

Hayim Katsman

Reactions Towards Jewish Radicalism

Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburg and Religious Zionism

Introduction

For the past four years I have been working as a car mechanic in a garage located in southern Israel. One of the things I enjoy in my work is the ability to identify trends in local public opinion based on the stickers that appear on car bumpers. For example, I could reckon the population is normally passive and tends to adopt the motto “*Trust in God,*” but in times of war “*We are a firm cliff – In combat and on the home front.*” Among the customers were residents of three Religious-Zionist communities populated mostly by evacuees from Gush Katif. One day, I began to notice several red-and-yellow stickers appearing on car bumpers of drivers from the religious settlements, bearing the words “*Jews love Jews*”. The implicit racism and the muted violence emanating from the stickers fascinated me, and I sought to trace their source. When I examined one sticker closely, I saw that there was an Internet address leading to the website of the “Derech-Chaim” movement. A tour of the movement’s website revealed that it wishes “to bring about a fundamental change in the public sphere of the Jewish people”¹ following the vision of the movement’s president, Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg.

Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg is an American-born rabbi, associated with Chabad-Hassidism. After his immigration to Israel in 1965 he got close to radical-right circles and became head of the “Od Yosef Chay” Yeshiva in Nablus (currently in the Yitzhar settlement). He is publicly known for his racist statements and his alleged support of violence towards Arabs, which resulted in several arrests and the accusation of incitement (though he was never convicted).² I have previously heard Ginzburg’s name from references across the media that presented him as a radical and dangerous rabbi, preaching violence against Palestinians. Therefore, I was under the impression that he is a rabbi who represents only neg-

1 “Beruchim haBaim leTnu’at ‘Derech Haim’” (“Welcome to ‘Derech Chaim’ Movement”), Derech Chaim, accessed July 28 2017, <http://www.derech-chaim.org/>

[תנועת דרך חיים קמה על מנת לחולל שינוי יסודי במרחב הציבורי של עם ישראל.]

2 Natan Odenheimer, “The Kabbalist Who Would Be King of a New Jewish Monarchy in Israel”, *Forward*, October 14 2016, accessed July 28 2017, <http://forward.com/news/352016/the-kabbalist-who-would-be-king-of-a-new-jewish-monarchy-in-israel/>.

ligible radical margins of Religious Zionism, if at all. This dissonance has left me puzzled – how come these seemingly moderate customers support a political movement led by such a radical rabbi?

This experience motivated me to research the ideological and political shifts Religious Zionism has undergone during the past century, and try to understand the psychological and political processes evoking Religious-Zionist reactions to Rabbi Ginzburg.³ In this paper, I wish to use the case of Rabbi Ginzburg to demonstrate how two seemingly contradictory theologies can lead to supporting the same modes of practical action. I intend to analyze Rabbi Ginzburg's political thought while comparing it to the Religious-Zionist political-theology of the "Merkaz haRrav" school, as well as its expressions in public statements made by key figures in the contemporary Religious-Zionist society. Although at first it may seem there are substantial disparities between Rabbi Ginzburg's theology and the viewpoints of most Religious-Zionists, I suggest a more nuanced approach, distinguishing Ginzburg's theology from the practical aspects of his thought. My analysis of Ginzburg's theology, emphasizing its Kabbalistic-Hassidic origins, shows its substantial divergence from "Merkaz haRrav" theology. However, a close examination of the practical aspects in Rabbi Ginzburg's thought reveal that the modes of political action he suggests are similar to those expressed by prominent Religious-Zionist Rabbis.

The phenomenon described in this paper can illuminate extremist political trends taking place within contemporary Religious Zionism. The fact that Religious Zionism's criticism of Rabbi Ginzburg focuses on the practical aspects of his thought, rather than on his theology, suggests the existence of a displacement mechanism among Religious Zionism. Constructing Rabbi Ginzburg as an extremist plays a political role in national politics, aimed at broadening the legitimization of Religious-Zionist ideas. Therefore, the existence of the displacement mechanism indicates a political tactic used by Religious Zionism, in their struggle for hegemony in Israel.

³ Hayim Katsman, "'Pachad Yitzchak': Yachasah Shel haTziyonut haDatit laRav Yitzchak Ginzburg" ("The Fear of Isaac": The Religious-Zionist Reaction to Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg) (M.A. Thesis, Ben-Gurion University in the Negev, 2017).

Public Criticism of Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg

Due to his identification with the Israeli radical right and his alleged support for acts of violence and “price tag”⁴ actions against Palestinians and security forces, Rabbi Ginzburg is the subject of severe criticism across Israeli society. He was the focus of several public storms concerning “Jewish terror.” “Od Yosef Chay” Yeshiva in Yitzhar, where Ginzburg serves as its president, was closed down and held by Border Police forces in 2011, and Ginzburg himself was arrested and interrogated several times regarding accusations of incitement. For this reason, Rabbi Ginzburg is an undesirable personality in many institutions. For example, when in December 2015 Rabbi Ginzburg’s followers sought to hold an event at the Tel Aviv Culture Palace, resistance arose among the city’s liberal residents who protested against Ginzburg’s arrival at the event. A demonstration was held at outside the venue, attended by representatives of the “Meretz” party, “Peace Now”, “Free Israel”, and other liberal left-wing organizations. Mickey Gitzin, a member of the Tel Aviv City Council and director of the “Free Israel” Movement, was interviewed on the radio regarding the subject and said:

You must understand that Rabbi Ginzburg is the head of “Od Yosef Chay” yeshiva in Yitzhar, which is the place generating the “hilltop youth”, the “price tag” people, and so on. Many of the most problematic activities that exist today in the territories [...] he [Rabbi Ginzburg, H.K.] is the man spiritually behind them, everyone knows it, everyone is aware of it, and yet he is accepted as any other person or as a Kabbalistic expert in the Tel Aviv Culture Palace [...] I want to ask – where do the secret services and the police stand on these issues? [...] They know exactly who Rabbi Ginzburg is. This is dangerous, it has very clear social implications for Israeli society.⁵

4 “Price tag” is the name used to describe acts of vandalism and terrorism carried out by Jewish settlers, aimed mostly against Palestinian civilians and Israeli security forces. Nadera Shalhoub-Kevorkian and Yossi David, “Is the Violence of Tag Mehir a State Crime?” *British Journal of Criminology* 56, no. 5 (2015): 839–841.

5 “Mankal ‘Israel Chofshit’ Neged HaRav Yitzchak Ginzburg: ‘Hu Lo Yachol Lekabel Bama Bekol Makom’” (CEO of ‘Free Israel’ Movement Against Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg: “He Can’t Get a Stage Anywhere”), Radio 103FM, originally broadcasted November 30 2015, accessed July 28 2017, <http://103fm.maariv.co.il/programs/media.aspx?ZrqnVq=GHIDMK&c41t4nzVQ=EE> (Hebrew, -translation mine).

[צריך להבין, הרב גינזבורג עומד בישיבת 'עוד יוסף חיי' ביצ'הר שבימים אלו ממש היא המקום ממנו יוצאים אותם 'נערי גבעות', אנשי 'תג מחיר' וכו'. הרבה מהפעילות הבעייתית ביותר שמתקיימת היום בשטחים... הוא האיש שבעצם עומד מאחוריה ברמה הרוחנית, כולם יודעים את זה, כולם מודעים לזה, והוא מתקבל כאחד האדם או כמקובל בהיכל התרבות בתל-אביב... אני רוצה לשאול איפה השב"כ ואיפה המשטרה בסוגיות האלה... הם הרי יודעים בדיוק מי זה הרב גינזבורג... הדבר הזה הוא מסוכן, יש לו השלכות חברתיות מאוד מאוד ברורות על החברה הישראלית]

Notwithstanding the fierce criticism from left-wing organizations and public figures, Rabbi Ginzburg is also surprisingly the object of criticism directed from the religious-messianic right, which seems to advance goals similar to his. The main accusation of the Religious-Zionists towards Rabbi Ginzburg is that he grants halakhic legitimacy to “price tag” actions, thus laying down a “theological/ideological infrastructure” for those operations. For example, Yehuda Yifrah, a resident of Ofrah Settlement and the legal correspondent of the Religious-Zionist newspaper “Makor Rishon”, claims that the “price tag” acts cast a serious threat on the settlement movement, Religious Zionism’s flagship enterprise:

It happened in Yitzhar during the intermediate days of Pesach. Twenty years after the publication of the ‘Baruch Hagever’ booklet⁶ [...] Rabbi Ginzburg sketched theological and philosophical outlines justifying the ‘price tag’ acts [...] This seems to be the first time that a thinker of the status of Rabbi Yitzhak Ginzburg directly refers to the specific phenomenon of ‘price tag’ acts and makes sense of it. Therefore, there is no real vacuum [...] For a long time now the tire-slashers, the graffiti sprayers and the mosques arsonists are using a great headache not only to the Jewish unit of the Shin Bet security service and the people of the Prime Minister’s Office. Even in Yesha Council’s⁷ leadership, these anarchists constitute a grave and almost existential threat to the entire settlement enterprise [...] Behind the events that drive the country crazy there is a cohesive worldview with direction and purpose.⁸

In an interview I have conducted with a rabbi leading an urban-bourgeois Religious-Zionist community, he expressed criticism towards Rabbi Ginzburg and his movement and accused him of organizing the youth who carry out “price tag” actions:

⁶ ‘*Baruch HaGever*’ (Baruch the Man) is a booklet based on a talk given by Rabbi Ginzburg, in which he defended the acts of Jewish terrorist Baruch Goldstein, who had massacred twenty-nine Palestinian worshippers in the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron.

⁷ Yesha Council is an umbrella organization of municipal councils of Jewish settlements in the West Bank.

⁸ “*Hamaniifest HaDati Meachorei Tag Mechir: ‘Chevley Leyda Shel Am Chadash’*” (The Religious Manifesto Behind ‘Price Tag’: ‘The Birth of a New Nation’), accessed July 28 2017, <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/11/ART2/575/555.html> (Hebrew, translation mine).

[זה קרה ביצהר בחול המועד פסח. עשרים שנה לאחר פרסומה של החוברת “ברוך הגבר”... שרטט הרב גינבורג לראשונה קווי מתאר תיאולוגיים ותיאוסופיים להצדקת מעשי תג המחיר... נדמה שזו הפעם הראשונה שבה הוגה בסדר הגודל של הרב יצחק גינבורג מתייחס ישירות לתופעה הספציפית של מעשי תג מחיר ומכיל אותה. אז אין באמת ואקום... המפנצ'רים, מרססי הגרפיטי ושורפי דלתות המסגדים, הם מוזמן לא רק כאב ראש גדול לחטיבה היהודית בשב"כ ולאנשי משרד ראש הממשלה. גם בתפיסתה של הנהגת יש"ע מהווים האנרכיסטים איום תדמיתי ופוליטי חמור, קיומי כמעט, על מפעל ההתיישבות כולו... מאחורי האירועים שמשגעים את המדינה יש תפיסת עולם מגובשת עם כיוון ועם יעד.]

