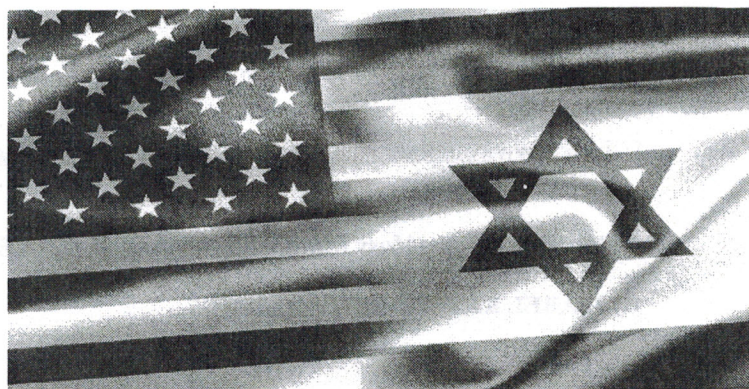


The Diaspora Jew

Rabbi Ya'akov Trump



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Netanyahu Urges 'Mass Immigration' of Jews From Europe

By ISABEL KERSHNER FEB. 15, 2015

JERUSALEM — Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel said on Sunday that his government was encouraging a “mass immigration” of Jews from Europe, reopening a contentious debate about Israel’s role at a challenging time for European Jews and a month before Israel’s national elections.

Speaking the morning after a Jewish guard was fatally shot outside a synagogue in Copenhagen in one of two attacks there, the remarks echoed a similar call by the prime minister inviting France’s Jews to move to Israel after last month’s attacks in Paris. Critics said then that the expression of such sentiments so soon after the Paris shootings was insensitive and divisive. Such sentiments also go to the heart of the complexity of Israel’s identity and its relationship with the Jewish communities of the diaspora, whose support has been

→ “Jews have been murdered again on European soil only because they were Jews,” Mr. Netanyahu said Sunday in Jerusalem. “Of course, Jews deserve protection in every country, but we say to Jews, to our brothers and sisters: Israel is your home,” he added.

But expressing the unease felt by many Jews abroad over such comments, Jair Melchior, Denmark’s chief rabbi, said he was “disappointed” by Mr. Netanyahu’s call.

“People from Denmark move to Israel because they love Israel, because of Zionism, but not because of terrorism,” Mr. Melchior told The Associated Press on Sunday. “If the way we deal with terror is to run somewhere else, we should all run to a deserted island.”

In a move that was planned before the attacks in Copenhagen — which left another man dead when a gunman opened fire as a Swedish cartoonist who had caricatured the Prophet Muhammad was speaking at a cafe — Mr. Netanyahu announced Sunday a \$45 million government plan to encourage the absorption of immigrants from France, Belgium and Ukraine in 2015. Israel says it has seen a significant increase in the number of people interested in emigrating from these countries.

More than 7,000 French Jews migrated to Israel in 2014, double the number from the year before. After the attacks in January in Paris that killed 17 people, including four Jews in a kosher supermarket, Israel was expecting an even larger influx.

For many Israelis, more Jewish immigration is an ideal embodied in the Hebrew word for it, *aliya*, which means ascent. The state was built by immigrants; its 1948 Declaration of Independence states that Israel “will be open for Jewish immigration and for the ingathering of the exiles.”

But the question of under what conditions goes to the core of Zionism and the essence of the principles on which the state was founded.

→ [While some present Israel as primarily a refuge established on the ashes of the Holocaust, many Israelis prefer to view Zionism as a more proactive realization of the political vision of the Jewish nation.

Shlomo Avineri, an Israeli professor of political science, described Mr. Netanyahu's call as "an intellectual and moral mistake" and accused him of taking a populist stance for electoral purposes.

"The legitimacy of Israel does not hinge on anti-Semitism," said Professor Avineri, the author of a recent book, "Herzl's Vision," a biography of Theodor Herzl, the founder of modern Zionism. "It hinges on the right of the Jewish people to self-determination in the Jewish state."

While Israel should always be open to immigration, he said, the suggestion that Israel is the only place where Jews can live safely "puts Netanyahu, and in a way Israel, on a collision course with leaders of the democratic countries and also with the leaders of the Jewish communities."

→ [Apparently piqued by Mr. Netanyahu's remarks in January, President François Hollande of France pledged during a speech at a Paris Holocaust memorial to protect all of its citizens, and told French Jews: "Your place is here, in your home. France is your country."

On Sunday, the Danish prime minister, Helle Thorning-Schmidt, visited the Copenhagen synagogue where the attack took place and said, "The Jewish community is a large and integrated part of Danish society."

For some Israeli experts, though, Mr. Netanyahu's call was a natural expression of the nation's ethos.

"The raison d'être of Israel is to create a place where Jews can have a better quality of Jewish life," said Avinoam Bar-Yosef, president of the Jewish People Policy Institute, a research center in Jerusalem.

"In my view, Netanyahu is encouraging those who in any event intend to leave their countries of origin to move to Israel and not to other places," Mr. Bar-Yosef said, adding, "Even if it is controversial, this is something that a prime minister of Israel needs to do."

Yigal Palmor, the spokesman for the Jewish Agency for Israel, which coordinates migration to Israel, agreed, saying, "The general perception is that when Jews come under attack, it is the prime minister's job to remind them that Israel offers them shelter."

“The rest,” said Mr. Palmor, a former Israeli diplomat, “is a matter of tone and emphasis.”

Mr. Netanyahu has again weighed in on the subject at a fraught time, when Israel’s relations with the White House are strained over his address to a joint meeting of Congress on Iran’s nuclear program next month, two weeks before Israeli elections on March 17.

In an election video posted Saturday on Mr. Netanyahu’s Facebook page, the prime minister gave a personal account of how important immigration to Israel has been for Europe’s Jews. Talking into the camera, Mr. Netanyahu tells the story of how his grandfather was beaten unconscious by an anti-Semitic mob at a train station “in the heart of Europe” at the end of the 19th century.

“He pledged to himself that if he survived the night he would bring his family to the land of Israel and help build a new future for the Jewish people in its land,” Mr. Netanyahu said, adding, “I am standing here today as the prime minister of Israel because my grandfather kept his promise.”

A version of this article appears in print on February 16, 2015, on page A5 of the New York edition with the headline: Netanyahu Urges ‘Mass Immigration’. [Order Reprints](#) | [Today's Paper](#) | [Subscribe](#)

Embattled French Jews have mixed feelings about Israel's aliya calls

Dispute between Israeli, Diaspora Jews stems from divergent views about the viability of Jewish life abroad

BY URIEL HEILMAN January 13, 2015, 3:21 am 23



JTA – French Jews are in a crisis. Arsonists have targeted their synagogues, terrorists have attacked their schools and shops, and with only a few exceptions, French society has not united behind them to stop the assaults and harassment.

The solution, according to Israel's prime minister, is simple: Move to Israel.

“To all the Jews of France, all the Jews of Europe, I would like to say that Israel is not just the place in whose direction you pray; the State of Israel is your home,” Benjamin Netanyahu said Saturday in Jerusalem, the day after an attack on a Paris kosher supermarket that killed four Jewish men.

“This week, a special team of ministers will convene to advance steps to increase immigration from France and other countries in Europe that are suffering from terrible anti-Semitism. All Jews who want to immigrate to Israel will be welcomed here warmly and with open arms,” he said.

But for French Jews, the answer isn't so simple.

“The Israeli government must stop this Pavlovian response every time there is an attack against Jews in Europe,” Rabbi Menachem Margolin, the director of the European Jewish Association, told the Israeli news website NRG.

"I regret that after every anti-Semitic attack in Europe, the Israeli government dispenses the same statements about the importance of aliyah rather than take all measures ... at its disposal in order to increase the safety of Jewish life in Europe. Every such Israeli campaign severely weakens and damages the Jewish communities that have the right to live securely wherever they are," the rabbi said.

