"THE IDEOLOGY OF RELIGIOUS ZIONISM"

In a broad sense, Zionism has always been an integral part of Judaism. Although the majority of Jews were away from the Land of Israel throughout most of the 3,500 years of Jewish history, has always loomed large, indeed, indispensable, in Jewish religious thought. It began at the beginning - with the divine promise to Abraham, and the blessing, which centered about the relation of God, People, and Land. Thus, the Talmud considers the settlement in 'Cas a mitzvah or obligation, and the overwhelming majority of authorities hold that this obligation is in force today too.

of Israel are like two lovers, husband and wife, who have had bitter arguments and left each other. But it is a lover's quarrel - they are angry with each other, they have separated, but neither will give its love to any other. The People will not transfer its ultimate commitment to any other Land -- neither Uganda nor Birobidjan. And the Land will not yield its secrets nor offer itself up to any other lover. Only Jews have ever succeeded in settling the Land and making it flourish - not the Germans in days of the Kaiser, not the Turks or English or Arabs.

Of course, with such a glorious history of mutual love, longing, and soul-seizing nostalgia, it's a pity some Israelis tend to play down any special love of the Land; in their attempt to display their naturalness, in their typical Sabra effort to understate sentiment, some Israelis - especially those who have forgotten the history of the Holocaust - act as if the restoration of People to Land makes any demonstrative love unnecessary. It reminds me of the definition of "love" offered by the cynical American humorist, Ambrose Beirce, at the turn of the century: "Love is a state of temporary insanity that is cureable by marriage."

But this relationship is no simple love story. It is conditioned by the <u>berit</u> or Covenant, first sealed between Abraham, the Father of our People, and God; a Covenant of which the sign is circumcision, and a Covenant which was affirmed and reaffirmed through Biblical history and incorporated in Torah. The terms of

the Covenant are quite clear: we have the Land only as long as we accept God and live our lives according to His dictates. If we fail, the Land will "vomit us out."

once see the strength of, and the challenge to, Religious Zionism (=RZ), its foundation and its problematica. The bond between Land and Faith, between Nationalism and Religion, is obvious: the two are inseparable, they are organically related. But this itself raises a severe problem, both ideological and programmatic: how do we relate to those who acknowledge only one-half of this organic core of Judaism, only Nation or Religion, and not the other? More specifically -- since no Orthodox Jew can deny the importance of "C as such -- can we on principle "", (and, practically, how) cooperate with those who recognize only Nationalism and abandon Religion? It is not an easy question, and most of our lecture will revolve around this relationship and this problem. The solutions offered may or may not appeal to you, but at best they should be of considers.

In order to set stage a bit more fully, let me refer to a difference of opinion between two of most eminent medieval Jewish philosophers on this relationship between Nationhood and Religion.

R. Saadia Gaon: "our people is a people only by virtue of the holds that Torah." R. Yehudah Halevi h "since very beginning, individuals possessed special segulah, special spiritual capacity, which then

became characteristic of family of Abraham, and by virtue of which Torah given to them. In other words: according to Saadia, Nation-hood conditioned by Religion. Religion is axiologically prior and superior to Nationhood; whereas according to Halevi, Nationhood precedes Religion. For Saadia, we are a special people because of our faith, and for Halevi we have this faith because we are a special people.

It might be an over-simplification, but for pedagogic reasons, permit me to suggest that the Neturei Karta ideology follows the formulation of Saadia, while Religious Zionism accepts that of Halevi.

Both, however, firmly reject secular Zionism, the affirmation of Nationhood and negation of Religion. Such a bifurcation of an organic entity can only leave the Jewish character and spirit truncated, and threatens to end the story of the Jewish people altogether.

he has a good Jewish heart. In the United States we refer to him as a "cardiac Jew" and are worried that his failure to exercise the rest of his anatomy may prove too heavy a burden on his sensitive Jewish heart. In our hierarchy of American Jewish typology, he is a notch below the "Alimony Jew" - he who would rather pay for Judaism than live with it.)

