

University be able to do anything to help them?"...

I answered that we must in the first instance get their leaders and teachers.... Then by means of publications. Then by interesting (or perhaps inspiring) visitors and tourists. The University would widen the perspective of Judaism for the Jewish intellectual.

(1932) — Estrangement between Jews and Arabs growing wider and wider. — Arabs will not sit on any committees with Jews.

— Want less and less to meet Jews personally and privately....

But are relying on time....

(1937) I thought the great drawback on the Arab side was the lack of moral courage. If only one man would step out now and brave his people and plead that his leaders should sit down with the Jewish leaders, the situation would be saved. I had asked in a public speech in 1929 that only one Arab stand up and it would be accounted to him for righteousness. How often the finger of scorn has been pointed at me because not even one Arab stood up.... I realized that there was a great deal of terror and that people were made afraid.

(1948, a journal entry Magnes wrote five days before he died) Marshall Plan for Middle East.... Maybe through economic aid some chance of peace, otherwise war and hatred for decades.

Looking at Magnes's life with the perspective of hindsight, it is clear that his preoccupation was with Jewish survival, physically in *Eretz Yisrael*, spiritually in the *Galut*. As Goren shows, Magnes expressed this preoccupation from the vantage point of dissenter, often as an "absolutist" (Magnes's self-description) disturber of the peace, a fighter willing to bear publicly the consequences of his controversial, even radical, positions. History, however, often moves in unexpected directions and its most effective chroniclers are those who present the past in a way that better helps us to understand the present. We are, therefore, especially indebted to Arthur Goren for this sensitive selection of Magnes's writings that so successfully distills the essence of Magnes's thought and his response to the issues of his — and our — time.

Books

THE JEWISH POLITY: JEWISH POLITICAL ORGANIZATION FROM BIBLICAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT. Daniel J. Elazar and Stuart A. Cohen. (Indiana University Press. Bloomington. 1985).

Reviewed by Pesha Bat Moshe

I must at the outset confess that I approached reading *The Jewish Polity* by Daniel Elazar and Stuart Cohen with a sense of anticipation. Having studied Bible and Judaic Studies in almost complete detachment from advanced academic training in Political Science, I welcomed a volume which would attempt a kind of synthesis between Judaica and Social Science by utilizing political concepts to analyze events and processes in Jewish history. The authors describe their goal of synthesis in the introduction to the book. They write:

Because Judaism emphasizes God's sovereignty, Jewish peoplehood, and the building of the holy commonwealth, political motifs permeate Jewish ideas and ways

are often found where modern man would least expect them. Thus the exploration of the Jewish political tradition requires the reexamination of familiar materials with new eyes as much as it does the exploration of unfamiliar sources and data.

My first disappointment came with the introductory chapter. The reader is immediately bombarded with innumerable Hebrew terms and definitions which cannot but discourage and often confuse even the most knowledgeable. Many of the terms reappear in other sections of the book and some do become clearer in the course of the analysis. Other definitions however draw fine distinctions between terms which obfuscate more than they elucidate, e.g., distinctions between *kahal*, *edah*, *am*, *kehillah*. Some terms, the authors explain, apply to one historical period and not to another. The totally unfamiliar reader will find the introduction very roughgoing. The question is whether this immersion in terms and definitions is, in the end result, necessary or worthwhile.

Elazar and Cohen focus their analysis on patterns of constitutional development of the Jewish people and its polity as they developed and changed over time. They divide Jewish history into fourteen epochs, each approximately three centuries long, each, in their view, having a distinct political character of its own. Each period is distinguished by processes of constitution-making and constitutional change. The first epoch begins in 1850 B.C.E. with the patriarch Abraham who makes the first covenant with God and is the founder of the Jewish people. The last epoch, which the authors call *Medinah veAm* (State and People) begins with the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. The previous epoch, *Hitagduyot* (voluntary associations) begins in 1648 and ends with the Holocaust, the event which shattered and destroyed the Jewish communities of Europe. The Jewish political and demographic axis during this epoch shifted away from Europe to a non-European Diaspora, i.e., the United States and, to a far lesser extent countries, in Latin America, Australia and South Africa and to Eretz Yisrael where a nucleus of Zionists and refugees from Nazi persecution labored to create a Jewish state.

