



**1. עין איה - פרק ראשון, קעז.**

אלא מעתה הקורא ליעקב יעקב ה"נ כו'. כבר ביארנו שמדת יעקב צריכה לעולם גם בהתגדל המעלה לערך ישראל. מתיב רב יוסף ב"א כו' אתה הוא וגו' אשר בחרת באברם כו' התם נביא הוא דקא מסדר שבחא דקוב"ה מאי דהוי מעיקרא. מפני שמ"מ הרגש הלאומי הוא לעולם ג"כ מצד עצמו רגש נעלה ומלא צדק ויושר. אלא שכשאינן לו מטרה יותר נעלה, יפרוץ לסוף גדר הצדק לכשיעבור גבולו, בהרימו יד לרשת משכנות לא לו בלא שום תכלית ומטרה קדושה ובלא שום משפט צדק. אבל מפני שעכ"פ הוא נבחר לעצמו, ע"כ לעולם אי"צ שיהי נעזב כמו כל המדות הטובות, שאע"פ שיש בהן מעלות ושאיפות רמות זו למעלה מזו, מ"מ גם הנמוכה שבהן משובחת, וכיון שהיא משובחת היא כשרה להשתמש בה בעבודת ד' בתורה ומצות. כי אם היתה במקורה נשחתת או נובעת משרירות לב, היתה פסולה מבא בקהל ד', ע"כ קאמר שנביא סידר שבחא דקוב"ה מאי דהוי מעיקרא, שמ"מ מפני שהי' אברהם בשם אברם, לאומי מלא רגשי צדק ואהבה לאומית, בחר בו ד' לרוממו למעלה הכללית להיות אב המון גוים. ומזה יצא לנו לימוד לדורות על ידיעת ערך הלאומיות, לדעת תכליתה ואיך להשתמש בה, למען תהיה לנו למגדל עז ועטרת תפארת, כמו שכתוב "לנטע שמים וליסוד ארץ ולאמר לציון עמי אתה".

**1) Ein Ayah 1:177**

...because, nevertheless, the national sentiment is always in itself elevated and filled with righteousness and rectitude. However, when it has no higher purpose, in the end it will violate the bounds of righteousness when it passes its border by lifting its hand to inherit dwellings not its own to no holy purpose or end, without any justice or righteousness. But, since at the very least this sentiment is choice in its own right, therefore it never need be abandoned, as is true with all good attributes which, though they possess levels and lofty aspirations one above the next, even the lowliest of them is praiseworthy, and since it is praiseworthy it is a fit tool in Torah, mitzvot and the service of Gd. Because if this sentiment were in its source corrupt, or flowed from a willfulness, it would be disqualified from entering into the community of Gd, therefore as was said (in the gemara above) – “that a prophet ordered the praise of Gd as it was originally,” that nonetheless since Avraham was once called Avram, a nationalist filled with feelings of righteousness and love for his nation, Gd chose him to elevate to an all-encompassing level, to become a father to many peoples. We can learn a lesson for all generations from this, on knowing the importance of nationalism, to know its purpose and how to use it, in order that it be for us a tower of strength and a crown of glory, as it is written , “...that I may plant the heavens and lay the foundations of the earth, and say to Zion, you are my people.” (Isaiah 51:16)