Both Nationalism and Religion coalesce in the Messianic longings, in the striving to emerge from exile to Redemption, to realize the divine will and vindicate the divine promise of the reunion of People and Land.

In the view of two of the earliest ideologists of Religious Zionism, R. Zvi Hirsch Kalischer and the Kabbalist R. Eliyahu Gutmacher, this Redemption will not burst upon the world unexpectedly. The sequence of Redemption, they held, was: first the settlement of the Land and Ingathering of the Exiles, and then, in response to this human initiative, the appearance of Messiah and the completion of Redemption. Thus, Kalischer writes:

As to the redemption of Israel for which we wait, let no one imagine that the Lord will suddenly descend from heaven to earth to say to His people, "Go out," or that He will send His Messiah from Heaven to sound a great Shofar, summon the scattered remnants of Israel and gather them into Jerusalem... Indeed not, for the beginning of redemption will come through the awakening of the spirit of individuals and through concessions granted by governments which will lead to the ingathering of the Jewish people in the Holy Land.

In this passage from Kalischer one can already notice a distinctive element emerging: the Redemption is neither an exclu-

sively human nor exclusively divine achievement. It will come about as a cooperative venture between God and man -- and man must take the first steps. The "impulse from below," to use the Kabbalistic terminology, must come first, and then evoke the "impulse from above." We have here the beginning of the formulation of a major tenet of Religious Zionism.

Actually, of course, the most illustrious exponents of the Jewish tradition were divided over the question of whether the Redemption would be a divine initiative or a divine response to the initiative of Israel. "All our early authorities," writes Rabbi J. J. Reines, another important ideologist of Religious Zionism in its earlier days, "dealt with the theme of Redemption. Some held it would be a miracle. But Nachmanides, R. David Kimche, and R. Yom Tov Lipman Heller maintained that it would come about by natural means, and that the nations of the world would play a role in aiding Israel to win back its land and renew its days as of old." Here we must read the equation as: miracles = divine intervention; natural means = human initiative.

Indeed, a glance at Biblical history reveals that the two redemptions there recorded differed fundamentally on this point. The redemption from Egytpian exile was exclusively a divine act. Our people, sunk in the quagmire of Egyptian idolatry, had to learn dramatically and quickly the omnipotence of God, Who was Lord of all creation and not just another local deity. Hence, only God

redeems, not man. Moses was only His agent, and not the originator of the Israelite victory. Thus, as Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik often points out, Moses is known as Mosheh Rabbenu -- Moses our Teacher, never as our redeemer or general or hero. On the very night we celebrate that redemption, namely the Seder night of Passover, we do not even mention the name of Moses (except in an unimportant passing reference), as if to emphasize that there was only one Redeemer, God.

The second redemption, however, the Return to Zion through Ezra and Nehemia, was indeed a redemption -- but it was engineered by Jews who, while possessed of great religious idealism, played the international politics game quite skillfully. The Biblical record speaks of the Return in the most natural, almost secular manner. It sees it, of course, as part of an over-all divine plan, indeed as the fulfillment of a specific prophecy, but it allows the events to speak for themselves; and the events are humanly initiated and executed. Man is active, and while God is never passive, He does not preempt the stage in the drama of Redemption.

Moreover, even the Egyptian redemption must be qualified. First, while God's actions were manifest and man was silenced, it was not a sudden appearance of salvation, but a step-by-step process. There was plenty of time for the major actors in the drama to become discouraged and change their minds. So while the deliverance may have been miraculous, it was not magical. Furthermore, Tradition tells

that even the splitting of the Red Sea, that archetypical miracle, could not have taken place did not a great Jewish leader, Nachshon the Prince of Judah, plunge into the Sea up to his neck. God is reluctant to manifest His redemptive powers unless man is ready to do his share -- even if it is a minor one.

