

The State Of Judaism

# JUDAISM 3.0

JUDAISM'S TRANSFORMATION TO ZIONISM

*by*

**GOL KALEV**



Mazo Publishers

# **Judaism 3.0**

## **Judaism's Transformation To Zionism**

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*Zionism is the return to Judaism, even before  
the return to the land of the Jews.*

Theodor Herzl



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# Foreword

by Yaakov Hagoel  
Chairman of the World Zionist Organization

Some 125 years since the First Zionist Congress convened, this new landmark book argues that Zionism has now become the dominant aspect of Judaism, leading to what the author calls Judaism 3.0.

Gol Kalev's insightful analysis discusses long-term trends in Israel, North America and Europe showing that Zionism, despite whether one is for or against it, is becoming the anchor of Judaism. He shows how global developments and geopolitical shifts support this evolution of Judaism.

For Kalev, there are far-reaching implications in recognizing that Zionism has changed Judaism. This new phenomenon both counters existential threats to Judaism and helps advance humanity through Zionism.

In this regard, Judaism 3.0 is not only a monumental book about the current state of Judaism, but also a framework for the success of Judaism for the coming decades.

In the months since this book was first published, a new conversation was sparked. I am pleased that people, both young and old, from various religious denominations and political views are engaging in those robust conversations about Zionism. This is a testament that Zionism is not just a Jewish topic, but of global interest, exactly as Theodor Herzl envisioned.

In August of 2022, I had the privilege to attend the 125th anniversary of the First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland. I was honored, as chairman of the World Zionist Organization, to stand in the exact spot where Herzl stood in the First Zionist Congress when he declared "we are coming home."

Herzl noted that Zionism had already accomplished something remarkable – bringing together the most modern elements of Judaism with the most conservative ones. This is true today. As this book shows, Zionism in the 2020s has become the meeting-point of the Jew with his Judaism, and the primary conduit through which the world relates to the Jews.

This edition of Judaism 3.0 is a tribute to 125 years of Zionism, and a wonderful starting point to delve into conversations about the next 125 years of Zionism, that infinite ideal that, as Herzl stated, forever grows.

# Terminology

## ***Zionism***

The national expression of the Jewish nation-religion.

## ***Rabbinic Judaism***

The religious expression of the Jewish nation-religion  
for the last 2,000 years.

## ***Biblical Judaism***

The original religious and national expression of  
the Jewish nation-religion until the 1st century CE.



## ***Judaism 3.0***

Zionism is the organizing principle of Judaism  
(2020s – )

## ***Judaism 2.0***

Rabbinic Judaism is the organizing principle of Judaism  
(1st century CE – 21st century)

## ***Judaism 1.0***

Biblical Judaism is the organizing principle of Judaism  
(Inception to 1st century CE)

## Timeline

### ***1948***

The establishment of the State of Israel.

### ***1897***

Theodor Herzl launches the Zionist movement, a Jewish national  
political movement that aspires for the re-establishment  
of the Jewish state.

### ***1st century CE***

The Jewish Temple is destroyed; Jews are exiled from Jerusalem and  
eventually from other parts of Judea.

## Introduction

**W**hat is Judaism, and who is the Jew? The answer to these questions was clear to both Jews and the outside world until merely a century ago. It was clear during Biblical times when Jews lived in Judea and it was clear during the Jews' long exile, when Jews lived in insular communities. But today, there is a confusion that stems from unprecedented changes in Jewish circumstances:

- The Jewish state was re-established.
- Jews became secular, abandoned their insular communities and began marrying non-Jews.
- More than 98% of Jews have immigrated during the last 150 years, primarily moving from Europe and the Middle East to America and Israel.

Those radical changes altered the state of Judaism and have been leading to a transformation, which is now beginning to become evident. Judaism, which has been a nation-religion since its inception, can be viewed through its two primary contexts:

- Its religious context – Rabbinic Judaism is the religious expression of Judaism, through all its streams including Orthodox, Conservative and Reform.
- Its national context – Zionism is the national expression of Judaism. Israel is the physical manifestation of Zionism.

Judaism 3.0 is a recognition that the organizing principle of Judaism has shifted from its religious element (Rabbinic Judaism) to its national element (Zionism). This shift is occurring without any compromise to the religious aspect of Judaism, and indeed only strengthens it. As this book shows, Zionism is increasingly becoming the relevant conduit through which Jews relate to their Judaism and the prism by which the outside world perceives the Jews. This is both through positive and increasingly through negative connections; whether by one's action or passively through affiliation. Indeed, Zionism is where a Jew meets his Judaism. It is the aspect of Judaism that evokes passions and emotions – for Jews and non-Jews alike.

This is not the first time the organizing principle of Judaism has changed. Judaism successfully transformed about 2,000 years ago. Its original organizing principle was the Temple and the physical presence in Judea (Judaism 1.0). When the Temple was destroyed and the Jews exiled, Judaism adopted a new organizing principle – Rabbinic Judaism: The synagogues replaced the Temple, the structured prayers replaced the sacrifices, the insular ghetto replaced the insular life in Judea, and the yearning to return to Zion replaced the actual presence in Jerusalem (Judaism 2.0).

Judaism 2.0 was not just a better reflection of Jewish realities of the time, but also a more suitable construct to address new threats to Judaism. Similarly, Judaism 3.0 is not only the most accurate reflection of contemporary Jewish life today, but it is also the right framework to counter the emerging threats to Judaism. First and foremost, the existential threat of Israel-bashing which, as discussed in the book, has replaced anti-Semitism as the manifestation of age-old European opposition to Judaism.

The seeds for Judaism 3.0 were planted in the late 19th century by Theodor Herzl, the father of political Zionism, whom I have been researching for many years. This book ties his original vision to today's Judaism and shows that just as he predicted, Zionism has turned into the vehicle for the return of Jews to Judaism.

The transformation to Judaism 3.0 is not a call to action. It is a diagnosis of the contemporary state of Judaism. It is happening in one's consciousness – in one's basic approach to Judaism. Recognizing that Judaism has transformed and is now in Judaism 3.0 would lead to a more genuine relationship of the world with the Jews, and to a greater sense of Jewish belongingness and pride. It would provide Jewish clarity.

The years 2020-2021 challenged conventional thinking: About the way we socialize, work and prioritize; about our relationship with the state, community, police, religion and race; about existential dangers, about democracy, and about identity. It also gave us better tools to comprehend change and recognize transformations. Therefore, the outset of these pivotal years is a great time to delve into an inevitable conversation that has been brewing under the surface for over 125 years, since Herzl published that short book he titled *The Jewish State*.

The ideas in this book have been in the works for over a decade, and perhaps for much longer. I have developed them through my articles in *The Jerusalem Post*, position papers I wrote in the America-Israel Friendship League Think Tank, as well as through endless interactions and conversations with friends and momentary acquaintances of all

## Introduction

strides in Israel, America, Europe and around the world – through life in Judaism 3.0. This book is not academic research, but intertwined observations that deliver the state of Judaism. I hope that even for those who disagree with my observations, the ideas in the book can serve as a basis for conversation. I invite you to delve into the intricacies of Judaism 3.0.

## II

### The Idea of Judaism 3.0

Judaism today is different from the Judaism of a century ago when Jews were in exile. In those 1,800 years of exile, the Jewish nation-religion has had both an internal glue of religiosity and an external one of complete insularity. Jews miles apart prayed at the same time, in the same manner, practiced the same rituals and adhered to the same Jewish laws. This was complemented by the closed nature of Jewish life. A Jew had no viable option to exit Judaism.

But starting in the 19th century, and mostly during the 20th century, there has been a steep decline of Jewish religious observance (from arguably close to 100% to less than 30% today). At the same time, the outer walls that confined Judaism have crumbled. As a result, Judaism has been losing its organizing principle.

