

Reform Zionism
A Way of Life



ציונות רפורמית

דרך חיים

Table of Contents

Introduction	3
Acknowledgements	4
MODELS OF UNDERSTANDING REFORM ZIONISM & NETZER IDEOLOGY	5
Definition of Reform Zionism & the Netzer Extended Interpretation	6
Netzer Olami Platform (14 Principals)	7
The Concentric Circles of Tikun Diagram	12
Model of Three pillars	14
The Netzer Symbol- What does it all mean?	15
PROGRESSIVE JUDAISM	16
Progressive Judaism – then and now; from Netzer South Africa's Tochen Hinuch	17
A Statement of Principles for Reform Judaism, adopted at the 1999 Pittsburgh Convention, Central Conference of American Rabbis	23
SOURCES AND RESOURCES ON ZIONIST HISTORY AND IDEOLOGY	27
The Development of the Zionist Ideal (taken from Netzer South Africa's Tochen Hinuch)	28
A Timeline of Zionist History	30
The Original Basel Program (1897)	35
The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel (1948)	36
The Jerusalem Program (1968)	39
The New Jerusalem Program (2004)	45
SOURCES ON REFORM ZIONISM	46
A Short history of the Progressive Jewish Movement Regarding its Position and Commitment to Zionism	47
The Progress of Progressive Attitudes to Zionism and Israel	50
Reform Judaism and Zionism, A Centenary Perspective – The Miami Platform (1997)	51
Zion and Other National Concepts by Martin Buber	54
Hebrew Humanism by Martin Buber	58
The Negation of the Diaspora by Ahad Ha Am	63
Priest and Prophet by Ahad Ha-Am	69
PROGRESSIVE RABBINIC ARTICLES ON REFORM ZIONISM	75
Stories of Homeland: My Israel by Rabbi Andrew Davids	76
Principled Zionism by Rabbi Tony Bayfield	77
Towards a Theology of Reform Zionism by Rabbi Richard Hirsch	80
PEULOT IDEAS ON REFORM ZIONISM	85
Peula #1: Zionist Thinkers Peula (RSY-Netzer)	86
Peula #2: Whose Declaration? Whose Independence? – Values of the Jewish State of Israel	94

Peula #3: What's Your Zionism? (Nfty)	99
Peula #4: Is Zionism Still Relevant? (Netzer Australia)	114
FINAL PIECES	117
Index of Sources used in this Hoveret	117
Other Sources and Resources that might be helpful	118

Introduction

This Hoveret (booklet) is the result of a decision of the Worldwide Veida of Netzer Olami 5766 (2006) which decided to institute a Worldwide education theme for Netzer and decided that that theme would be Reform Zionism – A Way of Life. The Veida also instructed the Education Director to compile a Hoveret of materials which will help madrichim around the Netzer world in preparing educational peulot (activities) based on this theme. Some of these peulot have been written and run on this theme, and these peulot have been collected and added as an extra section at the back of the hoveret.

Reform Zionism is a relatively new ideology, and yet its roots can be traced deep into the earliest writings of the Zionist movement. This hoveret tries to bring together the oldest and newest sources of Reform Zionism – both those written by people who would never have heard of Reform Zionism, but whom we use as examples and thinkers, and those written by today's leadership of the Progressive Movement.

This Hoveret is a collection of primary materials and commentary and is designed to be easy to use, while also containing articles which are complex and challenging even to the most committed student of Zionist ideology. At the end of the Hoveret, there is a list of recommended materials for those who would like to learn more.

The hoveret has been updated and re-edited in October, 2013.

May this Hoveret be useful and used,

Nilmad v'na'aseh,

Tsevet Netzer Olami

Acknowledgements

This hoveret is the composition of the work of others, and it is they who deserve the credit.

Two of the major sources of this hoveret come from a hoverot originally put together by other people in the movement. The first source is Netzer South Africa's excellent Tochen Hinuch, compiled by Meghan Finn (Editor), Tali Cassidy, Jacob Hoffman, Liat Hoffman, Jackie Maris and Arden Finn. They made a wonderful document which I am sure will serve their snif of Netzer well, and it has been shamelessly plundered to provide material for this hoveret. Many thanks.

The second main source of material for this hoveret was the Reform Zionist Hoveret prepared for Reform Zionism seminar of Shnat Netzer originally by Colin Bulka. This Hoveret was then added to and embellished by the tireless Zoe Leigh, who also deserves much credit. As it was originally not made in electronic format, the task of converting those articles which were borrowed from that hoveret was left to the excellent Rinat Israeli, office manager and administrator of Netzer Olami. She is indispensable to all the work done here at Netzer Olami and particularly to the making of this Hoveret.

Many thanks are also extended to Michael Klein Katz, Juliet Solomon, Elana Kirsh and Deborah Shalom for all their help and support.

Models of
Understanding
Reform
Zionism and
Netzer Ideology

Definition of REFORM ZIONISM:

Reform Zionism is based on the principles of Progressive Judaism, and therefore is a form of religious Zionism. It believes that while Jews can live religious lives in the Diaspora, only in Israel where Jews bare the primary responsibility for governing society can the principles of Tikkun Olam be implemented on a national scale, enabling Israel to be a moral example, and 'or legoyim', to the Diaspora and the rest of world.

Therefore Reform Zionism views Aliyah Nimshechet as the best way to bring about the betterment of the world. Reform Zionism supports a national Jewish homeland in the land of Israel because of the historical, cultural and spiritual connection throughout history. Reform Zionism, however, does not require a national Jewish homeland to occupy the entirety of the biblically mandated territory of Israel or exclude others from living in the land of Israel.

Netzer Extended Interpretation

1. Aliyah

- a) Netzer sees Aliyah Nimshechet as the highest expression of Reform Zionism. However, this does not preclude the continued development of a viable and vital Diaspora. Aliyah should therefore be achieved at the culmination of a period of service to one's own community, not to its exclusion.
- b) The decision to make Aliyah is however, a highly personal one. A positive and successful Aliyah is the result of a love of Israel developed through time, knowledge and experience.
- c) Netzer is committed to the strengthening of Progressive Judaism within Israel, and striving for the right to free and uninhibited expression of all streams of Judaism within the State of Israel.

2. Diaspora

- a) We believe in the importance of a strong Reform Zionist Diaspora, and that such a community contributes to the furthering of Reform Zionist goals in Israel. Therefore our aim is also to build a strong and vibrant Jewish community in the diaspora. (for more info see point 4 of the Netzer Olami platform)
- b) The Jewish community in the Diaspora, has an obligation to protect Jewish rights around the world

3. Jerusalem

Jerusalem is the spiritual, religious, cultural, historical and physical capital of the Jewish people.

NETZER OLAMI PLATFORM (14 Principals)

We *Netzer Olami*, as a youth movement committed to an ideology of 'Reform Zionism', do affirm our belief in the following points as being key elements of our beliefs and values, that all of our member *snifim* commit to:

1) Judaism is a People, a Nation and a Religion:

The restoration of *Am Yisrael* (the Jewish People) to its ancestral homeland, with Jerusalem as the spiritual centre, after nearly two thousand years of statelessness and powerlessness represents an historic triumph of the Jewish people. We acknowledge the importance of Israel's role in providing a physical refuge and yet we affirm the more important role of providing for the possibility of the religious and cultural renewal of the Jewish People on its own soil, and the realisation of God's promise to Abraham: "to your offspring I assign this land".¹ As Religious Zionists we affirm that Judaism is a People, a Nation and a Religion, and that these three elements are indivisible.

2) The covenant as a moral obligation:

We believe that the eternal covenant established at Sinai ordained a unique religious purpose for *Am Yisrael*. The goal of *Medinat Yisrael* (the Jewish State) is therefore not to be a normal state like all others. Its obligation is to strive towards the attainment of the Jewish people's highest moral ideals to be a *mamlechet kohanim* [a kingdom of priests]², a *goy kadosh* [a holy people]³, and *or l'goyim* [a light unto the nations]⁴.

3) Sovereignty:

During two millennia of dispersion and persecution, *Am Yisrael* never abandoned hope for the rebirth of a national home in *Eretz Yisrael* (the Land of Israel). Centuries of Jewish persecution, culminating in the *Shoah* (the Holocaust), demonstrated the risks of Jewish powerlessness. We, therefore, affirm *Am Yisrael's* reassertion of national sovereignty, where Jews once again can live within a Jewish majority, but we are part of striving to ensure that it be used to create the kind of society in which full civil, human, and religious rights exist for all its citizens and, in particular where the individual rights of all religious and cultural minorities are respected - a society that is both Jewish and Democratic in character. "Ultimately, *Medinat Yisrael* will be judged not on its military might but the strength of its character".⁵ Reclaiming our Sovereignty offers us the opportunity to strive to demonstrate that the traditions and values of Judaism that we believe in have relevance for dealing with the issues of the modern world of nation states.

4) Israel & Diaspora:

Even as *Medinat Yisrael* and Jerusalem serve uniquely as the spiritual and cultural focal point of world Jewry, Israeli and Diaspora Jewry are inter-dependent, responsible for one another, and partners in the shaping of Jewish destiny. Each *kehilla* [Jewish community],

though autonomous and self-regulating, shares responsibility for the fate of Jews everywhere. By deepening the social, spiritual, and intellectual relationship among the *kehilot* worldwide, we can revitalise Judaism both in Israel and the Diaspora. As it is said, "*kol yisrael eruvim ze l'ze*" (all Israel is responsible, one for the other).⁶

5) ***Aliya Nimshechet***:

While affirming the authenticity and necessity of a creative and vibrant Diaspora Jewry, we strongly encourage *Aliya* [immigration] to Israel in pursuance of the precept of *yishuv Eretz Yisrael* [settling the Land of Israel]. While Jews can live Torah-centred lives in the Diaspora, only in *Medinat Yisrael* do they bear the primary responsibility for the governance of society, and thus may realise, individually and communally, the full potential of their spiritual and ideological individual and communal religious strivings. In Israel Jews are able to lead a Jewish life in both the private and the public spheres, living their national life according to the Jewish calendar and rhythms of the year.

We therefore encourage all of our *chaverim* (members) to seriously consider *Aliya* as one of their life options as a Jew. The very act of *Aliya* however is not enough. We encourage all those people who do choose to make *Aliya* to ensure that this is an ongoing process of *Aliya Nimshechet* (continuing *Aliya*) - that is, an ongoing striving to live out the movement's values and beliefs in Israel both at a personal level and in terms of creating the kind of society that we as Netzer envision.

6) **Progressive Judaism in Israel:**

Confident that Progressive Judaism's synthesis of tradition and modernity and its historic commitment to *Tikun Olam* (repairing/perfecting the world), can make a unique and positive contribution to the Jewish state, we resolve to intensify our efforts to inform and educate Israelis about the values of Progressive Judaism. We support, in all ways that we can, the development and strengthening of an indigenous Progressive Judaism in *Medinat Yisrael*.

7) **A pluralistic approach to Judaism in Israel:**

Medinat Yisrael exists not only for the benefit of its citizens but also to defend the spiritual integrity and the physical security of the Jewish people. Realising that *Am Yisrael* consists of a combination of different, sometimes conflicting, religious interpretations, the Jewish people will be best served when *Medinat Yisrael* is constituted as a pluralistic, democratic society. Therefore we seek, and help strive towards, a Jewish state in which no one interpretation of Judaism takes legal precedence over another.

8) ***Tikun Olam***:

We are committed to idea of *Tikun Olam* (repairing/perfecting the world) and to our active role in that process. We believe that as Jews we have a particular role to play in

making the world a better place, in line with our particular values and vision, and thus helping bring about the Messianic Era. We believe that this process of Tikun, this striving for improvement and ideally for perfection, must take place at various levels of our lives: In terms of ourselves as individuals (*Tikun Atzmi*), in terms of our own communities (*Tikun Kehila*); of our Jewish State (*Tikun Medina/Chevra*); of the Jewish People (*Tikun Am*); and of the whole world (*Tikun Olam*). We reject the idea that this is a staged process where one needs to complete one of these areas before moving on to the next. Rather, we strive to be involved in bettering all these areas of our lives at all times. In that sense, we are both 'universalistic' and 'particularistic' – that is, we are concerned both with ourselves, the Jewish People specifically, and also with the rest of the world.

9) **Our Values:**

As Reform Zionists, we believe in a particular set of values that are fundamental to our vision. We strive to ensure that these values inform and underpin everything that we do. Some of the most important of these core values are:

- Prayer through *Ma'amad* (a term used in the movement to signify creative, prayer, relevant to a particular time and place)
- Celebration of *Shabbat* and the *Chagim* (the Festivals)
- Jewish study as an ongoing lifelong commitment, especially the study of Torah
- Informed decision making – individually and communally
- A belief in the oneness of God
- The Unity of the Jewish People
- The centrality of the land and State of Israel in Jewish life
- *Tzedaka & G'millut Chasidim*
- A commitment to the Prophetic tradition and its understanding and vision of Judaism
- Social Justice & a commitment to Peace
- Equality, particularly gender equality in Judaism
- Mutual Care and working co-operatively
- Care for the environment

- The dignity of all human beings, tolerance for their differences and a respect for “the other” within our society and community.

We encourage all of our *snifim* and our *chaverim* to be a part of an ongoing process that defines for themselves what each of these values means in their daily lives and in the lives of their community.

10) **Reform Zionist Community:**

In particular, we recognise the value of communal living and we encourage all movement *chaverim* to explore the option of living their lives in a strong communal framework. We commit ourselves to being part of the process of supporting and developing both established and new Reform Zionist communities, built on the basis of the values stated above and committed to striving to become communities of intimacy, of purpose, of participation and of communal religious authority.

11) ***Ivrit:***

Recognising that knowledge of *Ivrit* is indispensable both in the study of Judaism and in unifying the Jewish People and fostering solidarity between Israeli and Diaspora Jews, we commit ourselves to intensifying the use of Hebrew within the movement and to putting greater effort into the teaching of it to our *chanichim* (participants). The language of our sacred texts and prayers, and of the modern State of Israel, is a symbol of the revitalisation of *Am Yisrael*.

12) **Spending Time in Israel:**

In furtherance of the above beliefs, we resolve to ensure that as many of our *chaverim* as possible come to Israel in the framework of a Netzer programme and that, preferably, as part of that commitment, they spend a serious amount of time participating in a long term programme in Israel. We also encourage all *chaverim* to spend some serious time in Israel on completion of their time in the movement.

13) ***Hagshama & Activism:***

We, as a youth movement, are committed to being both an educational and an activist movement. We believe in the importance of education as a vehicle for self-development and change and as such a great part of our activities are educational in nature. And yet, we also believe that education and ideological beliefs must be backed up by action. We believe it is both our right and our responsibility to take a stand on the key issues effecting our world and to actively work towards bringing about our particular vision. Furthermore, we encourage the implementation among all movement *chaverim* of the idea of *Hagshama* (self-realisation) - that is, the living out of the ideology and values in their everyday lives. We believe that it is important for all Jews to strive to lead

meaningful, fulfilled Jewish lives and we strongly encourage all our *chaverim* to take up this challenge, both in their time in the movement and in their lives after they leave it.

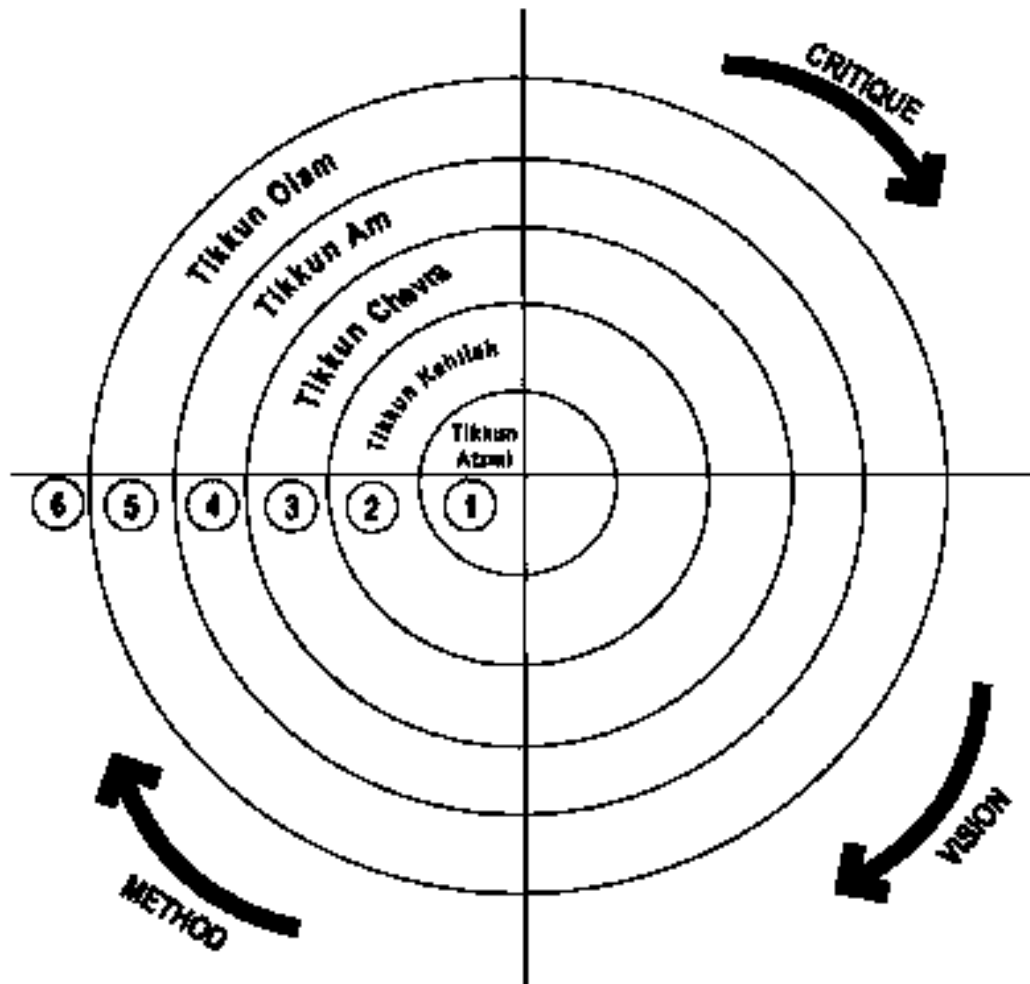
14) ***Geula***:

In conclusion, we believe that the renewal and perpetuation of Jewish national life in *Eretz Yisrael* is a necessary condition for the realisation of the physical and spiritual redemption of the Jewish people and of all humanity. While that day of *Geula* (redemption) remains but a distant yearning, we express the fervent hope that *Medinat Yisrael*, living in peace with its neighbours, will hasten the redemption of *Am Yisrael*, and the fulfilment of our messianic dream of universal peace under the sovereignty of God. Modern Zionism has achieved so much in such a short time and has in so many ways shown an unparalleled triumph of the Jewish spirit, and yet the path has also been strewn with great difficulties and a tremendous challenge still lies before us. As it is said: "*Lo Alecha Hamlacha Ligmor v'lo atah ben chorin lehibatel mimena.*" (It is not your duty to complete the work. Neither are you free to desist from it).⁷

This is a translation of the platform in Hebrew that was ratified by the Netzer Olami International Veida on January 25th 2003. *The following are the sources for the quotes and phrases used in the platform:*

1. *A phrase from Genesis 15:18*
2. *A phrase from Exodus 19:6*
3. *A phrase from Exodus 19:6*
4. *A phrase from Isaiah 42:6*
5. *David Ben Gurion, from The Call Of The Spirit, 1951/52*
6. *From Rashi's commentary on Leviticus 26:37*
7. *From Pirkei Avot, (Sayings of the Fathers)*

The Concentric Circles of Tikun Diagram



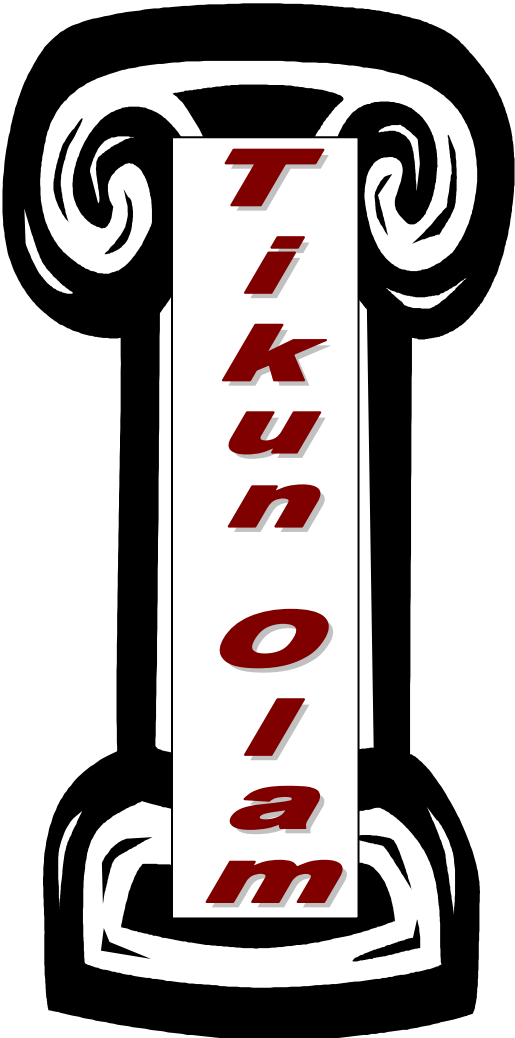
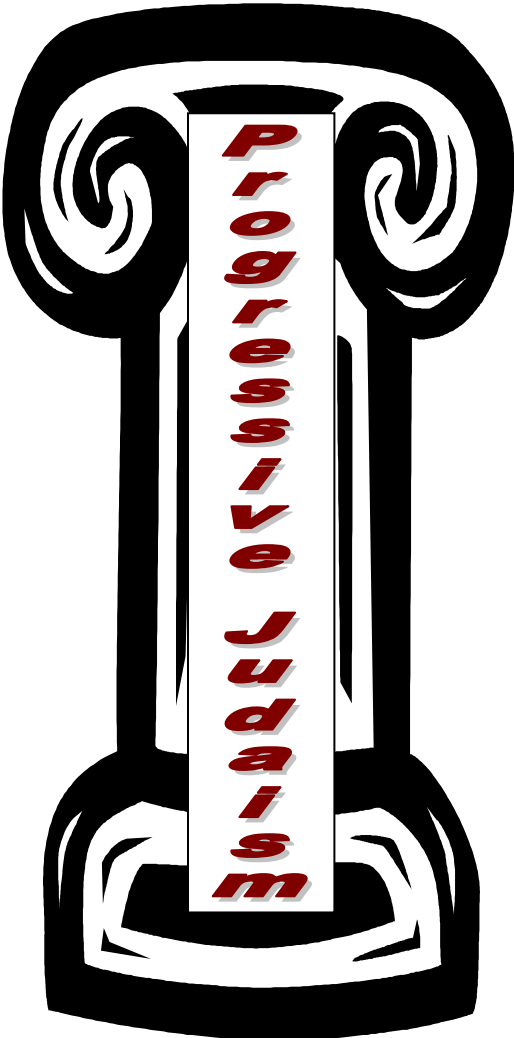
Critique: How we see it.

Vision: How we would like to see it.

Method: How we can achieve our vision.

	Critique	Vision	Method
Tikkun Atzmi Perfect yourself	Assimilation, distant from tradition, not realising potential, not acting in accord with own values, apathetic	Self-actualisation, Jewish learning, spiritual & moral development, consideration of aliyah	Education, dugma ishit (lead by example), spiritual moral & personal development
Tikkun Kehilah Perfect your community	Lack of commitment purpose & wider vision, passivity & indifference, alienation, religious dependency	Communities living according to reform Zionist values – intimacy, involvement, purpose, religious authority	Building & strengthening reform Zionist communities, challenging our community
Tikkun Chevra Perfect society	Polarised views of society, failure to deal with Jewish power in line with Jewish ethics.	Pluralist religious society embodying Progressive Jewish values.	Strive for pluralism, involvement in societal issues according to our values, influence others (individual & communal dugma)
Tikkun Am Perfect the Jewish people	Dispersion, fragmented, divided	Israel/ diaspora relations, pluralism in Israel, nationalism in diaspora, aliyah nimshecht (living out a Reform Zionist life in Israel)	Reform Zionist education in diaspora, encourage spending serious time in Israel, encourage aliyah nimshechet, work with all of Jewish people
Tikkun Olam Perfect the world	Poverty, oppression, war, racism, human rights etc.	Justice, equality, peace, dignity of all humans	Being a light unto the nations, involvement in local national and international campaigns/ causes

Model of Three pillars






The Netzer Symbol



The Magen David - the 'Shield of David' has come to be used in modern times, as a universal symbol of Jewish national identity. As Jewish symbols go, it does not have a particularly ancient background and seems to have been first associated with Judaism in the late Middle Ages. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Magen David was adopted by the Zionist Movement as the Jewish national symbol and it has come to be recognized as a general symbol of Judaism, appearing also in religious contexts. Today, the Magen David is the central element of the flag of the State of Israel and, in many

ways, is symbolic of the unity of Am Yisrael.

	<p>The menorah - One of the oldest of Jewish ornaments and symbols, the Menorah is first mentioned in the book of Exodus where it is stated that its design was inspired by a revelation from on high. The seven branch Menorah was used in worship in the Temple in Jerusalem. When the Temple was destroyed, it became the central symbol of Jewish religious expression. Today, the Menorah appears prominently on the coat-of-arms of the State of Israel, as well as being a part of every symbol used by the Progressive movement world-wide. The Menorah, moreover, symbolizes light and all the special association we have with light.</p>
	<p>'Alei Netzer' - The leaves of Renewal and Redemption. The leaves are symbolic of the 'new shoot' referred to in Isaiah 11:2, as well as representing the central Jewish religious theme of the prospect of redemption. They are also symbolic of the 'fresh approach' created by the Progressive Movement, as well as the continued vitality of Netzer itself.</p>
	<p>Netzer- The name of the movement, the Hebrew word 'Netzer' means a new shoot, a twig, a new growth, and is to be found in Isaiah 11:2: "... And a new shoot shall grow forth from his roots; and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge, and the fear of the Lord."</p>

Progressive Judaism

Progressive Judaism – Then and Now

A Historical Overview of the Reform¹ Movement

Reform Judaism was the first of the modern interpretations of Judaism to emerge in response to the changed political and cultural conditions brought about by the *Haskalah* (Emancipation). It is also known as Liberal or Progressive Judaism.