The crux of the dispute — one that is hardly limited to Netanyahu and Margolin — are divergent views about the viability of Diaspora Jewish life.

On one side are the many Israelis who believe Diaspora Jewry has no future due to anti-Semitism (see: France) or assimilation (see: America), and often believe that Jewish life in the Diaspora is somehow less authentic or legitimate than Jewish life in Israel.

On the other side are many Diaspora Jews who see themselves as part and parcel of their home countries and consider their communities vibrant expressions of Jewish life. In their view, Israeli calls for aliyah in response to the challenges they face are offensive and counterproductive. Instead, they believe, Israel ought to be thinking about how it can help Diaspora Jewish communities thrive.



French President Francois Hollande and Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu pose for photographers at the Elysee Palace, Paris, Sunday, Jan. 11, 2015. (photo credit: AP/Thibault Camus)

Netanyahu is hardly the first prime minister to ruffle feathers in the Diaspora this way. In July 2004, then-premier Ariel Sharon irked French Jews with a similar call.

"If I have to advocate to our brothers in France, I will tell them one thing: Move to Israel as early as possible," Sharon told a gathering of North American Jewish federation leaders. "I say that to Jews all around the world, but there I think it's a must and they have to move immediately."

In response, French President Jacques Chirac told Sharon he was not welcome in France. Like many non-Jewish government leaders, Chirac bristled at the implication that Jews should leave en masse.

In the United States, Israeli novelist A.B. Yehoshua ignited a firestorm in 2006 when he told the audience at a centennial celebration of the American Jewish Committee that American Jews are only “partial Jews” because they live in the Diaspora.

“Judaism cannot exist outside Israel,” he said, according to an account in Israel’s daily Haaretz. “Those who do not live in Israel and do not participate in the daily decisions that are made there ... do not have a Jewish identity of any significance.”

Yehoshua hit upon a similar note in a February 2013 speech to a group of several hundred American Jews on volunteer and study programs in Israel when he said, “I’m happy to see so many Americans here. I hope you all become Israelis and don’t return to America.”

Needless to say, they didn’t all move to Israel.

French Jews are in a much different situation than American Jews, however, in that they face the threat of physical violence. Add France’s serious economic problems and many French Jews agree with the view that the prognosis for their community is bleak.

“We do not have a future here,” Joyce Halimi, who attended a vigil for victims of the Hyper Cacher supermarket attack on Saturday night, told JTA. “The government talks, but it’s only words.”

In 2014, nearly 7,000 French immigrants arrived in Israel out of a French Jewish population of 500,000. That’s the equivalent, proportionately, of 84,000 American Jews moving to Israel. The actual number of Americans who immigrated to Israel in 2014 was 3,470.

Additionally, the highly symbolic decision by all four families of the Hyper Cacher attack victims to bury their loved ones in Israel reinforces the message that French Jews have a dim view of their future in France.

Of course, not all of those who are emigrating are moving to Israel. Montreal, Miami, London and New York all have seen significant numbers of French Jewish newcomers over the last decade or so.

St. John’s Wood Synagogue in London now holds a French-language Sabbath service. Montreal’s primary Jewish social services and resettlement organization, Agence Ometz, has seen a significant increase in newcomers from France over the last year, JTA reported in November. In 2013, the Italian daily La Stampa wrote a feature about the surge of French Jews in New York.

Unlike with Israel, however, there is no precise data about the number of French Jews moving to the United States, Britain or Canada. But the migration westward is a reminder that Israel is not the only alternative for French Jews seeking to leave the country.

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An Uneasy Relationship

AMERICAN JEWISH LEADERSHIP
AND ISRAEL, 1948-1957

ZVI GANIN



Syracuse University Press

2005

Israel's astute director general of the Ministry of Finance, explained the challenge aptly at a Hadassah National Board meeting in April 1951:

We in Israel have substituted the theory of comparative costs by a theory of comparative suffering, which means that we don't apply the criterion of possibility. We don't apply to the policy of unlimited immigration the criterion whether these people can be soundly and economically integrated in the life of the country. . . . But whether the suffering which they will endure in the transit camps of Israel will be greater or smaller than the suffering which they would have to endure in the countries of persecution from which they come, taking into account not only the material but the psychological factors—personal safety, anguish, fear, oppression, cultural uprooting—[as well as the] physical suffering.”⁶⁴

In the end, the gamble did succeed, but at a heavy human price for the hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Eastern Europe and the Moslem countries housed in tents and shacks during their first years of absorption. Nevertheless, under the circumstances, with the trauma of the Holocaust painfully recent and the country suffering from an acute lack of capital, Israel had no choice. The oppressive Communist and Moslem countries could seal their gates at any moment. It was now or never, and Israel, and the *olim*, opted for now.

In keeping with its traditional insistence on remaining independent of organized Jewish life, the American Jewish Committee stayed away from the Jerusalem conferences, underscoring once again the divergent agendas of Israel and the non-Zionist leadership. Whereas Ben-Gurion gave highest priority to the implementation of the Four-Point Program, Blaustein remained concerned about policy statements emanating from Israel that might stoke the embers of the dual loyalty issue.

4

The Blaustein-Ben-Gurion Understanding of 1950

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THE EARLY SKIRMISHES between the American Jewish Committee and Ben-Gurion were not to be the last ones, showing that the process of adjustment by American Jewry to the existence of a Jewish state was by no means over. This realization was evident toward the end of 1949 when Israeli as well as American Zionist policy statements evoked new crises, impelling Ben-Gurion to take certain measures lest they jeopardize the crucial cooperation of the non-Zionists in the Four-Point Program.

An innocuous speech by Ben-Gurion in Tel Aviv in November 1949, reported in the *New York Herald Tribune*, aroused a hue and cry among non-Zionists in America. In it the prime minister warned Diaspora Zionist donors that their gifts would not give them any influence over Israel's policies, a warning that was evidently directed at Abba Hillel Silver and his followers in the ZOA after they had been accused by Morgenthau and Montors of trying to use American Jewish financial clout for just such purposes. The main thrust of the speech was that Zionists needed to adjust their thinking to the new reality of “an independent, sovereign and pioneer state,”¹ but this was not the point for an AJC member who wrote to Blaustein from Dallas, Texas. What bothered him was the prime minister's use of the expression “Israel promotes the gathering of the exiles from their dispersion,” which, the Texas member alleged, proved that Ben-Gurion was going back on his assurances to Blaustein of 18 October 1949, that he would call for the immigration to Israel of only a few American Jews with special technical skills. What especially rankled the AJC member, he informed Blaustein, was Ben-Gurion's use of the term “nation” (in fact, “the national vanguard” was used to describe the

Zionist movement in its role of bringing immigrants to Israel). This use constituted an explicit justification for the long-held position of the American Council for Judaism. Enough, the AJC member cried.

Our Committee must stop pussy-footing. The time calls for courage and forthrightness—not dissembling. . . . Now, let us not continue to damn the American Council for Judaism. The Council attempted to do the job that the Committee failed to do. Let us cooperate with the Council and forget the petty bickering and personality clashes. The Council has been right. Why not recognize this patent fact?²

Vigorously rising to this challenge, Blaustein referred the complainant to later letters from Ben-Gurion showing that the Israeli leader had not reneged on his prior assurance that Israel needed only “selective immigration, primarily of technicians” from America. But the main problem here, Blaustein knew, was the extreme sensitivity of many non-Zionists to Israeli pronouncements. Having gained a deeper insight into the intricacies of Israeli-Diaspora relations since his visit to Israel in March 1949, he now recommended a less excitable reaction to Israeli statements:

I regard it as essential, as apparently you do not, to make a very clear-cut distinction between *personal attitudes* and *official policies* [emphasis in original]. I know perfectly well that there are people, some of them prominent in Israel and in the Zionist movement in this country, who hold to the concept of political world Jewish nationalism, which the American Jewish Committee has so steadfastly repudiated, and will always repudiate.

