

and 'segregation;' or 'apartness,' which is translated into Afrikaans as 'apartheid.' This is bitter for many liberal Jews in the West, and it has made some of them think about what Zionism has done . . . to the old Jewish humanitarian tradition. In the case of American Jews especially, they must know that it is the very absence of the kind of ethnic nationalism and cultural homogeneity exemplified by Israel which has made possible their own triumphant story."

What Jews outside of Israel have come to recognize very clearly, Wheatcroft states, "is not only that Israel . . . is not their home, but that the Israelis, however much they admire them, are no longer their people." He points out that, "Jabotinsky had said that Jews had become 'Yids' and that they should become Hebrews again; and this has happened to four million Israelis, to the extent that they are like nothing quite seen before in Jewish history, maybe even the 'Hebrew-speaking gentiles' of Georges Friedmann's phrase. There are also millions more Jews in the world who have ceased to be 'Yids,' but who did not want to become Hebrews either. Their motives are not ignoble . . . They might understand what Hans Kohn meant when he quoted Goethe's saying that the Jews had been dispersed through the world 'in order to fully develop all that is good in them to the benefit of mankind' . . . The final paradox might be that Zionism has succeeded in everything but its ostensible purpose: to resolve the Jewish Question by normalizing the Jewish people and ending their chosenness . . . And yet the Jews remain in some manner chosen . . ."

Tensions With Israel

Now, with the one hundredth anniversary of the publication of *The Jewish State*, Wheatcroft points out, "the tensions between Israel and the Dispersion have become sharper . . . Zionism was meant to make the Jews free men, in charge of their own destiny. Although Israel has often behaved as if this were literally true, she has in practice depended on American goodwill and generosity . . . Herzl's first purpose has been to find 'the solution to the Jewish Question.' A hundred years on, the achievement of that goal has been much more ambiguous . . ."

The one hundredth anniversary of *The Jewish State*, declares Wheatcroft, "finds a Jewish State, but also finds two Jews representing the great trading blocs, U.S. and European Union, in trade negotiations; and two others as British Home Secretary and Foreign Secretary . . . Is all of that so much less of a Jewish achievement than Israel? . . . Western culture is permeated by Jewishness . . . What is certain is that Hebrew Israel and the Jewish Dispersion are different . . . The original goals of resolving the Jewish Question and normalizing the Jewish People were perhaps always unattainable, or perhaps the pioneers of Zionism did not understand the law of unintended consequences . . . On the face of things, Zionism got what it wanted . . . Succeeding in so many ways, it failed to understand the true tragic nature of history; it failed to end the Jewish drama by winding it up as a sub-plot of the stage of history. Extraordinary though it has been, Zionism has surely been but one episode in a much greater story."

Geoffrey Wheatcroft has written an engrossing account of a complex subject and has identified the many competing schools of thought which have been involved in addressing it. If anyone thought that Judaism and Zionism were, in any sense, the same, or that there has been any consensus of support for the Zionist idea on the part of Jews, he has made it abundantly clear that this is not the case. He asks a final question which he does not answer: "Today there is a Jewish state which is a source of healing pride for millions of Jews, but also a source of anxiety. Should they defend the religious zealots and right-wing settlers who play an ever larger part in Israeli life? Or is Israel increasingly irrelevant to the fabulous success story of the Jews of America?" •

BERGER LEGACY

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specifically, to those who were in charge of its organizational structures and publications. From the World Jewish Congress to the American Jewish Committee as well as from all of the synagogal unions (excepting perhaps the Satmar-Chassidic and the Naturei Karta groupings) he certainly could never expect to receive accolades or even

tolerance. He knew very well that he could not anticipate any kind of recognition from them and therefore charted his own path and associates.

Wolsey's Defection

What did, however, seriously pain him was Rabbi Louis Wolsey's ("Cardinal Wolsey and his bishops," as Rabbi Stephen S. Wise referred to his antagonist rabbis in the American Council for Judaism in 1942/43) May 1948 desertion from the organization he had called into life. More than that, it was Louis Wolsey, Elmer Berger's inspiration and mentor since his youth and adolescence, who championed his centrally important role within the newly emergent American Council for Judaism and saw to it that he was appointed its key executive officer. Thus, desertions from the ranks of once firm supporters of the Jewish anti-Zionist league were par for the course to the Council's principal administrative and religious leader.

Considerably more hurtful, some three decades later, was the gauntlet which Lessing J. Rosenwald and the Council's lay leadership, with exceptions to be sure, threw down as of 1968. Elmer Berger was compelled to depart from the organization to which he had dedicated his life and work.

There was, however, a genuinely real issue on the table and it was principally nothing less than the American Council for Judaism's refusal to be seen as an association whose activities might have been and were seen to be supportive of the Arab cause in the continuing Middle East conflict. It was the Council's position, instead, that religion and nationality were separate and distinct and that questions of U.S. foreign policy were not its proper area of concern. Its goal was to make it clear that Americans of Jewish faith had no particular foreign policy based upon their religious beliefs, quite different from the Zionist understanding.

With the initiation of the Middle East peace process between the State of Israel and the Palestinian people a new page was turned. Old enmities also within the camp of classic Reform Judaism should also be buried and renewed efforts made to strengthen the message of progressive Reform Judaism that was Elmer Berger's commitment to his dying days. •