
ISRAEL

THE ROAD TO FULL REDEMPTION

By—DR. I. ELDAD
Jerusalem, Israel

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. Israel Eldad (Scheib) was born 1910 in Poland. He graduated from the Rabbinical School in Vienna, Austria, and received his PH.D. degree from the University of Vienna. After completing his academic studies, he decided on a teaching career; teaching Bible in various schools. At the same time he joined the Bethar-movement, founded by the leader of the Zionists-Revisionists, Vladimir Jabotinsky. He also pursued journalistic work in Hebrew and Yiddish. In 1938 he first met Abraham Stern, the founder of the underground organisation LEHI (Fighters of Freedom for Israel). In March 1941 Dr. Eldad arrived in Palestine together with his wife Bathia, and joined the above movement, being appointed one of its three member secretariat. In 1944 he was imprisoned by the British. After two years of imprisonment he escaped from jail and resumed his activities in the underground. Until the British quit the mandate over Palestine and their military units evacuated the country, Dr. Eldad was the ideological mentor of the LEHI-movement and editor of its underground propaganda publications.

With the emergence of the State of Israel the LEHI-movement split into two factions, and Dr. Eldad, as the leader of the right wing, concentrated solely on ideological activities, editing for the last 12 years a literary monthly by the name of "Sullam," devoted to the cultural and social problems of the State of Israel. He also published a volume of memoirs from the underground "Maaser Rishon" (The First Title), as well as a series of historiosophical studies on the Bible, named "Hegyonei Mikra," and edited an historical periodical in English—"Chronicles." Now Dr. Eldad is one of the editors of the "Rabbi Kook Institute" Publishing House in Jerusalem and is a contributor to the daily "Haboker" in Tel-Aviv.

This booklet was published originally in Hebrew and contains the principles of the "Sullam"—ideology.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL AS THE BRIDGEHEAD OF MALKHUT ISRAEL

by DR. ISRAEL ELDAD

SULLAM

This pamphlet is devoted to a statement of the ideological foundations of "Sullam," the organ which advocates *Malkhut Israel*.

"Sullam" was established in the first year of the State of Israel. The name is taken from the dream of Israel who was the Patriarch Jacob, Father of the Twelve Tribes of Israel.

Each of those Tribes had its own particular quality, from the vengeful Brothers Simeon and Levy to Issachar the broad-boned ass; from Reuben who mounted his father's bed to regal Judah. But as the legend says, they were all enfolded in the stones of that place which Jacob set underneath his head; he the simple man. Similarly this country as a whole was enfolded under his body when he lay there, with its Lebanon and its Sharon. Jacob the Patriarch lay with all the Tribes beneath his head and the entire country underneath his body as he dreamt the dream of the Ladder.

There are many deep symbols in our soul. There is the binding of Isaac, there is the Burning Bush and there is the Golden Calf. All of these are concrete and specific instances, which have been transformed into elemental truths. Yet the most philosophical of them all, the most statutory, so to say, of them all, is the Dream of Jacob.

If the theory of consciousness is known as "the Philosophy of Philosophy," then Jacob's Ladder is our symbol of symbols. It depicts the key to the entire Jewish approach and outlook.

A union with the soil but no permanency therein, and a Torah which is from heaven but not in heaven. "Know where you come from and whither you go," and do not enquire about what is beyond your capacities.

The soul of the Israelite is extended between physics and metaphysics. Yet this tension is not fixed and static. It is dynamic and creative, it fights. The earth with its attractive force, with the nature within it, makes us heavy. It shackles us, it binds us as to an altar. And the heavens above with their infinity, with all that is unknown about them, repel and enchant, mystify and attract. A man feels very sure indeed when he stands with his two feet firm on the ground; yet he feels himself very small indeed. He wishes to mount aloft. The foot of the ladder is very clear to see. Its head is invisible. Only the bottom rungs can be perceived. But anybody who is entitled to the name of Israel, anybody who has contended with God, anybody who has fighting and creative strength within him does not seek the final and ultimate ends, does not indulge in metaphysics, and does not surrender before physics. He mounts the ladder.

The entire doctrine of dialectics is to be found in Jacob's Ladder, the entire doctrine of the struggle for liberty.

Throughout the period of the exile we have been ruled by schizophrenia. We were suspended between heaven and earth. On the one side the body lived its earthly life in submissive abjection, in poverty and contempt; a bodily life without perspective or prospects because it had no balancing point, no centre of gravity. The feet of the national ladder were dispersed, not firmly fixed, insecure. Yet on the other hand somewhere on high the fragments of the Ladder joined onto its upper portion without any basis on the ground, without any hold on history; sometimes physical to the point of disgust, sometimes metaphysical to the point of hallucination. They were materially static and spiritually so much cobweb. And these fragments of the Ladder were what was harmful for Zionism. What the Zionist leaders saw in reality was less real than what Jacob saw in his dreams. For an entire dream is more real than a fragmentary reality—the great and mighty Malkhut Israel is far more *Messianic* than all the messianic dreams which hung upon nothing concrete. The exile made us exceedingly philosophical in spiritual matters, and very practical indeed in material affairs. Yet that is not how it is with Jacob's Ladder. On Jacob's Ladder angels go up and down, *up and down*. We have to be very philosophical in our practical and material life and exceedingly practical in the world of the spirit. Vision is needed by the soldier in the Host of Israel, no less than soldiers are required for the vision of the Hebrew Malkhut—the Hebrew realm.

What is the strength of Jacob's dream? Its strength is twofold. First, the Ladder is set on the earth which is the element of stability, the force of realism. It is not in heaven. And earth means Eretz Israel, as the sages

expounded. Jacob stretched his body out upon the stones thereof. There is no rest to Israel saving therein. And "on this ground" comprehends within it not only the geographical and territorial aspect. "On the earth" includes the entire material and flesh-and-blood element, the stones and the body; natural wealth, and manufactured wealth; the social order, the society, the laws and the economic structure. All this is included in the term "on the earth." Yet this is only the non-vital, the mineral element, the footstool beneath the Ladder. But as for the second element, the *Ladder* which stands on the earth—that is the dynamic element, the force of idealism. That is what man has and which is lacking in the beast. Man is called upon to raise a ladder and to mount aloft by it: To mount the ladder of values, values of science and values of art, values of morality and values of justice; all of which are comprehended in that value of creativity which is the peculiar gift of Man.

That was why we chose the name "Sullam," the Ladder; for it is simple and great. For it is real, and one of the loftiest concepts of the Hebrew language. For it is the earthly and the philosophical. For it is the concrete concept of Hebrew.

There is no basis for Jacob's Ladder in the Partition State. The ladder's base, our sages of blessed memory declared, was in Jerusalem. And this bygone conceit of our sages is less legendary than the "simple" reckoning of many wise contemporaries. If indeed we are anything more than the beasts of the field, if indeed the will to collective achievement has awakened within us, we must understand our function not in being dragged along after events as most Jewish writers see it, but by way of spaciousness and loftiness.

And it is from this point of view, from the ladder viewpoint which is the vision of entire redemption as envisioned by prophets and sages and as was dreamt by all Jews in all ages, that we test everything that happens in the State of Israel. All the other struggles raging here between parties, between classes, between viewpoints, are irrelevant; for this State has a meaning, the right to exist and the possibility of existence, solely and exclusively if it is a stage towards the realization of Malkhut Israel, the Realm of Israel.

MALKHUT ISRAEL IS INEVITABLE

Heaven and earth conspired together to bring about this unbelievable restoration of the People of Israel to their own soil and the re-establishment of its sovereign frame in part of Eretz Israel. Rational and irrational factors were involved; Nature and miracle, economic and ideal urges,

will and necessity, faith and history, logic and a combination of political circumstances, the pioneer work of the halutzim and simple inertia, organised bodies and the disruption of organised bodies. True and deep research is necessary in order to analyse all these factors and the share of each one of them, the part it played in aiding in achieving a decision or on occasion in interference. For that too is among the phenomena of this tremendous and unique process: a factor that begins as a blessing may become a curse, an implement may become an obstacle.

Here for the present we shall draw attention to one aspect of this revival movement of the Jewish People; an aspect which is found from its beginnings and which is common to almost all its stages; those, at least, which preceded the great Hebrew Revolution which is still taking place before our eyes:

The vision of the few, the appeal of deeds done by a handful which appeared ridiculous, crazy, or at the least illogical, impractical and impossible in the eyes of the many sober realists,—this vision and this appeal have always proved to be exceedingly logical, exceedingly practical and entirely possible in the long run. On the other hand, the calculations and considerations of the supposed “realists” have always proved to be a mirage, to be irrelevant and to have no bearing on the ultimate situation. Let us give a few, but decisive, examples of this revolutionary process:

a. The revival of Hebrew as a spoken language. There were only a handful, and according to some it was only a single person, who developed the idea and began with the actual revival of the Hebrew language in daily speech and use for all requirements, and not exclusively as a Holy Language for prayer and literature. There is not a single enterprise in the world that resembles this. For the past thirty years and longer the Irish in their own Republic of Eire have been trying to re-establish their ancient Erse; yet with little success. Even good Zionists at first regarded the revival of Hebrew as superfluous and unfeasible. It was the zeal of a handful which brought it about.