Moreover, Blaustein argued, Ben-Gurion’s use of the term “nation” was legitimate. “That Israel is a nation is an incontrovertible fact. The dependence of that nation on financial aid from American Jews obviously creates problems for its officials. Their fear that the power of the purse may be used by American Zionists to interfere in Israel’s internal affairs is by no means an unnatural one.” Ben-Gurion was merely addressing that fear, he pointed out. “Nor am I unduly disturbed,” he said, “about the other quotation regarding ‘the gathering of the exiles from their dispersion.’” Indeed, “many Jews of Eastern Europe and other parts of the Old World have regarded themselves as exiles. Even in this country there are probably some Jews who do not feel secure or deeply rooted in the American environment,” though the vast majority

viewed themselves as Americans, and their self-image would certainly not be “affected by the mere rhetoric of such expressions as ‘gathering of the exiles.’” But all were agreed that Israel should not interfere in the internal affairs of the American Jewish community. So far, he said, Israel had not done that, “and I most vehemently repudiate the allegation that the American Jewish Committee is either ‘pussy-footing’ or ‘dissembling.’”

Lastly, addressing the matter of his perennial nemesis, the American Council for Judaism, Blaustein declared: “We shall be happy to cooperate with the Council to the extent that we can agree on the proper implementation of the ideology which we hold in common.” But the committee, and he himself, would not tolerate the council’s publicity methods, which called into question the loyalty of American Jews. He asked his colleague from Dallas:

I wonder how you yourself reacted, when you read the item in the Dallas *Morning News* a couple of weeks ago on Lessing Rosenwald’s speech in your city. Did you really think it helpful for the Dallas public to learn from a prominent Jew that the idea that “the Jew should separate his religion from his nationality in the same manner as other religious groups do . . . is a rather hard idea to put across”?³

Meanwhile, another storm was brewing. A front-page report in the *Jewish Morning Journal* by its Israeli correspondent described a celebration in December 1949 at Haifa port “where immigrants embarking from the Israeli ship ‘Negba’ brought the total Israeli population to one million Jews.”⁴ The correspondent also reported on a speech delivered on the historic occasion by Eliahu Dobkin, the Jewish Agency Executive member in charge of immigration, who “spoke with bitterness against Jews in America and other Western democracies.” Where would the second million Israelis come from, Dobkin wondered, considering that Israel could not rely on immigration from the Arab countries or from behind the Iron Curtain, while “American Jews are philanthropic Zionists. They don’t think of Zionism for themselves, and the redemption of the country is not for them but for others.”⁵ Dobkin’s speech, the reporter explained, reflected the bitterness harbored by “the most important Israeli leaders” toward American Jewry’s “indifference” regarding *aliyah* to Israel.

Dobkin’s chastisement of American Jewry, which followed a similar rebuke a month earlier, put the Israeli embassy in Washington on the spot. The counselor at the embassy, Moshe Keren, rushed off a letter to a senior official



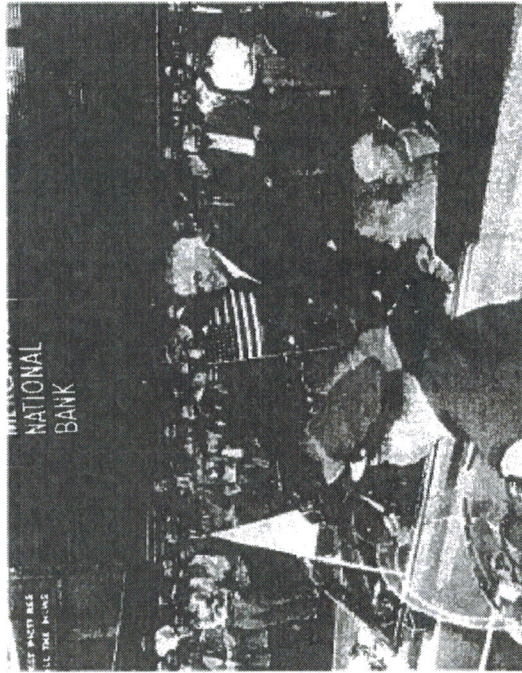
Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and Ambassador Abba Eban present a menorah to President Truman during Ben-Gurion's visit to the U.S., 2 May 1951. Courtesy of the State of Israel Government Press Office.



Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and Ambassador Eban chat with President Truman at the White House, 2 May 1951. Courtesy of the State of Israel Government Press Office.



Prime Minister Ben-Gurion meets Jacob Blaustein and other Jewish leaders during his visit to the United States, May 1951. Courtesy of Israel State Archives.



Prime Minister Ben-Gurion's cavalcade in Chicago during his visit to the United States, May 1951. Courtesy of Israel State Archives.

in Jewish life by providing a refuge for a part of Europe's persecuted Jews. We hope it will continue as one of the places for such resettlement, for it has been clearly demonstrated that practical colonizing can be done, schools and universities built, scientific agriculture extended, commerce intensified, and culture developed. This is the record of achievement of eager, hard-working settlers who have been aided in their endeavors by Jews all over the world, in every walk of life and thought.

We oppose the effort to establish a National Jewish State in Palestine or anywhere else as a philosophy of defeatism, and one which does not offer a practical solution of the Jewish problem. We dissent from all those related doctrines that stress the racialism, the nationalism, and the theoretical homelessness of Jews. We oppose such doctrines as inimical to the welfare of Jews in Palestine, in America, or wherever Jews may dwell. We believe that the intrusion of Jewish national statehood has been a deterrent in Pal-

estine's ability to play an even greater role in offering a haven for the oppressed, and that without the insistence upon such statehood, Palestine would today be harboring more refugees from Nazi terror. The very insistence upon a Jewish Army has led to the raising of barriers against our unfortunate brethren. There never was a need for such an army. There has always been ample opportunity for Jews to fight side by side with those of other faiths in the armies of the United Nations.

Palestine is a part of Israel's religious heritage, as it is a part of the heritage of two other religions of the world. We look forward to the ultimate establishment of a democratic, autonomous government in Palestine, wherein Jews, Moslems and Christians shall be justly represented; every man enjoying equal rights and sharing equal responsibilities; a democratic government in which our fellow Jews shall be free Palestinians whose religion is Judaism, even as we are Americans whose religion is Judaism.

NOTE

1. An anti-Zionist organization founded in 1943, the American Council for Judaism (ACJ) represents the interests of "Americans of Jewish faith." It emphatically maintains that Judaism is a religion of universal values, and not a nationality. Its policy is outlined in this document. The ACJ has remained a small group, with very few syna-

gogues and even fewer Jewish organizations endorsing its program. As this document illustrates, most American Jews, though they adhere to a firm commitment and allegiance to the United States, also have a special relationship of fraternal affection for the State of Israel.

DAVID BEN-GURION AND JACOB BLAUSTEIN

44. An Exchange of Views (1950)¹

ADDRESS OF PRIME MINISTER DAVID BEN-GURION:² We are very happy to welcome you here in our midst as a representative of

the great Jewry of the United States to whom Israel owes so much. No other community abroad has so great a stake in what has been

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achieved in this country during the present generation as have the Jews of America. Their material and political support, their warm-hearted and practical idealism, has been one of the principal sources of our strength and our success. In supporting our effort, American Jewry has developed, on a new plane, the noble conception, maintained for more than half a century, of extending its help for the protection of Jewish rights throughout the world and of rendering economic aid wherever it was needed. We are deeply conscious of the help which America has given to us here in our great effort of reconstruction and during our struggle for independence. This great tradition has been continued since the establishment of the State of Israel.