The authors presuppose that the reader has more than a rudimentary knowledge of Biblical and post-Biblical Jewish history. Since it is their intent to present an overall picture of the political system of the Jewish polity and the various regimes which have served the Jewish people through out the centuries, they provide the barest outline of historical data to describe each epoch. Biblical sources are noted but not quoted; historical events are mentioned but not des-

cribed. The reader needs to be quite knowledgeable in Jewish history to assimilate the historical references characteristic of each epoch and to be able to evaluate critically their categorization. The book is therefore more suitable as a textbook-guide for an advanced course in Bible or Jewish history than for the general reading public. In such a course, the fourteen epoch divisions delineated by the authors could serve as a useful starting point for discussion and analysis. The book suggests many avenues for further research on the evolution of the Jewish polity.

Because of the traditionally Divine nature of Jewish law, constitutional change occurs relatively infrequently in the Jewish polity. The authors trace through the centuries what they call "constitutional modifications of the Torah" which often meant new forms of codification and sanctification of halachic works such as the Mishnah, Talmud, Turim, Shulchan Aruch. These supplemented and interpreted the original convenantal Torah in response to demands of later ages. The end of an epoch and the beginning of a new one in later periods are often linked to the acceptance of a new codification of Jewish law.

Admittedly, the difficulty with most historical categorizations is that they almost always invite controversy and debate as to the where, when and why dividing lines are drawn. In Elazar and Cohen's typology of constitutional change, the distinctions between the end of an epoch and the beginning of another seem rather contrived. The authors in several cases do not present convincing evidence to support drawing the epochal divisions where they did. They establish

at the outset that nine historical generations or three centuries constitute an epoch and that there is a general pattern through history of the rise and decline of epochs. Keeping to that pattern, they impose on it an interpretation of the evolution of Jewish constitutional history.

The endeavor met with greater success in the earlier epochs. For example, the constitutional division between *Avdut Mizrayim* — Egyptian Bondage (Epoch II) and *Adat Bnei Yisrael* — The Congregation of the Israelites (Epoch III) is clear. The former begins with the settlement of Jacob and his sons in Goshen, extends through the period of slavery in Egypt and culminates in the Exodus, an event which ended the shared experience of bondage of the Jewish people. Although knowledge of structural developments during this period is weak (due to the lack of detail in the Biblical account) there is a clear transition of a covenantal nature at Mount Sinai. The acceptance of God's law, the Torah, transformed a nation of slaves into an *edah*, a body politic based on consent. The dominant constitutional characteristic of the epoch of *Adat Bnei Yisrael* — The Congregation of Israelites is the emergence of Mosaic Law as the constitutional expression of the covenant between God and the Jewish people. The epoch ends with the anointing of David by the prophet Samuel, thus bringing to a close the republican regime of the period of judges and beginning the epoch of *Brit Hamelukhah*, the Federal Monarchy.

The authors offer an incisive analysis of the tripartite distribution of power within the government of the *edah*. They explain that within the Jewish polity concentration of power in the hands of

one single authority was denigrated and discouraged. From the time of the foundation of the *edah* at Mt. Sinai, authority was divided into three authoritative crowns or spheres of power (*ketarim*). The *keter Torah* was the authority to give programmatic expression to Israel's Divine Constitutional teaching. This authority was passed from Moses to the prophets to the sages and rabbis. The *keter kehunah*, the priesthood, was established by a covenant between God and the line of Aaron. The priesthood was the means of bringing the people closer to God by way of shared rituals and symbols. The third crown of authority was the crown of kingship and civil rule which was rested in the hands of the elders and magistrates up to the time of David and then in the kingship of David and his descendants (in Judah). Soon after the destruction of the Second Temple (70 A.D.) the priesthood sank into atrophy. Authority in the Jewish polity was divided between the civil leaders and rabbinic authorities.

The authors explain that for several epochs data is scanty as to the nature of the political organization of parts of the Jewish community and the interaction among them. The distinctions between epochs after the organization of the Mishnah, the recording of the Oral Law into an authoritative written work, wear thin, not however because of the quantity of the data. The constitutional changes in the First and Second Commonwealths are simply far more dramatic and distinctive than the changes which occurred between the period of the *Arba'ah Turim*, for example, and the period of the *Shulchan Aruch*. In the later periods, the distinctions between epochs seem forced in order to corres-

pond to the predetermined length of an epoch and are not justified by substantive historical evidence. The distinctions between "founding events," "climactic events" and "culminating events" seem artificial. For example, the authors select the year 1648 as marking the close of the epoch of *Ha Va'adim*, the federations of Kehillot and the beginning of epoch XIII *Hitagduyot*, Voluntary Associations. 1648 was the period of the Chemlnitsky massacres and marked the end of the Sabbatean movement. The authors suggest that the *Shulkhan Arukh*, a major work of codification of Jewish law by Rabbi Yosef Caro is the constitutional document launching the new epoch. Is the Shulchan Aruch such a major constitutional contribution as to constitute a change of epoch or is its significance unduly exaggerated by the authors to coincide with major changes in Jewish life (non-constitutional) or with the "three century" guideline?

