

Jews of Israel for us stem not from fear but from a deep appreciation of what our partnership means to both of us. As more than 2,000 Hadassah women and their families traveled throughout Israel during our Diamond Jubilee Mission in March, we were touched by the depth of genuine concern we encountered for how the Pollard case would affect America's Jews. The questions raised by Israelis were not about what the affair meant to U.S.-Israel relations, nor what it might mean to our relationship. On the contrary, Israelis seemed most concerned about the consequences of the incident for American Jewry and, in their concern, expected the worst. Like the Pollards, in acting on our love for one another and for Israel our lives have been sorely complicated.

Meanwhile, such self-inflicted complications sap energy and resources that are better spent on the urgent problems that we face together. While the Pollard case was making headlines in this country, a public statement by Israeli Minister of Health, Shoshanna Arbeli-Almoslino, that Israel's health care problems have reached crisis proportions went largely unreported. Israel's institutions of higher learning are still reeling from the government's austerity program. Cuts in programs and financial aid to students—even as Israeli industry grows desperate for more skilled woman- and manpower—will have a devastating effect on Israel's future growth. Israel's economic problems are far from solved and adequate housing and educational and job opportunities for all her citizens remains an elusive goal. Thousands of young Israelis simply give up and leave the country every year because they are denied the chance—and the tools—to make the most of their lives in their homeland. And a difficult situation may soon be made even more demanding by the influx of thousands of Soviet Jews who will require shelter, job and language training, medical care and a range of other human services.

Our Proper, Mutual Agenda

It is essential that we keep focused on the realities of the ties between the U.S. and Israel as the Pollard affair continues to unfold. Both Washington and Jerusalem have demonstrated from the outset that they are determined not to allow the Pollard case to affect their long-term relations. Officials of both governments have made the most of every public opportunity to affirm that despite "tensions" between them, the U.S.-Israel alliance is as strong and durable as ever. The recent visit to Israel by a delegation from the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations was also a pointed public display of a united front. It is important for us to remember that there are always

those who seek to benefit from our differences—real or perceived—however they may manifest themselves. It is time to put this debate behind us—for the sake of our future as a people and that of democracy in an increasingly anti-democratic world.

The most significant questions about the Pollard affair that beg answers from both nations are not about the health of relations between us, but about what the Pollards did and why they did it. What information was the U.S. withholding from Israel that Pollard, an experienced naval intelligence analyst, believed was vital to Israel's security, and why? How could the Israeli government so grossly misjudge the reaction of its American ally to the discovery of an Israeli spy in its intelligence apparatus? And how, given the atmosphere after the Iran arms scandal, could it try to cover up the Pollard operation? How is it that America's own intelligence network is so vulnerable that it could be breached repeatedly over a period of months? And what is to become of the Pollards who, if they are to be believed, acted only to save Jewish lives?

These are the questions that we all should be demanding answers to. It is time to put to rest any further discussion about how the Jews of the U.S. and Israel are faring in their partnership and set about getting to the truth of the Pollard affair. Unless we do, both can only grow more complicated—and destructive—in the future. □

The persistence of "canaanite" zionism

Arnold Jacob Wolf

James Diamond, Hillel rabbi and teacher at Washington University in St. Louis, has already graced us with an important study of Baruch Kurzweil, the enigmatic, brilliant and, ultimately, self-destructive Israeli critic. Now, in his new book, *Homeland or Holy Land: The "Canaanite" Critique of Israel* (Indiana University Press), we are given a learned critique of a literary-political movement, the "Canaanites," whose importance in modern Jewish thought has been dangerously underestimated. This book is at once a rigorous scholarly study and a profound philosophy of Zionism for a post-Zionist age.

The "Canaanites" were (are?) a small movement of intellectuals who wished to sever the new Israeli state from its Jewish origins. Knowing that the nation may not finally be both Jewish and democratic, they opted for the second choice, with-

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out fooling themselves about any possible compromises. Thus they opposed the Law of Return, collusion with religious establishment, even ties with the Jewish diaspora, all Zionist equivocation about what a new state would have to become. They supported regionalism, national reconstruction, and what Diamond calls "the deconstruction of Zionism." They flirted with *Lehi* (the political right-wing Zionists) and with violence, with ending the crippling dependence of the state on Jewish philanthropy and with incorporating utterly secular egalitarianism.

