THE PROBLEM OF GUSH EMUNIM

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Last year the state of Israel celebrated, as everybody knows, its thirtieth anniversary. Looking back at the three decades that have passed since the proclamation of the State, we can discern a development which seems to show different trends, some good and some less good.

After the defeat of Nazi Germany and after the massacre of six million Jews, the proclamation of an independent Jewish state in the land of their forbears, stood out as a new miracle. The Jewish people made their entry once more among the nations of the world, after an exile of two thousand years. A new confidence in the future was born. Jews from different parts of the world gathered in Israel, and the country grew in strength, politically as well as economically.

It would be wrong to underestimate the importance of the state to world Jewry. But it would also be wrong to minimize the problems that arose through the creation of the new state. One of the essential problems is the so-called Palestinian one. Another, and one that has been focused upon more and more, is the Israeli policy of settling in the occupied territories.

A movement that has made big headlines lately is the *Gush Emunim,* a term which means "bloc of believers". The enormous publicity round this phenomenon in the mass media has made necessary a close study to the issues connected with the Gush Emunim movement. In this paper I intend to give a somewhat more detailed account of background of this movement, and, above all, deal with some terminological questions connected with it.

History

The earliest roots of Gush Emunim may be traced to the period after the Israeli victory in the Six-Day War, 1967. The formal founding of the movement, however, goes back to February 1974, when several hundred *yeshivah*-students and young members of the National Religious Party attended a convention at *Kfar Ezion,* where they adopted its name and guiding principles.[1]

This choice of place was certainly not a mere coincidence. Kfar Ezion, a kibbutz about 13 miles south of Jerusalem, is a symbol of the long and cruel fight between Jews and Arabs. The area was bought in 1935 by a Jewish farmer (S. Z. Holzmann) during the British Mandate period, and after that it was exposed to several attacks from the Arabs. In 1943 the kibbutz was founded by Jewish immigrants from Poland, who had succeeded in escaping from the Nazis. Five years later, on the same day as the state of Israel was proclaimed, the kibbutz was taken by the Arabs after a bloody massacre. Then Kfar Ezion served as a base for the Jordanian Legion until 1967, when the Israelis took over.

Kfar Ezion has also given its name to the so-called *Ezion Bloc,* a group of Jewish settlements affiliated to the Religious Kibbutz Movement *(Ha-Kibbutz ha-Dati).* Here Gush Emunim recruited its most devoted members, among others *Mr. Hanan Porat,* the present leader.[2]

Not only should the place of Gush Emunim's birth be noted, but also the time, as it happened a few months after the October War in 1973, which, compared with the earlier Six-

Day War, left many Israelis in a state of recrimination and self-doubt. Now, the people were to recover their pioneering spirit[3] for which they hade once been known; and the result of the Gush activity is notable. Particularly since the spring of 1976, when a sensational two days' march from Jerusalem to Jericho was carried out, the movement has won thousands of followers.[4]

Ideology

Gush Emunim's ideology originates, to no small degree, from that of Rabbi Kook. *Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook (1865—1935),* Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Palestine during the British Mandate period, is a monumental person in the history of Religious Zionism. His philosophy is studied particularly in the Yeshivah in Jerusalem founded by himself and bearing his name — *Yeshivat Mercaz Harav.* After his death his son, *Zvi Yehudah Kook* (b. 1891), took over the leadership of the institute.[5] *Dr. Charles S. Liebman,* one of our experts in Jewish Orthodoxy, has described Kook as a "commanding religious personality towering head and shoulders above other religious leaders of his period or of today".[6]

In Rabbi Kook's mind the idea of the Jews' affinity with the Holy Land played a tremendous role. Only in Palestine could the Jewish people fulfil the divine mission to become a "light for the nations". Therefore exery Jew had the duty not only to accept the Jewish national movement — Zionism — but also actively work for its sake, for *aliyah* and the cultivation of the Holy Land. According to Kook, Zionism was not a common national movement but the concrete expression of an ancient prophetic notion of the Jews' return to the land of their fathers in the Messianic Era. The Balfour Declaration of 1917, which promised a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine, was interpreted as a Messianic sign. The time of the Messiah was approaching. *Athalta di-ge'ullah,* "the beginning of redemption", was at hand. In the Orthodox Jewish opinion history is the historiy of Jewish redemption, the history of the Almighty God's guidance of his people through changing fortunes to the Golden Age when the Messiah appears. But this future must not be awaited passively; on the contrary it should be hastened, which is made possible by the Jews' settling down in the land of Zion.[7]

