Sixteen girls straggle in, a few at a time, from a long morning of poignant and difficult conversation. They are greeted by house mothers who seem to know exactly who needs a hug at this precise moment. The girls themselves exchange tears and laughter. And even amid obvious wrestling with what they have just shared and witnessed in dialogue, a tender affection fills the air. Music comes on. A few girls set about doing chores. In the living room, three take turns with a hula hoop. In the bedroom next door, several sing along as one plays guitar. Each girl makes a point of thanking me and my colleague—the volunteers who brought them lunch this day.

Surrounding us is the quiet red rock expanse of northern New Mexico. The program: Creativity for Peace, a youth dialogue camp involving therapeutic art and experiential leadership training. The girls are Palestinian and Israeli teens from Israel and the West Bank seeking a new and peaceful path toward the future.

As a psychotherapist specializing in the neuroscience of trauma, I understand that the ongoing violence in Israel and Palestine may never cease if the emphasis for resolution continues to be built upon mistrust and the defense of borders. If we truly want

Penny Holland, a psychotherapist in New Mexico, specializes in working with trauma. She believes tikkun olam is best achieved through healing the trauma that is cause and effect of social injustice and violence.
peace, we must highlight and strengthen solutions to the conflict that instead seek to build thoughtful relationships between Palestinians and Israelis. Programs that bring together Jewish Israeli and Palestinian youth offer such a solution. They range from efforts based in Israel/Palestine, such as Neve Shalom/Wahat Al-Salam and Parents Circle Family Forum, to North American programs such as Seeds of Peace, Hands of Peace, and Creativity for Peace.

**Learning to Listen Differently**

There are many projects directed toward a peaceful relationship between Palestinians and Israelis. They range from joint economic ventures to artistic and cultural exchanges to youth leadership and dialogue programs. Whether their peace efforts are aimed at policy, politics, or projects, their common goal is to enhance relationships between Israelis and Palestinians by providing a positive, equal context for knowing each other outside the conflict's violence. By understanding the neuroscience behind why relationship-based peace programs are so successful, we can promote these programs as viable alternatives for bringing about peace in the Middle East.

Research in child attachment and development, trauma, and mental illness now recognizes that our abilities to interact with and respond to life's joys and challenges are initially set up within the nervous system as a result of relationships with our earliest caregivers. If caregiving provides safety and attunement to needs, the nervous system develops pathways of self-regulation, and we are able to function in a calm and thoughtful manner. If there is danger or frequently unmet needs, there is dysregulation. Because of this new research, it is now understood that the repair of trauma best occurs through the experience of positive social connection—precisely the sort of connection that youth dialogue programs can provide. Within mindful, compassionate relationships, regulation can be restored to the nervous system, and a person can access his or her capacity for empathy, critical thinking, and creative problem solving.

Youth dialogue and leadership programs are particularly inspiring as a solution to prejudice and violence because they reach the hearts and minds of Palestinians and Israelis before too many years of trauma have left a damaging imprint. Many youth dialogue programs cite as a foundational principle a quotation of Quaker peace activist Gene Knudsen Hoffman: "An enemy is one whose story we have not heard." Dottie Indyke, the executive director of Creativity for Peace, explains that for the girls of their program, "having the 'enemy' witness and help hold the pain is, in part, what leads to transformation."

In recent phone interviews, I spoke with two young women who participated in the Creativity for Peace program. Amira, a Palestinian living near Jenin in the West Bank, participated in Creativity for Peace and now serves as its Palestinian program coordinator, when she isn't teaching science. She says:

At camp I really felt my voice was heard by the other side. I was sharing about an attack from the army during the Second Intifada—how the army imposed a curfew and told us we were not allowed to leave our homes. . . . I remember asking my parents why I couldn't go to school. But then the army came in the middle of the night and made us leave our home and go out into the streets where there were tanks. The army said our house might get damaged because they were destroying all the checkpoints, and we lived very near to one. When I was telling this story, this girl from the other side, she started to cry and said to me, "My brother is in the army; you are talking about my brother." I learned later that when this girl returned to Israel, she refused
to serve in the army, because of my story... All we hear is how much we hate Israelis and how much they hate us. You don’t have a chance to know neighbors. Creativity for Peace showed me that, if we can talk, one day it will change the situation here.