The history of Reform Judaism can be divided into three periods, with several characteristics of one period overlapping with or incorporated into the succeeding one. They are:

- 1) Aesthetic
- 2) Scholarly and ideological
- 3) Organizational

Moses Mendelssohn (September 6, 1729 – January 4, 1786) was a German Jewish philosopher and a pioneer of the development of Reform Judaism. He was an important Jewish figure of the 18th century, and to him is attributable a renaissance of European Jews, the bringing of European Enlightenment to Jewry which is called in Hebrew “Haskalah,”. Mendelssohn wanted the Jews to retain their religion while participating in the newly Enlightened Europe. He translated the Bible into German, thus establishing a standard of the vernacular, although it was written in Hebrew letters, with a Hebrew commentary called the *Biur*. He campaigned for emancipation and instructed Jews to form bonds with the gentile governments. He tried to improve the relationship between Jews and Christians as he argued for tolerance and humanity. He became a symbol of both the European Enlightenment and the Jewish Enlightenment, the *Haskalah*. He is also considered to be the ideological inspiration of Reform Judaism, although he remained traditionalist (Orthodoxy did not technically exist at this time as the faction was only cemented after the advent of Reform). Ironically, Mendelssohn's own descendants, the most famous being the composer Felix Mendelssohn, left Judaism for Christianity.

Aesthetic Reforms

The first Reform Jews were laypeople, working without rabbinic leadership. Their main issues with the status quo included the mass assimilation of Jews in the wake of the Emancipation and the lack of Western Standards of aesthetics and decorum in the traditional manner of Jewish worship. Thus the changes they made (the reforms, if you will) to the service were largely aesthetic and not based in ideology. These reforms included the abbreviation of the liturgy (prayers), the inclusion of a sermon in the language of the vernacular, choral singing with organ accompaniment, and the

¹ While as a General rule Netzer uses the term Progressive Judaism to refer to the type of Judaism we practice, when talking historically we have deemed it more accurate to use the term Reform to describe the early reformist stream of Progressive Judaism.

supplementation of the standard Hebrew prayers with prayers in the vernacular. A service of this kind was held by Israel Jacobson in 1810 in his private home from 1815 onwards. This style of worship was also adopted by the Hamburg Temple, which was opened in 1818 as the first regular synagogue established as Reform. These original Reformers desired no break from tradition or the formation of a new Jewish sect, and made every effort to show that their reforms were compatible with Jewish law and Halacha, but their references to rabbinic sources failed to sway the traditionalists. And although they essentially started out for aesthetic reasons, it was already evident in the very first stage of Reform Judaism that some ideological concerns came to the fore. For example, the early Reformers did not share the traditional longing for Zion and the restoration of the Temple, and the liturgy was modified to reflect this. The Jews had been challenged by the so-called "Sanhedrin" of Napoleon to state where they stood in regard to their citizenship in the emerging European nation states, and those that were optimistic regarding the Enlightenment and the political changes felt that giving their loyalty to Zion was in light of the new circumstances incorrect.

Scholarly and Ideological Reforms

Despite the fact that the founders of Reform Judaism were laypeople, over the subsequent 30 years, many outstanding rabbis and scholars rallied to the cause. These were a new generation of rabbis, whose education included a university degree in addition to traditional training.

In 1844, 1845 and 1846, rabbinical conferences were held in Brunswick, Frankfurt and Breslau to bring the modernist rabbis together. Since there was no consensus about the theory behind Reform Judaism amongst the rabbis, the subject was carefully avoided, and the conferences were devoted to matters of practice. They found traditional sources to back up their reformation of the liturgy, in particular the use of vernacular language in the service and organ accompaniment. They also sought to modify the traditionally heavy Shabbat observance and laws of marriage and divorce. Although these conferences were clearly of a Reform nature, the participating rabbis tried to remain within the mainstream of Judaism, and refused to regard Reform Judaism as a sect.

Although their attitude toward the Talmud and other traditional codifications was, too, often ambivalent, the German Reform rabbis continued to justify their reforms with references to rabbinic sources. They thus differed significantly from other existing forms of Reform Judaism.

The conferences of the 1840s led to the formation of two different theoretical positions associated with the names of Abraham Geiger and Samuel Holdheim respectively. Using his scientific research as a basis, Geiger had reached the conclusion that Judaism is a constantly evolving organism. In the same way that Biblical Judaism differed from classical rabbinic Judaism, Geiger felt that the modern age called for further evolution in accordance with the changed circumstances. For him, tradition and change were synonymous, and he saw in tradition the inherent justification for Reform Judaism.

For Holdheim, on the other hand, Reform Judaism was revolutionary – not evolutionary. He believed that with the downfall of the Temple and the Jewish Commonwealth in 70 C. E. only the religious elements of Judaism (i.e. Monotheism and morality) had any validity, and everything connected to Temple and state was obsolete. He is quoted as saying, “In the talmudic age, the Talmud was right. In my age, I am right.”

In Europe, acceptance of Holdheim’s radicalism was confined to the Berlin Reformgemeinde, (Holdheim’s rabbinical pulpit), and a short-lived radical group in Hungary. But in America, Holdheim’s ideas fell on more fertile soil. There, too, there was a division between moderate (championed by Isaac M. Wise) and radical (championed by David Einhorn) approaches to Reform Judaism. But by 1885, the radical position was by far the dominant one in American Reform Judaism, and it was expressed in the Pittsburgh Platform.

It is important that the Pittsburgh Platform is considered within the context of 19th Century nationalism. Jews, like the rest of the Western World at the time, did not want to be seen as a different “nation” – for otherwise they would be faced with the dilemma of their identities and roles as active members of their own societies. Thus within context, this platform is not as radical as it seems when seen in hindsight and with our current Jewish principles.

Extract from the *Pittsburgh Platform*, 1885

We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish People for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and **today we accept as binding only its moral laws**, and maintain only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization... We hold that all such Mosaic and rabbinical laws and regulate diet, priestly purity, and dress originated in ages and under the influence of ideas entirely foreign to our present mental and spiritual state... Their observance in our days is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation... We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel’s great messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. **We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community**, and therefore **expect neither a return to Palestine**, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, **nor the restoration of any laws concerning the Jewish state** We reassert the doctrine of Judaism that the soul is immortal, founding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit, which forever finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness. We reject as ideas not rooted in Judaism, the beliefs both in bodily resurrection and in Gehenna and Eden . . . as abodes for everlasting punishment and reward.

However, Reform Judaism was not against change within its own ideological structure. The optimism of the 19th century was shot down by harsh historical reality – the American reformers realized that they had seriously underestimated the role that traditional observance plays in Jewish survival. As a result of this, the Columbus Platform of 1937 surfaced. Although, like the Pittsburgh Platform, it retained the stress on Judaism’s compatibility with science, the centrality

of the moral law, and on the progressive nature of revelation, it differed from the Pittsburgh Platform in emphasis. It stated:

The Torah, both written and oral, enshrines Israel's ever-growing consciousness of God and of the moral law. It preserves the historical precedents sanctions and norms of Jewish life, and seeks to mould it in patterns of goodness and holiness. It defined Judaism as "the soul of which Israel is the body," and recognized "in the group-loyalty of the Jews who have become estranged from our religious tradition a bond which still unites them with us" and affirmed "**the obligation of all Jewry to aid in [Palestine's] upbuilding as a Jewish homeland** by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life." It stressed that "Judaism as a way of life requires, in addition to its moral and spiritual demands, the preservation of the Sabbath, festivals, and Holy Days, the retention and development of such customs, symbols, and ceremonies as possess inspirational value, the cultivation of distinctive forms of religious art and music and the use of Hebrew, together with the vernacular, in our worship and instruction.

Since the adoption of the "Columbus Platform", there has been a return to many traditional observances by the American Reform Jews, and the study of Hebrew has returned to the curriculum of many schools. In Reform Judaism, anti-Zionism, once considered a fundamental part of "universalism", has given way to large-scale support of the State of Israel. There was also a movement toward and a demand for a guide to Reform Jewish practices, although many believe that the publication of such a guide would turn Reform Judaism into another orthodoxy.

Organizational Developments

The world's Reform congregations are united in the World Union for Progressive Judaism, founded in 1926, with constituents and representatives in over 26 countries. Three rabbinical seminaries in London, Paris and the Hebrew Union College (with campuses in Cincinnati, New York, Los Angeles and Jerusalem) train the rabbis of the movement. A fourth, the Berlin Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, founded in 1872, was a victim of the Holocaust, but has been recently been restored under the title of the Abraham Geiger College. These seminaries, and others of different streams of Judaism that apply scientific methods to the study of traditional texts, are a direct result of the early Reform strivings for a synthesis of tradition and modern knowledge. The USA has the numerically largest Reform demography, and due to its numerical and financial strength, has assumed world leadership of the Reform movement, despite the fact that Reform Jews outside the US tend to be far more traditionally observant.

Reform Judaism in Principle and Practice

Reform Judaism holds that the Torah was written by human hands, in the language of its time, with divine inspiration. Reform Judaism also believes that the process of reinterpretation of the Torah to the language of today is ongoing, and that every Jew has a stake and a role in that restatement and extension. This is also known as Progressive Revelation, which is fundamentally

prophetic ethical monotheism insofar as the prophets, beginning with Moses, are the model and inspiration for the entire development. This allows Reform Jews to constantly re-evaluate whether their Jewish practices and beliefs are meaningful to them, giving them the ability to change what they do not agree with in order to fit in with the highest dictates of conscience and morality.

These principles are reflected in the Netzer motto, "Nilmad V'Na'aseh – we will learn and we will do" which tells us that we must first research and study about our religion and then take it upon ourselves to be proactive as informed decision makers. Orthodoxy, on the other hand, believes that both the written and oral Torah are the direct word of God as transcribed verbatim by Moses on Mount Sinai. Thus the Halacha is essentially written in stone for them – they cannot go against what they consider to be God's will. This is reflected in the slogan "Na'aseh Ve'nishma" – we will do and we will listen – essentially, they believe that one must unquestioningly follow the mitzvot and only then seek to understand the reasoning behind them.

Reform Judaism also believes in egalitarianism (equal treatment of the sexes) wherever possible. The Orthodox, whilst often espousing the ideal that women have an equal, but different role to play or due to some inherent spiritual advancement have no need to participate as much as the men do (in other words, a claim that women are inherently spiritually superior), does not back this claim up with hands-on results in terms of practice, where women still may not read from the Torah, or lead a service where a man is present.

There is also a fundamental difference in the conceptualization of God. Reform Judaism sees God as predominantly merciful, benevolent and generally more interested in things other than what we do in our day-to-day lives. The Orthodox, especially the Charedim, see God as a judge – a vengeful being who is interested in what we do in our day-to-day lives and who is waiting in severe judgment to strike down the wicked.

In practice, where Orthodoxy had an all-Hebrew ritual, Reform found that Hebrew was difficult for everyone to understand and held the service in the language of the vernacular with Hebrew in, and not all of the service.

Where before there was a prayer for the coming of the Messiah to deliver the Jews from "exile", Reform holds the view that as citizens, Jews are no longer in exile. They felt that Judaism had outgrown the ancient practice of sacrifices and burnt offerings and the belief that the dead could be restored to life. Reform Judaism feels that instead of being one Messiah, there will be a "messianic age" where all people would be righteous and live together without conflict.

Traditionally, an extra day was added on to every holiday. This was because when the chagim started there was no totally accurate way to get the exact date. Reform has dropped the extra day for most festivals as in a modern society one is able to get an exact date and the festival can be observed on that date and therefore another day is not needed "in case" the chag was celebrated at the wrong time. This, however, is not true for the customs of all congregations.

Actualizing our Principles

As Progressive Jews, the onus is on us to practice Nil'mad V'na'aseh, and to constantly re-evaluate if we are living up to the highest dictates of conscience and morality. In a concrete sense, this, if practiced ideally, is a much more difficult application of Torah than Na'aseh V'nishma, because the responsibility for our Judaism rests squarely on the shoulder of each individual, and the saying "Talmud Torah K'neged Kulam" – the study of Torah is equal to all the mitzvot, is expanded in our translation to include the reason that the fulfillment of the mitzvot is achieved depends upon their being studied. That is, if no one studies the mitzvot, no one will carry them out at all.

A Statement of Principles for Reform Judaism

Oct. 27, 2004

Adopted in Pittsburgh - 1999

Adopted at the 1999 Pittsburgh Convention

Central Conference of American Rabbis

May 1999 - Sivan 5759

Preamble

On three occasions during the last century and a half, the Reform rabbinate has adopted comprehensive statements to help guide the thought and practice of our movement. In 1885, fifteen rabbis issued the Pittsburgh Platform, a set of guidelines that defined Reform Judaism for the next fifty years. A revised statement of principles, the Columbus Platform, was adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1937. A third set of rabbinic guidelines, the Centenary Perspective, appeared in 1976 on the occasion of the centenary of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion. Today, when so many individuals are striving for religious meaning, moral purpose and a sense of community, we believe it is our obligation as rabbis once again to state a set of principles that define Reform Judaism in our own time.

Throughout our history, we Jews have remained firmly rooted in Jewish tradition, even as we have learned much from our encounters with other cultures. The great contribution of Reform Judaism is that it has enabled the Jewish people to introduce innovation while preserving tradition, to embrace diversity while asserting commonality, to affirm beliefs without rejecting those who doubt, and to bring faith to sacred texts without sacrificing critical scholarship.

This "Statement of Principles" affirms the central tenets of Judaism - God, Torah and Israel - even as it acknowledges the diversity of Reform Jewish beliefs and practices. It also invites all Reform Jews to engage in a dialogue with the sources of our tradition, responding out of our knowledge, our experience and our faith. Thus we hope to transform our lives through (*kedushah*), holiness.

God

We affirm the reality and oneness of God, even as we may differ in our understanding of the Divine presence.

We affirm that the Jewish people is bound to God by an eternal (*b'rit*), covenant, as reflected in our varied understandings of Creation, Revelation and Redemption.

We affirm that every human being is created (*b'tzelem Elohim*), in the image of God, and that therefore every human life is sacred.

We regard with reverence all of God's creation and recognize our human responsibility for its preservation and protection.

We encounter God's presence in moments of awe and wonder, in acts of justice and compassion, in loving relationships and in the experiences of everyday life.

We respond to God daily: through public and private prayer, through study and through the performance of other (*mitzvot*), sacred obligations -- (*bein adam la Makom*), to God, and (*bein adam la-chaveiro*), to other human beings.

We strive for a faith that fortifies us through the vicissitudes of our lives -- illness and healing, transgression and repentance, bereavement and consolation, despair and hope.

We continue to have faith that, in spite of the unspeakable evils committed against our people and the sufferings endured by others, the partnership of God and humanity will ultimately prevail.

We trust in our tradition's promise that, although God created us as finite beings, the spirit within us is eternal.

In all these ways and more, God gives meaning and purpose to our lives.

Torah

We affirm that Torah is the foundation of Jewish life.

We cherish the truths revealed in Torah, God's ongoing revelation to our people and the record of our people's ongoing relationship with God.

We affirm that Torah is a manifestation of (*ahavat olam*), God's eternal love for the Jewish people and for all humanity.

We affirm the importance of studying Hebrew, the language of Torah and Jewish liturgy, that we may draw closer to our people's sacred texts.

We are called by Torah to lifelong study in the home, in the synagogue and in every place where Jews gather to learn and teach. Through Torah study we are called to (*mitzvot*), the means by which we make our lives holy.

We are committed to the ongoing study of the whole array of (*mitzvot*) and to the fulfillment of those that address us as individuals and as a community. Some of these (*mitzvot*), sacred

obligations, have long been observed by Reform Jews; others, both ancient and modern, demand renewed attention as the result of the unique context of our own times.

We bring Torah into the world when we seek to sanctify the times and places of our lives through regular home and congregational observance. Shabbat calls us to bring the highest moral values to our daily labor and to culminate the workweek with (*kedushah*), holiness, (*menuchah*), rest and (*oneg*), joy. The High Holy Days call us to account for our deeds. The Festivals enable us to celebrate with joy our people's religious journey in the context of the changing seasons. The days of remembrance remind us of the tragedies and the triumphs that have shaped our people's historical experience both in ancient and modern times. And we mark the milestones of our personal journeys with traditional and creative rites that reveal the holiness in each stage of life.

We bring Torah into the world when we strive to fulfill the highest ethical mandates in our relationships with others and with all of God's creation. Partners with God in (*tikkun olam*), repairing the world, we are called to help bring nearer the messianic age. We seek dialogue and joint action with people of other faiths in the hope that together we can bring peace, freedom and justice to our world. We are obligated to pursue (*tzedek*), justice and righteousness, and to narrow the gap between the affluent and the poor, to act against discrimination and oppression, to pursue peace, to welcome the stranger, to protect the earth's biodiversity and natural resources, and to redeem those in physical, economic and spiritual bondage. In so doing, we reaffirm social action and social justice as a central prophetic focus of traditional Reform Jewish belief and practice. We affirm the *mitzvah* of *tzedakah*, setting aside portions of our earnings and our time to provide for those in need. These acts bring us closer to fulfilling the prophetic call to translate the words of Torah into the works of our hands.

In all these ways and more, Torah gives meaning and purpose to our lives.

Israel

We are Israel, a people aspiring to holiness, singled out through our ancient covenant and our unique history among the nations to be witnesses to God's presence. We are linked by that covenant and that history to all Jews in every age and place.

We are committed to the *mitzvah* of *ahavat Yisrael* - love for the Jewish people, and to *k'lal Yisrael*, the entirety of the community of Israel. Recognizing that *kol Yisrael arevim zeh ba-zeh*, all Jews are responsible for one another, we reach out to all Jews across ideological and geographical boundaries.

We embrace religious and cultural pluralism as an expression of the vitality of Jewish communal life in Israel and the Diaspora.

We pledge to fulfill Reform Judaism's historic commitment to the complete equality of women and men in Jewish life.

We are an inclusive community, opening doors to Jewish life to people of all ages, to varied kinds of families, to all regardless of their sexual orientation, to (*gerim*), those who have converted to Judaism, and to all individuals and families, including the intermarried, who strive to create a Jewish home.

We believe that we must not only open doors for those ready to enter our faith, but also to actively encourage those who are seeking a spiritual home to find it in Judaism.

We are committed to strengthening the people Israel by supporting individuals and families in the creation of homes rich in Jewish learning and observance.

We are committed to strengthening the people Israel by making the synagogue central to Jewish communal life, so that it may elevate the spiritual, intellectual and cultural quality of our lives.

We are committed to *Medinat Yisrael*, the State of Israel, and rejoice in its accomplishments. We affirm the unique qualities of living in *Eretz Yisrael*, the land of Israel, and encourage *aliyah*, immigration to Israel.

We are committed to a vision of the State of Israel that promotes full civil, human and religious rights for all its inhabitants and that strives for a lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors.

We are committed to promoting and strengthening Progressive Judaism in Israel, which will enrich the spiritual life of the Jewish state and its people.

We affirm that both Israeli and Diaspora Jewry should remain vibrant and interdependent communities. As we urge Jews who reside outside Israel to learn Hebrew as a living language and to make periodic visits to Israel in order to study and to deepen their relationship to the Land and its people, so do we affirm that Israeli Jews have much to learn from the religious life of Diaspora Jewish communities. We are committed to furthering Progressive Judaism throughout the world as a meaningful religious way of life for the Jewish people.

In all these ways and more, Israel gives meaning and purpose to our lives.

Sources and
Resources on
Zionist
History and
Ideology

The Development of the Zionist Ideal

Zionism, essentially, is a political movement and an ideology that supports a Jewish homeland in the Land of Israel, where the Jewish nation originated and where Jewish kingdoms and self-governing states existed at various times in history. Originally, the term *Zionism* was coined by Austrian Jew, Nathan Birnbaum, to describe Jewish nationalism. Early Zionist thinkers developed a motivation for the movement based not only on a means to escape the scourge of Anti-Semitism, but also on the imperative for independence governance. Originally, the Zionist movement was mainly secular, although Zionism is derived from religious and historical tradition linking the Jewish people to the State of Israel, a tie that was especially emphasized after the destruction of the second temple and the exile in 70 CE. However, soon its political impact came to the fore, guided by the father of modern Zionism, Theodor Herzl.

Herzl, a Viennese journalist, took a plan of action to initiate a political Zionist movement after the Dreyfus trial of 1894, when a French officer was accused falsely of espionage in an attempt to discredit the Jewish people. Herzl realized the importance of creating a Jewish state, and, with this vision in mind, pioneered the First Zionist Congress in Basle in 1897. In seven whirlwind years, Herzl met with figures ranging from the Turkish Sultan to the German Kaiser to the Pope in attempts to muster political and financial support for the Zionist ideal.

However, within the Zionist movement itself there was much dissent and many different opinions sprang from various outlooks. In the sphere of political Zionism, which advocated the creation of a Jewish state for political reasons, different factions formed. These included the territorialists who were prepared to accept areas other than Israel for the formation of a Jewish state, and the Revisionists, led by Jabotinsky, who opposed this. Clashes about where the Jewish homeland should be established were especially passionate during the 6th Zionist Congress where the question of establishing a state in Uganda was raised.

At the same time, different streams of Zionism emerged. While many, including Herzl, advocated political Zionism, they were met with opposition from Ahad Ha'am (also known as Asher Zvi Ginsberg), who was critical of what he saw as Herzl's wish to create a state of refuge for the Jews that would have little Jewish character and which would not be imbued with Jewish values. From this, cultural Zionism emerged, which focussed on creating a cultural centre for Jewry in Israel, which would rejuvenate Jewish expression as well as the ancient Hebrew language, a drive which Eliezer Ben Yehuda fuelled.

Parallel to cultural Zionism, a vision of religious Zionism surfaced, headed by Rabbi Abraham Kook, who saw the establishment of a Jewish state as a form of religious redemption.

Practical Zionism had also been present even before the first Zionist Congress, during the first and second aliyot (mass waves of immigration) – 1882 and 1903 respectively – which saw chalutzim (or pioneers) who had 'come to the land to build and to be built' and dedicated themselves to working the land.

Eventually, following Herzl's death in 1904, a form of Zionism which fused political, practical and cultural elements became the compelling force of the movement. This stream was called synthetic Zionism and was spear-headed by Chaim Weizmann, who would go on to become the first president of the State of Israel. Largely due to his diplomatic influence, the Balfour Declaration of 1917 was issued, which catapulted Zionism into a new era.

A Timeline of Zionist History: from the Balfour Declaration to Today

(adapted from www.mideastweb.org)

- 1917 – Balfour Declaration is issued by Britain after they gain control of Palestine as the Ottoman Empire collapses in the First World War. The British foreign secretary, Arthur Balfour, publishes the famous declaration in favour of 'the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people' on the condition that the state does not 'prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine'. The declaration reflects a growing support of Jewry and Zionist ambition and is a major step in securing a state.
- 1919–1923 – The Third Aliyah (wave of immigration) made up of some 8 000 olim (immigrants) who are mainly young idealistic pioneers and founders of kibbutzim (communal farms) introduces a socialist outlook.
- 1920 – The Haganah, a Jewish defense organization, is formed.
- 1924-1932 – The Fourth Aliyah sees tens of thousands of Jews from Eastern Europe who are interested in urban growth move to Israel and develop Tel Aviv and market forces.
- 1925 – Hebrew University opens in Jerusalem, symbolizing the cultural revival of life in Palestine.
- 1929 – Arab riots in Jerusalem break out at the Western Wall.
- 1931 – The Etzel or Irgun movement is founded as an armed resistance force in favour of more active uprising.
- 1933-1939 – The Fifth Aliyah begins with the rise of the Nazis in Germany. Within six and a half years, close to a quarter of a million Jews make aliyah.
- 1937 – The Peel Commission publishes a partition plan after investigations into bloody riots between the Arab and Jewish populations of Palestine. The report proposes dividing Palestine into two separate Jewish and Arab states. The Jewish population's opinion is divided, the Arab population rejects the plan.
- 1939 – The MacDonald White Paper is issued, restricting Jewish immigration, and prohibiting Jews from purchasing land in Palestine. It is viewed as a defiance of the Balfour Declaration and comes at a crucial time for European Jewry.
- 1939–1945 - The period of the Second World War and the Holocaust is one of the darkest that the Jewish people has ever known, and after the extent of the loss of 6 million Jewish lives is realized, the imperative ideal of a Jewish State becomes even more marked.