This "mystical" interpretation of Zionism is typical of Gush Emunim, as appears from these words by one of its members:

> "No intellectual acrobatics can stop Zionism from withering away once is has been cut off from its mystical, Messianic dimension, the very root of its existence. The profound affinity to Eretz Yisrael, this holy madness with which the Jewish People has been sick these 20-odd centuries, is something the only logic of which is its illogic. Any attempt to understand the Zionist phenomenon without taking into account the 'holy madness' of it is a sterile one. Zionism is mysticism. It is a secular expression of Judaism and the religion of the secularists among us."[8]

In the vocabulary of Gush Emunim the term *hitnahalut* plays a prominent role. *Prof. David J. Schnall,* who has analysed the Gush ideology, says that by comparison with *hitnahalut* all other values pale, including democracy. The meaning of the word, in this context, is a combination of settlement and Messianism. Settling on occupied territories is a religious obligation, a divine imperative, which will hasten the redemption. For this reason, too, the Gush members never discuss their "right" to the land. It is quite self-evident; and the Palestinian problem is little more than a creation of Arab propaganda.

Hitnahalut is also seen as a cure for the social and economic ills of the nation. According to *Rabbi Moshe Levinger,* one of the main figures of Gush Emunim, these problems are due to a lack of productive labour, i.e. dedication to one's job beyond material rewards. The individual has placed his own needs before those of the nation. His interest is to get the highest pay for the least work. But now this attitude must be overcome through a revival of the old pioneering spirit. The essential struggle, however, must always be with the Arab States, whose only *"raison d'être"* is to destroy the State of Israel.

Gush Emunim is not a new political party in Israel. On the whole, the movement is more or less in opposition to all parties in the Knesset, including its own National Religious Party. It should rather be regarded as a "political pressure group" concentrated upon the struggle for

the Jews' right to settle everywhere within the borders of the "historical Eretz Israel"; and to this land, which the Almighty once promised Father Abraham, belong not only Judea and Samaria but also the Golan heights.

Opposition

About Gush Emunim's idealism and determination to fight for its ideals there is no doubt. An Israeli economist has estimated that, because of its values, the Gush is able to found a community at less than ten per cent of the cost of a government settlement.[9]

Settling on occupied territories, however, is not mainly a matter of money and pioneering spirit but rather one of Law and Justice; and on this point the gap is wide between Gush and the Government. The breach was obvious during the earlier *Rabin*-administration, but also the present coalition under *Menachem Begin* is, in the opinion of the Gush, too weak and submissive on the territorial issue. There is even talk of Gush as "a threat to our democratic system".[10] The former Foreign Minister *Yigal Allon* belongs to its bitterest critics. In a speech he attacked the movement as "a political movement of false messiahs and nationalistic demagogues whose settlement attempts had done no good and much harm".[11]

Of course Orthodox people express their discontent too. *Oz l'Shalom* ("the Will to Peace") is one example, which may be seen as a countermovement to Gush Emunim, drawing its support from a broad sector of the public. Teachers, lawyers, social workers, students and many others have united. Ideologically they put the emphasis on the ethical claims of Judaism and turn against Gush expansionism and the theological mystification of the Land of Israel. In an eleven-point programme, adopted as early as 1975, they stress their willingness to accept territorial compromises with the Arabs as a condition for peace. But they also stress their defence of the State of Israel and its continuing existence as a Jewish State.[12]

One of the leaders of this movement was the late *Dr. Zvi Yaron,* author of a book about Rabbi Kook's philosophy. In an article in *Ma'ariv* (1974), later published in *Immanuel,* the author criticizes the religious extremism which pleads to Rabbi Kook for its defence. What basis is there for the assumption that the believer has to reject any compromises with regard to the borders of the Land of Israel? he asks. In the Jewish return to Palestine Rabbi Kook saw the beginnings of the Messianic redemption *(Athalta di-ge'ullah),* but this does not allow one to draw the political conclusion that it is forbidden to withdraw from the borders which were established in the Six-Day War. Above all, those who want to adhere to the Kook's system must consider his moral teaching. "It is forbidden that the fear of God should supersede natural human morality, for then the fear of God is no longer pure" (Kook).[13]