Sivan is a Jewish Israeli who is studying political science in Tel Aviv. She participated in Creativity for Peace prior to her required military duty in Israel, after which she again returned to the camp as a senior leader. The dialogue camp, she says, "affects my actions, my choices, how I live, my time at the university, what I choose to believe in—not to hate, especially in this society." But mostly Sivan speaks of learning to "listen differently" at camp. One Palestinian camper, in particular, "really challenged me and made me think," she says. "I learned a lot about her history, her life... that it is just as important as mine. I didn't realize how much I wanted peace for her. I am afraid for mine [the Jewish people], but who will take care of her?"

It was not until the end of our conversation that Sivan mentioned the name of this Palestinian girl. It was Amira. When I told Sivan that I had spoken with Amira only a few hours earlier, she told me, "She lives thirty minutes away from me, but we can't go to each other."

Recognizing the Dignity of the "Other"

Creativity for Peace uses a therapeutic method of "compassionate dialogue" based on theories of compassionate listening, nonviolent communication, authentic speaking, and openhearted listening. Silvia Margia, the director of the group's young leader program, says, "Once we learn to listen intently and speak authentically, we can no longer ignore the pain of self or 'other,' nor hold a perception of separation." As a social worker and a Palestinian who grew up in Israel, she is passionate about this work. "Sharing and witnessing feelings can be used to bring us together," she says. "When you learn the power of these deep emotions (anger, grief)—when you own them, take responsibility for them, no longer hide from them, they can motivate you to make change. Ignoring these emotions does not allow change."

Each youth dialogue program has its unique approach to enable compassionate listening and speaking, but all agree that dialogue is the only way to break down stereotypes, build empathy, develop an internal sense of peace, and provide a direct experience of a peaceful relationship with the "other." Youth engaged in this type of dialogue become aware of the dignity of the other and the role they must play in bringing peace to the world they share.

But they are also often ridiculed as well, called "naïve" or "traitor" by their family and friends back home. For the Palestinian girls, it is often difficult to return home, where checkpoints, daily oppression, and limited opportunities are a harsh reality of their relationship to Jewish Israel. Amira tells me: "I have been called a betrayer of my people. Some of my friends support what I am doing, but other friends believe that peace is not the way. The first thing that comes to mind for them is that peace equals negative things."

For the Jewish Israeli participants, it is common that, upon their return from Creativity for Peace, they soon begin the two-year duty as soldiers required of them by the State of Israel. A few of these teens have chosen to serve at checkpoints on the West Bank in the hopes of being able to influence the way Palestinians are treated by other members of the Israeli Defense Forces. Some, like the young woman mentioned by Amira, have refused to serve in the military altogether.

North America's Role in Promoting Dialogue

Today, more than a dozen youth dialogue programs take place in North America. In addition to Creativity for Peace, other North American youth dialogue programs include Face to Face/Faith to Faith (New York), Hands of Peace (Illinois), The Jacobs International Teen Leadership Institute (California), Kids 4 Peace (Ontario), Middle East Peace Camp for Children (Washington), Noar l'Noar (California), Peace It Together
Large structural changes are needed to bring about peace in the Middle East, but social transformations also need to happen for those changes to feel possible. Therapeutic activities such as this art project at Creativity for Peace offer one small way to start the healing.

Most North America-based youth dialogue programs begin with a summer intensive program varying in length from one to three weeks. They typically center around an extensive daily dialogue process supported by experiential activities that include art, physical challenge, cultural exchange, and social interaction. Some organizations, such as Peace It Together, focus on collaborative film-making, yielding films that are sometimes later used in-country as a vehicle for the youth to share their experiences and promote peace within their communities. (continued on page 64)

Pacifica Graduate Institute's Program in Mythological Studies

is a doctoral program designed as an integrated M.A./Ph.D. sequence that explores the understanding of human experience revealed in mythology, and in the manifold links between myth and ritual, literature, art, and religious experience. Special Attention is given to depth psychological and archetypal approaches to the study of myth.

PACIFICA
Graduate Institute
An Accredited Graduate School with Two Campuses near Santa Barbara, California

call 805.969.3626, ext.308
or visit www.pacifica.edu

Where Myth Meets Depth
upbringing he was goodhearted, unlike his brethren. When I joined a role-play
guild, I met another excellent writer
who played an Arasai (evil faerie) who
had a thing for dark elves.