What Rabbi Ginzburg does is collect all kinds of punks, people who lack any ability to read seriously, and he sweeps them with very impressive avant-garde statements [...] they [the Israeli society] only know the 'hilltop youth', but the hilltop youth are a bunch of unbridled criminals [...] It turns out to be a bunch of punks, 30–40 guys, doped to the top of their heads, their small society suffers from sexual promiscuity and antinomianism, totally discarding all values of religion and morality, and the way they justify their minimalist existence is by abusing Arabs. They are rejected by Religious Zionism, everyone sees them as a bunch of psychos [...] By the way, Rabbi Ginzburg himself will not publicly support these actions (though he probably does it secretly) because he's smart, so you see it's a fiction, there's really no avant-garde [...]⁹

Maybe the most prominent Religious-Zionist opponent to Rabbi Ginzburg is Dr. Gadi Gevaryahu, founder of "Tag Meir" Forum, which brings together dozens of civil society organizations in order to "express a voice of tolerance, mutual respect and respect for neighbors, foreigners and those living within us."¹⁰ In an broadcast about the forum on Channel 10 News, the narrator describes Gevaryahu as "A person full of contradictions, Gadi Gevaryahu. He defines himself as a Religious-Zionist, he has one son who is a key activist in 'Breaking the Silence'¹¹, and another son who studies in the pre-military academy 'Atzmonah'.¹² A man of God who went to war with senior rabbis, along with Arab sheikhs he considers friends."¹³ In response to the reporter's question about the extent of organization behind the "price tag" actions, Gevaryahu replies unequivocally:

9 It should be noted that the rabbi acknowledges that the clear majority of "hilltop youth" are not identified with Rabbi Ginzburg, yet he claims that there are students of Rabbi Ginzburg engaged in "price tag" activities (although probably a minority among students). Interview with Religious-Zionist rabbi, May 2016.

[מה שהרב גינזבורג עושה זה מלקט כל מיני פרחחים, אנשים שהם חסרי הבנה, חסרי כל יכולת לעיון רציני, והוא סוחף אותם באמירות אוונגרדיות מאוד מרשימות... מה שהם (החברה הישראלית) מכירים זה את "נוער הגבעות", אבל נוער הגבעות זו חבורה של עבריינים נטולי כל רסן... הסתבר שמדובר בחבורה של פרחחים, 30–40 חברים, מסוממים על הראש, שהחברה הקטנה שלהם סובלת מהוללות מינית ומאנטינומיזם, פקיעה מוחלטת של כל ערכי הדת והמוסר, והדרך להצדקת קיומם המינימליסטית היא על ידי התעללות בערבים. חברה שהציונות הדתית דוחה אותה מקרבה, כולם רואים אותם כחבורה של פסיכים... דרך אגב גם הרב גינזבורג בעצמו בפומבי לא יצהיר על תמיכה בתג מחיר (בנסתר הוא בוודאי עושה את זה), פשוט כי הוא חכם. אז אתה קולט שזו פיקציה, אין באמת אוונגרד]

10 "HaHazon Shelanu" [Our Vision], *Tag Meir*, accessed July 28 2017, / (Hebrew, translation mine).

[פורום תג מאיר נוסד בחג החנוכה תשע"ב במטרה להשמיע קול של סובלנות, כבוד הדדי ומאור פנים כלפי שכנים, זרים וגרים בתוכנו]

11 An Israeli non-governmental organization identified with the radical left.

12 An institution identified with the messianic Religious-Zionist stream.

13 "Hadatiyim Sheme'achorey 'Tag Mechir' Nechsafim" [Revealing the religious people behind 'Tag Meir'], *Channel 10 news*, broadcasted September 19 2015, accessed October 22 2017, <http://news.nana10.co.il/Article/?ArticleID=1148983> (Hebrew, translation mine)

It's true that in 2009 the first mosque set on fire in the village of Yasuf was labeled "price tag", and since then 43 mosques, churches and monasteries have been torched and/or desecrated [...] They always caught the small fish; without the permission of rabbis, it would not have been done. There is a book, there is a booklet, there is a series of talks discussing the connection between the King Messiah and revenge. To anyone who wondered why the graffiti of "Long live King Messiah!" was in Duma – there is a series of talks about it.¹⁴

After this statement the figure of Rabbi Ginzburg is presented, accompanied by a threatening melody, and the narrator reports: "Rabbi Yitzhak Ginzburg is considered the supreme spiritual authority from which "price tag" people derive their halakhic justification for their activities. The head of "Od Yosef Chay" yeshiva in Yitzhar is really into matters of revenge."¹⁵

Accordingly, in a report published by the "Tag Meir" Forum concerning incitement by religious leaders (both Jews and Arabs) Rabbi Ginzburg is characterized as a radical rabbi inciting the extreme right in Israel:

Since 2009, Israel has been subjected to a wave of hate crimes and racism, including the desecration of Muslim and Christian prayer houses, assaults on innocent Arab passersby on the streets of Israel, and the murder of innocent Arabs [...] Rabbi Yitzhak Ginzburg is the main ideologue behind the wave of hate crimes known as 'price tag'.¹⁶

On these grounds, it seems there is strong criticism within Israeli society towards Rabbi Ginzburg, rejecting his political views and the violence which he allegedly advocates. The source of the Israeli left's criticism seems to be evident, since the religious-messianic right and the Israeli left have a fundamental ideological dis-

[אדם מלא ניגודים גדי גבריהו, הוא מגדיר את עצמו "איש הציונות הדתית, יש לו בן אחד פעיל מרכזי ב'שוברים שתיקה' ומנגד, בן אחר שלומד במכינה הקדם צבאית 'עצמונה'. איש ירא שמיים שיצא למלחמת חורמה ברבנים בכירים כשלצידו שיח'ים ערבים שאותם הוא מגדיר חברי נפש]

14 Ibid.

[נכון שב2009 היה המסגד הראשון שהוצת בכפר יאסוף וכתבו עליו "תג מחיר", ומאז 43 מסגדים, כנסיות, מנזרים הוצתו ו/או חוללו... תמיד תפסו את דגי הרקק, ללא אישור של רבנים זה לא היה נעשה. יש ספר, יש חוברת, יש סדרת שיעורים שעוסקת בקשר שבין המלך המשיח והנקמה. לכל מי שתהה מה עושה הכתובת 'יחי המלך המשיח!' בדומא – יש על זה סדרת שיעורים]

15 Ibid.

[הרב יצחק גינזבורג נחשב לסמכות הרוחנית הבכירה שממנה יונקים אנשי תג מחיר את ההצדקה ההלכתית לפעילותם. ראש ישיבת 'עוד יוסף חי' ביצהר חזק מאוד בענייני נקמה]

16 "Doch Anshei Dat Mesitim" [Report on incitement by religious figures], *Tag Meir*, Accessed October 22 2017. <https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B7LRHq6GBTfwMmdKWGVGNzdJVjA/view> (Hebrew, translation mine)

[החל משנת 2009 פוקד את ישראל גל של פשעי שנאה וגזענות המתבטא בחילול בתי תפילה מוסלמים ונוצרים, פגיעה ותקיפה של עוברי אורח ערבים חפי מפשע ברחובות ישראל ורצח של ערבים חפים מפשע... הרב יצחק גינזבורג, נשיא מוסדות עוד יוסף חי, הוא האידיאולוג הראשי העומד מאחורי גל פשעי השנאה המכונה תגי מחיר]

pute and the left constantly criticizes radical messianic rabbis of Rabbi Ginzburg's sort. However, the source of Religious-Zionist criticism on Rabbi Ginzburg is not clear, since, as I will demonstrate, the actions that Rabbi Ginzburg publicly calls for are not substantially different from those other Religious-Zionist rabbis call for.

Religious Zionism, the “Merkaz Harav” School, and Rabbi Ginzburg

Due to its central role in Israeli politics and its great impact on Israeli society, there is extensive academic work regarding the Religious-Zionist movement. These studies describe the historical and theological-ideological developments the movement underwent and particularly its significant transformation during the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁷ Specifically, researchers focus on Gush Emunim, a messianic social movement formed to renew Jewish settlement in the territories occupied by Israel in the 1967 War, whose founders were Religious-Zionist activists. The movement's members were ideologically affiliated with the “Merkaz Harav” school, influenced by Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook and his son Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook (most of Gush Emunim's founders were his disciples), which has become the dominant ideology among Religious Zionism over the past few decades, due to Gush Emunim's success.

A comprehensive and groundbreaking study of the roots of Gush Emunim as a religious movement was carried out in a PhD dissertation written by Gideon Aran, “From Religious Zionism to Zionist Religion.”¹⁸ Aran discusses the unique religious idea promoted by the movement, along with an in-depth account of the historical events that led to its establishment and its widespread influence in Israeli politics. According to Aran, “Gush Emuni” led a theological revolution

¹⁷ Avi Sagi & Dov Schwarz, “Religious-Zionist Enterprise Facing a Modern World,” in *Mea Shnot Tzionut Datit (A Hundred Years of Religious Zionism)*, ed. Avi Sagi and Dov Schwarz (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2003, Hebrew); Aviezer Ravitzky, *Haketz Hameguleh uMedinat haYehudim: Meshichiut, Tzionut veRadikalizem Dati beIsrael (Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism)* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1993, Hebrew); Dov Schwarz, *haTzionut haDatit: Toldot uPirkei Idiologia (Religious-Zionism: History and Ideology)* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense Press, 2003, Hebrew).

