

And ye shall be a holy people; but a holy people is not a people expiring in torments. A beaten, tortured, and persecuted people is unable to be holy. If **we** have no national livelihood, if **we** do not eat the fruit of our soil, but only toil on the lands of strangers, how can **we** be exalted in the spirit? If **we** are at war with ourselves in everything **we** do and think and are, how shall **we** attain elevation of the soul and find the way to purification? A holy people must surely be a living people.

Micha Yosef Berdichevski. *On Sanctity*. 301-301.

Any other people can perhaps have a national aspiration divorced from its religion, but we the Jews, cannot. Such nationalism is an abomination to Jews. Moreover it cannot succeed, since it has not roots in **our** reality. What is Jewish nationality divorced from Jewish religion? It is an empty formula, nothing but pretty phrases

The nationalism that I represent is the nationalism of Rabbi Yehudah HaLevi and of Rabbi Moshe Ben Nahman of blessed memory, a national sentiment organically integrated in faith, nationalism whose soul is the Torah and whose life is in its precepts and commandments.

R. Yehiel Michael Pines, *Religion is the Source of Jewish Nationalism*. 413-414.

We are neither a denomination nor a school of thought, but members of one family, bearers of a common history. Denying the Jewish spiritual teaching does not place one outside the community, and accepting it does not make one a Jew. In short to be part of the nation one does not need to believe in the Jewish religion or the Jewish spiritual outlook.

Jacob Klatzkin, *Judaism is Nationalism*, 317.



During our long exile **we** existed by the strength of our religion. It sustained **us** in and our grave and prolonged suffering and inspired is to live – often to live heroically. Is it possible, can the mind entertain the possibility, that such a force is a mere figment of the imagination, of the ramblings of an ignorant soul, and that it possesses no elemental and lasting core? Has the accepted idea been sufficiently examined and analyzed critically – is it sufficiently founded in logic and in the human spirit – that with the loss of the basis for the blind faith the basis for religion has also been destroyed?

A.D. Gordon, *Yom Kippur*, 384

we are a people – one people.

Theodore Herzl,
The State of the Jews. 209.

It is a grave error to be insensitive to the distinctive unity of the Jewish spirit, to imagine that the Divine stuff which uniquely characterizes Israel is comparable to the spiritual content of all other national civilizations. This error is the source of the attempt to sever our national from the religious element of Judaism. Such a division would falsify both **our** nationalism and **our** religion, for every element of thought, emotion, and idealism that is present in the Jewish people belongs to an indivisible entity, and all together make up its specific character.

R. Abraham Yitzkhak Kook, *The Rebirth of Israel*, 425.

Clearly then, if you want to build and not destroy, you must teach religion on the basis of the nationalism, with which it is inseparably intertwined. . . . Do you really think of excluding from the ranks of the nationalists all those who do not believe in the principles of religion? If that is your intention, I cannot agree. In my view, **our** religion is national – that is to say, it is a product of **our** national spirit – but the reverse is not true. If it is impossible to be a Jew in the religious sense without acknowledging **our** nationality, it is possible to be a Jew in the national sense without accepting many things in which religion requires belief.

Ahad Ha'Am, *On Nationalism and Religion*, 262.