What is clear to me from the years of
work I have been doing as a vigilante
online healer is that the powerfully
linked consciousness of the Internet
can serve as a portal to other dimen-
sions. Many writers have experienced
the sensation of having a character
“come alive.” Now, with the technology
and energy of the Internet behind the
creation of an avatar and the focused
attention of multiple consciousnesses
into a perceptual space—along with the
added intensity of higher emotions elic-
ited through role-play—a bridge to an-
other dimension can be created. I have
experienced this personally. Computer
role-playing is essentially a training
mechanism for channeling. It’s danger-
ous because it makes it easy for peo-
ple who do not have the highest good
of all in mind to do so unconsciously.

Christopher Kilham, an ethnobotany
lecturer at the University of Massachu-
setts Amherst, offers a helpful descrip-
tion of this linked consciousness:

The World Wide Web is at least an
exteriorization of the human mind,
and represents virtually every con-
ceivable mental state or manner of
expression. With online gaming,
the psyche is tapped directly into
a potent desire/greed/competitive
cycle, much as in the offline world
of business. Little explored and
not much discussed is the likely
electro-psychic connection of the
computer user and the vast web
of machinery itself, and how the
pulses that transmit messages in
the Web also directly affect neural
processing and brainwave activity.
We are tapped, Matrix-style, into
the vast feeder emanating from the
global connectivity scheme, and
our psyches are becoming satu-
rated with an endless and complex
bit-stream. As with other activities,
what we choose to connect to fash-
ions our consciousness.

I am reaching out for partners in this
work, looking for others of like mind
and experience to help, but I must ad-
vise caution also. In the end, you really
don’t know whom you’re talking to on
the Internet. You may be talking to a
ghost in the machine.

HOLLAND (continued from page 30)

Following the summer intensive,
most dialogue programs implement at
least one year of in-country follow-ups
to reinforce what the youth have learned
at camp. Depending on the program,
the follow-ups may include continued
dialogue, online communication, joint
cultural projects, or community presen-
tations, such as the films made by youth
involved in Building Bridges for Peace
and Peace It Together.

A third component of many youth
dialogue programs is the opportu-
nity for past participants to return as
young leaders for future summer inten-
sives. Some young leaders also become
trained as dialogue facilitators. Cre-
vativity for Peace prepares its returnees
for collaborative leadership, with Pales-
tinians and Israelis co-facilitating as a
team. This mirrors a dialogue norm
that is considered essential by many of
the dialogue program directors with
whom I spoke: the adults facilitating
dialogue must represent, proportion-
ally, the ethnic makeup of the youth in
the program.

Many U.S.- and Canadian-based dia-
logue programs include North Ameri-
can youth in addition to Jewish Israelis,
Palestinian Israelis, and Palestinians
from the occupied territories. One
program, Middle East Peace Camp for
Children, only serves youth who live in
the United States; the youth come from
the Jewish, Arab, and Middle Eastern
families living in the Seattle area.
Another unique component of this
program is that it serves children ages five
to eleven, unlike most programs that
work only with teenagers and young
adults. Former campers can come back
as teens, in the role of camp counselor
or leader.

None of the programs I researched
promote a political or religious ideology,
although one might argue that the com-
mitment to peace is both religious and
political. Most programs do, however,
include attendance at the religious ser-
VICES of each of the represented groups.
Of the program directors with whom I
spoke, only Noah Silverman of Face to
Face/Faith to Faith, based in New York,
describes his program as distinctly
grounded in religious values: Jewish,
Muslim, and Christian participants
are encouraged to understand their
faith’s teachings about the moral value
of peace, the hard reality that some of
their religious traditions contribute
to violence, and the responsibility to
wrestle with this ambivalence in order
to work for peace in the world.

Celebrating Our
Cultural Kinship

What strikes me most profoundly when
I visit Creativity for Peace is how much
all of these women and girls look like
they could be related to one another. I
try but, for the most part, am unable
to determine who comes from the West
Bank and who from Israel. I am ten-
derly aware that most of the girls also
look like me, with dark, wavy hair,
olive skin, and Semitic features. More
than any other experience I have had
as a Jewish woman, this experience re-
minds me viscerally of how Jews and
Arabs are, at our core, from the same
people.