So that, in the comprehensive view of Religious Zionism, Redemption as such need not be conceived of necessarily as a purely divine act, miraculous; and supernatural, while man refuses to lift a finger to help. While Neturei Karta hold that human activity is sinful and arrogant, Religious Zionism holds that in the Redemption towards which we are now laboring human passivity is criminal indolence which frustrates the divine design for our national redemption. Redemption, like every other significant activity in life, whether health or sustenance, represents an intersection of destiny and choice, an interpenetration of divine plan and human striving. The very concept of "hoping" to God or "waiting" upon Him does not imply a surrender of human effort. As Prof. Abraham J. Heschel writes (Israel, p. 97):

Waiting did not mean a state of repose or inaction, putting off activity until later; it meant, rather, that the success of all human efforts towards redemption remained contingent and indecisive without God's action. While the world was chiding, Israel persisted in its dream. Religious Zionism maintained that Israel's initiative must open the power of redemption, that waiting must not be separated from pioneering.

This old-new conception of the nature of redemption, particularly the one yet to come, developed from an idea into a movement under the leadership of Rabbis J. J. Reines and Samuel Mohliver, founders of the Mizrachi. Mohliver is much less concerned with the Messianic and mystical interests so dear to his predecessors, and much more moved by the tragedy and agony of exilehood. He had a practical turn of mind, revealed both in his ideology and his activity.

The most eminent theoretician of Religious Zionism, and a godfather of Mizrachi though he never joined it, was the first Chief Rabbi of the Holy Land, Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook. Kook was an illustrious Talmudic scholar, a gifted Hebrew stylist, the most prolific Kabbalist of our times, and man of personal charisma.

Kook pointed to a Kabbalistic notion as the source of his nationalism, the peculiar nationalism of Religious Zionism, God, Israel and Torah are related to each not only in the obvious ideational sense, but according to the Zohar, they are mystically united, they form an ultimate as well as primordial Unity: "The Holy One, Israel, and the Torah are One." To be a full Jew means to yearn for and aspire to enter into that Unity. One should, ideally, strive to do so by all the available means, namely: spiritual longing for and faith in God; study of Torah and observance of its commandments, and seeking always the welfare of the People of Israel. However, thus Unity is like wheel with three spokes extending beyond the rim; one can find his way into the totality of the Unity by grasping on to any one of the spokes.

Let a Jew genuinely develop his native religious-spiritual personality; or let him immerse himself in the study of Jewish sources or the practice of the Jewish way of life; or let him participate in the great struggle for Jewish national resurrection and political self-respect -- and any one of these three, God, Israel, or Torah, will lead him into the combined, unified core of Jewish life so that he ultimately will be at one with all three.

For Kook, then, Jewish nationalism was the expression of a divine endowment of the Jewish soul. The nationalist was heading into a higher, spiritually fertile realm, even if he was unaware of it. He was doing God's work even if, like Ahad Haam, he denied Torah, or, like Berditchevsky, considered himself a pagan. The normal Jew, Kook held in keeping with a major theological principle of HaBaD Hassidism, is religious. As a homo religiosus, he inwardly aspires to all three elements of the unity of the Zohar. Atheism or agnosticism is therefore an aberration, a psychic abnormality. If this Jew is at least a nationalist, we may have hopes for his safety in resisting the inexorable press of assimilation, and look forward to his recovery and ultimate full spiritual health.

For many, many years, however, Jews have neglected the element of nationalism, without which the Jewish soul is rent apart, fragmentized. Therefore, Kook reasoned, we must begin to relearn all those skills which together will make us into a full nation capable of surviving in the modern world.

