



Zionist Texts from *The Zionist Ideas* in Conversation with the Haggadah

A Passover *Korech* – sandwich – using the Zionist Ideas to “Zionize” the *seder*, celebrate Israel’s 70th, and give our reading of the Haggadah the makeover it deserves!

Longer excerpts and mini-bios can be found in *The Zionist Ideas: Visions for the Jewish Homeland – Then, Now, Tomorrow*, by Gil Troy, available now from JPS. (www.jps.org)

To order your copy of *The Zionist Ideas* today, call (800) 848-6224 or go to the JPS website by [clicking here](#) and using promo code 6AS18 for a 30% discount.

To learn more about how to host Zionist Salons using these texts to celebrate Israel’s 70th with serious discussion and text study, visit www.zionistideas.org.

Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik
Kol Dodi Dofek
Listen! My Beloved Knocks (1956)

The Kiddush, the prayer blessing the wine, celebrates two nation-defining experiences: the creation of the world and the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt. In 1956, Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik analyzed the two recent experiences defining the Jewish people: the Holocaust and the Establishment of the State of Israel. He warned that Jews must not simply be a “camp people” as we were in Egypt and Auschwitz, defined by a shared fate, but must embrace Sinai – and Jerusalem -- which make us a Congregation, with a mission, a message, a destiny. That challenge of the shared mission of the Jewish people, begins in the Seder Kiddush and resonates throughout the night.

“The mission of the State of Israel is neither to terminate the unique isolation of the Jewish people nor abrogate its unique fate—in this it will not succeed! Rather, the mission is to elevate a Camp-people to the rank of a holy Congregation-nation, transforming shared fate to shared destiny. . . .”

- What historical moments define us? Why? How do those moments shape our identity?
- Is it only anti-Semitism that makes us a “camp people” – or do we have other elements of “shared fate” as Jews, what links us in that way?
- What is our common mission – our destiny as Jews? As Zionists? Is there a difference?
- Does the creation of the state of Israel emphasize our shared fate – making us a camp people – or our shared destiny, our common mission – making us a Holy Congregation nation? (or – perhaps both)?

The Bread of Affliction הא לחמא

“Now we are slaves, next year may we be free”

Natan Sharansky

Fear No Evil (1988)

As we start contemplating the passage from slavery to freedom, we learn from Soviet Jews who actually made that move. One of them, Natan Sharansky, this year’s Israel Prize winner, teaches that learning about Israel, about Judaism, about his identity in 1967, is what propelled him to yearn for freedom – and fight for it, for himself and others. His teaching – and others throughout the night – challenge us to think about the balance between particular national pride or identity and the broader quest for universal human rights and freedoms.

“A basic, eternal truth was returning to the Jews of Russia—that personal freedom wasn’t something you could achieve through assimilation. It was available only by reclaiming your historical roots.”

For the activist Jews of my generation, our movement represented the exact opposite of what our parents had gone through when they were young. But we saw what had happened to their dreams, and we understood that the path to liberation could not be found in denying our own roots while pursuing universal goals. On the contrary: we had to deepen our commitment, because only he who understands his own identity and has already become a free person can work effectively for the human rights of others.

- How can you achieve “freedom” by “reclaiming your historical roots”: don’t we usually see our “historical roots” as burdens?
- Think of three moments in the Seder that reinforce Sharansky’s notion that by drilling into history and identity we truly achieve freedom – and only then can we fight for human rights?
- Think of three examples in history or your own life that reinforce that teaching.

עבדים היינו We Were Slaves

Sir Isaiah Berlin

Jewish Slavery and Emancipation (1953)

It's hard to imagine what Eastern European-born Jews like the great Oxford philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin experienced watching the Zionist Revolution unfold as – what everyone called it – a modern day Exodus. Thinking not just about Israel as a refuge for European Jews, then for Jews from Arab lands, but thinking about the way having an Israel straightened Jewish backs worldwide, Berlin challenges us to think about the power of freedom, the importance of dignity, the meaning of choice, and the inspiration we all get and can get, wherever we live, from that plucky Jewish democracy in the Middle East.