¹⁸ Gideon Aran, *meTzionut Datit leDat Tzionit: Reshit Gush Emunim keTnuah Datit (From Religious Zionism to Zionist Religion: The Origins and Culture of Gush Emunim)* (PhD Diss, Hebrew University, 1987); later published as Gideon Aran, *Kukism: Shorshei Gush Emunim, Tarbut haMitsachalim, Teologia Tzionit, Meshichiut beZmanenu (Kukism: The Roots of Gush Emunim, Zionist Theology, and Contemporary Messianism)* (Jerusalem: Carmel Press, Hebrew).

within Religious Zionism, shaped by Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook's historiosophic conception, which considers history as a dialectical process directed towards messianic redemption. Following Aran, further research was conducted regarding the influence of Rabbi Kook and his son Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook's theology on the practices carried out by members of Gush Emunim. These studies focus mainly on the Kook Rabbis' stand regarding the sanctity of the Israeli state and its institutions, as well as on the Land of Israel and the divine command to settle it.¹⁹

There is a considerable disparity between the self-image of most Religious-Zionists and the public perception of the movement as expressed in academic literature and the media. While Religious-Zionists view themselves as loyal to the institutions of the State of Israel which they sanctify, their movement is frequently presented as a religious-messianic extremist group that threatens to bring about a political, social, and moral disaster upon the State of Israel and the Jewish people. Accordingly, most academic literature has categorized Gush Emunim as a radical movement expressing modern Jewish fundamentalism.²⁰ These studies examine the religious infrastructure used as justification for the movement's political activity, which does not treat biblical texts as ethereal and symbolic, but rather interprets the present through them and uses them as basis for political calculation and action.²¹ Furthermore, researchers have emphasized the piety of the believers stemming from an absolutist world view, their unwillingness to compromise or show pragmatism and their intentions to act violently in order to actualize their messianic goals. Gush Emunim's activities to establish Jewish settlements in the West Bank, the Sinai Peninsula, and the Golan Heights derived from their belief that messianic redemption was promoted through fulfillment of the divine com-

19 Michael Feige, *Shtey Mapot laGada, Gush Emunim, Shalom Achsav ve'Itzuv haMrchav beIsrael (One Space, Two Places: Gush Emunim, Peace Now and the Construction of Israeli Space)* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004, Hebrew); Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism*; Dov Schwarz, *haTzionut Hadatit Beyn Higayon leMeshichiut (Religious-Zionism Between Logic and Messianism)* (Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1999, Hebrew); Gadi Taub, *haMitnahalim veHamavak Al Mashmoutah Shel haTzionut (The Settlers and the Struggle over the Meaning of Zionism)* (Tel-Aviv: Yediot Aharonot, 2007, Hebrew).

20 Ian Lustick, *For the Land and the Lord: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel* (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1988); Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinzki, *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel* (London: Pluto Press, 1999); Ehud Sprinzak, *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1991), 109–124; Ehud Sprinzak, *Brother Against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics From Altalena to the Rabin Assassination* (New York: Free Press, 1999), 145–174; Peter Herriot, *Religious Fundamentalism: Global, Local and Personal* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 95–108.

21 Lustick, *For the Land and the Lord*, 72.

mandment to settle the Land of Israel and by the future establishment of “Malkhut Israel” – the Kingdom of Israel. These researchers note the movement’s ambivalence towards Israeli democracy and the obligation to obey its laws if they undermine the messianic process of redemption.²² The struggles between the pioneer settler groups and the Israeli government during the first term of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin (1974–1977) were characterized by direct confrontations between settlers and military forces. Later, the Israeli government’s intention to withdraw from some territories it occupied in the 1967 war (the main incidents revolved around the evacuation of Sinai Peninsula in 1982, negotiations on the Oslo Accords in the early 1990s, and the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in 2005) provoked widespread civil disobedience on the part of Religious-Zionist society. Moreover, researchers found willingness to use violence among members of the movement, which unfolded in several incidents: the shooting at the Islamic College in 1980, the terror attack against Palestinian mayors carried out by members of the “Jewish Underground” in 1983, and the intention of some of the underground’s members to blow up the Dome of the Rock. In addition, members of Religious Zionism have resorted to violent actions in order to deliberately and blatantly harm the peace process between Israel and the Palestinians. Examples of this can be seen in the mass murder committed by Baruch Goldstein in Hebron in 1994, as well as the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by Yigal Amir.²³

In contrast to these researchers, some recent studies challenge the “fundamentalist” thesis presented above and claim that kind of writing represents an orientalist discourse aimed at constructing Gush Emunim as “the other” vis-a-vis the researcher’s self-perception as a Western-rational-modern subject.²⁴ In Avinoam Rosenak’s book *Cracks* he challenges the “fundamentalist” thesis, arguing it does not properly represent the theological complexities in Rabbi Kook’s writings.²⁵ Alternatively, Rosenak emphasizes the *Achdut HaHafachim* (“Unity of the Opposites”) theme in the Kookist theology. This Kabbalistic-mystical approach acknowledges the fathomless polarization between religion and modernity, while referring to the struggle between them (in which each side must maintain its principles) as a

²² Motti Inbari, *Messianic Religious Zionism Confronts Israeli Territorial Compromises* (Cambridge University Press, 2012); Sprinzak, *Brother Against Brother*.

²³ Although Goldstein and Amir are not strongly associated with Gush Emunim (unlike the Jewish underground), they were both religious Zionists significantly influenced by the Gush’s ideology.

²⁴ Shlomo Fisher, “haParadigman haFondementalistit uMa Shemever La” (The Fundamentalist Paradigm and Beyond), *Theory and Criticism* 31 (2007, Hebrew): 283–295.

²⁵ Avinoam Rosenak, *Sedakim: Al Achdut haHafachim haPoliti veTalmidei HaRav Kook (Cracks: Unity of Opposites, the Political and Rabbi Kook’s Disciples)* (Tel-Aviv: Resling, 2013, Hebrew).

venerer blurring the mystical truth that both opposites derive from the same divine unity. Therefore, in the teachings of Rabbi Kook there is also an emphasis on the need to comprehend the role of the “other” (in this case – secular Zionism) from a point of view considering *Klal Israel* (“the united People of Israel”). Accordingly, Rosenak places a clear border between the theology of Rabbi Kook’s students, who still maintain the “Unity of the Opposites” approach, and the rabbis of “Od Yosef Chay” Yeshiva in Yitzhar, who have abandoned that approach in favor of a dichotomous world view that treats ethnic minorities (as well as political rivals) as enemies. Additional studies also cast doubt on the willingness of settlers and Religious-Zionists to directly and violently confront the State of Israel in cases perceived as detrimental to the messianic redemption process. Anat Roth criticizes the studies portraying “Merkaz HaRav” school as Jewish fundamentalism.²⁶ According to Roth, those studies ignore the sanctity of *Mamlachtiyut* (“statism”) among Religious-Zionists, or alternatively underestimate its significance by suggesting the sanctity of the state as merely instrumental to the process of redemption. Roth establishes her claim by analyzing the character of the struggles against the disengagement plan in 2005 and the demolition of nine houses in Amona settlement in 2006. Roth argues that the “statist” theology (and practice) of the “Merkaz HaRav” school was the central factor that prevented Religious-Zionists from resorting to violence during those evacuations, despite their strong opposition to their implementation. Even though some factions who took part in the struggle against the disengagement pressed for fierce opposition (and even the use of violence, excluding firearms) to the state and the security forces, Roth claims these “militant extreme-right organizations” do not represent Religious Zionism and the “Merkaz HaRav” school, but rather represent different groups – “Yitzhar people”, Chabad Chassidim, and secular right-wing movements.²⁷

A recent study conducted by Moshe Hellinger and Isaac Hershkowitz offers an intermediate position between the “fundamentalist” approach and its critics, presenting a complex and balanced depiction of the public views among Religious Zionism regarding issues of civil disobedience and vigilant violence.²⁸ Their study demonstrates how throughout the years of Gush Emunim and the “Merkaz HaRav” school’s dominance, Religious Zionism has been characterized

²⁶ Anat Roth, *Lo Bekol Mechir: meGush Katif Ad Amona: Hasipur Meachorey haMaavak Al Eretz Israel (Not at any Cost: From Gush Katif to Amona: The Story behind the Struggle over the Land of Israel)* (Tel-Aviv: Yediot Aharonot, 2014, Hebrew).

²⁷ Roth, *Lo bekol Mechir*, 89–94.

²⁸ Moshe Hellinger and Isaac Hershkowitz, *Tziut ve’i Tziut baTzionut haDatit: miGush Emunim leTag Mechir (Obedience and Civil Disobedience in Religious Zionism: From Gush Emunim to the Price Tag Attacks)* (The Israeli Democracy Institute, 2015, Hebrew).

by a tendency towards civil disobedience, yet it has seldom been expressed in practice due to the “theological-normative balance”, which combines a civil-democratic world view with the religious faith in the State of Israel and its institutions’ sanctity (“statism”). In their book, they demonstrate how this value system balances the deep and seemingly uncompromising ideological commitment of Religious-Zionists to settlement in the occupied territories.²⁹

While Gush Emunim and the “Merkaz HaRav” school’s loyalty to the state and its institutions raises a scholarly controversy, there is a consensus in the academic literature written about Rabbi Ginzburg’s theology and the political activity of his supporters regarding his opposition to Zionism and his support for civil disobedience to the Israeli state’s laws.³⁰ Furthermore, some studies go so far as directly linking his political thought to vigilant acts of violence towards Palestinians and the Israeli security forces, known since 2008 as “price tag” policy.³¹ In the introduction to his comprehensive work on Rabbi Ginzburg’s thought, Refael Sagi writes:

It is important to note that Rabbi Yitzhak Ginzburg has a great influence on the Israeli radical right through his students [...] It is worth mentioning that Rabbi Ginzburg conceived and initiated violent activities against Arabs, such as ‘price tag’ acts [...] He set up institutions, such as the ‘Od Yosef Chay’ yeshiva [...] The yeshiva was closed down recently due to heavy accusations that “price tag” actions were carried out from it [...] This radical social political activity must be understood on the basis of his Messianic Kabbalistic-Hasidic philosophy.³²

29 Ibid.

30 Motti Inbari, *Fondementalizem Yehudi veHar Habayit (Jewish Fundamentalism and the Temple Mount)* (Jerusalem: Magness Press, 2008, Hebrew); Hellinger and Hershkowitz, *Obedience and Civil Disobedience in Religious Zionism*; Yechiel Harari, *Mistika keRetorika Meshichit (Mysticism as Messianic Rhetoric)* (PhD Diss. Tel-Aviv University, 2005, Hebrew); Kobi Hefetz and Liat Cohen, *Ad Redet Machshachey Tehom: Mechkar Al Yeshivat Od Yoseph Chay Vekavanoteiha Klapey haHevra haIsraelit (Into the Dark Abyss: A study on “Od Yoseph Chay” Yeshiva and its intentions toward Israeli Society)* (Tel-Aviv: Dror LaNefesh, 2013, Hebrew); Chanan Moses, *From Religious Zionism to postmodern religion*. (PhD. diss. Bar-Ilan University, 2009, Hebrew); Rephael Sagi, *Radicalizem Dati beMedinat Israel: Prakim beSod haTikun haMeshichi Shel HaRav Yiyzchak Ginzburg (Messianic-Radicalism in The State of Israel: Chapters in the concept of Messianic ‘Tikun’ in Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg’s Thought)* (Tel-Aviv: Gvanim, Hebrew).

