

# **The Ashkenazi Revolution**

**By Kalman Katzenelson**

**Translated and annotated by**

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Translator's Forward

The first thing you should know about *The Ashkenazi Revolution* is that it was written in the Israel of the early 1960's, and for the Israel of the 1960's. Therefore, many of the concepts, and people, mentioned within it, will be foreign to English-speaking readers of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. For this reason, it might not be an easy read. You might find the glossary of terms and personalities useful. Most unfamiliar terms can be found there. Aside from this, *The Ashkenazi Revolution* should make for interesting reading, especially for students of Jewish history – and especially Zionist history.

There is irony in this book. Katzenelson attacks Modern Hebrew, calling it “a leap backward” (pg. 215), that it’s at a “dead end” (pg. 252), that attempting to revive Hebrew was “infantile” (pg. 129) and that its use crippled the prospects of Ashkenazim in Israel (pg. 229). Yet the book is written in Modern Hebrew. Katzenelson’s mastery of Hebrew is exceptional and the book, whether we agree with its contents or not, is a great literary accomplishment for its beauty. It is ironic that I was the one who ended up translating it into English – since I have always identified strongly with Mizrahi Jewry (I was involved with the Shas movement at its very beginnings in Jerusalem) though I am Ashkenazi myself.

With the benefit of hindsight, some of Katzenelson’s ideas may seem silly, such as his rhetorical question: “But who needs outer space? What shall we do with it even if we conquer it?” or his suggestion that Sephardic Jews in

Israel might abandon Hebrew in favor of Arabic. Yet there is much truth in what he says, even if the future did not turn out exactly as he had predicted.

Katzenelson was courageous; he wrote things that many others would not dare say. According to Hebrew Wikipedia, “The book earned condemnation and disassociation from the entire political, and social, spectrum and it was banned by the government”. Katzenelson exposes many of the shining stars of the State of Israel as unworthy, and unprincipled, people. More disturbing, to the Israeli public, was his attitude toward non-Ashkenazi Jews. Did Katzenelson believe in innate racial differences between the various Jewish ethnic groups? It is hard to say. If he did, he did not dare say so explicitly – and he does seem to contradict himself in this matter. The word that I translated as “hereditary” (*torashti*) is somewhat ambiguous in Hebrew; it could refer either to a cultural, or genetic, heritage. Katzenelson’s belief, that the adoption of the Yiddish language could close “the gap” between the Mizrahim and the Ashkenazim, implies that environment, and not genes, is responsible for “the gap”. Yet Katzenelson also attaches much importance to “blood”, even to the extent that only those with at least one Ashkenazi parent could gain entry into his Ashkenazi Political Party, L.A.I. Speaking Yiddish, from an early age, would not be enough to qualify a person as “Ashkenazi”.

Many of the accusations that we hear against the Jewish People, by anti-Semites, are echoed within this book – but from a Jewish perspective. Katzenelson is not afraid to admit the flaws of the Jewish People – even specifically his **own** Jewish people, the Ashkenazim, but he does so out of the desire to right the wrongs. Just as the author wrote things as he saw them, so too did I adhere to the original Hebrew as much as possible. I did not (intentionally) twist, or stretch, any of the author’s words. If there is any inaccuracy in my translation, it is an honest mistake.

There are certain inherent difficulties involved with translation from Hebrew to English. At times, I had no choice but to stray from a literal translation in order to make the book readable and understood. My main goal was to convey the ideas as accurately as possible. I also strove to retain the literary beauty of the original work so that its English version is not only easily understood, but also a pleasure to read. I would like to think that I’ve been successful in this endeavor.

As for transliterations, my main concern was that readers recognize as many names as possible. I made no effort at consistency; if I felt that a certain spelling would be more recognizable to readers than another, then that was the one I used. In general, I used the spellings found in Wikipedia. As for the glossary at the end, unless otherwise noted (as links at the end in parenthesis), they are mostly taken from Wikipedia – and edited. I did leave the Wikipedia links intact so that readers can use them for further study. There are a handful of personalities that are not found in the glossary; this is either because I considered them so well known that it was not necessary, or because I was not able to identify the individual. Please feel free to email me with missing information if you have it.

While it is a great honor to bring The Ashkenazi Revolution to English speakers, I also wanted to point out that it was no small expense for me to complete this task. Furthermore, it took a tremendous amount of work, and countless hours, to reach this goal. I did not have a team of experts to consult, nor were there any professors at my disposal. So if you benefit from this book, please remember to send me a donation according to your ability. You can use paypal (rhayat10@gmail.com).

### About the Author and his Book

Kalman Katzenelson was born on October 18, 1907 in Bubroisk, White Russia. His father, Shmuel, was a businessman and Torah scholar. His mother, Rotzah Berkovitch, taught in a girl's school. In 1923, the family migrated to Palestine. In 1927, Kalman joined the Revisionist movement (Tzahar). In 1931, he was sentenced to one month in jail for activities against the British Mandate. In 1932 he was given a suspended sentence, on the condition of good behavior, for his participation in a demonstration. In 1933 he was sentenced to one month in jail for participating in an illegal demonstration. For his anti-British underground activities, he spent a year in prison at Latrun (1944-1945). After the bombing of the King David Hotel, Katzenelson was imprisoned for a month. He was counted among the "50 most important men" who were imprisoned in 1947, and released in 1948, with Israeli independence. ( [Encyclopedia of the builders and founders of Israel](#) ). Katzenelson's aunt was Rachel Katzenelson, the future Rachel Shazar, wife of the president of the State (from Zeev Galili's [website](#)). The following is also from Zeev Galili's website:

### **The Establishment is Horrified**

*The book aroused a great storm at the time. Menahem Begin rushed to disassociate himself from the book, and from its author, who had been a friend of the Revisionist movement in the past. The book also aroused, apparently, a vigorous response from the Establishment. At the time, there was a rumor that government agents had acquired all copies of the book from the stores in order to prevent its dissemination (end quote).*

And so, dear reader, without further ado, I present to you "The Ashkenazi Revolution".

Reuben Hayat AKA "Jewamongyou"  
September, 2011



Katzenelson: Not a Zionist; but an Ashkenazi nationalist.

**K. Katzenelson**

## **The Ashkenazi Revolution**

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*Abraham fell upon his face and God spoke to him saying, "Behold I have created you, and you shall become a multitude of nations. Your name shall no longer be called Abram, but Abraham, for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations.*

*(Genesis 17:4)*

*Isaac called to Jacob and blessed him, commanding him and saying to him, "Do not take a wife from the women of Canaan; arise and go to Padan Aram, to the house of Bethuel, your mother's father, and take a wife from there, from the daughters of Laban, the brother of your mother. May God Almighty bless you and make you fruitful and multiply you so that you become a multitude of nations."*

*(Genesis 28:1)*

*Jacob said to Joseph, God Almighty appeared to me in Luz, in the Land of Canaan, and He blessed me. He told me, "behold I shall make you fruitful and multiply you so that you shall become a multitude of nations, and I shall grant you this land for your seed after you, an eternal holding."*

*(Genesis 48:3-4)*

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## **Chapter 1**

### **The Jewish Concept of Time and Space**

#### 1

The topic of this book is the Ashkenazi People, first and foremost that portion of the Ashkenazi People that dwells in the State of Israel. But first it is appropriate to preface this with a survey that deals with the designation and unity of the People of Israel in general. The implied belief, which lies

at the root of this book, is that the unity of the People of Israel lies buried within its desire for eternal life. The words of the prophet Samuel, “the eternal one of Israel shall not lie”, which were uttered at a critical moment, are both a motto of faith and a motto of battle at the same time. Each nation represents its image from within a struggle with one of the dimensions of space. For example: the dimensions of a plain, forests, mountains or seas. In contrast, the People of Israel forms its image from within the struggle with the dimension of time, in order to conquer time and to win eternal life. This desire has no sibling or twin among the nations. Each people knows, from the beginning, that the span of its life is limited and that the final hour will come sooner or later. But this is not so with the People of Israel, which is not at peace with its death, but rather has been appointed and has concluded that it shall live to the end of days and generations.

“Abraham was old, advanced in days, and God blessed Abraham in everything.” In this verse, which speaks of the lot of the first Patriarch, the central principle of the world-view of the People of Israel comes to be expressed. “Advanced in days” (literally, “comes in days”) he is “going forward” in days, as if time transforms itself, for him, into space. However, the specific time of the People of Israel is not a parcel of land or of sea, but the eternal plane of time that continues from the beginning of the world until the end of the world, which rules over everything that is found in the world. “And God blessed Abraham in everything” – during the course of his walking on the plane of time, Abraham is blessed with everything. If not for his walking, he would not have been blessed. For time is the vessel and container within which is placed and collected the blessing. Without time, the mundane experience of life ceases and the person is “gathered to his people.”

This approach, which views time as the ruling dimension, comes to be expressed in a long list of Jewish tenets. The God of Israel, YHWH, rules over time. The gods of other peoples were rulers of the plains, seas, rivers, planets and stars. Not so the God of Israel, for He rules over time, and since He rules time, He also rules, by extension, all that is found within the

framework of time. This means every natural object on Earth below and in the heavens above. The God of Israel has no physical image or structure and it is forbidden to forge or caste a likeness of Him, for time has no physical likeness or structure as the earthly or heavenly bodies have. The lack of tangibility of time is imagined only, and behind it lies hidden an awesome tangibility that rules over everything and that creates everything. About the word YHWH, the biblical dictionary of Joshua Steinberg states:

*However, it is revealed to all eyes that this name includes all aspects of being, present, past and future and YHWH, hinting that the creator exists at all times and seasons, without beginning or end. He is that which exists and brings forth existence to that that comes forth from His will.*

The biblical dictionary of Joshua Steinberg defines the word ‘*olam* thusly:

*‘Olam (‘olam is from the root ‘alam, and therefore has a primary meaning of ‘wonderful and hidden’) includes time that has passed and is yet to come and there is no present tense in Hebrew, for all moments of time transition into them; one is past and the other is future so there is no place for the present.*

YHWH is the ruler of time and the creator of time, and “the world” is an artifact of time that was created by YHWH and it acts through the power of the thrust that emanates from it. “From ‘*olam* until ‘*olam* you are God.” The unity of time and the procession of time is the most wonderful of all unities and processions. It is also the first condition of all unities and processions. The unity of time and the unity of God are bound together one with the other; and the unity of time is conclusive evidence of the unity of God and to the existence of one God. Everything experiences change, even heavenly bodies, but time is forever changeless, always being one. This is proof that its creator is also one.

The evidence of time is the ruling principle, and is reflected in many primary expressions in Hebrew. The word *nisaḥon* (“victory”) is derived from *Nesah* (“forever”), for the idea of victory is for it to precede eternity.



In Latin, the word “victory” is derived from the verb that expresses submission, killing and destruction. The Roman concept of victory has to do with the bringing of submission, destruction, and the extinction of all enemies of Rome. However, the Jewish concept of victory has to do with the guarantee of eternity for the Jewish People. The Jewish prize is time. “Honor your father and your mother so that your days will be long upon the Earth.” The Jewish punishment is that of being totally uprooted from the field of time: “You shall surely erase the memory of ‘Amalek from under the heavens” (Exodus 17:14). When we wish to designate a particular thing as being long-lasting, we intend to say that it has positive qualities. When we say, about something, that it is ephemeral, we wish to note that it lacks all value or importance. But this assessment contradicts logic, for things that have value are also destined to change, and it is precisely the negative development that is likely to last a long time. But the Jewish approach does not accept this assessment. The Jewish approach says that if a phenomenon is a lasting one then it is evident from this that it is required. And if it is likely to be replaced, then from this it is evident that it is not required. Jewish genius says that one who casts his lot with time is traveling the correct path. This attribute is wonderfully illustrated in the life of Joseph, one of the first heroes of the book of Genesis. When he came to decipher the dream that Pharaoh’s minister of drinks, and minister of baking had dreamt in prison, Joseph cast his lot with time and told the minister of drinks, “The three shoots - are three days”. To the minister of baking, he interpreted, “Three baskets – are three days.” Later, Joseph took the same approach when he interpreted the dream of Pharaoh: “The seven fat cows are seven years, and the seven good stalks are seven years. The seven thin cows, that appear after them, are seven years, and the seven thin stalks, which are stricken by the wind, will be seven years of famine.” The holiday of Sabbath – the quintessential Jewish holiday, unique in its kind – is the holiday of unity with time. The Jew ceases his toil and his errands, minimizing his movements as much as possible in order to dedicate his concentration to the wonder of time and its movements. Everybody is obligated to rest on the Sabbath, and against this backdrop of the freezing of all personal movement, the power of the cosmic movement of time stands out. Last but not least: The Jewish prophet, who was a unique type

of individual, was a faithful wellspring of foresight that could explain the secrets of time. This view of time, as the primary asset, is also expressed in the dialog between God and the wisest of all men, King Solomon.

*In Gibeon the Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream of the night. God said, "Ask what I should give you." So Solomon said... "Give to your servant an understanding heart, to judge your people to distinguish between good and evil. For who can judge this honorable people of yours?"*

God was pleasantly surprised by the fact that Solomon did not demand a long life for himself, but rather preferred the wisdom necessary for the fulfillment of his royal duty.

*This was good in the eyes of the Lord, that Solomon had requested this thing. So God said to him, "Since you have requested this thing, and you did not request a long life and you did not request wealth and you did not request the lives of your enemies... behold, I have done according to your words (Kings 1:3).*

In the beginning God created... the God of time decided to no longer limit Himself to one dimension, the dimension of time, but to create within time, and from within time, additional dimensions: The dimension of the heavens, the dimension of the Earth and everything within them.

Therefore, the creation was within the framework of time and in the rhythm of its flow. "There was evening and there was morning, one day." The description of creation, in the first chapters of Genesis, is a great panorama of the flow of time, which brings with it, in specific segments, the days, a long series of creation. Within the flow of cosmic time is allocated, to every living thing, time of its own and it is its responsibility to continue with it, to sustain it as a partner of cosmic time. Therefore:

*God said, "let the Earth sprout grass and herbs that form seed, trees that make fruit, each to its kind, which spread seed over the Earth."*

The verse does not speak of just any grass or just any tree but grass that “forms seed” and fruit trees that “spread seed over the Earth.” As if to say, grass and fruit that have continuity, which have seed. That is, time that continues into the future in parallel to cosmic time. It is upon the grass and the fruit trees to make the effort to survive long-term, each according to its kind – so that they do not disappear. This is their destiny. All this is in accordance with the basic premise that the world is, first and foremost, a world of time. Within the world each species struggles. Each plant and animal, for its own time, so that it may survive as long as possible in parallel to cosmic time.

## 2

From a distance, modern science sees, in time and motion, the foundations of the world. In theory, we can envision a world shrinking to such an alarming extent that the foundations of movement and distance almost disappear. But even a world of only four cubits cannot exist outside the framework of time. For time is the ultimate and primal dimension. Mankind is the seedling of human time. The generation is the magic carpet of the seedling of human time. The generations are a procession of magic carpets. Our love toward our children is the love of human time, which is created by us. The man and the woman are separate components of human time which, when they are united in the embrace of love, create its continuity. Love is the cosmic yearning that strives to ensure the continuity of human time. The main difference between man and woman is their relationship to time. A man accepts the judgment of time and casts his fatalistic gaze to beyond the depth of death that awaits him. In his resignation, from his beginning, to his end, a man knows that all he is given is the ability to engrave his memory upon the straps of time. Not so a woman, for after the age of puberty, she is painfully aware of, and fears, the passage of time and she strives to stop it and to restrain it forever at the point of the peak of her physical blossoming. Therefore the man is, by nature, a revolutionary and an innovator who gallops with time. In contrast, the woman is, by nature, a force of conservatism, fearful of innovation and striving to curb and to stop the gallop of time.

From where does this relationship, between the People of Israel and time, spring? From where does its desire for eternal life spring? The answer to this question is given in the first chapters of the book of Genesis. Within them is revealed a depressing picture of the gradual descent of man from his status of quasi-god to his status as first and foremost among the various creations that are fruitful and multiply and swarm over the Earth. Between these two categories there is a very large distance. The creation of man is with great celebration and amidst the sounding of something of a hymn of partnership between God and man:

*God said, "Let us make man in our image and in our likeness and let him rule over the fish of the sea, over the birds of the heavens, over the beasts of all the Earth and those that crawl on the Earth." So God created man in His image. In the image of God did He create him, male and female He created them.*

Man, however, was created as a quasi-god, like a faithful vassal of God on Earth, similar to those who dwell in the lofty heavens. It was his duty to conquer the Earth and to rule over all that was in it. But already, the second chapter of the book of Genesis reveals, before our eyes, the tragic evil of the condition of man:

*None of the bushes of the field had yet existed upon the Earth and none of the grasses of the field had yet sprouted. For the Lord had not yet made it rain upon the Earth, and there was no man to work the land. A mist arose from the Earth and watered the land, and God created man of clay from the Earth and blew the breath of life into his nostrils. So that man became a living being.*

What a shocking descent! The man who was created as a quasi-god, as the master fisherman and master hunter, who was destined to rule over all the creatures of the Earth, lost his character as a quasi-god and turned into a

creation of clay who comprises a part of the Earth and is required to work it in order to maintain it in good condition.

As a consolation for this demotion, God places man in heaven, “to work it and to guard it” like a tenant of the Holy-One-Blessed-be-He. But even as the troubles of man had not yet passed, the incident in heaven occurred. Adam and his wife were banished from it. After the banishment came the final descent and man was forced to drink from the bitter goblet:

*And to man He said, “The Earth is cursed because of you. With sorrow shall you eat all the days of your life. Thorns and weeds will sprout for you and you shall eat the grass of the field. By the sweat of your brow shall you eat your bread until you return to the Earth, for from it you were taken. For clay you are and to the clay shall you return.”*

Man is no more the master hunter or the master fisherman. But he is a primitive and disgraced farmer, who eats his bread, the grass of the field, by the sweat of his brow. He ceased being a partner of God and turned into an intrinsic part of the Earth; for he is naught but clay and to it shall he return.

For what was this cruel decree placed upon man? The eating of the fruit of knowledge and discernment between good and evil is not dangerous to God. For the Jewish God does not consider intellect. The banishment is a measure to prevent those who come to the garden from reaching the primary treasure: The tree of life. Concerning this the verse reveals wonderful things:

*The Lord God said, “behold, man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil. Now, lest he reach out his hand and take also from the tree of life and eat of it and live forever...”*

Stop there! Eating from the tree of life confers eternal life. Eternity – which is the sole privilege of God. Therefore, in order to illuminate the

danger that man might merit eternal life, cruel measures are taken against him:

*The Lord sent him from the Garden of Eden to work the land whence he was sent. So man was banished and was placed to the east of the Garden of Eden, with the angels and the flaming sword, which turns around, guarding the way to the Garden of Eden.*

God remains ruler of the tree of life, and therefore He has nothing to fear from man. He even made robes of leather and clothed them. Jewish wisdom says that intellect is as nothing compared to time. Therefore, he who rules over time also lords over he who eats from the tree of knowledge. The absolute distance of man from the tree of life deprives him, irrevocably, of the uniqueness of being a quasi-god, which he was graced with upon his creation.

The Bible speaks at great length of the banishment of Adam and Eve from heaven. Before us is a complete and detailed writ of accusation; the snake, the woman and the man, the temptation and its consequences. In contrast, the Bible is brief in its description of the cosmic catastrophe of the flood, as if its causes were already understood. “The Earth became corrupt before God and the Earth became full of injustice. God saw the Earth and behold, it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted its way upon the Earth.” (Genesis 6:11,12). What happened? How had the Earth become corrupt? We find the answer to this question in the preceding verses of chapter six. From them it becomes evident that here we have an additional version of punishments that God casts upon man because he is living too long and thus, in a cunning way, he had attained everlasting life, which is solely the privilege of God.

*The sons of God saw the daughters of man, that they are good. And they took them as wives, each according to his choice. So God said, “my spirit shall not strive with man forever, since he is flesh. His days will be a hundred and twenty.”*

The boundaries between God and man, in the critical area of time, had become indistinct. God had fixed a boundary to “separate” between Him and man. The boundary is the hundred and twenty year limit to the life of man.

However, in the meantime, a certain amount of mixture had already been created between the two categories, God and humanity.

*The fallen ones were upon the Earth in those days and even afterwards, during which the sons of God came upon the daughters of man and they bore them offspring. They were the mighty men of old, men of fame.*

Once more, man stretches out his hand toward the tree of life, and the wrath of God does not hesitate to come.

*God saw that the evil of man was great upon the Earth. All of the thoughts of his heart were only evil all day long. So God said, “I shall erase man, which I have created, from upon the face of the Earth; from man to beast to those that crawl to those that fly in the heavens, for I have regretted what I have done.”*

#### 4

The flood put an end to the “old regime” on Earth, the regime where man was a partner of God. But Noah found grace, and by this merit, the privileges of being a quasi-god, which were granted to Adam, were preserved in him. He did not live a hundred and twenty years but nine hundred and fifty years. (Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years). This difference of twenty years, in favor of Noah, is faithful testimony to the affection that God showed him.

The status of quasi-god, which was given to Adam and then nullified later, at the time of the banishment from heaven and the flood, was returned to Noah. For Noah (he was as his name implies) “found favor in the eyes of the Lord”. This privilege of being a quasi-god was erased in the days of

the descendants of Noah. God became especially angry with the builders of the Tower of Babel, for in their collective strength, He saw a competitor to Himself. In the end, God revealed Himself to Abraham. He told him “get going” and then made with him the treaty of “between the two pieces”. Thus Abraham became the one who held the honor of being a quasi-god, which had been that of Adam and afterwards of Noah. Except that a far-reaching change had taken place. The honor ceased being one of an **individual** and turned into one of a **people**. As its final crystalization, this honor reached a dramatic level between our Patriarch Jacob and the angel at the pass of Jabbok. “The (angel) said, your name will no longer be called Jacob, but Israel, for you have struggled with God and with people and prevailed.” Jacob turned into a quasi-god, whose descendants possess everlasting life.

The strength of Israel is that the goal, which stands before its eyes, is not an unclear world to come, as we find among other peoples, but it is an ancient and tangible state of affairs, a freedom of clarity in the soul of the people. The People of Israel is a people that goes around seeking to renew, as of old, ideal situations which date to antiquity. The People of Israel refuses to forget the ideal situation that Adam found himself in when he was created, when he was a quasi-god and an important partner to his creator. The Jewish yearning is to renew and maintain this situation and to take its place, within it, as the chosen people. The People of Israel did not accept with resignation the banishment from heaven and it demands the nullification of this decree - but not a general nullification for all humanity, rather for the Jewish People exclusively. The People of Israel demands, from the Holy-One-Blessed-Be-He, that He nullify the decree and that He fulfill the promises. This mutual relationship between the God of Israel and the People of Israel creates a situation unique in its kind, a situation of constant love and of constant litigation, within which each side makes heard to the other words of pleasantness and affection, words of anger and submission, warnings and pleadings, supplications and excuses. The secret of the longevity of the People of Israel is hidden in its perpetual youth, in its adolescence which always exists and springs forth from its clinging to the youth of the cosmos, just as man was a quasi-god and the relationship



between him and his creator was like the relationship between a first born brother and a younger brother.

In order to justify expressing its status as a quasi-god, the People of Israel is obligated to fulfill two conditions: Firstly, eternal life, for it is a convincing proof of the status of quasi-god. Secondly, steady contact, face to face, with the creator of the world, which proves that the friendly connection between the People of Israel and the creator of the world exists and is stable. Thus the conquest of time has, for the People of Israel, turned into a lofty strategic and tactical goal, that all efforts are directed toward, and all attainments come to demonstrate its importance. The supremacy of the People of Israel over the gentiles, its influence over them and even its dominion over them, comes from its yearning to conquer this great dimension to a greater degree than they yearn to conquer it. The gentiles wish to conquer the various dimensions of space, but the People of Israel wish to conquer the dimension of time. Just as time rules over space, so too do the conquerors of time rule over the conquerors of space.

## 5

In its path to eternity, the People of Israel seeks to achieve the second condition, which guarantees it the status of quasi-god, the condition of a steady contact with the creator of the world in order to be face to face with Him. The People of Israel is a stiff-necked people, a burdensome people, according to the description of King Solomon. However, its God is also not an easy-going god but a jealous and vengeful one. Between these two, a constant legal struggle ensues, which is symbolized by the struggle between the angel and our Patriarch Jacob. Within this wrestling is hidden a realism that greatly exceeds the analogies of other faiths. As for the analogies of heaven, which are found among other faiths, not only are they ill defined and not realistic, but they include degenerate enticements. The heaven of Muhammad, which has an abundance of sexual pleasures, has lead to the descent and degeneration of the Muslim world. The exaggerated idealism of Christianity was destined to bring about the degeneracy of the Western world. In contrast to this, the struggle between

Israel and his God constitutes a great realistic symbol, which prods a continuous daily, and hourly effort.

## 6

Time and again attempts are made to describe the People of Israel as a moral people whose role is to bring good news and moral redemption to the world. One of the more recent attempts, of this type, which brought about much tragedy, was made by “Ahad ha’Am”. This point of view has no basis in historical reality. The People of Israel is not a moral nation but a nation of time. Jewish morality is not an end unto itself but rather a tactical means for the conquest of time. Furthermore: it is an extremely flexible means. The extinction that was decreed upon the people of Canaan and the commandment of “do not allow any soul to live”, are not moral. The livelihoods of Jews, during the generations of exile, include many professions of usury and of ownership of taverns and they are not moral. The expulsion of the Arabs from the Land of Israel in the year 1948 was not moral. When morality is an obstacle to the People of Israel, in its quest to conquer time and guarantee its eternity, the People of Israel ignores morality and tramples it in the dust. On the other hand, the People of Israel maintains a high level of morality toward non-Jews in situations where there is no danger to the survival of the Jewish nation, for example, toward the stranger (or convert). In every case where it is possible to avoid cruelty toward foreign peoples, the People of Israel makes great efforts to achieve this. However, when there is no choice but to be cruel, the Jews ignore morality without a second thought, just as they did in the distant past when they came into contact with the peoples of Canaan and as they did in the recent past when they came into contact with the Arabs of the Land of Israel during the British rule. Even more so: Jewish morality is strongly directed internally. Only rarely is it to be exercised outwardly. The role of Jewish morality is to ensure the social health and communal stability of the People of Israel itself, to purify and strengthen the camp of Israel, which finds itself in a decisive battle to conquer time. From within a brilliant distinction of the importance of the sexual processes, which serve as a laboratory within which the continuity of human time is formed, Judaism is

particular to a degree that is not found among any other people, about the purity and stability of family life. For the necessity of maintaining the internal unity, within the Jewish camp, distinctive rules come into play to protect social justice. But it was only the tactical quality of Jewish morality brought this great success. For morality is not a dimension, but a very unclear domain, which experiences constant changes here and there. Those who support morality in its own right, who wish to preserve it in its purity for humanity in general, have succeeded only in the initial preaching stage. However, in its practical stages, they have been revealed as either lacking ability or as tainted. The attempts of the followers of Ahad ha'Am to reconcile the contradiction between their own faith and the fashion in which the State of Israel was founded, are ridiculous attempts. Jewish genius goes in a different direction. It harnessed morality for the task of conquering a dimension – the dimension of eternity, and for this it put morality to a practical test. It drew from morality whatever could be used for the physical benefit of man's life, and it rejected, from it, that which could not bring such benefit.

## 7

What is the origin of the People of Israel? Is this origin of space or time? History answers this question clearly. The origin of the Jews is not of space at all, but of time. For all their enthusiasm is attached to it, and in it they demand the maximum. The land of Canaan came to serve as an earthly base for the war for eternity. It is not the origin but the main earthly bridge to conquer the eternity of time. The Land of Israel is the ideal place for the unification, face to face, between the People of Israel and its God. But when God revealed Himself face to face to the great ones of Israel, it was not necessarily in the Land of Israel. He spoke with Abraham in Haran and to Moses in Egypt and in the wilderness of Sinai. For the God of Israel is found wherever time is found. The Land of Israel is, therefore, only a portion of the goal to unify with the Creator face to face. Furthermore: The Land of Israel is the destination that the People of Israel long for in its struggle with its God, and it is a playing card in the hand of the God of Israel in the tiresome, and ongoing, litigation between Him and the

“burdensome people”, the stiff-necked people. When the God of Israel takes mercy upon His people, He gives it the land. When he is angry with His people, He takes it away from it and banishes it to exile. The ownership of the Land of Israel takes the struggle between the People of Israel and its God from disembodied form and gives form, fleshing it out into a concrete concept. But despite all this, the Land of Israel does not possess a central theme in the Jewish perspective as much as two principles: The first is eternal life and the second is the unification face to face with the creator.

The Jewish People places more emphasis, than any other people, on all that relates to the conquest of time, but at the same time, it places minimum emphasis on all that involves the conquest of space – including also the Land of Israel. The Jews wanted very much to settle in Egypt. Before his death in Egypt, Jacob commanded his sons to bury him in the cave of Machpela. This is a concrete instruction. In contrast, Jacob does not command his sons to immediately return to the land of Canaan and he is satisfied with the repeated promise of his God, God Almighty, to give the land to his descendants (“to your seed”) for an eternal holding. There is the impression that the Jews were very much inclined to settle in Egypt for a long time and only the oppression of Pharaoh forced them to take the staff of wandering. Furthermore: About 175 years separate the death of Joshua and Saul and David. This is a very long time, but the Jews took advantage of it only minimally in order to consolidate their conquest. The promise to Abraham, in the treaty of “between the pieces”, had been forgotten from their hearts. The peoples of Canaan, which were not uprooted, and the peoples of the surrounding areas, persecuted the tribes, and only with the strengthening of foreign pressure, did mighty judges rise up and push back the oppressing intruders. There is no comparison between the systematic effort toward consolidation of the conquest of lands and in the fortification of strongholds – which we see with other peoples in the same period of the Judges - and the ways of the Judges of Israel. Over and over again, great men arose from among the tribes. Among them were those who captured forever the imagination of literature, but all their deeds were limited only to defense. This proves beyond all doubt that the tribes of Israel had no

interest in territorial expansion. They only wanted a small area, the area needed for them to forge a path, as a bridge for advancing the true agenda, the conquest of time.

Study of the condition of the tribes will show that they had no other alternative. There were only two ways they could have expanded greatly. One way was through destructive war with nearby nations, which would involve completely obliterating them. But this would have involved many sacrifices, and it would have aroused widespread opposition due to its brutality. Saul's opposition to the destruction of Amalek points to the difficulties with this route. The second way would have been a more benign conquest. But this path would have required appeasing the nearby nations and their religions, which would have brought about religious assimilation and the dilution of the tribes of Israel among foreign populations. The only option left to the tribes was that of "a people that dwells alone and considers not the other nations" (Numbers 23:9). That is to say, a people that does not lust after territories, does not manage foreign nations extensively and concentrates on its struggle to conquer eternity while also struggling with its God.

The campaign of King David was the exception that proves the rule. David was an unusual personality who acted during a unique situation. He ruled over the tribes and conquered such large areas that his nation gained the semblance of an empire. King Solomon continued on this path in a diplomatic way and completely left the isolation of "a people that dwells alone". However, the consequences were not long in coming. Solomon was lead astray after other cultures and strange religions and, at the end of his days, he and his surroundings became known for their intensive assimilation. The People of Israel were always forced to answer the question: Which does it want, a maximum of time, or a maximum of space? In general, the maximizing of space meant the minimizing of time, and vice versa.

The phenomenon of the squandering of territory has duplicated itself in our own time, in the critical days of the year 1948. At this time, only a few

people were paying attention to the conquest of territory. From among them, we should mention David Ben-Gurion, the commander of Etzel, Amihai Paglin, “Gideon”, who was the instigator of the conquest of Yaffo by Etzel, and Yehoshua Zettler, a member of Lehi who demanded the conquest of the old city of Jerusalem. Almost all the other Jewish forces completely avoided unique opportunities to conquer territory. They concentrated on securing Jewish areas and a great majority of them, on the usual struggles of Jewish community activists. Menahem Begin and, his main advisor Dr. Bader, saw the opportunity first and foremost as the perfect time for the liquidation of the Tzohar and for the removal of Revisionist leaders who might compete with them for elections of the Knesset. Nathan Friedman-Yellin busied himself with the formation of a parliamentary party. Just as in ancient days, after the death of Joshua bin Nun, so do most of the Jewish public leaders in 1948 in the State of Israel find that the territories already in our hands are sufficient for Jewish life (that is to say, a life of conquest of time). Therefore it is better not to busy oneself with the conquest of additional space, but to concentrate, instead, on one’s place in the Knesset.

The lines of similarity between the period of the Judges and 1948 should be greatly emphasized considering the claims of many territorial maximalists, especially those of Dr. Israel Scheib and the noteworthy Lady Geulah Cohen, who feel the pain of a lack of conquest of space and lay the burden of blame on the shoulders of our Diaspora mentality. Did the Jews of the period of the Judges have a Diaspora mentality? Nobody has attributed this characteristic to them, but they squandered territories to a degree no less than their descendants in the year 1948. This characteristic is typical of the People of Israel from then and forever. The maximalism, toward the conquest of time, necessarily leads to a minimalism toward the conquest of space.

Tying into this, it is worth drawing a parallel between Jewish history and Roman history. The uniqueness of the Jews is in how they set themselves

apart by conquering time. However the uniqueness of the Romans is how they set themselves apart by conquering space. In every facet that has a relationship to the conquest of territory, the Romans revealed an unusual ability. They were excellent farmers, superior pavers of roads, experts in the transport of water, the finest administrators and soldiers in their class, well versed in the making of treaties and maintaining good relations with subjugated peoples and vassals. The Romans committed themselves to space and, in the end, they conquered the whole “world” of their time, that is to say, the areas around the Mediterranean Sea. But this conquest cost them dearly. The wars devastated the Roman population through attrition, and the Punic Wars caused the Roman population a draining of blood from which they were never able to recover. From this point onward, Italy became more and more full of foreign peoples, a majority of them slaves. In the golden age of Rome, at the time of Julius Caesar, Augustus and Cicero, there already was a lack of various classes within Roman population. In their stead was a collection of foreigners. From the days of Emperor Trianus (98-117) the leadership of Rome, to a large degree, had been transferred to foreign-born emperors. The era of Rome lasted about 1100 years from its foundation as a city, which occurred, according to recent excavations, in the seventh century B.C. until the year 476. After that, the Roman people ceased to exist. The Romans conquered space but lost time, that is to say – themselves. The Jews lost space but kept their time – and themselves.

## 9

The territorialists in our times, from the likes of Dr. Yisrael Scheib, see themselves as scholars of the past and seek to grasp symbols and fantasies from the times of the First Temple. But in truth, territorialism, to the extent that it exists in the nation and in Zionism, cannot be traced to this past, but from the fruits of the territorialist theories of (Leon) Pinsker, Herzl and their followers. The historical progression of the era of the First and Second Temples, should cause those who dream of expanding our space to lose hope. It is a fact that Zionists who are aware of the sources have revealed a minimalist view on territory. It is specifically those who are far

from the sources, like Pinsker, Herzl, Nordau and Zabotinsky, who are the ones who demanded increased space. As for territorialism, on the one hand, it was attractive to the Ashkenazi masses that dwelt in crowded concentrations in a wide area between the Rhein and the Dneiper. On the other hand, they saw territorialism as a model and ideal for themselves in regards to European colonialism overseas, which was carried out over entire continents. The Zionist schools of thought that were not nurtured by territorialism decreed upon themselves miserliness in all that pertained to space. To our regret, we must note that this pattern was faithfully followed, in general, in historical tradition.

## 10

During the long period of the Judges, the tribes of Israel showed no effort worthy of being called an “effort”, to consolidate conquered territories or to acquire additional territories. David formed a large kingdom, but it was divided after the death of Solomon, and with its division came the end of any hopes of expansion. But specifically these tribes, whose achievements were in the realm of the conquest of space, were the unfortunate ones. They did not refrain from strongly opposing the large kingdoms of the Mideast, Egypt, Assyria and Babylon, during the Second Temple. During the Second Temple, the Jews had long wars with the Seleucid and Roman Empires. The tiny Jewish nation was at war with all the large empires of the ancient world except for the Persians and the Parthians, with whom they had treaties. This astounding phenomenon requires an explanation.

There were peace groups during every era. In the Kingdom of Ephraim, there was certainly a group that demanded complete surrender to Assyria. In Judah there were many who sought peace, among them the great prophets. During the Hellenistic period there were those who emulated Greek ways, and during the Roman period there were those who agitated for peace with Rome, of this category those who supported Herod. But never were the peace activists successful in bringing about a situation of vassalhood that lasted securely for any length of time. Sooner or later rebellion always broke out, and the bitter end was not long in coming.



Even more so: The conservatives, who comprised a unified block of the Jewish peoples – as will be explained later in this book – also rebelled against Aspasinus (probably Vespasian – translator) and later still they had wars with the Byzantines.

These tragic rebellions are faithful expressions of the character of the People of Israel, that yearned to make itself equal to those of great stature, in its struggle for eternal life and in its struggle with its God. In encounters with small peoples, that would oppress and terrorize it, there was no challenge for the People of Israel. Therefore, it was apathetic about their conspiracies. Not so with the giant nations of the ancient world. These peoples demanded subjugation from the People of Israel, a bending of the knee and humiliation. Were it to comply with them, it would have negated itself, and it came to the conclusion that the crowns of the chosen people, with which it had coronated itself, were based on falsehood. The psychological situation of the People of Israel required it to oppose the giants no matter what. And the opposition was not late in coming. The wars between the tiny Jewish nation and the great empires were tragic wars, in which the Jews struggled with their national honor and with their status – which is no less than that of the giants and even rises above it.

A researcher will find many parallels in the course of history that preceded the Jewish wars and rebellions, beginning with the wars of Samaria and Assyria and ending with the war of Bar Kochba with Rome. This is the way of the People of Israel from the beginning: war with the giants which, despite its small physical dimensions is a historical giant and it therefore must stand against other historical giants and come into conflict with them.

# 11

The prophets, especially the great prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, opposed this trait of Israel and they leveled sharp criticism against it. Isaiah called for neutrality. Jeremiah preached staunchly in favor of a vassal status with Babylon. Isaiah and Jeremiah saw the danger in taking the path of “a people that dwells alone and considers not the other nations” which causes

conflict and contention with large empires. They sought to make the People of Israel fit in with the reality of existing politics through surrender to the powerful forces with which it interacted. This was a policy of appeasement, of the sort that is well known to those of the twentieth century: A policy of the bending of the knee before he who is stronger which defends itself through unmatched logic and linguistics. But, in spite of this, the policy of Jeremiah and Isaiah, a pacifist policy, was held in disdain since it accomplishes nothing, for it was impossible for the People of Israel to survive for long as lowly vassals, like a Canaanite slave of one of the great kingdoms. The path of Jeremiah has features that remind us of those of the French Marshall Petain. But there is no doubt that the liquidating pacifism of Isaiah was worse than the destruction of that of Jeremiah. The latter preached submission to Babylon because it was strong, but Isaiah went so far as to coronate Assyria as the “staff of His anger” (10:5) and he gave legitimacy to the actions of this kingdom. The Assyrian empire was an oppressive empire that lacked constructiveness, ruled with an iron fist over conquered states and followed a policy of expulsions and population exchanges – and Isaiah defines this evil empire as a helpful tool in the hands of the Holy One blessed be He! The cry of the prophetess Deborah “thus should be destroyed all your enemies oh Lord!” and the cry about Babylon, “happy is he who smashes your infants upon the rocks” (Psalms 137) - these are typical of the spirit of Israel. Not the words of the prophet Isaiah about Assyria.

The pacifist preaching of Isaiah and Jeremiah are the fruits of a later era and the results of a feeling – and this was a correct feeling – of the abyss into which the People of Israel would fall because of the outlook of “a people that dwells alone and considers not the other nations.” But the danger that awaited the People of Israel had it taken the route of the vassal, and of absolute humiliation toward the giant kingdoms, would have been even more severe. The prophetic pacifism was directed mainly toward the kings and the ruling classes. But, in reality, this was a conflict between the intellectual class and the general population. The wars and the rebellions of the Jews, in the days of both the First and Second Temples, were popular wars in the fullest sense of the word. Only the conscription of the entire

people was enough to force the king of Assyria to lay siege to the small city of Samaria for three years, and Nebuchadnezzar to lay a similar siege upon the small city of Jerusalem.

The struggle between prophetic pacifism and the rebellious spirit of the People of Israel, during the days of the First Temple, is a subject that commentators and historians have written much about. A large majority of them are counted among those who take a moderate stance, who make efforts to fit the People of Israel into the congregation of peoples, as a worthy people. This is the goal that the prophet Isaiah strived to attain. In addition to this, later generations are dazzled by the glitter and power of the words of the prophets. In contrast, only a few documents remain that represent the opinions and feelings of the other side, the kings, the priests, the military and the masses. It seems to me that the cult of scribes and prophets preferred the burial of such documents. Had they wished them to remain, they would have come down to us. Under these circumstances, history and biblical commentary are biased toward the prophets and they portray the other side as mistaken. But this approach, which seeks to present the prophesy of Israel as greater than the history of Israel, has no scientific basis. The history of Israel during the First Temple, an amazing episode of a small people fighting against the giants of the ancient world, is unique in its kind and its value is much greater than the wonderful literary and spiritual products of the cult of prophets. Furthermore: Only the Jewish wars and only the Jewish rebellions, gave strength and weight to prophesy, for if this were not so, its words would be the literary documentation of a subjugated and downtrodden people. Regarding these achievers of the First Temple, the fighters and the rebels who confounded the plans of great empires, it is fitting that the official stance toward them in the State of Israel, within its education and research establishments, undergo a fundamental change and be entirely different from what it is today.

As for prophesy being, to a large extent, also a propaganda tool for the intellectual class, which was composed of scribes and prophets, the surprising scarcity of biographical material about the prophets testifies to

this. On the personal lives of the various biblical personalities, who preceded the prophets, the Patriarchs, the Judges and kings we are presented with exhaustive biographical details, which describe the lives of these men from all sides, even from non-flattering angles. But in the books of the prophets we encounter an almost complete absence of biographical information about them. The prophetic portion of the Bible is the non-biographical portion of the book of books. The book of Jeremiah is one of the few books in which we find at least a skeletal form of biography, but in spite of this, those who arranged the book of Isaiah decided it best that we not know anything about this great prophet, except for the fact that he was the son of Amoz and a few other details. The difference between the desire to increase biographical information - which is typical for the early books of the Bible – and the tendency to minimize biographical information as much as possible – which is typical of the books of the prophets – is one that cries out. This fact forces us to the conclusion that the cult of scribes and prophets, among whom are counted the great mystics of all generations, wished to present the prophets as people who have no stain or flaw and in this way to elevate their value in the eyes of generations to come, in comparison to the value of their competitors and their opposition. In this tendency, the cult went so far that it directed a policy, toward the prophets, that describes them as a class of people that is completely different from that of the early books of the Bible.

## **Chapter 2**

### **The Congregation of Peoples in the Land of Canaan**

#### **1**

The word “people” (*‘am*) and the word “eternity” (*nesah*) contradict each other. For every people is destined to die and its destiny is to expire sooner or later. This truth was not hidden from the Patriarchs. Therefore, it was not their ambition to found one people, but a long line of peoples fighting for continuity, for the conquest of time, like a Darwinist struggle in which the strongest and most mighty prevails. God said to Abraham:

*As for me, my covenant is with you and you shall be the father of a multitude of nations. Your name will no longer be called Abram but your name will be Abraham for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations. I shall make you fruitful very much and make you into nations and kings will issue from you” (Genesis 17).*

This national pluralism does not only apply to Abraham, the father of Ishmael and the sons who his last wife bore him, Keturah, from whom sprang a long list of nations. This pluralism also applies to Sarah, whose only son was Isaac. Concerning Sarah God said, “I shall bless her and I shall also give you a son through her and I have blessed her and nations and kings will come from her” (Genesis 17). Isaac is not a father of “many nations” like his father, but the father of two nations, Israel and Edom. When he blessed his son Jacob, he used ambiguous words: “God almighty will bless you, make you fruitful and multiply you and you will be a congregation of peoples” (Genesis 28:3). There is a vast difference between the word *hammon* (used with Abraham – translator) and the word *qahal* (used with Jacob – translator). The word *hammon* implies a multitude that includes mixture and diversity but *qahal* implies a multitude of one unity. The family of the last Patriarch, Jacob, with his two wives and two concubines, was destined from the beginning to be a household within which would form not one people, but a procession of peoples that are bound together by shared principles. The clear individualism of each of the sons of Jacob, which is obvious from the blessing of the father to his sons (Genesis 49), is so great that it is destined from the beginning to frustrate any possibility of a full and complete integration. In his words to Joseph, his beloved son, Jacob repeats the blessing that his own father had blessed him with and says:

*God almighty appeared to me in Luz, in the land of Canaan, and He blessed me and said, ‘behold, I shall make you fruitful and multiply you and make you into a congregation of peoples and I shall give you this land for your descendants as an eternal holding”’ (Genesis 48).*

The term “**a congregation of peoples**” is made into a linguistic formula that denotes this group of nations or that association of nations which bears the name “the People of Israel.” The small family of Isaac forms a link of passage between two great families, that of Abraham and that of Jacob. But even as the large family of Abraham was the formative house of “a multitude of nations”, the family of Jacob was the formative house of the People of Israel exclusively, in its many tribes.

## 2

The sources tell us, in unambiguous language, that the People of Israel was never a people but rather a group of peoples, or an association of peoples. But we have ignored the explicit words of the Patriarchs and have, in our stubbornness, professed the opinion that says the People of Israel is one people, a people just like any other people. There are several reasons for this stubbornness. The unity of God appears to be evidence of the unity of the people. The unity of the land also seems to hint that the people is united. But we did not wish to err after the European peoples, who had imposed upon themselves unified nations. But this is not the point: The People of Israel is a people of time and it is worthwhile to always march with the course of time. That is to say, in order to be an eternal people, it is necessary to be a chain of peoples competing with each other so that the best of them carry on the continuity and hand over the crown one to the other, just as it is with a relay race.

In our efforts to flee the reality of the multi-national Jewish People, we have grasped the term “tribe” and emphasized that our people was a people of tribes, just like any primitive people, and that this undesirable condition has lasted a long time, to our regret, more than it should have... but this excuse is a poor one. The word “judge” (*shofet*) and the word “tribe” (*Shevet*) are of the same root. A judge is also one who holds a staff, that is to say, he punishes with a whip or staff (also called a *shevet* - translator). At the head of the entire Jewish People, during the time of the Patriarchs and the judges, there was a judge. This practice was a necessary result of a religious outlook. God was, in the eyes of Abraham, the “judge of all the

Earth”. In accordance with this, He was the central leader of every judging people, as His judges it.

In the first chapters of the book of Genesis, God fulfills all the functions of judge. He is the investigating judge (“who told you that you are naked?”). He passes sentence upon Cain and, at the same time, worries that Cain not be punished more than he should (“anybody who kills Cain will be avenged seventy times as much”). He worries about the needs of criminals (“the Lord God made robes of leather for Adam and his wife and clothed them”). The basic attitude that reveals itself, in the first chapters of the book of Genesis, is that Adam is a younger brother and God as the older brother who is qualified to judge his younger brother. In accordance with this, the central personality among every people was that of the judge. A tribe is a congregation, a people gathered around its judge. The authority of the king was formed in a much later era. This is not a religious or moral authority, but an authority of commandment. The verb “reign” (*malokh*) and the verb “go” (*halokh*) are related. The king goes before the people and brings it to war. Samuel says to “all Israel”, that is to say, “to all the peoples of Israel”: “Now behold, the king goes before you”, (Samuel 1 12:2). That is to say, goes and brings sometimes to this front and sometimes to another front. The king oversees a “kingdom” (this word was created in a later era), which is supposed to be the land of several tribes. But the People of Israel is always a tribe, that is to say, one historical unit that is tied to its judges and elders.

The difficulty in the transition from the rule of judges and elders to the rule of kings emanated not only from the fact that, in his reigning over other tribes, he emphasized the superiority of his own tribe and the inferiority of the other tribes, but also from a different reason.

A king twists legal/religious concepts by virtue of his maintaining instances of military dynastic rule. For his intention is to murder, eliminate and destroy personal and dynastic competitors. The rule of a king does not mimic godly rule, rather it is a tyrannical rule. With the formation of a kingdom in Israel, began a series of murderous conspiracies, murder and mayhem that are typical of the house of David and the house of Saul and stand in stark

contrast to the concept of righteousness and propriety of the People of Israel. The king is, however, a man who leads the tribes of Israel to foreign wars, and who holds the military means to destroy his internal foes.

## 3

With the developments that occurred within recent decades in the Land of Israel, revelations and moods, typical of the ancient era of the first kings of Israel, have blossomed in a surprising way. The various armed organizations, “Shomer”, “Haganah”, “Etzel” and “Lehi”, that had battled external enemies, had maintained, at the same time, military tribunals which had executed undesirable people – who were not always in the category of abominable informants. In many cases, those brought out for execution were glorious idealists, who have turned into dangerous competitors. The death of Lishansky is shrouded in mystery, but there is not much doubt that the hand of “Shomer” was involved. The “Haganah” executed de-Haan. In later times, “Haganah” carried out a campaign of informing, detentions and torture against the people of “Etzel”, and so was murdered, by their order, the “Etzel” member Yedidiah Segal. The headquarters of “Lehi” acted as a military tribunal and carried out executions, sometimes without justification, of people who stood in their way. The march of “Lehi” member Yehudah Aryeh haLevi, who had crossed over to the ranks of “Haganah” after the founding of the state, resulted in his execution. Furthermore: All of the armed organizations that were active during the last years of British rule, spied against one another vigorously and they executed, on one fundamental level or another, plans to eliminate competitors as opportunity arose, or to defend themselves against plots by hostile organizations to eliminate them. The negotiations between various armed organizations, even between “Haganah” and “Palmach”, were full of suspicion and plots. It is fairly certain that, with the appearance of Yisrael Galili, as a go-between for “Etzel” and Ben-Gurion, in the weeks prior to the sinking of the ship *Altalena*, there was a plot no less than that of Yoav Ben Zeruiah when he sent messengers after Avner to seek to bring him back to Hebron. “So Avner returned to Hebron and Yoav brought him aside in the gate to speak to him privately, and he struck him



there in the groin and he died for the blood of ‘Asael, his brother’ (Samuel 2 3:27). Plots of murder and liquidation, that are weaved within the walls of the headquarters of armed organizations, have brought back to life the psychological atmosphere of war between the house of David and the house of Saul, and there is no doubt that the murder of Menahem Begin was one of the first goals of the sinking of the *Altalena*.

The commanders of the armed organizations were, for all practical purposes, Israeli kings of the twentieth century. They “reigned”, that is to say, lead their armies to war against outside enemies. At the same time, they sought to eliminate those who stood in their way. A clear beginning of this development was already evident with Zeev Jabotinsky. His official titles were “Head of Betar” and “Marshal of Etzel”. But these titles, and words that imply their meaning, have no historical basis. In practice, Jabotinsky was a king who stood at the head of the troops of Betar and who lead them to battles. Jabotinsky entertained clear monarchic wishes in his divided heart, under the same roof as democratic outlooks and habits. But Jabotinsky lacked the strength and understanding necessary to find harmony between democracy and monarchy. Above all, he did not know how to take advantage of great monarchic possibilities which stood before him for the sake of the conquest and development of the Land of Israel, and its opening up for massive Jewish settlement even before the early 1930’s. All his democratic practices were only superficial – such as when he cruelly banished his helper and faithful ally Meir Grossman and his men in 1933, and was left surrounded by flatterers and yes-men. The entire sad and confusing chapter of the founding of the new Zionist Jewish Agency cannot be understood except against the background of the monarchist pressures of Jabotinsky and his desire to free himself both of the chains of the democratic organizations of the Zionist Institute and of internal challengers from his own party. Jabotinsky brought together established democracy and a sanctified personal likeability for the sake of a structure that lacks the power or advantages of monarchy – but only has its external trappings. The “T.S.A.H.” (The New Zionist Agency? – translator) had turned out to be the “T.S.A.M.”. That is to say, the Monarchic Zionist Agency.

If Jabotinsky and Grossman had parted ways due to their disagreement in the following question of which is best, an armed conflict against Arabs and the British or being satisfied with an unarmed conflict – then there would have been a break up. But the rift on account of T.S.A.H. was not a break up; rather, it was a banishment of Grossman and his men.

The commander of Etzel, David Raziell, drew his strength from the Bible and used all of his free time to read it. In his activities during the early years, until the outbreak of the world war, he was very much like a judge and king. But afterwards, during the various peace agreements and civilian incidents, his personality came to resemble that of a commander of Haganah. In his last heroic effort, when he led a small group of soldiers to the wilderness of Iraq in order to strike at the mufti, Raziell returned to his scriptural mannerism and, in his death, returned himself to the image of one of the ancient judges. In contrast, Avraham Stern was one of many outstanding, and typical, kings of Israel who was revealed in a wonderful way during the twentieth century. He reigned over his men by always leading them from the front. His ways and reign were not for any kind of personal benefit but as an emissary of a great concept. In the essence of his forward-moving reign, Avraham Stern ruled over his men without restraint, and his disciples who arose after his death were not trustworthy to the same degree as those who saw him face to face. He was a master of rare talents, a linguist and poet, whose heart had a flaming and pure love for his wife, Roni Borstein-Stern. If a tale of his life had been intertwined with the books of Samuel and Kings, it would have fit in naturally with the tales of the other mighty men of that biblical era, and no distinction would be visible between it and the parallel life stories. The attempts, by his enemies, to portray him as a “dissident”, constitute a gross forgery that is aided by formalistic and pedestrian concepts that ignore, in a narrow-minded way, the early foundations of the ancient People of Israel from which his personality was hewn.

One cannot view the correct historic role of David Ben-Gurion, in Hebrew history, except by including him in the list of important Israeli kings. From

the year 1947 until the final enemy actions, Ben-Gurion was a king whose royal qualifications increased as the danger increased. He reigned as he went forth and led the people to war. He reigned mightily even as he dealt with his internal enemies, during the sinking of the ship *Altalena*. Stubborn rumors attribute the intention, which he expressed in the years 1946/1947, to set up a sort of “Night of Bartholomew”, in which all the important people of Etzel and Lehi would be imprisoned. As long as no reliable contradictory evidence comes to light, we should take these rumors seriously. The weakness of Ben-Gurion as a king is inherent in the fact that he did not form his kingdom on his own, as Avraham Stern, Menahem Begin and even, as is known, Yitzhak Sadeh did. But he received it from his political party and expanded it even as the party was in the throws of chaos and impotence. His monarchical tendency was expressed in his desire to reach out to the great masses and to directly receive from them their approval to lead them and to guide them. His weakness, as a monarch, was in his willingness to compromise on issues that would have long-lasting effects on the political establishment. Had the British rulers acted against him in the 1930’s and motivated the activists of Mapai to rebel and rise up, then he would have created his kingdom with his own hands and shaped the development of the land differently, perhaps even of the Diaspora. He inherited the fruits that the campaigns of earlier “kings” had cultivated before him, Stern and Begin, just as the House of David had inherited the House of Saul, and the hatred of his competitors, whom he had routed to oblivion. Also, he formed less of a consolidated doctrine than other “kings”. His campaign was his doctrine. His doctrine was his campaign, and when it is not uttered, he cannot capture his faithful, for he hides and does not reveal many of his principles – so that they do not hinder him in his campaigns. The conflicts between him and his friends are the differences we find between a monarch and his bureaucrats. His young supporters desire to be his youth, like the youthful warriors and accessories of the ancient kings of Israel, but this desire does not reach fulfillment. It is exploded upon the rocks of democratic reality and leaves behind it confusion and a bitter taste. The conflict between the “youth” and the “elders” in Mapai revolves very much upon the axis of democracy-monarchy. The elders are democrats who must seek aid, for lack of

alternatives, in the tools of this monarchy, whose name is Ben-Gurion. But the youth are monarchists, who are forced to act within a democratic framework and according to its rules.

## 4

The longest lasting monarchy, of all the monarchies that arose in the 1940's in the Jewish settlement of the Land of Israel during the British rule, was that of Menahem Begin, whose official main command center is found in the "Fortress of Ze'ev", on King George St. in Tel Aviv. At the end of 1947, and at the beginning of 1948, history knocked strongly on the modest house of Menahem Begin, and offered him generous proposals. Had he entered the war coalition with Ben-Gurion, who was weak at the time, he would have been able to conquer the land to the Jordan, including all of Jerusalem, and to deal the enemy a victorious blow. Everything would have been different had Menahem Begin lent an ear to the meaningful chattering of history. But, when he followed the advice of Yohanan Bader, his main political adviser, the commander of Etzel rejected these unique opportunities, and gave them up in favor of the bowl of lentils of public appearances and the giving of speeches, in which he bowed to the hypnotic pleasure that he enjoyed from his ability to fanaticize the masses, that became drunk from the charm of his speech. (Let it be noted that Begin's greatest accomplishments happened when his mouth was shut with lock and key, as he was hiding in his secret bunker). The cruel sobriety that came with the *Altalena* incident returned Begin to gloomy reality. However, it was specifically at this stage, and after it, that he revealed his ability and understanding, as his advisor, Dr. Bader guided him with skill. In his movement, Begin led a monarchic watch that was crude and inflexible and, at the same time, he knew how to forge the image of a democratic, dedicated and experienced parliamentarian from his Knesset pulpit. It should not be said that Begin ceased leading his camp, rather, instead of leading it to war against the British, he lead it to war in the elections for the Knesset – a success that is too well recognized. Anybody who refused to bear the burden of obedience toward a monarch, whose only business was in the electoral war and preparations for it, was cruelly

banished – just as Grossman was banished by Jabotinsky. Within the close circles of Begin, and also among dozens of the best youth of Etzel, the faith lived on that when evil and bitter days came to the nation, Begin would return to his greatness and guide his people not to the voting booth but to the enemy's camp as he stands at the forefront of a war of salvation for the state. This is a very weak hope, since Begin had lost touch with those with real power within the state, and there is little doubt that, until his last day, he will serve a double function, as a king of the "Fortress of Ze'ev" and as a democratic parliamentarian in the Knesset building. But the hope of monarchy in the State of Israel is not exhausted, for the monarchic pressures are still very strong just as witnessed by the monarchistic outbreak lead by Lady Rachel Yanait Ben-Tzvi, the wife of the second prince, after the death of her husband. Who knows? It is possible that somewhere, within the camps of Etzel, under the training of a minor sergeant, is hiding one who is destined to be one of the great kings of Israel. The strength of the Knesset is based on the fact that as long as its members spend their time debating the minutiae of minor ordinances, every citizen are assured of just treatment and he need not fear tyranny or cruelty. The unfortunate weakness of the Knesset is that it is not a Roman senate or a British parliament. It was not the Knesset that founded the State of Israel, but the Israeli kings who ruled over armed organizations (Haganah among them) during the 1930's and 1940's; those same kings who ruled militarily and not only militarily, but also founded military tribunals that judged capital cases without sufficient evidence, and did other deeds that should not be done. But the tribes were reborn in the new Land of Israel not only in the form of kings but also in the form of political parties. For these political parties more resemble the tribes than their counterparts in other democratic states. For every major political party there is a spiritual father, ideologue and judge and between it and the other parties there is a division of enmity and competition of the most severe character. The hatred between the Revisionists and the parties of the left almost led to a civil war. Between Etzel and Lehi there is a tough animosity. Also the competition between Mapai and the Labor coalition involved administrative struggles, division of camps and competition with the I.D.F. and Palmach. Severe episodes awaited the relationship between the first Hebrew community

activists, before the First World War, and the farmers. Indeed, every major block and political party in Israel has many traits of the ancient tribes of Israel, which are found both in cooperative and hostile actions with other tribes. This world of the ancient tribes of Israel has come to vivid resurrection in the 1940's, when arms became plentiful, the armed organizations of the settlement became strong, and when war against the foreigners, along with internal competition and hatred, became more severe.

## 5

The most important early societal event, in the life of the People of Israel, was when Hagar the Egyptian and her son Ishmael were sent away from the tent of our Patriarch Abraham. This banishment was the first of a chain of events, which continue to this day, and will continue to the end of all generations, that lead to internal divisions in Israel. The concubine status of Hagar and her son Ishmael was completely legitimate and the banishment was a tyrannical and cruel deed that was done for selective reasons. It was our matriarch Sarah who provoked the banishment and Abraham was angry with her, but carried out her wish nevertheless. Our matriarch Sarah was a strong woman of high status, and she demanded monogamy. Therefore, it is possible to assume that the purpose of the banishment was to erase and make forgotten the insults she suffered while she was barren. But this conclusion is not supported by the actions of our matriarch Rebecca, who provoked Jacob to ensure the birthright for himself at the expense of his brother Esau. Jacob and Esau were both the twins of our mother Rebecca, and there was no motivation, except for pure favoritism, which would justify Rebecca's preference that the birthright go to Jacob. The struggle for preference, among the children of the Patriarchs, gets worse and worse from patriarch to patriarch. In the family of Abraham, the son of a maidservant and the maidservant herself, are evicted. In the family of Isaac, the firstborn son of the mistress gets evicted. In the days of Jacob the struggle for preference reaches its apex in the divided and branched family, which was perhaps the most complex of all founding families in the history of mankind. There is almost no kind of competitive

dispute that the family of our forefather Jacob was not involved in. Jacob had a dispute with his son Reuben concerning sexual misconduct. In addition, he had a dispute with his sons Simeon and Levi concerning their response to the rape of Dinah. The family was also in turmoil over the natural disputes that occurred between the children of the two wives, Rachel and Leah, and between the children of the two concubines, Bilhah and Zilpah. To all these were added the decisive dispute between Joseph, the son of the beloved wife Rachel, and the other sons. The first two matriarchs, Sarah and Rebecca, were the ones who managed the struggles for preference, and who sought to evict the secondary sons. But the first two forefathers, Abraham and Isaac, were passive in this regard. This was not the case with the last of the forefathers, our Patriarch Jacob. In his blessings to his sons, he fixes the special value of each of them and emphasizes the qualities that set each one apart. In his blessing of his grandchildren, Menashe and Ephraim, the sons of Joseph, he gives preference to the younger of them, Ephraim, by blessing him before Menashe, thus adding further to the disputes already there. All this chain of events, concerning the Patriarchs and their children, including the amazing adventures of Joseph, bring us to the blessing of our father Jacob in the second to the last chapter of Genesis. This chain of events has one understanding and one meaning: To ensure that the People of Israel would not, under any circumstances, be one people. That it would not simply be a people, but a “congregation of peoples”, among whom would be a cruel struggle for preference, and from which would sprout a chain of new peoples. For only this development can ensure the survival of the seed of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob until the end of days and the end of generations.

The unity of the People of Israel, of which they speak so much in the State of Israel, is only an illusion and a fantasy. For unity and eternity are opposites. Unity implies one fate, which is death, that is to say, the closing off of eternity. The striving for eternity necessitates an attitude of “who is for life and who is for death?” It requires the shedding and the retiring of weak tribes, or of those with bad luck, and the continuity of strong and vibrant ones. Jewish history is a parade of peoples, beginning with the semi-mythological era described in Genesis until the end of generations.

The weak and weakened peoples fall to the wayside in this parade and the strong continue to go on and, as they become weak, they too fall to the side and the newer, younger peoples that have since been born, carry on. But not unity, for unity cuts the bonds of eternity and puts an end to the parade that is required to continue on forever.

## 6

Since the People of Israel is the chosen people and it has a covenant with the Creator of the World, it is not a normal nation among nations, with their dealings and competitions. Its chosenness, in its international understanding, has one meaning and that is that the People of Israel has already defeated the other peoples. It has already “finished them off”, and therefore it has no interest in prevailing over them again through the conquest of space, especially since space is not important to the Jews, but time is. The foreign policy of the Jewish People, until the last period of the Second Temple, was one of self-defense, which strove to ensure a quiet existence, without interference, for the Jews within its limited inheritance. This policy was directed at expelling hostile forces and no more. The empire of David was the result of momentum that was created during defensive wars against the Philistines, and had the Philistines been prevented from persecuting the People of Israel, and had left them in peace, David’s empire would never have arisen. The more that the chosenness seeks to minimize contact and competition between the People of Israel and other nations, the more intense and severe, to the maximum, will be the internal struggles between the tribes of Israel. For the tribes are not one people but a coalition of peoples, and therefore the question has always been who is the most chosen of the Israelite peoples; that is to say, which is the people that will continue, more than the others, the parade of Israelite peoples to eternity. The central idea of Jewish history is, therefore, competition, war and struggle between the Israelite peoples themselves, who struggle for the crown of maximum existence, of maximum eternity. In the blessing of our Patriarch Jacob, we already see a clear expression of the vision that the internal struggle of Israel will take place mainly between



the Tribe of Judah, on one side, and the descendants of Rachel – Benjamin, Ephraim and Menashe – on the other.

The internal history of Israel is, therefore, exceedingly more interesting than its contact and relationship with foreign peoples. The relationship between David and Saul, between Samuel and Saul, between Jephtah and the elders, between David and Abshalom are far more interesting than the strategies and battles that were involved in external wars. Also Hebrew history of our own generation holds far more interest in its internal affairs than revelations of its external wars. The armed conflict of Lehi is one of the most interesting affairs, of its kind, in the history of the world. But this story pales in comparison with the story of the internal relationship between the group of Lehi, on one side, and the settlement on the other, including the quarrels, contacts, manoeuvring, deceptive tactics and cunning employed by the people of Lehi in order to pave their path. The stories of the Nili group – the settlement, “Shomer” – “Haganah”, the Revisionist factions – the Labor movement, are riveting more than most stories. No less riveting is the internal struggle between the Revisionist factions and the Labor movement, and the struggle with the Revisionist Movement, between Jabotinsky and Grossman, between Lehi and Etzel, between Begin and his group, after the victory of The Underground, and between the activists and the Revisionist intellectuals. Great human dramas take place even in the most open struggles, those between the activist parties and the various kibbutz movements, especially in the struggle between Mapai and the unified Labor but also between Ben-Gurion and his friends and highest echelon of Mapai. These dramas almost always take place in closed and secret circumstances and in underground meetings and the details of these dramas are lost forever. Our knowledge of all these tales is very sparse. This should sadden us, for as a result of this ignorance, many of the main motivators, that impacted and influenced our lives, are hidden from our eyes.

In the inner dramas of the struggles of the Bible, which we know about, the characters of great personalities are represented. The Israelite king had two faces. He was a commander to the outside world and an inquisitor

domestically. King David let the work of inquisitor be done by others, mainly Yoav Ben Zeruiah. David himself sought to avoid, as much as possible, the second role, and he wished to be only a commander. But history was stronger than he, and when it forced him to hand over the sons of Mipibosheth to the Gibeonites he added himself to the list of inquisitors. In the story of Jephthah, we see, in an intensely dramatic way, the bitter necessities of the other side of the coin, the necessity of a king to also be an inquisitor. In our own generation, Ben-Gurion carried out, after his initial decisive victories, the inquisitorial campaign involving the ship *Altalena*. Begin refused to be dragged into a civil war, and this we should count to his credit, but he cruelly brought about his own internal inquisitorial campaign when he banished the democratic elements from his party and turned it into a totalitarian barracks. The strength of the prophet was in his rebellion against the inquisitorial policies of the king and in his preaching for divine judgment.

## 7

The division of the families of the Patriarchs, into a congregation of peoples, took place through a series of increasingly fierce civil wars. The expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael was a step toward civil war, whose severity was abated by virtue of the fact that Hagar was an Egyptian concubine and Ishmael, the half Egyptian son of a concubine. Much more serious was the dramatic civil war that took place in the family of Isaac. Jacob fled for his life from Esau, and on his return to the land of Canaan, feared an armed attack from the camp of Esau. The struggle reached a new stage in the gloomy story of Joseph, with a long chain of miracles saving him from death at the hands of his brothers, and his ascent to greatness in Egypt. The expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael, the appropriation of the birthright, through deceit, from Esau by Jacob, the selling of Joseph and all that it involved – these occurrences created an immutable reality and prevented the children of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, from coalescing into one people. Rather it turned them into a divided congregation of peoples that was consumed by complexities and eaten by internal scheming.

The intertribal struggle continued in the Land of Israel as an inescapable historic necessity. Furthermore: In the Land of Israel it continued more intensely, for conditions aided every manifestation of independence, including the advent of civil war. The tribes ambushed and spied against each other, lest one tribe become too powerful. The great success of Samson aroused jealousy and fears in the heart of the Tribe of Judah. Three thousand men from Judah ascended to a section of the cave of Etam, where Samson was camped, and restrained the mighty man with cords, then forced him to pass into the camp of the Philistines (Judges 15). The power of the Tribe of Judah was not entirely nullified, as is evident from the following chapters of the book of Judges, where we are told the shocking story of the concubine of Gibeah and the destruction of the Tribe of Benjamin. This story, whose historic authenticity is made abundantly clear above, has forever branded the nature of intertribal relations upon the People of Israel. Sexual crimes were very common in the tents of the children of Israel, as the incidents of Reuben and Amnon and Tamar prove. The abominable sex crime that was committed in Gibeah was, by no means, enough to justify the eradication of an entire tribe. Wholesale murder was done for two reasons: The decision, by the elders of Judah, to bring to an end, at any cost, the growing strength of the Tribe of Benjamin; the formation of a cult of prophets and religious hysterics, who stood at the forefront against Benjamin and served the interests of Judah and turned them into a holy war to eradicate evil. The following verse gives clear testimony that it was the Tribe of Judah that was behind the plan to destroy Benjamin:

*They arose and ascended to Beth El and asked God. The children of Israel asked, "who shall rise up for us initially to make war with the children of Benjamin." God said, "Judah shall rise first" (20:18).*

In the chapter of the sale of Joseph, Judah saved Joseph from death by convincing his brothers to sell him to Ishmaelites, but in the battle against Benjamin, which was a continuation of the sale of Joseph, it was specifically Judah that was the primary instigator for the war of annihilation. This fact proves that the division between the tribes, and the

intertribal competition became more severe over the generations between the sale of Joseph and the destruction of Benjamin. More so: Had the war between Judah and Benjamin been merely a struggle of competition, there would not have been such bitter results; for the elders and statesmen of Judah had a sense of proportion regarding excesses and that which is forbidden. But this quality was completely lacking among the religious hysterics, many of whom hoped for personal gain through the turmoil and bloodshed. This cult caused events to deviate from their historical course and brought about the destruction of the Tribe of Benjamin. After the battles had calmed down, the elders of Israel were shocked at the results and regretted their deeds, but it was too late. One of the fittest tribes of Israel, which was among those with important political qualities, was extinct. The aid that was extended to the children of Benjamin, concerning marriage, was able to save only a small portion, and the memory, of the tribe.

## 8

The story of murder of Arlozoroff, which occurred in our generation, bears witness to the succession of psychological forces that have acted upon the Jewish People over the millennia. Had Revisionists murdered Arlozoroff, as their enemies had claimed, then this would have been the end of the Tribe of Revisionists, just as it was with the Tribe of Benjamin thousands of years ago. In this instance there was a massive attack arrayed against the Tribe of Revisionists, which manifested itself through boycotts, public hunger strikes and even a string of murders. The reaction did not take long to come. The Jewish settlement had been deteriorating into civil war, which had been stifling both it and the future nation of Israel.

As we all know, the accusation against the Revisionists was without foundation. The Revisionists had no part in the murder of Arlozoroff, may he rest in peace, and Jews had no part in it. But, in spite of this, only a thin thread separated the Jewish settlement from civil war. The Labor movement was seized by a historic desire to destroy their political enemy. Within a few days, the Labor movement had run out of true and sincere

sorrow, over the death of an important leader, and in its place was wild joy over the opportunity that was given them to destroy their enemy. Political interests and moral soul searching were mixed and confused in a dangerous manner. Just as in the days of the destruction of the Tribe of Benjamin, hysterical pseudo-religious people and self-righteous propagandists, who drew from the New Hebrew Literature, stood at the gates of the Labor movement. Something even worse than the tragedy that befell the Tribe of Benjamin was about to happen. Then, in those distant days, a crime was committed in Gibeah, but the punishment was too severe. However, in the year 1933, they were about to destroy a tribe not because of a crime but because of an accusation without foundation... and also this time, as in the days of the concubine in Gibeah, it was the hysterical pseudo-religious people who were the source of the threatening tragedy. Only the involvement of the faithful who held their ground - among whom we should give honorable mention to Rabbi Nathan Milikovsky and Ben Siyon Katz of blessed memory - prevented a great tragedy.

## 9

The battle between the Tribe of Judah and the Tribe of Benjamin continued even after the wholesale murder that was perpetrated upon the children of Benjamin. The great killings awakened, in the hearts of the other tribes, feelings of awe and fear toward Judah, lest other tribes suffer the fate of Benjamin. The decision of Samuel the prophet to coronate, over all the tribes of Israel, specifically Saul – a man of Benjamin – was perhaps motivated partly by the reasoning that this king, a member of the stricken tribe, would not be able to tyrannize as much as candidates from other tribes. But the battle between Judah and Benjamin continued even in the days of David, as Abner Ben Ner represents the interests of Benjamin and the sons of Zeruiah the interests of Judah. The killing of Abner was a fatal blow to the hopes of Benjamin, and the last attempt by this tribe to return itself to its status is linked to the rebellion of Sheva Ben Bichri, a man of Benjamin. Solomon took a series of steps to mitigate the tension and to strengthen the kingdom - because he understood the delegations and the built-in weakness of David's empire, and he knew the how angry the other

tribes were at Judah for its destruction of Benjamin and the dynastic murders committed by David and his men. He strove to appear, in the eyes of the people, more as a judge than as a king, he avoided external wars, and he had Adoniyah Ben Hagith executed only after he had taunted the king in the most brazen way. More than anything else: Solomon built the Temple and, with this project, he aroused a religious revival among the people that made them forget the horror of the dynastic murders and that gave a religious justification to the primacy and rule of Judah. But, at the end of his reign, the religious zeal of Solomon faded. By surrounding himself with a harem of foreign women, and by prostrating himself to the gods of neighboring nations, Solomon turned his monarchy into a regular Mideastern one that persecutes its people and seeks, above all, its own advancement and pleasure. This development weakened the already feeble cords of unity and awakened Jeroboam Ben Nabat to take the step of “raising his hand against the king” and he fled to Shishak, the king of Egypt, in order to wait, in the Land of the River, for a good time to reign over Israel. This step, taken by Jeroboam Ben Nabat was natural and entirely legitimate, and it is no wonder he got a push and encouragement from the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite. When he was a high official in the central ministry of Solomon, Jeroboam Ben Nabat, a man of Ephraim, saw that this ministry had ceased serving worthy causes toward the end of Solomon’s life. Instead, it became a tyrannical tool to maintain the rule of a king who was immersed in the pleasures of his harem. Jeroboam Ben Nabat saw great injustice in that the historical liberty of the tribes of Israel had been taken without military justification, as it was in the era of the wars between David and the Philistines, and without religious justification, as in the days when Solomon erected the Temple and was faithful to the Lord. The zealous personality of Jeroboam Ben Nabat was typical of the traditional Israelite spirit more so than Solomon’s personality at the end of his days, when he was a harem man who served foreign gods, and deceptively maintained the Temple to use it as a means of ensuring the obedience of the tribes of Israel. Jeroboam Ben Nabat was a true freedom fighter who reminds us of personalities such as Roger Casement, the Irishman who earned a high position among British diplomats and, after some troubles, rebelled against the British. During the First World War he

arrived, by German submarine, to Ireland, fought in the year 1916 among the rebels and was executed.