This criticism, based on an ethically biased theology, is shared by many other religious Zionists in Israel as well as in the diaspora. The British Chief *Rabbi Immanuel Jakobovits* fears that Gush Emunim's blending of religion and extreme politics will weaken people's regard for Judaism; and *Rabbi Joseph Soloveitchik,* one of the most prominent American rabbis, has seriously upheld the claim of respect for human life and human dignity. He also regards the coupling of extreme nationalism with belief in the Messiah as a mockery of the true meaning of Jewish Messianism.[14]

Messianism

There is no reason to draw attention to this ideological debate any more. Neither is it my intention to deal with the complicated political problems. As a historian and phenomenologist of religion I want to discuss other, and, from my point of view, more relevant questions. By referring to the frequent use of the Messianic idea, as well by Gush Emunim as by its opponents, it is more convenient to discuss Gush Emunim as a *"Messianic movement".* In other words we may ask, whether Gush Emunim is to be regarded as another instance of the religious phenomenon, which can be found in different cultures,[15] and which has reached its most remarkable height among Jews?[16] From a terminological point of view this question has a certain importance, and therefore we shall take it into consideration.

First we shall examine a movement in Jewish history which can fully claim to be called a "Messianic" one — *the Sabbatian movement. Prof. Y. Leibowitz* in Jerusalem, who is an

outspoken critic of Gush Emunim, has previously made this comparison with the Sabbatians;[17] and in an article in *The Jerusalem Post* (April 21, 1978) the same parallel is drawn.[18] The question is, however, whether these two movements are comparable. Let us see.

Sabbatai Sevi (1626—1676) was born in Smyrna on *the 9th of Ab* (July) 1626, probably on a Sabbath. Children born on a Sabbath were frequently called Sabbatai. In Jewish thought the 9th of Ab is a "theological" date, commemorating the destruction of the First and Second Temples. But the date also fits an ancient rabbinic tradition that the date of the destruction of the Second Temple was to be the birthdate of the Messiah.

Be that as it may, Sabbatai Sevi as a boy seems to have passed through all the stages of a traditional Jewish education and to have been encouraged to concentrate on rabbinic studies, in which he showed signs of talent.

In his studies the study of *kabbalah* — Jewish mysticism — with its main document *Zohar* played a decisive role; and at the early age of eighteen he was ordained rabbi *(hakham,* "sage"), although he probably never served in this capacity. He married a few years later but divorced very soon, after his father-in-law had complained to the rabbinic court. Then he married another woman of a respected family in Smyrna, but this alliance, too, was nominal and ended in divorce. We do not know the names of these two wives. But his third wife was called Sarah; and in spite of his seeing himself as a "suffering slave" under her this marriage lasted.

According to *Prof. Gershom Scholem* there is no doubt that Sabbatai Sevi was a sick man. Everything points to his suffering from a manic-depressive psychosis, possibly combined with some paranoid traits. This manic-depressive type develops with puberty, and the characteristic pathological phenomena generally appear between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five and not during infancy. The typical intervals of "ups and downs", between states of excessive mental exaltation, joyful enthusiasm and feelings of sublime happiness to the point of ecstasy, and states of dejection and melancholia, utter passivity and lack of initiative are examples of these phenomena.

The antinomian tendency is a characteristic feature in Sabbatai Sevi's behaviour. Particularly in his manic periods he often broke the Jewish Law. Then he saw himself as beyond the authority of rabbinic Judaism and subject to a higher Law, and as time went on his behaviour became more and more bizarre and provocative.

Sabbatai Sevi appeared at a period when the persecutions of Jews reached a terrible height. In the so-called *Chmielnicki massacres,* which broke out in 1648, thousands of Jews were killed in Poland and Southern Russia. Among believing Jews this was interpreted as a sign of the approaching Messianic redemption. In their opinion political upheavals, murders disasters and pogroms were part of the "birth pangs" of the Messiah *(Hevlo shel Mashi'ah),* which were to strike the Jews before His advent and ingathering of the dispersed Jews to the Land of Zion.