31 Hellinger and Hershkowitz, *Obedience and Civil Disobedience in Religious Zionism*; Hefetz and Cohen, *Into the Dark Abyss*; Sagi, *Messianic-Radicalism in The State of Israel*; Moses, *From Religious Zionism to Postmodern Religion*.

32 Sagi, *Messianic-Radicalism in The State of Israel*, 8 (Hebrew, translation mine).

[חשוב לציין כי לרב יצחק גינזבורג השפעה רבה באמצעות תלמידיו על הנעשה בימין הרדיקלי הישראלי. ראוי להזכיר כי הרב גינזבורג כתב קונטרס הגנה בשם “ברוך הגבר” על הרוצח ברוך גולדשטיין, הגה וזים פעילויות אלימות נגד הערבים, כגון “תג מחיר” ... הוא הקים מוסדות, כגון ישיבת “עוד יוסף חי” ... הישיבה נסגרה לאחרונה בשל האשמה

In a similar manner, Hefetz and Cohen's study on "Od Yosef Chay" in Yitzhar also finds a direct connection between Rabbi Ginzburg's writings on the "hilltop youth" phenomenon and "price tag" actions: "It is important to note that Ginzburg's plan is already accompanied by acts of terrorism justified by the 'right of vengeance' and fueled by hatred."³³ Furthermore, the authors examine the attitude towards Rabbi Ginzburg among the Religious-Zionist public. They suggest certain points of similarity between the views of "Od Yosef Chay" rabbis and some other Religious-Zionist rabbis, especially regarding the commandment to settle in "The Land of Israel" and the spiritual connection between the Jews and the land. However, they argue that "[t]he main dispute between the Religious-Zionist and Gush Emunim rabbis versus 'Od Yosef Chay' people revolves around two intersections: the justification for murder on behalf of a violent interpretation of Torah and Halakha; and the independence of rabbinical institutions and the laws of halakha vis-a-vis the State of Israel and its institutions."³⁴ Although the authors claim that the views presented by Rabbi Ginzburg and his students are far from those of most Religious-Zionist rabbis, they acknowledge that regarding certain issues, some Religious-Zionist rabbis have expressed similar views to Rabbi Ginzburg's.

The following analysis offers conclusions substantiating Hershkovitz and Helienger's work, rejecting the dichotomous view of Religious Zionism as "fundamentalist" or "statist," and attempt to demonstrate the ideological diversity that characterizes it today. In addition, the analysis reinforces preliminary studies casting doubt on Rabbi Ginzburg's unique influence on "hilltop youth."³⁵ However, unlike

כבדה כי יצאו ממנה פעולות "תג מחיר" ... אין להבין את הפעילות החברתית הפוליטית הרדיקלית הזו אלא רק על בסיס הגותו הקבלית-חסידית המשיחית]

It should be noted that Sagi's book hardly deals directly with Rabbi Ginzburg's support for "price tag" actions, but rather discusses the concept of messianic "Tikun" in his thought, as taking place in the individual, the society, and the state. For a review of the concept of "Tikun" in the Jewish tradition, see *ibid.*, 33–45.

33 Hefetz and Cohen, *Into the Dark Abyss*, 17.

[חשוב לציין כי תכניתו של ג'ינזבורג מלווה כבר כיום במעשי טרור המוצדקים באמצעות "זכות הנקמה" ומלובים באש השנאה]

34 *Ibid.*, 47.

[עיקר המחלוקת בין רבני הציונות הדתית וגוש אמונים לאנשי "עוד יוסף חי" סבות סביב שני צמתים: הפרשנות האלימה של כתבי ההלכה והתורה וההצדקה של הרג ורצח בשמם; ועצמאותם של מוסדות רבניים וחוקי ההלכה בנפרד ממדינת ישראל על מוסדותיה]

35 Shimi Friedman, *Noar HaGva'ot: Beyn Mered Neurim Lehitnachelut baSfar (The Hilltop Youth: Between Teenage Rebellion and Frontier Settlement)* (PhD Diss. Ben-Gurion University in the Negev, 2013); Assaf Harel, "Beyond Gush Emunim: On Contemporary Forms of Messianism Among Religiously Motivated Settlers in the West Bank," in *Normalizing Occupation: The*

previous studies conducted in this direction, which are based on anthropological observation, this chapter is based mostly on critical analysis of the theological and practical aspects in Rabbi Ginzburg's political thought, revealing similarities and disputes with Religious Zionism. By making a clear distinction between theological ideas and practical aspects, I am able to demonstrate how two seemingly contradictory theologies eventually lead to similar practices.

Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg's Theology

In this section I will review Rabbi Ginzburg's political writing, and present the theological foundations upon which his thought is based. More specifically, I will discuss his views on several central issues – his conception of Messianic redemption and possible ways to promote it, and the resulting position regarding the theological status of the Zionist idea and the State of Israel. A cursory review of those positions presents these perceptions as fundamentally different from the “Merkaz HaRav” concept of redemption held by Religious-Zionist public. As I illustrate in this section, Rabbi Ginzburg's philosophy is based mainly on the basic writings of Chabad Hasidism. Contrarily, contemporary Religious Zionism (particularly the “Merkaz HaRav” school) derives its theological foundations mainly from the writings of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook, who identifies the establishment of “The State of Israel” as actualization of the messianic redemption. Later, however, I will critically analyze the practices espoused by Rabbi Ginzburg (and which, in fact, generate most criticism from Religious Zionism), and show how these in fact demonstrate fundamental similarities to those of “Merkaz HaRav.” By reflecting on the similarities in practice between “Merkaz HaRav” and Rabbi Ginzburg, I substantiate my position that contradicting theologies may lead to similar practices. This point is important, since it indicates there are sociopolitical considerations stirring up the Religious-Zionist criticism of Rabbi Ginzburg and his presentation as a radical figure. Furthermore, it can shed light on social and discursive processes through which ‘radicalism’ is produced.

Rabbi Ginzburg's concept of messianic redemption is influenced by Chabad Hasidism, which seeks to promote the redemption by bringing Divine Presence to

Politics of Everyday Life in the West Bank Settlements, ed. Ariel Handel et al. (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017). It is also claimed these youngsters do not tend to accept any absolute rabbinic authority whatsoever. See Tessa Satherly, “‘The Simple Jew’: The ‘Price Tag’ Phenomenon, Vigilantism, and Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh's Political Kabbalah,” *Melilah* 10 (2013): 57–91.

the “lower world” (concrete reality). Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi, the founder of Chabad Hasidism, wrote in *Tanya*³⁶:

In a well-known statement, our Rabbis declared that the purpose for which this world was created is that the Holy One, blessed be He, desired to have an abode in the lower realms [...] and it is known that the Messianic era, especially the period after the resurrection of the dead, is indeed the ultimate purpose and the fulfillment of this world. It is for this [purpose] that [this world] was originally created.³⁷

Accordingly, the Chabad Hasidim hold a teleological conception of reality, according to which human history is a deterministic process directed towards messianic redemption, in which God will be revealed in the concrete reality and the whole world will recognize the uniqueness of God and his creation. For this purpose, it is necessary that the People of Israel create an infrastructure that will enable God to reveal himself – *Dira BaTachtonim* (an abode in the lower realms). This goal is achieved by the return of each of the People of Israel to faith in God. This obligation is incumbent upon the entire Jewish people, and therefore Chabad Chassidim take upon themselves the task of actively promoting the return of the Jewish People to God. Rabbi Ginzburg cites the Lubavitcher Rebbe’s statements that the current generation is the one in which the redemption will take place, while emphasizing the People of Israel’s responsibility for promoting it: “I did what I can [...] from now on, do as much as you can to actually bring the pious messiah right away.”³⁸ Subsequently, Rabbi Ginzburg clarifies the Rebbe’s description of the means to promote the coming of the Messiah: “The direct, easy and quick way to act in order to promote the Messiah’s revelation is by studying the subjects of redemption and Messiah in the Torah.”³⁹ In his writings, Rabbi Ginzburg deals extensively with the messianic *Tikun* (Rectification) of the individual.⁴⁰ The personal *Tikun* of each individual will eventually lead to the healing of the society and the promotion of redemption. This perception, which emphasizes the change in private consciousness, has led many research-

36 *Tanya* is Chabad Hasidism’s foundational book. The Chabad Hasidim sees great importance in studying and disseminating the book, and memorizing it or parts of it is a Chabad custom.

37 Rabbi Shneur Zalman of Liadi, *Tanya*, 90.

[והנה מודעת זאת מאמר רבותנו ז"ל שתכלית בריאת עולם הזה הוא שנתאוה הקב"ה להיות לו דירה בתחתונים... ונדע שימות המשיח ובפרט כשיחיו המתים הם תכלית ושלימות בריאות עולם הזה שלכך נברא מתחילתו]

38 Quoted in Yitzchak Ginzburg, *Be’Ita Achishena (When the time comes I will hurry it)* (Kfar-Chabad: Gal Einai, 2003), 9.

