**Do not count on the ultra-Orthodox**

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Avigdor Lieberman along with "Blue and White" party leaders, have announced they will strive to establish a secular unity government. Presumably, if the conditions are created, they will continue to treat the ultra-Orthodox parties as the deciding factor of the coalition building, who's power will be determined according to the political and budgetary conditions proposed by the blocs - left or right - to allow them to pursue their social isolationism.

This assumption is incorrect as it ignores a process that ultra-Orthodox society has undergone - and especially its members and ministers on its behalf - during Benjamin Netanyahu's years in office.

The ultra-Orthodox public, who for centuries, his consciousness has been shaped, in the diaspora and in Israel, by its religious beliefs - has experienced a transformation. The favorable governments, the friction with the coalition members who run a nationalist discourse, the cultivation of the ultra-Orthodox population in the West Bank by the government, and the deaths of Rabbi Ovadia Yosef and Rabbi Elazar Menachem Shach, who held moderate positions in the political sphere (the first allowed the return of territories for peace and the second resisted the establishment of settlements) - All of these, created the conditions to encourage the introduction of the messianic-nationalist ideology on which Netanyahu's governments is based, to the ultra-Orthodox society, and to the development of the ultra-Orthodox-nationalist group within it. Priorities in ultra-Orthodox society - the Torah of Israel and the people of Israel before the land of Israel - are shifting in a similar order to that of the nationalist-Messianic society, Rabbi Kook's adherent, who gives priority to the land of Israel over the Torah of Israel and the people of Israel.

The process most indicative of this is the attitude of the ultra-Orthodox society to the "three oaths" - a nickname referring to the teaching of Hazal in the Babylonian Talmud (tractate Ketubot) in their Midrash on the verses in the Song of Songs. According to the Midrash, God has sworn Israel and the nations regarding exile and aliyah to Israel as follows: "One, that Israel should not storm the wall {RaShI interprets: forcefully}. Two, the Holy One adjured Israel not to rebel against the nations of the world. Three, the Holy One adjured the nations that they would not oppress Israel too much".

According to various rabbis, such as Zvi Yehuda HaCohen Kook and Yitzhak Isaac Halevi Herzog, the prohibition to "storm the wall" (prohibition of immigration to Israel by force) is repealed when there is a sign of a "visit" of the Almighty on Israel. The Almighty may "visit" the people of Israel in one of four ways: the first, the support of the international community. The Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, in which an international commitment was made to establish a national home for the Jewish people in Israel, removed the central obstacle of the rebellion against the nations. The second mode of the Almighty "visit" is in an awakening in the people of Israel to return to the land of Israel. Once the people of Israel are determined to immigrate to Israel, the oath is repealed. According to these rabbis, the Zionist movement and the various aliyah's prove this determination, although the historical facts show that most of the Jewish people preferred not to immigrate to the land of Israel until World War II. The third way of "visit" is that the nations of the world violated their oath, when they pursued persecution, pogroms, riots, holocaust, and thus repealed the oath of validity. The fourth and most important way is the revelation of the signs of the "revealed end", namely the revelation of the end and the coming of redemption.

This fourth "visit" is the heart of Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook's "Kookism" and especially that of his son, Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. The latter was the spiritual father of Gush Emunim and the Messianic settlement enterprise in the Territories, who saw the secular state as an instrument for bringing salvation by gaining control and sovereignty throughout the Land of Israel.

The Balfour Declaration was the signal for "the revealed end," as Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook stated in 1917 in his London speech: "Atchalta De'Geulah [the beginning of the redemption] is undoubtedly coming about before us… and the eyes of every imbued with a spirit of knowledge were always risen, for the hand of God directs all actions of generations, will amaze us with its wonders to praise this beginning to great heights".

Since then, the signs of "the revealed end" have been noted by the Rabbi's followers who consider themselves "imbued with a spirit of knowledge ". For example, Bezalel Smotrich explained two years ago that "the 1947 United Nations decision is the expression of God's will and the way he chose to fulfill it in our generation." His followers further explain Israel's victories in the War of Independence and the Six Day War as the sings of the time of redemption.

