking military officials suppressed the new evidence, acquitted Esterhazy in a sham trial and pushed Picquart to stop delving into the affair. 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. Picquart refused to let the matter rest and was removed from staff duty and sent into active duty with a French regiment in Tunisia. Not long after he was recalled, court marshalled and duly imprisoned for his efforts.

On January 13th, 1898, Emile Zola, French journalist, writer and supporter of Dreyfus wrote his now infamous letter "J'Accuse". Published on the front page of

L'Aurore it addressed President Felix Faure accusing the government and high-ranking military officials of Anitsemitism.



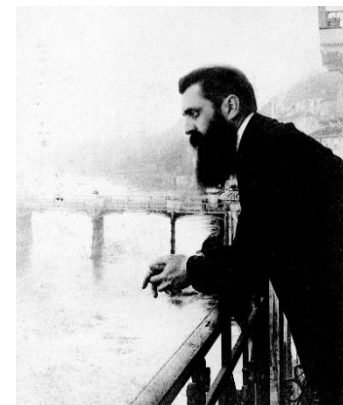
The sentence passed on Dreyfus was, he claimed, "a crime of high treason against humanity". For his part in supporting Dreyfus, Zola was prosecuted for libel and fled to England for over a year. To cut a long story short, after eight years of imprisonment and forced labour, Dreyfus was found not guilty in 1906, was reinstated to the army and was promoted. Zola returned home, and Picquart was reinstated, promoted and later to become the French war minister. (If you want to read a very good version of the full story try *An Officer and a Spy* by Robber Harris.)

Remember the public disgracing of Dreyfus? The baying crowd out for Jewish blood? The trial and parade of Dreyfus would have served no purpose in the furthering of the Zionist cause had it not been for a young Austro-Hungarian journalist following the details of the trial for a Viennese newspaper. His name was Theodor Herzl. (You can find more information on the Dreyfus Affair and its modern-day impacts in extra chomer.)

Herzl comes to life

"... Wenn Ihr aber nicht wollt, so ist es und bleibt es ein Märchen, was ich Euch erzählt habe"

"... But if you do not want it, then all this which I have told you is and remains a fairy tale" (Theodor Herzl, Altneuland)



Recognise the quote? It's not quite as we know it now. But a little bit of time, translation and artistic licence and it soon becomes:

אם תרצו, אין זו אגדה. ואם לא תרצו, אגדה היא ואגדה תישאר.

"If you will it, it is no dream; and if you do not will it, a dream it is and a dream it will stay."

When Herzl witnessed the public humiliation of Dreyfus it stirred something inside Herzl which changed him radically. His entire outlook on the future survival of the Jewish people shifted.

Herzl was born in 1860 in the Jewish quarter of Budapest, Hungary to a secular Jewish family. By the time he was 35 he was a well-known writer in a famous Viennese paper. He was sure the future of the Jews in Europe was to join the general mainstream of society; to become part and parcel with its culture. While he experienced some acts of Antisemitism none were powerful enough to make him rethink his ideology. Until the Dreyfus affair.



Roman

von

Theodor Herzl

Wenn Ihr wollt,
ist es kein Märchen



Leipzig
Hermann Seemann Nachfolger.

On 17th January 1896 (less than two years after the Dreyfus affair had begun) the first extract of his book *Der Judenstaat* – The Jewish State – was published in the Jewish Chronicle. The essence of the book was that **the Jews could not live anywhere except the Land of Israel**. If even in France, a country where the Jews were seemingly accepted into society, an event like the Dreyfus affair could still occur, then the Jewish people could never truly be safe without its own sovereignty. 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. 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 righthand man and drew up much of the practical programme of early Zionism. The first meeting of these supporters 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, when the State of Israel was declared. This was one of the many forms of Zionism that was strong in the beginning of the 20th Century.

The First Zionist Congress

The First Zionist Congress was held in Basel, 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 accompanied representatives. While women participated in the First Zionist Congress, they did not have yet voting rights. Full membership rights were accorded to them the following year, at the Second Zionist Congress.

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.

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 this, 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 Basel Congress in a word – which I shall guard against pronouncing publicly – it would be this: At Basel 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."

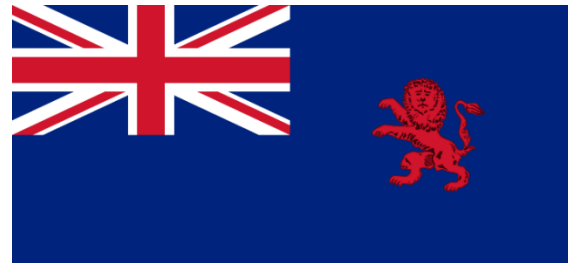
The Uganda Proposal

K4 – Herzl and the Conference

Around Easter 1903, the deaths of a young boy and girl around the area of Kishinev in Russia (now southern Ukraine) lead to pogroms sparked by Antisemitic newspapers publishing stories of blood libel. The deaths of around 50 Jews and the destruction of over 1,500 homes focused the world's attention on the oppression of the Jews in Eastern Europe and Russia. The need for a Jewish state had never been so desperate.

Theodor Herzl sought support from the great powers for the creation of a Jewish homeland. In the early 1900s 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." (This text of this letter can be seen in the additional chomer.)

At the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basel on August 26th, 1903, Herzl proposed the British Uganda Program as a *temporary refuge* for Jews in Russia in immediate danger. By a vote of 295-178 they decided to send an "investigatory commission" to examine the territory proposed.



The flag of British East India, the land proposed in the Uganda Scheme (it's actually Kenya!)

While Herzl made it clear that this programme 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?

Would it really have been able to pick up and move to the Land of Israel at a given point?

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.

(For more information on the Jews in Russia and their plight see additional chomer.)

How would you have voted at the Sixth Zionist Congress?

Are there any modern parallels to the divided opinions of, on one side, safety over the land and on the other side, land over safety?

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 booklet called 'נכבה חרטא' – 'Nakba Nonsense' that describes the Nakba as "a lie that threatens to drown us like a tsunami". The group have also 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 modern rebirth of Herzl's ideas which have become particularly extreme.

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?



SUMMER MACHANE 5779

K5 – Inception of the State



- **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
- **Secular Zionist leaders:** Who were they? How did they differ?
- **The ideology of the state:** Thinking about the impacts of the founders and ourselves on the way Israel is run.

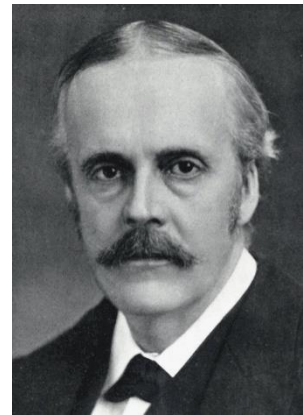


The Balfour Declaration, White Paper and what came in between.



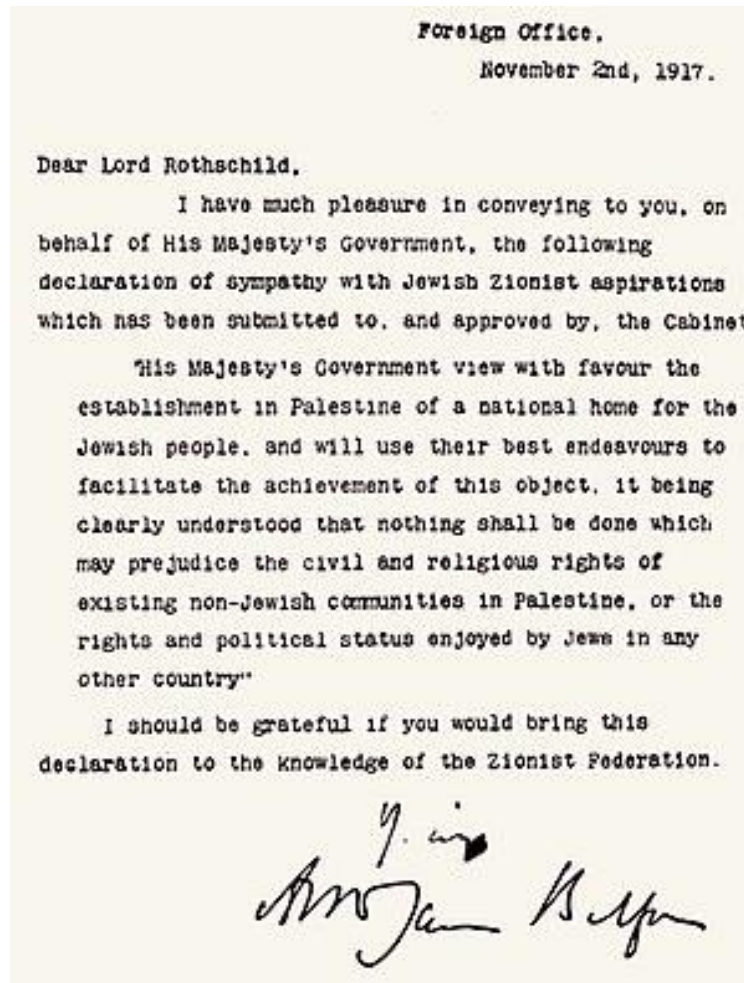
Chaim Weizmann, a massive Zionist (he had been to every Zionist Congress except the first) and brilliant Chemist, had a career which took him all over Europe. In the course of his travels he met with similar minded Jews and as many politicians as he could, endeavouring to convince them of the justice of his cause. In the early 1900s he ended up in Britain as a senior Chemistry Lecturer at the University of Manchester (in his time in Britain he managed to register almost 100 patents!).