Yet that is not all. Nobody can create something out of nothing. If this language had not been preserved throughout the ages as the language of heart, prayer and poetry; if there had not been Jews in every generation who, on Sabbaths and festivals, insisted on speaking the Holy Tongue only, no matter how highflown their phraseology and poverty-stricken their actual vocabulary—had it not been for this faithfulness during a thousand years and longer, it would have been impossible to bridge the abyss of two thousand years and more.

b. The return to the soil of the Homeland in order to settle there,

to till it and inherit it. Even before there was any political Zionism, successive waves of "lunatics" arrived with the resolve of becoming farmers on the soil of the Land of Israel. Yet this too was not a creation of something from nothing. Throughout the ages there had been Jews who tilled the soil in various exiles, insofar as they were not prohibited from doing so; and during the past five or six generations attempts had actually been made to establish close agricultural Jewish settlement in areas ranging from the Crimean Peninsula to the Argentine in South America. In Soviet Russia one such attempt was actually given an official stamp at Biro Bejan. Yet all these attempts proved to be failures. The only one that succeeded was the one which was not based simply on rational economic calculations of productivisation, the one which was linked with spiritual roots that appeared to many people as irrational, as absolutely impossible.

c. The renewal of Jewish military life. We do not know who the two "crazy people" were who came to Herzl, as he records in his Diary, and proposed the establishment of a force to conquer Eretz Israel. The great majority of Messianic Movements were linked with a belief in the strength of Jewish fighters, even though these were usually sought among the lost Ten Tribes. Even a mystical movement like that of Sabbethai Zvi awaited the appearance of those tribes, who would conquer the Land of Israel. Yet all these expectations never assumed actual form. Jewish bravery never disappeared entirely from among the Jewish People. It revealed itself in self-defense against rioters and pogromists, or in the participation of Jews as individuals in armies and revolutions. Yet in spite of this the first to suggest the restoration of the Jewish military spirit, romantic figures like Michael Halperin or Avshalom Feinberg, were viewed as fantastic dreamers. When the "fantasy" assumed organised and planned form in the educational movement of Betar and subsequently in the Irgun Zevai Leumi, the great majority of Zionists still regarded it as irregular, unnecessary, impossible and even harmful. If only part of the things that were said and written by Zionist leaders and writers against the military spirit in general, and the use of force in particular, were to be quoted nowadays, it would make every reader who loves the Israel army, and knows how important it is burst into a fit of uncontrollable laughter.

These examples of the Hebrew language, Jewish settlement and the Jewish military revival are quoted at the beginning of these remarks in order to stress the fact that the overwhelming majority of the national values, which are the foundations and keystones of the restored Jewish sovereignty, were regarded by the majority as trifling fantasies. Yet thanks

to the obstinacy, faith and readiness of a handful to realise their desires, the absolute contrary was demonstrated, and what was impossible was transformed into the only possible way.

These are only three details in the entire nexus called "Jewish sovereignty" which itself, was a subject of mockery to large numbers who regarded it as entirely unnecessary or absolutely impossible.

There is a special prayer recited at Hanukka and Purim "on account of the miracles." In this prayer we thank God for putting many in the hands of few. This refers, of course, to the victory of the few Jews over the vast gentile armies who exceeded us numerically. Yet it is equally possible to speak of the miracle of the victory of the few, in the midst of the Jewish people itself, over the many unbelievers among us.

And on the basis of this past experience we are entitled to commence by saying:

Malkhut Israel, the Realm of Israel from the Euphrates to the River of Egypt, is not only possible but also necessary and inevitable. And on the other hand the present State of Israel with its regime, frontiers and objectives, is not a long-term possibility. If it does not serve as a real basis for achieving the objective of *Malkhut Israel*, it is not a reality at all.

THE MESSIANIC AND THE ANTI-SEMITIC FACTORS

Of all the revolutions which have occurred in modern history, that through which the Jewish people is at present passing is indeed the greatest, qualitatively speaking. The future may prove that this is the case not only in respect of the Jewish people but equally for the entire cultural world.

In general it is the habit to explain this wonder of a people returning to their own country after fifteen hundred years, and to their own sovereignty after two thousand years, as due to two factors:

a. The Messianic faith which never ceased among the Jewish People throughout its existence. The constant hope, accompanied by the fact of constant prayer and the singular religious life, were a tremendous spiritual bridge over the abyss of exile to the longed-for redemption. Without that faith and hope not only would the redemption have been impossible, but Jewish existence itself would have been terminated.

b. Hatred of the Jews. The religious hatred of the past, and the racial animosity of our own times, have compelled the Jews to find a solution for their problem. After other experiments which proved to be failures they reached the conclusion, the clearest and most practical ex-

pression of which was given by Herzl, that there was no alternative save to provide a State framework for the Jewish People which is evacuating the exile either voluntarily or compulsorily, and is gathering afresh in its ancient homeland.

In proof of our claim that the present State of Israel is nothing more than a bridgehead for *Malkhut Israel*, it is important to consider the mutual relationship of these two factors. The present discussion about the functions of Zionism in the light of the restoration of the State of Israel, the "dual allegiance" of United States Jewry, the Jewish self-awareness of the younger generation in Israel, are in the last resort the outcome of a misapprehension regarding these two factors.

Furthermore, a thorough and careful examination will prove that these factors are actually not two but one only.

This very phenomenon of Jew-hatred throughout the ages among other peoples is closely and deeply linked with the singular character of the Jewish people. No other people in world history has been hated or persecuted like them; yet although the enemies and persecutors have been so many and varied, it cannot be claimed that the Jewish people was undoubtedly worthy of hatred and persecution. For with all that hatred, and in spite of the persecution, the Jewish people is very much alive and is establishing new values for itself and the world. Without a faith in its singular character, without a belief in its future purpose, in Redemption, the Jews would never have been able to continue existing in the world; for then they would not have been hated would have been swallowed up in the absence of an internal compulsion and external opposition and resistance.

This external factor of Jew-hatred, which helped to maintain the Jewish people and is helping to bring about its redemption, is therefore involved of necessity in the interior, positive factor.

Yet on the other hand the Messianic vision, the vision of Redemption, would not in itself have been capable of inducing the Jewish masses to return to their own country were it not for the auxiliary factor called hatred and persecution. Even the first Redemption, the exodus from Egypt, which has served ever since as the archetype of every redemption from slavery, every departure to liberty, was entirely and completely the outcome of animosity and persecution far more than it was the fruit of positive yearnings for liberty, independence, or the land of their fathers. Even the Torah tells us no more than the outcry of the Children of Israel by reason of their rigorous toil and sufferings; while the Reprobations of the Torah, in which Moses prophesies of the exile into which Israel will

be driven from their homeland, also presents this aspect of the distresses and tribulations of Exile.

And indeed the second Redemption, the return to Zion from the Babylonian Exile, was so restricted in scope that some outstanding Jewish thinkers of bygone days claimed that it could not be regarded as Redemption. Only a few returned from Babylon and settled down in the vicinity of Jerusalem, whence life centered almost entirely on the miserable little temple which had been rebuilt. And why did the Movement fail? Because it was sustained by the yearnings of a handful only, and was not impelled by the powerful urge of persecution, as the situation of the Jews in Babylon was satisfactory.

Study the course of the Messianic Movements at all times, and you will invariably find the two factors interlinked: Men of vision, imbued with longings and a will to Redemption, succeeded in bringing a Movement into being at times of persecution and distress.

Now the problem which was faced by our own generation was the following:

To fashion and direct national instruments that could fulfil the vision of the full redemption, with the aid of the pressure resulting from Jewish distress in the Exile.

If the Zionist Movement had followed this course, as was envisaged and demanded by Herzl, Nordau and Jabotinsky, a third of the Jewish People would not have been destroyed and the Land of Israel would not have been partitioned. If the political instrument, the Zionist Organisation, had not regenerated, and if the military instruments had been prepared in good time without barren palaver and the "self-restraint" of the later thirties (havlaga), we would have been capable of evacuating the millions from Europe before the decision to exterminate them was finally taken in Germany (nor was that decision reached until after the Second World War had begun). With those vast quantitative and dynamic forces it would have been no problem at all to conquer the country and occupy it, without any apprehension of or danger from the millions of Arabs round about. If less than two millions now stand firm within the present absurd frontiers, anybody can clearly see what the strength of six millions would have been within more spacious boundaries.

The other factor of Jew-hatred, and the pressure of Jewish distress, did exist. But as against it the second factor, that of Full Redemption, was choked back and diminished; even though it did not involve the vision of *Malkhut Israel* from the Euphrates to the River of Egypt but the more

restricted vision of the "Jewish State." The factor of the fighting, military force was ridiculed as immoral and impossible. The vision of Full Redemption did not fail for lack of opportunity. On the contrary, it was not implemented because it was not allowed to operate as central and decisive among the auxiliary forces of the pressure of persecution in Europe. And if a minority of the Zionist Movement had not seceded, if that minority had not commenced the campaign to expel British rule—the campaign of a minority within a minority, which also was commenced far too late—the present State of Israel would never come into being either.

THE FACTORS THAT MADE FOR DELAY

The major defect of the Jewish Messianic vision—and in speaking here of the Jewish Messianic vision we are not thinking of its polemical misrepresentation, on the part of some Jews, as implying the Redemption of the world or of Man, but the plain and simple meaning of the Redemption of the Jewish People through the sovereignty of the House of David—the defect lay in the absence of any view covering the methods of actual implementation. At first, to be sure, the opinion of the prophets and sages who meditated upon and developed the idea—the last of whom was Maimonides—was that someone chosen of God would appear and, by means of his spirit, understanding and daring, would exploit a historic opportunity ("the War of Gog and Magog") and would redeem the people. In the course of time, however, this vision assumed an increasingly mystical cast, and the process was envisaged as a series of miracles which would be performed by Divine means only. The first person who set out to transform the vision into a reality by realistic measures was David Reubeni four hundred and fifty years ago. The second was Dr. Herzl.

Yet those who followed Herzl lost the vision on account of too much "realism." What should have been a means became an end. The instruments overshadowed the goal.