**2. מאורות - התחיה יז**

אנחנו שואפים לתחית האומה ותחית הארץ, כדי להחיות את מעמד הנשמה שלנו, כדי להעמיד את ישראל חי, להחיות את האמונה והאהבה בחוסן של התורה והמצוה בכל מילואן. אנו מכירים את אור אלהי ישראל, אלהי עולם, והעונג שעל ד' על ד' דייקא, למעלה מכל מבטא ומכל מושג, לעילא מכל ברכתא ושירתא, תושבחתא ונחמתא, הגנוז וצפון, המתגלה באור האמונה והאהבה, המתראה בתכסיס התורה והמצוה כולה, אנו דורשים לציון, אנו משתוקקים לבנות את הארץ ולהבנות בה, כדי לקלוט את רוחה ואוירה, להתאחד עם כל החיים המקושרים בה. על כן תורה מרובה אנו דורשים, ולשם כך אנו שואפים לבריאות שלמה ולכח גופני חסון ואמיץ, מצות רבות אנו מבקשים, כדי שיהיו לנו די כלים להכיל בהם את האור הגדול של האמונה והאהבה, עם כל העונג והעדן וכל האור והטוהר העז והאומץ שלהם, שיתגלו לנו במלא מדתם, בשובנו לחיים עצמיים, לאומיים במלא ובמרום המובן. כל מה שיש לנו מזכרונות העתיקות וממצוה וחק, חביב עלינו חבת חיים, כי הם לנו כלים למקור חיים ועמם מקור חיים, האידיאלים הצפונים בהם חיים הם אתם ועם קיומם.



## 2) Orot - The Lights of Renaissance 17

We are longing for the renaissance of the Nation and of the Land, in order that we can live our soul's station, in order to establish living Israel, to give life to faith and love through the storehouses of Torah and mitzvah in their fullness. We recognize the light of the Gd of Israel, the Gd of the world, and the 'pleasure upon Gd', specifically *upon* Gd, who is above all expression or comprehension, beyond any blessing or song, praise or consolation, hidden and stored away, which is revealed in the light of faith and love and seen in the order of all the Torah and mitzvot; we are seeking Zion, we are longing to build the Land and be built by it, in order to absorb its spirit and air, to unify with all life which is connected to her. Therefore we are seeking plentiful Torah, and for that sake we desire complete health, and bodily power courageous and strong, we are seeking a multitude of mitzvot in order that we have adequate vessels to hold the great light of faith and love, with all of their pleasure and refinement, light and the purity, their might and valor, that they be revealed to us in their full measure, on our return to independent, national life in the fullest and most elevated sense. All that we have, our memories of ancient days and our laws and commandments, we cherish with the love of life because they are our vessels for the source of life, and with them is the source of life, the ideals which are hidden within them, live with them and through their fulfillment.

### 3. אורות - ישראל, פרק ג:ה

הצמאון להבלע כולו ברוח ישראל צריך הוא להתגבר. לחשוב ישראליות, להרגיש ישראליות, לחיות חיים ישראליים, לראות בשמחת ישראל, זאת היא מגמה עמוקה גבוהה ורחבה, מלאה טל חיים של קודש, מובדלת מרגש דוגמתה אצל אומות העולם, שרפוד בהרבה שנתת הבריות ורשעה בלא אידיאל קדש פנימי, הצמאון לרוח האומה צמאון הוא לד', לאור תורה, ליושר, לחכמה, וכל טוב ונעלה.

## 3) Orot - The Lights of Israel 3:5

The thirst to be entirely absorbed in the spirit of Israel must intensify. To think Israeli, to feel Israeli, to live Israeli life, to see the joy of Israel – this is a purpose deep, high and wide, filled with the dew of holy life, distinct from the comparable feeling among the nations of the world, which is lined with much hatred of humanity and evil without any inner holy ideal; the thirst for the spirit of the nation is the thirst for Gd, for the light of Torah, for rectitude, for wisdom and for all that which is good and elevated.

