

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 unforgivably 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, Aram 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