Still worse: The national vision of full Redemption for the entire people in the entire Land of Israel and the return to the God of Israel and the Torah of Israel, which is the content of the Messianic vision, was supplanted by new nineteenth-century European ideals. The dogmas of Progress, whether in the form of a Socialist regime or of a liberal system, were the subject of contention between various Zionist parties and became factors making for delay both in theory and in practice. The redemption of the entire people, it was argued, is no longer so urgent since both Democracy and Socialism weaken Jew-hatred. At the same time it was

held necessary to establish the "Jewish National Home" jointly with one of those ideals; so that a large part of the national energy, human and material, was frittered away in barren debate and struggles about the problems of a system which, in the light of Jewish existence and its actual facts, in the light of the great vision and the Torah of Israel, were at the most of tertiary significance. Truth to tell, we would not have referred to those factors in this pamphlet, in spite of the large share they have had in the delay, if they were not still effective in the State of Israel! and if these problems were not being presented, even today, as the centre of the country's life, as problems on their own and as independent values.

"The doctrine of work," or "unsmirched weapons," or "free initiative" were not implements for achieving Redemption but were ascribed an ideological and moral independence which often displaced what really was the highest need of the people. In the course of time certain instruments—such as the Histadrut or some of the parties—became institutions with their own interests. They did not share even the Utopian innocence of the early idealists, but were impelled purely by egoistic considerations and nothing more.

A different cause of delay was operative in the religious section of the people. Those who knew and understood that the Redemption involved a real process with the aid of heaven were hesitant, on account of the apparent secularism of the Zionist Movement and those who were implementing it. They were apprehensive of the claim that "the House of Israel is as all the nations." These apprehensions prevented them from lending a hand to the process of Redemption. And just as the truly proletarian masses among the Jews believed that International Socialism or Communism would of itself solve the Jewish problem (so that the overwhelming majority of Jewish workers in Eastern Europe never joined the Zionist Movement but supported Communism or the Bund), so it was with the religious wing: The belief in the miraculous Messiah who would appear and redeem the people, without any practical steps being taken by the latter to bring about the Redemption, was what made it easy for the believing masses to take no steps to leave the exile, to find full spiritual satisfaction in fulfilling the traditionally prescribed commandments, and to wait expectantly for Messiah. These two wings, right and left, harboured within themselves vast forces which could have been transformed into dynamically operative redemptive drives; yet they were finally exterminated at Auschwitz and the other death camps together with all their faith and zeal. Today nobody can deny any longer that it would have been better for Jewish workers to "suffer" in a capitalist, reactionary, Zionist Jewish State than to be poisoned to death in the gas

chambers; and it would have been better for the religious Jew to "suffer" in a secular State of Israel, and campaign for religious education here in Eretz Israel, than go to Maidanek and Treblinka.

The obliteration of European Jewry has made this clear to everybody who is prepared to look realities in the face and draw conclusions: The overwhelming majority of the debates which split the Jewish people before the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel were idle and barren. Hence they delayed the process of redemption and aided the process of destruction.

If at least the Zionists, and the national wing among the Zionists, had seen the real situation with open eyes and not with eyes clouded with various Utopian dreams, that National Zionist minority would have been strong enough to bring the full and entire redemption. But the tragedy was that even among them there prevailed wrong and misleading conceptions of world morality and conscience, Arab strength, "the other England" which could be convinced, etc., etc. All these superstitions, combined with the lack of belief in our own strength, held up the process of the war of liberation, which could and should have been begun after 1929 and not after 1939. In the Exile Hitler appeared. In Eretz Israel the Jewish population of Hebron was exterminated. Vis-à-vis both these developments the British closed the gates of the country. The time was ripe for the beginning of the revolt. But the leaders of the people did not fully grasp the situation.

The only one who even then comprehended what was taking place in the exile and the Land of Israel and all the logical consequences, was Uri Zvi Greenberg. Yet nobody was going to pay attention to "emotional" poetry. There was "realistic" prose in accordance with which the national affairs ought to be conducted. By the time the truth in Greenberg's poetry had pierced the thick skins of the "realists" between seven and ten precious and decisive years had passed. The best time had been wasted, the best of the people had been exterminated. And if a scanty handful had not risen, if it had been for the revolution brought about by the "dissidents" when they turned all their forces against one single front, the campaign to liberate Eretz Israel from foreign rule in order to achieve Jewish rule, even that primary nucleus which we now have would never have come about. And since it was so late, and the minority was so small, and the delaying Jewish factors actually lent a hand to the enemy, this State came into being with its present limits and limitations, and nevertheless appears to many as a miracle.

IS THE STATE OF ISRAEL A MIRACLE?

Why bother at all to consider this issue of miracle or no miracle? Because it is necessary not only in order to understand the past but also—which is the real purpose of any comprehension of the past—in order to understand the future, in order to *prepare* the future.

If I become accustomed to thinking in categories of “miracles” then I will continue thinking in those terms in respect of the future as well, and I shall rely upon miracles. Of course it is possible to regard the restoration of the State of Israel as something miraculous; and the interesting thing is that the less a believer a man is, the more he will believe in the miraculous aspect of Israel’s restoration. For the whole of this business of miracle is relative, and depends on a person’s standpoint. If a man rejects the belief in the uniqueness of the Jewish people, in the forces hidden deep within the race of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob and in the loftiness of faith in the Torah which comes from Sinai,—if he does not believe in these, he must inevitably stand wondering and confused at the remarkable fact of a nation returning to its own land and language after two thousand years of exile and persecution. For the limited intelligence, restricted to “natural” economic, sociological and historical explanations, all that has been happening here really must be viewed as a miracle. If this is supplemented by the internal crumbling—any of the people, their ideological differences, the absence of a sense of realities among its political leaders, its exile complexes, its hatred of and contempt for itself and its feelings of deep inferiority,—then we really do need to ask: How did this people, in spite of all this, gather the strength for a War of Liberation?

Yet what appears irrational to the limited intelligence which is restricted to the narrow confines of the present and can see only today, changes its meaning if you view the situation from another level, from the height of another historic truth, from a mountain summit.

The Lohamei Herut Israel, the Fighters for the Freedom of Israel who were known as the “Lehi,” astounded Englishmen and Jews alike when they declared before a British Court in 1944 that the arms in the possession of the Jewish Underground were legal weapons and that British rule in the Land of Israel was what was illegal.

For even the most nationalist groups regarded British rule as legal, but held that the British did not carry out the law as they should, that the law was cruel, etc.

And this is to be suddenly replaced by so different an outlook!

And the same applies to all our historic events.

The restoration of Israel is a "miracle" only to those for whom the laws of history begin only with the first Aliya of 1882, the Second Aliya of 1904-1910 or the Balfour Declaration. Yet in the eyes of such people the phenomenon of Hitler is merely a "crazy" episode. For they judge events by the standards of the Nineteenth Century, which promised equal rights to the Jews. Anyone who measures events by historic standards all the way along, however, will easily find that the phenomenon called "Hitler" is nothing but the legitimate fruit of European, German and Jewish developments over a millenium. Europe prepared for this action during a thousand years. Only those who closed their eyes to the law of exile, and the nature of those gentile groups, were astounded by such wickedness and murder.

Yet on the other hand, only those who measure the Jews by the standards of recent generations, by those seeking rights among the gentiles, or by Utopian Zionist pioneers who wished to establish model Communist Kibbutzim,—they alone were astonished and saw a "miracle" in the revelation of the fighting Jewish force; whereas historic truth has far more to it than was apparent during the forty years before the rise of the Jewish Underground. Just as it was shown that the Jew-haters who claim that the Jews are nothing but a race of merchants and middlemen were proven liars, and as it was found that we were capable of all work in the fields and factories, not to mention Science,—so it was found that we were among the best fighters and soldiers in the world. The miracle of the fighting Jew was a miracle only for those who looked at the surface without noting the qualities concealed within this race since the days of Abraham, Joshua and David. These qualities had only been concealed. They had never been cancelled.

Only those who, owing to a complex of self-hatred and superficial rationalism, have ceased to believe that the Jews are a chosen people, a people of a great origin, with a great purpose and tremendous forces within itself, only such people can regard the restoration as a "miracle."

If there is a miracle, it does not lie in the fact that we overcame the English and the Arabs. If there is a "miracle" it is in the fact that we overcame the Jews, or rather those among them who would not believe but mocked and set out to be "realistic," who accustomed us to ask ourselves: What more are we than dust and ashes? The miracle is that in spite of this we succeeded in breaking through all the many exile shells and husks, through layers of barren and vain ideologies, and brought precious forces from the deeps of the Jewish soul and its capacities into the light of day.

To sum up: What is a miracle? A miracle is something that lies outside natural law, an event which lies beyond Nature.

Yet what is really the law of Jewish history? The law of Jewish history, contrary to what has been supposed during the past two hundred years, is the law of sovereign greatness which will come with the Redemption. Assuredly the justification for this sovereign greatness is the spiritual strength and spiritual, artistic and internal moral purpose which will imbue the material *Malkhut Israel*. But this material *Malkhut Israel*, stretching from the Euphrates to the River of Egypt, held in awe by surrounding peoples, and it may be presumed rich materially, underlies all the redemptive hopes of the prophets. And that is the law of our history as the sole alternative to exile, which is punishment and calamity.

Anybody who tries to give a different description of the exile, as is done by many rabbis and Zionists nowadays, and anybody who tries to give a different picture of our sovereign needs and possibilities in the Land of Israel, is doing something that is against the law. For he transforms the State into a "miracle," and he also entrusts the lives of Jews in Exile to the "miracle" of "good" gentiles. That is, both in exile and in Eretz Israel he is working against the laws of the Torah and the prophets, against the law which has been proved by the realities to be the actual law of Jewish history.

JEW-HATRED A LAW OF THE EXILE

There is a natural human tendency to view things in the light of what one thinks desirable, or of the given situation at any particular time; and all the more so if the given situation is also deemed desirable.

So it is hardly surprising that Jews throughout the world, particularly in countries where their situation can be regarded as satisfactory, tend to view what took place in Europe as a matter of chance or linked to a specific area; and not, heavens forbid, as something that may happen somewhere else. Even if there are Jews who are prepared to admit after what happened in "cultured" Europe that something similar is within the bounds of possibilities anywhere, they are certainly not prepared to agree that it *must* inevitably happen. Something which is possible may, equally well, possibly *not* happen; and natural human optimism leads one towards the second possibility, so that people prefer to read into the situation only those signs which point to the preferable alternative.