In 1906, Arthur Balfour was MP for Manchester East, preparing for a general election. He met Weizmann and told him that although he backed the Zionist endeavour, he felt that he would be able to gather most support for the Uganda proposal. Weizmann is credited with changing his mind. He asked Balfour: "Would you give up London to live in Saskatchewan?" When Balfour replied that the British had always lived in London, Weizmann responded, "Yes, and we lived in Jerusalem when London was still a marsh."



During World War 1 Weizmann continued to move in political circles, persuading anyone who would listen to support the Zionist cause. Throughout this time, the leadership of the Jewish community in Britain had viewed the Zionist enterprise with suspicion, even attacking it in the media. When, in June 1917, the leadership of the Board of Deputies changed and began supporting Zionism, the Foreign Office asked Weizmann (together with Lord Rothschild) to submit a proposal for a Jewish home in Mandate Palestine.

On 31st October 1917, Arthur Balfour now the Foreign Secretary, responded with the official view of the government:



The government's statement was really an edited version of the draft written by Lord Rothchild, Weizmann and others. The original draft contained some elements which were included in the final letter. To see how the declaration changed over time from the original draft have a look in the extra chomer.

Is Judaism a nation or religion?

In parliament at the time of the Balfour declaration people were unsure as to why a religion deserved or required 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 was no need for them to have a country. This side was argued by Lord Montagu, a Conservative politician who had previously served in Mandate Palestine before the end of British rule.

However, Rav Kook, who was in England at the time (Coincidence? Hashgacha? Besheret?), was quoted during the debate as calling Judaism a nation. The decision was made to follow Rav Kook, seeing as a Rabbi probably knows more about Judaism than Lord Montagu!

After Balfour

Arab riots (1929-1946).

At the end of WW1 the Yishuv – the Jewish 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, Tzfat, and Haifa. Hundreds of Jews were slaughtered.



Peel Commission (1936-37)

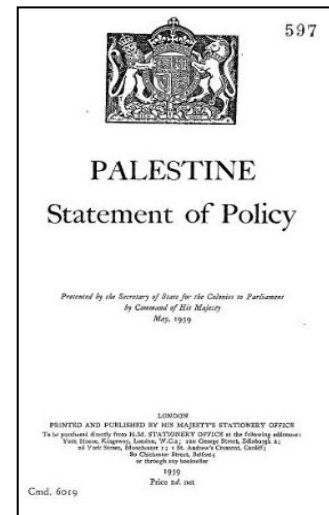
A Royal Commission was appointed in August 1936 by the British government to examine the Palestine problem, following the outbreak of the Arab Revolt (1936-39). The report published called for the partition of Palestine into a Jewish and Arab state with a British-controlled corridor from Jerusalem to the coast at Yafo. However, the plan was rejected by the Arabs (with the exception of King Abdullah of Transjordan) 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 Minister Neville Chamberlain in which a number of concessions were made to the Arabs in Mandate Palestine. It contained three main points:

- 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.
- It seriously limited Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 for the first five years and would later be contingent on Arab consent.
- 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

Theodor Herzl (1860 – 1904)

We met him in K4

Achad Ha'am (1856-1927)

- Born Asher Hirsch Ginsburg 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.



IDEOLOGY: Cultural Zionism

For Achad Ha'am, the importance of the Holy Land and the Hebrew language was not their religious significance, but because they were an integral part of the Jewish people's history and cultural heritage. He believed that kibbutz galuyot was a messianic ideal rather than a feasible contemporary project. He rejected Herzl's notion that the nations of the world would encourage Jews to move and establish a Jewish state, feeling that only through Jewish self-reliance and careful preparation would the Zionist enterprise succeed. Achad Ha'am pushed for the establishment in Palestine of small settlements aimed at reviving the Jewish spirit and culture in the modern world.

Ze'ev Jabotinsky (1880–1929)

- Born Vladimir Jabotinsky in Odessa, (then part of Russia).
- Raised in Jewish middle-class home and educated in Russian schools.
- Joined the Zionist movement after the Kishinev pogrom of 1903 (see K4, p6).
- 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.



IDEOLOGY: Revisionist Zionism

Jabotinsky's Revisionist Zionism was an outgrowth of Herzl's Political Zionism. The declared goals of Revisionist ideology included putting relentless pressure on Great Britain, including petitions and mass demonstrations, for Jewish statehood on both banks of the Jordan River; a Jewish majority in Palestine, a reestablishment of the Jewish regiments, and military training for youth.

Chaim Weizmann (1874–1952)

- Born in November 1874 in the village of Motol, Russia.
- Graduated with a degree in chemistry from the University of Fribourg, Switzerland.
- Worked with Arthur Balfour, Foreign Secretary, 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 Rehovot 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 gift of words. But if the Jewish people will go build Palestine, the Jewish State will become a reality - a fact."

Nachman Syrkin (1868-1924)

- Born in Belorussia (then part of Russia).
- Leader of the Socialist Zionist faction in the First Zionist Congress.
- An early sponsor of the Jewish National Fund (JNF, founded in 1901).
- Emigrated to the US in 1907, where he joined the Zionist movement Poalei Zion.
- Died in the US in 1924 of a heart-attack.



IDEOLOGY: Socialist Zionism

Syrkin strove to achieve Jewish national and social redemption by fusing Zionism with Socialism. He was opposed the concept of the "spiritual centre" in Eretz Yisrael, but still supported making Hebrew the sole Jewish national language. It gave rise to many pioneering youth movements, such as Hashomer Hatz'air and Hehalutz and its leaders were among the most prominent in the pre-independence Palestine community and the State of Israel, for example David Ben-Gurion.

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.
- Made Aliyah in 1906 and immediately became involved in politics, becoming chairman of the Poalei Zion in Yaffo.
- Moved to Istanbul in 1912 to study law and changed his name to Ben Gurion.



- Became head of the World Zionist Organization in 1946 and president of the Jewish Agency Executive. As such 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 first to sign the declaration!
- Resigned in 1954 and served as Minister of Defence, before returning to office in 1955.
- Stepped down in 1963 and retired from political life in 1970 when he moved to Sde Boker where he lived until his death.
- Names posthumously as 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. Plonsk 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?

In light of 21st Century tolerance and acceptance, is it really right for us to see a state based on religious/halachic values as an ideal for the present?

K6 – Underground Movements



- The **resistance movements** active in the pre-State period
- **'New Jew'**: What does it mean to no longer be the underdog.
- **Fighting for freedom**: Is a difference between those movements and modern-day terrorists?



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 צה"ל – the IDF (We will be looking at the IDF in K8). However, we must remember that the IDF was preceded by a number of other movements who fought 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 protect the Jews who were already living in the Land of Israel.

Jewish Defence in Mandate Palestine

Dating back into the early 1900's, as long as there had been large groups of Jews in the Holy Land, there were groups working to defend them. During World War 1, Jews had fought alongside the British to defeat the Ottoman Empire in the Zion Mule Corps and the Jewish Legion. After Arab riots in 1920 the leaders of the Yishuv – the Jewish community in Mandate Palestine – recognised the need for a nationwide defence organisation and so the Haganah was founded.

At first poorly trained and equipped with no central leadership, the Haganah was transformed following the 1929 Arab riots. All settlements and cities enlisted their young men and women, the organisation began acquiring foreign arms and developing their own weapons. The leaders of the Yishuv instructed the Haganah to follow a policy of havlaga – restraint. The organisation was to defend Jewish areas and people, but never counterattack or pre-emptively strike.

In 1931, elements of the Haganah, dissatisfied with the policy of havlagah, splintered off and formed Hatzvai Hareumi (The National Military Organisation, also known as the Irgun or Etzel). Even so it acted similarly to the Haganah, and the two organisations cooperated until the Arab Revolt in 1936, when the Arab population attempted to end all Jewish migration to Mandate Palestine.

In November 1936 the British sent the Peel Commission to discover the source of the revolt and to suggest solutions. Many in the Yishuv hoped that this would lead to the political establishment of a Jewish State and reinforced the policy of havlagah. In response 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 fervently Zionist Christian Captain,

Orde Charles Wingate who hoped one day to stand at the head of a Jewish Army. (He was eventually recalled to Britain when his supervisors realised he was a bit of a nutcase!)

The White Paper 1939 [see K5, p4]

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 break 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.

For the Irgun, the White Paper made the British a serious target. As well as approving attacks against the Arabs, the Irgun decided to use all methods possible to get the British out and open up the channels of immigration.