Israel “has restored to Jews not merely their personal dignity and status as human beings, but what is vastly more important, their right to choose as individuals how they shall live—the basic freedom of choice, the right to live or perish, go to the good or the bad in one’s own way, without which life is a form of slavery, as it has been, indeed, for the Jewish community for almost two thousand years...”

- How did Israel restore to Jews “personal dignity” outside of Israel? Is that still true today?
- What’s the difference here between “personal dignity” and “freedom of choice” according to Berlin?
- How does Israel restore “freedom of choice” in our lives today?

Ma'aseh B'Rabbi Eliezer מגיד

Rabbi Eliezer sits with his colleagues A Mini-Zionist Salon

The great danger of the Haggadah is that the text is so rich, our seder plate and agenda is so full, that we will just rush through the experience – or simply mimic the teachings from before. It's important to carve out time in the seder to debate, to talk, to learn actively. So, for Israel's 70th, why not replicate the small "salons" that popped up throughout Eastern Europe more than a century ago, debating three key Zionist ideas: that we are a people not just a religion, that we have a homeland, and that we, like other nations, have rights to establish a state on that homeland.

- With no additional text, do what Rabbi Eliezer and his colleagues did, think big: א
"What's the most inspiring experience you ever had in Israel? Jewishly in general?"
"What does having a State of Israel mean for us today?"
"What should we be doing to celebrate Israel's 70th?"
"Do we seek a closer a relationship with Israel – why or why not?"

ארבעת הבנים The Four Sons

The Rebel or “Wicked” One

Berl Katzenelson

Revolution and Tradition (1934)

The second of the four children in the famous Passover story has always been seen as wicked. But what if he is actually the creative rebel, the questioner, the challenger, the smasher of idols and the pursuer of truth? A Labor Zionist thinker, Berl Katzenelson, wrote an amazing essay in 1934 warning traditionalists not to be too staid – handcuffed by memory – and rebels not to be too sweeping – addicted to forgetfulness. That’s the key to what Theodor Herzl called “altneuland,” Israel as the old-new land, and that’s what the seder is all about – retaining tradition while still evolving in the modern world.

“A renewing and creative generation does not throw the cultural heritage of ages into the dustbin. It examines and scrutinizes, accepts and rejects..... People are endowed with two faculties—memory and forgetfulness. We cannot live without both. Were only memory to exist, then we would be crushed under its burden. We would become slaves to our memories, to our ancestors. Our physiognomy would then be a mere copy of preceding generations. And were we ruled entirely by forgetfulness, what place would there be for culture, science, self-consciousness, spiritual life?”

- How does the Seder navigate this tension between memory and forgetfulness, rebellion and tradition?
- How does Israel/Zionism?
- How do you in your own life?

The One Who Cannot Ask

Anne Roiphe

Generations of Memory (1981)

It’s interesting to contemplate whether the “wicked son” is better or worse than the one who cannot ask. If the child is too young to ask, that’s one thing but, as this passage about modern American Jewish distance from traditional Judaism suggests, what if you are so distant from all this ritual, all this primitive stuff, that you show up – but don’t even try rebelling, don’t even try changing, you just sit in silence, drifting away – isn’t that worse? And, as the feminist writer and novelist Anne Roiphe suggested back in 1981, perhaps we need to go beyond our rational, universal liberal selves some time, and be passionate, primitive, mystical and mystified.

“... when I think of our traditions of the family, traditions that are eclectic, thin, without magic or destiny of time, I can see that we have made an error. I appreciate our Thanksgiving and Christmas. I know that I will make beautiful weddings for our daughters and that our funerals will serve well enough. But I do believe that the tensions of the ancient ways, the closeness of primitive magic, the patina of the ages and the sense of connection to past and future that are lacking in our lives are serious losses.”