The Messianic expectations, which were soon raised by Sabbatai Sevi, are largely due to his own prophet Nathan. *Nathan of Gaza (1653/4—1680)* was born in Jerusalem where he also grew up and studied the Talmud and Kabbalah. In 1663 he married and moved to Gaza, but before that he had met Sabbatai Sevi, who at this time lived in Jerusalem and who had already attracted attention as an odd personality. Shortly afterwards Nathan became absorbed in the study of Kabbalah. Endowed with a lively intellect and charismatic gifts he soon had extraordinary spiritual experiences of a visionary as well as an auditory kind. In 1665 he had a revelation which made him certain that Sabbatai Sevi was the expected Jewish Messiah. Soon afterwards, when Sabbatai Sevi travelled through Gaza, he visited Nathan's home; and Nathan then took the opportunity to convince his guest of his divine mission. However, Sabbatai Sevi was not immediately convinced, but after a few weeks, during which they travelled around together to Jerusalem and Hebron among other places, Sabbatai proclaimed himself the "anointed of the God of Jacob". This took place on the 31th of May, 1665.

Then Nathan started a far-reaching campaign to bring the Messianic message to the Jewish world. The rumour of the Messiah spread rapidly, in spite of resistance from certain rabbinic circles. The rabbis of Jerusalem seem to have been rather opposed to this. But soon the Messianic message had reached the whole diaspora, and from Great Britain to Persia, from Germany to Marocco, from Poland to Yemen people talked about the Messianic pretender

from Smyrna.

The climax of the movement came in 1666 when Sabbatai Sevi went to Constantinople, where his adherents expected him to dethrone the Turkish Sultan and inaugurate the Messianic Kingdom. But, instead, the "Messiah" was arrested and imprisoned; and in Adrianople, on the 16th of September 1666, before the court and in the Sultan's presence, Sabbatai Sevi renounced his Messianic demands and saved his life by becoming a Moslem convert. He died ten years later, on the 17th of September (Jom Kippur), 1676, in Ulcinj, Albania.

For Nathan of Gaza, however, who still lived in Palestine, the apostasy of his Messiah did not mean the bitter end of the movement. In this crisis he was able to interpret the new situation in a mystical way. The apostasy of the Messiah was in accordance with a divine order, according to which the Messiah had to walk through different nations, cultures and religions to fulfil a mystical mission: to liberate the "sparks of holiness", which are also to be found outside the people of Israel. Thus, the Messiah, so to speak, cuts himself off from his holy roots in order to fulfil the redemption. The prophet of Gaza died four years after his "Messiah" to whom he had devoted his life.[19]

The Sabbatian movement is the largest and, to my mind, the most interesting Messianic movement during later centuries of Jewish history, and here the typical traits constituting such a movement can be observed. These traits are at least two in number:

1) The belief in an imminent end of the world order and the inception of a new and better Era;
2) The belief in a historically present Messiah (king, hero) who will fulfil the Messianic expectations.[20]

The problem in now where Gush Emunim stands in this respect. We have already pointed out that the ideology of Gush Emunim is partly derived from that of Rabbi Kook with his speculations about the end of history and time. But, although the critics of Gush talk about "false messiahs" (Allon) and "self-appointed saviours",[21] we look in vain for an appointed human being embodying the Messianic expectations, a Messiah in the real sense. Thus it goes without saying that it would be quite misleading to call Gush Emunim a "Messianic movement". As has already been said, we are primarily dealing with a "political pressure group", defending the Jewish right to settle everywhere in the historic land of Israel. We can also quote *Rabbi Yohanan Fried,* another Gush spokesman and teacher at the Kook Institute, who maintains that the main tenet of the movement is to stress, to the Israeli government and to the world at large, the danger of relinquishing parts of Judea and Samaria; that territorial concessions will bring the Jews closer to the *"holocaust".*[22] What else is Gush Emunim representing, it may be asked, but just ordinary nationalism or chauvinism? If by nationalism we mean the assertion of a nations or people's values and rights over that of other nations or peoples, Gush Emunim is, indeed, a nationalistic movement of the most extreme kind.