Yet what is psychologically comprehensible in the case of the individual should never be taken for granted among the leaders of the people,

or those who review the situation with other than the bribed eyes of the present. For every present offers generous bribes.

But before we point out what is inevitable in the light of historical experience, something very grave must be said about the religious leaders of world Jewry. You, Rabbis of Israel who bear the Torah with you, do not need to think at all in terms of historical experience. You are bound by the Torah and by prophecy. By what right do you deceive the people into believing in exile life? By what right do you disregard express prohibitions? It is obvious to you, after all, that according to the Torah the exile is a punishment and the conquest and settlement of the Land of Israel are major commandments. By what right do you reprove Jews who do not observe the Sabbath in the State of Israel, while you continue to dwell in the various exiles and establish communities there to be destroyed as the thousands of communities, Talmudical Academies and centres of Torah were destroyed and obliterated in the Polish Exile? Maybe the unbelievers need proofs from history. But the Torah told you in advance that in exile the Children of Israel would serve wood and stone or else be destroyed; that is, those two choices were set out as the only two possibilities of exile. Assimilation or destruction were laid down as the law of the exile in the *Tokheha* (Reproof) of Moses our Master three thousand five hundred years ago. Is there any point when Jews pray, and cantors sing, and rabbis deliver sermons on the prayer "because of our sins we were exiled from our country," when it is possible to rise and to return to our country?

And if this is a matter of laziness, of the power of inertia, of the American paradise or any other Satanic devices, why create theories in order to find Jewish hyper-religious justifications for instincts which are compact of the fleshpots and the golden calf? After all, one of the reasons why the State of Israel is secular is the fact that the movement of redemption in all three stages—settlement, politics and belligerence—was not headed by the great Torah authorities. And similarly the entire force of the religious demands of Jewish rabbis of all schools and currents has been weakened by the fact that they are no more than a fourth wheel as members of a Government coalition, or a fifth wheel if they are outside that coalition, within the process of redemption which is going forward in the State of Israel. If the rabbis of Israel were to find the moral strength to rise and approve of departure from the exile as a requirement of the Torah for all observant Jews, not only would the hundreds of thousands who would unquestionably come in obedience to this high command of the Torah strengthen the numerical weight of pious Jews, but the approval in itself would unquestionably enhance the moral prestige and

force of the Torah and those entitled to interpret it. Those who would be able to induce masses of Jews to forsake the exile without waiting for gentile pressure would also be entitled to turn the wheels of the spirit in the State of Israel, and would also be entitled to be the spirit impelling those wheels.

Yet even cultural and national leaders whose faith and outlook are not based on what is written in the Torah are also compelled, through empirical and practical experience, to reach the cruel Zionist truth which is true for the entire exile. Every golden age of equal rights for Jews in any of the exiles is only an interval, only an exception which proves the rule.

That is the one and only historical lesson to be learnt from two thousand years of exile. Prophets who prophesy otherwise are false prophets, historians who teach otherwise are learned in falsehood. Leaders who preach otherwise are misleaders. There is no serious scholar who can declare: What happened in the first Egyptian Exile and the Second Exile in Alexandria is pure chance; what happened in Spain is chance; what happened in the exiles of England and France between six and seven hundred years ago is chance; what happened in Arabia more than 1300 years ago is chance; what happened in Poland three hundred years ago is chance; what happened in Europe yesterday and what is happening in Russia today are chance; and the only thing legitimate, legal and logical is what is now happening in the exiles of North and South America.

Every cultural or other leader who is not prejudiced, who does not wish to teach what the Jews in most countries prefer to hear because it serves their momentary inclinations and interests, has to rise and declare this historic truth:

It is not only the Torah as promulgated by Moses which teaches that the exile is a punishment and a calamity, but it is historical experience as well which teaches it. Every satisfactory situation in the exile is foam on treacherous waters. Hatred of Jews is the law, the will to obliterate the Jewish people is a will permanent and constant in all countries, in all religions, among all peoples and under all systems of government. All that differs is the method. Some destroy by strangulation and some by stoning, some by fire and some by water. Indeed, experience has proved that the more the Jews try to identify themselves with their environment, to fit into the culture and the regime, the more savage is the reaction against them when it comes.

EVACUATION OF ALL THE EXILE THE FIRST DUTY OF THE STATE

Every Zionist who now offers theories that the Jews of the exile must be brought to the idea of immigration to Israel on a purely "positive" basis, by strengthening the national feeling or presenting enticing prospects, is returning to the Zionist formula of Ahad Haam and Weizmann. He is restoring the sort of Zionism with *Hachshara* (special preliminary training) which existed in Poland between the two World Wars; A selected Zionism which led to the abandoning of thousands of Jews to destruction for every halutz which it delivered.

For even if the few who head or ought to head the Movement are impelled by the messianic vision of full redemption the fact remains, as we said at the beginning, that this vision will be realised only by the driving-force of Jewish distress and the catastrophe of the exiles. These must be displayed constantly before the Jews of the exiles, in order that they should never be taken by surprise again. Whenever and wherever it is possible to prepare to meet the evil—as it was actually possible in pre-Nazi and early Nazi Europe—let them organise the evacuation of the Exile. It is the duty of the national leadership to do this for the exiles of the West, no less than it is being done for the exiles in Moslem countries. Whose duty it is to engage in open and cruel information activities to this effect, or in the possibly even more cruel work of implementation, is a problem of organisation and tactics. It does not really matter whether this is done by a large-scale and politically-oriented Zionist Movement or by the instruments of the State of Israel. But the steps themselves are the primary duty of the State of Israel, no matter whose the executive arm may be. The Zionist Movement has failed in this prime and sacred duty. The State of Israel came about, nationally speaking, on condition that it should fulfill what the Zionist Movement did not fulfill. *The State of Israel is the instrument for the redemption of the entire Jewish People from all the Exiles.* And considerations of "Campaigns," or other reasons of unpopularity and the like, must not deter the State of Israel or the movements leading or wishing to head it from ignoring this primary task.

All laws, all liberal or totalitarian constitutions which now promise the Jews equal rights in the exiles (even when the legislators and rulers are impelled by the most satisfactory and honest purposes), are illegal, transitory, and hence in essence sinful when set against the deep, tried and proven historical law which is so remarkably yet demonstrably congruent with what was declared, commanded and prophesied in the Torah of Moses; for it is an act of deception which must lead to bloodshed on a scale that may even reach the point of obliteration. In the "best" of

cases, even though that "best" has been proved to be a delusion in our own times, assimilation may prove to be possible for individuals; though it is unnecessary to remark that from the national viewpoint assimilation is also a sin. And so a national leadership elected not by citizens, shekel-payers or members with restricted outlook and interests, but a leadership bearing in heart and brain the full picture of Jewish history and wishing to show its responsibility not towards tomorrow's electors but towards the history of the day after tomorrow,—such a leadership has to make the major concern of the state of Israel the fulfilment of the high, primary and major command of Redemption and of the Messianic Vision: The departure from all the Exiles or, more precisely, the withdrawal of all the Jews from all the Exiles by all possible means. That is the positive, Messianic aspect of the command to Redemption; but it is equally the command of deliverance and rescue from the negative aspect, that of the danger of destruction and obliteration which is the law of Exile Jewry.

A State of Israel which does not implement this law as its highest legislation, and does not subject all other interests to this highest interest, is an illegal state according to the laws of the Torah, and is illegal according to the laws of history.

Anybody who supposes that it is "lunacy" to come to Jews nowadays with this unpopular idea, and anyone who thinks that it is undesirable for reasons of foreign policy "to show our cards" in the presence of the rulers of the Arab countries, of Moscow and Washington, merely repeats the error already made by so many in the past who attacked Herzl for giving aid to Jew-haters; Jabotinsky for lending support to the claims of the Antisemites in the Exile and of the Arabs in the Land of Israel! and the Underground for helping Bevin. Experience has shown that concealment does not help. As far as the Jews of the Exile are concerned experience has proved that concealment puts the people to sleep, magnifies illusions and facilitates extermination and obliteration.

To tell the truth, the State of Israel has exercised this function properly for certain exiles in Arab countries. There has been a delay in this process in respect of the Jews of North Africa. Regarding the West, this approach has been rejected *ab initio* as "unreal." For most of these countries there are emissaries, either to collect money or else to win the souls of a handful of halutzim. But nowadays there are no messengers or emissaries to tell the Jews of Western countries the entire and cruel doctrine of Zionism; although such emissaries must go there, even though they should be pelted with stones instead of dollars. And it is unnecessary to add that there are no political emissaries to prepare the ground for such actions.

Yet if the only thing wrong were that what ought to be done is not being done, it would be enough to console oneself that the trouble that comes at its own time is enough; even if it comes a little before its time. Yet what is far worse is that what is being done is the precise opposite. A Zionist and Israel "doctrine" which approves of the exile fosters the illusion of permanent co-existence. And this illusion campaign is headed by Zionists. What is to be expected under those circumstances from non-Zionists to right and to left?

Such a state of affairs makes it necessary to begin at the very beginning. Some people must be taught the a b c of the Torah of Moses and some the a b c of Herzl's doctrine. A new impulse is necessary to show the problem of the Jews in exile and the departure of the Jews from all the exiles as the only solution of that problem. It is unnecessary to wait for the "miracle" of renewed McCarthyism, or the blowing up of more synagogues in the Southern States of U.S.A. Zionists do not require such "proofs." We have to go forward and appear and prophesy about them with absolute faith; for they are the law. There is no place for that new division between Zionists, who are those who come to Israel, and good non-Zionist Jews who support immigration and the State of Israel. These novel formulations call for the resoration to Zionism and the national movement of its primary advance-guard and revolutionary function: Zionists are those who bring the entire Jewish people up to the Land of Israel. This State is not an objective that has been achieved. It is a bridge-head that has been occupied in order that the entire people can come to the Land of Redemption by means of it.