Can we Tell who Lost and who Won?

Of course, theirs' was not the way that Ben Gurion and the Israeli establishment finally adopted. Jewish money was too important, nostalgia powerful, Jewish immigration decisive. The "Canaanite" ideology moved underground and still profoundly affects Israeli and late Zionist thinking. From Shulamit Aloni (and some of our Israeli colleagues) on the Left, to Ariel Sharon on the right, we hear echoes of their radical thinking. Secular statecraft, the negation of diaspora, expensive emphasis on armed might, the sharp differences between how Israelis perceive themselves from how we *galut* Jews do—all these are symptoms of a contradiction not yet overcome and perhaps fatal to any possible future synthesis. Some of us, along with Abba Eban, knew that Israel could be "either a Jewish nation or a great one." We chose Jewish. But many Israelis, and not just the "Canaanites," chose great.

It is hard to imagine *halutzim* coming from Minnesota farms and Asian villages, but it may be harder yet to imagine children of the *kibbutz* or the secular Israeli townships permanently remaining Jews in our sense of the word. From one point of view, the "Canaanites" seem a mere curiosity, a movement that had its time and disappeared. But, as James Diamond demonstrates precisely, and against the opposition of an Israeli intellectual establishment which tried to suppress or mute his analysis, Canaanism is not dead nor does it sleep.

We naive old-fashioned Zionists thought it would be easy to create a Jewish state which would be no more foreign to our political convictions than Norway or New Zealand. But the "Canaanite" ideologists, Jonathan Ratosh and Aharon Amir, knew better. They, like some mad prophets of Biblical times, predicted and helped to create an anti-Jewish "Jewish" state, a nation of Israelis, and a teaching that would effectively begin to deconstruct three millenia of Judaism. It is the merit and the courage of James Diamond that he makes their alternative vivid and even logical though he knows

better than most of us whose death it would inevitably ensure. □

Will israel divide where it once united?

Michael Berenbaum

For thirty nine years, Israel has been the symbol of Jewish unity. Support for Israel unified the Jewish community, sustained and nourished diaspora Jewry everywhere. Yet, even putting the Pollard affair aside, as the *kulturkampf* in Israel intensifies, the divisions that currently plague Israel may soon divide American Jewry. There are indications that serious divisions are on the horizon:

On the streets of Brooklyn, caftan clad Jews attack one another. To the outside observer, their appearance, beliefs and practices are indistinguishable. Each follows a different *rebbe*, a Hasidic master. To one master, Israel is a certain sign that the messianic era is near, an unmistakable manifestation of divine providence. To the other, Israel is a symbol of the modern Jewry's decadence, man's (certainly not woman's) usurpation of God's role.

In Jerusalem, an Orthodox rabbi entered a Reform synagogue on Simchat Torah, attempted to take the Torah scrolls away from the worshippers, called the mixed dancing a display of vulgarity, and the women celebrants, whores. Among some Jews, his behavior was simply incomprehensible. And yet many Orthodox Jews identify with this rabbi, understand his anger even if they do not accept his deed. The Reform rabbi could tell his congregation, "We are both [Orthodox and Reform] authentic Jews." What did the Orthodox rabbi and Orthodox rabbis throughout the world tell their congregants?

To represent its interests at important meetings of the American Jewish community, Israel must send two delegates of the divided government. Thus, it dispatched Shimon Peres and Moshe Arens last fall to the General Assembly of the Council of Jewish Federations, where they delivered very different messages to the Jewish leaders. [Even the Foreign Ministry has divided the Israel embassy staff along party lines. The Ambassador leans toward Likud, the Minister toward Labor. The post of Ambassador to the United States and the United Nations will also be split along party lines once Moshe Rosenne's term ends.]

With the divisions growing inside Israel, American Jews can no longer clothe themselves in a blanket

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