- 1940 – Lehi, or the Stern Gang, forms as an extreme Jewish underground resistance faction.
- 1941 – The Palmach, a special unit of the Haganah is established to strengthen the Jewish community in Palestine.
- 1945 – The Second World War ends, bringing the plight of worldwide Jewry to the international community's attention and conscience. However, the British who ruled Palestine at the time resist the movement to establish a Jewish State, and enforce strict immigration quotas. Because of this, illegal immigration intensifies and armed struggle, settlement and political activity increases.
- 1946 – Etzel blows up the south wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, the main headquarters of the British mandatory government. The Jewish community is shocked and condemns this action.
- 1947 – On the 29th of November, the United Nations votes in favour of partitioning Palestine by a majority of more than two-thirds (33 for, 13 against and 10 abstentions). This plan recommends the end of the British mandate in Palestine, the establishment of two states and an international zone in Jerusalem. Worldwide Jewry rejoices.
- 1948 – On the 14th of May, as the British mandate ends, David Ben Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, declares the establishment of the State of Israel. The following day, the armies of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq invade Israeli territory and the War of Independence begins. The resistance movements fuse to form the Israeli Defence Force (IDF) and the Arab invasion is unsuccessful. More than 700,000 Palestinian Arabs and some 800 000 Jewish refugees are created, establishing a problem that Israel grapples with until today. In 1949 Israel signed armistice agreements with its neighbours. However, the Arab governments and the Palestinian refugees refuse to recognise Israel's existence as a legitimate country. The region remains unstable.
- 1949 – The First Knesset (Israeli parliament) of 120 members is formed.
- 1950 – The Law of Return is issued. This grants all Jews the right to immigrate to Israel. However, this law raises some probing questions about the 'Who is a Jew?' dilemma.
- 1956 – Sinai Campaign. Israel demonstrates its new might when it invades the Egyptian Sinai (with British and French collusion), after Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal and other provocation. American intervention forces Israel's withdrawal
- 1960 – Eichmann, one of the primary planners and perpetrators of the Nazi extermination programme, is found in Argentina and brought to Israel, where he is later hanged.
- 1964 – Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) is formed with Shuqeiri as its leader.

- 1967 – The Six Day War. When Egypt, Syria and Jordan mass forces to challenge Israel, Israel launches a pre-emptive strike and smashes its enemies' forces in just six days, capturing the West Bank, the Gaza strip, the Golan Heights and the Sinai peninsula. As the Israeli government moves to build Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), led by Yasser Arafat, takes the lead role in fighting the Israeli occupation. Israel wins worldwide sympathy and admiration for its military prowess.
- 1972 – Terrorists from the Palestinian 'Black September' organization kill 11 Israeli athletes at the Munich olympics.
- 1973 – The Yom Kippur War. In October 1973, on the Jewish holy day of Yom Kippur, Egypt and Syria launch a surprise attack in the Sinai and the Golan Heights. Although Israel is not defeated, Arab pride is restored.
- 1975 – The United Nations Resolution 3379 defines Zionism as a form of racism.
- 1976 The Entebbe Raid. Terrorists hijack an Air France plane en route to Israel, forcing it down at Entebbe, Uganda. In a surprise tactical attack, an Israeli commando unit stomps the plane, killing the hijackers and rescuing the hostages. In the operation two hostages and commander Yonatan Netanyahu die.
- 1977 – The right-wing Likud party replaces the left-wing Labour party in a turning point in Israeli politics when Menachem Begin is elected prime minister.
- 1978 – The Camp David Accords, which establish a format for negotiations are signed by Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Anwar Sadat. This leads to the Israel-Egypt peace treaty in 1979.
- 1982 – The Lebanon war is initiated by Israel to destroy PLO terrorist bases.
- 1987 – The First Intifada, or Palestinian Uprising begins.
- 1990 – The Soviet Union allows Jews to immigrate to Israel, leading to a flood of new olim.
- 1991 – Operation Solomon marks the aliyah of Ethiopian Jewry, where nearly 15 000 Ethiopian Jews, threatened by civil war, are airlifted to Israel.

Madrid Conference for peace is held, with few results.

The United Nations Resolution 3379 equating Zionism with racism is revoked.

- 1993 – The Oslo Peace Accords between Israel and the PLO lead to the PLO renouncing violence and recognizing Israel's right to exist, with Israel recognizing the PLO as an

official representation of the Palestinian people and allows limited Palestinian self-government.

- 1994 – Peace agreement with Jordan is signed and diplomatic and economic ties are formed with other Arab countries.

Yitzchak Rabin, Shimon Peres and Yasser Arafat receive the Nobel Peace Prize.

- 1995 – Yitzchak Rabin is assassinated at a peace rally in Tel Aviv by Yigal Amir, a right-wing Israeli fanatic, hampering the peace process dramatically.
- 2000 – Camp David 2000 Summit.

The Second Intifida, the Al-Aqsa Intifada, begins with armed riots and suicide bombings, and Israel responds with tanks, machine guns and missiles.

- 2002 – The Roadmap to Peace, setting out clear targets with the aim of resolving the conflict, is drawn up by the Middle East quartet – the US, the UN, the EU and Russia.

Israel begins building a 'security fence' which separates Palestinian and Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, leading to much controversy.

- 2004 – Ariel Sharon, the prime minister of Israel, plans a unilateral disengagement of the Jewish settlements in the Gaza strip.
- 2005 – The disengagement takes place, despite split opinions and protests in Israel.

Sharon breaks away from the Likud party to form 'Kadima' which is a centrist party, altering the shape of Israeli politics.

- 2006 – Ariel Sharon has the second of two strokes which leaves him in a coma. Kadima, under the leadership of Ehud Olmert, win the election and form a coalition with Avodah, Shas and the pensioners party.
- 2006 – Following the abduction of a soldier on the border with Gaza and the subsequent abduction of two soldiers on the northern border, Israel goes to war with Hizbullah. Fighting lasts 36 days.
- 2007 - U.S. convenes Middle East Summit in Annapolis. Israelis and Palestinians agree to implement roadmap under U.S. monitoring and to negotiate continuously with the aim of reaching a final status agreement by the end of 2008.
- 2008 - In primaries held after PM Olmert forced to resign over financial improprieties, Tzipi Livni elected to head Kadima party in Israel, form new government.

- 2008 - Israel launches Operation *Oferet Yetzuka* (Operation Cast Lead) with continuous air strikes at rocket launching facilities, factories, smuggling tunnels, Hamas command and control centers. About 400 Palestinians are killed by December 31. Hamas broadens rocket strikes to include Israeli towns and cities as far away as Beersheba and Yavneh.
- 2009 - Following elections, Likud party head Benjamin Netanyahu becomes Prime Minister.
- 2010 - Turkish ship Mavi Marmara, chartered by IHH is boarded by Israeli commandos after attempting to run the Gaza blockade. The Mavi Marmara was part of a flotilla of "humanitarian aid." Other ships are diverted to Ashdod and their cargoes of cement, used clothing and outdated medicines are shipped to Gaza by Israel. IHH personnel on Mavi Marmara beat Israeli commandos and attack them with various weapons prepared in advance, including possibly guns, kidnapping several. Israelis open fire killing 9. Major crisis in Israel-Turkey relations and international outcry. IHH may have ties to A-Qaeda and other terrorist groups. Subsequently it was found that there were no humanitarian supplies on the Mavi Marmara.
- 2010 - Israel announces that it is easing the Gaza blockade, bowing to international pressure (see [here](#) and [here](#)).
- 2012 - Operation Pillar of Defense is an eight-day Israel Defense Forces (IDF) operation in the Hamas-governed Gaza Strip, officially launched on 14 November 2012 with the killing of Ahmed Jabari, chief of the Gaza military wing of Hamas.
- 2013 - Direct negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians begin on July 29, 2013 following an attempt by United States Secretary of State John Kerry to restart the peace process.

The Basel Program

Adopted at the first World Zionist Congress in Basel, 1897

Zionism seeks to establish a home for the Jewish people in EretzIsrael secured under public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

1. The promotion by appropriate means of the settlement in Eretz-Israel of Jewish farmers, artisans, and manufacturers.
2. The organization and uniting of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, both local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.
3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps toward obtaining the consent of governments, where necessary, in order to reach the goals of Zionism.

The Declaration of The Establishment of The State of Israel

14 - May - 1948

On May 14, 1948, on the day in which the British Mandate over a Palestine expired, the Jewish People's Council gathered at the Tel Aviv Museum, and approved the following proclamation, declaring the establishment of the State of Israel. The new state was recognized that night at 11:00 AM Israel time by the United States and three days later by the USSR.

ERETZ-ISRAEL [(Hebrew) - the Land of Israel, Palestine] was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and political identity was shaped. Here they first attained to statehood, created cultural values of national and universal significance and gave to the world the eternal Book of Books.

After being forcibly exiled from their land, the people kept faith with it throughout their Dispersion and never ceased to pray and hope for their return to it and for the restoration in it of their political freedom.

Impelled by this historic and traditional attachment, Jews strove in every successive generation to re-establish themselves in their ancient homeland. In recent decades they returned in their masses. Pioneers, *ma'pilim* [(Hebrew) - immigrants coming to Eretz-Israel in defiance of restrictive legislation] and defenders, they made deserts bloom, revived the Hebrew language, built villages and towns, and created a thriving community controlling its own economy and culture, loving peace but knowing how to defend itself, bringing the blessings of progress to all the country's inhabitants, and aspiring towards independent nationhood.

In the year 5657 (1897), at the summons of the spiritual father of the Jewish State, Theodore Herzl, the First Zionist Congress convened and proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national rebirth in its own country.

This right was recognized in the Balfour Declaration of the 2nd November, 1917, and reaffirmed in the Mandate of the League of Nations which, in particular, gave international sanction to the historic connection between the Jewish people and Eretz-Israel and to the right of the Jewish people to rebuild its National Home.

The catastrophe which recently befell the Jewish people - the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe - was another clear demonstration of the urgency of solving the problem of its homelessness by re-establishing in Eretz-Israel the Jewish State, which would open the gates of the homeland wide to every Jew and confer upon the Jewish people the status of a fully privileged member of the community of nations.

Survivors of the Nazi holocaust in Europe, as well as Jews from other parts of the world, continued to migrate to Eretz-Israel, undaunted by difficulties, restrictions and dangers, and

never ceased to assert their right to a life of dignity, freedom and honest toil in their national homeland.

In the Second World War, the Jewish community of this country contributed its full share to the struggle of the freedom- and peace-loving nations against the forces of Nazi wickedness and, by the blood of its soldiers and its war effort, gained the right to be reckoned among the peoples who founded the United Nations.

On the 29th November, 1947, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish State in Eretz-Israel; the General Assembly required the inhabitants of Eretz-Israel to take such steps as were necessary on their part for the implementation of that resolution. This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their State is irrevocable.

This right is the natural right of the Jewish people to be masters of their own fate, like all other nations, in their own sovereign State.

ACCORDINGLY WE, MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S COUNCIL, REPRESENTATIVES OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF ERETZ-ISRAEL AND OF THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT, ARE HERE ASSEMBLED ON THE DAY OF THE TERMINATION OF THE BRITISH MANDATE OVER ERETZ-ISRAEL AND, BY VIRTUE OF OUR NATURAL AND HISTORIC RIGHT AND ON THE STRENGTH OF THE RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, HEREBY DECLARE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH STATE IN ERETZ-ISRAEL, TO BE KNOWN AS THE STATE OF ISRAEL.

WE DECLARE that, with effect from the moment of the termination of the Mandate being tonight, the eve of Sabbath, the 6th Iyar, 5708 (15th May, 1948), until the establishment of the elected, regular authorities of the State in accordance with the Constitution which shall be adopted by the Elected Constituent Assembly not later than the 1st October 1948, the People's Council shall act as a Provisional Council of State, and its executive organ, the People's Administration, shall be the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, to be called "Israel".

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

THE STATE OF ISRAEL is prepared to cooperate with the agencies and representatives of the United Nations in implementing the resolution of the General Assembly of the 29th November, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the economic union of the whole of Eretz-Israel.

WE APPEAL to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building-up of its State and to receive the State of Israel into the comity of nations.

WE APPEAL - in the very midst of the onslaught launched against us now for months - to the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve peace and participate in the upbuilding of the State on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its provisional and permanent institutions.

WE EXTEND our hand to all neighbouring states and their peoples in an offer of peace and good neighbourliness, and appeal to them to establish bonds of cooperation and mutual help with the sovereign Jewish people settled in its own land. The State of Israel is prepared to do its share in a common effort for the advancement of the entire Middle East.

WE APPEAL to the Jewish people throughout the Diaspora to rally round the Jews of Eretz-Israel in the tasks of immigration and upbuilding and to stand by them in the great struggle for the realization of the age-old dream - the redemption of Israel.

PLACING OUR TRUST IN THE ALMIGHTY, WE AFFIX OUR SIGNATURES TO THIS PROCLAMATION AT THIS SESSION OF THE PROVISIONAL COUNCIL OF STATE, ON THE SOIL OF THE HOMELAND, IN THE CITY OF TEL-AVIV, ON THIS SABBATH EVE, THE 5TH DAY OF IYAR, 5708 (14TH MAY, 1948).

David Ben-Gurion

Daniel Auster

Mordekhai Bentov

Yitzchak Ben Zvi

Eliyahu Berligne

Fritz Bernstein

Rabbi Wolf Gold

Meir Grabovsky

Yitzchak Gruenbaum

Dr. Abraham Granovsky

Eliyahu Dobkin

Meir Wilner-Kovner

Zerach Wahrhaftig

Herzl Vardi

Rachel Cohen

Rabbi Kalman Kahana

Saadia Kobashi

Rabbi Yitzchak Meir Levin

Meir David Loewenstein

Zvi Luria

Golda Myerson

Nachum Nir

Zvi Segal

Rabbi Yehuda Leib Hacohen

Fishman

David Zvi Pinkas

Aharon Zisling

Moshe Kolodny

Eliezer Kaplan

Abraham Katznelson

Felix Rosenblueth

David Remez

Berl Repetur

Mordekhai Shattner

Ben Zion Sternberg

Bekhor Shitreet

Moshe Shapira

Moshe Shertok

The Jerusalem Program (1968)

1 - Jun - 1968

Adopted in 1968 at the 27th World Zionist Congress in Jerusalem, the five-point Jerusalem Program aimed to redifine aims, ideals and principles of Zionism.

A. Eighty Years of Zionist Achievement:

In eighty years of political and educational activity, Zionism managed to inculcate into the consciousness of our people several basic values:

1. The recognition of the basic solidarity of the Jewish people, with a common destiny, which transcends geographical and cultural barriers. We are One People -Am Echad, with each of its parts responsible for the others.
2. The recognition that the survival of the Jewish people is a supreme and absolute Jewish and universal value, and that this nation is worthy and obligated to exist forever. Hence, the absolute rejection of any form of assimilation.
3. The recognition that the Jewish people must achieve national sovereignty in its historic homeland. Hence, the overriding obligation of every Zionist to strengthen the State of Israel through personal Aliyah to Israel.
4. The recognition of the centrality of the State of Israel in the life of the Jewish people because Israel alone is the living expression of all these values, and because she constitutes the focus for worldwide Jewish identification.

Some of these values pre-date the Zionist Movement, but Zionism gave them a new impetus and national validity, and, through them, led to the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, and the ingathering of millions of Jews in their ancient homeland.

B. The Task Ahead:

Although Zionism has thus succeeded in changing the course of Jewish history to a very large extent, we must recognize that the Zionist goal has not yet been fully achieved. The majority of the Jewish people is still in the Diaspora where their spiritual survival is increasingly threatened, while Israel is in need of mass immigration to assure its continued growth and economic independence.

The mission of the Zionist Movement and the obligation of every Jew who sees himself as a Zionist is to carryon the process which we started eighty years ago.

The 28th Zionist Congress, meeting in Jerusalem 1968, adopted the five points of the "Jerusalem Program" as the aims of Zionism today. They are:

1. The unity of the Jewish People and the centrality of Israel in Jewish life;
2. The ingathering of the Jewish People in its historic homeland, Eretz Israel, through Aliyah from all countries;
3. The strengthening of the State of Israel which is based on the prophetic vision of justice and peace;
4. The preservation of the identity of the Jewish People through the fostering of Jewish and Hebrew education and of Jewish spiritual and cultural values;
5. The protection of Jewish rights everywhere.

1. The Unity of the Jewish People ...

In Jewish thought, the unity of the Jewish people is placed on the same level as the unity of G-d and the unity of his Holy Name. *Thou art One, and Your Name is One, and who is like unto Your people Israel -one nation in the world"* (from the Sabbath noon service).

We are one people:

This concept dominated the history of our people and the development of modern Zionism. One of the distinctive characteristics of Zionism was its ability to unify all vital forces of the nation, religious or secular, socialist or bourgeois-liberal, as well as the proponents of diverse Zionist political ideologies, in a common political and economic effort to build a national home. Without its pluralistic character, the Zionist Movement would not have been able to unite all Zionists into a single national and social liberation movement of the Jewish people.

The land of Israel belongs to the entire Jewish people, and the State of Israel was founded for the benefit of all Jews, no matter where they now live. At the root of this principle is Israel's "Law of Return" which grants every Jew (except for criminals) the right to settle in Israel. The Law of Return implies that every Jew in the Diaspora has an inalienable right for Israeli citizenship, if and when he wishes to acquire it. The law was passed by Israel's Knesset on July 5, 1950, the anniversary of Herzl's death, and is one of the earliest and most important of Israel's basic laws.

We must act as one people:

Today, while holding on to Aliyah as its "First Commandment" and priority, Zionism recognizes and promulgates the indissoluble partnership between the State of Israel and Diaspora Jewry on the basis of mutual responsibility. The Diaspora cannot maintain its true Jewish identity without the spiritual inspiration, cultural creativity, and educational resources of Israel, and Israel must

continue to draw on the human resources and political support of the Diaspora. Indeed, in the course of Israel's three decades of independence, the Jewish State and the Diaspora have become increasingly inter-related, and this trend appears likely to characterize their mutual relations in the years ahead.

...And the Centrality of Israel in Jewish Life

The centrality of the land of Israel in Jewish life can be traced like a golden thread throughout the annals of our people. Twice our people was forcibly severed from its land, but it remained stubbornly devoted to it, and did not cease to dream of it, to aspire to it, and to believe that a day would come when "our eyes will behold Thy return to Zion in mercy," and when "the cities of Judea and the streets of Jerusalem would again reverberate 'with the voices of joy and merriment."

This religious, historic and national attachment between the People and the land of Israel sustained us during centuries of persecution and repeated schemes for our destruction. It fired the imagination of the founders of modern Zionism, and was ultimately recognized by the Balfour Declaration of 1917 -declaring Palestine as the Jewish National Home, and by the United Nations in 1947 -voting for the establishment of the State of Israel.

The emergence of the Jewish State has breathed a new spirit into Jewish life allover the world, and caused a significant transformation in the status and prestige of Jewish leadership in Diaspora. The centrality of Israel has, therefore, become an integral part of Jewish life in the Diaspora, as has their inter-dependence mentioned previously. Israel is indispensable to Jewish existence; without Israel, world Jewry would turn cold and hollow.

2. The Ingathering of the Jewish People in Its Historic Homeland, Eretz Israel, Through Aliyah From All Countries

The Ingathering of the Exiles to Eretz Israel has been a traditional Messianic vision of Judaism. The Zionist Movement was created to turn it into a practical course of action. Aliyah is, therefore, the "First Commandment" of Zionism after the establishment of the State, as S.Z. Shragai said:

"The return of the Jews to the home land must accompany the return of the homeland to the Jews."

Classical Zionism postulated Aliyah, immigration into Zion, as the primary responsibility of a Zionist. The idealism and courage of hundreds of thousands of Olim made the rebirth of Israel possible. Today, Israel needs more people who are imbued with this idealism to reclaim the land, to develop settlements, to build cities, to contribute their know-how in tackling social problems, to work in science and education, and to make Israel strong and self sufficient.

All Zionist Federations and organizations recognize that the real function of Zionism as a national liberation movement is the ingathering of most, if not all, Jewish people into the land of Israel, and liberate them from daily dependence on the good-will of others. With the ingathering of the exiles, will come the creation of appropriate conditions for the regeneration of the cultural activity, and the continuity of the spiritual heritage of the nation, in which the new immigrant will find his historical identity and self realization -for himself and for his family, and the opportunity to contribute as a Jew and as a Zionist to one of the most dynamic national and social enterprises of the century.

3. A State Based on Prophetic Visions:

The term "Zionism" was coined at the beginning of the century by people who aspired not only to return to Zion, but to a vision whose source is in the words of the prophets: "Zion shall be redeemed through justice, and those who return unto her in righteousness."

-Zionism is striving for the realization of the prophetic ideas of justice and equality among all men.

-Zionism strives for the creation of a new Jewish society in which social ideas as well as distinctively Jewish values are achieved on their highest level.

-While Zionism has aspired to Statehood, it has sought a particular kind of statehood consonant with the ideals of the Jewish people.

-In Zionism, the State and the land are the essential instruments through which the building of a higher moral and national order can be undertaken.

An important part of this vision has been the development of a new Jewish person who is an upright citizen, a soldier when necessary, a cultured man, and a devoted Jew inspired by a sense of idealism and a sense of mission. It is an image created by the founding fathers of modern Israel, and carried out by the Chalutzim of each generation who have come to Israel from all corners of the earth.

This faith is central to the Zionist dream and its realization.

4. The Preservation of the Identity of the Jewish People Through the Fostering of Jewish and Hebrew Education and of Jewish Spiritual and Cultural Values:

Assimilation is the law of existence in the Diaspora in ancient Jewish history and in the modern history of our people. Never was the Jewish people so geographically dispersed, so culturally and linguistically fragmented, and subject to such powerful pressures making for assimilation, as in our time. The bonds of the traditional protective forces have in some cases been weakened and in others entirely vanished. We are faced today with the bitter spectacle of shedding limbs of the Jewish body through religious assimilation and cultural abandonment.

Under these conditions, the Jewish people needs a great national ideal and a comprehensive national movement which will unite it in dedication to historic values and traditions.

Among the idea and movements that have appeared on the Jewish horizon in recent generations, there is none but Zionism and the Zionist Movement that are capable of fulfilling this function. The establishment of a Jewish State was a major aim of the Zionist Movement, but the ultimate goal was always the preservation of the identity of the Jewish people, and the regeneration of Jewish vitality and creativity. Today more than ever before, it is clear that every available force must be enlisted to fight the tendency towards cultural obliteration, and the Zionist Movement -as the most representative group of the Jewish people -must assume the leadership of this struggle through an elaborate and extensive system of high quality Jewish education.

Important beginnings in this direction have been made through the sending of teachers from Israel to the Diaspora, through training Diaspora teachers in Israel, and through the dissemination of the Hebrew language allover the world. These, however, are only the first steps in an enterprise which will be of decisive importance in the shaping the Jewish future.

5. The Protection of Jewish Rights Everywhere:

While Zionism's roots are deeply imbedded in our historic past and in our religious impulses, Zionism also responded to forces which threatened the survival of Jews and Judaism in the Diaspora. Zionism rejected the allurements of "emancipation" and "assimilation" which demanded the dissolution of Judaism in return for the liberation of the Jew, and saw in the establishment of the Jewish State as the only appropriate answer to the "Jewish Problem."

The Holocaust tragically confirmed the worst Zionist fears, and the convulsive reaction of decent people to the annihilation of six million Jews was one of the factors leading to the 1947 U.N. resolution in favor of Jewish Statehood in Palestine. But, twenty five years after the founding of Israel we witnessed the wild and maniacal U.N. resolution, equating Zionism with racism, which was meant to pave the way to the de-legitimization of Israel on the one hand, and for a frontal attack upon the entire Jewish people on the other hand. The World Zionist Organization is the address for countering this attempt to strangle our national liberation movement, to do away with the Jewish State, and leave our people without defense, without legitimacy and without sovereignty.

Herzl could not conceive of a situation in which four-fifths of the Jewish people would on their own volition choose to remain in Galut Diaspora and have that right granted to them by their host countries even after the founding of a Jewish State. Nor could he envision a time when the Arabs would become the most avid purveyors of Anti-Semitism throughout the world.

In recent years, we have also witnessed the revival of anti-Semitism, often cloaked in the terminology of anti-Zionism, on the European continent, in Great Britain and in the United States. Its manifestations vary from the bombing of synagogues in Paris and Vienna, to the

throwing of hand grenades on school children in Brussels, and painting of swastikas on Jewish institutions in Brooklyn.

Of particular concern to us is the fate of over two million Jews in the Soviet Union and smaller Jewish communities in Arab countries such as Syria and Iran. Their plight must be kept in front of public opinion in the free world, to alleviate their suffering, and to speed the day for their ultimate freedom to emigrate, if they so desire, or the granting of rights equal to those enjoyed by other ethnic groups in their countries of domicile.

Zionists, who believe in the unity of the Jewish people, must be in the forefront of the campaign for the protection of Jewish rights everywhere.

Jerusalem Program (2004)

Netzer Olami, as a member of the world Zionist community, subscribes to the World Zionist Organization's Jerusalem Program (2004), as well as to the ideology of Reform Zionism.

15 - Jul - 2004

Zionism is a dynamic ideology. That is why the core definition and aims of Zionism are periodically revised and updated. Below is the text that was indorsed in the Zionist Council session that took place in June 2004 in Jerusalem.

Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people, brought about the establishment of the State of Israel, and views a Jewish, Zionist, democratic and secure State of Israel to be the expression of the common responsibility of the Jewish people for its continuity and future.

The foundations of Zionism are:

1. The unity of the Jewish people, its bond to its historic homeland Eretz Yisrael, and the centrality of the State of Israel and Jerusalem, its capital, in the life of the nation;
2. Aliyah to Israel from all countries and the effective integration of all immigrants into Israeli Society.
3. Strengthening Israel as a Jewish, Zionist and democratic state and shaping it as an exemplary society with a unique moral and spiritual character, marked by mutual respect for the multi-faceted Jewish people, rooted in the vision of the prophets, striving for peace and contributing to the betterment of the world.
4. Ensuring the future and the distinctiveness of the Jewish people by furthering Jewish, Hebrew and Zionist education, fostering spiritual and cultural values and teaching Hebrew as the national language;
5. Nurturing mutual Jewish responsibility, defending the rights of Jews as individuals and as a nation, representing the national Zionist interests of the Jewish people, and struggling against all manifestations of anti-Semitism;
6. Settling the country as an expression of practical Zionism.