It is our great pride that our newly gained independence has enabled us in this small country to undertake the major share of the great and urgent task of providing permanent homes under conditions of full equality to hundreds of thousands of our brethren who cannot remain where they are and whose heart is set on rebuilding their lives in Israel. In this great task you and we are engaged in a close partnership. Without the readiness for sacrifice of the people of Israel and without the help of America this urgent task can hardly be achieved.

It is most unfortunate that since our State came into being some confusion and misunderstanding should have arisen as regards the relationship between Israel and the Jewish communities abroad, in particular that of the United States. These misunderstandings are likely to alienate sympathies and create disharmony where friendship and close understanding are of vital necessity. To my mind, the position is perfectly clear. The Jews of the United States, as a community and as individuals, have only one political attachment and that is to the United States of America. They owe no political allegiance to Israel. In the first statement which the representative of Israel made before the United Nations after her admission to that international organization, he clearly stated,

without any reservation, that the State of Israel represents and speaks only on behalf of its own citizens and in no way presumes to represent or speak in the name of the Jews who are citizens of any other country. We, the people of Israel, have no desire and no intention to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of Jewish communities abroad. The Government and the people of Israel fully respect the right and integrity of the Jewish communities in other countries to develop their own mode of life and their indigenous social, economic and cultural institutions in accordance with their own needs and aspirations. Any weakening of American Jewry, any disruption of its communal life, any lowering of its sense of security, any diminution of its status, is a definite loss to Jews everywhere and to Israel in particular.

We are happy to know of the deep and growing interest which American Jews of all shades and convictions take in what it has fallen to us to achieve in this country. Were we, God forbid, to fail in what we have undertaken on our own behalf and on behalf of our suffering brethren, that failure would cause grievous pain to Jews everywhere and nowhere more than in your community. Our success or failure depends in a large measure on our cooperation with, and on the strength of, the great Jewish community of the United States, and, we, therefore, are anxious that nothing should be said or done which could in the slightest degree undermine the sense of security and stability of American Jewry.

In this connection let me say a word about immigration. We should like to see American Jews come and take part in our effort. We need their technical knowledge, their unrivalled experience, their spirit of enterprise, their bold vision, their "know-how." We need engineers, chemists, builders, work managers and technicians. The tasks which face us in this country are eminently such as would appeal to the American genius for technical development and social progress. But the decision as to whether they wish to come—permanently or temporarily—rests

with the free discretion of each American Jew himself. It is entirely a matter of his own volition. We need *haluzim*,³ pioneers too. *Haluzim* have come to us—and we believe more will come, not only from those countries where the Jews are oppressed and in "exile" but also from countries where the Jews live a life of freedom and are equal in status to all other citizens in their country. But the essence of *haluziut* is free choice. They will come from among those who believe that their aspirations as human beings and as Jews can best be fulfilled by life and work in Israel.

I believe I know something of the spirit of American Jewry among whom I lived for some years. I am convinced that it will continue to make a major contribution towards our great effort of reconstruction, and I hope that the talks we have had with you during these last few days will make for even closer cooperation between our two communities.

RESPONSE OF JACOB BLAUSTEIN:⁴ I am very happy, Mr. Prime Minister, to have come here at your invitation and to have discussed with you and others leaders of Israel the various important problems of mutual interest. . . .

There is no question in my mind that a Jew who wants to remain loyal to the fundamental basis of Judaism and his cultural heritage, will be in the forefront of the struggle for democracy against totalitarianism.

The American Jewish community sees its fortunes tied to the fate of liberal democracy in the United States, sustained by its heritage, as Americans and as Jews. We seek to strengthen both of these vital links to the past and to all humanity by enhancing the American democratic and political system, American cultural diversity and American wellbeing.

As to Israel, the vast majority of American Jewry recognizes the necessity and desirability of helping to make it a strong, viable, self-supporting state. This, for the sake of Israel itself, and the good of the world.

The American Jewish Committee has been

active, as have other Jewish organizations in the United States, in rendering, within the framework of their American citizenship, every possible support to Israel; and I am sure that this support will continue and that we shall do all we can to increase further our share in the great historic task of helping Israel to solve its problems and develop as a free, independent and flourishing democracy.

While Israel has naturally placed some burdens on Jews elsewhere, particularly in America, it has, in turn, meant much to Jews throughout the world. For hundreds of thousands in Europe, Africa and the Middle East it has provided a home in which they can attain their full stature of human dignity for the first time. In all Jews, it has inspired pride and admiration, even though in some instances, it has created passing headaches.

Israel's rebirth and progress, coming after the tragedy of European Jewry in the 1930s and in World War II, has done much to raise Jewish morale. Jews in America and everywhere can be more proud than ever of their Jewishness.

But we must, in a true spirit of friendliness, sound a note of caution to Israel and its leaders. Now that the birth pains are over, and even though Israel is undergoing growing pains, it must recognize that the matter of good-will between its citizens and those of other countries is a two-way street: that Israel also has a responsibility in this situation—a responsibility in terms of not affecting adversely the sensibilities of Jews who are citizens of other states by what it says or does.

In this connection, you are realists and want facts and I would be less than frank if I did not point out to you that American Jews vigorously repudiate any suggestion or implication that they are in exile. American Jews—young and old alike, Zionists and non-Zionists alike—are profoundly attached to America. America welcomed their immigrant parents in their need. Under America's free institutions, they and their children have achieved that freedom and sense of se-

curity unknown for long centuries of travail. American Jews have truly become Americans; just as have all other oppressed groups that have ever come to America's shores.

To American Jews, America is home. There, exist their thriving roots; there, is the country which they have helped to build; and there, they share its fruits and its destiny. They believe in the future of a democratic society in the United States under which all citizens, irrespective of creed or race, can live on terms of equality. They further believe that, if democracy should fail in America, there would be no future for democracy anywhere in the world, and that the very existence of an independent State of Israel would be problematic. Further, they feel that a world in which it would be possible for Jews to be driven by persecution from America would not be a world safe for Israel either; indeed it is hard to conceive how it would be a world safe for any human being.

The American Jewish community, as you, Mr. Prime Minister, have so eloquently pointed out, has assumed a major part of the responsibility of securing equality of rights and providing generous material help to Jews in other countries. American Jews feel themselves bound to Jews the world over by ties of religion, common historical traditions and in certain respects, by a sense of common destiny. We fully realize that persecution and discrimination against Jews in any country will sooner or later have its impact on the situation of the Jews in other countries, but these problems must be dealt with by each Jewish community itself in accordance with its own wishes, traditions, needs and aspirations.

Jewish communities, particularly American Jewry in view of its influence and its strength, can offer advice, cooperation and help, but should not attempt to speak in the name of other communities or in any way interfere in their internal affairs.

I am happy to note from your statement, Mr. Prime Minister, that the State of Israel takes a similar position. Any other position

on the part of the State of Israel would only weaken the American and other Jewish communities of the free, democratic countries and be contrary to the basic interests of Israel itself. The future development of Israel, spiritual, social as well as economic, will largely depend upon a strong and healthy Jewish community in the United States and other free democracies.

We have been greatly distressed that at the very hour when so much has been achieved, harmful and futile discussions and misunderstandings have arisen as to the relations between the people and the State of Israel and the Jews in other countries, particularly in the United States. Harm has been done to the morale and to some extent to the sense of security of the American Jewish community through unwise and unwarranted statements and appeals which ignore the feelings and aspirations of American Jewry.

Even greater harm has been done to the State of Israel itself by weakening the readiness of American Jews to do their full share in the rebuilding of Israel which faces such enormous political, social and economic problems.