When World War Two 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 Lehi (לוחמי) חרות ישראל – Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, also known as the 'Stern Gang) 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-Jewish areas.

The Underground Movements

Haganah

- Originally founded to protect the Yishuv.
- Tactics were decided in accordance with political needs, aiming to open the borders to free Jewish immigrants.
- Struggle was to be conducted with the **minimum amount of bloodshed: only the British army will be attacked, not civilians.**
- 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.

Irgun (Etzel)

- War is against the British, who have turned Eretz Yisrael into a military base.
- Decide on targets and methods of action with the intention of **causing maximum damage to the British forces.**
- Armed struggle will be accompanied by political activity and propaganda which will weaken the British will to fight us.
- 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)

- Independence will be achieved only by a concentrated war of Liberation against the occupying power.
- Use **all methods in the fight against this army and all its supporters.**
- War of liberation will transform the Yishuv into an independent lobby, able to find allies who will support it against Britain (including local and neighbouring Arabs).
- Members are volunteers, selected with great care and able to withstand the great strain placed upon freedom-fighters.



In 1940, Avraham Stern broke off from the Irgun and formed Lehi, 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 between the groups on a number of occasions.

Today many of us seriously consider joining the IDF, but 80 years ago would you have joined any of these organisations? Which one? Why?



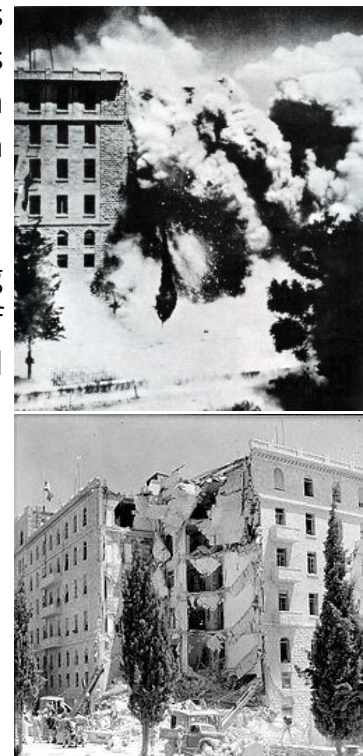
King David Hotel Bombing

The Haganah and the Irgun got together for one incident, the bombing of the King David Hotel on Monday 22nd June. 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.

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 teams found 91 bodies, including 28 British officers, under the rubble.

Let's see what everyone says about it...





*SIR JOHN SHAW (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.”*

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. 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 'New Jew'

A large part of the ideology of Revisionist Zionism of Ze'ev Jabotinsky (one-time head of the Irgun) was the philosophical reconsideration of what it means to be a Jew. Until this point in time there had only been the 'Galut Jew' – beaten, downtrodden, oppressed and weak. The Jew of expulsions, pogroms and Holocaust.

Now there was a chance to reinvent that image. The strong Jew, the new Jew, who could take charge of their own destiny, rather than have others determine it for them.

One individual who encapsulated that idea was Mordechai Anilewicz, leader of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. In him, many saw the future of the Jewish People, and they were determined to establish a state which could stand up and protect itself.

For an interesting study in this shift have a look at the monuments at Yad VaShem. You can see them in the additional chomer.



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-defence" as absolute labels which we attribute to different sides of a disputation or are these terms in fact fluid?

Ultimately it was Arab MK Hanin Zoabi who has said:

"Whoever stands by a just cause cannot possibly be called a terrorist"

Do you agree or disagree?

How do you define 'terrorism'? Look up some definitions.

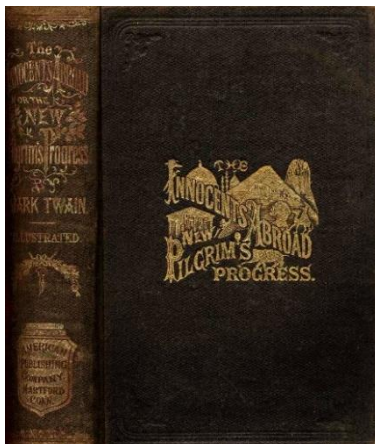
Factors leading to Hakamat Hamedina

Historically, many factors and events contributed to the establishment of the State of Israel – Hakamat Hamedina. We have already seen the birth of the Zionist movement (K's 3 and 5) and some of the foreign politics involved (K4). In this kvutsa we will be taking a closer look at:

- Jewish settlement of the land through the different aliyot,
- The impact of the Holocaust on:
 - Illegal immigration,
 - Jewish resistance.
- The United Nations.

Jewish settlement· The Aliyot

In 1867, Mark Twain visited Palestine, then a small part of the Ottoman Empire. It was a desolate backwater of a country with only 20,000 Jews. He wrote:



"Palestine sits in sackcloth and ashes. Over it broods the spell of a curse that has withered its fields and fettered its energies. Palestine is desolate and unlovely – Palestine is no more of this workday world. It is sacred to poetry and tradition, it is dreamland." ... "There was hardly a tree or a shrub anywhere. Even the olive and the cactus, those fast friends of a worthless soil, had almost deserted the country" ... "A desolation is here that not even imagination can grace with the pomp of life and action. We reached Tabor safely. We never saw a human being on the whole route" ... "There is not a solitary village throughout its

whole extent – not for thirty miles in either direction ... One may ride ten miles hereabouts and not see ten human beings." ... "These unpeopled deserts, these rusty mounds of barrenness..." (Mark Twain, Innocents Abroad, Chapters 46, 49, 52 and 56)

Before the state existed, there were certain times in which immigration picked up. These six Aliyot can be clearly distinguished from each other and each had their own unique driving causes. Each wave of Aliyah shaped how the state developed. Bear in mind that these were the first mass migrations to Israel in nearly 2000 years.

When reading about the six Aliyot, think about what push and pull factors people might have been driven by. Also consider if it is fair with the gift of hindsight 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 bevinjana', 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 from the initials of the pasuk in Yeshayah 2:5

"בית יעקב לכו ונלכה..."

"House of Ya'akov, come and let us go"

Their 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 Yaffo). In 1901, the Jewish National Fund (JNF) was founded. Their 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...

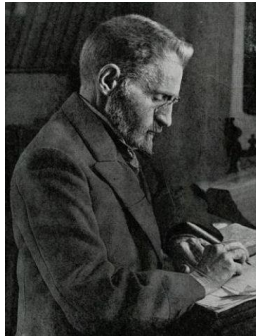
"כִּי־תִצּוֹר אֶל־עִיר יָמִים רַבִּים לְהִלָּחֵם עָלֶיהָ לְתַפְּסָהּ, לֹא־תִשְׁחִית אֶת־עֵצֶיהָ לְנֹדַח עָלֶיהָ גִּרְזֹן, כִּי מִמֶּנּוּ תֹאכַל וְאֵתוֹ לֹא תִכְרֹת, כִּי הָאָדָם עַץ הַשָּׂדֶה לֵבָא מִפְּנֵיךָ בְּמִצּוֹר."

"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?" (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 Aliyah (1904-1914)

The Uganda proposal set back the settlement of the land, as did Herzl's early death in 1904. But there were more pioneers still to come. The Kishinev pogroms in Russia (K4 p6) 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 Hebrew language had been reintroduced in the first aliya. Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (1858-1922) 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. It was brought to a premature end by the outbreak of WW1. 10,000 Jews died of illness and hunger, and many others left the country. The Jewish 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 Aliyah (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

In addition, the Balfour declaration of 1917 gave new encouragement. The displacement of many people at the end of the war, combined with strict immigration quotas to the US also led Jews to Israel. The third aliya expanded the map of Israel with many more kibbutzim and moshavim. The JNF purchased land in the Jezebel Valley in the lower Galil region and 26,000 Jews settled there. The olim built roads, town and drained the marshes.



The Fourth Aliyah (1924-1928)

67,000 new olim entered the land. They included more middle-class people, primarily from Poland, with more professional occupations including 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.



Middle Eastern Jews also arrived from Yemen and Iraq. The new olim dwelt in towns, building up the coastal area. They invested their money in factories, small hotels, restaurants, shops and most of all in construction. During the fourth Aliyah the population of Tel Aviv quadrupled to 40,000!

Towards the end of this wave an economic crisis hit the region badly. The rate of immigration slowed to a trickle and more people left the country in 1927 than entered it. 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 Aliyah (1929-1939)



Following an economic comeback in the area a few made aliya in 1929. But numbers increased significantly following Hitler's rise to power in 1933. 164,000 migrated legally to Israel between 1933 and 1936 and thousands more entered illegally. Over a quarter 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 the Arabs called general strikes to protest against the levels of Jewish immigration. Crops and trees that had been planted were destroyed. 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 Aliyah (1940-1947)

113,000 journeyed from Poland, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and other European countries. The White Paper (K5, p4) did not stop the new influx of olim, but a lot of them were illegal immigrants, known as the Ma'apilim. The arrival of Jews escaping Europe in contravention to the White Paper was referred to as Aliyah 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 half a million acres of land belonged to the Jews. At the end of WW2, 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. (For the relationship between the Holocaust, Aliyah and the establishment of the state, see the additional chomer.)