Yet, just as the Jewish religious connector has faded, the Jewish national connector has been dramatically augmented: The Jewish state was re-established, and after 70 years, a new organizing principle of Judaism has emerged: Zionism.

The re-establishment of the Jewish state provides a physical point of orientation and tangible mechanism to relate to Judaism – for Jews and non-Jews alike. This is true also for those who are avid critics of Israel. They too engage with Judaism through Zionism. In fact, for many American Jews, criticism of Israel has become their primary Jewish-related activity.

The success of Israel allows a Jew to connect to his Judaism in a natural and willing manner. He can choose from the broad range of Israeli products and experiences suitable to him – be it consuming Israeli wine, criticizing Israeli military actions in Gaza, celebrating Israeli gay culture or following Israeli high-tech innovations. An organic connection to Judaism through choice replaces the reluctant connection to Judaism through no-choice that existed when Jews did not have a path out.

In addition, while Zionism is defined quite simply as the national expression of the Jewish nation-region, the mere mention of the term triggers emotions to the good and the bad. No other aspect of Judaism evokes such a degree of passion, anger, love, fear, pride and dissent, underscoring that the Jew's most relevant connection to Judaism is occurring through Zionism. Indeed, Judaism has transformed and Zionism is now its anchor.

The transformation of Judaism did not occur upon the establishment of the State of Israel. It takes time for transformations of such magnitude to materialize, and there were insurmountable hurdles that prevented it from occurring. Those included Zionism's exaggerated association with secularism, Israel's economic and survival hardships, the fierce objection to Zionism by ultra-Orthodox Jews, American Jews' fear of dual loyalty accusations, and overemphasis on the practical aspects of Zionism – immigration to Israel. As shown in this book, the various hurdles are now removed and the path is clear to recognize that Judaism has transformed.

Indeed, the 120-year-old process of the transformation to Judaism 3.0 can be viewed as occurring in three phases:

1. Inception of the Zionist movement in Europe by Theodor Herzl in 1897 and its ultimate recognition by the world nations as a representative of the Jewish people (1897-1935).
2. The takeover of the Zionist movement by Jewish immigrants to Palestine in the 1930s; the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948 and its survival through tough military and economic challenges (1935-2010s).
3. A change in the stature of the Jewish state, from being poor and fragile to being strong and a contributor to humanity. This while there is a steep erosion in legacy connectors to Judaism in the Diaspora (2010s).

Herzl famously said, “at Basel, I founded the Jewish state.” He immediately clarified that the “state” he founded was not only a geographical representation, nor a collection of citizens who happen to live in a given territory – but that it was an ideal. He explained: “A territory is merely the concrete basis. The state itself, when it possesses a territory, still remains something abstract.” This abstraction, this ideal, is now turning into the organizing principle of Judaism.

Nowhere are the realities of Judaism 3.0 more evident than in the Jewish state that Herzl envisioned.

### Israel – Anchored In Zionism

Israel is the most profound expression of Jewish life and the most relevant conduit to Judaism. This is not only because it is the national homeland of the Jewish people and the only place in which Jews live in Jewish sovereignty, but also because over the last few decades, Israel has become the world's largest Jewish community, and has experienced astonishing success.

No longer facing the paralyzing economic hardships that accompanied it through the turn of the 21st century, Israel's perception has shifted from being a "charity case" that depends on the generosity of the "rich American uncle" (trees, the JNF blue box), to being a beacon to the world. Israeli technological innovations improve livelihood around the globe and save lives.

Merely 125 years since the State of Israel was conceived in the mind of Herzl, and 74 years since its establishment, Israel is thriving. Confidence levels are high, quality of living is amongst the world's highest, and the sense of personal safety is strong despite terrorism. Same goes with the sense of medical safety. All Israelis have access to health care and there is subsidized elderly care. No doubt, there are ample challenges and hardships, but the traumatic motto of the early years – "the last person out, turn off the lights" – is gone.

Zionism is the ideological bedrock in which Israeli Jewish society is rooted. There are ample policy debates within Zionism, but not about Zionism. Indeed, the strength of the Zionist ideal enables the numerous points of division in Israel to be argued passionately yet safely.

Buying into the Zionist ideology, and taking pride in being part of the Jewish nation remains high across all sectors and political strides of Israeli Jewish society, including the secular, traditional, National-Religious and ultra-Orthodox, who are very much Zionists in practice if not by definition.

There are small exceptions, most notably amongst elements in the media and academia, as well as fringe groups within the ultra-Orthodox community, but as a whole, Zionism serves as the Israeli Jewish consensus. About 99% of Israeli Jews consistently vote for Zionist parties. The large left-wing party, that at times was falsely accused of not being as enthusiastically Zionist as the rest of Israel, renamed itself in 2015 "the Zionist Camp."

After losing his quest to become prime minister, the Zionist Camp leader, Isaac Herzog, then proceeded to become the head of the Jewish Agency – the flagship of Zionist institutions, and in July 2021, proceeded to become President of Israel.

One of the highest-rated broadcasts in Israel each year is television coverage of the annual Independence Day ceremony that takes place by Herzl's grave – a fulfillment of Herzl's Zionist vision.

At the pinnacle of such Zionist success comes a Jewish revival in Israel. Regardless of one's observance level, Israelis breathe Judaism as they step on the streets. Zionism provides the unison of Judaism that Herzl dreamed about: the "tight connection between the most modern



elements of Judaism with the most conservative.”

But this was not the case in Israel's first 70 years. The way Zionism evolved prevented this from happening until recently. In the 1930s, a revolutionary secular stream won elections to the Zionist institutions and subsequently consolidated power. This group, led by David Ben-Gurion, was in power for 40 years and reshaped the Zionist ethos. Hence, Israel's independence and formative years were characterized with a particular flavor of Zionism.

Under those Zionist leaders a new society was formed in the Land of Israel: A new language, a new culture, a new dress code, a new pattern of thinking, a new hope. This was not about continuing Diaspora Judaism back home in Israel – on the contrary. Ben-Gurion and his colleagues orchestrated a divorce from the past. That included a divorce from the religious past.

As a result, Zionism evolved to be a staunchly secular movement that was even perceived to suppress Jewish religiosity. This was a primary hurdle that prevented Zionism from becoming the organizing principle of Judaism. An ideology that is associated with the rejection of religion cannot serve as the anchor for Judaism. Yet, there were other hurdles as well. This includes the fierce objection to Zionism by the Haredis (ultra-Orthodox), who are a significant portion of the Jewish world and of Israel's citizens.

In addition, Zionism evolved to be a socialist movement at the time when a significant degree of the world Jewish population was capitalist and outright rejected socialism. Also, Israel was poor and under existential military threat, which prevented Zionism from being an anchor of Judaism. Finally, given its daunting challenges in the early years, Israel put a halt on the topic of Israel's religiosity by locking in a status quo. The status quo deferred any discussion about the Jewish nature of the Jewish state to an unspecified later date. Those hurdles have now been removed.

Israel has been experiencing a religious resurgence amongst its secular community. The Jewish religion has become popular in recent years in those same secular circles that once utterly rejected it. Israeli seculars are increasingly engaging with the Jewish religion while staying secular. They are not on a trajectory towards becoming observant – they do not keep Shabbat, put on tefillin every morning, wear a kipa, attend synagogue or keep kosher. But they shifted from the previous generation's suppression of religiosity, and are engaging with the Jewish faith selectively – whether by studying the weekly Torah portion, attending Jewish religious classes or observing rituals, like the Shabbat kiddush. Thus, a new Israeli secular

has emerged: The Datlaf, a Hebrew acronym for “sometimes religious.” The Datlaf consumes religious experiences a-la-carte, while staying secular.

In a sense, Israeli seculars are rebelling against the rebels. While the country’s founders revolted against the previous generation’s religiosity, today’s generations of Israelis are revolting against the founders who robbed them of Jewish religious experiences and went too far in stripping Judaism from Zionism.