Although we thus repudiate the idea of calling the Gush a "Messianic movement" and stress its political and national nature, we must not, on the other hand, disregard its religious elements. Of course I am still referring to the frequent use of the Jewish Messianic idea; and, we may ask, is not just *"Messianism"* an acceptable term in our context? This question is obviously also a matter of definition, and, needless to say, the definitions are numerous. The term "Messianism" is used not only about Messianic movements but even about political movements of different kinds, which, from a terminological point of view, is to be regretted. *Dr. R. J. Zwi Werblowsky,* professor of Comparative Religion at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has previously touched on this ploblem, and he reminds the reader of the origin and meaning of the term in the Jewish tradition:

> "The Hebrew noun *mashiah* (messias), from the verb *mashah* "to anoint", means "the anointed one" in general and (in later Judaism) "the anointed one" in particular, i.e. the ultimate redeemer, the expected king of the Davidic line who would deliver Israel from foreign bondage and restore the glories of its Golden Age".[23]

Thus, we may say that by Messianism is meant the belief in an imminent end of the present world order and the beginning of a new Era, which will be introduced by a Messiah figure who has not yet appeared. The difference between the terms Messianism and a Messianic movement, then, seems rather clear. On the one hand we have to do with just a belief or an expectation; on the other hand

we are dealing with this expectation empirically realized, though not totally. A typical case of the latter is the Sabbatian movement, in which the Messianic redemption was imminent because of the advent of the redeemer Sabbatai Sevi, whereas in Gush Emunim a particular redeemer, a Messiah figure, is still lacking. In my opinion, however, the apparent belief in the future Messiah and the Messianic Kingdom among the Gush members completely justifies our use of the term "Messianism". The analogy with Christians, waiting for the advent of Jesus as the Messiah, is quite obvious.[24]

Actually, here we meet the old Jewish Messianic idea applied to a new situation, to contemporary political problems. This use of the idea, however, is not restricted to the Gush. Although this group represents the most extreme activistic interpretation of Jewish Messianism, the idea as such is a definite religious concept also among other Orthodox believers. The rise and development of Zionism, the creation of the Jewish State and its territorial expansion during several wars, all this has posed the question of Messianism anew, but, indeed, has also puzzled Jewish theologians.[25]

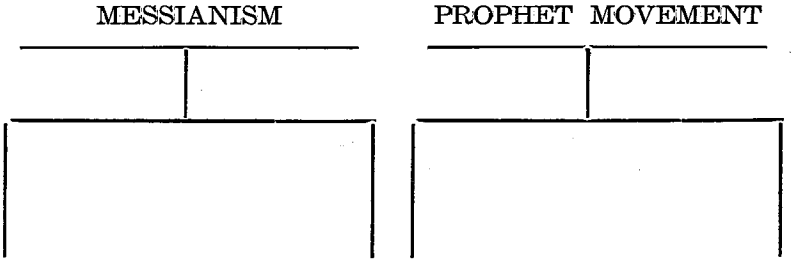
Another problem, worth some attention, is *the relationship between Messianic movements and so-called Prophet movements,* two terms frequently used interchangeably by scholars. If we ask, for example, the Italian ethnologist and historian of religion *Prof. Vittorio Lanternari,* who in 1960 published his book about "the Religions of the Opppressed" *(Movimenti religiosi di libertà e di salvezza popoli oppressi)* we find little support for making any distinctions in this respect.[26] His effort to "broaden the meaning of this word 'messianism' so that we may include in it a series of manifestations which are homogenious in their function"[27] seems risky from the terminological point of view. In fact the author is trying to put the mark "Messianism" on manifestations which are not Messianich at all.

It goes without saying that there are Prophet movements which are Messianic, but by no means all of them are. If we use the definition employed by a Swedish scholar, *Dr. Axel Ljungdahl,* a Prophet movement is born when people respond to the message of a Prophet; and a Prophet is "a person feeling himself divinely commissioned, who has had divine revelations and feels compelled to inform his fellow men of them".[28]

From our point of view it is important to note that Dr. Ljungdahl, out of a number of 53 Prophet movements, selected from different cultures and periods, has found only 24 movements containing the belief in a Messiah, which ought to induce us to be more careful in our usage.[29] In short: Prophet movements without the Messianic motif seem to be at least as common as proper Messianic movements, whose peculiar nature is the eschatological message and the Messianic pretender — the Messiah. Schematically these relations can be described as in fig. 1 below.