[אני את שלי עשיתי.. מכאן ואילך עשו אתם ככל אשר ביכולתכם להביא את משיח צדקנו בפועל תכף ומיד ממש]

39 Quoted in *ibid.*, 10.

[הדרך הישרה, הקלה והמהירה כדי לפעול להתגלות וביאת המשיח היא לימוד ענייני גאולה ומשיח בתורה]

40 See footnote 26. Sagi, *Messianic-Radicalism in The State of Israel*, 33–45.

ers to view him as a key figure in the New Age culture,⁴¹ although other researchers also see it as a practical demand that is required collectively from believers.⁴²

Rabbi Ginzburg follows a Kabbalistic tradition perceiving the redemption of the People of Israel as the metaphoric fulfillment of a spousal relationship between the male active essence of God and the passive feminine nature of *Knesset Yisrael* (the Congregation of Israel), representing the collective consciousness of all souls of the People of Israel. According to this approach, in order to achieve redemption, the People of Israel must adopt a collective “feminine” and passive consciousness. This collective consciousness is an aggregation of all individual consciousness and therefore the emphasis must be on changing the individual’s consciousness. The small personal change that will occur among each member of the Jewish people will ultimately lead to a collective change.⁴³

According to Rabbi Ginzburg, the outcome of God’s mating with *Knesset Yisrael* is the birth of King Messiah, which reflects the characteristics of both parents: on the one hand, the Messiah feels responsibility for actively redeeming Israel, and on the other hand identifies with the people’s demand for redemption on the part of God.⁴⁴ Redemption will occur when all individuals within the Jewish people will adopt a “feminine” consciousness in the manner of God’s service. Ginzburg illustrates the desired relationship between man and God, by comparing it to an axis of femininity (daughter-wife-mother). At the lower level, “daughter,” the individual feels he is enslaved to God – he fulfills his commandments as he understands them and turns to him in prayer when he needs assistance. However, in this state of consciousness one believes he is capable of perceiving God’s will (as well as his own needs) and therefore fulfills his “commands” properly. Therefore, the changes God will make in that person’s life will be small and gradual, since they are also subject to the limitations of his human intellect. Contrarily, Rabbi Ginzburg calls for raising consciousness to the level of “mother,” in which the individual completely abolishes his own personality and will. He works with all his effort to bring redemption but does not false-

41 Boaz Huss, “The New Age of Kabbalah,” *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 6 (2009): 107–125; Julia Schwarzman, “Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh and his Feminine Vision of the Messianic Age,” *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 12 (2013): 52–70; Assaf Tamari, “The Place of Politics: The Notion of Consciousness in Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh’s Political Thought,” *Israel Studies Review* 29 (2014): 78–98.

42 Sagi, *Messianic-Radicalism in The State of Israel*; Inbari, *Jewish Fundamentalism and the Temple Mount*; Harari, *Mysticism as Messianic Rhetoric*.

43 Tamari, *The Place of Politics*; Schwarzman, *Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh and his Feminine Vision of the Messianic Age*.

44 Ginzburg, *Be’Ita Achishena*, 227–229.

ly believe he is capable of conceiving its meaning and has no assurance he is entitled to it or that his actions are in the right direction. The desire for active messianic action, while completely abolishing oneself in the face of God, is the ultimate state of consciousness, that once becomes collective will enable God's revelation in the lower realms.⁴⁵

Therefore, we can conclude that regarding the concept of messianic redemption, there are substantial disparities between Rabbi Ginzburg's Kabbalistic-Chabad-Hassidic theology and the "Kookist" theology characterizing the "Merkaz HaRav" School. The Kook rabbis' historiosophic approach interpreted the Jewish people's history throughout the early twentieth century (particularly the rise of the Zionist movement and the 1967 war) as evidence for the actual realization of the messianic redemption. Accordingly, contemporary Religious-Zionists continue to interpret topical political events as expressions of the progress of the redemption process and its actual realization. These interpretations lead to political activism, contrasting Rabbi Ginzburg's preaching to passiveness.⁴⁶

The State of Israel's Theological Status in Rabbi Ginzburg's thought

Rabbi Ginzburg is well known for his militant opposition to Zionism and the State of Israel. In his books, he categorically rejects the ideas of liberal democracy and calls for the establishment of *Malkhut Israel*, a Jewish monarchy over all the Greater Land of Israel,⁴⁷ headed by King Messiah. Rabbi Ginzburg criticizes democratic regimes for favoring the well-being of the individual, since they reject the possibility of an absolute divine truth, and therefore must acknowledge the rights of cultural and ethnic minorities. According to Ginzburg, the desired re-

⁴⁵ Ibid., 269–271.

⁴⁶ For example, see Rabbi Shmuel Eliyahu, "Eych Ha'olam Nirah miLemala?" (How Does the World Seem from Above), *Olam Katan*, September 13 2015, 5. Accessed July 28 2017, <https://www.flipsnack.com/79987ECF8D6/466.html?pn=12> (Hebrew). For elaboration on the aspect of activism in Religious-Zionist thought see Schwartz, *Religious-Zionism Between Logic and Messianism*; Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism*; Feige, *One Space, Two Places*.

⁴⁷ Rabbi Ginzburg presents several possible interpretations for this term, though even the minimalist interpretation includes the lands of Judea and Samaria. Yitzchak Ginzburg, *Malkhut Israel Vol. 1 (Kingdom of Israel)* (Kefar-Chabad: Gal Einai, Vol. 1, 1999; Vol. 2 2000; Vol. 3, 2005, Hebrew), 135–144.

gime is an absolutist state led by King Messiah, who fulfills the “general will” in each individual.⁴⁸

In addition to his criticism of the regime type in the State of Israel, Rabbi Ginzburg also criticizes Israeli government institutions for not being directed by the Torah, but rather influenced by secular ideologies. In the book *Rectifying the State of Israel* he describes the defects of the secular Zionist ideology, which, although it has a significant and necessary role in the physical reality, still lacks proper spiritual guidance:

The light inherent in the Zionist dream – the aspiration that the Jewish People, after nearly two thousand years of exile, return to their homeland – is indeed great, but its secularly oriented vessels are small and immature. Secular Zionism has succeeded in creating material vessels, constructing buildings and roads, developing industry, and creating institutions of higher, secular education. But it has willfully neglected, or even rejected [...] the conscious intention that they serve God’s purpose in creation [...] Now, we have returned to our homeland and possess a strong and skilled army. Nonetheless, our very identity as Jews [...] is in danger. The sociological phenomenon of so-called post-Zionism, even more secular in its orientation than its predecessor, the original Zionism, threatens to undermine Jewish identity by replacing it by either cosmopolitan identity or an ‘Israeli’ Identity, devoid of Judaism.⁴⁹

In later texts, Rabbi Ginzburg’s opposition to the State of Israel and the Zionist regime has intensified. Until the beginning of the 2000s, Rabbi Ginzburg mainly advocated passive resistance and change of inner consciousness and focused this criticism to a limited number of problems (mainly the secular legal system and the treatment of non-Jewish minorities). However, the Israeli government’s intention to withdraw its forces from northern Samaria and the Gaza Strip, thereby evacuating more than eight thousand Jewish residents from their homes, led to a change in Rabbi Ginzburg’s position, and he began to publicly call for an uncompromising struggle against the Israeli state and its institutions.

In the articles “Time to Crack the Nut”⁵⁰ and “The Shell Precedes the Fruit”⁵¹, Rabbi Ginzburg described Israel’s spiritual status using an allegory comparing the Israeli State to a nut. In his allegory, the nutshell has an essential role

⁴⁸ For elaboration on Rabbi Ginzburg’s “Kingdom of Israel,” see Tamari, *The Place of Politics*, 90–94.

⁴⁹ Yitzchak Ginzburg, *Rectifying the State of Israel: A Political Platform based on Kabbalah* (Israel: Gal Einai, 2002), 21–23.

⁵⁰ Yitzchak Ginzburg, *Kumi Uri: Pirkey Ma'avak uTekumah (Rise and Shine: Chapters on Struggle and Revival)* (Kfar-Chabad: Gal Einai, 2006, Hebrew).

⁵¹ Yitzchak Ginzburg, *U'Mimena Yivashe'a (He will be salvaged from her)* (Kfar-Chabad: Gal Einai, 2006, Hebrew).

in preserving the fruit, but when the fruit is ripe it becomes unnecessary and even harmful. In the same way, the State of Israel and the Zionist movement played an important role in safeguarding the Jewish people by bringing many Jews to live in the Land of Israel and instilling them with the aspiration to establish a Jewish state. Today, however, the nutshells are beginning to endanger the Jewish people. In order to enable the development of the Jewish people in its land, the four “shells” suffocating it must be cracked: Zionist ideology and secular Jewish culture, which seeks to deliberately destroy the Jewish people spiritually; the Israeli legal, judicial, and educational systems (“the permanent establishment”), which are rooted in the world of liberal values; the Israeli parliament and government (“the changing establishment”),⁵² who have abandoned their role to ensure the welfare of the citizens and the security of the people, and instead act out of harmful interests. Besides those three shells, there is another shell combining good and evil, representing the Israeli Army. The army is a positive factor, since it is composed of “simple people”⁵³ willing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of preserving the Jewish people and the land. On the other hand, the army creates negative moral failures such as men serving alongside women, non-Jews serving in the army, and the laws concerning “purity of arms”, which are based on Christian morality.⁵⁴

The transformation in Rabbi Ginzburg’s views is clearly reflected in his views regarding the proper state of mind for the struggle against the establishment. In his early publications, Rabbi Ginzburg emphasized the importance of the gradual change “from within,” and the activism he preached for was change of consciousness.⁵⁵ However, in his later publications, a different approach is expressed. Rabbi Ginzburg acknowledges the futility of change “from within” and calls for complete disengagement from Israeli institutions, and the establishment of alternative institutions to prepare the ground for their replacement when the time comes. Ginzburg quotes the Talmudic saying “The prisoner cannot free himself from jail”⁵⁶, and derives from it that political struggle can be effective

52 “The government should be overthrown, and when a new government rises we shall bring it down as well, and so on – until a regime based on the Torah is established,” Ginzburg, *Kumi Uri*, 18.

[יש להפיל את הממשלה, ולכשתקום חדשה להפיל גם אותה, וכך הלאה – עד לכינון ממשל תורני בארץ]

53 For elaboration on “The Simple Jew” concept in Ginzburg’s thought see Satherly, *The Simple Jew*.

54 Ginzburg, *Kumi Uri*, 122–123.

55 Ginzburg, *Malkhut Israel*, 183.

56 Babylonian Talmud, Berakhot 5b.

[אין חבוש מתיר עצמו מבית האסורים]

only if the state's support is cut off. The belief that every Jew has a "Divine Spark" reinforces the legitimacy of the establishment and conceals the fact that it is a "nutshell" that must be broken. Furthermore, even those who consider the establishment as merely instrumental and therefore advocate gradual change for purely tactical reasons are mistaken, since the institutions demand a total and absolute change. Therefore, limited gradual actions cannot deal with the "unchangeable establishment", and thus are futile and doomed to failure.⁵⁷

From the above, we can clearly conclude that Ginzburg's theology is fundamentally opposed to the ideas presented by the "Merkaz HaRav" school. There is extensive academic scholarship about the "statist" approach of Religious Zionism and the "Merkaz Harav" school, which views the State of Israel as *Atkhalta Degeula* (The beginning of redemption), and therefore endowed with sanctity.⁵⁸ Moreover, Religious Zionism's flagship projects are carried out with extensive budgetary, security, and logistical support from the State of Israel. Rabbi Ginzburg's public statements, calling for disengagement from the establishment's support, could severely harm institutions of Religious Zionism: educational institutions, settlement movements, youth movements, etc. Therefore, it is clear why the "Merkaz HaRav" school is opposed to Rabbi Ginzburg on the theological level.