In addition, there is a de-sectorization of Israeli society. This includes the blurring of old demarcations between seculars, traditionals, National-Religious and ultra-Orthodox. This allows an Israeli to consume experiences previously available only to members of other sectors, including religious experiences. As a result, Israeli seculars increasingly engage in, and are exposed to religious experiences. There has also been a shift of power from the secular minority that ruled Israel since its founding, to the religious/traditional majority, estimated to be about 60% of the population. This group has historically been under-represented in government, civil service, the media, legal system and academia, and hence, had less of a say in shaping Zionism’s ethos. That is now rapidly changing. Perhaps symbolic of this change is the election in June 2021 of a religious person, Naftali Bennett, as the prime minister of Israel.

In addition, shifts within Israel’s religious communities contribute to the greater role of the Jewish religion in Zionism. The National-Religious community is today a leader in military service, community volunteering and Zionist education. To a large degree, it is holding the baton of ideology and optimism that was held in the early days by the socialist seculars. The emergence of the “religious-lites,” who are more integrated with Israeli secular society than others in the religious community, sprinkles the Israeli experience with more of a Jewish feel, and transplants a boost of ideology and of optimism.

At the same time, the ultra-Orthodox (Haredi) are no longer anti-Zionist. In fact, while staying insular, they have turned into a “poster-child” of Zionism. This is reflected in a de facto embrace of Zionist ideology, the centrality of the Jewish nation in theology, in physical settlement of the Land of Israel, as well as in Haredi contribution to Israeli society, such as through motorcycle medics who save hundreds of Israeli lives each year. Diaspora Haredi Jews travel to Israel much more frequently than other Jews and connect to one another through Israel. It is fair to say that today all sectors and groups in Israeli Jewish society pivot around Zionism in one way or another.

In addition, the greater engagement between Israeli Jewish and Arab

populations provides tailwind to the transformation of Judaism. Israeli Arabs are going through a process of Israelization, but not Judaization. Their interaction with the Jewish state and Jewish society is through the national aspect of Judaism, certainly not the religious one. While Israeli Arabs are not Zionist, they are an emerging elite in certain sectors of the Jewish state – such as in medical professions, the pharmaceutical industry as well as in culture and entertainment. Similarly, the rising Arab-philias in Israeli Jewish society – on the left and right alike – allows for a mutual celebration of the particularity of each society, as opposed to negation, as the case is in Europe.

Israeli Jews celebrate Arab particularity through consuming Arab art, culture, and cuisine. For example, Arab hip-hop music is heard in popular Tel Aviv cafes and bars. The political conflict does not negate the cultural fondness. This is portrayed, for example, in Israeli TV shows *Fauda* and *Tehran*. The trend of embracing Middle Eastern culture in Israel is also a byproduct of the shift in Israeli ethos and power previously discussed. The shift from the secular minority to the religious/traditional majority shadows a shift from the old European Ashkenazi elite, to Israeli Jews of Middle Eastern Sephardi ancestry.

The Israeli ecosystem supports the transformation of Judaism, as there is also a gradual shift of power and cultural ethos from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. While Tel Aviv remains a beacon of creativity and innovations, it has been associated with a culture of cynicism that hindered such transformation. The shift to Jerusalem is a shift from a tone of skepticism to one of optimism, from complaints about the half-empty to great appreciation of the half-full, as well as to a greater focus on religiosity and ideology that is associated with Jerusalem.

Herzl predicted that the Jewish state would exist because it would be a necessity of the world. Israel today is becoming that necessity in Herzl's prediction. This is due to its technology breakthroughs, medical innovations, daring social experiments, as well as its military strength and much-needed intelligence and cyber capabilities that are shared with allies.

Indeed, Israel's success across multiple fields and industries has turned Zionism to be a "light to the nations" as well as a light to Judaism. Developments in American Jewry, where 80% of Diaspora Jews reside, make it clear that through positive and negative, Zionism has become the most relevant (or for some, the least irrelevant) aspect of Judaism.

## America's Jewish Community – Losing Its Old Glues

The core of the American Jewish community is on a path of evaporation. It is reflected in the relatively low engagement with Judaism, and it is a byproduct of the century-old attempt to denationalize the Jewish nation-religion in America.

The fading of old glues that held American Jewry together serve as an impetus for the transformation to Judaism 3.0. A new conduit is needed for Jews to connect to their Judaism. As shown in this book, it is increasingly evident that Zionism is becoming that conduit – both through positive and negative connections.

Over 95% of today's American Jews arrived in the last 140 years. Upon arrival in America, most Jewish immigrants were religious, spoke Yiddish, worked in a profession regarded as Jewish, had a predominantly Jewish circle of friends and married other Jews. Being part of the Jewish nation-religion was at the top of their hierarchy of identities.

But over the years, those American Jews Americanized, assimilated, got out of the Jewish ghetto – physically and metaphorically. A denationalization of the Jewish nation-religion occurred, reducing American Judaism to the “Jewish Church.”

This was revolutionary. Judaism has been a closed nation-religion since its inception. An early attempt to denationalize Judaism was made in Western Europe in the 19th century, but it only affected a small percentage of world Jewry. Most stayed in the Jewish ghetto or some form of it in Eastern Europe, the Middle East and even in Western Europe, where the majority of the Jews remained in their insular Jewish communities. America was the first widespread attempt at Jewish denationalization. This attempt has failed.

The Jewish nation-religion in America went through a concurrent process of denationalization, reducing itself to the Jewish religion, and massive secularization, eroding its religious connector.

By the late 20th century, most American Jews connected to their Judaism through temporary replacement glues: the memory of the Holocaust and nostalgia to the Eastern European past. By the third decade of the 21st century, these temporary connectors have all but faded, as the immigrant generation and Holocaust survivors are passing away. The Jewish grandmother served not only as a conduit to one's Judaism but also as a powerful reminder of the duty to stay Jewish: “Do not let the Nazis win.”

Today, most grandmothers of young American Jews were born in America after the Holocaust, and do not speak Yiddish. The “Jewish

grandmother” has turned into the “American grandmother.” The guilt-reminder to stay Jewish has faded.

Not only individual Jews are losing old connection points to Judaism, but also American Jewry as a whole is losing its legacy distinctions. There is a reduction of Jewish influence and perceived power along with dispersion of American Jewish wealth. The rich uncle became the old uncle. Perhaps this is reflected symbolically in the fact that the two Jewish politicians who ran for President in the 2020 elections were close to 80 years old (Bernie Sanders and Michael Bloomberg).

Attempts to connect Jews to Judaism through Tikun Olam (repairing the world) have failed since this is not particular to Judaism. Indeed, a Jew who wishes to help save the environment, advance human rights or help the poor, typically does so without wearing a “Jewish hat,” but rather through non-Jewish organizations. Similarly, attempts to glue Jews in through community activities, and various other non-particular and low-octane connectors, have also failed and for the most part have not been sufficiently relevant to the contemporary life of the American Jew.

Increasingly, Jews are now experiencing Judaism, less through their current identity, but more through the traditions of their parents and grandparents: Yiddish culture, nostalgia for the Eastern European past such as through food, memory of the Holocaust, Jewish icons. The secular American Jew today connects to his Judaism primarily through the strong past, because his present association with Judaism is weak. Indeed, for most, Judaism is about tradition, not about vibrancy.

For a small percentage of American Jews, Judaism remains an integral part of life – these are the Orthodox Jews as well as those non-Orthodox who are involved in Jewish causes, such as active involvement in the local synagogue or a Jewish organization. Indeed, these groups are not on the same trajectory of evaporation that the majority of American Jews are, but, as discussed in the book, these are estimated collectively to be less than 20% of American Jews.

When analyzing American Jews, there is a tendency to focus on this minority group within American Jewry. This is where the heart of the Jewish community lies. These are the engaged Jews, and this is where data is available. The majority of American Jews on the other hand – those that are some place on the track of evaporation – are more difficult to analyze since they are not a closed community and their connection to Judaism is not through routine Jewish activities.