Illegal Immigration

Even during the war Britain stood by its policy and refused to let those who had escaped Europe into Mandate Palestine, so they decided to take matters into their own hands. A limited number of refugees were smuggled in during the war, and after the war the 'Illegal Immigration' was stepped up. It was known as the *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 port of Haifa where the Jewish refugees were taken off and sent to internment camps in Cyprus or the Atlit detention centre in Israel.

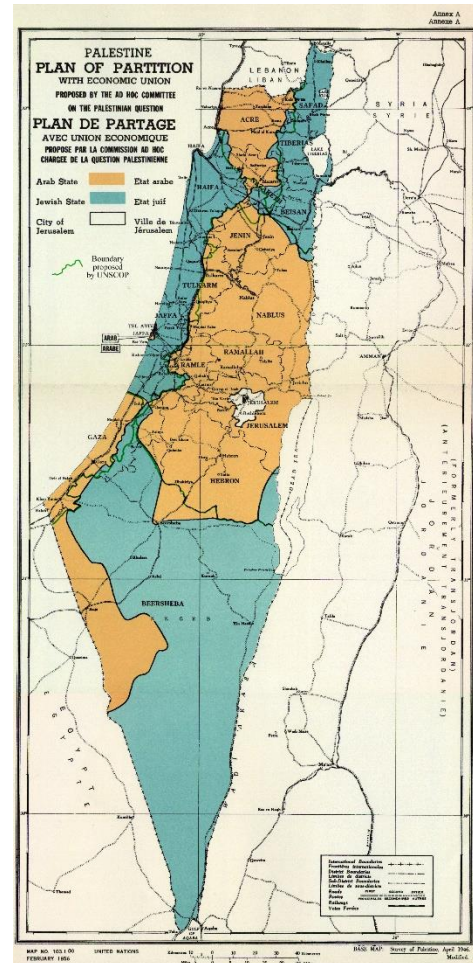
Perhaps the best-known case is that of the ship Exodus which brought 4,500 survivors from France in 1947. Those aboard were not allowed to disembark, and the ship was sent back to France. The survivors refused to leave the ship and the French authorities didn't want the Jews so ultimately the British sent the ship to British controlled Germany. The survivors were to be kept in their old concentration camps! This saga was followed with astonishment all round the world, there was an outcry in the press, and it was very embarrassing for Britain.

The United Nations

Britain found it increasingly difficult to control their mandate. The waves of clandestine migration were only increasing, and international public support dropped in light of the Exodus affair and similar stories. The morale of the troops stationed there was being worn down by the underground movements (K6), and pressure at home in the UK rose with the deaths of British forces. **The British finally gave up, returning the Mandate for Palestine to the United Nations in 1947.**

After the British renounced the 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 recommendation was voted on in November 1947 and adopted by the UN General Assembly as Resolution 181 – the partition of Palestine into two states, one Arab and one Jewish.



What were the factors which led to the creation of the State of Israel?

Which was the most important?

'The state was inevitably going to come about; it was just a question of when.' Is this statement true?

K8 – In Defence of Israel



- **Israel's wars:** What were they? How did they affect Israel?
- **The IDF**
- **Modern Anti-Semitism:** Our fight



"You know on May 13, the day before Israeli 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)

One of the sad realities of the modern State of Israel is the seemingly never-ending conflict. In just over 70 short years of life, Israel has had to fight in seven major wars, countless battles and operations and face the very real threats of terror and annihilation.

If every war and operation were listed in detail here, this part of the Chomer would likely grow by several pages each year. And as much as it is important to have a good understanding of the politics and history around these conflicts, this Machane is also meant to look forwards, to how our Chanichim can build, support and defend the State themselves.

With this in mind, what will follow will be a brief outline of the major wars and operations Israel has faced (with more information available in the additional chomer) and a more in depth look at the modern fights of Anti-Zionism and Antisemitism. Let's start with a quick look at the IDF itself.

The Israel Defence Forces

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

- Defence of the State, its Citizens and its Residents
- Love of the Homeland and Loyalty to the Country
- Human Dignity



Main Doctrine

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

Is it only an Israeli army or a Jewish army as well? (Have a look at the Raid on Entebbe in the additional chomer.)



The Civil War in Mandate Palestine (December 1947-May 1948)

On 29 November 1947, the UN passed the Partition Plan (see left). The Jewish Agency representing the Yishuv accepted the plan, while the representatives of the Arab communities refused it. The next day rioting broke out, growing in violence until there was a fully blown armed struggle between the two communities. The British remained neutral and began organising their withdrawal from the region.

The War of Independence (May 1948-March 1949)

Following the Israeli Declaration of Independence and the termination of the British Mandate overnight between 14th and 15th May, the armies of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon invaded the new country. The war was marked by long periods of fighting and temporary cease-fires. Fighting officially ended in January 1949, at which time Israel held an additional 2,500 square miles beyond its allocation under the partition plan. In the following months, 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.



The Sinai Campaign (October 1956)

Description: A joint campaign between Israel, Britain and France to weaken Egyptian control over international trade. Egypt had violated the terms of the Egyptian-Israeli armistice agreement by blocking Israeli ships from passing through the Suez Canal (red oval) and the Straits of Tiran (red circle) rendering the port at Eilat close to useless. Israel also hoped to stop cross border attacks from Palestinian Arab *Fedayeen*

which had killed or wounded 260 Israeli citizens in 1955.

Outcome: 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. 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 mobilised for a large-scale war. Egypt ordered the withdrawal of the UN forces stationed on the Egyptian-Israeli border that had been there since 1957. Egypt then crossed Israel's red line by closing the Straits of Tiran to Israeli trade.

The IDF mobilised, to the point where 80 percent of soldiers were reserves, and launched a pre-emptive strike against Egypt, destroying its air force while still on the runway and gaining control of Sinai and Gaza.

In Jordan, King Hussein ignored the advice of PM Levi Eshkol not to get drawn in. Israel responded and captured Judea, Samaria and Jerusalem. In Syria, in response to heavy shelling Israel captured the Golan heights and ended 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.

The US helped organise troop disengagement agreements (not 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).

The war had a big impact on Israeli society and the attitude to war in the country. Commissions and public discontent lead to the eventual resignation of Prime Minister Golda Meir and Minister of Defence Moshe Dayan and the cabinet.



The First Lebanon War (June 1982)

The attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London on June 3rd, 1982, prompted Israel to attack Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO – see additional chomer) 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. Israeli troops maintained a security buffer zone along the border until 1999.

First Intifada (December 1987–September 1993)

This can be seen as the first part of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (as opposed to the broader Arab-Israeli Conflict). Frustrations grew among the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. Many lived in refugee camps and were employed as cheap labour in Israeli industry. Overcrowding, limited opportunity, land confiscation, unemployment and a growing young activist population lead to clashes, protests and conflicts, Israeli responses were harsh, hoping to crush and exhaust Palestinian resistance.



In December 1987 several flashpoint events triggered an escalation. Bombings, stabbings, stone throwings and ultimately suicide bombings. The hostilities were brought to an end by several peace conferences and the signing of the Oslo

Accords. This led to the official recognition of Israel by the PLO, enabling future discussion and dialogue, as well as the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) to administer Palestinian communities. In total, 300 Israelis and 2000 Palestinians were killed.



Second Intifada (September 2000-February 2005)

Following the visit of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to the Temple Mount violent demonstrations started. Unrest escalated with stabbings, shootings and lynchings. Palestinian suicide bombers targeted Israeli

civilians on buses and at public gatherings. Israel responded with arrests, blockades and airstrikes, and began the construction of the security wall to prevent suicide bombers moving into Israel so easily. Israel also committed to withdrawing from the Gaza strip. In total, 3000 Palestinians and 1000 Israelis were killed

The Second Lebanon War (June 2006)

This war was a military conflict in Lebanon and northern Israel, primarily between Hezbollah paramilitary forces and the Israeli military. The conflict began when Hezbollah used rocket and mortar fire to divert attention from a unit that crossed the border and kidnapped two Israeli soldiers (Ehud Goldwasser and Eldad



Regev) and killed three others. Israel lost five more soldiers in an unsuccessful rescue attempt. Israel responded with massive air strikes and artillery fire on Lebanese civilian infrastructure used by Hezbollah to import weapons. This was accompanied by 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.

The conflict killed over 1,400 people, most of whom were Lebanese civilians, severely damaged Lebanese infrastructure, displaced hundreds of thousands of Lebanese and Israelis and disrupted normal life in both countries.

The UN helped to end hostilities by calling for the disarming of Hezbollah, the withdrawal of Israeli troops, the deployment of official Lebanese soldiers along the border and an enlarged UN force in Lebanon (UNIFIL). On July 16th, 2008, the final chapter in the second Lebanon war was written, with the prisoner exchange that took place (see additional chomer).