The book is structurally divided into fourteen sections, each describing an epoch. Each section begins with a few paragraphs describing the epoch and then lists — lists of instruments, officers, structures (*medinot, aratzot, kehilot*) representative personalities and new terms specific to the period. The lists,

THE IMPACT OF GUSH EMUNIM: POLITICS AND SETTLEMENT IN THE WEST BANK
Edited by David Newman (Croom Helm, London & Sydney c. 1985).

Reviewed by Ben Mollav

Of the many dynamic forces currently at work in the Middle East landscape,

particularly in the later epochs (when there are more kehillot throughout the world) are long and monotonous. In Epoch XIII the authors list thirty-five representative personalities and fifty-two terms. They read like the contents of a playbill — lists telling who is in the cast with a brief line or two about each actor, descriptions of the set and settings. The theatergoer, after conscientiously reading it all is to be disappointed. He never gets to see the play. So, too, the readers of *The Jewish Polity*. The authors leave us with a playbill and no play.

In the authors' defense, it is clear that they too are aware of several of the book's shortcomings and they state them straightforwardly in the introduction. They write, "We present this volume with full knowledge of the lacunae which need to be filled, the fog which surrounds major as well as minor events, issues and institutions in various epochs of Jewish history, and the necessity to draw conclusions based upon partial and even inadequate knowledge." As a reference text to guide students of history in the almost ignored subject of Jewish political tradition, the book may prove quite a challenge. For the more general reader, *The Jewish Polity* is quite a chore.

few have been so intensely discussed yet insufficiently understood, as Gush Emunim. The mere mention of the movement's name immediately tends to evoke passionate and partisan responses in the mind of the listener. *The Impact of Gush Emunim: Politics and Settlement in the West Bank*, edited by David Newman, is a collection of 14 analytical and

critical essays each dealing with a different aspect of Gush Emunim's ideology, development, mode of operations and impact. While public opinion in Israel and abroad is divided over the merits of Gush Emunim, a majority of the authors in this anthology implicitly assume that there is a popular stereotype held by the public, concerning the nature and attitudes of Gush Emunim settlers, as something of a neo-messianic fanatical sect. Some findings and conclusions presented in this volume tend to reinforce and others to oppose this popular image.

A number of papers in this volume emphasize that Gush Emunim made its appearance at a time when Israeli society was experiencing a vacuum of spiritual and ideological values, or as David Schnall asserted, "at a time when Israel had already moved from its charismatic beginnings to the establishment of rational bureaucratic processes." Gush Emunim in effect built on the forceful ideological background of early pioneering Zionism, albeit transformed, and expressed that ideology in primarily religious terms (i.e., the commandment to settle all of the Land of Israel).

Julian Bauer, in his insightful article, "A New Approach to Religious Secular Relationships?" suggests that Gush Emunim's ability to act effectively and attract secular members was enhanced by its application of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook's vision of religious secular cooperation into the sphere of territorial settlement. Related to this issue is the fascinating and controversial aspect of the interaction between Gush Emunim activity and Israeli Government policy. Or as Gershon Shafir explored in his article, "Did Gush Emunim Make a Dif-

ference?" Shafir identified three phases of settlement in the West Bank/Judea and Samaria: First the Labor-sponsored Allon Plan, which was followed by Gush Emunim's most dynamic and aggressive stage, and later by the Likud Government-sponsored "One Hundred Thousand Plan," which attempted to encourage and facilitate settlement based on a low cost, high quality of life suburban appeal. He and several other authors tend to conclude that while the Israeli Government wished to appear to the world at large to be constantly fighting intense Gush Emunim pressure for settlement, they actually welcomed this pressure as a means of justifying their own previously conceived plans for settlement of the area.

Several authors in this volume emphasize the changing nature of settlement in Judea and Samaria, from those initial settlers driven by ideological fervor to the later ones attracted by low cost suburban housing and government-sponsored benefits. Implicit in this analysis is the observation that the ideological strength of Gush Emunim is becoming diluted by the presence of the more "self-interested settler" motivated equally — or more so — by tangible benefit rather than idealistic dedication.

Given the relatively large representation of American immigrants among Gush Emunim settlers, Chaim Waxman's article, "Political and Social Attitudes of Americans Among the Settlers in the Territories" is especially relevant. Waxman's findings contradict the "fanatical movement" stereotype by revealing that the vast majority of American Gush settlers continue to hold liberal views on a vast array of social and political issues — characteristic of American