THE GREAT JEWISH PEOPLE

The two million Jews who are already to be found in the stretch of territory constituting the State of Israel are composed chiefly of two elements: the active element, whose activity lay chiefly in the ideological and political fields, namely the pioneers of settlement and the pioneers of the War of Freedom; and the second element, consisting of refugee masses who came by virtue of compulsion and the great majority of whom lacked any resources whatsoever, whether money, physical strength, occupational, organisational, governmental or modern scientific capacities. In spite of the tremendous waste of national resources as a result of the party regime and following the technique of the mass of electors, who exploit party competition in order to raise the standard of living above what is permissible in view of real income and defence needs; in spite of all this the nucleus of a State which we have here is a force which at this moment

is stronger than the force of all the Arab States. Now there is no longer any doubt that if the money which streamed to this State had been efficiently and far-sightedly invested, instead of being used for momentary satisfactions, we would have been closer to economic independence than we are today.

Even if we declare that the best of the nation, spiritually and intellectually, was exterminated in Europe; even if we claim that the best of the nation, speaking in terms of pioneer spirit and political and ideological maturity, are already concentrated in the country; nevertheless there still remain tremendous forces among Jews in the countries of the exile. Quite apart from their numerical strength, the Jews of the United States have their individualist economic dynamism. The Jews of Soviet Russia have their manifold and multiple professional training and talents. On both sides there are scientific forces, together with the good spiritual forces which have not yet degenerated in spite of material plenty in the West and moral oppression in the East. All these are quite capable of bringing about, in this country of ours, such cultural, economic and political marvels as will overshadow everything that has been done here so far, and will arouse the wonder and esteem of the world.

Knowing these forces which are preserved in the people is a primary condition for preparing national strategy during the approaching years; for much of our defeatism derives from lack of faith in the powers of the "Exile," "Non-state-minded," "unproductive," etc, people. This defeatism was also at the root of the political minimalism. Undoubtedly knowledge of the forces does not, under our conditions, imply the ability to put them into free operation. The limitations on operating them both in the East and in the West are still considerable. Yet a clear knowledge that the redemption of these forces from all exiles is *the* target of Zionism, of the State, for their sakes and our own, and a knowledge of the tremendous dimensions of those forces, should serve as gigantic motors causing our political thinking and daring to move towards decisions, no matter how grave, in order to bring out those masses, with their superlative qualities, from their physical and spiritual exile. This, and only this, should fill the hearts and brains and hands of all who work for the redemption of the people in this historic hour; and every instrument in the State, which itself is only an implement for redemption, has to be ready for this:

To restore to Zionism and the Zionist Movement its primary, advance-guard, revolutionary function of bringing all the exiles to the last here, in the shortest possible time and by international political means.

The State of Israel is not an objective that has been achieved, but an instrument for redeeming the entire people.

Do the people want this redemption?

That is the dialectic of Jewish history: those who wish it are unable to bring it about, while those who are able to do not wish it. Yet history requires this redemption, and that minority which recognises the vision of historic redemption has to implement it in every way possible, without consulting the temporary will of the people, which is dictated by impermanent conditions without distinct perspective and with comprehending inevitable developments. Just as parents impose their will on their children in such vital matters as health and education, so this far-sighted minority, which has not been affected by the bribery of the passing situation has to impose the redemption on the short-sighted many who cannot see beyond the four ells of momentary prosperity.

Undoubtedly this will not be done without the aid of external factors, which are not always convenient and do not constantly tend towards this solution. Yet there always were and always will be intervals which can be exploited and for which preparations should be made. There are circumstances which can even be expedited. And it would be well for this strategic plan to be constantly borne in mind by those in a position to take action. The two million Jews to be found today at this bridgehead, known as the State of Israel within part of the land of Israel are one-sixth of the entire Jewish people who, in accordance with historic experience and in spite of the nonsense talked by Canaanite assimilationists and "Israelis" here and Jewish would-be assimilationists in America, are one nation with or else without a national consciousness. God wills it so, history wills it so, and happy are those Jews who transform this fact and this fate to their conscious will; happy are the Jews who proudly and joyously undertake this great purpose, for indeed we are still a great people. Twelve millions is not a negligible trifle, particularly when they are by general agreement, and in all areas, almost at the peak of human achievement; and, in our opinion and in the light of what is happening in the world of the spirit, they still deserve to teach humanity their outlook on the universe and morality.

To the general astonishment, the Jews of the world have raised their heads with pride before the non-Jews in the particular area which was hitherto regarded as entirely non-Jewish: that of military capacity. The blows struck by the Underground against the British rulers, the victory of the not-yet-fully-organized-army of Israel over the armies of seven Arab States, and most recently the lightning campaign in Sinai, have all added to the Jewish consciousness that dimension which was formerly missing, the dimension of physical and military self-sufficiency.

Only those who know how much effort and money is wasted among us on account of a corrupt party system are aware that we could already have been approaching independence economically speaking.

Zionism in the State of Israel has sinned unforgiveably by rolling up this flag of redemption for the entire nation. This has been the sin of all the parties, including the religious ones whose faith requires them to call for full redemption and the nationalist ones who are called on to do so in accordance with the teachings of Herzl and Jabotinsky. Historically barren debates between a Zionism of contributions for Israel and a Zionism of worthwhile investment in Israel strangled the idea of the Zionism that sets out to liquidate the exile before the non-Jews liquidate it. And as against the weakening of Zionist energy in the West it has increased, both with the aid of the gentiles and in virtue of the rise of the State of Israel, in Soviet Russia. There the spiritual forces which were dimmed for forty years have reawakened. But there external political activity and driving force are necessary; and there, more than anywhere else, a situation may come about any day which will permit and even require the one-time evacuation of millions.

The State of Israel, or those who direct it, has to be prepared for this as well. Yet even for this end—without which there is no sense in Zionism at all—the State has to implement the second condition which gives it the right of existence. This second condition is:

A bridgehead for the liberation of the entire country.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND THE LAND OF ISRAEL

The whole of Zionism, as remarked earlier in this pamphlet, is a combination of the two elements of vision and necessity. Immigration to this country is a combination of these two elements, and the redemption of Jewry from the exile will also be a combination of the two. Similarly the liberation of the entire land will be the fruit of those two forces, one attracting, the other impelling.

No rationalism and no Marxism could explain either the existence of the Jewish people or its unceasing nexus with the stretch of land which lies between the Euphrates and the river of Egypt. What was written in the Torah, and passed down through the chain of national memory for thousands of years, was stronger than all the other real factors. Just as the history of the Jewish people is unique, so is this nexus between an exiled and dispersed people and its land. Admittedly only a handful risked their lives and came to this country in the past, whether to live or die here.

Yet even the millions who naturally migrated to places of better livelihood did not uproot this country from their hearts.

One may show the ridiculousness and preach as much Zionist and Israel morality as one wishes—and quite rightly—at those who exalt Zion in their prayers and sermons but who would never even dream of coming to Israel. Yet it is impossible to dismiss as unimportant that continuous nexus with this Land. Either consciously or in some veiled form it has remained the Land of all the Jews of the world.

But since the nexus with this country was based so entirely and exclusively on those roots in the past, and since there can be no other justification, political or economic, for its conquest, liberation or settlement, so there can be no justification for its artificial partition in accordance with its present and purely provisional lines of settlement. We are returning here in virtue of our millennial faith that this is our country *even when there is not a single Jew in it*. On those grounds we declared our right to it with the awakening of political Zionism as well; and therefore, in virtue of that selfsame right and logic, there is no possibility of renouncing our right to those areas which are not at the moment in the hands of Jewish settlers or under Jewish rule. Our right to Hebron and Rabbat-Ammon (Amman) is no less, and possibly even greater than, our right to Tel-Aviv. The Arab enemies understand this well and correctly, precisely as they understand well and correctly that the coming of farther millions of Jews to the area of the State of Israel will inevitably lead to a breaching of the present frontiers. Hundreds of solemn declarations and peace treaties, which may be signed by one or another Government of Israel, are incapable of disturbing the historic logic of the past and the national economic logic of whatsoever, it is the present frontier of this state. Neither military, economic nor political logic.

This is not the place to consider the reasons for the present frontier, in terms of non-liberation of additional areas, objective or subjective considerations. But here we reach one inevitable conclusion: The abandoning of the principal historic sites of our nexus with the Land, these being the essential Jerusalem, Shechem, Hebron. The abandoning of these places has had a deep negative influence on the identification of Zionism with the fulfilment of the Vision of Redemption by Jews and non-Jews alike. Satisfaction with the areas settled by the Jews, as well as the insistent and repetitious eagerness to recognise Arab states in historically Jewish areas, strengthens the argument of those who claim that ours is really a purely alien invasion; while the element of redemption in the Jewish consciousness must inevitably become restricted to the area in which the sovereign unit of the Jews emerges. Admittedly the present

State of Israel is more than some republic in Birobejan; admittedly every Jew knows that this involves the Land of Israel; yet in spite of it the concept of a "State" (as will be shown below) which does not include the cities most hallowed in the national memory makes it possible and far easier to adopt a secular and book-keeping attitude. If this is supplemented by the absence of any element of total exodus from the Exile, which has already been considered, and the absence of any great revival in faith which will be discussed below, it is plain to see how this entire State of Israel shrinks to something fine and nice, but lying outside the bounds of that great vision of Redemption which the nation has borne with itself during all these years of exile, and which has also been one of the major factors leading to the emergence of this present state.