Your statement today, Mr. Prime Minister, will, I trust, be followed by unmistakable evidence that the responsible leaders of Israel, and the organizations connected with it, fully understand that future relations between the American Jewish community and the State of Israel must be based on mutual respect for one another's feelings and needs, and on the preservation of the integrity of the two communities and their institutions.

I believe that in your statement today, you have taken a fundamental and historic position which will redound to the best interest not only of Israel, but of the Jews of America and of the world. I am confident that this statement and the spirit in which it has been made, by eliminating the misunderstandings and futile discussions between our two communities, will strengthen them both and will lay the foundation for even closer cooperation. . . .

NOTES

1. Even before Israel was established, the American Jewish Committee (AJC) received assurances from the Jewish Agency (see document 35, note 1, in chapter 10) that the Jewish State would refrain from interfering in American Jewish internal affairs. Israeli officials continued to assure the AJC on that score after May 1948, when the State was established. However, when in 1949 Ben-Gurion called for large-scale immigration to Israel by American Jewish youth, the committee protested vigorously. The AJC sought to work out with the Israeli government a clear and forceful expression of policy on immigration and on the principle of noninterference. The occasion arose in the summer of 1950 when Jacob Blaustein was a guest of the Israeli government. An agreement was sealed in the form of a statement read at a luncheon by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion and a re-

sponse by Jacob Blaustein. Both reaffirmed the agreement in April 1961. (See Naomi Cohen, *Not Free to Desist* [1972], pp. 310ff.)

2. David Ben-Gurion (1886-1973), Zionist labor leader, Jewish statesman, architect of the Jewish state and the first prime minister of Israel.

3. *Haluz* (plural, *haluzim*), a pioneer, especially in agriculture in the Land of Israel.

4. Jacob Blaustein (1892-1970), associated with his father, Louis, in the founding of the American Oil Company. Jacob Blaustein was director and member of the board of major companies in the fields of petroleum, insurance and banking; he was reportedly one of the richest individuals in America. Blaustein played an active role in Jewish affairs and had a major commitment to the American Jewish Committee, which he served as president from 1949 to 1954.

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משה שמר
THE PRIME MINISTER

Jerusalem, Israel.
2 October 1956.
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Dear Mr. Blaustein,

I hear from Ambassador Eban that you are worried by some of my articles and speeches. I fully understand your concern. While there are - and perhaps must be - certain differences in our philosophy and outlook on Jewish history and Jewish unity throughout the world, there is at least one view (it is not of course the only one) that we share in common. I tried to express it in the speech I made when I welcomed you to our country in August 1950. May I now repeat what I said then?

"The Jews of the United States, as a community and as individuals, have only one political attachment, and that is to the United States of America. They owe no political allegiance to Israel. In the first statement which the Representative of Israel made before the United Nations after her admission to that international organisation, he clearly stated, without any reservation, that the State of Israel represents and speaks only on behalf of its own citizens, and in no way presumes to represent or speak in the name of the Jews who are citizens of any other country. We, the people of Israel, have no desire and no intention to interfere in any way with the internal affairs of Jewish communities abroad."

In confirming what I then said, I think I need not repeat that I am myself an unrepentant Zionist - a Zionist, perhaps, of a kind entirely different from many of those you know. For me,
/Zionism

Mr. Jacob Blaustein,
American Building,
Baltimore 3, Md.,
U.S.A.

the American Jewish Committee
NOV 1 '56

LIBRARY

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Zionism means to live in Israel, and personally to build there our new Jewish independent life, based on the teachings of our Prophets and on the conquests in science and technology achieved in the modern world.

But other Zionists are entitled to their own interpretations of Zionism, just as Jews in different countries (and even in the same one) are free to hold varying views on what constitutes Jewishness.

As democrats we can all agree, in the most friendly way, to differ on some points, while rejoicing in the many others on which we are in complete agreement.

Yours sincerely,

D. Ben-Gurion

כג. אמר הכוזרי: אם כן אתה מקצר בחובת תורתך, שאין אתה משים מגמתך המקום הזה ותשימנו בית חייך ומותך, ואתה אומר: "רחם על ציון כי היא בית חיינו", ותאמין כי השכינה שבה אליו, ואלו לא היה לה מעלה אלא התמדת השכינה בה באורך תת"ק שנה היה מן הדין שתכספנה הנפשות היקרות לה ותזכנה בה, כאשר יקרה אותנו במקומות הנביאים והחסידיים, כל שכן היא שהיא שער השמים. וכבר הסכימו כל האומות על זה. הנוצרים אומרים, שהנפשות נקבצות אליה וממנה מעלין אותן אל השמים, והישמעאלים אומרים, כי היא מקום עליית הנביאים אל השמים, ושהיא מקום מעמד יום הדין, והוא לכל מקום כונה וחג. אני רואה, שהשתחיתך וכריעתך נגדה חונף, או מנהג מבלתי כונה, וכבר היו אבותיכם הראשונים בוחרים לדור בה יותר מכל מקומות מולדתם, ובוחרים הגרות בה יותר משהיו אזרחים במקומותם. כל זה עם שלא היתה בעת ההיא נראית השכינה בה, אבל היתה מלאה זמה וע"ז, ועם כל זה לא היתה להם תאוה אלא לעמוד בה, ושלא לצאת ממנה בעתות הרעב אלא במצות האלהים, והיו מבקשים לנשוא עצמותם אליה.

כד. אמר החבר: הובשתני מלך כוזר, והעון הזה הוא אשר מנענו מהשלמת מה שיעדנו בו האלהים בבית שני, כמה שאמר: +זכריה ב' י"ד+ "רני ושמחי בת ציון", כי כבר היה הענין האלהי מזומן לחול כאשר בתחלה אלו היו מסכימים כלם לשוב בנפש חפצה, אבל שבו מקצתם ונשארו רובם וגדוליהם בבבל רוצים בגלות ובעבודה שלא יפרדו ממשכנותיהם ועניניהם, ושמא על זה אמר שלמה: +שיר השירים ה' ב'+ "אני ישנה ולבי ער", כנה הגלות בשינה והלב הער התמדת הנבואה ביניהם. "קול דודי דופק", קריאת האלהים לשוב. "שראשי נמלא טל", על השכינה שיצאה מצללי המקדש, ומה שאמר: "פשטתי את כתנתי", על עצלותם לשוב. "דודי שלח ידו מן החור", על עזרא שהיה פוצר בהם ונחמיה והנביאים, עד שהודו קצתם לשוב הודאה בלתי גמורה, ונתן להם כמצפון לבם, ובאו הענינים מקוצרים מפני קצורם, כי הענין האלהי איננו חל על האיש אלא כפי הזדמנותו לו אם מעט מעט ואם הרבה הרבה. ואילו היינו מזדמנים לקראת אלהי אבותינו בלבב שלם ובנפש חפצה, היינו פוגעים ממנו מה שפגעו אבותינו במצרים. ואין דבורנו: השתחו להר קדשו, והשתחו להדום רגליו, והמחזיר שכינתו לציון וזולת זה, אלא כצפצוף הזרזיר, שאין אנחנו חושבים על מה שנאמר בזה וזולתו, כאשר אמרת מלך כוזר.

ance of the Noahide code. They are not confined to neighbours with whom we share basic principles of ethics and belief. The 'ways of peace' apply to idolaters – those opposed to everything we believe. None the less, the sages ruled, we have basic responsibilities to them, not only the negative duty not to harm but the positive duty of welfare. We have to provide them with food when they are hungry, financial support when they are poor. We must visit them when they are sick and comfort them when they are bereaved. That is what the Jewish hairdresser was doing for the woman who wrote me the letter and what Sara Kestenbaum did for Stephen Carter. They were part of the ancient tradition of 'the ways of peace', kindness to strangers.