It seems that some in the ultra-Orthodox public are adopting the belief that the oaths have expired over time. Although all nations of the world oppose Israeli occupation and do not see the West Bank as part of the State of Israel, the percentage of ultra-Orthodox in Israel living across the Green Line is 43%, and within a decade it is expected to grow to about 50%. That is, even though the repeal of the oath prohibiting "rebellion against the nations" is not valid beyond the 1967 lines, because the territories are considered to be occupied by the United Nations, the Arab world and the Palestinians - the ultra-Orthodox public there is growing, and its housing shortage in the State of Israel is not enough to explain the oath's breach.

How can this be explained in the context of the Nationalist-Messianic interpretation? Contrary to the explanation of Satmar's Rabbi, Joel Teitelbaum, according to whom the Holocaust was a punishment for violating the oath by the Jewish people in the context of the Zionist movement and the establishment of the State of Israel, the explanation of the Nationalist-Messianic Society relies on the oath which appears in the Gemara: "That the end (ketz) should not be revealed". That is to say, acts that will lead to salvation should be avoided, such as failure to immigrate to Israel even though God desires our ascension.

Therefore, according to these interpretations, the Holocaust occurred because, while the High Providence opened the gates through the Balfour Declaration and showed its desire for immigration, the Jews did not immigrate to Israel. In doing so, they violated the above oath and were punished. Therefore, today, the people of Israel must understand that "You cannot settle in learning Gemara. You have to go out into the field. There, especially there, the religion will be revealed, holiness will be revealed ..." (Gideon Arn's book, "Kokism"). That is to say, one must go and settle throughout the Land of Israel. Here we must ask the ultra-Orthodox who live beyond the Green Line, is their living there, not a provocation to the nations of the world, as Rabbi Shach stated? Does the breach of oath by the people of Israel not exempt the nations of the world from their oaths? Does this not, in their logic, justify imposing boycotts and penalties on Israel?

According to surveys conducted by Prof. Tamar Herman of the Israeli Democracy Institute, 68% of Torah Judaism supporters support the application of Israeli sovereignty to the Territories, and the support of all the ultra-Orthodox for the two-state solution is only 11% - the lowest among all political groups in Israel. Don't they understand that annexation means the cancellation of the Oslo Accords and Palestinian recognition of the State of Israel, and a complete disregard for 138 countries recognizing the State of Palestine on the 1967 lines - and thus a jarring rebellion against the nations, which would inevitably result in punishment?

To this should be added whether these positions originate in the belief that the Trump administration's declarations, such as the statement by the US ambassador to Israel David Friedman about the possibility of annexing parts of the West Bank, recognition of the Golan annex, transfer of the US embassy to Jerusalem and continued Netanyahu's leadership are sings of "the revealed end"? The answer seems to be positive. In a May 2019 poll, 72% of Shas and Torah Judaism voters - more than all other parties - expressed agreement with the sentence: "Netanyahu's victory in the elections shows that the public wants him as prime minister, and therefore the investigations against him should be stopped".

If the ultra-Orthodox want to understand the process they are involved in, it would be appropriate for them to look at the answer of Isaiah Leibowitz in November 1979 to Naomi Shemer's question, if he considers Gush Emunim (Rabbi Kook's followers) to be the group that could lead the revolution in making Israel a Jewish state in its constitution and way of life. First, Leibowitz reiterated that a state is a governing mechanism and only humans have a way of life. Second, he said, "Gush Emunim is not at all interested in Jews and Judaism, but only in the state. It is not about Judaism and the Jewish way of life of Jews it struggles, but only on the governing interest of the state. Therefore, it also goes hand in hand with unbelievers - mainly Sabbath desecrators, treifa eaters, paramour of nidah and prostitutes - so that together they can take over foreign land and a foreign nation".

It seems that the process of change that has taken place in most of ultra-Orthodox society - despite its religious contradictions - creates a reality that is comfortable for the ultra-Orthodox. In another survey conducted by the Gutman Center for Public Opinion and Policy Studies in 2019, it was found that 94% of the ultra-Orthodox - more than any other group - prefer to live in Israel, and most importantly, they oppose any change in the status quo. Only 10% of Torah Judaism voters and 30% of Shas voters supported the establishment of a unity government of Likud and Blue and White. These positions, on the one hand, allows for the majority needed to fulfill the will of the Messianic right, led by the Likud, to annex the West Bank and create a different Jewish state than the existing one; and on the other hand, they greatly reduce the possibility that the ultra-Orthodox will agree - not even for an inflated sum - to participate in a center-left government that seeks to advance a political solution, which will inevitably involve a concession of territories.