This reminder of our common an-
cestry is aligned with a belief I hold
deep in my heart: that Arabs and Jews will, in the end, choose to save each other rather than continue their mutual destruction. One of the tragic ironies of the seemingly endless conflict in Israel and Palestine is the rich history, cultural kinship, and shared values of our two peoples. Our language, music, food, ethics, traditions, religious tenets, and love of family and land are so similar. Once, we even lived as neighbors in peace. The history of our cooperative coexistence has been lost amid the ongoing danger and geopolitical divisiveness of the region. Instead, our differences have been emphasized, and there has been a blind acceptance by both peoples of the assertion that we each wish the demise of the other. Although real animosity and fear have grown, understandably, in the toxic environment of so much violence, many public opinion polls show that the majority of Palestinians and Israelis do want peace with each other and believe they can live peacefully together.

As Amira says, "The hate is between the governments, not the people." It is the people who, in the end, will have to demand that their leaders and their extremists stop the violence in both directions. The Israeli and Palestinian youth involved in dialogue across the world are moving beyond their pain, recognizing their similarities and appreciating differences, building bridges toward peace, and leading the way toward shared respect and neighborly coexistence.

Beyond Our Primitive Defense Mechanisms

On its face it seems obvious that when people truly see, listen to, and value each other, they are less likely to hurt each other. However, there is a deeper level, beyond external interaction, at which respectful and meaningful relationships—across conflict—have even more penetrating impact. In "Holding the Wound, Holding Out Hope," a March 2011 article on Tikkun’s web magazine site, I outlined the neuroscience of the social engagement system, an aspect of our autonomic nervous system that has evolved in mammals to provide safety and survival. As Stephen Porges, author of The Polyvagal Theory, has pointed out, this evolved capacity provides a foundation of resilience that can prevent trauma from causing great harm in the first place, and a mechanism through which we best heal from the debilitating effects of trauma when they do occur.

The social engagement system is one of three response systems that provide adaptive and behavioral strategies for survival. These strategies are immobilization, enabling us to freeze, appear dead, or dissociate from pain, terror, and horror; mobilization, enabling us to fight or flee; and, at the highest level, social engagement, enabling us to connect with our pack as a means to feel safe, remain calm, and access higher brain functioning to resolve situations.

Social engagement, including facial expression, eye gazing, vocalization, and listening, dampens the effects of the fight-or-flight responses, enabling social interactions that regulate and calm the agitation, fear, and anger typically evoked at points of danger. This communication settles the moment and lays down a template for more regulated behavior in the future. When the stress response is regulated, we are able to settle, and thus access higher levels of brain function, which govern and increase our capacity for critical thinking, creativity, transcendence of violence, and compassion. From these heights of wisdom, we can seek more peaceful, just, and sane solutions to the conflicts or dangers that we face.

Our more primitive defensive strategies, which in some situations of immediate attack do allow for survival, do not provide effective long-term defense or protection. Instead, their tendency to evoke similar defensive strategies in the other leads to a vicious cycle that escalates fear, despair, hatred, and violence. Although some situations within the Palestinian-Israeli conflict certainly qualify as immediate attack, the more persistent and devastating dynamic is the ongoing, intentional, often planned destructiveness between Israelis and Palestinians. If the most prominent component of negotiated peace agreements continues to be verbal and weaponized posturing on both sides, there is no doubt we will all remain driven by our more primitive defensive mechanisms. Continued reactivity to the violence and to each other will prevent this conflict from ever coming to an end. Alternatively, hateful doctrine, checkpoints, security walls, and suicide bombings become increasingly unnecessary when we instead cultivate strong and respectful relationships within which safety can emerge. Mutual awareness of the stories, heartache, dignity, and needs of the "other" creates an environment in which both peoples, together, can generate real solutions. It is the beauty of our neurological design that, the more we experience something, the more capable we become of engaging in it again. Therefore, the more time spent in social engagement, the more it becomes the stronger neurological response pattern, rising above primitive defenses.

Another important aspect of social engagement broadens our ability to live cooperatively: not only do social interactions, such as facial expression or voice tone, regulate bodily states, but bodily states, such as heart rate or emotional responsiveness, also regulate social interaction. Soothing interpersonal communication can promote a feeling of calm and safety. Likewise, activities or experiences that are enjoyable or help regulate internal physiology can positively affect our sense of safety and connected relationship. This bidirectional flow of social engagement allows greater complexity for the support of regulation and safety.