Before we conclude this survey we shall just add some remarks regarding a few other terms connected with Messianism and eschatology (the doctrine concerning "the last tings").[30]

In English literature the terms *"millenarism"* and *"millenial"* are very common, referring to the biblical "millenium" (Rev. 20). In German the corresponding terms are *"Chi-*



The *belief* in an imminent end of the world order and the beginning of a new Era introduced by a *Messiah figure,* who has not yet appeared *(Cf. Gush Emunim!)*

A *Messianic movement,* i.e. a movement caused by a people's response to a historically present Messiah, who will fulfil the Messianic expectations *(Cf. the Sabbatian movement!)*

A movement born out of a people's response to a *prophet* who has had divine revelations and feels compelled to inform his fellow men of them.

liasmus" and *"chiliastisch"* implying the belief in a future state of happiness, collectively comprehended, i.e. intended for a number of people. This will be a state on earth regarded as the total perfection of the present life achieved by divine intervention. When the eschatological speculations take the form of revealing mysteries beyond the bounds of normal knowlegde, revealing the secrets of the heavens, the world order, the creation, the end of days etc., then we talk of *"apocalypse"* and *"apocalyptic"* ("revelation").

Conclusion

Finally, we shall sum up what, from the phenomenological angle, seems to be the most adequate description of Gush Emunim.

In spite of the abundant use of religious symbols and conceptions, mainly derived from Jewish eschatology, it must be regarded as quite misleading to designate this movement as a Messianic one. The comparison with the Sabbatians, as has been made in Israeli papers, misses the point. Of course, the term Prophet movement must also be rejected, because of the lack of a charismatic leader, a Prophet.

Gush Emunim, then, is basically a political, nationalistic movement, or a "political pressure group", devoted to the aim of refusing territorial compromises with the Arabs concerning the Land of Israel.

This emphasis on the political nature of the movement, however, must not overshadow its religious elements. The *Messianic belief* among the members is striking, i.e. the belief in an imminent end of the world order and the beginning of a new Era when the Messiah will appear. Here we meet another instance of the *"Zionist Messianism"* which I have dealt with in a previous study. Its distinctive features are the intertwining of political Zionism and religious Messianism and an activistic policy for the realization of the Messianic hope.[31] About this interpretation there are contradictory opinions, as we have seen.

But no matter how the Messianic idea is interpreted and put into practice — if the Jews prefer a "Zionist" or an "Anti-Zionist" interpretation like the Ultra-Orthodox fraction *Neturei Karta,*[32] or they prefer a more moderate attitude[33] — the most noteworthy of all is, maybe, the mere vitality of Messianic belief today. Anti-semitism, persecutions and pogroms throughout the centuries, reaching the most terrible proportions in our generation, have not been able to liquidate the Messianic idea. On the contrary; it has been revived and re-interpreted.[34] The dramatic birth of the Jewish State in Eretz Israel, after the bestial extermination of six million Jews by the Nazis and the wars since 1948, and particularly the Six-Day War in 1967, has posed the question of Messianism anew. According to Orthodox Jewish belief these events are just the "birth pangs" of the approaching Messiah.[35]

This relation between conflict and Messianism is evident, as Messianic ideas thrive in conflicts and crises; and also the intensity of the Messianic belief is dependent on the gravity of the conflicts. The deeper the human hardship the stronger the Messianic expectation and the nearer the Redeemer.