- How important is tradition to you? Is your life “thin” or “thick”?
- What’s the connection between “primitive magic” and modern “thinness”?
- How does Zionism bridge the “connection” between “past and future” – does it help avoid the “serious losses” Roiphe fears?

ויהי שם לגוי And There Became a Nation

David Ben Gurion
Am Segula (1970)

What makes any nation a nation – and what makes this particular nation, a nation? As the Haggadah tells the story of the Jewish people, we encounter a nation like others – but one that embraces a special mission. David Ben-Gurion, Israel’s founding prime minister, didn’t want his new country just to be another post-colonial state. He wanted Israel to be a light unto the nations, tapping what he called, in his excellent phrase, Jews’ “chronic idealism.” Decades later, his protégé Shimon Peres popularized the flip side of that by discussing the Jewish people’s “Dissatisfaction gene,” which Peres – and his mentor – believed – came not from crankiness but from this chronic idealism, from high expectations that Israel would be an Am Segula, a virtuous nation.

Am Segula implies an extra burden, an added responsibility to perform with a virtue born of conscience and to listen to what Elijah later called “the still, small voice.” . . . I have always been very concerned, secularist though I am, with this country’s spiritual state. . . . You cannot reach for the higher virtue without being an idealist. The Jews are chronic idealists, which make me humbly glad to belong to this people and to have shared in their noble epic....”

- Ben-Gurion defined “Am Segula” as a virtuous nation – do you agree that you need to be an “chronic idealist” to achieve his lofty goals?
- How central is this mission to your understanding of what the Jewish people are all about? To what Israel is all about?
- How does Israel live about to these ideals? How does it not? How can we – and the Zionist Idea– help Israel reach higher?

Bitter Herbs מרור

Hayyim Nahman Bialik City of Slaughter (1903)

You taste freedom by remembering unfreedom – the misery in Egypt, the pogroms in Russia, the Holocaust. The seder challenges us to remember what our people suffered thousands of years ago – and subsequently. Feeling the pain in the great poet Hayim Nahman Bialik's poem, the Jewish Guernica, written after the Kishinev Pogroms in 1903, we wonder, "why anti-Semitism," why have so many hated the Jews so much? why does it continue, today? And what can we learn from that?

"Arise and go now to the city of slaughter/ Into its courtyard wind thy way;/ There with thine own hand touch, and with the eyes of/ thine head,/ Behold on tree, on stone, on fence, on mural clay,/ The spattered blood and dried brains of the dead...."

- How central has anti-Semitism been in shaping your understanding of Judaism?
- How problematic has anti-Semitism been in your own life?
- How do you balance Katzenelson's memory and forgetfulness regarding anti-Semitism?

בכל דור ודור In Every Generation

Yehudah Amichai

All the Generations Before Me (1968)

We are compelled to tell and retell the story, not just to remember our ancestors' suffering, not just to echo the Zionist line "Never again," but to try learning from the past. The poet Yehudah Amichai thought about that quite literally, wondering what particular materials, experiences, and yes, values and beliefs, came from his ancestors – and what kind of obligation that entails – which is what the Seder and Zionism are all about.

"All the generations before me contributed me/ Little by little so that I will arise here in Jerusalem/ All at once, like a synagogue or a charitable institution/It obligates. My name is my donor's name./It obligates."

- How did all the generations before you contribute to you?
- Does it obligate? How? Why?

מכות מצרים The Ten Plagues

Muki Tsur

The Soldiers' Chat (1967)

We express our ethical concerns and try to fulfill our moral mission to the world by refusing to rejoice in our enemy's sorrow. The spilling of the wine for each of the ten plagues – and then some - is a powerful symbol that teaches an important lesson – that we are all God's creatures. Sometimes, we don't have the luxury of avoiding war, but we must never forget our responsibility to minimize the violence – and acknowledge the mutual suffering. Even in 1967, thousands of years later, when surrounding Arab armies called for Israel's destruction, Muki Tsur and his comrades on kibbutz quoted in the famous book *The Seventh Day* – in Hebrew *The Soldiers' Chat* -- remembered their moral responsibilities – and expressed their regrets. And even in 1967, this new generation of Israelis still felt the pain of Europe, the warnings of Europe, the fear of enjoying their newfound power too much.