If we accept the principle of the continuity of the Jewish people as a fact which cannot be attributed exclusively to Jew-hate; and if we accept the fact of the return to this ancient tongue, Hebrew; and if we accept the principle which appeared so crazy and impracticable to so many wise folk, the principle of Eretz Israel; then there is no reason for or possibility of eradicating from that principle those fixed boundaries of the Land which are repeated once, twice and again in the Torah whenever the Land is referred to as promised to the people. Always, always these boundaries are from the Euphrates to the River of Egypt.

Now these frontiers, which God set forth in the Torah as the frontiers of the Land promised to the Children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, are not arbitrary limits. If we compare the degree of rationality in these boundaries to the rationality of the other elements: Of the very existence and continuity of existence of the Jewish people, the revival of the Hebrew language and the return to this land of all others; it becomes obvious that the logic of these frontiers is the most obvious and clearest of all, and is far from any mysticism or fixity of Fate, with which the other elements might be labelled. This statement in the Torah, which shows a clear geopolitical approach, and the fact that at all times there has been an aspiration towards setting up this political unit (and not on the part of Jews alone), proves that indeed this unit between the Taurus Mountains on the north, the Euphrates and the wilderness on the east, the Red Sea and the Nile to the south and the Mediterranean to the west, is a complete unit and anyone who carves it up is doing something artificial. If the completion was not achieved by the Jewish kingdoms in the past, the reason seems to have been the lack of manpower for filling by settlement what had been taken by military strength; for we have been commanded to engage not in imperialism but in settlement. But nowadays the forces for settlement in this area are actually available to the Jewish People.

The Torah of Moses, which commences with the sentence, "In the beginning God created the Heavens and the Earth," consistently stresses this basis in its outlook: The synthesis of heaven and earth, or spirit and matter. The Tower of Babel had to fall apart. Ever since then even mightier empires have crumbled away. On the one hand the Torah of Moses declares "Man does not live by bread alone," while on the other it stresses again and again that the land which the Lord God is giving the people is a spacious land and good, a land that drips milk and honey and is rich in minerals. Undoubtedly Torah will go forth from Zion, but if there is no flour there is no Torah. And "flour" includes all material components required by a man or a nation in order to be free, in order not to be dependent on the import of bread and meat and for its land not to be free to the feet of strangers.

The prophets who speak of the future Redemption speak of the ingathering of all the tribes of Israel and of victory over Edom, Moab, Ammon, Arām and the Philistines, also of the *Malkhut* (sovereignty) of united Judah and Israel as a third force between Assyria and Egypt, which were the two empires of those days. This means that even the prophets, who assuredly stood for peace and the reign of faith and morality, viewed the realisation of the material and territorial redemption, the basic frontiers and the promise to the Patriarchs, as a primary requisite for the realisation of those spiritual ideals.

And precisely as it has been proved during the past fifty years that the positive factor, the vision of the departure from the exile and the ingathering in the land of the fathers, fits in with the negative real factor, namely hatred of the Jews, which means that this is also a response to the necessity and inevitability and not merely a luxury and dream, so with regard to the frontiers and boundaries of the land. There are still many who mock when they hear of fixing the boundaries as from the Euphrates to the River of Egypt. Just as others did about Zionism, so the mockers say: First of all, is it necessary? And second—it is impossible. Those were the precise arguments, mockeries and doubts which were expressed regarding the idea of the Jewish State in the Land of Israel or, subsequently, the idea of combatting the British rulers and driving them out. And precisely as consistent and daring Zionism has declared, since Herzl, not only that departure from the exile is possible but that remaining in the exile is impossible and pregnant with calamity, so it can be said about expanding the frontiers of Israel. Not only is this possible but on the contrary, remaining within the boundaries of the present State is what is impossible. For once more it is growing plain that vision and necessity are not two domains but one only.

From the higher historical viewpoint, idea and need are one and the same. The security aspect of necessity is obvious to all. The present frontiers are simply impossible to defend permanently and effectively. Economically speaking it must be said that despite all the revelations regarding the Negev and its importance, the Negev does not offer the possibility of producing enough bread and meat for millions on healthy economic foundations; whereas on the other hand the possibilities for both of these within the entire territory are almost boundless. And it is unnecessary to remark that even those who carefully refrain from speaking about the necessity of gathering in all the exiles, and who rest satisfied with speaking of two or three millions more, pay not attention to the fact that it will be impossible to compress them within the existent boundaries without setting up a kind of "New York" which lacks any depth of hinterland and dispersed population.

These considerations of inevitability are supplemented by the external political aspect with which this pamphlet does not deal in particular; in spite of which the following should be noted about the problem of the frontiers:

Nobody pays any serious attention to considerations of "justice" expressed by statesmen of East and West. All of them reckon with actual facts and weigh their decisions accordingly. Strategic considerations are what chiefly determine the attitude of the Great Powers to the region.

The limited political strength of the State of Israel is a function of the limited area which it occupies in the region. Whether as ally or as neutral force, it is necessary to rule over a space which has significance. The present State of Israel is a factor of virtually negligible independent significance. Internationally speaking it is recognised and tolerated—tolerated rather than supported—for all kinds of incidental reasons which do not derive from the State itself. That is an unhealthy situation, which cannot be counted on for any length of time. Insofar as we succeed in expanding the boundaries of the State and obtain a basic security and put economic importance, for it (and in spite of all the noise that is liable to be heard to begin with against such an expansion), our strength will increase in the international arena; and nobody will engage in any horse-trading behind the scenes on the account of this tiny little state of ours.

Thus considerations of population, economics, security and politics combine as factors requiring, compelling, literally forcing the fulfilment of the vision, which in the long run is more realistic than the realism of the present frontiers.

Hence there is no moral, logical or real validity to all or any promises,

made by someone or other to the world and the Arabs round about, that Israel has no intention of expanding her borders. The enemies do not believe it, and justly so. The Zionist leaders had no apprehensions about admitting the objective justifications of Jew-haters in respect of certain arguments based on the objective situation of the Jews in the world. In precisely that degree there is no reason for apprehension today either, when it is a matter of seeing things as they are and admitting them if they are the truth and an inevitability.

There has been a strange attempt in this connection. At first we tried to deceive the Gentiles in order to camouflage our real objectives; and in due course we discovered that though we had not succeeded in deceiving the Gentiles, we ourselves had begun to believe in the falsehood and to reject the truth. There were those who argued: Why should we tell the Arabs that we want a state here? That is bound to rouse their opposition. It is better for us to infiltrate little by little until we are strong enough. After a period of such "practical" Zionism we found that Arab enmity and opposition had increased. They did not believe even such persons as Dr. Magnes, and they certainly did not believe Dr. Weizmann. The only one they believed was Jabotinsky. But on the other hand there were Jews and Zionists who honestly began to reject the truth of the need for a Jewish State.

Nowadays you sometimes hear the argument: Doesn't everybody in this State and Government want Shechem and Hebron and Gilead and Bashan? But what is the use of talking about it and annoying the Arabs and strengthening the hands of our enemies? The time will come . . .

This approach is already having its negative effect. Tens of thousands of children in Israel are already being educated to identify the State of Israel with the Land of Israel. Shechem and Hebron are already being spoken of as "Without the Land" and "a neighbouring country." The longer we do this the more we accustom the peoples of the world to the idea that the Jewish people no longer regards those areas as being part of its own country. Every additional year of such disavowal will, when the inevitable break-through occurs, strengthen the complaints of the world about invading areas which do not belong to us. Together with the Canaanitism which produces an "Israeli" ideology of severance from the Jewish people and making a new "Israel nation," there has emerged also an aspiration towards a kind of federation with the "peoples" of the region, such as the "Jordanians," "Syrians," etc; which involves conscious admission of the right of those "nations" to the areas over which they now rule. Yet no mollification of the Arabs has been achieved at this price. Not a single Arab believes that Israel has no desire to expand.

Antisemites the world over always argued that we were strangers in their countries. They were right, in spite of the impassioned protests of the Jews and their insistence on their faithfulness and patriotism.

The Arabs cry that the Jews wish to establish their rule over the entire area between the Euphrates and the Nile. They are also right, in spite of the denials and promises of the Ministers and political parties of Israel. It is rather stranger to hear non-Jews, Antisemites in the outer world and Arabs here, declaring precisely what was promised and laid down in the Torah of Moses while Jews deny it. However, that is the fruit of the unhappy period in Jewish history during which Jews began to be false to themselves, their greatness and their ultimate purpose. The "miracle" lies in the fact that the vision and Divine Promise fit and always will fit the real situation.

THE SPIRITUAL REVIVAL

It has not been hard to prove this combination of vision and necessity in physical matters, in the Jewish problem, amid the non-Jews and as regards the problem of the country's boundaries. It is more difficult to prove it in respect of spiritual matters, and for two reasons:

First: It is in the nature of spiritual things that their influence is less identifiable than the pressure and force of material affairs. During the six worldly days of the week men are busy with their material activities, finding leisure for spiritual matters only on Sabbaths and festivals; and in general it is only then that they sometimes feel the distress of the spirit.

Second: The very fear underlying Jewish life in the exile and the war tension, in addition to that of laying the foundations of economic life in this country, have driven awareness of the spiritual problem away from the national and individual consciousness.

Yet whenever there is a break in material pressures, the problem of the spirit within the spectrum of the Jewish revival in the Land of Israel emerges afresh.

And although, according to the assumptions set forth in earlier sections of this booklet, Jews in both the exile and the State of Israel within the Land of Israel are far from physical tranquillity, the main and decisive sphere of action at this hour and during the present generation remains that of rescuing the Jewish people from destruction by setting up its sovereign home on assured material, economic, military and political

foundations; and though the time is not yet ripe for actually imposing the traditional *halakha* as the basis of life nowadays, for fear that it might cause a rift within the nation, within the body of the nation while yet it is battling for its physical existence,—we still have to view this problem in all its depth. It is our duty to present it to intellectuals, writers, teachers and rabbis who, unlike party men and politicians, have their eyes on the deeper issues, on the future. What they plant in human souls gives its yield not in one year or two but over decades; and thus the inner likeness of the nation will be fashioned.