SOURCES ON
Reform
Zionism

A Short history of the Progressive Jewish Movement Regarding its Position and Commitment to Zionism

What is the approach of Progressive Judaism to Zionism? From the Web site of the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism

During the past 100 years, the Progressive Jewish movement has made a dramatic ideological and physical return to Israel. Reform Judaism's founding platform excluded principles of Jewish nationhood; the 21st century begins with Progressive leaders actively promoting Aliyah (Jewish immigration to Israel), while validating Jewish life and community wherever Jews live. Indeed, Progressive Zionism today strives to strengthen the personal, historical and spiritual relationship of all Jews to the homeland of the Jewish people in Israel.

The Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism has been a Zionist Movement since its inception. However, the World Reform Movement, in its early stages, had an openly anti-Zionist stance, like most of the other religious streams of Judaism in the 19th and early 20th century.

Liberal Judaism in Germany in the 19th Century (and, following it, American Reform Judaism), defined Judaism as solely a 'religion'. Their followers believed that Judaism ceased to be a national identity after the destruction of the Second Temple. They preferred to give up the aspiration for the renewal of the Jewish national homeland, perhaps out of a fear that they would be accused of having 'dual loyalties' (to both their nations of origin and to the Jewish homeland). For this reason, they opposed the Zionist Movement and fought its platform.

It should be noted, however, that some of the greatest leaders of the Zionist Movement actually came from the ranks of the Reform Movement, such as Rabbi Yehuda Leib Magnus (the founder and president of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Rabbi Stephen Weiss and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, who even represented the State-in-the-making in institutions of the United Nations.

Two factors brought a change to the relation of Reform Judaism to Zionism: the Shoah (Holocaust) and the establishment of the State of Israel.

Reform Jews could no longer ignore the collective destiny of Jews from around the world in light of these two events, and their view of Zionism changed from one extreme to the other. The Hebrew language has become a central part of educational programs, and all students of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion (American Rabbinical School) must now spend a year of study at the Jerusalem campus. Leo Baeck Collage in London has a similar policy.

Most Reform congregations around the world have strong and developing ties with Israel (and the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism), and regard their connections with Israel and Zionism as an essential part of their Jewish identity.

In 1973 the World Union for Progressive Judaism moved its headquarters to Jerusalem. The World Union even became a settlement Movement, when a group of young Israelis from the Movement joined with a garin (settlement group) from the United States in 1976 to found Kibbutz Yahel in the Arava Desert in the south of Israel. Kibbutz Lotan was established in 1981, and the Har Halutz settlement was established in the Galilee in 1985. Zionist movements within the Reform movement have also been established, and they are integrated into ARZENU, the world-wide association of Reform Zionists. Reform Zionism is today significantly represented in the institutions and bodies of the Jewish Agency for Israel and the World Zionist Organization.

United by ARZENU, the International Federation of Reform and Progressive Religious Zionists (founded in 1980), Reform Zionist movements are active worldwide. The World Union for Progressive Judaism, too, assists Progressive Zionist initiatives and institutions around the globe. In North America, the merged entity of ARZA/WORLD UNION ensures a union of aims and activities between Reform expressions of Zionism and Judaism.

Also worldwide, Netzer Olami, the Progressive Zionist youth movement, offers young Jews in 14 countries from Argentina to Singapore, Britain to Belarus, the opportunity to learn about, gain inspiration from and build a meaningful relationship to the modern Jewish State of Israel,

As efforts continue to achieve equal status for Progressive Judaism in Israel, the active and unwavering support of Progressive Jews worldwide, both through Reform Zionist institutions and through individual commitments, remains critical. An international network of Progressive Jews which stands behind Israel's Progressive Jewish community is perhaps the best assurance of diverse and pluralistic Judaism in Israel.

From the Web site of the World Union for Progressive Judaism

Since 1973 the headquarters of the World Union for Progressive Judaism has been located in Jerusalem - highlighting our unwavering commitment to the land, the people, and the State of Israel. Mercaz Shimshon, the World Union's new cultural-educational center alongside the successful Beit Shmuel facility in Jerusalem, strengthens Progressive Judaism's impact on Israel and World Jewry.

The development and support of the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism (IMPJ), represents one of the World Union's most important goals. We believe that the State of Israel must reflect the rich diversity of contemporary Jewish life. We believe that Progressive Judaism can and must play a vital role in shaping the religious character of the Jewish State.

Accomplishments over the past decades have been impressive indeed. In addition to a growing network of congregations, community centers, kindergartens and kibbutzim, the IMPJ has established numerous educational projects, which impact upon thousands of Israeli school children and families each year. The IMPJ has also developed a wide range of programs designed specifically for immigrants from the Former Soviet Union. Of critical importance are

leadership-training courses to raise a generation of Russian speaking community leaders, teachers and Rabbis. We are encouraged by the fact that hundreds of thousands of Israelis indicate in population surveys that they most identify with the approach of Progressive Judaism. With the help and support of Progressive Jews worldwide, we are committed to change the status-quo relationship between religion and politics in Israel in order to ensure that, one day, all religious streams will be entitled to full government recognition and support. Leading this struggle for full and equal rights is the Israel Religious Action Center (IRAC), the political advocacy arm of Progressive Judaism in Israel. IRAC also provides free legal counseling and representation for immigrants (many from the Former Soviet Union) in order to help protect their rights and advance their integration into Israeli society.

The Progress of Progressive attitudes to Israel and Zionism (from the CCAR)

These extracts are taken from various platforms of the Reform Movement of America, outlining their position on Israel and Zionism. It is possible to see a considerable change in position from the original position of the Reform Movement to our present day position as expressed in the Miami platform on the following pages.

"The Pittsburgh Platform" 1885 Pittsburgh Conference

5. We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice, and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.

The Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism "The Columbus Platform" - 1937

5. *Israel.* Judaism is the soul of which Israel is the body. Living in all parts of the world, Israel has been held together by the ties of a common history, and above all, by the heritage of faith. Though we recognize in the group loyalty of Jews who have become estranged from our religious tradition, a bond which still unites them with us, we maintain that it is by its religion and for its religion that the Jewish people has lived. The non-Jew who accepts our faith is welcomed as a full member of the Jewish community. In all lands where our people live, they assume and seek to share loyally the full duties and responsibilities of citizenship and to create seats of Jewish knowledge and religion. In the rehabilitation of Palestine, the land hallowed by memories and hopes, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life. Throughout the ages it has been Israel's mission to witness to the Divine in the face of every form of paganism and materialism. We regard it as our historic task to cooperate with all men in the establishment of the kingdom of God, of universal brotherhood, Justice, truth and peace on earth. This is our Messianic goal.

Reform Judaism: A Centenary Perspective Adopted in San Francisco - 1976

5. Our Obligations: The State of Israel and the Diaspora -- We are privileged to live in an extraordinary time, one in which a third Jewish commonwealth has been established in our people's ancient homeland. We are bound to that land and to the newly reborn State of Israel by innumerable religious and ethnic ties. We have been enriched by its culture and ennobled by its indomitable spirit. We see it providing unique opportunities for Jewish self-expression. We have both a stake and a responsibility in building the State of Israel, assuring its security, and defining its Jewish character. We encourage aliyah for those who wish to find maximum personal fulfillment in the cause of Zion. We demand that Reform Judaism be unconditionally legitimized in the State of Israel.

At the same time that we consider the State of Israel vital to the welfare of Judaism everywhere, we reaffirm the mandate of our tradition to create strong Jewish communities wherever we live. A genuine Jewish life is possible in any land, each community developing its own particular character and determining its Jewish responsibilities. The foundation of Jewish community life is the synagogue. It leads us beyond itself to cooperate with other Jews, to share their concerns, and to assume leadership in communal affairs. We are therefore committed to the full democratization of the Jewish community and to its hallowing in terms of Jewish values.

The State of Israel and the Diaspora, in fruitful dialogue, can show how a people transcends nationalism even as it affirms it, thereby setting an example for humanity which remains largely concerned with dangerously parochial goals.

Reform Judaism & Zionism: A Centenary Platform

"The Miami Platform" – 1997

CCAR's position on Zionism and Israel for the centenary of the first World Zionist Congress

I. Judaism: A Religion and a People

The restoration of Am Yisrael to its ancestral homeland after nearly two thousand years of statelessness and powerlessness represents an historic triumph of the Jewish people, providing a physical refuge, the possibility of religious and cultural renewal on its own soil, and the realization of God's promise to Abraham: "to your offspring I assign this land" . From that distant moment until today, the intense love between Am Yisrael and Eretz Yisrael has not subsided.

We believe that the eternal covenant established at Sinai ordained a unique religious purpose for Am Yisrael. Medinat Yisrael , the Jewish State, is therefore unlike all other states. Its obligation is to strive towards the attainment of the Jewish people's highest moral ideals to be a mamlechet kohanim [a kingdom of priests], a goy kadosh [a holy people], and l'or goyim [a light unto the nations].

II. From Degradation to Sovereignty

During two millennia of dispersion and persecution, Am Yisrael never abandoned hope for the rebirth of a national home in Eretz Yisrael. The Shoah [Holocaust] intensified our resolve to affirm life and pursue the Zionist dream of a return to Eretz Yisrael. Even as we mourned for the loss of one-third of our people, we witnessed the miraculous rebirth of Medinat Yisrael, the Jewish people's supreme creation in our age.

Centuries of Jewish persecution, culminating in the Shoah, demonstrated the risks of powerlessness. We, therefore, affirm Am Yisrael's reassertion of national sovereignty, but we urge that it be used to create the kind of society in which full civil, human, and religious rights exist for all its citizens. Ultimately, Medinat Yisrael will be judged not on its military might but on its character.

While we view Eretz Yisrael as sacred, the sanctity of Jewish life takes precedence over the sanctity of Jewish land.

III. Our Relationship to the State of Israel

Even as Medinat Yisrael serves uniquely as the spiritual and cultural focal point of world Jewry, Israeli and Diaspora Jewry are inter-dependent, responsible for one another, and partners in the shaping of Jewish destiny. Each kehilla [Jewish community], though autonomous and self-regulating, shares responsibility for the fate of Jews everywhere. By deepening the social,

spiritual, and intellectual relationship among the kehillot worldwide, we can revitalize Judaism both in Israel and the Diaspora.

IV. Our Obligations to Israel

To help promote the security of Medinat Yisrael and ensure the welfare of its citizens, we pledge continued political support and financial assistance.

Recognizing that knowledge of Hebrew is indispensable both in the study of Judaism and in fostering solidarity between Israeli and Diaspora Jews, we commit ourselves to intensifying Hebrew instruction in all Reform institutions. Hebrew, the language of our sacred texts and prayers, is a symbol of the revitalization of Am Yisrael .

To enhance appreciation of Jewish peoplehood and promote a deeper understanding of Israel, we resolve to implement educational programs and religious practices that reflect and reinforce the bond between Reform Judaism and Zionism.

To deepen awareness of Israel and strengthen Jewish identity, we call upon all Reform Jews, adults and youths, to study in, and make regular visits to, Israel.

While affirming the authenticity and necessity of a creative and vibrant Diaspora Jewry, we encourage aliyah [immigration] to Israel in pursuance of the precept of yishuv Eretz Yisrael [settling the Land of Israel]. While Jews can live Torah-centered lives in the Diaspora, only in Medinat Yisrael do they bear the primary responsibility for the governance of society, and thus may realize the full potential of their individual and communal religious strivings.

Confident that Reform Judaism's synthesis of tradition and modernity and its historic commitment to tikkun olam [repairing the world], can make a unique and positive contribution to the Jewish state, we resolve to intensify our efforts to inform and educate Israelis about the values of Reform Judaism. We call upon Reform Jews everywhere to dedicate their energies and resources to the strengthening of an indigenous Progressive Judaism in Medinat Yisrael.

V. Israel's Obligations to the Diaspora

Medinat Yisrael exists not only for the benefit of its citizens but also to defend the physical security and spiritual integrity of the Jewish people. Realizing that Am Yisrael consists of a coalition of different, sometimes conflicting, religious interpretations, the Jewish people will be best served when Medinat Yisrael is constituted as a pluralistic, democratic society. Therefore we seek a Jewish state in which no religious interpretation of Judaism takes legal precedence over another.

VI. Redemption

We believe that the renewal and perpetuation of Jewish national life in Eretz Yisrael is a necessary condition for the realization of the physical and spiritual redemption of the Jewish people and of all humanity. While that day of redemption remains but a distant yearning, we express the fervent hope that Medinat Yisrael, living in peace with its neighbors, will hasten the redemption of Am Yisrael, and the fulfillment of our messianic dream of universal peace under the sovereignty of God.

The achievements of modern Zionism in the creation of the State of Israel, in reviving the Hebrew language, in absorbing millions of immigrants, in transforming desolate wastes into blooming forests and fields, in generating a thriving new economy and society, are an unparalleled triumph of the Jewish spirit.

We stand firm in our love of Zion. We resolve to work for the day when waves of Jewish pride and confidence will infuse every Jewish heart, in fulfillment of the promise: When God restores the fortunes of Zion we shall be like dreamers. Our mouths will fill with laughter and our tongues with songs of joy. Then shall they say among the nations God has done great things for them.

ZION AND OTHER NATIONAL CONCEPTS

by Martin Buber

It is impossible to appreciate the real meaning of 'Zion' so long as one regards it as simply one of many other national concepts. We speak of a 'national concept' when a people makes its unity, spiritual coherence, historical character, traditions, origins and evolution, destiny and vocation the objects of its conscious life and the motive power behind its actions. In this sense the Zion concept of the Jewish people can be called a national concept. But its essential quality lies precisely in that which differentiates it from all other national concepts.

It is significant that this national concept was named after a place and not, like the others, after a people, which indicates that it is not so much a question of a particular people as such but of its association with a particular land, its native land. Moreover, the idea was not named after one of the usual descriptions of this land - Canaan or Palestine or Erets-Israel - but after the old stronghold of the Jebusites which David made his residence and whose name was applied by poets and prophets to the whole city of Jerusalem, not so much as the seat of the royal fort, however, but as the place of the sanctuary, just as the holy mountain itself is often so called: quite early on the name was constructed as that of a holy place. Zion is 'the city of the great King' (Psalms 48. 3), that is of God as the King of Israel. The name has retained this sacred character ever since. In their prayers and songs the mourning and yearning of the people in exile were bound up with it, the holiness of the land was concentrated in it and in the Cabbala Zion was equated with an emanation of God Himself. When the Jewish people adopted this name for their national concept, all these associations were contained in it.

This was inevitable, for, in contrast to the national concepts of other peoples, the one described by this name was no new invention, not the product of the social and political changes manifested by the French Revolution, but merely a continuation, the re-statement of an age-old religious and popular reality adapted to the universal form of the national movements of the nineteenth century. This reality was the holy matrimony of a 'holy' people with a 'holy' land, the local point of which was the name of Zion.

It has been one of the disastrous errors of modern Biblical criticism to attribute this category of the Holy, as applied in the Scriptures to the people and the land, to the sacerdotalism of a later age for which the claims of public worship were all-important. On the contrary, it appertains rather to the primitive conception of the Holy as we find it in tribes living close to nature, who think of the two main supports of national life, man and the earth, as endowed with sacred powers. In the tribes which united to form 'Israel' this concept developed and became transformed in a special way: holiness is no longer a sign of power, a magic fluid that can dwell in places and regions as well as in people and group of people, but a quality bestowed on this particular people and this particular land because God 'elects' both in order to lead His chosen people into His chosen land and to join them to

each other. It is His election that sanctifies the chosen people as His immediate attendance and the land as His royal throne and which makes them dependent on each other. This is more a political, a theopolitical than a strictly religious concept of holiness: the outward form of worship is merely a concentrated expression of the sovereignty of God. Abraham builds altars where God has appeared to him, but he does so not as a priest but as a herald of the Lord by whom he has been sent, and when he calls on the name of his Lord above the altar he thereby proclaims his Lord's royal claim to possession of the surrounding land. This is not the transforming interpretation of a later age but has its roots in primitive language, analogies of which are to be found in other early peoples but nowhere in such historical concreteness as here. Here 'holiness' still means to belong to God not merely through religious symbols and in the times and places consecrated to public worship but as a people and a land, in the all-embracing range and reality of public life. It is only later that the category of the Holy becomes restricted to public worship, a process which increases the more the sphere of public life is withdrawn from the sovereign rule of God.

That it is God who joins this people to this land is not a subsequent historical interpretation of events; the wandering tribes themselves were inspired again and again by the promise made to their forefathers and the most enthusiastic among them saw God Himself leading His people into the promised land. It is impossible to imagine a historical Israel as existing at any time without belief in its God or previously to such belief: it is precisely the message of the common Leader that unites the tribes into a people. It is no less impossible to imagine this belief as existing before and outside Israel: it is an absolutely historical belief, the belief in a God leading first the fathers and then the whole people into the promised land at historically determined times for divinely historical purposes. Here is no 'nation' as such and no 'religion' as such but only a people interpreting its historical experiences as the actions of its God.

This belief in divine leadership is, however, at the same time the belief in a mission. However much of the legislation that has come down to us in the Bible may be attributed to later literary accretions, there is no doubt at all that the exodus from Egypt was bound up with the imposing of a law that was taken to be a divine charter and the positive nucleus of all the later developments was essentially the instruction to establish a 'holy' national community in the promised land. For these tribes divine leadership certainly implied an ordinance concerning the future in the land and from this basis a tradition and a doctrine were evolved. The story of Abraham, which connects the gift of Canaan with the command to be a blessing, is a most concise resume of the fact that the association of this people with this land signifies a mission. The people came to the land to fulfil the mission, even by each new revolt against it they recognized its Continuing validity; the prophets were appointed to interpret the past and future destiny of the people on the basis of its failure as yet to establish the righteous city of God for the establishment of which it had been led into the land. This land was at no time in the history of Israel simply the property of the people; it was always at the same time a challenge to make of it what God intended to have made of it.

Thus from the very beginning the unique association between this people and this land was characterized by what was to be, by the intention that was to be realized. It was a consummation that could not be achieved by the people or the land on its own but only by the faithful co-operation of the two together and it was an association in which the land appeared not as a dead, passive object but as a living and active partner. Just as, to achieve fullness of life, the people needed the land, so the land needed the people, and the end which both were called upon to realize could only be reached by a living partnership. Since the living land shared the great work with the living people it was to be both the work of history and the work of nature. Just as nature and history were united in the creation of man, so these two spheres which have become separated in the human mind were to unite in the task in which the chosen land and the chosen people were called upon to co-operate. The holy matrimony of land and people was intended to bring about the matrimony of the two separated spheres of Being.

This is the theme, relating to a small and despised part of the human race and a small and desolate part of the earth, yet world-wide in its significance, that lies hidden in the name of Zion. It is not simply a special case among the national concepts and national movements: the exceptional quality that is here added to the universal makes it a unique category extending far beyond the frontier of national problems and touching the domain of the universally human, the cosmic and even of Being itself. In other respects the people of Israel may be regarded as one of the many peoples on earth and the land of Israel as one land among other lands: but in their mutual relationship and in their common task they are unique and incomparable. And, in spite of all the names and historical events that have come down to us, what has come to pass, what is coming and shall come to pass between them, is and remains a mystery. From generation to generation the Jewish people have never ceased to meditate on this mystery.

When the national movement of this people inherited the mystery, a powerful desire to dissolve it arose in spite of the protests of the movement's most important spiritual leaders. It seemed to belong to the purely 'religious' sphere and religion had become discredited for two reasons: in the West, because of its attempt to denationalize itself in the age of Emancipation, in the East, because of its resistance to the Europeanization of the Jewish people on which the national movement wanted to base itself. The secularizing trend in Zionism was directed against the mystery of Zion too. A people like other peoples, a land like other lands, a national movement like other national movements - this was and still is proclaimed as the postulate of common sense against every kind of 'mysticism'. And from this standpoint the age-long belief that the successful reunion of this people with this land is inseparably bound up with a command and a condition was attacked. No more is necessary - so the watchword runs - than that the Jewish people should be granted the free development of all its powers in its own country like any other people; that is in fact what is meant by 'Regeneration.'

The certainty of the generations of Israel testifies that this view is inadequate. The idea of Zion is rooted in deeper regions of the earth and rises into loftier regions of the air, and

neither its deep roots nor its lofty heights, neither its memory of the past nor its ideal for the future, both of the selfsame texture, must be repudiated. If Israel renounces the mystery, it renounces the heart of reality itself. National forms without the eternal purpose from which they have arisen signify the end of Israel's specific fruitfulness. The free development of the latent power of the nation without a supreme value to give it purpose and direction does not mean regeneration but the mere sport of a common self-deception behind which spiritual death lurks in ambush. If Israel desires less than it is intended to fulfil then it will even fail to achieve the lesser goal.

With every new encounter of this people with this land the task is set afresh, but every time it is rooted in the historical situation and its problems. If it is not mastered, what has already been achieved will fall into ruin. Once it is really mastered this may be the beginning of a new kind of human society. To be sure, the problem proves to be more difficult every time it is tackled. It is more difficult to set up an order based on justice in the land if one is under the jurisdiction of a foreign power, as after the return from Babylon, than if one is comparatively free to determine one's own way of life, as after the first appropriation of the land; and it still more difficult if one has to reckon with the coexistence of another people in the same country, of cognate origin and language but mainly foreign in tradition, structure and outlook, and if this vital fact has to be regarded as an essential part of the problem. On the other hand, there seems to be a high purpose behind the increasing difficulty of the task. Even in the life of the individual what has once been neglected can never be made up for in the same sphere and under the same conditions; but one is sometimes allowed to make amends for lost opportunities in a quite different situation, in a quite different form, and it is significant that the new situation is more contradictory and the new form more difficult to realize than the old and that each fresh attempt demands an even greater exertion to fulfil the task; for such is the hard but not ungracious way of life itself. The same process seems to be true of the life of Israel.

HEBREW HUMANISM

By Martin Buber (1942)

Taken from "The Zionist Idea" edited by Arthur Hertzberg

Zionist thinking in its current forms has failed to grasp the principle that the transformation of life must spring from the return to the origin of our nature. It is true that every thoughtful Zionist realizes that our character is distorted in many ways, that we are out of joint, and expect the new life in our own land, the bond to the soil and to work, to set us straight and make us whole once more. But what a great many overlook is that the powers released by this renewed bond to the soil do not suffice to accomplish a true and complete transformation. Another factor, the factor of spiritual power, that same return to our origin, must accompany the material factor. But it cannot be achieved by any spiritual power save the primordial spirit of Israel, the spirit which made us such as we are, and to which we must continually account for the extent to which our character has remained steadfast in the face of our destiny. This spirit has not vanished. The way to it is still open; it is still possible for us to encounter it. The Book still lies before us, and the Voice speaks forth from it as on the first day. But we must not dictate what it should and what it should not tell us. If we require it to confine itself to instructing us about our great literary productions, our glorious history, and our national pride, we shall succeed only in silencing it. For that is not what it has to tell us. What it does have to tell us, and what no other voice in the world can teach us with such simple power, is that there is truth and there are lies, and that human life cannot persist or have meaning save in the decision in behalf of truth and against lies; that there is right and wrong, and that the salvation of man depends on choosing what is right and rejecting what is wrong, and that it spells the destruction of our existence to divide our life up into areas where the discrimination between truth and lies, right and wrong, holds, and others where it does not hold, so that in private life, for example, we feel obligated to be truthful, but can permit ourselves lies in public, or that we act justly in man-to-man relationships, but can and even should practice injustice in national relationships.

The humanitas which speaks from this Book today, as it has always done, is the unity of human life under one divine direction which divides right from wrong and truth from lies as unconditionally as the words of the Creator divided light from darkness. It is true that we are not able to live in perfect justice, and in order to preserve the community of man, we are often compelled to accept wrongs in decisions concerning the community. But what matters is that in every hour of decision we are aware of our responsibility and summon our conscience to weigh exactly how much is necessary to preserve the community, and accept just so much and no more; that we do not interpret the demands of a will-to-power as a demand made by life itself; that we do not make a practice of setting aside a certain sphere in which God's command does not hold, but regard those actions as against his command, forced on us by the exigencies of the hour as painful sacrifices; that we do not salve, or let others salve, our conscience when we make decisions concerning public life, but struggle with destiny in fear and trembling lest it burden us with greater guilt than we are compelled

to assume. This trembling of the magnetic needle which points the direction notwithstanding - this is biblical humanitas. The men in the Bible are sinners like ourselves, but there is one sin they do not commit, our arch sin: They do not dare confine God to a circumscribed space or division of life, to "religion." They have not the insolence to draw boundaries around God's commandments and say to him: "Up to this point you are sovereign, but beyond these bounds begins the sovereignty of science or society or the state." When they are forced to obey another power, every nerve in their body bears and suffers the load which is imposed upon them; they do not act light-heartedly nor toss their heads frivolously.]

He who has been reared in our Hebrew biblical humanism goes as far as he must in the hour of gravest responsibility, and not a step further. He resists patriotic bombast which clouds the gulf between the demand of life and the desire of the will-to-power. He resists the whisperings of false popularity which is the opposite of true service to the people. He is not taken in by the hoax of modern national egoism, according, to which everything which can be of benefit to one's people must be true and right. He knows that a primordial decision has been made concerning right and wrong, between truth and lies, and that it confronts the existence of the people. He knows that, in the final analysis, the only thing that can help his people is what is true and right in the light of age-old decision. But if, in an emergency, he cannot obey this recognition of "the final analysis," but responds to the nation's cry for help, he sins like the men in the Bible and, like them, prostrates himself before his judge. That is the meaning in contemporary language of the return to the origins of our being. Let us hope that the language of tomorrow will be different, that to the best of our ability it will be the language of a positive realization of truth and right, in both the internal and external aspects of the structure of our entire community life.

I am setting up Hebrew humanism in opposition to that Jewish nationalism which regards Israel as a nation like unto other nations and recognizes no task for Israel save that of preserving and asserting itself. But no nation in the world has this as its only task, for just as an individual who wishes merely to preserve and assert himself leads an unjustified and meaningless existence, so a nation with no other aim deserves to pass away.