Practical Aspects in Rabbi Ginzburg's Thought

In this section, I will examine the practical implications Rabbi Ginzburg derives from his theology, and compare them to the practices prevalent among Gush Emunim and the Religious-Zionist movement, as well as to the writings and statements of prominent rabbis from the "Merkaz HaRav" school. In particular, I will focus on three key practical actions he discusses: the fulfillment of the "public commandments" and the establishment of the "Kingdom of Israel"; civil disobedience; and vigilant violence towards Palestinians.

⁵⁷ Ginzburg, *Kumi Uri*, 212.

⁵⁸ See Ravitzky, *Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism*, 111–200; Aran, *Kukism*; Roth, *Not at any Cost*, 44–66.

“Public Commandments” and the Establishment of the “Kingdom of Israel”

Despite his great preoccupation with promoting the redemption following the Chabad Hasidism tradition, Ginzburg’s writing calls for concrete political change that does not take place merely in the consciousness of the individual. In the “Kingdom of Israel” series of books, Rabbi Ginzburg discusses the three “public commandments” binding the Jewish People once they enter the Land of Israel, whereas in contrast to the other commandments imposed on each individual, the fulfillment of the “public commandments” is a collective responsibility of the Jewish People.⁵⁹ The three commandments Rabbi Ginzburg wishes to implement are declaring a king, the extermination of Amalek, and the building of the Temple. The fulfillment of those commandments and the establishment of the “Kingdom of Israel” are necessary conditions for the “abode in the underworld” that will enable the redemption and the descent of the Divine Presence into the lower spheres.⁶⁰

Concretely, Rabbi Ginzburg calls for adopting several practical principles that will lead to the establishment of the “Kingdom of Israel”⁶¹:

- The people of Israel are endowed with a special holiness that must be spread throughout the world on three levels: geographic expansion, demographic growth, and the dissemination of the Hebrew language.
- Non-Jews should be prevented from staying in the Land of Israel: “We must make an effort, with high dedication of our body and money, to refrain, as far as possible, from any action (employment, purchase, etc.) that maintains a non-Jewish community in Israel.”⁶²
- Confiscation of products manufactured in Germany.
- “Kosher” Jewish education, in which secular studies will be subjected to religious studies.
- Avoidance of secular civil courts.
- Economic independence: cut off of dependence on state institutions.⁶³
- Loving the nation, despite all the flaws in the existing establishment.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Yitchak Ginzburg, *Malkhut Yisrael*, Vol 1.

⁶⁰ Ginzburg, *Malkhut Israel*, Vol. 1, 17–20.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 128–130.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 130.

⁶³ Regarding this point, which I have discussed previously, there seems to be a profound difference between Rabbi Ginzburg’s stance and that of the “Merkaz Harav” school.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Vol. 1, 129–130.

Although some practical aspects in Rabbi Ginzburg's political writings are racist and undemocratic, and therefore might justify Religious Zionism's critical perception of Rabbi Ginzburg as an extremist, also other Religious-Zionist rabbis have frequently expressed similar views. In the following paragraphs I will present statements made by "Merkaz HaRav" school rabbis, advocating actions similar to those Rabbi Ginzburg calls for.

The aspiration to prevent gentiles from staying in the Land of Israel is a view many Religious-Zionist rabbis share with Rabbi Ginzburg, derived from the biblical commandment: "When the Lord your God brings you into the land you are entering to possess and drives out before you many nations [...] nations larger and stronger than you [...] then you must destroy them totally. Make no treaty with them, and show them no mercy."⁶⁵ Accordingly, Religious-Zionist rabbis have signed petitions calling the public to avoid employing,⁶⁶ renting houses to,⁶⁷ and buying from⁶⁸ non-Jews.

Regarding other undemocratic points made by Rabbi Ginzburg, it seems that "Merkaz HaRav" rabbis would agree with them as well. Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook was known for his severe criticism of both the Israeli Judicial system and secular education, which he conceived as subject to foreign influences.⁶⁹ Accordingly, Naftali Bennett, the Israeli Minister of Education and head of the Religious-Zionist party The Jewish Home, works to introduce Jewish-orthodox content into the secular education system. In a conference held in 2016 Bennett presented his hierarchical educational approach, in which secular studies should be subjected to holy studies:

Studying Judaism is more important to me than math or science studies, since as a high-tech superpower, we need to be a spiritual power and to export spiritual ideas to the

65 Deuteronomy 7:1–2.

(א) כִּי יִבְיָאֵךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶל הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה בָּא שָׁמָּה לְרִשְׁתָּהּ וְנָשַׁל גּוֹיִם רַבִּים מִפְּנֵיךְ הַחַתִּי וְהַגְרִזִּי וְהָאֱמֹרִי וְהַכְנַעֲנִי וְהַפְרִזִּי וְהַחִוִּי וְהַיְבוּסִי שְׁבַעָה גּוֹיִם רַבִּים וְעַצְוֹמִים מִמֶּךָ. (ב) וַיִּתְּנֶם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לְפָנֶיךָ וְהִכִּיתֶם הַחַרֵּם תַּחְרִים אֹתָם לֹא תִכְרֹת לָהֶם בְּרִית וְלֹא תִחַנְּם]

66 E.g. "Atzumat Rabanim Neged Ha'asakat Aravim" (Rabbi's Petition Against Employing Arabs), NRG, accessed July 28 2017, <http://www.nrg.co.il/online/1/ART1/766/982.html> (Hebrew).

67 Yaki Adamker and Eli Shlezinger, "Bil'adi – 'Mi sheMaskir Dirah leAravim Chayav beNidui' – haMichtav haMale" (Exclusive – 'Those who Rent an Apartment to Arabs Must be Ostracized' – The full letter), *Behadrei Haredim*, August 12 2010, accessed July 28 2017, <https://www.bhoh.co.il/news/77315> (Hebrew).

68 "Shoot Selulary" (SMS Q&A), Olam Katan, accessed July 28 2017, <https://www.flipsnack.com/79987ECF8D6/553.html?pn=4> (Hebrew).

69 Aran, *From Religious Zionism To Zionist Religion*; Neriah Guttel, "Murkavut Yachaso Shel HaRav Kook Zatzal Lemimshakey Torah uMada" (The Complexity in Rabbi Tvi Yehuda's Approach Towards the Torah-Science Nexus), *Oreshet 4* (2003): 131–156.

world, as we did in the past when we sat on our land. This is the next chapter of our Zionist vision. This is how we will once again be a light unto the nations.⁷⁰

Regarding the use of the secular judicial system, following Rabbi Zvi Yehuda's objection, Religious-Zionist rabbis ruled that disputes must be settled in rabbinical courts, while civil courts must be avoided.⁷¹

Civil Disobedience

Together with his operative plan for establishing the “Kingdom of Israel”, and corresponding with his theological views, Ginzburg calls for active resistance to the current Israeli state. Regarding the issue of military insubordination, Rabbi Ginzburg's stance is unequivocal – one must assertively refuse to carry out any order contradicting the laws of the Torah, particularly orders to evacuate Jewish settlements on the Land of Israel. Rabbi Ginzburg has held this position for many years, and unlike other rabbis, he publicly expressed it decades before the declaration of the disengagement plan, and he continues to voice it consistently in his talks today, while showing no hesitation to confront “statist” rabbis and public figures.

In an article written before the evacuation of the Yamit settlements in the Sinai Peninsula as part of the Camp David Accords, Ginzburg quotes from Maimonides: “*A person who negates a king's command because he was occupied with a mitzvah, even a minor one, is not liable.*”⁷² Moreover, besides the Halakhic obligation to disobey orders contradicting the Halakha, in later publications Ginzburg goes as far as considering non-violent civil resistance as a tool to dismantle the democratic regime in Israel. As explained above, Rabbi Ginzburg's attitude toward the army is ambivalent. The contaminated “nutshells” (the Zionist ideology, the permanent and changing establishments) consistently refrain from men-

70 Yarden Skoop and Or Kashti, “Bennet: ‘Limudei Yahdut Chasuvim Yoter meLimudey Matematika uMada'im’” (Bennet: “Judaic studies are More Important Than Studying Math and Science”). Haaretz, September 12 2016, accessed October 22 2017, <https://www.haaretz.co.il/news/education/1.3066279> (Hebrew, translation mine).

[לימוד היהדות וההצטיינות בה חשוב בעיני יותר מלימודי מתמטיקה או מדעים, כי גם כמעצמת היי-טק, יצאני ידע וחידושים לכל העולם, עלינו להיות גם מעצמה רוחנית ולייצא רעיונות רוחניים לכל העולם, כפי שעשינו בעבר, כשישבנו על אדמתנו]

71 See Yaakov Ariel, “Hamishpat beMedinat Israel velsur ‘Erka'ot’” (The Hebrew Law in the State of Israel and the Prohibition of ‘Erka'ot’), *Techumin* 1 (1980): 319–328.

72 Maimonides, *Misneh Torah* 14, “The Book of Judges, Kings and Wars,” chapter 3 halakha 9. [המבטל גזרת המלך בשביל שנתעסק במצות אפילו במצוה קלה הרי זה פטור]

tioning the name of God, or otherwise use it cynically to derive political profits. On the other hand, the army nutshell consists mostly of simple people who acknowledge God, yet do as they are ordered by their commanders. Therefore, this shell has the potential to save the People of Israel by stimulating soldiers' commitment to God and Torah. One must enlist in the army since it has a potential for change, but in any case of an order that contradicts the Torah's opinion, he must tell his commander: *"I love you, and I'm happy to fulfill the commands, but the Torah is the supreme source of authority, both mine and yours."*⁷³

The subject of civil disobedience and military insubordination has evoked one of the last major disputes within contemporary Religious Zionism. Though it is impossible to find a uniform and coherent position among Religious-Zionists, it is evident that the ongoing political struggles have led to significant shifts in the positions expressed on this matter. Hershkowitz and Hellinger discuss how despite the "statist" image of the "Merkaz HaRav" school, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda supported illegal settlement activities, while emphasizing the supremacy of the divine command over man-made laws. Another recent study, examining the interrelations between Religious Zionism and the state during the struggle against the disengagement plan, analyzes the major viewpoints of "Merkaz HaRav" Rabbis on the subject. The study shows most rabbis ruled that participation in the evacuation is prohibited, though they differed on the grounds to this stance.⁷⁴ Accordingly, another recent study shows forty percent of Religious-Zionists believe that disobeying an army order to evacuate Jewish settlements is justified.⁷⁵

"Price Tag" and Vigilant Violence

Due to his controversial statements,⁷⁶ Rabbi Ginzburg is regularly accused of supporting "Nekamah" (vengeance) – vigilantism towards Palestinian civilians. Despite the wide scope of Rabbi Ginzburg's writings,⁷⁷ it appears that most aca-

⁷³ Ginzburg, *Kumi Uri*, 19.