Crises, however, may be of various kinds; and therefore we have to avoid one-sided judgements when dealing with the causes of Messianism and Messianic movements. Explaining the Messianic phenomenon as a mere expression of unsatisfactory political, economical and social conditions is not always justifiable, if it ever is. With a holistic approach to religion we must also reckon with other and more irrational factors, such as the inherent crisis of man: the agony, anxiety and alienation in an insecure and menacing world. In other words, we must not forget to take spiritual needs into consideration when we search for the causes of religion in general and Messianism in particular.[36]

Notes

1 Schnall, David, J., "Gush Emunim: Messianic Dissent and Israeli Politics", *Judaism, A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought,* Vol. 26, Nr. 2, Spring 1977, pp. 148—160.
Gush Emunim may be regarded as a branch of the larger *Land of Israel Movement* or *The Greater Israel Group,* which after 1967 demanded immediate annexation of the occupied territories. See Wallfish, A., "The Land of Israel Movement", *The Jerusalem Post Weekly,* Tuesday,

Sept. 4, 1973, p. 10.
A recent study dealing with the Land of Israel Movement (and also with the *Peace Movement,* cf. note 14) is Isaac, R. J., *Israel divided. Ideological Politics in the Jewish State,* Baltimore and London 1976. The value of this book, however, may indeed be questioned.

2 Seidner, I., "The Siege of Gush Etzion", *Israel Digest 1978: 1,* Jan. 13the, pp. 12 f; *The Jerusalem Post Weekly,* Tuesday, Nov. 28, 1972, p. 11. "Understanding Hebron" (Oikumenikos reports); Shapiro S., "Symbol of Constancy", *The Jerusalem Post Weekly,* Tuesday, May 20, 1975, pp. 8 f; Kohn, M., "The Would-Be Settlers", *The Jerusalem Post Weekly,* Tuesday, Oct. 29, 1974, p. 8.

3 Schnall, op. cit., p. 149.

4 *Israel Digest,* No 16, Vol. XX, August 12, 1977, "Israel's Settlement Policy in the Territories", pp. 5 f; Brilliant J., "Thousands march with Gush Emunim", *The Jerusalem Post Weekly,* Tuesday, April 20, 1976, p. 1.

5 *Schnall, op. cit.,* p. 150; Simon U., "Spiritual and Political Dangers of Politicized Religion", *New Outlook Middle East Monthly,* Nov. 1976, pp. 7—11. For a presentation of Kook and his teaching see Agus, J. B., *Banner of Jerusalem,* New York 1946.

6 Liebman, Ch. S., "Religion and Political Integration in Israel", *The Jewish Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 17, nr. 1, June 1975, p. 22.

7 *Agus, op. cit.,* pp. 57 f.

8 Hermoni, Y., "Haters of Gush Emunim", *The Jerusalem Post Weekly,* Tuesday, June 22, 1976, p. 12.

9 *Schnall, op. cit.,* pp. 150 ff; see also Segal M., "Golem and Gush Emunim", *The Jerusalem Post,* Tuesday, Oct. 18, 1977, p. 11 and Merhav, M., "Morality and ideology", *The Jerusalem Post,* May 19, 1978, p. 7. The economical statement occured in The Jerusalem Post, August 2, 1976 by Yisrael Shenker.

10 *Segal, op. cit.,* p. 11.

11 Allon, Y., "Gush Emunim Demagogues harm whole Jewish settlement effort", *The Jerusalem Post Weekly,* June 15, 1976, p. 3. See also *The Jerusalem Post,* Friday, Sept. 22, 1978, p. 1 f, 18 ("Gush squatters evicted by force").

12 Bedein, D., "Genesis of an Israeli Religious Left", *New Outlook,* January 1976, pp. 39—42; Simon, U., *op. cit.,* pp. 7 ff.

13 Yaron, Z., "A Criticism of 'Messianic' Policy", *Immanuel, A. Bulletin of Religious Thought and Research in Israel,* Nr. 4, Summer 1974, pp. 105—108 (translation by Coos Schoneveld).

14 Schnall, *op. cit.,* p. 158; Bedein, *op. cit.,* p. 39. See also Carlebach, A., "Grand debate", *The Jerusalem Post,* July 21, 1978, p. 7. Recently another outstanding critical group, called "Peace Now", has appeared in Israel; see for instance *The Jerusalem Post,* Friday, July 1978, p. 14.

15 See La Barre, W., "Materials for a History of Studies of Crisis Cults, A Bibliographic Essay", *Current Anthropology,* Vol. 12:1, 1971, pp. 3—27; see also Ljungdahl, A., *Profetrörelser, deras orsaker, innebörd och förutsättningar,* Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion, Vol. 10, 1969.