After the death of Solomon, the tribes presented to Rehoboam, his heir, something of an ultimatum in order to weaken the power of the central authority and to nullify the any danger of another destruction of a tribe similar to how Benjamin was destroyed. The elders advised Rehoboam to accept this offer. However, the youngsters, the “children”, who comprised the central authority, advised Rehoboam to make it even stronger and to tighten his yoke on the tribes of Israel even more, lest they join together and destroy Judah just as Judah had destroyed Benjamin. The rebellion of the tribes against Judah was not to be avoided, and the Tribe of Benjamin, which was geographically close to Judah, and had bitter experience, decided to stand on the side of Judah in this intertribal war. The two sides prepared for war, which was to be like a second version of the battle against Benjamin, and it is very likely that in this war, had it broken out, the Tribe of Judah, specifically, would have been destroyed. The organ of diplomatic understanding this time was Shemaiah, a man of God, as is said:

*But the word of God came to Shemaiah, the man of God, saying, “Speak to Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, king of Judah, and to all the House of Judah and Benjamin, and to the remnant of the people, saying, thus says the Lord, ‘Do not go up, and do not fight against your brethren the Children of Israel; return, each man to his house, for this thing is from me.’” They listened to the word of the Lord, and they returned as the Lord had spoken (Kings 1 22:24).*

The cult of prophets and scribes was, from this time onward, always faithful to this philosophy, and they always sought to minimize controversy. This is logical in light of the bitter experience they had with the opposite approach some of them had taken in the controversy over the concubine in Gibeah. Between Jeroboam and Rehoboam there was war “all the time”, and the relationship between the kingdom of Judah and the kingdom of Israel, during the 211 years it existed, were typical of

relationships between two peoples similar to each other racially but strangers politically. A similar dynamic is at work with the Russians and the Poles. The king of Judah, Asa, called on Aram-Damascus to come to his aid during an attack by the kingdom of Israel from the North. In this way, the kingdom of Israel maintained an enemy that caused it trouble for a long time. Yehoash, king of Israel, routed Amasiyah, king of Judah, and looted the Temple in Jerusalem. But there were also times when their relationship was better and they took part in joint ventures against their enemies. But these two kingdoms were always separate, and competing, kingdoms. Judah saw, in Israel, a helpful buffer against the rising and aggressive power of Assyria, and when Israel fell to the blows of Assyria, in the year 722, Jerusalem was in mourning first and foremost not over the extinction of their kindred kingdom, but over the loss of their defensive buffer. The division of the tribes and kingdoms was a natural continuation, and a materialization, of the will of the Patriarchs of the race of Israel, who despised a centralized unified people but desired a “congregation of peoples”, a confederacy of peoples. Furthermore: the federal structure, that allowed each tribe/people to nourish its own qualities first and foremost, was a blessing. In the kingdom of Israel exceptional men, such as Elijah the prophet and great kings, who fought mightily against Assyrian expansion, arose. The Israelite segment, which began with the eviction of Hagar and Ishmael, increased with time and acquired, in a natural fashion, wider and wider dimensions and ended with two rival and competing kingdoms. However, as stated, this development was necessary and unavoidable. The centralization of David – Solomon was already degenerating in the last years of Solomon, and had it continued, the results would have been much worse than natural division. The main tragedy that occurred due to the division was the destruction of the Tribe of Benjamin, a result that should not be blamed on the leaders and elders of the tribes, but first and foremost on the false prophets, who turned political competition into a moral crusade. The 211 years of the existence of two Jewish kingdoms, during the days of the First Temple, put to shame all modern attempts to describe the People of Israel as one people that was divided by exile, that is to say, into tribes. These claims are willful distortion and intentional lies. The People of Israel was born as a “congregation of



peoples” and lived on its land, during the First Temple, as a confederacy of tribes-peoples that fought, each one against the other, for maximum autonomy. This is all because the Israelite ideal is not to rule over space but over time. The rule over space requires centralization and unity. However, this is not the case with the rule over time, which requires a maximum of liberty and independence for each of the peoples of Israel.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Birth and Exile**

#### **1**

The destruction of the First Temple in the year 586 BCE, and the exile of Judah, forcefully presented the question to the Jews: Which is preferable, time or space? In the perception of the Patriarchs of the Israelite race, the emphasis was on time, and the space of Canaan was given secondary importance. But the Patriarchs were shepherds and nomads while the children of Israel, during the era of the First Temple, were mostly farmers and small city dwellers. For the nomad, who wanders upon the wide plains and uproots himself from land to land, the concept of space becomes unclear. In contrast, time turns into the utmost reality for him. Not so the farmer and the city dweller, who is attached to the place of his dwelling and sees no possibility of existing outside it. The preference of time over space was corrupted, however, among the peoples of Israel during the period of the First Temple. There is no doubt that the peasant saw space as preferable, and this is the underlying reason why he went, time and time again, after the local gods. However, the intellectual class was indecisive. The destruction of the Temple and the kingdom very forcefully brought up the question: What is preferable to what, space or time? That is to say, is it possible to exist after the crutch of space is pulled away and lost? The answer to this question is given empirically. Among the Babylonian exiles there was a movement of renewal and awakening, which saw time as the main thing. This awakening is what gave rise to the movement for a return

to Zion that built that Second Temple. Things could have turned out differently. Nebuchadnezzar and Nebuzaradan did not destroy the entire people of Judah. The machinery of murder and destruction of Hitler was more elaborate than that of the king of Babylon, and nevertheless there remained remnants all over the Mideastern lands and in Europe. How much more so would there be remnants of the people of Judah after Nebuchadnezzar. These remnants, which drew their strength from the land and from the continuity of their stay there, were able to bring forth the renewal movement that laid the foundation for the era of the Second Temple. But it was not so. The builders of the renewal specifically came from Babylon. The man of action and the mighty man of valor of that era was specifically Nechemiah Ben Hachaliah, who was rescued and came from the capital Susa, and not one of the Jewish farmers and shepherds who remained in the land. This development proved that the strength of time is greater than the strength of space, and the final dominion, in the heart of the People of Israel, was the parameter of time.

At the same time that Jews increased their recognition of time, the relative importance of the space of the land of Judah decreased. As the returnees consolidated their efforts, the realization took hold among them that the attachment to space alone wasn't enough, as control over it could once again be lost. Therefore it was preferable to establish more areas of attachment, that is to say, the Diaspora. The entrenchment of the Jewish settlement in Babylon, in which a great Jewish civilization sprouted, in fact took place at the same time as the laying of the foundation for independent existence in Judah. The tendency to stress the parameter of time strengthened, in the Jewish religion, the universalist quality that was entrenched in it. These are the qualities that brought about, over time, the sprouting of Christianity and Islam, the vassal religions of Judaism.

The feeling of the advantage of time over space, and the belief in the Jewish ability to attach itself to numerous and great territories, as time ruled over space, gave birth to a decisive change in the linguistic approach of the Jews. The Hebrew language is noteworthy in the lofty religious concepts that are embedded in it, but other than that, it is a typical local

language, a linguistic tool that is limited to what is necessary for primitive farmers and shepherds. Cultural and economic development, noteworthy in the later era of the First Temple, formed linguistic necessities that the Hebrew language could not fill. Therefore, a certain degree of borrowing from Aramaic, which increased over time, became necessary. In the English introduction M. S. Segal, to the “Complete Hebrew-English Dictionary”, we find:

*From the era of Jeremiah and onward, we encounter, with increasing frequency, Aramaic words, expressions and grammatical forms incorporated into Hebrew.*

This Aramaicization of Hebrew became even stronger with the return to Zion. The speech of the Jews rapidly became Aramaic. The Jews discovered that a great international language is a wonderful tool in order to attach themselves to many widespread spaces, and that it even enables them to conquer those spaces culturally and commercially. Thus the linguistic functionality of the Jews became diversified. Hebrew allowed them to attach themselves to time while Aramaic allowed them to attach themselves to space. By continuing this path, the Jews adopted many international languages over the generations, Aramaic, Greek, Arabic, German, Russian and English, and through them they strengthened their hold on wide spaces. Over time, the Jews even created a Jewish language of outstanding international quality that conquered space – Yiddish.

## 2

The Samaritans are not non-Jews nor are they “a withered limb of the Jewish People”; rather they are a Jewish People that was separated from the Jews of the Second Temple by continuous war and bitter controversy. The intensity of this battle was caused, among other things, by the fact that the Samaritan state came into being in a totally different manner than the Jewish state of the Second Temple. The latter came about not by the strength of those Jews who had remained on the land, but by the power of the immigrants who streamed in, who had come from the lands of the

Persian Empire. Not so the Samaritans. This nation is a mixture of remnants of the tribes of Israel, who had attached themselves to a space and did not abandon it, and of peoples who had been conquered by the Assyrians and banished to the vicinity of Samaria. After its materialization, this nation became a Jewish nation that derived its strength from its continuous habitation in the land its founders and formers had dwelt upon – the remnants of the tribes of Israel. This last element, the aristocracy of Samaria, dwelt in the land continuously from the time it was conquered in the 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., and this was the source of its pride. So it turns out that between the two dimensions, the dimension of space and the dimension of time, the Jews and the Samaritans are divided accordingly. Concerning the Samaritans, the continuous habitation of their space and land is their sole faith, and only their continuous habitation allows them to cling to the Torah of Israel. The Samaritans are a people of space. They cling to their land like nobody else and they cannot maintain their independence outside of it. They were exiled by the Romans, but they did not form a diaspora, as did the Jews, rather they assimilated. They had a small local language, and just as they revealed their extreme stubbornness regarding their faithfulness to their land, so too did they show a lack of ability to exist in lands outside its boundaries. The opposite is true with the Jews, whose faithfulness to their land was weaker than that of the Samaritans, but in contrast to this their ability to attach themselves to time, and to nourish themselves from it, was far greater. The result is that the history of the Samaritans is splendid but, at the same time, it had no influence on the culture of the world, but the history of the Jews is a series of great worldly cultural creations that had a decisive influence on mankind. Furthermore: The Samaritans are a tribe that is always diminishing in number while the Jews are a nation of millions.

### 3

The basic attitudes that characterize “Sabra-ness” and “Canaanite-ness” are given to change their principles to give impressions that fall in line with the spirit of the day and the needs of the hour. But if we remove all the outer layers of propaganda and commercialism, we will find that they are based

on a neo-Samaritan attitude, which sees space as primary and time as secondary, and which tends to waste all the gains that the People of Israel had accumulated while it depended only on the plane of time; that is to say, the creations that came about in exile. Two thousand years of Jewish exile, which are two thousand years of exclusive dependence on the plane of time, is among the greatest accomplishments in the history of mankind. But, in the eyes of the Canaanites and the Labor Party, this accomplishment is of no importance compared to half a dozen points of settlement, that have come about through the strength, and because of the strength, of the kingdom-of-time whose name is exile. According to this view, a Jew who walks upon the Land of Israel, who is attached to it and rooted in it, is always preferable to a Jew of the Diaspora, so that a Jewish criminal and thief who lives in the Land of Israel, is worth more than a Jewish Nobel Prize laureate who lives in exile. If we remove the thick and disgusting layer of deceptive eye shadow, lipstick and other makeup that cover up this attitude, then we are left with a neo-Samaritan outlook, that holds the clinging to the space of the land as the utmost vision. Whereas the Samaritans are the most instructive example of clinging to the land, the Samaritan aristocracy, that had formed the image of this nation, has dwelt upon this land continuously from the time of the conquest of Israel and has never been exiled from it. Those who are counted among this aristocracy are the all-important non-diaspora Jews. Furthermore: The Samaritans, despite their small numbers, battled the Romans during the Jewish rebellion and, later on, they rebelled against the Byzantines, even though they were forcefully converted by the Seleucids who made them worship Zeus, to a certain extent, in the Temple. (But this fact does not disqualify them in the eyes of the Canaanites). In the best of scenarios, the Canaanite culture that is taking form in our days in the State of Israel, is as good as that of the Samaritans. It has no chance of becoming a worldly culture, since the dimension it seeks, and struggles to attain, is the midget dimension of the space of the Land of Israel. But there is no doubt that the Canaanite culture, if it is somehow able to come into its own and find itself, will be a dwarf compared to that of the Samaritans. Firstly because it lacks a religious faith as the Samaritans have. Secondly, its attachment to the land, and its willingness to struggle in order to keep it, is dwarfed by that of the

Samaritans. The Canaanite desire to reach an agreement, and peace, with the Arabs has its source in its wish to cast off the only obligation it admits to, the obligation to fight, with weapons in hand, for Jewish independence in the land.

## 4

The utilitarian trend that seeks to ensure, for the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel, a status of hegemony vis-à-vis the Diaspora, has strengthened the tendency to attribute a grossly exaggerated importance to those remnant Jews who existed in the land from the end of the Jewish settlement upon it, at the end of the Byzantine era, until our own days. This attitude attributes great symbolic importance to historic curiosities such as the Jews of Peqi'in, and it claims that the State of Israel arose, to a large degree, thanks to small Jewish settlements that never ceased and were never interrupted all this time; settlements some of which, Peqi'in for example, are a continuous extension of the ancient Jewish population, and some of which were founded by small migrations, that streamed in and reached the Land of Israel over time, mainly from nearby Mideastern lands. An outstanding example of this ideology is the second president of the State of Israel, Isaac Ben-Tzvi of blessed memory, who invested much toil and self-sacrifice to research the small vestiges of Jewish settlements in the Land of Israel and saw them as stations on the way to the foundation of the State of Israel of today. This ideology is a complete distortion of the historical truth and the intellectual deception therein borders on the ridiculous. Furthermore: It contradicts itself. Had the great importance of the Jews of Peqi'in, and other islands of the Jewish settlement that were maintained in the Land of Israel, been genuine, then surely these Jews would have been the leaders among the founders and builders of the State of Israel of today, and not Jews who came from the distant lands of the North, among the Ben-Tzvi himself, a man of Poltava, and his intimate friend David Ben-Gurion, a man of Plonsk. The State of Israel of today, like the state of the Second Temple, did not come about from those who had continuously lived on the land – the historical truth is that the Jews who lived continuously in the Land of Israel became Hellenized – but from

the great success of the Jewish kingdom-of-time, the kingdom of the Diaspora.

Ben-Tzvi, of blessed memory, was candid and innocent in his opinion and he remained faithful to it not for its great utilitarian value but for its own sake. In his following the light of his own path, he reached its natural conclusion, which was the adoration of the Samaritans. Nobody, within the Jewish settlement, worshipped and adored the Samaritans as much as he did. In truth, the partiality toward the Samaritans was greater than the partiality toward all other Jews, as his adoration of the Samaritans was immense. Those who shared his general outlook limited their guardianship to members of the Mizrahi ethnicities, such that this guardianship netted great electoral profits, but they were careful to avoid showing signs of adoration toward the Samaritans – which might have caused political losses. Not so Ben-Tzvi, who was naïve and honest. It was even natural that, as he lay on his deathbed, his last request to Ben-Gurion was to fulfill his promise to build a synagogue for the Samaritans in Holon.

Ben-Tzvi, naïve, straightforward in his ways and short on analysis, was a classic representative of the mistaken belief that supported the integration of the diasporas, that is to say, the creation of a Jewish culture that is a mixture of the cultures of all the Jewish peoples; a mixture that guarantees, to each people, its “fair” portion. All his days, Ben-Tzvi escaped the great drama of the inter-tribal wars and struggles described in the Bible. In his desire to create a utopia of the integration of exiles, Ben-Tzvi distanced himself from all of them, and specifically because of this the nightmare of the historical Jewish past pursued him. First and foremost the bitter tale, that drips neglect and leaves a trail of blood, of the wars between the Jews and the Samaritans. Both were remnants of the twelve tribes of Israel that remained after the murderous blows of two brutal kingdoms, Assyria and Babylon. According to Ben-Tzvi, it was only natural that the Jews willingly accept the offer of the Samaritans to join in the building of the Temple and to not push them away as Zerubabel and his men had done. According to Ben-Tzvi this moment was the ideal moment for the integration of exiles, and it occurred to Ben-Tzvi, without doubt, that had

he lived in those distant days, he would have made a stand in preventing this rift and in founding one nation, Jewish-Samaritan, allied and mixed. The historical accomplishment of the Samaritans and of the Jews, from then until today, gives great justification to the path our forefathers took. The political understanding of the Jewish leaders of that time was much greater than that of the modern Ben-Tzvi and his friends. Had the integration taken place, it would have brought about the formation of a small and mediocre nation, which would have been completely expired by now, or have become a lowly and wretched tribe. The entire history of the world would have, in this case, been different. Neither Christianity nor Islam would have arisen. The entire world would have been poor and exceedingly miserable compared to how it is today. Above all: The well of eternity would have been blocked for Israel.

The rejection of Samaritan help was an act of great understanding, and any other approach would have been a lowly betrayal. Only full faithfulness to the historical tradition of Judah, and only the will and desire to fulfill this tradition completely, and to optimize the use of its true strength, was what allowed the flowering of the Second Temple and the development that followed. The Jewish victory, in the Jewish-Samaritan competition, has a great ramification in that it gives decisive legitimacy both to the supremacy of the element of time over the element of space, and to the format of the element of time in Jewish understanding.

## 5

In the Land of Israel during the days of the Second Temple, powerful forces were aligned to ensure Jewish rule over time, that is to say Jewish continuity, and at the same time, immense powers were forming in Rome to enable rule over space. We've already mentioned that the Romans were noteworthy in everything pertaining to space and their rule over it. Their power was great in agriculture, the paving of roads, drainage, irrigation and water-works, the military, administration and diplomacy. In all these areas the Jews were inferior and not on the same level as the Romans. Even as planters of orchards and as olive growers, the Romans were better than the



Jews. As long as the Jews held large conquered territories, as in the days of Solomon, it was a stumbling block for them, and foreign cultures and religions that were rooted in those conquered territories bought themselves power in the higher Jewish circles and damaged the Jewish religion. Not so the Romans. Every Roman conquest brought with it, to one degree or another, the domination of Roman culture and language. Only the regions where Greek culture was entrenched for generations maintained their specific cultural character. Over time, the vast conquests came to have an impact upon the Romans. The Punic wars devastated the human capital of Rome and, instead of Roman farmers – who had fallen in the killing fields, a vast multitude of slaves, whose portion of the population increased, was brought to Italy. Furthermore: The conquests undermined the unique order of Roman government. The municipal government of Rome, which was transformed into a world government, was expected to lead the entire human population of the Mediterranean Sea, which included some 120 million people. It is only natural that it failed to fulfill this task successfully. The fantastic success of the conquests also undermined Roman religion. The gods of Rome, especially Jupiter, the father of the city, were essentially local gods, and the way it turned out is that Rome conquered the world and, as a result of this, it became greater than its gods. A serious crises shook Roman society from top to bottom and it became ever more clear that the ancient social and political institutions, which had brought the products of past glory, would no longer be able to answer the needs of Roman civilization. Together with this, the realization that only a single supreme ruler, an emperor who the legions answer to, would be able to reign over the world empire and to guide it. The tendency to grant to the institution of emperor, which was a totally new concept, moral authority, gave birth to the idea to begin to serve him as one of the gods. This idea first came about during the last years of Julius Caesar, and was then continued by Augustus who developed it into a dual worship of the goddess of Rome and the god Augustus. He encouraged it first and foremost in the Asian provinces. The inhabitants of these provinces willingly accepted the new cult, which fit into their religious customs, but the Jews responded to it with anger and rage. Thus was planted the fateful seed of conflict between

Judah and Rome, which brought about the destruction of the Second Temple.

Prior to that, the relationship between Rome and Judah was normal for a metropolitan power and one of the small subservient nations. In the year 161 B.C.E., Rome offered a treaty of protection and refuge to Judah the Macabee, with the intent of weakening the Seleucid kingdom, and in the year 139 B.C.E. this treaty was renewed and a goodwill mission from Judah visited Rome. Later still, Rome continued its tried and proven policy, whose goal was to strengthen, in Judah, the rulers and their supporting groups and to weaken those who might be an obstacle. This policy, which was practiced in customary Roman fashion, gave no hint to the drama of the Jewish-Roman confrontations that were destined to unfold. On the contrary; if we take into consideration the tiny area and minimal power of Judah, we would conclude that the world empire dealt with sensitivity and consideration toward the tiny nation, and this was largely due to Herod – who knew how to fit into the worldly policy of the era and into the struggle for the thrown of the Roman emperor - and he reaped surprising success in these areas. A fatal deterioration of this situation occurred when the idea to impose the worship of the emperor upon Judah materialized in Rome. The refusal of the Jews to comply with this demand struck at the religious etiquette that the Romans saw as an important tool to maintain the stability of their world empire, and thus the refusal served as an easy pretext for cunning Roman administrators and hostile Greek populations. In the year 40 B.C.E. the emperor Caligula, on the heels of Greek adversity, ordered that his statue be erected in the Temple in Jerusalem – but this was prevented through the efforts of Petronius, the representative of Syria. In the year 66, the Roman administrator Gaius plundered the Temple, and during this time of growing tension and harsh conflict the step was taken, later that same year, that the Hebrew Encyclopedia (volume on the Land of Israel page 382) describes in these words:

*In Jerusalem it was decided, according to the suggestion of Eleazar, the son of the great priest, to stop offering sacrifices for the peace of the*

*emperor. The explanation of this decision was a declaration of war upon Rome.*

It is likely there were two declarations of war: of Rome against Judah, by way of the worship of the emperor, and of the Jews against Rome, by way of the decision to refrain from offering sacrifices for the peace of the emperor. The Jewish war declaration was clear and unequivocal more so than that of the Romans. The Roman-Jewish confrontation, which brought on its heels two wars, the war of the destruction of the Temple and the war of Bar-Kokhba, continued some hundred years, extended beyond the boundaries of the Land of Israel and acquired a clear quality of a world battle. This was a religious-political confrontation between a nation whose god is a god of space and a nation whose god is a god of time. The battle was concluded, as the English historian Kerry notes, in a compromise: The Romans accepted the existence of the Jewish religion and ceased interfering with the Jews in their observance of their faith, however the Jews accepted the existence of the Roman Empire and gave up on the existence of their state, which had presented a political obstacle to the Roman world order.

## 6

The decisive side to this development is that exile was not forced upon the Jews, but they themselves chose it in order to prevent a worse outcome. The Jewish exile is not a forced decree but the fruit of free choice by the Jewish People, and the reason the Diaspora lasted for such a long time is mainly because the Jews chose it for themselves. The option was given to the Jews, and in a specifically honorable way, to fit into the Roman world order, together with 120 million other residents of the empire. The condition to all this working together was a foreign religious protocol that would imprint its principles upon the Jewish religion. History presented the Jews with an ultimatum: to fit into space, that is to say, into the Roman Empire, and to give up on time, that is to say, on the eternalness of the Jewish People, or to maintain Jewish eternalness and to give up on the normal attachment to space. The Jews decided to give preference to time

over space and entered a war with Rome. The Jewish Diaspora is not, therefore, a sign of passivity but a sign of activism of the highest order, an activism expressed itself as a major war with an empire that ruled the entire world. Had the exile been passive, it would not have lasted. The foundation of its existence is in the meaning of the great activism that is embedded in it.

When Titus laid siege to Jerusalem, sitting with him in his camp was the Jewish princess Barniki, the daughter of Agripas the first and sister of Agripas the second. Later, Barniki would live in Rome, in the palace of Titus who wished to marry her. Only the efforts of his father, the emperor Aspacianus, and the pleadings of the great men of Rome, prevented him from taking this step. About the same time, the political influence of the wives of the emperors was evident in their palaces. Had Barniki been the “first lady” of the empire, she would have had great political power. In this marriage, that never took place, is characterized (even more so than the story of Joseph Flavius, who dwelt in the palaces of Aspacianus and Titus and wrote history books) a surprising array of relations between Rome and Judah. Jerusalem was defeated and her temple destroyed by the legions, but at the same time the conqueror and destroyer was about to elevate a Jewish princess to the highest level of status and importance, and to make her a partner in its rule.

This inclination of Titus was typical for the pluralistic, tolerant and constructive Roman Empire. This empire conquered many peoples and was cruel to them in its campaigns of conquest and in its suppression of rebellions. But later on it always found a way to cooperate and to maintain fruitful reciprocal relations. It seems that the Roman desire to cooperate with the Jews was much stronger than it had toward other small peoples, and it is fairly certain that even in this era the Romans discerned the unique greatness that lay within the tiny People of Israel. In the course of their conquests, the Romans destroyed only two peoples, the Carthaginians, who were their sworn enemies in the world arena (and even this destruction probably would not have taken place if not for the demands of one man, Cato the younger), and the Samnites, their stubborn foes of the Apennine

Peninsula. They had reason to destroy the Jews as well, the dwellers of the Land of Israel, and to replace them with a multitude of Levantine peoples. The Romans carried out part of this plan but did not take it to its conclusion.

The order that the Roman Empire put in place existed for two thousand years. It exists to this day. Forms of government, methods of rule and Roman law form an indivisible part of European Civilization. The empires and kingdoms that were formed after the dissolution of the Roman Empire were all smaller than it, and all of them copied its ways. The framework of the relationship between Rome and Judah, which was formed during the war of destruction, was turned into a fixed template for civilizations that came after Rome, especially the peoples of Europe. In these civilizations the Jews knew destruction, persecution and forced conversion, but they were never uprooted and never extinguished entirely. Furthermore. Alongside the periods of persecution, the Jews also knew, over the course of exile, periods of great influence, wealth and honor. The Roman world saw the Jews as an integral part of its existence and therefore there was no success, until the twentieth century, for any trend or movement to seek to completely uproot the Jews and to erase them from under the heavens.

## 7

There is almost no doubt that Yohanan Ben-Zakai was involved in negotiations with the Roman authorities during the war of destruction (66-70). He saw the fate of the nation of the Second Temple as being sealed and sought to guarantee Jewish continuity through strengthening its hold on the dimension of time. Yohanan Ben-Zakai formed the foundations of Jewish life in the Diaspora – which exist to this today – by liberating them from their attachment to space. This liberation was accomplished both by refusing to participate in the Jewish rebellion, which was an armed struggle over the land, and also by liberating the religion from being attached to the Temple, which was replaced by the synagogue. The Judaism of Yohanan Ben-Zakai is not the Judaism of the Temple, which exists exclusively within space, and is dependant upon ownership of the land, but a Judaism that

depends upon time and in which it is permitted, even required, to maintain a synagogue in every location on the globe. With Yohanan Ben-Zakai began the great wandering, the wandering in the endless planes of time. Furthermore: At the same time, together with the reduction of the value which is known as the dimension of space, and the strengthening of the format of time in the Jewish outlook, Jewish time became wider and deeper in that in the Jewish outlook there was a reduction of attachment to the present and the near future and, in contrast, a strengthening of the goals and attachments that aspire to the days of the Messiah and to the end of days as the goal and main point of living. Yohanan Ben-Zakai was among the great revolutionaries and politicians of all generations and the strength of the Diaspora world, whose foundations he laid, are rooted in the fact that this world is a natural link in the development of Judaism - which represents a strengthening of the value of the dimension of time and the weakening of the value of the dimension of space. When he severed Judaism's connection with the space of the Temple, Yohanan Ben-Zakai accomplished one of the most painful operations in the history of mankind. The principles that he represented remain powerful to this day, and many who oppose them in the field of Jewish law, are subject to them in practice.

The Jewish authorities in the State of Israel, in the year 1948, both before and after the official founding of the state, stubbornly avoided conquering the old city of Jerusalem because they were wary of the political complications involved with possessing territory that is holy to all the religions. In their actions, they proved themselves to be faithful disciples of Yohanan Ben-Zakai and they revealed how minor and limited is the revolution that they are creating.

The approach of Yohanan Ben-Zakai paved the way for a compromise between the Jews and Romans and it is likely that it rescued the Jewish People from total annihilation. This compromise was based upon the Jewish obligation to refrain from any will or ambition for rule over space, and upon their promise to occupy themselves only in their specific area: The conquest of time and the assurance of continuity. Yohanan Ben-Zakai, who recognized well the pluralistic, and varied, Roman world, the multi-

cultural one, of many peoples and religions, found a niche for the Jewish People in it as a “people that shall dwell alone”, that has no interest in what everybody else sees as the universal vision, that is to say dominion over space. The politics of Yohanan Ben-Zakai in a sense severed the “military contact” between the Jews and the Romans and fixed each one in its own department. The surprising success that we have always witnessed, in cooperation between Jews and gentiles, came from the integration of two opposite approaches: The approach of space and the approach of time. The blessing that the Jews brought to gentile peoples has its source in the alternate approach of the Jews in every concept and for every concept, in that this approach strives for an entirely different goal than that of the gentiles. The Jew is a hero of time who fights for eternity. As long as he maintains this identity, his value, as a great contributor to other peoples, is realized. But as soon as he becomes estranged from his specific approach, he loses both his independent value and his general human value.

## 8

Even as the disciples of Yohanan Ben-Zakai were investigating all the various possibilities of ensuring control over time, the Roman emperors were investigating all the hidden possibilities of control over space. The second century was an era of stability and a golden age for the Roman world. However already by the third century, it came to be consumed by a crisis that shook its foundations. The great collection of territories did not bring happiness to Man. On the contrary, it deprived Man of the harmony that is found in the small and intimate realm of the city-state. The power of the empire to impose order and social stability was getting weaker. The mixing and the artificial combinations were increasingly showing their marks, and the organic wholeness, which had been weakened in the small and provincial Rome, had disappeared. The increase in territories had, by necessity, brought an increase in gods and caused chaos of ideas. The Romans performed a self-assessment, and reached an unhappy conclusion. They ruled the world, but the Roman nation was lost, as if it had sacrificed itself on the alter of great empire. Instead of Rome ruling over the empire, the latter began to rule over it, and the legions from the frontier, that were

managed by those of foreign, or of mixed, origin, would sometimes rise against the capitol and did with it as they pleased. The city that conquered the world, and ruled over space, had been trampled to the ground. This was the reward for all its conquests.

Under these circumstances, the enchantment, known as Christianity, continued to gain strength. This religion, which is an adulterated and compromised Judaism, and which was modified to make it more appealing to idolaters, was founded upon the Jewish principle of giving primacy to the dimension of time, of the preference for that which is hidden over that which is revealed and of great sacrifice for the afterlife. As much as the conquest of space proved itself insufficient to provide harmony and content to life, as much as it revealed its inability to be a unifying force, so did people turn their attention to the dimension of time, to the reality and mysteries within it. Jewish ideas and Judeo-Christian literature of the evangelists began conquering the hearts of educated readers of the gentile world and, little by little, replacing the Greek classics. The emperor Constantine the Great discerned, with his phenomenal political instincts, that Christianity was suitable to be the unifying passion, and his conversion, in the year 312, opened a new era in world history. Rome bowed its head before the time-faith of the Jews, accepted its principles and turned them into the central pillars of its world. Thus was formed the world which the English historian Arnold Toynbee defined as “the Judaised World”.

As Christianity became the official religion, it began to persecute its competitors, among them the Jews. However, its nourishment from Judaism, and its affinities to the pluralistic Roman world, caused there to almost always be, within the Christian peoples, an element that mitigated the hatred toward Jews and prevented it from bringing about their total destruction. The persecutions against the Jews in the Christian world exacted a heavy toll, just as did the Jewish wars in the times of the Roman emperors, but they were always given, then and now, a chance to recover and renew their strength. This situation began to crumble, at its foundation, in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when forces that refused to fit into the Roman world began to appear in the lands of Europe, and they rose against it to destroy it and ruin it. But, before we touch on this topic, we shall



spend some time discussing the conflicts between the Jewish peoples within the Diaspora.

## **Chapter 4**

### **A Congregation of peoples in the Diaspora**

#### **1**

The People of Israel was born as a confederacy of peoples, as an alliance of peoples. It has maintained this character ever since; in the era of the Patriarchs, in the Egyptian Exile, in the First Temple and in the Second Temple. In the latter era there were two Israelite peoples, the Jews and the Samaritans, between whom was waged a war of destruction. The destructive Roman-Jewish wars and the doctrine of Yohanan Ben-Zakai gave great impetus for the reinforcement of the classic pluralistic character of the People of Israel. Yohanan Ben-Zakai's avoidance of hostilities with the Romans, who were destroying the Temple, diminished the sanctity of the land and transferred this sanctity to the assets of the Torah, which were anchored in time and not in space. The reduced sanctity of the land strengthened the tendency to found diasporas and to entrench Jewish civilizations within them. Each Jewish diaspora was an organism unto itself and an independent piece of history, that is to say, a Jewish People, and between these peoples was waged a war of competition, similar to the state of war that existed among the peoples-tribes in the days of the First Temple. The first struggle of this kind took place between the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel and the diaspora of Babylon. The Jews of the Land of Israel fled to Babylon and the people of Babylon would return to the Land of Israel. The Jewry of Babylon stood by the Jewry of the Land of Israel, after the terrible holocausts that visited her, and she offered her aid. But at the same time, the Babylonian congregation sought to inherit the place of the congregation of the Land of Israel and to have the highest authority of all the Jewish diasporas. "In the year 135, after the destruction of Betar, a high court was founded, in Nahar-Paqud in Babylon, that demanded for itself the basic privileges of the Sanhedrin" (The General

Massada Encyclopedia, volume 2, page 103). This struggle over the birthright, which reminds us of the struggle between Judah and the tribes of our matriarch Rachel, continued some 900 years, until the end of the era of the Crusades, when the hand of Babylon prevailed and she took for herself more and more of the authority of the Land of Israel and became the greater of the two Jewish nations. One of the more famous episodes in this struggle of hegemony was:

*The dispute that erupted between Rav Saadya, the gaon of Sura, and R. Aharon ben Meir, head of the scholarly society of the Land of Israel, in the matter of leap years and the fixing of holidays, which was previously the recognized privilege of the Land of Israel – a privilege that was absent from Babylon. This attempt, by Ben Meir, to reclaim the authority for the sages of the Land of Israel, was not successful (the Hebrew Encyclopedia, volume on the Land of Israel, page 452).*

From the time the princehood was nullified in the Land of Israel, in the year 425 or 415, Babylon rushed to take the religious-rabbinical privileges of this office for itself. The conditions for the existence of a noteworthy Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel, in the days of the Arab conquest, were not bad. However, the bitter competition of Babylon sapped the strength of the settlement in the Land of Israel in every sense, both economically and spiritually.

## 2

The famous theory of the historian Dubnov, on the existence of centers in the Jewish Diaspora, that sink and rise in turn, to our dismay has no scientific basis. It was not “centers” that came into being in the Diaspora, but tribes-peoples that were bound by ties of a confederacy and partook, at the same time, in wars of bitter competition for hegemony; tribes-peoples that are direct descendants of their predecessors during the First Temple. The Jewish settlement in Babylon was not a center but a people. It had a long and glorious history, political, religious and even military. Within it existed a Jewish state founded by the brothers Hanilai and Hasinai. It

rebelled several times against Roman rule and was active in the transitions and revolutions that occurred in Mesopotamia. All of the traits and discoveries, that indicate a normal minority nation that enjoys a large degree of autonomy, were present in the Jewish community in Babylon. It is no wonder that the Jewish nation in Babylon struggled for its independence even against the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel, sought to cast from its shoulders the latter's guardianship in matters of Jewish law, and sought to inherit its place as the supreme Jewish authority. Dubnov saw the Jewish settlement in Babylon as a center because he saw, before his eyes, first and foremost the glorious yeshivas that became centers of religious authority within the Jewish People. However these yeshivas were merely cultural accomplishments of a tribe-people, of a historical entity that was formed in the era of the destruction of the First Temple and developed a complete national life that included religious, economic, political and social activities. This life was the life of an independent Jewish People that sought to increase its strength as much as possible, and to widen its influence within the general Jewish confederacy, even at the cost of dispossessing and of bringing about the decline of the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel. There are many parallels with the ascent of the United States within the international confederacy of the Anglo-Saxons, as it intentionally replaced the motherland, England, and with the ascent of the Jewish settlement in Babylon as it usurped the authority and status from the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel.

### 3

Dubnov's lack of understanding, with regard to the definition of centers, becomes more obvious with the status of the two great Jewish peoples that lived in Europe, the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim. Between the Jews of Babylon and the Jews of the Land of Israel there was a strong and far-reaching kinship. There is also no doubt that there was coordination and cooperation in the rebellions against Rome, in the beginning of the second century, which took place both in the Land of Israel and in the land of the Euphrates. But these parallels are completely absent in the reciprocal relationship between the Jewish community in Spain and the Jewish

community in Germany. Furthermore: During the approximately 500 years between the expulsion of the Jews from France and the modern age, contact between the two groups had become limited to where it was merely a symbolic minimum. The Jews of Spain and the Jews of Germany are two peoples whose only similarity is their shared religion and their hatred toward foreign peoples. It is not easy to find, among the peoples of Europe, two peoples whose differences are so acute as that between the Jews of Spain and the Jews of Germany. The wish to specifically view these two peoples as two centers is the result of an arbitrary wish to defend, at any cost, the opinion that holds the Jews to be one people, while ignoring clear and evident historical facts.

The basic difference between Ashkenaz and Sepharad, and also between Ashkenaz and all other Jewish peoples, is rooted in that none of the Jewish peoples, except Ashkenaz, ever established large Jewish settlements outside of the Mediterranean area. The Jews are a classic Mideastern nation. Their historical arena encompassed the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, Egypt and the Eastern shore of the Mediterranean. After the destruction of the Second Temple, the Jewish peoples remained faithful to this basic geographical framework and the change that was made to it expressed itself in the formation of Jewish settlements on the Southern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, along with a westward expansion. The Jewish community in Spain dwelt in a Mediterranean land, whose climate was very similar to the climate of the Land of Israel, and even the vast majority of its agricultural products are known also to do well in the Land of Israel. The singular geographical accomplishment of the Jews of Spain, in contrast to the other non-Ashkenazic peoples, is rooted in that it went further west than any of them and struck roots in the land of Europe. But even it didn't veer from the boundaries of the Mediterranean Sea and it remained in its own geographical world.

The geographical campaign of the Jews of Germany was mighty beyond measure. The Ashkenazi People escaped the framework of the Mediterranean Sea, which the Jews had clung to for millennia, and established great settlements in the frontiers of Eastern Europe, in areas of

snow and frost. This was the greatest human migration in Jewish history and one of the most interesting in world history. The Sephardim also established settlements in non-Mediterranean areas of Europe, in England, in France and in Holland. But these were not large settlements and the impression they left was not a lasting one – in contrast to the impression left by Ashkenaz, which can be recognized in the large area it encompassed, from the Rhine to the Dnieper. This Ashkenazic campaign is sufficient to ensure a justified supremacy for it among the Jewish peoples until the end of generations. But this campaign was merely a starting point for other great accomplishments. We should stress the words of Dubnov that the Ashkenazi People reached Eastern Europe from two fronts, one that made its way from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea westward and the other that left Babylon and cut through the Kavkaz Mountains.

The historical development of the two Jewish peoples, Sephardi and Ashkenazi, differed from one extreme to the other, as if it took place in separate worlds. Jews lived in Spain from the first century but the historical consolidation of the Spanish Jewry began after the Arab conquest, in the year 711. This Jewry was formed, and was an integral part of, the political and cultural Jewish-Arab world, and Jewish men quickly took on important titles in the courts of Arab rulers. The Arabs of Spain, who wished to enrich their one-sided culture through the integration of foreign cultures, saw the Jews as useful partners and they were quick to befriend them. But this special treatment, which bore praiseworthy cultural fruit, also contained the seeds of assimilation and weakness. From the thirteenth century the centers of Jewish life in Spain had shifted to the Christian provinces of Castile and Aragon, and in them the formation of Jewish culture reached new levels. Because of this, other Jewish peoples saw the Jews of Spain as holding the high crown of Jewish hegemony. The tradition of far-reaching cooperation with Jews, which was formed in the era of Arab rule in Spain, continued also in Christian lands, and many Jews acquired high offices for themselves despite strict limitations and intense Christian pressure. The difference between the two Jewish peoples, the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi, was expressed in the Jewish reaction to

Christian persecutions that were arrayed in Spain and Germany. Here are the words of Dubnov:

*Thus the Jews of Spain were tested in the summer of 1391 with those same difficult trials, which were previously decreed in the summer of 1096 on the Rhine. Many Spanish Jews sacrificed their lives for their faith, but for the most part, they were not prepared for the catastrophes, as were their brethren on the other side of the Pyrenees. The Jews of Germany were more willing to sacrifice their lives for their faith, and only in exceptional circumstances did they convert, and only for outward appearances and then, as soon as the enemy left, they would return to their Judaism openly. But in Spain apostates were more common than those who had sacrificed their lives. These “forced apostates”, who were subject to Christianity, were under the supervision of priests and were forced to fulfill, at least in public, all the edicts of the church, while they were only able to fulfill the commandments of Judaism within the deepest chambers. (Yedioth Aharonoth edition, volume 3, page 1154).*

Ashkenaz never knew the misfortune of a large class of apostates. This blight never ate away at our flesh. Judaism demands innocence and completeness and it does not tolerate the duplicity of forced apostates. It is better for Judaism if the forced apostates actually become Christians rather than belonging to it halfway. History can also prove that Auschwitz and Treblinka damaged Ashkanazic Jewry less than the forced apostates damaged Sepharad. Jewry does not fear exterminations or the stakes of the Inquisition; they weaken its strength only temporarily, but half-heartedness and duplicity are deathblows. The research that compares the Ashkenazic and Sephardic reactions to oppressive decrees is very limited, but if such research deals with it in depth, it is likely to prove that the misfortune of forced apostates damaged Sepharad more so than the expulsion.

Only very late in history, in the days of Mendelssohn, did Ashkenaz experience close contact with the ruling peoples in the same way Sepharad enjoyed them in the eight century. The Ashkenazi People evolved among cruel and murderous peoples that did not seek its company. So Ashkenaz

threw its lot not with the nurturing of close relationships with foreign peoples but with the forging of inner, and independent, strength in order to endure persecution and catastrophe. Ashkenaz did not know the coddling that was the lot of Sepharad, but this was a blessing for it. Israel Zangwill correctly pointed out, in one of his essays that were collected in the pamphlet “The Voice of Jerusalem”, that what took place in Spain was first and foremost a cultural renaissance, glowing and brilliant, but what took place in Germany was a strong and well-defined nationalism. The different values of the Ashkenazic civilization that formed in the vicinity of the Rhine in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, proved themselves to be powerful foundations of a stubborn and very energetic civilization. It is likely that Rashi was not quite as brilliant as Maimonides, but his commentaries, written simply, and easily understood, brought an understanding of the Torah to the wider masses and were a great unifying force. At the same time that the Spanish “Great Eagle” directed his words at the educated elite, the sharp rationality of his teachings planted, in the Sephardic people, the seeds of conflict. The decrees of Rabenu Gershom, the Light of the Diaspora, in matters of marriage, laid the foundations of the Ashkenazi family, whose strength is much greater than that of the Sephardic family. From the perspective of his historical influence, Rabenu Gershom is the equal of hundreds of famous Sephardic philosophers and poets.

The mighty, popular and massive civilization of Ashkenaz has proven its superiority time and again over the one-dimensional civilization of Sepharad. The Spanish Inquisition was a minor blow compared to the catastrophes that repeatedly visited Ashkenaz. The Jews of Spain were expelled, but the Jews of Ukraine were murdered in the pogroms of 1648 and 1649. But despite this, Ashkenaz always recovered and established new strongholds, in Poland, in Germany, in the United States and recently in Israel. In contrast, the civilization of Sepharad never recovered from the blow it received from the Spanish Inquisition. It founded centers in Safed, Thessaloniki, England and Holland. But these were but shadows of a shadow of the Spanish center. The claim that the geographical situation of Germany was better than that of Spain has no basis. On the contrary: The situation of Spain was infinitely better than that of Germany. It was located

among more accommodating and less cruel peoples, near the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, which allowed movement and escape to various directions. However Germany was located in the middle of a great continent with no exit and which turned out to be a death trap. In the larger competition between Ashkenaz and Sepharad, the latter had all the advantages. The strength of Ashkenaz lay in its vastly superior national spirit compared to that of Sepharad. The conditions in Turkey, during its golden age when it opened its gates to the Spanish refugees, were better than those in Poland. Constantinople was, in those days, an international cultural center, but Poland was a marginal province in a land of swamps and forests. The tolerant and pluralistic regime that ruled Turkey, allowed the founding of great Sephardic settlements. However, Sepharad succeeded in this only to a limited degree. Yosef Nasi received a charter to establish a principality in the Land of Israel, but this unique opportunity was wasted. There was an opportunity to establish large Jewish settlements in Latin America, but the Sephardic Jews who arrived there assimilated and disappeared. Ashkenaz entered a new era through the great gate of Hasidism, the first modern popular movement in Europe, which was infused with strong emotions of love for others and social justice. Sepharad entered a new era via the gate of the Shabbetian movement, a regressive movement, which belonged in the Middle Ages and not in the modern age. The Baal Shem Tov turned into a fruitful symbol of education while Shabbetai Zevi was made into a source of disappointment and spiritual exhaustion. In every case, Ashkenaz has prevailed over Sepharad. We have proved ourselves stronger than the Sephardim in Holland. We put Sepharad in our shadow in England, in which it had been rooted for generations. It wasn't the Sephardic settlements, that surrounded the Land of Israel on all sides, that built it, made its desolate places fruitful and erected a state within in, but the distant Ashkenazi Jews, the people of Russia, Poland and even far-away Siberia, they were the ones who put an end to the slumber that had encompassed the land and the Sephardic settlement within it, which remained asleep. It appears that, in every case, history granted Ashkenaz success in overcoming every challenge that Sepharad failed at. Ashkenaz founded great communities in the United States, took advantage of, as appropriate, the charter of the Land of Israel,



build a state within it, and collected the dispersed tribes of Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews. This and more: Ashkenaz knew how to unite its tribes and to transform them into one integrated people. It created a great worldly language, Yiddish, that linked, and still links, those tribes. It founded great international organizations that connect the various factions of the Ashkenazi nation. Sepharad did not succeed in any of this. It did not unite its tribes and, among them, there exists bitter hatred, especially between the European portion, which speaks Ladino, and the portions that speak Arabic. It did not succeed in founding international organizations and, to the extent that they exist, they are no more than shadows compared to the great Ashkenazi institutions. This disparity between the lot of Sepharad and Ashkenaz, the leaders of the Sephardim, and their Ashkenazi allies, attempt to explain by claiming favorable conditions for the Ashkenazim and cruel conditions for the Sephardim. But such claims are based on falsehood. On the contrary: Conditions were actually cruel for Ashkenaz and luck was on the side of Sepharad. The advantage of Ashkenaz over Sepharad was entirely internal and its source is in the natural superiority of the Ashkenazi nation compared to the Sephardi nation. The struggle between Ashkenaz and Sepharad is the central manifestation of the life of Jewish peoples over the last thousand years and the victory of Ashkenaz has huge implications. This victory is the victory of Ashkenazi irrationality over Sephardic rationality, of the typical Ashkenazi preference for content over the typical Sephardic preference for form. The Sephardic striving for form and for logic ended in frustration and left Sepharad without form and without logic, but the innocent and stubborn yearning of Ashkenaz for content not only gave it content but also granted it a beautiful form and sharpness of logic to an extent that Sepharad never merited.

## 4

Any autonomous Jewish People, that sees itself as elevated over other Jewish peoples, will tend to take pride in itself and to entertain feelings of superiority. But the Sephardim exaggerated their pride more than any other elevated Jewish People, and there is the impression that this arrogance turned into a basic trait among them that they could not control or restrain.

Over the 500 years between the first expulsion from France, in the year 1306, and the new era, contact between the Jews of Spain and the Jews of Germany was very limited, and therefore there was no theater within which the Sephardic urge for competitiveness could express itself. In its wanderings, after the Spanish expulsion, Sephardic Jewry was almost exclusively in contact with lowly Mizrahi Jews and upon these was decreed that they suffer from its haughtiness. However, in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century contact increased between the Sephardim, who lived in the coastal cities of Holland, Germany and France and the Ashkenazim. The latter began their westward wanderings, which brought about the formation of large Ashkenazi communities in England and the American continent, and in the process, they encountered Sephardim who had preceded them. The wealthy and pedigreed Sephardim looked down upon, and hated, the poor Ashkenazim, but this relationship was not unusual for the relationships that prevailed among Jewish peoples. Much more dangerous was the tendency, of the Sephardic leaders, to express their disdain in pamphlets and proclamations that were directed toward the Christian world. One of the first of these slanderers was the Sephardic leader Isaac Ben Pinto, from Amsterdam, who responded to Voltaire regarding the words of defamation that the latter published in one of his articles. I shall quote Dubnov:

*The wealthy and scholarly man of Amsterdam, Isaac de Pinto, head of the pedigreed Sephardim, went about defending his people and brought out several new arguments. In his polemic book, "Critical Thoughts" (France, 1762), he claims that one should distinguish between Jews: "The Jews who are spread about among the various nations adapt themselves, little by little to the traits of the inhabitants of the land. The Jew of London does not resemble the Jew of Constantinople, just as this Jew does not resemble a Mandarin in China. The Sephardic Jew in Bordeaux, and the German Jew in Metz, are completely different creatures. The Jew, in each land, dresses himself to the form of the local inhabitants, and he is faithful to each ruler, who gives him protection and refuge. But Voltaire judges all Jews as one entity and formed an image that is nothing more than an imaginary monstrosity." "Let Voltaire pay attention" – adds the author –*

*“to completely distinguish between Spanish and Portuguese Jews on the one hand, and the Jews of other lands on the other. For there is no similarity between one and the other.” And he brings proof for this conclusion: The opposition between “these two races” is so great that a Sephardi who marries an Ashkenazi woman is forced to leave his community. It is clear to the Sephardim that only they are the descendants of Judah and it was their ancestors who came to Spain during the Babylonian exile. (Yedioth Aharonoth edition, volume 4, page 1659).*

The Sephardic leaders did not shy away from open slander before the gentile authorities, and here are the words of Dobnov:

*In the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the Sephardic community in London grew to the extent that it already had two or three synagogues and schools. Along side it slowly grew an Ashkenazi community. The first of those from Germany and Poland arrived in London, by way of Hamburg and Amsterdam, during the last decades of the seventeenth century. The rulers of the city made every effort to stem the tide of the poor guests. When the fathers of the city took notice, in the year 1677, “of the poor foreigners who call themselves Jews”, it was decided to deny future entry to London to Jews who “lack appropriate resources.” These edicts were caused, as in Bordeaux, by the demands of the Sephardic community, that still did not consider themselves safe and feared that the poor Ashkenazim would desecrate their honor in the eyes of the Christians (Ibid. page 1671).*

Particularly dangerous was the slander by Sephardic leaders that was presented to the French National Assembly after its decision of December 24, 1789 when it decided to grant to non-Catholics suffrage, both active and passive, and the right to hold government offices just like Catholics, but it delayed a decision regarding the Jews. Dubnov says:

*This was a moral blow to the entire Jewish People and not only to the few Jews of France alone. But the Ashkenazim of Alsace-Lorraine, who were numerous among French Jews, who had been deprived justice and who were faithful to their Jewish nationality. The smaller number of the*

*“pedigreed” did not see the matter this way – the Sephardim of Bordeaux, were prepared to be “Frenchmen of the religion of Moses”, and all of a sudden these pedigreed ones were associated, in the decision to delay the Jewish Question, with the lowly “Ashkenazim, who also lack the basic rights of citizens, and whose Jewish nationalism is dear in their eyes.*

The decision of December 24<sup>th</sup> was about to be published when the Jews of Bordeaux approached the National Assembly with a protest letter and mentioned... Jews of “Portuguese extraction”, who had settled in the South of France by way of “patents” granted by the king... and that the Jews of Bordeaux therefore considered themselves insulted that they were included, in the decision of the National Assembly, together with those “Jews of another race.”

Dubnov continues to tell us:

*The letter of the Jews of Bordeaux, with the signatures of the delegates and two hundred and fifteen “home-owners”, was dispersed among the people and was sent to members of the National Assembly, and in this way it was declared publicly that there are two tribes of Jews in the world: One “Portuguese”, owners of the “patents”, patriotic and worthy of complete equal rights, and the other “Ashkenaz” – zealous and not worthy of the rights of citizens... The Congress decided: “The Revolution, that restored, and established, the rights of all Frenchmen cannot deny, from any particular group of citizens, the rights it already had, and therefore the Congress recommends to the assembly, without a decision on the general question (on the Jewish matter in general), to grant to the Jews of Bordeaux what they justifiably demand and to recognize them as active citizens, according to the conditions set for all citizens.” When this recommendation was read a great tumult was heard in the court. To the podium rose, in opposition, the oppressor Rewbell: “Behold, they are suggesting to you, sir, that the Jews of Bordeaux not be considered Jews” ... and he strove to prove that the recommendation of the constitutional congress contradicts the decision that was made on December 24<sup>th</sup>. If equal rights are given to the Jews of Bordeaux, then*

*there is no basis to deny them to the Jews of Alsace, and this is a dangerous thing because equal rights for Jews would cause retribution against them in Alsace...*

*With a wide majority it was decided: "The National Assembly sets the law that all the Jews, who are known in France as Portuguese, Sephardim and Avignonians, should be given all the same rights that were given them until now by way of the patents of the king, and they can therefore use all their active citizens rights, if they fit the conditions that were set for them by the assembly.*

Thus did the Sephardim guarantee themselves equal rights while leaving the Ashkenazim denigrated outcasts. Equal rights for Ashkenazim were granted when it became impossible to delay it any longer. Dubnov says:

*In the end, the time came when it was impossible to delay the Jewish Question any longer. After two years of toil, the "founding" National Assembly finished drawing up its constitution, and the king approved it (December 14<sup>th</sup>). From among the general principles of the constitution it became clear that all citizens gained equality through them and, automatically, this also applied to the Jews (ibid. page 1750).*

The Ashkenazi historians have refused, no matter what, to call it what it is. Had they explained the facts as they are, they would say that what we have before us is a war between two Jewish peoples, in which the attacking side uses not weapons but the sword of the tongue, which is slander. Instances of slander, which we have cited, are only a small part of a complete campaign of defamation, bringing about failure and harm, which was practiced by Sepharad against Ashkenaz. As mentioned, Ashkenaz had begun to migrate from its great center in Eastern Europe to the new and open areas of France, England and the new continents. This flow was vital to Ashkenaz, for Eastern Europe had turned into a region of dense anti-Semitism, in which had begun the process that ultimately led to a shocking culmination in the Holocaust. The mass exodus of Ashkenaz from Eastern Europe was dependant upon the goodwill, and sympathy, of the peoples of

the West, the French and the English. Without this sympathy, Ashkenaz would have been blocked from exiting and would have been stuck in a trap. At this fateful stage, Sepharad quickly stabbed Ashkenaz in the back with a knife. The Atlantic area was large enough to accommodate the needs of two Jewish peoples. But, for fear that a small portion of itself would be swallowed up, Sepharad decided to block the path before Ashkenaz. If Sepharad were able to form a line of armed guards at the boundaries of Western Europe, to prevent an Ashkenazi exit, it would have done so. But since it was unable to do this, it took up the weapons of slander and defamation. This was the Sephardic leaders' version of the "integration of exiles". This was also the first time Ashkenaz had experienced contact with other Jewish peoples that showed such a degree of "solidarity" toward Ashkenaz. This lesson was sure to bring Ashkenaz to the conclusion that it must minimize its ties to Sepharad and the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, and to solve its problems on its own, but things developed in a completely different direction.

## **Chapter 5**

### **The Collapse of the Roman World and the Ashkenazi Question**

#### **1**

In the year 55 B.C.E., Julius Caesar battled two German tribes that had crossed the Rhine and established themselves, as mercenaries, under the authority of the rebellious Gauls. When the fighting and treaty negotiations with the leaders of these two tribes had ceased, a small sector of Germans caused a minor violation of the treaty, apparently by accident. Julius Caesar used this fact as an excuse to slaughter the Germans to the last woman and child without leaving even one soul alive. On the heels of this action, the emperor erected a bridge over the Rhine and his soldiers crossed the river, spreading out on its other side. There was the impression that he intended to conquer Germany, but thought better of it and chose to withdraw, considering the Rhine to be the border of the empire. Later, in the days of Augustus, little by little the German territories west of the Elba

were conquered and turned into a Roman colony. However, in the year 9 B.C.E. a young German tribal leader, Arminius, instigated a revolt and, after drawing the Roman commander, Varus, into an ambush, annihilated 20,000 soldiers. This incident terminated any plans to turn Germany into an integral part of the Roman world. Over time, Germany became Christian without passing through the civilizing process of contact with the Roman world, as had happened with Gaul. This fact left its mark on the destiny of Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

During this period, the Roman world began to show signs of decay. In Germany, dangerous racial agitation, which drew its power from ancient German myth, in which Arminius had saved it from total defeat at the hands of the Romans, was rearing its head. In Eastern Europe, in the areas stretching from the boundaries of Poland to the Urals, a Slavic civilization, with heavy Asian-Tatar influence, and very foreign to the spirit of Rome, had arisen. The attempt, by Napoleon, to conquer Russia and to absorb it, like a giant province, into the Roman world, had failed. Immediately afterward, the Russians commenced an offensive on Western Europe. Furthermore: As long as the Roman Empire had not crumbled in the West, the British Isles were a regular province, though very remote, of the great kingdom. However, from the 17<sup>th</sup> century England began to influence the fate of Western Europe in far-reaching ways, involving itself with other nations to ensure its own power balance where England, itself, held the tongue of the scales. This nationalism, carried out by England with the aid of its colorful empire, infused the Roman world and weakened the basic traditional powers that held sway in Western Europe. All these factors rose against the Roman world to undermine it and to erode it. But to them was added another factor – the Jewish factor.

## 2

The Jewish-Roman wars were the greatest armed struggle that the Jews had ever engaged in for control of the Land of Israel. These wars, and the tense times that preceded them and followed them, lasted about a hundred years. They overflowed beyond the boundaries of the Land of Israel and left their

influence in a number of Mideastern lands. Had the war not broken out at the beginning of the second half of the first century, when the empire was at its peak, but in another hundred or hundred and fifty years, then it might have transpired that the Jews would have established a large Mideastern kingdom, and all of world history would have taken a different course. It was very difficult for Rome to avoid becoming entangled in this war since the Jews provoked the emperor in such a way that it struck at the stability of the empire. But despite this, the destruction of the Temple, and the annihilation of a large portion of the Jewish People, was a cruel and degrading act beyond compare. The compromise that was reached afterward, that gave the Jews the possibility to live as a nation without territorial claims, never caused the feeling of injustice, that was done to them, to be forgotten from the Jewish heart. The minority Jewish populations in the Roman world always remained a foreign, and hostile, element and sought to gain its revenge on the spiritual plane.

Karl Marx held the God of the Jews in contempt and he was estranged from Judaism (even as he loved the Jewish activists in London), but despite this, he was a typical Jew who sprang from generations of Ashkenazic rabbis. His book "Das Kapital" has great similarities to the Talmud and to other Jewish religious writings, and the socialistic pathos of Marx is entirely a Semitic pathos whose hearth was in the Mideast. The slave revolts of the Roman world and the rebellions of the peasants, who were subjugated in Europe during the Middle Ages, did not bring about social justice. After these rebellions, there was no social contract. Feudal lords and hereditary rulers conveniently ruled the social order of both of the Roman Empire and of the Middle Ages. In both these periods, the government depended upon the strength of mercenaries who were willing and able to subdue any uprising against those who paid their salaries.

However, with the arrival of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, conditions changed from one extreme to the other. The French Revolution destroyed the feudal system. Instead of a stationary army of feudal lords, and a professional army of paid mercenaries, people's armies arose. The proportion of farm laborers, among the proletariat, decreased and, against this, the ranks of skilled



workers in large, centralized, industry, crucial to the industrial sector, swelled. In this way, conditions became ripe for an uprising of the downtrodden, for a modern “rebellion of the workers”. However, this opportunity, if it were to emerge from theory to practice, required a spark of transcendental passion, and the elements of a new social order, whose nourishment would come from an ancient Jewish source - and the provider was Karl Marx. This was the Jewish strike against the Roman world, which was the counter-strike against the strikes that the Jews had absorbed from Vespasian and Titus 1800 years before. Jesus brought the heaven of the world to come to the Roman world and associated the deceptive heaven of this world, with the framework of territorial Roman life. On the other hand, Marx brought, to the late Roman world, the Communist heaven of this world, which came to inherit the heaven of the world to come, from the element of Jesus.

### 3

A decisive factor, which greatly increased the unrest, both social and national, and which convulsed the continent of Europe, was the factor of population growth. The Spaniard Ortega y Gasset, writes in his book “The Revolt of the Masses”, citing the German sociologist Verner Zumberg, that in the year 1800 there were 180 million inhabitants in Europe, the largest number in this continent ever, but in the year 1900, the number reached 460 million. It bears mentioning that, in this century, almost 60 million people left Europe for the United States, and many millions more left the European regions of Russia for the Asian regions. The increase in population aggravated and intensified the unrest, in what appears to be not arithmetic but geometric proportion. Moreover: Ortega y Gasset notes that this rapid increase disrupted the power structure within the population between the finer, intellectual, elements and the more gross and vulgar elements that tended toward sadistic emotions. As the percentage of the former decreased, the percentage of the latter increased at a surprising rate. The population of Europe, in the year 1900 was not only larger, by a factor of two and a half, from what it was in the year 1800, but it was also different. In this population, the elements of national and class tolerance, which had

been kept by the higher classes in keeping with the Roman tradition, had been weakened, and instead there was a great strengthening of the elements that serve the wild and sadistic inclination. This development did not bode well for the Ashkenazi People in Europe.

The rapid increase in population had its influence also on the Ashkenazi nation, which dwelt in Europe. At the end of the eighteenth century, the entire world Jewish population numbered around two and a half million, of this a million and a half were in Europe. In the year 1880 Ashkenaz, and its offshoots overseas, numbered around 7 million people and, on the eve of World War II, Ashkenaz in Europe numbered around 10 million people, and in the lands overseas, around five million people. Ashkenaz constituted, in this period, around 95% of all members of the Jewish peoples. The greatness of Ashkenaz is not only in its numeric strength, but also in its unique accomplishments in the history of the Jewish peoples. In no period, during Jewish history, did a Jewish People reach greatness in numbers, in geographical distribution and in the formation of dense and great Jewish settlements as we find in Ashkenaz between the time of the French Revolution and the Second World War. It is as if Jewish history had intentionally divided, and distributed, the alliance of Jewish peoples into two parts: The great Ashkenaz, which is restless, is imbued with the vigor of youth and ascends from level to level, and on the other side, the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples, who are subdued, backward and degenerate. The small nation of Ladino speakers, in the lands of the Balkans and the Levant, served as an intermediate link between Ashkenaz and the Afro-Asiatic Jewish peoples. The Ladino Jews are noted for their wonderful social health, and in this they resemble the Jews of Ashkenaz, but they lack the specific Ashkenazi ambition, and all of their engrained traits give them the status of a small to medium people.

The strength of Ashkenaz is first and foremost its great rule over time. None of the other Jewish peoples were able to gather the strength to reach the twentieth century and to establish for itself a meaningful grasp of it. The Afro-Asiatic Jewish peoples are stuck in various periods of the past, from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the Ladino Jews ceased marching with

time during various stages of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast to this, the Ashkenazi People entered the 20<sup>th</sup> century with great force. Not only did it enter, but it was also one of the great peoples that brought the rest of the entire world into this century. The entry of Ashkenaz into the twentieth century was more complete, and more successful, than that of many other European peoples, which dwelt in their own lands. During the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries a new stage was formed, in the struggle between Ashkenazi Jewry and Sephardi Jewry. Ashkenaz dwarfed Sepharad and made it a laughing stock. Even the fleeting and short golden age of Sepharad paled and looked insignificant compared to the wonderful accomplishments of Ashkenaz. The claims of the Sephardic leaders, that political conditions favored Ashkenaz, are based on lies. The French penetration into North Africa, which began with the conquest of Algeria in the year 1830, brought about good conditions for the development of the Jewish communities there. Additionally, there were Sephardic concentrations in the Balkans, in England, in France and Holland. The Sephardi decline, and the ascent of Ashkenaz, did not come about from different external conditions, but from the internal historical strength that was imbedded within Ashkenaz, and the corresponding weakness of Sepharad. The extended competition between Ashkenaz and Sepharad ended in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the decisive victory of Ashkenaz. Concerning the superiority of Ashkenaz over other Jewish peoples, it is not necessary to even elaborate.

The natural population increase of Ashkenaz in Europe worsened its condition. Its strengthening fomented hatred and torrents of venom. However, this numeric strengthening of Ashkenaz was not the only reason for the intensification of anti-Semitism. It had an additional cause, whose origin lay with the nature of the relationship between the Jews and the non-Jewish nations. The compromise that was reached between the Jews and the Romans, at the conclusion of the Roman-Jewish wars, allowed the Jews to exist as a people with the condition that they relinquish any desire to influence the political lot of space, and that they concentrate their efforts on one single goal: The rule over time and the assurance of eternal life. In this unwritten Jewish-Roman arrangement, the Jews obligated themselves to live in the ghetto and to refrain from leaving it as long as a messianic

factor did not appear and change the situation. However, from the time of the French Revolution, the Jews violated this obligation. They exited, or more accurately, were removed, in their masses, from the ghettos. They involved themselves in the lives of non-Jewish peoples and began to influence, in far-reaching ways, their lives. The Jews fomented revolutions, brought about the fall and strengthening, of regimes, elevated, and brought down, castes and classes. They became a decisive factor in the struggle for space and, in so doing, they created mortal foes among their competitors, without having a country from which they could defend themselves behind its walls. The anomaly of the existence of Jews in the twentieth century was illustrated in that this existence deviated from the framework of the ghetto without forming for itself the framework of a country. We must not forget that the supporting pillars of the possibility of Jewish existence in our generation were laid by the two Jewish forces of the Jewish-Roman struggle of 1800 years ago: The rebels and Yohanan Ben-Zakai. The rebels sought to ensure a normal existence and a normal rule over space at any cost. Yohanan Ben-Zakai's version was the ghetto life of a nation that sought to acquire eternal life through living among foreign nations until the arrival of the messiah. He who rejects the understanding of Yohanan Ben-Zakai is forced to accept the understanding of those who rebelled against Rome and he must be assured of a normal acquisition of space, in accordance with the normal rules by which such acquisition is accomplished. An intermediate path, between these two understandings, does not exist, and he who imagines that he has found such a path is headed toward catastrophe.

## 4

The question, which was posed as the Jewish Question was, in fact, the Ashkenazi Question. The numeric increase of the Ashkenazi People, and its great impact upon the lot of majority peoples, created friction between the two. In contrast, the friction between the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples and their neighbors had been decreasing. Scientific research will highlight the fact that, over the last few centuries, these peoples were subject to continuous symptoms of decline, which obscured Jewish supremacy and, in

so doing, removed the division that had existed between Jewish communities and their neighbors. The Jewish Question, in Mideastern lands, was solving itself through these processes of degeneration, at the same time that it was becoming more and more serious in Europe due to the great ascent, in both quantity and quality, of Ashkenaz. Also in this respect, the Ladino Jews had an intermediate position between that of the working class Afro-Asiatic communities and of Ashkenaz. Ladino Jews were socially advanced, but on the other hand, their numeric and spiritual strength was intermediate, and this prevented the formation of severe friction between them and their neighbors. The historic uniqueness of Ashkenaz, and its unique lot, was brought into dramatic relief in its confrontation with non-Jewish peoples. History cried out, with symbols and wonders and every sort of sign and language in the world, that the lot of Ashkenaz is different from that of other Jewish peoples, and that any talk of a shared fate among the Jews has no basis in reality.

The solution to the Ashkenazi question could only be one thing: An Ashkenazi state that is a successor to the kingdom of Judah, the kingdom of the largest, and most successful tribe. Ashkenaz had no obligation to worry about other Jewish tribes. This type of solidarity does not exist in Jewish history. Moreover: From the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and onward, when Ashkenazi Jews began to migrate westward, Ashkenazi Jews experienced the “solidarity” that the Sephardic leaders directed toward them with their persecution and slander. This should have been a good lesson and a useful warning. We could have broken the historical pattern and set aside a place, in the Ashkenazi state, for non-Ashkenazi Jews, but in numbers appropriate to their overall percentage of the Jewish Confederacy of Peoples, and in such a way that they would assimilate into the Ashkenazi state and without ever damaging the standard Ashkenazi character. The story of relations between the various Jewish peoples is one of the most dramatic and tragic in Jewish history. The integratoin of these peoples is as difficult as the splitting of the Red Sea, and a successful integration of the Sephardo-Oriental peoples within a large Ashkenazi state is a more difficult matter than the founding of such a state to begin with. As stated, Ashkenaz had an obligation only to itself, firstly because each Jewish nation is obligated to

tend to itself, and secondly because of the severity of the dangers that await Ashkenaz. First and foremost it was incumbent upon Ashkenaz to determine that solutions to its problems would be managed not in the destructive and underhanded ways of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, but within a framework that is purely and exclusively Ashkenazi. Most importantly: It was incumbent upon Ashkenaz to be wary of its historic internal foe, the Sephardic leaders. After all that this sect had perpetrated upon Ashkenaz in the 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and even the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was no reason for cooperation between Ashkenaz and them.

On this point, there was an interesting development linked to the famous Sephardic Jew, Moses Montefiore. There is no doubt that his heart was pure and his intentions innocent as he worked for the benefit of the Jews of Russia. The purity of heart, and the purity of intentions, of Moses Montefiore are beyond any doubt. But nevertheless, it is clear that this famous activist was not just a generic Jewish activist, but first and foremost a Sephardic activist, and it is clear that he was this way due to his obligation to be a Sephardic activist. In this capacity, Sir Moses must have done a bitter survey of Sephardic Jewry. He understood that, in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, this Jewry had great opportunities to be a guide and shepherd to Ashkenazi Jewry. The Ashkenazi Jews, blinded by the glory of golden age Sephardic literature, saw themselves as inferior to Sepharad and could easily be led by its leaders. But, in their evil arrogance, they squandered this wonderful opportunity and stabbed Ashkenaz in the back. In the meantime, all the historical developments were in favor of Ashkenaz. Its power continued to increase and the power of Sepharad continued to weaken. Moses Montefiore discerned these processes and worried that Sephardic Jewry would become, to world Jewry, like a withered limb and a despised tribe. In his quest to remove the walls of hatred from between Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jewry, he encouraged mixed Ashkenazi-Sephardi marriages and, to every mixed couple, he promised a large monetary prize. But, with all the personal support of Sir Moses Montefiore, we should know that his actions caused much more damage, than benefit, to the Ashkenazi People. For it was in the interest of Ashkenaz to sever, at any

cost, its cooperative ties to the Sephardic leaders. For this connection was entirely harmful, and a stumbling block, to Ashkenaz.

The Ashkenazi Question was a question of the population of Europe but with an added severe and tragic element due to the foreignness of the Jews. At its core, this question was one of the burning questions that were created because of the great population growth of Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. There were other European peoples for whom the drama of their population problem was no less than that of Ashkenaz. Around 20 million English migrated, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, from the British Isles to the continents on the other side of the ocean. If not for this outward migration, there would have taken place, in the British Isles, which was not sufficient to provide its increasing population a decent livelihood, more terrible riots and bloodshed. Population-political pressure was intense also in Ireland, Italy and Poland, and only the speedy pace of outward migration prevented a fateful explosion. The great, and sustained, migration of Russian farmers eastward, to the provinces near the Urals and the Caspian Sea, and later to Siberia, was a decisive factor in maintaining political stability in the state during the years preceding the revolution.

History presented an ultimatum to the Ashkenazi People to migrate from Europe, and in all haste. This ultimatum even dictated, for this great migration, the destination, which could only have been one of the larger, and almost empty, lands beyond the ocean. As a European people, it was decreed upon the Ashkenazim to follow the peoples of Europe. They were not able to change the course of history. Under these conditions the Land of Israel was relegated, from the beginning and retroactively, to, at best, second place as a solution to the Ashkenazi Question. This is true for several reasons. Firstly, the territory of the Land of Israel is small and the paucity of its resources prevented the settlement of a nation numbering 15 million, and that could have reached tens of millions. Secondly, the territory of the Land of Israel does not exclusively belong to the Ashkenazim, but to all members of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples. Because of this it was not possible to establish, upon the Land of Israel, an ideal Ashkenazi state, which would have developed, entirely without

interference, the specific qualities and traits of the Ashkanazi people. Thirdly, the land was in the possession of the Turks, and in addition to this, served as the focal point of a dispute between powers that competed for the chance to inherit it as the Turkish Empire crumbled. Had Ashkenaz founded, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a state in one of the new continents, then we would now be one of the largest nations in the world, and it is likely that the Land of Israel would also be in our possession. Ashkenaz had all the tools necessary for the settlement of a large territory, and for the establishment of a state. It had a worldly language, Yiddish, which was capable of unifying and guiding great and powerful masses. It had wonderful human capital, among them those who lived in small cities and towns close to the work of the land. Ashkenaz always succeeded in constructive projects, and had it known to ensure itself an appropriate territory, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it would have turned it into the location of one of the great international civilizations. Moreover: An Ashkanazi state in one of the new continents would likely have embodied the natural continuity of Jewish history. Firstly, because it would have been considered a continuation of the kingdom of Judah, the kingdom of the largest tribe-people. Secondly, in this, it would have constituted a link in the continuity of the history of the Jewish People, which continues its uninterrupted expansion, both ideologically and geographically. At first, this history was confined to a small land in ancient Asia. Later, it spread geographically to additional continents and, at the same time, it expanded on the spiritual plane as it established, from within it, the Christian religion and, later, the Muslim religion and in the end, the religion-of-this-world: Communism. But this great opportunity was withheld from Ashkenaz and, in its place came a completely different development.