Many youth dialogue programs have woven both safe social interactions and
regulating activities into their daily routines. Rula, a Palestinian living in Israel who attended Creativity for Peace, says this aspect of the program felt helpful to her: “Doing art you forget all the borders between all the girls.” Indeed, the shared laughter, singing, hula hooping, and yes, even chore completion of the girls whose smiles greeted me when I helped prepare their lunch are indicative of the complex foundation being created to bring about real change in the experiences and relationships between people who once considered each other enemies.

Our perceptions of safety and threat are set in place beginning in utero and may be strengthened or newly developed all through our lives. Our perceptions come via direct and intentional interactions with those around us, such as a mother’s cooing or a father’s gentle touch, and from social, cultural, and environmental experiences, such as music, ritual, or the smells of a favorite food. Our perceptions come to us primarily through our senses—visual, auditory, gustatory, olfactory, tactile, kinesthetic—and register primarily outside of conscious awareness. This is why a war veteran can hear a car backfire and, without conscious thought or decision making, be flat on the ground in seconds, ducking for cover. This is also why the smell of baking bread can bring a warm and powerful feeling and sudden tears for a long-beloved grandma.

Our perceptions of safety and threat emerge from positive and painful experience, both love and violence having the potential to penetrate deeply. Because our perceptions of safety and threat are mostly registered unconsciously, we often react to life’s situations from these old perceptions, with neither awareness of why something has affected us, nor any assessment of our reaction. Typically, these reactions are old patterns of self-protection, which may or may not be appropriate or useful in the current situation. Many times, this failure of conscious choice about what would be most productive in a present situation leads to our retraumatization. Also known as trauma reenactment, this repetition of old, retraumatizing patterns not only clouds our evaluation of current situations but also complicates our ability to heal old trauma or find new ways to respond to threat and safety. When we look at the amount of trauma suffered by both Palestinians and Israelis, not just at the hands of each other, but for generations, it is clear that both peoples continue to reenact traumatic patterns, traumatizing self and other anew. Is it any wonder, then, that Israelis and Palestinians have struggled to move beyond primitive defensive strategies as their primary ways of reacting? Trauma reenactment yields little opportunity or desire to respond differently. Peace, then, feels like an impossibility.

Youth dialogue programs provide support for individuals to cease their patterns of trauma reenactment, offering real opportunity for change. By developing an approach that draws upon and strengthens the social engagement system, these programs provide both the safe relational container and the sensory, experiential, and everyday life activities that help heal and transform trauma. They gently and powerfully help youth to build new experiences, and thus new perceptions. These programs make conscious both the previously unconscious perceptions formulated in trauma and the newly formed, peaceful perceptions formulated in connection. By making these perceptions conscious, in the context of safe social relationship and physiologically regulating activities, deeper, more long-lasting change is possible. Again our neurological design serves us well, as the reinforcement of new perceptions takes precedence over trauma reenactment. Indyke might call this “peace-making from the inside out.”

The Courage to Stand Up

Although the numbers of youth who have participated in transformational dialogue are small, relative to the population of Arabs and Jews around the world, there is hope that the transformation nonetheless has impact. The back of the Creativity for Peace T-shirt says: “The courage to lead. The promise of change.” The three young women connected to Creativity for Peace whom I interviewed each described how they apply what they’ve learned in their present-day lives.

“When you go back to reality at home, it is hard,” Rula says. “You see the ugly truth.” Attending Tel Aviv University, she is the only Palestinian in her class. “There is a wall. I feel different. Even if I don’t like or agree, I try to see the other side. I learned in camp that even if it is hard, understanding the other side is easier . . . it is easier to love than to hate.”

Sivan participates in a study group with other Jewish Israelis to better understand the Nakba, the 1948 Palestinian exodus. In Arabic nakba means catastrophe. The study group’s goal is to learn what was not taught to them in “regular Israeli schools.” Sivan says she tells her Jewish friends, “You believe what the news tells you, but they [the Palestinians] are really like you and me.”

Amira speaks of a Palestinian Studies course she is taking at her university: “The professor started to talk about the Jewish people, saying that Israeli teachers teach their students to hate Arabs.” At camp, Amira says, the girls talked about this, and she learned that many Israeli schools do not teach hatred toward Arabs. “Because I knew the truth, I asked the professor if I could speak. I told him, ‘What you are saying is not true.’ When you say the truth, it affects other people. . . . Before camp I would have never had the courage to stand up and say these things.”

