

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.