The attacks against the Jews, that broke out in Russia at the beginning of the 1880's, precisely 60 years before Hitler's machinery of destruction began its activities, were a sign of alarm that the earth was destined to fall out from under the feet of the large Ashkenazi community in Eastern Europe. These attacks awakened great unrest and brought about deep soul searching. The first to benefit from this state of mind were the Lovers of Zion. This movement was, at its foundation, a religious-symbolic



movement that sought to strengthen the foundations of Jewish life in the Diaspora through the tangible and concrete commandment of the building up of the Land of Israel. The state of mind of the rationalists left some impression also upon the Jewish religion and took away a little from the mystical element. As for the place of the retreating mystical element, progressive and foresighted rabbis wished to fulfill, in a tangible way, the image of a connection to the Land of Israel and efforts to build it up. Moreover: The strengthening of the Jewish settlement of Eastern Europe, and the expansion of its rights, increased even within religious Jewry, the will to leave the ghetto and to accomplish Jewish religious deeds appropriate to the period and the possibilities it held. Intellectual circles, of the disciples of Ahad ha'Am and members of the fellowship "The Sons of Moses", were active in the Lovers of Zion movement and they were among its important leaders. But the common thread between the movement and its main power were rabbis who connected it with the Jewish masses and gave it its deep influence. From a historical perspective, this movement was a continuation of the migration, to the Land of Israel, of the righteous ones and of the disciples of the Vilna Gaon, who left their element for the old Ashkenazi settlement in the Land of Israel and founded Pethah Tiqwa. The center of gravity of the Lovers of Zion movement was not in the Land of Israel but in the Diaspora, for its aim was to strengthen Judaism among the millions of Jews of Eastern Europe, and the means to advance this cause was physical Labor in the Land of Israel. The Lovers of Zion movement gave no answer for the Jewish Question. Its intention was not to ensure a large territory for Jewish settlement, but to strengthen the national spirit of the Jewish community in the Diaspora, at a time when the main danger to it was not internal, but rather the danger of murder at the hands of enemies.

The great unrest that rose against Russian Jewry brought about the founding of a series of settlements in the Land of Israel, whose inhabitants were influenced by, and later aided by, the Lovers of Zion movement. These founders wrote a shining chapter in history and merit eternal praise. But we should distinguish between the pioneering activities of these exceptional people, and the ideological essence of the Lovers of Zion

movement. This movement was, at its foundation, feeble because it gave no answer to the burning question of Jewish existence in Eastern Europe. It did not establish the two accessories that define a great movement, the fundamentals of a set ideology and the organizational impetus for extensive practical activities. In short order, the movement lacked the power to maintain the settlements, and the burden of their upkeep was accepted by the “father of the settlement”, the Baron Benjamin Rothschild. It was not the Lovers of Zion movement, but Rothschild who maintained the settlements in their difficult first years. Moreover, the ideological consolidation of this movement did not come from the power of any one of its classic leaders, but specifically from the power of the territorialist revolutionary Yehuda Leib Pinsker.

The fate of Pinsker very much resembled that of a greater leader than himself, who came after him, Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl. Pinsker toiled some nine years for the movement he consolidated and so too did Herzl. Their supporters had previously accepted both of them with acclaim. Later, they endured bitterness and anger and it was demanded of them that they compromise their basic beliefs. The early death of Herzl saved him from the contempt of his former supporters, and almost certainly from having to disband his movement. The internal opposition that had risen against Pinsker forced him to resign and only through the influence of Lilienblum was he chosen as honorary president for life of the movement he had founded.

Pinsker was a revolutionary in his opinions and an opportunist in his tactics, and this contradiction caused a personal and historic tragedy. Pinsker's idea of emancipation, which demanded new and spacious lands, was clearly a revolutionary idea. He who expresses such an idea necessarily digs a deep trench between himself and the moderate leaders who keep to the accepted path. Had Pinsker been more adept at political tactics, he would have understood that he must create a revolutionary movement and recruit its supporters from the wonderful Jewish youth that inclines toward socialist movements. In this instance, Pinsker's movement would have advanced slowly, and gradually built its resources, but later it

would have crystallized into a great power that accomplished important things. From his haste to see immediate results, Pinsker made an unforgivable mistake when he compromised his principles for those quick results. From the time he was accepted, with applause, by the Lovers of Zion, he went with them and they “convinced him”, that is to say, they forced him to conclude, against his will, that the Land of Israel, and not the spacious lands across the ocean, will bring a solution to the Jewish Question. The symbolisms of the Lovers of Zion movement adopted, from Pinsker, his more outward and modern attitudes, and the mental and organizational tools that were needed for activism in the new world. But immediately afterward, they betrayed him because his basic philosophy was in complete conflict with their own. After he walked the gauntlet, Pinsker was even forced to concede to the concept of a “spiritual center” in the Land of Israel. Despite the large grants that the Lovers of Zion movement received from Pinsker and Baron Rothchild, its activities had poor momentum because it gave no specific answer to the Jewish plight. But a man quickly arose who saved the Lovers of Zion movement from the dead end it was in, and just as this man was about to save it, he became its victim. I am speaking of the territorialist Binyamin Ze’ev Herzl. But before we commence this story, we should touch on certain other phenomena.

The greatest accomplishment, in the field of activism to save the Jews of Europe from the disaster that awaited them, was accomplished by revolutionaries of the type of Pinsker and Herzl, and, obviously, not by the symbolic Lovers of Zion, but by the circles that encouraged popular Jewish migration to the countries on the other side of the ocean, first and foremost the United States. Nearly two million Ashkenazim entered the United States in the 34 years between 1880 and 1914, and hundreds of thousands more Ashkenazim arrived there between the two world wars. The number of Ashkenazim who migrated to the Land of Israel in the years 1882-1939 was around 350 thousand, that is to say, about one seventh or one eighth of the number that arrived in the New World. This fact illustrates which territories were the natural ones to solve the Ashkenazi Question and how great was the loss due fact that we did not strive for the correct solution.

Moreover: Not only did we not save European Jewry from destruction, but even that portion of it that was saved, owed its salvation to the old-fashioned method of fleeing from one diaspora to another. This fact testifies to the weak rescue-effort by Jewish revolutionaries, and it proves that this effort, which started with great momentum, got stuck in the symbolic mud and lost its power.

## **Chapter 6**

### **The New Hebrew Literature**

#### 1

Modern political activism began within Ashkenazi Jewry in the 1880's, but the New Hebrew Literature was born at least a hundred years prior to this. This literature had a strong political-publicist quality to it, and even its poems were political messages expressed in verse. It dealt with issues of Jews and Judaism in light of the changes taking place in the world, battled the old religious-rabbinical world and suggested solutions for the future. The literature of the Jewish enlightenment was the first link in modern secular political behavior to arise within the Ashkenazi People. It was a decisive factor in the birth of the Lovers of Zion movement and the secular branch of this movement depended upon it and suckled from it continuously.

The New Hebrew Literature was never a nationalist or populist literature. The linguistic tool that it used created a natural partition between it and the masses, and turned it into the voice of the intellectual class. At the foundation of this literature is found duality and even hypocrisy. It spoke in the name of the people and about the people but, in practice, it fought its own war, for it sought to remain separate from the people. Its Hebrew language was the product of this desire for separation and a wonderful and effective tool for this separation. These traits of the New Hebrew Literature deprived it, from the beginning, of the ability to conduct a proper and basic analysis of the questions that stood before the Ashkenazi People

or to present helpful and relevant solutions. For a hundred years, from the dawn of the French Revolution until the writing of “The Auto-emancipation” by Pinsker, the New Hebrew Literature dealt with the political questions of Ashkenaz and we are shocked by the paucity of results from this toil. We cannot forget that there were, within the New Hebrew Literature, great personalities; first and foremost among them the noted poet, Yehuda Leib Gordon. In a few lines of the pamphlet by Pinsker, there is more political content than in all the extensive political literature, by the authors of the Enlightenment, which were written over the course of a hundred years. This fact is first and foremost rooted in the fact that Pinsker looked upon the Jewish Question from an objective vantage point, and saw in front of him the entire people in its masses, but the authors of the Enlightenment saw this question within the context of the needs, ambitions and hatreds of the small intellectual class.

The modern era disrupted the Jewish life that depended upon the conquest of time to the exclusion of any normal grasp of space. The normalization of the life of the Jews had one understanding and one implication: The passage from the ghetto to wide and sovereign spaces, from a life immersed in religion among peoples who controlled space, to a life that, itself, depended upon the control of space. But the New Hebrew Literature was puzzled by the revolutionary character of the solution and it sought refuge for itself in various guises which promised normalization not through political means but through a slight change in the external appearance and image of the Jew, without changing the political elements of his life or system through which he related to the ruling peoples. The saying of Yehuda Leib Gordon, “be a man when you go out and a Jew in your tent”, which was a “principle of faith” of the Enlightenment, symbolizes this lack of content. It avoids the fact that the foreign peoples, who control space, are masters over Jewish life to the extent that this life is a physical one with external expression. Therefore they are the ones who determine to what extent the Jew may exit the ghetto, that is to say, to be “a man”, and to what extent he may protect his physical existence at all. Yehuda Leib Gordon, and the authors of the Enlightenment, did not see the historical roots of the Jewish reality. It was not the stubbornness of “those of

darkness” or of “rebels against light” that formed the image of Jewish ghetto life, but the Jewish-Roman arrangement that was reached in the second century of the Christian calendar, after Jewish-Roman confrontations that persisted for a hundred years. The Enlightenment rebelled against this arrangement but did not offer any other arrangement to take its place.

Just as there was little understanding, within the New Hebrew Literature, regarding the historical background of the relationship between Jews and non-Jews, so too was there a lack of understanding of the roots of Jewish life itself. The leader of Jewish life was the rabbi by virtue of his being the general and field marshal of the ranks of Jewish martyrs. Every culture has an obligation for political death, that is to say, a moment when a faithful person is expected to prefer death to life. This moment is, in Judaism, the moment of martyrdom and the preference for death over forced conversion. The rabbi went, at the head of his congregation, to a martyr’s death and this power made him ruler over Jewish life. The Ashkenazi rabbinate was what lead Ashkenaz and it was what formed and established the giant that is Ashkenaz. By ignoring this great truth, the authors of the Enlightenment, and later their successors, lead a total war against the Ashkenazi rabbinate during the “Renaissance” era and, citing occasional distortions, blamed them on the fact that rabbinical law depends on a formal framework, which is the case with every human law. A great and wonderful historical creation, and a whole way of life, the product of the Ashkenazi rabbinate, was discredited and defamed through Hebrew Literature which depended on ridiculous and baseless accusations that were invented out of thin air.

The way that Hebrew Literature related to the Ashkenazi rabbinate, and toward the Jewish religion, was fixed largely from a typical personal perspective. Almost all of the important Hebrew authors, during the generation before the last, were yeshiva students who were destined to be great rabbis and Torah luminaries. Yehuda Leib Gordon was a brilliant Torah scholar and so was Bialik, who was a student in a famous and noteworthy yeshiva. Under the influence of the spirit of the Enlightenment, these yeshiva students, the Hebrew authors of the future, rebelled against

the rabbinical stone from which they were hewn and turned their backs on it. They were not the only ones to do so. Many Enlightenment Jews followed this path, replaced the yeshiva bench for the university bench and became celebrated scientists and noteworthy revolutionaries. Most of these became completely secular, completely forsook the rabbinical world to its own devices and never dealt with it again, for better or for worse. Not so the men of the New Hebrew Literature, who waged a war of destruction against the rabbinical world, as if it were a war of revenge like that of the Yevsk. This development very much corrupted the ability of the New Hebrew Literature to see the political situation of the Ashkenazi People in an objective way. When we compare one against the other, “The Autoemancipation” of Pinsker and the political writings of the New Hebrew Literature, it is as if we are comparing the composition of a giant against the gyrations of midgets.

## 2

The fact that the opinions of the group of Enlightenment authors were not ever meant to express objective national truth, but rather were a tactical tool that served the interests of the sect of Hebrew authors themselves, was revealed when these authors were asked to define their stance toward the Lovers of Zion movement. Yehuda Leib Gordon was the greatest of the Enlightenment poets and it seemed as if, considering his expressive poems that strike at life in the Diaspora, he would be the first to lend his hand to the Lovers of Zion and their activities in the Land of Israel. But what happened was the opposite of this. Yehuda Leib Gordon stood against the Lovers of Zion movement and put obstacles in their way. He expressed his stance, in one of his letters, with these words:

*A nation whose religion is the main thing, and life is secondary; a nation whose land is full of laws and rules like an abyss that has no water but is full of fish – such a nation cannot succeed in creating a state. The concept of the Lovers of Zion was pleasant to me like a playful child, as long as it remained only an abstract concept, a vision of the heart. But when I saw that skin and flesh dresses itself with it and that bones and sinew covers*

*itself with it, my flesh recoiled, for I said: Woe to us, if the desire of Zion is not successful for us, and woe, woe to us if they do succeed... it is better for us to migrate to the Holy Land only after we fix ourselves and prepare the generation for this, in a way that will first be, or at least be at the same time with, the redemption of the land and will come also with the redemption of the soul.”* (A. Orinovsky, The History of the New Hebrew Literature, volume 1 page 248).

The work of demagoguery and deception in these words of Yehuda Leib Gordon is absolutely astounding. On what basis does Yehuda Leib Gordon claim, “Such a nation cannot succeed in creating a state”? Religious Jews maintained a kingdom in the Land of Israel for about 1300 years and only the legions of Rome put an end to it. But Yehuda Leib Gordon has decided: “cannot succeed”. Moreover: After the destruction, religious Jews returned and again took possession of the Land of Israel and, more recently, they established Pethah Tiqwah. Is it not interesting that, as he was confronted for the first time with the need to act, Yehuda Leib Gordon denies rationalism for himself and seeks an escape in complete mysticism in the guise of “preparing the generation” or “redemption of the soul”? In this confrontation he acts more Catholic than the Pope, and interprets complete mysticism as a foggy “preparation of the generation”, at the same time that rabbis such as Mohilever and his friends presented tangible demands and action such as settlements, a return to working the soil and the acquisition and fortification of the Holy Land.

On “The Auto-emancipation” by Pinsker, Yehuda Leib Gordon responds with these words:

*The voice of the author hews tongues of fire and the sound of the great trumpet is heard, and his words descend like dew of light upon he who reads them. It is not possible for any Jewish soul that hears them to refrain from trembling to its core from this mighty reading, which is heard like the sound of the trumpet of the messiah on the last judgment day... But will the dead of the world awaken from the sound of the trumpet? Can the droplets of dew bring life to the dry bones that are frozen black? Our hearts will*



*melt from believing a wondrous thing such as this, which is higher than nature*" ("The Advisor", 1882, 43, Orinovsky, Ibid. page 247).

Yehuda Leib Gordon's *flesh did not tremble* in his response to "The Auto-emancipation". Again, he had no concrete plan of action as did the Lovers of Zion, except the "sound of the trumpet" alone. However, the poet is quick to bury the nascent idea and to roll a boulder over its grave as he wraps it in funerary shrouds and negates it with lofty analogies and flowery language. This time, Yehuda Leib Gordon is revealed not as one who doubts, as he showed himself earlier, but as one who is sure of himself. He knows that the Jewish population of Eastern Europe, that is to say Ashkenaz, which was one of the most active and talented in this generation, is naught but "the dead of the world" and that it is doubtful if they will be "awakened". In truth, it is clear to Yehuda Leib Gordon that "the dead" will not arise, and the question rhetorical for the answer is certainly negative. But he is quick to add that he is not ready to have faith in "a wondrous thing such as this, which is higher than nature."

Yet, behind all the folly and deception in the words of Yehuda Leib Gordon there exists, and is recognizable, the question of the underlying purpose and meaning of the writing of his publications throughout his life. These publications, of poem and poem, for what did they come and what was their purpose? A publicist is an author who calls for a specific action and if he does not call for action, he is not a publicist but rather he falls into a different category of writing or he does not write at all. However, Yehuda Leib Gordon wrote publications his entire creative career, and later negated his words and concluded, with his responses to Pinsker's words, with complete denial, and with tactical mysticism, in his response to the slogan of the Lovers of Zion. If this is the case, for what purpose did he write? The answer is clear: His writings were to serve himself and to ensure himself a place in the Hall of Fame of the Jewish public. The writings of Yehuda Leib Gordon were, in principle, personal writings wrapped in the cloak of public service.

As the migration to the United States intensified, after the pogroms of 1881-1882, Yehuda Leib Gordon supported the opinion that saw the United States, and not the Land of Israel, as a refuge for the masses of escaping Jews. This stance of Yehuda Leib Gordon should be counted among his merits. In this opinion, Yehuda Leib Gordon revealed more wisdom and love of Israel than those blind Lovers of Zion who saw, in the settlement of the Land of Israel, a cure-all. This correct position, of Yehuda Leib Gordon, raised the ire of famous members of the Lovers of Zion, who declared that the poet ceased being a “national poet”. Moreover: After Yehuda Leib Gordon was broken by his first attempt to transition from a life of exile to a normal life, there was nothing left for him but to resort to the old solution of fleeing from a hazardous exile to a comfortable exile. But, even according to his own opinion, Yehuda Leib Gordon did not remain faithful and he retreated from it under the pressure of personal matters. This is why it is said, in “The Dictionary of New Literature” by A. Shaanan, page 182:

*With the awakening of the Lovers of Zion movement, Yehuda Leib Gordon was not among those who strongly encouraged migration to the Land of Israel. He saw, in America, the refuge for the Jewish masses if it became necessary to leave Russia. After he left the weekly “The Advocate”, his material condition was difficult. He wrote several satires and made his living as a teacher. When he returned to edit “The Advocate” (1885), there was a change in his attitude concerning the Lovers of Zion movement and the nationalist element was forceful in his articles.*

And so it was, when Yehuda Leib Gordon accepted a post at “The Advocate”, he retreated, for this price, from a thoughtful position and, in his writing “the nationalist element was forceful”, that is to say, he gave his support to the blind opinion of those members of the Lovers of Zion who refused to recognize **two** exit routes, the United States and the Land of Israel, but they gave their approval only to the tiny flow of migrants that flowed into the Land of Israel. This flexibility, which is due to personal considerations, is typical of the authors of the New Hebrew Literature, and we encounter it over and over again.

## 3

A decisive turn, in the New Hebrew Literature, occurred with the appearance of Mendele the Book Peddler. Mendele introduced two novel elements to this literature, linguistic and political. The authors of the New Hebrew Literature were always stuck in an unnatural Sisyphean Labor of searching for Hebrew words and expressions, in order to express images of a desirous life in a language that is, in practice, only a holy language. Mendele, crafty and practical, brought to this work a new and much more helpful method. He wrote his main books in Yiddish and then translated them into Hebrew. Writing in Yiddish made it possible to describe more effectively the life of the Ashkenazi masses of Eastern Europe. The translation of the books to Hebrew eased the finding of Hebrew linguistic currency. Mendele, the great writer of prose, who describes the modern life of the Ashkenazi People, removed Hebrew Literature from its narrow corner and bequeathed to it a strong public status. However, specifically this status, which largely comes from the linguistic technicalities of Mendele, demanded a political permutation of far-reaching consequences.

In the formal, external, sense, Mendele put Hebrew Literature in the same category as other modern literatures. The sect of Hebrew authors claims that it is no different than groups of authors of other types of literature, but this claim placed upon itself a clear political obligation. The literature of other peoples was, in this period, clearly political literature, bearing the stamp of national and social activism and serving the ideals of national yearnings and social justice. The recognized authors were political leaders who did their work with their pens. They stood at the front of the national, and social, liberation movements and the lives of many of them were lives of suffering and heroism of romantic warriors. Political romance was often combined with personal romance, and the demise of two of the greatest Russian poets, Pushkin and Ramontov, who were killed in romantic duels in the peak of their lives, can serve as examples of the high price that authors paid for faithfulness to their convictions. Dostoyevski was among the Russian Decembrists, was sentenced to death and, on the edge of the

gallows, the noose was lowered from his neck by virtue of a clemency decree from the Czar. Mitzkevitz was a rebel and wandered his whole life. Even Freidrich Heina lived the life of a modern and romantic exile in Paris far from his German birthplace. In placing Hebrew Literature in the same category as the literature of other nations, the Hebrew authors were required to count themselves among the international order of literature elites, who fought at the forefront of national and social war.

However, a feeling of great political mission was completely foreign to the authors of Hebrew Literature, and it is doubtful if there ever was a group of intellectuals that was as far from this sentiment. When they were tied to yeshiva benches, they flew the banner of great religious romanticism, but when they abandoned this banner they turned into defeatists who distanced themselves from any rebellion and they limited their creative sources to those close to personal interests. Many of them continued to keep the assets they had acquired in the rabbinical world, not because they wished to remain loyal to it, but because these assets were engraved with their blood to an extent that they were unable to free themselves from them.

Moreover: There is no doubt that the painful disruption, involved with a tearing away from the rabbinical world, brought many of these Hebrew authors to the brink of psychological collapse, wounded souls, and an inclination toward depression and self-hatred. Above all: It is fairly clear that an affiliation with the group of Hebrew authors, and intellectuals who encouraged them, was determined through negative selection. Modern elements and those who craved activism, among Jewish youth that abandoned the yeshivas, flocked to non-Jewish and Jewish revolutionary movements such as the "Bund". But those of weak character, who remained in depression, preferred the frozen world of Hebrew Literature that lacked revolution and revolts except for non-stop ruminations through words and anecdotes.

From the time that Hebrew Literature finally crystallized, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and from the time that it acquired the decisive and modern dimension of Mendele's prose, which described the day-to-day life of Ashkenaz, it was confronted with ever stronger demands to fulfill the

political mission of other modern literatures and to serve as the leading sect for the Jewish national independence movement. Hebrew Literature avoided this obligation through a lowly and sneaky trick which said that “the Jewish People cannot succeed in creating a government”, in the words of Yehuda Leib Gordon. That is to say there is nobody who can bring about such liberation. The People is rotten to the core and there is no hope for it. It is not even worthy of salvation. Later on, Bialik expressed this conclusion in his poem “My hammer found no anvil underneath”. The deception in this conclusion dwarfs most anti-Semitic deceptions. During the period when this conclusion was fashionable, the Ashkenazi People was among the most productive in the world in every branch of creativity. It produced amazing scholars, created libraries, supplied revolutionaries and warriors for every revolutionary movement in the world, settled lands and continents, and even laid the foundations for the State of Israel. Concerning this people, Hebrew Literature stated that it is rotten and cannot succeed... This conclusion was made in order to ensure the sect of Hebrew authors its place in the Hall of Fame of the secular Jewish public and, at the same time, to free itself from the trouble of revolution that comes with such a place of honor. This degradation of the Ashkenazi People by the New Hebrew Literature, as it paints the Ashkenazi People with all the dark colors in the world, so too does it seek to elevate the New Hebrew Literature and those who created it. From the words of this literature it is heard that these selfsame authors are the superior and chosen people, courageous heroes without compare. However - alas, the horrible tragedy! – They could not find good enough soldiers, at whose head they could have achieved their lofty goal... I stress that the incitement and slander of the New Hebrew Literature was directed almost entirely toward the Ashkenazi People, and not toward other Jewish peoples. This is not because these peoples were beloved or honored by the New Hebrew Literature, but because they never had any contact with them, and they were never expected, by them, to be the leaders and revolutionaries and to fulfill such a mission faithfully.

The disgrace that Yehuda Leib Gordon brought upon himself, when he poured cold water over the Lovers of Zion and on Pinsker, gave the

Hebrew authors a bad reputation. By his avoidance, not only of activism but also of identifying spiritually with activism, Yehuda Leib Gordon painted himself into a corner, but when misfortune came, he declared bankruptcy. In order to have a solution ready ahead of the problem, the Hebrew authors intensified the use of their tactic of claiming that the Ashkenazi People was not worthy of redemption. For the position of false prophets who predict evil tidings is better than the position of those who predict a rosy future. A denier like this is a liar and he accommodates all opinions. However, a false prophet who stands at the podium bearing the mask of one who is without hope and sees evil things, can always say that he is happy that he had made it all up and that his predictions never came to pass...

The intensification of the use of the tactic that describes the Ashkenazi People as being stricken with blemishes, and that it can never succeed, came to its ultimate expression in the great prose of Mendele. This prose, just as it earned Hebrew Literature a place in modern literature, was also obliged – by the power of internal logic in which the Hebrew authors wished to absolve themselves of any revolutionary mission - to describe, in sharp terms, the Ashkenazi People as a people immersed in depravity.

Mendele performed this work of indictment with great enthusiasm. He created a large work of prose whose entire purpose was to present flawed, ridiculous and twisted characters in order to make fun of the Ashkenazi People, and to “prove” that even from the start, one should not give credence to any great revolutionary idea, since this powerless and impotent people cannot accept upon itself any work to realize it... Mendele’s work of indictment and slander exceeded all that preceded it and the wide and modern page of prose enabled him to spread his poison far and wide - for it was not like mediocre poetry and articles, which reach only a limited audience. Moreover: By creating negative and believable stereotypes, Mendele injected the lie into the deep psychological fabric and into the hidden and intimate soul. At the foundation of his writing was the will to ensure, no matter what, a place of honor within secular Jewry for Hebrew Literature, and along with this to free it, from the start, from any intense

political faith and from fulfillment of the commandments that are tied to such a faith.

## 4

This idea of representing the Ashkenazi People as a flawed people, blemished and not worthy of redemption, turned into the central idea of the New Hebrew Literature. This supporting pillar, this idea, and this interest stems from the duplicity of the New Hebrew Literature. By the power of its role, and by the power of its being a continuation of the rabbinical class, Hebrew Literature is a sect of core leaders within the Ashkenazi People that should function as a group of leaders, and as a paragon of trust that is ready for self-sacrifice. However, because of its low standards of morality and a lack of will, the sect of Hebrew Literature does not wish to fill this role. There is no explanation that can solve this contradiction but the lie that the Ashkenazi People is blemished and “can not succeed in creating a government”. Hebrew Literature constantly stresses this lie, in all its forms and manifestations. It and the lie are one in the same. One rides upon the other and the other rides upon it and they always march in stride and with one identity. The New Hebrew Literature persecutes the Ashkenazi People constantly and in all situations. It persecuted it when its multitudes dwelt crowded together in Eastern Europe and it persecutes it now when, from those multitudes only a billow of smoke from the chimneys of flames remain. It persecuted it when it lived and it persecutes it now, as it lay killed and murdered. The New Hebrew Literature persecutes the murdered through slander that accuses him of cowardice. It says that he went like sheep to the slaughter. It is a fact that after a particular stage of opposition is completed, and after the defeated side loses any remnant of hope for forever, and it loses all ability to cause losses to the enemy, it humbles itself and seeks the mercy of its enemy. The captives of war have always accompanied previous wars. In the slave markets of antiquity, war captives, from among the nations that thirsted for war, especially the Greeks, who were subdued after any chance of victory was gone, were sold as slaves. The defenders of Carthage were subdued and the incident of Masada is a rare event in the history of war, even Jewish war. It is known

that many Jewish captives were brought to Rome in the days of the Jewish-Roman wars. From the Jews of conquered Europe was negated, initially and retroactively, any chance of standing before the mightiest military power on Earth, which reached the Volga and overwhelmed the armies of powerful and warlike nations alike. What, pray tell, could the poor Jews have done against this mighty machine? Did they have a proper example and good leadership? Even the settlement in the Land of Israel, which so prided itself in its might and courage, chose to take the path of restraint against its Arab enemy, which was much weaker than it. But, for the authors of the New Hebrew Literature, for this group of pathological cowards, that cannot even point to one romantic individual from its dozen greatest men and its many hundreds of mediocre and minor producers – to this group of pathological cowards it is clear that the Jews of Europe went like sheep to the slaughter, and that they, the Hebrew authors, are permitted to denigrate them so. The situation was different in the Land of Israel. Here, the men of the Revisionist underground displayed wonderful heroism and courage. The history of these undergrounds is among the most inspiring of heroic guerilla warfare. But do not worry! The liars of the New Hebrew Literature know how to disgrace and denigrate even them. They were denigrated as madmen and bringers of disgrace upon the lofty moral reputation of the settlement. Anybody who challenges the words of the Hebrew authors, in any time or place, will be confronted by a gang of liars, slanderers and professional scorners, whose goal is to prove that Ashkenaz “cannot succeed in creating a government” and that strains to support this lie through many varied deceptive and abominable tactics, every one of which is tailored for specific circumstances in a campaign of slander and deception.

Moreover: On every philosophical-theoretical plane, the New Hebrew Literature identified with the enemies of Ashkenaz and not with the struggle of Ashkenaz to survive and be rescued. In the realm of general opinion on the Jewish People the basic attitude of the New Hebrew Literature is no different from the attitude of anti-Semites and Nazis. Words have already been spoken, accurate comments made, and debates conducted among authors on this matter. All anti-Semites will answer



amen to the conclusion of Yehuda Leib Gordon, that a people such as this cannot succeed “in created a government”. All of them will answer amen to the twisted and deceptive social characterization, made by Mendelev, of the Jewish People. In the realm of the relationship between us and England, Hebrew Literature stood on the side of the British representative, his officers and henchmen, in its constant calls for calm and its blaming the atmosphere of persecution on the modern elements. In the realm of the Jewish-Arab relationship, Hebrew Literature gave massive support to the peace treaty, whose major representatives were Hebrew authors of fame such as Moshe Smilansky, R. Binyamin, or those of his persuasion, the followers of Ahad ha'Am such as Magnes and Buber. A restless elitist sect always turns into a military recruiter for the enemy, so too was Hebrew Literature something of a military recruiter that served the enemies of Ashkenaz in this century.

## **Chapter 7**

### **Herzl and the New Hebrew Literature**

#### **1**

Herzl looked upon the Jewish Question, which in practice was the Ashkenazi question, from a higher and more central vantage point than did Pinsker. As a journalist for a large European newspaper, he became a nationalist who recognized historic processes and understood their final implications. As for the Jews of the Mideast, he practically never saw them, and if he gave them consideration, it was only to a small degree. (Though we should note that one of his distant ancestors was a Balkan Sephardi). As a typical European who was well versed in the conflicts of European peoples, he pursued a general solution that paralleled the problems of European peoples - a solution that took the form of a Jewish nation overseas. The European nations that were established overseas were what gave practical solutions to the oppressive problems of European peoples, and the Jewish nation was destined to be an additional link to this chain. Despite all his genius, Herzl made a fatal theoretical error when he

decided, in his pamphlet “The Jewish State”, that the lands that should be considered were the Land of Israel and Argentina. These two lands were not, by any means, suitable for the goals that Binyamin Ze’ev Herzl had set for himself. The coast of the Levant had never served as settlement territories for European peoples.

The Romans were accustomed to establish Roman and Latin settlements in the areas they conquered, but the Roman Senate strongly opposed Roman-Latin settlement in the Levant and allowed it only to a limited extent in a later era. The Crusader attempts at settlement failed. The Philistine settlements did not develop into a lasting civilization. From then and always, the Land of Israel, like all the lands of the Fertile Crescent, was a target for wandering and settlement for the tribes of the Mideastern wilderness, but not at all for the peoples of the West. The odds of transforming the Land of Israel into a place to absorb masses of Western Jews were, from the beginning, very small. The fact that, until 1939, only 350,000 Ashkenazi Jews had migrated to Israel, and that the massive migration to it – which would determine its future demographic character – was a migration of Mideastern Jews, should testify to the basic error of Herzl. Also, Argentina was not suitable as a territory for the establishment of a Jewish state.

Argentina is a fundamentally Spanish and Catholic land and it is difficult to imagine it agreeing to set aside, within its borders, territory for a Jewish country. The natural place for the establishment of a Jewish country, could have been an area in the New World, which does not yet comprise an organic or inseparable portion of a modern country: An almost completely empty area, or sparsely settled by a mildly multicolored population.

The great migrations of the peoples of Europe, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, flowed to such areas, areas settled by a mildly multicolored and weak population, that was largely replaced by the migrants and, at its expense, colonization was carried out. As suitable areas for the establishment of an Ashkenazi state, empty areas in Australia, or the colonial areas in Africa, either British or Portuguese –whose ruling peoples are interested in development but who lack the European human resources to populate them - should be taken into consideration. In any case, it is clear that neither the Land of Israel nor Argentina should be considered as possible areas in which to establish a nation or to solve the problem of 9-10 million Ashkenazim who live in

Europe. Herzl did not adequately gauge the religious sensibilities of the sultan, which would prevent him from accepting Jewish money in exchange for granting the Jews of the Land of Israel the right to establish their own nation. Also, he did not adequately assess the entrenched anti-Semitism of Spanish culture in Argentina or the feelings of Latin Americans regarding a foreign penetration in their lands or the greater success of such foreigners.

Yet it is very possible that these things were not Herzl's error. It is very possible that Herzl took into consideration all the above points but, in his knowing the difficulty of the task before him, wished to give them the form of continuity in that they are designed to continue the activities that had already begun, that is to say, the activities in the Land of Israel and Argentina. If my theory is correct, then Herzl had assumed that it is permissible to make a tactical compromise in order to advance the main objective. But this error of Herzl was more severe than the error I had previously attributed to him. It is forbidden for a revolutionary to compromise his principles. He must be sure to distinguish well between principle and tactic and which one is being compromised for the benefit of the other, the tactic or the principle.

Herzl's emphasis, that the solution to the Jewish problem can be found in the Land of Israel or in Argentina, is a fatal compromise of principle. As a consequence of this, Herzl veered from the kingly path of the European settlement of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and took a dubious side path. Moreover: Hand in hand with this diversion, Herzl permanently determined the human material that would be found within the walls of the Zionist Agency and the quality of the leaders who rule over it. Had he decided, from the beginning, that the Jewish state would be established only in a completely new land and not in the Land of Israel or in Argentina, he would have entirely severed himself from the symbolists who advocated only for the Land of Israel, from the political group of the New Hebrew Literature, and from the various Jewish philanthropic movements. In such a scenario, the elite of the Ashkenazi revolutionaries would have gathered themselves under his banner, the great men of thought and passion, and foremost: The

most modern and honest forces among this people, that had made so many foreign fields fertile. There is no doubt that, in this scenario, that is to say, had Herzl discounted the Land of Israel from the beginning, there would have been a great cry and there is no doubt that Herzl would not have enjoyed the support of the general Jewish population as he had with the path he had taken. But the success that accompanied the path that he took was only superficial. This success was in the first stage, and was followed by terrible failures in the following stages. Herzl sacrificed consistent progress toward his goal in favor of temporary success and a morsel of support from the Jewish masses. This was a fatal error. Had he wished to save all the Jews, it would have been incumbent upon him to know that he could not be the leader of **all** the Jews. Had Lenin wished to be a popular leader of all the workers, he would not have brought about the Russian revolution. Only a revolutionary movement that completely severs itself from the ways of the past, and serves as a rallying point for the most modern elements in the Ashkenazi population, would have been able to bring the dream of Herzl to fruition. This movement would, over the course of time, have established powerful tools, left the compromising and treacherous elements outside, and determined, on its own merit, the course of history. But the path of Herzl turned over, to his enemies, the tools that he had created and caused some of his faithful supporters to fall captive to his enemies while others were banished to the wilderness of feebleness and impotence.

The Lovers of Zion and the Jewish intellectuals, who came to Herzl, rejected the main point and innovation within it: Territorialism and the multi-faceted momentum as a solution to the Jewish Question. For them, there was only one territory, the Land of Israel, and if they came to Herzl, it was only to sabotage his specific goal, to take him captive and to inherit his tools, as they had already done to Pinsker. The story of the persecutions that Herzl suffered at the hands of the Lovers of Zion and the New Hebrew Literature is one of the most shocking stories in all of Hebrew history. The great and righteous statesman, Herzl, strove to be at peace with himself and his teachings and placed himself, through the element of his plan that dealt with the Land of Israel, in a position of fragmentation and contradiction.

With all his might, he tried to prove that this element of the plan was not merely empty words, but that he was willing and ready to do anything in order to acquire permission from the Sultan. The sickly man traveled several times to Constantinople in order to advance a concept he no longer believed in, and only to prove to the Lovers of Zion that he was faithful to his plan. The “spiritual” Zionists ridiculed the diplomatic skills of this amazing diplomat, but at the same time they demanded that he bring them a charter at any cost. Finally, there was the Uganda Proposition, an opening for the grandiose settlement of Ashkenazim in all of East Africa that might have prevented the Holocaust. The enemies of Herzl had no permission to prevent him from taking his own path. Finally, they realized that from the beginning, he his version of Zionism was never exclusively for the Land of Israel. But they organized a tragic drama of tears and howling and they ganged up on the sickly Herzl with insults and abuse, calling him a “traitor” and a “demagogue” so that, in practice, they murdered him in cold blood and then inherited all that he had built. Had Herzl been able to write, in his last days, a summery of his activities, it would have been a shocking document. He understood that he had erred, for he had fallen into the trap and had succumbed to his mortal enemies. But it was too late. Had Herzl lived a few more years, things would have been different, and the fate of the Ashkenazi People would have been different. But his death gave Herzl’s enemies complete victory. This great destruction almost spelled the end for Jewish success in the Land of Israel, and if the state was established, it was due to a surprising series of miraculous events.

## 2

Had the battle been only between Herzl on one side and the Lovers of Zion on the other, the results would have been different. The Lovers of Zion movement was not competing with Herzl. As stated, the praiseworthy pioneer-settlers in the Land of Israel are one thing and the leadership of the movement is quite another. The former wrote a shining page in history, but the leadership failed in almost everything and only the dedication of Baron Benjamin Rothschild saved the settlement. The true opposition to Herzl, which lured all the opposition to it, was the New Hebrew Literature and its

political leader, Ahad ha'Am. Even before the current reality slapped the doctrine of Ahad ha'Am in the face, Berdichevsky proved its weakness. The doctrine of the "spiritual center" negates the Diaspora, but at the same time, it requires the Diaspora since the spiritual center only exists so that the Diaspora might exist and thrive. Most importantly: Is it conceivable that there be a spiritual center that lacks physical capital and an economic life? Ahad ha'Am denied the usefulness, and even the purpose of a multi-faceted settlement in the Land of Israel and, at the same time, wanted it to be a spiritual center, but how?

These contradictions did not detract from the doctrine of Ahad ha'Am, since, fundamentally, it was not an analytical doctrine, but first and foremost a tactical tool whose purpose was to guarantee political control for the sect of Hebrew authors. From this perspective, the doctrine of Ahad ha'Am accomplished its purpose above and beyond what could have been expected. The rationalism of the New Hebrew Literature killed the God of Israel. We shall yet discuss this point when we discuss Hayim Nahman Bialik. The many blasphemies of Yehuda Leib Gordon and his friends, toward the rabbis, were actually directed toward the God of Israel. For the yeshiva students were rebelling against **Him** as they faced the secular world and it was His throne they sought to overthrow. The God of Israel died for Ahad ha'Am. Died, or more accurately **was killed**. The problem therefore was, who would replace Him. In his writings, Ahad ha'Am speaks of a new god, Jewish ethics and the spirit of prophesy. But the weakness of this god is painfully obvious. As a product of the rabbinical world of Eastern Europe, and as an exceptional scholar, Ahad ha'Am was used to a different kind of god entirely: A mighty god, active and great, heroic and awe-inspiring, vengeful and vindictive, who acts and constantly motivates action; in short, the true and historic God of Israel. A substitute, in the guise of ethics, would have been too wretched and too fake, to convince even he who had created the substitute, Ahad ha'Am. The question was, however, who would inherit the role of the God of Israel and who would sit upon the empty throne? Ahad ha'Am's answer was that he, himself, was destined to sit upon the high and lofty throne. In his article, "Moses", Ahad ha'Am describes Moses in his own image, the form of

Ahad ha'Am. Thus the picture is clear: The God of Israel is exiled and killed. There is no God in heaven. But there is a god on Earth. The God of Israel of the past was Moses. The god of Israel in this generation is Moses in his second incarnation, that is to say – Ahad ha'Am. Even as the other Hebrew authors spoke of themselves somewhat lightly and with hesitation, Ahad ha'Am spoke of himself with grave seriousness. He accompanied it with a clear and imperative form: “This is not the way!” Ahad ha'Am considered himself the utmost pope over the life of the Jews, and as the final arbiter. He was God, he and his court, the members of “The Sons of Moses”. The children of Israel pass before Ahad ha'Am and his author friends, as if they were heavenly beings, and they decide how the Jews shall live and in what they shall believe. What is good and what is evil. The motto of Ahad ha'Am was “Moses is the equal of all the rest of Israel.” That is to say, it is the duty of Israel to be indentured servants to Moses – Ahad ha'Am and the group of authors around him. Ahad ha'Am saw, in Hebrew Literature, not a tool to serve the people, but a holy subject that the people must serve. Avraham Kariv came much later, and determined that Hebrew Literature is remarkable in its own right, and that it is the god that the people must serve instead of the God of Israel, who had been killed by the Hebrew authors.

It was not the truth that Ahad ha'Am sought to find and reveal, but to lay the foundations of rulership. For he, and his friends, sought to rule over the Ashkenazi People and to make governmental rulings. As a matter of fact, Ahad ha'Am made the following rulings: It is not settlements that should be built in the Land of Israel, but first and foremost, schools. It is forbidden to busy oneself in diplomacy as Herzl had done, but only in “cultural work”, it is forbidden to accept the Uganda Proposition. In fact, God is not satisfied in making such decisions; but He makes sure they are realized and acted upon. So too were Ahad ha'Am and his friends. With violent anger and through immoral means they made war against those who opposed them. More than anything, the main war of God, or of a group of gods, is against a competitor, or competitors, who rises against Him and challenges His rule. Therefore Ahad ha'Am, and his friends, fought with murderous zeal against Herzl until they shortened his life and sunk him into

the pit. The doctrine of “what”, of Ahad ha’Am is not at all clear. Its famous mottos, such as the one that says, “the redemption of Israel shall come through prophets and not through diplomats”, are completely unclear. But, in contrast, the “who” of this doctrine is very clear. That is to say, who is the decider and the final arbiter. This characteristic is typical for every authority. For, with an authority, it is the “who” that matters more so than the “what”. An authority is primarily a permanent address of he who holds the ultimate decision. To Ahad ha’Am it was clear that he is the decider and the ruler, and the purpose of his doctrine is, first and foremost, to advance this interest. The group that he had created, the secret society of “the Sons of Moses”, bears witness to the character of the goals that Ahad ha’Am had set before himself. This society was noteworthy for its secrecy. Why such secrecy? Other groups, such as Nili, Shomer, Bar-Giora and later, the popular armed organizations such as Etzel and Lehi, were also secret. Of course, this secrecy was linked to the fact that they were armed forces that worked illegally. But “the Sons of Moses” was a group that distributed knowledge and Jewish enlightenment; it was engaged in nothing illegal.

The secrecy of “the Sons of Moses” was in vain. There is a strong link between a small group that wishes to gain power and secrecy. Between the walls of “the Sons of Moses”, there was woven a plot to rule over the Ashkenazi People. Herzl, who wished to save this people, created the open institution called the Zionist Congress. But Ahad ha’Am, the man who so loved to speak of prophesy, created a ruling class similar to that of the Jesuits. Had his intentions been noble and great, we could easily forgive him. But such was not his intention. His goal was first and foremost to rule and to influence. In every instance where political power and influence was at stake, Ahad ha’Am was there to ensure knowledge and influence for himself. During the negotiations that Weizmann held from London, which brought about the Balfour declaration, Ahad ha’Am corresponded with Weizmann. The latter sought the advise of Ahad ha’Am and accepted his disastrous recommendations.



Here I wish to inform the public of an important detail that is worth remembering. One of my friends, a very trustworthy man who wishes to remain anonymous, told me that a year before the death of Ahad ha'Am a group of youths had visited him seeking his blessing for a pamphlet that the group was about to publish on Tel Hai day, to commemorate Trumpeldor. Ahad ha'Am responded to this request with words of disdain about Trumpeldor and his deed, which was a "foolish deed". As he continued to tell the story, he told me that this was his opinion also of the Hebrew Legion, and that he had expressed this opinion in front of Jabotinsky. My friend had left the small house next to the gymnasium shocked and ashamed.

The great political success of Ahad ha'Am can, to a large extent, be attributed to the outstanding technical skills, from the days of rabbinical rule, that were in his blood. A great and powerful rabbi, who dwelt in a small city, was, to a large extent, an absolute ruler. Everything needed his approval. The rabbi sees this power as understood and, whenever a challenge to his authority is perceived, he thunderously raises his voice, showering rebukes and contempt upon the offender and enforcing obedience - so too with Ahad ha'Am. His talk of spiritual authority, about the prophets and so on, was taken from the authoritarian toolbox of the rabbinical world. Ahad ha'Am knew the spirit of this people and knew how to influence it. He also knew the secret of the magic of imperial authority hidden within the Hebrew language. Berdichevsky has already said that Ahad ha'Am never created any new concept, but rather created a language, and this language required the instrument of authority. Hebrew, the grasping of the concepts of prophets and miracle men, the view of the people as the "wild and untamed masses" that needs the rule of an iron fist, the secret covenant of the "Sons of Moses" – all these were concepts and tools that were created by Ahad ha'Am in order to solidify the authoritarian power of the New Hebrew Literature and in order to impose this authority upon the Ashkenazi People.

The great popularity of Ahad ha'Am, within the Hebrew Enlightenment, comes from the fact that his grasp was a reactionary grasp dressed as a

modern one. His call was for rest and calmness, to refrain from taking new paths and to continue the small and moderate activism that widens cultural horizons. Most of all: Ahad ha'Am said that there is time and there is no need to hurry, there is limitless time for the "preparation of the hearts" and for introspection. There is no need for panic. Each man can, in general, remain in his own tent and residence. Ahad ha'Am brought, to the sect of the Enlightenment and working people, what they sought and exactly what they desired, to remain on the well-worn path and to avoid revolutionary ways. But Ahad ha'Am married this avoidance with a grasp of domination and aggressiveness, which fought political Zionism. The doctrine of Ahad ha'Am embodied all that the moderate intellectual, and Hebrew author, admired. It contained rest and calmness, but it also contained attacks and aggressiveness against those who demanded change and innovation. This was a fuzzy "spirituality" that made it possible to avoid real, and concrete, tasks and, at the same time, it was a fierce and merciless war against the Jewish street and in defense of the essential pillars of the Hebrew author and the moderate intellectual.

### 3

Mendele and Ahad ha'Am complimented each other as builders of the rule of the New Hebrew Literature, but its final power was acquired by a third author, Hayim Nahman Bialik who, within his category, the category of poets, was greater than the other two. Within the writings of Bialik is hidden a power much greater than that which is hidden within the writings of Ahad ha'Am or the prose of Mendele. Bialik was greater than both of them as a craftsman of words and as a craftsman in general. His writings fortified, for Hebrew Literature, the final status that it has held until today. Bialik was a classic product of the rabbinical world, the finest fruit of the day schools and the great yeshivas. Had he been born at a different time, he would have been one of the great rabbinical commentators, and perhaps even the author of prayers and religious poetry. But it so happened that Bialik was born in the generation of emancipation, secularism and the collapse of religious life. His world is a split and divided world, with half of it in the rabbinical world and the other half in the reality that estranged

itself from it but, nevertheless, is built entirely of its substance and drinks from its wells. Bialik absorbed all of his strength and effort, and all of his wisdom and great knowledge, when he was a day-school student and a yeshiva student, as a fervent believer. As a fundamentalist and completely religious man, Bialik believed with all his heart, in the assets of the Jewish religion and rabbinical culture. He was faithful to the yeshiva establishment, which bore these assets on their shoulders. However, when his faith in God collapsed, this collapse was complete and devastating, so that it left no faith at all. Moreover: Due to his depth and fundamentalism, Bialik was restrained from turning his back on the rabbinical assets and seeking greener pastures. He always remained in this world in his knowledge that, for his sake, it had turned into a world of ruins and junk heaps, and he remained within it more as a prisoner than out of free will. The collapse of the rabbinical world in the soul of Bialik created a terrible wound in his heart that would never heal. Moreover: This collapse was also an economic, and social, disaster for Bialik. His intellect and lifestyle had prepared him for a livelihood within the rabbinical framework, as a rabbi or as a renowned head of a yeshiva. However, when he turned his back on this field, it became very difficult for him to make a living. Due to his sensitivity, work as a private teacher brought him bitterness, and even this was not always available. Had he attained his desire, had he reached the West, studied in universities and done a comparison between the assets of Shem and the assets of Japheth, then perhaps his life would have turned out differently. Then he would have built a private world according to his will, and this would have expressed itself in his creation. But Bialik was not able to attain this. He remained within the old reality, which he saw as full and overflowing with pieces of rabbinical culture. The marriage of Bialik was not a marriage of love but a typical arranged one, which was accepted among yeshiva students. This was at a time when he had already turned his back on the world of the yeshivas and rebelled against it. Afterwards he owned a printing press (together with a partner) and publishing house, and his livelihood was always through writing and literature. These two blows, the terrible blow of the collapse of the rabbinical world and the second blow being a product of Bialik's own

personal failings, wounded his heart forever, and his poetry was first and foremost a crying out from this wound.

The title of national poet, which was given to Bialik, was a worthless title. Bialik is not a national poet but a poet who expresses his own feelings and thoughts as an individual, whose personal tragedy is the fruit of national collapse. Bialik's cries over his misfortune mainly take the form of curses, reviling and ridicule directed both at the People of Israel and at the God of Israel. Bialik is first and foremost a poet of curses and not a poet who rebukes at the gate, as his followers wish to portray him. For one who rebukes at the gate has a positive truth and a method by which he calls to the people. Bialik had no such truth and no such method. Moreover: He saw doom (and rightfully so!), but saw no way to prevent the catastrophe, nor did he see hope to take encouragement from. At the end of his poem "And so it was, who is the man" Bialik says:

*The hidden tears will come as redemption for the shame of my life, and atonement for the disgrace of my torture".*

And so "the shame of my life" and "the disgrace of my torture" are clearly references that Bialik makes to himself. But he is careful to not cast all the blame upon himself lest he collapse under its weight. He laid a large portion of it upon those who were near him: Upon the God of Israel and upon the People of Israel. They are guilty! After he ceased believing in God, the power of directing blame and blasphemies toward Him automatically became weakened. The People of Israel became, therefore, the primary target of the missiles, rage and reviling that Bialik directed outward. The following lines, from "Will not be forgotten", are typical for Bialik's relationship to Jews:

*Alone, alone on the dark nights, in secret, in secret I hurt and despair; I gnash my teeth on the hearts of the uncircumcised: "A lost people, a degenerate people, a lost people I have whispered."*

Why are the Jews a “degenerate people”? This is difficult to understand. Also, why did Bialik gnash his teeth? Did he give them a path that they failed to follow? Here we have before us a typical case of pathological hatred by a Jew who is bitter over personal matters, but pours out his hatred upon all the Jews in his vicinity. Jews of curses, such as this, can be found everywhere. But there is no doubt that Bialik is the greatest of them. Another example is “On Your Heart That’s Barren”:

*In the ruins of your hearts the mezuzah is disqualified,  
Therefore the demons there will leap and bleat,  
And the sect of clowns, the children of emptiness and idleness  
There they make merry and create a ruckus  
Be afraid, for an ambush awaits behind the door  
With a broom? This is the groundskeeper of destroyed temples –  
Dispair! It comes – and the joyful sect  
Will be swept away and banished: “Go forth oh boisterous ones!”*

*Then will the spark of your last fire be extinguished,  
And your temple is silenced and forgotten are the masses;  
And upon my innards is your ruined alter  
The cat of the ruins wails and yawns.*

This is an unmistakably sadistic poem. Perhaps among the most praised of its class in the world, this poem has strong ties to sadism, Satanism and diabolism. But what does it have to do with nationalism? Nationalism, like religion, is essentially hope; hope that seethes and bubbles constantly without end. Bialik said “Dispair!” but it was not enough for him to use this word by itself so he went ahead and added, after it, an exclamation mark as if celebrating victory. Bialikesque sadism is not only found in this poem. It is spread over the breadth and width of this poet’s work. It stands out in poems such as “Upon my return” and “The Jewish street”. But it seems to me that it reaches its apex in “On Your Heart That’s Barren”, in which he leaves his normal boundaries of sadism and becomes a wild and diabolical man who goes forth dancing in victory. Bialik also wrote poems of hope, which were primarily intended to be national poems, “The

blessing of the people” and “For the volunteers among the people”. But the literary calibre of these poems was nothing compared to “On Your Heart That’s Barren”. The optimism of Bialik, which was expressed in these poems of hope, is not convincing. It is reserved and not committed. This is not the case with the diabolism that we find in “On Your Heart That’s Barren”, which freezes the blood with its evil, and reaches the final limits of joy at calamity and wild celebration at total annihilation. It is not difficult to guess that by the words “the joyous sect” Bialik meant the followers of Herzl, for the poem was written at the time of the first Zionist Congress. The sect of believers was, in the eyes of Bialik, a “joyous sect” whose future expulsion and elimination was a misfortune he would rejoice over.

It is impossible to have a national literature without a grasp of history, and without providing explanations for how history unfolded. Hebrew Literature displays a complete estrangement from history. For Bialik there are no set definitions even for the most basic historical events of Hebrew history, which are components of his own world and private life, for example the advent of the yeshiva student. In “The diligent student”, the famous poem that bears this name, Bialik praises the yeshiva student and, at the same time, mourns for his lot. (Avraham Kariv dealt with this in his small booklet “My motherland Lithuania”) Clearer words, about the historical character of the yeshiva student, are heard from Bialik in his letters. In a supplemental letter to Ahad ha’Am, which was attached to the manuscript of “The diligent student”, Bialik says:

*Therefore my diligent student won’t be “robbed of both alternatives” – the depressing end of a common character who was already trampled by authors. No; he more or less accomplished his goal: Rabbinical ordination, the title “illustrious scholar” and a stipend of hundreds of rubles to top it all off. Afterwards – the rabbinate, retail work, tutoring, miserliness and a long, silent death.* (Letters, volume 1, pages 100-101/P.L., Bialik, volume 1, page 201).

The yeshiva student is the romantic hero of rabbinical culture; he is the mighty one within it who fights its wars in the wide sea of the Talmud. Through his sacrifice and example, he sustains this culture for thousands of years and makes history every day and every hour. But Bialik does not understand the romantic greatness that is engrained within this historical character. He asks the typical question of the lowly family man: “What next? – Who will tend to the distant future?” This is the typical question of those who lack any emotion or historical affinity and who live only their own personal lives. Thus, “who will tend to the distant future?” According to Bialik, it would be better if the yeshiva students did not waste their time with “things of no consequence” but, instead, invested their energies in “things of substance”, like setting themselves up in private business and accumulating a fat bank account. Bialik had his opportunity to migrate to the Land of Israel, and to be a teacher at an educational institution for the orphans of Kishinev. There is no doubt that he was offered the best possible accommodations in those days. But, during negotiations with Ussishkin, Bialik was very demanding, asked for far-reaching monetary pledges, and when he did not receive them, he did not respond to the offer. Had all the migrants and pioneers demanded “pledges” as he did, the land would not have been built and the State of Israel would not have been founded. After he abandoned the rabbinical world, Bialik estranged himself from all history-making romantic characters, both of the “diligent student” and of the yeshiva student, whom he had relegated to the past, and of the pioneers of the Land of Israel.

“On Your Heart That’s Barren” is not the only poem where the “national” poet advanced political Zionism; he wrote a few other poems that were worse than that one, but no less poisonous. One poem is “Rabbi Zerah”, which tells the fable of a particular Jew, Rabbi Zerah, who, wishing to hasten the end of days, first tried to attain this goal through the magical names of God, the mystical numerical values of the letters and even through fasting and prayer, just like R. Yosef Dela Rina. But, in the end, he chose a new tactic and took the “direct path to the king”. Rabbi Zerah is a parody of Herzl and his political activities. The poet ridicules the messianic spirit, which had taken hold of Rabbi Zerah:

*The entire Earth is full of injustice,  
It is flooded with blood; -  
No, it is impossible for it to continue  
Like this for very long –*

*No, I can no longer hold back  
Speedily, in a moment toward you;  
To the throne I shall approach,  
Straight to the king.*

After the sadistic ridicule of a Jew who wishes to bring salvation to his people, the satanic ridicule comes, in the bitter end, when he finds the dreamer of dreams:

*Where did he disappear to? Where did he go? Nobody  
In the city knows –  
But the rumor has passed: Rabbi  
Zerah has gone mad.*

*And to the nearby city he was brought  
To the sanctuary he went,  
He was found with weary eyes  
Calling: “God, the king”.*

The end that found R. Zerah, Bialik wished also upon Herzl. But his prophecy and request were not fulfilled.

Here is yet another poem of ridicule against Herzl, which was written by Bialik during this time and that he, himself, later buried:

*In the cities of the sea where the sun sets  
There are, blessed be he whose lot is thus in the world:  
A lofty people, from their smallest to their greatest.*



*And they are people of wonder all of them,  
 From them nothing is too wondrous,  
 With a small finger they create a nation  
 And with a thumb of their hand – an entire world...*

*Even now they say – no, they announce!  
 Everything is already prepared there in Vienna  
 At the end of two moments and five minutes –  
 Let there be congratulations, a nation;  
 Bearers of good tidings go out – no, they run!  
 And they collect silver coins, they collect and they collect,  
 And on the miracles, on the salvation  
 They write books, they write and they write.*

*And who is the man who wishes a nation!  
 And who is the man who wishes life!  
 Buy, buy, Jews who are the children of the merciful!  
 For two zuzim, two zuzim!*

During the period of the First Congress, Bialik wrote “Grass of the people” in which he censured the people for not having appointed, from among it, a leader. “That did not elect, from its midst, on the day of its inheritance and pain, one who is energetic and a man within whom beats a heart... with a clear head who illuminates the path of the people.” And thus, on the one hand Bialik ridicules Herzl, curses him, abuses him and rejoices in his downfall and, on the other hand, he pours disdain upon the people that failed to appoint a leader for themselves... Before us is a conflicted and divided soul, that is captive to an uncontrollable urge to rain scorn right and left, and to great surprise, Bialik voices, in his poem “The Convocation of Zion”, which was also written during this period, words of praise for the first Zionist Congress and for those who attended it. We are left completely confused, and without a clue to know and understand what the “national poet” truly wanted. But the quality of his poems is evidence of his true will. The diabolical and satanic poems are far superior to those that contain good words for the Jews.

We find the contradictions not only in the poems of Bialik, which were written in succession one after the other, but even in different sections of the same poem. In his most important political poem, "In the City of Slaughter" Bialik utters the famous words "And as you stretched your hand, so will you stretch it, and as you have been wretched, so are you wretched" (*translation from Israel Efros, ed. New York, 1948 translator*). In these words, the poet is separated from the congregation of Israel and announces under oath: "And now what do you have here son of man? Go flee to the wilderness...." Yet Bialik did not turn his back on the congregation of the Jews and did not flee to the wilderness. At most, he fled to business, to the business of books and brokering loans. This great poem did not obligate Bialik to do anything. This great poem did not direct any responsibility toward Bialik himself; he continued his life as if he had not written it. Moreover: There is the impression that all the great poetry of Bialik was for him, first and foremost, to free himself from the enchantment that the rabbinical world had planted within him and from which he sought to liberate himself. These words of "The City of Slaughter" were, for Bialik, words that he had a psychological need to write during certain days. After they were written, they had, for Bialik, transformed into a literary document that somebody else had written, and that did not obligate Bialik himself at all. These were words that Bialik passed over as an agenda of the day, that is to say, an agenda of his day. The fact that Bialik changed nothing at all in his own mundane life after he wrote "The City of Slaughter" is what elevated his fame among the reactionaries and the moderates in the Jewish street. He was the ideal "national poet" for them. The Ashkenazi People did not understand, and the literary criticism even hid from it, that "The City of Slaughter" is not a poem of identity with the suffering of the people, but a poem of disassociation from this suffering. It should be noted that the Canaanite trend that is present in Hebrew Literature is a direct continuation of parallel trends that were expressed by the Enlightenment, and "Renaissance" authors of that period, first and foremost, this Canaanite trend nourished itself from the thread of estrangement and the diabolical thread that is found in the poems of Bialik.

Furthermore: The attribute of “wretchedness” was not at all foreign to Bialik. He had erected a literary industry that demanded public support, traveled outside of the Land of Israel to collect donations for his industry, and so on.

More than anything, the greatest “wretchedness” in the life of the People of Israel began specifically with the rule of the disciples of Bialik. Before this, poor Jews collected charity and there were a few professional panhandlers at every level. However, it was specifically the disciples and students of the “national poet” who entrenched, in our lives, the great networks of “wretchedness” and the entire social classes, and entire branches, of the economy that depend upon intentionally taking advantage of the Jewish desire to answer the call of the “wretched”.

Of all the meetings of Bialik, the most fateful was the one between him and Ahad ha'Am. Bialik stood before Ahad ha'Am like a pupil before his teacher, and he was fascinated by him all his life. Ahad ha'Am did a great service to Bialik: He helped him stabilize and build his soul anew after it had crumbled due to the loss of innocent faith. Bialik lost his god and did not know who to serve and who would be his new god. Ahad ha'Am had, for this, a clear and convincing answer: “The king is dead, long live the king!” That is to say, the God of Israel is dead, or more accurately was put to death, and Hebrew Literature would inherit his place. It is enough to compare the words of Bialik on the God of Israel and on Ahad ha'Am in order to discern the metamorphosis that had occurred in Bialik. In “On the Slaughter”, which is perhaps his finest poem, Bialik utters his famous words:

*If there is justice – let it appear immediately!  
But if, after my demise from under the heavens,  
justice appears –  
Let its throne be cast down forever!*

The poet gives an ultimatum to the God of Israel and, in his knowing that the ultimatum will not be fulfilled and that justice, that is to say the God of Israel, will not appear, he casts down its throne. Bialik speaks to the God of Israel as if He were a clerk who, if he fails to fulfill his duty properly, will be fired unceremoniously. Bialik deals with Ahad ha'Am with a different attitude entirely, in his poem, "To Ahad ha'Am":

*The children of old age to our people that returns, with dark, our birth  
Toward the **light of life** (bold in the original)  
With 248 limbs we trembled.*

The old people, and its god, is being extinguished, fading into shadows of the darkness, and the "children of old age" pray to "light", that is to say, to new gods. However this god appears:

*And whilst we remain lost, losing hope and lacking faith,  
Tarrying by a fork in the road and asking: Where? –  
Your star twinkles, to show us, and with a modest hint  
Calls us from the midst of the darkness and draws us near –  
And to under your only star we all cry out.*

Instead of the God of Israel who "is one and His name is one" comes the "only" star of Ahad ha'Am. Bialik showers upon Ahad ha'Am a long line of exaggerated and strange praises in his poem "On a promontory on the Sea of Death". Again, the word "one" is repeated:

*On a flint nested **one** (bold in the original) eagle...*

Ahad ha'Am helped Bialik patch up and nurse the torn fragments of his collapsing personality. The poet, who was destined to become the faithful servant of the God of Israel, finds himself a second-rate emergency alternative in the promotion of heathen gods that Ahad ha'Am promoted. The poet turned into a servant of his master, into a part of his godliness, and into one who battles together with him in the battle for mastery over the Jews. For dominion of the Jews is evidence of godliness, as Ahad

ha'Am and his colleagues understood it. The war against the "Westerners", in which Bialik exceeded Ahad ha'Am in forcefulness, was not a war of ideas and faith but, first and foremost, a war of dominion. The fellowship of Ahad ha'Am did not even attempt to enter ideological debates with the "Westerners" in order to convince them of the necessity of an attachment to Hebrew culture. The "Westerners" were disqualified from the beginning, as ones who competed for dominion. This personality of Bialik, which was formed by Ahad ha'Am, was his second personality, and it was never enough for the poet. But he clung to it and acted in accordance with the ideological and personal rules that applied to it. Over the course of time, Bialik ceased being an ordinary follower of Ahad ha'Am and became the ruling inheritor, and when Ahad ha'Am died, the New Hebrew Literature crowned Bialik as the king-pope over it. By virtue of this, he was also the king-pope over all of Israel.

The concept of God and the concept of Satan are similar, God sustains Satan as an evil blight, as a "staff of anger" that punishes those who stray from the straight path. He who takes the straight path is given a divine promise. He who strays from this path is cast into a dominion of chaos in which Satan rules. But there is always the danger that Satan will not be satisfied with dominion over the chaotic sector and that he will want to spread his rule also upon the areas that are designated for the righteous. These are the areas that are under the divine protective watch. When Satan encounters these areas, God rebukes him and expels him to his lair and to his sectors of chaos and sin. But he who comes and kills God, as Bialik did, is confronted immediately with the question: Who shall battle Satan and expel him? In "On the Slaughter" Bialik says:

*If there is justice – let it appear immediately!  
But if, after my demise from under the heavens,  
justice appears –  
Let its throne be cast down forever!*

God was put to death and murdered by Bialik. The news immediately reaches the ears of Satan, who rushes to the scene, and Bialik hears from

far away the steps of Satan who comes to inherit the entire world after God, who had held him back, was murdered. Who shall battle Satan? This question poses itself powerfully before Bialik, just as it poses itself before all killers of God - for there must be a positive power to reign in the powers of evil and push them aside. The murderer of God accepts upon himself, by the strength of his murder, also the role of the protector of humanity against Satan. Bialik, a young and rebellious man, is shocked by this task and he says:

*Cursed be he who says let us take vengeance!  
Vengeance like this, the blood vengeance of a small child  
Satan has not yet created –  
And the blood will penetrate the abyss  
The blood will penetrate until the darkest abyss...*

The God of Israel is a vengeful and jealous God. From the time Israel abandoned itself to its gods, He entrusted in His hand the inclinations of desert vengeance that beat in His heart. The God of Israel is in charge of this vengeance industry, and He is the one who carries it out at the time and in the manner He finds appropriate. Bialik avoids, and neglects, this role and he forms, for himself, a philosophy of non-resistance toward evil and of rewarding evil deeds that occur on their own even without any active power to bring them about. He has no compunctions about counterfeiting principles of faith in the Jewish religion as long as he can guarantee, for himself, the tranquility and rest that his soul desires. Bialik fears the Jewish inclination for vengeance, which were expressed over and over in the confrontations the young men of Israel had with oppressors. He is subservient to Satan and makes a Munich Pact with him of containment. For all Satan wants is that his victim be passive. Moreover: Satan is very interested in satires such as “the revenge for the blood of a small child was not yet created by Satan”, because they sedate his victims. This poem of Bialik has lines that are intended, from the beginning, to be a national slogan for all the subjugated Jews: Moreover: For all the Jews who subjugate other Jews and force them to lay out their necks for slaughter:

For those who betrayed freedom fighters, informers, Kapo, and members of the Council of Elders in the ghettos who took part in crime, with enthusiasm, alongside the Nazis.

The confrontation between the killer of God and Satan was not only the inheritance of Bialik. Other Jews who, in their seeking and desire to reach the end of all ends, the limit of all limits, consequentially reached the point where they met God and, demanding accountability from Him, found themselves in this situation. It was not only Jews reached this point, but also all revolutionaries who had embarked upon the journey of revolution after their religious faith had been shattered, and they had clung to various secular faiths. A revolutionary such as this had transformed himself, together with the shattering of God in his heart, into a quasi-god who fills the role of God in His war against Satan. For one must not abandon the world to Satan and his delusions. Somebody is always obligated to orchestrate a total war against Satan, not a war of words but a war of anger and rage. Karl Marx transformed himself into a quasi-god who stormed against Satan in the areas of the victimized and impoverished proletariat. Other Jewish revolutionaries took their places in different sectors, social and national. But Bialik fled from the front with the ridiculous excuse of a passive “spiritual Torah” whose motto is “the revenge for the blood of a small child has not yet been invented by Satan”. These same exact words contain an element of defense and of justification for Satan. The leaders of the New Hebrew Literature are themselves the only intellectual group in modern times that had murdered God but had refused to stand in His place at the front in the war against Satan. This is a group that sows the seeds of chaos, disaster, evil and injustice in the world of the Holy One blessed be He.

#### 4

The general battle between Herzl and Hebrew Literature was staged on the theatre of the battle surrounding the Uganda Proposal. This proposal, which was brought in the year 1903, 40 years prior to the mass murder of the Jews of Europe, was the last chance to save the Ashkenazi People. Had

it been accepted, it is likely that not only would the course of Hebrew history have been different but also the entire course of world history would have been different. Had the Jews of Ashkenaz left, in their millions, for the empty territories of East Africa, it is likely that anti-Semitism would have been quashed and Hitler would not have risen to power. ***The rejection of the Uganda proposal is a black day, not only in the history of the Jewish People but also in the history of Europe and the entire world.*** Moreover: There is almost no doubt that had we founded a nation in Eastern Africa, we would have acquired, sooner or later, also the Land of Israel. Everything could have been different had we only accepted the proposal, and the entire history of the world was likely to have turned out differently. However, Hebrew Literature foiled the proposal that was the shared fruit of British generosity and the brilliance of Herzl. In its foiling of this wonderful proposal, Hebrew Literature had one single goal in mind: The protection of its own specific interests. It knew that a decision in favor of Uganda would be a decision against itself and therefore, it brought about its failure. The needs of the Ashkenazi People interested it as much as a garlic peel. The Sixth Congress extended a long helping hand to Hitler. It was there that the exit gates from Europe were shut for the Ashkenazi People, and the gallows, upon which they would be executed, were erected. It was there that the foundations of Auschwitz and Treblinka were poured, and all that remained for Hitler was to finish the job. At the Sixth Congress there was a battle between the politician Herzl and the people of spirit, culture and prophecy etc. etc. from the study houses of Ahad ha'Am, Buber and Bialik. The "men of spirit" won and what was the result? The giving of an important card into the hands of the powers of darkness that pushed for a world war, rivers of Jewish blood and millions led to Auschwitz. This tragedy is a subject for dramatists such as Durrenmatt. These "men of spirit" brought about a slaughter that dozens of evil politicians were not able to accomplish. If only the world had understanding, if only it could truly look deeply into history, and if only it could understand the international ramifications that were known to result from the decision of the Sixth Congress, for then it is likely that somebody would have risen up to prevent the "men of spirit" from the possibility of any political activity. For only very rarely do politicians arise who are able



to bring such tragedy as the “men of spirit” and the “men of values” brought with their political decisions.

Herzl was alone among all the Jewish leaders who participated in the great struggle with the anti-Semitic Satan. He sought a solution for the Jewish Question, that is to say the Ashkenazi Question, in this that he took a balanced, constructive and far reaching stance regarding international policy. By shelving the Uganda proposal, the Zionists effectively announced, to international anti-Semitism, that they do not wish to change anything; that they wish to dwell, until the last generation, in the Diaspora and to busy themselves minimally with the settlement of the Land of Israel, which is not able to accommodate even the natural increase of the Jewish People. It is as if a call went out to European anti-Semitism, From the Sixth Congress, that it is its job to solve the Jewish Question in its own way, since the Jews refuse to solve it.

The tragedy of the Sixth Congress created an additional problem. It destroyed, to a great extent, the ideological identity of Herzl. The prophet of the Jewish nation was a consistent territorialist, but this was not his way. He wished to found a nation in Africa, but in practice, he founded it in the Land of Israel. He waved the flag of rebellion in a filtered and philanthropic way, but in the end those who touted these tactics defeated him. Death took him before he was able to exit these complications through decisive, clear and unequivocal action. Therefore his political identity became unclear. Therefore it is possible to interpret Zionism in many ways, more so than any other movement in the world. There are Herzlian Zionists (and nobody knows exactly what this is), there are socialist Zionists, religious, monarchist, practical, settlement-oriented, big, small (why not long and short?), etc. etc. The great and wonderful assets of the Herzlian identity have been blurred. As a result of this there is not, nor will there ever be, a clear definition of *Zionism* or *Zionist*. The writer of these pages is not a Zionist; he is an Ashkenazi nationalist. The Ashkenazim are a people that lives in specific circumstances, and whose obligation is to pass from the life of the ghettos among foreign peoples to a life that a regular people lives upon its land. One who concentrates on this

clear interest, and on other interests of the Ashkenazi People, is an Ashkenazi nationalist.

## **Chapter 8**

### **A Model Diaspora**

#### 1

The Land of Israel under Turkish rule had a reputation for being backward and humble, as compared to East Africa, in all that pertained to immediate possibilities for Jewish migration, the foundation of a Jewish state and a solution to the Jewish Question. But even the very limited possibilities of the Land of Israel under Turkish rule were not taken advantage of by the “Zionists of Zion”. This is because most likely, their goal was not a solution to the Jewish Question, but primarily rule over Jews in the name of the magic and symbolism of the Land of Israel. Had the “wailers” of the Sixth Congress seen themselves as obligated, after their wailing, to gather their possessions and to migrate to the Land of Israel, they would have been able to accomplish much there even within the framework of the limited possibilities under Turkish rule. But such a step never even occurred to them. They returned to their congregations in the Diaspora in order to rule over them by force of their “faithfulness” to Zion. The central organizers of the Zionist goal, who came to rule after the death of Herzl, such as Ussishkin and Ahad ha’Am, were men whose permanent homes were in the Diaspora and who made frequent visits to the Land of Israel; men who wished to rule over the Diaspora through the magic of the Land of Israel, and they wished to rule over the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel via their control over the Jews of the Diaspora. The description “practical Zionists”, which the men of Ussishkin attached to themselves, was the ultimate lie. The true practical Zionist was Herzl, who accomplished the greatest deeds and established the necessary tools for the execution of those deeds. The rejection of Herzl was automatically also a rejection of the great momentum of action in favor of the adoption of small

symbolic practices. It is a fact that after the death of Herzl, there were people who accomplished great deeds in this, or some other way. People who were influenced by Herzl, like Wolffsohn, donated the first large monetary contributions, which laid the foundation for the Zionist philanthropic establishment. The Herzlite Eliezer Hoofien built the “Anglo Palestine Company”, which served as the beginning of the great institution known as the National Bank of today. The great activists of today are the successors of Herzl, even if they are unaware of this and do not admit it, since he was the greatest of the Zionist activists and he was the man who paved the path for far-reaching action. The relinquishment of Uganda unavoidably involved a limitation on activities within the small confines of the Land of Israel under Turkish rule.