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

Ongoing Gaza Conflicts (2008, 2012, 2014)

Towns in southern Israel have repeatedly come under fire from the Hamas administration in Gaza as well as several other militant groups. Israel periodically responds with various measures including air raids, tightening the blockades around Gaza and on two occasions (2008, 2014) ground invasions.

Since 2018 and the 70th anniversary of the State of Israel and failure of Palestinian nationalistic ambitions, boarder skirmishes, shootings, tunnels and fire damage caused by burning arson balloons have become the norm.

The military success of these operations is questionable, with both sides often claiming victory. The conflict is also portrayed in different ways in the international media.

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?



Israel's defences are not without their costs, on Yom Hazikaron 2019 Israel commemorated 23,741 soldiers killed since 1860 (considered the start of the rebirth of the modern state, coinciding with the building of the first Jewish neighbourhood outside of the Old City) in the line of duty for the independence, preservation and protection of the nation, and 3,971 civilian terror victims.



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 different wars of Israel?

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?

Our Fight – When Anti-Zionism is Antisemitism

When politicians the world over face claims of antisemitism related to comments about Israel the common response is that criticism Israel is not antisemitism. In one way they are right, the ability to criticise Israel is entirely 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 critique and to praise in rightful measures.

That being said, is there a point where this could cross over into Antisemitism? As head of the Jewish Agency, Natan Sharansky claimed that criticising Israel becomes Antisemitism when any of these three conditions – 3 D's are seen:



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 Antisemitism, not legitimate criticism of Israel. (See Jeremy Corbyn in additional chomer)

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 Antisemitism.

Delegitimization: when Israel's fundamental right to exist is denied – alone among all peoples in the world - this too is Antisemitism

Do we agree with Sharansky's three D test?

Attitudes Towards Anti-Zionism

If Zionism is the drive to express the national ambitions of the Jewish People, in other words the right for Jews to have self-determination, self-governance and control over their own destiny, then surely anti-Zionism is more than just disagreeing with Israeli politics. It is denying the Jewish People that very right! That already ticks two out of Sharansky's three D's. It is a double standard that Jews should not have the right to build a nation when every other People has that right, and it denies the very right of Israel to exist. As such, anti-Zionism in this form IS antisemitic.

This equation (anti-Zionism = antisemitism) is, however, built on several debatable points. Way back in K5 (page three, the Rav Kook 'coincidence') we saw that the defining of Jews as a People has at times been debated. At the same time, there are elements within the Jewish community who do not attach significance to the modern State of Israel and therefore would not class anti-Zionism as antisemitism. You can also get into the philosophy of politics and debate what a 'People' is, what a 'Nation' is, what a 'State' is, and whether or not there are 'Rights' relating to them.



Additionally, many would not push the definition of anti-Zionism to such an extreme, and instead would say that one can be anti-Zionist by holding issues with Israeli policy rather than the right for Jews to have a homeland and as such can be an anti-Zionist without being antisemitic.

The connection between antisemitism, anti-Zionism, Judaism and Israel is complex. Rabbi Sacks ties it together in his videos on the 'mutating virus' that is antisemitism (check them out at rabbisacks.org/rabbi-sacks-on-antisemitism-and-anti-zionism/).

Does our specific angle of Religious Zionism lend itself to a particular view out of the ideas we just read?

What Can We Do?

Zionism today is clearly not about draining swamps and planting eucalyptus trees. Israel is a thriving country with a strong economy, hi-tech industry, social

progression and more. But we know that Israel can always reach and be taken to new heights. It is for us and our Chanichim to take it there.



Until we make Aliyah and contribute directly, we can still educate about Israel, talk about Israel, be proud of Israel, not be afraid to sing her praises in the public sphere. We can learn Torat Yisrael and really think about what we are saying when we say *v'lirushalayim ir'cha b'rachamim tashuv* and *im eshkacheich yerushalayim*. We can really think about

the *Hatikvah bat shnot alpayim* – the hopes and dreams of the Jewish People to return to their land after 2000 years. We can read Israeli authors and learn Ivrit, immerse ourselves in Israeli culture. All of this is Zionism, and our Zionism is very much part of our religious identity. The ultimate way of transforming something *chol* – secular/mundane, into something *kodesh* – elevated/holy.

We can also defend Israel when people speak out against her. You can see some of the latest events in UK politics in the additional chomer. Write to your MP, write for the press, write for social media, don't be afraid to put yourself out there and to get your Chanichim realise that they can too.

Your task for this Machane is by no means a simple one. You have to inspire young diaspora Jewry to think big, to really see where they fit into the ever-unfolding story of the Jewish People and their homeland. But to paraphrase what is potentially the most inspirational and emotional quote of Torah, an outcry of belief in the face of absolute adversity:

עֲלֵה נְעֻלָּה ... כִּי יָכוֹל נוֹכַל לָהּ. (במדבר יג:ל)

You will succeed, because you definitely can!

What can you as a Boger of Bnei Akiva UK do 'In Defence of Israel'?
What can our Chanichim to 'In Defence of Israel'?

K1-8 Additional Chomer



To serve as a supplement to the educational material provided in the chomer for Bet Chalutzi machane 5779



K1 – Why Israel?

Yitzchak and the Land of Israel

וַיְהִי רָעַב בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם מִלֶּבֶד הָרָעַב הָרִאשׁוֹן אֲשֶׁר הָיָה בַיָּמֵי אַבְרָהָם וַיֵּלֶךְ יִצְחָק אֶל אַבְיִמֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ פְּלִשְׁתִּים גְּרָרָה. וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו ה', וַיֹּאמֶר אֵל תֵּרַד מִצְרַיִם שֶׁכֵן בְּאֶרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אָמַר אֵלָיךְ.

There was a famine in the land, aside from the first famine that was in the days of Avraham, and Yitzchak went to Avimelech, king of the Plishtim in Gerar. Hashem appeared to him and said "Do not descend to Egypt, dwell in the land that I will tell you. (Bereishit 26:1-2)

God 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" (Rashi on "Do not descend to Egypt")

Ya'akov and the Land of Israel

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 God appears to Ya'akov and says:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּמַרְאֵת הַלַּיְלָה, וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב יַעֲקֹב אֵל תִּירָא מִרְדָּה מִצְרַיִם כִּי לְגוֹי גָדוֹל אֲשִׁימְךָ שָׁם. אֲנֹכִי אֵרַד עִמָּךְ מִצְרַיִם וְאֲנֹכִי אֵעֲלֶךְ גַּם עִלָּה.

"Hashem spoke to Yisrael in a vision in the night and he said 'Ya'akov, Ya'akov, 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:

וַיִּקְחוּ אֶת מִקְנֵיהֶם וְאֶת רְכוּשָׁם אֲשֶׁר רָכְשׁוּ בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן וַיָּבֹאוּ מִצְרַיִם יַעֲקֹב וְכָל זֶרְעוֹ אִתּוֹ.
*"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"

Practical Halacha

"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)

The Kuzari

Read the following extract from the Kuzari while thinking about the following points:

What is the Kuzari saying?

Are people living in Israel inherently better than others?

What are the implication of this claim?

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 Machpelah] were buried the four pairs: Adam and Eve, Abraham and Sarah, Isaac and Rebecca, 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). 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 (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.

Additional Chomer

The Torah offers us a national constitution based on religious principles. 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 Jews 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 Jews 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 Jews 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).

Biography: Maharal of Prague

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

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

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

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

K3 – Religious Zionism

Sources for the section 'The beginnings of Religious Zionism'

R Akiva and Bar Kochba: Yerushalmi Taanit 24a

Limited success of Ezra and Nechemiya: Ezra 2:64; Divrei Hayamin II 36

"Koresh declaration": Ezra 1; British Museum – Cyrus Cylinder

Limited spiritual revival during the Bayit Sheni period: Yoma 9b

Early Religious Zionist leaders

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
- A member of the Zionist organisation Chovevei Tzion, from its inception
- Founded Mizrahi, the Zionist organisation



Theodor Herzl 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 Third Zionist Congress (1899) while most of his eastern and western European rabbinical colleagues remained opposed to political Zionism. In 1902 Rav Reines published a book, Or Chadash al Tzion ("A New Light on Zion") which presents a call to a Zionist Judaism, one which includes all Jews, economic productivity and training, and a renewed Judaism in thought, emotion, and action. He believed that whereas medieval Jews 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 organised a conference of the religious Zionist movement in Vilna, where the Mizrahi movement was founded. He was recognised as the movement's leader at its founding convention in Pressburg (today's Bratislava, Slovakia) 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 British Uganda Program as temporary measure to save Jews from the Pogroms.

Rav Tzvi Hersh Kalisher (1795-1874)

- Born in 1795 in Lissa (today Leszno, Poland)
- Studied with Jacob of Lissa and R. Akiva Eiger of Posen.
- Died in October 16, 1874 (aged 79)



His thoughts centred on one idea: the settlement of the Land of Israel by Jews, in order to provide a home for the homeless Eastern European Jews and transform the many Jewish beggars in the Holy Land into a population able to support itself by agriculture. He began writing in the Ha-Levanon Hebrew monthly magazine (in newly renovated Modern Hebrew). In 1862 he published his book Drishat Tzion on this subject, including many quotes from his commentaries in the Ha-Levanon magazine.