⁷⁴ Roth, *Not at any Cost*, 305–317.

⁷⁵ Tamar Herman et al., *Datiim? Leumiim! haMachane haDATi-Leumi beIsrael 2014 (The National-Religious Sector in Israel 2014)* (Jerusalem: The Israeli Democracy Institute, 2014, Hebrew), 145.

⁷⁶ Most notable is the publication of the booklet "Baruch haGever".

⁷⁷ Rabbi Ginzburg has published over one hundred books, discussing Kabbalah, Jewish holidays, Jewish psychology, music, business, marriage, messianic redemption, the ideal Jewish regime, and more.

demic research on Ginzburg's thought focuses on the act of vengeance.⁷⁸ Hence I will not elaborate on it, but rather focus on other statements, generally interpreted as deliberate calls to harm Palestinians' life and property, and demonstrate the complexity of his position on this issue.

I claim that it is possible to extract a complex yet coherent and consistent position on the use of violence against Palestinian civilians and Israeli security forces from Ginzburg's writing. According to Ginzburg, the use of violence by an individual is prohibited, and the proper means for struggle against the Israeli state are material and ideological disengagement from the establishment. However, if an individual Jew commits a spontaneous violent act, he should not be condemned (even though the act was not justified in the first place), since the action stems from sincere frustration caused by the existing situation.⁷⁹

Some critics who argue that Ginzburg encourages violence quote his statements from a *Hitva'adut* ("gathering")⁸⁰ under the title *BeAra'a De'Israel Beney Chorin* ("Free on the Land of Israel"), held on April 18 2014 in the settlement of Yitzhar. During the gathering, Ginzburg used his speech in order to refer to the pressing topical events.⁸¹ Ginzburg spoke of "Od Yosef Chay" students as going through a process taking them from slavery to freedom. Ginzburg sees

78 For example "Don Seeman, Violence, Ethics, and Divine Honor in Modern Jewish Thought," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 73 (2005): 1015–1048; Inbari, *Jewish Fundamentalism and the Temple Mount*; Shlomo Fisher, Teva, "Otentiu veAlimut baHagut haTZionit haDatit haRadikalit," (Nature, Authenticity and Violence in Radical Religious-Zionist Thought) in *Dorot, Merchavim, Zehuyot: Mabatim Achsavim al Chevrah veTarbut beIsrael (Generations, Locations, Identities: Contemporary Perspectives on Society and Culture in Israel)*, ed. Hannah Herzog, Tal Kohavi, and Shimshon Zelniker (Tel-Aviv: Ha'kibbutz Ha'Meuhad, 2007, Hebrew); Shlomo Fisher, "Bein haKlali laCharig: Yehuda Etzion veHarav Yitzchak Ginzburg," (Between the General and the Exceptional: Yehuda Etzion and Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg) in *Lifnim miShurat haDin: heCharig uMatzav haCherum (State of Exception and State of Emergency)*, ed. Yehudah Shenhav, Christoph Schmidt, and Shimshon Zelniker (Tel Aviv: Ha'Kibbutz Ha'Meuhad, 2009, Hebrew); Satherly, *The Simple Jew*; Hershkowitz and Helinger, *Obedience and Civil Disobedience in Religious Zionism*.

79 See "haRav Yitzchak Ginzbur uPaneyha haRabim Shel haEmet: Teguvah Lamevakrim" (Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg and the Many Sides of the Truth: Response to Critics), Bein Kodesh Le'Hol, accessed July 28 2017, <https://nirmenussi.com/rabbi-yitzchak-ginsburgh-reply-to-critics/> (Hebrew).

80 An event in which a number of Hasidim gather for the purpose of singing Hassidic melodies, telling stories, and learning Torah, usually accompanied by an alcoholic drink.

81 Yitzhar is home to the "Od Yosef Chay" yeshiva, of which Rabbi Ginzburg is president; its students were accused of regular confrontations with Palestinian civilians and the security forces. As a result, the yeshiva's building was taken over by the Israeli Border Police. The "Hitvaadut" discussed here took place a week after the evacuation from the building, and, therefore, although not directly mentioned, it is interpreted as referring to the events that led to the evacuation of the yeshiva.

this process as analogous to the process of childbirth: “When a child is born [...] both the mother suffers and the infant [...] The pain pushes him towards unregulated acts [...] Here in Yitzhar there is a special womb, and in particular there is a special womb that is the yeshiva, and the purpose of the womb is to give birth to a new nation [...] Therefore we sometimes act as gentiles.”⁸² However, although these are “acts of gentiles,” he believes that the confrontations with the security forces are justified since they stem from pure motives. However, although he sees the motivations of “Od Yosef Chay” students positively (or at least does not condemn them), he considers them as immature acts representing a preliminary stage of liberation from the chains of the establishment (“labor pains”). Rabbi Ginzburg emphasizes that the desired course of action is non-violent civil disobedience.

The increasing of “price tag” activities brought fierce criticism from Religious-Zionist rabbis concerning the phenomenon.⁸³ Furthermore, analysis of the Religious-Zionist opposition to Rabbi Ginzburg indicates that most of the criticism of his thought revolves around his alleged advocacy of vigilant violence towards Palestinian civilians and Israeli security forces. However, organized or spontaneous acts of vigilant violence are not foreign to Religious Zionism and the settlement movement, and have received relatively broad support among the settlers.⁸⁴ The most notable case of organized violence by settlers was the formation of “The Jewish Underground,” which carried out several terror attacks against Palestinian civilians, and planned to blow up the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.⁸⁵ Sprinzak quotes from the investigation of Shaul Nir, one of the perpetrators of the attack on the Islamic College, who claims that he personally received authorization from four rabbis. Sprinzak mentions the names of Rabbi Eliezer Waldman of Kiryat Arba and Rabbi Moshe Levinger, both of whom were

82 “Be’Araa De’Israel Benei Horin” (Free on the Land of Israel), Malchut Yisrael, accessed July 29 2017, <http://malchuty.org/2011-01-20-01-37-36/46-q/1136-q-q-q-q-.html> (Hebrew, translation mine).

[כשיש לידה יש צירים... שגם האמא סובלת וגם התינוק-העובר ודאי מרגיש ... הוא עושה מעשים בלתי מבוקרים... כאן ביצהר יש רחם מיוחד, ובפרט יש בית מיוחד של רחם שהוא הישיבה למטה, והמטרה של הרחם שיוולד ממנו עם חדש... לכן עושים מעשים שהם כמו גוים]

83 Jeremy Sharon, “West Bank Rabbis Say Price Tag Attacks Contravene Torah and Ethical Behavior,” *The Jerusalem Post*, January 15 2014, accessed October 22 2017, <http://www.jpost.com/Diplomacy-and-Politics/West-Bank-rabbis-say-price-tag-attacks-contravene-Torah-and-ethical-behavior-338265>.

84 David Weisbrud, *Jewish Settler Violence: Deviance as Social Reaction* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989); Sprinzak, *Brother Against Brother*; Hershkovitz and Hellinger, *Obedience and Civil Disobedience in Religious Zionism*.

85 Hershkovitz and Hellinger, *Obedience and Civil Disobedience in Religious Zionism*, 82–89.

founders of Gush Emunim and close disciples of Rabbi Zvi Yehuda. Rabbi Moshe Levinger, one of the pioneer settlers in Hebron, was accused and convicted several times of acting violently towards Palestinians.⁸⁶ Despite these convictions, Rabbi Levinger continued to gain respect among Religious Zionism until his death. Rabbi Levinger won the Moskowitz Prize for Zionism in 2013, and at his funeral (attended by over ten thousand people) was eulogized by the Israeli President, Reuven Rivlin, in addition to prominent Religious Zionist figures, including Rabbi Eliezer Waldman, Rabbi Dov Lior, Rabbi Chaim Druckman, and the Agricultural Minister Uri Ariel.

Conclusion

This chapter compares Rabbi Ginzburg's political thought to the mainstream Religious Zionist theology and ideology, as represented by the "Merkaz HaRav" school. Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg is well known as a radical rabbi, and is constantly criticized across Israeli society, as well as by Religious Zionists. Although academic literature discusses the fundamentalist aspects in contemporary Religious Zionist ideology, Religious Zionists self-portray themselves as moderate, law-abiding citizens. Therefore, many Religious Zionists criticize Rabbi Ginzburg's ideology, and accuse him of supporting violent "price tag" acts. However, an examination of contemporary Religious Zionism reveals support for actions similar to those Ginzburg advocates.

In order to understand the source of Religious Zionist criticism of Rabbi Ginzburg, I presented a comparative analysis of Ginzburg's political thought with Religious Zionist ideology, while making a distinction between the movement's theology and the practical aspects derived from it. This distinction reveals a substantial theological dispute between Ginzburg's theology, based mainly on Chabad Hasidism and Jewish mysticism, and the theology of the "Merkaz HaRav" school, which is influenced by the writings of Rabbi Avraham Yitzchak Hacohen Kook, his son Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook, and other Religious Zionist rabbis. Nevertheless, although their theologies are completely different, a close analysis reveals similarities between Ginzburg's practical mode of action and declarations made by prominent Religious Zionist figures. This paper demonstrated that similarity by analyzing three key issues in Rabbi Ginzburg's ideology: the fulfillment of the "public commandments" and establishment of the

⁸⁶ Betsalem, *Achifat haChok Al Ezrachim Israelim Bashtachim (Law enforcement on Israeli Citizens in the West Bank)* (Jerusalem, Betsalem, 1994), 85–87.

“Kingdom of Israel”; civil disobedience and military insubordination; and support for violent vigilant acts. Analysis of Ginzburg’s standpoint on these issues reveals they correlate with the “Merkaz HaRav” school’s practices, as demonstrated in their writings, public declarations, petitions, and actions.