## 2

The relinquishment of Africa was linked with yet another change, whose importance was much greater than the limited opportunities for activism in the Land of Israel. I am speaking of a change that transcends the plane of the Ashkenazi People and goes to the plane of the confederacy of peoples that was composed of the Ashkenazi People, the confederacy of peoples of the Sephardo-Mizrahi and bottom-dwelling peoples. For both of these, the Ashkenazi People and the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, are separate entities, and their identities were even more different and distant in the days of Herzl. The Ashkenazi People was then a great people, which stood firmly upon the soil of the new era, a people that dwelt upon one geographical plane, and that spoke one clear language that expressed every concept in its most exact detail. This religious, linguistic and historic unity, and the other wonderful qualities of the Ashkenazi People, laid the foundation for a modern and wonderfully effective political entity. The image of the Sephardo-Mizrahi Coalition of Nations, to which became attached the bottom-dwelling peoples of the “peripheral People of Israel”, was completely different in its national subdivisions and in its distant geographies. Completely lacking in this periphery are the basic strengths that were so common within the Ashkenazi framework. Here we find a total lack of geographical, linguistic, historical and religious unity. Here

exists a chronological retardation and even this retardation lacks the one advantage that it should have included – that is a unifying aspect of this retardation, since the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples are spread out over a long plane of retardation. The vast difference between the Ashkenazi People and the other peoples of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples creates conceptual divisions in most important points. In the Ashkenazi plane it is possible to clarify concepts to their finest details through the shared language and shared religious, national and geographical data. But this is not so in the plane of the non-Ashkenazi confederacy of nations. The great division that exists here ruins conceptual unity. One who acts in this framework is obliged to satisfy himself with central symbolic references, which are all typically religious, and to try filling the void between them with doubtful strategic combinations. The intellectual field of the Ashkenazi People is, therefore, the clearest political field, and the field of non-Ashkenazi Peoples is the most crippled and cloudy political field.

One of the first and most important steps that the Ashkenazi People was obligated to do, in trying to solve the Ashkenazi Question, was to weaken its ties with the Sephardo-Mizrahi Confederation of Nations. It was incumbent upon the Ashkenazi People to act as a separate nation, completely independent, marching toward its own goals, taking the path of its language, Yiddish, and marshalling its actions strictly according to its own notions. The framework of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, with the abundance of national hatred entrenched within it, is a terrifying minefield. It was incumbent upon the Ashkenazi nation to avoid this framework, to retain symbolic ties, and to base its relationship with it upon philanthropic foundations and upon assimilation into Ashkenaz. Herzl did not do this. There was also no attempt to present the problem. But Herzl did act according to realistic notions of the Ashkenazi People, while viewing the other peoples as bottom dwellers. If only the Uganda Proposal had come to fruition, it would have been according to the Ashkenazi way and according to Ashkenazi notions. But the rejection of this proposal, and the victory of “the Zionists of Zion” disconnected Zionism from the Ashkenazi plane and pushed it into the realm of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, which only has room for cloudy and indecisive thinking. The

post-Herzl Zionist thinking was almost entirely an odd bastard child of the wonderful clarity that characterized Herzl, and of the darkness and fuzziness that characterizes anybody who places his feet upon the rickety and hazardous foundation whose name is the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples. The weakness of post-Herzl Zionist thought does not come from a lack of internal strength or from cowardice, but first and foremost from the fact that it is based upon the rickety foundation whose name is the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples.

## 3

The transition of Zionist thought, after the death of Herzl, from the domain of the Ashkenazi People to that of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, brought with it results that could not be imagined. Yiddish, the great worldly language, was discredited, and in its place began the infantile attempt at creating a new language – Modern Hebrew. At the same time there were fantasies regarding the cultural stock value of the “golden age” in Spain. This culture was disappointing even within its own borders and the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples who nursed from it descended, for the most part, to low levels. But its very position upon the foundation of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples forced it to attribute exaggerated greatness to the writings of this “golden age”. For this approach, in its very nature, enthusiastically seeks the amalgamation of the cultural values of all the Jewish peoples in order to emphasize the diversity of this amalgamation. From its clear intuition that a presentation of unity lacks power, it seeks to present a façade of diversity instead of unity, to consolidate, upon one bookshelf, the writings of half a dozen Jewish cultures and, at the same time, to settle in one immigrant village, those who have arrived from half a dozen lands. In its giving up the great power and strong solidarity of pure Ashkenazi identity, it seeks for itself a multicultural alternative approach of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, which struggles to unite under a few strong symbols of one religion, one land and one language.

This change, which accompanied the transition from an Ashkenazi outlook to an outlook of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, was also tied to the

writing methodology of political and ideological creations. Herzl based his doctrine upon the historical method. As a jurist and as an excellent journalist, he was close to history, both of the past and of current events, and he based his doctrine upon the facts that were revealed within it, and the powers that act within it. This was also the way of Pinsker, Nordau, Zangwill and, to a certain extent also Jabotinsky. But this was not the case with the “practical” Zionist ideologues. Here we mostly find the foundations of personal desire, polemics, second-rate ethical philosophy such as that of Ahad ha’Am and Aaron David Gordon. The method of “practical” Zionist ideology is a literary method, which gives great freedom for evading the truth and for following the path of personal desire. In the debate that exists between the truth and the author, this method always takes the side of the author. The subjective-tactical basis is far stronger than the analytical one and its purpose is to aid the author, who demands for himself extensive pampering rights, to struggle with concepts whose roots are in objective truth. This literary practice, which is aided by an abundance of tactics, was first used by Ahad ha’Am in his war against Herzl. Later, it turned into the standard tool of the leftist-Zionist ideologues and of the great majority of Zionist propaganda. It served as a tool that allowed the political parties to prove almost anything that they wished: To prove that a state is not desirable, and later that it is desirable, to condemn and to justify aggressive actions against Arabs, to sabotage certain social processes, and to accept them. This tactic is by its nature, as stated, a characteristically subjective tool that serves only he who chooses to avail himself of it. The damage that is caused by the frequent use of this tactic is great indeed.

The State of Israel, in its current condition, is a part of the Diaspora. This state is too small to divide the Jewish existence within it into two areas, state and the Diaspora. There is but one Jewish reality today, and since the state is smaller than the Diaspora, it is part of the Diaspora. However the strength of the State of Israel today is so great that it is permitted to boast that it represents the independent half of the People of Israel, the half that is called a state. However, the “Zionists of Zion” were not able to indulge in such boasting after the year 1903. The Jewish settlement in the Land of

Israel was then only a drop in the vast Jewish sea of Eastern Europe. What, however, could this drop bring? It could not bring a different, new identity since it did not want this - because by relinquishing a Jewish state in East Africa, is also automatically relinquished a Jewish state in the Land of Israel. The logic of the matter itself, and the logic hidden in the desire of the “Zionists of Zion”, fixed the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel as a place of diaspora; a diaspora alongside the other diasporas and beside the other diasporas, where a drop that is part of the sea belongs to the sea. Because of this, the Zionists introduced their own specific variety, that is to say that the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel was not just a typical diaspora. It was a model diaspora, a diaspora that all the other diasporas look up to, a diaspora of beauty, which stands in the same synagogue with the other diasporas except that it is in the easternmost corner of this synagogue. The history of the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel, until the strength of the Revisionists appeared as a powerful force, was a systematic effort to become a model diaspora, upon which all the other diasporas look with admiration, and send good pioneers and large contributions.

## 4

The trend to obscure the fact that the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel is a new diaspora, and to hide this fact behind various external guises, reached its apex in the revival of the Hebrew language. The creation of this new language testified, like a hundred witnesses, that Zionism does not seek a Jewish state in the Land of Israel. A great worldly language, that is spoken by the masses, is one of the greatest leverages for successful and effective colonization, as was proven by the colonization campaigns of the English nation. A new and weak language, such as Modern Hebrew, makes the settlement program more difficult, both because it forces the masses to learn a new language instead of devoting themselves to the actual work of settlement, and because the new language lacks the power to clarify many concepts and ideas, and as a result of this it creates a state of confusion and lack of clarity. The revival of the Hebrew language was not required for the solution to the Ashkenazi Question, just

as the study of ancient Russian was not required for the communist revolution and the study of ancient French was not necessary for the instigators of the French Revolution. But not in vain did Zionism invest such great efforts in the revival of the Hebrew language, efforts that exceeded, by several fold, those that were invested in all the other areas of activity, execution, war and analytical thought. The New Hebrew, with its nice Sephardic ring, gave the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel a distinctive profile that set it apart, superficially, from the other diasporas. Modern Hebrew solved, for the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel, the dilemma of how to be a diaspora and, at the same time, to appear as if it is not a diaspora. In addition to this, Modern Hebrew contained quite a few other very important ingredients for non-revolutionaries to appear as if they were revolutionaries. The linguistic revolution, which lacks any value, served as a substitute for a true, political, revolution. In the conquest of Hebrew words, there was something of an illusion that it was not a conquest of words but a conquest of a new reality. Moreover: The New Hebrew presented the settlement the magical tool that enabled it, on one hand, to destroy the feeling of shared identity with the Jewish masses of Eastern Europe and, on the other hand, to rule over them through those Hebrew words. A shared language is the typical tool to create a dominant feeling and an all-purpose substitute for shared identity. Through Hebrew words, the Hebrew settlement of the Land of Israel destroyed this feeling between itself and the Jewish masses of the Diaspora, and it freed itself from the obligation to be revolutionaries toward them, at the same time forming a tool for itself to recruit the aid of Diaspora Jewry for its own purposes. The New Hebrew won because it is a force that allows an escape from, and a release from, the high level of revolutionary stress. It allows a release from true national obligations while benefiting from low and weak levels of stress by hiding behind a curtain of pretty words. In the confrontation between the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel and Hitler, during the years 1933-1944, the Hebrew language proved, in a most convincing way, why it was created. The Hebrew settlement conducted itself, during this confrontation, with cowardice as it hid behind pretty words. The typical heroic image of the non-Revisionist settlement of that time, Hannah Szenes, knew very little Hebrew; and it is likely that had she



known more Hebrew, she would not have done what she did, but she would have found her satisfaction through the waving of words and through mediation of words, just like all the rest of the wide circle of those who knew Hebrew, and who were fluent in it.

## 5

The Labor movement, the second force, after Hebrew, in the formation of the image of the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel, is a strange combination in which were joined ingenious abilities of execution and exceptional tactical aptitude on one hand, and an almost infantile analytical-political thought process on the other. Within the Labor movement there is not even one philosopher who bares comparison with personalities such as Herzl, Nordau, Zangwill or even Jabotinsky. Aaron David Gordon, the foremost philosopher of the Labor movement, offers nothing new. He only combined humanistic doctrines, which were accepted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and gave them a Hebrew façade. In the doctrine of Aaron David Gordon are found all the distinctions that are found in the doctrine of Leonard Tolstoy but without being expressions of a great personality, as was the personality of the Russian giant. The influence of Aaron David Gordon came first and foremost not from his own doctrine, but from his being a prophet who went to work every day to cultivate with his hoe. This hoe, which was stuck between the lines of the writings of Aaron David Gordon, was what gave weight to his doctrine. However, when Aaron David Gordon went the way of all flesh, and only his doctrine remained, its power immediately melted away, as from the beginning it was limited to a narrow area of time and conditions; it was tied to the hoe of its creator.

Moreover: Aaron David Gordon committed a much more serious sin than that of territoriality. He was dishonest and his doctrine was dishonest. “Be honest”, said God to Abraham and this is an obligatory commandment for any philosopher who wants his doctrine to last a long time. Aaron David Gordon wished to combine his own ethical-monastic humanism with the needs of pure Ashkenazi nationalism as a subsistence area for the needy

masses. However, this nationalism is not one of ethics. Its ethics stand on equal footing with that of the group of moviegoers that escapes from a flaming cinema and that is willing to trample anybody who stands in its path as long as it reaches safety. The ethics of this nationalism is specific, folded into itself and into the rescue of its people, having responsibility only to them. That is to say, it is not ethical in nature but is rather a group egoism that has no connection with philosophical ethics. How, however, did Aaron David Gordon wish to combine these two, reckless Ashkenazi nationalism and lofty philosophic ethics? Did he not discern that Deganiyah was both a community of moralistic monks and, at the same time, a front-line fortification of conquerors? There is no doubt that he discerned this, but a shrewd calculation enticed him to ignore this fact and to agree to the unnatural “marriage” for the material-practical advantages it offered. The First World War shattered Gordon’s doctrine to pieces. He opposed the draft, but in the end he somehow accepted it along with his friends who were drafted, and therein was the burial of his doctrine. Aaron David Gordon was active near the place where he was born, which was also near the first activities of Jesus, and the doctrines of both prophets resembled each other very much. But the honest Jesus conquered the world while the shrewd Aaron David Gordon lost his world and, today, he does not have even one disciple. If his name is mentioned, it is only in relation to discredited political mechanisms.

The great Semitic faith and the basest Semitic shrewdness march together, their arms linked. Moreover: They are essential one to the other. Semitic shrewdness helps the Semite withstand the great trials that his faith places upon him, that create friction between himself and the entire world. Semitic shrewdness is expressed in every field, even in strategy. The war tactics of Hannibal, one of the great men of the Semitic race, was completely based on ambushes and it was in complete contrast to the open battles and exposed hearts of the Romans. Every Semitic religion is woven, therefore, with two types of thread, the threads of faith and the threads of shrewdness, and the proportion between these two types of thread determines the nature of the religion.

When we come to test the doctrines of the Labor movement, from this perspective, it becomes clear to us immediately that within their ideological fabric there are far more shrewdness threads than there are faith threads. These combinations between monastic ethics, such as that of Aaron David Gordon, and Augustian nationalism, the marriage between laborers who are proud of their status and between the bourgeoisie that give them money in order to realize their prideful status through building a specific economy, the steady waving of two flags, the constant belonging to two worlds simultaneously, such as that of “Hashomer Hatzair” – all of these ideological fabrics have more threads of shrewdness than threads of faith. When it comes right down to it, all these faiths are not faiths but, first and foremost, shrewdness.

The fading away of values, and the loosening of values, which the Labor movement is so wont to speak of these days, is therefore not a fading away of faith. God forbid. Faiths do not fade away quickly like this. The impression of a loosening of values in the Labor movement is naught but a loosening of the many threads of shrewdness that pass through the length and width of their ideological fabric. The threads are coming apart, and through this, shrewdness proves that it is of a lesser level, and that it is relegated to a secondary position after faith. At the same time as the threads of shrewdness loosen, the strength of faith increases, all faith, both that that is included in the religion of Israel and the faiths of Herzl and of Avraham Stern. The day of mourning for shrewdness is a day of celebration for faith. It is very unfortunate for the multitudes of innocents of the Labor movement who gave their faith to the threads of shrewdness, and believed them to be threads of faith. Here is hidden a great tragedy. Sanctity and innocence, enough to sustain very many generations, were invested in the Labor movement, but this holy and innocent faith places its trust in an unstable ideological foundation, whose parts are held together by threads and nails of shrewdness.

An inevitable result of the almost infantile level of ideology of the Labor movement is its weak-willed tension regarding anything having to do with the final goal. The main human capital of the Labor movement is of the

type that donated such great donations to the Communist Revolution. Moreover: There is a great similarity between the leaders of the Labor movement and the famous communist leaders. Trotsky and Ben-Gurion created armies. Trotsky the red army, and Ben-Gurion the I.D.F. Kahanovitch and Eshkol were pioneer-workers. The former aided Stalin in industrializing Russia and the latter wrote a shining chapter in the history of the Hebrew settlement of the Land of Israel. The skill of Eshkol, Pinchas Sapir and Hillel Dan, in pioneer-worker activism, is not less important than their fellows who were active in the more general matters of Russia. (There is no great difference between tending to a program that involves an investment of millions and tending to a program the involves an investment of billions). It is very likely that the skills of Ben-Gurion are not inferior to those of Trotsky. Until now everything is fine. However, the difference in the final goal that the Jewish Communists anticipated, and that that their fellows, who followed the Labor movement, anticipated is great indeed! The former wished to conquer the entire world, to change world civilization from the foundation up. However, the Labor movement wished to establish a few dozen points of settlement that lived under the benevolence of average Zionist Jews who contributed donations. This is all! The Communist goal is a million times greater than that of the Labor movement. And we cannot say that, within the Jewish territory there was no room for great works. Herzl and Stern proved that it was a place suitable for great works, even great works done through the power of one man. However, the Labor movement did not want great works. It was ill with some sort of mental illness of minimal goals. This influenced, of course, the lifestyle of its men. David Ben-Gurion did great deeds from the time he migrated to the Land of Israel until the year 1920 and after that, from the year 1947 and onward. But what did he do during the 27 years between 1920 and 1947? Had he been asleep during these 27 years, like Honi the Circle-Drawer, it would not have made much of a difference in the course of Zionist history. During this long period there was hardly anything important, about which it could be said that had it not been for Ben-Gurion, it would not have come to pass. The gates of Jewish migration to the Land of Israel were cast wide open, after Hitler's rise to power, by Arthur Wokoff, and the living spirit that recruited for the Jewish

legion of the British army was Moshe Sharett. Except for this, the routine included settlement, demands from the British government, and speeches in the Diaspora, which would have been executed quite well even had Ben-Gurion preferred to sleep during that 27 year period in order to save his energy for the great activities which he began in the year 1947. Would “sleep”, such as this, be conceivable in the biography of Trotsky? Not under any circumstances. Here we have one of the great tragedies of the Labor movement. The biography of Trotsky will occupy people until the last generation. However, no diligent biographer can change the life story of Ben-Gurion in a convincing way. For there are too many manifestations, during his life, of a refusal to turn away from the Hall of Fame and to go forth toward the wild lands that true historical figures turn into successful areas. Agents of great empires did not conspire to assassinate Ben-Gurion, as Stalin’s messengers plotted against Trotsky, and the British government against Stern. The tragedy of Ben-Gurion is that his biography lacks any thread that separates him entirely from the biography of a typical person among those of great proportion. The typical Israeli sees, in Ben-Gurion, an ideal. In his eyes, Ben-Gurion is representative of the successful man, who does everything on time and always finds the appropriate time and moment... the man who knows when to refrain from identifying himself too much with a political idea and when to identify with it completely... there is a lack, in the personality of Ben-Gurion, of a somber and convincing drama such as we find in the lives of Herzl, Stern and Trotsky - this is the fundamental element that causes the man on the street to refuse to identify with him ever, but is willing to approach him only as one who is viewing a movie in a theater.

The ideological and motivational weakness of the Labor movement stems, to a large and decisive degree, from the way it relates to time. The founders of the movement were all products of the “cheder” while some of them were also products of the yeshiva and, as they sat on their benches studying, they absorbed the specific longing to conquer distant, and eternal, time that is characteristic of Judaism. From the time they abandoned the Jewish religion, a revolution took place within them that caused them to replace the distant and abstract goals of Judaism with tangible and

proximate values. They conjured up a hoe, earth, a spot for settlement, and an economic industry of one sort or another. This revolution was bound up with the revolution in everything that is related to time. Distant time, the infinite future, and the semi-dreamy time, lost, for them, all of their value and, in contrast, the stock of the present ascended greatly, for only in it are found the physical and organizational constructs that the Labor movement had formed and saw as its ultimate vision. This approach was a fatal mistake due to the fact that the value of the present is very small. In contrast, the value of the future, the king of times, is great. It is great and magnificent, it contains within it endless mystery and the unknown, and it also constitutes the scales that weigh all the deeds of the present. Man needs bread, water and air. But more than this, he needs great expanses of time, to infinity. He is obligated to look toward a distant point, to move toward it and to measure his actions according to it.

By giving up on the future, the Labor movement also gave up heaven as the final destination of its desires. For this great movement there is no heaven. A quorum of poor and lowly Jews, praying in a crumbling synagogue, has a heaven and they raise their eyes to the end of times. However this great movement that is called “the Labor movement”, has no heaven. All of its assets are crowded and stuffed into the narrow strip of the present. The “society of workers”, or the administrative sector of the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel – this is the awe-inspiring cooperative creation that the Labor movement established in the British-ruled Land of Israel – existed entirely in the present. Moreover: On all sides it was surrounded by other, rival, parts of the mandatory present, first and foremost the force known as the Arab population and the force known as British rule. This administrative sector, chained with the chains of the present and pressured from all sides by the hostile forces of the present, represented the vision of the entire movement, and it did not create for itself any object of yearning that existed outside of it.

In the struggle between the Labor movement and the Revisionists, the Labor movement had many advantages. But on one point the Revisionists had the advantage. It had a heaven in the form of the goal whose name is

the Jewish State, but the Labor movement had no heaven of any kind. This advantage of the Revisionists shifted the battle to its favor, not from an organizational or practical standpoint but from an ideological standpoint. For in the end, people are willing to endure hardships and make great sacrifices for only one goal: For heaven and hastening the arrival of heaven. People are not willing to sacrifice themselves for the present, or the assets of the present, since these assets already belong to them and their purpose is for people to enjoy them. He who flies the banner of the present is flying the banner of pleasure but he who flies the banner of the future is raising the flag of sacrifice. The beginnings of the Revisionist Movement were ridiculously slow. It did not demand a Hebrew state immediately. Moreover: It did not demand that the role of security, in the Land of Israel under British rule, be given to the Jewish Legion as an autonomous security force, but rather to the Jewish Legion as an integral part of the British army. But despite all this patience, that seems ridiculous in our eyes, the Revisionist Movement had a heaven, and in order to reach it, it immediately created new and useful tools. For the duration of all the developments in the years 1924-1944, Revisionism continued to develop its tools out of strong commitment to a specific acquisition, in its heaven. However, the Labor movement was noted for the opposite process – of a weakening and fading of values, because it had no heaven and it was therefore automatically chained to the present and vulnerable to the processes of disintegration that rule in this area.

Ben-Gurion was one of the few who discerned the pathetic ideological state of the Labor movement. He saw the contradiction inherent in the fact that this movement, which mainly bears the yoke of the building of the settlement, is not a general national movement but a movement of Laborers, and it therefore limits its approaches and its goals. The motto of Ben-Gurion “from the elite to the people” came in order to broaden the horizons for his party and to give it far-reaching goals. But it is impossible, with sound bites alone, to achieve this change in the Labor movement. Had Ben-Gurion raised the banner of rebellion against British rule during the late 1930’s, he would have achieved the change. Since he did not do this, his words remained merely words. In the end the Revisionists brought, to

the Labor movement, heaven whose name was the State of Israel, rescued it from the prison of the present and enabled it to develop the wonderful powers of pioneer-worker activism that were hidden within it. But for this wonderful “loan”, that the Revisionists granted to the Labor movement, it pays heavy, and murderous, interest that takes the form of rapid, and systematic, destruction of its specific values.

The recoiling by the Labor movement, from the future, gave birth to a fear of final goals. It was not only the final goal, whose name is the State of Israel, that it feared but also socialist final goals, since they require abandonment of the present and a reckless entrance into the realm of the unknown future. The Labor movement fulfilled its secret desire to distance itself from, and to kill, every final goal, through illogical combinations. It combines nationalism and socialism, the construction of infrastructure for workers even as it is committed to the capitalist world and the use of its money and tactics. This movement is capito-socialist and socio-capitalist. It is a classic nationalist movement that opposed, for a long time, elemental nationalist objectives. It is a colonial movement, since Zionism is the latest stage of European colonialism. But, at the same time, the Labor movement marches at the forefront of ideological opposition to colonialism and lends a helping hand to the peoples of Africa and Asia that are creating independent nations. These unnatural combinations dull the ideological edge, stop any speedy galloping toward the realm of the future -which is possible only with the existence of a single objective - while chaining the movement to its beloved present that is, all at once, a house of relaxation, a prison and a cemetery.

## 6

The great contradictory nature of the Labor movement reaches its apex in its unique social/industrial creation, the kibbutz. The kibbutz, a large family, derives its energy from the wonderful solidarity of the Ashkenazi family, and it has no hope of success in any other but the Ashkenazi context. But at the same time, the kibbutz marches toward its primary objective that seeks to eliminate specific Ashkenazi assets, the Ashkenazi



family, the Ashkenazi language and the Ashkenazi history. The socialist agenda of the Labor movement reaches its peak in the kibbutz, but at the same time there are great ties between the kibbutz and the Jewish capitalist world whose funds allowed the foundation of the world of the kibbutz. Moreover: The wonderful industrial activities of the kibbutz, which are entirely focused on the present and the immediate future, form a strong and stubborn tie between it and the banking, business and technical worlds, and the capitalist knowledge base. The Eastern Bloc wishes to limit its ties to the West not only for industrial reasons, but first and foremost for ideological reasons. But the kibbutz, which is a thoroughly socialist-capitalist creation, stands squarely in the capitalist world and is tied to it with hundreds of threads. The kibbutz is a wonderful testing block for the benevolent influence of humanistic socialism and generous capitalism. The kibbutz leads capitalism toward the humanization of its methods and toward a better relationship toward the workingman, but capitalism infuses, into the kibbutz, the skill of complicated calculations and the desire for pleasure and profit in the capitalistic style. This struggle is not between equal forces and, as it proceeds, the kibbutz gradually gets absorbed, in an honorable way – like a soldier who is captured after a glorious war – into the larger, and culturally wealthy, capitalist world.

Through its connection to capitalism, the kibbutz reduced its socialism and through its connection to socialism, it reduced its nationalism. All the gods that the kibbutz worships were reduced by the kibbutzniks, and the result is that the kibbutznik is asked to be a great and powerful god, a singular god, in kibbutznik circles - who brings incense offerings to himself constantly and sings hymns of praise to himself. But each year and each day the realization comes to the kibbutznik that his personality is too weak to merit hymns that include divinity and idealism. Here is the bitter disappointment and tragedy of the kibbutznik. This is the tragedy of man, who has killed many gods, initially the God of Israel and then other gods, turned himself into a god and then gave up on this god. But there is no retreat for the kibbutznik. He continues to dance the dance of independent thanksgiving, with movements whose lack of confidence are more and more evident, as

he shoots pessimistic glances to beyond his own world, the wonderful world of the kibbutz that provides all abundant goodness.

In his bitter relinquishment of the ideological field that confuses and disappoints, the kibbutznik applies himself, with greater devotion, to industry and production. Here one final objective becomes available to him, and here he can take advantage of, in the realm of nature sciences, the rationalist-materialist approach that is typical of it. Many have worked this field of building the Land of Israel, but nobody, in this field, has reached the ankles of the kibbutznik. Nobody has penetrated so deeply into the secrets hidden within the Land of Israel, its waters, its stones, its soil, as he has. No man has created possibilities as he has, even if these possibilities are not generally taken advantage of by himself, due to his ties to his own limited society. The kibbutznik, a man slow of advancement, a man whose ideology is, to a large degree, infantile and, from a revolutionary standpoint, lags far behind David Stern and Leib Trotsky, created within the field of utilitarian use of nature-science, wonders and records that invite the encouragement of the world. The more we distance ourselves from the kibbutz sphere of culture - of the chicken coop, the cattle shed, the nursery and the accounting rooms, the calculations and management of the branches, so does the reach of the kibbutz increase. The material wealth of the kibbutz, which continues to increase, serves as proof to its members of its power and is compensation – which is necessarily poor – and of the bitter ideological disappointment.

## 7

At the end of the 1920's it had already become completely clear to the Labor movement that it would not be able to realize its great specific goal in the Land of Israel under British rule: The creation of a Jewish working class. This land was Arab-English-Jewish. The Jewish participant intensified the natural increase of the Arabs, created an Arab proletariat class, and through the power of the internal logic in this partnership, the Jews were obligated to sustain this Arab proletariat. Under the conditions of British rule, it would never, under any circumstances, be possible for the

Jews to close off Jewish industry to the Arab worker. Sooner or later, this worker would flow abundantly into Jewish industries and, at the same time, there was initially a Jewish flight to easier and more profitable livelihoods. Only a Jewish state and the expulsion of the Arabs could have ensured a fulfillment of the great and shining goal of the Labor movement: The creation of a working Jewish People in the Land of Israel. Had the Labor movement been honest and upfront with itself on this decisive point, it would have had to change its entire approach, and to take the path that was later taken by the Revisionist undergrounds.

However, the Labor movement was in denial about its goal. It was in total denial. Not only did it not fight for a state and for the expulsion of the Arabs, but it did not even fight for increased Jewish immigration. The Revisionist Movement was confronted with a similar dilemma after the pogroms of 1929 after diplomatic approaches, by the Revisionists, were exhausted. At this point the Revisionists took alternate, underground, approaches, but the Labor movement, by fooling itself, committed a form of ideological Hara-kiri. Later, after the outbreak of the events of 1936, this movement committed Hara-kiri a second time. It announced a policy of silence and denial over the principle of effective self-defense. Of the two main principles of the Labor movement, the principle of a working people and the principle of self-defense, there remained only shadows.

During this period the distinction between the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel and the Diaspora become blurred almost completely. This settlement had all the typical characteristics of a Diaspora. There was hatred from the local population, which comprised a majority, and from the government, and there was running to the local British authorities to beg for aid; it was only Jewish migration that distinguished between the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel and the Diaspora. The "White Book" of 1939 nullified even this distinction. After the White Book, the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel turned into a diaspora for all practical purposes, and only the Hebrew words distinguished it from the other diasporas. The more this settlement, the non-Revisionist part, descended in its ideological faithfulness, the more it fell in love with itself. The Labor movement was in love with itself, with its institutions, its economy, its industry, its debates and its quarrels. The Hebrew settlement, in its current condition, was

condemned to death and, had there not arisen new powers that were not in love with themselves but rather with a lofty goal, the British mandate would have persecuted it also in the 1950's and 1960's, and then the surrounding Arab forces would have gathered strength until one day they would have struck the death blow to the settlement. The Revisionist settlement was spared this fate, first and foremost by Avraham Stern. His followers were few and their shots did not always hit their target. But these shots had great meaning. They renewed the thread that had been severed with the routing of the rebellion of Bar Kokhba. The land lost its Jewish People with the clashes between it and the Roman Empire and it was vulnerable to conquest only through a clash between it and another empire.

The man who caused the Labor movement to fail was its ideologue. He built a building that was too temporary, too strategical, too dependent upon the present. Moreover: the ideologue of the Labor movement never fought for principles and was always dragged after the party and its immediate needs. He constantly preached, in a loud voice, for Labor and for the kibbutz but he himself, in too many cases, abandoned the kibbutz and Labor in favor of a comfortable chair in an office and in the establishment. The man who saved the Labor movement, and who is its true hero, is the pioneer-worker; the man who never wrote and never gave speeches but performed activities. The pioneer-worker did his work under the most difficult circumstances without an ideology or a final objective and without certainty or stability. But he was never fazed. He always built, planted and erected. Over the course of time, there was a reverse in their positions within the Labor movement. The pioneer-worker, the man who formerly stood at the bottom of the hierarchy, climbed and ascended higher and higher, but the ideologue, who used to be illustrious, descended lower and lower and turned into the secretary of the pioneer-worker.

In the year 1947, when the Revisionist Underground undermined the foundations of British rule, the foundations of the settlement regime, built upon the Labor movement at the same time, was also undermined. This movement had been completely emptied of those who acted out of ideological motives and all that was left was a great love for itself. Its

superiority in the settlement was lost and foreign diplomacy was left, in practice, to Etzel and Lehi. Great forces rallied round the self-love of the Labor movement, but without an ideological policy this movement did not know how to direct its faithful. At this time, Ben-Gurion rose to the pulpit of the settlement, controlled the great wild bull of self-love of the Labor movement, prodded it with his prod, and whispered into its dumb brain (I am referring to the part of the brain that is dedicated to matters of the future. In all matters related to the near present, the Labor movement always had great skill) that the course toward a Hebrew state is consistent with the interests of its Mapaiist self-love. The wild bull of Mapai, which was confused and out of ideas, rolled its eyes a few rolls of fear, emitted from its mouth a few powerless grunts, and with forced paces was dragged after Ben-Gurion. At this moment, the most wonderful and grandiose period, in the history of the political party of the Workers of the Land of Israel had begun.

The Jewish state that arose on May 14, 1948 was different from the one we could have founded in Africa in the year 1903, not only from a geographical perspective but also in its essence. In Africa there was a possibility of founding a great, and worldly Ashkenazi civilization, which is not the case in Israel. The fatal mistakes of post-Herzl Zionism and the Nazi catastrophe, which had no equivalent in the history of the world, did their damage. Millions of Ashkenazim in Europe were lost while the United States understandably scoffed at the migration of millions of people from the old world in which the Jews suffered such a terrible tragedy. The State of Israel was, therefore, from the time it was founded, a Sephardicized nation that the Ashkenazim had founded and in which they knew, from the start, that they would be a minority struggling with the unfriendly Sephardic majority.

This shocking development is not by chance but it is the logical outcome of the path post-Herzlian Zionism had taken. The British refusal to accept the proposition to establish a state in Africa, in the year 1903, led to tragic results. It prevented any real possibility of forming an Ashkenazi civilization on the black continent, and it was a splendid gift for Hitler,

since it left the Jewish Question, in Europe, like an open wound that keeps expanding. The abandonment of the British proposal contributed greatly to the triumph of Hitlerism and to the destruction of European Jewry.

Moreover: The outline of post-Herzl Zionism stood almost entirely – Avraham Stern was, in this respect, an exception – greatly partial to the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples and in opposition to Ashkenaz. The Hebrew language, the creation of a majority of high-investment Hebrew settlements, was a tool to bring together the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples and, at the same time, to disrupt the threads of solidarity between the settlement and the Ashkenazi masses in Eastern Europe. The language, the literature and the historic approach of post-Herzl Zionism were all in line with a preference for Sepharad and in opposition to Ashkenaz. Between the two wars, the disciples of Hebrew Literature saw the migration of Yiddish-speaking Jews as its enemy and the migration of Mizrahi Jews, stammerers of Hebrew, as a friendly migration. The result of this huge preference, in the field of culture, necessarily has political consequences. The Ashkenazi settlement in the Land of Israel reaped what it sowed, or more accurately: That which was sown for it by the New Hebrew Literature.

## **Chapter 9**

### **The Tyrannical Reign of the Literary Mandarins**

#### **1**

The accepted wisdom, which sees the Labor movement as the primary political agent in the State of Israel, is not correct. This agent is the New Hebrew Literature, which determined its development more than any other non-Revisionist agent. This literature created values that were more powerful than those of the Labor movement. It created cultural assets that would survive continuously for 200 years. It created a distorted image of Jewish nationality that depended upon the cultural wealth of the rabbinical world. It created Modern Hebrew and changed cultural hegemony from an Ashkenazi cultural asset to a Sephardi asset. It created the publicist tools

that brought failure to Herzl and to the Uganda Proposition. The Labor movement was dragged behind Hebrew Literature in all basic cultural assets. Among the leaders of the Labor movement there was only one, Ber Borochov, who brought it tools that enabled it to free itself from subservience to New Hebrew Literature, and created wider contact with the Ashkenazi masses in Eastern Europe. However, the Labor movement distanced itself from Borokhov, who was a brilliant philologist of the Yiddish language, and turned its back on him.

After the death of Ahad ha'Am, Bialik turned into something of a pope in the spiritual life of the settlement. The most important streets are named after him in every city and location, and his poems became an educational staple. However, this poet, whom the settlement so valued, was completely alien to the heroic struggle of the Jews of the Land of Israel, to their political and defensive wars, to their suffering and their toil in industry and practical achievements. A great historical campaign took place before Bialik's eyes, but the poet did not understand it at all, since the concepts of history were completely foreign to him. It is very likely that he viewed the settlement as merely a camp of customers who purchase books from his publishing house, or a camp of servile cultural tenants whom he occasionally reproached in order to keep an appropriate distance from them. Bialik felt comfortable in the "Tent of Shem", in Sabbath gatherings, at a place where high-culture Jews, who sought relaxation, would gather so that he could enjoy an abundance of culture. But such gatherings were basically dead gatherings, for in the period of the eve of the Second World War, Jewish life demanded somebody new and it was impossible to sustain them from the storehouses of generations past, drawn from the depths, even if the drawer were the honorable Bialik himself. It was specifically the phenomenal cultural power of Bialik that proved convincingly that it is not enough to remember the assets of the past, and to perfume oneself with the scents of the past. Bialik sank more and more into self-love, into self-promotion, the promotion of his writings, his beloved hobbies, and of course, also his money. Within the circle of authors and booksellers, unflattering facts circulated regarding Bialik's business practices that implied he was crooked. However, these facts, essential for understanding

the biography of Bialik, were hidden and buried well, behind dozens of layers of obfuscation and secrecy. The much loved “national poet” never troubled himself to tend to public matters, except to appear at certain cultural events where he was asked to appear on stage and appear as a cultural pope, and except for fund-raising trips to the United States where he appeared in the double image as a great poet of Israel and as a business man collecting funds for his own interests. In his behavior he sought to emphasize that he lived far from the noise and racket of daily politics and that he was destined to be exempt from its tumult. In the days of the murder of Arlozoroff, of blessed memory, and the libel against Ahimeir, Stavsky and Rosenblatt, the cherished Jew Ben Zion Katz turned to him and requested that he join a public commission of businessmen and authors to fight against the libel. Bialik answered him that he did not believe Jews had murdered Arlozoroff, but he refused to join a public defense commission, saying that he is a sick man.... This was the level of patriotism and concern for societal peace displayed by the “national poet”, who had enjoyed the fame of this title in the Hebrew settlement of the Land of Israel, where there was an abundance of idealism and self-sacrifice in all areas, defense, settlement and public works. In contrast to Bialik’s shameful ways in this matter we should mention, at the opposite extreme, the praiseworthy behavior of Rabbi Nathan Mileikowsky, of blessed memory, the precious man who sacrificed all his personal concerns, spent days and nights being at the forefront to frustrate the libel, brought general ruin upon his business and family, and in the end shortened his own life, dying before his time. In this behavior, Rabbi Mileikowsky proved that the class of Jewish activists, that represented the typical and the famous, rises in its human level far beyond that of the Hebrew authors.

To the extent that it suited him, Bialik demanded the right to be far from the public eye. But when it was preferable for him to take the opposite approach, he did not hesitate to do so. He hotly pursued Jabotinsky and in the early 1920’s, when Bialik and Jabotinsky happened upon each other in the United States for different fund-raising projects, he spoke evil of Jabotinsky at every opportunity. Jabotinsky even said that he got the impression that Bialik took advantage of every meeting, with every person,



in order to sully the image of Jabotinsky. It appears that Bialik's hatred toward Jabotinsky was a continuation of the hatred between Bialik and Ahad ha'Am toward Herzl. These two representatives of Hebrew Literature saw, in every famous statesman, a hated competitor who endangers their status in the Jewish Hall of Fame, and they would pursue them fiercely. Under the influence of his appearance at the Zionist Congress, Bialik wrote his last poem, "I have seen you anew in your impotence". This is a brazen and lowly poem in which Bialik flings baseless accusations upon the Zionist gathering that, in fact, was ideologically wanting, but it included those whose concern for the Jews was many times greater than Bialik's, who was entirely in love with himself at the time. The lowly nature of this outburst was evident to everybody, but the sect of Hebrew Literature was quick to obscure the shame by defining the poem as a "prophetic rebuke". Other friends of Bialik, such as Ben Zion Katz, invented a version that had half the poem directed against a group of authors that was lead by Shlonksy-Steinman, mortal enemies of Bialik. But such an interpretation has no basis from the poem itself, which contains many indications that it was written with the Congress in mind and the thread of poisonous hatred, against the Revisionists, is highly emphasized. The source of Bialik's attack on the Congress is clear. He demanded, for himself, the right to be the lead speaker and the lion of every group in every Jewish community, and when he realized that not he, and not his cultural ideas, would be the center of attention at the Congress, he was gripped with a strong anger that lead to the poem. Within Bialik two opposites mingled. On one hand he was a cultural giant and a poet who, in some of his poems, reached a pinnacle of brilliance and, on the other hand, he was a lowly private individual in all that pertained to his personal life, ethical standards, public idealism and Jewish patriotism. And specifically this last attribute, that of a lowly private individual, was the one that endeared him to those who ruled the Jewish street. It is because this attribute added its own contribution to the low political tension that the rulers had interest in.

Uri Zvi Grinberg is, to a large extent, the complete political opposite of Bialik. Just as the latter was motivated by money and business profit, so stood Uri Zvi Grinberg above all concerns of money and currency. He was a typical Bohemian man, who paid a heavy price for his talent in that he was unable to go out and make a living as other men do. This curse, which is the other side of the literary blessing, in a way condemned Uri Zvi Grinberg, from the very beginning, to eat the bread of public patrons and rulers, and to pay them, for this bread, through verses of flattery. Many people, and great people, have gone this route but this was not the case with Uri Zvi Grinberg, who was hungry for bread all those years and refused to bend the knee. This poet related to his verse as if it was a holy thing and all the millionaires in the world could not buy even one line from him. Moreover: Uri Zvi Grinberg was an exemplary political poet who had a sharp political eye, a Modern Man and a true representative of the Eastern European masses. He had all the qualities that would make him suitable to be a unique and grandiose personality. But the curse of a small personal stature, that pursued the creators of Hebrew Literature, caught even Uri Zvi Grinberg. He fell in love with himself, ceased viewing himself as the trumpet of the Messiah, a trumpet that was fitting for him even if it broke, as long as one big blow was gotten out of it, but instead he saw himself as the redemption itself. His personality, his verse and his body, in his eyes, turned into the substance of a holy and lofty redemption, worthy of preservation, at all costs, from excessive danger. Uri Zvi Grinberg succeeded in every measure in war against Jews and between Jews, but fear of the British prison broke his spirit. Outside of Israel, in Warsaw, (as told me by a reliable man) he dwelt in a messianic atmosphere and he had plans to return to the Land of Israel in order to establish a group of "true" tough men but, when he arrived to the shores of his motherland, and when he came face to face with the British police his spirit was immediately broken. I remember participating, with Uri Zvi Grinberg, in a particular social function of the movement at the home of a Revisionist organizer, in the mid 1930's. Somebody brought up a plan to distribute flyers. (In the atmosphere of tension and pride of those times, these plans came up now and then). Uri Zvi Grinberg immediately burst out loudly: "Don't do anything as long as I'm here!" This cry echoes in my ears to this

day. This is how Uri Zvi Grinberg divided his time during the 1930's. While he was in Poland he was a faithful trumpet of revolution and while he was in the Land of Israel he was scared to death of the British police and dreamed of returning to Poland. The test came after his return to the Land of Israel with the outbreak of World War II and the beginnings of important activities by The Underground. The entire movement stood at the front. Everybody paid the price. Some as rebels, some as sympathizers and others were punished for associating with the camp of sympathizers. Thousands of people passed through the trials of misery that was prison. Entire families were ruined. There was not one man who did not suffer. Weaklings paid a heavy price for their secret sympathies for Jabotinsky's movement. But the famous and celebrated tribune of the Jabotinsky movement, Uri Zvi Grinberg, fled the battlefield entirely and found himself a safe haven as the editor of "The Land", which was in those days the central artillery that happily aided instigators, oppressors, snitches, those who imprisoned and those who tortured. Uri Zvi Grinberg, the man who had the audacity to proclaim himself as something of a messiah, wasted the years of underground war hiding behind the wide rear end of the traitor Gershom Schocken. The poet who proudly proclaimed his hot-bloodedness proved, every day as he sat as editor of "The Land", that his blood is as cold as ice and like the blood of a frog. The celebrated troubadour of the gang of tough guys, and the tough guys themselves, was included in the list of friends of the British secret service, which persecuted and tortured the true tough guys. Through this behavior, Uri Zvi Grinberg tore his flag, threw his holy prayer shawl, which he had wrapped himself in, into the muddy gutter, and caused a fundamental and retroactive diminishing of all his earlier writings. These writings ceased being authentic, and unquestionable, human documents and now they all stood in the shade of a question mark that implied these writings are not the work of a great man who is at peace with himself, but by a brilliant technical writer who, with magical powers that reside in the same mind, knows exactly which words to use and where to place them at the head of each verse. The self-love of Uri Zvi Grinberg, that dressed itself up in the absurd clothing of faith that he himself is the redemption, and that therefore he cannot be endangered, was what inflicted upon him the great tragedy. Had he not

been listed among friends of the British secret police, but on the list of its enemies and those whom it persecuted, he and his poetry would have been great. Since he took another path, he was diminished and, along with him, was his poetry. Avraham Stern was a great man but a minor poet. But his great personality raised his minor poetry. The opposite was true with Uri Zvi Grinberg. His small personality minimized his great poetry.

Had Uri Zvi Grinberg been the spokesman for any sort of non-Jewish national movement, he would not have been forgiven for his disloyalty. He would have been removed from its membership forever, and even required to stand culpable before its institutions of justice. But this was not the practice within the national Zionist movement, among whom the Hebrew authors enjoyed the status of gods. Uri Zvi Grinberg sought honor and the Freedom movement sent him to the Knesset as their representative, second after Menahem Begin.... Through this it was proven and stressed that the written Hebrew word has, in Zionism, greater weight than the most heroic deed, and that a great author is a god who cannot err because gods never err.

Now Uri Zvi Grinberg tries to obscure his disloyalty, during the Underground War, by demanding military activism in foreign relations. In a democratic society every man is free to present his demands, on the condition that there is a feeling that the man can be identified with the demand and that he is willing to pay the associated price. But after his behavior during the Underground War, it was clear from the beginning that Uri Zvi Grinberg is not prepared to pay the price associated with his demands. His appearance as an extreme military activist is therefore only for show and false at its root, like the appearance of a singer who ascends to the stage even as he knows that his throat is sore and he cannot produce a sweet voice. This sneaky tactic, by Uri Zvi Grinberg, will not rehabilitate the ruins of his house, which he himself destroyed. It can only further reduce the value that an objective observer attributes to his personality.

A few years ago I attended a speech by the author and critic Avraham Kariv, about Yosef Chaim Brenner, which was arranged at the Tzavta Club in North Tel Aviv for the “Month of Brenner”. I knew the opinions of Kariv on Brenner and I prepared for a murderous critique, but I heard something completely different. I heard an almost medicinal expertise that said the psychological condition of Brenner was fragile and that he should have been in a mental hospital. Kariv brought with him all his “ammunition”, several stacks of manuscripts, and from among them he broadly outlined inflammatory quotes of Brenner against the Ashkenazi People. As he was explaining several particularly abusive quotes, he said that had we encountered similar statements within anti-Semitic, and Nazi, writings, we would not be surprised for that is where they belong. Avraham Kariv even said he had medical details about the illness of Brenner but that they should not be mentioned at a public gathering. The writings of Brenner are the perfect example, and even the most lethal, of the use of the literary method in the political arena. Brenner spoke to an entire people and about an entire people. His words related to politics but they arrived through the conduit of the literary method that does not consider itself obligated to produce any logical, or historical, proof as it claims whatever it pleases.

Brenner’s slander enraged even his friend, the author David Shimoni, who wrote an open letter to Brenner on the first day of Hanukka, 1912. In this letter, which was never published, he writes, among other things:

*Verily, to my dismay I see that you yourself have gotten your head stuck thickly in possession of a platitude, the platitude about “the life of creative work and culture”, that you return to it constantly any time you wish to prove that our people, the People of Israel, is a people that does not work. In simpler words: A parasitic people.*

*There are only a few questions I shall ask you and that is all:*

*Would you consider all the great masses that groan under their burden in the sweatshops in all corners of the world to be parasites?*

*Would you consider the entire great congregation of liberal professions, the entire congregation of doctors, builders, engineers, and technicians etc. to be parasites?*

*Would you consider all those merchants, negotiators, middlemen – all those whom you call, with such disdain, by the name “go-betweens” – would you call all these parasites? (David Shimoni, “chapters of memories” page 273).*

Brenner was much more inclined to spew curses than to clarify if they are correct. Therefore Shimoni's letter was not published. Even the literary method was not able to explain the curses whose true meaning is pathological; therefore it avoided testimony and defined Brenner as a “prophet”.

Hidden behind the tempest of Brenner's curses was the profound political plan of his great patron, Beryl Katzenelson. Beryl, the great builder of the administrative world between the two world wars, was, at first, close to territorialism and dreamt about saving the Jewish masses, but he gave up in the end, for he found no partners. His territorialist streak was expressed in his stance regarding languages. Until the spiritual crises that visited Beryl, when he failed to find partners for his territorialist ambition, he absolutely rejected Hebrew and championed Yiddish, as his words testify in his pamphlet “My Path to the Land of Israel”:

*I never spoke Hebrew my whole life. On the contrary, I saw the use of Hebrew in speech as unnatural to the extent that I had a teacher, a man very dear to me – and I caused him great pain – for he spoke to me in Hebrew and I spoke to him in Yiddish, for I thought that Hebrew is not a spoken tongue. When I came to the Land of Israel, I did not know how to put together a natural sentence in Hebrew.*

Beryl bundled his relinquishment of territorialism, and his migration to the Land of Israel, not only with the casting aside of his self-identity with the

Jewish masses of Eastern Europe, but with a basic intention to denigrate them.

Brenner served as an effective tool to accomplish this goal. The president of the nation, Mr. Zalman Shazar, in his book “Light of Men”, page 310, cited important items, along these general lines, from Beryl Katzenelson in those days:

*Then the friends of Beryl, the people of the second migration and the locals said, “This great world, both in general and the Jewish world, has not yet been fixed, for judgment has been passed, and this bitter lot can be changed only if we form a small loaf here, among the people of the genie, on the fertile land, at the shores of the Kinneret, and in its midst we shall stand... for the time being let us not speak of redemption at all, and we must not pronounce this word as it is spelled.”*

The formation of the “loaf” demanded a separation between the second migration and the Ashkenazi masses of Eastern Europe. To this end very many words were needed - the seductive, lying and slanderous words of Yosef Chaim Brenner.

There were four stages in the life of Beryl Katzenelson. The first was as a youngster in Bobruisk. He was the political representative of the masses among whom he lived. This attachment to the masses developed in him the broader concepts that served as basic outlines for the structure of the society of workers.

A multifaceted outline such as this could not be born in the narrow world of “The Young Worker”. The second stage of Beryl Katzenelson is incorporated into the years when he was a member of the Kinneret group, a man of the hoe, a man who fulfilled, with his body, the symbolisms of the Labor movement. However this background was too narrow for him and, as he rejected his symbolic zealotry, he moved to the city and established for himself a lifestyle that he had previously condemned forcefully – the lifestyle of an urban, and bureaucratic, man who does not fulfill his

doctrine with his body, but serves as a representative and as a mouthpiece. In this stage the great skepticism, for which he was known until his death, ruled over him. He saw the world he had created destroyed before his eyes. The symbolisms of Hebrew labor, independent labor and the economy of laborers were not enough to form a social foundation that would last. They were only a temporary foundation, and Beryl Katzenelson's temporary stay with the Kinneret group testified to this. Only a total connection with the masses, and a firm decision to save them and bring them to heaven would be enough to form a permanent social foundation. During these dark days, Beryl Katzenelson attempted to renew the cords of solidarity between himself and the masses of Eastern Europe, but this attempt was destined to fail from the beginning. The great builder of the labor group died a skeptical and disappointed man. He knew that his path was a path of decline and that the years he spent among the people of Bobruisk, spoke Yiddish with them, and dreamed of saving them, were the best years of his life.

## 4

In the process of his independent ideological revisionism, which gave birth to the "From the Elite to the People" diversion, Ben-Gurion freed himself from subservience to the New Hebrew Literature. It is likely that this liberation preceded all other revisions. It is likely that even at a very early period Ben-Gurion noticed the poverty of this literature and turned to other sources. When Ben-Gurion openly expressed his opinion, in his letter to Moshe Shamir ("Davar", October 1, 1960) the literary cult trembled and was shaken. It realized that its rule over the Ashkenazi People, the rule it won when Ahad ha'Am and Bialik caused Herzl's failure, was in danger. It was immediately announced, in the strongholds of the literary mob, about the situation of "The Base" and their heavy cannons began firing at the legal government of the State of Israel over the fact that its leader had had the nerve to insult Hebrew Literature, which saw itself as the supreme ruler whose blessings were required for everything in the country.



“Me’oznaim”, the monthly of the Association of Authors, came out with its Heshwan, 1961 issue, with an article by the heavy-hitters under the heading “Excessive Attack Against Literature”. Among other things, this article stated:

*Verily, the writer must say what is in his heart, but from the moment he did this – those words become part of the public domain, with the goal of increasing benefits, to educate, to form, to influence and, in short: To take part in the formation of private life and to influence public life.*

In other words, the values of Hebrew Literature took on the authority of Oracle-like apostlism. They are not writings that the public can either accept or reject, but from the very start, and retroactively, it is required to accept them, and if a man has the audacity to question their value, he is culpable for his own life.

At the Conference of Authors during Passover, 1962, one of the heads of the literary group, Haim Hazaz, shot a powerful shot at the government of the State of Israel, a shot that came in the form of his speech at that conference. The conclusions that were reached in this speech, which was structured after the literary method, such as that the State of Israel “suddenly became old”, have as much weight and relevance to the truth as the conclusions of Brenner that the People of Israel is parasitic, such as Ahad ha’Am’s ridicule of Herzl’s diplomacy, Bialik’s ridicule of the vision of a Hebrew nation, and so on. Hazaz’s speech was nothing more than a hail of Hebrew words and that’s it. There is no content in this speech, but, on the other hand, there is an expression of the will to rule that allows no compromise at all. From the mouth of Hazaz came the proclamation that Hebrew Literature would only consent to the existence of a Hebrew nation on the condition that it would rule this nation, otherwise – Hebrew Literature would be willing to destroy the nation. Ben-Gurion was immediately punished for his “brazenness”. The chapter of Lavon was an event of great importance in the life of Mapai, the life of the nation and the life of Ben-Gurion himself. In this battle, Hebrew Literature stood behind Lavon and offered him heavy artillery as effective aid. This moment was

one of the most dangerous for the internal stability of Mapai and the nation. But Hebrew authors, who grew up, and were taken care of, by Mapai while being sustained by it for decades, did not hesitate to stab it in the back with a knife as long as this would punish Ben-Gurion for his critical relationship with their “trust”. Only with this artillery aid from Hebrew Literature, and the various “men of spirit”, was Lavon able to get as far as he did. The authors and their allies attacked Ben-Gurion from all sides, like groups of guerrilla fighters who pounce according to signs they receive from central headquarters. They stormed against him from secret bases, according to a tactic that was formulated in the secret order “The Sons of Moses”, and with effectiveness and cruelty that the famous criminal social organization, the “Mafia”, would have envied. The claims of the attackers were all empty and invented out of thin air, but their intention was clear: To emphasize to Mapai that the Hall of Fame of the State of Israel is not the property of pioneer-workers, even if the boundaries of the state were expanded to the Euphrates and to the Nile, and it was turned into the most successful kingdom in the world, but it is the exclusive property of the authors and their allies, the “men of spirit”. This cruel attack is what fixed the path of the nation, brought about the elections for the fifth Knesset, and in the end, forced Ben-Gurion to resign and vacate his spot for Eshkol. Let not Mapai and Ben-Gurion be complacent. The cult of Hebrew Literature is what expelled Ben-Gurion, just as it expelled Pinsker in his time, foiled Herzl, isolated Jabotinsky and created the poisoned atmosphere that allowed the murder of Avraham Stern by the British officer Morton. Until now, Hebrew Literature had eliminated all opposition from its path, including Ben-Gurion. This man - who had contributed the greatest contribution to the founding, and fortification, of the state, after the Revisionist Underground finished its task - was slandered by the authors, even though he was innocent, was pursued by their many allies, and in the end was expelled. For the New Hebrew Literature knows no mercy in its wars against its opposition. Its most potent and murderous weapon is the poisoned atmosphere that it creates with thousands of tools, and its use of fuzzy “spiritual” symbolisms that are difficult to fight against because they are clothed in demagoguery. Hebrew Literature used this weapon against all those who opposed it, beginning with Herzl and ending with Ben-

Gurion. Herzl was slandered as one who ignored Hebrew culture. This argument could not be considered as an arrow against Jabotinsky, who was an avid admirer of Hebrew. Therefore they accused him of burnishing swords and of fostering strange mannerisms that were “foreign to the spirit of our Patriarch Israel”. Stern was represented as corrupt and he was pursued until he was murdered. Ben-Gurion was accused of distancing himself from the literature and from its spiritual values while nurturing a gross personality worship of royalty. Half-lies and half-slanders are not lacking in the quiver of the New Hebrew Literature and it chooses, for every foe, the appropriate arrows and then fires them until he is removed from its path.

In Hazaz’s speech at the organization of authors, there was no lack of emphasis that the authors are the “prophets” of this generation. About the quality and identity of these “prophets”, we hear interesting, and explicit, things from the mouth of Shin Shalom in the pamphlet “Me’oznaim” that we mentioned earlier. This article of his, which merited many echoes, Shin Shalom begins by leaning on a big tree, on Hayim Nahman Bialik, and he quotes him:

*Hayim Nahman Bialik once told me, about a year before his death, that if there existed a man who could pay him fifty Israeli Liras per month, he would leave all the noise and tumult and seclude himself in his workroom in Ramat Gan, in order to complete his commentary on the Mishnah. But such a man was not found, and there was no institution that would fund the father of Modern Hebrew Poetry the fifty Israeli Liras that he needed for his monthly subsistence.*

The panhandling nature of Bialik is quite evident in these lines. It is almost impossible to find, within other literatures, that parallel Hebrew in the numbers of its readers, an author as financially stable as Bialik. For Bialik was not only an author, he was first and foremost a publisher, who published creations for which he was guaranteed, from the start, a monopoly in the book market and in the Hebrew educational system. But, despite this, he demanded more money, and not just a little. 50 Israeli Liras

at that time was worth, in today's currency, fifty times as much. Thus the "poor" Bialik demanded a monthly salary of 2,500 Israeli Liras of the year 1963 in order to devote himself to his beloved work. And good heavens – "There was no man, and no institution, that would fund..." (By the way, I once happened to mention to a certain Jew, who was an arbiter between Bialik and a development company concerning a plot that Bialik had purchased from it, Bialik's relationship to Yiddish. The Jew related to me how, in this arbitration they all spoke Hebrew. Suddenly, Bialik switched to Yiddish. The two others, who were present, the man from the development company and the arbiter, were surprised and asked: "Why is this?" Bialik answered them: "A man is required to speak in the language he thinks in". From this story we see that the "poor" Bialik had, in addition to other articles of property, also this lot, or lots). I shall continue to quote Shin Shalom:

*Shaul Tchernichovsky, of blessed memory, died in a rented room on a noisy and dusty street.*

This is also a national tragedy. Shaul Tchernichovsky lived in a rented room. About 90 percent of the members of the settlement in those days, when public buildings were not as common as they are today, lived in rented apartments. And so what does it matter? According to Shin Shalom it would have been fitting for Shaul Tchernichovsky to live in a **private mansion**. And if these conditions do not exist, then all those who are not authors are criminals. I shall continue to quote Shin Shalom:

*David Shimoni, of blessed memory, orchestrated his revolution from the noisy classrooms of the gymnasium in order to earn a pension that would allow him to work creatively in a calm environment in his old age, and when he reached the pension he had waited for, he collapsed like a Marathon runner whose breath leaves him at the threshold of victory.*

The author David Shimoni had a respectable position at the gymnasium, and such positions were few at the gymnasium in those days; they were the

ideal dream for many intellectuals. But, in the pathological view of Shin Shalom, this work was likened to “a Marathon race”. Here’s another quote:

*Yitzhak Lamdan, of blessed memory, collapsed under a load of “papers” that he had carried by himself, with nobody else there.*

The truth is that Lamdan published his pet causes, as is the way of avant-garde authors in the world, and this work involved many difficulties, just like any other work of this type, so what of it?

The style of Shin Shalom’s writing is of a professional panhandler who is never satisfied. Hebrew Literature receives fantastic subsidies from the public, but, with all this, it is never enough for Shin Shalom. He demands that the author be free from any trouble or work, that he have the status of holy cows in India, and that public money be available to him with no limits and according to his own discretion.

However Shin Shalom is not just a man who knows how to make demands but also a man who knows how to slander and to besmirch in order to achieve his demands-extortions. His besmirching is aimed “straight at the target”, that is to say, at the officials of the government of Israel:

*However, our illustrious leaders, innocent spokesmen of the nation, (and I am not doubting their innocence) who live by their own words (of this I am doubtful), they and their officials and their officers and their delegates and their secretaries and their relatives who execute their words, in Israel and in the Diaspora, dwell sheltered in large apartments, sometimes double or quadruple-sized, both here and there, and they have fancy cars with private drivers, and they even have the privilege of having their writing done through dictation by stenographers, while cooks and chefs prepare regularly prepare meals for their tables...*

We have before us a case of a pathologically demanding man who is a skillful extortionist, and who adopts a style of speech equal to that of the Hebrew fish market. Had somebody published a guide for the Jewish

extortionist, for his extortion work against Jewish organizations, he would surely include these words from Shin Shalom. This version places in front of living authors, the image of a pitiful man, naked and lacking everything, and alongside him, the officials who lack nothing.... We can recognize, in the words of Shin Shalom, the jealousy that speaks from his throat. He would want the authors, that is to say, the “prophets” as he calls them, to also have stenographers, cooks and apartments. These are the “prophets” according to Shin Shalom! By the way, everybody in the country knows that the officials come cheap to us. Their salaries are relatively low and the work is very hard. This is known all over the world. These are the true “marathon racers”, but they do not complain about it, rather they do their work.

In his extortionist blindness, Shin Shalom sees only those who he imagines received more from the nation than the authors did, but his eyes are blocked from seeing those who received a lot less, or who had received nothing: For example the 18, 19 and 20 year olds, who are sometimes the only children of their parents, who died in battle during the War of Independence, the many settlers who died from malaria, or who became invalids, those of the Underground who died or were imprisoned etc. Any argument with an extortionist like Shin Shalom is ridiculous. We should tell him to leave us alone and cease doing us favors. That he not write, that he not “mold the generation”. And who gave them the credentials to be “molders of the generation” anyway, as they constantly represent themselves? All the authors of the New Hebrew Literature do not amount to one hair of Hannah Szenes when it comes to “molding the generation”. In one page of Shalom Aleichem, that we get for free, there is more literary wealth than what Shin Shalom would sell us, in the goodness of his heart, for a million Liras. We should tell the industrious authors, of the category of Shin Shalom, who strive to raise the price of their goods higher and higher, that there will be no customers for their goods under these conditions, that they please remove them from the stalls that they have set up in the streets, for nobody will buy them and nobody wants them!

“On the Status of Literature in the Nation” (items from a meeting with a contingent of authors with the head of the government, Levi Eshkol on 08/13/63) – under this title, the words of the authors, during the meeting, are cited in “Davar” (08/28/63). This transcript is the only document of its kind. The authors who participated in this meeting (Hazaz, Kariv, Braudes and others) did not say one word on matters of ideas or ideology, which is the function of literature to express. No. It was not ideas that were spoken of here, but rather control. Hazaz went further than the others and said:

*And perhaps today there are no authors. But Hebrew Literature exists and the Hebrew People is required to take this into consideration, that Hebrew Literature exists.*

And so, there are no Hebrew authors, but there is Hebrew Literature... and what does this literature demand? On this, Hazaz says:

*The situation we find ourselves in is that, in all sorts of conventions and meetings, everybody is represented, but the Hebrew author, or Hebrew Literature, is not represented.*

**Government representation**, that is to say, **control** - in other words, **a portion of the power**. Not ideas, God forbid, but the power to rule. Hebrew Literature rules in speech, in schools, in libraries, in the giant educational budgets, but this is not enough. It wants more power, in the form of representation. Braudes, the secretary of the Council of Authors, spoke similarly:

*We should make sure that the authors and men of spirit are not missing from rallies and events...*

That is to say, **to be in power**, to be seated together with rulers and illustrious people. Not to, God forbid, be missing from rallies. But to run from one rally to another, as long as they are represented, for they have no ideas and their only desire is to rule. For they never had ideas, and their

goal was always to rule. There are two sides to power: Money and representation. Shin Shalom was primarily concerned with material wealth and Hazaz's heart desired representation.

When Levi Eshkol announced in that meeting: "I stand shoulder to shoulder with the Literature", the small minds of the literary foxes - representatives of the literary gang - melted away (Mr. Avraham Kariv was an honest and scriptural man among them, and he was the exception). At that point, their joy was complete because the entire purpose of the meeting had been realized. Hebrew Literature had expelled the previous prime minister, Ben-Gurion. He never again sat on the lofty throne and a simple pioneer-worker man, who had not delved into the essence of Hebrew Literature, and was willing to offer himself for their service, inherited his place. There is no doubt that Mr. Eshkol, busy and exhausted with issues and tasks, never understood the deeper meaning of that meeting, of the victorious joy of the literary foxes, and of their intentions to receive a fresh stamp of approval for their charter of conquest, whose foundations had been shaken by the words of Ben-Gurion.

In his book "In One Chain", Haim Hazaz continues the tradition that was always typical for the New Hebrew Literature. What I mean is the belly-crawling of this literature to a tree that they had previously sought to uproot, and then, after it grew nicely, to crawl toward it like a parasitic snake, in order to benefit from its fruit. The New Hebrew Literature rejected the Lovers of Zion, and then later grabbed its money and institutions. Next, it abused and rejected Herzl and, at the Congress, when he had succeeded, it knew how to take advantage for its own benefit, more than anything else, of the monies and institutions of the Zionist Agency. Hebrew Literature mocked the State, but when it was founded, it was among the first to line up for its funds. Haim Hazaz, regarding the Revisionist Underground, had now revealed this parasitic diligence, which was developed over generations. This matter of the Underground has been attracting more and more public attention. The shameful role that Hebrew Literature played in this matter is recognizable to any honest person, and it cripples the activities of the Literary Trust. Hazaz attempts to patch this



breach. It was not pangs of conscience that motivated the author to write the book, as he had announced, but a cold calculation, for Hebrew Literature has no conscience. In the matter of the Underground, Hebrew Literature acted as a cult of executioners' helpers. Had it shown a different relationship, things would have worked out differently. Death sentences would not have been passed, and Feinstein and Barzani would not have killed themselves. In the days of the Underground, the cult of Hebrew Literature reaped its profits as it appeared in the role of a cult of executioners' helpers, and today it wishes to reap its profits as mourners of the death of martyrs, who none other than itself had helped put to death. For a devoted Revisionist it is forbidden to even touch a book by Hazaz. If it happens into his home, he must throw it into the nearest garbage bin.

## 6

“From the Foundation” is the name of a high quality biweekly that Lavon and his friends publish, and whose main function is to attack the pioneer-workers through specific tools of Hebrew Literature. Indeed, “From the Foundation”. But does the Labor movement have a foundation? This movement, in its current form, is closer to Avraham Stern than to Aaron David Gordon. It is closer to Jabotinsky than to Y. Aharonovich, to Abba Ahimeir than to Martin Buber. The foundation that the Labor movement left in its possession is collapsed and ruptured and, as it was being so ruptured, this movement rolled downhill, like a giant ball, to another foundation entirely – the foundation of Herzlism and Revisionism. The ideological ways of the Labor movement were like the ways of a creature that, while it treaded the path it had set for itself, reached the abyss over and over again, and as it reached the abyss, it turned to the paths it had previously abhorred. This is the problem with the men of “From the Foundation”. They have no foundation, and had they stood as leaders of Mapai, they would have been forced to take the same route that leads from Aaron David Gordon to Avraham Stern, which is the path their foes had taken.

In their use of the literary method, Lavon and Prof. Rotenstreich attack, over and over again, the pioneer-workers. Of course, the “Youth Circle” has no ideology, and this is not the fault of the young people but the fault of the fathers. But nevertheless, there is a concentration, in this circle, of people of action who are capable of making entire lands fertile:

Agriculturalists, architects, manufacturing technicians, experts in matters of water and so on. However, of what value are the ideological “goods” that Lavon and Rotenstreich are selling? These “goods” lack any value. They lack the ability to inspire faith even for one child. Its entire content is aggressiveness and a struggle by a literary cult that has nothing to articulate, and because of this, it **imagines itself** able to inspire more faith for “The Foundation” than those who do have something to articulate.

The man who sabotaged, and who covered the youth of Mapai with shame, was the author Yizhar Smilansky, who wrote regarding the elders in the top tier of his party, in an article in “Davar” July, 1963, words of slander that the opponents of Mapai hadn’t written for a long time; words of slander the likes of which one can find only in one place:

In the Revisionist newspapers during the time of the libel that followed the murder of Arlozoroff, and in those parts of this journalism that continued this tradition into later times. Thus wrote, about the leaders of his party, a Knesset member of Mapai, whose party had raised him up and taken care of him. There is no doubt that Yizhar Smilansky is a talented man, but in his insane enthusiasm to find new words, he forgets that the word is not everything, but it is merely a container that contains ethics, content and logic. Between the ways of Yizhar Smilansky, who sullies the name of his party, which suffers in the throws of an internal crisis, and the ways of Uri Tzvi Grinberg, who betrayed his party when it stood at the front of the Underground, there is much similarity. Both see themselves as gods, for whom the laws of human decency do not apply. Both of them demand for themselves, by virtue of their magical rule over the Hebrew word, a sort of unique priestly-extraterrestrial status. If the “Youth Circle” has a special task, then it should be, first and foremost, to free its party from the literary-rhetorical method, and to entrench in it the methods that are founded upon the practical experience and execution that has accumulated in the land and

in the nation. Yizhar Smilansky, who is completely bound and enslaved to the literary method, is a foreign element in this circle.

If we stand one next to the other, the human images of the political sector and the pioneer-worker activism in Zionism and in the nation and, against them, the human images of the literary sector, we are likely to be astounded and shocked. On one side stand those who are of pure heart, clean mind and strong conscience, while on the other side is a gang of crafty, and petty, men. From the standpoint of human stature, the greatest of Hebrew Literature are truly dwarfs compared to the men of politics and pioneer-workers. Biluim, the men of “HaShomer”, the members of Nili, the people of the second migration, Herzl, Nordau and Jabotinsky, the pioneers, the heroes of the Underground, Hannah Szenes— how pure and great are these images. The lineup of the great men of Literature is, compared to them, like a lineup of defective people: Yehudah Leib Gordon betrayed himself when he opposed the Lovers of Zion, Ahad ha’Am and Bialik were of small faith, and then they migrated, like slithering snakes, on the wagons of Zionism. The ways of Mendele were corrupt. One of the famous critics, Avraham Kariv, saw Brenner as mentally ill. Uri Zvi Grinberg betrayed his movement in its greatest years, and found himself a safe shelter in the fortress of the “Sanballats”. Wonderful scents waft toward us from the lineup of political men and activists but foul stench comes from the congregation of Hebrew authors. Uri Zvi Grinberg was a traitor. Bialik was habitually dangerous. Shin Shalom was apparently a bandit. This is their face. The men of Hebrew Literature belong to a special type of human that attracts cultural elites and ethical rejects. In contrast, most of the politicians, and Zionist activists, attracted people who were the cultural elite and the ethical elite. But despite this, the power of the authors is superior, and they are the ones who rule over the activist elite, not the other way around. This superiority, of the literary cult, comes from the Magi-magical influence of the Hebrew word and of those who use this magic to further, and glorify, their rule.

## Chapter 10

### Ashkenaz and Sefarad in the State of Israel

The gathering of exiles in the State of Israel, that is to say, the bringing of the various Jewish peoples, is an event without precedent in Jewish world history. One cannot compare the modern gathering of exiles with the return to Zion at the beginning of the Second Temple. Then they returned after a relatively short absence from the Land of Israel, and most importantly: The vast majority of them returned from one land, from Babylon. The return to Zion can be included under a general phenomenon whose name is migration, but under no circumstances can this apply to the gathering of exiles taking place in the State of Israel. For over the course of 2500 years that separate us from the return to Zion, Jewish history has experienced a great expansion. The various Jewish peoples established civilizations on almost every continent. At the same time, these peoples strengthened their attachment to the dimension of time, as their attachment to the dimension of space decreased. These peoples turned into characteristically semi-divine peoples that moved within the plane of time and established cultures that conquered the dimension of time without requiring any dominion over the dimension of space. This rule-over-time, of the Jewish peoples, was what allowed them to wait until the moment when they were able to conquer anew the space of the Land of Israel.

Before the Holocaust, the Ashkenazi People constituted around 94 percent of the population of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, while the dozen other peoples added up to only 6 percent. Today, the Ashkenazi People adds up to 85 percent of Jews overall, and other peoples are 15 percent. This startling disproportion divides the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples into two regions: The ascending region of the Ashkenazi People and the descending region of non-Ashkenazi Peoples. Insofar as this division raises the question, where is the ascending region and where is the depressed region, it also provides the answer.

Within the branching out of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, there is an element that is more important than the quantitative difference between the Ashkenazi region and the non-Ashkenazi region. What I mean is the differences from the perspective of time. Only the Ashkenazi People stands, with both feet, within the twentieth century, and is capable of building a modern civilization. The other Jewish peoples are spread out over the expanse of the long time-line that stretches from the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century and ends in the 19<sup>th</sup>. Among the non-Ashkenazi peoples, a special place is reserved for the nation of Ladino-speakers, that is to say, the Bulgarians, other inhabitants of the Balkans and the inhabitants of Asia Minor. This nation possesses a European language and is noteworthy in its wonderful social health. But the various tools of this nation are on par with the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and they are not at all sufficient to allow the establishment of a modern civilization in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The situation of the other non-Jewish peoples, who are Afro-Asiatic, is much worse. In many of them we can recognize clear signs of recklessness and degeneracy. The contact between the higher classes and the lower ones is weakened. The former tend toward assimilation among the enlightened classes of the lands in which they live, but the latter descended lower and, in this way, they made themselves susceptible to becoming absorbed into the corresponding lower classes of the ruling people. In contrast to the dynamic Zionist movement, within the Ashkenazi and Ladino-speaking peoples, there hardly arose any Zionist movement worthy of the name among Afro-Asiatic Jewish peoples (the Yemenites are exceptions to this rule!). Most of these peoples marched toward oblivion and assimilation until Ashkenazim appeared in the Mideast and put an end to this process, creating, in its place, the necessity to abandon the Diaspora and migrate to the State of Israel. Ashkenaz ruled over the lives and the fates of these Jewish peoples. It destroyed the good relationship between them and the Muslim population, removed the chances of them assimilating and brought the Afro-Asiatic Jewish peoples to the State of Israel in campaigns of speedy and effective airlifts.