For most under-engaged American Jews, Judaism plays a role, but it is subordinate to other elements of their identity. Surveys indicate that 84% of American Jews do not regularly attend synagogue (of any

stream), 85% do not keep kosher, and significantly over half do not marry a Jewish spouse (with some estimates being as high as 72% of non-Orthodox newlyweds).

The life of the secular American Jew is culturally similar to that of the American non-Jew. This is manifested in his circle of friends, social networks, activities and culture. He is not a Jew who happens to live in America as much as an American who happens to be Jewish.

Jewish evaporation is a natural progression after a century of Jewish life in America. It is an evaporation track similar to that experienced by other immigrant groups who came to America around the same time, such as the Irish and the Italians. Like them, American Judaism is gradually turning into a pan-American brand, available for consumption by all Americans. This is just like the American-Irish culture, it is now a brand consumed by all Americans. Indeed, Saint Patrick's Day parades are attended mostly by non-Irish. Similarly, Yiddish words are used by all Americans. Katz Deli's customers come from all backgrounds to consume a "Jewish experience." Even Seinfeld's audiences are mostly non-Jewish.

Ancillary cultural differentiation is also gone: Traditional lines between what was regarded as Jewish professions and non-Jewish professions have disappeared and the same goes when it comes to Jewish law firms and investment banks. For example, Goldman Sachs is no longer a Jewish firm and Morgan Stanley is no longer a WASPy firm, as they were perceived to be through the turn of the 21st century.

The bonding through some form of Jewish affiliation, such as membership in a Jewish organization, being a member of a synagogue, or even sending one's children to Sunday School, certainly exists, but such affiliation is not necessarily a key factor in Jewish priorities. Membership is easy and non-exclusive. The secular American Jew is also often a member of a social club or country club, alumni association, or a professional association. Somewhere in this hierarchy, the secular Jew may also hold a Jewish affiliation.

Paradoxically, if such an evaporation of American Jewry continues, then Judaism will turn to Judaism 3.0, since the overwhelming majority of Jews would be in Israel, where, as discussed, Zionism is the connecting ideological thread.

For some, the evaporation of American Jewry is not necessarily a negative. A small minority of Jews would welcome such dissipation. For centuries, the logic goes, Jews sought to integrate, to assimilate, to become German or French, but they were denied. Jews were not permitted to assimilate and were forced by their host nations to stay Jewish. Now they are accepted, now they are free to evaporate.

The majority of Jews, however, do not want to evaporate. The preponderance of American Jews want American Judaism to prevail. To do that, American Jews suddenly need Zionism. American Jews need Israel. A transformation to Judaism 3.0 is the alternative to evaporation of American Jewry and it is already happening.

There is a cultural Israelization of the American-Jewish experience. Israeli culture, cuisine, music, innovations, and vibrancy are replacing bagel and lox, gefilte fish, Holocaust and Yiddish. Wonder Woman is replacing Yentl and Gal Gadot is replacing Barbara Streisand.

This is enabled by the shift in the perception of Israel in the eyes of the American Jew – from poor to fun, from sympathy to admiration.

Indeed, at a time when staying in Judaism is a choice, it should be obvious that the more desirable items there are on the shelves of the Jewish connections supermarket, the more likely it is that a consumer will purchase at least one product. The Israeli supermarket has a wide range of relevant connections, while the old Jewish supermarket is limited and depends on “customer loyalty.” An American Jew who is into wine can connect to his Judaism through the growing list of award-winning Israeli wines. An American Jew who is gay can connect to his Judaism through Israel’s flourishing gay culture. An American-Jewish innovator can connect through Israel’s high-tech industry. The American Jew is the one who chooses when to connect, how often and in what form.

This turns Judaism from a burden, chore and something that is predominantly associated with the past, into an asset, a want, and something that is genuine and relevant to the contemporary life of an American Jew.

Moreover, an American Jew is now able to connect through Israel without living in Israel or even visiting. Unlike a few years ago, Israel is now at his fingertips. He can access Israeli music in the exact same way the Israeli does – since neither of them use radios anymore. He can access Israeli TV shows and join Israel-related webinars. Zionism is no longer in a faraway land with faraway trees, it is in the American Jew’s living room and available on demand.

This, in turn, allows an American Jew to have an attractive and accessible point of orientation for his Jewish life and to recenter his Jewish identity around his national connection to Judaism – around Zionism. It is a connection to Judaism by choice as opposed to by duty.

At the same time that Zionism is providing the American Jew with appealing connection points to Judaism, it is also turning into the most relevant Jewish American experience from the negative side. Criticism of Israel by a significant portion of American Jewry is also a form of

connection to one's Judaism through Zionism. This too is a demonstration of the Jewish transformation. Such criticism is not against issues relating to Judaism 2.0, but against issues related to Judaism 3.0.

Moreover, for many of those Jews, criticism of Israel is the primary Jewish-related activity they engage in. Orthodox Jews, who are involved in Judaism on a daily basis, tend to be supportive of Israel's policies. For some Jews with low engagement with other aspects of Judaism, such criticism serves as a primary conduit to their Judaism – further evidence of the transformation to Judaism 3.0.

Zionism has become the primary arena in which Jews meet their Judaism, even for those Jews far out on the evaporation track who feel they have no connection to Judaism. Passing by a synagogue does not force a Jew into his Jewish identity. He simply does not go in, just as he does not go into a church. But Israel and Zionism does provide entry to one's Jewish identity.

An American Jew arriving on the college campus or socializing with progressive circles, is often “guilty by association” due to his last name, even if he is unaffiliated and detached from Judaism. This Jewish person might feel no other connection to Judaism, but he meets his Judaism because of Zionism. Hence, it is Zionism that defines his Judaism and not Rabbinic Judaism. It is his national association with Judaism, and not the religious one.

Centering one's identity around Israel was difficult in the past because the “ask” Israel put to American Jews was Aliya (immigration to Israel). However, by the 21st century, the Israeli government, society and even the Jewish Agency softened that expectation and now merely encourages American Jews to strengthen their connection with Israel.

The American Jew can choose from a range of alternative relationships with the Jewish state: Stay at home and consume Israeli experiences through a laptop or phone, be a serial visitor, own a vacation home in Israel or indeed make Aliya.

The shift from Aliya-Zionism, which is unfeasible for most American Jews, to Cloud-Zionism – where one can access Zionism easily, in a non-committal way and through his own choices – allows the American Jew to feel greater inclusion in Zionism and to more strongly connect to Judaism through Israel.

The renewed ability and necessity to connect through Israel comes hand-in-hand with changes in the composition of the American-Jewish community itself. There are more Persian Jews and Sephardi Jews. They not only tend to have stronger ties to Israel, but have more of their Jewish identity intertwined with Zionism. Most importantly, there are more



Israeli Americans in America, and they are more and more accepted by the Jewish community, even taking leadership roles in American Jewry. The Israeli Americans are no longer taxi drivers and movers who “must be kept away from our daughters,” instead they are high-tech entrepreneurs, scientists, professors, lawyers, investment bankers and investors. Their on-the-ground presence further contributes to the cultural Israelization of the American Jewish experience, at the expense of legacy Yiddish culture. It also demystifies the concept of Zionism for American Jews. The association of Zionism is shifting away from nostalgia about the film *Exodus*, a blue box and those faraway trees. Indeed, for the previous generation of American Jews, Zionism was often bunched in with other legacy Jewish values that were “shoved down the young Jew’s throat:” Holocaust, Lower East Side heritage and indeed supporting Israel.