If the state redemption movement had come as one of the Messianic Movements of the past, say in the days of David Reubeni or Sabbethai Zvi when the nation still had its roots deep in its own original culture, this problem could never have emerged in all the present gravity. Doubtless there would have been differences of opinion even then, just as there were at earlier epochs when the Sanhedrin headed Jewry, and in the days of the Talmud as well. Yet there was no dispute as to the essence of things, the basic lines of the spiritual character. However, the state redemption movement came into being—certainly not by chance though this is not the place to deal with the matter—on the knees of Secularism, and was implemented largely by Jews who in actual practice, and sometimes even in theory and principle, were affected by other cultures and European outlooks, whether idealist or materialist, but far from the principles of Judaism in any case. The dialectic of history cause one of the major principles of Zionism to be: Let us be like all the gentiles, in state, economics, army. And so the idea of the emergent redemption was deprived of the spiritual element which had always been an integral part of it; the element of return to the God of Israel, the element of fulfilling the Torah of Israel within the sovereign framework of the renewed Israel.

After the extermination of East European Jewry, and in virtue of the processes of civil emancipation in the East and West, the overwhelming majority of the Jewish People has also left the spiritual ghetto which it consciously and willingly erected around itself; and in which, it has throughout its exile maintained a kind of Kingdom of Israel without territory, but with the fullness of independent cultural and juridical life. Furthermore, the concepts of the religion of Israel also underwent the process of assimilation and were translated into the cultural terminologies of Europe and America, being regarded as a matter of individual free will, choice and private belief which must be separated from all national and state considerations. That is the root of the deep incomprehension between the part of Jewry which still lives according to the Torah of Israel and the Shulhan Arukh, that constitution for Jewish life in the past, and those

who have come or will in due course come to the earthly and sovereign redemption from some other spiritual world. These two sections of the Jewish people speak mutually foreign and incomprehensible dialects; so that it is difficult to say whether it would be harder to turn a heretic into a believer or an unobservant Jew into one who fulfils all commandments, than to turn a Yeshiva student from Williamsburg, New York, into an actually combatant soldier, or a Roumanian merchant into a farmer.

For in this respect a large part of the Jewish people are entire heretics, even if they do not reject all belief in God or in the principle that the Torah of Israel is binding on the nation as a whole, and that it is the framework of the restored Jewish sovereignty.

A specific ideological emptiness, the ruination of a specific outlook on the universe, the spiritual crisis of the entire world and the absence of independent and satisfactory forms of life—all these are factors which, to be sure, have of late begotten, even in the State of Israel, a somewhat bashful and camouflaged movement back to the values and standards of our forefathers. This should also be supplemented—not without the influence of similar processes among the Gentiles—by the movement towards a religious reorganisation round the synagogues in the large Jewish concentration within the U.S.A. Yet all these are at the most preparatory stages towards the great spiritual revolution which will and must come about. It can be said that the relation of all these signs, the clearest expression of which is what is called "Jewish consciousness, with the great spiritual revival, is like the relation of the Hibbat Zion Movement, and the ascent of the Biluites to Eretz Israel, to the emergence of the State of Israel.

In addition to this error of supposing that the faith of Israel, like other faiths, is an affair of the individual in his attitude towards the Absolute, there has also come about a major historical error in explaining the faith of Israel as though it were a kind of stratagem for the purpose of preserving the existence of the Jews. This has led to the very popular conclusion that now we have achieved political independence the entire business of faith is unnecessary, and needed at the most by the Jews "abroad" (as we prefer to describe the exile); and that "Jewish consciousness" is also required merely to preserve the nexus with them.

And these two errors, which are a source of grave misunderstandings, are actually only one single error deriving from a piece of ignorance, the lack of knowledge that the faith of Israel—so unlike any other faith in the world that it is doubtful whether even the same term "faith" can be used for it—was borne with the Jewish people and co-exists with the

Jewish people as a people. At its base is the idea of the covenant made by God with the forefather of the nation not as an individual but, in so many words, as the Father of the Nation, and with his seed after him; and the covenant made afresh at the departure from Egypt, and before crossing the Jordan and entering the Promised Land.

This basic fact determines the absolute impossibility of separating Jewish religion from Jewish nationalism, or from the Jewish concept of sovereignty.

The existence of the faith is a national duty, and the maintenance of the nation is a religious duty. Furthermore, faith is not a matter of metaphysical relief but a law of life, a state law, economic and social legislation. Its significance comprehends the whole of material and spiritual, private and public life. Anybody who calls for the separation of faith and state or nation is a far greater heretic and unbeliever than those who demand religious reform, the renewal of the Oral Torah or even a new Shulhan Arukh. If there is a possibility or hope, and if the demand has already been made for the renewal of the institution known of old as the Sanhedrin as the highest legislative and spiritual institution, as it was in ancient times,—an institution which and which alone will be authorised to renew the Oral Torah,—then there will never come about or be possible any institution which shall uproot this nation from its spiritual roots.

The Torah itself already warned against this by declaring that even if a prophet should arise who performs signs and wonders and demands in their name that other gods be worshipped, he should be sentenced to death. And in Israel the king is also subject to the Torah of Moses; which means that the Torah of Moses is the basis of both prophecy and sovereignty; meaning that it is part and parcel of us from birth, and is a peculiar identity of our own. Take this peculiar identity away from the Jewish people and you deprive us of the meaning of our existence. Assuredly the faith of Israel has preserved the uniqueness of our people and helped to guard it within the maelstrom of other peoples and cultures; but there is no process here of putting on the prayer-shawl in order to be separate. This putting on the prayer-shawl as a form of separate life is itself an integral part of the singular outlook on the world which is the content of this people's existence. And if this form and content have been preserved together with the people, it is a sign that there is truth in them and strength, which are preferable to the truth and strengths of other cultures, faiths and philosophies.

Three mighty spiritual currents have burst forth from the Jewish people during the last two hundred years. They are Hassidism, Haskala and

the National Revival. Each of them had its own philosophy and practical results, but all of them have this in common—all three of them are tremendous attempts to renew the creative Jewish spirit, to renew form and content in a life that has become petrified. Yet as long as there was no ground underneath these revolutions they could not bring about the growth of any full renewal in spiritual and cultural life. They ploughed deep. They left ineffaceable marks in the life of the nation.

The spiritual revolution which will come about in the Land of Israel will doubtless take what is best in each of these three currents, yet all three of them will serve only as a preparation for the great spiritual movement which will yet be born from this new union of the people returning to its own land. It was with good reason that Rabbi Yehuda Halevi, the great poet of Zion and originator of the system of Jewish national philosophy, speaks of the renewal of prophecy when the Jews return to the Land of Israel. Only with the emergence of this new spiritual movement will it become clear what has been the husk and what the inner content of Jewish culture during these two thousand years; nor will there be any lack of inner struggle, just as struggle was not absent in that distant and ideal past of the two first Kingdoms. But there will be two fundamental conditions for those struggles in that spiritual renewal: Land under the feet, ample, rich and assured land, no longer on the verge of the abyss of physical extermination; together with a common spiritual ground, that of the principles of religion and faith.

The negative condition for paving the road to spiritual renewal is liberation from all the spiritual husks and shells which have adhered to us in the exile; particularly during the past two hundred years since the departure from the self-sufficient spiritual life in the ghetto. If we had received from the Western World only the outer husks, the forms of clothing, the literary and artistic styles and the fruits of science and technology, it would not have been hard to adapt those forms and fruits to our own unique nucleus. But together with those forms we have also accepted the inner content. So much so, indeed, that many of us even when we return or wish to return to the time-old Jewish culture, that of the Torah and prophecy, receive it from secondary or tertiary sources; as it filtered through to, and was interpreted by, the gentiles through the channels of Christianity, European Reformation and Humanism. That is why there is so much talk about the morality of the prophets when what is really meant is the morality of say Tolstoi; or, to take an example from art, Moses our Master is imagined with horns precisely as depicted by Michael Angelo.

Now Moses can certainly not be imagined wearing a kapote in the

East European style. Hence both conditions alike are necessary: A return to the soil of the Land of Israel, and liberation from the husks of European culture and whatever has come down in it from Greece and Rome by way of the Renaissance; or from the German culture which has adhered to us through the channels of Emancipation and Haskala. To-day there are, naturally, two more immediate dangers: that of Anglo-Saxon culture, whether on account of the number of Jews in English-speaking countries or because of the spread of that culture through the world because of modern technology; and that of Socialist Communist culture, which is spreading by virtue of a supposedly liberating ideology. It is interesting that the followers of the Western and the followers of the Eastern (in the sense of the Communist) cultures both make the claim that these cultures derive from the "spirit of Israel's prophets." So one of the functions of a Jewish spiritual Renaissance Movement will also be to purify the concepts of our own ancient culture from all misrepresentation; just as the archaeologist when he discovers an ancient piece of pottery, removes the clumps of hard earth with which it has become encrusted both inside and out.