This rule of Ashkenaz over the Afro-Asiatic Jewish nations, and over other non-Ashkenazi nations, continued also in the State of Israel. This rule of

Ashkenaz is not the product of means and tools that it has at its disposal, but the product of Ashkenazi rule over time. We rule over the dimension of time of the State of Israel and as a result, we automatically rule over anybody who is subject to this dimension, that is to say, over everybody. The tools and the means that we have are only the result and product of our rule over modern time, for modern tools and means can be formed only through the power of rule over modern time, and through coordination with this time. As for the non-Ashkenazi peoples in the State of Israel, they do not have time, or at the very least, they do not have much of it. Their time is dead. These peoples live within the cycle of Ashkenazi time, in the power and merit of Ashkenazi time. Each hour and each moment we grant them the portion of time they need to survive, and through this we rule over them. Had the State of Israel been a grand experimental laboratory, of the type used for studies of nature, and had they removed the Ashkenazim and, in their place, were introduced an equal number of non-Ashkenazim, the State of Israel would be conquered by the Arab states within a few hours. Moreover: It would be ruined within a few months even if Nasser had been obligated to refrain from attacking it, but to give it protection. All of the State of Israel, without Ashkenazim, would lose its vital control over modern time and slide into the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup> century. None of the various non-Ashkenazi Peoples, which stand at various stages of time, are capable of coordinating their actions, or of ensuring even minimal unity. For he who stands at the point of time of the 11<sup>th</sup> century cannot act in coordination with another who stands at the point of time in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The State of Israel without Ashkenazim is not capable of maintaining an army, first and foremost not due to any technological retardation of the non-Ashkenazi peoples, but due to the fact that these people would empty their weapons against each other. Through our amazing rule of time, we actually force these peoples to follow the pace of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and in this way we ease the friction between them and hold them to the plane of modern times.

Today, we account for about 44 percent of the Jewish population in Israel. But ninety percent or more of the nation's power is concentrated in our hands. The army, research, political organization, education, and the rest of

the necessary basics of the State of Israel are not **Jewish**, that is to say, the creation of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, but **Ashkenazic**. The speedy development of scientific weaponry decreases the value, each year, of the simple, unskilled, soldier and increases our share of defensive infrastructure, despite our dwindling numbers. The Ashkenazi People in the State of Israel, can maintain on its own, without any contribution, in the way of skilled, or scientific, human capital, from the other Jewish nations, all the necessary services. If there were to be a hypothetical situation in which the non-Ashkenazi Jews wished to leave for “vacation” and not carry the burden of maintaining the nation, we would be able to carry this yoke alone for a long time. Even if our portion of the Jewish population were to fall to 10 percent – something that is unfathomable in the near future – even then our state power would be in the neighborhood of 85 percent. Our advantage comes from our wonderful rule over time, which grants rule over everything that exists within time, people, organizations, spiritual life and all the other various practical machinery.

## 2

The gathering of Jewish peoples in the State of Israel, in the form it took, was a problematic campaign from its inception. Therefore, this program carries the stigma of shocking contradictions. This is a campaign of love for the Jewish People and Jewish solidarity, the likes of which Jewish history had never seen, and together with this, it contains frightful elements of contempt and abuse of non-Ashkenazi peoples. These peoples, that maintained honorable civilizations, among them even very great ones, such as Spain and Babylon, lost, in the course of the campaign of gathering the exiles, all independence and all free will. They were turned into herds of subjugated people who followed the Ashkenazi savior. This was a grandiose rescue, but at the same time, also a terrible degradation. This degradation was necessary in order to be rescued, just as we find in surgical operations, healing situations and sexual situations. The combination of rescue-degradation that left its mark upon the gathering of exiles does not only exist for non-Ashkenazi Jews, but also for the Ashkenazim, even though, in this regard, the combination changes to victory-degradation. In

the campaign of gathering the exiles, the Ashkenazi Jew proved his superiority over the Mizrahi and won his most shining victory in the battle of relations between the Jewish peoples. But, at the same time, this victory bequeathed, to the Ashkenazi Jew, a frightful defeat that relegated the Ashkenazi People in the State of Israel to minority status, and to the creation of a possibility that the vanquished of yesterday will be the victors of some distant tomorrow. The problematic nature of the gathering of exiles does not allow us to devote just one approach to it. Of two Mizrahi Jews, who know all the facts and are both at the same intellectual and moral level, one of them will view the gathering first and foremost as a rescue campaign, but his fellow will view it, first and foremost, as a campaign of degradation. Of two Ashkenazim, one will view the gathering of exiles, first and foremost, as a victory, while the other – first and foremost as a defeat. Moreover: The great contradictory nature of this concept is likely to cause even the same man to view it each moment from a different perspective. The contradictory, and neurotic, nature of the concept of the gathering of exiles, is likely to turn it into a flash point for passion, hate and dangerous conflict.

The economic situation of the Mizrahi Jew, in the State of Israel, is quickly improving, but his ethical and societal status is depressed. Nine fingers of the two Ashkenazi hands help him and aid him from every side, but the Ashkenazi's tenth finger simultaneously moves and imprints, upon the forehead of the Mizrahi, his inferiority. The failure of the Mizrahi is not only in his retardation regarding time, but also in something even worse than this. This concept of settling the Land of Israel should have been the natural endeavor of Mideastern Jewry. In the Land of Israel under Turkish rule there were good opportunities for infiltration and possession, from the time the Turks first conquered the land until the Modern Era. Mideastern Jewry had great prospects here, but they were not taken advantage of. Jews from distant Russian regions contributed to the building of the Land of Israel more than the Jews of Baghdad. The Jews of Algeria, in which the French developed bountiful sub-tropical agriculture, have no part in the Hebrew agriculture of the Land of Israel. The fact that Ashkenazi Jews, who anticipated, in the Land of Israel, all the difficulties of acclimation to a



foreign landscape, were the ones who built up the land and not Mideastern Jews – this is convincing historical evidence of the historical inferiority of the latter. Ashkenazi Jews gave Mideastern Jews the Land of Israel as a gift, but upon the silver platter, on which the gift was presented, was also a writ of inferiority, as an unavoidable accompaniment. It was not us who presented the Mizrahi Jew this writ of failure, but history. The writ is inscribed upon Ashkenazi parchment. Every eye sees the parchment but only the few with deeper vision see the history. Moreover: It is more comfortable and more pleasant for the Mizrahi Jew to judge based on the parchment rather than what is written upon it. The result is that in the midst of our rescue work on behalf of Mideastern Jewry, and because of this rescue, we awaken a sea of hatred. The dance of demons of this counter-historical combination, rescue-degradation, which is embedded in the gathering of exiles, constantly pursues us. More than this: We have presented to Mideastern Jewry the maximum possible portion of degradation, despite super-human efforts to minimize the degradation, but we have brought it only a small portion of the expected rescue, for its weakness is a malignant growth that is difficult to remove.

### 3

The confrontation between Ashkenaz and the non-Ashkenazi peoples is a meeting between one of the giants of the world and a group of midgets. Each one of these midgets serves as indirect evidence of the greatness of Ashkenaz. The Ashkenazi superiority is primarily a superiority of its rule over time. It is a superiority of geographical dispersion, of an abundance of human skills, of standing upon the historical world stage. The Sephardim, that is to say, the members of the Ladino nation, demand special status for themselves among the non-Ashkenazi peoples. They wish to fill something of an intermediate stage between the small Afro-Asiatic nations and Ashkenaz. But they are not quite able to do this, despite the outstanding qualities, and social health, of the Ladino nation. History was also cruel to this people and included it among the midgets. The attempt to combine the midgets, and to consolidate them against the giant, is ridiculous to begin with, except, perhaps, with the ballot box when there are many delegates.

Just as a dozen dim-witted people can never be equal to a genius, likewise a collection of non-Ashkenazi midgets cannot compete against Ashkenaz.

This situation creates the traumatic meeting between an athlete and a series of small defective people. Members of the non-Ashkenazi peoples have the feeling that they are defective compared to the giant who stands before them. They are reminded of their depressing smallness everywhere: In talent and in cultural richness, in their social standing and in their personal abilities. In their hearts beats a strong desire to flee this dwarflike status, to join the giant and to be of his flesh and bones. To this end, they hopelessly aspire. They joined the Revisionist undergrounds in proportions far greater than their percentage of the population and their educational level. It is enough to look at the list of those who died in Lehi and Etzel to appreciate this. Tens of them found their deaths not necessarily because they sought to free the Land of Israel from foreign rule, but because they sought to free themselves from the status of defective people through stepping up to a great historic association, and fought shoulder to shoulder with Ashkenaz. But this form of Sephardo-Mizrahi reaction to their dwarflike status, in relation to Ashkenaz, is not the only one. There are other forms that are less praiseworthy. There is, first and foremost, a form of hatred toward the giant, of wishing for his misfortune, and of joy at his defeat. This phenomenon was very recognizable regarding the Holocaust and the trial of Eichmann. In folklore, and in the collection of curses of these peoples, there is an excessively long list of curses that identify with Hitler and with Eichmann, and even those that express sorrow that the work of those two was not good enough. “It is a pity that Hitler did not finish all of you”, or “it is a pity that Eichmann did not work overtime” are common curses among the Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews, and they are heard in the workplace, in offices and even in schools. Against this background there were several scandals and one instance of immediate dismissal from a large public institution in Tel Aviv. These Sephardo-Mizrahi curses are the most accurate benchmarks for ascertaining the character of the hatred the Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews hold against the Ashkenazim, and the best way to see the difference between this hatred and the corresponding Ashkenazi hatred. The common Ashkenazi insult, against the Sephardim, is “frenk

farch” to express a personal, internal Jewish insult that is on the same level as other insults of this type such as “Lithuanian pig”, “Polish drifkeh”, or “Galician thief”. The Sephardo-Mizrahi curses are of a different sort entirely. They constitute a request, even a prayer, to imaginary and satanic external powers, that they strike at Ashkenaz and turn it into a defective people. The Sephardo-Mizrahi curse takes a clear stance alongside Hitler and participates in his deeds – within the realm of will and fantasy – of the murder of Ashkenazi Jewry. The attitude of Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews toward Ashkenaz is on the same level as the psychological reactions of midgets, who are brought to fierce confrontation with a giant. Here we find primal reactions, both positive and negative, and we even find a jumping back and forth from pole to pole.

## 4

The most brazen, of all the Sephardo-Mizrahi hatreds against Ashkenaz, is the Sephardic hatred. That is to say, the hatred that bubbles up from the hearts of those who see themselves as direct heirs to the Sephardo-Jewish nationalism that reached its apex in the “golden ages” of the land of Spain. It is fairly clear that, in contrast to the Ashkanazim, the Sephardim never believed in the existence of one Jewish People but necessarily in the existence of a Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, and within this confederacy, the Sephardim demanded the highest national status for themselves. This Sephardic faith was, apparently, a supporting pillar of their self-confidence, and when it was destroyed by Ashkenazi successes, this hastened the ruination of their culture and the destruction of their character. Over the course of the last two hundred years, Ashkenaz followed Sepharad like a shadow and proved to it that Ashkenaz is infinitely greater. The Ashkenazim encroached upon the Sephardim in Holland, and in Southern Germany. Even in their great outpost, England, Ashkenaz showed them its ascendancy over them. The Sephardim had plenty of opportunity to create a civilization in America, and they were the first to settle there. But it was not a Sephardi civilization that arose in the various lands of America, rather a specifically Ashkenazi one. Above all: The Sephardim had good opportunities to create a great settlement, with citizenship rights, in the

Land of Israel, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and Yosef Nasi even received a charter from the sultan of the Tiberius vicinity. But the Sephardi lack of persistence revealed itself also here, and it was not they who founded the State of Israel, but the Ashkenazim. In the course of the wide geographic dispersion of Ashkenaz, the Ashkenazim penetrated geographical areas that were Sephardi, and turned them into Ashkenazi areas. The Sephardim saw this as a sort of Ashkenazi conquest of areas that “belonged” to Sepharad for generations. Moreover: The Sephardim saw, in the Land of Israel, their last great outpost in the Jewish world and, when the Ashkenazim “stormed” into it, mixed reactions were awakened within them, including hostility. Against this background, the author of these columns is reminded of an incident that happened to him some 33 years ago in Jerusalem, in the editorial board of the “Daily Mail”. This newspaper was formerly edited by Itamar Ben Avi, who was close to the Sephardim and faithful to them. Later, the editorial job passed to Jabotinsky and as a result, I worked there for about half a year. In the courtyard of the editorial office there was a Sephardi institution, the Sephardi Committee of Jerusalem. Its secretary, M. D. Gaon, a Balkan Jew who had composed a historic lexicon of Sephardi Jews who had contributed donations for the development of the Land of Israel, would sometimes enter the editorial office. We considered him one of us. One day, when a notice, that M. D. Gaon had given us, was not printed for some reason, the man burst into the office and, in a voice that was truly choked with tears, said, or more accurately, yelled: “I thought we had a newspaper and now we don’t even have this!” M. D. Gaon meant to say that in the days when Itamar Ben Avi was editor, the Daily Mail was owned by the Sephardi Kingdom, but when it editorial job passed to Jabotinsky, this newspaper was conquered by Ashkenaz... At the time, I did not understand the meaning of this little incident, but now it is very clear to me. Jabotinsky was an exceptional friend to the Sephardim and he uttered, in their presence, compliments that are difficult to forgive. Sephardim participated noticeably in the Revisionist movement in the Land of Israel and around the world, but despite this, M. D. Gaon saw, in the passing of the editorial position of “The Daily Mail” to Jabotinsky, a conquest by the armies of Ashkenaz that deprived Sepharad of precious territory.

The successes and advantages of Ashkenaz are truly unforgivable in the eyes of a zealous Sephardi, who sees, in them, unbearable audacity. This is the source of the terrible Sephardi hatred toward Ashkenaz. In the successes of Ashkenaz, the zealous Sephardi sees an event that shakes his self-confidence and puts his historical standing under a question mark. In his eyes, Ashkenaz is a demon that tears Sepharad apart. The Ashkenazi attitude is completely different. The Sephardi does not shake his confidence. On the contrary, he adds to his pride. In the eyes of the Ashkenazi, the Sephardi is a Jew who is on a lower level than his own, who tends to be devious, and who is only worthy of a lower, or intermediate, status. This Ashkenazi approach to the Sephardi is entirely personal and local and lacks the elements of any summation, or abstract idea, of the historical relationship between the two peoples.

The humiliation of the Sephardim, before the Ashkenazim, is alarming, but on the other hand, there are but few instances where the Sephardi – especially the intelligent Sephardi – reveals a polite attitude toward the Ashkenazi and his accomplishments. I have heard of only one instance, of a learned Sephardi who deals with Ashkenazi history. This is an exceptional case. In contrast, hundreds, or thousands, of Ashkenazi researchers and scholars have invested untold toil in the field of Sephardi wisdom and poetry. In my discussions with enlightened Sephardim, I have always encountered an attitude of extreme disrespect toward the culture and history of Ashkenaz. Yiddish is, of course, “jargon”. The Ashkenazim do not know how to write, and their writing is cumbersome and unintelligible, which is in complete contrast to the clear style of classical Sephardic writing. In my discussions with enlightened Sephardim, it became clear to me that, according to them, all that is found in the spiritual inventory of Ashkenaz has its origin in Sephardic brilliance, but Ashkenaz itself never created anything original. It seems to me that the Sephardim attribute the success of Ashkenaz, first and foremost to the abilities it has demonstrated in taking, or even stealing (a Sephardic Knesset member screamed at me in anger: The first was always Sephardi!) from foreign sources. According to the Sephardim, Ashkenaz committed two great thefts: It stole Jewish

values from Sepharad and it stole organizational skills from Germany, and after it was able to mix these two thefts, it ascended to greatness. And so, our abilities in mixing... thefts is what stood in our favor and it is what created the Ashkenazi giant... and this opinion is held not by illiterate ignoramuses, but by Sephardim who are enlightened and who are public servants.

The state of affairs that exists in the State of Israel was likely to anger a zealous Sephardi, like M. D. Gaon, much more than the incident that caused his outburst in the editing office of "The Daily Mail" 33 years ago. The words of the Sephardim, concerning the fact that they are the choppers of wood and the carriers of water in this nation, are entirely true. Had this been due to discrimination, it would not be such a great tragedy. The worst part is that the Sephardim are the choppers of wood and the carriers of water in a situation where it is not they who are discriminated against, but us. In the course of the rescue campaigns, and the redemption of the gathering of exiles, we Ashkenazim took, as payment for this campaign, the great mistress herself, the historical Sepharad, and we turned her into the cleaning lady who washes floors and scrubs the toilets of Ashkenaz. Such degradation is, of course, a necessity, and part of, the rescue. But is it possible that this degradation is so great that it defeats the purpose of the rescue? Again we find ourselves descending into a terrible whirlpool, into an inn of dancing demons, into the terrifying and perverse twins-of-contradiction – degradation-salvation. Moreover: Perhaps here we have an even more perverse revelation? By so degrading the Sephardi, we may be exacerbating his defect, and in order to console him for this, we make ourselves defective by giving up Yiddish and our historical past. Thus, we place the defect upon us instead of placing it upon our partner in the gathering of exiles! A perverse dance in muddy waters and ugly concepts that lack any clarity or implications that signify constructive diplomacy - but they contain plenty of signs that indicate a materializing catastrophe.

The policy of identification with foreign demonism, that is imbedded within the Sephardi hatred toward Ashkenaz, is not just typical to the lower social strata of the Sephardo-Mizrahi people. This hatred found satisfaction, and comfort, in the Holocaust, but it did not begin with the Holocaust. It constitutes a direct continuation of the Sephardi feelings of hatred toward Ashkenaz, which were ignited with the meeting of the two peoples at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and in the decades after that. It seems that even then the Sephardic leaders had reached the conclusion that they could not compete with Ashkenaz, and that only external calamities against Ashkenaz, such as the persecutions of 1648-1649, could restore Sephardic dominance among the Jewish peoples. This conclusion explains the ease with which Sephardi leaders adopted slander, backbiting, and other forms of taking advantage of foreign powers. We find an instructive lesson of the attitudes of the Sephardic leaders, in the modern era, and of the optimism and joy that the Holocaust brought this gang, in the central ideological publication of the Sephardi leaders, "Tribe and People", volume 4, in the article by Knesset member Ya'akov Nitzani, a member of Mapai. In this article, which was written in response to my article in volume 3 of the periodical, Nitzani writes:

*Sephardic Jewry, with its sages, rabbis and famous personalities, not just of the golden age in Spain, but also many years after this, wished to preserve its honorable status within Jewry. It is not easy for it to make peace with the fact that the hegemony of the nation had passed into the hands of Ashkenazi Jewry... The feeling of pride, however, of Sephardic Jewry, was damaged more than a little when it sees itself outside the circle of the leadership of the people, and no part of it sits in the Hall of Fame of the nation, but on the outskirts. It doesn't want to see itself as one who is of declining wealth.*

*Remember the story of the attorney Leon Castro, of blessed memory, the illustrious leader of Egyptian Jewry, who said:*

*"In a certain small city in Eastern Europe, there was a doctor who traveled to Western Europe to advance his studies. He remained*

*abroad for about half a year. While he was gone, a plague broke out in the small city and its environs, and many died. When the doctor returned to the city of his birth, he entered a synagogue to see who sat at the Eastern wall to replace the honorable ones who had passed on. What did his eyes see? In what should have been empty places, others were sitting. There was not an empty place at all”.*

*“A great catastrophe had befallen the nation” – continued the attorney Castro – “Entire tribes, that had sat on the Eastern wall of the nation, had been destroyed, disappeared and gone. The time has come when some of those empty places, that have been vacated, should be taken by Sephardic Jews.”* (This is the end of Y. Nitzani’s quote of Castro).

Now Nitzani continues and says:

*This proverb was told at the end of the Second World War; it made waves within Sephardic Jewry. If we add to this that until recently, the main source of immigrants, to the Land of Israel, was from Mideastern lands, it will be understood why there was such hope to acquire a more honorable role in the leadership of the nation* (End of the Nitzani’s words).

Until World War II, books were written, within Ashkenazi literature, about the Spanish Inquisition, amid deep sympathy with the plight of those tortured and persecuted people. But the reaction of Sepharad, to the catastrophe of Ashkenaz, was entirely different. The Sephardic leaders were glad, and rejoiced at the sight of the Ashkenazi tragedy. The plumbs of smoke had not yet ceased rising up, and they were already calculating the benefits that they would reap from this terrible calamity. Their joy was of the same sort that the Philistines felt when they learned of the death of Saul and Jonathan.

If two researchers would rise and take upon themselves parallel tasks, one going out to gather all the material that expresses the reactions of Ashkenaz to the Spanish Inquisition of 1492, and the other going out to gather the reactions of Sephardo-Mizrahi Jewry to the Ashkenazi tragedy of the



Holocaust – the results would be shocking. The first researcher would gather an abundance of poetry and high-quality literature that shares the grief of Sepharad, while the folder of the second would be full of curses, for example “it’s a pity that Eichmann did not finish all of them”, that show an identification with Hitler, or at least joy at the opportunity to benefit from the destruction of Ashkenaz, as this joy is expressed in the words of the attorney Castro.

The sight of Ashkenazi blood is a sight that brings pleasure to the Sephardic leaders. This is evident to anybody who reads their newspapers and articles. To emphasize their special delight, they mention the riots of Wadi Salib and of David Ben Haroush, they note that blood was spilled there, and that it is likely there will be riots greater than the sort witnessed at Wadi Salib. Over and over again, they speak of this topic, and lick their fingers as they do so. These lowly leaders, who compete with each other round the table of Ashkenaz, hoping for a crumb from its feast, are simultaneously filled with feelings of murderous hate. They see themselves, in their hearts, as those who are at war with Ashkenaz and they justify their grovelling as a necessity of war that should not be condemned. Their confrontational feelings cause them to encourage the terrorist Ben Haroush by saying that he was audacious, and that he was courageous, by coordinating riots against the Ashkenazim; that he did a deed that other Sephardic leaders have been putting off until a much later time.

There were no Sephardic institutions, and no important Sephardic personalities, who came out to condemn, and rebuke, the horrific event of Wadi Salib. Their silence was a sign of agreement and of solidarity with the sentiments of the riots. A few days after the riots, in the summer of 1959, a club of Iraqi immigrants in Ramat Gan arranged a speech by Mr. Eliezer Livneh. I thought, in my heart, that the speech would include a response, by the Iraqi intelligentsia, to the riots, and I traveled to Ramat Gan. The chairman spoke at length about the riots, emphasized that the evening is not dedicated to speak of them, but at the same time he noted that he is convinced that even though the current audience would reject the methods used at Wadi Salib, it would identify with the sentiments that were

expressed in that neighborhood. In this spirit, the other speakers spoke during arguments that developed after the speech. I requested permission to speak and I said that had the people of Wadi Salib demonstrated against the police or city hall, in order to express their displeasure, nobody would have a problem with that. But the people of the neighborhood beat up Ashkenazim just because they were Ashkenazim, and they damaged Ashkenazi businesses, and this can only be called “rioting”. My words were interrupted with shouts and calls such as, “but they oppress them!” (In other words, the Ashkenazim, as a whole, are the ones who oppress the people of Wadi Salib). Only with a firm hand was the chairman able to stop the shouting and return order to the conference. In those days, the newspapers wrote about immigrants from Romania, who were requesting permission to leave their country at any cost, and to take some of their belongings with them. On my return from the conference, I thought to myself that if matters continue to be handled, in the State of Israel, as they were handled at Wadi Salib, it is likely there will come a day when the Ashkenazim also ask to leave it, and their only request from the Iraqi immigrants is that they give them permission to leave and to take a few of their belongings with them.

## 6

Avraham Abaas was, without doubt, the best of the ethnic leaders. It is difficult to reconcile this with the fact that he not only counted himself among the gang of Sephardic leaders, but that he was one of the most extremist within it. This Syrian Jew reached Zionism, and the settlement, by means of the United Kibbutz, and he saw up close the wonderful social work done by Ashkenaz for the Sephardo-Mizrahi people, that reached its apex in the kibbutz. It could have been hoped, therefore, that Avraham Abaas would end up a friend and supporter of Ashkenaz, but the results were entirely different. In the totality of relations between Ashkenaz and Sepharad, Abaas saw, first and foremost, not the amazing amount of aid that Ashkenaz rendered to Sepharad, or the great sacrifices that Ashkenaz suffered in the course of this abnormal partnership, but the impartial horror that took shape in the confrontation between the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples,

who were stricken, injured and of minor stature and the great and abundantly healthy Ashkenaz. This impartial horror, which we did not bring about – we have an excellent alibi – Abaas dressed up as a terrible crime that Ashkenaz perpetrated, so to speak, upon the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples by way of failing to heal their wounds immediately... From the throat of Abaas comes the shrill scream and rebuke of a nationalism that had been humbled from a national perspective, and destroyed from a social perspective. The socialist dialectic, which Abaas had inherited for himself from the framework of the kibbutz and the Labor movement, he did not use in order to confront the Sephardic leaders, or the wealthy members of the Sephardo-Mizrahi nations who had abandoned their people. No. This dialectic serves him one purpose only: To attack Ashkenaz. Abaas entirely forgets that in World War II, the Ashkenazi People lost 9 million people, 6 million were murdered by Hitler and 3 million were captives of Soviet Russia, and that after this terrible tragedy, we have complete permission to tend only to our own wounds, and if we have done so much for the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples, this is a unique deed. This reckoning does not interest Abaas at all. He sees only the Sephardic wound and he demands that Ashkenaz see only it.

In issue 1 of “Tribe and People”, from the year 1954, Abaas published an article that became something of a standard for the Sephardic leaders in their war against the Ashkenazi “ways of darkness”. In his use of statistical figures that illustrate the fact that everybody already knows, the small number of Sephardo-Mizrahi people in higher levels of various organizations, Abaas claims this fact is entirely due to those ways of darkness. In this article, Abaas also brings marriage statistics that show the small number of Ashkenazi to non-Ashkenazi marriages, in particular non-Ashkenazim from Asian and African lands. This phenomenon is also one of the types of accusations that Abaas levels, in his writ of accusation, against Ashkenaz. The right of each person to choose his mate is one of the most sacred human rights. However, if a young Ashkenazi man or woman, or their parents, uses this right in order to specifically choose an Ashkenazi mate, Abaas sees this as oppression against the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples... We should not blame only Abaas for this unspeakable

audacity, but rather first and foremost the folly, superficiality and deceptive ways of the Ashkenazim with whom he came into contact. These Ashkenazim should have revealed to Abaas the fact of historical inferiority of the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples compared to Ashkenaz. But, instead of telling him this truth and emphasizing the long period of healing these peoples require, the Ashkenazim flattered Abaas with unrealistic scenarios of optimism that promised salvation within half a generation. It appears that Abaas had doubts about this optimism and, because of the pain, he reached a conclusion that avoids reality and presents absurd demands. In the above-mentioned article by Abaas, written in the year 1954, we can already recognize the imperative, and threatening, undertone, which is so typical of the propaganda of the leaders, and seducers, of Sepharad in our times. Abaas says: “In order to prevent this grave process, it is essential to have a planned national policy”. What Abbas means is an elimination of the gap. Abbas then continues and says: “If we do not do this soon, the foundations of equality will collapse, and there will be dissatisfaction, and who knows what situation we shall arrive at...”

These points are threatening points. That is to say, if we do not fulfill all of the demands that were laid out by Abbas, then woe unto us and we are responsible for our own ill fate!

Abbas was a working class man from the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples, and his religion greatly strengthened his ties to the masses, on whose behalf he spoke. He never severed his ties with them, and he always dwelt among them. In this he was an exception within the congregation of Sephardic leaders, of whom the vast majority fled from their people and left them to themselves. The man died before his time, and it is very likely that had he lived longer, he would have been among the founders of an “ethnic”, that is to say, a nationalist, Sephardo-Mizrahi movement, which was of the same type as the “Achva” movement, a movement that does not set itself apart from the latter in its appeal except, perhaps, in that its leader, Avraham Abaas, would have risen above all the Sephardo-Mizrahi nationalists who preceded him.

A completely different type of man, than Avraham Abaas, is Professor André Chouraqui, a scion of a line of Sephardo-Mizrahi rabbis, an accomplished man whose days were spent not among the simple Sephardo-Mizrahi people, but within the walls of universities and institutions of higher learning. Chouraqui became famous in the State of Israel as Ben-Gurion's advisor in matters of the integration of exiles, as an aid to Ben-Gurion who disagreed with him and became his adversary. Later in this book, we shall speak more of this skilled and devious man, the adversarial advisor and the explosive speaker. For now we'll concentrate on one aspect of Chouraqui's personality, the aspect of the demonic hatred toward Ashkenaz that seethed within him. It is fairly certain that Chouraqui is one of the flash points of the Sephardic tragedy, and of the devil's dance of Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations. Had Chouraqui lived in the days of Maimonides, it is likely that his name would be woven among the line of great men who represent the glory of Spain. However, Chouraqui lived in the twentieth century and therefore he was fated to have the bitter task of representing the ignorant Sephardo-Mizrahi people that stands at the door of Ashkenaz and demands aid for the unfortunate. Chouraqui's situation is similar to that of James Baldwin, the famous Negro American author, who lives in two worlds and does not find satisfaction in either of them. Baldwin is attached to the intellectual, Anglo-Saxon, world, in whose language he writes and to whom he appeals. But he hates this world for its abusive treatment of Negroes. In an inn of simple Negroes, James Baldwin finds comfort for his hurt emotions, but this environment cannot satisfy his intellectual cravings.

The proper place for André Chouraqui, in the State of Israel, is the cathedral of the university, an institute for the splendor of Sepharad, which comes to bury this splendor under the Ashkenazi elite. In his sitting upon this throne, Chouraqui turns into an integral part of the great fellowship of Ashkenazi scientists who deal with the wisdom of Sepharad. However, Chouraqui's political thread is too strong for him to be a man of the cathedral. He stands at the forefront of the aggrieved hordes of Sepharad,

and demands that Ashkenaz dress their wounds, but this demand is adulterated with a demonic hatred toward Ashkenaz because it had won something that was forbidden for it to win, that is to say, an incredible superiority over Sepharad. Chouraqui beseeches Ashkenaz and attacks it at the same time, a dagger that avenges the shame of the beseeching. In all the copious words of Chouraqui, in which he happened to mention them, I have not found one word of praise toward Ashkenaz. At the most, he mentions the state favorably. For Ashkenaz, he has not reserved even one good word, only bad ones. In “The Weekly Interview” in “Ma’ariv” from 11/18/60, Chouraqui touches on the riots of Wadi Salib and says: - “Wadi Salib?... This was not a surprise for me. I foresaw this, - however it was not possible to know where – but this ethnic outburst, one year before the elections – was bound to happen, since all the symptoms it needed were there!”

Thus, “we deserve” to have riots launched against us. This is the announcement of the most prominent personality in Sephardic Jewry. Chouraqui, the politician and sociologist, considers himself more qualified than others to know what sort of aid should be given to Sepharad, and what sort of national compromises Ashkenaz must make to this end. However, no amount of aid can mitigate the Sephardic rage that burns within Chouraqui, and has its origin, ultimately, in the fact that Sepharad stands on its knees before Ashkenaz for aid, and not the other way around. According to Chouraqui, we have accepted upon ourselves – so he explains the gathering, and integration, of exiles – the obligation of difficult toil in order to put an end, in a short amount of time, to the differences, and to finalize the integration. If we do not complete this task of difficult toil, then we must be punished through riots. This approach, which serves as the foundation for all of Chouraqui’s actions and tactics, brought about deterioration in relations between himself and those who sought his advice. As this was happening, Chouraqui emphasized his zealous Sephardic nationalism more and more, and he published the announcement that gave it wings:

*From the time of our patriarch Abraham, until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it is impossible to list one Jew of European origin, who accomplished anything that left a lasting impression upon future generations. (“Ma’arakha” part 18, December, 1962, page 13).*

This crazy idea of Sephardic greatness, which faithfully accompanies feelings of inferiority, is seen here in all its glory. Rashi, for example (if we wish to mention the name of one European Jew) is no more important than an onion peel according to Chouraqui. If this is so, why does Chouraqui waste his time among us, the Jews of Ashkenaz, and why does he beseech us? Are the lowly Ashkenazim really worthy of an illustrious advisor, such as Chouraqui, to show us the way?

## 8

The Sephardic hatred toward Ashkenaz, which will not be satisfied with any consideration, since it has its roots in jealousy over Ashkenazi history, which dwarfs Sephardic history, is likely to bring about severe clashes between the two peoples. However, this is not the only hatred. There is another hatred even worse than it, which is, for now, hidden from view. This is the Ashkenazi hatred. It was not in order to create a Sephardic center, one that is second in importance only to Spain, which motivated the Ashkenazim to invest eighty years of work in the Land of Israel. It was their intention to build, in the Land of Israel, not a **Jewish** state, but an **Ashkenazi** state, and if they were not particular about the name, it was because they did not consider other Jews to be important. Most Ashkenazim never considered the Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews to be ideal partners. They were prepared to work with them only as a convenience and as peripherals of no value, by their very nature. The partnership with Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews came about not from the free will of the Ashkenazim, but because it was forced upon them by the ruling Ashkenazi intelligentsia, which used, to this end, religious symbolism and other organizational means. The Ashkenazi masses felt violated by the inclusion of Sephardo-Mizrahi elements, and they went along with it even though they objected in their hearts. When the first Yemenite migrants were

brought to Rehovoth, 52 years ago, all areas of Rehovoth expressed misgivings at their arrival, and only one came to their aid and allocated land for their housing. Over the course of time, the large neighborhood of Sha'arayim sprouted among the Yemenite immigrants, whose sons fought along side the sons of Rehovoth in all the wars against outside enemies, from then until today. However, this wider cooperation in war, and among its sons, did little to dull the sharpness of the two strong emotions that were aroused with the arrival of the Yemenites 52 years earlier: The feeling of opposition, among the farmers of Rehovoth, to the introduction of the Yemenites, and their bitterness that this partnership, with the Yemenites, was forced upon them; and the Yemenite anger at the terrible, and shocked, reception that they, as returning exiles, had received. When we examine these things from an ethical perspective, there is likely to be a flood of parables that do not help much to clarify the matter that this book deals with. We should view these matters from the perspective of history, which proves that these are natural developments of the bitter war and fierce competition, between Jewish peoples, that has been going on since the days of the Patriarchs. The words of Professor Chouraqui, that the Jews of Europe had not produced, until the 17<sup>th</sup> century, first-class historical personalities, were described in most Ashkenazi publications as "racism". This is a great, and most dangerous error. Professor Chouraqui is not a racist. God forbid. He is a zealous Sephardic nationalist, who is infused with feelings of superiority that were common among the Jewish tribes in the days of our father Abraham. The opposition of the farmers of Rehovoth, to the settlement of Yemenites in their midst, 52 years ago, was an expression of Ashkenazi nationalism. The riots and turmoil, that the Yemenite Jews orchestrated on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of their arrival, two years ago, were expressions of Yemenite nationalism, etc.

What I mean to say is that this Ashkenazi nationalism did not accept the participation of Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews out of free will, but it viewed it as having been forced upon it, and all the acts of cooperation have still not removed this feeling of being victims of force. In connection with this matter, it is worth dedicating some time to the words of the Yemenite author Mordechai Tabib, in his article that appeared in the bi-weekly "From



the Foundation”, in the issue that was published on 10/25/1962. In this article, the author composes a long list of dark accusations, which appear, in Ashkenazi eyes, to be ridiculous and invented out of thin air. Among them appears the accusation against Moshe Smilansky, the author and activist of Rehovoth, that he failed to include, in his stories, Yemenite characters, people of Sha’arayim, who had worked his vineyards and orchards. This claim, taken by itself, is absurd. An author is allowed to choose whatever characters he sees fit, and he is not obligated to answer to anybody’s audit concerning his choice of heroes, but, from a political and psychological perspective, this fact, which so infuriated Tabib, is very meaningful. That Smilansky avoided Yemenite characters proves that their existence, in the landscape of Rehovoth, was considered unfavorable, and that he did not like them, that he perhaps even feared them. Moshe Smilansky strived toward an Ashkenazi-Arabic culture, in which the Ashkenazi Jew appears in the Arabic landscape as a planter, a researcher, an author, and over time, even as a politician. This attempt lacked any political grasp, but on a purely cultural plane, he had already won great successes, one of which was the literary creation of Moshe Smilansky. The dual Ashkenazi-Arabic existence, in the many old settlements, was much more idealistic than the dual existence of Rehovoth and Sha’arayim.

The conclusion is shocking. We have expelled the Arabs and imported Mizrahi Jews. But at the same time we were creating the cultural foundation, the harmonic dual existence between the Arabs and us had not been nullified, and we had not created a parallel asset that was capable of bridging the gap between the Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews and us. The ties between these Jews and us are bureaucratic, institutional and security-oriented in nature. That is to say, it depends mainly on cooperation for security, which is essentially conjunctural in nature, even if it continues for centuries. The farmers of Rehovoth, during British rule, and the nearby surrounding Arabs, were at odds from a security standpoint, but despite this, they shared an intimacy that was, perhaps, more natural than that that exists between the inhabitants of Rehovoth and the inhabitants of Sha’arayim today, despite their cooperation in matters of security. During Turkish, and British rule, many strong personal bonds formed between the

Jews and the Arabs. Between Zionist youth and Arab sheiks. Between respectable people and respectable people. Jewish individuals even integrated themselves completely into Arab life, and had become part of their society, knew Arabic traditions, appeared as arbiters in disputes, etc. Is there such an intimacy between the Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews and us? The establishment, of course, has recommendations typical to it: Mixed meetings, the adoption of families etc. But these ideas are, themselves, evidence of bankruptcy. It should be noted that Mikveh Israel contains an Ashkenazi-Arabic ideology. They work together, in wonderful harmony, to destroy the State of Israel. The Arabs do not complain of persecution and atrocities. They feel more comfortable than the Sephardo-Mizrahim feel within Ashkenazi political parties. On the other hand, there exists in the "Voice of Israel" section, strong and effective cooperation between the higher cultural circles of the Sephardo-Mizrahim, and the cultural sector within the Arab minority in the State of Israel. Jews and Arabs work here, in cooperation and harmony, within the Arab cultural and entertainment fields. The general rule is that true cultural cooperation creates true societal cooperation, without all the talk of integration. And despite this, all the talk of integration, without any common cultural background, does not create integration, but such cultural cooperation as this, is missing in the Ashkenazi-Sephardi relationship.

In connection to this, I shall relate a personal chain of events that can serve as an important illustration. Over the course of thirty years, I was a good friend of David Siton, one of the main Sephardic activists, and a member of the circle that I refer to as "the Sephardic leaders". Our closeness was enmeshed in the background of the Revisionist movement. We were members of various political groups, during the formative, and stressful, years, and there were times when a day didn't pass without us seeing each other and having long conversations. During those conversations, Siton's Sephardiness, and my Ashkenaziness, were never mentioned. These aspects were considered of no importance. After the establishment of the state, the distance between us grew greater and deeper and, in the end, Siton turned into an extreme Sephardic nationalist and I, for my part, turned into an Ashkenazi nationalist. The ties between us were almost entirely

severed, and I am certain that it is because of this political reason. My conclusion, in this chain of events, is that there never truly was a deep closeness between us, but our ties were only for the sake of our war with common enemies and shared opposition: The English, the Arabs and the people of Mapai. When the conjunctural circumstances of war had passed, our friendship was shattered into pieces, as if it never existed, and this fact proved that the relationship was of the same nature as that of the friendship between the Jewish tribes in the days of the Judges, which worked together against a foreign tribe and persecuted it, and as soon as they had prevailed, their friendship turned into enmity and their hatred returned to its previous state.

This foundation of force and artificiality accompanied the Ashkenazi-Sephardi relationship, in the Land of Israel, almost from the first time the Ashkenazi community began, more or less, to be recognized. The threads that linked the disciples of the Vilna Gaon, who migrated to the Land of Israel in the year 1809, and the Sephardim, were severed and, over the course of about two generations, until the arrival of Eliezer Ben-Yehuda and his friends, the relationship between these two bodies was like the relationship between two peoples who happened to share the same religion. As long as this separateness, which had been achieved in large part thanks to the efforts of Rabbi Yisroel of Shklov, showed all the signs of a natural historic phenomenon, the bridge that Ben Yehuda, and his friends, built bore all the signs of artificiality and weakness. Rabbi Yisroel of Shklov expressed the developed desire of an entire community, but Ben Yehuda expressed the deviant desire of a group of intellectuals. The foundation of force, within the Ashkenazi-Sephardi relationship in the Land of Israel, reached its apex in the years after the establishment of the state, when Ben-Gurion opened the floodgates of the Land of Israel to the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples and accelerated the process that is now reducing the Ashkenazim to a minority.

This policy of Ben-Gurion aroused many regrets, and even opposition, trembling and fear among many Ashkenazim. Had Ben-Gurion presented this policy for approval via a referendum before the Jews of the State of

Israel in the year 1949 or 1950, and had pamphlets, explaining the historic background, and the cultural situation, of most Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples, been distributed among the Jews of the state, there is no doubt that the great majority of Ashkenazim would have rejected the Law of Return.

Moreover: There is no doubt that even very many older Sephardo-Mizrahim would have rejected this law. However, Ben-Gurion forced his will upon the nation by using his great personal authority, and by taking advantage of religious symbolism and organizational tools. This success of Ben-Gurion was complete only in outward appearance. The powers of Ashkenazi anger, which were founded upon the use of force in Ben-Gurion's policy, went underground and they wait, like black panthers waiting for their prey. Forced policies, in a democratic society, are always dangerous. They bring about forces that such a public cannot digest or rule over. Moreover: This step by Ben-Gurion greatly increased the severity of the acts of force that were perpetrated upon the Ashkenazi settlement in the Land of Israel. (The uprooting of Yiddish, and the establishment of Hebrew, was also an act of force, for Yiddish was a democratic language, a language that arose from the power of public will, while Hebrew was the language of the intelligentsia, which was forced upon the people). The Ashkenazim remain today with a feeling of foreboding and fear. They see that they have lost the majority, and that Ashkenazi superiority is in danger. It is still not clear to the Ashkenazim how much they must give up to the Sephardo-Mizrahim and where the line in the sand must be. But if the Sephardic hatred exceeds the excesses of incitement and minor riots, and dresses itself in larger dimensions, then the powers of Ashkenazi anger are likely to break out of their underground hiding places, and to cause dangerous outbursts. I do not say that the Law of Return, of Ben-Gurion, was a mistake. In principle it was correct, and the State had no other alternative, even though it was necessary to exercise careful selectivity and to prevent the import, to the Land of Israel, of such a large percentage of defective people. But despite this, the great foundation of this law, as it pertains to Ashkenazim, was by force, which caused hidden feelings of anger that threaten to explode.

After years of in-depth study of the chapter of the gathering, and integration, of exiles in the State of Israel, after I examined this problem to the best of my abilities, after I checked it from the historical background of the past, the political relationship in the State of Israel, the personal relationship between Ashkenazim and non-Ashkenazim, after all this study, reading, searching the sources and conversations with tens of Sephardim and Ashkenazim, I reached the conclusion that, from an Ashkenazi perspective, this policy is absurd, frightening and contains horrific dangers. It is absurd because it represents a sudden, and ridiculous, step backward from the path that Ashkenaz had been taking for the last 200 years. From the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century until the era of Ben Yehuda, Ashkenazi Jews had been inheriting the place of the Sephardim, both on the geographical level of the centers of the world and in the realm of taking the places of honor, among the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, for creativity. Hebrew Literature changed this natural historical direction and created a new process. Through Modern Hebrew, Ashkenazim made a great effort to give back, to Sepharad, its cultural status and then – for reasons of convenience, to benefit Sepharad, and serve as a catastrophe for Ashkenaz – Sepharad was given numerical hegemony in the State of Israel, the geographical, and central political, position among the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples...

## 9

The point of departure for the whole process was, of course, the year 1903. The correct path was to accept the Uganda Proposition. To establish, in East Africa, a great Ashkenazi civilization, and then to create, in the Land of Israel, an Ashkenazi state in which there would be a set percentage of Sephardo-Mizrahim in the population which corresponds, more or less, to their percentage within the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples. Moreover: In the building of the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel under British rule, it was necessary to take into consideration the neurosis in the Ashkenazi-Sephardi relationship, and to create, through an appropriate plan, a guaranteed Ashkenazi majority for many generations. However, the Zionist policy gave a huge preference to Sepharad, and the results did not

take long to show. The sacrifice of the Ashkenazi People came in three stages, through the use of undemocratic methods and through hidden, underground, tactics. The first stage came to fruition in the New Hebrew Literature, which undermined the status of Yiddish, the democratic language of the masses, sought to make determinations, in the lot of the people, through a language that they did not understand, and through a network of secret underground cells, of which the main one was “The Sons of Moses”, the underground organization of Ahad ha’Am. The second phase of the sacrifice of the Ashkenazi People was carried out at the Sixth Zionist Congress, when the British government proposal of establishing a Jewish state in East Africa was rejected. This time also they used despicable tactics, in the form of pressuring the ailing Herzl, and by breaking the democratic spirit of the true representatives of the Ashkenazi People through a well-organized underground group of its rivals. The third phase of the fatal process was carried out when the people of the second migration decided “to bake a small loaf” with their settlements in Turkish Palestine, as the president of the state, Mr. Shazar, said in his book “Light of Men” page 310. Reducing the size of the small loaf does no harm if those who are reducing it are doing their own work and refraining from cheating other people. But the people of the second migration did their best to place the policies of Ashkenazi People under the microscope of their establishment. In their use of tactics such as deception, slander, libel and insults, they constantly claimed that the Ashkenazi People was of inferior value, middle-men, unproductive, lacking language, lacking its own worker status, and that therefore it should not act as if it is important, but rather it should shrink in order to fit into the framework of deeds and thoughts that fit in with the “small loaf”, that was baked in the Land of Israel.

This chain of intentional, and undemocratic attacks, against the Ashkenazi People, for such a long period, is the direct cause of the tragedies that befell it in the twentieth century. This is also the reason for the shaky status of the Ashkenazi settlement in the State of Israel. The Ashkenazi People is a brilliant people, but its political understanding is almost infantile. It has not yet done an assessment that reflects the vast change that occurred in its status, for its horrible defeat, which brings with it also defeat and descent in

the State of Israel, and for those who are guilty of the terrible tragedy. But there will come a day when the Ashkenazi People will do an assessment of its situation, and those who are guilty of this situation, and this day will be a day of rage. Sephardic pressure upon the Ashkenazi People in the State of Israel is likely to accelerate this development and this revolution, and to worsen the tension in relations between the two parts of the Jewish population in the State of Israel. This deterioration of relations will arrive against a dark historical background. For over two hundred years, the Ashkenazi and Sephardic communities have been at serious odds with each other. The Sephardic leaders struck, by way of their slanders, against the efforts of the Ashkenazi People to move westward. The Ashkenazi-Sephardi conflict in France was so severe that an Ashkenazi-Sephardi war within France was, perhaps, more justified than a German-French war. But this war was not possible because these two Jewish peoples moved on the plane of time only. Now the situation is different. In the State of Israel, these two peoples stand face to face, on solid ground, just like in the days of the First Temple, and by virtue of this, the clash between them turns into an actual nightmare. It is incumbent upon the Ashkenazi People, on one side, and the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples on the other, to be careful and level headed: And it is the role of a responsible political writer to lay bare the dangers, and to emphasize the painful points regarding which each side is required to be considerate of the other.

## 10

The Sephardim are always calculating the score between themselves and the Ashkenazim, but on the other hand, they rarely make comparisons between themselves and Spain. That is to say, between themselves, as people of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the Jewish-Pyrenees civilization that reached its apex in the “golden age”. It is necessarily this calculation that matters. If they would only do it, they would discover that the great men of Spain gave them mainly cultural tools and not history-making tools, and this fact already became evident in the first great test, after the Spanish Inquisition. This expulsion was truly child’s play compared to the woes that were suffered by Ashkenaz, but it broke Sepharad and, from that time, it has

never succeeded in creating a popular civilization. The Sephardim fear discovering this truth, specifically because within it is hidden the basic explanation of their condition. They are possessed by the delusion that whispers in their ear that the values that were created during the “golden age”, in the land of Spain, are the greatest to ever arise among the Jewish People in **every** sense, and that only foreign, and external, causes are to blame for the lowly condition of Sepharad. There is no greater error than this. The weakness of the values of the “golden age”, as tools to create history, is what doomed Sephardic Jewry, and its deep desire to hand the yoke of blame upon external factors is the main source of the Sephardic claims, and hatred, that are directed toward Ashkenaz. It was not Ashkenazim who interfered with the Sephardim in taking advantage of the opportunity afforded to Yosef Nasi to establish a Jewish principality in the Land of Israel; it was not the Ashkenazim who interfered with the Sephardim in creating, in Latin America or North America, great colonies; it was not the Ashkenazim who interfered with the Sephardim in infiltrating the Turkish Land of Israel and establishing a settlement within it. The values of the “golden age”, which constitute the inner core of Sephardic civilization, are precisely what brought about the failure of Sepharad. For this civilization, by its very nature, is one-dimensional, and just as its cultural brilliance is noticeable, so too is its weakness in the portions that are necessary for the creation of a popular people, and for the accomplishment of great historical feats. The contrast between its polished culture and its political impotence disturbs the Sephardim and, in their anger, they rage against Ashkenaz as if it were the sacrifice to Satan. But the truth is that not only did Ashkenaz not harm Sepharad at all, in any direct way, but rather it even went above and beyond in its treatment of Sepharad. Ashkenaz should have responded to the slander by the Sephardic leaders, at the time of the French Revolution, by severing all political contact with Sepharad, leaving only religious and cultural ties. The damage that Moses Montefiore caused to Ashkenaz is much greater than the assistance he brought. Moreover: It is not only true that the culture of the golden age did not provide Sepharad the tools necessary for the continuous building of great, and blossoming, civilizations, but it did not even possess, in its own right, enough to enable long-lasting Jewish



existence on the basis of mediocrity. The Sephardic leaders opened a wide account, signed above it “backward lands” and on this account they, and the foolish Ashkenazim who get dragged after them, list all the social ills that plagued Sepharad in Northwest Africa, all the shocking human and social situations that we witnessed, with our own eyes, when the waves of immigrants arrived from those lands. But is it only the backward among the inhabitants of those lands who are guilty in this situation? The Sephardic neighborhoods, that arose in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Jerusalem, are, to this day, backward, even as similar Ashkenazi neighborhoods blossom. We cannot claim that the situation in Jerusalem, from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century until today, should be defined as a backward land. We should also not forget that from the beginning of the 1880’s, the Jews of these Sephardic neighborhoods in Jerusalem received ever increasing educational, social, and financial aid. Nevertheless, the population of these neighborhoods is defined, to this day, as backward. This is convincing proof that it is not the external conditions, which prevailed in Northwest Africa, or the Mideast, that caused this backwardness, but first and foremost the basic internal weakness of the “golden age” culture. And let not the Sephardim mix Ladino culture with the culture of the golden age. The latter was a Judeo-Arabic culture, and this was the great Judeo-Sephardic culture that the Sephardic Jews created. The culture of the Ladino is something else. When it adopted a European language, it acquired a new fate for itself. The political and social foundation of this culture is solid, as evidenced by the social blossoming of the Jews of Bulgaria and Thesaloniki. The weakness of this culture is linked to its limited scale. The opposite is true with the Judeo-Arab culture, whose cultural components are huge, but whose social-political foundation is weak. This foundation completely crumbled during the last few centuries, and the result was a shocking social, and human, decline of all those found within its walls. This civilization has no right to exist today, just as a building that is about to collapse has no right to exist. The “house”, whose name is the Sephardic Jewish culture, deserves to have its inhabitants evacuated from it in a rescue campaign, and then to be demolished. But it is not Ashkenazim who are allowed to make this call, not in any way or form. This is strictly a Sephardic matter. The problem

is, however, this: What is preferable for the Sephardim? Do they choose the demolition of their “house”, and the rescue of its inhabitants, or perhaps they prefer to die an ignoble death within the crumbling and leaking house as long as they preserve the illusion that their troubles are not the fault of the house, but various external factors, among them the Ashkenazim? This is the problem. The Sephardim should see the situation as it is. The great time-ship of Judeo-Arabic culture, which arose in Spain, is quickly sinking. At the bottom of this time-ship, which has floated upon the waves of time for a thousand years or more, there is a gaping hole. The water is rising quickly and is washing over the decks. The time of the Sephardim is dying; the ship dwellers are fleeing toward other time-ships, that is to say, to other civilizations, mainly the French one and the Latin American ones. The million Sephardim in the State of Israel must decide what to do in this situation. This is not a question for Sephardic ministers, or office-holders, that is posed today, but a greater and more fateful question. Which civilization will the Sephardim choose to replace their own civilization, which is sinking before their eyes? Time is short and the answer needs to be given without delay.

The answer “Israeli culture” is not sufficient. There was a ridiculous attempt to mix these two cultures, the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi, together in the Land of Israel. Those who laid the foundations of this culture were too optimistic regarding the abilities, and values, of the Sephardim. They never considered that the values of these people could be so poor, and that the masses that subscribed to these values could be so lowly. The downfall of the Sephardic Judeo-Arabic culture, which takes place before our very eyes, puts a question mark also under the Sephardic components that were included within Israeli culture, that is to say, the Ashkenazi-Sephardi mix. Within part of the Ashkenazi intelligentsia, we note a tendency for dramatic revision of this culture, a revision whose goal is to strengthen the Ashkenazi portion, and to diminish the Sephardic values therein. What is the opinion of the Sephardim on this matter? This does not only pertain to us, but also to them. They must make a great assessment between themselves and the culture of the “golden age”, and this great, and abstract,

assessment will give them the correct answers to all the practical questions that come up in daily Israeli life.

# 11

The second decision that the Sephardo-Mizrahi nations must make relates to their relationship to Ashkenazi identity. What are we in their eyes? Their words, and their authors, go out of their way to prove that there is no difference between them and us; that only external circumstance, which are easily changed, created the Ashkenazi advantage. This approach sees history as if it is a large game of chance, like the lottery, in which the card that bears the name “Ashkenaz” wins the grand prize. If this were the case, and if we were to accept this opinion of the Sephardic and Yemenite leaders, then we would be able to cast, from our shoulders, all responsibility and all solidarity with the other tribes of Israel. Those who win the grand prize do not owe anything to those of lesser luck, or to those who threw their money into the pot. They are even exempt from income tax. The principle of the lottery says that he who wins the wealth is the one who is worthy of that wealth, and everybody else must simply accept his lot. Moreover: Had the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples viewed Ashkenaz as a people on the same level as themselves, then they would not be turning to us for aid, and they would not be presenting us with their never-ending demands. For these peoples lack almost any sort of solidarity. The Sephardim hate the Yemenites, the Yemenites the Babylonians, the Babylonians the North Africans, and so on. If not for Ashkenaz, they would be tearing each other up. The fact that these peoples turn to us for help, and accept our customs as natural, is convincing proof that there is no comparison between us. Verily, there is no comparison, there was no comparison, there will be no comparison, and it is forbidden that there be a comparison, for Ashkenaz is the chosen people among the Jewish peoples. Just as the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples is special, among the peoples of the world, so too is the Ashkenazi People the chosen people among the Jewish peoples. The partnered appearance of the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples under the banner of “Eastern Ethnicities” serves to somewhat blur the ridiculousness of the confrontation between Ashkenaz and the non-

Ashkenazi peoples. But, as a matter of fact, there is no single representative of the “Eastern Ethnicities” that is able to speak in the name of all of them, but only in the name of his own people. And every one of these peoples is truly a dwarf compared to Ashkenaz in all that pertains to the breadth of history, the rule over time, and status among the nations of the world. There is not one non-Jewish concept, such as luck, conditions etc., that can explain the vast difference between Ashkenaz, one of the giants of the world, and the Sephardo-Mizrahi dwarfs. Only the Jewish concept of a chosen people can explain the difference. Verily, we are the chosen people among the Jewish peoples. Not the luckiest people of all. Not by any means. Perhaps we are the unluckiest of them all when it comes to victimhood and suffering. When it comes to simple luck, the history of other peoples, such as the Yemenites, is much more successful than ours. But despite this, we are the chosen people. Our feet are dipped in the blood of millions, but our heads are crowned with lofty distinction, and upon our foreheads is the stamp of God’s kindness. Let the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples take notice and search for such a stamp on their own foreheads. They will not find it. Their searching will be in vain and they will bring upon themselves only despair. It was given only to us, as a special kindness from God. It was given only to us as a sublime privilege, and as a commandment that obliges us to be responsible for Jewish continuity. In our hands is given a treasure, more lofty than all the treasures of the world, the treasure whose name is the chariot of Jewish time, which gallops from the days of our Patriarch Abraham, and today makes its way on the roads of Ashkenaz. The Sephardo-Mizrahi nations have boarded this chariot, and if they alight from it they will never have a chariot of their own, as they had in the past, but they will descend to the abyss of no-time where they will be lost.

There are no explanations, or arrangements, that can permanently remove the pitfalls that stand in the way to understanding and harmony between the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples and us. There is only one path, the Jewish path. They must view us as the chosen people within the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples and, in exchange for fulfilling this obligation, we are obliged, in turn, to transfer Ashkenazi culture to them and to do our best to bring them

up to our level. That is to say, to turn them into Ashkenazim. If they decline to take this obligation upon themselves, then they exempt us from all far-reaching obligations toward them. For this refusal gives us the status of a regular Jewish People, of an “ethnic group” that bears no responsibility toward other ethnic groups and is concerned only with itself. The relationships between the Ashkenazim, on the one hand, and the Sephardo-Mizrahim on the other, are so neurotic and complicated that no agreement can put them in order. Only a great “forgiveness”, made in the framework of Jewish concepts, can offer hope of curing this neurosis. If this is not done, then there will be an increasing distancing; the Ashkenazim will limit their activities to defense, and basic economic, arenas, and they will not produce thousands of workers for the fields of education and social services, which are needed in order to bring human rehabilitation to the backward Sephardo-Mizrahi classes.

## 12

Moreover: The refusal of the Sephardo-Mizrahim to view us as the chosen people will lead to a very dangerous outcome. They cannot ignore our abilities, which exceed any normal ability of an “ethnic group”, and the logic of this matter requires them to fix a definition to our powers. The concepts, in this realm, are entirely polar and, therefore, when the Sephardo-Mizrahim refuse to define our great powers as an ability that comes from being the chosen people, they will define it as a satanic power. The discerning observer of the Sephardic leaders’ propaganda will reach the conclusion that its final aim is to represent Ashkenaz as Satan. The Sephardic leaders say that Ashkenaz discriminates against them at every step and turn. That it oppresses, disgraces and abuses. That it does not quickly solve the “ethnic problem”. More than this: All demonic propaganda cites, as its examples, children who fall victim to diabolical forces: Blood libels did not accuse the Jews of the murder of Christian adults, but of the murder of Christian children. The demonic images of the sorcerer and the witch are of those who kidnap children. So too is the demonic Sephardic propaganda. Over and over they accuse us of “making the children stupid”. One Sephardic activist once said “there is no money

for the children". Whose fault is it that the Sephardic children roam the streets, do not study, etc. Isn't it the fault of their Sephardic parents? God forbid. Only the Ashkenazim are at fault! This format is destined to constitute the main thread in the mass "ethnic" propaganda, in use since the city council elections of Be'er Sheva of 1963, and in the end it will bring about a complete rift between the two camps. There is no doubt that had D. Hakham been made mayor of Be'er Sheva, many Ashkenazim would have left the city. The increase in tension, of the Sephardo-Mizrahi incitement, is likely to bring about not only the creation of exclusive Ashkenazi neighborhoods, but even the founding of Ashkenazi towns and cities. Thousands of threads of closeness are likely to be severed. The Ashkenazim will say to themselves that they got the short end of the stick either way. They also suffered great sacrifices for the "integration of exiles", and yet they were depicted as the Satan in the eyes of the Sephardo-Mizrahim. They will reach the conclusion that this partnership was faulty from the beginning, they'll curse the moment they entered this bad deal, and they'll strive to sever all ties between themselves and the Sephardo-Mizrahim. Also the latter won't sit idle, but the Ashkenazim will have the advantage, and they will be able to found a blossoming civilization, even under conditions of separation from the second part. For a gap of about 300 years separates the two parts, and hatred that depends upon 17<sup>th</sup> century tools cannot prevail against an adversary that utilizes the best tools of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In concluding this chapter, we should return once more to the point of religion in the Ashkenaz-Sepharad relationship, since this point is the decisive, and determining, factor. The Jewish peoples, even those found in the lowest state, and known by the name "the lowly exiles", are not simple peoples, but quasi-gods that have conquered time, created great civilizations and that have held great status over the course hundreds, even thousands, of years, under conditions that no other people would have survived. But now the power of eternity, of these peoples, is weakened and they have lost their status of quasi-god. This is the secret of the great crisis that is visiting them. Ashkenaz also suffered great blows, but it remains a quasi-god. In Eastern Europe there was a huge collision between Ashkenaz

and the giant whose name is Germany (I am using the gentile expression here). Six million Ashkenazim are buried in the extermination camps. But it is not only they who are buried there, but also the giant whose name is German Christianity, which was a thousand years old. Germany prevailed in Stalingrad, but was defeated at Auschwitz, and only because of Auschwitz will she never merit the status she had in the past. If not for Auschwitz, Hitler would be in the same league as Alexander of Macedon and Napoleon, who everybody admires. After the fall of Ashkenaz in Eastern Europe, it appeared that it drowned in rivers of its own blood, and that it could never rise again. But this fear was imaginary. Ashkenaz founded the State of Israel, and in so doing recovered its status as a quasi-god. It built a nation, made the land blossom, and constructed an army that terrified the region and won honor and glory among the peoples of the world. The ship of Ashkenaz, which appeared to have sunk in Eastern Europe, was created anew in the State of Israel, and it performed mightily in the horizons of time. But this is not so with the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples. Their time has set and the sails of their ship have been folded. These peoples demand of Ashkenaz that it return their quasi-god status, but in return, Ashkenaz demands of them that they recognize its own quasi-god status, in its status as the chosen people among them. If they do not fulfill this demand, they will reveal that within their hearts lurks a plot to depose Ashkenaz from its quasi-god status. In this plot, Ashkenaz will see a declaration of war against it, and in response it will open up, again, the ledger of accounts between itself and Sepharad from the 17<sup>th</sup> century until today. This is the ledger that Ashkenaz had decided to ignore and bury forever.

## **Chapter 11**

### **Two Peoples**

If the Sephardim understand that their hope of reviving the civilization of the “golden age” is a pathetic deception, and if they, and all the other Mizrahi peoples, recognize us as the chosen people among the Jewish peoples, then there will be an easy path to the solution, that is to say, to the transformation of the State of Israel into an Ashkenazi state, as it was supposed to be from the beginning, and as it practically is already. The State of Israel, in its present form, has no long-lasting political substance, and it is quickly striding toward the bursting point. The word “Israel” has never implied political unity among Jewish peoples. In its religious meaning, this word expresses the symbolism and essence of the religion unique to us. In its demographic meaning, it constitutes the term for all people who fly this religious banner. But, in the political sense, it implies all the tribes that are not Judah. The expression “Israel and Judah”, or “Judah and Israel”, that was often used in the days of the First Temple, expresses the division of the tribes into two political camps, the camp of Judah and the camp of Israel, that is to say not-Judah. In this usage there is a shocking contradiction compared to the other definitions of, and the concept of, the word Israel. All the concepts that are included in this word express unity, an extreme unity, but in the political sphere, the word expresses division and extreme separation between the camps of Judah and Israel.

The political unity of all the tribes was an artificial creation, which arose through the strength of King David’s military dictatorship. The days of Solomon were, from a historical perspective, a big disappointment, which reached its climax at the end of his reign. It is possible that he ceased seeing himself as the ruler of one tribe, Judah, and weakened his ties with the historical powers of this tribe, but at the same time, he was not successful in forming an image of king of all the tribes. Therefore, he was swept into the template of the foreign kings, and brought about social and religious perversion. Solomon did not bring original, and new, content to the government institution that he led, and after he realized the dreams and plans, which were woven in the days of his father David, his reign began to show signs of weakness and artificiality. Its disintegration was natural. The nation that King David had established was a combination of Judah



and non-Judah (that is to say, Israel) and within this combination itself was already hidden the division that reality demanded.

The State of Israel, which was established by David Ben-Gurion, is astoundingly similar to the state that was founded by King David. Israel is a combination of Ashkenaz, that is to say, the modern Judah, and of non-Ashkenaz, that is to say the various Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples. This unnatural combination exists by virtue of the Ashkenazi majority and Ashkenazi superiority, which the non-Ashkenazim did not deny. However, the disappearance of the Ashkenazi majority, and the rebellion of the non-Ashkenazi against Ashkenazi superiority, will divide the state of David Ben-Gurion just as parallel circumstances divided the state of King David. The combination of Ashkenazi and non-Ashkenazi, under the condition of a non-Ashkenazi majority, will divide the State of Israel just as a combination of French and non-French, in such proportions, would destroy France, or a combination of English and non-English, in such proportions, would destroy England. The solution is to turn the non-Ashkenazim into Ashkenazim.

## 2

The first condition for this is, as stated, recognition by the non-Ashkenazim, of the status of Ashkenaz as the chosen people among the Jewish peoples. With this recognition, the non-Ashkenazi peoples will willingly spill over to the Ashkenazi historic path. But this step, in and of itself, is not enough. There is no historical integration without a mixing of blood. Classical racism is insanity, and it was only created in order to justify the physical murder of peoples unfavorable to Hitler. But, on the other hand, it would be foolish to deny the value of blood, the importance of heritage, and the known value in the mixing of blood, through mixed marriages, for the creation of a unified, and shared, history. It has always been the case that humanity has believed that the mixing of blood is a necessary condition for a mixing of history. This belief was held, in the beginning, by primitive tribes down through the Roman triumphs and Moses Montefiore, who promised a prize for all mixed Ashkenazi-Sephardi

marriages. Moreover: The classic sign of the dangerous tear between the Western world and the Communist world is the strict Communist prohibition against marital links between citizens of Communist lands and citizens of the West. Against this background, there have already been several tragedies. The leaders of the Kremlin and the leaders of the White House are, of course, strongly against any racism or any approach that considers blood ties to be important. But if only it was arranged to wed the sons and daughters of the aristocracy of Moscow and the sons and daughters of the aristocracy of Washington, humanity would be happy, the stocks of arms manufacturers would greatly depreciate, and the entire world would understand that this private – so to speak – link symbolizes a great step toward ensuring peace on Earth.

From the perspective of marriage eligibility, the Ashkenazi masses more or less divide the non-Ashkenazim into four clearly defined categories. 1. The Ladino Jew. 2. Small European ethnic groups that are not speakers of Ladino. 3. The higher classes among the Afro-Asiatic Jewish peoples. 4. The backward classes among these people, who will henceforth be called “backward people”. Members of the first three categories can be more or less freely considered as marriage prospects for Ashkenazim, but this is not the case with the fourth class. These, that is to say, the backward people who exist at the level of the 12<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> century, and the Ashkenazim, will marry each other only rarely. Moreover: These things apply also to the non-Ashkenazi classes that I listed. If Ashkenazim were to awaken from their slumber one day and find that they had ceased being Ashkenazim, but had turned into Bulgarian-Thesalonikians, even then the question would remain in its place, and it might even be more severe; for there is no hope of widespread marriage between these classes and the backward peoples. This situation, regarding marriage, dictates from the beginning that there will be, in Israel, two peoples: The Ashkenazi People, which will remain Ashkenazi in its essence, but whose blood will change to a certain extent due to the absorption of Ladino Jewish, and Afro-Asiatic Jewish, blood; and the backward Mideastern peoples, who will almost always marry among themselves, with a small contribution of blood from the other classes.

There is no administrative propaganda or measure that can prevent the formation of two peoples in Israel. These two peoples already exist today, but their final forms have not yet been fixed, and the public has not yet made peace with this fact. "The Second Israel" is the second Jewish People that exists in the State of Israel. This people was not created in the state, but in various Afro-Asiatic lands, and they were only brought to the state in the great waves of immigration that consumed entire Mideastern diasporas. The retardation that characterizes these classes creates a partition of marriage between them and the more cultured classes, and it eternalizes their status as a people unto themselves. It is possible to claim that this is not a second People of Israel, but the backward classes of one People of Israel. But the first description is the correct one, and the second is only wishful thinking. The specific status partitions, that prevented intermarriage between the two classes, had almost disappeared in the modern age, and only the level of human quality, and of the approach to time, remains. If a very large class of people, such as the backward people, has no marriage contact with the other classes, then this makes it a people unto itself, and it is best to recognize this fact than to ignore it.

There is much confusion and misunderstanding surrounding this idea of the integration of exiles. The political parties speak of it and make unrealistic promises regarding the integration of exiles, and when the promises are not fulfilled, people approach them with complaints and accuse them of false propaganda. It should, however, be clarified that there is a great difference between the promises of political parties, in this matter, whose name is the integration of exiles, and their promises in other matters. In the latter case, the ruling political party has far-reaching influence. It is able to supply authorization, and all sorts of other encouragement, for whatever plans it desires, to raise salaries, or not to raise salaries, etc. for the final decision is theirs. But this is not the case in the realm of the integration of exiles. The final step in this matter is marriage, and this decision is not that of political parties, but of private individuals, young men and young women and their parents, who act as they see fit. Moreover: The decision is not only that of the young couple, who consist of members of two Jewish peoples, but also

that of their descendants. The children of the couple belong, at the same time, to two Jewish peoples. If they decide to join the larger people, then they are advancing the integration. But if they join the smaller people, then they are aiding the opposite process. The decision, in matters of the integration of exiles, which is the most important of all internal decisions in the nation, is determined in a most democratic way through a process that is similar to an ongoing referendum. The influence of political parties, upon the process, is much smaller than what they think, and only their habit of controlling everything motivates them to accept responsibility in this sphere.

### 3

Because the process of mixed marriage is tied to continuous democratic decision-making, which takes place within families and in small increments, it is subject, by its very nature, to many variables and we should not make predictions as to its speed. Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a good chance that the Ladino nation will be absorbed completely into the Ashkenazi nation. Ladino Jews constitute the dividing line between Ashkenaz and Mizrahi Jewry. They are the connecting link between the two blocs and they are the natural candidates for the elite class that stands at the forefront of the Mizrahi people's struggle against the Ashkenazim. Because of the fact that Ladino Jewry refused to accept, upon itself, this role, it has announced, in an unequivocal manner, that it wishes to mix with the Ashkenazi People. This decision is a valuable accomplishment for us. The Ladino nation is a wonderful nation. Everywhere we meet these Jews we find them excelling at their tasks. They were among the best warriors in the Underground. They were exceptional in founding villages. They excel as businessmen and craftsmen who are skilled and trustworthy. Over and over again, they produce men who are noteworthy in their capabilities. The crowning jewel of the Ladino nation's creations, in the State of Israel, is the great, and multi-branched, concern of Discount Bank, which brought to our banking a strong trend in helpfulness and business flexibility. But all these accomplishments actually testify that the Ladino nation is a mediocre nation with limited

tools at its disposal. It always follows the furrow that Ashkenaz had plowed. It did not produce, from its midst, great politicians or great military men, and it did not establish institutions to study the wisdom of Sepharad or its own history. Ladino popular culture, which possesses unusual treasures of Mediterranean poem and folklore, is rapidly disappearing. This death is not entirely natural, but in part it is the fruit of the barbaric decimation, through which the artificial Israeli culture, which is a culture of offices and academies, decimates the natural cultural assets that were created in the bosom of Jewish peoples. The tunes and poems of the Ladino Jew, the creation of fishermen and simple Jewish people who dwelt upon the shores of the eastern Mediterranean Sea, are many times more precious than the third, and fourth, class Biblical insights that our cultural institutions drown us in. The anti-Ashkenazi outbursts, of Knesset member Binyamin Arditi, aroused anger in the heart of every Ashkenazi. But, on the other hand, the writer of these lines feels some sympathy toward Mr. Arditi's war for the preservation of Ladino cultural assets. In his war, Knesset member Binyamin Arditi shows that he has a correct assessment toward cultural values. The Ladino's dearth of tools and possibilities is dramatically expressed in a man who is, perhaps, the most outstanding of its representatives. I am referring to the activist, and politician, Avraham Rakanti. Mr. Rakanti was among the first to join Jabotinsky, but, in an argument between the two concerning the activist methods of the Revisionist Movement, and concerning its policy toward England, it was Rakanti who was right, and not Jabotinsky. Since he had keen political intuition, which got sharper through his studies in the interesting, and diverse, field of the political struggle in the lands of the Balkans, Rakanti rejected the approach of appeasement toward England, and demanded a warlike approach. In this, he was a pioneer of the political thought that begat the underground movements. Had Rakanti been born in Warsaw, he would have brought about a turning point in the Zionist movement. But he was born in Thesaloniki, his language was Ladino, and as a result of this, his opportunities to influence were minimal. In addition to this, he was always burning with the fire of his love for Sepharad, and anger burned within him toward Ashkenaz. This exemplary man became more and more isolated, even within his own community. His approach, to

the extent that it is possible to judge it from his few writings, became more and more that of a Sephardic warrior, and, at the same time, he became more withdrawn from other Sephardic activities, which seemed, in his eyes, to betray “the stone from which they were hewn”. Avraham Rakanti was an exception that proved the rule, and his fate testifies that the Ladino nation refuses to march at the head of the Sephardic camp, that its will is to be absorbed by Ashkenaz.

Concerning a biological mix between Ashkenaz and the higher classes of the Afro-Asiatic Jewish peoples, it is difficult to say anything as clear as what we can say regarding the mix with the Ladino Jews. But even here there is a process, especially regarding the Yemenite people, and there is no doubt that this would also include other Afro-Asiatic Jewish peoples. The Ashkenazi People in the State of Israel has good chances of absorbing, within it, the Ladino Jews and large elements of non-European Jewish peoples.