## 4) Johann Gottlieb Fichte - Address to the German Nation (1807)

Love that is truly love, and not a mere transitory lust, never clings to what is transient; only in the eternal does it awaken and become kindled, and there alone does it rest. Man is not able to love even himself unless he conceives himself as eternal; apart from that he cannot even respect, much less approve, of himself. Still less can he love anything outside himself without taking it up into the eternity of his faith and of his soul and binding it thereto. He who does not first regard himself as eternal has in him no love of any kind, and, moreover, cannot love a fatherland, a thing which for him does not exist. He who regards his invisible life as eternal, but not his visible life as similarly eternal, may perhaps have a heaven and therein a fatherland, but here below he has no fatherland, for this, too, is regarded only in the image of eternity---eternity visible and made sensuous, and for this reason also he is unable to love his fatherland. If none has been handed down to such a man, he is to be



pitied. But he to whom a fatherland has been handed down, and in whose soul heaven and earth, visible and invisible meet and mingle, and thus, and only thus, create a true and enduring heaven---such a man fights to the last drop of his blood to hand on the precious possession unimpaired to his posterity.

Hence, the noble-minded man will be active and effective, and will sacrifice himself for his people. Life merely as such, the mere continuance of changing existence, has in any case never had any value for him, he has wished for it only as the source of what is permanent. But this permanence is promised to him only by the continuous and independent existence of his nation. In order to save his nation he must be ready even to die that it may live, and that he may live in it the only life for which he has ever wished.

So it has always been, although it has not always been expressed in such general terms and so clearly as we express it here. What inspired the men of noble mind among the Romans, whose frame of mind and way of thinking still live and breathe among us in their works of art, to struggles and sacrifices, to patience and endurance for the fatherland? They themselves express it often and distinctly. It was their firm belief in the eternal continuance of their *Roma*, and their confident expectation that they themselves would eternally continue to live in this eternity in the stream of time. In so far as this belief was well-founded, and they themselves would have comprehended it if they had been entirely clear in their own minds, it did not deceive them. To this very day there still lives in our midst what was truly eternal in their eternal Roma. . . .

### 5 Leo Pinkser - Auto-Emancipation (1882)

In the life of nations, as in the life of individuals, there are vital moments which rarely recur, and which, according as they are utilized or not utilized, decisively affect their future. We are now passing through such a moment. The consciousness of the people is awake. The great ideas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have not passed us by without leaving a trace. We feel not only as Jews; we feel as men. As men, we, too, wish to live and be a nation as the others. And if we seriously desire that, we must first of all extricate ourselves from the old yoke, and rise manfully to our full height. We must first of all *desire to help ourselves* and then the help of others is sure to follow.

But the time in which we live is adapted for decisive action not merely because of our own *inner* experience, not merely in consequence of our newly-aroused self-consciousness. The *general* history of the present day seems destined to become our ally. In a few decades we have seen rising into new life nations which at an earlier time would not have dared to dream of a resurrection. The dawn is already breaking through the darkness of traditional statecraft. The governments already incline their ears -- where it cannot be avoided -- to the clamor of the awakening of self-consciousness of nationalities. It is true that those happy ones who attained their national independence were not Jews. They lived upon their own soil and spoke *one language*, and therein they certainly had the advantage over us.

But what if our position is more difficult? That is all the more reason why we should strain all of our energy to the task of ending our national misery in honorable fashion. We must set out with resolution and self-denial and God will help us. We have always been ready for sacrifice, and we have not been wanting in resolution to hold our banner firm, if not high. We sailed the surging ocean of universal history *without a compass*, and such a compass must be invented. Far, far off, is the haven toward which our souls are turning. We know not even whether it be East or West. But for the wanderers of 2,000 years, the way, however, distant, cannot seem too long.



## **6) Bernard Lazare - Jewish Nationalism (1898)**

What does the word “nationalism” mean for a Jew, or rather, what should it mean? It should mean freedom. The Jew who today says: “I am a nationalist” is not saying in a special, precise and clear way that I am a man who wants to reconstitute a Jewish state in Palestine and dreams of re-conquering Jerusalem. He is saying: “I want to be a completely free man, I want to enjoy the sun; I want to have the right to my dignity as a man. I want to escape oppression, escape insults, escape the contempt that they want to bring to bear on me.” At certain moment in history, nationalism is for human groups the manifestation of the spirit of freedom.

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<sup>i</sup> Compare Isaiah 58:14