

## CONTENTS

<b>Introduction</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Part One</b>	
<b>Debates over the Direction of Religious Zionism</b>	
<b>Foreword</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Chapter 1: Nationalism and Ethics</b>	<b>15</b>
1. Religion, Nationalism and Chauvinism 15; 2. Ownership of the Land: The Dispute with Yeshayahu Bernstein 24; 3. Pioneering and Militarism: The Dispute with Yitzhak Tabenkin 32; 4. Zionism without Illusion 41; 4.1. Illusion and Religious Language 41; 4.2. Zionism Rescue and Renaissance 44; 4.3. Zionism without Redemption: Moshe Unna, Yeshayahu Leibowitz and Eliezer Goldman — A Comparative Analysis 47	
<b>Chapter 2: The Sectarian Issue in Religious Zionism</b>	<b>59</b>
1. Unity of the Nation and Inclusion Policy 61; 2. Religious Pluralism and its Boundaries 67; 2.1. Facing the Ultra-Orthodox Community: The Danger of Formal Unity 67; 2.2. Controversy on Constitution 69; 2.3. Drafting Females into the Army 71; 2.4. The Price of Unity with the Ultra-Orthodox 75; 2.5. The Dispute with Yeshayahu Leibowitz 79; 2.6. Facing Reform and Conservative Judaism 84; 3. Challenges of Secularization: From Religious to Democratic Language 87; 3.1. Religion and State 95; 4. Diaspora Jewry and the Fate of Zionism 99	
<b>Conclusion — Restoration of Religious Zionism</b>	<b>112</b>

**Part Two**  
**Creating the ‘New Community’: Moshe Unna as Theorist  
of the Religious Kibbutz**

**Foreword** 119

**Chapter 3: Rebellion and Creativity: Steps to Making the  
‘New Community’** 123

1. Signs of Awakening 123; 1.1. Discontent and Striving for Revolution  
123; 1.2. Ideology and Pragmatism 128; 1.3. A ‘Paradoxical  
Movement’ 132; 2. Individual and the Society: Re-examination 136;  
2.1. Euphoria and Practice 136; 2.2. The Social Need 140; 2.3. Utopian  
Society to the Actual Group 144; 2.4. The Lonely Man Status and  
Individual *Tikkun* 147

**Chapter 4: Dilemmas of a Community in the Making** 152

1. Serving the Elite or a Pioneering Model: The Dispute with Ernst  
Simon 152; 1.1 Minority Sense of Self 154; 1.2 *Kvutza* as a Non-  
purposeful Group 156; 1.3. The Pioneering Model 159; 2. Collective  
Life and Self-Fulfillment: The Dispute with Eliezer Goldman 164

**Part Three**  
**The Religious Conception of The Religious Kibbutz**

**Foreword** 185

**Chapter 5: Socialist Values and Religious Renewal** 187

1. Kibbutz Socialism as the Realization of ‘Jewish Selfhood’ 190;  
2. Judaism as a Collective Religion 199; 3. The ‘Ideal Group’ as  
Educator and Being Educated 208; 4. Work as Culture 215; 4.1. Work  
and Man’s Liberation 215; 4.2. Work as Creativity: The Dispute  
Between Moshe Unna and Tzuriel Admanit 219

<b>Chapter 6: Democratic Religiosity</b>	<b>223</b>
1. Religious Democratic Consciousness: Between Power and Humility 223; 2. The Right to Interpret 228; 2.1. ‘Torah Intentions’ 228; 2.2. Authority and Religious Hierarchy 234; 3. Democracy and Equality 241; 3.1. ‘Our Society is Basically a Mixed Group’ 241; 4. Centrality of the Collective 247; 4.1. The Power of Mediocrity 248; 4.2. Torah Learning as a Social Value 252	
<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>255</b>
<b>Moshe Unna — His Life</b>	<b>261</b>
<b>Appendix: “Restoration of Religious Zionism” by Moshe Unna</b>	<b>265</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>271</b>
<b>Name and Subject Index</b>	<b>291</b>