Where does the idea come from? The rabbis derived it from the verse in the book of Proverbs, 'Its ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace' (Prov. 3:17). That is its textual warrant. Historically, however, it was born in the Jewish experience of exile. It emerged because Jews, having in the biblical era lived in their own land, were now dispersed minorities in pagan cultures. Definitive in this context was the letter written 2,600 years ago by the prophet Jeremiah to the exiles in Babylon and Egypt: 'Build houses and settle down, plant vineyards and gardens and eat their fruit. Take wives and have children. Seek the peace of the city to which you have been exiled. Pray to God on its behalf, for in its peace, you will find peace' (Jer. 29:5–7). This was a wise and far-sighted policy and shaped Jewish behaviour from then to the present. Jews were to maintain their identity as Jews but at the same time contribute to the societies to which they belonged – if 'belonging' is not too generous a word to describe the marginal and disfranchised existence to which Jews were often condemned.

Jeremiah was no less a utopian than Isaiah and Micah, but on this occasion his prophecy was pragmatic. Seven centuries later, so was the teaching of the sages. They had seen the failure of two other options. The first was assimilation – specifically Hellenization. This robbed Jews of their identity and led, as in the days of the Seleucids and the Maccabees, to the banning of religious practice. The second was rebellion, in the last years of the Second Temple, and again, 65 years later at the time of the Bar Kochba revolt. These were two of the most disastrous events of Jewish history, leading to defeat, disempowerment and dispersion. Remembering Jeremiah, the sages formulated a third way: to sustain their faith through institutions that (unlike the Temple) could be established anywhere – the synagogue, the school, the house of study and the home. In the meanwhile they would practise what today would be called active citizenship in the countries of their dispersion. They would give to others in need as well as to the members of their own community. 'The ways of peace' were not peace. Israel was in exile. The times were out of joint. But

Diaspora Jewry could none the less create, if not peace, then at least the 'ways' that led to it. They could perform acts of kindness. They could contribute to the common good. Without relinquishing their ultimate hopes of return and the messianic age, they could create at least a fragment of peace in the here-and-now. This was a vision no less noble for its modesty. Sometimes modest ideals change the world more benignly than their more revolutionary counterparts.¹

No less influential than Jeremiah were two other ethical insights. The first was the command – stated, as the rabbis noted, no fewer than 36 times in the Pentateuch – to love 'the stranger'.² To be sure, rabbinic law had given two precise interpretations of the term. 'The stranger', they ruled, meant either the convert or the resident alien. Yet in these biblical texts there are not only laws but a sentiment, a moral sensibility. In the book of Exodus the Israelites are commanded not to afflict the stranger because 'you know *what it feels like* to be a stranger; you were once strangers in the land of Egypt' (Ex. 23:9). The Israelites in Egypt were neither resident aliens nor converts to Egyptian culture, but they knew what it was to be marginal and isolated, to suffer and be treated like pariahs. Jews never lost that memory. Each year on Passover they ate the unleavened 'bread of affliction' and the bitter herbs of slavery. 'The ways of peace' belong to that sensibility. They are an expression of the fact – not halakhic, but psychological – that those who remember suffering can be sensitized, and respond, to the sufferings of others.

The other insight relates to the value of peace itself. We find, throughout the rabbinic literature, a profound wrestling with two conflicting values: truth and peace. The sages recognized, as Greek philosophy did not, that values *can* conflict. They do not coexist harmoniously in a Platonic heaven. Equality and freedom are both values, but if you pursue equality, as in the case of Soviet communism, you sacrifice freedom, and if you pursue freedom, through free market capitalism, you lose equality. A tradition is what it is, not only in virtue of the ideals it espouses, but also *how it resolves conflicts between those values*.

The evidence of the rabbinic literature is that, in most cases, the sages favoured peace over truth. To be sure, they were willing to die for their faith – awesomely so.³ There are truths more precious than life itself. But the rabbis articulated an ethic heavily weighted toward peace.⁴ Heroism, they said, meant conquering oneself, not others.⁵ The lights of peace (the Sabbath candles) took precedence over the lights of victory (the Hanukkah candles).⁶ God, they noted, was willing to let his name be blotted out, in the ordeal of the *solah*, the woman suspected of adultery, for the sake of peace between husband and wife.⁷ By the third century a rabbi could take it for granted that when a Psalm spoke about a sword it meant not a physical weapon but 'the words of Torah'.⁸

סוד הגלות

והנה גלות ישראל מארצם היא סוד המיתה, כמבואר בחזון עצמות היבשות שהגלות היא בית קברות, וכן אומרים חכמים - "נמשלה ציון למתה, שנאמר 'בְּמַחְשָׁכִים הוֹשִׁיבֵנִי כְּמַתִּי עוֹלָם'"² (מדרש זוטא איכה א טז). המיתה היא פירוד הגוף השלם לרסיסים, ובמשמעות של כלל ישראל היא מצב בו נותרנו רק בסוד החיצוניות, שהיא החיים של כל אדם לבדו, כי שוב לא היינו גוף אחד אלא אברים מרוסקים, תאים נפרדים זה מזה בארבע רוחות השמים. וכדברי הגר"א בליקוטים שבסוף ביאורו לספרא דצניעותא וזו לשונו (סוף ד"ה 'עניין לאה ורחל'):

"ואין איתנו יודע עד מה, עד יערה עלינו רוח ממרום. כי מעת שחרב הבית יצאה רוחנו עטרת ראשנו ונשארנו רק אנחנו הוא גוף שלה בלא נפש. ויצאה לחוץ לארץ הוא הקבר, והרימה מסוכבת עלינו ואין בידינו להציל הן העובדי כוכבים האוכלים בשרנו. ומכל מקום היו חבורות וישיבות גדולות, עד שנרקב הבשר והעצמות נפזרו פיזור אחר פיזור. ומכל מקום היו עדיין העצמות קיימות, שהן התלמידי חכמים שבישראל, מעמידי הגוף, עד שנרקבו העצמות ולא נשאר אלא תרוד רקב מאיתנו ונעשה עפר, שחה לעפר נפשינו, ואנחנו מקווים עתה לתחיית המתים התנערי מעפר קומי וכו' ויערה רוח ממרום עלינו".

זוהי ההתפוררות שבגלות. והנה על כן נותרה בגלות עבודת ה' רק בסוד החיצוניות, סוד תיקון עצמו בלבד. כי בזמן הגלות לא היה יכול האדם לתפוס עצמו בבחינת הפנימיות, מפני ריסוק האומה, וכל תפיסת החיים התבססה על בחינת החיצוניות, לחוש עצמו כישות לעצמו הצועדת אל גורלה האישי, בעולם הזה ובעולם הבא. לפיכך, עבודת ה' התמקדה בתיקון של כל ניצוץ לעצמו בלבד, כי זה מה שהיה בהשגת הדורות בגלות,

והוא חלק ממארת הגלות³, באיבוד מדרגת החיים הפנימית של ישראל, שאינה שייכת אלא בזמן הגאולה ובהיות ישראל בארצם, כמאמר הזוהר על הפסוק "וּמִי כְעֶמֶךָ כִּישְׂרָאֵל גּוֹי אֶחָד בְּאַרְצָךְ" (שמואל ב ז כג) - "לא אקרון אחד אלא בארץ"⁴ (חלק ג צג ב).