“Our feelings are mixed. We swore never to return to the Europe of the Holocaust; yet we refuse to lose that Jewish sense of identifying with victims. We, perhaps, are the ultimate contrast to the ghetto Jew, who witnessed the slaughter, felt utterly helpless, heard the cries, yet could only rebel at heart while dreaming about gaining the strength to react, to strike back, to fight. We actually do react, strike back, fight, for we have no choice—while dreaming of being able to stop one day, and live in peace.”

- How does a modern army strike the balance between “striking back” and “identifying with victims?” Where does Israel succeed in striking that balance? Where does it fail?
- In what other ways do you sense the desire to “contrast” with the ghetto in Modern Israel?
- How in Israel – and our own lives - -have we left the ghetto Jew behind? How have we not?

Rachel the Poetess My Country (1926)

Just as spilling wine is an odd way to celebrate victory, Dayenu, too, is an odd song of triumph. Rather than boasting of human feats, it praises God for celestial ones. In that spirit, the Poetess Rachel lionized the Land of Israel, not as a warrior, not through military deeds, but through the powerful, affirming act of planting seeds, tending trees. That was the Zionist way, not to be firefighters but planters, not to be boasters but doers, and, in their own secular way, always remember to say “Dayenu,” acknowledging how much good flowed after so much misery over so many millennia.

“I have not sung you, my country/ not brought glory to your name with the great deeds of a hero/ or the spoils a battle yields./ But on the shores of the Jordan/ my hands have planted a tree,/ and my feet have made a pathway through your fields.”

- How do both “Dayenu” and “My Country” go beyond traditional celebrations of battlefield triumphs?
- Are there other examples in the Seder and in Israeli life of this approach?
- Does this poem strike you as an example of Zionist romanticism – or pragmatism? Why?

בצאת ישראל ממצרים When Israel Left Egypt

Rabbi Yitz Greenberg
The Jewish Way (1988)

The trauma of exile and of slavery hangs over the Haggadah, even as we start the songs of Praise, the first Hallel. Rabbi Yitz Greenberg has built his extraordinary career on that classically Jewish seesaw, teaching about the Holocaust, mobilizing to free Soviet Jewry, but also delighting in Israel and celebrating our newfound freedom. In his classic book on Jewish holidays *The Jewish Way*, this theologian and historian turns accountant, showing how first Israel Independence Day, then Jerusalem Day, cancelling out one day of mourning at a time, adding days of thanksgiving and celebration in return. This process challenges us to wonder how much we internalize the historical trauma – and the ongoing hurts of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism – and to wonder how to move forward to celebrate Israel, to celebrate Jewish life today.

“For nineteen hundred years, as the role of Jewish suffering unfolded, the Jewish calendar expanded with days of sadness.... In Israel’s War of Independence an aroused Jewry beat back the invaders by the narrowest of margins. The victory upheld the state, and the celebration of that redemption added Yom Ha’Atzmaut—a happy day—to the calendar. Since Independence Day fell during the Sefirah Period, the modern Exodus reclaimed one day from the ranks of the days of sorrow and added it to the days of joy.... Step by step, victory by victory, the Jewish people are reversing the tide of Jewish history from mourning to celebration, from death to life.”

- Think of one or two historical periods when your ancestors celebrated the Seder – compare the tone and content you imagine then and the tone and content today – what do you imagine was similar? What was different?
- How can Israel, with all the challenges we read about in the paper, be the 11th happiest country in the world? What does that teach us about Judaism? About Zionism?
- Does the Jewish calendar need to be shifted in tone, or is the balance just right now? How could that be done?