The American Jews’ ability to now see Israelis in their own circles – in restaurants, cafes, workplace, and increasingly even in their own families – provides an immediate identity benchmark. Perhaps symbolic of this Israelization of the American-Jewish experience is the December 2019 speech by President Trump at the Israeli-American Council. The President chose an Israel-related organization to address the Jewish community, and indeed his remarks were directed at American Jews at large, not just Israeli American Jews.

American Jews now have the means to connect to their Judaism through Zionism. This cycles back to the foundation of Zionism. Herzl did not only view Zionism as a movement to rescue the Jews but also as an organic Jewish ideal. It is exactly this aspect of Zionism which turns current developments in American Jewry into a primary enabler of the transformation to Judaism 3.0. Yet, an even bigger impetus to the Jewish transformation lies in the flagship feature of American Judaism: Inter-marriage.

An estimated 50-70% of Jews marry non-Jews. For non-Orthodox Jews, the rate is estimated to be 60-80%. The intermarriage reality is far more prevalent than any other commonalities of American-Jewish life (such as routine synagogue attendance at 15%, or ever visiting Israel at 41%). Indeed, intermarriage is the number one common characteristic of American Jewry.

But Judaism 3.0 turns intermarriage from a foe to a friend. The “ask” is no longer Jewish prayer books in your library (unrealistic and a “chore”), but an “Israeli flag in your heart” (attainable and desirable).

Regardless of whether the non-Jewish spouse converts and what type of conversion is chosen, as this book shows, under Judaism 3.0, the non-Jewish spouse is more likely to seek engagement with Judaism and feel

included than under legacy Judaism 2.0. This, in turn, will help keep the children and the next generations in the Jewish tent. This is not a halachic change. Recognizing the transformation to Judaism 3.0 does not represent an opinion on whether the spouse or the children are Jewish under Jewish law. It merely suggests that since the organizing principle of Judaism is the Jewish nation, the intermarried family is not excluded. More so, it provides the family with a set of attractive tools to strongly connect to their Judaism, which in turn allows them to be included.

A separate private issue would be the religious choices of such Jewish families. It is perfectly legitimate for a person in the next generation to choose not to marry someone because her mother did not go through an Orthodox conversion. This is just as it is perfectly legitimate for a person not to eat in a kosher restaurant, because its kosher certificate is not of a particular standard (for example, not Glatt kosher). Under Judaism 3.0, just as in the case of the kosher restaurant, the intermarried family is still in the Jewish tent, because they are connected to their Judaism through Zionism. This enables the sidestepping of halachic issues, without compromising them.

One common error made in analyzing American Jewry is the assumption that intermarriage and assimilation are the same. This is not the case. In fact, assimilation out of Judaism commonly occurs in families where both spouses are Jewish.

This is also true historically. The ancient nations that evaporated out of existence, such as the Canaanites, Moabites, and perhaps even the lost ten tribes of Israel, did not assimilate due to intermarriage. Most likely they assimilated because they began looking and acting more and more like their neighbors. They might have still married one another, but one could no longer tell the difference between a Moabite family and an Ammonite family.

Today, one can see the same patterns with American Jews. Non-Orthodox Jewish couples, having Judaism low in their hierarchy of identities, typically do not pass on sufficiently sustainable Jewish connectors to their children. The fact that their great-grandmother spoke Yiddish is not sufficient to prevent intra-marriage assimilation.

On the other hand, a child of an intermarried couple who goes on a Birthright trip and engages with Israel – through positive or negative aspects – is much more likely to stay Jewish than that of an intra-married couple who does not go on such trips and is agnostic about Israel.

While intermarriage has, until now, been a driver for assimilation, under Judaism 3.0 it can be turned around, and serve as a disrupter to assimilation!

More so, assimilation needs to be understood in terms of what the Jew is assimilating to. The American Jew is not assimilating to Christianity or paganism. He is assimilating to Americanism, which, as will be discussed, by its core nature is intertwined with Zionism.

An assimilated American Jew is a Zionist American Jew – not because he is a Jew, but because he is an American.

Herzl's disciple, Chaim Weizmann, said that Zionism is about "Judaizing the Jewish communities." It seems that a century later, Zionism is achieving exactly that for American Jews. Religion and legacy Jewish culture are receding, but instead of evaporation, Zionism enables American Jews not only to cling to Judaism, but indeed to strengthen their Jewish identity. It is the American Jew's ticket to the return to Judaism.

## America - A Religious Society Intertwined With Zionism

Shifts in America provide tailwind to the Jewish transformation and to the ability of an American Jew to center his Jewish identity around Zionism.

The contemporary American ethos is arguably more compatible with Zionism being the anchor of Judaism (Judaism 3.0), than it is with a secular version of religious Judaism being the anchor (Judaism 2.0). This is in part because America and Israel are both religious societies, while American Jews are not.

In his Presidential victory speech in November 2020, Joe Biden said, "On eagle's wings, we embark on the work that God and history have called upon us to do." He described America's mission to spread the faith, and in the last sentence of his speech, mentioned God three times. Kamala Harris makes frequent religious references, such as calling the current year, "The year of our lord."

Indeed, America is a deeply religious country, but American Jews are not. In fact, they are perceived to be flag-carriers of secularism in America and at the forefront of efforts to make America feel less religious.

Israel, like America, is a deeply religious country. This is reflected both through its religious/traditional majority and through the increasing consumption of religious experiences by its secular minority.

Zionism allows the American Jew not only to have a relevant conduit to his Judaism but also to be associated with a religious society (Israel), even though he himself is not.

It is not only that Americans are religious, but Americanism has been

and remains a religious ideal. Notwithstanding the sacred separation of church and state, America was established as One Nation Under God. On its currency an American motto is clearly stated: “In God we Trust”. Hence, there is a perceived structural disconnect between American Jews’ secular-phila, and the American ideal.

Once Jews stop defining themselves as a religious minority that does not practice religion (Judaism 2.0), and instead redefine themselves more naturally through their ethnological national affiliation, Zionism (Judaism 3.0), they will be in greater unison with the predominant American ethos. Judaism as Zionism is much more in tune with Americanism than Judaism as secularism

The greater compatibility with Zionism is also a product of the evolving nature of America. In the early days, America was dominated by the homogeneous “Mayflower narrative.” Hence, the Jews who wanted to fit in and resemble their patriotic American neighbors felt they had to suppress their Jewish ethnological national identity.

But America has shifted and today there is a broad embrace of multiple cultural branches of Americanism, as long as they are anchored in the strong core American trunk. The patriotic neighbors of the Jews celebrate their own ethnological national affiliation – be it Mexican, Irish or Korean. That is manifested by Vice President Kamala Harris, who is proud of her Jamaican and Indian affiliations.

In addition to the consensus American trend to embrace one’s heritage identity, there is also a broad recognition that an American has multiple identities – his profession, sexual orientation, race, state and indeed his ethnological national affiliation.

Therefore, a Jew proudly showcasing his own ethnological national affiliation (Zionism) is a great expression of Americanism.

America and the world are in an age of clarity. Gray is out; being out is in. This includes being clear about who you are, and being proud of your identity.

When protesters throughout America took to the streets in the spring and summer of 2020, they made it clear that they would no longer be defined or profiled by outside “authorities,” that the time had come for them to be clear about who they are, and how they feel – to be true to their own identity.

The age of clarity is in part a counter-reaction to the politically correct and overly hedgy cultures that preceded it (saying what you believe you are supposed to say, as opposed to saying what you believe). In this context, an American Jew who suppresses his ethnological national affiliation (Zionism, Israel) is not only out of touch with his Jewish heritage, but is

also out of touch with the contemporary American mentality.

Moreover, from its beginning, America was about the renewal of the ancient promise: The establishment of the new Jerusalem, the return to the new Zion, rejection of the oppressive dogmas of the European past, as well as the return to God and freedom of worship. From the onset, Americanism was a form of abstract Zionism. When tangible Jewish Zionism began to take shape, it was synergistic with the American version of Zionism.