He proposed:

1. To collect money from Jews in all countries for this purpose
2. To buy and cultivate land in Palestine
3. To establish an agricultural school, either in Palestine itself or in France
4. To form a Jewish military guard for the security of the colonies

He thought the time especially favourable for the carrying out of this idea, as the sympathy of men like Isaac Moïse Crémieux, Moses Montefiore, Edmond James de Rothschild, and Albert Cohn rendered the Jews politically influential. To these and similar Zionist ideals he gave expression in his Drishat Zion (Lyck, 1862), containing three theses:

1. The salvation of the Jews, promised by the Prophets, can come about only in a natural way — by self-help; (which we will look into later)
2. Colonisation in Palestine;
3. Admissibility of the observance of sacrifices in Palestine at the present day.

He is considered to have been one of the most important of those who prepared the way for the foundation of modern Zionism.

Rav Avraham Yitzchak HaKohen Kook (1865-1935)

- Born in 1865 in Griva, Latvia (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, author of Emek Davar).
- Moved to Eretz Yisrael in 1904 to become Rabbi of Yafo.



- During WWI he got stuck in Switzerland and then London, 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.

He was a great Talmid Chacham and one of the most profound thinkers of our time. He drew inspiration from the world of Kabala and used incredibly poetic and lyrical language in his works. In his works he addressed many controversial issues, such as the religious state of the generation and how to relate to the newly flourishing land. He revealed the sources and the roots of one of the greatest visions in our times – the revival of the Jewish people.

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), this was 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 Rav Kook continue to educate each generation in Israel to the love of Torah, Hashem, Israel and to a burning love for Zion.

'Religious Anti-Zionism'



In the Gemara (Ketubot 111a) we learn that at the beginning of the exile Hashem made two oaths with the Jewish people and one with the nations of the world. Together they are referred to as (surprise) 'The Three Oaths' – ג' שבועות. The Gemara reads as follows:

ג' שבועות הללו, למה? אחת: שלא יעלו ישראל בחומה. ואחת: שהשביע הקדוש ברוך הוא את ישראל שלא ימרדו באומות העולם. ואחת: שהשביע הקדוש ברוך הוא את אומות העולם שלא ישתעבדו בהן בישראל יותר מדאי.

These three oaths, what are they? First: That Israel should not go up 'as a wall' (i.e en-masse). Second: That Hashem made Israel swear not to rebel against the nations of the world. Third: That Hashem made the nations of the world swear not to subjugate Israel excessively.

This passage has many, many different interpretations. Some see it as an absolute statement against supporting the State of Israel and the Zionist endeavour, as both encourage the Jewish people to return to Israel in large, organised groups ('a wall'), which would be breaking the first oath.

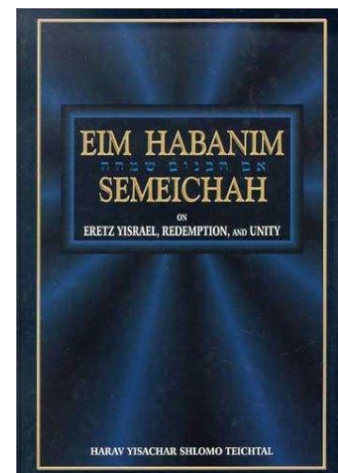
Few amongst those would say that it is *forbidden* for Jews to live in the Land of Israel, as long as it is done 'privately' and without supporting or contributing towards the State.



Others, most noticeably Rav Yissachar Shlomo Teichtal (1885-1945), argued that following the Holocaust the nations of the world had clearly broken their oath not to overly oppress the Jews, and therefore the entire contract was void, and the Jewish People now have no restrictions against returning to Israel.

Rav Teichtal was born in Hungary to a dynasty of well-known Rabbis, received three sets of semicha from European giants of Torah and became Rabbi and av beit din of the city of Pishtan, Czechoslovakia. Originally, he viewed the Zionist movement in much the same way as most Haredi communities and rabbonim at the time. As a result of the Holocaust however, his perspective shifted. He wrote his sefer *Eim HaBanim Semeicha* in 1942-3 whilst in hiding from the Nazis. It serves as a halachic argument for establishing a state in Israel and making Aliyah. In parts it also attacks the Haredi mindset to which he once subscribed, for not putting any of their effort into moulding the Jewish State. Rav Teichtal was killed on a prisoner transport train in January 1945 whilst standing up for a Jew who was being beaten up.

Besides Rav Teichtal's book, there are about 12 responses to the Three Oaths. These range from some that imply it has never had practical implications in the first place, to others which say it was absolved in the world wars, and another view which sees adoption of UN Resolution 181 (the partition of Mandate Palestine to include a Jewish State), or even the Balfour declaration, as the nations of the world granting the Jewish People their homeland, effectively negating the second oath. Rav Aviner has an essay on this translated into English, it's worth a cheeky google search!



"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-hechyanu*" 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' (*Yael* 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 (*Hilkhos 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" (*Hilkhos 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.]

K4 – Herzl and the Conference

The Jews of Eastern Europe

Before World War I most Jews were confined to the Pale - an area limited mainly to what is today Lithuania, Belarus 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 officer's 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.

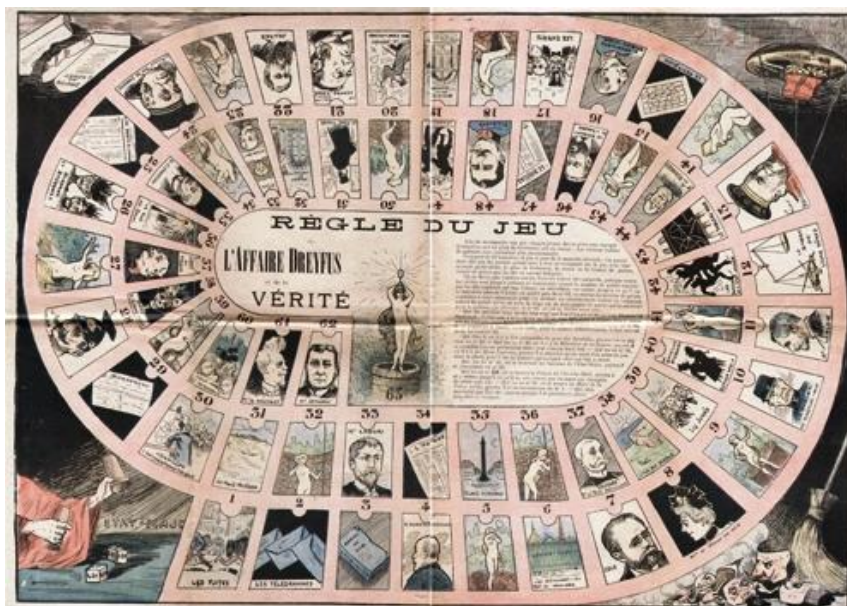
In the Kishinev pogrom of April 6, 1903, around 50 Jews were killed by the mob. The Kishinev Pogrom began relatively 'innocuously' with the shattering of windows but quickly developed into an all-out attack upon 1,500 Jewish homes, shops and Jews themselves. The government administration and supporters favoured the pogroms and the police did nothing for two 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). There was a solemn burial of the Scrolls of the Law that had been desecrated during the pogrom. In 1906 there were pogroms in Bialystok, leaving eighty dead.

With the accession of Nicholas II, the last Tsar, there was an increase in Anitsemitism. 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 cruellest 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, Antiemitic politicians and leaders, and his supporters such as the eminent French writer Emile Zola. The instructions are written in centre of the game. It sold for \$1190 at auction.



An article discussing the still present impact of the Dreyfus Affair on modern France.

Additional Chomer

France is still fractured by the Dreyfus Affair. Nationalists were fixated on the idea that there was a conspiracy against Catholicism – and the most obvious culprits were the Jews: By Piers Paul Read (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

Letter from the government to the Zionist Congress discussing potential Jewish settlement in East Africa.

Eine Erklärung der englischen Regierung.*)

Sir Clement Hill, Chief of Protectorate Dept. to Mr. L. J. Greenberg.

Foreign Office.

Aug. 14th 1903.

SIR,

Mr. Chamberlain communicated to the Marquess of Lansdowne the letter which you addressed to him on the 13th ultimo containing the form of an agreement which Dr. Herzl proposes should be entered into between His Majesty’s Government and the Jewish Colonial Trust Ltd. for the establishment of a Jewish settlement in East Africa.

His Lordship has also had under his consideration the remarks made by you on 6th Just, on the occasion of your interview in this office with Sir E. Barrington and Mr. Hurst.