Actually, Kook tells us, the inreaction between Nationalism and Religion goes in both directions, and implicit in the Jewish religious way of life is a precious mine of nationalist values. He therefore proceeds to reexamine the <u>mitzvot</u>, and he discovers in them nationalist values. His ascription to the religious performances of a nationalist teleology embraces such commandments as the Sabbath, the Kashrut laws, the Sukkah. The national values they inculcate are, amongst others: egalitarianism, cohesiveness, distinctiveness. The Sabbath, for example, is a foretaste of the Messianic era, and the function of Israel is to prepare the world for the Messianic goals of universal peace, justice, and brotherhood. Kook's nationalism is never parochial; its ultimate ends are universal. In this he reflects the tension inherent in the entire Jewish tradition between the national and the international, the particularist and the universal, the sacrib and the sicribar.

But of course Kook does not mean to invalidate Jewish religious expression where no nationalist teleology can be found. That would be a distortion of both Judaism and Rav Kook.

A word is in order here for those who are secular nationalists and who, in considering the historical data, have contrived their own explanation of the peculiar role of Jewish religion in the development of Jewish national consciousness: that Religion served as a way of reentering national consciousness in the Diaspora - but has no innate value. It is not the kind of theory that is conducive to fruitful exchange of ideas.

Israelis, I believe, should dispense with their cherished pet theory that Judaism was a temporary prop enabling Jews to survive until the emergence of the State of Israel.

A similar pseudo-historical theory was put forward by which classical Reform who maintained that Eretz Israel was a primitive nationalist phase allowing Jews to survive until they could be dispersed into the Diaspora in order to bear a mission to the nations.

Theories

Both Mare equally odious. They are reminiscent of the only new being Called into question most arrogant of Christian attitudes, namely, the charge that both Jews and Judaism were obsolescent, for, having made way for Christianity, they are now superfluous.

To argue on such a basis is to make dialogue amongst Jews of different commitments well-nigh impossible.

confronted with a problem that is indigenous to all of Religious Zionism and that, despite its apparent solution, bedevils Religious Zionism and that, despite its apparent solution, bedevils Religious Zionists in Israel to this day. That is: how can I cooperate with secular Zionists, who deny my most fundamental convictions? Theoretically, he had already undertaken a solution, as we have just indicated: they are unconscious agents of redemption. But true national unity cannot be achieved by theory alone, by the mere wave of the magic wand of ideology. The clash of ultimate commitments similarly too powerful to overcome by mere intellection. The only

answer is -- the holy alchemy of love. Only ahavat Yisrael can allow all Jews to coperate in rebuilding our State out of the ashes of 2,000 years of exile.

It is love, then, which allows the Religious Zionist to work together with other Zionists though they are opposed on most other major principles. It is that which allows the Orthodox Jew to be a winding principles. It is that which allows the Orthodox Jew to be a Zionist. Of course, it was not a blind love, and, as we indicated, was based upon a well-prepared theoretical groundwork. Love of Israel came easier to Religious Zionism than it did as an answer for the Neturei Karta, for while the Neturei Karta considered Zionism a substitute for Messiah, hence a true anger to the coming of Messiah, Religious Zionism regarded Zionism as a necessary and legitimate precursor of Messiah, as part of the Messianic process rather than an attempt to supplant the Messiah. Love does indeed come easier when the gap of ultimate commitments is somehow narrowed by theory.

The following passage, translated from his <u>Chazon Ha-geulah</u>, is a revealing expression of how the East European-born and bred Talmudist and Kabbalist, viewed the bronze-faced, khaki-clad, bare-headed <u>Chalutzim</u> who professed neither to believe nor to practice Judaism:

Our present generation is a wonderful one, altogether amazing. It is difficult to find another like it in all our history. It consists of many opposites, light and darkness coexisting in it. It is lowly and despicable, yet elevated and lofty; altogether guilty -- and altogether innocent! It is a strange generation:

mischievous and wild, yet exalted and noble...
You find, on the one hand: increasing "hutzpah"
the son unashamed before his father, youngsters
insulting their elders; and on the other hand:
charity, decency, justice, and compassion gaining
strength, idealistic and intellectual power breaking out and ascending. A generation of this kind,
ready to meet death bravely because of goals it
considers worthy, often solely on account of inner
feelings of righteousness and justice, cannot be
considered lowly, even if its goals are all wrong.