Therefore, American Jews proudly showcasing their Zionist affiliation is also a powerful demonstration of the core essence of Americanism. Indeed, an American Jew is naturally drawn to Zionism not only because he is a Jew, but also because he is an American.

In addition, Israel is the most visible Jewish issue for Americans. America's strong and relevant alliance with Israel across a spectrum of arenas, such as the war on terrorism and military cooperation, and the frequent news coming out of Israel, places the Jewish state front-and-center in the American attention span, while issues related to Rabbinic Judaism and cultural Judaism certainly are not. For many Americans, in particular within progressive circles, criticism of the Jewish state turns Israel to be the primary Jewish issue. When presidential candidate Bernie Sanders, a harsh critic of Israel, was asked in 2019 about his Jewish affiliation, he chose to speak about Israel. Most of his supporters are not Jewish and are themselves critics of Israel. Hence, this perhaps is symptomatic of how such supporters as well as Americans in general relate to the Jew: through Israel – whether through support or through criticism.

While Israel serves as a relatable point-of-contact to Judaism, secular American Judaism (Judaism 2.0) is turning to be less and less relevant. This includes Judaism 2.0's association with American liberalism.

Both conservatives and liberals have issues with Judaism 2.0-associated liberalism. Conservatives have growing disdain for liberals, especially as the dialogue and discourse becomes more polarized. This while liberals have been shifting away from what some would perceive as “Jewish liberalism” towards one that outright rejects the previous version of liberalism (Progressives/Black Lives Matter/Occupy movement/Alt-Left). This is perhaps underscored by the June 2020 Democratic primary defeat of Congressman Eliot Engel, a staple of Jewish liberalism for four decades. After 32 years in Congress, he was defeated by Progressive candidate Jamaal Bowman, who represents the new American liberalism.

Judaism 2.0's role in shaping Americanism has eroded, while the outside contribution of Zionism to Americanism only increases.

In some regards, many Americans, in particular in the heartland and in the South, have a similar attitude towards Judaism that Israelis have: Both have developed a lack of fondness on some level to the “Diaspora Jew” (Judaism 2.0). While at the same time, both groups have an absolute admiration for the “Israeli Jew” – the one who fulfills the dream, who returned to his long-forsaken home, who unlike the “Diaspora Jew” is strong, daring, assertive, direct and bold (Judaism 3.0).

The United States and Israel are both countries that are firmly rooted in a bedrock of related ideologies: the United States is rooted in Americanism, Israel is rooted in Zionism.

While both American and Israel are religious countries, their anchor is a national one. This underscores the inevitable reality that most Americans view Judaism through the prism of the Jewish nation – through Judaism 3.0! But this is not just an American reality, it is a global reality as well.

## The World – Long Viewed Jews As A Nation

Jews today are integrated into a global society and impacted by worldwide trends. Therefore, the state of Judaism is also a function of global developments and the shifting manner in which the world perceives the Jews.

Jews have been consistently viewed by the outside in a national context – by friends and foes alike. Indeed, the most hostile attacks against Judaism have been directed at Jews as a nation - not as a religion. Such was the case of the liquidation of Spanish Jewry in the 15th century – some by deportation and some by murder. One could not have converted out of the Jewish religion and be safe. On the contrary, conversion placed the Jews-turned-Christians under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition, which became the tool for the genocide of Spanish Jewry.

Similarly, four centuries later, the Holocaust was committed against the Jewish nation, not against the Jewish religion. Secular and atheist Jews were slaughtered alongside religious Jews. Here, too, one could not have converted out of the persecution. Same goes for the multiple deportations of Jews from European countries, the Dreyfus Affair, and the ethnic cleansing of Middle Eastern Jews. These were all directed at the Jewish nation, not at the Jewish religion. The world’s treatment of Judaism has historically been a leading indicator to the state of Judaism, and this seems to be the case today as well.

Most notably, this is reflected in the current state of the relationship between Europe and the Jews. This relationship dates back 2,300 years to

the Greek invasion of Judea and continued through centuries of Jewish refugees living in Europe. An estimated 80-90% of global Jews lived in Europe during most of the exile years. While there have been periods of peace, or at least containment, the Europe-Jewish relationship has repeatedly cycled back to conflict.

Europe has persistently and continuously objected to Judaism. Whatever form Judaism took, Europe was there to counter it, developing philosophies and mechanisms that were relevant to the evolving condition of Jews and Judaism. Similarly, the nature of European opposition to Judaism was also a function of evolving European realities: In the Middle Ages, when Europe was religious, the opposition to Judaism was manifested in seemingly religious persecution. In the 19th century, when Europe became increasingly secular, it was manifested in ethnological hatred. This hatred was given a new name towards the end of the 19th century: anti-Semitism.

This historical pattern continues today. Judaism evolved: The re-establishment of the Jewish state is the most astonishing development in the last nineteen centuries of Jewish history. As a result, Europe has funneled its entire opposition to Judaism through its relationship with Zionism and, by extension, the State of Israel.

The shift from European opposition to the Jews as individuals to the Jews as a collective is also consistent with European developments. Back when the world was decentralized, each monarch, then empire and then country, had their own relationship with their local Jewish population. The increased centralization and collective European mindset – the EU, the UN, multinational organizations – suggests that a collective approach be taken on the question of the Jews as well.

The establishment of a Jewish state allows a European to have a tangible conduit to express his opposition to Judaism. In this regard, the creation of the State of Israel does great service to the Jew-hater. It does not only provide an address for the opposition to Judaism but also a new vehicle to express it: Israel-bashing.

Israel-bashing has turned into a culture, fashion and code of conduct. The BDS coalition, which calls to **boycott, divest and sanction** Israel, is just a small part of it. While the hardcore of the Israel-bashing movement might still be on the fringe, its influence has been trickling into Europe's mainstream and from there to the rest of the world. It is expressed for example, in Europe's intense criticism of Israel's right to self-defense, in the intensity of European anger at the American decision to recognize Jerusalem as Israel's capital, and in its votes in a series of UNESCO resolutions that essentially denies Jewish ties to Jerusalem.

Today European anti-Semitism is no longer an existential threat to Judaism. Given European evolution over the past decades, there is no longer the fierce institutionalized objection to Jews nor to the Jewish religion (Judaism 2.0). While there are certainly dangers for Jews as individuals, Jews as a whole do not face the state-sponsored opposition they did in the past. Yet at the same time, there is rising and fierce European objection to Zionism (Judaism 3.0), including state-sponsored opposition.

In other words, Europe has settled its account with Judaism 2.0 and now has a new feud with Judaism 3.0. In doing so, it is helping define Judaism from the outside.

There are startling parallels between the evolution of the previous episode of European Jew-hatred – anti-Semitism, and the evolution of Israel-bashing.

Just like today, during the early days of the anti-Semitism movement in the second half of the 19th century, there was a debate about where to draw the line between legitimate criticism of Jews and outright Jew-hatred. No doubt, the emancipation of Jews in Europe had consequences: Jews were taking jobs from Europeans, they were amassing wealth, and were acting in the stock market in ways that damaged the interest of European miners and laborers. Some Jews no doubt engaged in antisocial behavior, and in manners that were contradictory to European culture. There were anti-Semites who had Jewish friends, and there were anti-Semites who sought to reform the Jews for the Jews' own benefit. Today as well, there is a recognition that much of the criticism of Israel is legitimate – whether one agrees with it or not. Similarly, those critical of Israel's policies must be defended from allegations that they are motivated by hate – indeed many of them have Israeli friends. Yet, one cannot ignore the contemporary European obsession with Israel. The dogmatic political opposition and blood libels (“massacre in Gaza” / “genocide in Palestine”) cannot just be dismissed as “criticism” of Israel, just like the 1886 popular book *Jewish France* cannot simply be dismissed as criticism of Jews. Evolving European attitudes towards Jews, then and now, must be analyzed in the context of the contemporary state of Judaism.