שיר המעלות Song of Ascent

Rabbi Ben-Zion Meir Chai Uziel (c. 1950)

You cannot sing Birkat HaMazon, the Grace after Meals, without constantly bumping into the Land of Israel – and Jerusalem. This powerful poetic presence reminds us of how central the Land of Israel is to the Torah and People of Israel, and how deeply spiritual the Jewish and Zionist ties are to the land. The first Sephardi Jewish rabbi, Rabbi Uziel, who helped write the Prayer for the State of Israel, captures this by taking a classically Western idea “nationalism” and showing not just its Jewish roots and resonance, but its deep spiritual and moral power. Navigating all these worlds helps us understand why American Jews fit so well in America – many of the building blocks of America, of liberal democracy, are equally steeped and shaped by the Bible, by Jewish ideas, and by what really is this parallel Zionist sensibility.

Nationalism is “a worldview committed to improving our human life on earth. It’s about achieving the peak of human consciousness and success, by imparting the truths about goodness and law and morality to our descendants and spreading these spiritual ideas and ethics ‘not by power and not by force’ but with explanations and insights that foster appreciation of these attitudes’ spiritual power and truth, and that cultivate goodness within all those who follow their ways. . . .”

- Is there a spiritual power to nationalism in general? To Zionism in particular?
- How can nationalists tap into this positive power Rabbi Uziel addresses, and not the negative power we often see today?
- Compare the text with the Song of Ascents: what’s Zionist about both?

שפוך חמתך Pour out Your Wrath

Leonard Fein Days of Awe (1982)

My late grandfather Leon Gerson z”l really did pour out his wrath in this passage, summoning centuries of suffering as his voice quavered and he read these words every seder. The writer and social activist Leonard Fein was well aware of the psychic, moral, and physical costs required to keep alive what he called the “Jewish body,” but he never stopped worrying about the Jewish soul. His charming call for a “nervous breakdown” is that rare acknowledgment – which flows through the Haggadah -- that life is complex, that there are competing forces and impulses we as humans have to balance, which Fein did for decades as an American Jewish leader – and critic.

“There are two kinds of Zionists in the world: most of us are both. We want to be normal, we want to be special: we want to be a light unto the nations, we want to be a nation like all the others. ... I vastly prefer a people that chooses to risk a collective nervous breakdown, as we do, by endorsing both visions, both versions.”

- What kind of Zionist are you? Do you want Israel to be normal or special?
- How is Israel normal? How is it special?
- What are the benefits of Fein’s “nervous breakdown”?

Golda Meir

Speech at the UN Marking Israel's 10th Anniversary (1958)

Just as the Haggadah ritualizes the giving of thanks, so, too, we should ritualize moments to appreciate the miracle of Israel, its many accomplishments. Thinking back to 1958 – it's amazing how much had already been done – and equally amazing how much has been done since.

"... our purposes since the establishment of our state have remained unaltered: to rebuild a poor, barren land, to enable the return of an ancient people to its source, to regain our independence and national self-expression, to live in peace with all peoples near and far, and to take our place in the community of free nations."

- How many of those goals has Israel fulfilled?
- How many new goals and achievements would you add for a 70th anniversary celebration?
- What achievements do you hope Israel will be able to celebrate on its 80th?

לשנה הבאה בירושלים Next Year in Jerusalem

Naomi Shemer

Yerushalayim Shel Zahav (1967)

All countries have capitals that house their government buildings, few nations have capital cities that house their people's souls. Think about the many ways Jerusalem functions as a metaphor in the Haggadah – and through Jewish history – of Jewish freedom and of power, of Jewish longing and of spirituality. That one songwriter could capture that so well in 1967 as Naomi Shemer did, especially, then, on the eve of a terrifying yet ultimately transformational war, is one of those cinematic moments come to life you couldn't make convincing in a novel, but the historians records and tries to explain as well as humanly possible.