Because dialogue takes individuals deep into the emotion and suffering of self and other, the transformation is real.
and long-lasting. In reality, it would not be that difficult to incorporate compassionate dialogue into our schools, communities, and religious institutions. Not would all outreach have to come in the form of intense dialogue. The film projects created by the youth at PeaceItTogether are shown in their communities back home, with the hope of catalyzing mass audiences. A Michigan-based program called Pathways2Peace offers "Reuniting the Children of Abraham" — a multimedia package for purchase by schools and other groups across the globe. The "Teaching Tolerance" curriculum, designed by the Southern Poverty Law Center, has long been available to schools throughout the United States. Peer mediation, taking place in schools all over the world, has a proven approach to resolving conflict and teaching children how to listen and have compassion for the "other." And Parents Circle Families Forum, based in Israel and the West Bank, has a high school program called "Dialogue Encounters" that brings two forum members, one Israeli and one Palestinian, to classrooms in Israel, East Jerusalem, and the West Bank to talk to students about the possibility of peace and reconciliation. Close to 40,000 students are reached each year. As we examine the increasing effectiveness of programs such as these and others, it becomes clear that if the youth lead the way, eventually adults and our governing bodies will follow.

If we are serious about creating a more peaceful world, perhaps the most powerful thing we each can do is acknowledge our own painful experiences and the potential for trauma reenactment. We have the responsibility to monitor our emotions, responses, and potential reactivity, remaining cognizant of whether we are responding from our more primitive defenses or from our capacity to create connection, safety, and wiser solutions. If we are able to operate primarily from social engagement, we can be great peacemakers in our world. If we are unable to do so, we only add to the trauma and confusion, making peace that much more difficult to achieve.

As a Jewish woman, I am all too aware of my own threshold of emotion just beneath the surface. It is the pain of my grief and horror at what my own people suffer currently and have suffered over the centuries, and how I inherited that suffering through the stories and the unconscious perceptions of my ancestors. My pain is also of a grief and horror that my people are now the ones inflicting suffering upon another dignified people. To face and hold the suffering of both Palestinians and Israelis requires a deep strength and honesty that I struggle daily to maintain. Yet facing and holding the suffering is, I believe, the only way to transform the suffering and move in the direction of peace.

After saying goodbye to the girls and women of Creativity for Peace, I took a long walk amid the red rock expanse of New Mexico and wept. Within my own painful mix of emotions were tears of joy for the beautiful healing I had just witnessed — the welling up of hope that these girls and women, Israeli and Palestinian, so like me, so like each other, are forging, courageously and willingly, a new path of peace.

BERMAN (continued from page 33)

messianic, world, they declare, they would support a purified state.

From a progressive perspective, the foregrounding of the statism/anti-statism conundrum in the Israeli and Zionist past and present serves at least two purposes. First, it serves to remind us that the "legitimacy of the state" has always been in question for Zionism and that uncritical acceptance of that legitimacy is merely one position among many. Revival of the rich traditions of progressive Zionist skepticism about statism has long been recognized by many as key to critical thinking about the current situation. That some of the most important Jewish intellectuals of the past century were central to these traditions provides crucial anchoring for current progressive thought and action. Secondly, however, both historical and contemporary analysis shows that the line between statists and their critics does not necessarily track the line between right and left positions on the key moral issues that Zionism and Israel have faced and continue to face. Far from it: the polemics between statism and anti-statism divide all camps, left and right, religious and secular, even Zionist and anti-Zionist.

Rav Kook: Statist?

One way of appreciating the complexity of these issues, as is so often the case in matters relating to Zionism, is to look at a passage in an essay by Rav Abraham Isaac Ha-Kohen Kook, that spiritually paradoxical, culturally Modernist, intellectually cosmopolitan figure who was transmogrified into the ideological inspiration of the settler movement through what was arguably a tendentious appropriation of his views by his son Zvi Yehuda. Kook's key 1920 work, Orot, contains a chapter discussing "leumiyyut Yisrael," a phrase which, significantly, is used by Kook to signify both the "nationalism" and "nationality" of Israel. This chapter is often quoted for the proposition that Kook gave metaphysical, even divine, value to the "State of Israel" (which did not, of course, yet exist). Its most cited passage finds Kook declaring that this notional "State of Israel" is the "foundation of the throne of God in the world." Taken