#### 4

The great problem that presents itself before Ashkenaz in the State of Israel, before the State itself, and before the Ladino Jews and the higher classes within the Afro-Asiatics, concerns the backward people of Mizrahi Jewry. Hundreds of years of retardation separate the cultured classes of the State and the backward Mizrahi masses, and there has not yet appeared a magician with the miraculous power to allow us to bridge this great abyss. The State of Israel is divided into two large sections, into two separate worlds: The blossoming world that flows with goodness, composed of Ashkenazi Jews, Ladino Jews and higher-class Afro-Asiatic Jews, and the degenerate world of large and poor families, of apathy, poverty and powerlessness. Only the shocking political weakness of the “second Land of Israel” prevents it from storming the first and not just for reasons of revenge. But in the near future the backward people will understand the power of the ballot, the easy use of this worker of wonders and the destructive capabilities hidden within it, which can be used against the current order. Then the world of poverty and powerlessness will launch a

great attack upon the world of plenty, an attack by those who live in the abyss of the 14<sup>th</sup> century upon those who live in the blossoming fields of the twentieth century.

It is difficult to estimate the numeric strength of the Second Land of Israel. It is likely that the best measure of it would be the number of children who are struggling academically, for these children bear the curse of the “Generation of the Wilderness”, and turn it into a permanent curse that is ingrained in them and, to a large degree, also in their progeny. These children, at various levels of academic retardedness, constitute about a third of primary school students, and, due to the naturally high reproductive rate of this class, their portion will increase more and more in coming years. Concerning this matter, much has already been said and written and we shall therefore only cite the most trusted sources in this regard, that is to say, a portion of the Knesset speech of the Minister of Education at the time, Mr. Abba Eban. In this speech, to a full Knesset, which dealt with the budget of the Office of Education for the year 1962-1963, the minister said:

*A month ago I received a report from the superintendent of education of the southern region that reaches from Ashdod to Eilat. It dealt with children who study in primary schools in Israel from kindergarten to eighth grade. That is to say, nine years. The superintendent of the south (who has struggled with this problem for ten years) writes accurate and forceful things: - “It is among my duties to bring to your attention the severity of the situation in the field of education of the children of the backward classes, the paucity of their accomplishments and the scarcity of their advancements, which is lacking in relation to what the state requires. The percentage of students who do not accomplish what is minimally expected of them is 35 to 40.” And here there is a definition of the concept “do not accomplish what is minimally expected of them”: “The concept of not accomplishing what is minimally expected of them means that a specific child (over a third of the 3045 children who complete eighth grade in primary school) finishes primary school and is not able to read a newspaper or a simple book and understand it, that is he not able to write*

*a letter that is legible and whose language is understood; he is not able to use the four basic mathematical operations; he lacks the clear and basic concepts of the People of Israel, the State of Israel and the world that surrounds him. This implies that the product of 8-9 years of education in the Land of Israel, for a recognizable portion of the children we are talking about began their education in kindergarten or even nursery school at age 4, is frequently youth that lacks the most basic essentials necessary for life in a democratic society, and it is full of feelings of frustration and disappointment and – not infrequently – hatred toward the society that it cannot satisfactorily fit into”. I have no basis for assuming that the situation is different in settlements elsewhere where these ethnicities have settled. As stated, this is not a marginal phenomenon, but rather it affects about a third of tomorrow’s citizens, so the public, national, spiritual and security implications are clear, to the point where it can be said, without exaggeration, that the character, and perhaps even the future, of the nation will be fundamentally influenced depending upon the solution to this problem.*

The root cause of this cultural degeneracy is not quality of life but Oriental fatalism, which creates this quality of life and the retardation itself. Concerning this fatalism, interesting, and deeply meaningful words - rarely found in Sephardic publications – can be found in an article by Shmuel Savion in the monthly “On the Front Lines” # 18 (December, 1962). Mr. Savion says:

*They (the parents) do not always make the effort to analyze their social situation and reach rational conclusions concerning the fate of their future children... Their life philosophy teaches them to “exist” mainly within the physical plane, and they lack a healthy ambition for the “good life”, spiritual and cultural. Typical is the answer that was heard from these parents (who are generally stubbornly religious) when one asks them, for example, how they will support their large family, educate their children, cloth them, and feed them honorably, and they respond: “The Creator of the World will support them in His mercy” or “each person brings his own luck” etc.*



Here are some instructive details about the Sephardic family:

*An “ordinary” Sephardic family includes, on average, between five and ten souls crammed into two rooms. Anybody who happens upon such an apartment knows how they all “get by”: All rain is taken advantage of and captured by beds (I am speaking here of immigrant apartments with minimal comforts or sanitary services). The situation in the hovels of Wadi Salib, and the neighborhoods of Salma and Musrara, are far from such “luxury”.*

The degenerate poverty brings about the desire to bring more children into the world:

*The uneducated father, who is not successful either economically or materially, gets a little drunk, dwells in a poor neighborhood, and finds comfort for himself in the birth of as many children as he can sire; as they say: He has nothing to lose, and of course the children also fail to get an adequate education either at home or at school, and they usually share the same fate as their father. Their future is open to crime and rebellion against a society that, in their eyes, is to blame for their predicament. Whether this is justified or not all depends upon the view of the onlooker.*

Mr. Savion has harsh words about the fatalistic policies engendered by Ben-Gurion:

*If the Prime Minister, Mr. Ben-Gurion, wants so much for us to have a Yemeni, or Moroccan, general, he should stop giving “gifts” of 100 Liras to the mothers of ten or more children. I believe that the odds of this happening will increase necessarily with a decrease in the number of children among these ethnic groups.*

The root of the tragedy is in the Islamic fatalism that ruled over these Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples, and squeezed the Jewish fighting spirit out of them. In our schools we, unfortunately, do not do enough prodding to

uproot this fatalism and to inculcate an aggressive optimism. The main learning material, in the early grades of our schools, is the Bible. These peoples always studied the Bible and in its merit they existed, but in spite of this they were inundated with Muslim fatalism! There is only one medicine that can cure this dread disease, and that is the study of Yiddish. The great optimism that is engrained in Yiddish will expel the Oriental fatalism and create a new soul in the hearts of these poor children. Only Yiddish can transport them from the 14<sup>th</sup>, or 15<sup>th</sup>, centuries to the twentieth century. The Sephardo-Mizrahi population already exists within the Ashkenazi historic flow; it is surrounded by the Ashkenazi world and absorbs, into itself, Ashkenazi concepts, so why should it not learn Yiddish? Moreover: There is an honorable precedent for the entrenchment of an international European language in the Levant. Here I speak of Greek, which prevailed, during Hellenistic times, among the oriental peoples and became their own language until the Arab conquest. Modern Hebrew is a leap backward, in the framework of time, and it therefore cannot bring the twentieth century to the backward people. Only Yiddish can accomplish such a wonder.

Our experiments in advancing the backward people through Modern Hebrew are not new. Eliezer Ben Yehuda started this eighty years ago, and the results are those that the superintendent of education noted in his speech. We do not have unlimited time for experiments, and not just because of the needs of the state, but for an additional reason: There is a foreign power that stalks us to foil our success. Christianity knows the truth and is setting its eyes upon the Sephardo-Mizrahi masses that have lost their way. Our efforts to elevate them and give them identity and form through Modern Hebrew have failed. Now these masses stand between Yiddish and the cross. If Yiddish is not brought to them, the cross will come to them. The social collapse is likely to bring religious collapse, mass conversion to Christianity and even international difficulties against this backdrop. Everything is possible if we wish to maintain a state that sees, as its primary goal not the benefit of its citizens but a linguistic mission for the benefit of Modern Hebrew.

If Yiddish is brought to the backward people, then they will cease being a Mizrahi people and they will turn into a quasi-European people that speaks Mizrahi Yiddish. The will of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, that their descendants necessarily be a “congregation of peoples” and not one people, is stronger than us. But this unity would be stronger than it is today and the flexibility that is built into Yiddish would mitigate the severity of the conflict. Yiddish would be able to rehabilitate the junk of the backward people and turn them into a mediocre people that is prepared for a future in this era. The first problem that this people would encounter, in its new path, would be linked to the Arab minority in the State of Israel. The masses of Arab laborers are destined to be a dangerous competitor to the working classes of Sephardo-Mizrahim. There will not always be a large demand for simple manual labor, as there is today. It will not be long before economics will force us to expel the Arab minority for the sake of the Sephardo-Mizrahim. Ashkenaz will then stand by them with all its strength. The expulsion of the Arabs will strengthen the ties, and solidarity, between the two Jewish peoples. In the more distant future, it might be necessary to annex territories to Israel in order to provide sustenance for the growing Sephardo-Mizrahi masses. Ashkenaz will lend them a helping hand also in this matter. Everything is destined to work out properly and successfully if the Sephardo-Mizrahim in Israel come to terms with reality, that is to say, recognize that they constitute an integral part of Ashkenazi history, and that Ashkenaz is the chosen people among the Jewish peoples.

## **Chapter 12**

### **The Goal and Tactics of the Sephardic leaders**

#### **1**

In the ways of the actions of the Sephardic leaders, in the goals that they presented themselves, in the hopes that they set before their eyes and the

style of their speech and writing, over the last few years, great changes have taken place. These years have brought great changes in the lives of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, and in the lives of its two main components, the Ashkenazi nation and the group of Sephardo-Mizrahi nations, and at the same time as these changes took place, there was also a change in the strategy and tactics of the Sephardic leaders. The Sephardic leaders never believed in a single and unified Jewish People, but necessarily in a confederacy of separate and feuding Jewish peoples, and in this they were right. Within this confederacy of peoples, Sepharad considered itself the heir to the Tribe of Judah from the days of the First Temple, which continues to enjoy superiority over the other tribes. In Ashkenaz, the Sephardic leaders saw a tribe that was condemned to an eternity of subservience in relation to the Sephardim; a tribe that must be restrained, at any cost, from breaking out of Eastern Europe and spreading over the territories that Sepharad considered its own.

Jewish history, as is known, thought otherwise and in the 18<sup>th</sup> century a decisive change took place whose result was the total collapse of Sephardic status and, on the other hand, the great rise of Ashkenaz. All indications showed that Ashkenaz is the modern Judah, and that the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples are, for the most part, withered limbs whose future is doubtful. In these circumstances, an awful fear gripped the hearts of the Sephardic leaders that Ashkenaz will repay Sepharad for the crimes and abuse that it inflicted upon Ashkenaz over the centuries. It is difficult to know to what extent Moses Montefiore was motivated by an interest, and concern, for the general Jewish People, and to what extent he was motivated by specific Sephardic concerns. But there is no doubt that some of his motivation was based on the latter, and the evidence of this is the large cash prize that he offered all mixed Ashkenazi-Sephardi couples that committed to marriage in the Land of Israel. Moses Montefiore wished to return Sepharad to the forefront of general Jewish life, to harness Sephardic arrogance, to prevent Sepharad from deteriorating to the level of the Samaritans. The tactic of the Sephardic leaders, until the first years of the State, has been the same as that that the great, and illustrious, Sephardic activist had taken. Of course, the Sephardic leaders of later times lacked both the personal stature of

Moses Montefiore and the means and tools that he had at his disposal. Their policy, which strived toward integration, expressed itself as pleas and requests, toward the Ashkenazim, that they receive them within the general circle of Jews and not cast them aside. These pleas frequently took the guise of frightful humility, which was the complete opposite of the arrogance with which the Sephardic leaders conducted themselves in earlier generations.

It should be noted also that at this stage the Sephardic leaders did not relinquish the special status of Sepharad, its special ambitions or its hatred toward Ashkenaz. Their goal was to prevent the Ashkenazim, at any cost, from taking the correct path, that of Ashkenazi independence, and to draw Ashkenaz as deeply as possible into the circle of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples. The Sephardic leaders called upon Ashkenazim to be “Jews”, to cling to basic “Jewish” assets, but at the same time they saw as assets – in addition to the Bible, the Mishnah and the Talmud – only those treasures that were created by Sepharad. Ashkenazi values were always discredited by the Sephardic leaders, and the only merit that they admitted we have was our organizational abilities, which we “stole” from the Germans, as noted previously in this book. The tactic of the Sephardic leaders is to show an outward appearance of those who believe in the unity of the Jewish People, and to penetrate, using this disguise, into the life-cycle of the Ashkenazim in order to begin systematically undermining this life-cycle, and to nurture, and advance, the assets of Sepharad. The great hero among the Sephardic leaders in this generation, David Ben Haroush of Haifa, carried out this work in the finest fashion. As he cultivated an outward appearance as a generic Jew, migrated to the Land of Israel with the help of Ashkenazi money, and then was aided by the establishments that are called the Jewish Agency or the government of Israel, but are actually Ashkenazi establishments. In addition to the legitimate aid he received, he also squeezed from Ashkenazi sources left and right. After he was done with this stage, Ben Haroush removed his generic Jewish mask, revealed his true Sephardic face, and wrought devastation upon the Ashkenazim. Every Sephardic leader is two-faced. Since he is dependant upon Ashkenaz, he is a great advocate for the Jewish People in general, and

for the approach that discredits any distinction between one Jew and another, but as soon as he is in a position of power, or in a position to extort at all, he casts aside his generic Jewish facade and reveals his Sephardic face, whereupon he brings catastrophe upon Ashkenaz in one way or another.

The undermining, by the Sephardic leader, of Ashkenazi assets is not only expressed by its own actions, but to a decisive degree with the aid of Ashkenazi forces that, for one reason or another, prefer a particular Sephardic asset over the Ashkenazi one. The classic example of this is the great aid that the Sephardic leaders give to the supporters of Hebrew and to the opponents of Yiddish within the Ashkenazi public. The hatred of Yiddish, typical of all Sephardic leaders, does not date from the days of Eliezer Ben Yehuda, but from long before that. From the time when the formation of the committee of English congregations, over two hundred years ago, the Sephardic leaders insisted that Yiddish not be welcome in this institution, and that there would be severe repercussions if this was not observed. From this correct assessment of the power of Yiddish, as the language that ties all the Ashkenazic tribes together as one people, the Sephardic leaders declared total, and continuing, war upon it to this day.

The destruction of European Jewry, and the migration of masses of Sephardo-Mizrahim to the Land of Israel brought change to the tactics of the Sephardic leaders. As stated, there was no fundamental change in the basic tactics, but more vigor in the removal of the generic Jewish mask, and in emphasizing the Sephardic face, and more emphasis and audacity in presenting claims and demands. At this stage, the Sephardic publications began to distance themselves from the format of pleading for a integration, and to strongly emphasize the difference between Sepharad and its demand to constitute a distinct tribal entity. In his article in "Tribe and People" the late Ya'akov Nitzani, who was once a Knesset member of Mapai, wrote: "Sephardic Jewry populates the Land of Israel and its ruins, while Ashkenazic Jewry, which is wealthy and established in the nation, finances the settlement" (folder #4, 1959, pg. 27). All the amazing work, which was done, and is being done, by Ashkenaz in the State of Israel is worthless in

the eyes of Nitzani. Our only role, in the present and in the future, is “to finance”. In “Tribe and People” of the year 1954, a table of agricultural settlements in the State of Israel was published and, above it in a beautiful font: “Settlements of the Sephardic and Mizrahi groups in Israel”. The table includes a long list of settlements that were founded in the early 1950’s. The settlement that was founded through Ashkenazi knowhow, by Ashkenazi pioneers and with Ashkenazi money was never mentioned, only that it was done by “Jews”. However, the settlements of Sephardo-Mizrahi Jews in the Land of Israel, in which there was great Ashkenazi investment, are described, in “Tribe and People” as Sephardo-Mizrahi settlements. The desire of the Sephardic leaders to see Ashkenaz fulfill its “financing role” in the State of Israel, and then leave it for the Sephardo-Mizrahim – is very obvious, both from the words of Nitzani and from the table.

Nitzani says even more obvious things in his later article (“Tribe and People” 5, 1960):

*The differences in the People of Israel, and its division into two major components – Ashkenazi and Sephardi – is rooted very deeply in the history of our people. Over the course of much time, and under the best circumstances, we shall reach a condition similar to that of the English people, who have Welch and Scotts, who have never been exiled and nevertheless maintain their independence. Of course, for outward appearances, they are all members of the united English People.*

The role of Ashkenaz, according to Nitzani, is however, to help Sepharad, through “funding”, to establish itself as a separate people in the State of Israel, and to be, within it, like the Welch and the Scotts in England. The perspective of Nitzani, which denies the faith in a united Jewish People, and believes in a confederacy of separate, divided, Jewish peoples, which Sepharad infiltrates for its own specific, and unique, goals, is laid out in the following lines, which were taken from the article, that states as follows:

*Among the peoples of Russia, there are three Russian peoples: The Veliko-Russians, the Malo-Russians and the Belo-Russians... and another*

*example: Yugoslavia is also comprised of several republics, noteworthy among them the Macedonian Republic... The national question of this people was solved through the establishment of a Macedonian republic within the framework of a Yugoslavian state.*

## 2

A sharp change of direction in tactics by the Sephardic leaders occurred after the riots against the Ashkenazim, which were perpetrated in Wadi Salib, Haifa, under the leadership of David Ben Haroush, on July 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> of 1959. There were no instances of Sephardic condemnation of the riots, or of the perpetrators, and even the publications of the various divisions of Mapai, which dealt with “ethnic groups”, failed to fully condemn those responsible for the riots, but rather they found words to justify them. Sephardic leaders in Israel and the Diaspora, received news of the riots with open joy. In the French newspapers, which have a degree of influence over Sephardic leaders, there appeared headlines dripping with joy at the downfall of Ashkenaz, and encouraging those responsible for the riots. In Algeria, an important center of Sepharad and its leaders, the riots were joyously celebrated in Zionist clubs. And it gets even worse: Large masses of Sephardo-Mizrahi Jewry, in the State of Israel, received news of the riots with joy and encouragement, as they emphasized that it is some sort of punishment that we “deserve”. This is the reward that we get after ten years of toil for the migration that brought these Sephardic masses to the Land of Israel, which guaranteed they would have a demographic majority and reduce us to minority status; this is the reward that we get for the largest act of tribal solidarity ever accomplished in Jewish history.

Wadi Salib influenced the tactics of Sephardic leaders in several ways. The deeds of David Ben Haroush let it be known that the effort to fit into the life of the general Jewish People, that is to say, the Ashkenazi People, which began with Moses Montefiore, already accomplished what it could and there is no more need for it; Ashkenaz had given to Sepharad, over time, a central role among the positions within of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples. From this role, Sepharad is able to realize its goal, which



has always been secret: To damage and to punish Ashkenaz in order to conquer, for itself, superiority within the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples. And the main thing: To damage and punish the Ashkenazim in the State of Israel in order to marginalize them and to dispossess them of it. Between this opinion of Ben Haroush, the rabble that gathered around him, and the opinion of the honorable Sephardic leader, the late Y. Nitzani, the Knesset member from Mapai, there is no fundamental difference. Both Haroush and Nitzani believe that the main role of Ashkenaz, in Israel, is to “fund” the Sephardo-Mizrahi settlement. Except that, according to Ben Haroush, this “funding” role has already been completed and there is therefore no justification for keeping the Ashkenazim in the State of Israel, and they should be pressured to leave and let the Sephardo-Mizrahim have it all to themselves, with the exception of those Ashkenazim who agree to assimilate among the Sephardo-Mizrahi majority and to subject themselves to its rule. This is the final meaning the Sephardic leaders attach to the riots of Wadi Salib and similar riots, but, alongside this final meaning, and as part of it, they see riots such as Wadi Salib as an effective means to extort more concessions from the Ashkenazim, and more and more, in order to weaken our status in such a way that this status will collapse entirely under the final, and great, Wadi Salib attacks, which will take the form of organized armed activism, as they see fit.

Ben Haroush himself arrived in the Land of Israel from North Africa, and there is no doubt that he was greatly influenced by the Algerian rebellion, that he made comparisons between the situation in Algeria and the nascent situation in the State of Israel after the great waves of Sephardo-Mizrahi migration, which turned the Ashkenazim into a minority. Before the arrival of the French to Algeria, the indigenous population numbered some half a million to three quarters of a million and its natural increase was slow due to scarcity and illness. The French regime created conditions that were favorable for quick natural increase, rather like an “internal migration”, on a vast scale. This natural increase, which the French brought about, was at the same time a thorn in the side of French rule in Algeria, and it was expelling French colonists from the country. The French colonists were not able to compete with the natives when it came to natural fertility, and

their numerical strength in the population continued to decrease. Due to economic and technical development, the positions of responsibility that were given to the Arabs of Algeria in industry, in the lower levels of military command, in administration and so on, continued to increase. Skilled young Algerians found themselves in French universities. Thus did the intellectual class, which instigated the rebellion, take shape, attain independence, and utterly eliminate French settlement in Algeria. France had given the Arabs of Algeria all the tools needed to defeat it. She made it possible for them to multiply and reduce the European settlement to a minority that numbered only ten percent. She promoted the growth of their intelligentsia. She granted them the French language, which became, in their hands, a powerful tool that connected them to the modern world and to modern concepts... the French war against the Algerian rebels was, in essence, a war against itself, that is to say, against the results of prior French policies, and its defeat in this war was clear from the start.

This “Algerian situation” was created, according to Ben Haroush and his friends, also in the State of Israel and among the tasks of the Sephardo-Mizrahim is to intensify it through a series of Wadi Salib actions, whose result will be similar to the Algerian Arab revolt. Ben Haroush is too primitive to spread this doctrine among the Sephardic leaders. He based his doctrine upon his deeds, and after him came intellectuals and ideologues, who interpreted them into thoughtful interpretations. The version that prevails today, among the Sephardic leaders, is the “Algerian version”, which believes an overwhelming Sephardo-Mizrahi majority will sweep aside the Ashkenazi minority just as happened to the European minority in Algeria. In the present situation, the Sephardic leaders see an early stage in which the Sephardo-Mizrahi camp must prepare, acquire education and knowledge, attain status for itself and weaken the status of the Ashkenazi enemy. There is much truth in this grasp of the leaders of Sepharad, but it suffers from two weaknesses. The situation in Israel is different from the situation in Algeria in that the French Algerians had somewhere to go, but the Ashkenazi Israeli has nowhere to flee to. Secondly, and this is the main point, the zealotry of the French is nothing compared to the zealotry of the Ashkenazim. Ashkenaz will never give up,

and would rather the entire world go up in flames than surrender Israel to the Sephardic leaders.

## 3

The classic promoter of the Algerian version, among the Sephardic leaders, is Professor André Chouraqui, the famous advisor for the integration of exiles, whose story has already been told in this book. After the riots of Wadi Salib, Professor Chouraqui published an article in a prestigious French newspaper. He also published his article in the “Jewish Chronicle”. In this way, he appeared upon the political arena of the State of Israel, and turned into an intellectual representative of the Sephardo-Mizrahi masses, particularly of those from North Africa. The thing that typifies Professor Chouraqui and his activities is his strict avoidance of creating anything original at all. Chouraqui did not establish a political party. He did not create a social organization. He did not form a youth club. He was careful not to accept any administrative, or practical, responsibilities upon himself, and all his efforts were for one goal: To motivate the Ashkenazim to carry out whatever Professor Chouraqui found to be important. The famous advisor for the integration of exiles was an Algerian man who saw, up close, the processes that took place in that country. From his experience, Professor Chouraqui concludes that the policies being carried out today by the Ashkenazim in the State of Israel constitute the most effective path for the advancement of the Sephardo-Mizrahim, and that it is the most perfect broom for sweeping away the Ashkenazim from the State, when the time for that arrives. In this light, Chouraqui concludes that Ashkenaz is doing the work of the Sephardim, and that their role is only to encourage the Ashkenazim to be quicker and more intense in carrying out their own policies.

Step by step, Dr. Chouraqui encourages the Ashkenazi establishment to realize his calculated Algerian plan. Firstly, he sought ways to acquire the trust of the prime minister, David Ben-Gurion, and this was not difficult at all, for Ben-Gurion keenly searches for Sephardic intellectuals. At the next

step, Chouraqui knew to extract for himself the title of “Advisor for the Integration of Exiles”. Every prime minister has tens of advisors in every field, and it could not be otherwise. Ben-Gurion was also advised by tens of people in various matters, but all of the prime minister’s advisors remained anonymous, and not one of them received the official title “advisor”, except for Professor Chouraqui. It is possible to imagine, however, that the initiative for the granting of this title came not from Ben-Gurion, but from the ambitious advisor himself, Professor Chouraqui. As he relied upon his status as advisor, Chouraqui chose to advance one more step. He announced that it is not enough to just write memos and that the important thing is implementation, that to this end a special ministry should be established, the Ministry for the Integration of Exiles, at whose head none other than Chouraqui himself will sit. According to plan, this office is not destined to be dedicated to actual implementation – for the implementation is to be done through various other offices, each one of which takes care of its own matters in the population, and therefore, also in the matter of the famous integration – but to be the office that coordinates the activities of the other offices and gives them instructions for each matter that is related to integration. In other words: The office of Professor Chouraqui is designed to be an office for other offices, the head office, whose approval is needed for almost everything, for there is hardly anything in the State of Israel that is not related to the absorption of immigrants and their integration. However, this position of head office was already allocated, within the government of Israel, to another department, the office of the prime minister. For the prime minister is the leading official, and it is his duty to oversee all government activities. This custom is kept within every government that has a tradition. In the State of Israel, this custom has not yet taken root, because the State is still young, and because of the many coalitional divisions. But by law, the prime minister should be the head official and his office should be the head office. Thus Professor Chouraqui wished to usurp Ben-Gurion from his place, and to seize his position, as a first step toward the expulsion of the Ashkenazim from the State of Israel. In taking this step, the ambitious advisor foiled his own plans, and Ben-Gurion decided to expel him, if a bit too late. But the advisor clung to the door handle and refused to leave, as he stated that he

would not resign. The situation of resigning/not resigning continued for several months and, in the end, the advisor took his belongings and traveled to Paris, with the intention of reappearing for the elections for the sixth Knesset. The new prime minister sent Chouraqui a very polite letter. This politeness, which Eshkol extended to Chouraqui, is not for the sake of honoring the man himself, but to hide from the eyes of the public the failure that Ben-Gurion had left for him as he fell into the net that a dishonest man had set for him.

The expulsion of Chouraqui gave the Sephardic leaders an excuse for a propaganda campaign against Ashkenaz in the style of Goebbels and Streicher. The leaders announced that Chouraqui had found the remedy, the hockus-pokus, that makes it possible to illiminate, with the speed of lightening, Sephardo-Mizrahi retardation, but that the evil Ashkenazim had refused to accept the recommendations of this wonderful advisor, or to administer his remedies. The question, however, must be asked: Why did Chouraqui, or whoever preceeded Chouraqui, not administer these wonderful remedies among the Sephardic masses before they came to Israel? And why did Chouraqui not administer them himself in the State of Israel or in France, which had now turned into a great center for Sepharad, and has no lack of ignoramuses or backward people of the type so common in the developing cities of the State of Israel? But it is practically a waste of time to present these questions to people whose only interest is in hating Ashkenaz, and whose only goal is to witness our utter destruction.

#### 4

In the battles of the Sephardic leaders, Professor Chouraqui fills yet another role. He serves as an intermediary between the circle of leaders in Paris and London and those who are active in the State of Israel. The Israeli leaders are mere small fish while the higher command of the Sephardic leadership is in London and Paris, among pedigreed families, remnants of the old Sephardic aristocracy. To these circles have now been added new groups of leaders, who came from North Africa and settled in the large cities of Western Europe. The upper command of Sephardic leadership

always avoided the backward classes within Sephardic Jewry, and the social, and educational, work that was done within these classes, by way of the “All Israel are Friends Society” was very limited. In contrast, this command paid much attention to the struggle against Ashkenaz, at every opportunity, and its undermining of the activities of Professor Weitzmann, during his efforts for the acceptance of the Balfour Declaration, brought us incalculable damage. The main branch of Sephardic leadership sees, in the State of Israel, first and foremost a receptacle into which can be directed all the blemished and backward people of the Sephardic legions, in order to make it easier for the healthier elements to take root in the lands of the west. This easing for the healthier elements, by way of freeing them from the backward people, comes in two forms: Firstly, through removing the financial load that is involved with the backward, and failed, people. And secondly: Through preventing the bad impression, upon the gentile population, which would have formed had the Sephardic waves of refugees brought with them the heavy burden of blemished and failed people who were directed to the State of Israel. This selection, which directed the elite among the legions of Sepharad westward, in order to bring them, in due time, to Christianity, and directed the backward and failed among them to the State of Israel, bears all the signs of an activity that is directed by a high command. From the beginning of the exodus of Sepharad from the various lands of the Levant, in the first months of the establishment of the state, until the speedy evacuation of Algerian Jewry, the Sephardic leadership has always acted according to this principle.

The relationship of the Sephardic leaders of the Diaspora, to the large camp of backward people that was gathering in the State of Israel, is formulated by two considerations. 1. In the event that the huge burden of backward people brings about the collapse of the State of Israel, which will plunge to the depths like a ship that has too many leaks, then this will accomplish two goals: A blow will have been struck against the hated Ashkenazim, and the stain of the degeneracy of the backward people, whom the highest echelons of Sephardic leaders are repulsed by, and of whom they have always been ashamed, will disappear. 2. In the event that the Ashkenazim accomplish the impossible, and rehabilitate the huddled humanity of Sepharad, infusing

life into its dry bones, then the beneficiaries of this rescue will rise against the rescuers, like the golem that rose against its creator, and they will expel the Ashkenazim from the state in a re-enactment of the Algerian campaign.

The foundations of the Arab conspiracy are the same as the tactics and strategy of the Sephardic leaders, and their relationship to the problem of the backward Sephardo-Mizrahim, in the State of Israel, resembles, to an extraordinary degree, the stance of the Arab leaders toward the problem of Arab refugees. The Arab leaders see the Arab refugees as a ram that can be used to gore the State of Israel from the outside, and the Sephardic leaders see the camp of backward people as a ram that can be used to gore Ashkenazi civilization inside the State of Israel. Arab leaders do not raise a finger to solve the refugee problem, and so too with the Sephardic leaders regarding the backward Sephardo-Mizrahim in the State of Israel. All the Ashkenazi organizations, beginning with women's organizations, and ending with the diverse rainbow of religious organizations, are active in the awful sphere of these backward people, but one cannot find, in this sphere, even one Sephardic organization worthy of the name. The Arab leaders wish to exacerbate the refugee problem and, to the same extent, the Sephardic leaders wish to exacerbate the problem of the backward people through a continuous flow of new camps of backward people. The Arab leaders constantly toil to maintain the refugee problem as an international problem, which occupies the mind of the humanitarian public of the world. Similarly, the Sephardic leaders take advantage of every possibility to cast accusations of discrimination, neglect, apathy etc. against us in the international press. The Arab and the Sephardic leaders work on the same tactical field in which, in the end, becomes visible the goal of an Arab-Sephardic pact that will rise out of the debris of the Ashkenazi civilization in the State of Israel. Ahmad Shukeiri, the intellectual representative of the Arab leaders, and Andre' Chouraqui, the intellectual representative of the Sephardic leaders, are not far from each other. Past foundations and dreams of the future tie them together. These two dance to the same rhapsody of the Arab conspiracy, and they wink to each other, knowing that they share a mutual rejuvenation one of these days.

The fuss surrounding the gap, in the State of Israel, between Ashkenaz and Sepharad is an instructive example of the anti-Ashkenazi policies that are pursued by the government of Israel, as the Sephardic leaders inspire them. Today's State of Israel is a Confederacy of Jewish Peoples that progresses according to Ashkenazi time. The stable order of such a diverse confederacy can only be one that is based upon formal democratic foundations that give each individual equal opportunity. This order is not an Ashkenazi invention, but rather it is the classic foundation of Western civilization, a foundation that the Jews have always supported in all stages of its development. In the State of Israel, this order gives a great advantage to Ashkenazim, not because they are Ashkenazim, but because of their superiority in everything related to talent and dominion over time. There is no fault or sin in this fact. Moreover: We are allowed to be proud of this, for despite the fact that local conditions, in the State of Israel, are not comfortable for us, and despite the transition to a new language and the discarding of our historical language, Yiddish, we still maintain great superiority. Of course, there is a decisive value to heredity and environment. Superiority tends to propagate itself, and retardation tends to propagate itself too. In light of this, there is a real chance that Ashkenazi superiority will continue in the State of Israel – with minor changes – to the end of generations. But even here, we should not be blamed. We did not steal our superiority from anybody, but we created it with our own hands and through super-human efforts, and after we created it, we are allowed to nourish it and increase it as much as we can. A wonderful opportunity was given to the Sephardo-Mizrahim, in the State of Israel, to successfully compete with us. Through the transition to Modern Hebrew, we have crippled ourselves severely, and we have given them a basic advantage. What more can be demanded from us? Material deficiencies will not prevent the Sephardo-Mizrahim from competing with us in the sphere of culture. Currently, there is already great Sephardic wealth in the State of Israel, and in another 10-20 years Sepharad will have incredible treasures here, enough to sustain a rich and brilliant Sephardic civilization. It is not material deficiencies that cause Sepharad to stumble in the cultural sphere,



but forces that are linked to environment, heredity, that come from the Sephardic disappointment in their own culture and from their inability to find the bridge to Ashkenazi culture.

At the lead, in the battle to eliminate the gap, stands the Sephardic leadership, which boastfully announced, over the course of centuries, the gap that existed in their favor and to the detriment of Ashkenaz. Its most representative spokesman, Professor Chouraqui, has already claimed that until the 17<sup>th</sup> century European Jewry had not produced even one person who had historical importance. A gap in favor of Sepharad is, however, kosher, but a gap in favor of Ashkenaz is unkosher, and this is the source of the terrible rage of the Sephardic leaders. From this perspective, our situation in the State of Israel is simply laughable. Ashkenaz benefits from a gap in its favor not only in the State of Israel. We have a vast superiority in the United States, England and other lands. We had a great advantage in Europe. We fight for a gap in our favor everywhere, and in all democratic nations the majority peoples admit that the gap is legitimate. But in the State of Israel, that we ourselves built, tiny Jewish peoples go forth and attempt to deny us the right to maintain the gap between them and us. In Russia, we represent only one percent of the population, and it was not us who built that nation, but the Russians. However, Khrushchev speaks of the Ashkenazi advantage in Russia more politely than the Yemenite leader Yisrael Yeshayahu, and the Sephardic leader A. Elisar, speak of the Ashkenazi superiority in the State of Israel. One can, however, say to all these leaders, that Ashkenazi superiority in the State of Israel will last forever, until the end of generations and the end of days, and that they should get used to the idea - if they wish to maintain normal relations with Ashkenaz.

The Ashkenazi talk of the necessity of eliminating the gap is, to a large extent, the result of goodwill, ignorance and hypocrisy. Ashkenazi society itself is in dramatic conflict over the achievement of this gap. This is a war of everyone against everyone, in which each Ashkenazi strains to overcome his fellow, and to win the gap for himself. There is not a single Ashkenazi who benefits from the gap against his fellow, who is willing to close this

gap. On the contrary; every person who benefits from the gap wishes to widen it as much as possible. The struggle for the gap takes place on all levels of economic, political and cultural life. Ashkenazi parents make super-human efforts in order to give their children an education, and in order to allow their sons, who marry, comfortable conditions that allow a life of culture. Indeed, how is it possible that such a society, which enthusiastically supports the idea of mutual competitiveness, and the expansion of the cultural and societal gap, would rally for the closing of the gap between itself and the needy of the Sephardo-Mizrahi culture? How could this be the case? The most dedicated fighter for the closing of the gap is, of course, David Ben-Gurion, the Ashkenazi who, through tireless effort, succeeded in creating, between himself and all other inhabitants of the Land of Israel, a political, ethical, and cultural gap, which ensured him a unique place in society. Congratulations to Ben-Gurion for achieving his own gap through honorable and acceptable means. But why would this be forbidden for other Ashkenazim, and why would it be forbidden for Ashkenazi society to benefit from a kosher and legitimate gap between itself and Sephardic society?

The author of these pages is not willing to join the congregation of hypocrites that demands the illimination of the gap. I am interested in a gap that benefits Ashkenaz, a legitimate and kosher gap, a gap that will continue to the end of generations. For time constitutes continuity and, therefore, he who gives up on the present also gives up on eternity, and he who gives up on eternity also gives up on the present. My desire is, therefore, for a gap that benefits Ashkenaz and that exists to the end of days. But at the same time, I am interested in raising the Sephardo-Mizrahim as much as possible, in order to strengthen the power of the Ashkenazi civilization to which they belong. There is no contradiction between the two goals, for I am convinced that the more the Sephardim rise up, the more the Ashkenazim will prevail over them and rise up even more. We prevailed in the cultural war over the greatest peoples in the world: The English, the Russians, and the Germans. We have successfully competed against the Poles in the special, and specific, matter of the Polish national anthem. Therefore there is no doubt that we shall always prevail

against the minor Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples, even if they experience wonderful improvement culturally.

He who demands the closing of the gap, and a bridging of the deep differences, at any cost, has necessarily taken a dangerous path. Cultural superiority is always linked with hereditary and environmental factors, which are very difficult to uproot. In the best scenario, it would take centuries to uproot these forces. But the equality movement is not willing to wait for many generations. It wants to see its dream realized within its lifetime. Sooner or later, a movement like this hits the solid wall of hereditary factors that prevent it from reaching its goal. At this point, extreme elements, within the equality movement, decide that there remains only one path to reach its goal, and that means the expulsion, or murder, from its midst, of the human group that holds the superiority of its mind and soul. Many equality movements have turned, over the course of time, into movements that murder, and illiminate, their opponents. The soldiers of Marius systematically murdered the leaders of the Roman aristocracy. The French masses of the great revolution murdered the nobles. The Russian Revolution brought physical devastation upon the higher classes of Russia: The nobles, the kulaks, the bourgeoisie and a large portion of the intelligentsia. The Jews were victims, over and over again, of the rage that their superiority aroused. The Jews of Spain were expelled because their superiority was like a thorn in the eye of the ruling class. For the same reason Hitler murdered the Jews of Europe. Superiority ignites the dangerous flames of jealousy, which are many times worse when they are directed at a foreign, or quasi-foreign group, that is a minority within the population.

We have made incredible efforts to erase the gap. But the results have been few. After eighty years of educational, and social, work, we have barely begun to tackle the environmental and hereditary forces that sit at the foundation of the retardation. It is not possible to close the gap entirely. Even those Ashkenazim who believe in the closing of the gap speak of a long process that will last centuries. But the Sephardo-Mizrahi equality movement refuses to wait. It demands that we close the gap as quickly as

nature-improvement projects, such as the draining of swamps or erecting large buildings. If we truly, and sincerely, wish to close the gap within one or two generations, then there is only one way to do so: We must descend, greatly descend. We must cease reading serious books, minimize study, drastically limit the number of Ashkenazi children who attend middle school and graduate from there to universities. Perhaps we must also begin to play the game of “backgammon” or other Mizrahi games of this sort and category. This is the only realistic way toward quick equality between the Sephardo-Mizrahim and us. If we refuse to take this path, then we must tell the Sephardo-Mizrahim the truth. We must tell them that only a few of them, mainly the Ladino Jews, can be equal to us on the cultural level, and that the large gap between us and the Sephardo-Mizrahi masses will continue to the end of days. We should not encourage baseless hope that ignites flames of hatred and jealousy, and the Ashkenazi political parties must cease playing the game of making cheerful announcements, which are made with little thought. Together with this, we should prepare for the storm of the Sephardic equality movement that will certainly arise. When this storm surges across Ashkenazi civilization in the State of Israel, in order to agitate it, we should deal it a final, fatal, blow.

The flash point of Ashkenazi superiority, and of Sephardo-Mizrahi retardation, is in the sphere of the family. The Ashkenazi family is heaven for a child, but the Sephardo-Mizrahi family is heaven for the father and the husband. In the Ashkenazi family, the parents invest every effort for their children, but the Sephardo-Mizrahi family sacrifices a large portion of the childrens’ abilities upon the altar of satisfying the father’s ambitions. As it places the child at the head of its concerns, the Ashkenazi family puts its emphasis on the future and it becomes a family of the future, but the Sephardic family, which seeks to ensure maximum satisfaction for the father, turns into a family of the present. But the present is a small amount of time and it is transitory. Therefore the Sephardic family, because of its specific structure, turns into a family of the past, to a family that drips retardation. Only an amazing human revolution, taking place in the Sephardic family, and changing the relationship between the parents and the children, and between the parents and themselves, would be able to

miraculously, and truly, overcome the retardation. If the Sephardim successfully accomplish this revolution – something that is difficult to believe – they will cease being Sephardim, and they will become Ashkenazim. But to the same extent that they carry out this revolution, their level will increase and their skill will strengthen so that they can compete with Ashkenazim in the spheres of culture and public service. The only effective tool, that has the power to advance this revolution, is Yiddish, the wonderful language that has the ability to penetrate deep into the human spirit, and to accomplish a far-reaching transformation. Yiddish is, therefore, the great tool for curing Sephardo-Mizrahi retardation, but at the same time, it is a tool for de-Sepharadation, and for the penetration of Ashkenazi values.

## 6

The Ashkenazi-Sephardi relationship in the State of Israel can now be classified into two groups or two clusters. Ashkenazim are increasingly entering the cluster, or group, whose name is the Sephardo-Mizrahi majority demographic. At the same time, the Sephardo-Mizrahi majority depends increasingly upon Ashkenazi abilities in technological, societal, military and other realms. There are two groups, and two clusters, the Sephardic group in which Ashkenazim are also included, and the Ashkenazic group in which Sephardim are also included. The Sephardi group, the group that votes, with all the importance of a democratic society, is, in the final analysis, a paper group. However, the Ashkenazi group can be divided into tens of strong groups, which encompass all the central strata of national life. In any meaningful confrontation, the strong Ashkenazi groups will prevail, with extraordinary ease, over the Sephardic paper groups. The various Ashkenazi groups are, in the final analysis, emissaries of the one group whose name is Ashkenazi time, or Ashkenazi dominion over time. This group is among the greatest in the modern world, perhaps the greatest of them all, and by its power the surprising Ashkenazi influence, over great and many nations, was known. The Sephardim are able to influence the Ashkenazi group that encompasses them only on one condition: That they turn into Ashkenazim and adopt Ashkenazi ways.

Only in this state will they cease being passively subservient to the Ashkenazi time-group, and will they become active proponents.

## 7

Over and over we hear opinions that it is we, the Ashkenazim, who are obliged to elevate the Sephardo-Mizrahim no matter what, otherwise the State of Israel will never experience recovery, nor shall we. Not long ago Ben-Gurion expressed this opinion in his speech at the conference of the council of Mapai, which took place in October 1963, when he said:

*If we do not uproot, from among us, this gap between European Jewry and the Jews from Asia and Africa, and bring all of the House of Israel to the same cultural and social level, not only will the vision of a new society, which we look forward to in our heart, fail to be fulfilled, but – in my opinion – this people will not arise and will not survive (“HaDavar”, folio 17 in October, 1963).*

This opinion must be rejected forcefully. The full partnership between Ashkenaz and the backward Sephardo-Mizrahi population is only in the field of defence. In this regard, we share the same fate. But in the internal life of the nation, we have two fates. We shall flourish even if the backward people continue in their retardedness. All those who create prosperity will flourish together with us: The Ladino Jews and the successful elements among the Afro-Asiatic Jews, for there is no single rule for the successful and for the failure. In the State of Israel there will be a united front of all the people of the twentieth century who are willing and able to repel any unjustified attack from those of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the 14<sup>th</sup> century and onward to those of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This will be a front of all the Jewish peoples in the nation, but at its center will be Ashkenaz.

## 8

There are four classic representatives of Sepharad in the State of Israel: Minister Shitrit, Minister Sasson, Professor Chouraqui and David Ben

Haroush. Ben Haroush is wild, Chouraqui is a charlatan and the two ministers are Marranos who are beholden to Mapai and represent Sepharad according to the instructions of the Ashkenazi leaders of Mapai. This situation exemplifies the Sephardic tragedy in the State of Israel. It should be noted that Minister Sasson subscribes, in no small degree, to the “Algerian” point of view of Chouraqui, and against this background he had several outbursts. Every Ashkenazi political party depends, as a practical matter – even if it will not admit this in practice – upon faith in Ashkenazi superiority. The moment a Sephardi openly rebels against this superiority, he has no place within an Ashkenazi political party. The Ashkenazi political parties, primarily Mapai, have turned into a source of costume parties in which unmasked Ashkenazim dance with Sephardo-Mizrahim who wear various Marrano masks, and those who occasionally remove them cease being “generic Jews”, but turn into zealous Sephardim, Yemenites or Iraqis. This regime of masks is rotten to its core and quickly crumbles. The Ashkenazim demand clarity. At the same time, the Sephardo-Mizrahi activists are required, by their people, to appear openly as “men of their ethnic group” and to reveal their true faces. There was, however, an actual attempt to create a Sephardic political party. This attempt was doomed to failure from the start. In the current stage, the Sephardo-Mizrahim can hope, at best, to register to vote for a Knesset that will obtain a few delegates. When the various leaders of the non-Ashkenazi peoples meet under the leadership of Sephardic leaders, in order to lay the foundations of their political party, their shocking weakness will immediately become obvious. Already in the first moments of the meeting, they are destined to discover that time is quickly running out for the civilization of the golden age. This great era is stretched out on a canopy of purple. At its head are laid the brilliant writings of Maimonides, Yehuda haLevi and Ibn Gabirol. But nevertheless, this era is quickly dying. It is tired from its lengthy race to eternity. It has ceased believing that it is able to continue its stubborn gallop and successfully compete with cosmic time. The era of the culture of the golden age is quickly sinking into the abyss of no-time. This fact will become clear to the Sephardic leaders when they assemble to establish their political party.

Each one of the Sephardic leaders carries within him, in addition to Sephardic time, also traces of other times: Balkan, French, Arab etc. When these leaders assemble together they shed all traces of these other times, and all that remains is Sephardic time of the golden age. But this noble mystery, which is bound with a striving to identify with that great era, brings with it only disappointment and despair. For the time of the golden age is quickly expiring, and the moment Sephardic leaders stand upon its plane, they lose whatever small amount of power that is hidden within each one of them, and around them the icy winds of cruel graves, which kill all deeds and all actions, begin to blow.

A few years ago, the Sephardic leaders had only two options: To be Marranos within Ashkenazi political parties or, God forbid, to be independent in one of their dying Sephardic institutions, mainly the World Sephardic Confederacy. The great changes, which benefited Sepharad, added to these options the third option of an independent political movement. The odds of success, in taking this path are, at this point, limited. Nevertheless, the Sephardic leaders are obligated to take this path because Marranism in the State of Israel, in its current composition, is not tolerable. Especially obligated to take this path are those many non-Ashkenazi activists who never cease complaining that the Ashkenazi political parties limit their options and prevent them from realizing their brilliant abilities. If these activists, among them many Knesset members, do not separate from the Ashkenazi political parties, and do not run under different tickets, they will prove that they were intentionally liars and cheats, who led both Ashkenazim and Sephardo-Mizrahim astray; liars and cheats who have no place in public service. A Sephardic leader who announces, morning and evening, that he is oppressed and that his options are being limited, has already cut off for himself, for all practical purposes, his path of retreat. He must pass the Rubicon, abandon his Ashkenazi political party, cease being a Marrano and found an independent political party. If he fails, he will be judged fairly, but this fate is far better than the fate of the Marrano whose status is not forced upon him by external forces, but comes about from his own free will.



In the State of Israel of today there is room for four types of political parties: a) made up entirely of Ashkenazim; b) made up entirely of Sephardo-Mizrahim; c) mixed political parties with an Ashkenazi character whose Sephardo-Mizrahi members admit to eternal Ashkenazi superiority and who wish to become Ashkenazim; d) mixed political parties with a Sephardo-Mizrahi character whose Ashkenazi members admit to the eternal superiority of Sepharad and who wish to become Sephardim and Canaanites. All of these political parties have a place in the volatile pluralistic, and free, reality of today's State of Israel, but there is no place for Marranos who wear the mask of generic Jews when they are weak, but reveal their true Sephardic, Yemenite or Iraqi, faces when they are strong.

## 9

The Sephardic leaders are very fond of busying themselves with statistics. We already mentioned the table of Sephardo-Mizrahi settlements that was published in folio 1 of "Tribe and People". This is only one example out of many. In the newspapers of the Sephardic leaders, one encounters eye-opening statistical details, for example the one telling us that in a particular region there is a Sephardic majority, while another region has an Ashkenazi majority, details the likes of which would never even occur to an Ashkenazi. The final goal, the expulsion of the Ashkenazim from the nation, appears to always occupy the minds of the Sephardic leaders, and therefore they take note of the stages of their progress, like sergeants who mark, with satisfaction, the progress of their troops who conquer more and more territory from the enemy.

At the beginning of the 1950's, with the great flow of Sephardo-Mizrahi immigrants that changed the demographic picture in the Land of Israel, some Ashkenazim pointed out that this phenomenon is not so normal or desirable. At this, the Sephardic leaders answered, with forced bitterness, and told those Ashkenazim: "Shame on you. You speak of percentages among Jews, about majority and minority among Jews!" Now the Sephardic leaders take a different tone. They do not shy away from pointing out that the Sephardo-Mizrahim are now a majority, and that we

have descended to minority status. Now the Sephardic leaders demand privileges for themselves by virtue of the fact that they are a majority. At some future stage, they may well demand that we vacate the Land of Israel, since we are a small and unwanted, minority.

In this statistical literature, which is full of various demographic calculations, we can also include the interview of the Sephardic leader Professor Chouraqui, which was given to the writer for “Davar”, the Sephardic leader Avraham Haim Elhanani (in the folio of 04/23/1962). After several conclusions that exemplify the rising demographic power of Sepharad in Israel, he includes the fact that the Ashkenazi community is “growing old” from the perspective of age groups, while the Sephardo-Mizrahi community is young. Chouraqui says:

*According to today's demographic trends, the Mizrahi ethnic groups will determine the image of the nation in the future, even if a million American and Russian Jews immigrate.*

The ambitious advisor's numeric-demographic calculations prove that he is assured and confident that Ashkenaz, in the State of Israel, has already been fatally caught in the Algerian trap that had been spread out before it.

## 10

Every piece of printed-paper that is published by the Sephardic leaders is a writ of libel and slander against Ashkenaz. Every word, every letter and every dot is intended to represent Ashkenaz in an unfavorable light, and the Ashkenazim as lowly creatures who oppress the noble Sephardim and abuse them. The Ashkenazim receive the money that is donated by “the entire people” but take it for themselves... The hatred and poison bubbles forth in every line, even those that do not directly deal with ethnic strife. In a short article about the situation of Jewry in Argentina, the work of a Sephardic leader who signs with the name Yosef Hod (In Ma'arakha #11, May, 1962) it is said, among other things:

*The Ashkenazi community in Argentina was founded in 1862, though it was consolidated only in 1880, after the pogroms in Czarist Russia, which vomited out many Jews (the bold is mine) to the shores of North and South America.*

The Sephardic leader Yosef Hod goes out of his way to use the term “vomited out” to describe the situation of Jews who escaped the Czarist pogroms. The words “expelled” or “victimized” seem too delicate and noble for him to use toward Ashkenazim. One should ask, however, in all openness, why should we have anything to do with the Sephardic leaders who identify, psychologically, with the Czarist regime that expelled Ashkenazim, and who regret that Hitler did not “finish” all of us? Of course the Sephardic leaders are free citizens, with equal rights in the democratic State of Israel. It is their right to sit in the Knesset and in government. But any affinity between them and us is entirely false. We should stop the silence regarding their verbal assaults. To their slanders we should answer with powerful blows of disgust and derision. Moreover: There is no place for a Sephardic leader within an Ashkenazi society that respects itself. We should push him away from Ashkenazi society and expel him to his own domain, to the Sephardic regions of the wilderness and dessert. As he wanders in this barren spiritual ruin, he will lose the few links that connected him to the modern era and he will quickly descend to his rightful place in the twentieth century: In the abyss of no-time.

## 11

The Ashkenazi Samson and the Sephardic Delilah stand opposite each other in the State of Israel. Sepharad is feminine. The external, the graphic, and the aesthetic have become her primary concern. She has abandoned the deep logic of Maimonides and has grasped the shiny upper crust. Her greatest ammunition is the sweet-sounding Sephardic pronunciation. All of her other weapons were taken from the eternal feminine armory: Begging, tears, pleas, and requests are all evidence of a lack of dedication and patience. Sepharad pleads, she makes up her face with the newest makeup, changes her dress and appears in new forms – all

according to need and opportunity. Ashkenaz is overwhelmingly masculine. He disregards the external. He seeks fear-inspiring depths in order to dive into them and reveal their treasures. But at the same time he is excessively naïve like a child. Sepharad had gotten too much. She had succeeded too much. She had caused too much damage. Ashkenaz must distance himself from her from now on, and he must free himself from the feminine domain of those who engage in rejoicing, pleas, emotional confrontations and other sneaky feminine tactics. Ashkenaz must pass into the masculine realm of strikes of logic that are direct and that crush all before them.

## 12

In my conversations with Ashkenazim, on the topic of “ethnicity”, many of those I spoke with changed the topic to that of an argument they had with Ben-Gurion. “These are the favorites of Ben-Gurion, and they are precious to him”, they said. In these conversations, I was shocked, and I was even horrified by the immense hatred that many Ashkenazim harbor toward Ben-Gurion for his paternalistic advocacy on behalf of the Sephardo-Mizrahim. Over and over again it happened to me that, at that particular point, the Ashkenazim I was conversing with were taken with hysterical emotion and shouted, “He brought them!” As they shouted this, they expressed their hatred toward Ben-Gurion, which permeated their souls and waits for the opportunity of relief.

Verily, Ben-Gurion overdid his job as an honest protectionist advocate for the Sephardo-Mizrahim. Every blemish, every imperfection, every human weakness that arises and demands rebuke, finds in him an advocate, as long as it is found in the Sephardo-Mizrahim. Ben-Gurion curses and blasphemes, in the language of the streets, his enemies and opponents, and hurls abuse and abominations at the legendary Ashkenazi civilization in America. But he finds, over and over, all sorts of reasons and explanations to excuse the horrifying revelations about the backwardness of the Sephardo-Mizrahim. This retardation is not entirely the result of the backwardness of Eastern lands (Poland and Belorussia were also not very

advanced during the Ashkenazi golden age there). Even the alleged poverty of North African Jewry is partly legend, for in the coffers of Algerian Jewry there was immense wealth. But Ben-Gurion ignores all these facts and attributes Sephardo-Mizrahi backwardness exclusively to considerations of conditions and environment. I have noticed that he uses the word “Ashkenazi” only when he refers to us in a negative way, for example regarding the minority of natives. When he refers to us in a positive way, he speaks of “the Jews of Europe”. If the historical name “Ashkenazi” angers the Sephardo-Mizrahim, then Ben-Gurion is careful to refrain from letting it slip from his lips. Yiddish, the great worldly language, burns his ears. But for the ocean of ignorance and weak-mindedness of the “development zones”, he has only forgiving words. According to my estimates, 3-5 percent of Ashkenazim see Ben-Gurion as the man who saved them from the Arabs but turned them over to the Sephardim. About 10 percent of Ashkenazim do not forgive him for bringing “them”, but, in recognizing their debt that they owe Ben-Gurion for building the state, they hide their anger within their heart. In the State of Israel, there are some hundred thousand Ashkenazim whose hatred toward the Sephardo-Mizrahim turns them into something like barrels of flammable dust just waiting for a spark to ignite them. This moment is likely to arrive when the leaders of Sepharad realize their promise and arouse more riots like those of Wadi Salib, and as a result an Ashkenazi will be murdered, or a number of Ashkenazim will be murdered by the incited mob. The entire world, Jewish and non-Jewish, will be shocked. The Ashkenazim will leave their walls and turn into roving Dervishes. They will not strike at the Sephardim, but they will storm against Ben-Gurion and they will rain curses and blasphemies upon him, which, in comparison, will make the curses of Neturei Karta against the violators of the Sabbath in Jerusalem, look like nothing. This day will be a day of judgment against Ben-Gurion, against Mapai, and against the mixed Ashkenazi-Sephardi civilization in its entirety.

The anti-Ashkenazi regime of the State of Israel has given two fundamental positions to Sepharad: The demographic majority and language. For us remains only one single position: The formal equality that comes with democratic law. The Sephardic leaders are now attempting to breach the only wall that remains for us. But Ashkenaz will defend it strongly. The Ashkenazim will not interfere with Mapai whenever they give certain ministry portfolios to the Sephardim, who win those portfolios only by virtue of their being Sephardim. They will also not interfere with Mapai when they introduce a few dozen unqualified Sephardim to high-level government offices. But the expansion of this policy, over wide spheres, will encounter fierce and general Ashkenazi opposition. In their efforts to undermine the walls of formal equality at any cost, the Sephardic leaders are capable of calling to the masses, in another twenty or thirty years, to march to the ballot box in order to form a majority, and to establish a Sephardo-Mizrahi dictatorship. When this regime takes its first steps, and reveals its criminal face, we shall strike it down without hesitation, and we shall establish an authoritarian Ashkenazi regime, which will ensure proper order until the Land of Israel calms down and it is possible to return democratic rule to its rightful place. Formal democracy and equal opportunity ensure the existence of Ashkenazi civilization, which we shall defend at any price. Ashkenaz created the wonderful modern legend of the founding of the State of Israel, and by the merit of this legend, Ashkenaz will rule until the end of days and the end of generations.

## **Chapter 13**

### **The False World and and Victory of the Pioneer-workers**

#### **1**

Over the last sixty years, Ashkenaz inherited three terrible failures that were among the worst in human history.

1. We let slip away the opportunity to establish a great Ashkenazi civilization in Africa, or in another new continent, and to bring there millions of Ashkenazim from the dangerous areas of Europe. Even those who claim that Uganda, and Africa in general, could never be considered as a refuge for the Ashkenazi masses, cannot deny that there were similar possibilities on other continents. The Jewish People always accepted any proposal of constructive cooperation that was offered it by other peoples. The Uganda Proposition was the most constructive that was ever offered us in the modern era, but we rejected it. It can be said that this rejected was the only instance in history where Jews caused direct damage to world peace, weakened the power of the builders, strengthened anti-Semitism and encouraged a tragedy in which they themselves were the most unfortunate victims.

2. The second failure befell us in connection with the Land of Israel, where we acquired only a small portion of what we were capable of acquiring. The Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel filled only a minimal role in the battle against Nazism, before and after its rise to power. In the decisive period between the two world wars, only 300-400 thousand Ashkenazim migrated to the Land of Israel. All the great Zionist efforts over 66 years, between 1882 and the year 1948 rescued from the claws of Hitler about 400 thousand Ashkenazim, but in actuality far fewer than this. For many of the migrants to the Land of Israel could also have found refuge and salvation in other countries.

3. The demographic processes in the State of Israel, and the anti-Ashkenazi policies of the government, have turned the Ashkenazim into a minority. Forces are gaining power, and conspiring to disinherit us from the nation, and they wait for the moment when the last Ashkenazi will leave. This third blow, which is taking form on the horizon and becoming more and more troublesome, is a result of the first two failures. After the terrible defeats of the first two battles for the rescue of the Ashkenazi camp in Europe, we are about to lose the final battle, which is forming in the State of Israel - unless we abandon the old ways and take a new path.

The two defeats, which we inherited in the years 1882-1948, and the third defeat that threatens us, have their root in one basic mistake. We have

emphasized that the diabolical tactics of the New Hebrew Literature have always prevented us from taking the correct path. But this literature is not the source of the tragedy. Rather, it is an outcome of an original cause that is rooted in the fact that Ashkenaz did not go alone, but was seduced into acting within the false framework of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples. For this confederacy of nations was never a framework of unity, but rather a stage for rivalry. The Bible tells us, with surprising openness, all of the cruel deeds and plots that were done within the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples: Ishmael and Hagar were expelled, Esau was cheated and stolen from, Joseph was sold (almost murdered) and the Tribe of Benjamin was slaughtered – these wonderful deeds were perpetrated within the framework of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples during the days of the Patriarchs and the Judges. Later there were wars between Judah and Israel. In the modern age, the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples proved that it faithfully observes its tradition of conspiracies and hateful deeds that were done in the distant past. In the gathering of the French National Congress – the most important institution that represents the modern age – the Sephardim of Bordeaux presented it with a writ of slander against Ashkenaz. Later still, in the year 1959, after Ashkenaz brought hundreds of thousands of Sephardo-Mizrahim to the Land of Israel, who turned Ashkenaz into a minority, Ben Haroush instigated a pogrom against Ashkenazim in Haifa and the international Sephardic community received news of the disturbance with joy and celebration. This is the face of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, which is the most dangerous minefield and system of boobytraps in human history; because it is an arena in which the Jewish nations confront each other in a cruel struggle where the strongest people will survive while the weaker one will vanish.

Because of the stubborn and typical way that Jewish history repeats itself, Ashkenaz is the modern Judah, while the non-Ashkenazi nations are the modern Israel, and Sepharad is the modern Ephraim. There is an eternal law in Jewish history, and because of it Judah and Israel march separately. This separation has always existed; in the days of the Patriarchs, in the era of the Judges, in the time of the united kingdom and after its disintegration. It was always the case that Judah stood on one side and the tribes of Israel,



with Ephraim at its head, on the other side. The separation between Judah and Israel, which is one of the earliest separations in the world, has existed some three thousand five hundred years.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was incumbent upon Ashkenaz to define itself as the modern Judah, and to decide that, under no circumstances, would it march together with the Israel of today, that is to say, with the collection of Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples. Ashkenaz was obliged to march alone, alone and separate, to create an exclusively Ashkenazi civilization upon one of the new continents, and afterwards to create, in the Land of Israel, an Ashkenazi civilization, and to bring to this nation, after its establishment, a number of Sephardo-Mizrahim that is consistent, more or less, with their proportion within the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples. Any argument for integration, or about cultural character, would have been unnecessary and ridiculous. We would have had to present the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples with the option of either joining the Ashkenazi civilization in the Land of Israel and accepted it as it is, or leaving us alone. Before the Holocaust we were some 95 percent of the entirety of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, and today we constitute 85 percent, and this proportional percentage determined also the portion of the State of Israel that Sepharad deserves. All logic pointed to the necessity of a separate path for Ashkenaz. Moreover: The Biblical description of the tribes-peoples of Israel can be seen as an explicit Biblical warning that cautions the Jewish peoples about each other. The largest tribe in particular, Judah of the past and Ashkenaz of the present, is commanded to be careful since it arouses great jealousy in the hearts of the smaller Jewish peoples. This tribe, Judah of the past and Ashkenaz of the present, is also equipped with all the qualities that allow it to march separately, and free itself from any dependency upon the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples. The lofty Jewish qualities, the dedication, the love of justice, faithfulness, innocence etc. are expressed in the inner lives of every tribe-people. But the negative Jewish qualities are expressed in the relationship between the tribes-peoples. This field of intertribal relations is a field of horrors and sin within Jewish life. These relationships are found to this day, and they will always be found at the level of the relationship

between nomadic tribes, that covet one another and steal from each other in their knowledge that the vastness of the wilderness, and internal tribal solidarity, will protect them from punishment. A wonderful and unique privilege fell upon Judah-Ashkenaz, the privilege that allowed it to sever itself from a horrible, and false, partnership and to march separately. With the dawn of the modern age, history granted to Ashkenaz this unique opportunity and was unusually generous in equipping it. It had great multitudes of people from all classes, a great language, and a national and social heritage that was detailed in every respect. It also had an historical excuse to march alone, for it was not Ashkenaz that began the war with Sepharad. It was not Ashkenaz that slandered Sepharad before the French National Congress, the institution that figures prominently and is most representative of the modern era. It was Sepharad that slandered Ashkenaz. The first “shots” in the Ashkenazi-Sephardic war came from the Sephardic side. The efforts of Moses Montefiore did not negate the hostility. We could have donated to Sepharad hundreds of millions of dollars in charity and in wide-ranging philanthropic activities. But going into partnership with Sepharad was completely absurd in that it deviated from the separation between Judah and Israel that had existed for 3500 years.

## 2

We took the wrong road. Because of this, we severed ourselves both from the double power of Ashkenaz, which includes Yiddish and its Eastern European masses, and from the goal of Ashkenazi statehood, which means the removal of millions of Ashkenazim from the dangerous areas of Europe. A wise nationalistic goal would be to advance the long-term interests of the general population of the nation, and straying from it takes this nationalism in wrong directions. Such a tragedy happened to us. When we forsook the correct path of Ashkenazi independence, we immediately gave up the firm ground of certainty and passed into dangerous experimental territory. The Ashkenazi nation was sacrificed for three goals of classic experimental character: The integration of Judah and Israel, which involved deviating from the historical path of 3,500 years. The revival of the Hebrew language, which is at odds with the Aramaic

speech in the time of the Second Temple, to Yiddish, and to the bilingualism that characterizes all the Jewish peoples after the First Temple. The third experimental goal was the Kibbutz movement, which, from the perspective of its scale and momentum, is recognized as a unique experiment in human history. These three great experiments dominated Ashkenazi policy, they sacrificed, for their own advancement, the Ashkenazi People, consistently rejected historic certainty and empowered the experimental in its place. From a correct understanding of their common interest, the three experiments joined together and made a defense treaty among themselves, while making an attack treaty against Ashkenaz. From the beginning of this century, these goals marched together as a unified front, but now we are beginning to see, in this front, the first signs of deep division. The biggest experiment of the three, the experiment of the integration of exiles in order to unite the modern Judah and Israel, became very strong and shows an aggressive tendency toward the other two experiments. As the first, it is destined to conflict with the Kibbutz experiment. The Sephardo-Mizrahi forces will not hesitate, in the event of a crisis or unemployment, to pressure the Kibbutz movement to give up their principle of independent work. They will not hesitate to confiscate the land of the kibbutzim, and their water, for the poor Sephardo-Mizrahi masses. In one of the final stages, the Sephardo-Mizrahi forces will not hesitate to sacrifice even the second experiment, Modern Hebrew, and to install in its place Arabic, the historic spoken language of the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples. The treaty between the three experiments is merely a temporary tactical one. The Sephardo-Mizrahi interest, of working toward the final elimination of all Ashkenazi status in the State of Israel, differs fundamentally from the other two experiments, whose origins were in Eastern Europe, and are necessarily attached to Ashkenazi interests. In the linguistic sector, the Sephardo-Mizrahim gnash their teeth, and this has been the case for decades, because of the dominant status of the New Hebrew Literature, born in Eastern Europe. In the economic sector, they do not hide their hatred toward monied kibbutzim that employ large numbers of Sephardo-Mizrahi workers. The rift in the front of the three experiments cannot be avoided, and the Sephardo-Mizrahim will turn

against their former partners without hesitation after they have extracted, from the triple alliance, all the tactical benefits that can be gained.

The cruel imposition of the experimental, and the brutal rejection of historical certainty, typifies the scene in the State of Israel. The incredible scale of the experiments, and the unprecedented absurdity of the integration of exiles and the revival of the Hebrew language, force the instigators of these projects to announce that they have ceased being experiments, that they have left the stage of doubt and danger, and have already reached the safe haven of firm ground. But reality preaches against these proclamations. Reality emphasizes over and over again that the three experiments remain experiments, and that their provisional nature has not only failed to diminish with time, but to a certain extent has gotten even more pronounced. As long as the Hebrew language continues to dominate the speech of the younger generation, and all official communication, doubts about its ability to constitute an effective linguistic tool for a modern nation continue to grow in the hearts of its helmsmen at the Hebrew Academy and the upper echelons of literature. The civilization of the kibbutz accomplishes wonders in the fields of technology and sociology, but at the same time it is retreating in the central arena of its basic values. As a result of this, its faithful followers fear that the accomplishments at the flanks come at a cost of the disintegration of its central arena. The Sephardo-Mizrahi masses fit in to the external fabric of the life of the nation, but they have shown no ability to penetrate, or to grasp, the deeper layers. The great powers of historical continuity, which the experiments pushed aside, in their unprecedented scale, did not become extinguished and did not descend into no-time. They retreated in an orderly manner and built great, extensive and deep defensive outposts. The political and social field of the State of Israel is divided into two parts. In the upper layer, the forces of experimentalism rule and successfully obliterate, with stubborn effort, the bunkers and pockets of historical forces that remain in this area. But at deeper levels historic continuity reigns with great power, and prevents the entry of the experimental. We get the impression that the forces of historic continuity have decided to restrain the

forces of the experimental from reaching the deeper levels, and at the appropriate time, to diminish them and to eliminate them in a great attack.

In the matter of appraisal of the success of the three experiments, the lies, which are accepted in Israeli society, continue to grow and flourish. Each experiment announces, in one breath, both its unprecedented success and its apprehensions and the difficulties that come from the fact that it has not yet completely succeeded, and it remains stuck in the dangerous zone of the experimental. Each experiment has victory celebrations, whose purpose is to show that it has finally reached the safe haven. But immediately afterward, the leaders of the celebration mourn the limited success, the dangers that await it, and the need for tremendous aid, without which the experiment is in danger of collapsing at its foundations... From its wish to maintain itself, no matter what, each experiment, and all of them together, use unethical means. The Israeli fund collections, the external arm of the three experiments, use street tactics that are both unethical and completely conventional, in order to raise the necessary funds to ensure the survival of these noble values. The Israeli social science establishment refuses to give the correct impression of the situation of the Sephardo-Mizrahi masses. Because of the deception and lies, the Ashkenazi settlement in the State of Israel is unaware of the true situation of, and of the odds of advancement of, the Sephardo-Mizrahi diasporas that are destined to immigrate to Israel. There is no doubt that social research, in this vital area, has been choked through despotic and totalitarian methods. The scientific material that deals with this matter is scarce and difficult to acquire. In one paper I even came across a note that, for security reasons, it is forbidden to publish a number of details. The announcement that was spread by Ben Haroush and his supporters, in the days of the riots of Wadi Salib in July, 1959, which is the most interesting document in the issue of the relationship between Ashkenaz and Sepharad in the State of Israel, and one of the most interesting documents in all of Hebrew history – this announcement disappeared and was hidden by means of deceit and trickery from the eyes of the Ashkenazi community. The inspector general Nahmias mentioned it with a few confused words at the investigative council headed by Judge Etzioni. But the announcement was never brought to the attention of the

Ashkenazi community, and in spite of all my efforts, I was unable to acquire it. The Hebrew science of linguistics also behaves like this; burying things and making them disappear, so that only a few of those who deal with it dare to point out the immense debt that Modern Hebrew owes to Yiddish. We should take note that the dictionary of Even Shoshan, to its disgrace, fails to recognize any specific instance, expression or figure of speech in Modern Hebrew that has its origin in Yiddish. Regarding words whose origins are not from Yiddish, Ben Shoshan is careful to point out the origin, for example with the word *til* he points out that its origin is Turkish, but the very existence of Yiddish is completely absent from the knowledge of Avraham Even Shoshan. The Kibbutz movement strives to stress its accomplishments to everybody, and toward this need, it makes unprecedented efforts. But this movement looks, with great displeasure, upon any author who rises from its ranks and tries to describe the intimate workings of its members critically. Such an author is even likely to be judged harshly if he opens too wide a window.

### 3

The framework of the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, in which the nation finds itself, and the three experiments - which have strayed far from the previous safe haven but have not yet reached a new safe haven - have given the social order of the nation a crumbling and exceedingly counterfeit form. The classic time of the current regime of this nation is counterfeit time. The present of this time is inflated beyond belief, in order to emphasize the importance and power of the experiments, and in contrast, the past has been distorted while the future is forgotten. Every past is beholden to this framework of time, and every present is inflated within it, including the past and present of the ruling Labor movement. It appears that the motto of this movement is “distort the past, inflate the present and ignore the future.” The distortion of the past expresses itself in the twisting of the true essence of the Jewish Diaspora, and in ignoring the contributions of hostile, and unfriendly, Jewish forces in the founding of the state. In the Labor movement they manufacture books according to the tactics of the movie industry, but among these books, most of which are dedicated to politics, it

is almost impossible to find an objective, high-quality, intellectual work. Even the diplomatic project, unique in its kind, of Haim Weitzmann, in attaining the Balfour Declaration (a science book, dealing with diplomacy during the First World War, describes Weitzmann as the greatest diplomat of this era) does not find appropriate recognition. The behavior of the Labor movement is described in this literature as a collective pope who never errs. A regime such as this, that chokes all honest historiography, automatically annihilates any chance of a generation of young, skilled and independent leaders from arising.

The Labor movement distorts the future in the only way possible, by ignoring it. In my conversations with members of the Labor movement, I have repeatedly encountered a refusal to confront what is likely to occur in a few years. An average person, in the worker parties, appears to be one who deals only with matters related to imminent elections for the Knesset or the Agency. Apparently, a member of the Labor movement will normally take an angry, or stubborn, attitude when confronted with someone who wishes to turn the conversation to matters of the future. This fear of the future has deep roots. Apparently, many in the Labor movement see the future as a time of threats and the end of the world, where the great experimental campaigns are likely to explode to pieces. The typical Labor movement member does not stand out at all as having strong faith. On the contrary, this person is full of doubts. His fear of the future parallels the specifically feminine fear of the time when the world of her beauty is ruined, and her dreams of erotic conquest-sorcery, in which she was emmersed in her good years, sink to the depths.

The shocking complacency of the Labor movement, and its difficulty in passing the reign of leadership to young hands, are no doubt tied in with these fears of the future. It seems that one of the early conditions of correct policy is to psychologically overcome the future, and to attain a clear approach to its awful depths and its wonderful heights. This overcoming is not at all among the traits of the Labor movement in recent years.