“Back to the wells and to the fountains/Within the ancient walls/ The sound of horn from Temple mountain/ Loudly and proudly calls...”

- What was your first impression of Jerusalem? Why is it such a powerful symbol to Jews? To others?
- What significance, if any, in your life, does the Jews' return “Back to the wells” have?
- How do you navigate Jerusalem's poetic and political significance, especially with the controversy around the US embassy re-location? Does that typically Zionist fusion lead to inspiration or just confusion?

Rebuild The Temple אדיר הוא

Theodor Herzl

Der Judenstaat (1896):

Theodor Herzl was not the first Zionist, or the first Zionist visionary. He was, however, the founder of the formal Zionist movement and the man thus most responsible for helping modern Jewry leave its Egypt of perma-exile and reached the promised land of a rebuilt and now thriving Jewish state. So as one of the Seder's final songs contemplates the building of the Temple, it's worth contemplating the re-establishment of the Jewish State.

"We shall live at last as free people on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes. The world will be liberated by our freedom, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness. And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity."

- How can one people's return to their "own soil" do "Good" for humanity?
- How has it?
- What do we hope to be liberated from now – personally? Collectively as a people? Universally in the world?

חזק גדיא Chad Gadya

Rachel Sharansky Danziger (2018)

Finally, as Chad Gadya shows us the interconnectedness of it all, we end by looking at ourselves, the Torchbearers. We are the heirs of Moses and his generation. We are the heirs of Herzl and his generation. We are the heirs of Ben-Gurion and Meir and Sharansky and their generations. And we still have work to do, as Rachel Sharansky Danziger reminds us.

“In Israel, we grow up in the shade of bigger-than-life heroes.... Our parents’ heroism enabled us to establish a living, happy society in Israel. As we participate in civil society, as we interact with each other, as we do our jobs well, we are building Israel from within.”

- How do you build a country “from within”?
- What indeed remains to be done in your country? In Israel?
- How do you personally contribute? How can you?

20 Zionist One-Liners: *These can be linked to multiple passages but also can be shared with seder-goers, with each person getting one on a small piece of paper and saying whether they disagree with the quotation, whether it explains something about Zionist ideology or history, or whether it really speaks to them and describes their Zionist vision.*

Leon Pinsker (1821-1891)

The Jews are ghosts, ethereal, disconnected.... This pathological Judeaophobia will haunt Europe until the Jews have a national home like all other nations.

Theodor Herzl (1860-1904)

We are a people – one people... We shall live at last as free people on our own soil, and in our own homes peacefully die.. The world will be liberated by our freedom, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness.

Rachel Bluwstein (1890-1931)

I have not sung you, my country, not brought glory to your name with the great deeds of a hero or the spoils a battle yields. But on the shores of the Jordan my hands have planted a tree, and my feet have made a pathway through your fields.

Ahad Ha'am (1856-1927)

Judaism is fundamentally national, and all the efforts of the 'Reformers' to separate the Jewish religion from its national element have no result except to ruin both the nationalism and the religion.... From this center, the spirit of Judaism will radiate to the great circumference to inspire them with new life and to preserve the over-all unity of our people.

Ze'ev Jabotinsky (1880-1940)

The phenomenon called Zionism may include all kinds of dreams—a 'model community,' Hebrew culture, perhaps even a second edition of the Bible—but all this longing for wonderful toys of velvet and silver is nothing in comparison with that tangible momentum of irresistible distress and need by which we are propelled and borne.

Rav Abraham Yitzhak Kook (1865-1935)

The State of Israel, "is ideal in its foundation . . . the foundation of God's throne in the world." *Eretz Yisra'el* is part of the very essence of our nationhood; it is bound organically to its very life and inner being.