By opposing Hebrew humanism to a nationalism which is nothing but empty self-assertion, I wish to indicate that, at this juncture, the Zionist movement must decide either for national egoism or national humanism. If it decides in favour of national egoism, it too will suffer the fate which will soon befall all shallow nationalism, i.e., nationalism which does not set the nation a true super-national task. If it decides in favour of Hebrew humanism, it will be strong and effective long after shallow nationalism has lost all meaning and justification, for it will have something to say and to bring to mankind. Israel is not a nation like other nations, no matter how much its representatives have wished it during certain eras. Israel is a people like no other, for it is the only people in the world which, from its earliest beginnings, has been both a nation and a religious community. In the historical hour in which its tribes grew together to form a people, it became the carrier of a revelation. The covenant which the tribes made with one another and through which they became "Israel"

takes the form of a common covenant with the God of Israel. The Song of Deborah, that great document of our heroic age, expresses a fundamental reality by repeatedly alternating the name of this God with the name of Israel, like a refrain. Subsequently, when the people desire a dynasty so that they may be "like unto all the nations" (1 Samuel 8:20), the Scriptures have the man who, a generation later, really did found a dynasty, speak words which sound as though they were uttered to counterbalance that desire: "And who is like Thy people Israel, a nation one in the earth" (II Samuel 7:23). And these words, regardless of what epoch they hail from, express the same profound reality as those earlier words of Deborah. Israel was and is a people and a religious community in one, and it is this unity which enabled it to survive in an exile no other nation had to suffer, an exile which lasted much longer than the period of its independence. He who severs this bond severs the life of Israel.

One defense against this recognition is to call it a "theological interpretation" and, in this way, debase it into a private affair concerning only such persons as have an interest in so unfruitful a subject as theology. But this is nothing but shrewd polemics. For we are, in reality, dealing with a fundamental historical recognition without which Israel as a historical factor and fact could not be understood. An attempt has been made' to refute this allegedly "theological interpretation," by a "religious interpretation," the claim being made that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the Judaism of a series of eminent men,

as the last of whom Rabbi Akiba is cited, the first being none other than Moses. Remarkable, to what lengths polemic enthusiasm will go!

As a matter of fact, it is just as impossible to construct a historical Moses who did not realize the uniqueness of Israel as a historical Akiba who was not aware of it. Snatch from Rabbi Akiba his phrase about "special love" which God has for Israel (Sayings of the Fathers 111:18), and you snatch the heart from his body. Try to delete the words: "Ye shall be Mine own treasure from among all peoples" (Exodus 19:5) from the account of the coming of Israel to the wilderness of Sinai, and the whole story collapses. If such comments as these about Moses have any foundation at all, I do not know on what hypotheses of Bible criticism they are based; they, are certainly not supported by anything in the Scriptures.

There is still another popular device for evading the recognition of Israel's uniqueness. It is asserted that every great people regards itself as the chosen people; in other words, awareness of peculiarity is interpreted as a function of nationalism in general. Did not the National Socialists believe that Destiny had elected the German people to rule the entire world? According to this view, the very fact that we say, "Thou hast chosen us," would prove that we are like other nations. But the weak arguments which venture to put "it shall be said unto them: Ye are the Children of the living God" (Hosea 1:10) on a par with "The German essence will make the whole world well" are in opposition to the basic recognition we glean from history. The point is not whether we feel or do not feel that we are chosen. The point is that our role in history is actually unique. There is even more to it. The nature of our doctrine of election is entirely different from that of the theories of election of the other

nations, even though these frequently depend on our doctrine. What they took over was never the essential part. Our doctrine is distinguished from their theories in that our election is completely a demand. This is not the mythical shape of a people's wishful dreams. This is not an unconditional promise of magnitude and might to a people. This is a stern demand, and the entire future existence of the people is made dependent on whether or not this demand is met. This is not a God speaking whom the people created in their own image, as their sublimation. He confronts the people and opposes them. He demands and judges. And he does so not only in the age of the prophets at a later stage of historical development, but from time immemorial; and no hypothesis of Bible criticism can ever deny this. What he demands he calls "truth" and "righteousness," and he does not demand these for certain isolated spheres of life, but for the whole life of man, for the whole life of the people. He wants the individual and the people to be "wholehearted" with him. Israel is chosen to enable it to ascend from the biological law of power, which the nations glorify in their wishful thinking, to the-spitere of truth and righteousness. God wishes man whom he has created to become man in the truest sense of the word, and wishes this to happen not only in sporadic instances, as it happens among other nations, but in the life of an entire people, thus providing an order of life for a future mankind, for all the peoples combined into one people. Israel was chosen to become a true people, and that means God's people.

Biblical man is man facing and recognizing, such election and such a demand. He accepts it or rejects it. He fulfills it as best he can or he rebels against it. He violates it and then repents. He fends it off, and surrenders. But there is one thing he does not do: he does not pretend that it does not exist or that its claim is limited. And classical biblical man absorbs this demand for righteousness so wholly with his flesh and blood, that, from Abraham to Job, he dares to remind God of it. And God, who knows that human mind and spirit cannot grasp the ways of his justice, takes delight in the man who calls him to account, because that man has absorbed the demand for righteousness with his very flesh and blood. He calls Job his servant and Abraham his beloved. He tempted both; both called him to account, and both resisted temptation. That is Hebrew humanity.

It remained for our time to separate the Jewish people and the Jewish religious community which were fused from earliest beginnings, and to establish each as an independent unit, a nation like unto other nations and a religion like unto other religions. Thanks to the unparalleled work in Palestine, the nation is on the rise. The religion, however, is on a steep downward fall, for it is no longer a power which determines all of life; it has been confined to the special sphere of ritual or sermons. But a Jewish nation cannot exist without religion any more than a Jewish religious community without nationality. Our only salvation is to become Israel again, to become a whole, the unique whole of a people and a religious community; a renewed people, a renewed religion, and the renewed unity of both.

According to the ideas current among Zionists today, all that is needed is to establish the conditions for a normal national life, and everything will come of itself. This is a fatal error. We do, of course, need the conditions of normal national life, but these are not enough - not enough for us, at any rate. We cannot enthrone "normalcy" in place of the eternal

premise of our survival. If we want to be nothing but normal, we shall soon cease to be at all.

The great values we have produced issued from the marriage of a people and a faith. We cannot substitute a technical association of nation and religion for this original marriage, without incurring barrenness. The values of Israel cannot be reborn outside the sphere of this union and its uniqueness.

Objection will be made that this point is one that concerns intellectual and cultural problems, but not problems about actual, present-day life. No! Let us not forget we are as yet only striving to join the ranks of nations with a land and a law of their own. Tomorrow many little nations will be weighed and found wanting. But this will surely not be the fate of a people that brings great tidings to struggling mankind, and conveys them not only through the word, but through its own life, which realizes that word and represents such realization. We shall not, of course, be able to boast of possessing the Book if we betray its demand for righteousness.

Taken from **the Zionist Idea** by Arthur Hertzberg

Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginsburg)

THE NEGATION OF THE DIASPORA (1909)

"A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TONARD THE DIASPORA" is an expression frequently heard in discussions between the Zionists, who look beyond the Diaspora for a solution of our national problem, and the 'Nationalists, who do not, and the latter have come to take it for granted that the attitude in question is necessarily predicable of anybody who does accept their "autonomist" doctrine. Actually, how-ever, the expression is not so clear as it might be.

An attitude may be either subjectively or objectively negative. IF we express disapproval or dislike of something or other, our negative attitude is subjective: it relates not to the thing itself, but only to our own reactions to it. But if we say that something or other cannot possibly exist, our negative attitude is objective: it results from an examination of the objective facts, without any reference to our own predilections.

In the subjective sense all Jews adopt a negative attitude toward the Diaspora. With few exceptions, they all recognize that the position of a lamb among wolves is unsatisfactory, and they would gladly put an end to this state of things if it were possible. Those who profess to regard our dispersion as a heaven-sent blessing are simply weak-kneed optimists; lacking the courage to look the evil thing in the face, they find it necessary to smile on it and call it good so long as they cannot abolish it. But if the Messiah-the true Messiah-were to appear today or tomorrow, to lead us out of our exile, even these optimists would join the throng of his followers without a moment's hesitation.

This being so, the "negative attitude toward the Diaspora" which has become a debating counter must be negative in the objective sense. To adopt a negative attitude toward the Diaspora means, for our present purpose, to believe that the Jews cannot survive as a scattered people now that our spiritual isolation is ended, because we no longer have any defence against the ocean of foreign culture, which threatens to obliterate our national characteristics and traditions, and thus gradually to put an end to our existence as a people.

There are, .it is true, some Jews who are of that opinion; but they are not all of one way of thinking. They belong in fact to two different

HA-AM: The Negation of the Diaspora

parties, which draw diametrically opposite conclusions from their common assumption. The one party argues that, as we are doomed to extinction, it is better to hasten the end by our action than to sit and wait for it to come of its own accord after a long and painful death agony. If a Jew can get rid of his Judaism here and now by assimilation, good luck to him; if he cannot, let him try to make it possible for his children. But the other party argues that, since we are threatened with extinction, we ought to put an end to our dispersion before it

puts an end to us. We must secure our future by gathering the scattered members of our race together in our historical land (or, some would add, in some other country of their own), where alone we shall be able to continue to live as a people. Any Jew who is both able and willing to get rid of his Judaism by assimilation may remain where he is; those who are unable or unwilling to assimilate will betake themselves to the Jewish State.

But so far both these parties remain merely parties, and neither has succeeded in persuading the Jewish people as a whole to accept the fundamental postulate with either of its consequential policies. Both alike have come into conflict with something very deep-rooted and stubborn - the instinctive and unconquerable desire of the Jewish people to survive. This desire for survival, or will to live, obviously makes it impossible for the Jewish people as a whole to contemplate the disappearance of the Diaspora if that involves its own disappearance; but the case is no better if the argument is that the Diaspora must disappear in order that the people may survive. Survival cannot be made dependent on any condition, because the condition might not be fulfilled. The Jews as a people feel that they have the will and the strength to survive whatever may happen, without any ifs or ands. They cannot accept a theory which makes their survival conditional on their ceasing to be dispersed, because that theory implies that failure to end the dispersion would mean extinction, and extinction is an alternative that cannot be contemplated in any circumstances whatever.

Except, then, for these two extreme parties, the Jews remain true to their ancient belief: their attitude toward the Diaspora is subjectively negative, but objectively positive. Dispersion is a thoroughly evil and unpleasant thing, but we can and must live in dispersion, for all its evils and all its unpleasantness. Exodus from the dispersion will always be, as it always has been, an inspiring hope for the distant future; but the date of that consummation is the secret of a higher power, and our survival as a people is not dependent upon it.

This, however, does not settle the question of our survival in dispersion. On the contrary, it is precisely this positive attitude toward the Diaspora that gives the question its urgency. A man at death's door does not worry much about his affairs during his last days on earth; a man on the point of going abroad is not particular about the tidiness of the lodging he occupies just before his departure. But if the Jews believe that they can and must continue to live in dispersion, the question at once arises-how is it to be done? It is neither necessary nor possible for them to go on living all the time in exactly the same old way. The will to live not only persuades them to believe that it is possible to survive in dispersion; it also impels them, in the changing circumstances of successive epochs, to find always the most appropriate means of preserving and developing their national identity. Moreover, this watchful instinct is always anticipating events, always providing in advance against the future. When Titus besieged Jerusalem, we are told, the defenders always had a new rampart ready in the rear before the one in front of it was overthrown. So it is with our national survival. And now that all but the wilfully blind can see the old rampart tottering to its fall, we are bound to ask ourselves: Where is the new rampart that is to secure our existence as a people in dispersion?

The Nationalists answer: national autonomy. What they mean by this has been made reasonably clear in the literature on the subject, and there is no need to go into detail here. But it seems to me that one fundamental point has been left obscure, and that some confusion of thought has in consequence arisen.

If we are to decide how far autonomy is a satisfactory answer to our problem, we must first of all define the scope of the problem itself. To judge from the current controversy on this matter, there appear in fact to be two different schools of thought. It is common ground among the Nationalists that we must find some new means of maintaining our distinctive national life in the Diaspora; but, on close examination, we find that while some of them are looking for a pattern of national life that will be as complete and Self-contained as the ghetto life of our forefathers, others are convinced, in their heart of hearts, that that is an impossible ideal. These latter ask for nothing more than the possibility of developing our national life up to the limit of what is in practice attainable, and with no more than the unavoidable minimum of truncation and circumscription. When we are told, then, that autonomy is the solution, we must ask the further question: To what extent is it a solution? Is national autonomy put forward as a final answer to our problem, holding out a promise of full and complete national life in the Diaspora? Or is it offered merely as the best that can be had in the circumstances, it being recognized that a complete national life in the Diaspora is impossible except in the ghetto which we have left forever?

The autonomists do not answer this question. Mr. Dubnov himself appears sometimes to think that autonomy would be a complete solution, providing a full synthesis of the "human" and the "national" elements in our corporate life; at other times he uses qualifying phrases like "within the bounds of possibility" or "as far as possible:" But it seems to me that our doubts will disappear if we remember what is really meant by "a complete national life."

A complete national life involves two things: first, full play for the creative faculties of the nation in a specific national culture of its own, and, second, a system of education whereby the individual members of the nation will be thoroughly imbued with that culture, and so moulded by it that its imprint will be recognizable in all their way of life and thought, individual and social. These two aspects of a national life may not always be realized in the same degree, but broadly speaking they are interdependent. If the individuals are not imbued with the national culture, the development of the nation will be arrested, and its creative faculties will suffer atrophy or dissipation. On the other hand, if those faculties are not sufficiently employed in the service of the development of the national culture, the education of children and adults alike will become narrow, its influence will progressively decline, and many individuals will turn elsewhere for the satisfaction of their cultural needs, with the result that gradually their minds and characters will cease to bear the nation's imprint.

Moreover, if a nation is to live a complete national life, it must have both the opportunity and the will to do so. It is the environment -the complex of political, economic, social, and moral factors-that creates both the opportunity and the psychological attitude from which

springs the will to take advantage of the opportunity. This psychological attitude is of the utmost importance. When Mr. Dubnov says that autonomy will solve our problem only if we have the strength of will to make proper use of our rights, I take him to mean not that it will be entirely for us to decide, as free beings in the metaphysical sense, whether to use our rights or not, but that tile external and internal conditions will be such that in our case, as in that of other national groups, the will to use our opportunities will automatically develop.

To sum up, then: If national autonomy in the Diaspora is put forward as a completely satisfactory solution of our problem, it has to promise to normalize the life of the scattered and atomized Jewish people. It has to undertake to provide the Jewish people with both the opportunity and the necessary strength of will to deploy its creative faculties to the maximum extent in the development of its specific national culture. Nor is that all. It has to guarantee the possibility of educating all the individual members of the people, in every rank of society, on the lines of the national culture, so as to ensure that when they reach maturity they will find within the circle of tile national life so wide a range of intellectual interests, and such ample scope for practical activity, that they will feel neither the need nor the desire to desert that sphere for another.

Now it may be that autonomists of the Yiddishist school believe that national autonomy can satisfy these requirements. For them our national culture means Yiddish literature, national education means speaking Yiddish, and the national ideal is to reach the level of nations like the Letts or the Slovaks, which have not as yet made any contribution whatever to the general stock of human culture. If "Nationalists" of this type regard autonomy in the Diaspora as the perfect solution of our problem, we can more or less understand their point of view. But it is otherwise with Nationalists who have a historical perspective—who demand that the future of our nation shall be a continuation of its past, and date the beginning of our national history from the Exodus from Egypt, not from the birth of the Yiddish novel and drama. Such Nationalists cannot be satisfied with a future that would put the greatness of our past to shame, and consequently they must see that tile sort of exiguous living-space that might perhaps suffice for the infant toddlings of a nation of yesterday cannot provide elbow-room for the cultural life of the "eternal people," which has an ancient heritage of spiritual values and a fund of creative energy too large to be pent up within its own narrow confines. It is with Nationalists of this kind alone that I am here concerned, and they, I feel sure, would not subscribe to the obviously untenable view that autonomy can perform all these miracles. At any rate, pending an explicit statement on their part that they do subscribe to that view, I feel that to develop the arguments against it would be pushing an open door.

It may, then, be taken as practically certain that the autonomists admit that national autonomy in the Diaspora cannot give us the possibility of a full and complete national life; their contention is that nonetheless, if we wish to survive, we must struggle for national rights in the Diaspora, so as to broaden the basis of our national life to the greatest possible extent. It is, however, common ground that at best we cannot get all we really need, and that our national culture and education must remain fragmentary and distorted, for lack of

sufficient elbow-room within the framework of the alien culture which hems us in on every side.

If the autonomist doctrine is put in this more modest form. I doubt whether any true Jew will be opposed to it, in the sense of not regarding the extension of our national rights in the Diaspora as something to be desired and to be worked for whenever possible. Any opposition to it must be based on the view that it is objectively impossible; that our position among the nations is unique, and that the rest of the world will never be induced to admit that we have national rights in the territories that belong to other nations. True, the autonomists are fond of comparing our position with that of other small nations in Russia, Austria, and elsewhere, of which some have achieved autonomy and others hope to acquire it some day. But what is the use of our forgetting the difference between ourselves and the other small nations if those with whom the decision rests will not forget it? Each of the other small nations in question has lived in its national territory for generations and was once independent. The independence has gone, but even the new overlords cannot deny the historic right of the indigenous people, or regard its nationality as a foreign growth on the very soil on which it first came to birth. And if in the course of time some branches of the national tree have spread into the neighbouring fields, without losing their connection with the parent stem; that is a perfectly natural and normal historic process. But we Jews entered every one of the lands of our dispersion as a foreign people, with a national culture which had been born and developed else-where. Wandering beggars from a distant clime, we have been compassionately granted asylum by the nations of the earth; but there never was, and is not now, any nexus between the life into which we have been admitted and the Jewish type of life which we brought with us, already fully developed, on our arrival. For this reason it is not likely that the world will recognize "the historic right of an alien people to live a national life of its own in a country of which from the very first it has never thought (and still less has anybody else ever thought) as belonging to itself. Ownership is after all a matter of convention; so long as individual ownership is recognized, national ownership cannot be condemned."

This, however, is by the way. My object was not to argue against the autonomist doctrine, but to explain what it leaves obscure and to carry it to its logical conclusion. Hence I leave the question of practicability on one side. The point I really-wish to make is this; If the autonomists agree that autonomy in the Diaspora is not a complete solution, and that we have to struggle for it merely on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, then they must also agree that we have to look for other and more radical ways of strengthening and enlarging our national life, on the principle that a whole loaf is better than half a loaf. The will to live, it must be remembered, will not be satisfied with the half loaf; it will give us no rest until we throw all our latent strength into the task of achieving its demands in full. But if this is so, the autonomists, like the rest of us, have still to face the question with which we started - Where is the new rampart that is to secure our existence as a people in dispersion in place of the old rampart, which is tottering before our eyes?

The autonomists know that for twenty years one Zionist school of thought has answered this question by saying that the new rampart must be built outside the Diaspora, in our historic land. This school of thought differs from those who claim to be the "real" Zionists in refusing to believe in the possibility of transferring all the Jews in the world to Palestine, and consequently in refusing to accept the proposition that we cannot survive in the Diaspora. On the contrary, it holds that dispersion must remain a permanent feature of our life, which it is beyond our power to eliminate, and therefore it insists that our national life in the Diaspora must be strengthened. But that object, it holds, can be attained only by the creation of a fixed center for our national life in the land of its birth. Isolated groups of Jews wandering about the world here, there, and everywhere can be nothing more than a sort of formless raw material until they are provided with a single permanent center, which can exert a "pull" on all of them, and so transform the scattered atoms into a single entity with a definite and self-subsistent character of its own. This answer, as I have said, has been given again and again during the last twenty years, and the arguments for and against it have been so thoroughly canvassed that there is no need to embark on a long explanation of it here. But when our autonomists argue with Zionists, they seem to recognize only one kind of Zionism—the kind that pins its faith on the transfer of all the Jews to Palestine and is therefore open to the charge that it adopts the dangerous doctrine of the impossibility of Jewish life in the Diaspora. They completely ignore the other kind of Zionism, which is not open to that criticism and in doing so they more or less admit, as it seems to me, to a feeling at the back of their minds that their own doctrine leads them straight into the arms of this version of Zionism. For otherwise, they are on the horns of a dilemma. They must either promise that Diaspora autonomy will completely solve our problem or deny that any complete solution is possible. But the first alternative is not open to them, because they do not believe in miracles, and the second is equally impossible, because it is too pessimistic — it means that our unhappy people has to look forward to an endless sick-bed existence with no hope of recovery. So in the end the autonomists, too, will be driven to look eastward and to recast their program so as to include. Along with the maximum possible improvement and expansion of our national life in the Diaspora, the search for a complete solution outside the Diaspora.

Taken from: Selected Essays of Ahad Ha'Am by Leon Simon

Ahad Ha'am (Asher Ginsburg)

PRIEST AND PROPHET

We learn from the science of mechanics that the impact of two forces moving in different directions—one eastward, for example, and one northward—will produce a movement in an intermediate direction. At a time when men were accustomed to attribute all motion to a guiding will, they may have explained this phenomenon by supposing that the two original forces made a compromise, and agreed that each should be satisfied with a little, so as to leave something for the other. Nowadays, when we distinguish between volitional and mechanical motion, we know that this " compromise " is not the result of a conscious assent on the part of the two forces; that, on the contrary, each of them plays for its own hand, and endeavors not to be turned from its course even a hair's breadth; and that it is just this struggle between them that produces the intermediate movement, which takes a direction not identical with either of the other two.

The motions of the heavenly bodies are determined, as is well known, not only by the relation of each one to the sun, but also by their influence on one another, by which each is compelled to swerve to some extent from the course that it would have pursued if left to itself. If, therefore, we were privileged, as Socrates was, to hear the " heavenly harmony," it may be that we should hear nothing but continual wrangling among the worlds above. We should find each one striving with all its might to make for itself a path according to its own particular bent, and unwilling to budge a single inch for the convenience of the others. But it is just because the stars do behave thus that no single one has its own way; and so the external harmony is produced by the agency of all the stars, and without the consent of a single one. Nay, more. if, by some miracle, a few of the stars were suddenly smitten with what we call " generosity," and were enabled to get outside their own narrow point of view, and to understand and allow for the ambitions of their fellow-stars, and consequently made way for one another of their own accord, then the whole cosmic order would be destroyed at once, and chaos would reign once more.

Similarly, if it were possible to observe what happens in the microcosm of the human soul, we should see the same phenomenon there.

The ancient Jewish sages, who looked at the world through the glass of morality, saw only two primal forces at work in the spiritual life: the impulse to good and the impulse to evil. The conflict between these two opposing forces was as long as life itself: they fought unceasingly, unwearingly, without possibility of peace, each striving for the complete fulfilment of its own end, even to the uttermost. The impulse to evil (so they held) was absolutely evil, redeemed by no single spark of goodness. They pictured it lying in wait for every man to the end of his days, tempting him to evil deeds and arousing in him base desires, ever tending mercilessly to drag him down to the lowest depths of sin and infamy.

And, on the other side, they beheld the impulse to good as something absolutely good; intolerant of evil in any form, in any degree, for any purpose; abominating all "the vanities of this world," even such as are necessary, because of their essential inferiority; striving ever to uplift a man higher and higher, to make him wholly spiritual. Each of the two principles is absolutely uncompromising; but it is just for this reason that their struggle results in a compromise and a certain balance of power. Neither of them is allowed to destroy the world by holding undivided sway. It happened once-so a charming Talmudic story¹ relates - that the Righteous captured the impulse to evil, and clapped it in prison.

For three whole days the impulse to good was sole ruler: "and they sought for a new-laid egg, and none was found."

Modern European scholars, who investigate the soul from a very different point of view, find in it many more than two forces; but they describe the workings of those forces in much the same way. A French thinker, Pauthan, regards the human soul as a large community, containing innumerable individuals: that is to say, impressions, ideas, feelings, impulses, and so forth. Each of these individuals lives a life of its own, and struggles to widen the sphere of its influence, associating with itself all that is akin to its own character, and repelling all that is opposed to it. Each strives, in short, to set its own impress on the whole life of the soul. There is no mutual accommodation among them, no regard for one another. The triumph of one is the defeat of another; and the defeated idea or impulse never acquiesces in its defeat, but remains ever on the alert, waiting for a favorable opportunity to reassert itself and extend its dominion. Arid it is just through this action of the individual members of the spiritual community, with their mutual hatred and envy; that human life attains complexity and breadth, many-sidedness and variety. It may happen in course of time, after much tossing about in different directions, that the soul reaches a condition of equilibrium; in other words, the spiritual life takes a definite middle course, from which it cannot be diverted by the sudden revolt of any of its powers, each of which is forcibly kept within bounds. This is the condition of "moral harmony;" outwardly so beautiful, which the Greek philosophers-those apostles of the beautiful-regarded as the summit of human perfection.

It may be taken, then, as a general principle, that whenever we see a complex whole which captivates us by its many-sided beauty, we see the result of a struggle between certain primal forces, which are themselves simple and one-sided; and it is just this one-sidedness of the elements, each of which strives solely for its own end, but never attains it, that produces the complex unity, the established harmony of the whole.