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Now, the ideology of Rav Kook cannot be appreciated without explicitly identifying one of its major foundations which, while he certainly is not its originator, nevertheless serves to distinguish between Religious Zionism and any of the secular varieties.

Religious Zionism is predicated on the uniqueness of the Jewish people, which in the Bible is referred to as the Chosen People.

For the sake of the few who may not know it, may I state categorically that this concept of Chosenness has absolutely nothing to do with racial chauvinism or ethnic superiority; it is, rather, the Biblical expression of the noblesse oblige to which the People of the Covenant is obligated. But in order to avoid any emotional prejudices and to broaden the canvass somewhat, I shall change the semantics and refer to the Uniqueness of the people of Israel.

In national-political terms, this concept of uniqueness begins with a negation: \(\lambda \la

answered that for the Jew such normalcy is abnormal. Secular Zionism did indeed notice that Jews were different -- but it did not consider it a historically valid part of innate Jewish character. It was a burden, the heritage of exile, and the faster we unload it the happier we shall be. It regarded this differentness as a disgrace: political exile, national homelessness, economic rootlessness. Religious Zionistm, however, holds that the uniqueness of Israel is, to a large extent, a compound of innate and acquired characteristics. What was acquired in exile had to be abandoned: the political shame, the social subservience, the economic helplessness. But Israel is a coalescence of the divine and the human, and the spiritual aspect of its collective personality is what makes it different. Our efforts, therefore, must be directed towards political normalization and spiritual distinctiveness -- a distinctiveness that would flourish in our own Jewish State, in which the way of life of the collectivity would reflect the eternal Jewish spirit. The true religious genius of Israel, Religious Zionism taught, cannot flourish amidst the shambles of exilehood. The fullness of a Godly life require that we return to Zion. Religious Zionism strives, as the late R. Yehudah Leib Miamon put it, not for a Judenstat, for a Medinat Yehudim or State of Jews, but for a medinah yehudit, a Jewish State. $T_h^{\circ}e$ true uniqueness of Israel is the source of its life, health, vitality -- and must therefore be enhanced in the State of Israel.

This uniqueness of the Jew is something that many of us, in our liberal, egalitarian, democratic societies, tend to shun.

We are often embarrassed by it. Yet Jewish history, the facts of our remarkable survival, the phenomenal upswing from Holocaust to Statehood - what are these if not unique? I recall the story circulated several years ago of one Sabra talking to another non-religious Sabra and saying, "You know, Mosheh, I still do not believe in God, but I certainly believe that He performs miracles."

For those who simply are unable to digest the concept of the unique, and for whom miracles conjure up associations of primitive witchcraft, let me offer at least this observation: certainly we Jews are the heirs of one consequence of uniqueness -- namely, loneliness. What other people has been as friendless throughout its long pilgrimage in human history? What other nation today has as few friends and allies as does the State of Israel? One can hardly blame Jews on psychological grounds for thirsting after recognition by non-Jews as a means of compensating for this loneliness -- this unique loneliness. But one can certainly fault them on moral grounds, on grounds of national and ethnic self-respect. A gentile prophet of Scriptural days already proclaimed as our source of strength and anguish at once: "Behold, they are a people who dwell alone" (Numbers 23:9). We had for fiveness but we can have for

How does Religious Zionism interpret contemporary Jewish history? There is a considerable risk, even danger, in attempting a consistent and comprehensive evaluation of political occurrences as religious events. The endeavor entails the inevitable forcing

of historical data into a predetermined framework that results in either conscious ideological distortion or in a primitive simplicism. Yet, Biblical history does teach us that politics is a concern of God as well as of Caesar, and should therefore not be outside the range of interest of the God-fearing man. What we must do, therefore, is to venture to understand events from a religious perspective with the the following two provisions: first, an awareness of the tentativeness of our conjecture, abjuring any dogmatic certainty, and second, an appreciation of the fact that God speaks to man only intermittently through historic events. It is up to us to understand and interpret, but never to pretend to absolute certainty.