³ "בגין דכנסת ישראל השתא בגלותא, כביכול לא אקרי אחד, ואימתי אקרי אחד, בשעתא דיפקון ישראל מן גלותא, וכנסת ישראל אהדרת לאתרהא לאזדווגא ביה בקודשא בריך הוא, הדא הוא דכתיב (זכריה יד ט) 'ביום ההוא יהיה ה' אחד ושמו אחד', ודא בלא דא לא אקרי אחד... תינח קודשא בריך הוא בכנסת ישראל דאקרי אחד, ישראל לתתא דאינון זמינין כגוונא דלעילא, במה יקרון אחד? - אלא בירושלם דלתתא יקרון ישראל אחד, מנא לן, דכתיב (שמואל ב' ז כג) 'גוי אחד בארץ', ודאי בארץ הם גוי אחד, עימה אקרון אחד, ולא אינון בלחודייהו. דהא 'ומי כעמך כישראל גוי אחד בארץ' סגי ליה, אבל לא אקרון 'אחד' אלא בארץ, בזווגא דהאי ארץ, כגוונא דלעילא, ובגין כך כלא קשיר דא בדא בזווגא חדא, זכאה חולקהון דישראל".

חציבות במשרע"ה שהיה רבן של כל הנביאים וכל ישראל ולא קם נביא וגו' וגדול מהאבות וכמ"ש (מד"ת סו"פ תולדות) ירום מאברהם כו' וגשח ממשה. וכן בזה"ק (ח"כ כג א) בכלהו כ' כו' ואל יעקב כו' ועכ"ד לא זכה לאשתמשא ב"י כמשה וכן בכ"מ. ולמה נריך למנח חציבות נגד נח. וגם לשון חציב נריך ביאור דהול"ל גדול. אבל באמת לענין גדולה לא נריבא למימר רק עיקר השתוות הוא מאד מציאות חן דהיינו החציבות אלל הקב"ה מאד השורש בלא טעם כאמור. וע"ז אמר לבד דגם בזה אין דמיון שבאמת החן של נח היה רק להגלל מדור המבול. רק גם בעיקר החן שהיה כל א' לפי מדרגתו הי' ג"כ חציבות בחן דמשרע"ה. כי אלל נח היה רק לפי שעה וקיי"ל מעלין בקודש ולא מורידין. אבל כמו שיש חילוק בין תשמישי מלוא דנזרקין לתשמישי קדושה דנגמין (כמ"ש מגילה כו:) כן החילוק בנפשות. דנח איש לדיק תמים במעשה המלות ואינו ענין לקדושה דמעלין וכו' ויוכל לירד אח"כ ולהיות נזרק כי קדושה הוא רק בישראל שנקראו גוי קדוש ועם קדוש. וזהו חציב משה מנח דנח לא היה לו שייכות למורה ואף דאי' (פירש"י נח) למדנו שלמד נח תורה מ"מ לא היה לו שייכות לזה וכן נאמרה יום ולילה לא יסבותו ולא היה לו חלק בשבת שהוא ג"כ קדושה כמ"ש כי אני ה' מקדשכם. רק היה לדיק במעשה וז"ש משנקרא איש לדיק נקרא איש אדמה דהיינו כשמלאו בו חסרון שנתקלקל נקרא איש אדמה דתשמישי מלוא נזרקין. משא"כ משרע"ה כשנולד נתמלא הבית אורה. אורה זו תורה (כמ"ש טז:) וחכמה קודש עלאה איקרי כמ"ש בזה"ק (ח"ג ר"ז א) וזכה להיות השבת מתנת חלקו ומעלין בקודש ואין מורידין שבכל פעם מוסיף והולך בקדושה וזה משנקרא איש מזרי נקרא איש האלהים. ומשה רבינו היה שורש תושב"כ. וגלות מצרים הי' הכנה למ"ת כמ"ש (ברכות ה.) ג' מתנות כו' ע"י יסורין תורה וזה הי' ע"י יסורי גלות מצרים:

וגלות צבל הי' הכנה לתושב"ע פ"כמ"ש (שבת קמה:)
הנאים ירדש יעקב וגו' אלו ת"ח שבצבל שעושין לזין ופרחים לתורה ועז"א הכ' ומלאו פני תבל תבואה שמסם נתפשט תורה לכל העולם. וכן כל הגליות הוא להתפשטות תושב"ע"פ שכל הגליות בכלל גלות צבל. והראי' מדאמר' (ברכות כד:) ר"א הוה קא משתמיט מיני' דר"י דוה קא בעי למיסק לארעא דישאל דאר"י כל העולה מצבל לא"י כו' עד יום פקדי וגו' והם היו כבר אחר הפקידה. ואדרבה חשבו בגמ' (יומא ט:) לחסרון שלא עלו כולם בימי עזרא ע"ש. אך כיון שהולכר לגלות עוד שוב חזר מאמר הכ' בצלה יוצאו

(וגמ' כ"פ) ולמה נכתב כאן. מה שאמרו איש מזרי בטעות. ונר' שזה שבא במ"ר פ' זו (פ' א) ליישב במ"ש משל לא' ששכחו הערוד וכו' מי גרם לזה שיבא אלליו איש מזרי שהרג. ובפשוטו הדבר קשה שיאמר להם הריגת המזרי ובודאי הסתיר הסיבה שבגללה ברח מפרעה. רק המד' בא ליישב איך נכתב בתורה איש מזרי היללו. ומיישב שכן הי' האמת שהמזרי שהרג הי' סיבת ההללה וזה נמודעו אח"כ. אבל בפשט הכתוב קאי איש מזרי על משה רבינו וכן דעת הב"ר וכמ"ש משנקרא איש מזרי כו' ויש להבין למה נקרא כן. אך הענין דאי' (סוטה יב.) אף על עמו גזר מפני שאמרו האלעגנינים היום נולד מושיען של ישראל ולא ידעו אם מזרי או ישראל ויש להבין למה לא ידעו כיון שראו בכישוף וכדומה. אכן באמת הי' משה רבינו נקרא בן בתי מפני שגדלתו שכל המגדל יתום מעה"כ כאלו ילדו (וכמ"ש מגילה יג.) ולזה ראו שהוא בן ישראל ומזרי ולא ידעו מה זאת. ובאמת שכן הולך להיות גדל בבית פרעה ושיהי' בת פרעה מגדלתו וכמ"ש במ"ר (פ' זו) ואף מלך המשיח כו' יושב עמם במדינה כו' והיינו כיון שהיו ישראל משוקעין בקליפת מזרים כעובר במעי אמו כש"כ גוי מקרב גוי. הולך להיות גדל בבית פרעה ואף שלא ידע שרשו מ"מ לא נדבק בו כלל מקליפת מזרים. ע"י זה הי' ראוי להוציא את ישראל ממזרים אף שהיו משוקעין כמ"ש (ויק"ר פ"ר כג) אלו ואלו וכו'. וכן משיח שיהי' נריך להוציא אף האובדים בארץ אשור והנדחים וגו' אף שהם משוקעים. נריך להיות יושב עמם במדינה. וז"ש משנקרא איש מזרי נקרא איש האלהים דהיינו אף כשהיה ביניהם צבית פרעה לא נדבק בו מאומה מהרע. וז"ש (סנהדרין לא:) לדיו ליה כבר בתיה כו' והיינו משרע"ה. ויש להבין למה קראו אז למשה בשם בר בתיה ע"ש שגדלתו ורש"י הביא ג' כבר בתיה ע"ש אך לגירסתנו יש להבין למה נקרא במקום הזה כן. אכן הקרני הוד זכה משה ע"י שנתגדל בבית פרעה ולא נדבק בו מהרע ולכן מר עוקבא שהיה בעל תשובה כמ"ש בפרש"י וזכה לנר דולק בראשו והיינו ע"י התשובה שלימה זכה למ"ש (שבת פט:) אם יהיו חמא"כ כשנים הללו שסדורות ובאות מו' ימי בראשית וכו' והיינו מעתיקא ממאמר בראשית שזכר בו תוהו ובהו שמרמז למעשיהן של רשעים עי"ז כשלג ילבינו שגעשה כזכיות וע"י זה זכה ג"כ לנר דולק בראשו. ולכן קראו למשה אז בר בתיה. שמשה רבינו נולד וגתמלא הבית אור והיינו שגדל בשורש טוב וזה מעתיקא חש"כ כי מלאת חן בעיני:

אך גוף הדבר נריך ביאור מה שנריך למנח בו

(פ' ג) באותה שעה דיבר משה שלא כהוגן הקב"ה אל ושמעו לקולך והוא אמר והן לא יאמינו לי מיד השיבו הקב"ה בשיטתו נתן לו אותות לפי דבריו כו' ולריך להבין לפי"ז למה אמר השי"ת אח"כ והי' אם לא יאמינו וגו' לקול האות הראשון וגו' והיה אם לא יאמינו גם לשני האותות וגו' ולמה הולך לג' האותות כיון שאמר השי"ת שהם מאמינים כו' עד שנענש משה רבינו על שחדש כמו"ש במ"ר אח"כ. אך נה' שבאמת היו מאמינים רק ע"י שאמר משה רבינו והן לא יאמינו לי עי"ז נכנס בלב ישראל שלא יאמינו כעין שאמרו (ערכין יז.) דור לפי פרנס שהפרנס או מלך לב ישראל (כמשנ"ת במ"א) וז"ש מיד השיבו הקב"ה בשיטתו וכו'. ולהבין דעת משה רבינו כיון ששמע מהשי" ושמעו לקולך איך אמר ולא ישמעו בקולי. נר' שבדאי על עיקר הגאולה לא עלה על דעתו ח"ו שלא יאמינו שהרי מגילות היה בידן שהיו משתעשעין בהם משבת לשבת לומר שהקב"ה גואלן (כמ"ש במ"ר פ' ה) והי' סבור שעז"ר ושמעו לקולך. אך היה סבור שיאמרו שהם אינם ראויים לגאולה ועדמ"ש (שהש"ר ב ח) שאמרו משה רבינו האידך אנו נגאלין והלא אין בידנו מעש"ט כו' האידך אנו נגאלין וכל מזרים מטופת מע"ז שלנו כו' ועי"ז אמר השי"ת למשה שיעשה להם ג' אותות כנגד ג' הקליפות הקנאה והתאוה והכבוד ומהם מסתעף ג' עבירות ע"ז ג"ע ושפ"ד (כשנ"ת כ"פ) ושורש קליפת מזרים היה התאוה שנקראת ערות הארץ שהיו שטופי זימה ואף שישראל היו גדורים מהעריות. זה הי' רק שלא נעמעו בין המזריים ובזכות זה נגאלו במ"ש במ"ר (שם ד' יא) אבל מ"מ כתיב חסד ואי' למ"ד עריות. וכ' בוכה למשפחותיו על עסקי משפחותיו. ורק מהקד דאסירין לא פריצי זהו (כמ"ש יומא עה.) וקליפה זו שורש הקליפות שתחלת הסתת הנפש היה בתאוה באכילה וזא על חוה והטיל בה זומא (כמ"ש שבת קמו.) ועי"ז נלמח הק"ל שנה. ומה נסתעף לקליפת הקנאה ורציחה בדור ב' אלל קין ואח"כ לע"ז בדור אלוש. והי' קליפת מזרים כולל כל הג' קליפות. וישראל היו מוקפין בקלי' מזרים כעובר בצטון אמו. וכנגד זה נזהר לעשות להם ג' אותות מתחלה הראה לו נגד קליפת התאוה שורש הסתת הנפש. והראה לו שהמטה שבדיו שנק' מטה אלהים. ויאמר השליכוהו ארצה ויהי לנחש. והיינו שהיה"ר הזה נברא לתכלית שיהי' חדותא דשמעתא כמו שיהי' לעתיד כמ"ש במה"כ (זח"א קלח א) ואתה עושה אותו רע (כמ"ש מד"ת בראשית ז) ואם פגע בך מגול זה משכח לבהמ"ד. אך כיון שמוסיח דעתו מן התורה ושם לבו בעניני העוה"ז וישליכוהו ארצה מיד ויהי לנחש. ויאמר שלא ידך וגו' ויחזק בו ויהי

יובאו ושמה יהיו עד וגו' שכל הגליות בכלל בכל וכאמור. והאריז"ל כ' שר"ע היה שורש תושב"פ ולכן אי' (מד"ר פ' חוקת) דברים שלא נגלו למשה נגלו לר"ע כו' וז"ש בגמ' (מנחות כט:) שמה לא היה יודע מה הן אומרים והיינו מפני שר"ע היה בן גרים וכה לשער הני' שמיוחד לבעל תשובה ואי' בזה"ק (ח"א קכט ב) מאריהון דתשובה בשעתא חדא ביומא חדא ברגעא חדא כו' דמשכח עלייהו ברעותא דלכא יתיר ובחילא סגי וז"ש (ברכות לר:) במקום שבע"ת עומדים לדיקים גמורים אינם עומדים ואמר רה"ק זאוקללה"ה מ"ש (מנחות שם) כיון שהגיע לדבר אי' כו' הלכה למשה מסיני זה יחוד ה' אחד ששורש ר"ע היה לא היה שורש המל"ת ושורש משה רבינו היה אנכי. והוא שכל התורה נק' בזה"ק (ח"ב פב ב) תרי"ג זיני עיטא. ולמה הן עלות אך כל התורה עלות איך לזכות שיופיע בלב מאמר אנכי וזה חלק משרע"ה שטולד ונתמלא הבית אורה וחלק ר"ע הי' לתקן כל הרע. והתושב"פ הרב חכמה לתקן הרב כעם ואלמלא חטאו ישראל וכו' (כמ"ש נדרים כב:) ואף שזה ג"כ מאור הראשון שנגזר בתושב"ע"פ (כמ"ש מד"ת נח ג) מטלא דעתיקא רק משה רבינו כולד כך וכמו שאמרנו במש"נ כי מלאת חן צעיני. וז"ש בגמ' (תגיגה יד.) אי"ל ראב"ע עקיבא מה לך אלל הגדה כלך מדברותיך אלל נגעים ואהלות וכו' ולכא' איך יתכן לומר כן לר"ע שנכנס לפרדס ובדאי הי' חלקו בסתרי ורזי התורה ואיך יאמר לו מה לך אלל הגדה. אך ענין נגעים היינו מה שהמורע משולח חוץ למחנה ישראל ואין לו חלק בישראל. ואהלות הוא שורש פגם הנחש שהביא מיתה לעולם והם משורש קנאה והכבוד (כמשנ"ת פר' וילא מא' ז ע"ש) וזה עסק וחלק ר"ע לתקן כל הרע והרע כעם הנכלל במאמר לא יהיה לך. והגדה אי' (ספרי עקב פ' ולדבקה) רלונך שתכיר מי שאמר והיה העולם למוד הגדה שמתוך כך אתה מכיר וכו' וזה חלק משה רבינו שהוא שורש מאמר אנכי. וזה אי"ל ראב"ע דהוא עשירי לעזרא (כמ"ש ברכות כז סע"ב) ועזרא אי' (סנהדרין כא:) ראוי היה שתנתן תורה על ידו לישראל אלמלא קדמו משה כו' וע"כ אי"ל כלך אלל נגעים ואהלות שזה חלקך לתקן כל הרע ובהגדה אנכי אדרוש שזה חלק משרע"ה ועזרא. ושבת זו האגלות עתיקא והוא חן ורעוא דרעוין. והעיקר שצריך לידע שזה העסק להשי"ת בהגליות להרים השבט שיכנסו ד"ת בלב. ועוד שגראה שישפיק הרמת השבט ויביא תיכף למשענת שהוא ד"ת שהוא שורש כל הגליות וכמש"נ שבטך ומשענתך המה ינחמוני:]

[יא] ויען משה ויאמר והן לא יאמינו לי וגו' במ"ר