The Modern Hebrew language finds itself at a dead end. It was not created with the intention of reaching the era of Isaiah or the days of Judah the

Macabee, but in order to flee from the Jews of Warsaw and Kiev. Through superhuman efforts, in the spirit of Eliezer Ben Yehuda, this language was transformed into a spoken one, and it cast aside its literary chains. But at the same time it continued to lack a deep ideological basis, and it turned into a limited language that does not answer the needs of a rich civilization. The living breath of Modern Hebrew is the history that is currently being forged in the territory of the Land of Israel; that is being made and forged on the anvil of political, social, economic and military activity. But the classicists of Modern Hebrew, the authors of Eastern Europe, hated this history with a mortal hatred. They sought to banish it, and to replace it with literature, polished language and linguistic ability. The heir of the classicists, the native Israeli Hebrew author, is too dependent upon them, and too deeply rooted in them, to express the historical events that take place in the Land of Israel. After unsuccessful attempts at political writing, he is generally inclined to take the narcissist path, and he severs himself from the great masses of Israeli natives. The classicist wrapped himself in the garb of a prophet when he wrote in Hebrew about a nation, a decisive majority of whom did not understand his language, and his words found a direct echo only within a small circle of followers and allies. Not so the native Israeli author, who writes Hebrew for Hebrew speakers. His readers will not allow him to play, before them, the game of being a prophet and a rebuker, and they would tear the false façade from his face. Nothing remains, however, for the native Israeli author but to take the path of narcissism, the path of suicide. Moreover: The native Israeli tires even of the undertone of false rebuking and moral lashing of the authors of Eastern Europe, and he strives to mix in his language, as much as possible, slang that frees him from the parables of the classicists. Through slang, the native Israeli finds his liberation, but at the same time, he severs himself from a rich cultural heritage that the generation of classical creators represents. The classical section of the New Hebrew Literature is a deviant side segment of the rabbinical culture of Eastern Europe, and today's Modern Hebrew – as spoken and written – is a deviant side segment of the creation of the classicists. This language is not, and cannot, be the linguistic tool of a rich civilization.



Hebrew education in the State of Israel is based upon false foundations. The best education is that of religious Jewry, especially its extremist sects. Religious education has a clear, and innocent, human goal: To educate observant Jews and sons who are faithful to the God of Israel. A good education, though on a limited scale, was the kibbutz education that placed, as its goal, the establishment of a generation that would continue the Kibbutz movement. The goals of general Hebrew education have always been unclear. The average product of this general education would not be shocked if all of the Zionist aspirations were realized in a small canton on the banks of the Yarkon River. Graduates of the Hebrew gymnasiums, during British rule, felt no obligation to settle as pioneers, or to join one of the underground movements. The great majority of them worried about themselves and turned to easy livelihoods. A particular youth movement, "The Immigrants Camps", made its goal to work among these graduates, to educate them anew, and to inculcate in them the ideals of the Labor movement. General Hebrew education, in the pre-state era, imposed, upon its wards, no clear and explicit commandments, and no absolute imperatives regarding the territory of the Land of Israel, its political fate or the dimensions of the realization of Zionism. It had only one single imperative: The Hebrew language and its literature. With the aid of crafty tricks, the Hebrew educational system eliminated, from the Bible, the God of Israel, and replaced Him with the New Hebrew Literature and its heroes. They then used the Biblical method, and Biblical zeal, to impose upon the pupil the new deity. The Hebrew school, in the era of the State of Israel, remained fundamentally as it was during British rule. The statehood that it granted its pupils is luke warm indeed, and its primary campaign is to turn its pupils into slaves of the New Hebrew Literature and its heroes.

At the end of his studies, it becomes clear to the perceptive pupil that he has been deceived and taken for an empty vessel, since he had gained no ideas or visions from school except the words and idolatries of authors. But this discovery comes too late, and all that remains for the young native Israeli is to distance himself from the classicists of the New Hebrew Literature, and to spice his speech with slang which proves that he has cast their yoke from his shoulders.

The Bible, in its official form in the State of Israel, which has turned into a cult and a flash point of shameless propaganda, is a false Bible. The Book of Books is first and foremost a book of religious truth. In its secondary role, the Bible is a historical book that describes the chronicles of the Hebrews and the chronicles of the peoples of the Mideast over a long period of time. For secular Jews in the State of Israel, the Bible is important because of its secondary role, its historical one. From this perspective, the Bible is a book of intra-Israel wars and as their outcome, Judah came to dominate the other peoples-tribes, defeat them in extended competition, and inherit their place. The most successful of the sons of our patriach Jacob was Joseph and not Judah. Joseph is the hero of the Book of Genesis, which describes his fate and origins at great length. The prominence of Judah begins in the book of Judges, in the depressing tale of the concubine of Gibeah, and it continues to increase until Judah becomes, after the destruction of the Kingdom of Ephraim, the sole heir of the tribes of Israel. The Bible is not a book of integration, or of the success of integration between the tribes of Israel, but it is a book of wars, struggles and rivalries in which the greatest tribe inherited the weaker tribes. Our Biblical experts carefully hide this historical truth, which is very important in its own right and which has decisive value for the understanding of the relationship between Jewish peoples in today's State of Israel. The Bible is studied in the State of Israel as a book of quizzes, as a source of Jewish, and general, meditations, and as a treasure trove of language. But it is not studied as a book that pours light upon the historical essence of Hebrew peoples and the relationship between them.

Moreover. There is a strong link between the Bible as a religious book and the Bible as a historical book. As a religious book, the Bible begins with the victory of the one great God over a confederacy of gods lesser than He. Many signs testify to this victory, for example the declaration: The Lord is God (Kings 1 18:39). However the Bible, as a historical book, **finishes** with the victory of the Tribe of Judah, which defeats all the other tribes and inherits their place. The Lord inherited the confederacy of gods. Judah inherited the confederacy of tribes. It is likely that Judah interpreted the

struggle within the confederacy of Hebrew tribes as a repeat of the struggle that occurred between the confederacy of gods, viewed itself as a materialization of the great God and sought, like Him, to conquer all the other peoples-tribes and to inherit their place.

The pre-Biblical period, in the history of the Hebrews, is no less important than Biblical history. During this mythological era, there was a great struggle between the various gods, and the victory of the one great God, who inherited all his rivals, left an indelible impression upon the Hebrew tribes, shaping their conceptions forever. Then was created the concept of the chosen, the highest, and the mightiest overcoming everyone else and inheriting them all, while remaining the only ruler.

Hebrew history can be divided into four clear cycles:

1. The mythological era when the Lord prevailed over other gods and inherited their place.
2. The Biblical era when Judah prevailed over Israel.
3. The Babylonian era when the Babylonian settlement dwarfed the settlements of the Levant and, for all practical purposes, eliminated the Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel.
4. The European era when Ashkenaz dwarfed Sepharad and the Sephardo-Mizrahi group of peoples.

The integration of exiles, as it is grasped and explained in the State of Israel, is a foreign implant in Hebrew history. This history has the weak tribes replaced by the one strong tribe, or being absorbed into the strong tribe, just as Benjamin, Simeon and part of Levi were absorbed into Judah. The integration of exiles, as understood by the Zionist parties, is a historical absurdity without rival.

Zionism was already in danger of extinction, due to the great burden of empirical problems, already at the end of the 1920's. Its continued

existence was the result of several forces that worked to its benefit, mainly the force of the pioneer-activists in the Labor movement and in other Zionist parties. The pioneer-activist saved the Labor movement from the problematic and experimental, and always returned it to the firm ground of certainty and continuity. This trend is the only one in the Labor movement that has a continuity of time that proceeds in a straight line from the very beginnings of its economic activity until our own time. The pioneer-activist is the hero of the Labor movement, but its ideologue is the one who brought about its downfall through unripe ideas and through persistent evasiveness. Any objective assessment of the Labor movement will recognize the great division that exists within it, between pioneer-worker activity, which often reached great heights in awakening the admiration of the world, and pitiful ideological thought. This pioneer-worker activity deserves much praise, while the ideologues deserve every condemnation. However, the picture gets more complicated due to the fact that many of the great men of the Labor movement are both ideologues and pioneer-workers at the same time. The ideological creation of Berl Katzenelson is very weak and has already become outmoded, but Berl Katzenelson is a genius as a social engineer, and the building that he constructed will last many more years. Ben-Gurion accomplished great things as the founder of the army and the former of the foundations of the state, however in his historical writings, he is dishonest. In every sector of the Labor movement, the pioneer-worker is greater than the ideologue, and the creativity of the pioneer-worker is what allowed the movement to survive the hazards that awaited it.

A second force that saved the Labor movement, and the entire settlement, from decline was the Revisionist Movement. The tools of the Labor movement, which were too experimental, did not have the ability, in any way shape or form, to extricate the settlement from the English-Arab trap in which it found itself at the end of the 1930's. The settlement got tangled up more and more in this trap, and it faced certain destruction in the 1950's, if not for the rise of the Revisionist Movement. This movement was not experimental like the Labor movement; rather it was a movement that acted according to certain historical schemes that had withstood the test of

centuries. It brought the community, in all its sectors, from the realm of the experimental to the realm of certainty. A kibbutz is an experiment, but a city or town is a certainty. Restraint is experimental, but subjugation of the Arabs in the Land of Israel through Jewish military superiority is certainty. Policies, for example of Moshe Sharett, that seek to find a solution through dialog with the English and Arabs, were experimental, but policies that worked toward the expulsion of the English and Arabs from the Land of Israel tend toward the path of certainty.

Revisionism had another great quality, from the perspective of the interests of the Labor movement. Due to its relatively moderate internal stance, it encountered far fewer internal battles than the Labor movement had, and at the same time it pulled chestnuts out of the fire by solving the external problems that it would never have been able to solve by itself. Revisionism paved the way for the Labor movement from the experimental to the certain, and it enabled it to reveal its great constructive skill during the years of the State of Israel.

## 5

At the time of the writing of this book, the Labor movement is again embroiling itself, with no way out, in the entanglement that has been its curse from the beginning, and that it has always pursued - the entanglement that derives from the great burden of the experimental, and a preference for it that strangles the certain. In quick steps, the Labor movement approaches, and brings the nation along with it, a situation that is a trap - the same situation that the settlement found itself in during the end of the 1930's. In another thirty years, that is to say in the year 1993, and likely some time before then, the experimental world of the Labor movement will entirely collapse as a result of the following developments:

1. The Kibbutz movement, which depends increasingly upon its pioneer-worker abilities while losing its ideological potency, will lose its power. At the same time, the current social structure of the nation, at whose center stands the Kibbutz civilization, will completely collapse.

2. The deception of the integration of exiles, on the scale it is currently effected, will completely evaporate, and Sepharad will openly work to inherit the positions of the Ashkenazi minority, and to expel it from the nation.
3. It will be conclusively proven that the Hebrew language is not capable of serving as the basis for a rich modern civilization. At the same time, it will become clear that Hebrew Literature fills a destructive role in the nation that parallels the role that classical Hebrew Literature filled in Eastern Europe.
4. It will become clear that the nation will not be able to digest, and absorb, a large Arab minority that multiplies quickly and waits for the moment when it will seek the aid of other Arab peoples in an effort to eliminate the nation.

The remedy to these problems will require clear and strong decisions, which the Labor movement will not, under any circumstances, be able to make. As a result, the nation will deteriorate more and more into a dead end. The situation reminds us of that that was created in the settlement during the years 1936-1939, except that during that time the confusion was created against the background of foreign relations, and in the future it will be created against the background of internal relations. There is no part of the Labor movement that can tend to these problems effectively and successfully. The remnants of the “faithful of values”, from the school of Lavon, Meir Ya’ari and Tabenkin, will stand impotent against this fearsome entanglement. The power of the pioneer-workers, and of those who claim that they continue the tradition of Ben-Gurion, will be too great. However, their solutions will also be band-aids and temporary measures. This inability of all the people of the Labor movement to confront the situation will be inherent in this that every one of them, both the disciples of “values” and those who deny them, stand upon the experimental ground of the Labor movement, and they are rooted in it too much. Only a revolution, which will divert the nation from the experimental path to the path of certainty, can save it. But the first condition for this revolution is that those who execute it leave experimental territory and establish themselves upon an ideology within the boundaries of certainty. From this

they will conduct their war. The only certainty in the nation is the true Ashkenazi, who is nourished from the thousand year old Ashkenazi civilization of Eastern Europe, which established the state and bears it, to this day, upon its shoulders. The state is the creation of Ashkenazi **nationalism**, and only by being faithful to it can it survive.

## Chapter 14

### The Askenazi Revolution

#### 1

Ashkenaz won more geographical conquests than any other Jewish People. At the same time, Ashkenazi nationalism established other amazing instruments: Yiddish, folklore and the Ashkenazi way of life. However, the Ashknazi dominion over space, including the space of the State of Israel, is in no sense the main component, or the basis, of Ashkenazi nationalism. For this nationalism, like all Jewish nationalism, strives mainly for dominion over time, and only secondarily for dominion over space. So how, precisely, does Ashkenazi dominion over time, or Ashkenazi eternity, and the relationship between it and the eternity of the other Jewish peoples express itself?

When the prophet Samuel announced that the eternity of Israel does not lie, he was referring to the general People of Israel. It is very likely that he specifically chose Saul, a member of the Tribe of Benjamin, as king, in order to encourage the eternity of Benjamin, which was placed in danger due to the slaughter that was waged against this tribe. However, the fixed existence of two forces, Judah and Israel, testified that in the Confederacy of Hebrew Peoples, a struggle took place between two eternities, the eternity of Israel and the eternity of Judah. For a Hebrew struggle always has one goal: The conquest of eternity. The fall of the Kingdom of Israel, and the weakness of the Samaritan civilization that arose after its destruction, convinced the Babylonian immigrants that the eternity of Israel had died, and its place was inherited by the eternity of Judah, which had

turned into the only representative of the eternity of the House of Jacob. This is the reason that the Babylonian immigrants stubbornly refused to accept the offers of partnership and integration by the Samaritans. When the Samaritan emissaries arrived and proposed, to the Babylonian immigrants, that they build the Temple together, what they intended was to establish a continuation, together with Judah, of the ancient eternity of Israel, in the spirit of the prophet Samuel. However Zerubbabel Ben Shealtiel and Joshua Ben Yehozedek rejected the Samaritan proposition. Through their rejection, they announced that the ancient eternity of Israel was dead, and that the eternity of Judah had inherited its place. For two thousand five hundred years Jews would utter, in their speech and prayers, “the eternity of Israel”, but the meaning of the words had entirely changed. They no longer spoke of the eternity of the twelve tribes, but only of the eternity of the Tribe of Judah.

In our days, and before our eyes, an event that parallels the demise of the eternity of Israel and the birth of the eternity of Judah, in the days of the return to Zion, continues to occur. The eternity of Judah, which existed for two thousand five hundred years as a collective eternity of the Jewish peoples, is being divided into its component parts and is quickly sinking. The non-Ashkenazi Jewish peoples can no longer continue their dash toward eternity. They are being turned into impotent people who are dragged along after Ashkenaz. A great and amazing event is taking place before our eyes. All of world history is turning on its hinges. The eternity of Judah, which has existed for two thousand five hundred years, and begat great civilizations, is quickly dying. In its place a new eternity, which is inheriting its place, is ascending - the eternity of Ashkenaz.

The basic belief of the author of this book is the belief in the eternity of Ashkenaz. Only Ashkenaz can ensure the eternity of the House of Jacob. Ashkenaz inherits the eternity of Judah and, because of this, also the eternity of Israel. The words **Israel**, **Judaism** and **Jew** will remain intact, but their meanings, to the extent that they apply to things and concepts in the realm of the present and the future, will change completely. These words will increasingly represent the Ashkenazi individual, one who has



become Ashkenazi and Ashkenazi values. The Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples, which are losing their eternities, can remain in the fold of the eternity of the House of Jacob only to the extent that they assimilate to the Ashkenazi eternity. Otherwise they will lose their connection to the House of Jacob, and they will descend to the abyss of no-time. It is perverse to assume that an Israeli identity card, Hebrew speech and service in the Israeli armed forces are a guarantee for the survival of the Jewish image. There is no absurdity greater than this. Judaism means fitness to march toward eternity. He who loses this fitness, he who does not maintain a certain level ceases to be a Jew, even if he speaks Hebrew and serves in the Israeli armed forces. If the State of Israel does not raise generations of Jews who are capable of marching toward eternity, it will, God forbid, become the grave of Israel's eternity, and in this case all self-respecting Jews will flee from it. The State of Israel may represent Jewish eternity only if it stands firmly upon the eternity of Ashkenaz. All faith is also denial. Through my faith in the eternity of Ashkenaz, I cast aside the eternity of the collective Judah and cease believing in it.

The current regime in the State of Israel, and the various Zionist parties, stand upon the plane of the eternity of Judah. These forces made great efforts in order to save the eternity of Judah, and in order to block the path before the ascending eternity of Ashkenaz. They strengthened and encouraged Sepharad through the revival of the Hebrew language. They collected the Sephardo-Mizrahi tribes from all corners of the globe, and at the same time weakened Ashkenaz in all possible forms and ways. Despite this, those who have taken this path can expect humiliating failure. Their attempt was bound to fail from the start, for the eternity of Judah is quickly dying and, at the same time, the splendid sun of a new and young eternity, of a quasi-god of great vigour, of the eternity of Ashkenaz, is rising. This quasi-god will inherit all the Jewish assets, and it will defeat all its rivals and cast them into the abyss of no-time.

Had I intended to delineate an ideological path for a religious movement, then I would have to thus end the book. For the idea of the Jewish religion is time. Other concepts interest it very little. But Ashkenazi nationalism is not only religious but also political, that is to say it carries within it the desire for space. I propose to express this desire through an Ashkenazi flag in the colors blue and green. The blue will symbolize the heavens of the forefront of Asia, the ancient birthplace of the House of Jacob. The color green will symbolize the wonderful plains of Eastern France and the provinces of the Rhine in which Ashkenaz was forged as a European people. The flag of Ashkenaz will be the flag of one of the greatest peoples in the world, a nation that has a state at the forefront of Asia and major camps in all key areas of modern civilization. The flag of Ashkenaz will symbolize the world struggle of the Ashkenazi nation and its desire to conquer space. For a flag is not a symbol of time but of space and war for space. The flag is an accessory of war, a banner that distinguishes the heart of a position from which a battle is staged. The blue-white flag of the State of Israel is a flag under which the Jewish peoples of the State of Israel fight their shared war against the external enemy. This is the only meaning of that bland flag. As testimony to its blandness, I cite the fact that the ruling power in the state, the Labor movement, refuses to satisfy itself with it alone and flies, in addition to it, the international red flag. The Ashkenazi flag will be the flag of one people that believes in one eternity, and strives to rule space for the glory of Ashkenazi eternity. The flag of Ashkenaz is a battle flag. For only an implication of battle can justify the existence of a Jewish flag. If the Jewish flag has no implication of battle, then it is not needed at all, and we could satisfy ourselves with Jewish symbols of time alone.

### 3

The organizational framework that would work in the spirit of the concepts laid out in this book would be an Ashkenazi political party. The party will be completely closed and locked to non-Ashkenazim. Mixed marriages between Ashkenazim and non-Ashkenazim are a natural occurrence in the State of Israel. For this reason any Jew with one Ashkenazi parent, father

or mother, will be counted as Ashkenazi in the eyes of the party. To allow a non-Ashkenazi to become Ashkenazi by signing a form is completely absurd. There is great value in heredity, environment and continuity of blood. The condition of one Ashkenazi parent ensures the movement's Ashkenazi continuity without standing in the way of the natural occurrence of mixed marriage between Ashkenazim and non-Ashkenazim. The party will pursue exclusively Ashkenazi interests, will appeal exclusively to the Ashkenazi voter, and will not take any organizational, or propagandist, action whose purpose is the creation of Sephardo-Mizrahi peripheral groups, whether they be subordinate or vassals. The clear representation of the interests of the Ashkenazi People in Israel will be a blessing for the nation and, because of this, will also benefit the other Jewish peoples who dwell within it.

The Sephardo-Mizrahim who are hostile to Ashkenaz will have to establish their own separate political parties. Those who promote integration, according to the version that is commonly accepted today, within the framework of the eternity of Judah, can act within the Ashkenazi political parties that already exist. Those Sephardo-Mizrahim who strive to become Ashkenazim, in the spirit of the opinions expressed in this book, must create for themselves a political framework that is entirely independent, in which they can work out their problems, make an assessment of the thousand year old Ashkenazi-Sephardi relationship, and reach conclusions of their own free will. This result is almost impossible to come about in a mixed Ashkenazi-Sephardi political party, in which the Sephardim are subject to great pressure from the ruling Ashkenazi powers, and in which, by force, dispicable appearances of marranism flourish. The development of Sephardi independence, even in the form of a political party hostile to Ashkenaz – on the condition that it does not deteriorate to the level of regular pogroms – is essential for Sephardo-Mizrahim in the current life-stage of the nation. For only within such a framework can the Sephardo-Mizrahim make a correct assessment of their independent power, and conclude what it is they give to Ashkenaz and what Ashkenaz receives from them.

The Ashkenazi viewpoint, which is laid out in this chapter, is simple faith that can be understood by all people, children or the extremely elderly. It is based on three simple pillars. The connection to time is expressed by the principle of the eternity of Ashkenaz. The Ashkenazi flag expresses the connection to space. As an organizational basis, Ashkenazi hegemony, which comes from national, hereditary and environmental influences, serves this role. The Ashkenazi viewpoint is in the spirit of the classic Jewish-Semitic viewpoints, which captured great masses of people around a few entirely simple principles. This viewpoint is very conservative and it has no novelties at its core. It is based upon principles that were established in the days of the Patriarchs, and always served as a candle for the elders of Judah. The democratic character of the Ashkenazi viewpoint is absolutely kosher. It lacks any hint of the underhandedness that characterizes the elitist circles of most Israeli political parties, and which kills any true democracy. The intentions of the Ashkenazi viewpoint are open and clear to all. Its goal is to create a great camp of zealous Ashkenazim, who are prepared, at any moment, to put all their strength into the great battles that await the nation in the coming decades. Moreover: There will never be any change in the movement's three principles. It will always believe in the eternity of Ashkenaz, its approach to space will always be an approach of conquest, and it will never allow, in its establishments, organizations or fraternities, entrance to non-Ashkenazim. These three principles will serve as a strong basis for a functional and practical leadership, which benefits from extensive experience and adapts its practical tactics to ever-changing circumstances as necessary.

The main goal of the Ashkenazi political party, which will be called **The Israeli Ashkenazi Consolidation** (L.A.I. as an acronym), is to ensure the existence, and flourishing, of the State of Israel as an Ashkenazi civilization. The nation can exist only as a civilization that draws its strength from a thousand years of existence in Eastern Europe. The effort to create here a "Hebrew", or "Jewish", civilization is ridiculous. A Hebrew or Jewish civilization is not a united construct, but a combination of various cultures that struggle with each other and undermine each other. Moreover: A State of Israel that nurtures a Sephardic, or Levantine,

civilization does not interest the writer of this book one iota. He is not prepared to raise a finger for it, and he lets the Sephardic leaders concern themselves with it. The toil that this writer invests in this book comes from his faith that the civilization that will grow in the State of Israel will be none other than Ashkenazi. The wonderful creations of Ashkenazi nationalism during British rule and in the State of Israel, the rich Eastern European tradition built upon the linguistic and cultural treasures within it, the love of the State of Israel by Ashkenazi communities in the Diaspora – all of these create a chance for a rich and blossoming Israeli Ashkenazi civilization. In the following sections of this chapter, the essential conditions for the realization of this central goal will be laid out.

## 4

The Law of Return is pregnant with tragedy for the existence of the State of Israel. The birth of this law was not entirely out of love for immigrants or the love of Israel. The Labor movement had perfect opportunities to save the Jews of Europe. Even during the war, and until the Nazis completed their conquest of the lands of southwest Europe, there was still a possibility of saving hundreds of thousands of Ashkenazim. But the Labor movement refused to endanger itself. Everything it did was intended to save itself after the destruction of Europe. The few who desired to sacrifice themselves, like Hannah Szenes, received permission to fulfill their wishes only after much trouble. Had Hannah Szenes preferred fighting against the English, the quiet partners of the Nazis in the murder of European Jewry, her friends would have turned her over to the British police. At the time of the horrific tragedy that happened to European Jewry, the Labor movement enjoyed a more or less normal life. The organizational economy was blossoming and the administration and offices functioned properly. After the war, the Labor movement saved itself from the Arabs and employed, to this end, means and methods that it had condemned as long as their use was suggested in order to save the Jews of Europe. At a later stage this movement, which always attacked Jewish business in all its forms, rushed to create an entirely new Jewish business branch, the business of payments and reparations based on the ashes that remained of the Jews of Europe.

Somebody, from among the upper echelon, made a shocking account of this movement, which promised to save others but left them in their misery and saved only itself. The Law of Return, which opened the gates of the Land of Israel before every Jew, came to atone for a crime and to obscure a sin. This law is, to a large extent, the fruit of the spirit and will of Ben-Gurion, the greatest leader of the Labor movement. Ben-Gurion's path, during his last twenty years, epitomizes both himself and his movement. In the years preceding the world war, and during the Holocaust itself, Ben-Gurion took no action outside his regular routine. Had he fallen asleep when Hitler took power, and woke up at the end of the year 1947, history would not have changed its course one iota. In our knowledge of the great power of Ben-Gurion, which came to light in the era of the state, his actions in the previous era seem several times more ridiculous to us, his rivalries, his travels, the comical episode of the Biltmore conference, and his arguments with Zionist leaders like Yitzhak Gruenbaum and Abba Hillel Silver, who don't even reach his ankles. Just as Ben-Gurion revealed his great power in the era of the State, so too did he reveal his terrible fault and defect during the era of the Holocaust: His subservience to the Hall of Fame of Mapai and the Zionist Agency, and his refusal to give up his place in this hall, and too commence a revolutionary struggle. It is a fact that Ben-Gurion began his murderous war against the Zionist Agency after his actions, during the era of the State, established his place in the Hall of Fame within the Jewish community to such an extent that it is no longer impossible to remove him from it. Before this, the smoke from the argument between him and the leaders of the Zionist Agency was more intense than the fiery flames that lurked behind this smoke. These were the psychological and historical circumstances that gave birth to the Law of Return. The masses of immigrants that flowed from Mideastern lands served to hide the crime of the sacrifice of the Jews of Europe. The entry of flawed and defective people, without even a minimum of selection, served to emphasize the great mercy that covered up, and atoned for, the previous cruelty.

Only the extraordinary human blossoming of the old Ashkenazi settlement was able to balance the demographic weakness that resulted from this great

flow of defective people. However, the proportion between the healthy and the defective, within the Jewish population, constantly changes in favor of the defective, and if this process continues, there is no hope of creating, within the state, any sort of flourishing civilization. In this case, the nation will turn into a large hospital for unfortunates from among the Jewish peoples. It is doubtful if any human, political, societal or even economic, plan has a place within such a hospital whose initial purpose was fixed to be a shelter for sickly and defective people, who are funneled into it by forces and influences over which it has no control. The first condition for the creation of a successful civilization of any sort, in the State of Israel, is the immediate nullification of the Law of Return, and the implementation of a careful selection process in immigration. The horrific march of defectives, in all their variety, from all corners of the globe, must cease. The nullification of the Law of Return will certainly bring about suffering, and even spiritual and physical destruction to thousands of Jews. But we have no choice. Those who were satisfied, during the Nazi era, with 1500 certificates per month, caused a much greater tragedy. Had they acted differently, had they rebelled after Hitler's rise to power and informed the world of the severity of the Jewish problem in the days of Hitler, then it is likely that all of human history would be different and World War II would not have broken out.

## 5

A flourishing Jewish civilization can develop in the State of Israel only if it is a land of Jews, and not a binational land, Jewish-Arabic. As a result of the presence of a foreign minority, which numbers some quarter of a million souls, the State of Israel ceases to be a Jewish nation and its binational character will become more and more severe as a result of the accelerated natural reproduction of the Arab population. Experts assume that in the year 1975 the Arab settlement in the State of Israel will number half a million. Close to the year 2000, it is likely to reach nearly a million. The presence of such an Arab minority in the nation is unacceptable. Steps should be taken, through generous property compensation, to gradually remove the Arabs by encouraging them to leave for any possible

destination of refuge. In particular, we should encourage the young ones to leave. We should not ignore the role of the Arab population as a good source of labor, but there is no lack of such laborers in the Levant. We can accept them from Cyprus and from Turkey and put them to work with short-term visas. Our hunger for manual Labor must not turn into a force that fattens and strengthens the Arab minority, which constitutes a foreign and hostile element in our nation.

Israel's foreign policy should be based upon the certainty of long-term Arab hatred and not upon experimentalism that attempts to reach solidarity with the Arab peoples. A tactic of non-aggression is likely to be essential as a result of external circumstances and international pressure. However, as soon as hostilities break out it would be suicide if Israel took a defensive stance. The incredible numeric advantage of the enemy obligates Israel to make powerful offensive strikes, whose purpose would be to obliterate the Arab urban civilization through acts of destruction and devastation the likes of which the Mideast has never seen. The State of Isreal should annex additional territories but, in doing so, it must vacate them of their Arab occupants. We have no interest in inhabited Arab territories. The paucity of Israeli water sources, and other matters of grave concern, requires that Israeli annexations take place in the northern sector, at the expense of Syria's fertile and water-rich territories.

## 6

In Israel's domestic life, L.A.I. will orchestrate a vigorous campaign against the influence of the New Hebrew Literature and the followers of the old-style values of the Labor movement. These values are indubitably lofty, and their strictly monastic character does not detract from their independent significance. The fact that an interesting, if temporary, civilization is based upon them is convincing testimony of their significance. The trouble with these values is that they were immediately married, as they were realized, in a contradictory marriage with opposing goals. In the sphere of ethics, the general human ethical goal of Aaron David Gordon was married with the political will of the Jew who is



concerned only with one mission, and who clings, because of this, to a specific morality that is merely a refined form of group egoism. In the social sphere, the representatives of the values of the Labor movement, who fit in with a monastic, or quasi-monastic, civilization, sought to attach themselves to the goals of the masses that prefer the dimensions and abundance of mass culture over the refinement and spartanism of a monastic culture. The Labor movement sought to create a mixture of Jesus of Nazereth and Avraham Stern. This mixing, which was formed at the very beginning, put the Labor movement, from an ideological perspective, on a slippery slope, and brought it to actions and goals that are the complete opposite of those that it had initially set for itself. This movement began as a war against Arab labor and ended up facilitating Arab labor within the Jewish economy. It started, to a large extent, as a pacifist movement and ended up as a militaristic one, and so on. The average person who preaches the values of the Labor movement is a man who promotes the kibbutz but settled in the city, promotes socialism but turned into a petit bourgeois, preached for the integration of exiles, but is terrified when confronted with the chance that his son or daughter might marry a non-Ashkenazi. Such a man is a liar, but the blame is not entirely his own; it is also the blame of the contradictory marriage of ideological values and the values and the goals of the masses. The main blame for this unfortunate situation can be laid upon the ideological upper echelon that hides the ideological contradiction, and leads the masses to false hopes.

At the same time that the failure of the ideological upper echelon is becoming obvious, we should emphasize the victory of the pioneer-workers. This victory is so great that it has left the boundaries of the pioneer-worker activism and yielded ideological fruit. The collected ideology that has been accumulated by the pioneer-workers is a better standard for the management of the State of Israel than the ideology of the followers of the old values. Pioneer-workers are able, today, to put together a better Israeli government than that which was put together by P. Lavon and Professor Rotenstreich. The ideological auther, who defends Labor values, gradually loses his right to exist, and he turns into a nuisance.

His victories are in the realm of printed material and no more. In the final analysis, they are imaginary victories.

## 7

In this book, the author avoids dealing with economic issues. The reason for this is the shocking transitoriness of economic criteria, the existence of excellent specific economic methods and Israel's increasing dependence upon the world economy, a dependence that will automatically force us into paths and methods that will ensure the nation its place as a successful exporting nation. The only economic point that the author wishes to touch upon is the one that concerns the non-kibbutz economy of the Labor Federation. The author wishes to present a simple question concerning this economy: Who will need this economy in the future? Members of the Federation, who are not members of a kibbutz, are 99 percent petit bourgeois who promote moderate capitalism. What use, however, is a socialist economy to the petit bourgeois? There was once faith that an economy that was controlled by the Federation would ensure the existence of a socialist society, which is what the founders of the Federation saw as their primary purpose. But it has been proven that ownership of an economy does not determine the character of a society. The religious people of Jerusalem and B'nei Brak, consider material possessions to be unimportant, but they possess a wonderful society. Lehi had a wonderful society at a time when its members hungered for bread. The society of the second migration was a unique one, even though it lacked material assets. Today's Federation has tremendous assets, but its society continually decays. The path of the Federation proved that assets do not build a society, so why does it have assets? The choice that the State of Israel is presented with is between a capitalism that seeks penance for its sins and strives to avoid being exploitative, and a deviant socialism that winks at capitalism and copies its ways. The first possibility is the better one. A capitalist who disperses, in the twilight of his days, his millions for charitable causes, as he atones for his sins, is a much more admirable man than a socialist activist who cursed capitalism his whole life and, in the end, bought a bunch of stocks and began to warm his heart to the capitalistic

hope that his stocks, specifically, will win their owner giddy winnings at the exchange. The mixture that is created - as a result of the fact that the burgeoning Federation society sustains a socialist economy - subverts its proper activity, arouses unjustified appetites and interferes with its excellent managerial powers. We should put an end to this contradiction through the sale of the important assets of this economy to private investors - who buy the stocks of the new companies that will be created on the foundations of a popular capitalism. The money that is earned from the sale should be given to members of the Federation on the basis of a specific index that would reflect the amounts of money that the member paid the Federation over the course of his membership. For the workers, for the common investors, for the compensation funds and pensions there will be a respectable portion in the stocks of the new companies, and in this way their popular character will be maintained. But their management will be in accordance with effective capitalist principles that are supported by 99 percent of the non-kibbutz Federation members, and not in accordance with the outdated, and failed, principle that is supported by one percent.

## 8

General Hebrew education – the key position in the formation of the face of the nation's future society – is grounded in outdated principles and is in need of fundamental revision. The people of the second migration, who built this education, were set in their ways, the product of a thousand year old Ashkenazi civilization. These people were able to direct their talents toward a long list of goals: To join the gentile socialist movements, to join the Jewish socialist movements, to be territorialists, or to migrate to the United States and work there toward the formation, and fortification, of the Jewish community. After these people decided to migrate to the Land of Israel, and to link their fates with it, their educational and instructional activities were directed toward justifying this step that they had taken, and toward imposing upon themselves obligations and commandments of pioneer-workers. This educational routine continues to serve as an educational path for the younger generation, although its needs are completely different. The character of this generation is not crystallized

and hardened, as was that of their forefathers, rather it is largely unclear and divided. The fathers knew who, and what, they were, and they exerted themselves in various forms of implementation. The children do not know who they are or what they are. The educational system in the nation does not solve their riddle; rather it places burdens upon them. It is directed entirely toward pioneer-worker activism. There is no doubt that this pioneer-worker activism is considered far more important than the ideology of values that is constantly retreating from its positions. But pioneer-worker activism is limited by its nature, and dependant upon outside forces. Technological advancement has greatly limited the settlement's field of idealism. The Israeli Defense Force is now the main field for idealism, and the main course in the educational system that forms the character of the younger generation. But what shall we do if the Arabs wish to make peace with Israel? What shall we do if the Negroes of Africa begin to develop, on their own, African agriculture, or other sources of aid, and busy themselves with this task? What is the inner essence of the Israeli Jew, an essence that is entirely his, and is not dependent upon any external force?

My answer to this question is that a Hebrew school in the Land of Israel, as long as it's not a typical religious one, must educate Ashkenazi nationalists. To the extent that the religious element is eliminated from the educational system, due to secularization, its place must be filled by the values of Ashkenazi nationalism. The historical, linguistic, spiritual and folkloric assets of this nationalism are awe-inspiring, and they have the power to form and balance a personality that is wonderfully rich. This nationalism has worldly treasures, worldly ties and worldly interests. It is among the most fruitful and interesting nationalisms among modern humans. The sector of the State of Israel is only a part of its assets, and the success in this part, in this sector, is dependant upon a strong connection to worldly Ashkenazi nationalism.

It is necessary to have intensive study of Yiddish and its literature in a Hebrew school. Hebrew history should be studied not as the history of one people but as the history of a series of peoples, in which each one of them

created a separate culture and struggled with other Jewish peoples. In the study of the Bible, we should emphasize the wars and rivalries between the Hebrew peoples, which resulted in the rise of the Tribe of Judah. We should create a new scientific field: The influences of Ashkenazi history upon world history. For the history of the world, in the last few centuries, cannot be understood without taking into consideration the influences that came from Ashkenaz. In contrast, we should limit the study of Hebrew Literature. In the universities, it is important that tens of native Israelis study Russian in order to recognize the great Russian culture and the revolutionary movements that had such a great influence upon the image of the settlement in the Turkish and British eras, and upon the character of the State of Israel. We should study English not just because it is a worldly language, but also as a bridge between the Ashkenazi camp in the State of Israel and the Ashkenazi camp in the Anglosphere.

From an organizational perspective, we should cease the ridiculous charade, being taught in Hebrew schools, of one people. In the Jewish population of the State of Israel there are two clear levels of ability that are well defined: That of Ashkenaz, the Ladino nation and the fit elements of the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples, and that of the Sephardo-Mizrahi masses. There should be educational segregation between these two elements for the benefit of both of them.

The technical difficulties involved with the conversion of Yiddish into an official second language in the State of Israel are so many that it is difficult to even present such a demand these days. However, we should offer Yiddish far-reaching support and turn the State of Israel into the world center of cultural activism that is conducted in this language. For the sake of encouraging people to speak Yiddish, we should establish a special radio station, the Voice of Ashkenaz, which will serve all Yiddish speakers in the world, and will serve as a flash point for matters of language, folklore, poetry, humor and other Yiddish values.

L.A.I. will find itself in a state of war with the Sephardic leaders. There is no peace, there can be no peace and there will not be peace, with a group whose entire essence is hatred toward Ashkenaz and the desire to undermine it. The haters of Ashkenaz include not only the Sephardic leaders, who dance to the pipe of the pogrom instigator Ben Haroush, and regret that Hitler failed to “finish” all of us. The more “moderate” leaders, who sigh over Ashkenazi “hegemony”, are our mortal enemies. For this hegemony, within the Confederacy of Jewish Peoples, can vanish only with the power of a second Hitler who would slaughter us and spare Sepharad. There are no moderates and extremists among the Sephardic leaders. All of them are our mortal enemies. L.A.I. will wage a vigorous war against all of them, which will be conducted in all areas of territory and on all planes of time. The war will be conducted in all lands of the world and planes of the present, future and past. As for the war in the plane of the past, it will be conducted by removing the blackout from the story of Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations over the past three hundred years - and revealing the historical truth about the deceptions of this class.

Sephardic leaders who work within Ashkenazi political parties appear in two faces. As long as it is convenient for them, they wear the mask of a generic Jew, and when it is convenient for them, they appear as zealous Sephardim or Yemenites. This situation cannot be tolerated. We should not allow two Sephardic leaders in the Israeli government, Bechor Shitrit and Eliyahu Sasson, to be four people in practice; two regular members of Mapai and two Sephardim. There is no place for marranism in the State of Israel. This state allows every Sephardi to express the full extent of his Sephardic zealotry, up to the point where his actions conflict with criminal law. A Sephardic activist in an Ashkenazi political party, who thinks that his Ashkenazi friends are just as concerned as he is about Sephardic welfare, is not allowed to emphasize his false Sephardic patriotism. And if he thinks that he worries about Sephardic issues more than his Ashkenazic friends, then he should leave the Ashkenazi political party. The middle path of appearing with two faces is a false and flawed one.

As for Minister Eliyahu Sasson's attempt to shut the mouth of Abba Eban, when the latter pointed out that historical forces are to blame for the retardedness of the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples – we should not view this attempt as an isolated incident or an offshoot of the debate regarding “the ethnic groups”. With this attempt, Eliyahu Sasson passed the Rubicon. Mapai was not, at this time, a pure Sephardic political party but first and foremost an Ashkenazi political party. From here we see that Eliyahu Sasson is also a representative of Ashkenazim, and Ashkenazim cannot allow their representative to shut the mouth of an important, and honorable, man such as Abba Eban when he points out a well-established historical fact that nobody disputes. If Abba Eban is forbidden to say that Sephardo-Mizrahi retardedness is historical, then the history books, of our educational system, are also forbidden to point out the fact of Sephardic decline. Moreover: As justification, and as an explanation, for Sephardo-Mizrahi retardnedness, the Sephardic leaders point, over and over again, to the historic retardedness of Mideastern lands. They are allowed to do this, but it is forbidden for Abba Eban! Does a man like Eliyahu Sasson think everything is permitted for him and the Sephardic leaders: To execute a negative selection for migration to the Land of Israel, to incite riots and to encourage rioters, to demand government positions and honors by merit of ethnic origin and skin color – but the Ashkenazi minister of education is not even allowed to point out a fact that all the history books take for granted? Eliyahu Sasson is obliged to reach the logical conclusion: He must go. There is no place for him in government, not as a first-class minister, not as a second-class minister and not as the deputy minister of Mapai or any other Ashkenazi political party. He can lead a Sephardic political party as a minister, or even as prime minister. As long as he maintains the formal democracy, we shall not interfere with him, but the moment he strays from it, we shall overthrow his rule. But now – after he has crossed the Rubicon between himself and Ashkenaz – he must return his Mapai membership card and leave. If he does not leave, then Mapai should escort him out. Somebody must pass the Rubicon in this matter. If Sasson refuses to pass the Rubicon by leaving his political party, then Mapai must do so by expelling Sasson. If neither Mapai nor Sasson is willing to pass the Rubicon, then hundreds of Ashkenazim - who have

ceased viewing Mapai as a political party that experiments with integration, but as a political party that intentionally, and openly, sacrifices the interests of Ashkenaz for the benefit of the interests of Sepharad – should pass it. Today, hundreds of Ashkenazim will pass the Rubicon, then thousands, and then tens of thousands and, in the end, hundreds of thousands. Mapai will not be able to dance at both weddings. It must decide one way or the other: Will it build an Ashkenazi civilization in the State of Israel or will it build a Sephardic civilization, which stands upon the ruins of Ashkenazi civilization.

In parallel to the political aggressiveness of Eliyahu Sasson in the field of government, the Yemenite leader, Mordechai Tabib, wages an attack on Ashkenaz on the cultural plane. His articles (“From the Foundation” 12-11) are grave writs of accusation against Ashkenaz on the cultural plane. The sins of Ashkenaz are too heavy to bear. According to the Yemenite leader, all of the actions and thoughts of Ashkenaz are coordinated toward depriving the Mizrahi ethnic groups of their fair share, and toward stifling their independent actions. We should tell Mordechai Tabib that since he wrote these articles, he has concluded his account with us and he must pack his belongings and move to the spiritual domain of the “Mizrahi ethnic groups”. If we are so evil and incorrigible, why should he live with us? There is plenty of room in today’s State of Israel for these “Mizrahi ethnic groups” to make their livelihoods, and plenty of pasture for independent, political and cultural activity of every sort. Who is preventing Sasson from creating a great Sephardic political party? Who is preventing the Yemenite authors, such as Tabib, from writing an opus of Yemenite Jewry equal in value to “War and Peace” by Tolstoy? Who is preventing them from creating Yemenite, and Sephardic, positions in the State of Israel?

It is not us who are preventing them, but the weakness that is ingrained in them, in their innermost selves and their innermost beings. And since they refuse to admit their shortcoming, they smear us with false accusations. In their lack of ability, within their inner selves, to create anything of substance, or that is independent, Tabib and Sasson slither like parasites to Ashkenazi areas and publicly unthread their necklace of old lies, which is



fresh with false propaganda that never has, and never will, leave them. Sasson and Tabib cannot drink from the Ashkenazi well and also spit into it; either one or the other. They should leave the Ashkenazi political and cultural scene.

## 10

When I wrote about the study of Yiddish in the schools of the government educational system, I did not mean that this study should be mandatory. The children of Sepharad, and also the children of Ashkenaz, whose parents do not approve of this study, can be exempt from it. Moreover: We should offer maximum aid for every cultural campaign and project whose purpose is to bolster the culture of each and every people among the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples. As a matter of fact, let the Sephardo-Mizrahim develop their cultures and let Ashkenaz develop its culture. Such a policy will allow the Jews of the State of Israel to recognize, through comparison, the relative value of each culture. The great victory of Ashkenazi culture, in this competitive war, is guaranteed from the start.

The Sephardic leaders must understand that the integration of exiles is not obligatory but optional, it is not Torah from Mount Sinai and it is not an everlasting obligation but a political policy, a political line of thinking that can be abandoned and replaced with another line of thinking that is totally different. Ashkenaz has the right to blow up into pieces, one fine morning, all the concepts that sprang from this primary principle whose name is the integration of exiles, and to replace them with different concepts. Ben-Gurion himself recoiled in terror from this concept, and even hurried to reject it and stigmatize it. Why, if so, is it forbidden for Ashkenazim to leave the trap that he, himself, left after he placed all the other Ashkenazim within it? The line of thinking that brought about the riots of Wadi Salib is a new political line of thinking among the Sephardic leaders, a line of thinking that was created due to a change of circumstances. Why, then, is it forbidden for Ashkenazim to change this line of thinking and to take a different path?

In the field of education in the State of Israel, there is now a criminal attempt to break the formal democracy, and to give preference to members of the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples. A Sephardo-Mizrahi origin is a huge advantage, and an Ashkenazi origin is a disqualifying limitation. Such punishments, based on ethnic origin, have no equivalent in any democratic country. The socialist government of England did not punish any son of English lords because of his origin, and did not grant any educational advantages to the children of laborers as the children of laborers. However, in the State of Israel, all the simple people of Ashkenaz are punished as all the Sephardo-Mizrahim, even from the wealthy class, enjoy preference. Such a regime of open preferences exists today in only one place: In the Russian universities that are closed to Ashkenazim because their places were promised to others of different ethnicities in the Soviet Union.

Such a method is illegal and it should not be tolerated even for one day. The Ashkenazi population is not required to bring sacrifices **such as these** for the advancement of the Sephardo-Mizrahi population. All the specific regulations that benefit members of the Sephardo-Mizrahi peoples must be nullified and erased from the law books, in theory and in practice. Together with this we should develop, with great momentum, the classic programs of a welfare state, from which the Sephardo-Mizrahim benefit to a decisive degree, and especially those among them who are likely to advance to intermediate and advanced studies.

In the end, we should warn the Sephardic leaders against policies that work toward inciting riots such as the riots at Wadi Salib. Our answer to policies of rioting will be policies of separation. We shall not live together with rioters. We shall establish independent Ashkenazi education. We shall build neighborhoods and cities for Ashkenaz. We shall protect Ashkenazi civilization by any means, and we shall stop at nothing in our defense; we shall defend to the end of ends and to the extreme of extremes.

Ashkenaz will prevail! For Ashkenaz, in the State of Israel, is the greatest of all, and in the right more than anybody else. For the danger that awaits Ashkenaz is the most tangible, and the most dramatic of any internal

dangers. Ashkenaz will prevail because it is a thousand times stronger than all the non-Ashkenazi forces in the nation. L.A.I. will triumph, not as a movement that wins by a spectacular landslide, but slowly and as it builds the foundation of a new Ashkenazi society. The Ashkenazi societal strongholds are crumbling and falling, after Ashkenaz, itself, had closed them. The Jewish Agency, the political parties, the kibbutz economies, the various public establishments, which used to be Ashkenazi societal strongholds, are now losing this character due to the increasing, and unavoidable, penetration of Sephardo-Mizrahi elements. There are therefore groups of new Ashkenazi societal strongholds, strongholds that are purely Ashkenazi, and where entry to non-Ashkenazim is not allowed until the end of generations. In these strongholds, a life of Ashkenazi profundity, which derives from activity in the fields of research, crafts, linguistics, history, literature, humor, folklore etc., is taking shape and developing. We should develop a complete list of Ashkenazi sciences, for example: Ashkenazi history; Ashkenazi-Sephardi relations; Ashkenazi influence, in modern times, upon the great peoples of the world, the Germans, Russians and English; the study of Yiddish and its literature, modern Ashkenazi policies etc. Within these cultural-social frameworks, a gathering of people will crystallize around lofty interests, and through this, the processes of deterioration, now appearing in Ashkenazi society, will be halted as a result of the disappearance of the former values. A true gathering of people should not be achieved through organizing for the defence of interests and positions, but through organizing for the advancement of **ambitions**. The division of people into those who own cars and those who do not own cars, rich and poor, successful people and failures, holds within it a societal atrocity. Only lofty ambitions, that are anchored in the future, break the chains of economic disparity and quality of life differences, and return humanity to its natural state of one family. L.A.I. will set for itself the goal of gathering all the Ashkenazim, as Ashkenazim, and of uniting, within one framework, professors and manual laborers, successful people and failures, men of action and followers. This will not be a framework of snobs who are proud of their white skin, not of those who possess property and status and worry about their wealth, not of intellectuals who consider themselves superior due to their intellectualism,

but a framework of those who believe in the eternity of Ashkenaz and gather around their faith in order to work for its sake. The element of faith will be a solid foundation of the movement. You can always return to it after failures and disappointments, and draw from it new strength.

In coming years, the strength of the Labor movement will continually decline and, in its place will be the great forces of the Ashkenazi Revolution. The Labor movement has sinned too much, saved itself too much and sacrificed Ashkenaz too much. It has failed in important fields, such as the battle between Ashkenaz and Germany, and in relations between Ashkenaz and Sepharad. It has distanced itself from innocence; set up too many traps and, in the end, itself got caught in a series of traps from which there is no escape. The minister of history has already commanded one of his servants to prepare the paint and the brush, which will be used to paint, over the façade of this great movement, the word *liquidation*. It has already completed its pioneering adventures and conquests, the joyful path that leads from summit to summit. Soon it will begin to take the path of sorrow, on slippery steps downward that lead to the abyss of no-time. Its division into three workers' parties is not a disaster for it, and the uniting of the three will not bring it salvation. But the liquidation of the Labor movement will not be complete. The crafty doctrines and the twisted ideological combinations, upon which it has hung so many of its hopes, will disappear and be forgotten, but the honest deeds of the campaigner, of the builder, the plower, the paver of roads and the layer of irrigation pipes – these honest deeds have already conquered for themselves a place in eternity, and their memory will last to the end of generations. All who come after the Labor movement will continue this work, and will view his predecessors and founders with awe and respect.

# 11

The fate of the nation is inextricably tied to the fate of Ashkenaz in the Diaspora, and to what is called the Jewish Question. We should reassess this question in light of the abundant experience we have accumulated in the last generation. We should ask, “who are we and what is our essence?”

Are we rulers of the world and conquerors of the world, as the anti-Semites claim? Or are we the downtrodden, and victims, of the world? We should ask, whose question is the Jewish Question? Is it of the lowly of the world that we should save, or of those who conspire to be the conquerors of the world, whose might should be given a different channel?

There is no doubt that the truth lies more with the anti-Semites, who claim that we are conquerors of the world, than with the various Jewish representatives, who claim that we are the downtrodden of the world. A number of significant dates hint at the true essence of the Jewish People in its exile. Jesus was born in the first few years of this era, and in the year 70 the Second Temple was destroyed after a world struggle between the Jews and the Roman Empire. In the year 1492 Columbus discovered the American continent, and in the same year the Spanish expulsion of the Jews also occurred. We mention the name of Columbus because research is leaning more and more toward the conclusion that Columbus was a Jew. We can see, however, in his personality, the apex of Jewish influence upon the fate of Christian Spain, and at the same time of this apex, the destruction of the Inquisition also occurred. And last but not least: The Communist Manifesto was published in the year 1848, and a campaign of mass murder against the Jews of Europe began in the years 1942-1943. We see a shocking proximity between the dates of birth and the actions of Jewish individuals who had amazing influence upon the fate of the foreign world, and the dates of the destructive holocausts that visited the Jews of the Second Temple, Spain and Eastern Europe.

At the beginning of this book, we determined that time is greater than space, and that it rules over space, and this is the reason that the specific dimension of the Jews is the dimension of time. A great concentration of dominion over time begets a desire to break out into dominion over space. Jesus was not a solitary vision. In his era there took place, through various Jewish forces, an extensive push for converts. The birth of Jesus has another explanation, and that is that in the heart of the Jewish People there was a desire to have its basic ideas rule over the entire world, or in other words: To conquer the world. This Jewish desire, whose extreme

spokesman was Jesus, brought about a clash between Judah and Rome, the destruction of the Temple, and a Judeo-Roman war that lasted a hundred years. In the end, the Jews achieved their aim and King Constantine the Great accepted the Christian faith in the year 312. How did the Jews achieve their aim and rule over space? How did they seize the fate of space when the Jews initially had only a small country, and later even this was destroyed and they remained with no country and no army? The answer is that the Jews of the Second Temple ruled over the world by way of turning the Greeks into their servants. The Greeks never forgave the Romans for their subjugation and they were always of rebellious spirit. The relationship between the Jews and the Greeks was full of bitterness, and confrontations and skirmishes broke out, over and over, between the two peoples. But despite this, the Jews knew how to harness the Greeks with the task of spreading Christianity, which was a Jewish-Greek shared campaign. The greatest personalities of early Christianity, aside from the Jews, were Greek, and the epistles of the New Testament, which aided Christianity in its first conquests, were composed in Greek. The empire of Constantine the Great was already not a Roman Empire, but a Roman-Jewish-Greek empire, and when he built Constantinople and made it the capitol of the empire, it gave a geographic-organizational expression to the changes that had altered the image of the Roman Empire.

The Jewish influence upon Spain was very great. One gets a well-based impression that the fears of the church - that the Jews will take too much power, and that they would use Spanish expansion as a means to further their own desires of a specific Jewish world conquest - is what caused the expulsion. In connection with this we should also mention Benjamin Disraeli, who, though he did not create the British Empire but rather formed – through the strength of the skill based on the Spanish model – its fundamental outlines as a world empire.

Disraeli wanted to rule the world through the English. Karl Marx planned on imposing his ideas upon the world through a German conquest of the world. His book, “Das Kapital”, was the most important political book written in Germany. Only later was “Mein Kampf”, which is an imitation

and counterstrike to Karl Marx's book, written by Hitler. Before Marx, Germany was merely a province, as far as its political-spiritual influence upon the world, and the author of "Das Kapital" was the one who conquered for it, and for its language, a central role. Leon Trotsky, the greatest of the Jewish communists of Russia, wished to conquer the world through Russia. A conquest of the world in an indirect way, which uses another people as a tool, is typical of the Jewish People from the end of the days of the Second Temple and onward. The great power of Ashkenaz in the modern era brought about a situation where, in almost all cases where there was a desire to conquer the world, Ashkenazim turned out to have been involved as instigators and inciters. The German king Wilhelm II had several Jewish friends who shared his dreams of a German conquest of the world. The most famous of these friends was Ballin, who built Germany's transatlantic fleet, and was the only one to take his own life due to severe anguish after the defeat of the World War I. These links were taken advantage of also by political Zionism and Richard Lichtheim, the German Zionist who dwelt in Constantinople during the World War I. It was there that he managed a political office that maintained ties with German diplomats in Turkey, and worked toward ensuring that the Jews would have the Land of Israel in the event that the war ended with German victory and world domination. The destruction of the Second Temple was the result of the Roman reaction to the Jewish desire to undermine the Roman Empire from the inside, and to conquer it. The Spanish expulsion came to put an end to Jewish influence, which sought to rule over the race for Spanish expansion. Hitlerism was a reaction to the desire of Karl Marx to impose his ideas upon the entire world, after taking control of Germany and turning it into a tool. Russian anti-Semitism is a reaction to Trotsky's attempt to rule the world through Russia, after it became a tool of Trotsky. In Ottoman times, the Jews, or more accurately the Ashkenazim, showed great activism in the strategic points of preparation to rule over the world, that is to say in the laboratories where the various Ottoman weapons and expertise were being developed. Ashkenazim march at the head of atomic research in the United States just as they march at the head of Russian atomic research. The fact that the Jew Rickover invented the American atomic battery teaches us that Ashkenaz, in the United States, is being tasked more

and more with conquering the world through Washington. The date of the birth of Jesus is a fateful date in the life of the Jewish People. It marks the day that, from it and forward, the various Jewish peoples began to attack the world in order to conquer it by using other peoples for that end: Greeks, Spaniards, Germans, Russians, Anglo-Americans and lastly also the Chinese. In relation to this we should note the great difference between the days of the First Temple and the last part of the era of the Second Temple. In the days of the First Temple, the position of the Jews toward to world was a position of defense, while at the end of the Second Temple, their position was one of offense and attacks to conquer the world.

The conclusion from all this is that the approach that seeks to solve the Jewish Question as a question that is posed by unfortunate, and persecuted, people dooms itself from the beginning. For the Jews are not the lowly people of the world, but conquerors of the world, and since they are conquerors of the world, it was decreed upon them to offer sacrifices that are, in practice, losses of war. For the victory of Christianity we paid with the destruction of the Second Temple. The Jewish influence in Spain cost the Jews of Spain the stakes of the Inquisition and the expulsion. For the expansion of communism in the world, Ashkenaz paid with the loss of European Jewry. The idea that the Jews plow the fields of others is too simplistic. The Jew who abandons the religious study hall turns into a conqueror of the world, and with such a status he seeks to rule over foreign peoples in order to realize, through them, his desire to conquer the world, which is what motivates him.

The State of Israel, despite its desire to emulate the era of the First Temple, and despite its pacifist beginnings, provides additional evidence for this Jewish ambition.

The worldliness of Israel, that is to say, its worldly values, is shocking and, to the same extent, Israeli's urge to conquer, to rule and its aggression are shocking. Israeli diplomacy is active on all continents. There is a complete list of lands where the small nation of Israel engages in developmental, organizational and instructional work. It is not by chance that the best



submachine gun in the world is the *Uzi*, a product of the weapons industry of the Israel Defense Force. Conquerors of the world have always developed outstanding weapons, and created innovative strategic tactics. Only the special circumstances of the era prevent Israel from being a great conquering nation. Had circumstances been different, Israel would turn into a flash point of various treaties that seek expansion, conquest and the swallowing up of other lands.

The solution to the Jewish Question is, therefore, first and foremost not the rescue of unfortunates and the downtrodden, but the establishment of a great Jewish political civilization that allows Jews to influence directly, in a normal way, the fate of the world. Such a civilization would be able to limit the specific Jewish function of inciting foreign peoples, incitement that at certain times becomes fatal for both the entire world and for the Jewish peoples themselves. The territorialist programs of Herzl gave this unique opportunity to us, but the opportunity was wasted. The State of Israel is not the answer to the modern Jewish question, which has in the meantime, turned into the Ashkenazi Question. The State of Israel is too small to accommodate so many millions of Ashkenazim. Moreover: The State of Israel doesn't even want to solve the Jewish Question, just as the Hebrew settlement in the Land of Israel never wanted to solve it, except for extreme Revisionist forces that worked within it. The State of Israel wants to solve the question of itself through worldly incitement that comes from the existence of the Ashkenazi question. The State of Israel wants the Ashkenazi question to remain until the last generation so that it can facilitate fund raising, the flow of immigrants to settlements and kibbutzim and enjoy other monetary, political and cultural advantages. The efforts of the Israeli government in taking care of, and of aiding the multiplication of, the Arab population in the State of Israel, are among the clear signs of the Israeli refusal to solve the Ashkenazi Question, or even to contribute a serious contribution toward this question. The State of Israel is not prepared at all to give up on the "cash cow" whose name is the Ashkenazi Question, and it is a forgone conclusion, as far as it is concerned, to extract from this "cash cow" quasi-parasitic benefits until the end of generations.

However, through the essence of its being, and contrary to its will, the State of Israel creates a chance for the solution to the Ashkenazi question. If the situation of the Jews in the United States deteriorates due to an upwelling of dangerous anti-Semitism, the Jews of America will not cast their lot with the State of Israel, which will neither want, nor be able, to absorb them, but they will solve their problem by establishing a second Jewish state, the State of Ashkenaz. There will be no lack of territory for this state. The actors in the project will receive tempting offers from many sides. Herzl also had no lack of offers. How much more so will there be no lack of offers after the success of the State of Israel as a developing nation. It was very difficult to establish the first Jewish state after two thousand years of exile. The main stumbling block, which stood in the way of the founding of this state, was Jewish doubt concerning the very possibility of such a thing. But after the State of Israel was established, it is likely that another state will follow it, and over the course of much time, even several states. For the possibilities of Jewish statehood are truly limitless. The Ashkenazi state will be aided by the rich experience that was acquired through the establishment of the State of Israel. Diplomats, military men, experts and Israeli adventurers are likely to contribute a recognizable contribution to its establishment and development. Israelis develop, and will develop, many nations. Why, if so, would they not develop the Ashkenazi State, when its establishment is realized in another fifty or sixty years?

The State of Israel is already in the process of laying the foundations for another Jewish state. The Israelis have become colonists and classic nation-builders. In Israel we find a great concentration of knowledge in all matters involved with the development of new lands, knowledge of agriculture, of water and irrigation, of construction etc. Moreover: Israel is becoming a center of worldly knowledge regarding the conditions and treasures of lands and continents. The files of the Israeli institutions already hold a concentration of knowledge on Africa, and it is doubtful if the African governments have anything like it in any field of research. In another fifty or sixty years we shall possess superb knowledge of conditions in most developing lands and empty territories in the New

World. All of these resources will be of great help to the Ashkenazi state. There will be no lack of space. There will be no lack of knowledge. The great preparation will limit, to a minimum, the need for a class of manual laborers, a class that is disappearing from the Ashkenazi People. There will be no lack of sources of funding and loans. The moment the curse of anti-Semitism begins in the United States, the founding of an Ashkenazi state will be indicated as a logical remedy, and in an amazingly short period of time, a legendary Ashkenazi civilization is likely to rise.

The tendency to repeat, and the tendency to spread out and expand are the two dominating tendencies in Hebrew history. There is no people that desires, as much as our people, to repeat the past and to return to the place from which it came. And no people, as much as our people, has so forcefully left the conditions of its ancient, and small, historical birth, and spread over the face of the entire Earth to flood it with its influence. The State of Israel is the fruit of the Hebrew desire to repeat, and the Ashkenazi nation will be the fruit of the Hebrew desire to spread out. These two desires are bound together and were born one within the other. The State of Israel had barely arisen and it had already begun the race for transition through its various, and varied, activities, which are done all over the world, and which pave the way for an Ashkenazi state.

## 12

From its earliest youth, the People of Israel dwelt alone, but at the same time it still has a worldly mission. Does this mission exist even today? Does the Ashkenazi People carry, within it, a mission for the peoples of the world, to all those who were created in the image of God? To this question, the author answers in the affirmative. The Ashkenazi mission is bound up with the most ancient concept of the People of Israel, the concept of the relationship between time and space.

Jewish monotheism contributed greatly to the development of the natural sciences by concluding that there is but one God who created all that exists, and not many gods, and that one law rules over the whole world and not

many laws of many gods. The giant of technology-science conquered, and conquers everything. But all of its conquests are in the realm of space. Before time, science stands powerless. It is not able to speed it up, just as it cannot slow it down. It cannot even explain it. Time exists outside of science, outside its laboratories, outside its studies and research, and at the same time time embraces it with great power, and it dwarfs it, just as it embraces and dwarfs everything. In its great frustration, over its shocking inabilities regarding time, science aggresses more and more against space. After it conquered the space of Earth, science built satellites and Sputnik. It prepares to conquer the moon and perhaps also other heavenly bodies. In the midst of its great race, in the journey to conquer space, science drags mankind after it and whispers to him that the main dimension in the world is space, and that man's destiny is to gallop from space to space, from the globe to the atmosphere, from the atmosphere to the moon, from the moon onward and onward within the infinity of outer space.

Modern Man stands before a fateful choice: What is more important, time or space? Which dimension is the main basis of the cosmos, and therefore also the main basis for the life of Man – time or space?

Ashkenaz must stand before the entire world and announce the ancient truth of the Hebrew Race; the truth that says space is not the basis of the world, but time. In the arrangement, and fateful coordination between science and time, we should lay down, for science, a clear position concerning time; that science rules only over space, which is the subject and vassal of time. If Man ignores this truth, if he tries to steal the birthright from time, and give it to space, then the Human Race is doomed to destruction and extermination. Modern Man conquers space but loses human time. This is a fatal trap. The denial, by science, of cosmic time is a powerless denial, but on the other hand, it is also very dangerous for science to attack human time. The race of science crumbles the foundations of the life of Man. Atomic weapons threaten to bring total physical extermination upon the finest of peoples. Psychanalytical research sows the seeds of sexual abandon, which threaten the normal qualities of father and mother. Scientific specialization, which concentrates

all attention to specific portions of space, which in itself is only a lowly vassal of time, fosters limited people who cannot function within the divided and complicated entirety of human life. The youngest generation of humanity rules over space but lacks useful tools to rule, psychologically, over time. This generation is full of fears of the future, which collapse his self-esteem and bring about processes of personal deterioration and outbursts due to hatred.

For the price of all this destruction, science grants us the chance to conquer the heavenly bodies? But who needs outer space? What shall we do with it even if we conquer it? Religious stirring at the sight of the heavens, a stirring that arises within us in one moment, has more content, and more truth, than tens of thousands of studies written about outer space. This stirring expresses the **wonder** of outer space more than a huge pile of fine details. The Torah is not only the most important religious book in the world, but also the greatest **science** book, because it teaches that time is preferable to space, and that the basis of the world is time, which continues from one end of the world to the other. This **scientific** truth of the Torah surpasses all other scientific discoveries. The two most important values in the world are cosmic time and human time, which gazes upon cosmic time and understands it. The great spaces, that do not understand themselves, are of inferior value. Religion combines these two times, cosmic and human, and upon the thread that combines them stand language, ethics, and human desire. The raising of one successful family is a thousand times more important than the conquest of the moon. The healthful life of Man, and the flowing forth of human happiness, take place within the cycle of human time. Families are created within this cycle; peoples arise that create religious values, faiths and literature, and history is written. For time is the basis of the world, for the world is not primarily space but time, and all that exists in the world is created from time and within time.

-end-

## Glossary of Terms and People

**Aaron David Gordon** (Born June 9, 1856 in [Troyanov](#), near [Zhytomyr](#), [Russian Empire](#), died February 22, 1922 in [Degania Alef](#), [Mandate Palestine](#)), more commonly known as **A. D. Gordon**, was a [Zionist](#) ideologue and the spiritual force behind [practical Zionism](#) and [Labor Zionism](#). He founded [Hapoel Hatzair](#), a movement that set the tone for the Zionist movement for many years to come. Influenced by [Leo Tolstoy](#) and others, it is said that in effect he made a religion of labor. However, he himself wrote in 1920, "Surely in our day it is possible to live without religion."

**Abba Eban** (Born **Aubrey Solomon Meir Eban**, February 2, 1915 – November 17, 2002) was an [Israeli diplomat](#) and [politician](#).

**Abba Hillel Silver** (1893–1963) was a [U.S. Rabbi](#) and [Zionist](#) leader. He was a key figure in the mobilization of American support for the founding of the [State of Israel](#).

**Ahad ha'Am** **Asher Zvi Hirsch Ginsberg** (August 18, 1856 - January 2, 1927), primarily known by his [Hebrew name](#) and [pen name](#), **Ahad Ha'am** (lit. *one of the people*, Genesis 26:10), was a Hebrew [essayist](#), and one of the foremost pre-state [Zionist](#) thinkers. He is known as the founder of [Cultural Zionism](#). With his secular vision of a Jewish "spiritual center" in Palestine he confronted [Theodor Herzl](#). Unlike Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, Ha'am strived for "a Jewish state and not merely a state of Jews."

**Ahimeir, Stavsky and Rosenblatt** The death of Arlosoroff greatly aggravated political relations within the Zionist movement. [Abba Ahimeir](#), the head of an activist group with [fascist](#) tendencies, the [Brit HaBirionim](#), was charged by the [Palestine Police Force](#) with plotting the assassination. Ahimeir was also a leader of the nationalist Zionist Revisionist faction whose publication, "Hazit HaAm" continuously attacked the Labor Movement and Zionist leaders, including Arlosoroff, calling him with names and stating that the Jewish people "will know how to react to such villains". Two rank-and-file Revisionists, [Abraham Stavsky](#) and Ze'evi Rosenblatt, were arrested as the actual murderers and were identified by Arlosoroff's widow. All three vehemently denied the accusation.

**Ahmad Shukeiri** **Ahmad Shukeiri** (January 1, 1908 – February 26, 1980), also transcribed [al-Shuqayri](#), [Shuqeiri](#), [Shukeiry](#), was the first [Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization](#), serving in 1964–67.

**All Israel are Friends Society** Kol Israel Haverim, known in France as Alliance Israélite Universelle, was founded in Paris in 1860 out of a will to protect all Jews wherever they may be, contribute to their general and Jewish cultural development and promote the training of the young generation in handicrafts and agriculture. (<http://www.kiah.org.il/eng/>)

**Altalena** The **Altalena Affair** was a violent confrontation that took place in June 1948 between the newly formed [Israel Defense Forces](#) and the [Irgun](#), a right-wing Jewish paramilitary group. The confrontation involved a cargo ship, *Altalena*, captained by [Monroe Fein](#), which carried weapons and fighters for the Irgun.

**Amihai Paglin**

**Amihai Paglin**, code name "Gidi" (December 1, 1922 - February 26, 1978), was the Chief Operations Officer of the [Irgun](#), the commander of the battle to conquer [Jaffa](#) in the [1948 Arab–Israeli War](#), and, following independence, Prime Minister [Menachem Begin](#)'s [counter-terrorism](#) advisor.

**Arlosoroff**

**Haim Arlozoroff** (1899 — 1933)

was a [Zionist](#) leader in Palestine during the era of the [British Mandate for Palestine](#) and head of the political department of the [Jewish Agency](#). Arlosoroff was assassinated while walking on the beach in [Tel Aviv](#) in 1933.

**Arthur Wokoff** **Arthur Wokoff** was the British high commissioner in Palestine 1931-1938. He sympathized with a Jewish homeland and allowed many Jews to enter Palestine during his watch. (<http://goo.gl/xhgvk>)

**Ashkenaz**

The Ashkenazi nation as a whole.

**Ashkenazi**

**Ashkenazi Jews**, also known

as **Ashkenazic Jews** or **Ashkenazim**, are the [Jews](#) descended from the [medieval Jewish communities](#) along the [Rhine](#) in Germany from [Alsace](#) in the south to the [Rhineland](#) in the north. *Ashkenaz* is the [medieval Hebrew](#) name for this region and thus for Germany. Thus, *Ashkenazim* or *Ashkenazi Jews* are literally "[German Jews](#)." Later, Jews from [Western](#) and [Central Europe](#) came to be called "Ashkenazi" because the main centers of Jewish learning were located in Germany. *Ashkenaz* is also a [Japhetic patriarch](#) in the [Table of Nations](#) ([Genesis 10](#)). Many Ashkenazi Jews later migrated, largely eastward, forming communities in non German-speaking areas, including [Hungary](#), [Poland](#), [Belarus](#), [Lithuania](#), [Russia](#), [Ukraine](#), [Eastern Europe](#), and elsewhere between the 11th and 19th centuries. With them, they took and diversified [Yiddish](#), a [Germanic](#) language with [Hebrew](#) influence, written in Hebrew letters. It had developed in medieval times as the [lingua franca](#) among Ashkenazi Jews. The Jewish communities of three cities along the Rhine: [Speyer](#), [Worms](#) and [Mainz](#), created the SHUM league (SHUM after the first Hebrew letters of Shpira, Vermayza, and Magentza). The [ShUM-cities](#) are considered the cradle of the distinct Ashkenazi culture and [liturgy](#). Although in the 11th century, they composed only 3 percent of the world's [Jewish population](#), at their peak in 1931, Ashkenazi Jews accounted for 92 percent of the world's Jews. Today they make up approximately 80 percent of Jews worldwide. Most Jewish communities with extended



histories in Europe are Ashkenazi, with the exception of those associated with the [Mediterranean](#) region. The majority of the Jews who migrated from Europe to other continents in the past two centuries are Ashkenazim, [Eastern Ashkenazim](#) in particular.

**Avraham** **Abaas** **Avraham Abaas** (1912 - September 17, 1958) was an [Israeli](#) politician who served as a member of the [Knesset](#) for [Ahdut HaAvoda](#) between 1955 and 1958.

**Avraham Haim Elhanani** **Avraham Haim Elhanani** (Thesaloniki 1909 – Jerusalem 2009) was an Israeli journalist. First wrote for the newspapers “Doar HaYom” and later for “Davar”. Moved to Jerusalem in 1912. (<http://www.jnul.huji.ac.il/heb/archives-db.html#E>)

**Avraham Kariv** **Avraham Kariv** (1900–1976) was a Hebrew literary critic, poet, and translator. Born in Slobodka, he made his way to the Ukraine and Crimea during World War I and entered the Tarbut Teachers' Seminary in Odessa, where he studied under Bialik and Klausner. In 1923 he went to Moscow and completed his studies in mathematics and physics. In 1934 he went to Palestine, where, after a short period of teaching, he took up editorial posts.

**Avraham Rakanti** **Avraham Rakanti** (1888 - March 3, 1980) was a [Greek-Israeli](#) politician and journalist. In Greece he served as deputy mayor of [Thessaloniki](#) between 1925 and 1933, whilst in Israel he was a member of the [Knesset](#) for [Herut](#) between 1949 and 1951.

**Avraham Stern** **Avraham Stern - Alias Yair** (December 23, 1907 – February 12, 1942) was a Jewish paramilitary leader who founded and led the militant [Zionist](#) organization later known as [Lehi](#) (called the "Stern Gang" by the British colonial authorities and by their assistants in the settlement establishment).

**Baal Shem Tov** **Rabbi Yisroel (Israel) ben Eliezer** (August 27, 1698 – May 22, 1760), often called **Baal Shem Tov** or **Besht**, was a [Jewish mystical rabbi](#). He is considered to be the founder of [Hasidic Judaism](#) (see also [Mezhibizh Hasidic dynasty](#)).

**Bader**

**Menachem Bader** was born in [Kraków](#) in [Austria-Hungary](#) (today in [Poland](#)), where he studied at a State Gymnasium. In his youth he was active in the Jewish Socialist Party, the "[Bund](#)" followed by "[HaShomer Hatzair](#)" but in 1925 he joined the Revisionist Zionist Movement. He studied law, economics, philosophy and history at [Jagiellonian University](#), where he earned Doctor of Law degree and was certified as a lawyer. He also edited the [Polish language](#) weekly *Tribuna Narodna*.