This principle applies to social life, with all its many sides; and not least to its intellectual and moral aspects. In the early history of any epoch-making idea there have always been men who have devoted to that idea, and to it alone, all their powers, both physical and spiritual. Such men as these look at the world exclusively from the point of view of their idea, and wish to save society by it alone. They take no account of all the other forces at work that are pulling in other directions; and they even disregard the limits that Nature herself sets to their activities. They refuse to compromise; and, although conflicting forces

and natural laws do not bow down before them, and they do not get their own way, yet their efforts are not wasted. They make the new idea a primal force, which drives the current of life in its own particular direction, as other forces in theirs; and the harmony of social life, being a product of the struggle between all the forces, is, therefore, bound to be affected more or less by the advent of this new force. But just as no one force ever obtains a complete and absolute victory, so there is no original idea that can hold its own unless it is carefully guarded by its adherents. If, as often happens, after the new idea has produced a certain effect, its adherents become "broad-minded," admit that things cannot go wholly one way, and acquiesce gladly in the enforced compromise produced by the conflict of forces; then they may, indeed, rise in the estimation of the masses, on whom the harmony of the community depends; but at the same time their idea will cease to be a primal force in its own right. Its influence will accordingly be further and further diminished by the action of other forces, old and new, in their constantly watchful and internecine struggle - a struggle in which our idea will have no special body of adherents to guard it and widen the sphere of its influence.

There are thus two ways of doing service in the cause of an idea; and the difference between them is that which in ancient days distinguished the Priest from the Prophet.

The Prophet is essentially a one-sided man. It certain moral idea fills his whole being, masters his every feeling and sensation; engrosses his whole attention. He can only see the world through the mirror of his idea; he desires nothing, strives for nothing, except to make every phase of the life around him an embodiment of that idea in its perfect form. His whole life is spent in fighting for this ideal with all his strength; for its sake he lays waste his powers, unsparing of himself, regardless of the conditions of life and the demands of the general Harmony. His gaze is fixed always on what ought to be in accordance with his own convictions; never on what can be consistently with the general condition of things outside himself. The Prophet is thus a primal force.

His action affects the character of the general harmony, while he himself does not become remains always a man apart, a narrow-minded extremist, zealous for his own ideal, and intolerant of every other. And since he cannot have all that he would, he is in a perpetual state of anger and grief; he remains all his life "a man of strife and a man of contention to the whole earth." Not only this: the other members of society, those many-sided dwarfs, creatures of the general harmony, cry out after him, "The Prophet is a fool, the spiritual man is mad"; and they look with lofty contempt on his narrowness and extremeness. They do not see that they themselves and their own many-sided lives are but as the soil which depends for its fertility on these narrow-minded giants.

It is otherwise with the Priest. He appears on the scene at a time when Prophecy has already succeeded in hewing out a path for its Idea; when that Idea has already had a certain effect on the trend of society, and has brought about a new harmony or balance between the different forces at work. The Priest also fosters the Idea, and desires to perpetuate it; but he is not of the race of giants. He has not the strength to fight continually against necessity

and actuality; his tendency is rather to bow to the one and come to terms with the other. Instead of clinging to the narrowness of the Prophet, and demanding of reality what it cannot give, he broadens his outlook, and takes a wider view of the relation between his Idea and the facts of life. Not what ought to be, but what *is*, is what he seeks. His watchword is not the Idea, the whole Idea, and nothing but the Idea; he accepts the complex "harmony" which has resulted from the conflict of that Idea with other forces. His battle is no longer a battle against actuality, but a battle in the name of actuality against its enemies. The Idea of the Priest is not, therefore, a primal force; it is an accidental complex of various forces, among which there is no essential connection. Their temporary 'union is due simply to the fact that they have happened to come into conflict in actual life, and have been compelled to compromise and join hands. The living, absolute Idea, which strove to make itself all-powerful, and changed the external form of life while remaining itself unchanged- this elemental Idea has died and passed away together with its Prophets. Nothing remains but its effects- the superficial impress that it has been able to leave on the complex form of life. It is this form of life, already outworn, that the Priests strive to perpetuate, for the sake of the Prophetic impress that it bears.

Other nations have at various times had their Prophets, men whose life was the life of an embodied Idea; who had their effect, smaller or greater, on their people's history, and left the results of their work in charge of Priests till the end of time. But it is pre-eminently among the ancient Hebrews that Prophecy is found, not as an accidental or temporary phenomenon; but continuously through many generations. Prophecy is, as it were, the hallmark of the Hebrew national spirit.

The fundamental idea of the Hebrew Prophets was the universal dominion of absolute justice. In Heaven it rules through the eternally Righteous, " who holds in His right hand the attribute of judgment," and righteously judges all His creatures; and on earth through man, on whom, created in God's image, lies the duty of cherishing the attribute of his Maker, and helping Him, to the best of his meagre power, to guide His world in the path of Righteousness. This Idea, with all its religious and moral corollaries, was the breath of life to the Hebrew Prophets. It was their all in all, beyond which there was nothing of any importance. Righteousness for them is beauty; it is goodness, wisdom, truth: without it all these are naught. When the Prophet saw injustice, either on the part of men or on the part of Providence, he did not inquire closely into its causes, nor bend the knee to necessity, and judge the evil-doers leniently; nor again did he give himself up to despair, or doubt the strength of Righteousness, or the possibility of its victory. He simply complained, pouring out his soul in words of fire; then went his way again, fighting for his ideal, and full of hope that in time- perhaps even "at the end of time"- Righteousness would be lord over all the earth. "Thou art Righteous, O Lord,"- this the Prophet cannot doubt, although his eyes tell him that "the way of the wicked prospereth ": he feels it as a moral necessity to set Righteousness on the throne, and this feeling is strong enough to conquer the evidence of his eyes. "But I will speak judgments with thee ": this is the fearless challenge of Righteousness on earth to Righteousness in Heaven, These "judgments" relieve his pain; and he returns to his life's work, and lives on by the faith that is in him.

These Prophets of Righteousness transcended in spirit political and national boundaries, and preached the gospel of justice and charity for the whole human race. Yet they remained true to their people Israel; they, too, saw in it the chosen people; and from their words it might appear that Israel is their whole world. But their devotion to the universal ideal had its effect on their national feeling. Their nationalism became a kind of corollary to their fundamental Idea. Firmly as they believed in the victory of absolute Righteousness, yet the fact that they turn their gaze time after time to " the end of days " proves that they knew - as by a whisper from the " spirit of holiness " within them - how great and how arduous was the work that mankind must do before that consummation could be reached. They knew, also, that such work as this could not be done by scattered individuals, approaching it sporadically, each man for himself, at different times and in different places; but that it needed a whole community, which should be continuously, throughout all generations, the standard-bearer of the force of Righteousness against all the other forces that rule the world: which should assume of its own freewill tire yoke of eternal obedience to the absolute dominion of a single Idea, and for the sake of that Idea should wage incessant war against the way of the world. This task, grand and lofty, indeed, but not attractive or highly-esteemed, the Prophets, whose habit was to see their innermost desire as though it were already realized in the external world, saw placed on the shoulders of their own small nation, because they loved it so well. Their national ideal was not "a kingdom of Priests," but "would that all the people of the Lord were Prophets." They wished the whole people to be a primal force, a force making for Righteousness, in the general life of humanity, just as they were themselves in its own particular national life.

But this double Prophetic idea, at once universal and national, was met in actual life, like every primal force, by other forces, which hindered its progress, and did not allow it free development. And in this case also the result of the conflict was to weld together the effects of all these forces into a new, complex organism; and so the idea of the Prophets produced the teaching of the Priests.

In the early stages, while Prophecy had not ceased altogether, the Prophets were accordingly more hostile to the Priests than to the general body of the people. The authors of the living Idea, which they had drawn from their innermost being, and by which they believed that they could conquer the whole world, they could not be content with seeing its image stamped, as it were, on the surface of an organism moulded out of many elements, and so fixed and stereotyped forever. Nay, more: in the very fact that their Idea had thus become a part of the social organism, they saw a kind of barrier between it and the People. But the opposition between the Prophets and the Priests died out gradually with the decay of Prophecy: and then the guidance of the people was left in the hands of the Priests (though they were not always called by that name), as sole heirs of the Prophetic Idea. The independence of this Idea, and the growth of its special influence, were at an end, because it had no longer a standard-bearer of its own.

When, therefore, the time came for this Idea-that is to say, its universal element-to cross the borders of Palestine, and become an active force throughout the world, the Priestly Judaism

of those days was unable to guide it aright, and to preserve it in its pristine purity amid the host of different forces with which it came into conflict. Thus it was only for a moment that it remained a primal force; after that its influence became but as a single current, mingling and uniting with the myriad other currents in the great ocean of life. And since the number of alien influences at work was far greater here than it had been in the birthplace of the Idea, it followed that its visible effects were now even less than they had been before.

If, then, the Hebrew Prophets were to arise from their graves to-day, and observe the results of their work through the length and breadth of the world, they would have small cause for satisfaction or pa=ss of triumph. Now, after a long experience of thousands of years, they would recognize still more strongly the need of a "standard-bearer" to uphold their universal Idea; and for this reason they would be strengthened in their devotion to their national Idea. With even more fervour than before they would ex-claim, "Would that all the people of the Lord were Prophets."

We do, indeed, occasionally hear some such exclamation from the lips of Jewish scholars and preachers in Western Europe, who uphold the doctrine of tile "mission of Israel." But it follows from what has been said that the Prophetic mission is distinguished from theirs in three essentials.

In the first place, the mission in the Prophetic sense is not the revelation of some new theoretical truth, and its promulgation throughout the world, until its universal acceptance brings about the fulfilment of the mission. The ideal of the Prophets is to influence practical life in the direction of absolute Righteous-ness-an ideal for which there can never be a complete victory.

Secondly, this influence, being practical and not theoretical, demands, as a necessary condition of its possibility, not the complete dispersion of Israel among the nations, but, on the contrary, a union and concentration, at least partial, of all its forces, in the place where it will be possible for the nation to direct its life in accordance with its own character.

Thirdly, since this influence can never hope for a complete victory over the other influences at work on

human society, which draw it in other directions, it follows that there can be no end either to the mission or to those to whom it is entrusted. The end can come, if at all, only when men cease to be men, and their life to be human life: in that great day of the Jewish dream, when "the righteous sit crowned in glory, and drink in the radiance of the Divine Presence."

A Word from our Rabbis

PROGRESSIVE RABBINIC
ARTICLES ON REFORM
ZIONISM

Stories of Homeland:

My Israel: Rabbi Andrew Davids

Oct. 1, 2003

For some people, the statement that Israel is “the Jewish homeland” seems strange given that they have not been there or only relate to the town they live in as their home community. I have come to understand what this phrase means through the powerful linkage between personal experiences I have had in Israel and the collective story of the Jewish people.

Let me give you an example:

In the biblical book of Joshua, there is a famous story in chapter ten about the battle with the five kings, a conflict between our ancestors and the Canaanites that would determine whether or not we could inhabit the land of Israel. Knowing that the armies of the five kings are waiting in Gibeon to do battle with his own army, Joshua decides that the only way to win the conflict is to hike all night to where these armies are encamped and attack them while they are still asleep. However, the hike to that site is too great a distance for his men given the limited timeframe. Our text tells us that Joshua commanded the sun and the moon to stand still, freezing time, and thereby ensuring that his men can cover the distance in a single night. Our tradition remembers the sun and moon standing still, the successful night march, and the ensuing victory that stemmed from an attack that befell the armies of the five kings who were caught surprised. Through this miraculous act of frozen time, our ability to live in our homeland was ensured.

A few years ago I was serving as an EIE instructor, teaching the core course in our accredited semester high school program in Israel. I lived on the outskirts of Jerusalem on the top of the ridge of the Judean Mountains, where from my roof I could see both the lights of Tel Aviv and the Moab Mountains, a vista that spans the entire country. On the morning I was scheduled to teach the story of Joshua’s all-night march, I awoke at 5:00 AM so that I would have enough time to meet my class, which was incidentally meeting at a place called *Nebe Samuel*, located directly above Gibeon. As I walked out of my house, I realized that everyone around me was asleep, unaware of what the coming day might bring. I looked to the west and saw an enormous purple moon, filling the entire sky as it floated above the western horizon. Looking to the east, I saw a pale orange sun, as it too filled the sky. At that moment, I realized that I was standing in the same place that the author of the Joshua story stood, sensing the quiet of the early morning hours and seeing the same sun and moon standing still in the sky as time froze. Suddenly, my own personal story and the collective story of our people were one, made clear by my presence in the land of Israel. It was a moment I will never forget.

Rabbi Andrew Davids was Co-Director of the UAHC Youth Division at the time of writing and is now the Executive Director of ARZA – the Association of Reform Zionists of America.

MANNA EDITORIAL, JULY 2004, Rabbi Tony Bayfield

PRINCIPLED ZIONISM:

JEWISH VALUES, ENGAGEMENT AND CLEAR SIGHTED REALISM

Jewish researchers here and in the United States are alarmed at how Jews are feeling about Israel. They report growing discomfort and painful inner conflict which are increasingly expressed in disengagement.

The conflict is summed up in the widespread discomfort at what is reported by the BBC and the way it is reported but coupled with the private belief that a lot of it is true and merited. The signs of disengagement are already apparent, certainly within the Reform community, and are every bit as alarming as the researchers believe them to be.

Now is no time to distance ourselves, let alone disengage. Paradoxically, the distinction between Jews in Israel and Jews in the Diaspora was never less real or meaningful. We are 'in it' together and our perspective is vital.

So how should we construct our Zionism at this challenging time?

It should rest upon three pillars, represented by three insights expressed particularly eloquently in the last few months.

The first pillar is one of measured realism and clear-sightedness expressed by Jewish Chronicle and Guardian columnist Jonathan Freedland.

Freedland expresses deep concern that time is running out for the Two-State Solution. The window is closing as Islamic fundamentalism increases its grip and more and more Palestinians realise that the agreement so nearly reached in the last days of the Clinton presidency gave them only 35% of the land.

Yet there is no conceivable alternative for Israel, for us. The status quo will rapidly lead to Jewish rule over an Arab majority and all the evidence is that the world will not tolerate minority rule. Non-viable Palestinian enclaves or population re-arrangement/expulsion are utterly unacceptable internationally.

The alternative, now increasingly widely canvassed, of a bi-national state, finds little historical encouragement and will lead inexorably to Jews losing our majority by 2020. With that, the dream of a Jewish state is extinguished by demographics.

Logic, clear-sighted realism indicate the two state solution to be the only solution yet, says Freedland, "We are becoming a people that cannot take 'yes' for an answer".

The second pillar is provided by British-born Israeli Rabbi Michael Marmur, Dean of Hebrew Union College in Jerusalem. It is expressed in the imperative to engage.

Marmur, writing in the January 2004 issue of MANNA, says: 'Don't despair – I offer this advice not as a panacea, but as a theology. However tempting it may be to conclude that the problems are too intractable, the bloodshed too awful, the seductive powers of despair are to be resisted at all costs. Don't demonize – Many are coping with the complexities of the Middle East situation by concocting comic-book readings of the situation. They know who the baddies are and they blame all the ills of Israel/Palestine on the chosen object of their opprobrium. My own sense is that almost any position you wish to take can be taken up with love and with real involvement. By love I mean a true generosity of spirit which allows you to see what is happening in Israel through the eyes of real men and women, and not simply in generic terms. Don't delegate – Some years ago my father coined the term 'vicarious Judaism', wherein Jews get their fulfilment at one remove. Rather than create a personal link to Israel, we find an intermediary, and pay where appropriate. This is not on.'

The underlying imperative, as articulated by Rabbi Marmur, is to engage. The full gamut of emotions, reactions and perspectives held by British Jews is mirrored by Israeli Jews. There isn't a Jew in this country who cannot find Israeli individuals, families, programmes and institutions who feel the same way, share similar emotions, reactions and perspectives. The imperative is to build a *gesher chai*, a living bridge with soul mates; to multiply encounter, *mifgash*; to engage.

The third pillar is clearly contained in the phrase 'principled Zionism'. Though provocative, it highlights a range of values – love of *am Yisrael* and the recognition that *am Yisrael* can only truly live in relationship with others; love of peace and the recognition that peace can only come about through justice and compromise; the deepest passion for ending violence and bloodshed.

Echoing Rabbi Marmur's call not to despair, the 'Omer Project', which Rabbi Jeffrey Newman created over the seven weeks between Pesach and Shavuot this year, led to a renewal of hope for those involved. On both sides, says Rabbi Newman, there are so many outstanding individuals, engaged in creative projects which flourish even in this wretched period. Rabbi Newman continues: " 'Principled' Zionism suggests that, while we recognise the importance of the UJIA as the premier charity supporting Israel, we also give our support for Israel by highlighting Rabbis for Human Rights, including the Israel Religious Action Centre of our own World Union for Progressive Judaism, joining the multi-faith Inter-religious Co-ordinating Council, and supporting the 200 projects of the New Israel Fund. By allying ourselves with these five groupings, we become a part of the most vital work in the State of Israel.

Support here is not merely financial, though that also, but equally importantly it means we publicise to our communities and wider society, the work of these five groupings. These five, in their turn, bring us into contact with many more, for example, the courage and dedication of the Bereaved Parents Circle whose members, including both Israelis and Palestinians, tour the world in the hope that they may bring about a situation where no more parents on either side will have to suffer the unbearable pain of the loss of a child.

Through this approach, we will ensure that our synagogues will be the first stop for visitors from these projects. Together, we will show that the work of reconciliation and co-existence is thriving, even now."

At this most challenging of times, Newman, Marmur and Freedland provide us with three pillars on which to develop a Zionism for the present and the future which can ease the discomfort and conflict in our minds and hearts and sustain Israel and the Jewish people through dark times. Living Jewish values, engagement and clear-sighted realism are the pillars. We must get to work on all three.

Toward a Theology of Reform Zionism

23 - Feb - 2004

By: Richard Hirsch

The establishment, protection, and development of the State of Israel are integral premises of Progressive Jewish belief. Our covenant with God is a collective one, to be played out in the Land of Israel, its testing ground. In Israel, every issue is a Jewish one, including civil liberties, use of political power, poverty, relating to minority populations. Aliya is to be encouraged among Western Jews.

Reform Jews have been so consumed with the intermittent crises of the Middle East and the problems inherent in the character of Israeli society and Israel-Diaspora relations that we have not devoted our attention to formulating the meaning of Israel in theological terms. I, therefore, offer the following as one religious Zionist view.

The Theological Significance of Zionism

Should Progressive Judaism ascribe theological significance to the State of Israel?

In posing this question, I assume universal agreement that Am Yisrael, the people of Israel, and Eretz Yisrael, the land of Israel, comprise fundamental planks in the ideological platform of Progressive Judaism. However, can Medinat Yisrael, the secular state of Israel, be incorporated into a system of theological belief? Does political Zionism have religious import?

These questions should be raised under any circumstances and at all times. However, I suspect that some people might have formulated one response in 1948, 1967 and 1973 – dates marking Israel's miracle-like military victories against overwhelming threats of annihilation – and arrive at totally different responses during times of frustration, disappointment and disillusionment with the State of Israel. It is precisely during these latter times of stress that religious conviction is tested...

It is in this context that I frame my response: the establishment of the State of Israel and commitment to its security, development and well-being represent a fundamental and integral premise of Progressive Jewish belief. In making this statement, it is essential to delineate between two distinct realities, at times conflicting and at times confusing.

The first reality: the State of Israel is a state like all other states. As a modern political movement, Zionism parallels the other movements of national renaissance that sprouted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. To be sure, the Jewish people's political claim to national independence was reinforced by a moral appeal to the world's conscience following the Holocaust. However, to the extent that the Jewish state is one among many states, it is to be judged by the same criteria of international law and democratic values as all other states...

An Eternal Covenant

The second reality: the State of Israel represents the return to the land of Israel and the restoration of the Jewish people's sovereignty. As such, its very establishment fulfills sanctified religious aspirations, even as its continued existence attests to profound religious convictions. These aspirations and convictions are rooted in the Jewish concept of the covenant between God and Israel. The covenant is the central theme of the Bible, indeed of all Jewish history. God and the Jewish people have made an eternal pact that obligates the people to serve God by preserving distinctive patterns of life, worship, and morality. This eternal covenant between God and the people of Israel is inseparable from the land of Israel. "I will maintain My covenant between Me and you, and your offspring to come, as an everlasting covenant throughout the ages, to be God to you and to your offspring to come. I give the land you sojourn in to you and your offspring to come, all the land of Canaan, as an everlasting possession. I will be their God" (Genesis 17:7-8)....

A Role Model

For Judaism, the covenant is a collective obligation, the fulfillment of which requires collective action in a particular place – the land of Israel. After the destruction of the Temple and the Exile, the Jewish people was compelled to reorient itself to maintaining the covenant through the collectivity of the Jewish community. But the vision of fulfilling the covenant through return to the land of Israel was retained in prayer and study. All the classic texts of tradition are predicated on the assumption that Jews will be restored to their land. Maimonides' Mishneh Torah is a compilation of laws to be observed in the future, when Jews will live as a sovereign people once again in their land. Maimonides defines the responsibilities of the future Jewish government and its leaders, the rules of warfare, the obligations of citizens toward the Jewish society and of the Jewish society toward its citizens, and a host of other regulations to be observed within the Jewish sovereignty...

The return to Israel was inextricable from the messianic vision. Jewish particularism was rooted in a profound universalism. How could Jews bring about the era of fellowship and peace for all humankind? By creating in the land of Israel a just society that would serve as a role model for all other societies. It is not enough for the individual to find the way to God... Tikkun olam is to be initiated by the people of Israel in the land of Israel...

This amalgam of religio-nationalism, rooted in biblical and post-biblical literature, provides the foundation and the inspiration for contemporary Zionism. It makes of Zionism far more than a political ideological movement...

Jewish Life in Israel and in the Diaspora

In the Diaspora, Jewish life is voluntary. A person is free to decide on Jewish identity and the extent of participation in, and support of, the Jewish community. In Israel, Jewish identity is

compulsory. By virtue of living in a Jewish state, the individual Jew is obligated to identify as a Jew, pay taxes to the Jewish state and fight in the army to defend the Jewish state.

In the Diaspora, Jewish activity is confined to what is defined as the private sector: the home, the synagogue, the Jewish community. Judaism is a private experience observed in life-cycle events, the Sabbath and holidays. Jewishness is perpetuated through the linkage of ritual observance with historical memory. When Jews take group action on general social justice issues such as civil rights, civil liberties and religious tolerance, or even on matters affecting vested Jewish interests, the action is legitimated by the democratic political process, which encourages individuals to band together to have an impact on public policy. However, the Jews qua Jews do not deal with the totality of society, nor are Jews qua Jews responsible for the total society.

In Israel, the Jews are not afforded the luxury of selecting favorite issues and noble causes. All issues are Jewish and all are denominated as Jewish, both by those who live in the state and by those who live outside it. Both the private and the public sectors are Jewish. Indeed, everything is Jewish: from economy to culture, politics, the army, and the character of society.

In the Diaspora, Jews tend to distinguish between universal and particular concerns. In Israel, every issue is both universal and particular. It is impossible to separate between humanness and Jewishness. Poverty is made much more poignant by the knowledge that Jews suffer from the deficiencies of a Jewish society. The pain is more piercing when an Arab child is killed accidentally in the intifada by a Jewish soldier serving in a Jewish army using weapons developed by Jews.

The Jewish state has inherited the challenge first projected in Exodus 19:5-6: "Now then, if you will obey Me faithfully and keep My covenant, you shall be My treasured possession among all the peoples. Indeed, all the earth is Mine, but you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."

The State of Israel is the testing grounds for keeping the covenant between God and God's people. How do Jews as a people create a just society when they are given responsibility? How do Jews use political power? How do Jews apply Jewish values in everyday conditions of a Jewish society? How do Jews relate to issues of poverty, unemployment, health care and the aged? How does a Jewish government relate to a host of other issues that affect every society?

The Minority Factor

To these questions must be added the questions relating to the non-integrative, non-Jewish national and religious minorities in Israel. The minority problems of Israel presaged the minority problems in Eastern Europe today. The reawakened national consciousness that broke the shackles of Communist control of Eastern Europe has stirred up the consciousness of disparate ethnic minority groups within Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and the (former) Soviet Republics.

Similarly, the attainments of Jewish nationalism have stimulated the rise of Arab nationalism within Israel.

The minority factor is new to the Jewish historical experience. Unlike the Jews of the Diaspora, Israeli Jews do not live as a highly successful minority in a non-Jewish world. In Israel, Jews are the majority. The test of modern Israel, therefore, is a new test. It is not only political but ideological. Can the application of Jewish values in a Jewish state serve as a model for other societies?

How does a Jewish majority relate to minorities, particularly to those minorities that are not only disadvantaged, but also challenge the very existence of the Jewish state? As Diaspora minorities, Jews have been the victims of discrimination and national chauvinism. How does a Jewish society deal with Jewish triumphalism, Jewish prejudice against non-Jews and instances of flagrant violation of civil liberties and freedom of conscience? How do Jews relate to others when they are the victors rather than the victims, considered to be the oppressors rather than the oppressed? In sum, how do Jews keep the covenant in the open, visible, volatile crucible called the State of Israel?

...The State of Israel is the Jewish people's symbol of hope in its own future and in the future of all humankind. It is a state that will always be confronted by the tension between the holy and the secular, the potential and the actual, the vision and the reality.

Aliyah

Without Zionism there is no aliyah, without aliyah there is no Zionism. The commitment to aliyah does not imply that the person who lives in Israel is in any way a "better Jew" than the Jew who lives in the Diaspora. It does imply that by living in Israel a Jew can do more than living anywhere else to sustain the collective existence of the Jewish people. The Jew who comes to help build Israeli society enhances Jewish peoplehood and reinforces the state.

If Israel is to serve as the spiritual center of the Jewish people, it requires a critical mass of Jews. Given the present fertility rates of the respective Arab and Jewish populations, within several generations Jews may become a minority in the borders of Eretz Yisrael. Already in certain sections of Israel, such as the Galilee, Jews are a minority. Even assuming a peace settlement and a territorial compromise, the population projections are discouraging. Aliyah is, therefore, a prerequisite to sustaining a state Jewish in character as well as name.

