

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 depths 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 lulay 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.