Last of all: The return to the language and the land is clearly impossible without a return to the spirit which that language, land and human stem fashioned here; without returning to those fountains and sources which nourished the spirit of the people. It is equally impossible to return to the land without returning to the heavens of that land. Deep and invisible processes (which if seen and observed appear to be irrational) restored the people to an ancient language not only through the external thrust of enemies but also, and maybe largely, thanks to the inner drive and vision of lovers. And it is not these factors alone which foster the return to Judaism, to the God of Israel, to the fullness of the Covenant as established at the birth of the nation, but also the negative aspect, that aspect as well it is possible to note—and this is the point at which to refer to the "miracle" of coordination—that all those actual or apparent cultural values which so attracted Jewish intellectuals during recent generations now lie in ruins. By way of comparison it is possible to view all that is called European Culture, which has split into two channels, American culture on the one hand and the culture of Soviet Russia on the other, as sub-cultures whose basic values are on the decline, even though their external successes still shine and bedazzle weak eyes. The spiritual personalities in these two sub-cultures are at a loss, for in the depths of their souls they can sense the death of their gods. There was a similar situation in ancient Greece and Rome. The theoretically materialist culture of the East, and the practically materialist culture of

the West, are no longer filled with the spirit of life; and possibly it is anything but chance that our national revival is taking place simultaneously with the death of these gods. The adored god known as European humanism was one of the victims of the furnaces at Auschwitz, while the god who was known as New Socialist Man froze to death in Siberia. In Hollywood the god known as New American Culture is also wasting away. Undoubtedly things of value were also fashioned in each and every one of these sub-cultures, precisely as befell in Ancient Greece; yet the essence of these cultures, the gods in whose names they spoke, have played false, deceived, been revealed as idols of wood and stone, and are now tottering. Though our scientists and technicians may still have much to learn from each of those countries, (albeit a great deal of what they possess has reached them from our own race), the fact remains that our writers and poets, our thinkers and artists, have nothing whatever to learn from them. For thought, poetry and art are all matters of content, matters of faith; and in those matters all the countries mentioned are confused and astray. It is in reference to such that the prophet said of old: For out of Zion shall Torah go forth.

The spiritual renewal which should and will come about with the physical and state renewal of the Jewish people will be rooted deeply and strongly in the ancient soul of Jewish spiritual creativeness and spiritual self-identity. That is a culture which for three and a half thousand years has been borne over land and sea, and has revealed faiths, philosophies and political systems. That is why all the attempts to establish a "new nation" here are sheer puerility, borne here with the alien sands which we have brought on our shoes from the exile. An "exile" Jew who dwells in the Land of Israel in accordance with the Torah and who fulfills the traditional commandments is far more of an Israeli than any "sabrá" imitating Parisian painters, or American actresses, or Russian versifiers.

Most certainly it is the very nature of things that political frontiers, or national objectives in the ingathering of the exiles, should be more obvious than lines of spiritual return and transvaluation. Yet in the last resort the return and transvaluation are ineluctable in their own iron causality, from which there is no escape. One day it will be found that all those problems of regime, society and economics which appear to be connected solely with external relations will also display, whether gradually or suddenly and with revolutionary force, solutions that will combine new technology with the ancient principles of Israel's time-old Torah. For neither regime nor society are external husks and shells which can be affixed to any inner nucleus. Here as well the deep currents of Hebrew concepts of polity and justice will grow ever stronger, and will be imple-

mented within the frame of new material and scientific conditions. For it is only on the surface that the bounds of material and spiritual redemption are separate. In their deeps they are one and the same redemption. And that we name: *Malkhut Israel*.

MALKHUT ISRAEL

This involves the dynamic combination of the following three revolutions:

A. The evacuation of all the exiles and the return to Eretz Israel of the entire Jewish People, which is one people either of its own free will or under external duress; of necessity or by reason of race and blood; thanks to its own resolve or because of the decision of the non-Jews.

B. The liberation of the entire Land of Israel in accordance with the boundaries set out in the Divine Promise, which are the geopolitical boundaries from the Euphrates to the Nile.

C. A return, renewal and revival of the basic values of Judaism deriving from the principles of faith and prophecy by way of all strata of our spiritual achievement, to the growth of a renewed culture of our own emerging from the vast forces concealed within us and appointed for us.

These three together are what we call: *Malkhut Israel*.

And this *Malkhut Israel*, as has been explained in each section separately, is not only a great and wondrous vision to which it is meet and proper to devote everything and to concentrate all forces of body and soul, of individual and group in order to implement it; but it is also a necessity, both inner and outer. An inner necessity since it is impossible for one with great strength inside him, who has the capacity for great achievements, to rest satisfied with trifles; and an outer necessity because there can be no existence for Jewry in the world, nor to this present-day state with its present ridiculous and in all aspects impossible dimensions; nor yet for this cultural Levantinism deriving from the worst of all the exiles.

Likewise redemption cannot come about in one field without redemption in both the others. There will be no spiritual revival in this state which lives on "schnorr" (mendicancy) and the grace of the nations, on this frontier of pillage and murder and on co-existence with the exile. Nor will there be any redemption of the entire land unless it is settled by twelve million creative and upbuilding Jews, who will fill its sovereign, agricultural, industrial and cultural area. Nor will the redemption of those

millions be possible, inevitable though it will be in due course, without those political frontiers.

Vision and necessity are interwoven at bottom and inseparable. And this is the function of the State.

All that takes place therein has to take place in the light of this vision. But since a vision impels and compels only a few, while at times of weariness, whether due to distress or plenty, those few grow still fewer, it is necessary to make the multitude likewise aware of the aspect of inevitability. For even if those who bear the vision in their hearts are not as few as may seem (this being, after all, the ancient vision of redemption), they put off all steps towards its realisation as being suitable only to Messianic times and conditions. For they do not comprehend the necessity of its fulfilment, or at least the necessity of speeding the Messianic End of Days.

Yet one who observes the situation of Jews in the world, the political situation in the surrounding region, the signs of spiritual degeneration in the State and among the youth, cannot escape the conclusion that the great revolution, for which all that has happened hitherto is no more than a preparatory stage, is most exceedingly urgent. And we already know from historical experience, our own among the rest, that the commencement of redemption does not inevitably involve its continuation; so that even destruction is possible if the right time and conditions are neglected.

From this viewpoint of vision and necessity, from it alone and from no other side-effects and shoddy aspects of one or another system, socialist or capitalist, democratic or totalitarian, multi-party or two-party—from this sole aspect of the full and entire redemption is it necessary to test and examine our State and its political system. Only insofar as this state and regime serves these conditions, and as a springboard or bridgehead for the fulfilment of that vision which is a national and historical necessity and inevitability, are the regime satisfactory and the state good. All that is done here to increase our strength for the fulfilment of the vision is good; anything that is done to delay it is evil and fraught with calamity.

In speaking of actions, we are not thinking solely of the obvious: Of strengthening or weakening the army, settling or neglecting desolate areas, increasing or stopping immigration. We are thinking in no lesser measure of action by the factors which operate in depth: Literature, education, science and art. These intensify or slacken the spiritual forces. They bring about the Jewish awareness and consciousness: Which are not, as is now beginning to be supposed, a matter of knowing about *lulav* and *tefillin*, but greatness and significance of the Jewish People ever since

our Father Abraham and the Covenant between the Pieces down to the vision of the full and entire Redemption.

Writers, teachers and artists who set out to deepen this consciousness will achieve no less than is achieved by any commander of an Israel Officers' School or Head of a Nuclear Energy Institute. And whoever works against such a deepening, whoever sets out to diminish this spiritual image, to contract or misrepresent the vision, is as good as a Fifth Columnist, a saboteur and a spy. He is a partner to degeneration and the destruction which can be foreseen if the revolutionary process is crystallised within the boundaries of the present state, by the absorptive capacity, and by spiritual Levantinism.

This vision and a recognition of its historic inevitability must first and foremost imbue the leaders of the nation, its political, spiritual and military leadership; meaning those factors which, in virtue of their status and position, are responsible for all that is being done and, no less important, for what is not being done when it can and ought to be done. The spiritual elite are called upon day and night to impose the whole weight of responsibility on those who bear authority. Naturally that is not enough. There are far too many spiritual shackles. There is the enchaining effect of the corruptive and anti-revolutionary party regime, to left and right alike. And hence it is the duty of the spiritual figures to operate ceaselessly among the younger generation, in order to awaken them to a sense of the great mission and the inevitability of the vision, as against the hardening of the delaying forces within the present regime. For in this race with time it is possible that the liberating force will mount from below, if redemptive actions do not come from the party pinnacles with their spiritual sclerosis. Habit, money, and the desire for power dazzle many of those at the peak, and second-rank figures come to the fore, while shoddy ideals drive out the genuine ones. Now there were and are—obviously not always—great hours which are times of fulfilment, but which are neglected on account of a lack of vision and faith or a lack of daring, or servitude to the needs of the day and requirements of the day of the masses below who, naturally, are not always in a position to see what is going on; although in the Sinai Campaign, for instance, the people below demonstrated their readiness to bear any suffering that might be required of it, and those who disappointed and misled were at the helm.

For in truth the people are rotten and corrupt only on the surface. Only when they are not called upon to give for the tabernacle do they give for the golden calf. Only when examples of corruption are to be seen above are the people also carried along by that current. Yet at its root

the people is still healthy and worthy of *malkhut*. In the roots of its soul are the old yearnings, and the readiness to exploit great hours even at the cost of sacrifice; as in all great revolutions, as in every achievement which is not momentary but of long standing and endurance, aiming for future ages.

Those who for one reason or another do not desire the fulfilment of the vision will obviously not find it difficult to discover reasons for rejecting it; for admittedly what is proposed here is not easy, and there are no few obstacles on the way. Yet the road from the State of Israel to *Malkhut Israel* is far shorter and easier than ever the road was from Hibbat Zion to the State of Israel. The Hovevei Zion and Herzl, followed by Yair who brought into being the "Lehi," the Fighters for the Freedom of Israel, there were far fewer real resources than are available to that quite powerful instrument called the State of Israel. Yet in the hearts of the pioneers of settlement, the pioneers of the sovereign idea and the pioneers of the war for liberty, there was far more vision and faith than can be found in the hearts of those who now head the State of Israel. That is why they see only large obstacles, which their short-sighted and narrow vision views as even larger than they are.

The great Jewish revolution which will make a reality of the vision of *Malkhut Israel* will come about in spite of the real obstacles and difficulties, and not only the imaginary ones. When the vision pulses once more through the soul, when once again an awareness of the greatness and inevitability alike will awaken.

And the State of Israel will be the mighty lever for removing those obstacles and preparing the road to *malkhut*, and to full and entire redemption.