The classical anticipation of what the era of Redemption will look like follows this general rubric: first there will take place terrible events, wars and disasters, and special anguish for Israel -- the period called ikveta_di'meshicha. Following this will be the at'chalta_di'geulah, the Beginning of Redemption, and then at the end, the geulah_geulah, the Complete Redemption.

Part of the redemptive process will be the Ingathering of the Exiles, settlement of the Land, independence, the Messiah, and collective repentance and return to God by Israel, and the acknowledgement of God as the God of all the earth by all mankind.

From this brief sketch, we will appreciate why so many Orthodox Jews, especially Religious Zionists, see in the events of our times the outlines of the Beginning of Redemption. The Holocaust

was the <u>ikveta</u> <u>di'meshicha</u> -- one neither explains nor justifies it by so classifying it -- and what follows bears the signs, or at least some of them, of redemption: ingathering, liberation, national revival. The State of Israel, as Heschel puts it, "is not the fulfillment of the Messianic promise, but it makes the Messianic promise plausible."

In the Bible (Ex. 6:2,3) we are told that God appeared by one Name to the Patriarchs and by another to Moses. The difference between them is that the Patriarchs were given a promise -- of redemption -- and they lived with that promise in faith. Moses and his generation, however, were to experience fulfillment of that very promise. Some generations are given only the promise and charged with hope and faith. Others are given fulfillment -- and charged with humility and understanding. In times of promise we must not despair of fulfillment. And in times of fulfillment -- such as ours -- we must not delude ourselves and imagine that all this is the work of our hands and the result of our wisdom and courage. We must not ascribe Redemption to accident and power, but know that beyond all this it is the end of an ancient process, it is the vindication of a primordial promise made to the founders of our people.

While most Religious Zionists view current events through the spectacles of redemption-history, not all do so. Others prefer to be more wary, especially in the light of so much unfortunate premature proclamation of the arrival of pseudo-Messiahs as authentic. They therefore suspend any effort to read events in this light and offer other, alternative interpretations which, while eschewing Messianic elements, do bear practical consequences for our times. The lack of time, however, prevents me from going into them at the present.

"Religious Zionism offers our generation not an answer but a challenge: what are we prepared to do in order to achieve the full-ness of Redemption? Our national duty is clear enough: to strengthen the State of Israel, to reenforce Jewish consciousness in the Diaspora, and, above all, aliyah. Our people was almost utterly destroyed in Auschwitz. Every effort at survival and national self-assertion is a mitzvah.

"But there is another, silent Holocaust that has been going on, longer and less dramatically: the wholesale abandonment of Judaism by so many Jews. We are, to put it bluntly, confronted by spiritual disaster. If we fail to return to the source of our tradition, if we fail to reaffirm the Covenant today as we have in critical moments in the past, if we fail to open ourselves to the word of God, then we fail to advance the 'complete redemption,' which cannot be realized without the spiritual renaissance.of Israel.

"But Israel must live, it must experience both redemption and repentance - and the chain of Jewish tradition must continue." In the words of

Isaiah (59:20,21): "A redeemer shall come to Zion and to those in Jacob who turn from sin, says the Lord" --notice that repentance must follow the anneuncement of redemption -- "as for Me, this is My covenant with them, says the Lord: it is my spirit which shall be upon you; and My words which I have put in your mouth shall never leave your mouth, nor the mouths of your children or children's children, says the Lord, henceforth and forever." Redemption means a renewal of the Covenant, and the reawakening of the spirit of the Lord upon us and those who follow us.

Perhaps it is best to conclude with a tale told by Rav Kook when he visited New York City in the 1930's. As a child he lived in a town the frozen areas of White Russia, where the winters were fiercely cold. The horses were