I am now directed by His Lordship to say that he has studied the question with the interest which His Majesty’s Government must always take in any well-considered scheme for the amelioration of the position of the Jewish Race. The time at his disposal has been too short to enable him to go fully into the details of the plan or to discuss it with His Majesty’s Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate, and he regrets that he is therefore unable to pronounce any definite opinion in the matter.

He understands that the Trust desire to send some gentlemen to the East Africa Protectorate, who may ascertain personally whether there are any vacant lands suitable for the purposes in question, and, if this is so he will be happy to give them every facility to enable them to discuss with His Majesty’s Commissioner the possibility of meeting the view which may be expressed at the forthcoming Zionist Congress in regard to the conditions upon which a settlement might be possible.

If a site can be found which the Trust and His Majesty’s Commissioner consider suitable and which commends itself to His Majesty’s Government, Lord Lansdowne will be prepared to entertain favourably proposals for the establishment of a Jewish colony or settlement on conditions which will enable the members to observe their National customs. For this purpose he would be prepared to discuss (if a suitable site had been found and subject to the views of the advisers of the Secretary of State in East Africa) the details of a scheme comprising as its main features: the grant of a considerable area of land, the appointment of a Jewish Official as chief of the local administration, and permission to the Colony to have a free hand in regard to municipal legislation and as to the management of religious and purely domestic matters, such Local Autonomy being conditional upon the right of His Majesty’s Government to exercise a general control.

There is no need at present to consider the details of the terms upon which the land would be granted, whether by sale or lease, but His Lordship assumes that no portion of the administrative expenses of the settlement would fall on His Majesty’s Government, and the latter would reserve power to reoccupy the land if the settlement should not prove a success.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient
humble servant

*) Der englische Originaltext.

(signed) **Clement Hill.**

K5 – HaKamat HaMedina

Changes to the Balfour Declaration

Draft	Text	Changes
Lord Rothschild draft 18 July 1917	1. His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people. 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.	
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.	1. His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of the Jewish people. <u>and</u> 2. His Majesty's Government will use its <u>their</u> best endeavours to secure the achievement of this object and will discuss the necessary methods and means with <u>be ready to consider any suggestions on the subject which</u> the Zionist Organisation <u>may desire to lay before them</u> .
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	His Majesty's Government accepts the principle that Palestine should be reconstituted as the national home of <u>every opportunity should be afforded for the establishment of a home for</u> the Jewish people <u>in Palestine</u> and will use their <u>its</u> best endeavours to secure <u>facilitate</u> 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.	Organisations 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 <u>views with favour</u> the establishment <u>in Palestine</u> of a <u>national</u> home for the Jewish people in Palestine <u>race</u> , 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 , <u>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</u> who are fully contented with their <u>existing nationality</u> .
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 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.	His Majesty's Government views with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish race, and will use its <u>their</u> 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 <u>by Jews</u> in any other country by such Jews who are fully contented with their existing nationality.

K6 – Underground Movements

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

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 de-

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 itself is not terror, and terror is not 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 named. Otherwise it would be liquidated overnight. Fighters 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 reverse of "terrorism." The whole essence of our struggle was the

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

Rav Soloveitchik on Jewish Self-Defence (Kol Dodi Dofek pp. 37-41)

"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 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 eye 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 [God'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 God 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."

The 'New Jew' and the Memorials at Yad VaShem

Compare these two memorials, on display next to each other in the main courtyard at Yad Vashem (they also form the front and rear of a large monument outside the Warsaw Ghetto).



Think about the following:

- Who are the people?
- How are they depicted?
- How are they dressed?
- Where are they looking?
- Where are they going?
- Do they tell a sequential story?
- What message are they giving?
- Think about the context of 'Galut Jew' and 'New Jew' How do we relate to each of them?
- Do we think of them as back to back as they are displayed in Warsaw, or side by side as shown in Israel?



Yad Vashem's website describes the monument, and the contrast between the two parts in great detail (<http://www.yadvashem.org/articles/general/warsaw-memorial-personal-interpretation.html>). Here are some excerpts:

By studying the memorial in Warsaw, and its almost identical copy in Yad Vashem, an informed viewer can appreciate the shift Holocaust commemoration has taken over the years. To understand this shift, we can analyze the two parts of this memorial in light of the era in which they were created and the need they fulfilled then – as compared to today's understanding of the Holocaust and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising 70 years later.

The Uprising

The memorial to the uprising depicts a tableau of seven figures, gathered around the central figure of Mordecai Anielewicz, one of its leaders. Anielewicz's head is held high, his set expression both sorrowful and determined. Of the seven, his is the only gaze that stares into the square in front of him, drawing the viewer in to come and bear witness. He appears to be striding forward, his naked upper torso covered by a cape-like coat. Although clearly emaciated and wounded (his head and right arm are bandaged), his arms and neck remain muscular, his presence is powerful and commanding. He grips a grenade tightly in his hand – despite his wounds, he carries on fighting. Framing him are three fighters bearing arms, two of whom are looking determinedly off into the distance. Their youthfulness is sharply contrasted by the bearded figure kneeling at Anielewicz's feet. This figure seems to be influenced by classical Greek sculpture – the fighter's muscular arm, hand and torso contrasting sharply with his aged face, balding head and patriarchal beard. A fallen fighter lies in the foreground at Anielewicz's feet. In the upper part of the scene a firestorm swirls, threatening to consume a mother and child. With their hands upheld in an almost theatrical gesture of despair, these two victims are on the verge of being swept away. As one's eyes rove around this sculpture and take in these other six figures, they always come to rest yet again on the central figure of Anielewicz.

Lambs to the Slaughter or Spiritual Resistance?

The monumental scale of the memorial leaves no doubt of the importance armed resistance had in the mind of its sculptor. However, in Warsaw, unlike in Jerusalem, the memorial is two-sided and freestanding. The depiction of the uprising faces a large square and the brand new Museum of the History of Polish Jews. However, unless one ventures to the other side of the memorial – the side facing the street and the block of apartment buildings beyond – one can easily miss Rapoport's tribute to the over 300,000 Jewish men, women and children who suffered and died so horribly in the ghetto and in the gas chambers of Treblinka. Their fate is represented in a much less impactful way than the few who were able to take up arms against their oppressors.

Indeed, this frieze can almost be mistaken as the work of another artist. Instead of the high relief of the front side, this second side is done in bas relief (a much flatter representation). Missing is the frenzied drama and details of the resistance side of the memorial. Here, rather, we see a flat depiction of a mournful group of Jewish people on the final journey to oblivion. They are utterly resigned to their fate; shoulders and heads bowed, the majority of the figures shuffle forward. In the middle of the scene, a patriarchal figure, partially clothed in almost biblical garb, a prayer shawl covering his head, is seen holding a Torah. With his outstretched hand and upturned face, this religious Jew seems to be reaching out to a divine presence, perhaps beseeching God to bear witness to the suffering of His people, perhaps begging for intervention on their behalf. At the head of this procession another bearded Jewish man is represented as powerless and cowed, heavily leaning on a walking stick. What a contrast this resigned figure is to the powerful and determined armed figures on the uprising side of the memorial.

A Current Interpretation Juxtaposed with the Needs of the Past

In the Yad Vashem version of his memorial, the two stories represented by the back and front of the monument in Warsaw are presented side by side. With the perspective of the 70 years that have passed since the uprising, today when we commemorate resistance, heroism and bravery, we are more generous, going beyond the tiny few who were able to actively take up arms and fight. Together with the fighters, we remember other types of resistance – what we today call "spiritual resistance." Perhaps the religious figure with the Torah symbolizes those Jews who were still able to believe in God and practice Jewish ritual in the shadow of death, instilling comfort and faith in the Jews around them, even to the very doors of the gas chambers?

The top image is designed around Titus's arch. Does knowing this add or change anything?



A letter from Mordechai Anilewicz

Written 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.]

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.

K7 – Hakamat Hamedina

The Shoah and the State

It is impossible for us to speculate why it was that the Holocaust took place. We cannot be so presumptuous as to claim to understand God's plan. As Iyov put it so poetically:

יְדַעְתִּי כִּי כָל תּוֹכֵל, וְלֹא יִבְצֵר מִמֶּךָּ מְזֻמָּה. מִי זֶה מְעַלִּים עֲצָה בְּלִי דַעַת, לְכֵן הִגַּדְתִּי וְלֹא אָבִין נִפְלְאוֹת מִמֶּנִּי וְלֹא אֲדַע.

I know that You can do anything, and none of your plans can be limited. Who is this who hides council without knowledge? Therefore, I have told that which I do not understand, they are hidden from me and I did not know. (Iyov 42:2-3)

It is difficult to deny that the Holocaust did play a role in the creation of the state of Israel. 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, the process of independence was already quite far down the line.

"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" (Paul Johnson, A History of the Jews)

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 Displaced Persons. 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 in Israel therefore accelerated their efforts to help clandestine immigration, while others took their frustration out on the British.

Additional Chomer

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

(Moshe Arens 02.02.2010)

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.