**Balfour Declaration**

**The Balfour Declaration of 1917** (dated 2 November 1917) was a letter from the [British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour](#) to [Baron Rothschild](#) (Walter Rothschild, 2nd Baron Rothschild), a leader of the British Jewish community, for transmission to the [Zionist Federation of Great Britain and Ireland](#). It reads, in part: "His Majesty's government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

**Ballin**

**Albert Ballin** (August 15, 1857 – 9 November 1918) was a German businessman. He was born into a modest Jewish family of [Hamburg](#) with origins in [Denmark](#).

**Bar-Giora**

On September 28, 1907, a group of [Poalei Zion](#) members gathered at [Yitzhak Ben-Zvi](#)'s unfurnished apartment in [Jaffa](#) apartment formed Bar-Giora, a Jewish self-defense organization named for [Simon Bar Giora](#), one of the leaders of the [Jewish Revolt](#) against the [Romans](#). The founding members were [Israel Shochat](#), [Yitzhak Ben-Zvi](#), [Mendel Portugali](#), Israel Giladi, [Alexander Zaid](#), Yehezkel Hankin, Yehezkel Nissanov and Moshe Givoni. The goal of the organization was settling the land and guarding it from Arab attackers. Previously, Arab guards had been hired for protection. Many Jews refused to employ members of Bar- Giora fearing it would cause more friction with the local Arabs.

**Bar Kokhba**

**Shimon bar Kokhba** (also transliterated as **Bar Kochba**) was the [Jewish](#) leader of what is known as the [Bar Kokhba revolt](#) against the [Roman Empire](#) in 132 [CE](#), establishing an

independent Jewish state of [Israel](#) which he ruled for three years as [Nasi](#) ("Ruler"). His state was conquered by the Romans in 135 following a two-year war.

**Benjamin Disraeli** **1st Earl of Beaconsfield**, [KG](#), [PC](#), [FRS](#), (December 21, 1804 – April 19, 1881) was a [British Prime Minister](#), parliamentarian, [Conservative](#) statesman and literary figure. Starting from comparatively humble origins, he served in government for three decades, twice as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. Although his father had him baptised to [Anglicanism](#) at age 12, he was nonetheless Britain's first and thus far only Prime Minister who was born into a Jewish family—originally from [Italy](#). He played an instrumental role in the creation of the modern [Conservative Party](#) after the [Corn Laws](#) schism of 1846.

**Benjamin Rothschild** **Baron Edmond Benjamin James de Rothschild** (August 19, 1845 – November 2, 1934) was a [French](#) member of the [Rothschild banking family](#). A strong supporter of [Zionism](#), his generous donations lent significant support to the movement during its early years, which helped lead to the establishment of the [State of Israel](#).

**Ber Borochov** **Dov Ber Borochov** (July 4, 1881 – December 17, 1917) was a [Marxist](#) [Zionist](#) and one of the founders of the [Labor Zionist](#) movement as well as a pioneer in the study of [Yiddish](#) as a language.

**Berdyczewski** **Micha Josef Berdyczewski** or **Mikhah Yosef Bin-Gorion** (August 7, 1865—November 18, 1921) (surname also written *Berdichevsky*) was a Ukrainian-born writer of Hebrew, a journalist, and a scholar. He appealed for the [Jews](#) to change their way of thinking, freeing themselves from dogmas ruling the [Jewish](#) religion, tradition and history, but is also known for his work with pre-modern [Jewish myths](#) and [legends](#). He wrote in [Hebrew](#), [Yiddish](#) and [German](#) and has been described as "the first Hebrew writer living in [Berlin](#) to be revered in the world of [German](#) letters".

**Berl Katzenelson** **Berl Katzenelson** (January 25, 1887 - August 12, 1944) was one the intellectual founders of [Labor Zionism](#), instrumental to the [establishment](#) of the modern State of [Israel](#), and the editor of [Davar](#), the first daily newspaper of the workers' movement. It is unclear if he is related to the author, Kalman Katzenelson.

**Betar** The **Betar Movement** (also spelled **Beitar**) is a [Revisionist Zionist youth movement](#) founded in 1923 in [Riga](#), [Latvia](#), by [Vladimir \(Ze'ev\) Jabotinsky](#). It has been traditionally linked to the original [Herut](#) and then [Likud](#) political parties of [Israel](#), and was closely affiliated with the pre-Israel Revisionist Zionist splinter group [Irgun Zevai Leumi](#). One of many movements and youth groups arising at that time out of a worldwide revival of [fascism](#), Betar was founded as an application of fascist principles to Zionism, employing the requisite political tactics of radical militarism, nationalistic indoctrination of youth, and exceptionalist propaganda to achieve the maximum degree of military strength and social unity for the establishment and perpetuation of a Jewish state. Prior to the creation of Israel, Betar trained Jewish youth in many different countries to serve as militia answering solely to Revisionist Zionist leaders rather than the [British Mandate](#) or other more left-leaning Zionists. It came to produce many of the most prominent members of Zionism and politicians of Israel, most notably Prime Ministers [Yitzhak Shamir](#) and [Menachem Begin](#), the latter of which idolized Jabotinsky.

**Betar (2)** The **Betar Fortress** was the last standing [Jewish](#) fortress in the [Bar Kochba revolt](#) of the 2nd century CE, destroyed by the [Roman](#) army of Emperor Hadrian in the year 135. According to Jewish tradition the fortress was breached and destroyed on [Tisha B'av](#), the day of mourning for the destruction of the First and the Second Jewish Temple.

**Bialik** **Hayim Nahman Bialik** (January 9, 1873 – July 4, 1934), also [Chaim](#) or [Haim](#), was a [Jewish](#) [poet](#) who wrote in [Hebrew](#). Bialik was one of the pioneers of modern Hebrew poets and came to be recognized as [Israel's](#) [national poet](#).

**Biltmore Conference** The **Biltmore Conference**, also known by its resolution as the **Biltmore Program**, was a fundamental departure from traditional [Zionist](#) policy with its demand "that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth." The meeting was held in [New York City](#) at the prestigious [Biltmore Hotel](#) from May 6 to May 11, 1942 with 600 delegates and Zionist leaders from 18 countries attending. Prior to Biltmore, official Zionism steadfastly refused to formulate the ultimate aim of the movement, preferring instead to concentrate on the practical task of building the [Jewish National Home](#). The Biltmore Program became the official

Zionist stand on the ultimate aim of the movement. The major shift at Biltmore was prompted by intense common opposition to the British [White Paper of 1939](#), which interpreted the terms of the Mandate in a way that would freeze "the Jewish community to a permanent minority status," and the then-current war negative situation. It was also prompted by the realization that America would play a larger part in fulfillment of Zionist designs after the war.

**Biluim** **Bilu** (or **Palestine Pioneers**) was a movement whose goal was the agricultural settlement of the [Land of Israel](#). "Bilu" is an [acronym](#) based on a [verse](#) from the [Book of Isaiah](#) ("House of [Jacob](#), let us go [up]"). Its members were known as the Bilu'im.

**Binyamin Arditi** **Arditi** (July 1, 1897 - May 20, 1981) was an [Israeli](#) politician who served as a member of the [Knesset](#) for [Herut](#) and [Gahal](#) between 1955 and 1965.

**Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl** **Theodor Herzl** (May 2, 1860 – July 3, 1904), born **Benjamin Ze'ev** was an [Austro-Hungarian](#) [journalist](#) and the father of modern political [Zionism](#) and in effect the [State of Israel](#).

**Braudes** **Reuben As(c)her** **Braudes**, *Reuven Asher Braudes* (1851, [Wilna](#) - October 18, 1902, [Vienna](#)) was a Lithuanian-born [Hebrew novelist](#) and [journalist](#).

**Buber** **Martin Buber** (February 8, 1878 – June 13, 1965) was an [Austrian](#)-born [Jewish philosopher](#) best known for his [philosophy of dialogue](#), a form of [religious existentialism](#) centered on the distinction between the [I-Thou](#) relationship and the [I-It](#) relationship.

**Bund** **Bundism** is a [Jewish socialist](#) and secular movement, which originated from the [General Jewish Labour Bund](#) founded in the [Russian Empire](#) in 1897. Bundism was an important component of the social democratic movement in the Russian empire until it was violently suppressed by the Communist party after the [Russian revolution of 1917](#). The Bundist movement continued to exist as a political party in independent Poland [prior to the holocaust](#) (the [Polish Bund](#)) when many of its members were killed. After the [Second World War](#), the [International Jewish Labor Bund](#) was founded.

## **Canaanite/ Canaanism**

**Canaanism** was a cultural and ideological movement founded in 1939 that reached its peak in the 1940's among the [Jews](#) of [Palestine](#). It has significantly impacted the course of Israeli art, [literature](#), and spiritual and political thought. Its adherents were called **Canaanites**. The movement's original name was the *Council for the Coalition of Hebrew Youth*; "Canaanism" was originally a pejorative term. It grew out of [Revisionist Zionism](#) and had "its early roots in European extreme right-wing movements, notably Italian fascism." Most of its members were part of the [Irgun](#) or [Lehi](#). The movement never had more than around two dozen registered members, but most of these were influential intellectuals and artists, giving the movement an influence far beyond its size. The Canaanites believed that much of the Middle East had been a Hebrew-speaking civilization in antiquity. They hoped to revive this civilization, creating a "Hebrew" nation, disconnected from the Jewish past, which would embrace the Middle East's Arab population as well.

## **Cheder**

A **Cheder** (alternatively, **Cheider**, meaning "room") is a traditional elementary school teaching the basics of [Judaism](#) and the [Hebrew language](#).

## **Chouraqui**

**Nathan André Chouraqui** (August 11, 1917 – July 9, 2007) was a French lawyer, writer, scholar and politician. Chouraqui was born in [Aïn Témouchent](#), [Algeria](#). His parents, Isaac Chouraqui and Meleha Meyer, both descended from Spanish Jewish families who, as early as the 16th century, contributed to North African Judaism, producing judges, theologists, rabbis and poets as well as scientists. From 1935 he studied Law and Rabbinical Studies in [Paris](#). He was active in the [French Resistance](#) in the [Maquis](#) of Central France (1942-1945). A lawyer, and later judge in the district of the Algiers Court of Appeal (1945-1947), Chouraqui became a Doctor of Law in 1948 (University of Paris).

## **David Ben-Gurion**

(born **David Grün**; October 16, 1886 – December 1, 1973) was the [first Prime Minister of Israel](#). Ben-Gurion's passion for [Zionism](#), which began early in life, led him to become a major Zionist leader and Executive Head of the [World Zionist Organization](#) in 1946. As head of the [Jewish Agency for Palestine](#), and later president of the [Jewish Agency Executive](#), he became the *de facto* leader of the Jewish community in Palestine, and largely led the struggle for an independent Jewish state in Palestine. In 1948, he formally proclaimed the establishment of the State



of [Israel](#), and was the first to sign the [Israeli Declaration of Independence](#). Ben-Gurion led the provisional government of Israel during the [1948 Arab-Israeli War](#), and united the various Jewish militias into the [Israel Defense Forces](#) (IDF).

### David Raziel

**David Raziel** (December 19, 1910 - May 20, 1941) was a fighter of the [Jewish underground](#) during the [British mandate](#), and one of the founders of the [Irgun](#).

### David Shimoni

**David Shimoni** (August 25, 1891 - December 10, 1956) was an [Israeli](#) poet, writer and translator. David Shimonovitch (later David Shimoni) was born in [Babruysk](#) in [Belarus](#) (then part of the [Russian Empire](#)) to Nissim Shimonovitch and Malka Fridland. Although he lived in [Ottoman Palestine](#) for a year in 1909, he did not [immigrate](#) to [British-administered Palestine](#) until 1920.

### De-Haan

**Jacob Israël de Haan** (December 31, 1881, [Smilde](#), [Drenthe](#) - June 30, 1924) was a [Dutch Jewish](#) literary writer and [journalist](#) who was assassinated in [Jerusalem](#) by the Jewish paramilitary organization [Haganah](#) for his anti-Zionist political activities and contacts with Arab leaders. He is believed to be the first victim of [Zionist political violence](#). De Haan is revered as a martyr among certain sections of the Orthodox Jewish community, particularly the [Neturei Karta](#) and [Edah HaChareidis](#).

### Dubnov

**Simon Dubnow** (alternatively spelled **Dubnov**) (September 10, 1860 – December 8, 1941) was a [Jewish](#) historian, writer and activist. He is the father-in-law of [Henryk Erlich](#), a famous [Bundist](#) leader.

### Durrenmatt

**Friedrich Dürrenmatt** (January 5, 1921 – December 14, 1990) was a [Swiss author](#) and [dramatist](#). He was a proponent of [epic theatre](#) whose plays reflected the recent experiences of [World War II](#). The politically active author's work included [avant-garde](#) dramas, philosophically deep crime novels, and often [macabre](#) satire. Dürrenmatt was a member of the [Gruppe Olten](#).

### Eichmann

**Adolf Otto Eichmann** (March 19, 1906 – May 31, 1962) was a German [Nazi](#) and [SS-Obersturmbannführer](#) (equivalent to [Lieutenant Colonel](#) in [Wehrmacht](#)) and one of the major organizers of the [Holocaust](#). Because of his organizational talents

and ideological reliability, Eichmann was charged by [Obergruppenführer](#) (General) [Reinhard Heydrich](#) with the task of facilitating and managing the logistics of mass [deportation of Jews to ghettos](#) and [extermination camps](#) in German-occupied [Eastern Europe](#).

**Eliezer Ben-Yehuda** [Eliezer Ben-Yehuda](#) (January 7, 1858 – December 16, 1922) was a Jewish [lexicographer](#) and newspaper editor. He was the driving spirit behind the [revival of the Hebrew language](#) in the modern era.

**Eliezer Livneh** [Eliezer Livneh](#) (December 2, 1902 - March 1, 1975) was a [Zionist](#) activist, journalist, publicist and [Israeli](#) politician. He is known for his activism for [nuclear proliferation](#) of the [Middle East](#) and for his endorsement of the [Greater Israel](#) cause.

**Eshkol** [Levi Eshkol](#) (born [Levi Školnik](#) on October 25, 1895, died February 26, 1969) served as the [third Prime Minister of Israel](#) from 1963 until his death from a [heart attack](#) in 1969. He was the first [Israeli](#) Prime Minister to die in office.

**Etzel** The common Israeli name for [Irgun Tzvai-Leumi](#), or [Irgun](#), a military organization operating in the [British Mandate of Palestine](#) from 1931 to 1948.

**Even Shoshan** [The Hebrew dictionary by Avraham Even-Shoshan](#), commonly known as the **Even-Shoshan dictionary**, was first published (1948–1952) as "A New Dictionary", later (1966–1970) as *hamilon hekhdash*, "The New Dictionary", and finally (2003, well after his death) as *milon even-shoshan*, "The Even-Shoshan Dictionary". Throughout its history, the Even-Shoshan Dictionary has had great success among Hebrew speakers.

**Feinstein and Barzani** **Feinstein**, a member of the Irgun, and **Barzani**, who was a member of the Lehi, were caught by the British when they fought for Zionist freedom. They were taken captive as fighters, and faced court martial – predatory, cruel and merciless. They chose to die by their own hand rather than at the gallows. Today, they are considered martyrs (<http://myrightword.blogspot.com/2007/04/olmerts-speech-at-ceremony-marking.html>).



**Gaon** originally referred in Ancient Hebrew to arrogance and haughty pride ([Amos 6:8](#)). But later became known as pride in general: whether good or bad ('Pride [of]'; Late medieval and modern Hebrew for 'genius'). Today it may refer to: One of the [Geonim](#), that is to say the heads of the two major academies, at [Pumbedita](#) and [Sura](#), and later in Baghdad, during the period 589-1040. Prominent Geonim are:

[Amram Gaon](#)

[Hai Gaon](#)

[Saadia Gaon](#)

[Sherira Gaon](#)

[Yehudai Gaon](#)

[Samuel ben Hofni](#)

**Gershom Schocken**

**Gershom Gustav**

**Schocken** (September 29, 1912 – December 20, 1990) was an [Israeli](#) journalist and politician who was editor of [Haaretz](#) for more than 50 years and a member of the [Knesset](#) for the [Progressive Party](#) between 1955 and 1959.

**Geulah Cohen**

**Geulah Cohen** (born December

25, 1925) is an [Israeli](#) former Irgun and Lehi member, politician, and journalist. Geulah Cohen was born in [Tel Aviv](#) during the [British Mandate of Palestine](#). She studied at the Levinsky Teachers Seminary, and earned a master's degree in Jewish Studies, Philosophy, Literature and Bible at the [Hebrew University of Jerusalem](#). In 1942 she joined the [Irgun](#), and moved to [Lehi](#) the following year. A radio announcer for the group, she was arrested by the British authorities in 1946. She was imprisoned in [Bethlehem](#), but escaped from jail in 1947. She was also editor of the Lehi newspaper *Youth Front*. After [Israeli independence](#) in 1948, she contributed to *Sulam*, a monthly magazine published by former Lehi leader [Israel Eldad](#).

**Gideon**

**Avraham T'homi** (born as 'Zilberg',

1903–1991) was a noted Jewish militant, and a key figure in the history of the [Hebrew National Military Organization](#) and allegedly in the killing of [Jacob Israël de Haan](#). His nickname in the Irgun was 'Gideon'.

**Golem**

In [Jewish folklore](#), a **golem** is an

animated [anthropomorphic](#) being, created entirely from inanimate matter. The word was used to mean an amorphous, unformed material in [Psalms](#) and

medieval writing. The most famous golem narrative involves [Judah Loew ben Bezalel](#), the late 16th century chief [rabbi](#) of [Prague](#), also known as the Maharal, who reportedly created a golem to defend the [Prague ghetto](#) from [antisemitic](#) attacks and [pogroms](#). Depending on the version of the legend, the Jews in Prague were to be either expelled or killed under the rule of [Rudolf II, the Holy Roman Emperor](#). To protect the Jewish community, the rabbi constructed the Golem out of clay from the banks of the [Vltava](#) river, and brought it to life through rituals and Hebrew incantations. As this golem grew, it became increasingly violent, killing [gentiles](#) and spreading fear. A different story tells of a golem that fell in love, and when rejected, became the violent monster seen in most accounts. Some versions have the golem eventually turning on its creator or attacking other Jews.

**Great Eagle**  
Maimonides.

A respectful moniker for

**Haganah** **Haganah** ([Hebrew](#): "The Defense") was a [Jewish paramilitary](#) organization in what was then the [British Mandate of Palestine](#) from 1920 to 1948, which later became the core of the [Israel Defense Forces](#).

**Haim Hazaz**  
March 24, 1973) was an [Israeli](#) novelist.

**Haim Hazaz** (September 16, 1898 -

**Hanilai and Hasinai** About 40 c.e., the royal family of \*Adiabene, situated between two tributaries of the Tigris, converted to Judaism. Josephus reports (Ant, 18:3146°.) that two Jewish brothers, \*Anilaeus and Asinaeus (Hanilai, Hasinai) established a "Jewish state" in Babylonia, which lasted from about 20 to about 35 c.e.

**Hannah Szenes** Often anglicized as **Hannah Senesh** (July 17, 1921 – November 7, 1944) was a [Hungarian Jew](#), one of 37 Jews who lived in the [British Mandate for Palestine](#) (now [Israel](#)), who were trained by the [British army](#) to [parachute](#) into [Yugoslavia](#) during the [Second World War](#) in order to help save the [Jews of Hungary](#), who were about to be deported to the German [death camp](#) at [Auschwitz](#).

**Hashomer Hatzair** **Hashomer** (also transliterated **Hashomer Hatsair** or **HaShomer HaTzair**, translating as *The Youth Guard*) is a [Socialist-Zionist youth movement](#) founded in 1913

in [Galicia](#), [Austria-Hungary](#), and was also the name of the group's political party in the [settlement](#) in the pre-1948 [British Mandate of Palestine](#). (see [Hashomer Hatzair Workers Party of Palestine](#)).

**Hasidism** [Hasidic Judaism](#) or [Hasidism](#), from the [Hebrew](#) word for "piety" (literally "[loving kindness](#)", is a branch of [Orthodox Judaism](#) that promotes spirituality and joy through the popularisation and internalisation of [Jewish mysticism](#) as the fundamental aspects of the [Jewish faith](#). It was founded in 18th century [Eastern Europe](#) by Rabbi Israel [Baal Shem Tov](#) as a reaction against overly [legalistic](#) Judaism.

**Hebrew Legion** Also known as The [Jewish Legion](#) was the name for five [battalions](#) of [Jewish volunteers](#) established as the [British Army](#)'s 38th through 42nd (Service) Battalions of the [Royal Fusiliers](#). The initial unit, known as the **Zion Mule Corps**, was formed in 1914-1915 during [World War I](#), when [Britain](#) was at war against the [Ottoman Empire](#), as [Zionists](#) around the world saw an opportunity to promote the idea of a [Jewish National Homeland](#).

**Hellenize** To adopt Ancient Greek ideas and customs

**Herzl** See [Binyamin Ze'ev Herzl](#)

**Hillel Dan** [Hillel Dan](#) was a senior member of Mapai and a prominent figure in the management of large Jewish Agency organizations.

**Honi the Circle-Drawer** [Honi Ha-Ma'agel](#) (lit. Honi the Circle-Drawer, 1st century BCE) was a [Jewish](#) scholar prior to the age of the [tannaim](#), the scholars from whose teachings the [Mishnah](#) was derived. On one occasion when [God](#) did not send rain well into the winter (in the geographic regions of [Israel](#), it rains mainly in the winter), he drew a circle in the dust, stood inside it, and informed God that he would not move until it rained. When it began to drizzle, Honi told God that he was not satisfied and expected more rain; it then began to pour. He explained that he wanted a calm rain, at which point the rain calmed to a normal rain. The circumstances of Honi's death are described in the Talmud. He is said to have fallen asleep,

to wake up after 70 years. When nobody would believe that he was indeed Honi the Circle-drawer, he prayed to God and God took him from this world.

## **Ibn Gabirol**

also **Solomon ben Judah**, *Shelomo ben Yehuda ibn Gabirol* was an [Andalucian](#) [Hebrew](#) [poet](#) and Jewish [philosopher](#) with a [Neoplatonic](#) bent. He was born in [Málaga](#) about 1021; died about 1058 in [Valencia](#).

## **I.D.F.**

**The Israel Defense Forces** is commonly known in Israel by the Hebrew [acronym](#) *Tzahal*, are the military forces of the State of Israel. They consist of the [ground forces](#), [air force](#) and [navy](#). It is the sole military wing of the [Israeli security forces](#), and has no civilian jurisdiction within Israel. The IDF is headed by its [Chief of General Staff](#), the *Ramatkal*, subordinate to the [Defense Minister of Israel](#), [Rav Aluf](#) [Benny Gantz](#) has served as Chief of Staff since 2011.

## **Isaac de Pinto**

**Isaac de Pinto** (Amsterdam, [1717](#)–August 14, 1787 in [the Hague](#)) was a [Dutch Jew](#) of [Portuguese](#) origin, a [scholar](#) and one of the main [investors](#) in the [Dutch East India Company](#).

## **Israel Zangwill**

**Israel Zangwill** (January 21, 1864–August 1, 1926) was a [British](#) humorist and writer. Zangwill wrote a very influential novel *Children of the Ghetto: A Study of a Peculiar People* (1892). The use of the metaphorical phrase [melting pot](#) to describe American absorption of immigrants was popularised by Zangwill's play [The Melting Pot](#), a hit in the [United States](#) in 1908–1909. The play received its most recent production at New York's [Metropolitan Playhouse](#) in March 2006.

## **Jabotinsky**

**Ze'ev Jabotinsky** (October 18, 1880 – August 4, 1940) was a [Revisionist](#) [Zionist](#) leader, author, orator, soldier, and founder of the Jewish Self-Defense Organization in [Odessa](#). He also helped form the [Jewish Legion](#) of the British army in [World War I](#).

## **James Baldwin**

**James Arthur Baldwin** (August 2, 1924 – December 1, 1987) was an American [novelist](#), [essayist](#), [playwright](#), [poet](#), and [social critic](#).

## **Jewish Agency**

**The Jewish Agency for Israel** also known as the *Sochnut* or JAFI, served as the organization in charge of immigration and absorption of Jews from the [Diaspora](#) into the state of [Israel](#).

**Joshua Steinberg**

**Joshua Steinberg** (born in [Wilna](#) 1839, died 1908) was a Russian Jewish writer and educator.

**Kahanovitch****Pinchas Kahanovitch** (1884-1950)

pen name "Der Nister", was a Ukrainian Yiddish author. In 1949 Der Nister was arrested by Soviet forces following an order calling for the extermination of Yiddish writers during the suppression of Jewish culture that began in the Soviet Union in 1948. Der Nister died in a Soviet prison hospital in 1950. (<http://www.enotes.com/der-nister-criticism/nister-der>).

**Kapo**

A **kapo** was a prisoner who worked inside German [Nazi concentration camps](#) during [World War II](#) in any of certain lower administrative positions. The official [Nazi](#) word was *Funktionshäftling*, or "[prisoner functionary](#)", but the Nazis commonly referred to them as kapos.

**Kibbutz**

A **kibbutz** (plural **kibbutzim**) is a [collective community](#) in [Israel](#) that was traditionally based on [agriculture](#). Today, farming has been partly supplanted by other economic branches, including [industrial plants](#) and [high-tech enterprises](#). Kibbutzim began as [utopian](#) communities, a combination of [socialism](#) and [Zionism](#). In recent decades, many kibbutzim have been privatized and changes have been made in the communal lifestyle. A member of a kibbutz is called a *kibbutznik*.

**Kinneret Group**

Russian members of Hashomer Hatzair founded the first kibbutz, of their movement, on the shores of Lake Kinneret (Galilee) in 1924. They were politically distinctive from other branches of Hashomer Hatzair.

**Knesset**

The [legislative branch](#) of the [Israeli government](#), the Knesset passes all [laws](#), elects the [President](#) and [Prime Minister](#) (although the latter is ceremonially appointed by the President), approves the [cabinet](#), and supervises the work of the government. In addition, it also recommends a candidate for the [State Comptroller](#) to the President, who appoints the State Comptroller. It also has the power to waive the immunity of its members, remove the [President](#) and the [State Comptroller](#) from office, remove a Prime Minister convicted of an offense involving [moral turpitude](#), and to dissolve itself and call new elections. The Prime Minister may dissolve the Knesset. However, until an election is completed, the Knesset maintains authority in its current composition.

**Khrushchev**

(April 15, 1894 – September 11, 1971) led the Soviet Union during part of the Cold War. He served as First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964, and as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, or Premier, from 1958 to 1964.

**Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev****Labor**

**Labor Zionism** can be described as the major stream of the left wing of the Zionist movement. It was, for many years, the most significant trend among Zionists and Zionist organizational structure. It saw itself as the Zionist sector of the historic Jewish labor movements of Eastern and Central Europe, eventually developing local units in most countries with sizeable Jewish populations. Unlike the "political Zionist" tendency founded by Theodor Herzl and advocated by Chaim Weizmann, Labor Zionists did not believe that a Jewish state would be created simply by appealing to the international community or to a powerful nation such as Britain, Germany or the Ottoman Empire. Rather, Labor Zionists believed that a Jewish state could only be created through the efforts of the Jewish working class settling in Palestine and constructing a state through the creation of a progressive Jewish society with rural kibbutzim and moshavim and an urban Jewish proletariat.

Labor Zionism grew in size and influence and eclipsed "political Zionism" by the 1930s both internationally and within the British Mandate of Palestine where Labor Zionists predominated among many of the institutions of the pre-independence Jewish community Yishuv, particularly the trade union federation known as the Histadrut. The Haganah – the largest Zionist paramilitary defense force – was a Labor Zionist institution and was used on occasion (such as during the Hunting Season) against right-wing political opponents or to assist the British Administration in capturing Jewish terrorists.

**Labor Federation****The National Labour Federation**

**in the Land of Israel** (NLF) is a national trade union center in Israel. It was founded in 1934 under the basic teachings of Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau, and Zeev Jabotinsky. As opposed to Histadrut, the NLF believes in the separation of employers and trade unions. **It is not certain that the Katsenelson is referring to this organization in chapter 14 section 7; what he wrote, literally, was "the histadrut economy". It seemed most likely that he was referring to the National Labor Federation.**

**Ladino****Judaeo-Spanish** in Israel

commonly referred to as **Ladino**, and known locally as **Judezmo** *Djudeo-*



*Espanyol*, *Djudezmo*, *Djudeo-Kasteyano*, *Spaniolit* and other names, is a [Romance language](#) derived from [Old Spanish](#). As a [Jewish language](#), it is influenced heavily by [Hebrew](#) and [Aramaic](#), but also [Arabic](#), [Turkish](#) and to a lesser extent [Greek](#) and other languages where [Sephardic exiles](#) settled around the world, primarily throughout the [Ottoman Empire](#). In this book, the author uses the term to refer, not only to the language, but also to the people who have traditionally spoken the language.

**Lady Rachel Yanait ben-Tzvi** **Rachel Yanait Ben-Zvi** (1886 - November 16, 1979) was an [Israeli](#) author and educator, and a leading [Labor Zionist](#). Ben-Zvi was the wife of the second [President of Israel](#), [Yitzhak Ben-Zvi](#).

**Lavon (Lavon Affair)** **The Lavon Affair** refers to a failed [Israeli covert operation](#), code named **Operation Susannah**, conducted in [Egypt](#) in the Summer of 1954. As part of the [false flag](#) operation, a group of [Egyptian Jews](#) was recruited by [Israeli military intelligence](#) for plans to plant bombs inside Egyptian, [American](#) and [British](#)-owned targets. The attacks were to be blamed on the [Muslim Brotherhood](#), Egyptian [Communists](#), "unspecified malcontents" or "local nationalists" with the aim of creating a climate of sufficient violence and instability to induce the British government to retain its occupying troops in Egypt's [Suez Canal](#) zone. The operation caused no casualties, except for those members of the cell who committed suicide after being captured.

The operation became known as the **Lavon Affair** after the Israeli defense minister [Pinhas Lavon](#), who was forced to resign because of the incident, or euphemistically as the **Unfortunate Affair** or **The Bad Business**. After being denied for 51 years, the surviving agents were in 2005 officially honored with a certificate of appreciation by the Israeli President [Moshe Katzav](#).

**Law of Return** **The Law of Return** is Israeli legislation, passed on 5 July 1950, that gives [Jews](#) the [right of return](#) and settlement in [Israel](#) and gain citizenship. In 1970, the right of entry and settlement was extended to people of Jewish ancestry, and their spouses.

**Lehi** Commonly referred to in English as the **Stern Group** or **Stern Gang**, was a militant [Zionist](#) group founded by [Avraham \("Yair"\) Stern](#) in the [British Mandate of Palestine](#). Its avowed aim was

forcibly evicting the [British](#) authorities from Palestine, allowing unrestricted [immigration of Jews](#) and the formation of a Jewish state.

### Leon Castro

**Léon Castro** conducted propaganda for the Wafd party in Europe after the 1919 nationalist uprising and founded and edited a pro-Wafd French language newspaper, *La Liberté*, after returning to Egypt. He was simultaneously the head of the Zionist Organization of Cairo and the representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in Egypt. (<http://www.stanford.edu/group/SHR/5-1/text/beinin.html>)

### Leon Pinsker

**Leon Pinsker**, (1821, [Tomaszów Lubelski](#), [Poland](#), then [Russian Empire](#), – 1891, [Odessa](#)), Russian Empire) was a [physician](#), a [Zionist](#) pioneer and activist, and the founder and leader of the [Hovevei Zion](#), also known as Hibbat Zion (Lovers of Zion) movement.

### Lilienblum

**Moshe Leib Lilienblum** was a [Jewish](#) scholar and author born in [Keidany](#), [Kovno](#), October 22, 1843. In 1883 a committee was organized at Odessa for the colonization of Palestine, Lilienblum serving as secretary and Dr. [Leon Pinsker](#), author of *Autoemancipation*, as president. With the [Hibbat Zion](#) conference in Katowice, in which Lilienblum took an earnest and energetic part as secretary, representatives of European Jewry met and discussed the first plans for colonization in Palestine, a foundation stone was laid for the [Zionist](#) movement.

### Lishanskys

**Yosef Lishansky** (1890 – December 16, 1917) was a Jewish paramilitary and a spy for the [British](#) in [Ottoman Palestine](#). Upon his arrival in Palestine, Lishansky sought to join [HaShomer](#) but, denied membership, he founded a rival organization, [HaMagen](#). Several years later, he joined the Jewish espionage organization, [Nili](#). Lishansky was wanted by the Ottomans for his activities and was betrayed by HaShomer when he sought refuge with them. He escaped capture several times, but was eventually caught and sentenced to death in [Damascus](#).

### Lovers of Zion

**Hovevei Zion**, also known as **Hibbat Zion** (*Lovers of Zion*), refers to organizations that are now considered the forerunners and foundation-builders of modern [Zionism](#). Many of these first groups were established in [Eastern European](#) countries in the early 1880s with the aim to promote Jewish immigration to the [Land of](#)



[Israel](#), then a part of [Ottoman Empire](#), and advance Jewish settlement there, particularly agricultural. Most of them stayed away from politics.

## Magnes

**Judah Leon Magnes** (July 5, 1877 – October 27, 1948) was a prominent [Reform rabbi](#) in both the [United States](#) and [Palestine](#). He is best remembered as a leader of the [pacifist](#) movement of the [World War I](#) period, and as one of the most widely recognized voices of 20th Century American [Reform Judaism](#).

## Maimonides

**Moses ben-Maimon**, called **Maimonides** and also known as Mūsā ibn Maymūn or **Rambam** (the Hebrew acronym for "Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon"), was a preeminent medieval [Jewish philosopher](#) and one of the greatest [Torah](#) scholars and physicians of the [Middle Ages](#). He was born in [Córdoba, Spain](#) on [Passover Eve](#), 1135, and died in [Egypt](#) (or [Tiberias](#)) on 20th [Tevet](#), December 12, 1204. He was a [rabbi](#), [physician](#) and [philosopher](#) in [Morocco](#) and [Egypt](#).

## Marshall Petain

**Henri Philippe Benoni Omer Joseph Pétain** (April 24, 1856 – July 23, 1951), generally known as **Philippe Pétain** or **Marshal Pétain** (*Maréchal Pétain*), was a French general who reached the distinction of [Marshal of France](#), and was later [Chief of State](#) of [Vichy France](#) (*Chef de l'État Français*), from 1940 to 1944. Pétain, who was 84 years old in 1940, ranks as France's oldest head of state.

## Mapai

**Mapai** (lit. *Workers' Party of The Land of Israel*) was a [left-wing political party](#) in [Israel](#), and was the dominant force in Israeli politics until its merger into the [Israeli Labor Party](#) in 1968.

## Marrano

This term came into use in 1492 with the Castilian [Alhambra Decree](#), reversing protections in the [Treaty of Granada \(1491\)](#), and used for [conversos](#), or 'confirmed converts', at first. However, soon *Marranos* was used for people who continued to practice [Judaism](#) secretly. [Crypto Jews](#) preserved their [Jewish identity](#). In Hebrew, forced converts were known as [anusim](#), which means *forced ones*, though the term would also include those who did not retain their Judaism. Katzenelson borrows the term to refer to Sephardic Jews who outwardly pretend to owe their allegiance to the Jewish people, or Israel, as a whole – but secretly have loyalties to the Sephardic People.

**Masada**

**Masada** is the name for a site of ancient [palaces](#) and [fortifications](#) in the [South District](#) of [Israel](#), on top of an isolated rock [plateau](#), or [horst](#), on the eastern edge of the [Judean Desert](#) overlooking the [Dead Sea](#). After the [First Jewish-Roman War](#), a [siege](#) of the fortress by troops of the [Roman Empire](#) led to the [mass suicide](#) of the [Sicarii](#) rebels. It is located about 20 kilometres (12 mi) east of [Arad](#).

**Meir Ya'ari**

**Meir Ya'ari** (February 21, 1897 – April 24, 1987) was an [Israeli](#) politician, educator and social activist. He was the leader of [Hashomer Hatzair](#), [Kibbutz Artzi](#) and [Mapam](#), and a member of the [Knesset](#).

**Menahem Begin**

**Menachem Begin** (August 16, 1913 – March 9, 1992) was a politician, founder of [Likud](#) and the [sixth Prime Minister of the State of Israel](#). Before [independence](#), he was the leader of the Zionist militant group [Irgun](#), the [Revisionist](#) breakaway from the larger Jewish paramilitary organization [Haganah](#). He proclaimed a [revolt](#), on February 1, 1944, against the [British mandatory government](#), which was opposed by the [Jewish Agency](#). As head of the [Irgun](#), he targeted the British in Palestine, and had a deep-rooted hatred of Britain, which some claim would resurface decades later with his aiding, and supply of illegal weapons, to [Argentina](#) during the [Falklands war](#).

**Mendele the Book Peddler****Mendele Mocher**

**Sforim** (December 21, 1835 ([O.S.](#)) = January 2, 1836 ([N.S.](#)), [Kapyl](#) — November 25, 1917 (O.S.) = December 8, 1917 (N.S.). "Mendele the [book peddler](#)," is the [pseudonym](#) of **Sholem Yankev Abramovich**, [Jewish](#) author and one of the founders of modern [Yiddish](#) and [Hebrew literature](#).

**Mendelssohn****Moses Mendelssohn**

(September 6, 1729 – January 4, 1786) was a [German Jewish philosopher](#) to whose ideas the renaissance of European Jews, [Haskalah](#) (the Jewish Enlightenment) is indebted. He has been referred to as the father of Reform Judaism.

**Mikveh Israel**

**Mikveh Israel** is the first [Jewish agricultural](#) school in [Israel](#).

**Mizrahi (Jews)**

**Mizrahi** literally means “Easterner” in Hebrew. It refers to Jews from a Mideastern, Asian or North African, background.

**Mohilever** **Samuel Mohilever** (1824–1898), also **Shmuel Mohilever**, was a rabbi, pioneer of [Religious Zionism](#) and one of the founders of the [Hovevei Zion](#) movement.

**Mordechai Tabib** **Mordechai Tabib** (1910 - 1979, b. Rishon LeZion, Israel) was born into a prominent Yemenite family. His older brother was the leader of the Yemenite community in the Land of Israel. Tabib worked in agriculture, industry, building, and also served as a guard. ([http://www.ithl.org.il/author\\_info.asp?id=266](http://www.ithl.org.il/author_info.asp?id=266))

**Moses Montefiore** **Sir Moses Haim Montefiore, 1st Baronet, Kt** (October 24, 1784 - July 28, 1885) was one of the most famous [British Jews](#) of the 19th century. Montefiore was a [financier](#), [banker](#), [philanthropist](#) and [Sheriff of London](#). He donated large sums of money to promote industry, education and health amongst the Jewish community in Palestine, including the founding of [Mishkenot Sha'ananim](#) in 1860, the first settlement of the [New Settlement](#). As President of the [Board of Deputies of British Jews](#), his correspondence with the British consul in Damascus [Charles Henry Churchill](#) in 1841-42 is seen as pivotal to the development of [Proto-Zionism](#).

**Moshe Shamir** **Moshe Shamir** (September 15, 1921 – August 20, 2004) was an [Israeli](#) author, playwright, opinion writer, and public figure.

**Moshe Sharett** **Moshe Sharett** (born Moshe Shertok) (October 15, 1894 - July 7, 1965) was the [second Prime Minister of Israel](#) (1953–55), serving for a little under two years between [David Ben-Gurion](#)'s two terms.

**Moshe Smilansky** **Moshe Smilansky** was born in Kiev province in Russian Ukraine to a family of farmers. He emigrated to Palestine in 1891 and helped to found the [Hadera](#) settlement, farming in various places before settling in [Rehovot](#) in 1893. There he spent the remainder of his life as a citrus plantation owner, writer, and agricultural leader (heading the [Histadrut](#) ha-Ikarim, or Farmers' Association). A disciple of Ahad Ha-Am, he took issue with [Theodor Herzl](#)'s political Zionism and sought coexistence with Arabs throughout his career, gaining prominence among the binationalists after the 1936 Arab uprising.

## Munich Pact

The **Munich Pact** was an agreement permitting the [Nazi German](#) annexation of [Czechoslovakia's](#) [Sudetenland](#). The [Sudetenland](#) were areas along Czech borders, mainly inhabited by [ethnic Germans](#). The agreement was negotiated at a conference held in [Munich](#), Germany, among the major powers of Europe without the presence of [Czechoslovakia](#). Today, it is widely regarded as a failed act of [appeasement](#) toward Nazi Germany.

## Nasser

## Gamal Abdel Nasser

**Hussein** (January 15, 1918 – September 28, 1970) was the [second President](#) of [Egypt](#) from 1956 until his death. A colonel in the Egyptian army, Nasser led the [Egyptian Revolution of 1952](#) along with [Muhammad Naguib](#), the first president, which overthrew the [monarchy of Egypt and Sudan](#), and heralded a new period of modernization and socialist reform in Egypt together with a profound advancement of [pan-Arab nationalism](#), including a short-lived [union with Syria](#).

## Nathan Mileikowsky

## Grandfather of Prime Minister

Binyamin Nethanyahu and father of Benzion Netanyahu.

## Nathan Friedman Yellin

## Friedman-Yellin (or Yalin ) was

born in [Grodno](#) in the [Russian Empire](#) (now [Belarus](#)). He studied engineering at the [Warsaw Polytechnic](#). He was active in [Betar](#) and [Irgun](#) in Poland. Between 1938 and 1939 he was the coeditor, along with [Avraham Stern](#) (Yair), of [Di Tat](#) ("The State"), the Irgun's newspaper in Poland. He [immigrated](#) clandestinely with Stern to the [British Mandate of Palestine](#) and joined [Lehi](#), a Jewish paramilitary group, Lohamei Herut Yisrael (Hebrew acronym LHI - in English, Fighters for the Freedom of Israel; called by the British the [Stern gang](#)).

## Neturei Karta

## Neturei Karta ([Jewish Babylonian](#)

[Aramaic](#): literally "Guardians of the City") is an Orthodox Jewish group formally created in [Jerusalem](#), [British Mandate of Palestine](#), in 1938, splitting off from [Agudas Yisroel](#). Neturei Karta opposes [Zionism](#) and calls for a peaceful dismantling of the [State of Israel](#), in the belief that Jews are forbidden to have their own state until the coming of the [Messiah](#). They are in [Jerusalem](#), [Ramat Beit Shemesh](#) (Bet (or B), [Bnei Brak](#), [London](#), New York City, and other parts of [New York](#), with smaller communities in various cities around [North America](#).

## New Hebrew Literature

Hebrew literature of the modern era is usually called "Modern Hebrew Literature". This is not the body of literature that the author is talking about. The author is referring to a specific group of (almost entirely) Ashkenazi Hebrew authors, who comprise what he calls "the New Hebrew Literature" - and who share a common ideology, a destructive ideology according to the author.

## Night of Bartholomew

**The St. Bartholomew's Day massacre** (*Massacre de la Saint-Barthélemy* in [French](#)) in 1572 was a targeted group of assassinations, followed by a wave of [Roman Catholic mob violence](#), both directed against the [Huguenots](#) (French [Calvinist Protestants](#)), during the [French Wars of Religion](#). Traditionally believed to have been instigated by [Catherine de' Medici](#), the mother of King [Charles IX](#), the [massacre](#) took place six days after the wedding of the king's sister [Margaret](#) to the Protestant [Henry III of Navarre](#) (the future Henry IV of France). This marriage was an occasion for which many of the most wealthy and prominent Huguenots had gathered in largely Catholic [Paris](#).

## Nili

**Nili** was a [Jewish espionage](#) network which assisted the [United Kingdom](#) in its fight against the [Ottoman Empire](#) in [Palestine](#) during [World War I](#).

## Nitzani

**Ya'akov Nitzani** (born **Ya'akov Chechik** on December 6, 1900, died September 15, 1962) was an [Israeli](#) politician who served as a member of the [Knesset](#) for [Mapai](#) from 1952 until 1959.

## Nordau

**Max Simon Nordau** (July 29, 1849 - January 23, 1923), born **Simon Maximilian Südfeld** in [Pest](#), [Hungary](#), was a [Zionist](#) leader, physician, author, and social critic. He was a co-founder of the [World Zionist Organization](#) together with [Theodor Herzl](#), and president or vice president of several Zionist congresses.

## Ortega y Gasset

**José Ortega y Gasset** (9 May 1883 – 18 October 1955) was a [Spanish liberal philosopher](#) and essayist working during the first half of the 20th century while Spain oscillated between [monarchy](#), [republicanism](#) and [dictatorship](#). He was, along with [Nietzsche](#), a proponent of the idea of [perspectivism](#).

**Palmach** The **Palmach** was the elite fighting force of the [Haganah](#), the underground army of the [Yishuv](#) (Jewish community) during the period of the [British Mandate of Palestine](#). The Palmach was established on May 15, 1941. By the outbreak of the [Israeli War for Independence](#) in 1948 it consisted of over 2,000 men and women in three fighting [brigades](#) and auxiliary aerial, naval and intelligence units. With the creation of Israel's army, the three Palmach Brigades were disbanded. This and political reasons led to many of the senior Palmach officers resigning in 1950.

**Pinchas Sapir** **Pinchas Sapir** (born **Pinchas Kozlowski** on October 15, 1906, died August 12, 1975) was an [Israeli](#) politician during the first three decades following the country's [founding](#).

**Pinsker** **Leon Pinsker**, [Yiddish](#): [Yehudah Leib Pinsker](#), [Russian](#): [Lev Semyonovich Pinsker](#) ([1821](#), [Tomaszów Lubelski](#), [Poland](#) (then [Russian Empire](#)) – [1891](#), [Odessa](#), Russian Empire) was a [physician](#), a [Zionist](#) pioneer and activist, and the founder and leader of the [Hovevei Zion](#), also known as Hibbat Zion (Lovers of Zion) movement.

**Rabenu Gershom** **Gershom ben Judah**, (c. 960 -1040? -1028?) best known as **Rabbeinu Gershom** and also commonly known to scholars of [Judaism](#) by the title *Rabbeinu Gershom Me'Or Hagolah* ("Our teacher Gershom the light of [the exile](#)"), was a famous [Talmudist](#) and [Halakhist](#). [Rashi](#) of [Troyes](#) (d. 1105) said less than a century after Gershom's death, "all members of the [Ashkenazi](#) diaspora are students of his." As early as the 14th century [Asher ben Jehiel](#) wrote that Rabbeinu Gershom's writings were "such permanent fixtures that they may well have been handed down on [Mount Sinai](#)." He is most famous for the [synod](#) he called around 1000 CE, in which he instituted various laws and bans. Questions of religious [casuistry](#) were addressed to him from all countries, and measures which he authorized had legal force among all the Jews of Europe. About 1000 CE he called a [synod](#) which decided the following particulars: (1) prohibition of polygamy; (2) necessity of obtaining the consent of both parties to a divorce; (3) modification of the rules concerning those who became [apostates](#) under compulsion; (4) prohibition against opening correspondence addressed to another.

**Rashi** **Shlomo Yitzhaki** or **Isaacides** and better known by the acronym **Rashi** (February 22, 1040 – July 13, 1105),



was a [medieval French](#) [rabbi](#) famed as the author of a comprehensive commentary on the [Talmud](#), as well as a [comprehensive commentary on the Tanakh \(Hebrew Bible\)](#). He is considered the "father" of all commentaries that followed on the Talmud (i.e., the [Baalei Tosafot](#)) and the Tanakh (i.e., [Ramban](#), [Ibn Ezra](#), [Ohr HaChaim](#), et al.).

## Revisionist

## Revisionist Zionism

is a [nationalist](#) faction within the [Zionist](#) movement. It is the founding ideology of the non-religious [right](#) in [Israel](#), and was the chief ideological competitor to the dominant socialist [Labor Zionism](#). Revisionism is represented primarily by the [Likud Party](#). The ideology was developed originally by [Ze'ev Jabotinsky](#) who advocated a "revision" of the "practical Zionism" of [David Ben Gurion](#) and [Chaim Weizmann](#), which was focused on independent settlement of the Land of Israel. In 1935, after the [Zionist Executive](#) rejected his political program, and refused to state that "the aim of Zionism was the establishment of a Jewish state," Jabotinsky resigned from the [Zionist Organization](#). He founded the [New Zionist Organization](#) (NZO) to conduct independent political activity for free immigration and the establishment of a Jewish State. Revisionist Zionism was instead centered on a vision of "political Zionism", which Jabotinsky regarded as following the legacy of [Theodor Herzl](#), the founder of modern political Zionism. In its early years, and under Jabotinsky's leadership, Revisionist Zionism was focused on gaining British aid for settlement. Later, Revisionist groups, independent of Jabotinsky's leadership, conducted campaigns of violence against the British authorities in [Palestine](#) to drive them out and establish a [Jewish state](#).

## Rewbell

## Jean-François Rewbell

(October 8, 1747 – November 23, 1807) was a [French](#) lawyer, diplomat, and politician of the [Revolution](#). In the [National Constituent Assembly](#) his [oratory](#), legal knowledge and austerity of life gave him much influence. A partisan of revolutionary reforms, Rewbell voted in favor of reforms such as the [Civil Constitution of the Clergy](#), but opposed the recognition [citizenship rights](#) for [Alsatian Jews](#).

## Richard Lichtheim

## Dr. Richard Lichtheim

was a prominent Zionist diplomat who became the first historian of German Zionism. Before World War 2, Lichtheim was a leader of the Revisionist Zionists in Germany. He was the Geneva representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine during World War II. After the war, he returned to

Palestine. He wrote *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Zionismus*.  
(<http://cosmos.ucc.ie/cs1064/jabowen/IPSC/php/authors.php?auid=7369>)

**Rickover** **Hyman George Rickover** (January 27, 1900 – July 8, 1986) was a four-star [admiral](#) in the [United States Navy](#) who directed the original development of naval nuclear propulsion and controlled its operations for three decades as director of [Naval Reactors](#). In addition, he oversaw the development of the [Shippingport Atomic Power Station](#), the world's first commercial [pressurized water reactor](#) used for generating electricity.

**Rotenstreich** **Nathan Rotenstreich** (March 13, 1914 - October 11, 1993) was an [Israeli](#) professor of [philosophy](#).

**Sabra** A native Israeli.

**Sanballats** In the first half of the 20th Century, the radical nationalist poet and political activist [Uri Zvi Greenberg](#) - considered the spiritual mentor of [Revisionist Zionism](#) and of the present [Israeli settlers](#) on the West Bank - regularly used the term "The Sanballats" or "The Sanballat Gang" as a catch-all term of abuse for Antisemites and Palestinian Nationalists as well as for political opponents from the [Socialist Zionist](#) camp.

**Sanhedrin** The (**lit.** "sitting together," hence "[assembly](#)" or "council") was an assembly of twenty-three judges appointed in every city in the Biblical [Land of Israel](#).

**Sasson** **Eliyahu Sasson** (February 2, 1902 - October 8, 1978) was an [Israeli](#) politician and minister. Born in [Damascus](#), [Syria](#), Sasson studied at an Alliance School in his hometown and the [Université Saint-Joseph](#) in [Beirut](#). He became a member of the Arab National Movement and edited a [Jewish](#)-Arab newspaper named [Al-Hayat](#). He made moved to Israel in 1927 and worked as an electrician, journalist and lecturer on Middle East affairs. He served as the Israeli envoy to Turkey (1950–1952), an envoy and ambassador to [Italy](#) (1953–1960) and ambassador to [Switzerland](#) (1960–1961). In 1961 he returned to Israel and was appointed [Minister of Postal Services](#) by [David Ben-Gurion](#). He was elected to the [Knesset](#) in the [1965 elections](#), and retained his cabinet post until 2 January 1967, when he became [Minister of Police](#). Although he was re-elected in 1969, he lost his ministerial post upon the formation of the new government. He lost his seat in the [1973 elections](#).



## Seleucid Empire

The **Seleucid Empire** was created out of the eastern conquests of the former [Macedonian Empire](#) of [Alexander the Great](#), son of King Phillip of Macedon. The [Macedonian kingdom](#) was centred in the [Near East](#) and regions of the [Asian](#) part of the earlier [Achaemenid Persian Empire](#). At the height of its power, it included central [Anatolia](#), the [Levant](#), [Mesopotamia](#), [Persia](#), today's [Turkmenistan](#), [Pamir](#) and parts of [Pakistan](#).

## Sepharad

The Sephardic nation as a whole.

## Sephardic

**Sephardi** is a general term describing a specific kind of Jewish people. There are two types of meanings, either in a narrow or broad sense: In a narrow sense, [Jews](#) descended from the Jews of the [Iberian Peninsula](#) before their expulsion in the late 15th century; in a broad sense, and particularly for religious purposes, [Jews](#) who use a [Sephardic](#) style of [liturgy](#) or otherwise define themselves in terms of the Jewish customs and traditions which originated in the Iberian Peninsula, whether or not they have any historical or ethnographic connection to the Iberian Peninsula. In this broader sense, the term [Sephardim](#) includes most [Mizrahi](#) Jews, and in Israel sometimes means any Jew who is not [Ashkenazi](#). The term essentially means "Spanish". It comes from [Sepharad](#), a Biblical location. This location is disputed, but "Sepharad" was identified by later Jews as the [Iberian Peninsula](#), and still means "Spain" in [modern Hebrew](#).

## Sephardo-Mizrahi

Jews of either Iberian, or Mideastern origin. The latter were heavily influenced by Iberian Jewry, so the author saw fit to lump them together with this term.

**Shabbetian Movement/ Sabbatai Zevi** (August 1, 1626 – c. September 17, 1676 in [Dulcigno](#), [Montenegro](#)) was a [Sephardic Rabbi](#) and [kabbalist](#) who claimed to be the long-awaited [Jewish Messiah](#). He was the founder of the [Jewish Sabbatean](#) movement. At the age of forty, he was forced by the Ottoman Sultan [Mehmed IV](#) to convert to [Islam](#). Some of his followers also converted to Islam, about 300 families who were known as the [Dönme](#) (aka Dönme) (converts).

**Shalom Aleichem** **Sholem Aleichem** (March 2, 1859 — May 13, 1916) was the [pen name](#) of **Solomon Naumovich Rabinovich**, a leading [Yiddish](#) author and playwright. The musical [Fiddler on the Roof](#), based on his stories about [Tevye the Milkman](#), was the first commercially successful English-language stage production about Jewish life in [Eastern Europe](#).

**Shaul Tchernichovsky** **Shaul Tchernichovsky** (August 20, 1875 – October 14, 1943) was a Russian-born [Hebrew](#) poet. He is considered one of the great Hebrew poets, identified with nature poetry, and was greatly influenced by the culture of [ancient Greece](#).

**Shin Shalom** **Shalom, Shin** (pseudonym of **Shalom Joseph Shapira**; 1904–1990), Hebrew poet and author. Born in Parczew, Poland, Shalom was a descendant of distinguished Hasidic rabbis. He received a religious and secular education at his grandfather's "court," which moved to Vienna in the wake of World War I. Here he began to write poetry, at first in German and later solely in Hebrew.  
([http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud\\_0002\\_0018\\_0\\_18157.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/judaica/ejud_0002_0018_0_18157.html))

**Shitrit** **Bechor-Shalom Sheetrit** (1895 – January 28, 1967) was an [Israeli](#) politician, minister and the only signatory of the [Israeli declaration of independence](#) to have been born in the country. He served as [Minister of Police](#) from independence until his death in 1967, making him the longest-serving [cabinet member](#) in the same portfolio to date.

**Shlonsky** **Avraham Shlonsky** (March 6, 1900 – May 18, 1973) was a significant and dynamic [Israeli](#) poet and [editor](#) born in [Russian Empire](#).

**Shomer** See **Hashomer Hatzair**.

**Small loaf** This term (pg. 155) may refer to the Story of Elijah in Kings 1, chapter 17.

**Sons of Moses** In 1889 Ahad ha'Am published his first [programmatic](#) article, "This Is Not the Way". In this essay he attempted to demonstrate that, without a revival of the national consciousness, which had dwindled over the long years of exile, the program of the Lovers of Zion could not succeed. In the same year he founded in Odessa the Sons of Moses, an organization dedicated to providing the future leadership for a Jewish national revival.

**Steinman** **Eliezer Steinman** (1892 - August 7, 1970) was a Russian-born **Israeli** writer, journalist and editor.

**Tabenkin** **Yitzhak Tabenkin** (January 8, 1888 –June 6, 1971) was a **Zionist** activist and **Israeli** politician. He was one of the founders of the **Kibbutz Movement** and the **Movement for Greater Israel**.

**Tel Hai Day** On 1 March 1920, several hundred **Shiites**, from the village of Jabal Amil in southern **Lebanon**, gathered at the gate of **Tel Hai**, one of four Jewish farming villages in an isolated bloc at the northern end of the **Upper Galilee's** **Hulah Valley**. Due to a misunderstanding, a battle ensued and several Jews and Arabs were killed. Joseph Trumpeldor was wounded in that battle and later died. His death is commemorated each year as Tel Hai Day.

**The Immigrants Camps** **Hamakhanot ha'Olim** , a pioneering movement of teenagers in Palestine, stressed defense and personal fulfillment. It initially evolved from groups in the Herzliya Gymnasium (high school) in 1926; they established Kvutsat Hahugim in Hadera in 1929 and eventually settled in Beit Hashita. After this group merged with breakaway Scouts groups in Haifa and Jerusalem, the Hamahanot Ha'olim movement was established. It affiliated itself with Hakibbutz Hame'uhad, and its alumni established kibbutzim.  
([http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society\\_&\\_Culture/Youth.html](http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/Youth.html))

**The Young Worker** **Hapoel Hatzair** (The Young Worker) is a **Zionist** group, which was active in Palestine from 1905 until 1930. They were founded by **A.D. Gordon**, **Yosef Ahronowitz**, **Yosef Sprinzak** and followed a non-**Marxist**, Zionist, **socialist** agenda. In accordance with A.D. Gordon's beliefs, Hapoel Hatzair was an extremely pacifist and anti-militarist group and sought to establish a Jewish foothold in **Palestine** through the conquest of labor and land.

**Torah** **The Torah** consists of the first five books of the Jewish scriptures. It consists of the the Books of **Genesis**, **Exodus**, **Leviticus**, **Numbers** and **Deuteronomy** . It is known in Christianity as the **Pentateuch** and is the **Five Books of Moses** — the entirety of **Judaism's** founding **legal** and ethical **religious texts**. A "**Sefer Torah**" ("book of Torah") or **Torah** scroll is a copy of the **Torah** written

on [parchment](#) in a formal, traditional manner by a specially trained [scribe](#) under strict requirements.

**Trumpeldor** **Joseph Trumpeldor** (December 1, 1880 – March 1, 1920) was an early [Zionist](#) activist. He helped organize the [Zion Mule Corps](#) and bring [Jewish](#) immigrants to the [Land of Israel](#). Trumpeldor died defending the settlement of [Tel Hai](#) in 1920 and subsequently became a Zionist national hero. His last words were famously "Never mind, it is good to die for our country."

**Tsahar** **The Tzahar** region is part of [Galilee](#), in [Israel](#). Its name is an [acronym](#) for the three cities it contains: [Safed](#) ([Tzfat](#)), [Hazor HaGelilit](#) and [Rosh Pinna](#). The name also appears to apply to a branch of the Revisionist movement.

**United Kibbutz** **HaKibbutz HaMeuhad** had been formed in 1927 by the union of several kibbutz bodies and was associated with the [Poale Zion](#) and later [Ahdut HaAvoda](#) parties.

**Uri Zvi Grinberg** **Uri Zvi Grinberg** (also **Uri Zvi Greenberg**) (September 22, 1896 – May 8, 1981) was an acclaimed [Israeli poet](#) and [journalist](#) who wrote in [Yiddish](#) and [Hebrew](#).

**Ussishkin** **Avraham Menachem Mendel Ussishkin** (August 14, 1863, [Dubroŭna](#) - October 2, 1941) was a notable [Zionist](#) leader. Born in [Dubroŭna](#) in the [Belarusian](#) part of the [Russian Empire](#), Ussishkin graduated as a technical engineer from Moscow Technological Institute. He actively worked for the revival of the [Hebrew language](#) and Jewish settlement in the [Land of Israel](#), then part of the [Ottoman Empire](#), and was a member of [Hovevei Zion](#) movement. He served as Hebrew Secretary at the [First Zionist Congress](#). He was one of the leaders who forced the abandonment of the [Uganda plan](#).

**Vespasian** **Vespasian** ([Latin](#): *Titus Flavius Caesar Vespasianus Augustus*; November 17, 9 – 23 June 23, 79), was [Roman Emperor](#) from 69 AD to 79 AD. Vespasian was the founder of the [Flavian dynasty](#), which ruled the empire for a quarter century. Vespasian was descended from a family of [equestrians](#), who rose into the [senatorial](#) rank under the emperors of the [Julio-Claudian dynasty](#). Although he attained

the [standard succession](#) of public offices, holding the [consulship](#) in 51 AD, Vespasian became more reputed as a successful military commander, participating in the [Roman invasion of Britain](#) in 43, and subjugating [Judaea](#) during the [Jewish rebellion](#) of 66 AD.

**Vilna Gaon** **Elijah ben Shlomo Zalman Kramer**, known as the **Vilna Gaon** or **Elijah of Vilna** and simply by his [Hebrew acronym](#) **Gra** ("Gaon Rabbenu Eliyahu"), (b. [Vilnius](#) April 23, 1720, d. Vilnius October 9, 1797), was a [Talmudist](#), [halachist](#), [kabbalist](#), and the foremost leader of non-[hasidic Jewry](#) of the past few centuries. He is commonly referred to in Hebrew as *ha'Gaon ha'Chasid mi'Vilna*, "the saintly [genius](#) from Vilnius."

**Voice of Israel** **Israel Radio International** is the official [international broadcasting](#) station of [Israel](#).

**Wadi Salib** **The Wadi Salib riots** were a series of [street demonstrations](#) and acts of [vandalism](#) in the [Wadi Salib](#) neighborhood of [Haifa](#), [Israel](#), in 1959, sparked by charges of ethnic discrimination against [Mizrahi Jews](#).

**Weizmann** **Chaim Azriel Weizmann**, (November 27, 1874 – November 9, 1952) was a [Zionist](#) leader, President of the [Zionist Organization](#), and the [first President](#) of the [State of Israel](#). He was [elected](#) on 1 February 1949, and served until his death in 1952. Weizmann was also a [chemist](#) who developed the [ABE-process](#), which produces [acetone](#) through [bacterial fermentation](#). He founded the [Weizmann Institute of Science](#) in [Rehovot](#), [Israel](#).

**White Book of 1939** **The White Paper of 1939**, also known as the *MacDonald White Paper* after [Malcolm MacDonald](#), the [British Colonial Secretary](#) who presided over it, was a [policy paper](#) issued by the [British government](#) under [Neville Chamberlain](#) in which the idea of partitioning the [Mandate for Palestine](#), as recommended in the [Peel Commission Report](#) of 1937, was abandoned in favour of creating an independent Palestine governed by [Palestinian Arabs](#) and [Jews](#) in proportion to their numbers in the population by 1949 (section I). A limit of 75,000 Jewish immigrants was set for the five-year period 1940-1944, consisting of a regular yearly [quota](#) of 10,000, and a supplementary quota of 25,000, spread out over the same period, to cover [refugee](#) emergencies. After this cut-off date, further

immigration would depend on the permission of the Arab majority (section II). Restrictions were also placed on the rights of Jews to buy land from Arabs (section III).

**Wilhelm II** (January 27, 1859 – June 4, 1941) was the last [German Emperor](#) ([Kaiser](#)) and [King of Prussia](#), ruling the [German Empire](#) and the [Kingdom of Prussia](#) from June 15, 1888 to November 9, 1918.

**Wolffsohn** **David Wolffsohn** (October 9, 1856, Darbėnai ([Polish](#): [Dorbiany](#)), [Kovno Governorate](#) - September 15, 1914) was a [Jewish](#) businessman, prominent [Zionist](#) and second president of the [World Zionist Organization](#).

**Worker-Pioneerism** The Hebrew term, used by the author, has no precise English translation that I am aware of. The Hebrew/Yiddish term “bitzuist” implies a person who, though making his living as a rank-and-file worker, such as a farmer or factory worker, advances a larger ideological goal through his livelihood.

**Yevsk** The author may be referring to **Yevseksiya** (alternative spelling: **Yevseksia**, which was the [Jewish](#) section of the [Soviet Communist party](#). Yevseksiya was established to popularize [Marxism](#) and encourage loyalty to the Soviet regime among [Russian Jews](#). The founding conference of Yevseksiya took place on October 20, 1918. For most of its existence, the Yevseksya was headed by [Semyon Dimanstein](#).

**Yedidiya Segal** In the winter preceding the establishment of the state, the Jewish community in Palestine was rocked by controversy over the murder in Haifa of a young guard by the name of Yedidya Segal. The murderer was never brought to trial but the affair led to a libel case, debates in the Knesset, and numerous investigative reports by journalists.

**Yehoshua Zettler** **Yehoshua Zettler** (July 15, 1917 – May 20, 2009; last name also spelled as **Zeitler**) was an [Israeli](#) who served as the [Jerusalem](#) commander of Jewish paramilitary group [Lehi](#), often also called as *the Stern gang*. He conceived and carried out the September 17, 1948, assassination of [Swedish](#) Count [Folke Bernadotte](#), representing the [United](#)



[Nations Security Council](#) as a mediator in the aftermath of the [1948 Arab–Israeli War](#).

**Yehuda haLevi** **Judah Halevi** (also **Yehuda Halevi**; c. 1075–1141) was a [Spanish Jewish](#) physician, poet and [philosopher](#). He was born in Spain, either in [Toledo](#) or [Tudela](#), in 1075 or 1086, and died shortly after arriving in the Land of Israel in 1141. Halevi is considered one of the greatest Hebrew poets, celebrated both for his religious and secular poems, many of which appear in present-day liturgy. His greatest philosophical work was [The Kuzari](#).

**Yehuda Leib Gordon** **Judah Leib (Ben Asher) Gordon**, also known as **Leon Gordon**, (December 7, 1830, Vilnius, Lithuania – September 16, 1892, St. Petersburg, Russia) was among the most important [Hebrew](#) poets of the [Jewish Enlightenment](#).

**Yehudah Leib Pinsker** **Leon Pinsker** ([1821](#), [Tomaszów Lubelski](#), [Poland](#), then [Russian Empire](#), – [1891](#), [Odessa](#) Russian Empire) was a [physician](#), a [Zionist](#) pioneer and activist, and the founder and leader of the [Hovevei Zion](#), also known as Hibbat Zion (Lovers of Zion) movement.

**Yeshivas** **A yeshiva** (plural **yeshivot**) is a [Jewish](#) educational institution that focuses on the study of traditional religious texts, primarily the [Talmud](#) and [Torah study](#). Until the late 20th century, yeshivot were attended by males only. Many [Modern Orthodox](#) yeshivot have opened since then for girls and women. A yeshiva gedola ("senior/great yeshiva") is a post-secondary institution, whereas a *yeshiva ketana* ("junior/small yeshiva") is an elementary school or high-school. A [kollel](#) is a yeshiva with a framework for independent study and providing stipends for male married students.

**Yisrael Galili** **Yisrael Galili** (born **Yisrael Berchenko** on February 10, 1911, died February 8, 1986) was an [Israeli](#) politician, government minister and member of [Knesset](#). Before Israel's independence in 1948, he had served as Chief of Staff of the [Haganah](#).

**Yisrael Yeshayahu** Israel Yeshayahu was born in Sada, Yemen, on May 2, 1911. His father was Ya'ish (Yeshayahu) and his mother Sham'a (Shoshana), daughter of Yihia Haddad. Between the years 1932 – 1934 he served as the Secretary General of the "Ezrat Achim" (Assistance to

our Brethren) association in Tel-Aviv. Between the years 1934 – 1935 - Secretary General of the Yemenite Workers Union. From 1936 onwards – Director of The Department for People of Sephardi and Yemenite Origin on the Executive Board of the HISTADRUT. In 1935 he married Rina, daughter of Yossef Badihi. Member of MAPAI (later – Labor Party) and member of its board. Elected as a delegate of The Party for the 20th and 21st Zionist Congresses; As delegate in the fourth General Assembly and as Deputy in The National Board. Member of The Tel-Aviv Workers' Council and The Workers' Loan Fund. Member of The Zionist General Council; Elected successively to all committees and councils of The HISTADRUT. Throughout the years, active in The Yemenite Committee and member of the Executive Board of Yemenite Association in Israel. Headed the Department for People of Yemenite Origin in MAPAI. ([http://israel-yeshayahu.com/iy/en\\_chronology.aspx](http://israel-yeshayahu.com/iy/en_chronology.aspx))

### Yisroel of Shklov

**Shklov** (ca. 1770–May 22, 1839) was a [Talmudist](#), one of a group of Talmudical scholars of [Shklov](#) who were attracted to [Vilna](#) by [Elijah Gaon](#) (1720-97). He was one of "the last arrivals," and attended upon the Gaon as a disciple for less than a year.

### Yisroel ben Shmuel Ashkenazi of

### Yisrael Scheib

**Scheib** in Podvolochisk, [Galicia](#) – 1996), was a noted [Israeli](#) independence fighter and [Revisionist Zionist](#) philosopher. He was an early member and later chief ideological strategist of the [Lehi \(Fighters for the Freedom of Israel\)](#), a militant Jewish paramilitary group (*the Stern gang*).

### Israel Eldad (born 1910 as

### Yitzhak Gruenbaum

was a noted leader of the [Zionist](#) movement among [Polish Jewry](#) between the two world wars and of the Jewish Settlement in British Palestine, and the first [Interior Minister](#) of [Israel](#).

### Yitzhak Gruenbaum (1879 - 1970)

### Yitzhak Lamdan

(November 7, 1899 - died November 17, 1954) was an [Israeli](#) poet, translator, editor and Hebrew columnist.

### Yitzhak Lamdan (November

### Yitzhak Sadeh

Born in Lublin, Poland, Sadeh began his military career in the Russian army during the First World War. He was decorated for bravery and rose to be a battalion commander. He emigrated to the Land of Israel in 1920, upon hearing of the death of [Joseph Trumpeldor](#), whom he had met three years earlier. There he founded and led

### Born in Lublin, Poland, Sadeh



the Trumpeldor Labor Battalion (Gedud ha-Avodah). When Arab riots broke out in 1936, Sadeh joined the Haganah. He initiated a policy for defending settlements by going out to attack the marauding Arab bands, rather than remaining behind the barbed wire perimeters of the settlements to await raids. Haganah field companies, which Sadeh commanded, were formed to implement this strategy. He was also one of the founders of the Palmach, and became its first commanding officer in 1941. In 1945 he was promoted to acting chief of the Haganah general staff, coordinating resistance against the British. During the [War of Independence](#) he took part in several operations, including the battle for Jerusalem. He retired from military service at the end of the war.

### Yizhar Smilansky

**Yizhar Smilansky** (September 27, 1916 – August 21, 2006), better known by his [pen name](#) **S. Yizhar** was an [Israeli](#) writer and a great innovator in modern [Hebrew](#) literature.

### Yohanan Bader

**Yohanan Bader** (August 19, 1901 – June 16, 1994) was a [Revisionist Zionist](#) leader and [Israeli](#) politician. Bader was born in [Kraków](#) in [Austria-Hungary](#) (today in [Poland](#)), where he studied at a State Gymnasium. In his youth he was active in the Jewish Socialist Party, the "[Bund](#)" followed by "[HaShomer Hatzair](#)" but in 1925 he joined the Revisionist Zionist Movement. He studied law, economics, philosophy and history at [Jagiellonian University](#), where he earned Doctor of Law degree and was certified as a lawyer. He also edited the [Polish language](#) weekly *Tribuna Narodna*.

### Yohanan ben-Zakai

**Johanan ben Zakai** (c. 30 - 90 [CE](#)), also known as Johanan B. Zakkai was one of the [tannaim](#), an important [Jewish](#) sage in the era of the [Second Temple](#), and a primary contributor to the core text of Rabbinical Judaism, the [Mishnah](#). He is widely regarded as one of the most important Jewish figures of his time. His tomb is located in [Tiberias](#), within the [Maimonides burial compound](#).

### Yosef Chaim Brenner

**Yosef Haim Brenner** (also **Yosef Chaim Brenner**, born 1881, died 1921) was a [Russian-born Hebrew-language](#) author, one of the pioneers of modern [Hebrew literature](#).

### Yosef Dela Rina

Rabbi Joseph Della Reina (1418 - 1472) lived in Safed and wanted to bring the Redemption. One day, he took 5 of his most loyal students who were very knowledgeable in Kabbalah and

would do anything he requested. He told them, "I am resolved to use the secrets of the Torah to remove all impurities from this world and bring the Redemption and Massiah, who will release us from our oppressors."

(<http://dreamingofmoshiach.blogspot.com/2007/07/story-rise-and-fall-of-rabbi-joseph.html>)

**Yosef Nasi** **Don Joseph Nasi** (1524, [Portugal](#) 1579, [Istanbul](#)) was a [Jewish](#) diplomat and administrator, member of the [House of Mendes](#), and influential figure in the [Ottoman Empire](#) during the rules of both [Sultan Suleiman I](#) and his son [Selim II](#). He was a great benefactor of the Jewish people. A [Court Jew](#), he was appointed the [Lord of Tiberias](#), with the expressed aim of resettling Jews in [Palestine](#) and encouraging industry there; the attempt failed, and, later, he was appointed the [Duke of Naxos and the Seven Islands](#). Nasi also brought about war with the [Republic of Venice](#), at the end of which Venice lost the island of [Cyprus](#) to the Ottomans. After the death of Selim, he lost influence in the [Ottoman Court](#), but was allowed to keep his titles and pension for the remainder of his life.

**Zalman Shazar** **Zalman Shazar** (November 24, 1889 – October 5, 1974) was an [Israeli](#) politician, author. and poet. Shazar served as the [third President of Israel](#) from 1963 to 1973.

**Zuzim** A **Zuz** was an ancient [Hebrew](#) silver [coin](#) struck during the [Bar Kochba](#) revolt. They were overstruck on [Roman Imperial denarii](#) or [Roman provincial drachmas](#) of [Vespasian](#), [Titus](#), [Domitian](#), [Trajan](#) and [Hadrian](#). Four Zuz, denarii or drachmas make a [Shekel](#), a Sela or a [Tetradrachm](#).