From where will this aliyah come? Traditionally, the major waves of aliyah have come from Jews in search of refuge from persecution or distress. But the number of Jews living under conditions of danger is fast diminishing. Therefore, motivated both by pragmatism and idealism, Israel must look to the Jewish communities of the Western world as the major potential pools of aliyah. From the perspective of Jews from lands of affluence, living in Israel offers opportunities for personal fulfillment: to be a full-time, active force in securing the future of the Jewish people; to help shape the society whose character will have an impact on the character of world Jewry;

and to live in an environment whose mother tongue, social patterns and cultural setting are Jewish.

Aliyah is an option for Jewish living that should be encouraged. So should stays of extended duration and study and work experiences in Israel be encouraged. Israel is both a source and a resource for Jewish living. The Rabbinic sage taught, "The very air of Israel instills wisdom (Baba Batra 5b). To imbibe of the milieu of Israel is to rediscover the deep spiritual roots of Israel's survival, and to be inspired by participating in the search for Israel's eternal destiny.

Questions for Discussion

1. Hirsch maintains that "the establishment of the State of Israel and commitment to its security, development and well-being represent a fundamental and integral premise of Progressive Jewish belief. How do Reform Jews living outside of Israel demonstrate their adherence to these premises?
2. How can Reform Jews contribute to the effort to make Israel into "a just society that would serve as a role model for all other societies?"
3. What do you think it would take to bring about a mass aliya of Reform Jews from Western countries?

Peulot Ideas
on Reform
Zionism

Peula #1: Zionist Thinkers Peula (RSY Netzer)

Aims:

- To introduce the chanichim to pre-State Zionist thinkers
- For chanichim to appreciate that Zionism originally divided Jews as much as it united them

Trigger + Explanation 10 mins

Madrichim should each be dressed as a character and should introduce themselves- they should be dressed up and acting to make it a more lively introduction. Explain to the Chanichim that they will be split into teams of 8 and each person must take on a role and interview the characters. They will only have an hour to interview characters and create their newspaper so they can't interview one by one!

The newspaper should have a name and all the other things newspapers usually have!

Meet 60 mins

Roles:

Broadsheet journalist x2: Your job is to find out about the characters' different responses to Zionism. The kinds of questions you should think about asking are: What is their vision for a State for the Jewish people? Does it matter where that State is? Why is it so important that we have that State soon? Some of your colleagues may think that the way to sell newspapers is not to take the people you're interviewing too seriously. It is your job to make sure there is some substance to your publication and to write an article on your findings.

Tabloid journalist x2: It is your job to dish the dirt. Find out how the people you're interviewing feel about one another – what they say behind each other's backs and how they respond to these comments. Although these guys you'll be meeting are famous you need to let them know they're not above it all. If they say something controversial – you're there to pick them up on it. By the end you should have the material you need to write a damning piece on how these different Jews feel about one another and why.

Feature writer x2: Your job is to really get to know our characters as people rather than visionaries. What was their upbringing like and how did it affect them? Some of your colleagues may get carried away by the controversy of their views but you are more concerned with where they came from. Where were they born? How long were they educated for? What is the achievement they're most proud of? When did people start to treat them differently from their friends? Etc. Afterwards you will write a brief feature on our different characters.

Illustrator: Your job is to provide some artistry to the paper, whether that takes the form of an amusing cartoon or a genuine portrait of some of our characters. You must both listen carefully to the interview to pick up information to include in your pictures and talk with the journalists to see that your artwork fits in with their stories. You have also been toying with the idea of including a 'lonely hearts' section in the paper. As such you will need to pick up on what the ladies might find attractive about our characters to help find them their perfect match. Feel free to ask the characters questions too, after all – the better the interview, the better your paper will be.

'Editor': You are the team leader – the buck stops with you. It is your job to coordinate the interviews and make sure your team are doing their jobs. Your team will have 12 minutes with each character. To get the perfect balance of material, you should let one set of journalists interview at a time (i.e the tabloid reporters , although other journalists can chip in if they have relevant questions. Be aware of timing, you don't want to leave one of your reporters with nothing to write about! You must grant the broadsheet, tabloid and feature writers enough time to ask their questions. It is advised you start interviews with the feature writers to understand where your character has come from, then move on to the broadsheet journalists and then finally set your tabloid journalists loose in the interview. When the time arrives to write the paper, you will also need to deal with issues of layout. Telling each member of your team how many column inches they need to fill. Good luck!

Sikkum 20 mins

Get the Editor to make a sales pitch to the characters who, whilst still being the Zionist figures, will also now form a 'Dragons' Den' panel and choose their winning paper.

INFORMATION FOR CHARACTERS:

Questions you might be asked:

1. What is the greatest problem currently facing the Jewish people?
2. Do you believe in a state for the Jews – what form should it take?
3. Does it matter where the state is? Why should it be where you want it to be?
4. Background and complain about other characters

WESTERN ZIONISM: Post Emancipation. Theodore Herzl (1860-1904)

- Born to wealthy parents.
- Cultured youth (German culture); dreamed of being a writer/poet.
- Schooled in Budapest until 18, then moved to Vienna.
- Got a PHD in law at the university there.
- Gave up law shortly thereafter to become a writer of feature essays (journalist) and playwright. At 32 he was employed by the premier Viennese newspaper, and moved to Paris to work as a correspondent.

- Up till this point he viewed assimilation as both desirable and inevitable; the struggle for equal rights was over. Although he had become Bar-Mitzvah, he'd had scarcely any Jewish education.
- He had encountered mild anti-Semitism at university, but it truly reared its ugly head in Paris. An anti-Jewish newspaper had been set up and was attracting limited but noisy attention. Herzl started to write about the use of the Jews as a scapegoat. Herzl started to believe that all Jews were trapped in an 'invisible ghetto in a gentile world'.
- The last straw for Herzl proved to be the Dreyfus affair:
 - 1894 – Alfred Dreyfus (French captain who happened to be the only Jew on general staff) was accused of spying for the Germans. Herzl reported the trial for his Viennese paper and how it was received by the French public. The combination of an unfair trial and racist slurs from French onlookers hit a real nerve (Jews were the group without a homeland, so they had no loyalty/anti-Semitic comments were chanted at the trial). Herzl concluded that assimilation is no protection against anti-Semitism and that even a person as well integrated as an officer on the French general staff was not safe from the hatred. He comes to believe that Jews will remain strangers in their countries of residence and need a country of their own. He set to work on what he called '**the solution to the Jewish question**'.
 - 2 years later he published 'The Jewish State' laying the foundations for modern day political Zionism. A year later, the first Zionist Congress met, with Herzl having started a Zionist publication in the meantime. Over 200 Jewish delegates from around the world met in Basel, Switzerland, to found the World Zionist Organization. Its purpose was 'to secure for the Jewish people a publicly recognized, legally secured, home in Palestine'. 5 further meetings convened in his lifetime.
 - Primarily a diplomat, Herzl reached understandings with the Sultan of Turkey, Kaiser Wilhelm of Italy, and the British government. The latter in 1903 offering a large expanse in Uganda for 'a Jewish self-governing settlement'. Herzl went to the conference that year (the last one he would attend) and proposed that the offer be accepted as a "temporary haven" until a home in Zion could be achieved. The congress voted to investigate this option due to his authority, but many were deeply opposed to the plan. Russian Zionists were particularly uncomfortable with this option. A year later the offer was withdrawn by the Brits. After the debate, there was no doubt: Any state accepted by the WZO would have to be in Zion.
- Criticisms of Herzl:
 - His writing is overly utopian.
 - Willing to accept land other than Israel.
 - No higher vision for the Jewish nation, he wanted us to become a Nation like any other, with 'Jewish policemen arresting Jewish prostitutes'.
 - His propelling force was the plight of the Jews.

- He viewed the State of Israel as an end to persecution and as a means of self betterment.
- Quotes from Herzl:
 - *'The plan would seem mad enough if a single individual were to undertake it; but if many Jews simultaneously agree on it, it is entirely reasonable, and its achievement presents no difficulties worth mentioning. The idea depends only on the number of its adherents. Perhaps our ambitious young men, to whom every road is now closed, and for whom the Jewish State throws open a bright prospect of freedom, happiness and honour – perhaps they will see to it that this idea is spread.'*
 - *'Is what I am saying not yet true? Am I ahead of my time? Are the sufferings of the Jews not yet acute enough? We shall see.'*
 - *'The Jewish question still exists. It would be foolish to deny it. It is a misplaced piece of medievalism which civilized nations do not even yet seem able to shake off, try as they will. They proved they had this high-minded desire when they emancipated us. The Jewish question persists wherever Jews live in appreciable numbers. Wherever it does not exist, it is brought in with Jewish immigrants. We are naturally drawn into those places where we are not persecuted, and our appearance there gives rise to persecution. This is the case, and will inevitably be so, everywhere, even in highly civilized countries – see, for instance, France – so long as the Jewish question is not solved on the political level. The unfortunate Jews are now carrying the seeds of anti-Semitism into England; they have already introduced it into America.'*

EASTERN EUROPEAN ZIONISM. Ahad Ha'am - the agnostic rabbi (1856-1927)

- Born in Ukraine, family very wealthy for ghetto inhabitants.
- Educated by a Chasidic rabbi, he was well versed in Talmud & other Jewish scripture.
- Through his latter teens he read all manner of Jewish philosophy, branching out to Russian rationalists in his early 20s. **Then he completely lost his faith.**
- At 20 he had an arranged marriage. His family suffered from anti-Semitic tsarist law, prohibiting his family from leasing land which meant they had to move.
- Ahad Ha'am (meaning one of the people) was actually a pseudonym – his pen name. He started writing at 33 and used this name always, not regarding himself a real writer.
- He moved to London in 1907 working for a tea company, remaining there for 14 years.
- He settled in Palestine in 1921.
- A member of the Hibbat Tsion movement (those who are fond of Zion), he talked not of mass action but about the cultural revival and modernization of the Jewish people.
- His ideas caused much controversy, especially with the Orthodox, as his new 'Jewish spiritual culture' was not God centric. On the other hand, the scale of

- his thinking; talking of work in Palestine being done only slowly and with great care, drew criticism from the younger and more radical Zionists.
- After his writings, Bnei Moshe was founded, a semi-secret group who tried to raise the moral and cultural tone of the Jewish national revival. Ahad Ha'am took up the post as their leader.
 - Later in his life he served as one of Chaim Weizmann's (who negotiated the issuing of the Balfour Declaration) chief advisors.
 - When he neared his death, the merit of his teaching became apparent to all who lived in Tel Aviv with him. He was dubbed "the secular rabbi". Some say that all of Tel Aviv attended his funeral.
 - Criticism of Ahad Ha'am:
 - A reluctant leader, idealistic yet unwilling to impose his will on others
 - Generally a pessimist, which limited his achievements.
 - Suffered from ill health most of his life.
 - Ha'am's Jewish problem would remain unaffected even if the troubled Jews all over the world attained comfortable economic positions, were on best possible terms with their neighbors, and were granted the fullest social and political equality: This is because his problem is a problem of Judaism; typifying the Eastern Zionist's response to Jewish Nationalism. He argues not only that Jews have to be removed from their ghettos but so too must Judaism.
 - According to Ha'am, the problem is thus: Judaism changes when it comes into contact with modernity. However, the pull of modernity at the moment is so strong that people are leaving behind much of what is essential to bind Jews internationally together, such that we are ceasing to be a nation. We are losing the rich potential that a Jewish national culture could afford. (eg France...you can be French sure, but you can't be a Zionist)
 - Ahad Ha'am sees Judaism in exile as problematic. He argues that when Judaism comes into contact with modern culture, it challenges what Judaism has always taken as given (maybe due to new scientific findings or changing values in the west).
 - He says Judaism has always absorbed new ideas from foreign cultures and made them a part of itself but the challenge has changed. Now he says, modernity has brought with it a culture of having a 'national identity'. To buy into this culture, one must give up those aspects on individual identity that conflict with this national culture. So he argues, Judaism is in danger of losing its national element with Jews increasingly influenced by the countries in which they find themselves.
 - The only way Judaism is to survive and thrive as a culture once again is to fully engage with the Jewish nation living in its historic centre, Israel. His vision is that, initially, the yishuv starts small with Jews engaging with other Jews in all areas of civilization. This community, he argues, will naturally grow; living and breathing Jewish values and customs until it becomes the very centre of the Nation. **Then, at an opportune moment, we should try to**

establish the state. He argues that this will make the country not only a state for the Jews but a really Jewish state.

- He feels “political Zionism cannot satisfy those Jews who care deeply for their Judaism for they desire a space but know not how to fill it”.
- He argues those men who had the requisite skills to lead the state are spiritually far removed from Judaism – how can we make the state Jewish?
- Quotes from Ahad Ha’am:

“But a ‘people of the book’, unlike a normal people, is a slave to the book. It has surrendered its whole soul to the written word. The book ceases to be what it should be, a source of ever-new inspiration and moral strength: On the contrary, its function in life is to weaken, and finally to crush, all spontaneity of action and emotion, ‘til men become wholly dependent on the written word and incapable of responding to any stimulus in nature or in human life, without its permission and approval... Consequently, both the people and its book stand still from age to age; little or nothing changes, because the vital impulse to change is lacking on both sides. The people stagnate because heart and mind do not react directly and immediately to external events: The book stagnates because, as a result of this absence of direct reaction, heart and mind do not rise in revolt against the written word where it has ceased to be in harmony with current needs.”

RELIGIOUS ZIONISM: Rav Kook (1865-1935)

- Abraham Isaac Kook
- Born in a small Latvian town.
- At 19 he went to study at Volozhin, the most prestigious yeshiva of its time.
- Kook loved to speak Hebrew, which was usually frowned upon by the orthodox.
- At 23 he became a Rabbi. He moved to a Lithuanian congregation 6 years later gaining stature as he aged.
- He became the 1st Chief Rabbi of Palestine after the British Mandate.
- He believed his generation would bring the coming of the messiah; dawning a new era of perfection.
- He accepted all builders and developers of Palestine, heretics included, as unwitting instruments in a new age of redemption.
- Unlike the rest of the religious community, he accepted modern Jewish nationalism, claiming secular Zionists were following something divine in their souls, helping to bring the Messiah.
- He turned down offers of employment from prestigious Lithuanian communities, and instead went to Jaffa in Palestine in 1904.
- While he was chief rabbi of Jaffa the orthodox world was becoming divided in its view of Zionism. He tried desperately to keep the peace.
- In 1914, he left Palestine to visit Europe. WWI broke out and he was stranded, eventually ending up in London for 3 years from 1916. He would later become the Ashkenazi chief Rabbi of Palestine.

- He did much to support the young (modern) Hebrew language whilst other Yeshivot taught in Yiddish or Aramaic and continued to defend the irreligious from orthodox criticism.
- Despite his reaching out to the secular community he was a pious man, a follower of mitzvot and believer in the rebuilding of the 3rd temple.
- He assumed that he would one day become the chief priest of the temple!
- **Criticisms of Rav Kook:**
 - Condescending beliefs.
 - Thinks that secular Zionists are furthering his cause though they know it not.

RELIGIOUS ANTI-ZIONISM. Rabbi Yosef Rosen (1858-1936)

- He was born in what is now Belarus to a Chasidic family.
- It was first noticed that he was exceptional when he studied under one of the Soloveitchik Rabbis at age 13.
- He had a photographic memory and razor sharp mind.
- He eventually became Rabbi of his Hasidic community in Dvinsk.
- Like many of his contemporaries, he thought that Jews were losing their way the further they found themselves from Sinai, and was famous for never quoting rabbis after Maimonides (12th C).
- He was called the 'Gaon' – genius - by his followers.
- **His view:**
 - Jews were exiled from the land of Israel in ancient times because they failed to fulfill their obligations to God. They accepted this penalty and swore not to try and accelerate the redemption, especially not if it required rebelling against the nation hospitable enough to grant the Jews refuge.
 - Jews pray that God return his presence to the Land of Israel, via the coming of the messiah, who will rebuild the temple once again.
 - **That is when we are supposed to move back to Israel, not before.**
 - We have been persecuted in the past, and it was only by the grace of the Almighty that we survived – to assume we can protect ourselves without God's grace is both arrogant and misguided.
 - Now those Orthodox Jews who moved to Israel so they could fulfill more mitzvot are being swept up in a heretical national movement they want no part in.
- **Quotes from Yosef Rosen:**
 - In an open letter of protest he wrote: "Heaven forbid that we should test G-d and strive with him concerning the length of the Exile in order to be masters in the Holy Land."
 - "To those who share these Zionist views but profess to be believers, whose lips drip with Torah and piety, I have this to say: Do you not know that Zionism and self-rule are **VANITY AND PURSUIT OF EMPTINESS AND**

IMITATION? Why do you despise the Torah and stretch out your hand to transgressors tainted with HERESY, and why do you not consider in whose company you go?

- About the pioneers he wrote: "It is hardly credible that after the revelations of their arrogant hearts there should still be found right-minded men willing to ally themselves with them. It is greatly astonishing throughout the whole Jewish People that they should be given a place and a voice in public affairs, since it is known they are causing others to sin."

Peula #2: Whose Declaration? Whose Independence? - Values of The Jewish State of Israel

In this peula participants "edit" the Israeli Declaration of Independence as a means of initiating the discussion: Do we have the power to critique Jewish and/or Israeli institutions? How do we balance particular values with communal needs? Which different values find expression in the relatively new "Jewish homeland"? This program includes a variety of options and thus can be adapted easily for many different types of groups.

Aims:

- To stimulate the participants to create their own personal ideal set of values for the State of Israel.
- To familiarize the participants with the opinions of many famous people regarding an ideal Israel, as well as with the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel.

What you will need:

- copies of Zionist Quotes cut so that each quote is on an individual strip of paper.
- a large board with chalk/markers.
- photocopies of Israel's Declaration of Independence (enlarged if possible).
- red pens.

Method:

1. Here are 3 options for the introductory stage of the program:

a. Ask the participants to introduce themselves by naming one value that they would want their country espouse/support/demand of its citizens. For example, "I want the country I live in to be a democracy," or "I want my country to provide support for its elderly". Write their ideas on the board.

OR

b. For a creative group- ask them to draw on big papers how they think the state of the jews should look (bring newspapers, colors etc.). Discuss their "art" and ask each participant to explain what "his/her" state should be and which values would be dominant.

OR

c. Ask the group to say aloud all the words that come up to their mind when they think of "ISRAEL". Write everything they say on a big board. Divide the ideas into good things, bad things and wishful thinking. Leave the last category on the board for them to use it later on when editing the declaration .

2. Here are 2 options for this stage of the program:

a. Pass out the strips of paper with the quotes of Zionist philosophers, intellectuals and practical founders of the State of Israel. Following the numerical order of the

quotes, each participant should read one of the quotes aloud, and then give a brief summary of the value it represents.

OR

b. Hang the different quotes around the room and let the participants circulate and read them.

3. Divide the group into small groups (2-4 people), and distribute copies of the Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel . Participants should read it aloud in their groups.

4. Each group should edit the document as they wish: crossing out, substituting, inserting, and reordering. They should use their own beliefs, priorities, and desires, and shouldn't feel compelled to include the ones expressed in the quotes (from stage 2). The only requirement is that the participants agree with the language and the message of the new document. Encourage discussion and compromise within the groups.

5. The groups should present their revisions to the Declaration, explaining the reasons for their changes.

6. Conclude the activity with a large group discussion based on any or all of the following questions:

Jewish State

In the original document, how is Judaism represented - as culture? as law? as religion?

Which were more dominant-Jewish themes, or ones derived from other sources? How do the latter impact on Israel's role as a Jewish state? Are some of the values both Jewish and secular?

Do either of the documents (original or revised) reflect Israel as a Jewish homeland? Do you feel that Israel is your homeland?

Distribute Israel is the only country where... and read it aloud. Are the facts mentioned relevant to the question of Israel as a Jewish state ? Dream or Reality?

In what ways does the original Declaration reflect contemporary Israeli society? In what ways do your revisions reflect this?

Changing the Declaration of Independence?

Was your intention to make the document fit your needs or the needs of all Jews or the needs of all Israelis or the needs of all Jewish Israelis...?

As Diaspora Jews, do we have the right to "edit" a fundamental Israeli document? To what extent must Israel meet our needs or beliefs?

Were the working groups characterized by agreement or dissension? How did you deal with the latter?

□ What links did you see between the quotes about Zionism and the Declaration of Independence? Are all the values represented by those quoted reflected in the declaration? What is missing?

Zionist Quotes

A Random Collection of Zionist Ideology and Rhetoric

Ahad Ha'am :

"So [Judaism] seeks to return to its historic center, where it will be able to live a life developing in a natural way, to bring its powers into play in every department of human culture, to broaden and perfect those national possessions which it has acquired until now, and thus to contribute to the common stock of humanity, in the future as it has in the past, a great national culture, the fruit of the unhampered activity of a people living by the light of its own spirit."

Nahman Syrkin:

Only cowards and spiritual degenerates will term Zionism a utopian movement.

Haim Nachman Bialik"

We are not come here to seek wealth, or dominion, or greatness...We wish to find here only a domain of our own for our physical and intellectual labor.

Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook

Our nation is called to drink not from alien wells but from its own deeps. Let it fill its vessels with will from the depth of its prayers, with life from the well of its Torah, with courage from the roots of its faith, with order from the integrity of its reason, and with heroism from the might of its spirit.

Judah Leon Magnes:

We, being the ruled everywhere, must here rule; being the minority everywhere, we must here be in the majority...we are to have a Fatherland, and we are to encourage the feelings of pride, honor, glory that are part of the paraphernalia of the ordinary nationalistic patriotism.

Martin Buber

If we want to be nothing but normal, we shall soon cease to be at all.

Nahman Syrkin

For a Jewish state to come to be, it must, from the very beginning, avoid all the ills of modern life. To evoke the sympathetic interest of modern man, its guidelines must be justice, rational planning, and social solidarity.

Hannah Senesh

We want only our lawful property and rights, and our freedom, for which we have struggled with our own labours. It is our human and national duty to demand these rights.

Micah Joseph Berdichevski

The resurrection of Israel depends on a revolution-- the Jews must come first, before Judaism-- the living man, before the legacy of his ancestors....A great responsibility rests in our hands! We are the last Jews-- or we are the first of a new nation.

Jacob Klatzkin

Zionism stands opposed to...any conception of Jewish identity based on spiritual criteria. The spiritual criterion...binds our spirit with the chains of tradition and subordinates our life to specific doctrines, to a heritage and to the values of an ancient outlook.

Rabbi Samuel Mohilever

From the depths of my soul I pray to the Almighty: I beseech Thee, O Lord, do Thou inspire the utterances of the delegates of Thy people, the House of Israel. Instruct them in what they shall speak and grant them understanding to utter the right words, so they stumble not with their tongues, God forbid...Imbue, I pray Thee, the hearts of all Israel with a new spirit of abounding love for their dispersed people and their land! Amen!

Nahman Syrkin

Zionism must of necessity fuse with socialism, for socialism is in complete harmony with the wishes and hopes of the Jewish masses.

Ber Borochov "Borochov, Ber"

The Jewish proletariat is in need of revolution more than any other.

A.D. Gordon

The idea of Labour must become the pivot of all our aspirations. It is the foundation on which our national structure is to be erected.

Edmond Fleg

(commenting on the Third Zionist Congress) What Jewish contrasts!

Richard James Horatio Gottheil

The great word which Zionism preaches is conciliation of conflicting aims, of conflicting lines of action; conciliation of Jew to Jew.

All quotes are taken from Arthur Hertzberg, The Zionist Idea, New York: Athenaeum, 1959. Except for Hannah Senesh, taken from Four Centuries of Jewish Women's Spirituality Boston: Beacon, 1992.

Peula #3: What's Your Zionism (NFTY)

Touchstone Text: "Zionism has already brought about something remarkable, heretofore regarded as impossible: a close union between the ultra-modern and the ultra-conservative Jews...A union of this kind is possible only on a national basis." -- Theodor Herzl

Goals:

1. To have PP's understand the different branches of Zionism
2. To educate PP's and encourage them to identify their own beliefs about Zionism

Objectives:

1. PP's will learn about the different types of Zionism by listening to primary texts containing ideas of different Zionist thinkers.
2. By completing the program, PP's will be able to begin to identify their personal definition of Zionism
3. Through discussion, PP's will be able to identify the different types of Zionism.

Materials:

- Zionism Shopping list
- Zionist values (cut up for god shopping style)
- Pencils
- Zionism bucks (10 per chanich)
- Glue sticks (30)

People:

6 madrichim (Acting as the different Zionist thinkers)
1 Time keeper
All camp

Space Needed:

Big Hall

Timeline:

00:00-00:05 PP's enter Beit Am; Introduction from madrich about Zionism

00:05-00:15 World Zionist Convention Skit

00:15-00:20 Break up into groups

00:20-01:10 Zionist thinker rotations – Six Rotations (12 minutes each)

01:10- 01:30 Last Shopping Run

01:35- 01:40 Regroup

01:40-01:55 Wrap up

Detailed Procedure:

- i. (00:00-00:15) PP's will enter the Beit Am. In the front of the Beit Am, the different Zionist thinkers will be sitting in a circle

arguing over their different types of Zionism (Appendix C).

After arguing for some time, the thinkers will move to different parts around the room. After this, PP's will be handed the Zionist shopping list as well as ten "Zionist Bucks" to purchase the Zionist Statements (Appendix B)

- ii. (00:15-00:20) The PP's will be broken up into 6 groups (1 group per Zionist Thinker). In their first group, PP's will receive a Zionist shopping list and Zionist dollars. Each sheet will feature different aspects of a Zionist homeland that they must fill by using the different Zionist Philosophers.
- iii. (00:20-01:30) At each philosopher station the SL will describe their type of Zionism by reading a speech and describing the main points of their types of Zionism. (Appendix A). After reading the speech the SL will then read to the group what they are selling. SL will then ask questions to group about the SL type of Zionism
 1. What do you agree with in my platform?
 2. What do you disagree with?
(Time permitting)
 3. What do you think about my policy regarding religion in the Jewish State?
 4. Do you agree with me on views on how we treat others in our land?
 5. Is my policy correct in regards to how our country should be lead?
 6. What do you think about my policy regarding the Diaspora?