Additional Chomer

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 Defence of Israel

The Wars In Depth



The Civil War in Mandate Palestine (December 1947-May 1948)

On 29 November 1947, the UN passed the Partition Plan (see left). The Jewish Agency representing the Yishuv accepted the plan, while the representatives of the Arab communities refused it. The next day rioting broke out, growing in violence until there was a fully blown armed struggle between the two communities. The British remained neutral and began organising their withdrawal from the region.

The War of Independence (May 1948-March 1949)

On the evening of 14th May, Ben-Gurion declared the establishment of the State of Israel. At midnight the British Mandate terminated and simultaneously the armies of Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon invaded the new country. Initially they were significantly larger than Israel's forces and better equipped. Yet the Arab armies lacked organisation and leadership and 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, disciplined, trained and fighting for their survival.

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 a state of war remained. 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)

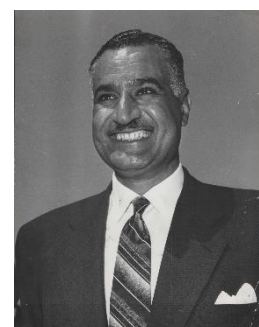
In the early 1950s, Egypt violated the terms of the Egyptian-Israeli armistice agreement and blocked Israeli ships from passing through the Suez Canal (red oval) and the Straits of Tiran (red circle). This rendered the port at Eilat close to useless and significantly hampered Israel's trade. Foreign 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* (Arabic for Freedom fighters – non-affiliated militant groups often deployed for a cause where a government has failed) launched cross-border infiltrations and attacks on Israeli civilian centres 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.

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 three main aims:

- Destroy the 'Fedayeen' bases in the Gaza Strip and on the Sinai Border
- Prevention of an Egyptian attack on Israel by destroying their airfields in Sinai
- 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 US 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 (following the Sinai campaign Prime Minister Levi Eshkol stated that a closure of the Straits would be seen as Egypt declaring war in Israel). 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.

In Egypt, Israel destroyed 416 aircraft gaining dominance in the skies, and seven other divisions before a truce was agreed on June 8th. Sinai and Gaza were in Israeli hands. In Jordan, King Hussein ignored the advice of PM Levi Eshkol not to get drawn in. Listening to the Egyptian propaganda, Jordan attacked. Israel responded and captured Judea, Samaria and Jerusalem. In Syria, in response to heavy shelling Israel captured the Golan heights and ended 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.

US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger then successfully coordinated troop disengagement agreements (not 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. The Israeli intelligence gathering networks had a lot to answer for, and the Israeli public were forced to wake up to the idea that their military was not indestructible. 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.

A commission was launched into the Israeli failings before and during the war. The preliminary findings and placed the onus of responsibility on Chief of Staff David Elazar, the Chief of Military Intelligence General Eli Zeira, and the Chief of the Southern Command General Shmuel Gonen. However, rather than quieting public discontent, the report inflamed it and although it had cleared both Prime Minister Golda Meir and Dayan of all responsibility, public calls for their resignation became more vociferous. On April 11th, 1974 Golda Meir resigned. Her cabinet, including Dayan, followed suit.

The First Lebanon War (June 1982)

The attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador in London on June 3rd, 1982, prompted Israel to attack Palestinian Liberation Organisation (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.

A 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 three 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.

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 23rd, Bashir Gemayel, a Maronite Christian, was elected the President of Lebanon and the PLO headquarters were transferred to Tunisia. 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 3 to 5-mile security zone along the 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.

First Intifada (December 1987-September 1993)

This can be seen as the first part of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict (as opposed to the broader Arab-Israeli Conflict). Frustrations grew among the Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza. Many lived in refugee camps and were employed as cheap labour in Israeli industry. Overcrowding, limited opportunity, land confiscation, unemployment and a growing young activist population lead to clashes, protests and conflicts, Israeli responses were harsh, hoping to crush and exhaust Palestinian resistance.



In December 1987 several flashpoint events triggered an escalation. Bombings, stabbings, stone throwings and ultimately suicide bombings. The hostilities were brought to an end by several peace conferences and the signing of the Oslo Accords. This led to the official recognition of Israel by the PLO, enabling future discussion and dialogue, as well as the establishment of the Palestinian Authority (PA) to administer Palestinian communities. In total, 300 Israelis and 2000 Palestinians were killed.



Second Intifada (September 2000-February 2005)

Following the visit of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to the Temple Mount violent demonstrations started. Unrest escalated with stabbings, shootings and lynchings. Palestinian suicide bombers targeted Israeli civilians on buses and at public gatherings.

Israel responded with arrests, blockades and airstrikes, and began the construction of the security wall to prevent suicide bombers moving into Israel so

easily. Israel also committed to withdrawing from the Gaza strip. In total, 3000 Palestinians and 1000 Israelis were killed

The Second Lebanon war (June 2006)

This war was a military conflict in Lebanon and northern Israel, primarily between Hezbollah paramilitary forces and the Israeli military. It started on July 12th, 2006 and continued until a UN brokered ceasefire went into effect on August 14th, 2006, though it formally ended on September 8th, 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 hidden 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 Lebanon and Israel, 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). The Lebanese army began deploying in southern Lebanon on 17th August 2006. The blockade was lifted on 8th September 2006. On October 1st Israel withdrew most of its troops from Lebanon through the last of the troops continued to occupy the border straddling the village of Ghajar until December 3rd.

On July 16th, 2008, the final chapter in the second Lebanon war was written, with the prisoner exchange that took place (see extra chomer).

Operation Cast Lead (December 2008)

Israel's most recent significant engagement is not considered to be a war. Militarily its success is questionable, Israel succeeded in reducing the high levels of rocket fire from Gaza (for a time), however around the Middle East and much of the world it is considered as a failure.



Operation Pillar of Defence (November 2012)

As with most wars, both parties blame the other side for the commencement. Israel blames the start on a requirement to retaliate following over 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 1,500 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 either 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 21st November with both sides claiming victory.

Operation Protective Edge (July 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 14th, Egypt announced a ceasefire that was supported by PA president Mahmoud Abbas and accepted by Israel but rejected by Hamas who continued the rocket bombardment. On July 17th, 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 1st, 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 3rd, the 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 5th, remaining ground troops were withdrawn from Gaza, and the IDF 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 2,100 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 4,500 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.

Raid on Entebbe (1976)

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 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."

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.

Prisoner exchange following the Second Lebanon War

The 2008 Israel–Hezbollah prisoner exchange took place on 16 July 2008 when Hezbollah transferred the coffins of two Israeli soldiers in exchange for 5 Lebanese militants held by Israel as well as the bodies of 199 militants captured in Lebanon or Israel.

Exchange

Hezbollah released the remains of two captured Israeli soldiers Ehud Goldwasser and Eldad Regev. In exchange, Israel returned Palestine Liberation Front militant Samir Kuntar, who was convicted of murder in Israel, Nasim Nisr, a Lebanese man of Jewish heritage who had immigrated to Israel and spied for Hezbollah, and Mahir Kourani, Mohammad Surour, Hussain Sulaiman and Khadr Zaidan, four Hezbollah militants taken prisoner by Israel in the 2006 Lebanon War. Israel also returned the remains of about 200 Lebanese and Palestinian militants killed whose bodies had been brought to Israel and buried there. Eight of these were Hezbollah fighters killed in the 2006 war.

It has long been the general policy of Israel not to return to family for burial the remains of killed militants that had engaged in "hostile terrorist activity". The exchange deal was carried out in accordance with the Red Cross and UN observers. On 1 June 2008, Israel released the Lebanese prisoner Nissim Nasser, in exchange for which Hezbollah handed over a box containing the remains of Israeli soldiers killed during the 2006 war.

In October 2007 Israel and Hezbollah agreed to exchange a civilian Hezbollah member kidnapped in 2006 and the remains of two Hezbollah fighters killed in this war and brought to Israel for the remains of Gabriel Dwait, an Israeli resident who drowned and was washed ashore in Lebanon. The released prisoner was described as 50-year-old Hassan Naim Aqil, a former Hezbollah guerrilla who did not fight in the Second Lebanon War.

Reactions

News of Kuntar's release was met with celebration at a Hezbollah rally in Beirut, Lebanon, while Israeli experts said that the majority of Lebanese viewed it as a victory for their enemy, Hezbollah, that would have a negative impact. In Gaza City the Palestinians celebrated the news of the death of the soldiers by handing out sweets.

Israel's deputy foreign minister, Majalli Whbee, called the Beirut celebrations "shameful", stating that "Kuntar's fans laud a man who prides himself on smashing a child's skull". The foreign ministry also released a public diplomacy video in Arabic claiming Israel's moral victory in the swap.

There was a mixed reaction worldwide, with many American news outlets criticising the release of Kuntar and condemning the way he was praised in Lebanon.

Article: Chief Rabbi condemns 'offensive' Corbyn Antisemitism comments

(1 July 2016 <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-36676018>)

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

'Antisemitic 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 "Antisemitic 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 released a statement 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 Antisemitism 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 Antisemitism 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 Antisemitism, had said the Labour Party was not overrun by Antisemitism 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.