16 See Silver, A. H., *A History of Messianic Speculation in Israel,* New York 1959 and Scholem, G., *Sabbatai Sevi, The Mystical Messiah 1626—1676,* London 1973.

17 Leibowitz, Y., *The Jerusalem Post,* August 3, 1976; Schnall, *op. cit.,* p. 157, note 20.

18 Fish, H., "In search of the Messiah", *The Jerusalem Post Magazine,* Friday, April 21, 1978, pp. 18 f; see also Kohn, M., "No monopoly on truth", *The Jerusalem Post Magazine,* Friday, May 19, 1978, p. 7.

19 For a thorough discussion of the Sabbatian movement see Scholem's *magnum opus* mentioned above.

20 *Cf. RGG* (Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart) 1960, col. 895 ff, "Messianismus"; and Biezais, H., "Tendenser i nutida messianska rörelser", *Religion och Bibel,* Nathan Söderblomsällskapets årsbok 1969, pp. 26—38.

21 *Segal, op. cit.,* p. 11.

22 Kohn, M., "The Would-Be Settlers", *op. cit.,* p. 9. See also "1,000,000 Jews in W. Bank by 1981", *The Jerusalem Post,* July 7, 1978, p. 3.

23 Werblowsky, R. J. Zwi, "Messianism in Jewish History", *Jewish Society Through the Ages,* ed. by H. H. Ben-Sasson and S. Ettinger, New York 1973, pp. 30—45, "... it is easier to give an account of the historical developments than to define the term itself, which seems to mean all things to all men — or at least to all theologians" (30).

24 *Cf. RGG, op. cit.,* "Messianismus ist im wesentlichen der religiöse Glaube an das Kommen eines Erlösers, der auf universaler oder particularer Ebene der gegenwärtigen Ordnung ein Ende setzen und eine neue Ordnung der Gerechtigkeit und der Glücks begründen wird" (H. Kohn).

25 See Ahlberg, S., *Messianism i staten Israel, en studie om Messiastankens nutida förekomst, form och funktion bland ortodoxa judar.* (English Summary: Messianism in the State of Israel, an Investigation of the present occurence, form and function of the Messianic Idea among Orthodox Jews), Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis Stockholm Studies in Comparative Religion 14, Stockholm 1977.

26 Lanternari, V., *Religiöse Freiheits- und Heilsbewegungen unterdrückter Völker, Soziologische Texte, Band 33,* Darmstadt-Berlin 1968 and *The Religions of the Oppressed,* London 1963. See also "Reviews" in *Current Anthropology,* Oct.

1965, pp. 447—465.

27 Lanternari, V., "Messianism: Its historical Origin and Morphology", *History of Religions,* Summer 1962, Vol. 2, Nr. 1, pp. 52—72 *(53).*

28 Ljungdahl, A., *op. cit.,* p. 33 and the same author, "What we can learn from Non-Biblical Prophet movements", *New Religions,* Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis VII, ed. by H. Biezais, Uppsala 1975, pp. 84—91 *(84);* Cf. Lindblom, J., *Prophecy in Ancient Israel,* Oxford 1973, pp. 1 ff.

29 Ljungdahl, A., Profetrörelser, *op. cit.,* p. 258.

30 *Cf. The Encyclopedia Judaica,* Vol. 6, col. 860, "Eschatology": "The word 'last' can be understood eiter absolutely as referring to the ultimate destiny of mankind in general or of each individual man, or relatively as referring to the end of a certain period in the history of mankind or of a nation that is followed by another, entirely different, historical period."

31 See *Ahlberg, S., op. cit.,* pp. 38—60, 128 f.

32 *ibid.,* pp. 77—84.

33 *ibid.,* pp. 61—76, 128 f.

34 Cf. Werblowsky, R. J. Zwi, *op. cit.,* p. 45.

35 See Ahlberg, *op. cit.,* pp. 97—106.

36 Cf. Biezais, H., *op. cit.,* p. 35; Ringgren, H., *Religionens form och funktion,* Lund 1972, p. 74; La Barre, *op. cit.,* p. 26 f.: cf. also Hultkrantz, Å., "Conditions for the Spread of the Peyote Cult in North America", *New Religions, op. cit.,* pp. 70—83.