Israel-bashing is the current evolution of centuries-old European Jew-hatred. It is much stronger, well financed, and integral to contemporary European culture and global society than previous iterations of Jew-hatred. Indeed, anti-Semitism was a fringe movement in the late 19th century and had fewer resources and buy-in than today's Israel-bashing. Tragically, 70 years since it appeared in Europe, anti-Semitism led to the Holocaust.



There is a clear shift in Europe: from opposing Judaism through anti-Semitism to opposing Judaism through Israel-bashing; from opposition to Judaism 2.0 to opposition to Judaism 3.0.

Yet, recognizing that Judaism has transformed would rob Israel-bashers of their prerequisite assumption: the premise that Judaism is merely a religion. It would clarify that Israel-bashing and Jewish-bashing are one and the same.

Israel-bashing is not just limited to Europe, but it incubates there and then spreads to Europe's sphere-of-influence. In May 2021, we saw how old European blood-libels get applied to the contemporary state of Europeanism and Judaism. Human-rights concepts championed by Europe were used as currency of opposition to the Jewish state. The eviction of eight Palestinian families in a property dispute was labeled by Israel-bashers as "Ethnic Cleansing" and the defensive actions against Hamas terrorists, who fired over 4,300 rockets into Israel, was labeled as "genocide." Social media enabled the anti-Israel poison to spread broad and deep. The ceasefire, after 11 days of conflict, put an end to the rockets coming from Gaza, but not to the anti-Israel hatred coming from the West. Such anti-Israel incitement came from all over the world, but the underlying Israel-bashing ideology has incubated in Europe. This too is consistent with the previous iteration of Europe's opposition to Judaism. The last round – anti-Semitism – was also not just limited to Europe, but it incubated there and exported out.

Then, just like now, it adopted local flavors. This is what Theodor Herzl identified early in his Zionist thinking: "We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution. This is the case in every country, and will remain so, even in those highly civilized."

Same goes for earlier manifestations of European opposition to Judaism. The blood libels that were a popular expression of European Jew-hatred when Europe was religious were not limited to Europe either. In 1840, Jews in Syria were accused of using human blood to prepare Passover Matzahs. The Damascus blood libel that shocked Syria and the Ottoman Empire at the time did not originate with the Arabs. It was orchestrated by French diplomats.

Europe brought this along with other anti-Jewish fables into the Middle East and within decades the ideas were adopted locally in Arab communities. Indeed, religious-based Jew-hatred, just like anti-Semitism and Israel-bashing that followed it, was a European export to the world. Hence, the evolving form of European opposition to Judaism helps define Judaism from outside.

And yet, two events serve as disrupters to those endless cycles of European animosity towards the Jews:

- The American Revolution (establishment of new Zion) and
- The founding of the Jewish state (re-establishment of old Zion).

America rebelled against deeply rooted European dogmas. Americans attained new freedoms that were unimaginable in Europe. This included the freedom from Europe's chronic opposition to Judaism. Not only Jews were free in America, but so was Judaism.

This new radical attitude towards the Jews became more significant at the turn of the 20th century, as global power had shifted from Europe to the United States. For the entirety of recorded history, Europe has dominated world affairs and dictated global perspectives, including attitudes toward the Jews. The rise of a new global power meant a disrupter to European opposition to Judaism.

While no longer the globally dominant factor today, Europe still wields disproportionate power over global affairs through multinational organizations that Europe funds and strongly influences. Those institutions' touch points with Judaism are with Zionism, not with religious Judaism. For example, the International Criminal Court is heavily funded by Europe and is housed in Europe. The court is not a threat to the Jewish religion – on the contrary, but it is certainly a threat to the Jewish nation. It has the capability to deliver paralyzing blows to Israel's security, economy and society, such as by threatening to arrest Israeli government officials, military personnel, settlers – in short, all Israelis; in short, the Jews. This is not just a theoretical conspiracy theory about Europe targeting the Jews. This is an ongoing multi-year active investigation, funded by European taxpayers.

The second disrupter, the re-establishment of the Jewish state, redefined Europe's relationship with the Jews. The European-Jewish relationship has never been that of co-equals. Jews were the miserable ones – a nation of refugees with no rights residing in the midst of Europe. In Europe's defense, how could one possibly expect them to swiftly change this attitude towards the Jew? Herzl understood that human psychology: "There is no use in suddenly announcing in the newspaper that starting tomorrow, all people are equal," he warned Otto von Bismarck, Germany's first Chancellor.

After Herzl's time, the situation only got worse: The establishment of the State of Israel meant that the Jew was not only suddenly equal but also suddenly strong. This was too difficult to swallow for Europeans after centuries of indoctrination. Indeed, as the Jews were on track to establishing their own state, European animosity to Judaism intensified

to horrific proportions.

In recent decades, the Church's view towards Jews and Judaism radically changed, and indeed religious European Christians today embrace the strong Jew. But sadly, the European-Israeli relationship has cycled back to conflict yet again in part due to the shift from a religious Europe to an atheist Europe. The strong Jew represents an insurmountable problem for the secular European whose religious point of reference is stuck back in the Middle Ages, where the Church's view towards the Jews was hostile.

The astonishing success of the Jewish state in recent years makes this problem even worse. Perhaps a weak State of Israel could have been contained, but in the 21st century, as the Jew went from equal to strong to powerful, the 2,300-year-old European-Jewish conflict is once again escalating.

Historically, European disdain for Jews was amplified whenever there were growing frustrations in Europe. During times of European flourishing, the Jews typically did well. When things went bad in Europe, the Jews were to blame.

Such was the case during the black death pandemic in the mid-1300s, when Jews were massacred in "response" to the plague. Such was the case after France's humiliating defeat to Prussia in 1870, which led to the Dreyfus Affair, and such was the case in Germany's humiliating defeat in World War I, which led to the Holocaust.

Since the end of World War II, Jews in Europe and around the world have been living in yet another Golden Age. But Europe's fortunes are changing. A series of frustrations are emerging that will have an inevitable impact on Europe's attitude to Judaism.

First and foremost is Europe's trench war against Islamic terrorism, which is still in its early stage. Europe is not remotely prepared for the magnitude, cruelty and amorphous nature of this war. European fingers are already being pointed at the Jews, but this time it is specifically pointed at the Jewish state (Judaism 3.0). There is a mainstream European view that the Israeli-Arab conflict is a cause of terrorism around the world. If we "address" the Israeli occupation, the logic goes, Europe would be safer.

The Jewish transformation is not only evident by the evolving nature of the world's opposition to Judaism. There is outright admiration for the Jewish state in Asia, Africa, Latin America, North America, parts of Europe and even the Middle East. Such admiration for Israel translates into renewed admiration of Judaism. This is indicative of a Jewish transformation.

The world seeks an engagement with Judaism. This is particularly true for Christians, many of whom feel they want to “come back home.” In part this is driven by intra-Christian movements to understand Jesus better, to feel what he felt living in Judea. This Christian yearning to come back home to Judaism is not possible from a religious point of view. Hence, under the existing Jewish architecture, there remain built-in amicable tensions. But recognizing that Judaism has transformed to Judaism 3.0 would allow Christians to get much closer to Judaism, while staying devout Christians, and without posing a threat to the Jewish religion.

Judaism 2.0 (Rabbinic Judaism) proactively rejects Christianity. It has been doing so since the time of Jesus. Judaism 3.0 (Zionism) on the other hand, invites Christians to get closer. One does not need to be a “member” in order to be a friend.

Being friends of Zionism (Judaism 3.0) is much easier than being Friends of religious Judaism (Judaism 2.0). Moreover, it was the particular manner in which Judaism developed – Rabbinic Judaism – that made a point to emphasize the contrasts between Judaism and Christianity.