This paper contributes to the understanding of contemporary Jewish radicalism, and specifically political trends within Religious Zionism. The distinction made between theology and practice reveals the radical subcurrents within Religious Zionism, concealed by a moderate “statist” theology. It demonstrates how two seemingly opposed theologies, one “moderate” and the other “radical”, can eventually lead to supporting the same radical practices. Furthermore, it raises questions (here left undiscussed) regarding the concept of “radicalism”, and the sociopolitical processes leading to the characterization of individuals and movements as radical.

Works Cited

- Aran, Gideon. “meTzionut Datit leDat Tzionit: Reshit Gush Emunim keTnuah Datit” (From Religious Zionism to Zionist Religion: The Origins and Culture of Gush Emunim), PhD diss., Hebrew University, 1987. (Hebrew)
- Aran, Gideon. *Kukism: Shorshei Gush Emunim, Tarbut haMitnachalim, Teologia Tzionit, Meshichiut beZmanenu (Kukism: The Roots of Gush Emunim, Zionist Theology, and Contemporary Messianism)*. Jerusalem: Carmel Press, 2013. (Hebrew).
- Ariel, Yaakov. “Hamishpat beMedinat Israel velsur ‘Erkaot’” (The Hebrew Law in the State of Israel and the Prohibition of ‘Erkaot’). *Techumin* 1 (1980): 319–328.
- Betsalem. *Achifat haChok Al Ezrachim Israelim Bashtachim (Law enforcement on Israeli Citizens in the West Bank)*. Jerusalem: Betsalem, 1994. (Hebrew)
- Feige, Michael. *Shtey Mapot laGada, Gush Emunim, Shalom Achsav ve’Itzuv haMrchav beIsrael (One Space, Two Places: Gush Emunim, Peace Now and the Construction of Israeli Space)*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004. (Hebrew)
- Fisher, Shlomo. “Bein haKlali laCharig: Yehuda Etzion veHarav Yitzchak Ginzburg” (Between the General and the Exceptional: Yehuda Etzion and Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg). In *Lifnim miShurat haDin: heCharig uMatzav haCherum (State of Exception and State of Emergency State of Exception and State of Emergency)*, edited by Yehudah Shenhav, Christoph Schmidt, and Shimshon Zelniker, 421–454. Tel Aviv: Ha’Kibbutz Ha’Meuhad, 2009. (Hebrew)
- Fisher, Shlomo. “Teva, Otentiut veAlimut baHagut haTzionit haDatit haRadikalit” (Nature, Authenticity and Violence in Radical Religious-Zionist Thought). In *Dorot, Merchavim, Zehuyot: Mabatim Achsavim al Chevrah veTarbut beIsrael (Generations, Locations, Identities: Contemporary Perspectives on Society and Culture in Israel)*, edited by Hannah Herzog, Tal Kohavi, and Shimshon Zelniker, 93–107. Tel-Aviv: Ha’kibbutz Ha’Meuhad, 2007. (Hebrew)
- Fisher, Shlomo. “haParadigman haFondementalistit uMa Shemever La” (The Fundamentalist Paradigm and Beyond). *Theory and Criticism* 31 (2007): 283–295. (Hebrew)

- Friedman, Shimi. “Noar Hagva’ot: Beyn Mered Neurim Lehitnachalut baSfar” (The Hilltop Youth: Between Teenage Rebellion and Frontier Settlement). PhD diss., Ben-Gurion University in the Negev, 2013. (Hebrew)
- Harari, Yechiel. “Mistika keRetorika Meshichit” (Mysticism as Messianic Rhetoric). PhD diss., Tel-Aviv University, 2005. (Hebrew)
- Harel, Assaf. “Beyond Gush Emunim: On Contemporary Forms of Messianism Among Religiously Motivated Settlers in the West Bank”. In *Normalizing Occupation: The Politics of Everyday Life in the West Bank Settlements*, edited by Ariel Handel Marco Allegra and Erez Maggor, 142–162. Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017.
- Hefetz, Kobi, and Liat Cohen. *Ad Redet Machshachey Tehom: Mechkar Al Yeshivat Od Yoseph Chay Vekavanoteiha Klapey haHevra halsraelit (Into the Dark Abyss: A study on “Od Yoseph Chay” Yeshiva and its intentions toward Israeli Society)*. Tel-Aviv: Dror LaNefesh, 2013. (Hebrew)
- Ginzburg, Yitzchak. *Be’Ita Achishena (When the time Comes I will hurry it)*. Kfar-Chabad: Gal Einai, 2003. (Hebrew)
- Ginzburg, Yitzchak. *Malkhut Israel (Kingdom of Israel)*. Kfar-Chabad: Gal Einai, Vol. 1, 1999; Vol. 2, 2000; Vol. 3, 2005. (Hebrew).
- Ginzburg, Yitzchak. *Rectifying the State of Israel: A Political Platform based on Kabbalah*. Israel: Gal Einai, 2002.
- Ginzburg, Yitzchak. *Uri: Pirkev Maavak uTekumah (Rise and Shine: Chapters on Struggle and Revival)*. Kfar-Chabad: Gal Einai, 2006. (Hebrew)
- Ginzburg, Yitzchak. *U’Mimena Yivashe’a (He will be salvaged from her)*. Kfar-Chabad: Gal Einai, 2006. (Hebrew)
- Guttel, Neriah. “Murkavut Yachaso Shel haRav Kook Zatzal Lemimshakey Torah uMada” (The Complexity of Rabbi Tvi Yehuda’s Approach Towards the Torah-Science Nexus). *Oreshet* 4 (2003): 131–156.
- Hellinger, Moshe, and Isaac Hershkowitz. *Tziut ve’i Tziut baTzionut haDatit: miGush Emunim leTag Mechir (Obedience and Civil Disobedience in Religious Zionism: From Gush Emunim to the Price Tag Attacks)*. The Israeli Democracy Institute, 2015. (Hebrew)
- Herman, Tamar, Yuval Lebel, Chanan Cohem, Ella Heller, Gilad Be’ery, Kalman Neuman and Chanan Mozes. *Datiim? Leumiim! haMachane haDAti-Leumi belsrael 2014 (The National-Religious Sector in Israel 2014)*. Jerusalem: The Israeli Democracy Institute, 2014. (Hebrew)
- Herriot, Peter. *Religious Fundamentalism: Global, Local and Personal*, New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Huss, Boaz. “The New Age of Kabbalah.” *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 6 (2009): 107–125.
- Inbari, Moti. *Fondementalizem Yehudi veHhar haBayit (Jewish Fundamentalism and the Temple Mount)*. Jerusalem: Magness Press, 2008. (Hebrew)
- Inbari, Motti. *Messianic Religious Zionism Confronts Israeli Territorial Compromises*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Katsman, Hayim. “‘Pachad Yitzchak’: Yachasa Shel haTzionut haDatit laRav Yitzchak Ginzburg” (‘The Fear of Isaac’: The Religious-Zionist Reaction to Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg). M.A. Thesis, Ben-Gurion University in the Negev, 2017. (Hebrew)
- Lustick, Ian. *For the Land and the Lord: Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1988.

- Moses. "Chanan. meTzionut Datit leDatit Post Modernit" (*From Religious Zionism to Postmodern Religion*). PhD. Diss., Bar-Ilan University, 2009. (Hebrew)
- Ravitzy, Aviezer. *Haketz Hameguleh uMedinat haYehudim: Meshichiut, Tzionut veRadikalizem Dati belsrael (Messianism, Zionism and Jewish Religious Radicalism)*. Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1993. (Hebrew)
- Rosenak, Avinoam. *Sedakim: Al Achdut haHafacim haPoliti veTalmidei HaRav Kook (Cracks: Unity of Opposites, the Political and Rabbi Kook's Disciples)*. Tel-Aviv: Resling, 2013. (Hebrew)
- Roth, Anat. *Lo Bekol Mechir: meGush Katif Ad Amona: Hasipur Meachorey haMaavak Al Eretz Israel (Not at any Cost: From Gush Katif to Amona: The Story behind the Struggle over the Land of Israel)*. Tel-Aviv: Yediot Aharonot, 2014. (Hebrew)
- Sagi, Avi, and Dov Schwarz. "Tzionut Datit Nokhach Olam Moderni" (Religious-Zionist Enterprise Facing a Modern World). In *Mea Shnot Tzionut Datit (A Hundred Years of Religious Zionism)*, edited by Avi Sagi and Dov Schwarz, 9–39. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 2003. (Hebrew)
- Sagi, Rephael. *Radicalizem Dati beMedinat Israel: Prakim beSod haTikun haMeshichi Shel HaRav Yitzchak Ginzburg (Messianic-Radicalism in The State of Israel: Chapters in the concept of Messianic 'Tikun' in Rabbi Yitzchak Ginzburg's Thought)*. Tel-Aviv: Gvanim. (Hebrew)
- Satherly, Tessa. "'The Simple Jew': The 'Price Tag' Phenomenon, Vigilantism, and Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh's Political Kabbalah." *Melilah* 10 (2013): 57–91.
- Schwarz, Dov. "haTzionut haDatit: Toldot uPirkei Idiologia" (*Religious-Zionism: History and Ideology*). Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense Press, 2003. (Hebrew)
- Schwarz, Dov. *haTzionut Hadatit Beyn Higayon leMeshichiut (Religious-Zionism Between Logic and Messianism)*. Tel-Aviv: Am Oved, 1999. (Hebrew)
- Schwarzman, Julia. "Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh and his Feminine Vision of the Messianic Age." *Journal of Modern Jewish Studies* 12 (2013): 52–70.
- Seeman, Don. "Violence, Ethics, and Divine Honor in Modern Jewish Thought." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 73 (2005): 1015–1048.
- Shahak, Israel, and Norton Mezvinzki. *Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel*. London: Pluto Press, 1999.
- Shalhoub-Kevorkian, Nadera, and Yossi David. "Is the Violence of Tag Mehir a State Crime?" *British Journal of Criminology* 56, no. 5 (2015): 839–841.
- Sprinzak, Ehud. *Brother against Brother: Violence and Extremism in Israeli Politics From Altalena to the Rabin Assassination*. New York: Free Press, 1999.
- Sprinzak, Ehud. *The Ascendance of Israel's Radical Right*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Tamari, Assaf. "The Place of Politics: The Notion of Consciousness in Rabbi Yitzchak Ginsburgh's Political Thought." *Israel Studies Review* 29 (2014): 78–98.
- Taub, Gadi. *haMitnahalim veHamavak Al Mashmoutah Shel haTzionut (The Settlers and the Struggle over the Meaning of Zionism)*. Tel-Aviv: Yediot Aharonot, 2007. (Hebrew)
- Weisbrud, David. *Jewish Settler Violence: Deviance as Social Reaction*. Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989.