SL will then after the discussion sell their Zionism statements.
(Make sure that you have 2 minutes at the end of the rotation to sell the Zionist statements)

- iv. (01:30-01:40) Once groups have gone to every station they will have an additional 10 minutes to finish their Zionist Shopping list.
- v. (01:40-01:45) PP's will then create their own "statement of principles" regarding their own Zionist thought
- vi. (01:45-01:50) GL will then wrap up the program and talk about the importance of keeping an open mind to Zionism

Appendix A: Types of Zionism/Zionist Speeches

Reform Zionism: Yoffie

I am suggesting that religious Zionism and spiritual Zionism need to take their place alongside political Zionism as goals of the Zionist movement, and that in fact, at this moment, spiritual, cultural, and religious goals are primary. I am suggesting that the major Jewish problem of the modern era is: Why be Jewish? And that Zionism must address this question not only by establishing a Jewish state, but also by adapting and renewing Judaism for Jews everywhere, and by promoting expertise in Jewish tradition and sources. Zionists do not give up on any part of the Jewish people.

The Reform Zionist view is a relatively new one, as the traditional view of Reform and Progressive was originally "anti-zionist." Reform Zionism hopes to ensure the continued creative survival of the Jewish People wherever it may be. Reform Zionists believe that the State of Israel is the National home of *all* of the Jewish people. They believe that all Jews should have equal rights in Israel. Reform Zionists do not always see themselves as a nation, but more of a religious community, a "peoplehood" in a sense. They see that "Judaism is the soul of which Israel is the body."

Israeli and Diaspora Jewry are inter-dependent, responsible for one another, are partners in the shaping of Jewish destiny. However, they understand that Israeli and Diaspora Jewry should remain vibrant and interdependent communities. They urge Jews who reside outside Israel to learn Hebrew as a living language and to make periodic visits to Israel in order to study and to deepen their relationship to the Land and its people.

Political Zionism: Herzl

Well then? The Jews in their own state will likely have no more enemies, and in their prosperity they will decline and dwindle, so that the Jewish people will soon disappear altogether? I imagine that the Jews will always have sufficient enemies, just as every other nation. But once settled in their own land, they can never again be scattered all over the world. Let me once report my words: The Jews who will it shall achieve their state. We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and in our own home peacefully die.

Political Zionism is based on the model of a state for the Jews "like all the nations." This model comes in various shades of Western political philosophy. Assumptions are:

- We have always been an *am*, a people, and in today's terms we are also a *le'om*, a nation.
- The national home of the Jewish people is the Land of Israel. Our national language is Hebrew.
- In the modern age, our existence as an *am/le'om* is untenable because of
 - o Cultural and physical assimilation
 - o Anti-Semitism, which threatens our physical and economic existence

Political Zionism does not need to have a unique Jewish message. There is a connection between Judaism and Zionism.

Theodor Herzl, the father of Political Zionism, called for the establishment of a home for the Jewish people secured under public law in Palestine. Solving the problems of the Jews and the inability and/or lack of desire of many modern Nation States to fully accept the Jews in their midst. Political Zionists called for a Jewish state to protect Jews from anti-Semitism. Many Political Zionists didn't necessarily care where the Jewish state was, they just wanted a Jewish state.

The creation of the Jewish state in 1948 did not signify the end of the political and military struggle by and for the State. The peace process has dramatically exposed the irrelevance of Political Zionism. Some say that Political Zionism's aim has been achieved, and it is now just Pro-Israelism.

Labor Zionism: Borochov

This land will be the only one available to the Jews; and of all countries available for immigrants of all lands; this country will provide the line of greatest resistance. It will be a country of low cultural and political development. Big capital will hardly find use for itself there, while Jewish petty and middle capital will find a market for its products in both this country and its environs. This land of spontaneously concentrated Jewish immigration will be Palestine... Political territorial autonomy in Palestine is the ultimate aim of Zionism. The broadening and consolidation of the Jewish economic and cultural positions in Palestine will proceed at a rapid pace along with the above-mentioned processes. Parallel with the growth of economic independence will come the growth of political independence.

Labor Zionists identified so strongly with the "Progressive Socialist" regimes that in some cases they conceived of the Jewish National Home as only an intermediate step to a universalistic socialist utopia. Labor Zionists, who started the first kibbutzim in Israel, were motivated by a concern with social justice. For Labor Zionists, socialism was their "religion." Labor Zionists negated the particularistic Jewish Halacha tradition in favor of adaptation to various streams of universalist socialist ideology.

But, besides the socialist ideals, Labor Zionists also saw the need for a state and political power to protect themselves.

Nachman Syrkin, a co-founder of Labor Zionism said:

"Anti-Semitism was the result of unequal distribution of power in society. As long as society is based on might, and as long as the Jew is weak, anti-Semitism will exist." -

David Ben Gurion also saw that economic power was a prerequisite of political power. He foresaw that the fate of Zionist settlement in Palestine depended on the creation of a strong Jewish economy. This aim, he believed, could only be

accomplished through the creation of a Hebrew-speaking working class and a highly centralized Jewish economic structure.

Cultural Zionism: Ahad Ha-am (Asher Ginsberg)

The school of thought differs from those who claim to be the “real” Zionists in refusing to believe in the possibility of transferring all Jews in the world to Palestine, and consequently in refusing to accept the proposition that we cannot survive in the Diaspora. On the contrary, it holds that dispersion must remain a permanent feature of our life, which it beyond our power to eliminate, and therefore it insists that our national life in the Diaspora must be strengthened. But that object, it holds, can be attained only by the creation of a fixed center for our national life in the land of its birth.

Counterpoint to Herzl’s political Zionism, cultural Zionism was created by Ahad HaAm (One of the People), the son of a Hasidic rabbi. Ahad HaAm realized that a new meaning to Jewish life would have to be found for the younger generation of East European Jews who were revolting against traditional Jewish practice. The idea of a Jewish State “like all the other nations” is meaningless. The Jewish people in its own homeland will not be able to withstand external and internal pressures if it draws exclusively on political or practical Zionism. Instead, a national Jewish center is needed in order to guarantee the creative existence of the Jewish people *per se*. Judaism is the cultural expression of the Jewish people, and that the people and its culture are inseparable. Diaspora Jewry would continue to exist, and that the function of the Jewish center would be to preserve the quality of this existence.

Judaism “could no longer be contained within the limits of traditional religion.” Palestine should be established to revive the Jewish spirit and culture in the modern world. Ahad HaAm believed that by settling in that ancient land, religious Jews would replace their metaphysical attachment to the Holy Land with a new Hebrew cultural renaissance. Palestine and the Hebrew language were important not because of their religious significance but because they had been an integral part of the Jewish people’s history and cultural heritage. Jewish settlement in Palestine was a prerequisite to international support for a Jewish state.

Religious Zionism: Rav Kook

Eretz Israel is not something apart from the soul of the Jewish people; it is no mere national possession, serving as a means of unifying our people and buttressing its material, or even its spiritual, survival. Eretz Israel is part of the very essence of our nationhood; it is bound organically to its very life and inner being. Human reason even at its most sublime cannot begin to understand the unique holiness of Eretz Israel; it cannot stir the depths of love for the land that are dormant within our people. What Eretz Israel means to the Jew can be felt only throughout the Spirit of the Lord which is in our people as a whole, through the spiritual cast of the Jewish soul, which radiates its characteristic influence to every healthy emotion.

Religious Zionism is defined as a fusion of Jewish religion and nationhood. It aims to restore not only Jewish political freedom but also Jewish religion in the light of the

Torah and its commandments. Judaism based on the commandments is a *sin qua non* (an indispensable thing) for Jewish national life in the homeland.

One of the basic thoughts of Religious Zionism is "*Am Yisrael B'Eretz Israel al pi Torat Israel*" - the Jewish people in the Land of Israel living according to the Torah of Israel. Also, that religion and nationalism go hand in hand - they cannot be separated and distinguished. Jewish nationalism is incomplete without religion and the heritage of our forefathers. According to Religious Zionism, a Zionist is one who combines his Judaism and Zionism together. These two elements cannot be separated. Contrary to popular belief, Rav Kook was never a member of the Religious Zionist movement when it was associated with a completely secular organization, rather, his Zionism was based completely on complete religious observance.

Revisionist Zionism: Jabontinsky

Contrary to the excellent rule of getting to the point immediately, I must begin this article with a personal introduction. The author of these lines is considered to be an enemy of the Arabs, a proponent of their expulsion, etc. This is not true. My emotional relationship to the Arabs is the same as it is to all other peoples – polite indifference. My political relationship is characterized by two principles. First: the expulsion of the Arabs from Palestine is absolutely impossible in any form. There will always be two nations in Palestine – which is good enough for me, provided the Jews become the majority. Second: I am proud to have been a member of that group which formulated the Helsingfors Program. We formulated it, not only for Jews, but for all peoples, and its basis is the equality of all nations. I am prepared to swear, for us and our descendants, that we will never destroy this equality and we will never attempt to expel or oppress the Arabs. Our credo, as the reader can see, is completely peaceful. But it is absolutely another matter if it will be possible to achieve our peaceful aims through peaceful means. This depends, not on our relationship with the Arabs, but exclusively on the Arabs' relationship to Zionism.

Vladimir Jabontinsky first developed the idea of Revisionist Zionism. It was meant to be a revision of the practical Zionism of David Ben Gurion and Chaim Weitzman. Revisionist Zionists used violence against the British in the hopes of winning a Jewish State. In 1935 during the WZO the Revisionist Zionists left the congress and formed their own congress after their ideas were not being heard by the congress. The Revisionists created a national messianist movement to gain religious support and became a terrorist organization. The goal of this branch was to form a corporatist and religious society. Revisionist Zionists wanted a Jewish state on both sides of the Jordan River. In the state they wanted it to be ruled by a liberal democracy. Jabontinsky advocated for the Jewish settlers once the state was formed to fight against the Arabs. Revisionist Zionism did not really talk about the Diaspora except that the Revisionists tried to gain as much support from them as possible.

Appendix B: Blank Zionism Shopping list

At each Zionist thinker, you will be able to purchase different statements to fill your Zionism Shopping list. You are to purchase the statements from the Zionist thinkers that you feel best complete the following statements on Zionism.

1. We should establish a homeland by...
2. I believe we must have our own land because...
3. I believe that our culture should be preserved in this way...
4. I believe that we should look at the Diaspora in this regard...
5. I believe other religions in our homeland should be...
6. I believe we must establish a homeland in...
7. I believe we should treat the international community in this way...
8. I believe Judaism should play this role in our society...
9. I believe our government should be ruled by...
10. The Zionist Thinker I agree with the most is...

Zionism Shopping

Cultural

1. We should establish a homeland by settling in the land of Palestine, even before there is international support for a Jewish State.
2. I believe we must have our own land because we need to revive our culture.
3. I believe that our culture should be preserved by reconnecting to our land and history and establishing a new Jewish renaissance.
4. I believe that we should look at the Diaspora as continuing to exist, but the quality of Jewish life in the Diaspora will be improved by having a Jewish State.
5. I believe other religions in our homeland should be tolerated, but the emphasis should be on Jewish life and culture.
6. I believe we must establish a homeland in Palestine because the land is integral to our history and culture.
7. I believe we should treat the international community with respect in order to enhance our own cultural standing.
8. I believe Judaism should continue to be main cultural expression of our society.
9. I believe our government should be ruled by Jewish values and ideals, but not religious law
10. The Zionist Thinker I agree with the most is Ahad HaAm.

Revisionist Zionism

1. We should establish a homeland by... Fighting and doing whatever is necessary
2. I believe we must have our own land because... we must have a land to be protected
3. I believe that our culture should be preserved in this way... We should fight to prevent outsiders from coming in to the state of Israel
4. I believe that we should look at the Diaspora in this regard... it is less important than the Jewish State but still plays a roll as supporting the Jewish State
5. I believe other religions in our homeland should be... not allowed
6. I believe we must establish a homeland in... the land we were given in the Torah
7. I believe we should treat the international community in this way... we should fight against our enemies and gain support from other nations
8. I believe Judaism should play this role in our society... as the basis for our society but not a part of the government
9. I believe our government should be ruled by... a liberal democracy
10. The Zionist Thinker I agree with the most is... Vladimir Jabontinsky

Political Zionism

1. We should establish a homeland by... working with the international community to create a Jewish state secured by public law.
2. I believe we must have our own land because... we cannot defend the existence of our people due to assimilation in non-Jewish states and Anti-Semitism.
3. I believe that our culture should be preserved in this way... creating a Jewish state secured by public law.
4. I believe that we should look at the Diaspora in this regard... we should take no action on the Diaspora and allow it to organize itself in the Jewish state
5. I believe other religions in our homeland should be... nothing should be done with other religions, just let them be.
6. I believe we must establish a homeland in... ideally Palestine, but the Jewish state can be anywhere, so long as there is a Jewish state.
7. I believe we should treat the international community in this way... work with the international community to see this dream become a reality.
8. I believe Judaism should play this role in our society... it must be known that we have a Jewish state, however that is the only role Judaism will play.
9. I believe our government should be ruled by... the people of the Jewish state.
10. The Zionist Thinker I agree with the most is... Theodor Herzl

Reform

1. We should establish a homeland by... creating a haven for *all* Jews.
2. I believe we must have our own land because... it will continue the survival of the Jewish people.
3. I believe that our culture should be preserved... by having both Israeli and Diaspora Jewry remain vibrant and interdependent communities.
4. I believe that we should look at the Diaspora in this regard... the Diaspora Jewry and Israeli Jewry are partners in the shaping of Jewish destiny.
5. I believe other religions in our homeland should be... allowed to live there as long as it is still safe for all Jews.
6. I believe we must establish a homeland in... Israel – the national homeland of *all* the Jewish people.
7. I believe we should treat the international community in this way... by working together with other countries to preserve the safety of the Middle East.
8. I believe Judaism should play this role in our society... Judaism should “update itself” to work with modern times and current cultural, but not become secularized.
9. I believe our government should be ruled by... a Democratically-elected pluralistic government.
10. The Zionist Thinker I agree with the most is... Rabbi Eric H. Yoffie

Religious Zionism

1. We should establish a homeland by...having generations of Jews make Aliya to Zion. As Jews move into Zion, we will settle the land as God intended.
2. I believe we must have our own land because... the land of Israel (Eretz Yisrael) was given to the ancient Israelites by [God](#), the right of the Jews to that land is permanent and inalienable. To generations of Diaspora Jews, Zion has been a symbol of the Holy Land and of their return to it, as promised by God in Biblical prophecies
3. I believe that our culture should be preserved in this way...by remembering and holding true the cultural notions of our religious forefathers.
4. I believe that we should look at the Diaspora in this regard...while it is an important aspect to world Jewry, Diaspora Jews should make aliya as instructed in the Torah.
5. I believe other religions in our homeland should be...tolerated; however, it is the Jewish ideals on which Zion must be settled – with the halakhah of God in mind.
6. I believe we must establish a homeland in...the Holy land of Zion!
7. I believe we should treat the international community in this way...accept the Jews of the international community into our country as religious settlers. Otherwise, if they don't bother us, we won't bother them.
8. I believe Judaism should play this role in our society...an intensive and complete role. This society exists because of the concepts established in Gods law.
9. I believe our government should be ruled by...the religious Jews
10. The Zionist Thinker I agree with the most is...Rav Kook!

Labor

1. We should establish a homeland by... creating a universalistic socialist utopia.
2. I believe we must have our own land because... we need to protect the Jewish people from Anti-Semitism.
3. I believe that our culture should be preserved in this way... working in the land of Israel.
4. I believe that we should look at the Diaspora in this regard... they are encouraged to move to Israel to enhance the land and its people.
5. I believe other religions in our homeland should be... allowed only if they contribute to the Jewish economy.
6. I believe we must establish a homeland in... Israel, so that it can be a model for other nations.
7. I believe we should treat the international community in this way... we should encourage them to support Israel and add to its economy.
8. I believe Judaism should play this role in our society... Jewish Halacha tradition should never step in the way of socialist ideology.
9. I believe our government should be ruled by... social ideals.
10. The Zionist Thinker I agree with the most is... Ber Borochov

Appendix C: Intro Skit

6 Zionist leaders are sitting around at the World Zionist Congress arguing about forming the state of Israel.

Characters:

Yoffie (Reform)

Herzl (Political)

Borochov (Labor)

Ahad HaAm (Cultural)

Kook (Religious)

Jabontinsky (Revisionist)

Herzl: It is my pleasure to call the all-star team of the WZO meeting to order. I'd now like to take roll, my name is Theodor Herzl, and I represent the Political Zionists.

Kook: Rav Kook, here for God. And by God, I mean the Religious Zionists.

HaAm: God was not invited to this meeting! We're here to start a country, not a religion. I'm Ahad HaAm, meaning One of the People, representing the Cultural Zionists.

Borochov: This isn't a democracy! Everyone should have their own voice in here. We need to be listening to each other!

Yoffie: Um, excuse me, but you were the only one talking, Borochov.

Borochov: Um, eh, well, fine! I am Ber Borochov from the Labor Zionists.

Herzl: Wait, who was that other guy that just spoke?

Yoffie: I am Rabbi Eric Yoffie I represent the Reform Zionists.

Jabontinsky: I am Vladimir Jabontinsky, a Revisionist Zionist. We need to get down to work – our enemies are surrounding us as we speak!

Herzl: Maybe we should talk to them before we declare them as enemies.

Kook: Well God *did* say that it was *our* land...

HaAm: But I don't believe that we should kick out people who are already living there. They have a right to live!

Borochov: Unless they get in the way of our building a homeland.

Yoffie: I think we should open up a dialogue with these "enemies."

Herzl: The point of this meeting isn't to open up a dialogue with us and foreigners, its to create a Jewish state.

Kook: In the Promised Land!

HaAm: Shouldn't we be speaking in Hebrew since that *is* the language of our people?

Borochov: I think what's important is that we immediately begin to settle the land and create an economy so that Anti-Semitism cannot squash us.

Herzl: We need to get this done so that we can begin our talks with the international community about forming a Jewish homeland.

Jabontinsky: We need action before we need anything else.

Yoffie: I believe we need to discuss with ourselves what the goals are of this meeting.

HaAm: Let me just interject – we need to make sure that this country keep's Judaism's vibrant culture.

Kook: I'm perfectly fine with that, just as long as these "cultural" things are ancient artifacts and the land that was destined for us.

Herzl: I really think that the survival of the Jewish *people* is the most important here. You know, I was recently looking at some real estate in other countries.

Borochov: No. We need this land.

Jabontinsky: We haven't done anything at this meeting! I'm leaving and forming my own Zionist organization. *Jabontinsky walks offstage.*

Herzl: It seems that we should all decide for ourselves what we want as a Jewish state and how we should form it. I guess this meeting is adjourned.

Peula #4: Is Zionism Still Relevant? (Netzer Australia)

Aim: to explore the relevance of Zionism in today's day and age both on a personal level and on a movement level, incorporating the views of post-Zionism

Method:

Trigger (5 mins)

3 seconds to assume a position that has to do with a word the Madrich says (finish with the word "Zionism" to introduce the topic)

Short discussions (10-15 mins)

Split into groups of 3 or 4 and discuss each of the topics the madrich give for about 2 mins. Report back to group after each one.

- What does pro-Israel mean (as opposed to Zionism)?
- Are we in exile?
- Today, can you separate between Judaism and Israel? Do anti-Zionists separate between them?
- Do you think modern Israelis define themselves as Jewish first or Israeli first?

Tape measure

Draw an imaginary line along the ground. Chanichim place themselves on it according to how strongly Zionist they are. Then split them down the middle for the ensuing activity.

Debate (20/30 mins)

- Is Zionism still relevant? The group at the strongly Zionist end of the scale argues yes, the other group argues no. They have 10-15 mins to prepare their argument as a group. They receive as a reference the aims of classical Zionism (attached in the appendix of the peula).
- At the end of preparation time each group elects one speaker. They speak in turn and then allow the other team to question/ challenge them.
- After both teams have spoken the madrich presents the post-Zionism point of view. "Post-Zionism refers to the opinions of some Israelis, diaspora Jews and others, particularly in academia, that Zionism has fulfilled its ideological mission with the creation of the modern State of Israel in 1948, and that Zionist ideology should therefore be considered at an end."

Sikkum (as long as it needs)

Read out a couple of quotes (Gabbi Wolf, PBA, stats on Israeli Arabs etc.) and discuss as a group:

- is there a contradiction between some of Netzer's values and some of Israel's Zionist policies?

- how do we uphold our values as Zionists?

- is this something we as Netzer should formally address?

(And then maybe a game of first impressions cos its cool and Melbourne ppl don't know it J)

tziyud:

paper and pens for each team

x2 aims of classical Zionism

The aims of classical Zionism:

1. establish a sovereign Jewish state
2. provide a refuge for the Jews where they would be safe from persecution
3. the ingathering of the exiles
4. revival of Judaism and Jewish culture

The aims of classical Zionism:

1. establish a sovereign Jewish state
2. provide a refuge for the Jews where they would be safe from persecution
3. the ingathering of the exiles
4. revival of Judaism and Jewish culture

Quotes for discussion:

The PBA states as one of the aims of Zionism: "the strengthening of the state of Israel based on the prophetic vision of justice and peace"

"we also feel the responsibility to pursue those issues which affect the social order in Israel." (PBA, Netzer Zionist principles)

"We believe that the world can and should be improved through the pursuit of justice, freedom, equality, charity and humanitarianism" (PBA, Tikkun)

(following info provided by Mohammed Derawshe at a seminar in Givat Chaviva)

National Israeli unemployment rate 8%

Israeli-Arab unemployment rate 23% (2001)

Percentage of national population living below poverty line 20%

Percentage of Israeli-Arab population below poverty line 52% (2001)

Israeli-Arab mortality rate for infants x3 national infant mortality rate (2001)

"the state of Israel is based on values, some of which (such as... the racism that is at the basis of the justification for the existence of the state of Israel in its current form)

clash very strongly with my values" (Gabby Wolf, conscientious objector to conscription into the IDF)

Index of Sources and Resources used in the production of this Hoveret

Websites -

Netzer Websites:

www.netzerolami.org (Netzer Olami's website)

www.netzer.org.au (Netzer Australia)

www.rsy-netzer.co.uk (Netzer RSY Britain)

www.ljy-netzer.org (Netzer LJY Britain)

www.nfty.org (NFTY)

www.noartelem.org.il (Noar Telem, Israel)

www.netzer.org.za (Netzer South Africa)

www.upj-netzer.de (UpJ Netzer Germany)

Other Websites:

www.urj.org (The website of the URJ, the umbrella body for Reform Judaism in the USA)

www.ccarnet.org (The Website of the Central Conference of American Rabbis)

www.reformjudaism.org.uk (The Website of the Movement for Reform Judaism, the governing body of Reform Judaism in the UK)

<http://www.liberaljudaism.org/> (The Website of Liberal Judaism, the governing body of Liberal Judaism in the UK)

Books:

- The All You Need To Know About Netzer Book Book *John Glaser et al.*
- A Reform Zionist Perspective, *Michael Langer*
- Reform Zionism Twenty Years On, *Michael Langer*

Other Sources and Resources that might be helpful

General info

- <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/>
- <http://en.wikipedia.org>
- www.jewfaq.org
- www.myjewishlearning.com
- <http://rj.org>

Zionism and Israel

- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zionism> (thorough and extensive overview of origins and development of Zionism)
- <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel> (overview of creation and evolution of Israel)
- http://www.jewishagency.org/JewishAgency/English/Jewish+Education/Eye+on+Israel/Story_Zionism/#top (excellent summary of pre-state Zionism)
- <http://countrystudies.us/israel> (good overview)
- www.us-israel.org/jsource/zion.html (good overview)
- http://www.irac.org/we2_e.html (Israel Religious Action Centre, the advocacy arm of Progressive Judaism in Israel)
- www.haaretz.com (moderate left wing newspaper)
- <http://www.economist.com/countries/Israel/> (superb site with generally neutral views on historical and current affairs, informative)
- <http://www.bitterlemons.org/> (on the Israeli Palestinian conflict)
- <http://www.honestreporting.com/> (right wing reporting)
- <http://www.memri.org/> (Translations of Arab reporting)
- <http://www.jpost.com/> (moderate right wing newspaper)
- <http://www.israel-mfa.gov.il/mfa/> (general Israel info, politics and news)
- <http://www.wzo.org.il/en/resources/> (articles on Zionism and Israel)
- <http://www.mideastweb.org/>

Reform Organizations

- <http://ccarnet.org/>
- <http://rj.org>
- <http://urj.org>
- <http://www.rac.org>
- <http://urj.org/csa/>
- www.kechernet.com
- <http://wupj.org/home/index.html>
- <http://www.reform.org.il>

Israel and Reform Judaism

- <http://arza.org>
- <http://www.arzenu.org.il/>
- <http://www.reform.org.il/English/default.htm>
- http://www.irac.org/index_e.asp
- <http://wrj.rj.org/reso/zionism.html> (Reform Judaism's changing Zionist stance)
- <http://www.reform.org.il/English/About/ProgressiveJudaismAndZionism.htm> (challenges of Progressive Jewry in Israel)
- http://www.nfty.org/resources/rc/ai_israel/platforms_on_zionism/ (Reform Judaism and Zionism's changing relationship)

Publications

- <http://www.reformjudaismmag.net>

Books

- Reform Zionism – Twenty Years – Michael Livni
- The Encyclopedia Judaica, 1972
- *Zionism: The First 120 Years* – Mordechai Naor
- *The All You Ever Wanted to Know About Netzer Book Book*

- *For the Sake of Zion – An Educator’s Guide* – Tuvia Book
- *The Time chart History of Jewish Civilization* – Trudy Gold