Henrietta Szold (1860-1945)

The Jewish national home will be "... a blessing for all future times redounding to the benefit not only of those who will make use of their sanctuary rights in Palestine, but

also those who like ourselves remaining in a happy, prosperous country, will be free to draw spiritual nourishment from a center dominated wholly by Jewish traditions and the Jewish ideals of universal peace and universal brotherhood.”

David Ben-Gurion (1886-1973)

Israel cannot just be a refuge. . . . it has to be much, much more.... The new Jew builds *Am Segula, an enlightened people*... There are also Jews in the lands of prosperity who are deeply apprehensive about the growing assimilation and the fragmentation of the Jewish soul in the Diaspora, who are increasingly aware that only in Israel can a Jew live a full life, both as a Jew and as a human being. . . .

Amos Oz (b.1939)

I cannot use such words as “the promised land” or “the promised borders,” because I do not believe in the one who made the promise. Happy are those who do: their Zionism is simple and self-evident. Mine is hard and complicated. ...I am a Zionist in all that concerns the redemption of the Jews, but not when it comes to the redemption of the Holy Land. . . .

Menachem Begin (1912-1992)

The fighting Jew . . . whom the world considered dead and buried never to rise again, has arisen.

Abraham Joshua Heschel (1907–1972)

The State of Israel is a spiritual revolution, not a one-time event, but an ongoing revolution.

Letty Cottin Pogrebin (b. 1939)

I am a feminist Zionist.
Zionism is to Jews what feminism is to women. Zionism began as a national liberation movement and has become an ongoing struggle for Jewish solidarity, pride, and unity. Similarly, feminism, which began as a gender-liberation movement, has become an ongoing struggle for women’s solidarity, pride, and unity. ...
Zionism is simply an affirmative action plan on a national scale.

Eugene Borowitz (1924–2016)

There has been a tremendous positive, constructive, worthwhile impact of the State of Israel on Jews of my persuasion and on myself. That specific impact . . . has been a general sense of positive Jewish self-acceptance and . . . to help the synagogue point to a place where being a Jew is not only real, but visible... In my own case, what has strengthened and deepened has been a very personal existential sense of the particularity of what it is to be a Jew, the specificity of being a Jew as a member of an ethnic community.

Yael “Yuli” Tamir (b. 1954)

A home is not an institution, not even a fair and efficient one, but a place to which one is tied emotionally, which reflects one’s history, memories, fears, and hopes. A home cannot have merely universal features; it must always be embedded in the particular.

Stav Shaffir (b. 1985)

Occupy Zionism!

Don’t preach to us about Zionism, because real Zionism means dividing the budget equally among all the citizens. Real Zionism is taking care of the weak. Real Zionism is solidarity, not only in battle but in everyday life, day to day to watch out for each other. That is Israeliness. That is Zionism...

Yoram Hazony (b. 1964)

The Land of Israel is the historic inheritance of only one people, the Jews.

Benjamin Ish-Shalom (b. 1953)

Outside the land and without sovereignty, each person is responsible only for himself and his dependents. Inside the land with sovereign existence, responsibility becomes a national one, and an individual must choose the good of the collective over his own....

Einat Ramon (b. 1959)

My particularist perspectives: I am a Womanist and a Zionist.

Living in the Land of Israel grants Jews the opportunity to indulge their particularism at its best, expressing Jewishness every moment.... We not only celebrate the Sabbath and the holidays on Jewish time and in our Jewish space, but, today, we run Israeli military, agriculture, industry, and economics on Torah time and in the Torah’s sacred space. ...

Jonathan Sacks (b. 1948)

The Israel of continuity must become Jewry’s classroom, the Diaspora’s ongoing seminar in Jewish identity. Once, Israel saved Jews. In the future, it will save Judaism. . . .

The immediate question is less whether Jews are at home in London or Jerusalem than whether they are *at home in their Jewishness*....

The World Zionist Organization

Zionism, the national liberation movement of the Jewish people . . . views a Jewish, Zionist, democratic and secure State of Israel to be the expression of the common responsibility of the Jewish people.