Similarly, the Jewish religion does not have the language that would allow such rapprochement. Jewish particularity and religious laws make it impossible for this kind of “coming back home.” The Jewish religion discourages Christians and other non-Jews from converting to Judaism. (Conversions in Jewish law are performed under the theory that the converted person is reconnecting to an old Jewish past.)

On the other hand, failure to transform can be dangerous for both religions. The yearning to get closer to Judaism is already manifested in hybrid solutions, such as “Messianic Jews.” The transformation to Judaism 3.0 provides a framework for Christians and other non-Jews to “come back home,” without any compromises to the Jewish religion or the distinct particularity of Judaism.

Recognizing that Judaism has transformed would dispel Jewish fears that Christians are trying to convert them, and would draw clear lines: Christians are getting close to the Jewish nation, not to the Jewish religion, and moreover, they are doing so without intentions to become part of it.

This is already manifested through various Christian organizations such as Friends of Zion, the League for Friendship, Christians for Israel and various other organizations whose focus is not about being pro-Judaism 2.0, but rather about being pro-Judaism 3.0.

Recognizing the transformation would allow Christians to extend their friendship, not only to the State of Israel and to Israelis, but also by

extension to Judaism and Jews as a whole.

The rivalry between Europe and Israel will remain, but recognizing the transformation would end remaining traces of the 2,000-year-old rivalry between Christianity and Judaism – an artificial rivalry that is a byproduct of the European-Israeli conflict. It could lead to a Judeo-Christian front – a form of a confederacy of two distinct and separate sister religions.

Indeed, from the perspectives of both love and hate, from motivation of both support and opposition to Judaism, it is evident that the world is already at Judaism 3.0

### Judaism 3.0 – Judaism’s Transformation

Judaism is transforming. Rabbinic Judaism (Judaism 2.0) was effective as Judaism’s organizing principle during centuries of exile, when Jews were religious and when there was an outer wall to Judaism. Circumstances have now changed.

The following table shows the shift in Judaism’s organizing principle:

	Temple, Sacrifices, Jerusalem, Judea	Halacha, Rituals, Learnings, Oral Torah	Jewish Nationalism
<b>Judaism 1.0</b> Biblical Judaism (10th c. BCE – 1st CE)	<b>Judaism’s organizing principle</b>	√	√
<b>Judaism 2.0</b> Rabbinic Judaism (1st c. CE – 20th c.)		<b>Judaism’s organizing principle</b>	√ (Mitigated due to exile)
<b>Judaism 3.0</b> Zionism (21st c. – )		√ (Mitigated due to secularization)	<b>Judaism’s organizing principle</b>

The organizing principle is certainly not the only thread of Judaism. Indeed, Israel’s increased engagement with the Jewish religion facilitates the shift in Judaism’s organizing principle from Rabbinic Judaism to Zionism.

Moreover, Zionism does not only draw from the previous organizing principle of Rabbinic Judaism, but it is also inseparable from it. The shift is a natural progression in Judaism’s evolution.

“No portion of my argument is based on a new discovery,” Herzl stated in the preface to his manifesto *The Jewish State*. Same should be said about the idea that Judaism is transforming and that Jews coming back to their land after 2,000 years and forming a Jewish state is a transformative event in Judaism.

In the early 20th century Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook spoke about the theological and redemptive context of Zionism. In 1981, Rabbi Irving Greenberg wrote “The Third Great Cycle of Jewish History” and argued that just as the Biblical era of Judaism was shaped by the Exodus from Egypt and the Rabbinic era by the destruction of the Temple, the third era of Judaism is shaped by the Holocaust and the birth of the State of Israel. Others have also argued that the establishment of the State of Israel represents a new period in Judaism.

And yet, recognizing that Zionism is now the organizing principle of Judaism is far from obvious. Indeed, so far this has not been broadly acknowledged. In the previous transformation of Judaism, it took centuries to recognize that Judaism had transformed – that it was no longer about a nation living in Judea; no longer about the Temple and sacrifices.

As described in this book, the transformation to Judaism 3.0 is increasingly evident and is ripe for broad recognition. Just like Herzl described his original vision 120 years ago, today’s transformation is the result of an inescapable conclusion, rather than that of a flighty imagination.

Herzl understood that his ideas would encounter both external and internal opposition: “We shall have to endure hard and bitter struggles: with regretful Pharaohs, with our enemies, and above all with ourselves,” he wrote.

The recognition of the transformation to Judaism 3.0 addresses the multiple camps of opposition. It allows secular, unaffiliated and religious Jews alike to embrace Judaism while at the same time it provides the vehicle for the world’s nations to finally accept Judaism.

In discussing the opposition to Zionism, Herzl once wrote: “How can we tell the power of an idea? – When we see that nobody can ignore it – whether he is for it, or against it.”

Zionism today is the one aspect of Judaism that cannot be ignored – not by Jews and not by the outside world. That is because, as this book shows, Zionism has become the organizing principle of Judaism.

# III

## From Judaism To Zionism

The transformation to Judaism 3.0 needs to be placed in its historical context, recognizing that Judaism has also transformed in the past. The following table is a snapshot of the evolution of Judaism:

		Jewish Population		
		Europe	America	Israel
Judaism 1.0 - Biblical Judaism	10C BCE ↓ 1C CE	0%	0%	~90-100%
Judaism 2.0 - Rabbinic Judaism	1C CE			
	↓	~80-90%	~0%	<5%
1895		<b>Zionism established</b>		
		Opposition to Zionism	Opposition to Zionism	
1917		<b>Zionism recognized</b>		
1935			<b>Zionism recognized</b>	<b>Yishuv takeover of Zionism</b>
1948				<b>Jewish state established</b>
	↓			
Judaism 3.0 - Zionism	21C CE	~5%	~40%	~45%

## 1. FROM JUDAISM 1.0 TO JUDAISM 2.0

Since early in its establishment, Judaism was associated with the Temple, the ritual of the sacrifices, Jerusalem and the Land of Israel. That was the architecture that bound together world Judaism, as evidenced by the Biblical narrative, archeology and historical accounts. The Temple provided the tangible manifestation of Judaism for the Jew, regardless of whether he actually worshiped there, and was the anchor that kept Jews together. Hence, when the Romans destroyed the Temple in the first century CE, they destroyed Judaism's anchor. Soon thereafter, the architecture that served as the organizing principle of Biblical Judaism collapsed. Not only was the Temple destroyed, and the ritual of sacrifices ceased, but the Jews were also deported from Jerusalem and eventually from the Land of Israel.

Astonishingly, Judaism survived. It did so by going through a dramatic transformation: from Biblical Judaism being the organizing principle of Judaism (Judaism 1.0) to Rabbinic Judaism serving in this role (Judaism 2.0).

## 2. TWO THOUSAND YEARS OF JUDAISM 2.0

Rabbinic Judaism radically shook the core of Jewish life. Moving away from the previous focus on the Temple, the priests and customs based on the physical presence in the Land of Israel, Rabbinic Judaism evolved to accommodate the new realities of the Jewish nation-religion being in exile.

The synagogues replaced the Temple as the Jewish point of orientation. The structured prayers replaced the sacrifices as the method of worship. The insular life in the Jewish ghetto replaced the insular life in Judea. With Jews away from Jerusalem, the yearning to return to Zion became a cornerstone of Rabbinic Judaism.

In addition, the Oral Torah was canonized to complement the Written Torah. The infrastructure for setting rules and laws governing Jewish life was put in place (halacha), and rituals and customs developed.

The transformation to Rabbinic Judaism as Judaism's organizing principle was successful. Eventually, most of the Jews, with the notable exception of the Karaites, adopted Rabbinic Judaism, and Judaism prevailed throughout the next 1,800 years of exile. Consequently, today, the terms Judaism and Rabbinic Judaism are essentially interchangeable.

The Jews stayed a closed nation-religion in their various host countries until modern times. At the end of the 18th century, it is estimated that 80-90% of the Jews lived in Europe, the vast majority of them in Eastern